Permanence, transformation, substitution and oblivion of geographical names

Edited by
Andrea Cantile and Helen Kerfoot

"[...] nullum est sine nomine saxum [...]"
(M. Annaeus Lucanus, *Pharsalia*, IX, 973)

"[...] no stone without a name [...]"
(Lucan, *Pharsalia*, IX, 973)

In close cooperation with:

Italian Geographic Military Institute
Regional Council of Campania – Directorate General for the Government of the Territory

Under the auspices of:

Italian Cartographic Association

Italian Association of Geography Teachers

Italian Association of Geographers

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Scientific committee

Andrea Cantile, Chair of the UNGEGN's Romano-Hellenic Division, University of Florence (Italia);
Simonetta Conti, University of Campania "Luigi Vanvitelli" (Italia);
Monica Dumitrascu, Institute of Geography, Romanian Academy (Romania);
Peter Jordan, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Co-Convenor of the ICA-IGU Joint Commission on Toponymy (Austria), University of the Free State (South Africa);
Helen Kerfoot, Former Emeritus Scientist Natural Resources Canada, Honorary Chair of UNGEGN (Canada);
Cosimo Palagiano, Emeritus of Sapienza - University of Rome, Accademia dei Lincei, Co-Convenor of the ICA-IGU Joint Commission on Toponymy (Italia);
Domenico Proietti, University of Campania "Luigi Vanvitelli" (Italia);
Annette C. Torensjö, Uppsala University, Convenor of the UNGEGN Working Group on Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage (Sverige).

United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names
Romano-Hellenic Division

3rd International Scientific Symposium
Castel dell'Ovo – Napoli [Naples] – Italia [Italy]
22nd-24th September 2021

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Some of the participants in the symposium by remote access and in person
Castel dell'Ovo, "Francesco Compagna Hall" – Napoli [Naples].

Contents

Presentation

It is a great pleasure for me to present to the public this new volume of papers prepared by scholars and technicians who in various ways deal with toponymy. The published work collects together the proceedings of the Third International Scientific Symposium of Toponymy, titled "Permanence, transformation, substitution and oblivion of geographical names", organized in Italy by the Romano-Hellenic Division of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names.

This third symposium took place among many difficulties arising from the pandemic that in the past few years has afflicted many countries of the world. But holding the symposium was seen to be an act of optimism for the reconquest of those spaces that scholars have always shared for the progress of knowledge.

Despite the many limitations imposed by the health protocols in force, it was possible to organize in complete safety an event carried out in a hybrid mode, in person and in a virtual way, which also this year made it possible to involve a large audience of scholars.

The Castel dell'Ovo in Naples offered an historic location for the presentations, in person as well as remotely, and for the setting up of a beautiful historical-cartographic exhibition, in line with the theme of the symposium, curated by Andrea Cantile and Arturo Gallia.

Over thirty historical maps of the Neapolitan territory, both of the continental and island areas, offered a precious opportunity to see the dynamics of "Permanence, transformation, replacement and oblivion" in these territories. And I am very pleased that the map exhibition will now become a travelling one, with visits planned to various Italian universities and cultural centres.

Satisfied with the happy outcome of these three days of scientific exchange, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to the Campania Region, which, in close cooperation with the Italian Geographic Military Institute (IGMI), guaranteed the excellent success of the event.

I am also grateful to the Chair of the UNGEGN, Mr Pierre Jaillard, to the Honorary Chair, Ms Helen Kerfoot, and to all the Italian scientific associations who, with their active participation, have given prestige and importance to the symposium.

In addition, I would like to thank all the participants in the symposium, to those who followed the proceedings in person and to those who attended the occasion in virtual mode, linking in from other parts of Italy, from elsewhere in Europe, from the Middle East and from North and Central America.

Last, but certainly not least, thanks go to Professor Andrea Cantile for the scientific organization of the event and to all those who, in various ways, have worked towards the successful outcome of the symposium and the map exhibition.

The Commander of IGMI
(Maj. Gen. Pietro TORNABENE)

Introduction

Dear Chair of the Romano-Hellenic Division, dear Honorary Chair of UNGEGN, dear Colleagues, dear Friends, please allow me to address a grateful greeting to the authorities present in the room today and, in particular, to the Vice President of the Campania Region, the Hon. Mario Morcone, to the Military Commander of the Italian Capital, Lt. Gen. Rosario Castellano, to the Commander of the Italian Geographic Military Institute, Maj. Gen. Pietro Tornabene, and to the Director of the National Library of Naples, Arch. Salvatore Buonomo, for their valuable contributions in organizing this event, and, last but not least, to give my greatings and my thanks to all the participants.

When I first participated in UNGEGN, in 2006 in Vienna, fifteen years ago, Helen Kerfoot was chairing it, and she has been participating since 1990, for more than thirty years now. So she was in the best position to tell the story of its history. In fact, she would also be perfectly qualified to illustrate its present and near future, as she was so involved in the development of our new Strategic Plan and remains so active with the Bureau. So I have good reason to thank Andrea Cantile warmly for calling on me for this, instead!

Let me say, however, that I regret having to speak in English in a Romano-Hellenic Division, but I have not mastered any Romance language other than French, and I do not think many of you can understand French.

To return to my topic, I think we need to start from where Helen Kerfoot led us: the UNGEGN reform in 2017. The main objective was to improve the functioning of UNGEGN and its integration into the UN system.

In terms of functioning, I must tell you that among the new ideas is a greater involvement of linguistic or geographical divisions, such as the Romano-Hellenic or the French-speaking one. A meeting is scheduled in November between the Bureau and the presidents of the current 24 divisions.

But the main novelty is that the new UNGEGN combines the functions not only of the former Group of Experts with the same name, but also of the United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names. These Conferences were held every five years, and they adopted more than two hundred resolutions in fifty years. Access to these resolutions is made difficult by the great diversity of subjects in the same form: even setting aside simple procedural motions, one finds among them the establishment of principles, elaborations or inflections, simple reiterations of previous resolutions, and so on. Helen Kerfoot has therefore compiled and maintained a collection of all these resolutions, organized by topic, which still requires some intellectual investment to use. A Manual for National Standardization of Geographical Names was also published in 2007, but it is not specifically based on the resolutions of the Conferences.

Moreover, the idea has gradually become established that the resolutions of the Conferences are definitive and cannot be challenged or modified, but only reinterpreted and possibly inflected at most. This is to confuse consensus with the status quo. Certainly, the principle of consensus always puts those who support the status quo in a strong position, since it is up to others to convince them that the status quo is not sustainable, and to lead them to evolve towards a new and

stronger consensus. But it is still possible to evolve, as some resolutions have done in the past (I/20, III/16...), and some issues are worth trying.

Such is the case of exonyms, as our last session recognized by deciding "to continue discussions in order to establish guidelines reconciling the current resolutions of the United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names on exonyms and its recognition of exonyms as part of the cultural heritage".

The inconsistency that makes the status quo unsustainable has emerged between two historical layers of resolutions. The oldest, regularly reaffirmed for more than fifty years, have fought the international use of exonyms. But resolutions adopted as early as 1972 (II/28) and especially since 2002 have recognized geographical names as "living and vital parts of language", and as cultural heritage, and these resolutions have advocated their safeguarding. However, exonyms are precise linguistic and cultural products, and they are therefore both opposed by some resolutions and protected by others. The unsustainability of this inconsistency is demonstrated by the number of countries that have chosen one or the other option. Let us take just one example, the one I know best: France. After having recommended the etymological restoration of certain French exonyms in the 1980s, we expressly decided in 1993 to give priority to safeguarding those that remained in use.

In order to reconcile these two visibly contradictory orientations, it is necessary to go back to the principles that underlie them. Indeed, the reduction of the use of exonyms is a policy rather than a principle, based on principles that have remained implicit since the only explanation in the initial resolution on this subject (II/29, 1972) is limited to "recognize the desirability of limiting the use of exonyms" (*sic*).

It is therefore necessary to refer to the memory of the debates, which makes it possible to identify principles such as the rationalization of information processing with the techniques of that time, or the rejection of any form of domination underlying the name, in accordance with the principle of self-determination of peoples set up by the United Nations Charter (art. 1, § 2). The current state of data processing technology makes the practical interest of limiting exonyms practically obsolete. On the other hand, it remains necessary to rectify the links that the denomination establishes, not with a form of domination or possession in a political order, but with the expression of a form of proximity in the symbolic and cultural level , which is the level of the languages themselves.

As for the safeguarding of the cultural heritage, it is in itself a principle, taken up among the 17 Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations to the agenda 2030 as target n° 11.4 "strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage". And it has even become a legal imperative since the adoption of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003 under the auspices of UNESCO.

Respecting this principle therefore means honouring the second major objective of UNGEGN's reform: its better integration into the United Nations system, and in particular its Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), which consists of both fully adhering to its political objectives and participating more in its institutional governance.

At the political level, our new Strategic Plan has been developed with the constant concern of contributing to the Sustainable Development Goals. First, its deadline was set at 2029 to coincide with the 2030 agenda. More importantly, the Plan recognizes that the Sustainable Development Goals are the framework for a better future for all, and more specifically:

- that the monitoring of each indicator associated with the 17 goals should be based on a set of geospatial data, of which geographical names are a core element;

- that UNGEGN embraces the value of leaving no one behind and offers its expertise to capacity building of those who want it;

- that it will contribute particularly to achieving target 11.4, related to the recognition of cultures, heritage and languages;

- that it intends to deepen its connections with other relevant United Nations bodies.

Thus, the last session of UNGEGN was held under the theme "Geographical names supporting sustainable development and management of the pandemic", in accordance with UN General Assembly resolution 70/1. In addition to the decision on exonyms, it adopted a recommendation, since endorsed by ECOSOC, on "the current and potential connections between geographical names and the environment", and decided "to consider the development of guidelines aimed at equality and inclusion in geographical names in harmony with the principles on restoring, protecting and preserving cultural heritage". Our challenge in this last regard is to reconcile this concern with the principle of "unnecessary changing of names be avoided" (I/4 C) and the value of "political neutrality".

All this calls for a better understanding of our missions by other UN bodies, through increased participation in their own activities. For example, I presented the report of our last session to ECOSOC and I present our activities at the annual meeting of the thirty or so bodies attached to it. Among these bodies, we also have several bilateral meetings per year with the United Nations Committee of Experts on Global Geospatial Information Management.

This is how UNGEGN is working to ensure that every country will eventually have a fully functioning and globally aligned structure and policy framework, based on common principles for national standardization of authorized geographical names that identify location and respect the associated culture and heritage. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the contribution of the Romano-Hellenic Division to this work, whose dynamism and quality of this symposium once again demonstrates.

Pierre Jaillard
Chair of UNGEGN

Welcome remarks

Distinguished national and local hosts, specially invited guests, M. Pierre Jaillard (Chair of UNGEGN), Professor Andrea Cantile (Chair of the Romano-Hellenic Division of UNGEGN), and all participants – either present in person or on video conference, to all I extend a warm welcome to this significant event.

I express my appreciation to Prof. Cantile and all those involved in the organization of the symposium in such difficult times – with a postponement from 2020 and even now, travel restrictions and difficulties for many potential participants.

As Honorary Chair of UNGEGN I should like to provide a few background details about the work of UNGEGN since its first meeting in 1960 – and then M. Pierre Jaillard, the present UNGEGN Chair, will elaborate on the current and future work of this Group of Experts.

A resolution of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in 1959 (715A XXVII) was the cornerstone for the establishment and development of UNGEGN. Its main aim was and continues to be to encourage each UN member state to take responsibility for the names of places and features within its jurisdiction. So, we speak of the "standardization of geographical names" – how the names are written and how they are applied to the landscape features. As there are many different writing systems when considering all the languages used in the world, another significant task has been to endorse scientific systems of romanization for non-Roman writing systems.

It has often been asked, over the 60 years of the existence of UNGEGN, "isn't the work finished yet?". Well, as you can imagine, standardization of geographical names (or toponyms) is an ongoing task. Changes in political situations, in language and its use over time, in technology and administration, as well as changes in our social norms are just some of the factors that affect geographical names – their use, their authorization, their storage and their distribution for worldwide use. Yes, we have seen a considerable increase in the number of countries that have in place an authority responsible for their toponyms, from around 10 before UNGEGN existed to over 90 now. Clearly there is still far to go, both to raise this number and to encourage countries to ensure their authorities are fully functioning.

Between 1960 and 2017, 11 United Nations Conferences (every 5 years) and 30 UNGEGN sessions provided a forum for discussion of geographers, linguists, administrators and GIS specialists, as well as an opportunity for the development of substantive resolutions to support and guide the work. To bring together smaller groups with common interests, UNGEGN established two types of sub-groups. Working groups address common challenges relating, for example, to database management, cultural heritage, training, publicity, funding, exonyms and romanization. Divisions allow for activities of groups of countries based on geography or language (e.g. Africa South Division, French-speaking Division). The Romano-Hellenic Division is one of the first 14 divisions that were established in 1972 and it has continued to be active since that time.

When UNGEGN started its focus was on the technical issues of geographical names used in mapping. Gradually this has been supplemented by a focus on

geographical names as part of our cultural heritage and our environment. Using – or perhaps misusing – the Olympic motto, we move faster, higher and stronger in addressing these situations when we collectively work together!

Over its first 60 years, in implementing conference resolutions, UNGEGN undertook many projects to help countries develop their geographical names programmes. Since 1982, training courses have been provided some 25 times around the world: from Indonesia to the Netherlands, from Brazil to South Africa, Australia to Burkina Faso, and so on. Various publications have been undertaken: information pamphlets; a media kit; books on geographical names standardization, technical issues of data exchange and romanization; a glossary of terminology; an advanced training manual and twice-yearly bulletins. In addition, over 4000 documents presented at conferences and UNGEGN sessions are available on the UNGEGN website (https://unstats.un.org/unsd/ungegn/). Also, UNGEGN has established a freely accessible multi-scriptual, multilingual database of names of countries, capitals and major cities and has supported development of on-line training modules.

Some of the UNGEGN working groups and divisions have published reports or presentations from their own meetings – for instance, there is an extensive collection of books from meetings of the Working Group on Exonyms (courtesy of our colleague Peter Jordan).

As you are probably aware, Professor Andrea Cantile who is currently chair of the Romano-Hellenic Division has organized two previous international scientific symposia in Italy, and each has resulted in a published collection of papers presented. I believe that many of you here today have papers in these attractive publications of the Italian Geographic Military Institute. In 2015 the symposium, *Place names as intangible cultural heritage*, was held in Firenze [Florence] and in 2018 the second, *Toponymy and cartography between history and geography*, was organized in Venezia [Venice]. Both were most interesting and well attended, and as here in Napoli, they included a special session for municipal perspectives on local toponymy and database development.

I would love to be in Napoli [Naples] with you all, and wish very much that Covid-19 and its far-reaching impact were not interfering with symposium attendance. From afar, in Ottawa, in eastern Canada, I send very best wishes and trust that you will enjoy a stimulating and profitable time during the next few days!

Thank you and good wishes! Grazie e auguri!

Helen Kerfoot
Honorary Chair of UNGEGN

Some thoughts on permanence, transformation, substitution and oblivion of geographical names in Italy

Andrea Cantile*

Abstract

The title of this year's symposium uses four nouns, permanence, transformation, substitution and oblivion, as a formula that tries to summarize the possible phases of the existence of a toponym.

In the following pages some thoughts will be proposed which, starting from the description of some cases concerning the Italian territory, will highlight the role of cartography and the cartographer in the dynamics of conservation, transformation, replacement and forgetting of place names over time. In closing, some brief concluding remarks will then be proposed which will try to trace a map of the most urgent actions needed in the toponymic field in Italy.

Keywords: *permanence, transformation, substitution, oblivion, pentima, starza.*

Permanence / *"longue durée"*

Permanence, or, better said, the *"longue durée"*, testifies to the resistance of a geographical name to political, cultural, and economic changes and even to traumatic events, which have occurred in the course of history. Other times, permanence is only an apparent phenomenon because it is the result of the voluntary restoration of oldest, forgotten or marginally used names to pass on the memory of ancient origins, dictated by a desire sometimes elitist.

Among the many place names that have remained more or less unchanged, some toponyms remain almost intact, from ancient times to the present day, with changes that have, at times, very little affected the form and pronunciation. They are toponyms that

"semblent doués d'une vitalité propre, puisée aux racines qu'ils ont poussées dans le langage populaire. [...] Ces noms ont cela de particulier que, sans avoir jamais servi de divisions politiques, sans avoir l'appui d'une consécration officielle, ils se maintiennent par la seule force de l'usage; ils continuent à être employés concurremment aux désignations de départements ou de provinces dont se servent aussi les habitants. Ils méritent par là de former une catégorie spéciale, une famille au sens que les naturalistes prêtent à ce mot" (Vidal de la Blache, 1904, p. 12).

Their genesis derives from the well-known daily relationship that has been

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* Chairman of the Romano-Hellenic Division of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names.

established over the centuries between man and the environment, in the process of creating the territory, products of a "popular geography"

"[...] qui, dans sa naïveté, est toujours expressive, et qui, dans son domaine restreint, est moins sujette à faillir que la géographie des savants. Les habitants que les ont créés ou adoptés, n'ont pas été guidés par un autre besoin que celui de noter ce qui se rapportait à leur existence, à leurs occupations quotidiennes, ce qui peut-être, en certain cas, avait ému leur imagination. On peut ainsi se rendre compte des traits physiques qui les ont principalement frappés dans le pays qu'ils occupent. Ils ont nommé ce qu'ils utilisaient; et cela permet de voir quelles sélections ils ont opérée parmi les possibilités géographiques au milieu desquelles ils étaient placés" (Vidal de la Blache, 1904, pp. 16-17).

This relationship between man and his territory has therefore generated the denomination of many places, which Paul Vidal de la Blache, called "pays", or choronyms, by virtue of which places were denoted and people were characterized, with their particular "ways of life":

"[...] un ensemble d'habitudes, plus ou moins conservées [...] les modes de culture, de nourriture, le vêtement ou du moins la coiffe des femmes, les formes de langage [...] une sorte de vocabulaire topographique spécial" (Vidal de la Blache, 1904, p. 14).

However, some of these names have lost semantic transparency and, with their opacification, the documentary value that they could have expressed becomes evanescent. This phenomenon derives, as is known, from the loss of linguistic-semantic value and from the assumption of a "simply and purely denotative function" (Consani, 2008, p. 26), caused by the alternation of different linguistic groups on the same territory, or by the "Deformations to which popular use subjects them in an attempt to make them intelligible" (Bortolotti, 1981, p. 235), or by corruption deriving from erroneous transcriptions in notarial deeds, land registers and maps.

In these cases, far from falling into useless paretymological reconstructions, if the study aspires to bring out a "testimony", it must necessarily move "on the abscissas and ordinates of time and space, that is in adherence to the historical-geographical reality [...] in continuous contact with history, with prehistory, with archaeology, with anthropic geography and with philology" (Battisti, 1963, p. 38).

The following example concerns a place mentioned in the famous placitum titled *Placito di Sessa Aurunca*, dating back to the year 963, and therefore contemporary with the more famous *Placito Capuano*, considered the birth certificate of the Italian language. In the *Placito di Sessa Aurunca* was transcribed the sentence pronounced by the judicial authority for the legal attribution of title to some land (Proietti, 2018 and 2019) and, among various place names mentioned in the placitum, attention is particularly drawn to a place indicated as "*ecclesia sancte marie ubi sunt ipse pentome maiori*" [Church of Saint Mary where the same major sloping lands are]. In consideration of the numerous place names dedicated to *Sanctae Marie*, the noun *pentome* becomes decisive for understanding

to which of the many churches dedicated to Saint Mary the placitus referred.

The historical-cartographic analysis of the series of maps available at the IGMI Map Archives offers the opportunity to ascertain the following.

In the *Carta dei dintorni di Napoli alla scala 1:20,000* [Map of Napoli's surroundings at the scale of 1:20,000], created between 1836 and 1840, in the Reale Officio Topografico of Naples (ROT) [Royal Topographical Office of Naples], there were still traces of two very similar names Rivo di Pientima [stream of Pientima] and Fosso della Pientima [ditch of Pientima] (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Royal Topographical Office of Naples, Map of Napoli's surroundings at the scale of 1:20,000, 1836-1840 (IGMI, Map Archives, order number 46-11, armoire 93, folder 74, doc. 8).

In the *Map of Neapolitan and Sicilian provinces at the scale of 1:50,000*, published by the Italian Topographic Military Institute (which became Italian Geographic Military Institute in 1882) in 1876, we find also other similar names Mass.a Penturi [Penturi farm] and the same R. Pientima [Pientima stream] and R. Penturi [Penturi stream] (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Italian Topographic Military Institute, Map of Neapolitan and Sicilian provinces at the scale of 1:50,000, published in 1876 (IGMI, Attilio Mori Library, 3A, 7-8).

In the *Topographic map of Italy at the scale of 1:25,000*, published by the Italian Geographic Military Institute (IGMI) in 1942, all these names disappear (Figure 3), and in the new edition of the same map published in 1957 only one of them (the hydronym) reappears slightly deformed [R. Pientina] (Figure 4), and remains unchanged even in the latest 2007 edition (Figure 5).

Figure 3. IGMI, Topographic map of Italy at the scale of 1:25,000, sheet no. 172 I N.E., Suio (1942).

Figure 4. IGMI, Topographic map of Italy at the scale of 1:25,000, sheet no. 172 I N.E., Suio (1957).

Figure 5. IGMI, Topographic map of Italy at the scale of 1:50,000, sheet no. 416 II, Sessa Aurunca (2007).

From interpreting these maps we can state that, until the end of the 19ᵗʰ century, it was still possible to understand the location of the places indicated by these terms and it was also possible to understand the genesis and the meaning of the term *pentome* and reconstruct the linguistic path that the transformation of the term has followed in the last thousand years. In particular, it was possible to understand that the Latin term *pendēns* [sloping] was first transformed into the Medieval Latin *pèntome* [sloping land], from which was derived the vernacular terms *pèntima* or *pièntima* [sloping ground], in use in some municipalities of central-southern Lazio and in the municipality of Olevano Romano in the form *penteme* (Conti, 1984, p. 219), and the Neapolitan *pèndema* [rocky wall] (Salzano, 1989, p. 185). Furthermore, by examining the morphological characteristics of the territory, it was also possible to easily understand the form *pènturi* [sloping ground].

The appearance, disappearance and reappearance of these toponyms constitute a phenomenon of considerable interest from which we can deduce how the millennial permanence of these minor toponyms is perpetuated without any form of legal protection, as happens for toponyms with administrative value. It is due both to the preservation of semantic transparency and to the shared and conscious use by resident populations. But all this shows once again the great responsibility of surveyors involved in activities for cartographic purposes.

If the toponyms in question had no longer appeared in the maps of IGMI, it could have been inferred that they had fallen into disuse and then into oblivion. The reappearance, even of just one of them in subsequent maps, instead shifts the attention from the use of toponyms on site to the methods of collecting toponyms.

From what has been shown so far it is, therefore, clear that the total elimination of the toponyms in question in the 1942 map depended only on an inaccurate toponymic survey, conducted in a climate of emergency (second World War). The reappearance of one of the toponyms, on the other hand, constitutes proof of a toponymic permanence, which emerged thanks to the better attention of the topographer engaged in subsequent activities.

The case of the toponym taken from the *Placito di Sessa Aurunca* is, ultimately, one of the many examples of millennial permanence, which does not only concern geographical names of known historical importance and of municipalities, subject to specific legislative provisions that crystallize their form and pronunciation, but also concerns many minor toponyms, which, without any form of legal protection, have retained their original denotative and connotative functions, in the long term.

Transformation, substitution and oblivion

Transformation, substitution and oblivion of geographical names are instead widespread phenomena, due to different causes that have been perpetuated since time immemorial, causing sometimes radical changes in the toponymy of small and large territories, with very similar effects. Among the countless examples of this kind, two cases in the remote past concern Troy and Mycenae. The first one is recalled by the brief citation of the Lucanian epos placed in the epigraph at beginning of this volume, which dramatically highlights the fragility of many

place names cancelled after the destruction of Troy, in whose site nature had resumed control and nothing more remained of the past greatness of the ancient city. The second case concerns instead the events told by Thucydides about the radical transformation of the Mycenaean nomenclature, caused by the invasion of the Dorians at the dawn of Greek history.

In the Italian territory, the vicissitudes undergone by place names, as a result of continuous struggles for conquest, which took place from antiquity to the 19th century, can give only a vague idea of the number of changes, replacements and oblivions that have occurred in the course of about three millennia, generating, among other things, a large number of opacifications in many place names still in use today.

A remarkable, vast toponymic and odonomastic transformation intervention, carried out throughout the national territory with the involvement of the Parliament and the Municipal councils concerned, took place shortly after the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy. As part of a general reorganization of the administrative structure of the country, mergers and divisions of municipalities were made, new names were introduced and some toponyms were transformed, considered "causes of misunderstandings and embarrassments" (De Santis, 1924, p. 356).

The misunderstandings were determined by various cases of homonymy and required the introduction of decrees aimed at eliminating the ambiguity of double or triple denominations, issued between 1862 and 1864. This was true for many toponyms, the best known of which were Torino (in Piedmont and Abruzzo), Lucca (in Tuscany and Sicily), Livorno (in Tuscany and Piedmont), Capri (in Campania and Sicily) and Prato (in Lombardy and Tuscany).

In some cases, it was instead chosen to determine a kind of "ennobling" of the old medieval toponyms, corrupted by popular use, recovering ancient local traditions and linking the new names to documented historical facts and, sometimes, to simple legends. Among the numerous transformations of this kind, I limit the examples to the most obvious cases only.

In the province of Catania, the municipality of Centorbi [one hundred orbs] was transformed into Centuripe [one hundred steep coasts], with the royal decree of March 15, 1863.

In the province of Principato Ulteriore (Benevento), the municipality of Montemale [mount of evil] was transformed into Santarcangelo [Holy archangel], with the royal decree of October 26, 1862.

In the province of Terra di Lavoro (Caserta), the municipality of Fossaceca [blind pit] was transformed into Fontegreca [Greek source], with the royal decree of August 21, 1962; the town of Schiavi di Formicola [slaves of Formicola] was transformed into Liberi [free], with the royal decree of August 24, 1862 (Statistica del Regno, 1865, pp. 273-322; see also, in this volume Conti, pp. 179-186). In Umbria, the town of Canemorto [dead dog] was transformed into Orvinio (linking it to the memory of the ancient Sabino-Roman centre, *Orvinium*, cited by Marco Terenzio Varrone and Dionysius of Halicarnassus), with the royal decree of March 29, 1863.

A clear celebratory purpose instead animated other changes of denomination. The municipality of Sogliano (in the province of Otranto) was transformed into Sogliano Cavour, with the royal decree of November 13, 1862, about a year after the

death of Camillo Benso, Earl of Cavour, the first prime minister and protagonist of the unification of the Kingdom of Italy. In Gaeta, what was previously the hamlet of Borgo, with a royal decree of February 18, 1897, was elevated to the status of municipality and took the name of Elena, in honour of Princess Elena of Montenegro, married to the crown prince, Vittorio Emanuele III, in the previous year (De Santis, 1924, pp. 356-397).

In the odonomastic field, instead, there was the birth of a multitude of denominations praising the Savoy and, more generally, the Italian Risorgimento epic. There was no city or small inhabited centre that was not equipped with at least one street or square dedicated to the September 20th, the day of the famous Breccia di Porta Pia [Breach of Porta Pia] and the consequent conquest of Rome by the Italian Army, to Giuseppe Garibaldi, to Camillo Benso Earl of Cavour, to Vittorio Emanuele II of Savoy, in whose honour the previous memory of the places had been cancelled.

In some cases, the overzealousness of some municipal administrators led to the naming of streets and squares after people still alive or only recently dead (Mastrelli, 1998, p. 437n).

The awareness of the mistake committed on the wave of post-unification enthusiasm led, after more than sixty years, to the adoption of regulatory measures that guaranteed the preservation of the memory of the places, but the process was still very long. With the decree of May 10, 1923, converted into the law of 17 April 1925, n. 473, and then with the law of June 23, 1927, n. 1188, an attempt was first made to stem the emotionality of measures that are too closely linked to contingency, by imposing government control over the activity of the municipalities, through the prefectures and the superintendents of monuments, and by introducing the ban on naming streets and squares "after people who have not been deceased for at least ten years" (article 2). In article 5 of the same law, it was also provided that "In the event of the removal of a recent name, the previous one or the one that is considered more important than the topography or history will preferably be restored".

The provision that however gave a greater guarantee for the conservation of the memory of the places was constituted by the decree of the President of the Republic of May 30, 1989, n. 233, with which the regulatory framework was completed, specifying that, "In the event of a change in the name of the circulation area, the previous name must also be indicated", thus introducing an important provision to safeguard the oldest odonomy (Mastrelli, 1998, p. 437).

After this provision and following the promulgation of the law of June 8, 1990, no. 142, System of Local Autonomies, the Ministry of the Interior, with the circular of March 8, 1991, n. 10, identified the town council as the competent body in toponymic matters.

In addition to the toponymic transformations implemented as a result of laws and decrees, numerous other cases of special interest are linked to the interventions that have corrupted the place names, determined "in an attempt to make them intelligible" (Bortolotti, 1981, p. 235), through popular usage and due to erroneous transcriptions in public or private documents, notarial deeds, land registers, and maps.

Among the many examples of this kind, a noteworthy case is linked to the

territory of the Neapolitan hinterland. In the *Topographic map of Italy at a scale of 1:25,000* (sheet no. 172 III S.E., Casal di Prìncipe), surveyed in 1907 by Captain Oliva from the IGMI, the strange denomination Stazza del Conte [tonnage of the Earl] appeared among the toponyms of the municipality of Frignano (Figure 6), of which there was no trace either in the previous maps produced by the ROT or in those produced by IGMI itself.

Figure 6. IGMI, Topographic map of Italy
at the scale of 1:25,000, sheet no. 172 III S.E., Casal di Principe, surveyed in 1907.

The strangeness of this name affects both the linguistic and geographical fields, since the meaning of the term *stazza* [tonnage], which specifically indicates "the size or carrying capacity of a ship", is evidently devoid of any possible relationship with the territory.

The historical-cartographic analysis offers also in this case a valuable contribution. Arranging in chronological order the small historical cartographic series concerning this territory, it can be seen that in 1907 the toponym referred to a house, with characteristics similar to those of other isolated buildings in the same territory, indicated as farms. In the subsequent edition of the same map, published in 1957 (Figure 7), the toponym was no longer associated with a building, but had been transformed into a place name specifically identifying a territorial area classified by IGMI as a "plan not very extensive" (IGMI, 1950, Tav. XVbis) and in this form it was then confirmed in the subsequent map at a scale of 1:50000, published in 1993 (Figure 8).

Figure 7. IGMI, Topographic map of Italy at the scale of 1:25,000, sheet no. 172 III S.E., Casal di Principe, published in 1957.

Figure 8. IGMI, Topographic map of Italy at the scale of 1:50,000, sheet no. 430, Caserta Ovest, published in 1993.

In addition, unlike what is reported in IGMI's maps, the current cadastral map (Sheet 6 of the municipality of Frignano) shows the local existence of the homonymous road titled Vicinale Starza del Conte [country road Farm of the Earl] (Figure 9), in which appears the term *starza* (instead of *stazza*), that in Neapolitan, means "farm, large farm" (Salzano, 1989, p. 263; this lemma is also in the Great Dictionary of the Italian Language, 2018, vol. XX, p. 93) and was also used in the rural settlements of the lower Garigliano valley since the 12th century (Conti, 1984, pp. 58-59).

Finally, if we consider that still in use locally is the locution *Starza 'o ponte* [Farm to the bridge] to indicate the place in question, we can deduce that the anomaly is

Figure 9. Revenue Agency, Directorate of the Land Registry, Provincial Directorate of Caserta, Cadastral map of the municipality of Frignano, at the scale of 1:2000, sheet no. 6, 2021 and its detail.

due to the unfamiliarity with this term by the topographer in charge of the survey on site and to his bizarre attempt to "Italianize" a dialectal term whose meaning he did not understand.

Furthermore, if we consider that, at a very short distance from this site (about two kilometres north), there was another place called Ponte delle Tavole [wooden bridge], then many doubts arise also regarding the specification "of the Earl".

Therefore, the surveyor in charge generated a toponymic corruption, due to the double assonance between *stazza* [tonnage] and *starza* [farm] and between "Conte" [Earl] and "Ponte" [bridge]. While the original toponym was Starza al Ponte [farm to the bridge], because this indicated the place through which people reached the wooden bridge that allowed them to cross the Regi Lagni canal (Figure 6), represented in the northern part of the same map.

The superficiality of this intervention by the topographer charged of the survey and the cartographer charged to update the map for a new edition is certainly emblematic and further aggravated by the presence of a similar toponym, just over a kilometre to the west, in the municipality of Villa di Briano, where there is the toponym Starza della Maddalena [farm of the Magdalene], in the same map published in 1957 (Figure 10).

Figure 10. IGMI, Topographic map of Italy
at the scale of 1:25,000, sheet no. 172 III S.E., Casal di Principe, published in 1957.

The consequence of this error then becomes paradoxical when the existence of this corrupt toponym is also found in the Town Plan of the municipality of Frignano, in the province of Caserta (Figure 11), that, trusting in the reliability of the Official Map of the State, ends up disavowing the denomination in use locally to adopt the one invented superficially by a topographer.

This case also evidently demonstrates that some corrupt toponyms are not "Purs fantômes qui n'ont pas d'existence que pour la carte" (VIDAL DE LA BLACHE, 1904, p. 16), since in this case the map itself reifies something that never existed.
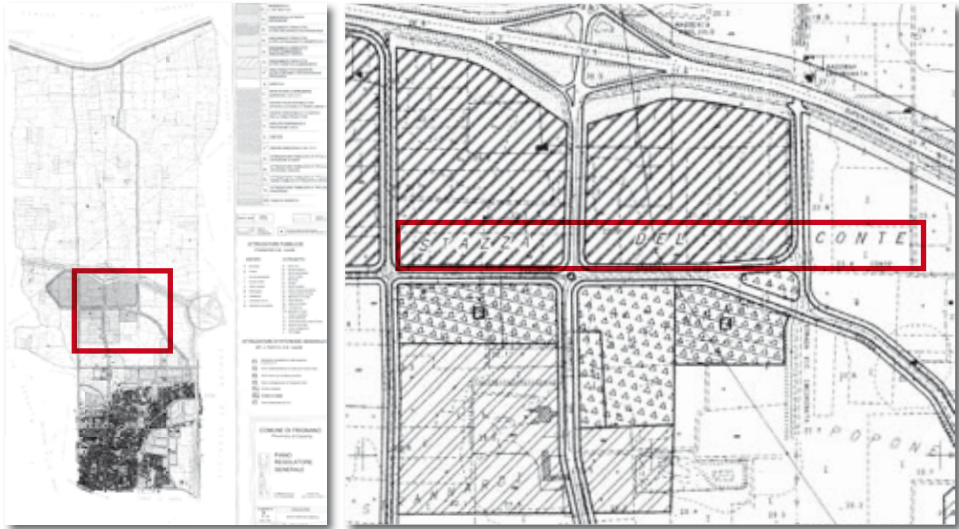
Figure 11. Town Plan of the municipality of Frignano, province of Caserta, and its detail.

Concluding remarks

Place names are a cultural heritage of inestimable value, to be preserved in all their forms, as they "reflect political, religious, social, economic events of all kinds" (Ascoli, 1895, pp. 100-101).

Place names change over time for various reasons and the toponymy of a given region should not be seen "as a closed and rigid corpus, facing the past, but as a compact system, albeit variable and open to modernity and the future" (Mastrelli, 2015, p. 16). From this is derived the right of settled populations to name their places and also to change their form, as well as the duty to preserve memory, because

> *"Un nom géographique n'est pas une étiquette, mais un témoignage. Qu'il aide à retracer les vicissitudes politiques et ethniques d'une contrée, cela va de soi. Mais on peut aussi, en certain cas, y trouver d'utiles enseignements sur les rapports du sol et des hommes" (Vidal de la Blache, 1904, p. 12).*

It is necessary to create toponymic lists mainly taken from oldest cadastral documents, the importance of which had already been highlighted at the end of the 19th century (Ascoli, 1895, p. 102), just as it is necessary to extend the collection of minor toponyms to all of Italy, including their dialectal forms, as in the research works promoted by professor Osvaldo Baldacci between 1978 and 1984 for the creation of the *Glossario di termini geografici dialettali della regione italiana* [Glossary of geographical dialectal terms of the Italian region] (De Vecchis, 1978; Arena, 1979; Melelli and Sacchi De Angelis, 1982; Giordano, 1983; Conti, 1984).

In general, the entire Italian administrative toponymy and odonymy are both well protected by current regulations and are not objectively at risk of cancellation

or oblivion. However, there are still many cases of corruption of place names, due to various causes. Among these, the most easily identifiable and correctable is derived from transcription errors made by the cartographer in charge of toponymic collections for the preparation of the official map of Italy. However, many times, these are denominations that have entered in current use and are, therefore, assimilated in their current form.

The collection and treatment of place names with their correct transcription and pronunciation cannot be entrusted to the single responsibility of the cartographer. The toponymic revision of the Topographic map of Italy cannot be considered complete because, with the slow decommissioning of the Permanent Commission established in 1949 (Cantile, 2004) and its subsequent suppression (Cantile, 2016, p. 15), unfortunately the acquisition of incorrect or even invented toponyms has continued.

It is, therefore, urgent to resume the systematic revision of the whole Italian toponymic corpus, coordinated by a new National Commission for official Italian toponymy (Cantile, 2007, pp. 282-283), with the necessary skills in cartographic, linguistic, geographical and historical fields and which works in close collaboration with similar bodies, established in each region and autonomous province.

With the hope that other precious indications for the protection of this intangible cultural heritage of humanity may be derived from this meeting and that the efforts we all have made over the years to spread the importance of correct use of geographical names and their transfer to future generations can be universally recognized as a fundamental prerequisite for peaceful coexistence between social groups in the same country and between neighboring countries, I declare open the Third International Scientific Symposium of the Romano-Hellenic Division of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names.

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The relevance of place names as intangible cultural heritage

Cosimo Palagiano*

Abstract

The paper aims to demonstrate how the intangible heritage of place names does not depend on the various communities that inhabit the places, but on the name itself, illustrated by centuries of history.

Keywords: *Identity, strengthening factors, factors of identity weakness, place names as intangible cultural heritage.*

Introduction

First of all I would like to consider identity, from a geographical point of view.

The main problem is whether the place name could be an adaptation of the original one, or whether it has been imposed by an external authority. Certainly, the choice of the name was not made by the individual communities, which have, however, accepted it. But the place name itself has not a universal and shareable value.

It is well understood that for the place of a battle, if celebrated by the victors and their heirs for a long time, the losers tend to erase their memory. For example, the name Caporetto is still lived dramatically by Italians, and has become the antonomasia of a terrible disaster. The rout of Caporetto took place on October 24, 1917. Today the city is in Slovenia with the name of Kobarid. The other names are Cjuarêt in Friulian and Karfreit in German. The names bear witness to a story troubled with the overlapping and coexistence of different communities.

The place name of Sedan was the scene of the homonymous disastrous battle in 1870. A Sedan day was celebrated every 2nd September until 1919 (Wulf R. 1998, pp. 57–95).This party was called the Berlina, that is the day of the Berlina (medieval infamous punishment). Curiously, sedan in English is the name of a type of car. Of course, the place name of Sedan is an unhappy memory for the French.

Another example is Stalingrad, Although the name Stalingrad was changed to Volgograd, the heroic defence of Soviet soldiers is remembered in Russia through plastic representations of soldiers and artillery in the State Historical and Memorial Preserve of the Battle of Stalingrad. It cannot be remembered equally by the losers.

We can relate the place names of battles of the past. I can refer to the battle of Salamis. The battle of Salamis, in ancient Greek, *ἡ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχία* was a

* Emeritus professor at Sapienza University of Roma, National Partner of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Member of Honor of the Italian Geographical Society (Italia).

naval battle that probably took palace on 23ʳᵈ September 480 BC during the second Persian war between the Pan-Hellenic league, commanded by Themistocles and Euribiaes, and the Achaemenid Empire, commanded by Xerxes the 1ˢᵗ of Persia. Some Greek historians consider this victory as the victory of democracy over absolutism.

But the name of the battle of Marathon which was fought in 490 BC. between Athens, aided by Plataea, and a Persian force, is an antonomasia of the longest Olympic foot race. Perhaps very few people connect the name of this race to the homonymous battle.

A similar contrast between west and east, but between different religious faiths, is illustrated by the battle of Lepanto. In Lepanto, Nafpaktos [Ναύπακτος] for the Greek inhabitants, Lepanto for the Venetians and İnebahtı in Turkish, on October 7, 1571 a naval battle took place between the Muslim fleets of the Ottoman Empire and the Christian ones under the papal insignia of the Holy League.

On 21ˢᵗ October 1805 the naval battle of Trafalgar, a clash thanks to which the Royal Navy managed to deal a very hard blow to the Napoleonic expansionist aims toward Great Britain. This battle is commemorated in Trafalgar Square in London.

But the many massacres committed in many places in Italy during the Second World War are still commemorated by Italian and German authorities.

As we can see from the examples above, place names do not have a universal relevance.

The strengthening factors

Among the strengthening factors we can consider, (a) the duration of memory over time, (b) the universal and universally accepted character of a community's vitality, (c) the lack of conflicts between communities on historical memory.

It is well understood that a place of a battle is celebrated by victors, while the losers tend to erase its memory.

The duration of memory over time
Memory fades over time if it is not continually recalled. But what are the strongest appeals? Certainly, the strongest appeal is given by the conscience of a community that passes on its traditions from generation to generation. But the generations that follow one another, even if they live in the same place, in contact with other communities or even with individuals, tend to reduce, simplify or modify the distinctive elements of the community itself, such as traditional food, rituals, habits, language or dialect. All this can be kept alive with domestic and scholastic education, as well as by reading the literary and historical texts, especially of local history. Texts, songs, legends and poems passed down are also very effective. A special function is performed by the vernacular press.

The universal and universally accepted character of community's vitality
A community stands out for its originality and for the strength and duration

of its traditions. The strength may be such that it contaminates neighbouring homologous communities. Often the strength and vitality of a community are highlighted by some individuals who come from that community and represent it with their own strong personality. They can be scientists, actors or singers or perhaps vernacular poets or people capable of attracting a whole human group around them. It must be born in mind that a community survives if it recognizes itself through strong personalities.

The lack of conflicts between communities on historical memory
It is thought that conflict is a natural ingredient that develops between one or more contiguous communities, especially through the management of space and by a community's own autonomy. The clash can generate a closure or, on the contrary, a total or partial loss of autonomy. But in the first, case the closure facilitates the stagnation and lack of development of the communities themselves. In the second case, the communities undergo exogenous transformations, that are not in line with their traditions.

Factors of identity weakness

Among the factors affecting weakness we can consider.

The too rapid evolution of the new generation
The younger generations who, in contact with peers from other communities, largely lose the distinctive signs of their origin. This is mainly due to new fashions of food and clothing lifestyle choices. The large industrial and commercial companies, through propaganda and promotion, suggest new and evocative products, which are immediately adopted by the younger generations. The language itself, enriched with new slang expressions, rapidly changes.

Globalization and homogenization
Globalization and homogenization spread by the mass media reach even the isolated small towns, which are the last to adopt new fashions. Furthermore, the young, but also the not so young, through the so-called social media and influencers, modify the communities' habits and customs.

Assimilation
From the end of the 19th century many Italian communities emigrated in search of fortune to other world regions, especially to the Americas. They established the so-called ethnic colonies, with their own newspapers and clubs. In the United States, the Little Italies were founded, and in many places still exist today. But in Latin America, the linguistic affinity immediately influenced the Italian national and local identity.
Today the immigrant descendants retain only the original place name, but the surnames have often been modified. Professor Ignazio Baldelli in a television documentary demonstrated that the first immigrant spoke in dialect, his

sons understood Italian, but used the language of their new country, and the grandchildren spoke only the language of the new location.[1]

The fall of empires and the fragmentation of supranational states

The 19th and 20th centuries empires and supranational states had grown by incorporating different people, forcing the various ethnic groups to conform to the prevailing power and to change their place names. Once the empires and supranational states disappeared, the various homelands re-emerged and often in the past gave rise to conflict between them. I can talk about the territories passed from the government of the Hapsburg Empire to the Italian Republic, which however are now completely pacified, even if many places have a double name, corresponding to the two communities. The different linguistic origin has remained in the proper and family names, but many descendants of the communities belonging to the Hapsburg Empire feel Italian and compete as Italians in sports events.

The collapse of post-Tito Yugoslavia, on the other hand, led to the formation of autonomous states formed after armed conflicts. But this Balkan region now appears to have been pacified. The remarkable mobility of people, particularly in the present times, has created a remixing of customs, languages and dialects, so much so that it is now more difficult to identify recognizable social groups. Particularly the large cities have become amalgams of different cultures and subcultures.

Touristic pressure

On the one hand, thanks to tourism, the places and their names can be internationally known, however, often too many visitors do not appreciate the history of the place names or the present significance of the names.

Conclusions

Does the identity of place names depend on a correspondence between a community and the name of the place to which it belongs? I would proceed in a reverse reasoning to the one we usually follow. It is generally thought that the place is an expression of a community. In reality, the place name may be independent of the community. The name might be imposed by a political authority, or by an eponymous founder, or finally it could be handed down by a tradition often

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[1] I could not find the remembered Baldelli's TV show. However Baldelli remembers: "Almeno per molti decenni il disinteresse dello stato italiano per gli emigrati veniva drammaticamente a collimare con l'azione snazionalizzatrice dei paesi ospitanti […] anche il presidente Franklin Delano Roosevelt avrebbe potuto ben sottoscrivere quanto mezzo secolo prima aveva affermato il presidente Theodore Roosevelt: Non c'è posto in questo paese per chi non si comporta e non vota soltanto come america-no" ("At least for many decades, the disinterest of the Italian state for emigrants came dramatically in line with the denationalizing action of the host countries [...] even President Franklin Delano Roosevelt could well have subscribed to what President Theodore Roosevelt had said half a century earlier: There is no place in this country for those who do not behave and vote only as an American" (Baldelli I., 1987, p. 34).

foreign to the community. But the feeling that binds a community to its place name is more important. Such a feeling can be shared by inhabitants of different origins, traditions, languages, diets, religions, etc. The place has, as the Latin tradition reminds us with the *genius loci*, a significant intangible force, which unites different people who unconsciously appropriate a culture sometimes created by a common way of living. The expression *civis romanus sum* pronounced by Cicero (*in Verrem*, 2.5.158) is a symbol, a recognized licence, for all those who participate in a common social life.

The UNESCO network of creative cities promotes cooperation between remarkable cities that recognize creativity as a major factor in their development, by reason of cultural, artistic or scientific endeavours. The names of Rome, Paris, Vienna, Antwerp, London, Berlin, New York have the right to be mentioned for their intangible heritage, although the cities are inhabited by different communities, which however have a common destiny and a shared purpose. It is memorable the expression *Ich bin ein Berliner* by J.F. Kennedy in West Berlin in June 1963. Even in the case of a city with a double or triple name, its inhabitants sooner or later, in subsequent generations, tend to consider themselves as part of a single community. As it happens for many famous people with names in other than the local language, who participate under the banner of the rest of people.

In conclusion I believe that no community invents the name of a place, but the name represents different communities. Under the name of Rome, for example, different communities are unified and consider themselves as Roman. Even the Roman Jews have the common feeling of being Roman.

Giosuè Carducci, in the poem titled *L'anniversario della Fondazione di Roma* argues, "e tutto che al mondo è civile, grande, augusto, egli è romano ancora" [and everything in the world that is civil, great, august, is still Roman]. My teacher used to repeat that the immigrants who arrive in Rome, are Romanized, as they assume the common behaviour of the local inhabitants. The statement applies to all cities in the world.

The meaning of a place's intangible heritage is then graduated and estimated by external and international consensus. There are international organizations, for example UNESCO, which compile catalogues of relevant places on the basis of responses to questionnaires. Respondents are selected based on scientific criteria.

The best results raise the awareness of communities that are heirs of a high-value cultural tradition.

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State of the art in the IGMI and Veneto Region joint toponymic database project

U. Trivelloni*, D. Brentan*, A. Semenzato*, A. Amoroso*

Abstract

The Veneto Region and the Italian Geographic Military Institute (IGMI) are integrating and harmonizing their databases of geographical names. The project is based on the INSPIRE Directive and the UN recommendations regarding the standardization of geographical names and human rights, the latter specifically concerning the indication of the names of the places where people live.

The project is developed using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software and tools, in order to obtain the finest result from these datasets, since information and knowledge on geographical names are becoming the most used keys for accessing particularly complex databases.

The data used in the project come from the archives of various organizations, such as the official Map of Italy, the Veneto Region Base Map, and topographical databases and archives from local authorities. Furthermore, after the standardization and merge of these datasets, the toponymic database is now shared with all the Veneto Region municipalities for a complete integration.

Keywords: toponymy, geographical names, GIS, data integration, Italian Geographic Military Institute (IGMI), Veneto Region.

The operational aspects of the project

As announced at the 2nd International Scientific Symposium of UNGEGN-RHD (Venice, 2018), the Italian Geographic Military Institute (IGMI) and the Veneto Region are developing a project for integrating and harmonizing their databases of geographical names (Alberti F., and others, 2019). The project is based on the Directive 2007/2/EC of the European Parliament and the Council of 14th March 2007 (INSPIRE), as well as the UN initiatives, concerning the standardization of geographical names , the cultural heritage (Cantile, 2016) and human rights, with regard to the indication of the names of the places where people live , and the national and international toponymic rules (Arca, 2004; Cantile 2004; Cantile (ed.), 2004).

The data used in the project originate from different archives of various organizations: the official Map of Italy, the Veneto Region technical map, and topographical databases and archives from local authorities. The project includes the integrated management of the regional toponymy coming from multiple databases, at different levels (State-Region-Local Authorities), and the

* Veneto Region (Italia).

* * Engineering Ingegneria Informatica S.p.A. (Italia).

developmentof a uniform and structured database, which can be used in various search engines of the regional geographical information.

The project is organized according to the following phases:
1) recovery of the toponymy databases of IGMI and the Veneto Region;
2) validation of database contents and harmonization of different sources;
3) distribution of the harmonized datasets for each municipality;
4) testing of the methodology with some local authorities, in a GIS environment;
5) sharing of data (through WebGIS services) to all municipalities for local validation and integration;
6) formal definition of the integrated database, comprising regional and national toponymy;
7) integration with data from multilingual and historical toponyms.

Interpretation and comparison between the different datasets

The main data sources used in the project are the following:
- The IGMI toponymy database, which consists of non-geographical text files in table format (Excel), containing a total of 50,519 records. In some cases, there were duplicate records that IGMI technicians have progressively reduced to single instances in the final version of the shared database, in order to associate a unique identifier to each toponym.
- The regional database, which consists of a Shapefile (standard geographical format) including all the cartographic features obtained from various Regional Digital Base Maps products, built over the decades, along with data from Geotopographics Database (GeoDB) or other regional databases; this file consists of 1,520,020 records.

The preliminary processing of the toponymy database provided by IGMI was carried out using simple procedures, producing a Shapefile that associates each toponym to an accurate geolocation (point geometry). On the other hand, data from the Veneto Region database required a complex procedure, developed in different steps. These steps were carried out within a GIS environment and are based on analytical and experimental observations, with the aim of automating the process as much as possible. In summary, we tried to obtain a dataset already suitable for comparison and integration with that of IGMI, leaving only the issues related to local values open. Such issues include, for example, the presence of different toponyms in the two databases, or the coexistence of dialectal and italianized names, especially in some mountain areas. Once this procedure is completed, we obtained a file containing 175,457 place names, all referring to the categories of toponyms of interest for the project, therefore consistent with the types included in the IGMI dataset.

At this point, we performed a comparison between the two different datasets. This phase was carried out separately and specifically for each municipality, with the use of expert operators, generating a unique dataset to be submitted for integration. The quality level of the derived database was greatly increased by this working group, a pool of experts both in GIS Science and in Veneto geography,

through interpretation of all geographical names in the different areas of interest. After comparing different interpretations, we obtained a harmonized database, removing duplicate names (see table below) and reducing evident bias. As a result, the output dataset includes only the significant toponyms.

Province	IGMI toponyms	Veneto Region toponyms	Harmonized toponyms
Belluno	9,327	48,031	28,075
Padova	6,097	15,194	10,921
Rovigo	4,312	12,029	7,698
Treviso	7,485	29,099	17,907
Venezia	5,679	15,618	10,224
Verona	8,618	31,468	19,623
Vicenza	9,001	24,018	16,160
Total	**50,519**	**175,457**	**110,608**

Table 1. Geographical names in the Veneto Region provinces.

We tested the harmonized database before sharing it with the local municipalities. Firstly, we engaged some colleagues, who checked the quality of the information: they confirmed that the database demonstrates a better quality with respect to all other data sources used in the past, and with respect to commercial data coming from the big players, as well. Furthermore, we tried to compare the database with other layers of local geographic information (such as local registry and cadastral data, airborne imagery), and we observed the value of toponymic information also in this context.

Sharing with municipalities

At this point, data are ready for validation and integration by all municipalities. We shared the database through the WebGIS editing tools of the Veneto Region Spatial Data Infrastructure [Infrastruttura Dati Territoriali – IDT-RV 2.0]. Initially, before sharing the database with all 563 municipalities of our Region, we tested the procedure with only three of them: Schio, Treviso and Vicenza. The technicians from these local offices have given us many important suggestions for improving the methodology for online implementation. For example, in the municipality of Vicenza, the 318 toponyms input were validated into 287 geographical names, with the elimination of 33 toponyms (double or wrong) and the addition of 3 toponyms.

Through this experience, we have also created a user manual and a video tutorial, both freely available and downloadable, which are helping our local administrations in the online editing process for the toponymic database. Furthermore, a specific communication was sent to all the municipalities, explaining the project and

providing the WebGIS tools and address, along with contact information of our office, so that each colleague can have full support during the process. We are also organizing information and dissemination events, such as webinars, newsletters, conferences, and others.

The database is now increasing with validated and integrated data by all municipalities. We are performing overall checks and examinations on the edited datasets, in order to find errors or highlight delicate situations while choosing the correct names in the database.

The new official database of geographical names will be published by the end of June 2022, making this important resource available for further studies of historical and geographical relevance, geography, and local languages.

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In the footsteps of Cesare Battisti:
an approach for collection and analysis of toponyms using historical maps and HGIS in Trentino, Italy (19th-21st centuries)

Elena Dai Prà*, Nicola Gabellieri*, Nicola Scanu*

Abstract

The paper deals with a project that aims to recover, safeguard and analyze current and past place names of the province of Trento, in northern Italy, by using historical maps and GIS software.

The final result is a historical GIS of place names that could be interrogated for geohistorical research and shared with local institutions and the public. Such a currently ongoing project is being carried out by the Centro Geo-Cartografico di Studio e Documentazione, GeCo of the University of Trento.

First, we will present the sources used for the purposes of the project, the developed methodology, and the dataset structure.

Second, we will explain how the geodatabase has been interrogated for place names research using keywords related to past rural activities. Such queries have been carried out by using local dialect lemmas identified by geographer Cesare Battisti (1875-1916). In this sense, the paper explores the possibility to bridge past etymological research with new technologies for the analysis of place names and to support interdisciplinary research.

Keywords: place names, historical GIS, historical cartography, Trentino, Alpine areas, Cesare Battisti.

Introduction

The essay presents an ongoing research project that aims to bridge historical geography research and GIS technologies for the development of a method for the collection and synchronic and diachronic analysis of place names, which has been applied to the territory of the province of Trento in Italy (Figure 1)[1].

Margaret Gelling's successful interpretation of place names as signposts to the past (Gelling, 1978) is considered a starting point for historical geography research that uses toponyms as a special kind of source to investigate rural productions, social practices, cultural structures and physical features of

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* University of Trento (Italia).

[1] The paper has been planned by all the authors together; however, for Italian evaluation purposes, E. Dai Prà takes responsibility for sections 1 and 6, N. Gabellieri takes responsibility for sections 4 and 5, N. Scanu for sections 2 and 3.

landscapes. However, geographical research had already acknowledged and explored the potentialities of place names for providing information from the past and a number of researchers had already highlighted their heuristic value long before the 1970s (Cantile, 2016).

In such direction, at the turn of the 20th century, Cesare Battisti (1875-1916), one of the most prominent geographers in the Trentino region and in Italy, had a pioneering role (Conti, 2018; 2019). Born in Trento, which, at the time, was part of the Habsburg Empire, Battisti was mainly interested in the geographical and historical-geographical characterization and study of Trentino (Dai Prà, Gabellieri, 2021). Following the path of scholars such as Graziadio Isaia Ascoli (1829-1907) and Bartolomeo Malfatti (1828-1892), he published several papers on local dialect place names, aimed both at identifying the Latin and German linguistic roots in Alpine border areas and at using place names as geographical sources:

> *"se gli studi di toponomastica ci possono far risalire all'istoria antica e alla preistoria degli abitatori di una regione, la nomenclatura dei fenomeni geografici può farci conoscere lo sviluppo intellettuale e morale di questi primi abitatori […] I nomi speciali che si hanno per le suddivisioni dei villaggi, possono rivelare gli antichi ordinamenti dei comuni; le voci indicanti le miniere, le strade, gli argini […] possono offrirci un'idea delle condizioni agricole in cui si trovò nel passato un popolo" (Battisti, 1899, p. 358).*

As a matter of fact, Battisti's studies highlighted the importance of the knowledge of local dialects for a full understanding of local place names as informative tools: "La conoscenza dei termini dialettali è elemento necessario alla conoscenza e alla ricerca del fenomeno stesso […] può servire da guida, a rintracciare la genesi del fenomeno" (Battisti, 1899, p. 290).

For these reasons, he collected several lists of local place names, organizing a dataset with information related to the meaning, etymology, localization and pronunciation of Trentino toponyms. Such a dataset, unfortunately incomplete, is composed of hundreds of sheets and is a valuable basis for the identification of lemmas related to rural activities, morphological features or socio-environmental elements (C. Battisti Historical Archive, Fondazione Museo Storico del Trentino, Trento Folder CB 31 – Sheets of Place Names).

Cesare Battisti and other scholars from Trentino inaugurated a long tradition of local research that culminated in the project for a Trentino toponymic dictionary established by the province of Trento in the 1980s, which is still a work in progress (Pellegrini, 1991).

Indeed, the province of Trento, located in northern Italy, is a valuable case study for two reasons: first, it has a long tradition of place names studies by local or national scholars, which can support the research; second, it allows participation in the international debate on the transformation of place names in Alpine areas due to changes in population and economies during the 20th century. In fact, rural exodus from the mountains, migrations and urban development in the valley floors resulted in different ways in which communities perceive and name given territorial contexts (Mathieu, 2019).

Figure 1. The area currently involved in the research, the eastern valleys of the province of Trento (Italia)..

Sources and methods

Recently, many projects have been launched for the collection and digitization of historical toponymy, using GIS software applied to past cartographic sources, and for its comparative and diachronic analysis with current place names. Historical GIS has been fruitfully used for the georeferencing of historical maps and the collection of data on place names, as well as for the development, management and analysis of a historical data geodatabase (Grava et al., 2013; Grava et al., 2020; Dai Prà, Gabellieri, Peretti 2020, Dai Prà, Gabellieri, Scanu, 2022).

In such direction, methods and sources that had already been consolidated in toponymic studies in some areas of Italy have been further developed, in order fruitfully to apply them to the selected case study.

In the wake of some projects already experienced in other Italian regions, cartographic sources have been digitized and georeferenced; place names have been geolocalized and transcribed in a geodatabase.

In order to identify a standard method for the entire territory used for the case study, we selected some historical geodetic maps representing the territory of the province of Trento (Figure 2):

- The current Provincial Technical Map [*Carta Tecnica Provinciale*, CTP] from the Toponymy Database of the Autonomous province of Trento, in shapefile format (1:10,000, 2019) (http://www.territorio.provincia.tn.it/portal/server.pt/community/portale-geocartografico-trentino/254 [last accessed 05/10/2021]).
- The *Carta d'Italia* sheets produced by the Italian Geographic Military Institute (1:25,000, 1910-1931).
- The maps of the Austrian Cadastre (1:2,880, 1853-1861).
- The sheets of the *Karte der Grafschaft Tirol, aufgenommen unter der Direktion des obersten Peter von Lutz* […] produced by the Habsburg Army (1:28,000, 1801-1805).

While all the maps cover the whole territory of Trentino, they are from different sources, produced for different purposes, by different actors, at different scales (Dai Prà, 2013; Dai Prà, Gabellieri, Peretti, 2019). All of them have been digitized and geo-referenced.

The second step was the development of the dataset fields needed to record the place names with their geolocalization and related information. Registered information for each source included the transcription of the toponyms; whether the place names refer to linear elements, such as a river, to point elements, such as a building, or to areal elements, such as a valley; whether the historical place name has changed or disappeared in current cartography.

This information allows us to build a "biography" of each toponym, thanks to the data collected from each source.

Each place name has been digitized as a point in a vector shapefile, and related information has been transcribed into the dataset. At the moment, the research covers half of the territory of the province (Figure 1). The result is a geodatabase of around 18,000 elements. Around half of them are still present in the current Provincial Map, while the other half disappeared over time and have been recovered from historical maps.

In total, of the 22,298 recovered records, 9,632 (1,517 from the *Karte der Grafschaft Tirol,* 6,257 from the Austrian Land Registry and 1,858 from the IGMI map) are not present, not even in a modified form, in the current CTP. Accordingly, the collection of toponymic data from historical cartography represents an operation of recovery of the names of disappeared places which allows doubling the corpus available in the dataset of the CTP.
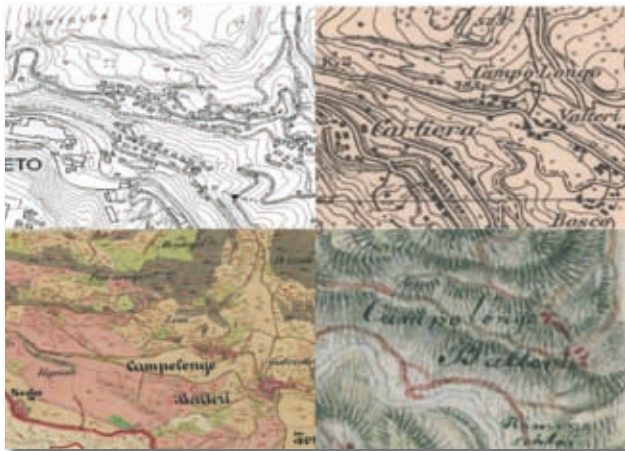
Figure 2. The sources of the research: the CTP of 2017 (1:10,000), the Carta d'Italia by IGMI of 1910-31 (1:25.000), the Habsburg Cadastre of 1853-1861 (1:2,880) and the Karte […] von Lutz of 1801-1805 (1:28,000) (Dai Prà, Gabellieri, Peretti, 2019, p. 333).

Discussion: in the footsteps of Cesare Battisti

The collected corpus has been analyzed based on Battisti's interpretations of local dialects and place names. By using Battisti's categories and lemmas, the dataset has been interrogated with digital queries containing key terms, in order to evaluate the changes in morphological or environmental features, rural-manufacturing practices and political-cultural social elements from a spatial and diachronic point of view. Some main clues of discussion have emerged: changes in rural practices and production in Alpine valleys and mountains; problems

related to the transcription of place names, to the choices and the persistence of toponyms historically due to the position of Trentino as *limes* between the Italian and German cultures; the possibility to identify rural cultural and environmental material heritage using place names.

Hence, specific queries have been carried out within the geodatabase, using the past local dialect lemmas identified by Battisti, in order to support studies by different research groups at the University of Trento.

Dialectal terms related to cattle and sheep breeding

For centuries, bovine and ovine breeding have been one of the cornerstones of Alpine economies and societies. Furthermore, the "alpeggio" practice, i.e. the seasonal moving of cows and sheep from valley floor pastures to mountain grasslands, has been an important territorial process, able to shape settlement forms, path distribution, land use and coverage, as well as place names (Salvador, Avanzini, 2014).

According to Battisti, in Trentino several local terms refer to breeding and *alpeggio*, and to different kinds of activities or artefacts, such as "barco", which means "malga piccola" [small mountain hut] (Battisti, 1904, p. 566), or "campivol", referring to a "piazzale prativo, piano o poco inclinato, recinto da siepi, che si trova in vicinanza dei casolari delle malghe e che serve a tenere unite le mandrie durante il tempo che non vanno al pascolo" (Battisti, 1899, p. 330).

Local Term	Meaning	Number of records	No. of disappeared records	No. of transformed records	No. of unaltered records
Barc*	Small house for the shepherd	44	33	2	9
Brenz*	Drinking trough for animals	11	3	2	6
Campiv*	Place near the *malga* where the cows usually rest	40	28	9	3
Caser*	Mountain building for cheese production	42	14	9	19
Fedai*	Sheep stables in the valley floor	11	5	1	5
Omenét	Pail of stones used as a marker	0	-	-	-
Pendana	Small house for the shepherd	0	-	-	-

Table 1. Research results in the toponymic database of dialect place names.
The asterisk indicates the search for the various declensions by gender or plural of the terms.
related to breeding identified by Cesare Battisti.

Table 1 shows the results of the queries; these place names are related to active and flourishing practices at the time of the creation of the military maps and the cadastre. However, only some of Battisti's words have been registered in the cartographic sources. Each local term has a different percentage in persistence, transformation or oblivion: while the toponyms "casera" or "brenz" remain mainly unaltered, most of the "barco" and "campivo" place names appear to have disappeared over time.

Figure 3 shows the distribution of selected place names related to the breeding of sheep and cows. Such results are interesting because they confirm those of Battisti's research. According to him, the word "fedaia", or "sito dove si trovano le stalle delle pecore e le capanne dei pescatori" (Battisti, 1899, p. 300) is mainly used in Val di Fassa, while the word "brenz" "brènz", or "vasca artificiale di media grandezza per raccogliervi l'acqua vicino alle sorgenti" (Battisti, 1899, 300) is mainly used in Val di Fiemme, and "barco" or "malga piccola" is mainly used in Valsugana (Battisti 1904, p. 556). The output of the queries in the database corroborate the research output of the 19th century geographer.
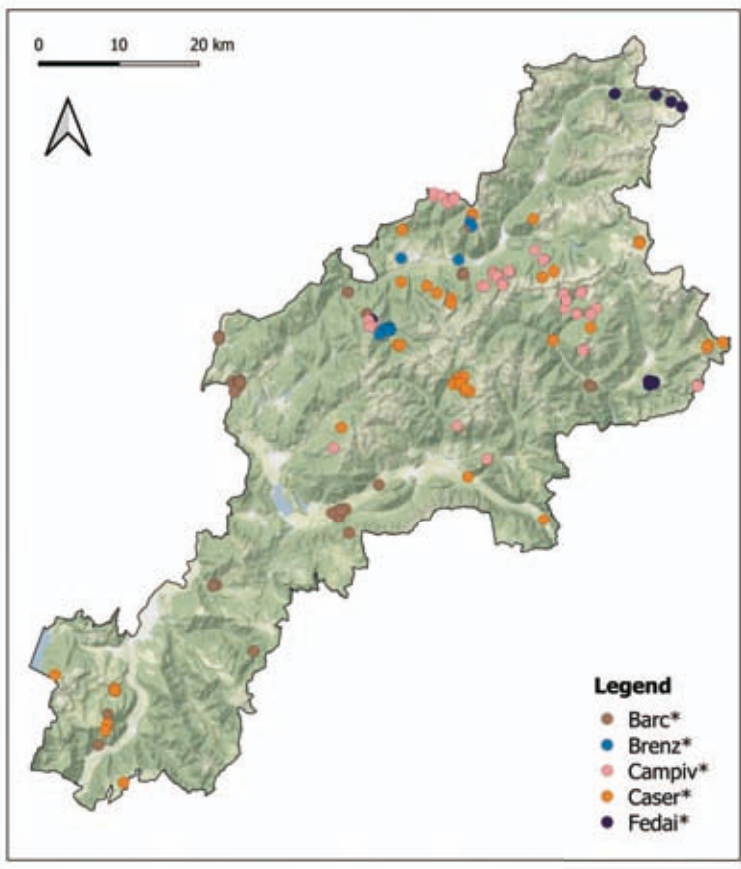
Figure 3. Distribution of place names related to local dialect
terms referring to animal breeding according to Battisti.

Dialectal terms related to commons

Over the last years, commons and common lands have become one of the most attractive and dynamic international frontiers of research, also combining geohistorical approaches to the problem of current management (Short, Winter, 1999; Brown, 2006). In such direction, the Trentino region is a prominent case study at the European level, because of its long history of common pastures and woodland management and the importance of common properties still in use today (Nequirito, 2010). However, despite the wide number of studies devoted to property and possession structures of the past, the problem of locating historical commons at a regional level is still open.

In this respect, local dialect terms referring to rural practices related to common lands and common woodlands could be an interesting source for acknowledging the location of such areas in the past. In Battisti's essays, two words have been identified: "pezze" and "sorte", which mean common grasslands, or "singoli appezzamenti di prato di proprietà collettiva che annualmente vengono distribuiti a sorte fra i comunisti" (Battisti, 1904, p. 565), in Val di Fiemme and in Val d'Adige respectively.

Such keywords have been searched in the database. The results are presented in Table 2 and Figures 4 and 5.

Local term	No. of total records	No. of records disappeared	No. of records transformed	No. of unaltered records
Pez*	99	77	8	14
Sort*	37	27	2	8

Table 2 - Research results in the toponymic database of dialect place names
related to common grasslands identified by Cesare Battisti.

As shown by the results, the term "pezze" is more widespread than the word "sorte". Both of them, however, have a very low rate of persistence over time, and appear to have largely disappeared.

Interestingly, in this case, the distribution of place names does not reflect Battisti's indications. "Pezze" as a toponym has a homogeneous spread, concentrated especially on the Pasubio, in the Primiero, Fassa and Cembra valleys, and not limited to the Fiemme valley as reported by Battisti. Indeed, place names related to "sorte" are mainly clustered in Fiemme, Cembra and Pasubio, often intermixed with the others, and not in the Adige Valley as claimed by Battisti (Figure 4).

Figure 5 shows the results of the comparison between place names registered in the current CTP and those present in the Habsburg Cadastre. Very few toponyms related to common grasslands have remained unaltered or slightly transformed; they are mainly located in the Fiemme and Cembra valleys, on the Pasubio and in the Lagorai mountain range, or in places where common management is still in use. Memory of such practices and unchanged place names has been preserved only in some defined areas.
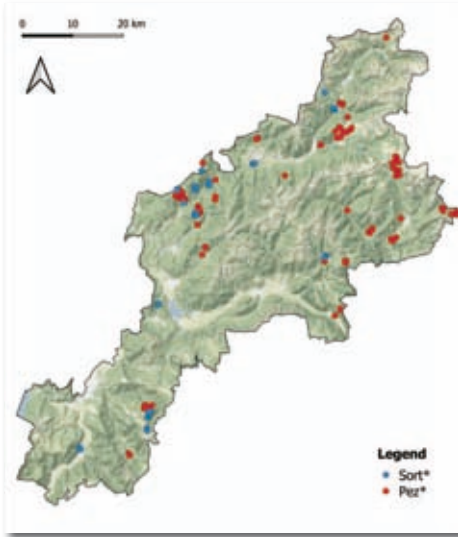
Figure 4. Distribution of place names related to local dialect terms referring to common lands according to Battisti.
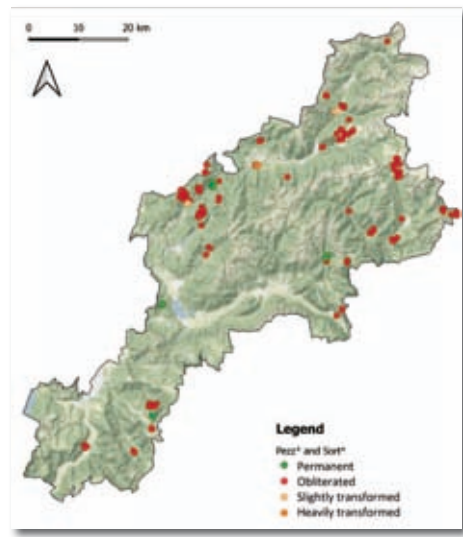
Figure 5. Results of the comparison between place names referring to common grasslands in the 19th century Habsburg Cadastre and those in the current Carta Tecnica Provinciale.

Final remarks and perspectives

The paper presents an ongoing project for the collection and analysis of Trentino toponymy; the final product, a geo-database, is proposed as an integrated digital source, able to constitute a knowledge base for anyone who works in the study of toponymy (Dai Prà, Gabellieri, Scanu, 2022). As a product of centuries-old operations associated with the use and organization of geographical space (Cantile, 2016), names of places, read with a critical and comparative approach, constitute a historical source and a cultural heritage. Comparing different cartographic thresholds allows us to reconstruct a "stratigraphy" of territorial toponymy, and a "biography" of each place name.

Furthermore, the need for etymological knowledge of dialectal place names for in-depth research using local terms for the identification and mapping of rural practices and artefacts, such as those related to seasonal bovine and ovine breeding or to common land management, has been claimed. Along this line, the bridging between research on local geographical terms, such as those identified by Battisti, and big data analysis allowed by historical GIS technologies has been proposed.

In conclusion, the established database allows one to visualize and assess the changes in the distribution of toponyms from various historical sources, and to carry out a qualitative-quantitative analysis (Gabellieri, Grava, 2016; Dai Prà, Gabellieri, Peretti, 2019). Furthermore, the collection of historical toponymic information connoted by the spatial-temporal location of the event could

produce an auxiliary information framework to be used to enrich the database of the Trentino Toponymic Dictionary, a project carried out by the province of Trento that allows collection of more than 200,000 historical local place names mainly from oral sources, which has not yet involved historical maps (Cordin, Flöss, Gatti, 2011).

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"A passi andanti" along the River Po: on the significance of cartographic and toponymic heritage (17th-19th centuries)

Lucia Masotti *

Abstract

The intermingling of land and water generates opportunities and challenges to the physical and symbolic action of societies, giving rise to frontier landscapes, whose traces at times remain in given names. In fluvial areas, resources, risks and changeability shape the interaction between community, environment and territory, and are indeed set into the culture of places.

This paper presents considerations resulting from a systematic campaign to search the archives in the mid-Po area for their cartographic heritage, now being formalized in HGIS. Evidence will be given of toponyms lingering over time and bearing witness of past territorial layouts, and their development and related reasons will be contextualized.

Keywords: *Toponymy, cultural geography, historical cartography, intangible cultural heritage, landscape, HGIS.*

"*A passi andanti*" [at unbroken pace] is a unit of measurement that, as per evidence found in the cartography corpus, was still used in the late 19th century when the metric system had already been adopted by the official cartography, but was not always in surveyors' operational procedures. Considered somewhat as a metaphor, "*a passi andanti*" hints at the slow pace of daily life, as well as the space ballet – those preconscious movements that mark the reciprocal influence between people, communities and places, and create their respective identities (Seamon, 1979 and 2018).

Going at an unbroken pace through documentary and cartographic texts, as well as through the territories depicted in them, the phenomena can emerge and be assessed in their permanence over time and *present influence*. In this scope, the toponomastic analysis of large-scale maps contributes to the observation of the onset and development of the relationship between a community and its environment.

Conception, transience or permanence, duplication and specification of given names that elsewhere are not found or are not as significant can transmit memory of the reflection of symbolic and power relationships and the continuous regeneration of the identity of places. Thanks also to these processes, landscapes convey and transform the identity of places, to the present time.

* University of Verona (Italia).

The research and its implications

This paper presents some considerations about some name-giving processes found within a systematic investigation in the cartography of the fluvial regions along the Po's middle course, which was mainly carried out at the Parma State Archive (hereinafter ASPR) within the "*Geohistorical sources for mitigation of environmental risk*" Research Project of National Relevance – PRIN (2015, PI Claudio Cerreti). The first outcomes of the research were encouraging, as 553 maps were found. The source management system has been set up and structured with a georeferenced database, in which the digitized maps and the document sets they were part of will be entered. This database is the result of a theoretical-epistemological in-depth study aimed at defining an implementation and interrogation system able to harmonize the needs of various types of users that may be interested in the sources thus made available. The main concerns can be summarized as follows: the rigour underlying archival science; the reasons for geographical interpretation of cartographic documents of the past; practices in the history field; an interface addressing users that are not familiar with reading documents from the past – territory professionals, geologists, engineers and so on – but are more and more interested in the data that can be obtained to meet present needs (Masotti, 2021).

Quite some room has been given to epistemological considerations aimed at designing a language and a method for inter and transdisciplinary development, as well as to ontological considerations regarding the structuring of metadata[1].

Although the main focus of the research was, right from the project design, on in-depth assessment of considerations, methods and tools for decision-supporting systems (DSS), interest in the cultural and identity-related aspects of societies and territories was upheld, for scientific reasons and, especially, for personal training and personal methodological practice in research.

Furthermore, the first on-site verifications were carried out, in preparation for another type of research and action, projects conceived to support local identities and the development of culturally aware outdoor recreation activities.

The territory through time

The study area lies along the main course of the Po River, the largest Italian river, at the confluence of two right-bank tributaries, Parma and Enza, which have their sources in the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines (Figure 1). This area featured strong instability in the middle and modern ages, when changes in the course of rivers and channels were quite frequent (Minardi, 1995). Before the river regulation implemented in the last century, those changes had strong impacts on the territorial arrangement. Contributing causes were the Po River meandering towards the north and the tendency of the tributary mouths to double, a feature of the right-bank tributaries of the Po but strongly opposed in this area because of the border between

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[1] For an overview of the scope of geographical reflection, please, see at least, among recent papers: Maggioli 2011; Morri 2018; Varotto 2019.

the Duchies of Parma and Modena, as well as the Rocca di Brescello (Masotti, 2021, pp. 34-39). In that environmental scenario, the defence of territories, activities and borders from waters has always been one of the main concerns of local authorities and the people (Minardi, 1995). Today the same territories are still identified by the competent authorities as housing critical hydraulic junctions[2]. Nonetheless, the environmental risk in the very nature of this river region has been no deterrent to territorial development: not only has this area been settled since antiquity (Dall'Aglio, 2009; Catarsi, 2009) but it was constantly contended as a frontier where many borders stood[3]. It is a hydro-social territory in which areas for cooperation between research and territorial institutions are currently open within the third university mission (Masotti 2017).

The instability between land and water is the focus of the reported analysis, which is based on documentary and iconographic sources regarding the 16th to 20th centuries. Attention is called to a territory – now part of the Sorbolo-Mezzani municipality (Parma) – which owes its existence to the determined intention of the riverside communities to retain and consolidate the sediments that the Po and its tributaries alternatively deposited and eroded.

Figure 1. CTR – Carta Topografica Regionale, Emilia Romagna, 2020, elements no. 182NE; 182SE; 182SO; 182NO, detail of the research area.

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[2] https://www.adbpo.it/PAI/1%20-%20Relazione%20generale/1.3%20-%20All.1-%20Analisi%20 dei%20principali%20punti%20critici/Volume2/01_Relazione.PDF (last accessed on November 30 2021).

[3] Among the many depictions of the 18th century military disputes in this area, interesting may be the ones collected in ASPR, Ufficio dei confini, 190/3, AA. vol.3 fz.I "Disegni ed Abbozzi pei Confini del Parmigiano in Bocca d'Enza, ed alla Linea delle Pioppe" (sec.17th-18th).

Mezzano/Mezzani: a toponym as pervasive as significant

The very first look at the cartographic corpus is enough to see the knowledge potential of name-giving processes linked to the unstable formations – due to floods and/or erosion – of the lands bordering the river: the conflicts, implicit narrations, permanence or transiency factors, repetitions in the toponomastic set of the area and, lastly, the identity potential.

First, it can be seen that natural factors, such as the various forms of waters and lands are reflected and refracted in naming processes. They reoccur in maps both as ways to name natural phenomena and as official or semi-official toponyms, especially where the river deposits and islands would become exploitable, and therefore taxable, resources.

Islands, *ballottín* [small body of land], gravel or sand deposits: every kind of deposit was systematically put on record on large-scale maps, but single toponomastic micro-elements might disappear in following depictions, although appearing again in maps drawn by others or for other purposes or, lastly, be transmitted through centuries with no reason that can today be immediately understood, even by the resident community, almost as if inertially copied.

Some terms remained borderline between descriptive naming and fully-fledged toponyms, given on the maps and referred to in documents, but were not permanent enough to endure the passing centuries, once the reason for their creation no longer existed.

Just a few of the occurrences recorded over the centuries became official toponyms that had crystallized and remained over time to designate localities. "Mezzano" is one of the many toponyms associated with the evolution in the relationship between communities and river regions. The term was coined to indicate islands in the middle of the Po (Ricci, 2009, p. 92 and note 13; Olivieri, 1961, pp. 343-344). The formation of islands large enough to house hamlets/villages (*ville*) is reported as recurring up to the 18th century, in case of heavy rain for long periods and the subsequent floods.

The chroniclers working between the 18th and the 19th centuries cited these weather conditions as the cause of the formation of the largest islands in this section of the Po, which today are all lands on its right bank (I. Affò, 1792, p. 93; L. Molossi, 1832-33, p. 211), although their stable existence dates back four centuries.

The toponym became stable at least in the 9th century, a time in which it rose to the status of official name of the Mezzano del Vescovo fief. In its etymological meaning this term is still recognized by the residents. It repeats in the study areas, as well as in other provinces along the Po, also in the form of Mezzanino [small Mezzano].

An assertion made by chronicler Alberto Rondani in 1904 helps to define the time and possible causes of the decline of this toponomastic choice: "However the Po islands form, the name Mezzani, which has remained for some *ville*, has not been given to any other for a long time now". In the maps consulted, it had been established both as a geographical indicator and as an official toponym. In 146 maps out of the 533 entered in the database, 152 occurrences have been found and put on record (Table 1).

MEZZANO	Toponym variants	The most ancient	The most recent	Napoleonic/ Austrian Cadastre	IGMI first edition	Number of occurences
Variant 1 The best established	Mezzano	[16th cent.][2]	1855[3]	1808[4]	1881[5]	78
Variant 2	Mezano	1515[6]	1760[7]			51
Variant 3	Mezzani	[18th cent.][8]	1849[9]		1888[10]	10
Variant 4	Mezani	[18th cent.][11]	post 1761[12]			3
Variant 5	Mezan	[17th cent.][13]				2
Variant 6	Menzzano	[1550-1650][14]				1
Variant 7	Mezzanno	1753[15]				1
Variant 8	Mezanno	[17th cent.][16]				1
Variant 9	Menza	[1550-1650][17]				1
Variant 10	Mizano	[17th cent.][18]				1
Variant 11	Mizzano	[17th cent.][19]				1
Variant 12	Almezzano	[17th cent.][20]				1
Variant 13	Almezano	[18th cent.][21]				1
Variant 14	Megiano	1615[22]				1
Total occurences						152

Table 1. Occurrences of the variants of the Mezzani toponym on the maps found in the document corpus *and entered in the database.[1]*

[1] For the sake of briefness, in the table notes the maps have been referred to with their entry code in the DB, containing the acronym of the archival fonds from which the single maps come.
[2] Anonymous, 16th century, ID_UC0044.
[3] Mantovani, February 1, 1855, ID_AS0010.
[4] Blosse, 1808, ID_CCI0002.
[5] IGMI, *Topographic map of Italy at scale 1:25,000*, sheet no. 73 I. N.E., Casalmaggiore, 1881.
[6] Anonymous, post October 15, 1515, ID_UC0136.
[7] Giovan Battista Osio (attr.), February 10, 1760, ID_UC0146.
[8] Anonymous, 18th century, ID_MD0021.
[9] Vincenzo Casa, March 28, 1849, ID_AS0036.
[10] IGMI, *Topographic map of Italy at scale 1:25,000*, sheet no.74 IV. S.O., Brescello, 1888.
[11] Anonymous, 18th century, ID_MD0045.
[12] Anonymous, post 1761, ID_UC0010.
[13] Anonymous, 17th century, ID_UC0140; Cristoforo Brattino, 17th century, ID_MD0014.
[14] Giovan Giacomo Mistura (attr.), 1550-1650 ca., ID_UC0039.
[15] Giuseppe Tedaldi (attr.), July 9 1753, ID_UC0061.
[16] Anonymous, 17th century, ID_MD0036.
[17] Giovan Giacomo Mistura (attributed), 1550-1650 ca., ID_UC0039
[18] Anonymous, 17th century, ID_UC0001.
[19] Anonymous, 17th century, ID_UC0070.
[20] Anonymous, 17th century, ID_UC0142.
[21] Anonymous, 18th century, ID_UC0056.
[22] Anonymous, 1615, ID_CAV0017.

Spelling variants can be found with geminated and single consonants – in accordance with local accents – and, at least in one case, in the noun-preposition blended form: "Almezzano" for "al Mezzano" ("house of Mr. D. Giulio, Rondan in Almezzano", Anonymous, n.d. 17th century, ID_UC0142). "Megiano" is a hapax in the corpus.

In observing occurrences three types of declension could be identified for this area: the given name can appear in its non-adjectival form, usually with generic indication value, Mezzano; deriving from the owners' last names (Mezzano Rondani) or from the related feoffee (Mezzano del Vescovo, i.e., of the bishop). Conversely, no evidence has been found of their determination based on the land use. The origin of the formation at the basis of name-giving may be diversified. "Mezzano" means an alluvial formation not connected to the mainland, a special case is Mezzano Rondani. The *villa* originally was in the Lombardy jurisdiction, on the Po right bank. At a time that cannot be identified, the river course separated it and then contributed to joining it to the opposite bank, in the Parma territory, where it remained, being different in terms of soil quality and climate from the adjacent lands, resulting from unsettled alluvial deposits (Rondani, 1904, p. 91). Although in terms of jurisdiction it was not an autonomous political entity but merely a property, which qualified the toponym based on the owner's family name, which stands to this day. The family name is recorded in the toponomastic documents in its different variants Rondani, Rondini and Rondeni. Three maps (Anonymous, n.d. [18th century], ID_UC0056; Anonymous, n.d., 16th century, ID_UC0134; Anonymous, n.d. 17th century, ID_UC0142) depict the location of the family house, in two cases with its vertical orthogonal projection (Figure 2).
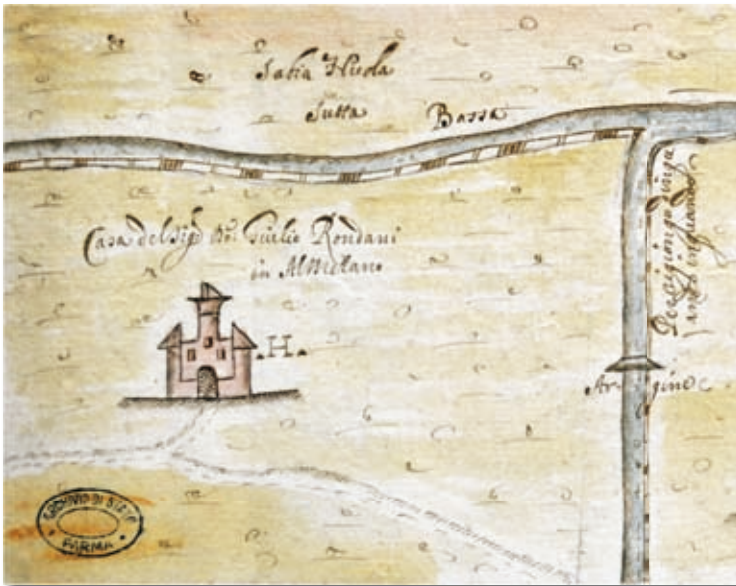
Figure 2. Detail of the orthogonal projection of the family Rondani house, in Mezzano Rondani hamlet. Anonymous, Corso del Po tra la riva cremonese e parmigiana, con relative giare, s.d. (18th century), north-up orientation, with no scale indication, ASPR, UC, 181/19, dis. 792, ID_UC0056.

Nonetheless, in 1904 the aforementioned Alberto Rondani reported that "for long now in the Po riverbed and on its banks those big changes making entire *ville* disappear and new ones spring up have not occurred" (pp. 89-90). Different, and more familiar, is the origin of the formation of the lands named Mezzano del Vescovo. In this case, the generic part of the toponym refers to the alluvial island that, having stabilized in the middle of the Po, was granted by Charles King of the Franks in 880 and became part of the possessions of the Bishop of Parma, along with the "King's Highways", [the rivers] Taro, Parma, Po and all the rivers[…], the islands, the banks of the aforementioned rivers for twelve feet from the riverbed. The concession, which marked the origin of the fief named Mezzano del Vescovo (Figure 3), was confirmed by Otto II in 973 and Henry VI in 1195 (Minardi, 1995, p. 8).

Figure 3. Detail of the Bishop's Palace and Church of Mezzano del Vescovo. Anonymous, "Disegno dil Po tra il Mezano dei Rondani, e Casalmaggiore, con Fossa Caprara", s.d. (17th century), northeast-up orientation, with no scale indication; ASPR, UC, 181/19, dis. 790, ID_UC0054.

This variant of such a pervasive toponym, as it is shown herein, in the residents' memory would also go beyond the duration of the possession in its strict meaning. Later, the Po course shifting towards the north would cause the western part of the Mezzano del Vescovo island to join the right bank of the Po. Then, the turbidite deposit below the far bank would lead to the formation of a second island. The process that would lead to the formation of the Mezzano di Sotto locality took place at a time that is not known but certainly after 1306. The *terminus post quem* is certain as it was not yet mentioned among the possessions of the Bishop of Parma. The marshlands remaining between Mezzano del Vescovo and Mezzano di Sotto were consolidated, thanks to the efforts of the riverside people in the favourable moments offered by natural events. This resulted in the creation of a territory that was subject to river meandering and, as such, was claimed, in subsequent changes in jurisdiction and borders to the advantage of the Parma domain, on the Po right bank (Minardi, 1995, pp. 10-11).

The changing mouth of the Parma and the Parmetta channel, to the south of Mezzano, contributed, in alternating phases, to splitting these lands into two or more parts. Explicit evidence is given by an undated map likely dating back to the 17th century (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Anonymous, "Disegno del Po verso Casalmaggiore, e Coltaro", s.d. (17th century), south-up orientation, with no scale indication; ASPR, UC, 157/2, dis. 658, ID_UC0140.

The depiction, which is south-up oriented, follows mimetic rather than geometric criteria and contains an interesting set of references to jurisdictions, fishing rights, rights of way, etc. Worth noting in the detail is that Mezzano del Vescovo was affected by a division due to the change in the Parma tributary course cutting it in two halves and thus taking it back to its original nature as an island (Figure 4a).

Figure 4a. Detail of the two halves divided by the Parma new course: "Mitta del mezan del Vescovo"; 'Altra Mitta del mezan del Vescovo oue fu proijbitto ali pescatori de Casalmagiore…' [Half of Mezzano del Vescovo; the other half of Mezzano del Vescovo, which is forbidden to fishermen from Casalmaggiore].

In 1763 the fief was transferred to the Parma Ducal Chamber in exchange for the Felino one. The continuous border problems affecting the state and the excessive autonomy, especially in the taxation scope, enjoyed by the inhabitants of Mezzano because of old concessions, were the factors underlying the Duchy's acquisition interests (MINARDI, 1999, pp. 21-30). The exchange was immediately recorded in the cartographic documents found so far: the toponym lost its adjectivization resulting from the jurisdiction it was under, whereas the distinction between the original town and the later formation, Mezzano di Sotto, remained. However, the "Mezzani della Real Camera di Parma" toponym appeared in its descriptive completeness only once, in 1778, so far remaining an isolated form in the *corpus* (UC0137).

Although after 1763 the *Mezzano del Vescovo* toponym cannot be found in the cartographic documents in the considered *corpus*, the memory of its belonging to the fief in the past persisted in an odonym found, in a map of 1817, which contains "strada che porta a [road that goes to] Mezzano del Vescovo" (Anonymous, *Territorio delle ville di Coenzo, Enzano e parzialmente di Sorbolo*, 1817. ASPR, PS, b. 15, fasc. X, sfasc. A, all. D).

Having lost any reference to the ancient fief, the toponym established in the two forms of Mezzano Superiore and Mezzano Inferiore, which are still used today, became references in the Napoleonic cadastre (1807). At that time, the Mezzano municipality still included the Copermio territory:

"Tableau d'assemblage du plan cadastral parcellaire de la Commune de Mezzano ou Copermio, Canton del Colorno, Arrondissement de Parme, Dep. Du Taro, terminée sur le terrain l'an 1808 par J. C. Blosse Geometre de I classe"

comprising the following sections:

"sec. A dit de Bruzza Pagliari; sec. B dit del Pugetto; sec. C dit de Bonvisi; sec. D de Bocca d'Enza; sec. E dit de Mezzano Inf.; sec. F dit de Tonella; ec. G dit de Mezzano Sup.; sec. H dit de Bernieri Sez. I dit di Malcantone"

The toponym in its plural form – Mezzani (Table 1) – began to be on record in the corpus only after 1761. Nonetheless, still in 1815, when the municipality was extended to include the countryside of the bordering town of Copermio, the municipality's name had remained in its singular form, Mezzano, – whereas the town of Copermio, no longer the municipal seat, was assigned to the municipality of Colorno (MOLOSSI, 1832-33, pp. 107-108). The toponym plural form is recorded in the oldest IGMI map (Mezzani Inferiore). With no adjectivization it would then emerge again in the 20th century designation of the municipality. This choice reflects the memory of the original conformation of this land where the lemma had in antiquity been established, in its singular form, as a historical toponym of several *ville*. In 2019, following the merger with bordering Sorbolo, the same declension was assumed in the name of the new municipality, which was named Sorbolo Mezzani.

In informal interviews, the insiders use and understand it as indicating the overall set of the various localities that have toponomastic traces of the ancient islands.

From the past and present to the future: research perspectives

Recent research activities have led to deeper understanding of the knowledge potential of toponyms over time and of their link to the specifics of the relations between communities and their environment, in order to investigate features of the communities' contemporary identities. Research methods worth mentioning were the comparison of toponym occurrences on a large number of maps and the interpretation of these documents in their original production context.

Nonetheless, it must be considered that, in the last decades, resident communities have been experiencing changes, certainly, but not only, because of foreign residents (from 3.4% in 2003 to 10.8% in 2021). The diversification of residents' work activities and lifestyles, which began with the 20th century urbanization, has recently been followed by changes due to "rurbanization" waves. The consequence is the need for research to verify the sense of belonging that may or may not be triggered in the present insiders by their relations with the river region; to consider the sense of community that may be supported by it; to understand the reasons for places, especially those once full of informal recreational settlements, such as the *golene* [floodplains], lands of frontier and freedom (Figure 5).

Figure 5. An informal building with an informal towpath, not far from the Parma River mouth (photograph by the author).

In 2019, the Po Grande UNESCO MAB site was established. Without enlarging on the potential and issues that may be expected for the territories concerned, it is worth mentioning that the approach of the authorities managing

the Po valley hydro-social territories has – to some extent – changed. They are now more sensitive to the cultural aspects – not only the management ones – that geohistorical research may offer to the present handling of river regions.

This is the background of the Research Project of National Relevance – (PRIN 2021) *Fontes. Geohistorical sources and information systems for knowledge and management of environmental and cultural risks,* which aims to widen the perspectives associated with systematic browsing of archival fonds of cartographic interest. The project is extending to the creation of a bio-cartographic and territorial web GIS, which may be seen as a virtual museum of the geohistorical and cultural evolution of these territories. The project also moves towards the definition of paths of knowledge and assessment of architectural and landscape risks; towards the aforementioned analysis of the relation between present residents, territories and places; and lastly, towards the generation of tangible benefits in terms of cultural and tourist promotion of the ways along levees and floodplains for slow-paced walks, which may convey knowledge to and stimulate the participation of communities, schools and local archives.

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Island place names and historical cartography: Ponziane Islands

Arturo Gallia*

Abstract

Islands have fascinated men since ancient times due to the semantic versatility they have, and almost all of them have been represented in historical cartography, both to understand their distribution in the sea and to recognize them through their denomination. The analysis of the island toponymy allows us to grasp the nuances of the territorialization process that affects the places.

Focusing on Ponziane Islands, this paper aims to observe the permanence, transformation, substitution and oblivion of the names of the islands and places on them through the analysis of the historical cartography of the 16th to 19th centuries, also observing linguistic dynamics.

In a long-term analysis of the archipelago, historical cartography is a useful tool for understanding the territorial dynamics, the degree of interest of the various Italian and Mediterranean players in the islands, as well as the level of knowledge of the places represented.

Keywords: *islands, historical cartography, territorialization process, Kingdom of Naples.*

Naming the islands

Islands, even the smallest, have fascinated men since ancient times due to the semantic versatility they have. Some were inhabited, others only visited, still others remained unreachable, but almost all of them have been represented in historical cartography, both to understand their distribution in the sea and to recognize them through their denomination.

The analysis of the island toponymy allows us to grasp the nuances of the territorialization process that affects the places. As is known, the naming of a place is the first phase of this process, defined as symbolic control of the territory; this phase is followed by that of reification (material control of the territory) and, finally, that of structuralization (organizational control) (Turco, 1988). The first two phases coincide with the process of naming *the* island (symbolic control) and the process of naming the places *on the* island (material control).

In a process of symbolic control, the name of the island, with all its variants and mutations, has been known since ancient times, both for the inhabited islands and for those only observed on the horizon.

The names of the island places appear only when the process of material control of the territory begins, regardless whether by sea or by land, when fishermen begin to frequent its waters and its inlets, when the first settlers settle along the

* University of Roma Tre (Italia).

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safer coasts, when the military garrisons continuously watch over the island.

The structuring process takes place when the first two phases have already taken place, when the island is known through each of its coves or promontories, but it is also true that the organizational control of the territory can favour the transformation or evolution of the detailed toponymy (Table 1).

Phase	Control of territory	Island toponymy
1. Denomination	Symbolic control	Naming the island
2. Reification	Material control	Naming the places on the island
3. Structuralization	Organizational control	Toponymy evolution

Table 1. Territorialization phases and island toponymy.
Elaborated by the author, starting from Turco, 1988.

Focusing on Ponziane Islands, this paper aims to observe the permanence, transformation, substitution and oblivion of the names of the islands and places on them through the analysis of the historical cartography of the 16th to 19th centuries, also observing linguistic dynamics.

Ponziane Islands

The archipelago of the Ponziane Islands is now included in the province of Latina, to which the two municipalities of Ponza and Ventotene belong. Historically, however, it was located on the maritime border between the Papal State and the Kingdom of Naples and as a border area it was subject to the attention of both states, but also to Saracen raids. In fact, due to its position in the middle of the Tyrrhenian Sea, the possession of the islands was strategic for the control of the main sea routes between Naples and the most important ports in the Mediterranean.

The sovereignty of the Kingdom of Naples over the archipelago was definitively established in the 18th century through its population with families from Ischia, Torre del Greco and other places in the Kingdom (Gallia, 2019; Gargiulo, 2017). Its denomination has several variations, the most common are *Isole Ponziane* (Ponziane Islands) and *Isole Pontine* (Pontine Islands), and, by extension, also *Arcipelago Ponziano* and *Arcipelago Pontino* (Ponziano and Pontine Archipelago). More obsolete are the denominations *Isole di Ponza* and *Isole Ponze*. From an institutional point of view there are no ambiguities: *Isole Ponziane* and *Arcipelago Ponziano* are used in official papers and also in Italian official maps by IGMI (Figure 1). However, the use of both forms, *Ponziane* and *Pontine*, is frequent in colloquial language and in touristic maps.

The islands are called *Ponziane*, di *Ponza* and *Ponze* because the main one is Ponza and the voluminous documentary corpus preserved in the National Archives of Naples testifies this during history (De Luca, 2017; Gallia, 2019).

Figure 1. IGMI, F. 413 Sez. II Isole Ponziane 1:25000, 1998.

The affirmation of *Pontine* as an adjective occurs when in 1934 the islands were included in the newly formed province of Littoria, in the Pontine Marshes. The assonance between the names of the marshes and the islands, but also a polarization towards Lazio and the capital of the Kingdom, are evident. In some maps and atlases, we can find *Pontine* instead *Ponziane*, as in Roberto Almagià's. Finally, we could say the frequent use of the name *Pontine Islands* is more evident in Ventotene, aimed at demonstrating administrative, political, social and cultural independence from Ponza.

Island names in small scale cartography

In small-scale cartography, the Archipelago is depicted with some constants and some transformations. *Ponza* is always present and named, drawn alone or surrounded by rocks and flanked by an indication of the port, with a symbol or with the toponym (Bonifacio, 2010). The island is called *Pontio, Pontia* or *Ponza* and the origins of the name go back to the Latin Pontus which follows the Greek *Pontos*, meaning sea and therefore *land of the sea* by extension. Ponza was in fact the first island colony for the Romans, extracted from the Volsci in the 4th century BC.

According to the Neapolitan scholar Raffaele Castrichino (1988), the name could be derived from the Greek *Penta*, meaning *five*, the number of islands

encountered after leaving the Gulf of Naples. *Penta* with the Volsci changed to *Puntia* and then in Latin was *Pontia*.

*Palmarol*a is drawn separate from Ponza, except in some cases where the name indicates one of the rocks surrounding Ponza. The name, which also appears in the variants *Palmaria, Palmeruola*, or *Palmaruola* is derived from the presence of an endemic species of dwarf palm. A second hypothesis proposed by Luigi Maria Dies (1950), parish priest of Ponza in the 1940s and 1950s, traces the name to the Palm of the martyrdom suffered by the Christians who were sent to that island.

The island of *Zannone* appears less frequently: sometimes the name indicates a rock around Ponza, some other times an island on its own. The name also varies in *Senonia, Sannon, Sannone*; Latin is *Sinonia*, which is derived from *Senio*, six, the number of hills. The attestation of *Sannone* and *Zannone*, however, is traced back to the presence of a Cistercian monastery devoted to San Zenone, which later became *San Zennone* and then *Zannone*.

An inversion of toponyms between *Palmarola* and *Zannone* occurs in the *Regionum Italiae mediarum tabula geographica* (1715), where the Latin names of the two islands are incorrectly placed.

The presence of the monastery in Zannone is so important as to be depicted in many maps of the modern era, but at the same time it feeds a symbolic and toponymic confusion.

In fact, alongside or replacing Zannone, in various maps another imaginary island appears eastward Ponza, much larger and named *Santa Maria, San Martino* or *San Domenico* (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Pontia, Santo Martino, Ventotiene and Le Botte islands.
Mario Cartaro, Nicola Antonio Stigliola, Il Regno di Napoli, provincia di Terra di Lavoro, 1613,
Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. XII D 100. Detail.

Ventotene is depicted separated from Ponza, in a second group that also includes another island, *Santo Stefano*, almost never named elsewhere or sometimes called *Mal di Ventre*. This is much smaller than Ventotene, but is drawn at the same size. Ventotene in Greek and then in Latin was called *Pandataria*, "dispenser of all good", and over the centuries varied as *Pantatera* and *Bentetien*, from which then came *Ventotiene, Ventotie* and *Ventotene*.

Between the two groups appears the *Scoglio della Botte*, depicted as a pair of islands called *Le Botte*. It is actually a single rock a few metres in diameter, a basalt pinnacle that emerges from the sea. According to the maritime historian Mimmo Martinucci (2007), the name was given by the appearance that resembled, in fact, a wine barrel [in Italian *botte*], while today the shape has been modelled by the shots – *botti* – of the ammunition of the Italian Navy that used it as a target during naval exercises.

A last map is of great interest. Its dating is uncertain, but the normalization of the toponyms suggests a chronological period between the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. Palmarola, Zannone and Ventotien are set on the left, top and right sides of the sheet, flanked by the names of the winds. In the centre is the only toponym of Ponza that indicates the position of the island, without any graphic sign. *The name of the island is the island itself.*

Toponyms on the islands

In medium and large-scale cartography, the main subject is almost always Ponza, whose most important place names or buildings are indicated. On the maps of the 16th and 17th centuries, the toponyms and the description of the places are given in the legend, rarely near the place itself. Starting from the 18th century the toponyms are written close to the places.

On a map of the late 16th century, drawn up following a dispute between the Kingdom of Naples and the Papal State for the possession of the islands, the Archipelago is drawn with the strategic places indicated in the legend: the port, the towers, the hills, the main inlets, and also the water cisterns. In addition to the indication of the places, *Cala di Luna* and *Cala di Forno*, the western and northern ports, are explicitly named.

The *Isole di Pontio* map has the particularity of having toponyms in the vicinity of the place despite being from the 17th century. The toponyms refer also in this case to the towers, the monasteries, the inlets, the port. At the centre of the main inlet is the lexeme "port", while it is flanked by *Chiaia di Luna* and *Cala del Forno*. In addition to these inlets, the main toponyms indicate those of the *Capo Bianco, Grotta del Grano, Sant'Antonio, Santa Maria, Frontone, Capo Cavallo*. The religious buildings, each flanked by a toponym, are *Santa Maria la Salvazione, Il Salvatore, Sant'Antonio Pianura* and *Santa Maria Pianura*.

The 18th century settlement, started by Charles of Bourbon, was created with the settlement on the island of Ponza of numerous families from Ischia, Torre del Greco and other areas of the Kingdom. This process, which gave rise to the

territorialization of the islands, also influenced the linguistic point of view and, therefore, also the toponymy.

The names of these families have strongly influenced the Ponza toponymy as they named the places where they settled, such as *Scotti, Guarini* and *Conti*. The pre-existing toponyms, such as *Sant'Antonio* and, above all, *Santa Maria*, persisted even in the presence of the new arrivals. The largest family was that of the Mazzella, who settled in *Santa Maria*. This toponym was so deeply rooted that it prevailed and still persists today.

The place name normalization of the islands took place from the end of the 18th century onwards. In the Maritime Atlas of the Kingdom of Naples, Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni crystallizes a large part of the coastal toponyms that would later merge into the IGMI cartography (Valerio, 2002; 2006). In Ponza, the inlet of *Chiaja di Luna* persists, with an occasional occurrence in *Chiardiluna*. To protect *Chiaia di Luna* there is *Capo Bianco* to the north, which varies in *Punta Bianca* – also present on the eastern coast – and finally in *Punta di Capo Bianco*; to the south *Punta del Fieno* persists without mutations, except for an allomorphy in Rizzi Zannoni himself, who wrote *Fielo*.

The *Punta della Guardia*, which persists without mutations, is derived from *Monte Guardia*. The lighthouse located on the Punta is also commonly called *della Guardia* (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Place name variations in Ponza
A. Giovanni A. Rizzi Zannoni, Atlante marittimo del Regno di Napoli, 1785-1792,
Firenze, IGMI, Biblioteca "A. Mori", inv. n. 593. Detail.
B. Michele Andreini, Riconoscenza Topografica e Militare dell'Isola di Ponza, 1816.
Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, C.G.25 b. A36 c. 02. Detail.
C. and D. IGMI F. 170 III SO Isole Ponziane, 1957, 1:25000. Details.

In Palmarola it is possible to identify an inversion between place names, which involves the rocks called *Le Galere* and *I Piatti*. In Rizzi Zannoni Atlas, and in following maps, *Le Galere* and *I Piatti* rocks are written on the western side of the island, with *Le Galere* placed further north than *I Piatti*. In IGMI *Carta d'Italia* of 1883 only the toponym *I Piatti* appears, between *Punta Tramontana* and *Scoglio San Silvestro* (sic, instead of *San Silverio*). In the 1954 edition the promontory is there correctly called *San Silverio* and between this and *Punta Tramontana*, only *Le Galere* appears, exactly where *I Piatti* appeared in the previous map.

In the IGMI Ponziane Islands map of 1957, toponymy is certainly more detailed, like the graphic sign, and in this case the inversion is obvious: the toponym *Le Galere* is placed near the rocks elsewhere indicated as *I Piatti*, and vice versa. In the IGMI map of 1998, the toponym *I Piatti* is confirmed for the northernmost rocks and *Le Galere* for the southernmost ones (Table 2).

Map	1785-92	1818	1842	1883	1954	1957	1998
Northernmost	Galere	Galere	Galere	-----	-----	Piatti	Piatti
Southernmost	Piatti	Piatti	Patti	Piatti	Galere	Galere	Galere

Table 2. Galere and Piatti rocks: name variations and inversions. Elaborated by the Author.

The location of the *Scoglio Cappello* has undergone a similar translation. In the maps by Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni (1792) and William Henry Smith (1818), it was identified in a rock east of the island, in the direction of Ponza. In the IGMI cartography, however, it appears as the most southerly rock of Palmarola, even further south than the *Faraglione di Mezzogiorno*.

Finally, the absence of some names of important touristic places is curious. For example, *la Cattedrale* [the cathedral], both in singular and plural form, is an inlet between *Punta delle Brecce* and *Punta di Tramontana* characterized by rocks reminiscent of the flying buttresses and pointed arches of Gothic cathedrals (GALLIA, 2020b).

In Zannone it is possible to observe a toponymic richness that goes beyond that normalized by IGMI, thanks to the maps created by Salvatore Perrotta (1990) and Silverio Mazzella (2000), local scholars (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Silverio Mazzella, Zannone. Carta, profilo visto da Sud. Muflone, 2000. Private collection.

Some toponyms refer to functions, such as *Varo* [boat shed] or *Peschiera Romana* [Roman fishpond], some to physical-morphological characteristics of the coast (*Capo Negro*, black cape) and therefore to a particular similarity of an islet or a rock (*Monaco*, monk, and *Navicella*, small ship); some to exposure and orientation (*Punta di Levante*, east point); or, again, the presence of natural resources (*Fontana*, fountain, and *Sorgente*, source).

For other toponyms the origin, without certain evidence, can only be hypothesized.

Cala delle Salpe can be traced back to the good fishing of that stretch of sea, with a large concentration of salpe fish; *Cieca dei pesci* is where fishes lay their eggs.

As for the *Mariuolo* islet, the meaning refers to nouns such as "rogue", "swindler", "deceiver", and in fact the etymology is similar to that of *Cala Mariolu* in Sardinia, so called precisely by Ponza fishermen because it was here that the sea ox, or monk seal, lived, and ate fish trapped in nets, thus "stealing" them from fishermen (Gallia, 2020c).

The importance of the quoted contemporary authors, similar to cartographers in the modern age, is that of having fixed names of places in cartographic representations that were cited only in textual documents or handed down only orally among elder fishermen, proper guardians of a specialist glossary of toponyms and knowledge otherwise remaining at the mercy of winds and waves (Mazzella, 2018).

In Ventotene, small toponymic uncertainties emerge in the map of Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni (Valerio, 2006), where *Punta Eolo* is called *Punta Nevola*, a toponym that also recurs in subsequent maps until its stabilization in 1957 IGMI map; the toponym La Nave seems to be inverted with that of *Punta del Porto*, a correction already made in the map by Giovanni D'Alessio (18th century) toponym that, on the other hand, seems to persist and is already indicated by Rizzi Zannoni is the one that indicates the rocks on the northern coast of the island: *Li Sconcigli*, even in the female variant (Figure 5).
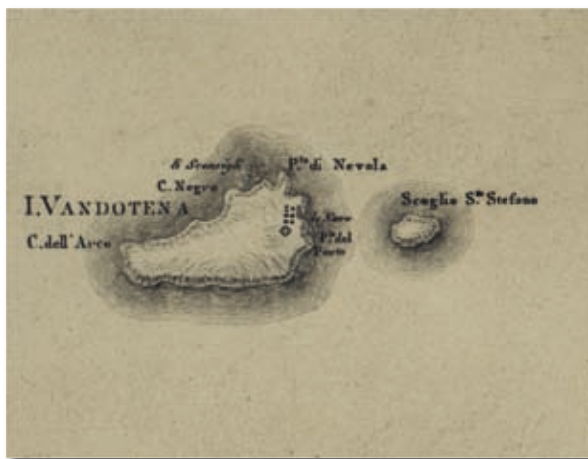
Figure 5. Giovanni A. Rizzi Zannoni, Atlante marittimo del Regno di Napoli, 1785-1792, Firenze, IGMI, Biblioteca "A. Mori", inv. n. 593. Detail.

In current Campania regional usage, the lexeme indicates a shell and, above all, the mollusk that inhabits it of the genus Murice (*Bolinus brandaris*), particularly widespread in the Mediterranean and used in Campania and southern Italian cuisine in general; that same mollusc from which the Phoenicians extracted a gland containing the purple liquid used to dye fabrics. On the map the term is used as a diminutive of rocks, in a derogatory tone. The origin of the toponym can be referred to the shape of the rocks: according to what Rocco observes (1882-1891), the lexeme refers, in addition to the shell, to a clumsy or ill-shaped man or a squiggle or scrawl. As regards, however, the danger of these rocks close to the coast, the toponym could also be derived from *sconciare*: "spoil, make ugly, reduce the boats to bad condition" (Treccani). Finally, it could also indicate the rich presence of *sconcigli* – the shells – right on or close to those *sconcigli* – the rocks (Gallia, 2020d).

Conclusions

In a long-term analysis of the archipelago, historical cartography is a useful tool for understanding the territorial dynamics, the degree of interest of the various Italian and Mediterranean players in the islands, as well as the level of knowledge of the places represented. It can be affirmed that through toponymy and its evolution it is possible to grasp the nuances of the territorialization process. In research that provides for the integration of multiple sources, it is precisely toponymy that allows us to grasp the transition from the symbolic control phase to the material control phase, because of the degree of detail that the names of the places have appearing in the historical maps. In a first phase, just the name of the island appears on the maps (symbolic control), because they were known; subsequently, the maps begin to be populated by the names of the places on the island, when there is actually a material control of the island (reification). However, many place names remain uncrystallized in the maps, both for the different interests of the cartographer, and for the map scale, not being detailed. The official cartography is flanked by informal cartography, generally for tourist-commercial purposes, which has the great merit of collecting information from boat to boat, from house to house, and locating names that would otherwise be lost from one season to another.

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Anti-mafia toponyms and odonyms in Italy: theoretical assumptions and research methodologies

Giuseppe Muti* and Gianluigi Salvucci**

Abstract

This article pursues two priority objectives. Firstly, it contextualizes the first census of Italian streets dedicated to the innocent victims of the mafias in the theoretical perspective of critical studies in urban odonomastics. Secondly, it clarifies the methods and practices followed to carry out the census, cross-referencing the database of innocent victims of the NGO Libera with a plurality of statistical and cartographic databases.

Keywords: *street names, mafia, antimafia, critical geography, street name database.*

Introduction

On March 21, 2020, the 25th edition of the "Day of Remembrance and Commitment in Memory of the Innocent Victims of the mafias" took place. To celebrate this event, we carried out the first Italian census of odonyms dedicated to the innocent victims of the mafias (Muti, Salvucci, 2020). This experimental research had two implications which we consider in this article from a practical and methodological perspective.

Firstly, it has required a critical reinterpretation of the theoretical framework on odonomastic and toponomastic analysis, in order to highlight the political and in some respects "revolutionary" nature of anti-mafia naming and renaming practices. The first section will illustrate this perspective.

Secondly, it has implied an innovative practice of integration between databases and cross-referenced research between memory archives and toponymy archives. The second section will attempt to illustrate the techniques and methods used, which we are currently reviewing with a view to a second research project.

Production of space and street naming policies: a new geographical perspective on urban odonomastics.

Odonyms (street names) are a cornerstone of almost all modern cityscapes and have the ability to influence how city dwellers and visitors perceive and articulate spatial practices. Michel de Certeau argues street names "make sense" (De Certeau, 2002, p.104); they stimulate new dynamics; they direct, bewilder, and shape urban

* University of Insubria (Italia).
** Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT).

identities (the greater the economic gap the more symbolic they become).

The literature agrees that street names are generally taken for granted as part of the territory. Signs are perceived for their information, allowing spaces to be organized and providing precise directions for users (certainty of locations and journeys). In this routine, however, their meaning is disregarded and the semantic content of street names goes unnoticed.

From the geographic perspective, considering the social production of space as a starting point (Lefebvre, 1976; Raffestin, 1981; Tuan, 1991; Massey, Jess, 1995; Farinelli, 2003; Massey, 2005; Turco, 2010), street names are excellent tools for the analysis of the territory, not as the location where social relations occur, but as the product of their continuous evolution. They develop both in cooperation and in conflict, and may interpret, create, and modify the territorial system by means of constant spatial transformation and generational reinterpretation. Hence, the attribution of a name is the first practice of appropriation (spatial, but not only), recognition, and integration (of places, but not only) in the relational system, with a new production of "meaning" (Turco, 1984, pp. 94-99), or territoriality.

The concept of place is central to the study of commemorative place naming. All signs and signposts are media that contribute significantly to the creation of a sense of place (Weightman, 1988, pp. 53-70). But odonyms and toponyms are so important that the naming process, "produces places through the simple enunciation of intentions to do so" (Berg, Kearns, 2009, pp. 19-52).

The idea of creating places comes from the interpretation of the place itself as a spatial moment articulated in the network of social relations. According to Doreen Massey, places are not areas bound by distinct identities and boundaries, but are rather the product of social relations, whose attempts at stabilization are constantly dependent on social practices and negotiation (Massey, Jess, 1995). Angelo Turco states that "the place becomes a place (topogenesis) thanks to a practice (function) and thanks to the functions that are created, established, modified, or destroyed, in order to continue to carry out that practice or to activate others" (Turco, 2008, pp. 184-5). The act of designation is structurally important in topogenesis, determining the appearance of the place in its social usability: the name is not a simple, semantic implementation, Turco clarifies, but "has a sort of threshold effect by virtue of which the designator changes its referential status" (*Idem*).

Seeing the place in a relational sense makes it possible to study commemorative names with an intertextual approach, claims Reuben Rose-Redwood, who defines the act of naming a place as an attempt to discursively reconfigure a given space as a place to remember (Rose-Redwood, 2008, 435).

Daniel Milo (1987) is among the first to analyze the political and social history of street names, including them in Pierre Nora's monumental work dedicated to the "Lieux de mémoire", i.e. relational spaces that are tangible, symbolic, and functional in nature, capable of producing and validating historical continuity through archives, anniversaries, museums, monuments, commemorations, celebrations, and other relational, spatial moments (Nora, 1989, pp. 7-24). In analyzing the spatialization of memory in places of memory, Karen Till (2009) explains that groups map their legends in space and time, reconstructing their social memory and addressing the concept of the past that must prevail in public spaces. Though

in different historical periods and academic settings, the philosopher Milo and the geographer Till agree that the places of memory, and the social practices that generate them, offer more information about the people who create them than about the people and the past that they commemorate.

Maoz Azaryahu (1986) is a pioneer in this field, thanks to his study on East Berlin's streets. When used as a memorial, explains Azaryahu, odonyms enshrine an official version of history in urban space and embed it in all forms of social communication related to everyday practices that are detached, at least in appearance, from symbolism and power, i.e. city maps, mail, street signs, advertising signs. Like banknotes and stamps, street naming belongs to the "low symbolic voltage network", that can "introduce political messages into the ordinary settings of human experience" (AZARYAHU, 2009, pp. 53-70). The strength of the memory-making device can be enhanced through the direct correlation between the history of the place and its name, or through additional information, urban furniture, and commemorations (plaques). However, the connection might also be forgotten.

Moreover, Azaryahu explains that odonyms connect urban spaces to the realm of symbolism and cultural significance. The result of commemorative street naming is a reification of history, or rather, a transition from history to geography: the new, concrete, semiotic reality becomes integrated in many spatial city narratives and the version of history introduced in social communication tends to be seen as obvious and ordinary. This triggers a semantic shift that, in time, disconnects the name from its original reference source, consolidating the new geographical name in social relations and communications (AZARYAHU, 1986, pp. 319-323). As mentioned in the introduction, Michel de Certeau (2002, p. 102) defines this prerogative as "wandering of the semantic" while Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson (1988) stresses its cascade-like ability to proliferate the references (station names, buildings, bus stops, shops, bars, etc).

From the geography of places and signs, Azaryahu (2009) also proposes the notion of "city-text" which represents a defined set of street names, integrated into the urban landscape and represented on maps, as a "spatially configured register of historical figures and events" (*Ibidem*, p. 64). Despite the distortions introduced by urban dynamics, the semiotic structure of the "city-text" provides an integrated scale to determine the relative status of the commemorated subjects: the anniversary of the same commemoration in different city-texts is an indicator of the evoked subject's conferred historical significance and reputation. The importance of a city's main thoroughfare is related to the importance given to its commemoration. The number of recurrences and importance of odonyms in a city, therefore, enables us to assess the political awareness and identity that characterizes a given society and political class.

Street naming is an expression of power, which not only perpetuates the memory of people, dates, and events deemed worthy of public recognition in the urban landscape by the authorities, but can also be seen as an act of propaganda which underlies the power to control the symbolic infrastructure. Recalling Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "symbolic capital", Reuben Rose-Redwood makes it clear that the political act of naming or renaming a street can be linked both to an elite

project of symbolic erasure and to the practices of outcast groups that obtain cultural recognition (ROSE-REDWOOD, 2008, pp. 431-435). The author believes that it is necessary to focus on the relationship between the creation and legitimization of cultural and political identities on the one hand, and ownership and collective rights over public space on the other.

Studying the streets of anti-mafia memory: archives and research methods

The research starts from the ideal comparison of two databases, the first is the list of innocent victims of the mafias and the second the list of street names. Neither exist as an official list in Italy.

The list of mafia victims used is that of the association Libera, which contains the identifiers of the victims, in particular name and surname. It is not known, nor is it the purpose of this research, whether this list is complete or contains errors: we rely on the very high reputation of the main Italian association against mafias.

As regards the catalogue of street names, in Italy there is no single accessible and available archive containing all existing odonyms. In order to verify the existence of odonyms named after mafia victims, it was necessary to construct an archive of national odonyms. This archive consists of geographical sources and purely tabular sources. To the first group belong the open data of Openstreetmap, the queries made on Bing Maps and Google Maps. In the second group are sources obtained from 2011 census data. The Archivio Nazionale degli Stradari Comunali (ANSC) is a source of the National Institute of Statistics that collected existing street names from the 2011 census. The two parts are complementary to each other.

For some roads both the existence and the location are known, while for others only the existence is known. For our purposes, it is sufficient that an odonym has been found in one of the sources. The search for odonyms of mafia victims is carried out using record linkage techniques: a long-standing methodological approach (MORRIS, 1976, pp. 15-20).

The first step of the search is carried out by searching the street name for a string containing the First Name followed by the Last Name. Unfortunately, in Italy it is customary to alter the natural language when writing addresses. Often addresses are found with the wording Surname – First Name, and again with the initial of the First Name followed by the Last Name or vice versa.

Related to the names proposed in the Libera archive, it should also be pointed out that some characters are present with different names than those found in the streets. For example, Joe Petrosino is actually the pseudonym of Giuseppe Petrosino.

Another problem may stem from the presence of honorary, ecclesiastical or military titles, which change the denomination and complicate the investigation. In fact, as we will see in more detail, titles and honours such as Dott. (Doctor), Avv. (Advocate), Gen. (General), considerably limit the possibility of a deterministic link.

The search is carried out by intersection of parts of the string, but this solution is not optimal. For example, the case of Giuseppe Asta is symptomatic of a

methodological difficulty, since the strings of Giuseppe Asta are contained in those of Giuseppe Impastato.

This first research, therefore, was conducted with semi-automatic methodologies. The results obtained were further refined by a wide-meshed check calibrated on a plurality of public databases. The result is a reliable database, albeit incomplete, which offers itself as a starting point for public sharing and continuous implementation.

First of all, exact matches were sought which offered a good probability of having intercepted the correct title, net of cases of homonymy. Next, the order of the name components was changed (a method that could be improved in the light of experience), without prejudice to the difficulty of intercepting possible homonyms.

Searching for a surname alone becomes more complex, and in such cases we try to give maximum coverage. In this phase, all odonyms are discarded, even if they contain the victim's surname but have no reference to the victim's first name. Potential odonyms found are checked as far as possible with Google Maps and Streetview, looking for clues in the street number plates that support the thesis.

A final step of the investigation is to search through Bing Maps for the existence of odonyms. If a string is passed to a geocoder, even an inexact one, it will return the most similar one known to it.

For example, among the most remembered victims is General Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa. Searching all over Italy for Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa street can lead to clues as to the existence of this name. In this specific case, care must be taken because the systems used may produce false positives. Often the search for Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa street returns Dalla Chiesa street, which is not referred to the illustrious personage but to the building of worship (chiesa means church). Furthermore, despite the official rules of drafting, the names of commemorative streets are extremely diverse and chaotic. For example, due to name abbreviations and honorary titles, there are more than 30 variants cited for Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa, General of the Carabinieri and Prefect of Palermo.

Conclusions: a census of anti-mafia streets in Italy

Since the late 1990s, more and more towns in Italy have chosen to dedicate their streets to the memory of magistrates, policemen, journalists and trade unionists murdered by the mafias. Mafia victims have replaced the heroes of the Risorgimento period in urban toponymy (Caffarelli, 2015).

The census (Muti, Salvucci, 2020) confirms that the names of 965 mafia victims appear in the urban register of about 8,000 municipalities. In February 2020, there were 6,540 "anti-mafia streets" in Italy, distributed in 2,360 municipalities, located in all provinces and regions. The number of victims commemorated, individually or in pairs, is 268, to which are added three collective commemorations.

Sicily is the region including the most anti-mafia names: 1,687, more than a quarter of the national total (25.8 per cent). This is followed by Lombardy with 937 (14.3 per cent), Emilia Romagna 599 (9.1 per cent), Apulia 550 (8.4 per cent). The

main concentrations outside Sicily are in northern Italian regions, but the figures contain evident imbalances.

If we examine the data at the municipal level, Palermo is the municipality with the highest number of anti-mafia roads: 85. Thirteen municipalities have more than 20 odonyms and they are mainly located in Sicily. A further 56 municipalities have between 19 and 10 odonyms. These are followed by 259 municipalities with between nine and five odonyms; 532 municipalities with three or four anti-mafia odonyms; 1,500 municipalities with one (953) or two (547).

The survey shows no correlation between the number of municipalities, the number of inhabitants, the development of the road network and the number of anti-mafia odonyms. It is evident, however, that a vast network of small and medium-sized municipalities is engaged in a widespread policy of anti-mafia street naming, regardless of the power relations between the "centre" and the "periphery". In the absence of the central government's specific indications regarding urban toponymy, one can infer that a precise commemorative policy is being conducted at the local level. Given the timing and manner of the fervid spread of anti-mafia place names, this policy can be traced back only to the action of the anti-mafia civil associations.

Our findings demonstrate that the names of three victims occur most frequently with over 1,000 odonyms throughout Italy. A further three have more than 250 occurrences. Six victims have more than 100 commemorations and thirty-one have between 10 and 100 commemorations. Sixty per cent of the total number of victims (166) are commemorated by one or two street names.

The most widespread anti-mafia odonym is that of Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa. 1,049 commemorations are dedicated to the famous general killed in the massacre of Via Carini, in 1982. This is the only odonym that is present in all twenty Italian regions. Its spread increased by 110 per cent between 1997 and 2020.

Other victims most popularly cited in anti-mafia commemorations are the judges Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino. Falcone, who was killed in the massacre of Capaci in 1992, has 994 individual place names dedicated to him; 830 are dedicated to Borsellino, who was also killed in 1992 in the Via Amelio massacre. 300 double odonyms are dedicated to Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino together. The odonyms of Falcone and of Borsellino increased by 700 per cent between 1997 and 2020, while the double odonym grew by 200 per cent (Muti, Salvucci, 2020).

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A matter of springs:
Storga's eternal genius loci,
from the Venetian dominion up to the present

Arianna Lorenzon*

Abstract

In the northern countryside right outside the city walls of Treviso (Veneto, Italy) is located Storga: a natural area – now considered as a park – surrounding the upper course of the river that springs there and from which the site takes its name. As this hydronym's etymology would suggest, the very feature of Storga locality, along with its genius loci, depend on one another. Storga is a relevant natural site and a cradle for biodiversity that has remained quite unaltered since the Middle Ages thanks to various factors. The place was almost uninhabited for centuries, because of the inhospitality of its swamps and forests (all characteristics still remembered in local toponymy), and its abandonment turns out to be the key that brought beneficial effects for its conservation. If until the 20th century Storga was a neglected site, today it is one of the latest "green lungs" not so far from the city centre.

Keywords: Storga, river, Treviso, Venetian countryside, local toponymy.

Of sites and toponymy permanence

An interesting case of permanence of geographical names, interwoven with an everlasting genius loci, is provided by a particular, mildly-protected natural area in Treviso's north-eastern countryside (Figure 1). For centuries, the Veneto region has been within the Venetian dominion and by the end of the 18th century it was conquered by the French, who gave it up to the Austrian Empire, which ruled until Italian unification and the consequent annexation of the region to the newborn nation.

The case study site is part of a so-called "belt of resurgences", from which outflows a rich network of clear watercourses. It is a swath of land from 2 to 30 kilometres wide that divides the higher Po valley from the lower one; it is in the province of Treviso and runs from Castelfranco Veneto – the ancient border of Treviso to the west – to Maserada, a village near the river Piave. The place is named Storga, the hydronym of the stream with springs there, that is one of the right tributaries of the main river Sile which ends in the Adriatic Sea.

Part of this belt is a circular zone that runs around Treviso's city walls, that in the Modern Age was called *Ville delle Cerche*, the first villages outside the city. The "Cerche" were many minor watercourses, mainly descending from the river Piave or springing from the resurgence sites (fed by the Piave and by the river

* University of Ca' Foscari, Venezia (Italia).

Figure 1. Piavon river.

Brenta). They embraced the villages and were fundamental for agriculture and for the defensive system around the city walls; still today, in fact, there is a moat called *Cerca* in one of these neighbourhoods.

As said before, Storga gives the name to a natural site around its upper course. The first known documentary evidence of this place are some medieval charts (ca. 10th century), mostly in regard to some religious land properties. Thanks to those documents and to the Venetian modern lands' valuations conserved in the State Archives of Treviso, it is known that Storga was administratively considered as a part of several villages – although it was almost uninhabited due to its inhospitable forests and swamps, and because it had (and still has) uniform natural characteristics preserved despite agricultural aggression and urbanization that were first responsible for the countryside's long-lasting mutation.

Broadly speaking, a significant non-compromised habitat as this shows, for example, a microclimate characterized by abundance of clear water, constant in volumetric flow rate and temperature (ca. 12°-13° C, in the summer as well as during the winter); the presence of a dynamic native riparial wood with some surprising genetic survivals of lowland wood (such as types of S*alix, Viburnum, Ulmus, Rubus, Clematis*), restored with native species from time to time (Figure 2).

These groups of elements were registered in the modern lands' valuations as stable and autonomous cadastral parcels and they are all evidence of the fact that there was (and there still is) a quite good homeostasis system.

The choice of analyzing Storga's upper course comes from the circumstance

Figure 3. La Madonnetta, 17th century chapel.

Figure 2. Storga, "water-fields" site.

Figure 4. "Married vine" training system.

that this site remained quite unchanged perhaps since the Middle Ages, but almost certainly since the Modern Age, while its lower course saw human intervention that in various instances altered its surroundings. Passing through areas converted into fields suitable for agriculture and economic activities needing the presence of watercourses, the Storga river was indeed used for milling and factories, too.

Furthermore, recent studies suggest that probably there also was a minor harbour near a secondary – but known, remembered in archival evidence and frequented – 17th century chapel, located where the upper course becomes the lower one, at the intersection of the boundaries of municipalities that the Storga runs through (Figure 3).

This place of worship, represented on a map drawn in 1715 and conserved in Treviso's State Archives, has been restored in the last decades of the 20th century. It is consecrated to the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, represented in an internal fresco surrounded by a baroque decoration and on the external facade the Templars' red cross is depicted. Also, in several 19th century documents related to the pastoral visits, this site is remembered as a "quite ancient" Knights of Saint John's rural church. In the above-mentioned map, there is a chapel and a rural building that hosted the boatmen who worked there: in some 19th century memories, and in the Austrian cadastral charts it is clearly explained that Storga was a navigable stream at that time. Despite this status quo, Storga has always been a sort of natural corridor, essential for biodiversity, leading towards the main river.

Still, we can see, thanks to current orthophotos displaying images quite similar

to those offered by ancient maps for territorial organization, that the typical local agricultural practice, since the 16th century or even since the Middle Ages, was "mixed" cultivation, which means the ancient "married vine" training system: rows of grapevines interwoven with trees in wheat fields (Figure 4).

The cereal-growing fields were indeed interspersed with grapevine rows and mixed with grasslands: the *arativo-piantato-vitato* [in archival evidence, translated as "ploughed-planted-vine land"] was the prevailing cultivation practice.

Etymological issues

The etymology of the choronym designating the wider area in which Storga outflows, *Zosagna* (a vast country district including the eastern part of Treviso's countryside, north and south of the river Sile), is probably derived from a Latin expression that sounds like "(*terrae*) *subs amnes*", i.e. "land crossed by resurging rivers". The plural was reduced to "*Zos-ange*", to be distinguished from the singular *Zosagna* used to separate the northern belt from the southern one. They were respectively called *Zosagna di sopra* [Upper Zosagna, in which Storga resurgences and site are located] and *Zosagna di sotto*, in which the river Storga ends in the main river Sile. Moreover, the term "*zoso*" in local dialect means "*below*": Zosagna, part of the lower Po valley, was indeed low and clay-rich, subject to water stagnation because of the ground impermeability; furthermore, when the high tide comes from the Venetian lagoon, the network of streams was unable to drain to the sea. Indeed, floods were not rare events: for instance, the Piave river disastrously flooded 34 times during the Modern Age.

Taking Storga as the centre of an ideal map, the neighbouring villages – the first two still existing – were called since the 13th century *Spineda* (from Latin *spīna*, nowadays *Santa Maria del Rovere*, from Latin *rōbŭr*), *Selvana* (from *silvă*) and *Sambugole* (from *sambucus*), now gone (Figure 5).

These phytotoponyms describe a place full of trees, thorn bushes, plants and fields and it must be said that in the Modern Age these areas were partly classified as Beni Comunali, translatable as "Municipal/Public/Village land properties", where people could legally get wood supplies and use the land for pasture, for free.

Other examples coming from the past: Storga borders with *Limbraga* to the west: it is another hydronym that names the village where the watercourse springs (Figure 6), while to the east there is *Carbonera*, a toponym related to coal. The road that links Carbonera to Treviso city centre and ends in a village called *Breda di Piave* is named *Cal di Breda*, where "calle" is related to the street (from Latin *callis*) and Breda comes from the Lombard *braida*, which was a suburban field maintained as grassland. Likewise, a locality between Storga and Carbonera is called *alle Prade*, which recalls an uncultivated field.

Speaking of the toponym Storga, its origin is not clear, but is quite curious. From what we know so far, it is only attested in this one place, so could be categorized as a hapax hydronym, a geographical name with no duplicate. The elements we can rely on for its analysis are the permanent natural characteristics of its birthplace; then, on the lexical level, they have a quite clear Latin

Figure 5. G. Rizzi, Selvana, Sanbugole e Spineda, 1713, State Archive of Treviso, Ancient Maps Collection, envelope 28 "Treviso", nr. 11. 740x1000 millimetres, scale: 200 Treviso's modern perches = 118 mm, 100=59 mm.

derivation. Keeping in mind the image of limpid water springing from the ground, an etymological analysis suggests, as scholar E. Demattè had supposed, the word "Storga" to be an adjective used as a noun referring to a feminine Latin noun (*aqua or font-*); composed of a prefix (*ex- or extra-*) proposing an exit and of an attributive suffix (*-ica*) applied to the root in the word's centre. Some compatible Latin roots (both verbal and nominal) are, for instance: **surg*(-o), **turg*(-es), **urg*(-es), etc., or even **gurg*(-o), that means whirpool; all these examples contribute in giving the idea of water springing from underground. It is likely that the passage through time, from the Latin language to the Venetian vernacular one, has been slow, soft and has mantained the idea of this type of water; perhaps it could have been: **exturgica*, or **extra-gurgica*, then **estorghega* and, finally, *Storga*[1].

Likewise, similar names could often be found in Northern Italy, such as the nearby Gorgo al Monticano (province of Treviso, Veneto), in the Middle Ages known as *Gorgo Molendinorum*, which recalls the relationship between the water and its main use there, the milling industry; or locality "i Gorghi" near Trecenta (province

[1] *La Storga: memorie dalle case sul fiume*, in "Giornate dell'Acqua 2000", Trento (Italia), November 30-December 1-2, 2000.

of Rovigo), similarly depending on a resurgence site fed by the river Po.

Ecology domine

Storga has always been a unique ecological system, where many biotopes – and so the biocoenosis depending on them – maintained a favourable state of conservation because in the first place the site was a neglected one; then because recently the importance of an autonomous state of balance in a natural place like Storga was recognized as fundamental by people and institutions. Indeed, amongst Storga's trees there are many animal species not found elsewhere in the province (except on the mountains), such as foxes, squirrels, various types of fish and birds.

Nowadays, Storga – still administratively divided between several municipalities – is, using contemporary parameters, a quite pristine nature park with some protected sections. The river's course has become a Site of Community Importance (S.I.C. IT3240031 "*Fiume Sile da Treviso est a S. Michele Vecchio*"), but the majority of the areas around the park

Figure 6. G. Rizzi, Limbraga, 1711, State Archive of Treviso, Ancient Maps Collection.

remained private property and so without any safeguard or control by authorities. Indeed, the jurisdiction about the care of this place is ambiguous: sometimes, when institutions do not provide care for very long, compromising the park accessibility, groups of local volunteers take care of the cleanliness of its paths and meadows.

Storga is one of the last places well-preserved through time in Treviso. It shows peculiarities – both natural and cultural – which could have been seen several centuries ago: the areas taken by the forests; those known as "water-fields" [*prai da aqua*, fields flooded in the cold season for the forage production]; some swamps; some cultivated fenced fields; and the almost unmodified watercourses. Other rivers near Storga were – and are – *Piavon*, with its ancient riverbed recently restored; the not so far away Limbraga, that on ancient maps is described also as "flowing

Figure 7. G. Rizzi, Limbraga, 1711, State Archive of Treviso, Ancient Maps Collection, envelope 28 "Treviso", nr. 9. 590x1060 millimetres, scale: 200 Treviso's modern perches = 118 mm, 100=59 mm.

water"/"common water" (Figures 6 and 7), underlining its accessibility for local people; *Piovenzan*, from which was taken the name of the older neighbourhood of Lancenigo, where there also was a locality called *Fontane Bianche* [i.e. white fountains], another resurgences site; and *Melma*, which means "sandy soil", the name of a nearby river and a locality (Table 1)[2].

An interesting observation regarding the Storga river in the Austrian cadastral maps (available for free consultation in the State Archives of Treviso) is that it is drawn very precisely with all of its resurgences, along with the annotation "not navigable". Furthermore, the Melma river in its upper course and its resurgence site in ancient archival evidence is called *Bulgidoro*, from Latin "bullire". In this zone of the countryside there are many examples of local hydronyms, phytotoponyms, etc. found in Treviso's registers and maps of the modern lands' valuations, in which since the Medieval Age there was the habit of clarifying the specific location of the land possession by describing its surroundings through its toponym, or with the caption "*loco detto* […]", meaning "place named […]".

Indeed, Veneto countryside's toponymy is an explanatory trademark that

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[2] Group of toponyms found in 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries Venetian lands' valuations conserved in the State Archive of Treviso (Italia)

LIMBRAGA	PIOVENZAN		LANCENIGO			
Barbiera (alla)	Casal	Fontana	**ECONYMS**	**AGRONYMS**	**ZOOTOPONYMS**	**HODONYMS**
Brolo (al)	Chiesura	Molinella	Barba (al)	Bordo della Chiesura	Contrada de la Lovera	Calmaor
Breda (in col di)	Cima	Piavesella	Luogo alle Buse	Brolo (di sotto il, al)	Bolpere	Cal Nuova
Campagna (alla)	Fornasa	Pozzo	Molin	Cadena (sopra la)	Volpere	Cal Armentera
Marche (alle)	Livel	Melma (Trà le Melme)	Bà (o alli Sabioni)	Campagna di Sopra	Canarina	Cal Berganzola
Muri (ai)	Longa	Molin di Sotto	Bandida	Campagnole	Lontra	Cal Grande (o Bembe, o Comuni)
Osteria di S. Artien	Pascol		Battirame	Campazzo	Lovera	Cal del Livel (o Talponet)
Pellizzere (olle)	Pra delle Sorbe		Calleghere (alle)	Campo del Ferro	Lovo	Cal del Rovo
Ponte Brustolà (al)	Salgareda		Caneva	Chiesura	Piegore	Cal della Fede
S. Artien (a)	Carestia		Canivera	Chiesuraza	Gambero Grando	Cal di Maserada
Vigna (alla)	Castelluzzo		Casal	Marzeline dela	Gamberi	Cal di Treviso
Limbraga (alla)	Chiesa		Casette (o Pezza Grande)	Posthuoma		Calisella, -e
	Chiesetta di S. Alberto (o Mulin, o Melma)		Cason (o Cal di Maserada)	Marzure presso S. Sisto	**DRYMONYMS**	Cal di Breda
	Chiesura fuori dei Muri		Castelir	Pascoli	Albarelle	Strada de Colmaor
	Comun		Livello	Piantadela	Bardagole	Cal Arnesana
	Comuni (o Bembe, o Cal Grande)		Madonnetta	Pianta Longa	Boschette	Cal di Rovero
	Crosera (di sotto il Molin)		Marzemine	Prà di Melma	Boscho di Nogira	Cal Lovadina
	Fornase		Maso (sopra il, il ... di sopra)	Prà de Sora (i)	Figeri	Cal Pertegola
	Gobbi		Mure Vecchie	Spin	Frassinelle	Cal Trivixo
	Lengole		Villa	Spinazzè	Nogarole	Cal Vardagole
	Roveri			Prà dela codeta	Noghera	Via de S. Paulo
	Salgarede		**HYDRONYMS**	Prà Grandi	Noz Mazor	Chal Lovadina
	Termine		Piavesella	Belvedere	Olmi	Stradelle
	Terren (terreni di Ca' Berton)		Fontane Bianche	Campo de l'Orto	Pereri	Stradon
			Fonte Bianco	Campagna	Pomeri	Stradella
			Fontana Bianca	Campedeli	Roncole	Cao di Melma
			Fontanelle	Marson	Rovre	Malcanton
			Fosse	Marzolini	Salgareda	Borghetto (il, di sopra il)
			Molinella	Piantada	Sorbolera	Crosara della Postuoma
			Pozzo (o Boschetto)	Pra' del Bosco	Talpon de Prà	Croce de Villa
			Fosado	Pradi	Vigna (la, oppresso la)	
			Guizzoline	Spigarola		
				Vini Nigri		

Table 1. Groups of toponyms found in 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries Venetian lands' valuations registers, State Archives of Treviso.

suggests the places' features (as well have the places' characteristics seems to have influenced the toponyms' etymology) but it have literally been denaturalized since the 18th century industrialization and then the 20th century gentrification. By the way, underlining that many villages in this country took their names from their watercourses' hydronyms is relevant in contextualizing the territorial development that occurred here. The human settlement along the rivers must be explained essentially by considering them as axes of urban penetration, just like the streets, but in a more widespread way: at the time, indeed, watercourses were better kept and secure. As economic resources, they were the routes that gave the countryside colonization a start.

On the contrary, Storga's river and territory remained unaffected notwithstanding the various land uses introduced by different institutions, such as some ancient landlords' agricultural holdings, mainly beside the communal streets surrounding the site; or as the city asylum, built in 1908-1913 right after the construction of the Italo-Illyric railway from Venice to the Friuli Venezia-Giulia region (that made the Limbraga resurgences disappear under the building site). This asylum was in the western part of Storga, near one of its most ancient agricultural holdings and was closed not so many years ago. In its latest years, indeed, the psychiatric hospital provided a sort of farm, which previously had been an ergotherapic spot for people who lived there.

It is significant to underline that despite Storga's natural value, recognized

nowadays as a sort of "green lung", maybe because of its natural characteristics, back in time it was considered as repellent and invincible and so it remained a marginal area because of the distance from the city and its low attractiveness for, as an example, its swamps were difficult to remediate. A similar case is given by the nearby Villa Manfrin in Limbraga village: closer to a main street (the ancient Cal Nova, then Strada Napoleonica, now Pontebbana, that connects Venezia-Mestre to Tarvisio, Udine) and quite far from the city, in the first years of the 20th century it was abandoned by its rich landlords and therefore experienced the end of several economic activities gravitating around it and it became a hospital for people who suffered from consumption.

An eternal genius loci

In the end, it is possible to say that a strong *genius loci* allowed the survival of this place and also that the *genius loci* survival was allowed by the permanence of vernacular place names along with, and supported by strong natural characteristics of past places (found by comparing historical maps and contemporary pictures). In the past this *genius* and this *status quo* were maintained thanks to the marginality and imperviousness of suburban areas such as the Storga one; now it is due to the importance recognized in the preservation of natural sites, both for biodiversity and respectful human activities.

Broadly speaking, even if during the winter the place is almost left to itself and slowly nature takes back its place invading paths and meadows with plants,

Figure 8. Ethnographic museum "Case Piavon"
(Photo by the author).

brambles and bushes, in the summertime it is more neat and accessible, and its geography appears more clearly. Inside the park there are many spots dedicated to activities that closely deal with nature: there are urban vegetable gardens, where people can cultivate their own produce; there is a wildlife rescue centre for wild fauna (especially birds, eagles, deer, boars, etc.); there is also, near the river Piavon's resurgences, an ethnographic museum which recalls devices and objects of ancient country crafts (Figure 8).

Nevertheless, these activities do not have a negative impact on the environmental balance. Even if many people are attracted to the park thanks to the above-mentioned activities, particularly in the summertime, most of them – just like would have happened in the past – do not know how to orient themselves: the maps inside the park are not enough. In fact, unless someone is no stranger to Storga, it is obvious that once inside the park, getting lost is easy: in addition, the place is always changing, if not in substance, certainly in its appearance, because of the passing of the seasons and as the trees and bushes grow or are trimmed, etc.

In conclusion, it can be said that a quite self-regulating and impenetrable system as this, that for centuries has repelled man – and been considered negatively, has now turned out to be the ace up the sleeve as a natural site for preservation.

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Keltoi, Keltai and Galatians:
a complex Celtic World in the ancient Greek sources

Marco Martin*

Abstract

The geographical area called Keltike (the land of Keltoi) from ancient Greek sources presents an interesting case for historical geography that even seems to overlap the area covered by the toponym Europe.

The rectangular map of Ephorus (4th century BC) places the Keltoi in the northwest area and Piteas of Massalia learned about them during his travels in Northern Europe and the Baltic Sea.

Posidonius of Apamea in the 1st century BC gave the most important definition of the Keltike and he considered the presence of Cimbri (he thought that they were a Celtic people) and the settlements of Galatai (Galatians) in Asia Minor after the invasion of Macedonia in the 3rd century BC.

The comparison between Diodorus and Strabo is very interesting, because they use Posidonius as a source. The Galatai in Diodorus live in the north of Keltike, near to the Cimbri (in the far north), while in Strabo the name is used for Keltoi generally and for Keltoi of Asia Minor. In Strabo there are three groups of Celtic people: Aquitans, Belgi and Keltai, people settled between the river Garonna and the hinterland of Narbona. So, by the name Keltai are defined Keltoi of Gaul and in particular Keltoi of the south.

Inside this composite ethnographical picture (logos Keltikos) it is necessary to consider the complex identity of Cimbri (Celto-Germanic people), confused with Homeric Cimmerians (Plutarchus, Marius' Life), and the identity of German people (Celtic or German?), a famous vexata quaestio of the Ancient World. This is a proof of the breadth and the complexity of the Celtic world from the point of view of Greek writers until the Augustean Age (Strabo).

Keywords: Keltike, Keltoi, Galatians, Celtic people.

The geographical area called *Keltike* by Greek sources was an extraordinary phenomenon in the western part of the known world due to its breadth. This area is characterized by vagueness of borders: from this aspect is derived a superimposition of the idea of Europe in general with the idea of *Keltike* in particular. The Celts (*Keltoi*) are remembered in Greek sources at the end of the 6th century BC by Ecataios from Miletus, the first geographical writer who quotes the Celts of lands of the Ligurian coasts and of the inland of Massalia (*FGrHist*. 1 54,55,56). Celts, in fact, in the 6th century BC were considered one of the peripheral people of the west lands by the Greeks. That is testified by *Ora maritima* of Avieno, a short poem in Latin written in the second half of the 4th century AD, but translation of a Greek

* International Association Geography and Historiography in Antiquity (Italia).

original lost in the Hellenistic age, a repertory of old geographical news derived from a report from Massalia of 6th century BC Avienus quotes the name of Greek traveller Eutymenes of Massalia (*FGrHist.* IV 408).

In the opinion of Herodotus, who probably uses the source of Avienus, at the halfway point of the 5th century BC, Celts were a very remote people who did not gather a real interest: barbarians without ethnography in a region between the Atlantic Ocean and the Pyrenees. In the *Historiai* of Herodotus, the geographical superimposition of Europe with *Keltike* is very clear, when the historian says that the river Histrus, that is to say the Danube, spurted out from the lands of the Celts, along its stream it divided the whole of Europe in half and that Celts lived beyond the Herculean Pillars, near the Cinesii, *eschatoi pros dysmeon*, the last western inhabitants (Hdt., II 33, 3-4 and Hdt., IV 49,3). This is the only reference about Celts in Herodotus (GRILLI, 1986, pp. 135-144).

It is important to consider that Celts became known to the Greeks only after dreadful events caused by large mass-migrations in a period between the second half of the 5th century BC. and the first decades of the 3rd century BC with the invasion of Northern Italy and the expulsion of Etruscans, until the sacking of Rome in 387 BC, the complete spread of Celts in south Gallia, the invasion of the Balkans and last the occupation of Macedonia and Asia Minor (desecration of the sanctuary of Delphi 278 BC).

The so called *Periplous (Circumnavigation)* of Scylace of Carianda, a Mediterranean portolan of the half of the 4th century BC, but with much interesting information of the 6th century BC, is the only Greek source that quotes the reference about the occupation of the Padan estuary by the Celts and the presence of an *enclave* of Celts in an area very near the Adriatic Sea *epi stenon mechri Adriou* (Scyl., 18). This part of Europe so described from an ethnical point of view and not a geographical one, at the time of the last writing of the *Periplous*, coincides with the northwestern quadrant of the *Oikoumene* map, as we can see from the quotation of Ephorus of Cuma (4th century BC), reported by Strabo and by Cosma Indicopleustes (HARLEY-WOODWARD, 1987, p. 144 picture 8.12).

The rectangular system of distribution of people used by Ephorus put Celts, settled in the northwest, in the western short side, and Scytians, settled in the northeast, in the northern long side of a rectangle. According to Ephorus, Celts lived in a territory spread to the northwestern European coasts and Scytians lived in lands along the northern ocean. In the 4th century BC Greeks were aware of the big extension of Celts, as we can see by also looking at the route followed by the traveller Pytea of Massalia (at the end of the 4th century BC), who arrived from the northern region of Europe to the Baltic shores. (*FGrHist.* 70 F 30a = Strab., I 2,28 and *FGrHist.* 70 F 30b = Cosm. Indik., *Topogr. Christ.* II 80 p. 148 (PG 88, 117). Piteas himself, as quoted by Polybius in a citation of Strabo (Strab., II 4,1), approached the Baltic Sea, corresponding with the boreal side of the *Ecumene* rectangle of Ephorus and his route was oriented to the Far East and not to the Far North, at the borders with Celtic areas. (BIANCHETTI, 1998, pp.130-134).

This geographical vision about the spread of *Keltike* is proved by a quotation of *Marius' Life* of Plutarch and in particular the *excursus* about the origin and the territory of Cimbri. Plutarch says that the land of the Celts was a wide

region from the western sea, *apo tes exo thalasses* and from the north to the east (*Meotides*, Azov Sea,), the Scythia Pontica (north of the Black Sea) as we read in Plutarchus, *Marius' Life* XI 6. The Celtic land was a wide territory from the Atlantic coasts to the Black Sea.

Probably the source used by Plutarch was Posidonius of Apamea. From the 3rd century BC the *Keltike* seemed to occupy the whole of western Europe. But when the Celtic invasions from the beginning of the 3rd century BC began to concern the Balkans and Asia Minor, the region of *Keltike* was spread to the East, and Galatia was called that land of Asia Minor in which Celtic tribes that came from Middle Europe and from the Danube founded important reigns in the Hellenistic world. We know that Celtic troops arrived in Macedonia and then in Delphi and sacked the famous sanctuary of Apollo (Paus., X 19-23 and *Hymos* IV, 163-187 to Delos of Callimachus).

In the course of the 2nd century BC the presence of Celts in Greece and Asia Minor was consolidated, so the word *Galatia* expresses a Celtic identity in the east. Posidonius of Apamea speaks about *Keltike* on three occasions. In the work *About Ocean* he describes the climatic zones and the theory about themand in the system of zones the *Keltike* were collocated on the western side and the *Scythike* on the eastern side (AUJAC, 1972, pp. 74-85). This is nothing new compared to Ephorus' map. Posidonius of Apamea in the 1st century BC gave the most important definition of the *Keltike* and he considered the presence of the *Cimbri* (he thought that they were a Celtic people) and the settlements of *Galati (Galatians)* in Asia Minor after the invasion of Macedonia in the 3rd century BC.

Posidonius in his Celtic ethnography uses the Homeric archetype, traditional heritage of the Greek *paideia*, to underline the correspondence between contemporary Celts and archaic Greeks for various social and cultural analogies (see the chart with the descriptive and lexical correspondence). To this is added the mediation offered by Thucydides within a reflection of philosophy of history, included in *Archaeology of the History of the Peloponnese War* (Thuc., I 6, 5-6) where 5th century barbarians would have been as the Greeks in their first stages of civilization (FREEMAN, 1996, pp. 11-48).

The comparison between Diodorus and Strabo is very interesting, because they both use Posidonius as a source. The *Galatai* in Diodorus live in the north of *Keltike*, near to the *Cimbri* (Far North), while in Strabo the name is generally used for *Keltoi* and for *Keltoi* of Asia Minor. In Strabo there are three groups of Celtic people: *Aquitans, Belgi* and *Keltai*, people settled between the river Garonna and the hinterland of Narbona. So, with the name *Keltai* there are included *Keltoi* of Gaul and in particular Keltoi of the south (DOBESCH, 1991, pp. 35-41).

Diodorus (1st century BC) says that, according to Posidonius, the inhabitants of the inland of Massalia along the Alps and in Aquitania were called *Keltoi*, while those settled beyond these Celtic regions to the north, along the ocean and near the *Hercyniia silva* were called *Galatai* (Diod., V 32,1 = *FGrHist*. 87 F 116). By the word *Keltike* that defined the lands of *Keltoi*, Diodorus showed the transalpine *Keltike* only, a part of the big Celtic territory. By a comparison between Diodorus and Strabo (both of them used Posidonius as a source) the *Keltike* appears more defined: Diodorus puts in order his short exposition about *Keltike* with a succession

of people: *Galatians*, northern Celtic people and Celts in general (Diod., V 24-31) until the Scythia; *Keltoi*, in the south (Diod., V 32, 1-2), Cimbri, people in the far north (Diod., V 32, 3-7) and Celtiberi and various Iberian people.

Strabo, instead, for the definition of *Keltike* suggests a geographical model formed by three areas: *Narbonensis, Aquitania* and *Belgica* and he adds *Britannia*, too (Strab., IV 1-6). In Strabo, *Keltike* is defined as the Celtic transalpine region and its borders are described on two occasions: in the *Prolegomena* and at the beginning of book IV of his *Geography* (Strab., II 5, 28 and IV 1,1). To the north this area was delimited by the Atlantic Ocean, to the east the border was defined by the course of the Rhenus (Rhine), to the west by the Pyrenees and to the south by the sea of Massalia and the land of Narbona.

Strabo identified three big ethnic groups in the territory of *Keltike*: Aquitans, Belgians and *Keltai*. The first were very similar to Iberians and settled between the western area of the Pyrenees and the Cévennes as far as the Atlantic coast. Belgians were settled in the northern regions from near the oceanic coasts to the mouth of the Rhine and the Celts *Keltai* lived between the river Garonna and the inland of Massalia and Narbona. For Strabo the Celts in general as ethnic identity were Galatians and the *ethnos* of Celts was defined simply *Gallikon te kai Galatikon phylon* (Strab., IV 1,1 and 4,2) and the *Keltike* was the land of *Keltoi*, while the Celts of Gallia were called *Keltai* and in particular, according to the ethnical tripartition, the southern Celts. This description in Strabo, as we can see, clashes with the distinction that we read in Diodorus about the collocation of *Keltoi* in the south and the Galatians in the north.

In Strabo the ethnic description must to be connected to the political reality, rather than to the division in four parts of the *Keltike* realized by Augustus in the new administrative order in the 27 BC; he informs us as well that Augustus assigned to *Keltai* the province of Narbonensis, that he respected the division realized by Caesar for Aquitanians and to their territory he added the Celtic people settled between the Garonna and the Loira. Afterwards he divided the rest of the land into two parts: the Lugdunensis as far as the Rhine to the north and the Belgica, the most western province to the northwest (Strab., IV 1,1). For this subdivision of the regions in Strabo of course the source is the incipit of Caesar in B.G. I 1, 1-2.

The geographic description of the *Keltike*, according to the ethnic model (Narbonensis, Aquitania, *Keltike* with Belgica and lands located west of the Rhine in the north and northeast) probably was the ethnographic introduction in Posidonius. From the middle of the 1st century BC the interest to the Celts began to decrease in intensity, at the same time that Caesar for the first time identified German people as different from Celts with their own ethnic identity. The ethnographic report of Tacitus Germania, as we know, is the clear proof of the change of perspective that happened in the Roman culture at the end of the 1st century BC.

Posidonius, the most important Greek author before Diodorus and Strabo with regard to Celts and their source, thinks that Cimbri, Germanic people but with obvious elements typical of Celtic people, belong to the Celtic world and in particular he speaks about *Keltike* for a territory from Jutland and the Far North (Diod., V 32 = *FGrHist. 87* F 116 and Strab., VII 2, 1-2 = F. 272 EK). He thinks

that Germani, too, are a people that belong to the Celtic culture (Athen., IV 153e = F. 73 EK). At the beginning of the 1ˢᵗ century BC, together with the traditional geographic concept of *Keltike*, the Greek world began to use the word *Keltike* to show no more an undefined territory occupied by *Keltoi* or Galatians, but in short western and northwestern *Keltike*, rather Gaul.

Inside this composite ethnographical picture (*logos Keltikos*) it is necessary to consider the complex identity of *Cimbri* (Celto-Germanic people), confused with Homeric *Cimmerians* (Plutarchus, *Marius' Life*), and the identity of *German* people (Celtic or German?), a famous *vexata quaestio* of the Ancient World. This is a proof of the breadth and the complexity of the Celtic world from the point of view of Greek writers until the Augustan Age (Strabo). It is likely that Posidonius wrote a *Kimbrikà* in which he described Cimbri. The main sources derived from Posidonius are: Diodorus V 32, Strabo, VII 2,1-3 and Plutarchus *Marius' Life* XI-XXVII and we know that ancient Greeks used to call Cimbri Cimmerians, as the mythical people of Odyssey. Plutarch says that in antiquity the old name was Cimmerians and then they were called Cimbri (*Mar.*, XI 4-11). Posidonius thought that Cimbri were a north Celtic people (it is useful to remember that Cimbri, Germanic people, have instead a Celtic name – for example *Cymru for Wales* – and many of their cultural elements derived from the Celtic world as Boiorix and Gaesorix, Cimbrian kings with Celtic names (*rix* = king and *gaisa* = spear in the Celtic language). A known fragment of Posidonius quotes a short reference about *Ghermanoi (Athen*., IV 153e = F. 73 EK). It is the first litterary proof about the name *Ghermanoi* and for Posidonius they were a people settled near the Rhine in an area of mixed Celtic and Germanic elements. Caesar in his *De Bello Gallico* defined *Ghermanoi* no more as Celtic people, but as belonging to the Germanic ethnic world for the first time (Martin, 2012, pp. 7-17).

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Gela sive Philosophianis:
two place names for a mansio, or a mansio for two places?

Marco Sfacteria*

Abstract

The double toponym Gela sive Philosophianis appears in the Itinerarium Antonini as the central stop between Catina and Agrigentum in It. Ant. 86,3. The road is taken up again in It. Ant. 94,2, where, however, the aforementioned stop is indicated only as Filosofianis.

The most widely shared hypotheses are that Gela may refer to a statio near the Gelas river, or that it could be the name of the urban settlement excavated at Sofiana (Mazzarino, Caltanissetta), which was born in the Augustan age and which would take back the name of the Greek city destroyed in 282 BC. Then, around the fourth century AD, the toponym Gela would have been replaced by the toponym Filosofiana, of which the current toponym preserves the memory.

However, recent excavations at the site of Sofiana have shown that the urban settlement did not decay in late antiquity, indeed reaching in that period the apex of its extension. Starting from the assumption that Gela does not decay and, therefore, the place name is not replaced by that of Filosofianis, we will propose an alternative reading of the itinerary data.

Keywords: Roman roads, Roman Sicily, Itinerarium Antonini

Introduction

The double toponym *Gela sive Filosofianis* appears in the *Itinerarium Antonini*, as an intermediate stop between *Catina* and *Agrigentum*, in the itinerary a *Traiecto Lylibeo* (*It. Ant.* 86,3) (Figure 1), which connected the Strait of Messina with Marsala. The stretch of the *Catina-Agrigentum* road is taken up in *It. Ant.* 94,2, I*tem a Catina Agrigentum mansionibus nunc institutis* where, however, the aforementioned stop is indicated only as *Filosofianis*. This last itinerary, within which there are only *mansiones* identified with predial toponyms, would seem to refer to a modification of the *cursus publicus* that affected Sicily in the fourth century AD.

Gela sive Philosophianis: continuity and/or discontinuity of the two toponyms

To understand the subject of this intervention better, it will be useful to retrace the history of the studies concerning the aforementioned stop on the I*tinerarium*

* University of Messina (Italia).

Antonini, which in turn is closely linked to the archaeological research at the site of Sofiana near Mazzarino (Caltanissetta), not far from the Villa del Casale in Piazza Armerina (Figure 2). Based on toponymic continuity and archaeological data, the site of Sofiana has been identified several times with the *mansio Philosophiana*.

Figure 1. Itinerary a Traiecto Lylibeo (It. Ant. 86,3) (Image modified by the author).
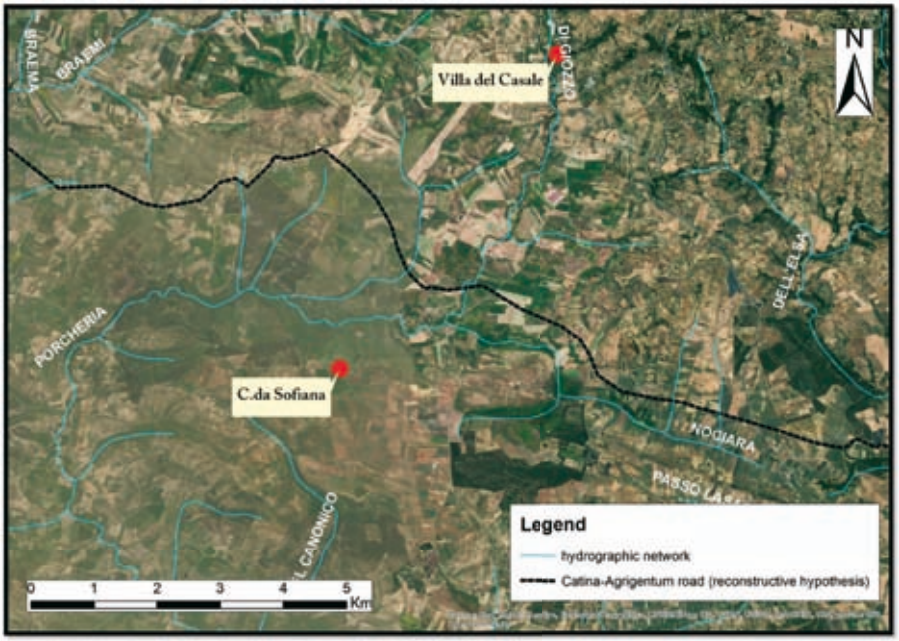
Figure 2. The sites of Villa del Casale and Contrada Sofiana (Image modified by the author).

As part of a memorable intervention in the chronology and commissioning of the Villa del Casale, the late S. Calderone hypothesizes that *Gela sive Filosofianis* reflects a moment in which the *mansio* was identified with two alternative names. Of these, as attested by the revision of the itinerary, would have remained only *Filosofiana* (Calderone, 1984, pp. 46-47), cited there in the ablative plural to imply the noun *praedia* (Calderone, 1984, pp. 18-19). The birth of the toponym *Filosofiana*, which can be framed shortly before or during the Diocletian age, would be related to the appearance of a *possessor* who bore the title of *philosophus*. According to Calderone, the *philosophus* from which the *praedia* take their name – and in which the owner of the Villa del Casale in Piazza Armerina, the *fulcrum* of the large estate, should be recognized – is *Caeionius Rufius Albinus*, consul in 335 AD (Calderone, 1984, p. 47 and following). Therefore, the appearance of this new *possessor* should be linked to the updating of the *Itinerarium Antonini*, first with the addition of the new toponym (*Philosophianis*) to the old one (*Gela*) using the word *sive* (It. Ant. 86,3), and then with the definitive substitution of the new for the old (It. Ant. 94,2).

R.J.A. Wilson broadly agrees with Calderone in considering the *sive* as evidence of a moment in which the old and new toponym coexisted, before the second definitively replaced the first, as can be deduced from the *mansionibus nunc institutis* section of the *Itinerarium* (Wilson 1984, p. 178).

The two scholars agree that *Gela* should be read in reference to proximity to the *Nociara* stream, which is the upper course of the ancient *Gelas* river.

In the early 1990s, following a rereading of the site of Sofiana in the light of his excavations, G.F. La Torre resumed and deepened the question relating to the toponyms *Gela* and *Philosophianis* (La Torre 1994). The excavations brought to light parts of a regular road network as well as conspicuous parts of a peristyle *domus* and the remains of a boundary wall.

According to La Torre, the urban settlement excavated at Sofiana should be identified with the Gela of the *Itinerarium Antonini*; the toponym would not indicate a place near the Nociara – *Gelas* river but the name of the settlement itself, probably in memory of the Rhodian –Cretan colony destroyed in 282 BC by *Phintia*. Pliny would, therefore, refer to the inhabitants of this new *Gela* when he appoints the *Gelani* among the *populi stipendiarii*. From the data acquired, La Torre identified a settlement crisis that could be traced back to the end of the third century AD and that would continue until the Constantinian age. It would be in this period that the toponym *Gela*, linked to the city now in decline, was definitively replaced by *Philosophianis/Filosofianis*.

Starting from the double toponym of the *Itinerarium Antonini*, E. Caliri proposes the identification of the *massa Philosophiana* with the *massa Gelas* (Caliri, 1997, pp. 37-38) cited in a letter from Pope Gregory the Great (pontiff from 590 to 604) (*Greg. M. Epist.*, IX, 236). In the letter – addressed to the Bishop of Syracuse *Johannis*, to whom the pope had entrusted the *curam patrimoni nostra* – Gregory voices the grievances of two high-ranking personalities, *Pascasinus* and *Blanca*, regarding *Johannis*' decision to receive the *reditus* due to the Church of Rome only in Syracuse *aut in massa quae dicitur Gelas* (Manni, 1981, p. 217; Caliri, 1994, pp. 224-227; Pinzone, 1999, pp. 283-301). Caliri also puts forward

the hypothesis that *Gelas* may be an ecclesiastical *massa* (Caliri 1997, p. 37, footnote 19): the discovery of the funerary epigraph of *Entolius, servus Sanctae Romanae ecclesiae* (Manganaro, 1993, p. 573, footnote 59), would indicate that the village and the territory of the Villa del Casale were managed by the Church of Rome, and this would find further confirmation in the aforementioned epistle of Gregory the Great.

A. Pinzone, too (Pinzone, 1999, pp. 286-287), believes that the *massa Gelas* should be identified with the *massa Philosophiana*. D. Vera (Vera, 1999, p. 1018, footnote 110) does not agree with this reading because, starting from the assumption that the predial "*Philosophiana*" supersedes the previous toponym, he considers it implausible that in the age of Gregory the Great the first toponym was back in use. At the same time, however, Vera suggests the possibility of relating the *massa Gelas* with the *Gelani* appointed by Pliny among the *populi stipendiarii*.

As regards *Filosofiana*, the last attestation of the uncorrupted toponym can be found in the biography of Saint Gregory, Bishop of Agrigento, who lived between the sixth and seventh centuries AD. The biography was handed down by *Leontius*, a Byzantine monk who compiled it between the seventh century AD and the period between the middle of the eighth and the middle of the ninth centuries AD. A passage in the biography tells of a deacon of the Pope, *Tiberius*, who at a given moment was "én toĩs méresin Filosofianõn" (Berger, 1995, pp. 23-32), organizing ships for Rome. The passage, in addition to handing down the toponym, also provides information of an indirect nature: first of all, it is clear proof of how the site of *Filosofiana*, in the early Middle Ages, retained its role as a central place, equidistant from the large ports of Catania and Agrigento. Moreover, the passage informs us that *Filosofiana* had strong ties with the Church of Rome, and performed the function of a collection centre for grain bound for Rome. The aforementioned source represents the last attestation known to us of the toponym *Filosofiana*.

On the other hand, what is assumed to be its corrupt form, *Sofiana* makes its first appearance a few centuries later, in a document dating back to the twelfth century AD. It is the donation of Manfredi of Policastro to the Church of the *Madonna SS.ma del Mazzaro*, dated 1154, in which there is the passage "*Ecclesia haec semper habet de silva Sofianae quacumque ligna*" (Pirri, 1733, p. 621; Di Giorgio Ingala, 1996, pp. 309-314).

Shortly thereafter, we have another mention of the toponym in a bull of Pope Alexander III, dated 1169, in which a "*Casale san Vincentii, quod est iuxta Sophianam cum tenimentis suis*" is cited (Pirri, 1733, p. 623).

Further attestation of the toponym comes from the historian of Piazza Armerina G.P. Chiarandà (Chiarandà 1654), author of the book *Piazza, città di Sicilia*, who already in 1654 put forward the hypothesis that the ancient *statio* of *Filosofiana* could exist where would later be built a farmhouse called *Casale Sofiana*, whose life lasted until at least 1470. This location, again according to the writer, was located at a distance of approximately three miles from Piazza Armerina towards *Libeccio* (southwest wind), that is to say, approximately six kilometres southwest in the direction of present-day Sofiana.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the *Suffiana* fiefdom – together with

those of Gibiliusi, Gallitano and Ursito – was sold under the formula of the "*carta gratie redimendi*" by Giovanni Branciforti to the husband of his sister Beatrice (TRASSELLI, 1982 pp. 381-382; CANCILA, 1989, p. 131).

The first appearance of the toponym in cartography, as far as we know, is on the Topographical Map of the territory of Mazzarino of 1829 by Ignazio Margani. Here it appears as *Sofiana* and is roughly located in the area still indicated by the same toponym, immediately south of the Nociara river.

The archaeological and topographical data

Starting from the identification of the *Filosofiana* of the *Itinerarium* with the site of Sofiana, some scholars, such as Carandini, have come to identify with the name of *Filososofiana* the nearby late ancient Villa del Casale in addition to the *fundus* pertinent to this one. Others, like Wilson, deny that the *villa* and *mansio* were part of the same *fundus*.

Since 2009, the Sofiana site has again been the subject of investigations as part of the *Philosophiana Project*, an international research project directed by Prof. Emanuele Vaccaro (UNITN) and Prof. G.F. La Torre (UNIME) (BOWES et al, 2011; LA TORRE, 2011; 2014; VACCARO, 2012; 2013; VACCARO and LA TORRE, 2015).

In light of the data collected, we now have a more precise picture of the phases of the site: it was born in the Augustan age as part of the political, administrative and economic reorganization of the province promoted by Augustus. This first settlement is characterized by a regular layout consisting of a network of orthogonal streets and buildings for public and private use. Towards the end of the third century AD, the northern area of the town is abandoned, perhaps due to a catastrophic seismic event, although this abandonment is not reflected in the rest of the site. Far from decaying, between the fourth and the fifth centuries AD, the town is spread over an area of approximately 21 hectares, an extension that marks the moment of maximum expansion in the history of the site; this moment coincides with the period of its maximum commercial development – as evidenced by the influx of goods from North Africa and the East – which will last throughout the whole seventh century AD. At the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries AD, the town is spread over an area of approximately ten hectares, but although there is a contraction in the extension of the town, the rural sites that persist in the surrounding area confirm continuity in the intense exploitation of the countryside around the site. The last phase of life of the Sofiana settlement lasted until about 1200 AD, when the site was abandoned.

Starting in 2014 and 2016 we carried out a study aimed at the micro-topographical reconstruction of the Catania-Agrigento route to understand better the issues related to the site of Sofiana and its surroundings (SFACTERIA 2016; 2018). Regarding the stretch of road relating to the area of our interest, scholars have avoided going into detail regarding a topographical reconstruction of the route. The only effective attempt to recognize the road on the ground was made by D. Adamesteanu, who recognized it as a local road which, skirting the boundary wall of Sofiana to the north, would continue towards Mount Alzacuda.

In 2014 we carried out an excavation test to the west of the Sofiana site, across the aforementioned track, identifying the remains of a very compromised water channelling system whose *terminus ante quem* is fixed in the fourth century AD. This allowed us to hypothesize that the photointerpretation trace identified by Adamesteanu was related to the remains of the aqueduct.

About the area of our interest, observations of a mainly geomorphological nature led us to hypothesize a more northerly direction of the route (Figure 3).
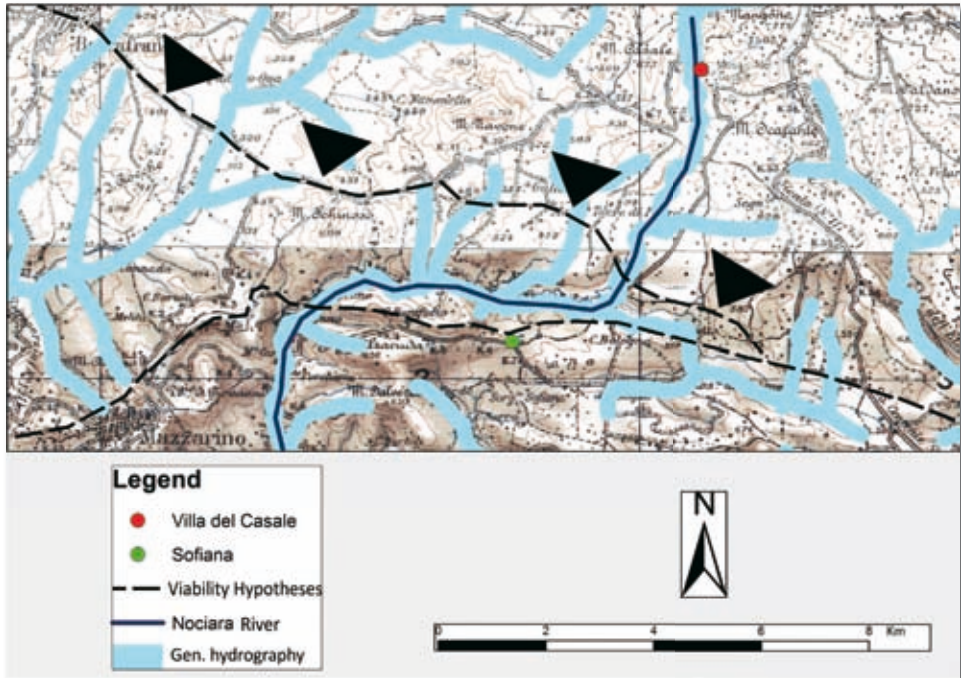
Figure 3. Catina-Agrigentum reconstruction hypotheses.
The triangles indicate the northernmost route (Image modified by the author).

It is plausible that the road crossed the Nociara stream when it descends from Piazza Armerina, or just before it takes an east-west direction to head towards the *Minoldo* district, where it assumes the hydronym of *Fiume Porcheria*. It can be assumed that the crossing took place near the *Cantella* district where the river can still be forded and crossed by a path. Moreover, the toponym itself could suggest the presence of a bridge already in ancient times: *Cantella* is probably a contracted form of *Cantarella*, which is derived from *càntaro*; this, in turn, could be derived from *kantharos* but also from *qantarah*, which means *bridge* in Arabic, as attested by toponyms such as *Alcantara, cantera* or *cantra*. The oral testimony of a local farmer is interesting; he argues that where the ford is now found there was a bridge, generically defined as "ancient", then demolished to reuse the stones as building material.

Finally, traces of the presence of this stretch of road can perhaps be obtained from a careful reading of the already cited Donation of Manfredi of Policastro to

the Church of Maria SS. Del Mazzaro, dated 1254. From the text, we deduce that the area we are talking about is that of the territory south of Piazza Armerina. Clear reference is made to Mount Casale and the river that descends from there, namely the Nociara, but above all it refers to the deviation of the river towards the west in the direction of Mazzarino. This deviation takes place, as we have seen, in the area described above, or approximately 1.7 kilometres north of the site of Sofiana and approximately 1.5 kilometres south of the Torre di Pietro site. In addition, we learn from the text that the water goes west following closely *magnam viam pubblicam quae ducit ad Favaram et Buteram*. Still referring to the land in this area, as confirmed by the mention of a *Sofianae silva*, the text mentions the lands north of the river (that is the Nociara after having diverted to the west) but south of the road, which in turn must be located in the territory south of Mount Casale, but north of the river.

A more precise topographical indication comes from a slightly later source: the already cited historian G.P. Chiarandà of Piazza Armerina, who lived in the seventeenth century, writes that there would have been, until 1470, a *Casale Sofiana*, at a distance of three miles from Piazza Armerina towards Libeccio (cf. Amico, 1757-1760, p. 494), therefore approximately six kilometres southwest, or near the Torre di Pietro district, which today is at least two kilometres north of Nociara.

Interestingly, the mule track visible in the cartography of 1925 (Figure 4) departs from the remains of a path, the so-called *Passo delle Carrozze*, which today runs for about three kilometres north-south from the territory south of the Villa del Casale up to 500 metres north of the Nociara river. On the other hand, observing the map produced in 1943 by the US Army but obtained in part from the Topographical Map of 1885 and in part from the Topographic Map of 1925, it is possible to follow this path, which is marked on the map as a carriage road. It originates at the southern limits of the current town of Piazza Armerina, heads west and then south along the northern and western sides of Mount Mangone and moves on to approximately 500 metres from Villa del Casale. From there it proceeds in a clear southerly direction reaching Torre di Pietro, from where the path leading to Barrafranca departs, and then south again crossing the Nociara and reaching Contrada Sofiana.
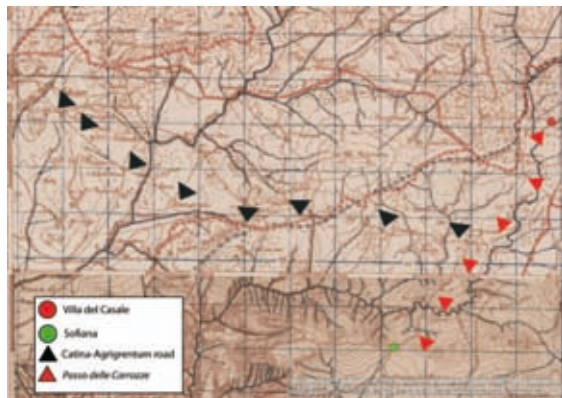
Figure 4. Mule track visible in the 1925 topographic map of the US Army Map Service (Image modified by the author).

Here, just past the boundary walls, the path assumes the orientation of the structures of the oldest phases of the Sofiana site (Figure 5).
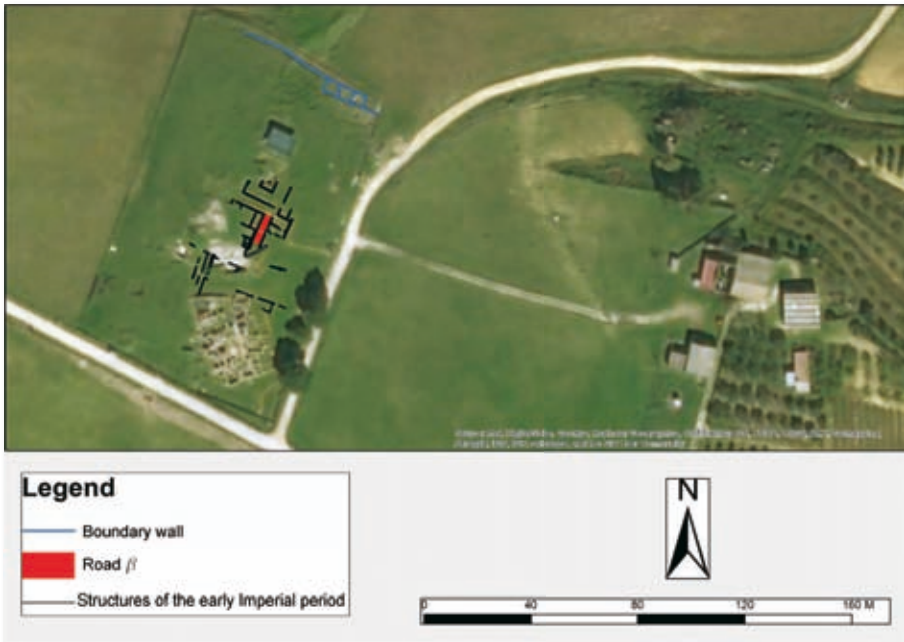
Figure 5. Map of the site of Sofiana in the Augustan age and its connection with the gravel road that crosses it from the north (Image modified by the author).

Not only is the correspondence linked to the alignment, but this road also fits perfectly from the point of view of the measures, in the regular grid of the site, consisting of multiples of the Roman *actus*.

Therefore, we would have a *diverticulum* that, detaching itself from the road, crosses the river and reaches the urban settlement in Contrada Sofiana, which as attested by the results of the *Philosophiana Project*, lives its moment of maximum splendour between the 4th and the 6th centuries AD.

Conclusions

Resuming for a moment the discussion related to toponyms, it is legitimate to ask why not *Gela* but only *Philosophiana* appears in the revised itinerary.

The answer could be the following: the incipit *mansionibus nunc institutis* is informing us that in this case, we are talking about *mansiones*, not another type of stop as a city can be. Therefore, the cities of departure and arrival are mentioned, but the only intermediate stops are the *mansiones* just established, together with those already existing, which perhaps now enjoy a different *status*, linked to the reorganization of the road system in late antiquity.

Assuming that *Gela* does not decay and, therefore, the toponym is not replaced,

we could go further and hypothesize that the *sive* between the two toponyms did not have a disjunctive function, but rather a copulative one, indicating not one but two distinct, albeit close, places. The *sive* could therefore indicate the fact that in that particular stage the road allowed one to reach both *Gela* and the *mansio* of *Philosophiana*.

Regarding *Gela*, as we have already seen, it should be identified with the site of Sofiana, south of the Nociara river; the *mansio*, on the other hand, should be sought in the area between the Nociara to the south and the *Villa del Casale* to the north. The archaeological research carried out since 2004 under the direction of Patrizio Pensabene (University of Roma "La Sapienza") has deepened the knowledge relating to both the early stages of the Villa and the surrounding area (Pensabene and Barresi, 2019 and previous bibliography). These acquisitions open up new perspectives regarding the recognition and possible location of the *mansio*, which will soon be the subject of publication.

Finally, this would allow us to read the reference to the *massa Gelas* cited by Gregory the Great as indicating a territory belonging to our *Gela*, separated from the territory of *Philosophiana*, which is still mentioned by *Leonzio* in the life of Gregory of Agrigento.

At a later time, perhaps following the merger of the two estates within the *Patrimonium Sancti Petri* of the Church of Rome, the toponym would slowly have come to indicate not only the territory around the Villa del Casale but also the territory south of the river, until it was restricted to the area currently investigated by the *Philosophiana* Project. This would happen simultaneously with the evident disappearance, up to the present day, of the toponym *Gela/Gelas*, which at least until the seventh century AD is attested in the letters of Gregory the Great.

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Letters from postmasters 1905-06: naming Canada's communities

Helen Kerfoot*

Abstract

Early in the 1900s, Canada attracted immigrants from Europe and the United States to settle and farm in the West. As new communities sprung up, post offices followed and their names often became the name of the communities. In 1905-06, James White, Chief Geographer of Canada, mailed form letters to postmasters across the country requesting assistance to gather data on the origins of toponyms. An overview is given of the survey and replies, particularly those from Alberta and Saskatchewan, and the various types of post office name origins provided. As well, the permanence of such names over the years is considered. This type of extensive survey was a one-time occurrence and a way of gathering local knowledge. Particularly in the West, the postmasters had first hand information about the naming process. Although some responses were lost for years within Government offices, the letters have now been scanned and hopefully this valuable resource will become available for public research.

Keywords: Canadian post office names; crowd sourcing; toponymy of Alberta and Saskatchewan; James White.

Introduction

Today we speak of crowd sourcing and volunteered geographic information (VGI). Both can refer to the process of collecting geographical names from local sources.

In this article, I will look back to the early 1900s when a postal survey was undertaken in Canada, to contact local postmasters across the country to volunteer the origins of the names of their communities.

I will present a general view of this project and provide some of the results – particularly from the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Finally, I will comment briefly on the permanence, or lack of it, of the names provided by the postmasters and on the reliability of the information they supplied.

James White (1863-1928), the Geographic Board of Canada, and the letters to postmasters

The Geographic Board of Canada (GBC) was established in 1897 to be in charge of Canada's toponymy. James White represented the Geological Survey, and continued as a member of the Board (and finally its Chair) for 30 years!

*Honorary Chair, UNGEGN, and Former Emeritus Scientist, Natural Resources Canada

(Figure 1) In 1899, White became Canada's Chief Geographer, working in the Department of the Interior. He was responsible for the first Atlas of Canada (1906), and for several regionally-focussed publications on Canadian toponymy.

To gather up-to-date and reliable data on the place names, White sent out letters to "each postmaster" (WHITE, 1910, p. 154) across the country in 1905-06, and followed up as needed in 1910-11 (Figure 2). We do not know how many letters were originally mailed out, as during these years new post offices opened and post offices closed and no record has been found that throws any light on the mail-out process.

White's letter posed a number of questions: asking whether the community was named for a place

Figure 1. James White (1863-1928).
Source: The Civilian, 1914.

Figure 2. Form letter as mailed out by James White to postmasters across Canada.
Source: Geographical Names Board of Canada Secretariat records.

elsewhere, for a person, or for a natural feature nearby. Details of the naming and any other names that had been used were requested. He appealed to the postmasters to seek local help to provide the information:

"In many localities, the older generation is passing, or has passed away, and unless steps are taken to collect this information, it will, in many instances, be too late [...]."

Responses to White's letters

In the records of the Secretariat of today's Geographical Names Board of Canada some 3300 responses were found. Of these, 1400 (over 40%) were from Ontario, over 300 each from Manitoba, Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan, over 200 each from Alberta and British Columbia and over 100 each from Prince Edward Island and Quebec (Table 1). For some unknown reason no replies have been found for New Brunswick. Newfoundland and Labrador was not at that time a part of Canada, and the three northern territories of today were not part of the survey.

From the replies, I have focussed on those from Alberta and Saskatchewan that both became provinces in 1905 when the mail out of the letters began. Over centuries the prairie grasslands of the southern parts of these provinces were occupied by Indigenous peoples living on their traditional lands. In the 1800s they were subjected to waves of immigrants coming to settle on the land – from Britain, Eastern Canada, and the United States, and then from Scandinavia, Germany, Eastern Europe and Russia. For the newcomers conditions were harsh, with severe winters and hot, dry summers.

In 1872 the Government of Canada passed the Dominion Lands Act and started advertising for settlers for the west of Canada. Little emphasis was put on farming experience or the conditions to be faced, but at reasonable prices settlers could purchase land. Square townships had been surveyed, with 6 x 6 sections (each section 1 mile square – 640 acres/250 ha). A homesteader had a quarter

Province	No. of replies
Alberta	244
British Columbia	251
Manitoba	345
Nova Scotia	363
Ontario	1415
Prince Edward Island	150
Quebec	137
Saskatchewan	391
Total	**3295**

Table 1. Numbers of replies received from each province.

section (160 acres/65 ha) made available, and another quarter section once he was established. This survey system is the basis of the Prairie landscape today, with the square pattern of farms, and villages developing on the railway lines that were built around 1880.

How effective was this mail out request? Although we do not know the rate of response, we do know that White appears disappointed with his efforts – or at least, with the replies received. He comments in 1910 that:

"... While much valuable material was obtained, the results were, in many respects, disappointingly inadequate. Many circulars were unanswered, and many were returned with information not germane to the enquiry." (White, 1910, p. 154).

But, there is much interesting original material found in these letters, relating to the origins of the names, particularly in Western Canada where many of the names were given during the life of the responding postmaster. In the case of rural or country post office locations, it was not uncommon for the postmaster himself to have suggested the name to the Post Office Department. In addition, some letters provide first-hand details of the nature and facilities of the settlements (some quite small) early in the 20th century.

Nearly all replies were hand written, some beautifully scribed, others difficult to decipher. Some postmasters provided their information clearly and with verve, others gave either brief or rambling responses. Examples are shown here of four responses from Alberta – Marwayne, Sollmann, Lethbridge and Markerville (Figures 3A, 3B, 3C and 3D). All are named for people: the first two for the local postmaster and the last two for influential Alberta businessmen.

Although these letters are now in the archives of the Secretariat of the Geographical Names Board of Canada, at some point in time the letters were mislaid within the Department of the Interior, with those of Eastern Canada
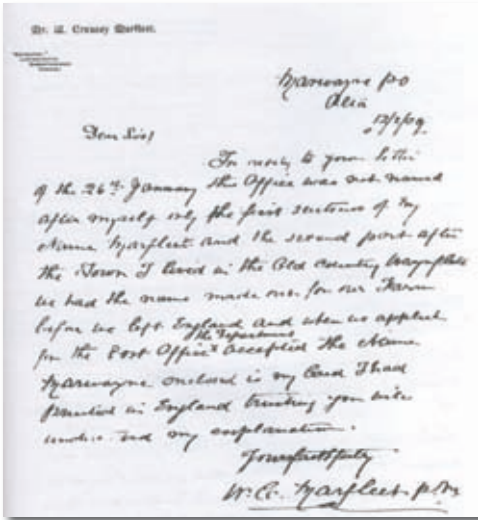
Figure 3A. Reply from Marwayne, Alberta.
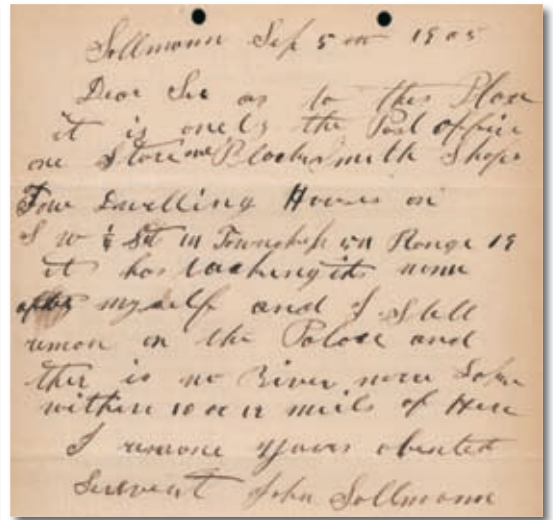
Figure 3B. Reply from Sollmann, Alberta.

Figure 3C. Reply from Lethbridge, Alberta.

re-surfacing in 1964, and those of Western Canada not re-appearing until 1977.

Location of early prairie post offices

On the Prairies, settlers arrived from the late 1800s to take up farming and make new lives for their families. The Post Office was established as a federal government department in 1867, and applications for post offices were received. For farming communities, these post offices were frequently located within a home (often the homestead of the postmaster), and so would move over the years as the duties passed on to a different postmaster. So, a toponym could travel over several miles (or kilometres) with such a transfer.

An example of post office relocation is provided from Saskatchewan (Figure 4). The post office for Edenwold opened in 1890 and moved five times before arriving in 1912 in the general store

Figure 3D. Reply from Markerville, Alberta.

Figure 4. Movement of rural post offices: an example of Edenwold and Hednesford, Saskatchewan.
Edenwold: 1. 1890-91; 2. 1891-96; 3. 1896-99; 4. 1899-1902; 5. 1902-12; 6. 1912-today
Hednesford: 1. 1887-97; 2. 1898-1906; 3. 1907-1912.

at the centre of the community that had developed close to the station on the newly constructed railway. (The longest move of the post office and its name was between the first and second locations, a distance of nearly 10 km.) To the north of Edenwold, nearby Hednesford was the site of a post office that opened in 1887 and moved twice before closing down in 1912. At this point the name disappeared from use as postal services were taken over by Edenwold and no community had developed under the name of Hednesford. The house of postmaster Karl Mang was the third and last post office in Hednesford (Figure 5).

*Figure 5. Photo of pioneer immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian Empire outside
the farmhouse of Karl Mang, last postmaster at Hednesford, Saskatchewan (1907-1912).
Source: Library and Archives Canada, C-13556.*

Types of name origins provided from Alberta and Saskatchewan

Based on the questions posed by James White and the nature of the replies, I grouped the post office / community names as follows, according to the name origins as provided in the responses:

(1) For persons – A. postmasters, B. other people (early settlers, those who assisted with settlement, relatives, etc.) and C. groups of people (Indigenous groups, families, etc.)

(2) For places elsewhere – home towns or farms in their homeland, so bringing settlers familiarity to the landscape of their new locations.

(3) Descriptive of the landscape – based on the local topographic or vegetation characteristics

(4) For already named nearby features – associated with a named river, hill, valley, etc.

(5) For local animals, birds, plants, minerals – sometimes using the Indigenous name

(6) In a more abstract or conceptual way

(7) Origin not known by the postmaster who answered the survey

Table 2 provides some statistics of the names for Alberta and Saskatchewan. From the table, note that over half the replies from Alberta and nearly half those from Saskatchewan reported post offices named for people, often names provided by the postmasters themselves to the Post Office Department. In Saskatchewan the next most frequent category of names is for places from their homelands, whereas in Alberta a higher percentage of toponyms was descriptive of the landscape.

	Alberta		Saskatchewan	
	#	%	#	%
Total replies received	244	100	391	100
1. Persons	126	52	179	46
A. Postmasters	60	25	87	22
B. Others	61	25	86	22
C. Groups	5	2	6	2
2. Places elsewhere	33	14	69	18
3. Descriptive of the landscape	37	15	52	13
4. Associated features	17	7	24	6
5. Animals, birds, etc.	13	5	10	3
6. Conceptual	4	2	16	4
7. Not known	14	5	41	10

Table 2. Types of name origins provided by postmasters in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Some examples of toponyms in these categories in the replies received from Alberta and Saskatchewan

(1A) There are 60 post offices/settlement names in Alberta (AB) and 87 in Saskatchewan (SK) noted as for postmasters. Several postmasters had sent in other names, but postal authorities used the postmaster's name (perhaps because of duplication or other reasons of name confusion). For example, the postmaster of Entwhistle AB had tried to have Pembina or Clifton accepted.
(a) Family name of the postmaster – many examples, including:
　　Ewing, Holding, Skaro AB　　　Keatley, Lawlor, Peacock SK
(b) First name, for example:
　　Jeffrey AB for Jeffrey Garon　　Robert SK for Robert Fenske
(c) Family name or part* of it, plus a suffix, for example:
　　Astleyville AB;　　Lexville SK　　Graytown SK
　　Hortonburg AB;　　Neilburg SK　　Headlands* SK
　　Hearnleigh AB　　　　　　　　Kingsview SK

Fieldholme AB		Rossduff SK
Royton* AB;	Parkerton SK	Taylorside SK
Kinnondale* AB		Weirhill SK
Ellisborg SK		Cailmount SK

Also: Strathcarrol SK (misspelling – for Thomas Carroll)

(d) Family name or part* of it plus a word indicating something about the place, for example:

Jackson Coulee AB	Noyes Crossing AB
Simons Valley AB	Stones Corner* AB
White Court AB	Dowd Hill SK
Hurdman Lodge SK	Star City* SK
White Lake SK	

(e) Altered names or combined forms

Edwand AB	Edward Anderson
Eyremore AB	W.T.P. Eyres and wife Miss Moore
Kinnondale AB	J.C. McKinnon + dale
Marwayne AB	W. Creasey Marfleet + Waynflete (England)
Headlands SK	Robert Lochhead + lands
Milden SK	C.Mills and Robert Dryden, first settlers
Thacker SK	William Thackerey

(1B)   As significant as naming for postmasters is the naming for other individuals, of which the main types are as follows:

(a) Owner of ranch land   Alix AB (Mrs. Westhead)

Content AB (French-Canadian owner, creamery & townsite)

Figure 6. Old post office, Kinnondale, Alberta. (Kinnondale deleted from official records in 1957.)
Source: Forgotten Alberta, img 018.

Fishburn AB (A.W. Fish, ranch manager)

Francis SK (Mr. J. Francis, landowner, Indian Head)

Tullock SK (oldest district resident, rancher)

(b) First/early settler(s)   Brosseau AB (Edmond Brosseau, merchant and farmer)

Earlville AB (Earl F. Heath who ran a general store)

Batoche SK (Métis settler Xavier Latendre aka Batoche)

Carnduff SK (J.P. Carnduff, 1884 from Belfast)

Keelerville SK (J.P. Keeler, organizer, district and school)

(c) Indigenous individuals

Crowfoot AB (Blackfoot Chief)

Kamsack SK (local Indigenous man)

Mistawasis SK (Cree Chief)

Moosomin SK (Cree Chief)

White Hawk SK (Cree Chief)

(d) Individuals involved with early construction projects, for example a railway line

Brooks Station AB (N. Brooks, Division Engineer, Canadian Pacific Railway)

Coutts AB (Baroness Burdett Coutts, railway company major share owner)

Craik SK (railway surveyor)

Creelman SK (named by CPR for James Creelman, solicitor)

Tisdale SK (Frederick Tisdale, townsite agent, CPR)

(e) Well-known people (internationally, nationally or locally known)

Humboldt SK (Alexander von Humboldt, German geographer)

Macoun SK (John Macoun, Canadian Botanist)

Mulock SK (William Mulock, Postmaster General of Canada)

Lacombe AB (R.C. missionary, Father Lacombe)

Hitchcock SK (banker in Moose Jaw SK)

(f) Relatives of the postmaster

Arthurvale AB (son of Leslie Stephenson)

Dora AB (daughter of Carl Stettler)

Edwell AB (Edith and William – children)

Emmaville SK (Emma Arcand wife of Étienne Roussel)

Taylorton SK (R.R. Taylor, father and local coal mine developer)

(g) Relatives of other individuals

Claresholm AB (Clare, wife and name of home, of Superintenden Niblock)

Coleman AB (daughter of Plumerfelt, President of the International Coal and Coke Co. who started the town)

Estevan SK (daughter of Sir William Van Horne)

Glen Adelaide SK (sister of early settler)
(1C)   For groups of people
        Belly River AB (Gros Ventres Indians now in the United States)
        Viking AB
        Lewis SK (settler family)
        Stewart Valley SK (settler family)
(2)   Places elsewhere – towns or farms in the settlers' homelands
        Alberta: including places in England, Scotland, USA, Sweden, Norway,
        Biblical lands, Iceland, Ireland, Austria, Poland, Quebec … :
        … Bardo; Falun; Josephsburg; Kolomea; Krakow; Liberal; Solheima
        Saskatchewan: also including places in Ontario, Finland, Russia, Italy, Germany, Latvia, Hungary, France:
        … Kaposvar; Muenster; Rothbury; St. Brieux; Saltcoats; Skibbereen
(3)   Descriptive of the landscape
        Alberta: Canyon; Pekisko (= rolling hills), Spring Coulee, Sunny Slope, Twin Butte, Two Hills
        Saskatchewan:
        Boscurvis (Latin for large oxbow on the Souris River)
        Park (park-like prairie)
        Wakaw (Cree for 'curved water' – nearby crescent-shaped lake)
(4)   In association with the names of natural features
        Raven AB (Raven River)   Loon Creek SK (Loon Creek)
        Livingstone AB (Livingstone Range)   Pearl Park SK (Pearl Creek)
(5)   Attributed to animals, birds, plants and minerals
        Namao AB (= sturgeon)   Onion Lake SK (wild onions)
        White Fish Lake AB   Pheasant Forks SK
        Saskatoon SK (shrub known for its edible fruit)
(6)   Just a few places were conceptually named
        Independence AB   Patience AB
        Kristnes SK (likely from Norse mythology)
        Kutawa SK (Indian word meaning 'make a fire')
        Qu'Appelle SK ("Who calls" – legend of Echo Lake in poem by Pauline Johnson)

Some letters provided details of the community in the early 1900s

    A few examples have been selected from the Alberta and Saskatchewan letters to illustrate the range from very small crossroad locations with few facilities to locations, often near a new railway line, where prosperous communities were being established.

        (a) Neapolis AB had but a general store, creamery, camp shop and post office all under one roof
        (b) Floral SK was flourishing with a population of 110, a branch line of the CPR, a mail train twice weekly, church service and Sunday school

(c) Stettler AB, on the other hand, is described as a new town only 3½ months old, yet flourishing with many businesses:

8 real estate agents
4 boarding houses; implement dealers
3 lumberyards; livery stables; building contractors; hardware stores
2 hotels; blacksmiths; grain elevators to be erected
1 bank merchant, barber, harness shop, drug store, doctor, butcher jeweller; furniture store; fruit & candy store, bakery, Chinese laundry, feedmill Electric light company being organized

Figure 7A. Main Street, Stettler, 1909.
Source: Internet Archives PC 0048/13.

Figure 7B. Carl Stettler. Born in Switzerland, he arrived in Alberta in 1903. In 1905 he founded the Swiss/ German colony of Blumenau and became its postmaster. Later that year the village moved to a townsite adjacent to the new railway and was renamed Stettler. Source: Provincial Archives of Alberta Photograph Collection, A 6791.

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The continuation or demise of these post office names

In the early part of the 20th century the post offices set up in the homestead of an individual family were the point of receiving and distributing mail, but not necessarily linked to or collocated with a store, railway stop, or other community facility.

It is not really a surprise that the fate of the post office names is a mixed one and that a name given at the beginning of the 20th century has not necessarily endured and received permanent recognition, either locally or in official toponymic records. The following is an indication, providing examples of those that have endured and others that have floundered.

(1) Some of the post office names now identify cities, towns and villages
   Alberta: Airdrie, Coutts, Medicine Hat, Rimbey, Taber, Viking
   Saskatchewan: Estevan, Lumsden, Melfort, Moosomin, Oxbow, Qu'Appelle

(2) Other names have survived, identifying small localities
   Alberta: Bardo, Beazer, Evarts, Haynes
   Saskatchewan: Edgeley, Gorlitz, Halbrite, Kuroki

(3) Some places have changed their names over time
   Alberta: Hortonburg to Bremner; Liberal to Erskine; Rosenroll to Bittern Lake
   Saskatchewan: Gillies to Blaine Lake; Laxdal to Mozart; Tulloch to Invermay

(4) Some names although officially recognized at one point have been rescinded (i.e. no longer official) with little remaining at the location
   Alberta: Little Plume, McEwan, Quarrel
   Saskatchewan: Graytown, Hoodoo, Hudmore

(5) Some names remain as "Post office name of record", but are for historical rather than current use
   Alberta: Scona, Tindastoll, Urquhart, Yarrow
   Saskatchewan: Audrey, Curzon, Dongola, Heron

(6) Some of the names, although contained in the replies to White's request, never reached the records of the Canadian names board (see Table 3). Perhaps the name was quite short lived as the post office closed and its services were transferred elsewhere.
   Alberta: Harker, Roth, Royton, Shandro
   Saskatchewan: Cressman, Kathrinthal, McGuire, Neewin, Wolffton

Province	No. not in the CGNDB
Alberta	19
British Columbia	22
Manitoba	12
Nova Scotia	10
Ontario	5
Prince Edward Island	0
Quebec	16
Saskatchewan	57
Total	**141**

Table 3. Postmasters' responses for names not found in the Canadian Geographical Names Database.
Source: Geographical Names Board of Canada Secretariat, ms. James White master spreadsheet, February 19, 2020.

Library and Archives Canada database on post offices and postmasters provides an excellent resource to check the years of existence and location(s) of post offices, as well as names of postmasters at a particular location. This source contains no name origins, but does show some misspellings between names proposed and those adopted (Figure 8).

Office Name	Item Number	Electoral District
Strathcarrol	20662	Assiniboia (Saskatchewan)

Dates: **Established: 1890-01-01**   **Closing: 1915-05-04**

Additional Information : **Sec.36, Twp. 19, R.4, W2 - 1890-01-01**

Name of Postmaster	Date of Appointment	Date of Vacancy
F.W. Carroll	1890-01-01	1908-05-22
Colin McDougall	1905-05-28	1909-01-15
T.W. Carroll	1909-04-15	1915-02-18
F.H. Northcott	1915-04-05	1915-05-04

Figure 8. Information from the post office record of Strathcarrol, Saskatchewan.
Note: Strathcarrol was not spelled in accord with "Carroll", the name of the first postmaster.
Source: Library and Archives Canada, Post offices and postmasters, #20662.

Reliability of the data in the replies received

It appears that much of the information provided by the postmasters was useful and accurate. In Alberta and Saskatchewan many name origins were well known to the postmasters; some names had been given by them, while others were a matter of recent local knowledge. However, some more elaborate stories were certainly of dubious content, and other letters appeared to contain details that would need verification for further use. As noted by Bill Barry:

"Frequently […] we search for memory where none exists. We all have a need to ascribe significance to our community's name, so myths and legends develop" (Barry, 1998, p. 3).

It is to be expected that some name origins were later found to be inaccurate. For example, Yarrow AB noted as probably named after the wild plant is more likely after Yarrow water in Scotland. Halbrite SK was said to be named for a George Halbrite when the railway went through, but is probably for railway officials Hall, Brown and White. St. Louis SK was reported as named for brothers Albert and Romuald St. Louis of Sorel, Quebec – however, in later works it is noted as used by early Métis and traders in the early 19th century (Barry, 1998, pp. 316-7).

From published place name studies on Alberta and Saskatchewan, whether or not they had direct access to the letters, we do see the later research supporting in large measure the data provided by the postmasters.

Looking to the future

To make some of this material available to the general public, in the 1970s and 1980s a selection of letters on a province-by-province basis was included in the publication *Canoma* (Geographical Names Board of Canada). Those for Alberta and Saskatchewan were written by Alan Rayburn (Rayburn, 1979, 1980) and included images of several responses.

The replies to White have now been scanned and should soon be made publicly available through the Government of Canada. Certainly, there is opportunity for further research into this resource that captures aspects of Canada's toponymy at the start of the 20th century.

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Microtoponyms as a part of the cultural heritage and a challenge for standardization

Peter Jordan*

Abstract

Microtoponyms in the sense of field and house names (mainly names of farmsteads) are very likely the category of place names expressing and symbolizing the most intimate relation between humans and their place: they reflect how the owner of a place perceives his/her closest environment; they mark what is owned by individuals; they help to mentally structure a person's closest surrounding; and they arouse – mentioned or memorized – very likely the deepest feelings compared to all other place-name categories. They are therefore a most valuable cultural heritage and very important for cultural, historical and geographical studies as indicators of human perception of space, earlier socio-economic situations, and earlier cultural layers. Field and house names are, however, in our post-agricultural societies in decline and in danger of falling into oblivion due to traditional agriculture losing ground, the merging of fields, and farmsteads being abandoned. This may lead to three conclusions as regards conservation and standardization: (1) Field and house names urgently need to be collected. (2) It needs to be considered how they could be kept in use (e.g., by representing them on large-scale hiking and tourist maps). (3) Given that most of them correspond to local dialect the question arises, whether the dialect form should be maintained also in modern cartographic or other publications, or whether the names should be transformed into a standard language version. The paper will discuss these principal questions by the example of Austrian Carinthia, where besides German names the share of Slovenian microtoponyms is high.

Keywords: *microtoponyms, toponyms, cultural heritage, standardization, field names, house names, Carinthia, Austria.*

Introduction

While the Glossary of toponymic terms of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) has no definition for "microtoponym" (Kadmon 2002, 2007), the List of Key Onomastic Terms of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS) defines "microtoponym" as "a name referring to smaller objects like fields, pastures, fences, stones, marshes, bogs, ditches etc., and in general used locally by only a limited group of people." (ICOS 2021, p. 4) This is a proper definition, although the expression "microtoponym" is linguistically not too fortunate, since it is not the name that is small, but the feature designated by it.

* Austrian Academy of Sciences, Co-Convenor of the ICA-IGU Joint Commission on Toponymy (Austria), University of the Free State (South Africa).

It should in the author's opinion also include house names in the sense of names of houses given by the owners. At least in the Alps, house names of old farmsteads are very traditional, and a farmstead is known under this name in wider surroundings, while the family names of the owners may have repeatedly changed.

Functions of microtoponyms

When we regard the following as the main roles or functions of place names in relating humans to territory (or communities to geographical space, see Jordan 2012a, 2012b, 2016a, 2019), all of them are fulfilled by microtoponyms.
- They often highlight characteristics of space important for a certain community and reflect in this way a human community's perception of space.
- They mark the territory of a community.
- They structure space mentally.
- They support emotional ties between people and place and promote in this way space-related identity building.

Microtoponyms are very likely even the category of place names expressing and symbolizing the most intimate relation between humans and their place. They reflect how the owner of a place perceives his/her closest environment. They mark what is owned by individuals. They help to mentally structure a person's closest surroundings. And they arouse – mentioned or memorized – very likely the deepest feelings compared to all other place-name categories.

They are therefore a most valuable cultural heritage and very important for cultural historical and geographical studies as indicators of human perception of space, historical socio-economic situations, and historical cultural layers (Jordan et al. 2009, Jordan 2016b). Field and house names are, however, in our post-agricultural societies in decline and in danger of falling into oblivion due to traditional agriculture losing ground, the merging of fields, and farmsteads being abandoned. This may lead to three postulates as regards their conservation and standardization:
- Field and house names urgently need to be collected.
- It needs to be considered how they could be kept in use (e.g., by representing them on large-scale hiking and tourist maps).
- Given that most of them correspond to local dialect the question arises, whether the dialect form should be maintained also in modern cartographic or other publications, or whether the names should be transformed into a standard language version.

The example of Austrian Carinthia

These postulates or questions will now be discussed by the example of the Austrian federal province Carinthia [Kärnten], where besides German names the share of Slovenian microtoponyms is high (Kranzmayer 1956, 1958; Pohl 2010; Zdovc 2010). The data in this example are from the Urban Jarnik Institute of Ethnographic

Studies in Klagenfurt and its head Martina Piko-Rustia, who has conducted a survey of field and house names in the southern part of Carinthia still having a bilingual (German-Slovenian) population (Klinar et al. 2012, Piko-Rustia 2016).

The starting point for this initiative, however, was a survey of Josef Pack, an independent researcher, later submitted for acknowledgement of Slovenian field and house names as an intangible cultural heritage by the Austrian UNESCO Commission. In 2010, Slovenian field and house names in Carinthia were indeed recognized by the Austrian UNESCO Commission as an intangible cultural heritage and included in the Austrian heritage list. This resulted in public appreciation of these names (most of them Slovenian), in public support for researching into them further and in municipalities and other public institutions being ready to support (also financially) their inclusion into large-scale hiking and tourist maps.

It has to be mentioned at this point that the Austrian federal province of Carinthia was in the 6th and 7th centuries settled by a Slavic population, while German-speaking Bavarians arrived only two centuries later. They adopted most of the Slavic names but became politically and socially dominant. They founded cities and towns, were craftsmen and traders, while the Slavs – later called Slovenes – remained the rural ground layer of the society (Krahwinkler & Wolfram 2001; Kranzmayer 1956, 1958; Lukan & Moritsch 1988; Pohl 1982, 2009a, 2009b, 2010). This resulted in speaking German becoming a precondition for social ascent and in a lasting gradient in prestige of the two languages. This gradient has also been internalized by the minority (They tend to regard their own language not as important and as 'good' as German). This gradient is also the main reason for all the minority conflicts that arose after national awakening (on both sides) in the 19th century (Rumpler 2005; Vilfan 2001; Wörsdörfer 2002). The gradient in prestige of the two languages exists up to the present day and it is still difficult for the (today rather small Slovenian) minority to get recognized as an essential ingredient of Carinthian (the wider region's) culture and identity (Jordan, Mácha et al. 2021). Figure 1 and the Table show location, absolute and relative numbers of Slovene-speakers in Austria and its province Carinthia.
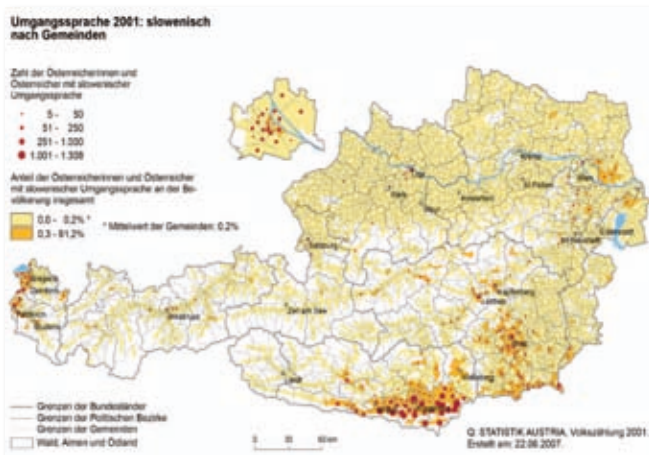
Figure 1. Speakers of Slovene by communes in 2001 (Source: Statistik Austria 2021a, 2021b).

The population census 2001, to which Figure 1 and the Table refer, was the last in Austria to register colloquial language in the sense of the language spoken in public (as noted on the map and in the table) or of any other linguistic characteristic. It may with this background even be surprising that Slovenian field and house names receive this kind of recognition today.

Colloquial language	Austria in total	Austria %	Burgenland abs	Burgenland %	Carinthia abs	Carinthia %	Vienna abs	Vienna %
All languages	7,322,000	100	265,005	100	527,333	100	1,301,859	100
German	6,991,388	95.5	240,228	90.6	508,543	96.4	1,139,196	87.5
Burgenland-Croatian	19,374	0.3	16,245	6.1	25	0.0	2,456	0.2
Slovene (Not including "Windisch")	17,953	0.2	70	0.0	12,554	2.4	1,412	0.1
Czech	11,035	0.2	189	0.1	192	0.0	5,778	0.4
Hungarian	25,884	0.4	4,704	1.8	313	0.0	10,686	0.8

Table. Colloquial language of Austrian citizen resident population in 2001 (Source: Statistik Austria 2021a, 2021b).

Let us return to the survey of field and house names as conducted by the Urban Jarnik Institute with the support of many other institutions, local private enthusiasts and cultural associations without any payment. Figure 2 shows a survey section from the Lower Gail Valley at the western end of the bilingual German-Slovenian area in Carinthia. Even here, where hardly anybody speaks Slovene anymore and affiliates himself/herself to the Slovenian minority, these names, all of them Slovenian, continue to be used in daily communication, although their meaning is not transparent to most users and the diacritical marks of the Slovenian orthography are in most cases omitted.

Figure 2. House and field names in and around the village Förolach/Borlje in the Carinthian Lower Gail Valley as documented by Urban Jarnik Institute in 2020 (Map provided by Martina Piko-Rustia).

For several Carinthian municipalities these names are now represented on large-scale hiking and tourist maps (Figure 3), which are also available online in PDF format in a web portal elaborated in the framework of a Slovenian-Austrian EU-funded cross-border project between 2011 and 2015 "Cultural portal of field and house names" [Kulturni portal ledinskih in hišnih imen/Kulturportal der Flur- und Hausnamen, FLU-LED]. They are also available via smartphones. Apart from their cultural value, they are also valuable means of orientation in emergency situations, when ambulances and fire-fighters have to find a certain house or plot. They are for this purpose also stored in registers of rescue organizations as well as of institutions responsible for them at the provincial and federal levels.

Figure 3. Section of a hiking and tourist map of the municipality Zell/Sele in Carinthia
(Map provided by Martina Piko-Rustia).

Conclusion: How to standardize microtoponyms?

Returning to the three postulates as regards conservation and standardization of microtoponyms: indeed, field and house names are in urgent need to be collected, because they are in danger of falling into oblivion. It was in the Carinthian case perhaps the last moment to have them collected in their entirety, because there are still some farmers alive, who worked in the fields before they were merged and before many were abandoned. It is a good, and perhaps the best, way of keeping

these names in use by representing them on large-scale hiking and tourist maps. This is in the Carinthian case today favoured by a considerably better minority-friendly political climate, and the recognition of these names by UNESCO as a cultural heritage. This recognition meant elevating their prestige and with the prestige of the names also to some extent the prestige of the Slovenian language, although the traditional gap between German and Slovene still exists.

There is a growing interest of cultural tourists in bilingual and multicultural situations. This, in turn, makes members of the Slovene-speaking minority understand that their language is perhaps not as unimportant and negligible as they always thought. (It is a common phenomenon that cultural assets need to be called into consciousness by outsiders).

Indeed, most of the field and house names correspond to local dialect. It would mean alienating them to their users, if the dialect form was not maintained, as in modern cartographic or other publications, and the names were transformed into a standard language version. While it corresponds to Austrian standardization practice to render place names, with a few exceptions, in their standard language version, this principle cannot be applied to field and house names if they are not to become irrelevant for the group of people really using them on a daily basis. This applies even more to Slovenian place names in Carinthia, since the Slovenian dialects in Carinthia deviate considerably from the modern Slovenian standard language that is based on the dialect of Carniola [Kranjska] – a part of modern Slovenia (Logar & Rigler 2001). It would also be problematic to render these names with all diacritics of the Slovenian orthography, since this again would alienate them to the local users.

As a result, microtoponyms are indeed a specific challenge for standardization.

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The evolution of geographical
names within the long history of Cyprus

Andreas Hadjiraftis*

Abstract

The traditional place names of a country are the silent, but realistic, honest and credible witnesses of its history. By studying the names only, the whole past is validly and thoroughly represented. The founding of cities and settlements, the racial origins of the settlers, the topography and geomorphology of a place, the political and warlike events that took place, the social structure, the economic and productive structure of the system, cultural development and everything else related to a place, can be extracted from its names: toponyms, and microtoponyms.

Toponyms are not just designations. They include people's national and racial status, their material production and artistic creation, their survival struggles, the history of their sensitivities, reflections and ideas. They keep in them the sweat of their labours and the blood of their sacrifices, their anxieties and their tears. Every place name is a volume of human life on Earth.

Cypriot land, an ancient civilization, lost in the inaccessible depths of prehistoric times, has experienced many times the bitterness and pain of changing its toponyms from enemies who eliminated its people along with their unprotected names. Maybe small in size, but rich in history and tradition, Cyprus has met, throughout changing eras, tremendous changes, wars, rebellions and invasions, mostly due to its strategic position, as it is situated at the crossroads of three continents (Europe, Asia and Africa).

Keywords: *Cyprus, evolution, toponyms, history, civilization, Achaeans*.

Introduction

The civilization history of Cyprus, according to archaeological evidence, goes back 11,000 years to the 9th millennium BC (early Neolithic Period, or Stone Age). The island acquired its Greek character after it was settled by the Mycenaean-Achaean Greeks between the 13th and 11th centuries BC. In the mid-9th century BC, Phoenician settlers began to arrive, concentrating mainly in the coastal city of Kition. Subsequently, Cyprus came, in turn, under Assyrian, Egyptian and Persian domination (8th-4th centuries BC).

Cyprus was part of the Mycenaean civilization dating to the Late Helladic III (1400-1050 BC). Archaeological evidence shows that Greek settlement began unsystematically in c. 1400 BC, then steadied (possibly due to Dorian invaders on

* President of Permanent Committee for the Standardization of Geographical Names of Cyprus. Chief Lands Officer, Department of Lands and Surveys, Ministry of Interior, Lefkosia (Kypros).

Remains of the ancient city of Salamis. The capital of Cyprus as far back as 1100 BC, Salamis survived the successive occupations of the Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, and Romans but eventually succumbed to the forces of nature.

the mainland) with definite settlements established in c. 1200 BC.

Cyprus became part of the Roman Empire between 30 BC and 330 AD. It was then that Christianity came to Cyprus. However, it retained its Greek identity and, as part of the Hellenistic state of the Ptolemies (310-30 BC), and of the Greek-speaking world of Byzantium (330 AD1191), its ethnic heritage was kept alive. The Greek language and culture also prevailed throughout the centuries that followed, even though Cyprus came under the rule of successive foreign powers – King Richard I (the Lionheart) of England and the Knights Templar (1191-1192), the Franks (Lusignans) (1192-1489), Venetians (1489-1571), Ottoman Turks (1571-1878) and British (1878-1960).

Archaeological remains of Kourion – which was one of the island's most important city-kingdoms. Earliest findings date to the 11th century BC.

Geography and demography of Cyprus

Geographically, Cyprus is located at the crossroads of civilizations and is a bridge between cultures (*Ref.: Cyprus at a Glance, Press and Information Office*). Its geographic and strategic position has turned it into an example and prototype of harmonious coexistence of different cultures. Dispersed throughout its territory are historic and religious monuments of varying styles, a variety of historical geographical names, themes and philosophies.

The population of the Republic of Cyprus is around 949,000 (December 2013) of whom 690,000 (72.8%) belong to the Greek Cypriot community, 91,000 (9.6%) to the Turkish Cypriot community and 167,100 (17.6%) are foreign citizens residing in Cyprus (*Ref.: Window on Cyprus, Press and Information Office*).

Greek Cypriots refer to the ethnic Greek population of Cyprus. They form the island's largest ethnic community, more than 80 percent of the population, with the second largest ethnic community being the Turkish Cypriots. Greek Cypriots are mostly Eastern Orthodox Christians, members of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus.

Greek Cypriots trace their origins to the descendants of the Achaean Greeks and later the Mycenaean Greeks, who settled on the island during the second half of the second millennium BC. The island gradually became part of the Hellenic world as the settlers prospered over the next centuries. Alexander the Great liberated the island from the Persians in 333 BC. After the division of the Roman Empire in AD. 285 Cypriots enjoyed home rule for almost nine centuries under the jurisdiction of the Eastern Empire of Byzantium, something not seen again until 1960. Perhaps the most important event of the early Byzantine period was that the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus became an independent autocephalous church in 431.

The Byzantine era profoundly molded Greek Cypriot culture. The Greek Orthodox Christian legacy bestowed on Greek Cypriots in this period would live on during the succeeding centuries of foreign domination. Because Cyprus was never the final goal of any external ambition, but simply fell under the domination of whichever power was dominant in the eastern Mediterranean, destroying its civilization was never a military objective or necessity.

Despite the heavy oppression, the period of Ottoman rule (1570-1878) did little to change Greek Cypriot culture outright.

Independence

The Republic of Cyprus was established in 1960, after gaining independence from Britain. The official languages are Greek and Turkish. Greek is the predominant language, with English also widely spoken by most locals. As mentioned above, Greek Cypriots trace their origins to the descendants of the Achaean Greeks and later the Mycenaean Greeks. Turkish Cypriots are descendants of the Ottoman settlers.

Armenians, Maronites and Latins are recognized by the Constitution of

the Republic of Cyprus (article 2 § 3) as "religious groups" and, according to a referendum held on the 13th November 1960, all three opted to belong to the Greek-Cypriot community, thus voting as part of this community. The members of these groups enjoy fully the same benefits as other community members and are eligible for public service and official positions of the Republic.

Relegious Minorities

The Law on Religious Groups (N.58/1970) states that each religious group is represented in the House of Representatives by an elected Representative. The participation of the Representatives, who act as liaisons between their respective group and the state, has a consultative nature. They enjoy the same privileges as other Members of Parliament, and they attend the plenary meetings of the House. They can express their views on any matters relating to their respective religious group.

The Venetian Walls of Lefkosia are a series of defensive walls which surround the capital city. The first city walls were built in the Middle Ages, but they were completely rebuilt in the mid-16th century by the Republic of Venezia (Italia).

The first Latin Archbishopric in Cyprus was established in Lefkosia in 1196 during the Frankish rule on the island. However, the present Latin community of the island, as regards both its clerical and secular members, came into being during the early Ottoman period, and it began to increase notably in numbers during the late Ottoman and early British periods. It had a nationally heterogeneous composition, with its members originating from Venice, other areas of Italy, Malta, France and even Dalmatia. Most of the Latins on the island, not belonging to the clergy, were engaged in commercial pursuits, but nonetheless also developed notable initiatives in other fields such as agriculture and education, and thereby made a significant contribution to the life of the island. The Latins of Cyprus form

Presidential Palace: Built in Lefkosia in 1937 during British Rule.

a compact community differing markedly from the Armenians and the Maronites insofar as they are not ethnically homogeneous.

The presence of Armenians on the island dates back, as early as the sixth century. According to the Constitution (article 2 § 3), the Armenian-Cypriots are recognized as a religious group, while the Western Armenian language is recognized and protected by the Cyprus Government as a "minority language," according to the provisions of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Through their churches, schools, clubs, radio programmes, monthly newspapers and websites, the Armenians of Cyprus try to preserve their very rich cultural heritage, language and religion. Today, there are three Armenian churches and primary schools in Cyprus, one of each in each town.

The Maronites derive their name from Saint Maron (350-410 AD) who lived in the region of Apameus in "Syria Secunda", an administrative division of the Byzantine Empire. The history of the Maronites in Cyprus goes back many centuries. Maronites moved to Cyprus from the ancient territories of Syria, the Holy Land, and Lebanon in four principal migrations between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries. The Maronites who now live in Cyprus consider themselves of Lebanese origin, and they are Christian Catholics. Although the Maronites are educated in Greek schools and speak fluent Greek, they also have their own language, they practice their own Catholic Maronite religion, they use the Aramaic language in their liturgy, and they have their own culture and customs. The Cypriot Maronite Aramaic Language has been earmarked for protection by the Republic of Cyprus under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. In 1960, the Maronites living in Cyprus were approximately 2750, living mainly in the four villages of Kormakitis, Asomatos, Karpaseia and Agia Marina.

Geographical names – Mosaic of historical evidence

Cyprus is privileged to have most of its geographical names bequeathed in ancient texts from Homer to Herodotus, the tragic poets and Strabo, up to ancient cartographers, like Claudius Ptolemaeus, and from medieval cartographers, like Abraham Ortelius, up to Lord Horatio H. Kitchener, who mapped Cyprus in the 19th century. The geographical names of Cyprus are a mosaic of historical evidence of several cultures, dominant population and minorities. They are standardized and very well preserved following all United Nations resolutions.

Cultural heritage destructions

Unfortunately, severe cultural heritage destructions took place in Cyprus due to the Turkish military invasion in the summer of 1974, when almost 37% of the sovereign territory of the Republic of Cyprus was occupied by the Turkish invaders. Ever since, there has been a systematic destruction and obliteration of the cultural heritage in the occupied areas.

Given that Turkey's unacceptable actions have corrupted the religious, cultural and historical character of the occupied part of Cyprus, they constitute illegal acts of ethnic cleansing. Moreover, Turkey's repeated criminal acts are clearly intended to impose Turkish culture on the occupied territories, which form an inextricable part of the Republic of Cyprus and, by extension, European territory.

The occupation regime, in an effort to erase all Greek or Christian elements from the occupied areas has, from 1974 and on, replaced all the original names of villages, towns, microtoponyms and also odonyms with totally different unauthorized Turkish names, in violation of the UN Resolutions on Cyprus and also in violation of UNGEGN resolutions on geographical names.
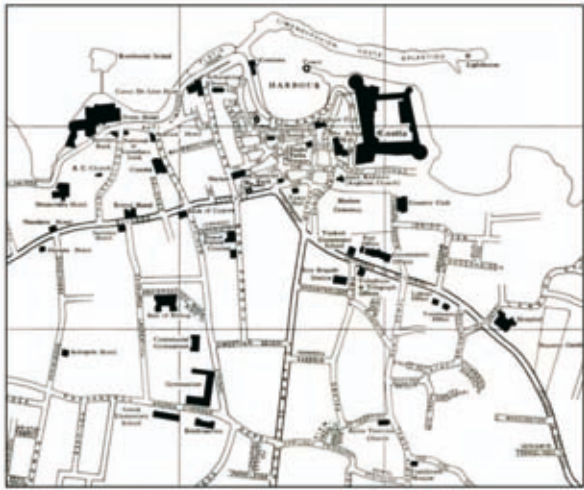
The city of Keryneia before the Turkish invasion of 1974.
Greek and Turkish authoritative geographical names co-existed.

At the same time, archaeological sites, cemeteries, and mainly churches have been destroyed. From various testimonies given to the Department of Antiquities and the Cyprus Government, it is evident that a number of approximately 500 churches, chapels and monasteries have been pillaged, vandalized and/or demolished, while more than 15,000 icons of saints, innumerable sacred liturgical vessels, gospels and other objects of priceless value have been stolen from the churches, and vanished.

Saint Sofia (Agia Sofia) is one of the most beautiful and impressive historical monuments in Cyprus, with its architectural style resembling French medieval cathedrals. The first stone was laid in 1209 by the Catholic Bishop, Thierry, and it was consecrated in 1326. The cathedral was converted into a mosque by Turks in 1570.

Authoritative geographical names

All authoritative geographical names and toponyms of Cyprus are protected by law, and they are included in a "Complete Gazetteer". These names survived for thousands of years and they are an important part of the cultural heritage of the island. The Complete Gazetteer of Cyprus is available on the website of the Permanent Committee for the Standardization of Geographical Names at: http://www.geonoma.gov.cy/myfiles/ekdoseis/cygazetteer/index.html.

Conclusion

Geographical names of Cyprus are more than just labels on a map. They are connecting points between man and land. They are needed to identify, describe, and analyze geographical entities. They carry the hopes and challenges of culture and identity of all Cypriots. Misuse of geographical names can cause friction. The official geographical names of Cyprus depict the island's history and culture

through the years. They constitute significant evidence for citizens, researchers, historians, archaeologists and others, for analyzing, understanding, and preserving the identity of the country.

Geographical names are an important part of our geographical and cultural environment. They identify geographical entities of different kinds and represent irreplaceable cultural values of vital significance to people's sense of well-being and belonging. Ancient monuments, ancient settlements, churches, monasteries, mosques, cemeteries and other significant topographical features, along with their respective geographical names, are solid examples and inseparable parts of the cultural history of Cyprus.

City-related affixes in naming patterns of Asian countries

Mandana Kolahdouz Mohammadi*

Abstract

Word-formation is the process involved in the creation of words. This process often includes the combination of the morphemes already available in a language. English's most productive word-formation processes are affixation, compounding, and conversion (Pavlík, 2017). Suffixation is a subcategory of affixation. It adds a derivational morpheme after the word-formative base. According to a literature review (Ansah & Gyimah, 2021; Darheni, 2020), affixation plays a role in place naming and toponyms. The central hypothesis of the present study is that there is a similar naming pattern regarding city-related affixes in Asian countries. To this aim, the author collected the city-related affixes in selected Asian countries through content analysis and an inductive approach. The present study's findings indicated no usage of a prefix in naming patterns. Still, there were phonological changes in suffixes used in the naming process of selected Asian countries, which can be related to their language origin and historical evolution.

Keywords: *Asian countries, city, affix, naming pattern.*

Introduction

In the study of a language, the geographical names are of specific importance because they indicate a shared part of the cultural and spiritual heritage of the people and nations (UNGEGN, 2015). The study of the origins, meanings, and variations of place names is known as toponymy, a branch of linguistics. This field needs extensive assessment and classification of several situations and scales, ranging from rural microtoponyms to macrotoponyms (e.g., the names of territories engaged at the international level) (Giraut, 2020). In recent years, numerous studies have been conducted on geographical naming and its variations. Some had etymological and historical approaches (Vuolteenaho and Berg, 2009, Rose-Redwood et al., 2019). Köhnlein (2015), regarding Dutch place names, mentions that similar patterns are found in place naming in various other languages. Pamungkas *et al.* (2020) studied the names of tourist destinations in Bali, Indonesia, to find their morphological and toponymic patterns.

Methodology and data analysis

To find a linguistic pattern, the present article, through content analysis and an

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* Payame Noor University (Iran).

inductive approach, aims to investigate the classification of city-related affixes in selected Asian countries such as India, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkey, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Map of studied Asian countries.

In this regard, through Google Maps, the names of the cities in selected Asian countries were analyzed then a general naming pattern was provided. The first hypothesis was that there are similar naming patterns over the selected Asian countries regarding city-related affixes. The second hypothesis was that city-related affixes may change based on phonological distribution in the language used in that particular Asian country.

Country Name	Geographical Naming Patterns
Iran	noun+abad (Khorramabad, Najafabad), noun+shahr (Khomeyni Shahr,Mahshahr, Khorramshahr)
India	noun+abad (Allahabad, Gazi abad), noun+por (Rampur, Jabalpur)
Afghanistan	noun+abad (Khanabad, Asadabad), noun+shahr (Maidan Shahr)
Pakistan	noun+abad (Feisalabad, Baronabad), noun+pur (Jallalpur, Haselpur), noun+wala/wali (Gujranwala, Mianwali)
Turkey	noun+şehair (Eskişehir, Kirşehir and Nevşehir)
Taji̇kistan	noun+obod (Kolkhozobod and Mu'minobod)
Turkmenistan	noun+abat (Balkanabat, Türkmenabat, Ashgabat, Serhetabat)
Uzbekistan	noun+abat/obod (Yangiabad, Khanabad, Xalqobod, Shirabad, Khakkulabad, Dashtobod)

Table1. Linguistic patterns of geographical names.

According to Table 1 the author identified patterns such as *noun+abad (Khazarabad), noun+shahr (Iranshahr)* in Iran; patterns *noun+abad (Allahabad, Gaziabad), noun+por (Rampur, Jabalpur)* in India; patterns *noun+abad Khanabad,*

Asadabad), noun+shahr (Maidan Shahr) in Afghanistan; patterns such as *noun+abad (Feisalabad, Baronabad), noun+pur (Jallalpur, Haselpur), noun+wala (Gujranwala)* in Pakistan.

Countries like India and Pakistan use suffix like *-pur, -puri, -pura, -puram, -pore* from Sanskrit meaning town (Husain Siddiqi and Bastian,1985). Also, the suffix *-wala* and its variations *-wal, -wali, -vli,* and *-vali* were observed in Pakistan city names; this finding was in line with those of Southworth (1995).

Findings and conlusion

All the city-related affixes in the countries studied were suffixes, and no prefix was observed. Some of the suffixes have been changed phonologically and indicated vowel and consonant changes over the historical evolution of the languages, like *-ābād* cultivated place (Dehkhoda, 1993) to *-obod, -abat.* In the case of *Kolkhozobod* and *Mu'minobod,* which are cities in Tajikistan the suffix has been mixed with the noun and the pronunciation has been changed. Or in Turkey, *Eskişehir, Kırşehir* and *Nevşehir,* the *noun+şehir* pattern can be traced in which the suffix *-şehir* had also undergone phonological changes and due to the phonological pattern of the target language /*i*/ has been added and /*a*/ has been changed to /*e*/, but there was no change in its meaning.

The present study's findings also indicated that certain city-related affixes were used in the naming process of cities over selected Asian countries. One of these common affixes was *-abad,* which was available in city naming patterns of countries such as Iran, Pakistan and India, but this suffix in countries such as Tajikistan and Turkmenistan had undergone phonological changes, which have altered the morpheme *-abad* into *-obod (Kolkhozobod)* and *-abat (Ashgabat)* respectively. Therefore, despite phonological changes, a general pattern of Noun+ *-abad (-obod, -abat)/ -shahr (-şehir)/-wala/-pur* can be suggested for the city-related affixes in selected Asian countries.

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Angry river goddesses speak: river names, memory and national identity in Tess Onwueme's "Then She Said It!"

Ayokunmi Ojebode*

Abstract

Critics of ecofeminism have established the connection between nature and women but insufficiently underscore hydronyms, especially in a female Niger-Delta writer-activist drama text. Therefore, this study explores pseudo-river names in Tess Onwueme's (2002), Then She Said It!*, focusing on pseudo-river names of different geopolitical zones in Nigeria to epitomise environmental degradation, mythological narratives and women's marginality.*

Women characters x-ray Africa and Nigeria's social and political histories and ecological realities. Atlantic, Ethiope and Kainji underscore the African government and the multinational companies' grotesque patriarchal fraternity and insatiable quest in the Niger-Delta region.

The hydronyms evoke the dualities of African river goddesses typified in Oshun as Mami Wata [Mother Water] to commemorate matriarchal spirits, explore river confluences and crystalise revolutionary obligations of the youths and older women to Africa's social and economic transformation.

Keywords: *cultural heritage, ecofeminism, goddess worship, history, hydronymy, Nigeria*

> "*You are the oil and the river […]*
> *you are the heart and breast of the land*"
> (Onwueme, 2002, p. 78).

Introduction

Despite the varied portraits in different disciplines, predominantly in arts, history, geography, literature, and sciences, water is widely accepted as a source of life, purification symbol and epitome of rejuvenation.

Since Africa's prehistoric era, water has remained a dominant motif and element symbolising irrigation, fertility and productivity in human beings, animate and inanimate objects. African mythologies are predominantly replete with water imageries (rain, river bodies, springs, ponds, lakes, seas, dew or liquid extract from trees) and deep-rooted significance in ancestral and supra-local beliefs, religion, philosophies and taboos (Tounouga and Brock, 2003).

* *University of Nottingham (United Kingdom).*

The Yoruba West Africa creation myth espouses that the terrestrial realm was initially water-logged before the deities' descent through an iron chain to Ile-Ife, the cradle town and Yoruba headquarters, before the eventual spread into different locations. Specifically, *Olodumare* [the supreme deity] charged *Obatala* [the arch-divinity god] with instituting, solidifying and spreading the terrestrial cosmos using a sacred rooster and earth preserved in a snail shell. But, being an addicted drunk, Obatala is substituted by Oduduwa to complete the sacred quest (OJEBODE, 2019).

Most importantly, adherents of African Traditional Religion (ATR) in Benin, Togo and Nigeria venerate springs, rivers and waterfalls, attributing them as domains for deities and goddesses and sacred sites for cultural and spirito-religious activities. Thus, it is common for priests/priestesses to splash water customarily on shrines and altars to evoke a spirit's life force. Also, religious cults, especially the Osun-Osogbo, Olokun, and Yemoja, access spiritual powers, channel their mantra and transmogrify into aquatic genies through the water. For agricultural purposes, peasant farmers perform rituals and supplications to water spirits to enhance farm productivity. For instance, the Diolas of West Africa gives preeminence to the water deities. Also, Orisa-Oko is the Yoruba farm god, Amontong god of drought, and Montogari, god of rain (TOUNOUGA AND BROCK, 2003).

In Pidgin English, Mami Wata [Mother Water] is a predominant and fluid figure of a goddess or mermaid (half-fish and half-human) in West Africa and the African diasporic societies to complement the sacredness of water in different indigenous arts, cultures and history. This study blends the portraits of the Mami Wata with Tess Onwueme's revolutionary women characters, predominantly pseudo-river names (hydronyms) from different geopolitical zones in Nigeria. The playwright animates and chrysalizes the evolving and dynamic roles of some youthful and elderly militant women characters to balance the ancient, permanent and stable nature of major and minor river bodies in Nigeria. The Promethean women characters' association embodies the confluence of rivers and Nigeria's historical and economic mapping. Thus, Hungeria as a pseudonym is satirical of Nigeria's socio-political and economic crises and setting for Niger, Benue, Oshun, Obida, Koko and Oji, famous Nigerian rivers.

Meanwhile, Atlantic, Ethiope and Kainji underscore the grotesque and patriarchal fraternity between multinational companies and the African government in exploiting human and capital resources, the oil reserves and revenues from the Niger-Delta region. Nonetheless, contemporary studies on ecofeminism have established the connection between nature and women but insufficiently underscored hydronyms: river names that border on the social and political histories of Africa, Nigeria, and its geopolitical zones, especially in a Nigerian female writer-activist text. Therefore, this study explores pseudo-river names in Tess Onwueme's *Then She Said It* (2002)[1] , focusing on Africa's environmental degradation, mythological narratives, women's subjugation, and religion.

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[1] In this study, Tess Onwueme's *Then She Said It!* (2002) was abbreviated as TSI for quick reference.

'Nation born out of water': Nigeria and Niger-Delta entity

Nigeria is the largest and most populous black country in Africa and 7th globally. Significantly, Miss Flora Shaw, Lord Frederick Lugard's wife, coined the name Nigeria in an article for the *Times of London* on January 8, 1897, as she presented a case for an abridged appellation of the "agglomeration of pagan and Mahomedan States," denoting the northern region which operated under the official title, "Royal Niger Company Territories" to differentiate it from Lagos colonies and other Protectorates in the south. The name Nigeria alternates with the tag name for French territories like Central Sudan (Niger) associated with some explorers and travellers who explored the Nile basin or the Upper Niger (Lugard, 1923).

By the mid-19th century, Great Britain extended its trade and territorial sovereignty across West Africa. By the late 1960s and 1970s, the oil boom in Nigeria altered the cultural and peasant life of the region and generated increasing tensions contrasting the indigenous with the contemporary Niger-Delta. Industrial activities like oil drilling, gas flaring, spillage and air and water pollution by multinational companies like Chevron, ExxonMobil, Shell-BP, Texaco and Weber Energy Corporation in Warri and Port Harcourt deprived the Niger-Delta inhabitants of their main livelihood. The degradation of the pristine environment had adverse effects on natives, mainly farmers, fishermen and raft-makers. The Niger-Delta region as a minority group has been exploited and repressed by oil corporations and the Nigerian government, allocating more revenues to predominant ethnic groups. The repulsive looting among corrupt Nigerian politicians and expatriates and the gross underdevelopment of the region underlines Niger-Delta writers' artistic impulses to expose their plights to global communities while advocating impartial resource control and restructuring proportionate to the region's deterioration (Omoko, 2018).

The intense hydrocarbon pollution of Ogoniland and other Niger-Delta communities caused spillages as far as the early 1970s and continues to spill into the region for an extended period before leakage points are clamped. Thus, within two years, there were 1,300 oil spills in the Niger-Delta from 2018 to 2019. In 2020, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) discovered a considerable amount of benzene in the Niger-Delta, which exceeded the World Health Organization's standard (Bassey, 2021).

Niger-Delta has been inspirational to many Nigerian playwrights, poets, musicians and visual artists and a means of nostalgia to reflect critical socio-economic and ecological crises in the waterscape area. The Niger-Delta literature, grounded in lore and folktales of the people, integrates global themes of climate change, environmental degradation, and marginalisation (Ojaide, 2015). The literature imports aquatic animals, festivals, goddesses and water motifs to undergird Nigeria's socio-political realities and themes. Like Greeks, the indigenous Niger-Delta people have firm beliefs in departed ancestors whom they believe were transported across the oceans into the afterlife. Thus, the popular Urhobo and Ijaw philosophy of "Going to the seas" connotes death and transition to the metaphysical realm. The indigenous Urhobo believe their community masquerade

originates "from the water" and shapes their religious practices in water deities like Mami Wata, Umalokun, Ohworhun and Olokun the Ijo and Itsekiri (OJAIDE, 1999). The water-logged region's geography comprises creeks, streams, rivers, coastal mangroves, and rainforests. The fishing profession gives rise to the art of canoe-making and rafts to traverse the waterways, and the torrential rainfall allows the natives to plant yams, cocoyam, potatoes and other crops.

Materials and methods

The hydronyms from nine geo-political zones in Nigeria were analysed using ecofeminist constructs to delineate the repressed state of nature and women within a globalised context of industrialisation and ecological destruction, particularly in the Niger-Delta region. While the primary strategy is a critical discourse of Tess Onweme's (2002) *Then She Said It!*, the study leverages historical and contemporary evidence to explore the permanence of pseudo-river names in conformity with relevant character traits, roles, plots, water leitmotifs and thematic preoccupations in the text underpinned to ecological degradation, goddess narratives, women subjugation, and religion. The study locates the rivers and their geographical coordinates in the maps of Nigeria and Africa to underscore their cultural, socio-historical and political relevance, especially to undergird narratives around resource control and marginalisation of oil-producing states in Nigeria's south-southern geo-political zones.

Results

The findings indicated that four out of the nine selected hydronyms/pseudo-river names are situated in North-Central Nigeria, three predominantly female and one male to underscore the gender-focused theme of the text while complementing the historical significance of the rivers/towns in Nigeria and Africa. The remaining five rivers are evenly distributed, two in South Nigeria, South-East, and Southwest Nigeria. Atlantic (a pseudonym for the Atlantic Ocean) is portrayed in the play as a central antagonist, patriarchal and oppressive, given its predominance and size. The world's second-largest ocean is significantly connected to most Nigerian river bodies. Promethean women characters embody the swift current of water-defying statuesque and oppressive structures to evoke the fluid and restless nature and the dualities of African river goddesses. Oshun, an alter-ego of Mami Wata [Mother Water], typifies the motherly and vicious nature of the water spirit and commemorates matriarchal figures, explores river confluences, and crystalises revolutionary obligations of the youths and older women to Africa's social and economic transformation. However, the association of the women characters epitomises the confluence/permanence of rivers and collective revolution against the patriarchal and unholy alliance between multinational companies and the Nigerian government who exploit human and capital resources in the Niger-Delta region.

Tide and resistance:
***Niger-Delta and river goddess motifs in Onwueme's* Then She Said It!**

Pointedly, Onwueme's (2002) *Then she said It!* highlights Niger and Benue's utter resolve to avenge the abuse and maltreatment of their daughters and son symbolically Obida, Oshun, Koko, Kainji and Oji [old man/fake cleric], in the ravaged country of Hungeria. The militant women and youths collaborate to abduct Atlantic, the foreign oil director who exploits and terrorises the community. Atlantic foreign oil director, Kainji, the national Government official and Ethiope, the Traditional Chief's unholy alliance leads to the looting of oil reserves, exploiting and wrecking Hungeria's (Nigeria) economy. Their chaotic leadership is characterised by poverty, fuel hikes, oil explosion, bombing, sexual abuses, kidnapping, unemployment and industrial action. Amid the public crisis, the General and life president of Hungeria ordered his secret agents to ignore the consequences and shoot-on-sight activists and public members who agitated for a better deal.

In Pidgin English, *Mami Wata* [Mother Water] is a predominant and fluid figure of a goddess or mermaid (half-fish and half-human) in West Africa and the African diasporic societies. The prevalent Mami Wata motifs align with indigenous African water spirits, European mermaids and snake charmers, Hindu gods and goddesses and syncretised Christian and Islamic saints (Drewal, 2008). At the peak of Transatlantic slavery in the 15th and 18th centuries, evasive capitalism motivated the water spirit's intercultural portraits (Drewal, 2008). The Pidgin English version of the water spirit was critical to Europe's access to Africa for forceful trade and commerce, which led to the mass dispersal of Africans from their homelands across the Atlantic Ocean. The enslaved Africans imported their indigenous beliefs, culture, and arts, including the veneration of the Mami Wata and other deities. Therefore, revitalising the predominant water spirit under different labels, among the Lasiren, Yemanja, Santa Marta la Dominadora, and Oxum, continues to thrive in the Americas, Haiti, Brazil, and the Dominican Republic, among other countries (Drewal, 2008).

While the legend of the Mami Wata has considerably been linked to economic fortune, adherents believe she is an agent of procreation-infertility, impotence, or infant mortality. Some others are enchanted by the erotic pleasure engendered by her spiritual force. Apart from being motherly, the water spirit could also be malevolent, requesting the propitiation of a human sacrifice when violated (Drewal, 2008). Mami Wata, also known as Nne Mmiri, was initially invented by some Nigerian writers to embody the construction of womanhood in pre-colonial Igbo (ethnic group in Eastern Nigeria) culture and society. Like a pantheon of water goddesses, the multidimensional portraits of the Mami Water are a compelling symbol to contest postcolonial patriarchal structures and abrogate power to matriarchs and feminine figures and their diverse contributions to Nigeria's politics, economy, and society as exemplified in Nigerian literature (Krishnan, 2012).

Remarkably, Simbi, Osun, and Mami Wata share close qualities of wild passion and seduction as they ambush and entice irresolute and misguided

travellers, luring beneath the oceans and rivers those who are unaware of their abilities to control, terrify, and terminate using the lure of material wealth (Drewal, 2008). Osun, the goddess of calm waters, as *Yeye Odo*. Diedre Badejo's (1996) *Osun Seegesi: The Elegant Deity of Wealth*, *Power and Femininity* explores the ritual performance and eulogies of the goddess Osun in Osogbo, Nigeria, the epicentre of her worship. Badejo (1996) draws on the dynamic feminist portraits of the goddess as a diviner, medicine woman, leader, *Aje* [a woman with mystical powers] and prudent industrialist. She is eulogised with praise names like *abeja gbooro* [owner of countless big fishes] or *yeye omo eja* [mother of fish] (Drewal, 2008).

The Ifa divination corpus *Odu Ose* Tura recounts how Olodumare (the Supreme Deity] deployed seventeen primordial deities, of which Osun is the only female to populate the earth. However, on their arrival, the male deities undermined Osun's feminine potential and excluded her from sacred knowledge, covenants and decision-making. Therefore, Osun seeks aid from mystical mothers (*Iya Mi*) using her life force (*ase*) to avenge and impede their progress until the male deities have entreated and pacified her (Olajubu, 2004). The prominence of the goddess elevates her as an icon of African femininity whose leadership qualities, mysterious powers, and legend inspire women's empowerment globally.

Osun is a dominant river goddess (*orisa*) that straddles the Yoruba cosmology's terrains. Though renowned as a giver of children, she also possesses ambivalent traits that reflect human weaknesses. Against the backdrop of indigenous African philosophy, women characters in Onwueme's (2002) *Then She Said It!* bear pseudo-river names of different geo-political zones in Nigeria. In this regard, the playwright animates and crystalises the ancient, permanent and stable nature of major and minor river bodies in Nigeria with evolving and dynamic roles of some youthful and elderly militant women in the text. Beyond Onwueme's feminist-activist ideology, the text's hydronyms perpetuate social histories and political events in the Niger-Delta region and evoke collective revolution against the continued marginality of women and nature for Nigeria's social and economic transformation.

Osun River

Osun River flows southwards through central Yoruba towns in Southwest Nigeria into the Lagos Lagoon and the Atlantic Gulf of Guinea. In Yoruba oral tradition, Osun has primacy among river goddesses in the Yoruba and African diasporic cultures. She is revered as the mother and link to the main and minor Yoruba rivers, regardless of their locations. Thus, the popular panegyric: *Odo gbogbo Lagbo* denotes the Osun goddess' domain everywhere and anywhere. Annually in August, a pilgrimage and tourism to Nigeria to commemorate the goddess at her shrine close to the Oṣun River in Osogbo, Osun State, Nigeria (Tate, 2005).

In, *Then She Said It!* (TSI, 2002), Tess Onwueme blends Oshun's seductive and militant traits to typify the youthful characters' (minor rivers) intervention

against ecological and political oppression. In the text, Oshun is a 21-year-old unemployed and recalcitrant daughter of Niger and mistress of Atlantic, the foreign oil director. She is a seductress with enchanting beauty who "quickly steps out from inside. Her short red skirt, sleeveless blouse, which taunts the eyes, rudely announces her agile, youthful body mounted above platform shoes" (TSI, p. 3). Metaphorically, Oshun distracts Atlantic, Ethiope and Kainji's game of monopoly as she serves glasses and alcoholic drinks "with their greedy eyes poking into her as they're caught in marking the geography of her body" (TSI, p. 3). Atlantic, spellbound and impudent, shoves her into his bosom as he caresses her voluntary body.

This provokes Kainji's response, "Man, that's some deep, deep waters you're in. Mind you get drowned" (They chuckle, each one pushes his own game forward). Eventually, her discontentment with her white sugar daddy, Atlantic's exploitative and repressive traits, motivates her emergence as a beacon of hope and revolution for the natives, especially womenfolk. Like Moremi, the mythical queen of Ile-Ife and Mami Wata, Oshun entices and manipulates her male oppressors using her feminine body to access the GRA/Oil Club and the men's hearts for later retaliation.

Atlantic Ocean

The River Niger and twenty-one rivers connecting several brooks and creeks, intermittent islands and peninsulas flow into the Atlantic Ocean. The water channels wet the swampy Niger-Delta throughout the year. Forcados and the Nun are principal tributaries generating the twenty-two distributaries that flow from River Niger into the Gulf of Guinea. The distributaries are namely Mahin, Benin, Escravos, Ramos, Dodo, Pennington, Middleton, Digatoro, Bangatora, Kulama, Fishtown, Sangana, Brass, St. Nicholas, Santa Barbara, San Bartholomew, Sombrero, New Calabar, Bonny, Andoni, Imo and Qua Ibo rivers (Enemugwem, 2009).

The playwright parallels the expanse of the Atlantic Ocean and the powerful office of the 27-year-old foreign oil director and an ally of the national (Kainji) and regional governments (Chief Ethiope) and Oshun's 'Sugar daddy'. He is typical of British imperialists and global forces who exploit, perpetuate pseudo-slavery, and influence local politics, especially the oil crises in the Niger-Delta. While playing the monopoly game, Oshun distracts and captivates Atlantic as she dances seductively in front of the men and later falls into his sponsor's arms, epitomising the ecological connection and designating Lagos state (a populated Yoruba state) as critical to Nigeria's politics. Before leaving, Oshun attempts to shave Atlantic, foreshadowing the 'cutting off his head' as indicated in the Biblical Samson-Delilah narrative. Outside Atlantic's Villa and GRA Oil Club, natives campaign to eradicate multinational companies: "We want jobs! We want food! We want homes! Shame must go! Agep must go! Chevron must go! Texas must go! Mobile must go! Killibros-Webros must go! Pollution must go! Leave our oil! Leave our land! We have the oil! We want our oil! We want our Resource Control! [...]" (TSI, p. 9).

Niger-Benue Rivers

Notably, the River Niger is Africa's third-longest river (4,200 km) and the most significant river in West Africa. The Upper River Niger Basin headwaters are in the Fouta Djallon Massif, Guinea and flow from there to the northeast, charting through the Inland Delta, a vast spreading floodplain (averaging 50,000 km^2). It discharges a substantive amount of potential hydraulics into its watersheds in nine African countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Niger, and Nigeria (Andersen, Dione, Jarosewich-Holder, *et al.*, 2005). Beyond being a predominant African river, it is a source of social identity, a route for migration and commerce, a symbol of impending dispute and a mechanism for harmony (Wormser, 2005).

Significantly, Mungo Park, the first English explorer to Nigeria, had two river expeditions in 1795 and touched the Bubaru rapids at Bussa before his death in 1806. Likewise, in the 1830s, Richard and John Lander navigated the River Niger, connecting Park's river with Niger-Delta's Oil Rivers (Falola and Genova, 2009). River Benue is Nigeria's second-largest and most historic river. It connects with River Niger as its longest tributary flowing from the Adamawa Mountains in Cameroon northwest to Yola and then southwest to Lokoja. Before the 20th century, the Benue served as a "water highway" for regional and foreign exchange and several goods were transported along its waterways (Falola and Genova, 2009). In North-Central Nigeria, the River Niger and Benue at Lokoja flows southward, irrigating the lush, coastal Niger-Delta before emptying into the Atlantic Ocean. The British merchants christened the Niger-Delta, given the region's rich oil palm production in the early 19th century before colonialism in Nigeria (Falola and Genova, 2009).

Symbolically, Niger and Benue seize the opportunity of socio-political chaos in Hungeria to accentuate their predominant roles as ancient rivers and goddesses to the women and youths: "It is I, NIGER. The umbilical cord, running all through these coasts from here to the Fouta Djallon mountain that speaks…I, NIGER, leader of the marketplace. Appointed by you, women of this land, to lead you with the assistance of sister BENUE. Women of delta land, you appointed us to serve you. We are here, ready. My siblings from many shores […]" (TSI, p. 76). Obida, Benue, and Niger, who had stayed longer in the fuel queue than expected and were intimidated by the Fuel Attendant, began to express their dissatisfaction with the country's current state. Obida queries: "They've killed everything with their oil pollution and spillage. We cannot breathe clean air. Fishes die or get fried in the polluted simmering rivers – water – water everywhere. But we have no clean water to drink! And now we lose the land too?" Niger complements: "No firewood because the plants and trees are soaked in oil […]" (TSI, p. 15). The women hammer on the pollution of river bodies in an incantatory manner: "All polluted", "You said it", "Then she said it."

Bida

Bida is the second-largest city in North-Central Niger State, with a population of 178,840 based on the 2007 census, and is the capital of Niger State. The town is situated

on the Bako River, a minor tributary of the Niger and intersects the roads from Jebba, Zungeru, and Again. Bida was a significant town for trans-Nigerian trade, where goods produced in the south were sold and taken to the north. However, the natives later disagreed on trade and enslaved people, provoking Great Britain to campaign against Nupe and conquer the Fulani army at Bida in 1897. The British recaptured the town in 1901 because Nupe flaunted the Empire's sovereignty by reinstalling a Fulani emir exiled by the British Royal Niger Company. Thus, the Nupe emirate was rechristened as Bida and, by 1908, integrated into the Niger province (Falola and Genova, 2009). After being brutalised by a policeman and detained but later bailed out by older women, Obida, who had lost her parents to an oil pipeline explosion and raped by her uncle, Ethiope, teams up with older women as "they stretch their hands, link up and spread across the road. Now the women have formed a human shield across the road in the marketplace" (TSI, p. 29). The women take a stance to prohibit pedestrians from passing through the marketplace without permission as they are absorbed madly in an incantatory chant. Obida feels agitated by the lawlessness and repression in the country and invokes her matriarchal spirits at the market square (traditionally an epicentre of spiritual activities and communications) to fight on the women's behalf: "Rise up, mothers! My ancestors. Wake! Wake. Wake up! Your daughters need you now. The tide is high, high up. The flood threatens to swallow us. And sharks, white and black, have taken over our shores. Our land. Arise, mothers! Your daughters are sinking. Drowning. Gobbled as torn flesh by the ever-hungry sharks" (TSI, p. 76). Her emotionally-charged rallying call ignited the women and youths' responses as they assembled at the market square to decide subsequent actions against the ruling oppressors.

Kainji Dam/Lake

Kainji Lake, in North Central Nigeria, is a reservoir on the River Niger, harnessed as the Kainji Dam in 1968 and is situated in parts of Niger State and Kebbi State. The Kainji Dam generates power for most towns in Nigeria and it has a capacity of 12 turbines producing 960 MW, but only eight were installed, producing 760 MW. Niger, Benue, Bida and Kainji, Osun's lover, represent North-Central Nigeria (ancient and minor rivers). Beyond this, the playwright foregrounds the need for collaboration between the older and younger Nigerian populace to achieve collective revolution and national transformation. Kainji's name has a patriarchal significance as a mobile police officer arriving at the fuel station to intimidate and disperse the mob. However, there is fierce resistance as they break through the barrier to retrieve the pump.

Ethiope River

Unlike other sources of Nigerian rivers, Ethiope River is acclaimed among indigenes as the deepest inland waterway in Africa at 176 km flowing directly from the foot of an enormous silk-cotton tree at Umuaja in Ukwuani Local Government

Area, Delta State, Nigeria. As it channels to Sapele through Abraka, the river becomes deep enough to accommodate large vessels. The length of the river is 50 km and is shared by four local government councils, namely Ukwuani, Ethiope East, Okpe and Sapele, with a combined estimated population of 1.7 million. The river comprises incredible biodiversity of plants and animals and is a site for recreation, religious activities, tourism, and water supply to nearby communities. It is the site for the annual commemoration of Olokun and the Igbe Religious Movement (Edjere, Asibor and Otolo, 2016).

In the text, Ethiope, a business mogul, drives in his 'big Mercedes' to interrupt the discussions among the women at the fuel station. He walks past braggadocios "in his flowing agbada" as he pulls the attendant aside to bribe him into selling petrol to him. Enraged women challenge the attendant's injustice, who threatens to beat Obida. He yanks Niger angrily to the ground but is assisted by other women. Obida taunts him "(Still nursing NIGER's bruises.): Your 'shakara' don too much, self. Afterall na ordinary 'Boy-Boy' you dey do!" (TSI, p. 17). Provoked by the demeaning statement, the attendant starts to pull off his shirt for a street duel while the crowd is jeering and cheering. In conformity with their symbolic roles and proximity of locations in North-Central Nigeria, the older women rally around minor Obida as they "form a human shield around the girl and block" the attendant's cowhide whiplash (TSI, p. 17). Eventually, the businessman mobilises more police officers to apprehend the outspoken Obida and Koko.

Koko River

Koko is a town and port located in Delta State, South-Southern Nigeria. It lies along the Benin River in the western River Niger-Delta. A collecting point for palm oil and kernels as well as timber, it can be reached by vessels of 14-foot (4 m) draft that navigate the 50-mile (80 km) distance upstream to the port via the Escravos River entrance (opened 1940, on the Bight of Benin) and the Youngtown Crossing. Although its port was eclipsed by Sapele, 20 miles (32 km) upstream, it still serves as an agricultural trade centre for the Itsekiri people. It was reopened as a port of entry in 1958, and in the late 1970s, the government rehabilitated its berths and promoted a fishing and shrimping operation in the town.

In the text, Koko, the unemployed 19-year-old daughter of Niger, Obida's friend and Oshun's younger sister, a hawker, arrives amid the uproar to take her share of the fuel. Realising he has been overwhelmed by the crowd, the businessman pulls the policeman aside to grease his palms. Instantly, the policeman brandishes his gun to scare protesting women. However, undeterred, they surge forward and force it out of his hand. Obida grabs the gun and passes it to Koko, who aims it at the policeman while charging at the attendant. Koko informs later that she was gang-raped like her friend Obida by the men in the Oil Club. Also, Obida and Koko provoke the anger and boost the military morale of the women during their frenzy dance with the call and response invectives: Obida: "Why should you stand still, your voices choking when you are the oil and the river?" Koko: "When you are the heart and breast of the land?" (TSI, p. 78).

Oji River

Oji River is a headquarters town and Local Government Area in Enugu State, Nigeria, situated South-East, bordering Anambra State and Abia State. Essentially, the Oji River thermal power station is among the foremost satellite power stations built in South-East Nigeria before the country's Independence in 1960 and the commissioning of the large National Hydroelectricity power station in Kainji Dam/Jebba Dam.

In the text, still in the queue, Oji, an older man who doubles as a jobless 20-year-old male, Prosecutor, Oshun's Lover and Priest/Friend of Atlantic, corrects the women's assumption of the value of human rights in the country. He shares his ordeals of being deprived of shelter, water and food for days to get fuel (TSI, p. 16). Oji typifies the Igbo, a predominant ethnic group in Eastern Nigeria. Beyond, Enugu State (Oji River) parodies the Biafran/Civil war from 1967 to 1970, masterminded by top Nigerian military generals. Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi, Nigeria's head of state after the first coup d'état in 1966, provoked northerners by dismantling the regional structure. The northern military's subsequent coup d'état was orchestrated by General Yakubu Gowon but displeased Chief Chukwuemeka Ojukwu, governor of the Eastern Region. Therefore, he decreed a cessation of the region from Nigeria in May 1967. The Ojukwu's Republic of Biafra, headquartered in Enugu, confronted the federal government to uphold its sovereignty, thus leading to countless deaths, starvation, languor and homelessness among Igbo natives. The gruesome civil war between the two factions lasted from July 1967 till January 1970 (Falola and Genova, 2009).

Significantly, Onwueme exposes the adverse influence of global forces on Nigeria's politics, especially as it borders the marginality and tireless demands for emancipation by the oil-producing states in the South-Southern geo-political zones. The play graphically depicts the ruinous effects of oil abuse, explosion and pollution in the Niger-Delta region embodied as "the life and consciousness of a people, hanging on the cliff existence and power" (TSI, p. 9). The activist leaders of the older market women's wing are *Niger* and *Benue*, and the younger led by *Oshun*. Initially cautious and defensive, the middle-aged widows are spurred to action by the youths, especially Oshun, Obida, Koko and Kainji (Benue's son and Oshun's lover), to motivate the revolution. OBIDA electrifies the crowd with the vibrant congo drumbeats [popular musical instrument in African diasporic societies] to call them to battle as "they hold each other and break up into concentric circles; the daughters on the one hand, and the mothers on the other. OSHUN now leads the daughters, while NIGER leads the mothers until the circles merge into one" (TSI, p. 79). Suddenly, Oshun halts the frenzy dance and invocations to unfold the secret plan to invade the Oil Club and apologises for defying the mothers' counsel and tips on strategies to sabotage the Oil Club's overseas exportation business by going undercover as domestic workers in the oil director's villa. Metaphorically, the women being rivers rally "around her in a half-moon shape" to hear the secret plan (TSI, p. 80). The tensions escalated beyond government control as the protesters set ablaze the oil pipelines and refineries until the GENERAL (parodying General Sani Abacha), the elected national president of Hungeria, declared the State of Emergency. The imaginary International Jury

unexpectedly favours the imprisoned old widows and youths, indicts the oppressive transnational forces, and decrees compensation and North-South Dialogue between contending parties and interests.

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Landscape and place names.
Traces from the Tuscan toponymic *corpus*

LAURA CASSI[*]

Abstract

Is it legitimate to state that the landscape communicates by means of place names? It definitely is: by means of new place names coming into use over the centuries by human communities, as the result of the way in which their place of settlement has been inhabited, exploited and organized. However, caution should be exercised concerning what the names actually "communicate", either explicitly or obscurely, and on occasion even ironically, so as to highlight specific natural or human characteristics, or even "deny" them, as is the case with names like Montaùto [monte acuto i.e. sharp mountain] to the south of Florence, which is neither a mountain nor sharp. And a name like Bosco del Lupo, what does it mean? A woodland where a wolf was once seen or a woodland where usually wolves live?

Characterized by a notable suggestive charge, place names reflect both objective conditions and perceptions, as evidenced by the frequent use of metaphorical or antiphrastic expressions. In Italy, from the Alps to Sicily, the frequency of metaphors is very high, and the landscape often speaks in allegories.

The relationships between place names and landscape can be investigated by examining single environmental categories or the entire toponymic corpus of sample areas. If we look at some significant characteristics of the landscape, such as vegetation, the terrain shapes, waterways, human activities (including names concerning the world of agriculture and livestock), settlements, and roads, the terms of this fascinating "dialogue" between names and the landscape can be easily identified. Many examples are illustrated in the volume Nomi e carte. *Sulla toponomastica della Toscana (Place names and maps. About Tuscan toponymy), edited by Laura Cassi, Pisa, Pacini, 2015.*

Keywords: *landscape, place names, Tuscany, cultural heritage.*

That place names are both fascinating and complex is evident, if not undisputable[1]. We are naturally curious about why a place has a particular name,

* University of Firenze, (Italia).

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[1] On several occasions, I have dealt with the links between place names and landscape in Tuscany – both from the point of view of the links between names and single environmental characteristics, such as vegetation, landforms, waterways, settlements, and historical road systems, and from the viewpoints of the relationship between the place name corpus of a territory and its landscape – see the research listed in CASSI L., *Nomi e carte. Sulla toponomastica della Toscana*, Pisa 2015, together with further bibliographical references on the subject. Here I shall take the opportunity to return briefly, to a number of questions.

the reason for that name rather than another one, as well as who thought up that name and why a place has changed names over time. Many questions arise, and in many cases a plausible answer is unlikely.

At the same time it is important to remember that most place names, even in ancient, densely populated urban areas like those in Italy, especially in Tuscany, are mostly the result of "mere conjectures", that is common terms in a standard language or dialect which have been promoted to proper nouns, as pointed out by Giulio Cornelio Desinan and before him by Olinto Marinelli. Even apparently obscure names like those of the rivers *Arno, Bisenzio*, and *Serchio* are nothing more than the product of ancient descriptive terms [running water] which over time have lost semantic clarity.

Although this "dismantles" in a way, the fascination of place names, their attractiveness is not diminished, because, being mostly made up of ordinary words, makes them useful pointers to present or past environmental conditions, as is the case with place names evocative of wooded land where the woods have disappeared long before. Moreover, since names are the result of mental processes registering specific aspects of the environment and territory, the result is an interpretation of the landscape filtered through observations of successive generations.

Being characterized by considerable fascination, place names reflect, at the same time, objective conditions, as shown, for example, by frequent use of metaphors and expressions opposite to the normal meaning of a word. The interest of place names also extends to seemingly marginal, but, at the same time, attractive aspects, such as the frequency of metaphors to be found from the Alps to Sicily, where the landscape often communicates by means of allegory. We only need to think of names like *Il Ramo del Diavolo* [the Devil's Horn], *Il Monte Scavezagenoci* [Mount Nutcracker], *L'OmoMorto* [the Dead Man], *Il Poggio Stancalasino* [Weary Donkey Hill], *Cefalù* [High Headland], to mention only some of these expressions, which, in many cases, are portraits of an environment. The numerous examples from Tuscany include *L'Oncino* [the Hook], a winding river with a particularly striking outline, *La Piazza di Siena* [Siena's main square], describing a

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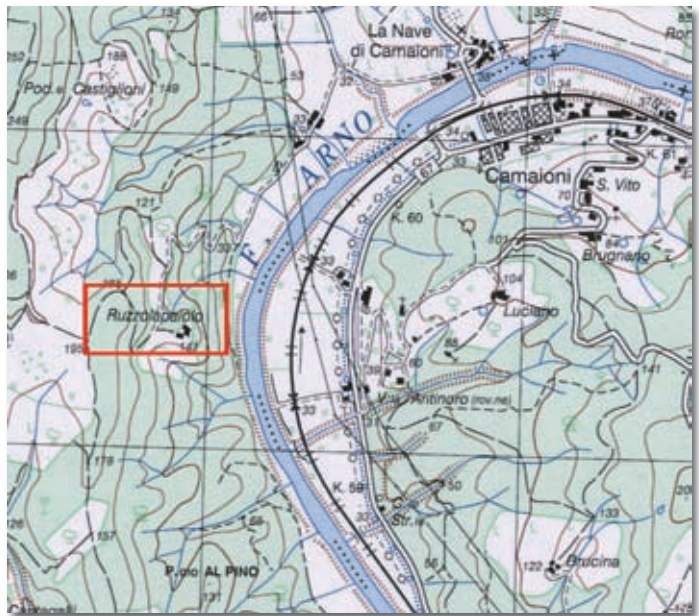
wide, level ridge just to the south of Monte San Michele in the Chianti area, *Monte Libro Aperto* [Mount Open Book] in the Apennines of the province of Pistoia, *Podere Ruzzolapaioli* [*a smallholding whose name recalls the rolling of pots on a slope*] (Figure 1), *Podere Bramasole* [a smallholding longing for the sun], *Casa Mezzòsso* [half-bone house]. Names like this, originating from the context of a rather poor, previous sharecropper, provide significant information on their history and meaning. Furthermore, the interest created by naming strategies expressed by many of the names should not be forgotten, such as those inspired by political history and territorial marketing.

So, are we allowed to state that the landscape communicates by means of place names? The answer is a definite "yes". This takes place by means of the creation of new descriptive terms over centuries by human communities, the result of the way in which their territory was perceived, living there, exploiting it, and planning it. It is, however, necessary to pay attention to what the names "say", openly or indirectly, or even, occasionally, ironically, so as to point out natural or human characteristics, which might even be "denied", as is the case with names like *Montaùto* (Figure 2), to the south of Florence, which is neither a mountain nor sharp.

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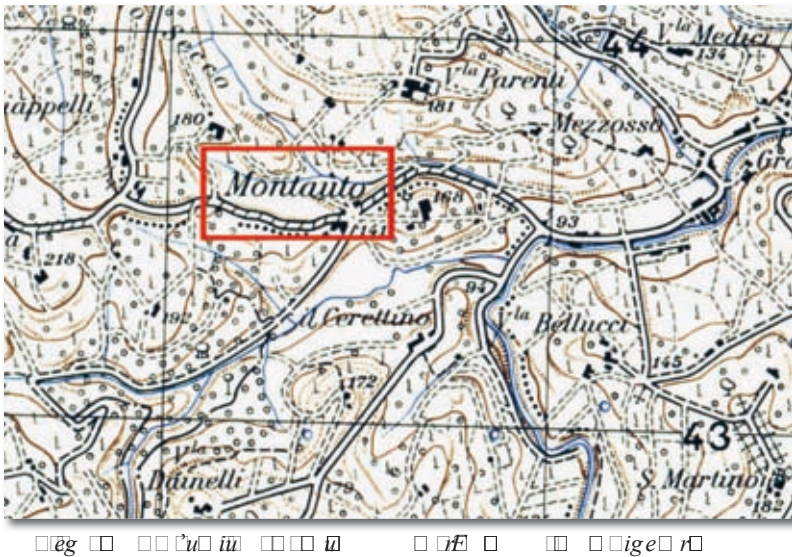
If we consider a number of significant categories of landscape, such as the vegetation cover, terrain features, water, human activities (including names concerning the world of agriculture and animal breeding), settlements, and roads, the terms of this "dialogue" between names and landscape can easily be identified. A glance is enough at the region's distribution of place names evocative of beech woods (Figure 3) to realize that it retraces the actual vegetation area, despite a number of exceptions that actually make this distribution even more interesting. The same can be said about place name reflections of hill and mountain areas, in certain cases sensitive to local perception, which is able to point out a slight rise in the terrain compared with its surroundings, by use of the label "mount". Place names

linked to water are just as, or even more interesting, both in hydrographic terms as well as in concept. In the case of the relationship between names conceptually referring to roads and the actual historical road network, place names fulfil their role as "fossils of human geography", as they are called by Jean Brunhes. In this case however, we must again be cautious, since a place name may not remain linked to the original object for ever.

Another interesting category is that of place names derived from personal names, an indirect mirror of landscape components, though significant because it reflects individuals who have contributed to its shape over the centuries, We begin with very ancient, pre-Indo-European names followed by those of Latin, then Germanic origin and so on up to modern times.

Nonetheless, the first point to bring forward is that the study of place names, in the words of Giovan Battista Castiglioni, is a "disciplinary crossroads", and that analysis of the links with present and past situations presupposes the ability to recognize names, starting out from linguistic study, which precedes geographical, historical and naturalistic investigation, particularly in places inhabited for centuries, and in which there have been significant linguistic changes and contacts with other languages.

Figure 3. Distribution map of place names related to Beech in Tuscany (IGMI'u maps 1:25.000).

If the landscape "speaks" by means of toponymy and is not lacking in wit, in the words of Franco Farinelli, place names are no less so, and feedback should be carefully examined. Do a *Casa al Faggio* [Beech Wood House] or a *Casa La Sughera*

[Cork Oak House] refer to a large number of beech or cork oak trees, or else is it their exceptional presence that attracts attention? If we were to argue, somewhat deterministically, that toponymy is unconditionally linked to the landscape, we would be mistaken, because, the fact should not only be taken into consideration that a name given to a place is not the result of only one possible choice, but also could have been suggested by something exceptional attracting attention. Some scholars have stated that toponymy is more likely to deny rather than assert that a *Bosco del Lupo* [Wolf's Wood] could refer to a wood populated by wolves or a wood where a wolf has exceptionally been seen, Are we dealing with numbers or a single case?

It would, nevertheless, be just as imprecise to insist on such a negative stance. There are many examples of a positive approach. I can mention a simple, though explicit, one. A historical linguist, one of my university colleagues, saw nothing unusual, when I had pointed out that the names linked to Saint Columbanus on large scale Italian maps are all in the north and never south of the Tuscan-Emilian Apennine range, the reason being that the Saint in question was an Irish monk who had been sent to Bobbio by the Lombard King Agilulf and had never travelled further south.

One of the most significant study areas, as I have already mentioned, is that of the relationship between landscape and place names linked with vegetation, a landscape-environmental component particularly representative of the naming process, as can readily be seen in the large number of relevant place names, when compared with other categories. Surface vegetation is undoubtedly one of the most eloquent, visually striking aspects of the appearance of a territory, also being of considerable importance from the viewpoint of a traditional economy. In Tuscany, names linked with vegetation growing naturally and without being tended or cultivated are one of the richest sources for the naming of settlements and various geographical features, such as mountains, valleys, waterways, and more or less extensive land areas linked to sensations like *Cerreto* [*Quercus cerris* or Turkey Oak Wood], *Suvereto* [Cork Tree Wood], *Faeta* [Beech Tree Wood] as well as single examples like *Casa al Pino* [Pine Tree House], *Podere la Sughera* [Cork Oak Tree Smallholding], where the choice could have been determined by an exception i.e. an isolated tree (not forgetting the fact, however, that names in the singular can also stand for a numerous group).

If many place names by association give us an idea of the species [Carpineto i.e. Oak-hornbeam Trees, Pineta i.e. Pine Grove, Fargneto i.e. Quercus robor or English Oak Wood, Borro di Faètole i.e. Beech Gorge], there are also many that suggest a wood in general terms, often accompanied by additional evocative adjectives [Boscotondo i.e. Circular Wood; Selvabuia, Dark Wood; Selvagrande, Large Wood], like the case of the place name *Selvamaggio* [Main Forest], which now designates an industrial area. The evocative and symbolic values communicated by woodland areas have probably contributed to the wealth of the related place name corpus. The forest has always expressed a clear contrast with cultivated and organized land. The forest is the symbol *par excellence* of wild nature, the opposite of culture in its disorderliness. It is the place of fear of the unknown and, in the popular imagination, its inhabitants are characters symbolizing danger and risk for those who enter. It is also the place where one gets lost and a journey or adventure begins, with decisive encounters, as we learn from Dante's *Divine Comedy*, and

which we can read about in poetic tales of chivalry and a host of fairy stories. The forest is impenetrable and inhospitable, but not for everybody: a hermit is not afraid, in fact he makes it his home. Limited areas such as isolated wooded scrubs or groves, on the other hand, are seen as places for gatherings and meetings, in classical antiquity reserved for worshipping the gods, and they remained sacred spots for Celtic and Germanic peoples.

Apart from their fascination – arguably greater nowadays than in the past – names associated with vegetation are of interest for a variety of reasons. They can rightly be seen as useful for the reconstruction of the ancient extent of a wood. The geographical distribution of terms such as *Bosco* [Wood], *Selva* [Forest], *Lecceto* [Holm Oak Wood], *Faggeto* [Beech Wood] and so on has been a clear indication of the presence of woods where nowadays none can be seen. Information is also supplied on different climatic conditions from the present-day ones and different configurations in the past of the vegetation cover. Additional information is occasionally supplied by heterotypic synonym areas near place names in quite different positions to present day areas of vegetation.

In the nineteen thirties Alberto Chiarugi found some beech shrubs at a low level near the Tyrrhenian Sea coast. Near these beech heterotypic synonym areas the large scale Italian Geographic Military Institute map shows place names like *Faeta* [Beech Tree Wood], a clear indication of the presence of vegetation, proof of different climatic conditions than the present day ones, possibly dating back to the Little Ice Age of some centuries ago, when the climate was more humid and colder than nowadays, thus allowing beech trees to grow at a lower altitude closer to the coast. The cork oak also has some place name connections outside its present-day area, as is also the case with the holm oak, which occurs in place names at an altitude of 1,200 metres. It is these exceptions that are a stimulus for research, since they offer information on conditions different from those of today, and which by way of names have left traces of their existence.

Further confirmation of the relationship between names and vegetation growing naturally comes from the marked general nature of place name distribution linked to oak trees and oak forests, corresponding in our region to the general nature of distribution of a number of species of oak tree such as the downy oak. On the map (Figure 4) I have already mentioned there are more than 4,000 place names connected with vegetation.

Another interesting landscape-environmental component linked with place names is landform, especially in hilly areas, basically owing to the fact that morphology is a kind of landscape imprinting, an initial and clear characteristic locating and identifying it.

The widespread hilly character of the Tuscan Region is frequently reflected in place names, with a sequence derived from names such as *poggio* [hillock], *colle* [hill], *monte* [mount], in their simple or composite forms often qualified by adjectives specifying certain conditions like: *Montaùto [Sharp Peak], Montebello [Beautiful Peak], Poggio Secco [Dry Hillock], (Figure 5), Poggio Deserto [Desolate Hillock].* There are also frequent references to the shape of the quarries (Vallecava, Vallicella, Vallone) and the appearance or nature of the land *Pietra del Diavolo,* [the Devil's Stone], a bizarre, picturesque limestone rock sticking out from the marlstone

Figure 4. Distribution map of place names related to Woods and Forest in Tuscany (Source: IGMI's u maps 1:25.000).

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at Pania di Corfino in the Apuan Alps in northwestern Tuscany; *Sassi Neri* [Black Rocks], from the dark colour of the ophiolitic rocks at l'Impruneta near Florence. I should like to recall here the names linked with the exposure of a slope such as *Bacìo* [shady], *Solatìo* [sunny], *Lubaco* [in the shade] and those linked with the microclimate, like *Casa Spazzavento* [House sweeping the wind away], *Podere Scaldagrilli* [Smallholding where the crickets warm up in the sun], *Nebbiolo* [Mist].

In the hilly area around l'Impruneta, to the south of Florence, there are many place names such as *Monte* [mount], *Mezzomonte* [half mount], *Montoriolo* [clock mount], but there are no mountains near Impruneta. Here we have a case of the perception of the environment by the person who made up the name and who considered a modest rise in the land as a "mount" which evidently stood out in the surroundings (Marinelli had already pointed this out more than a century ago). It is no accident that there are as many as 1,400 place names containing the word *monte*, in its simple or composite form and often accompanied by a qualifying adjunct, as I have already pointed out, all over the large scale regional maps, without a specific relationship to a genuine mountainous area (Figure 6). And if in the really mountainous areas, such as the Apuan Alps and Apennines, they are plentiful, they are mainly concentrated in central Tuscany, in the hilly area between Florence and Siena, the term *monte* [mount] being used for these uplands, which, however modest, are typical of the area without actually being true mountains.

Concerning names like *Montebello [literally Beautiful Mountain]*, mention should be made of the fact that, in traditional place names, the aesthetic component

Figure 6. Distribution map of place names related to Mount in Tuscany
(Source: IGMI'u maps 1:25.000).

is rare: "bello" stands for "useful" or, in the case of names such as *Belvedere* and *Bellavista* reference is made to the position of the place and the view of it from higher ground. "Bello" in the truly aesthetic sense dates from the emergence of new place names, such as those created in Sardinia in recent decades, i.e. *Cala degli Angeli* [Angels' Bay], *Cala Paradiso* [Paradise Bay] and so on, inspired by the tourist industry. There are names like *Casa Paradiso* [Paradise House] in traditional toponymy, that mostly reflect exposure, as in the use of *Inferno* [Hell] mostly symbolizing morphological characteristics.

But perhaps the most attractive landscape-environmental category is that concerning water, both in the form of names for waterways and also that of conceptual reference. Water is the basic resource *par excellence*, rich in intrinsic and symbolic values, and therefore hydronyms are generally the most ancient ones in a territory.

Many names of Italian rivers are derived from very ancient linguistic strata, even Pre-Indo-European ones, gradually adapted to population and language shifts. It should also be remembered that, generally, hydronyms pre-date mountain names (with the exception of the names of mountain chains), since waterways have always represented a fundamental reference point for orientation and localization and they have been used for communication. Moreover, water, inasmuch as it is a fundamental resource for life and human activities, is a strong signal, buried in the depths of human consciousness, at the same time being a bearer of love-hate relationships. Water is the expression of the source of all forms of life, as well as of dispersion and drowning: floods wipe out those who displease the Divine Being; rain is associated with energy and prosperity; placid rivers are a symbol of an ordered lifestyle, while whirlpools represent danger and difficulties. The links of water with the afterlife are as old as human beings, as is clear from the myth of the immersion of the sun to warm the world in the dead of night, water being a sacred purifying and ritual entity, as recalled by the ancient religious cults linked with thermal springs. In the popular imagination, lakes and springs have often contained natural spirits, water sirens and genies but also terrifying demons.

Water is a well-represented category in Tuscan toponymy, in relation to naming springs, running water, stagnant water, and ice, as well as place names conceptually linked to water regardless of the actual object, and the connections between the antiquity of a populated area, distributive typology and the density of the hydrographic pattern are so close that even the tiniest waterway has a name.

It should be noted that the number of names seems rather independent of the greater or lesser availability of water, as can be seen in the case of the Isle of Elba, where there is a considerable number of names conceptually linked with water, probably brought about by perceptive mechanisms sensitive to the exceptional nature of a spring (Figure 7). This is a sign that water is such an important resource that it sets up a powerful conceptual basis, both in situations of abundance and scarcity.

On the already mentioned IGMI maps the place names featuring *acqua* [water] are present in various forms: diminutive, augmentative, affectionate or as composite adjectives and reflect deliberate actions: *Acqua Santa* [Holy Water], *Acquaviva* [Living Water], *Acquafredda* [Cold Water], *Acqua Turchina* [Turquoise Water],

Acqua Rossa [Red Water], *Acqua Fresca* [Fresh Water], *Acqua Borra* (a term used to describe water with medicinal properties), *Fosso dell'Acquachiara* [Ditch with Clear Water]; and there are also connotations like *Acqua Nera* [Black Water], *Valle di Malacqua* [Bad Water Valley], *Acquatorbida* [Murky Water], *Acquamara* [Bitter Water], *Acquacidula* [Sour Water], *Podere Falsacqua* [Stream Smallholding], in some cases describing hot and cold thermal springs, which had been very popular in the past (examples: *Acqua Calda, Acquibogliolo, Bollori, Acquiputoli, Bagno* and derivations, *Rio dell'Acqua Puzzola* [Stream of the Stinking Water]). Certainly the very sound of the word "acqua" is uniquely suggestive, beginning with the very famous line "chiare, fresche, dolci acque" [clear, fresh, sweet waters] from a poem by the 14th century Italian poet Petrarch. And it is no accident that water gave rise to some especially attractive names. As confirmation of its highly symbolic nature, it is enough to turn to names like *Chiarofonte* [Clear Spring] and *La Fonte delle Fate* [the Fairies' Spring], the bearers of fascination between myth and reality, a reality, that from the environmental viewpoint, today often seems disappointing and humiliated.

Figure 7. Distribution map of place names related to bath (springs) in Tuscany
(Source: IGMI'u maps 1:25.000)

Coming to the human components of the landscape, roads are one of the most representative of the human presence. The road has always had a vitally important role as the framework of settlement *par excellence*, and, as a consequence, its

reflection in place names is of particular interest. Settlements were set up along roads and so we find place names such as *strada* [road], *via* [street or route], and those linked with crossroads [croce, crocicchio], referring to divergent routes [trebbio, trivio, bivio] or to distances along a road [*Quarto*/Fourth, *Quinto*/Fifth, *Sesto*/Sixth, influenced by ancient Roman milestones], to services along the route as in *Tavarnelle* [Little Taverns], *Tavarnuzze* [Refreshment Stops For Travellers], or *Spedaletto* [Hospitality Service].

The links between place names and roads are well known to linguists and scholars studying ancient road networks, concerning the advantages of etymological analysis of local names for historical topography, with its aim of identifying ancient roads and traces of Roman land measurement called centuriation, as applied by Giovanni Uggeri. This scholar has reconstructed many ancient routes by way of, among other things, survivals, which are variously hidden, from the point of view of linguistic evolution, of the name of the road or names referring to constructions and services relevant to it.

There is no doubt that suggestions from place names can, in some cases, be decisive. However, though etymological interpretation can provide correct linguistic solutions, we must be careful about accepting or suggesting hypotheses, since this method must always be compared with the data on the land and in the archives. The distribution of a place name category, as has already been pointed out, though clearly symptomatic, is not in itself the only direction to follow in examining the concept.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that interest in names linked with roads is particularly keen, when they preserve the memory of otherwise unknown infrastructures, for example, in cases when place name indications allow the identification of unknown or confusing routes and variants, possibly in the category of secondary routes. However, the fact that we are dealing with general names like *strada* [road] or *via* [street or route] and only a few of them are accompanied by qualifying elements like *Via Reggi* [Via Regia, Royal Route], or *Via Maggio* [Via Maggiore, Main Route] – and they are even more significant when they no longer refer to main routes – this fact obscures the link between place names and the hierarchy of road routes.

But if it is true that, from this category of names, albeit with the necessary caution, one can identify a kind of template of the historical road network, more or less accurately, according to individual cases, and if the present distribution of names generally agrees, it is not a binding rule that names linked with roads are actually evidence of previous routes, since names occasionally are shifted from the original site. As is well known, during the centuries following the fall of the Roman Empire, for example, the coastal areas were gradually abandoned and inland sites preferred. The settlements favoured hilltops, while, in more recent times, the opposite has happened. In some cases, names may have followed the inhabitants of an abandoned site.

Undoubtedly it would be interesting to check – in the context of local names in a given territory – the percentage of names linked with roads out of the total and their relation to other name types, thus identifying the weight of the influence of the road system in the context of the components of the landscape reflected in

toponymy. Routes are one of the main features, not only because they are visible, but also because they are fundamental, in consideration of their function as a basic infrastructure, for a series of movements, such as the circulation of people and goods (the latter linked to ideas) up to the very recent past, to the extent of taking on the role of an energetic factor in settlement and economy localization. For example, the road was the most characteristic feature of the Roman rural landscape.

However, since it is, in most cases, the major roads (independent of the duration of their importance) that give rise to place names, it is clear that this category cannot play a leading role, when numerically compared, for example, with the names linked with locations, vegetation or the shapes of the land, these being more widely distributed and spread over the territory. It is true that the role of roads had been of considerable importance in the past, and, as such, was one of the territorial elements clearly envisaged by human beings when place names were created, that is when it was a duty and desire to identify objects on the landscape with a specific name.

Locations, another basic category in the character of a territory, are the certain source for a rich, varied place name corpus, as has been fully demonstrated by recent research. However, seeing that an overview, albeit not a truly comprehensive one, but at least illustrating the relationships between landscape and place names, has been presented, I will conclude with a look at the entire place name corpus of a territory.

A few years ago, an investigation was carried out in the already mentioned area of Impruneta, a countryside area with urban development belonging to the Florentine landscape, a hilly district densely inhabited since very ancient times, characterized by scattered settlement and intense exploitation of the territory. The survey aimed, on the basis of the almost complete collection of names, to establish, with the aid of a quantitative calculation of the contribution of the various natural and human phenomena, how the geographical landscape, including historical and natural characteristics, was reflected in place names. What emerged clearly was that almost all of the names vividly expressed the process of the creation of the place name stock, reflecting the various natural and historical aspects of the area under examination. Despite the fact that they did not allow an organic reconstruction of the appearance of the territory, owing to changes over time in the historical stratification of names, there was a close relationship between local names and the physical and human characteristics of the territory. Besides, the conceptual categories of naming, although somewhat varied, turned out to be devoid of imagination and were aesthetically banal, as can often be noticed in modern urban developments. This coherence was also confirmed by research in the Chianti area. Hopefully, there will be further investigations of other territories.

From all the examples mentioned, a number of mechanisms have emerged as basic to the process of place naming, they are: the unconscious operations of registering a specific "image" provoked by a particularly significant phenomenon or aspect and, complementary to this, the conscious, voluntary aim to clearly identify a place, foregrounding an aspect considered especially expressive. As already pointed out, place names are not banal, chance objects indifferent to surrounding reality. On the other hand, since they satisfy the need to identify an object, they aim to express a significant qualification in relation to the environment in question. In this way, they appear to be the expression of a

mental operation aiming at highlighting specific features. In the case of a house in the country it could be the owner's name or another evident characteristic such as a dovecote and so on... We should not forget that the same place can have different names given by people speaking different languages, just as in our towns and village names, being mostly of ancient origin, reflect the way in which inhabitants of the past described them.

Nevertheless, a place name goes beyond the mere need for distinction and topographical reference and it almost seems to transmit the function or the history of what is named, thus taking on a specific cultural value: place names reflect a direct link between a human being and a territory, a reflection of the environment and landscape, of which it is an essential component. This is demonstrated by interest in micro-toponymy, which is a recent development and is seen through the spread in various parts of our region of signs with the names of isolated houses and indications of name changes in various residential areas.

To conclude, vegetation cover, terrain shapes, water, historical road networks and settlements, all or most of these factors represent the landscape in toponymy, naturally with the necessary caution often mentioned. Toponymy is one of the most complex, and emblematic aspects of the process of knowledge and organization of a territory by human societies and makes up one of the outstanding features of local culture and a clear manifestation of the identifying traits of the Genius Loci.

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Toponymy and *longue durée*:
Terra di Lavoro from late antiquity to the present day

Domenico Proietti*

Abstract

In this paper are presented the main stages of definition and evolution of the geographic space and of the toponyms connected to the ancient province of Terra di Lavoro (the Romans' Campania felix or Leboria), a province that has no longer existed since 1927 (abolished by decree of the Fascist regime), but characterized by uninterrupted continuity of settlement and by a longstanding historical and geographical stability from the Italic and Greek settlements to that of the Romans, from the Lombards and Norman-Swabians to the modern and contemporary age. Therefore, the geo-historical events and the connected evolution of toponymy of Terra di Lavoro constitute an exemplar case study, in the dimension of the longue durée*, of phenomena of permanence, transformation and oblivion of geographical names. A brief presentation will be devoted to* LITORE (Liburiae T(op)onomasticum Repertorium) *a digital database under construction on the toponymy and onomastics of* Liburia/*Terra di Lavoro.*

Keywords: Toponymy, onomastics, longue durée, Leboria/Liburia*, Terra di Lavoro.*

Foreword

This paper will briefly address the main stages of definition and evolution of the geographic space and of the corresponding toponyms connected to the ancient province of Terra di Lavoro (the Romans' *Campania felix* or *Leboria*). This province, which no longer exists since 1927 (abolished by decree of the Fascist regime), included territories that presently belong to the Italian regions of Campania, Lazio and Molise. Terra di Lavoro was an area characterized by uninterrupted continuity of settlement and by a longstanding historical and geographical stability that spanned from the Italic and Greek settlements to those of the Romans, from the territories of the *justitiaratus* in the Norman-Swabian era to the modern and contemporary age. This continuity over time is derived from the variety of peoples (and languages) that gradually established themselves in Terra di Lavoro (Etruscans, Greeks, Romans, Lombards, Saracens, Normans, Swabians, French, Spanish, etc.). Therefore, the geo-historical events and the connected evolution of toponymy of *Terra di Lavoro* constitute an exemplar case study in the dimension of the *longue durée*, of those phenomena of permanence, transformation and oblivion of geographical names that constitute the object of our symposium.

So, after a summary illustration of the geographical and historical coordinates

* University of Campania 'Luigi Vanvitelli' (Italia).

of Terra di Lavoro from late antiquity to the modern era, a more detailed consideration will be given to the history of its three names (*Leboria* or *Campania felix, Liburia/Liguria, Terra di Lavoro*) and their connection to the various peoples (and their languages) that settled there during the centuries and left numerous traces on the toponymy. Of these traces, some exemplary cases will be studied in detail. Finally, a brief presentation will be devoted to LITORE (acronym of *Liburiae T(op)onomasticum Repertorium*) a digital database under construction on the toponymy and onomastics of *Liburia*/Terra di Lavoro.

Historical and geographical coordinates

Between the ancient geographic denomination *Campania felix* or *Leboria* and the modern toponym *Terra di Lavoro* elapses a bimillenary continuity. But this continuity is crossed by such a large number of territorial transformations that it is no exaggeration to say that the main element of continuity is the enigmatic noun *Leboria*, changed, as a result of strong linguistic modifications, into the current form *Lavoro* (see below next paragraph).

In some passages of his *Naturalis historia* Pliny the Elder describes a territory that is a part of Roman *regio* called *Latium et Campania*: "pars eius [Campaniae] Leboriae vocantur" (XVIII, XXIX, 111). To this country Pliny gives the attribute *felix* because of its extraordinary fertility: cereals grow there so big that are used instead of wood ("inter argumenta stipulae crassitudo est, tanta alioqui in Leborino Campaniae nobili campo, ut ligni vice utantur", XVII, III, 28) and the cultivation of the vine competes against that of the cereals ("hinc felix illa Campania, ab hoc sinu incipiunt vitiferi colles et temulentia nobilis suco per omnes terras incluto atque, ut veteres dixere, summum Liberi Patris cum Cerere certamen", III, V, 60). As boundaries of *felix Campania* or *Leboria* Pliny indicates the consular roads, one that led to Capua from Pozzuoli and the other from Cuma ("Leboriae via ab utroque latere consulari, quae a Puteolis et quae a Cumis Capuam ducit") and notes that the *Leboria* is called *Phlegraeum* by the Greeks ("quem Phlegraeum Graeci appellant", XVIII, XXIX, 111; C. Plini Secundi ed. by L. von Jahn and K.F.Th. Mayhoff, 1906-1909). Therefore, by the Romans the toponyms *Campania felix* or *Leboria* referred to the flat part of the present-day Campania that extends from the *Regi Lagni* (a complex system of canals south of Capua and Caserta) to the wide area of the *Campi Flegrei*, in the gulf of Pozzuoli.

During the Middle Ages the area of *Leboria-Campania felix* was subject to conspicuous enlargements. As early in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (3rd-5th centuries) the most famous *itinerarium pictum* of Roman geography, all the principal towns of *Leboria* are carefully registered (from Formia to Minturno, from Cales to Teano Sedicino, from *Sinuessa, Liternum, Casilinum* on the Volturno river to Capua, located at the intersection of three roads) (Conti 2018, p. 41). Under the dominions of the Normans (1030-1194) and Swabians (1194-1266) the name *Terra Laboris* (with the newly founded Aversa and its country) took hold and the Emperor Frederick II of Swabia created (1221) the *justitiaratus Molisii et Terrae Laboris*. Meanwhile in the *Iter de Londinio in Terram Sanctam* (1250) by the English chronicler Matthew

Paris we can read one of the first written mentions of *Terra di Lavoro*: "Cette est la Taere de labur. Ele est apelée en latin Tera leporis" (Conti 2018, p. 42). King Charles I of Anjou made *Terra Laboris* an autonomous j*ustitieratus* and it became a province under the next reigning dynasty, the Aragonese, reaching its maximum extension from the end of the sixteenth century until the advent of the Napoleonic dynasty. It included part of the Sorrento peninsula to Massa Lubrense to the south and had the Sarno river as its physical border with the Principality. To the north, it reached the border of the province of Abruzzo Ultra and Church Territories at the height of the current Monte San Biagio. The Napoleonic reform created the province of Naples which never existed before, placing the border of Terra di Lavoro in the *agro Aversano* (the countryside of Aversa) and in the district of Nola. The reform foresaw Santa Maria di Capua as capital of Terra di Lavoro and divided the province into three districts: Gaeta, Sora, Capua. In 1811 the districts became five: Gaeta, Sora, Capua, Piedimonte d'Alife and Nola, and five years later Capua was proposed as the capital of the province, but this was not possible given its qualification as a stronghold. Caserta became the capital in 1818, and in 1927 the province of Terra di Lavoro was eliminated, annexing the district of Sora and half of that of Gaeta to Lazio. After the Second World War, it was restored with the name of Provincia di Caserta but with a large territorial reduction[1].

Finally, it is remarkable that, despite all territorial transformations of Terra di Lavoro during the centuries, its northern frontier, along the border line from Terracina (on the Tyrrhenian coast) to the river Tronto (to the north), was part of the most ancient and long-lasting interstate frontier in Europe (787-1860)[2].

Leboria *(and* Campania felix*),* Liburia/Liguria*,* Terra di Lavoro*: three names for three epochs*

As we have just seen, the linguistic evolution from the ancient toponym *Leboria* (and its adjectival form *Leborinus*, in the phrase *Leborini campi*) to the modern denomination Terra di Lavoro is the common thread in the complex history of this territory. But what is the original meaning of *Leboria*? And, when and in which way has it been transformed in the toponymic designation Terra di Lavoro? The seminal study of Giovanni Alessio (1977) ended the long-standing discussions on the etymology of the name *Leboria/Leboriae* and its connection with the term *Campania* (until then variously explained[3]). *Leboria(e)* and the adjective *Leborinus* are derived from the root *Lebor-* (quite likely of "liguro-siculo-sicana" origin), that corresponds to the same theme as the Latin word *lepor-em*, acc. of *lepus* [hare] and which was inspired by the predominant fauna in that part of the *Campania felix* (Alessio, 1977, pp. 11, 14).

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[1] Cfr. Lepre 1986; Conti 2020.

[2] Masson 1978, p. 201. The dating to year 787 is referred to the peace treaty between Charlemagne and Arechis II, Duke of Benevento, through which, by the way, was established the northern border of the so called *Langobardia minor*.

[3] Cfr. Gentile 1979, pp. 10-14.

Since the 8th century the toponym Leboria is attested in the form *Liburia* (*Neapolitanorum/Langobardorum*), due to "vernacular distortion" (GENTILE 1979, p. 14): i*n partes Liburie* (689-706, in a *diploma* of Gisulf I, Duke of Benevento); *ecclesiam Sancti Vincencii in Liburia* (in a *preceptum* of Emperor Louis I, January 819). But it is also found in variant spellings as *Leburia/Leburie* (*omnia fundora de Leburias, Pactum Arechisi cum Neapolitanis*, post. 774, in MGH, *Legum*, IV, 213), *Leboria/Leborem* (*ille pestifer Seodan* […] *totam devastabit Capuam, Cantias, Leborem*, in *Chronicon Cassinense*, XI, in MGH, SS *rer. Lang.*, I, p. 476); and, finally, in the forms *Leguria/Liguria* (from *Leburia*, then *Levuria*, etc.): *anno vicesimo residente gens Normannorum Liguriam per urbem Aversum*[4].

The "new denomination" (GENTILE 1979, p. 29) *Terra Laboris/Laborie* appears in the last decade of the 11th century[5] and obviously the spelling *Laboris* is a para-etymological adaptation of *Liburia/Leboria*; anyway, the noun *Laboris* (genitive singular of the Latin noun *labor*) does not mean generically "work" but has the specific meaning, well spread in the medieval Latin, of "field", in particular the "sowed field" (likewise the verb *laborare* in Christian Latin usually means "to sow")[6].

One of the ancient attestations in Italian of the toponym *Terra di Lavoro* can be found in the 16th century version of the *Italia illustrata* by the humanist Flavio Biondo: "quella contrada tutta, che fu dagli antichi chiamata Campania, chiamano hoggi Terra di Lavoro" (ed. Venezia, 1542, p. 228).

Therefore, the three toponyms *Leboria, Liburia/Liguria* and *Terra Laboris/Terra di Lavoro* can be considered results or reflections of three different but connected linguistic traditions: the pre-Latin substratum, the ethnic/vernacular tradition of various peoples and the language of the rural cultures of the country during the Middle Ages.

Peoples, languages, and toponymy in Terra di Lavoro

A quick but exact idea on the dynamics of ethnocultural stratification that characterizes, between continuity and change, the history of Terra di Lavoro in the dimension of the *longue durée* can be achieved by examining, as exemplary cases, some toponyms of deep diachrony.

Among the pre-Roman toponyms, we can first consider the cases of Capua and Sessa Aurunca. The ancient Capua, from which, according to some sources, is derived the name Campania (< *Ca(m)puana tellus*?), was an Osco-Etruscan town (*Kapys/Capys*; Greek, *Καπύη*) and various hypotheses have been proposed on the

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[4] From a document dated 1050, in GALLO (Editor), p. 391.

[5] "terras et curtes […] que […] omnes sita sunt in Principatu Terre Laborie" (document written in Capua 1092, in F.M. Pratilli, *De Liburia dissertatio*, in Id., *Historia principum Langobardorum*, III, Neapoli, 1751, p. 261); "Aversiam destruxit, Capuam et pene totam Terram Laboris occupavit" (ROMUALDI SALERNITANI, *Annales*, 1134, MGH, SS 19, p. 421); "Apulie ac Terre Laboris tumultum compescuit" (U. FALCANDI, *Liber de regno Sicilie*, 1154-1169).

[6] Cfr. GENTILE 1979, pp. 60-61.

etymology of the name[7]. Here it is more convenient to specify that the ancient Capua (one of the most important cities of the Romans, *altera Roma*, according to the Cicero's famous definition) stood on the site of the present town of Santa Maria Capua Vetere. The modern town of Capua was founded in the year 856 by the Lombard Count Landone I on the site of *Casilinum*, a small port city built on a bend of the river Volturno. The new Capua (*Capua nova* in the Lombard sources) was populated with the inhabitants of the town of Sicopoli that had just been destroyed by fire. On the ruins of *Capua vetus* was built, on the site of the Roman *amphitheatrum*, the Lombard fortress of *Berolais*[8] (8th-9th centuries). In 1806 was created the municipality of Villa Santa Maria Maggiore, that since 1862 took the current name of Santa Maria Capua Vetere.

In the 1864, with the name still in use, was created the municipality of Sessa Aurunca; in this toponym Sessa is the modern spelling of the original name *Suessa* and the adjectival form Aurunca refers to the Aurunci, an Oscan people related to the Ausoni. *Suessa* (*Colonia Julia Felix Classica Suessa* under the Roman denomination) was one of the towns of the *Oscan Pentapolis*; the toponym and its derivates are widespread not only in Campania (*Suessula/Suessola, Sinuessa*, ecc.) but also in the Mediterranean area (*Suessa/Suessetani*, Iberian Peninsula; Συέσσα, Lycia) and in Gallia (*Suessiones*). According to a recent hypothesis (Villar 2000, pp. 424-426), the noun *Suessa* would be derived from the Indo-European form **sweks* 'six'.

Among many others pre-Roman toponyms, we consider only some relevant cases. Such as Teano (municipality since 1862), former town of the Sidicini, an Oscan people, then Roman *municipium* and *colonia*, under the name of *Teanum Sidicinum* (to distinguish it from *Teanum Apulum*). Etymology: perhaps from Oscan noun *tianud* (fortress).

Finally, in alphabetical order: Alife, from Osco-Sabellic *Alipha*; Greek, Ἄλλιφα/Ἀλλιφαί; Latin *Allīfae*; Italian *Alife, Alifia/Alifi*, since the 11th century; uncertain etymology: from *auliva* (olive)? Caiazzo, from *Caiatia*, Osco-Samnites town; *diocesis Caiacensis/Calatina* in ecclesiastical medieval documents; probably derived from the pre-Latin noun **cala* (rock). Calvi Risorta (*Calvi*, until 1862), from *Cales*, town of the Aurunci (*Calenum* until the 10th century; *Calvi* since 914); etymology: *calvus* (deforested place). Carìnola: medieval Latin *Calinolum*, to be connected to the noun *Calenum* and therefore with *Cales/Calvi*. Nola: Latin name of the Etruscan town *Hyria* (6th century BC), conquered and refounded (6th century) by the Samnites with the Oscan name *Novla* (new town).

Among late ancient and/or medieval toponyms of Terra di Lavoro we have already briefly considered the cases of *Berolais* and *Casilinum*, the two towns connected with the transition from the ancient Capua to the Lombard *Capua nova*. The toponym *Berolais*, of uncertain etymology (Greek and/or Lombard), is attested in various spellings (*Berolasi, Verolasi, Virilasci*) but with same meaning

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[7] Pellegrini 2008, pp. 37, 66, 93; *Dizionario di toponomastica*, s.v. Capua, p. 140.

[8] *Berolais* is a toponym, attested in various spellings of uncertain etymology, cfr. Alessio 1952 and *infra* the paragraph titled "Permanence, transformation, and oblivion of (micro)toponyms: some exemplary cases".

(round fortress) in some towns in Campania (Salerno, 10ᵗʰ century; Cassino, 13ᵗʰ century, etc.). The name *Casilinum*, that survives in the denomination of the consular road (the *Casilina*) that even today links Capua to Rome, may be derived from the Oscan adjective *casnar* (old, therefore old town), similar to *Casinum* (the Latin name of Cassino).

Much more relevant are the cases of two important towns of Terra di Lavoro, Caserta and Aversa.

The name Caserta is derived from the medieval denomination *Casa hirta* (steep house) indicating the village (nowadays *Casertavecchia*, 4 km from the city), founded on the slopes of the Mount Virgo (620 metres above sea level) during the 9ᵗʰ century by the inhabitants of *Calatia*, and destroyed (861-863) by the Lombard Count of Capua Pando the rapacious.

The toponym Aversa is derived from the name of the farmhouse S*ancti Pauli at Averze*, mentioned in a document of 1022 (Gallo 1938, p. 5). The farmhouse was in a territory revitalized by the Benedictine monks of the monastery of St. Laurentius ad *septimum* (Cantile 1994, pp. 60-64) after the disappearance of the Roman towns *Liternum* and *Atella*. The Norman Chief Rainulf Drengot, who received the surrounding territory in 1027 from Duke Sergius IV of Naples, fortified the farmhouse. This was the first core of the city of Aversa, that was founded in 1130 by Rainulf himself. The name *Aversa* (that occurs also in the spelling *Aversum* in documents of the years 1048 and 1050[9]) must be connected to the Latin adjectival noun *avērsa* (back part) (like in toponyms as *Anversa degli Abruzz*i), perhaps with reference to the town's position (*urbs aversa*) in relation to Naples.

In the modern toponym Orta di Atella (municipality with this denomination since 1862) survives the name of the ancient town founded by Samnites, then Roman *municipium*. Atella continued to exist until the 11ᵗʰ century when the inhabitants moved to newly founded Aversa. The toponym Orta, attested since 1304, is derived from the late Latin noun *hortua*, from *hortus* (place enclosed by a hedge, garden).

Near Caserta, the town of Maddaloni was founded during the 8ᵗʰ century and took its name from the Lombard Chief *Matalo/Madalo*. More than in the current toponym the derivation pattern is evident in the spelling *Mataluni*, that is attested in various medieval documents (years 774, 839, 981) and in the vernacular pronunciation *Matalunə* (Sabatini 1963, pp. 209-210).

Permanence, transformation, and oblivion of (micro)toponyms: some exemplary cases

We begin with two geographical names hidden, so to speak, inside the toponyms of two smaller villages in Terra di Lavoro, Raviscanina and Rocca d'Evandro. In the perspective of the *longue durée*, they present an evolutionary history complex and not clarified in all its aspects.

Raviscanina is a picturesque village on the southwestern slopes of the Matese,

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[9] Cfr. Gallo (Editor), 1926, pp. 391, 395.

overlooking the valley of the river Volturno. It is mentioned in late-medieval documents (1325) with the spellings *Robba Canina* and *Robbacanina* (*ròvëcaninə* in the vernacular pronunciation). The modern spelling (understood as *Rupecanina* "doggy cliff") looks like a learned reconstruction/reinterpretation[10] and is etymologically implausible (*robba* cannot be derived from the Latin noun *rupis*). The first component of the toponym (*Ravis-*) perhaps may be connected to the Mediterranean term *rava* (rockslide, cliff, ravine) (Devoto 1967).

Rocca d'Evandro, a village located on a cliff at the foot of Monte Camino, dominates the valley where flows the Peccia, an affluent of the river Garigliano. In the valley can be seen the remains of *Bantra* (or *Vandra*), a village abandoned during the 11th century, when the rock was built; therefore, the village newly built on the cliff in late-medieval documents is mentioned as *Rocca de Bantra* or *Rocca Vandra*. The toponym *Bantra/Vantra* is sometimes misattributed to the remains of Roman settlements present in the territory. It is instead of Germanic origin (Lombard) and is connected (Scardigli and Gervasi 1978, p. 313) with the term *vandra*, from the Germanic verbal root *wandrian* (modern German *wandern* "to turn, to wind"), with reference to river Peccia, that is indicated as *Vandra/Bantra* in documents contemporaneous to the building of the rock. The modern toponym *Rocca d'Evandro* is a learned re-interpretation of the previous name *Rocca de Bantra/Vantra*, namely "rock on/near the Bantra/Vantra river". The hydronym Peccia, traditionally explained as derived from the Latin adjective *picea* (pine tar), more likely is from Lombard *pehhia* (Germanic *pehhi-* or *pahhi-* "creek, torrent")[11].

Finally, we consider three geographic terms that present, even in their variants, a linear continuity from late antiquity to nowadays: *pentima, mortina* and *riagine*.

The term *pèntima* and its variants *pèntoma* or *pèndima* are used to indicate a "sloping terrain"; they are widespread in the area of the Monti Prenestini and in provinces of Caserta and Frosinone (Conti 1984, p. 219). An ancient attestation is in the famous Placito of Sessa Aurunca (963, March): "ecclesia sancte marie ubi sunt ipse pentome maiori".

A territory or land with stagnant water is indicated with various and essentially synonymous terms, such as *mortina, limata, lentola/lentula* (Conti 1984, p. 205, s.v. morti). In the name of the town Limatola (near Benevento) the connection with *limata* is evident; in the province of Viterbo and in Tuscany many places bear the name *lentola/lentole*; *mortina* is attested in the Placito of Teano (963, October): "ipse riagine mitteret in mortina et per ipsa mortina mitteret in iam dicto flubio [Uulturno]".

The term *riagine* that recurs in the just quoted passage is well attested in medieval documents with the meaning of "stream, creek"[12], for example: "riagine que venit da monte sancti lauteri et midtid ipsa reagine in predicto fluvio bulturno" (*Memoratorium* of Teano 963, July 26). It survives (from the adjectival form *ria(gi)nalem*) in the toponym *fosso Rianale*, a torrent that flows in the municipality of Tora e Piccilli, province of Caserta.

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[10] *Dizionario di toponomastica*, s.v. *Raviscanina*, p. 532.

[11] *Dizionario di toponomastica*, s.v. *Pescia*, p. 484.

[12] "Rivus, rivulus", in du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, s.v. *riago*.

The LITORE *database*

The few cases just examined are only examples of the widespread presence, in the territories of the ancient Terra di Lavoro, of toponyms and geographical terms that have survived until today with the mutations and adaptations due to the dimension of the *longue durée*.

The collection and study of this large amount of material is the aim of the repository LITORE – *Liburiae T(op)onomasticum Repertorium*, a digital database on the toponymy and onomastics of Liburia/Terra di Lavoro (https://www.letterebeniculturali.unicampania.it/esiti-ricerca#litore-liburiae-top-onomasticum-repertorium). LITORE is a work in progress undertaken by a research unit within the project Mediterraneum c/o DiLBeC (Dipartimento di lettere e beni culturali) of the Università della Campania 'Luigi Vanvitelli'. It is based on the analysis of the toponyms and the onomastic traditions attested in the most relevant documentary sources related to the medieval history of Terra di Lavoro, especially of Capua (in the Lombard and Norman periods) and Aversa.

The project is divided into two stages. The first (2020-2021) involved electronic analysis of 155 documents from the Capuan area (years 787-1197) and indexing of 1.099 toponyms and 2.220 anthroponyms. The second stage, now in progress (2021-2022), foresees the electronic analysis of the main documentary collections connected with the County/Principate of Aversa (1080-1196) and Capua (1091-1197): 204 documents (74 connected with Capua; 230 with Aversa). The expected result is to observe and describe the modalities and the extent of the influence of the newly established Norman domination on the onomastics and toponyms of the County/Principate of Capua and Aversa.

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The toponyms in *Terra di Lavoro* province: continuity and changes from 1860 to today.

Simonetta Conti*

Abstract

In geographical studies, and particularly in geo-historical ones, the reconstruction of a landscape cannot absolutely ignore the contribution of toponymy. The toponym is considered an indicator of the cultural and environmental heritage, therefore toponymy studies have addressed many aspects of the life of a territory, and certainly a prominent place belongs to the changes in the names of the inhabited centres, with all this entails for the memory of the territory.

The study is centred on the province of Terra di Lavoro*, as it was before 1860 and the current province of Caserta, and on those municipalities that preferred to change their name, without considering, more often than not, the reason for their name and their own history, but to comply with the central power. The research was mainly carried out by investigating Neapolitan historical cartography of the nineteenth century, archival documents, and current IGMI cartography.*

Keywords: *Terra di Lavoro (province of Caserta), toponymy changes, new toponyms.*

Increasing modernization and globalization are changing, often drastically, the contemporary landscape, both urban and rural, mountain and maritime. This rapid evolution, combined with a growing mobility and migrations, is rapidly erasing the memory of entire generations. Fortunately, the toponyms continue to keep important traces of the past for a long time, allowing recovery of the human, social and economic history of entire portions of the territory. Thereafter toponymy is a very useful (and sometimes unique) tool for reconstructing the physical and anthropic history of territories.

In recent times there has been a scientific turn towards the toponym as an indicator of the cultural and environmental heritage (Turco, 1994). Toponymy studies, for their part, have turned to multiple aspects of the territory's life. Within the toponymy, the evolution of the names of human settlements takes on particular importance.

In 1891, facing the problems of Italian toponymy, Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, the founder of Italian linguistics, wrote: "In the course of history, local names constitute a scientific furnishing that can be compared with that which, in the order of physical events, is given by the geological strata. In large part, the local names certainly fall within the straightforward domain of dialectal speculation; but in no small part they form a subject of study, even more precious and peregrine than that which is not contained in actual dialectology" (Ascoli, 1895).

* University of Campania 'Luigi Vanvitelli' (Italia).

The present paper takes into consideration the territory of the old province of Terra di Lavoro (Figures 1 and 2) as it was before Italian unification, when it brought together geographic areas now divided between four modern provinces of the Lazio (Latina and Frosinone) and Campania regions (Benevento and Napoli). Despite the subsequent modifications, the toponymy of the inhabited centres of this area still retains large traces of the ancient provincial unity, before the new road and rail links and the new socio-economic interdependencies made it necessary to rewrite the administrative and judicial districts.

After Italian unification, the Ministry of Post complained that too many centres and hamlets had the same name and this involved difficulties and, therefore, the Ministry invited the prefects to change their name, unless it was understandable and easily solved by adding an adjective to create a difference. But care had to be taken to avoid changes that had no correspondence with the history of the centres themselves and risked losing the historical roots of the territory itself, exactly as happened for a large part of the province after the massive curtailment of municipalities in favour of other administrative realities. To all this must be added a good dose of ignorance both of the municipal councillors who proposed these changes, and of the central authorities that allowed the changes, without a knowledge of the background, often many centuries away, which led to the choice of the name. In this way they put the seal to errors that contribute to losing the origin of one's roots (Natella, 2007, pp. 261-276).

The province of Terra di Lavoro consisted of five districts (Capua, Gaeta, Nola, Piedimonte and Sora) and had 234 municipalities.

Much more articulated became the discourse for the municipalities of the province, both those that continued to be part of the province of Terra di Lavoro, and those that in 1927, with a government decree, were added to the established province of Littoria, i.e. some municipalities of the district of Gaeta, of Frosinone, and of the district of Sora (Galluccio, 1998). In this frenzy of change, some municipalities changed their name not once but twice, as Castelluccio which in 1862 became Castelluccio di Sora and which in 1878 changed its name to Castel Liri; Palazzolo which in 1863 changed to Palazzolo di Castrocielo and in 1882 to Castrocielo; Monticelli which in 1862 changed its name to Monte San Vito and the following year to Monte San Biagio.

Anticipating the government decree, three municipalities had already asked to change their name, Slaves of Formicola, Mola and Castellone, and Masserie.

One of the reasons for the change was to bring back to life toponyms that had been dead for centuries, but which often recalled periods that were thought to have been happy. Such was the case of Formia, which for a long time had been considered a simple aggregate of Gaeta, known as Mola di Gaeta and which, having become an autonomous municipality in 1819, was seen flanked by the centre of Castellone, which since 1459, under Alfonso of Aragon was mentioned as Castri seu ville Castilgioni de civitatis Caiete committee. They wanted to bring the Roman toponym of Formia back to life, precisely in contrast to the nearby city which had been considered more important. The name was given to it because it was a place of Ciceronian memory, but perhaps much more prosaically it was a form of revenge against the nearby city of Gaeta, which had always maintained its citizens'

Figure 1. Marzolla B., Description of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies by province, Napoli 1854.

Figure 2. Marzolla B., Provincia di Terra di Lavoro, Napoli 1850
[Description of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies by provinces].

role and under whose jurisdiction it had been, albeit with alternating events, up to the year in which Ferdinand I had erected Mola di Gaeta and Castiglione as an independent municipality.

The second case demonstrates ignorance of the origin of their name by the locals. This is the town of Schiavi di Formicola, or more appropriately Castello degli Schiavi [Castle of the Slaves], (Giustiniani, 1797, III, p. 334). The municipal council asked on April 27, 1862 to be able to change its name to that of Liberi di Formicola [Freemen of Formicola][1] with a question that can only be understood by referring to the political climate of the time, but demonstrating that the council did not know the origins of the centre in the twelfth century (De Santis, 1924, pp. 365-370; Finamore, 1994, p. 55). There was considerable confusion of names and dates as regards the uprisings of 1831 and the desperate attempt of the Bandiera brothers of 1844, and it must be specified that the only legion of Terra di Lavoro in 1860 was that of Matese which had only 120 men (de Cesare, 1970, pp. 889-891).

The toponym Schiavi or Sclavi both in Central Italy and in Abruzzo, Molise, Puglia and other southern areas, is quite common and has nothing to do with slavery but has a strong trace of migration by the people of Schiavonia. which, from the early Middle Ages to the 16th century, settled in Italy, mainly in the central and southern regions. A second town in the province, now Fontechiari (province of Frosinone), was called Schiavi. With a resolution of the city council of September 4, 1862 and with the subsequent royal decree on October 12, of the same year this name was changed to: "cancel a degrading denomination". Also, in this case there was a complete lack of knowledge of the history of the place and its vicissitudes. The old toponym was due to medieval settlements of populations of Dalmatian origin. With the name of Sclavi is mentioned in the Chronicon Casinensis in the year 937: "Agelmundus quidam nobilis de Vicalbo obtulit huic monasterio [...] nec non et omnia quae ille iure haereditario pertinebant, tam in civitate Sorana quam et in castello quod dicitur Sclavi". And again, in the year 1098 it is quoted as follows: "Nobilis vir Maxarus habitator istius civitatis Albae [Vicalvi, in the Marsican territory] obtulit huic sancto loco ecclesiam suam sancti Martini in dicto territory ubi dicitur Sclavi" (De Santis, 1924, p. 368).

The current toponym is derived from the presence of a torrent once called by the inhabitants Rio Schiavi, with two springs nearby of clear karst origin, and

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[1] "In this country which is now called Schiavi [Slaves], my ancestors were the first in 1799 to raise the banner of freedom, and all suffered the sad consequences. Like this, Schiavi was the first in a very remote period in 1820 to establish a Carbonari "Vendita". So he got excited in 1830 at the Rome movement and greeted the Bandiera Brothers. In 1848 Schiavi moved with the first cities of the Kingdom and on May 15th sent his children to the fatal day. In 1860 he finally inaugurated a Legion that he knew how to deserve from his homeland with sacrifices of substances and blood, and would you still like to call this country slaves? He was so under the infernal Bourbon domination; but now that the tyrant has been expelled and that a Gentleman King, a Father of his Peoples governs us, this small country inhabited by independent men and who know how to sacrifice substances and family and life for the Fatherland and for Liberty, it must no longer be called Slaves but Free" (De Santis, 1924, pp. 365-366).

as described by Giustiniani: "there are two sources about thirty palms from each other, one of which in some hours of the day is all dry, and then rises again with the same abundance of water, so after an hour, now two, and now three, and four, and sometimes after a few minutes [...] the water is very clear [...] almost a certain noise, as if coming through tortuous and difficult foramina, growing with greater vigour and promptness, which it does not make when it is lacking" (Giustiniani, 1804, VIII, pp. 363-364).

On May 11, 1862 the municipality of Masserie (it had been created as an autonomous municipality in 1812, while before it was one of the Maddaloni hamlets) asked to change its name to that of San Marco Evangelista, taken from an ancient farmhouse of the same name, formerly belonging to the Abbey of Sant'Angelo in Formis, as noted by the Ostiense Chronicle: "Abbas noster in Captano monastery [...] egressus Capuam [...] perrexit ad ecclesiam Sancti Marci, quae est ad arcem montis Sanctae Agathae". The new name would have allowed the municipality no longer to be mistaken for the generic meaning of the term masseria.

The toponym of Monte San Biagio is also recent and dates back to 1863, when it asked and obtained permission to change its name from Monticelli to the current one.

Another municipality renamed by the royal decree on August 24, 1862 was Fossaceca, which changed to Fontegreca. If it is true that the toponym Fossaceca characterized three other centres, respectively in Molise, in Abruzzo Citra and in Principato Ultra, it is not clear how the toponym was changed into the current one, which has no comparison in any ancient document, beyond the declaration of the municipal council of 1862 (De Santis, 1934, p. 374). But on the contrary already from the documents of the Chronicon Casinensis it is mentioned as "castellum quod vocatur Fossaceca" in an act of 1096. How is it verifiable? From the historical maps it is easy to understand the reason for the primitive name.

This morphology of the territory, partly karst, is illustrated by the term Sorgente Puzzo di Molazza (F. 161 III NE), the place where the sources of the Sava River flow into the Volturno, in the Capriati area: "of a high mountain, and washed by the river Sava, which rises not far from it" (Giustiniani, 1802, IV, pp. 353-354).

Capriati al Volturno itself changed its name from Capriata in 1863, and here too the motivation is unclear, other than to follow the trend of the time, since in the whole south there was no other municipality with the same name, and the meaning has not changed, since etymologically it comes from the terms "capreo" or "capra" (Conti, 1984; Finamore, 1994). The frenzy of changing the name seems to have dominated the province of Terra di Lavoro and every time you scroll through the documents drawn up by the various municipal councils, you are faced with completely spurious reasons which clearly demonstrate total ignorance. of the roots and the search for an ancestry considered more noble and, almost always, completely wrong, or perhaps they are to be interpreted as a political motivation.

This is the case of Fratte that changed its name to that of Ausonia with the royal decree of September 21, 1862. The motivation was to take the name of the city which, in 314 BC betrayed the Romans to ally with the Samnites and was therefore razed to the ground as Tito Livio recounts in his Stories. Also, according to the

unknown councillor, it was to cancel the dismal concept that the name "Fratte" evoked[2]. Apart from the bombastic tone of the Italian text, I do not think that we can find anything dismal in the term Fratta. On the other hand, let's not forget that the term Fratta / Fratte is very broad: Frattamaggiore, Frattapiccola, Fratte near Castellamare di Stabia, Fratte in Terra di Lavoro, Frattoli in Abruzzo.

According to the oldest documents, Fratte already existed in the early Middle Ages: if the first official documents date back to the 11th century, the oldest ones are two of 1020 and 1025 included in the Codex Diplomaticus Caietanus: "[...] quoddam giczi et iuga [...] habitatores in ipse fracte", "[...] abitator in castro fracte [...]" (CDC, edited by S. Riciniello, 1991, vol. III, doc. nos. 140 and 152). In the district other toponymy changes were those of Coreno, Spigno, Roccagugliema, Castelnuovo di Sangermano and Traetto, as well as Agnone, Palazzolo, Sangermano in the district of Sora. The municipality of Coreno added with royal decree on December 14, 1862 the adjective Ausonio: "as a badge derived from the ancient city of Ausonia that existed in this vicinity".

Ausonia wanted to call itself "city of Spigno", but it had to be content with adding to its name the adjective "of Saturnia", of Virgilian memory. However, Spigno is a medieval community, first mentioned in the 999 Codex Diplomaticus Cajetanus: "coram popolo Cajetano medietatem casalis Spinii ad Episcopum pertinere".

As for the municipality of Roccaguglielma, the change of name to that of Esperia was due to the sub-prefect who suggested the new name "to demonstrate true patriotism" (De Santis, 1924, p. 388). Born in the early Middle Ages, as documented for the year 998, the name of Esperia finds no support, except for the declared will, on the part of the sub-prefect, to make people forget a previous history.

The only centre that, more than the others, would have had the right to take the name that had made it famous in antiquity, was actually one of the last to be modified. In 1879 and with a motivation that did not refer to its ancient origin, but only cited: "easily exchanging the reading of the name Traetto with that of Faetto and Tretto, which are municipalities in the provinces of Turin and Vicenza" (De Santis, 1924, p. 389). It therefore took the name of Minturno, in place of Traetto. Villa d'Agnone on November 9, 1862 took the toponym of Villa Latina. There were two reasons given, of which only the first can boast a good dose of reason, that of not being confused with the Agnone of Molise. The second was very hypothetical: "for topography of position this municipality more than the form of a village, is that of Villa, and for historical traditions it was the place chosen by the ancients to holiday" (De Santis, 1924, pp. 379-380).

It is not known which were the ancients who vacationed in Agnone, and the

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[2] "Anyone who pronounces the expression Fratte cannot help but feel the harshness of the gloomy concept that is attached to it, making the thought come back to the woodiness of the country, and to the ferocity of the inhabitants: woods and ferocity that do not live there today. The destroyed city of Ausonia was located in this estate, and it was vindicated to this municipality; precisely because those few citizens who survived from the fury of the Roman Eagles when the victorious Samnites triumphed over it, adapting it from the foundations in pain of the help given to them, they went to hide in the woods, which then existed there, whence Fratte is the origin of the name" (De Santis, 1924, p. 375).

description given by Giustiniani does not support this thesis: "Agnone farmhouse in the city of Atina in the land of Lavoro in the diocese of Aquino. It is located on a plain, and with scattered houses, which looks like a group of small and petty villages" (Giustiniani, 1797, I, p. 74). Respectful of local history was the request of the municipality of Palazzolo to change its name to that of Castrocielo. The birth of the centre is to be ascribed to the 10th century when it was named in a document of 994 with the following wording: "praeceptum quoque de Castro Coeli, cum toto monte qui vocatur Aspranus" and in a subsequent one from 1022: "praeceptum de Monte Asprano ubi est castrum Celi". Only later a part of the town had moved further downstream, where there were the ruins of a Roman villa, and had taken the name of Palazzolo. In the sheet no. 5 of the Atlas of the Kingdom of Naples (1804) the fortress of Castro Coeli is perfectly visible with the town of Palazzolo at its foot.

The reasons for Castrocielo also apply to Cassino, only in the latter case it was the municipal council of Sangermano that asked to recover the ancient name of the town, as it was a never forgotten memory, thanks to the Abbey founded there in the sixth century by Benedictine monks. In 1927 the name of the municipality of Vico di Pantano was changed to that of Villa Literno.

In this case, the presence of the Latin centre of Liternum was brought to life, a centre located in one of the most fertile areas of Campania. The name of Vico di Pantano in medieval and modern times replaced that of ancient Roman origin due to the hydrogeological situation of the place. It was a toponym that told of centuries of desolation due to the presence of the swamps and the consequent malaria. In fairly recent years, another municipality in the province has felt the need to change its name, also having "classic" ancestry, referring to the existence of villae rusticae, and using Latin predials. This is the case of Frignano Piccolo which in 1950 changed its name to the current one of Villa di Briano. The first mentions of Frignano Piccolo date back to 964 in a diploma by Pandolfo I, prince of Capua: "[…] petia in Ferruniano pictulo in Ferruniano majore […]"(Giustiniani, IV, 1802, pp. 390-391).

Given the time of the name change, it is easy to assume a desire for complete detachment from the nearby centre of Frignano Maggiore.

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A short history of Napoli through the affirmation of its toponym in historical cartography

Silvia Siniscalchi*

Abstract

In medieval cartography (Ebstorf's T-O map and some nautical maps) the toponym Napoli does not appear. Instead, on these maps and charts we find the toponym Salerno well highlighted.

This circumstance is probably linked to the fame of the city of Salerno as the university seat of the "Hippocratic oath", with its famous medical school, while Napoli assumes increasing importance only from the end of the 13th century, when it becomes the capital of the kingdom with the Angevins.

This contribution, therefore, tries to retrace the phases through which the toponym Napoli begins to make its presence on the maps of the past, gradually becoming the most important toponym of southern Italy, until it is indicative of the entire kingdom.

Keywords: *Napoli, Salerno, medieval cartography.*

Napoli and Salerno between geography and history

We cannot talk about the history of Napoli without referring to that of Salerno and the other way around. If today Napoli is the most important city in southern Italy, there was a time when Salerno surpassed it. Historical maps tell us this: the two cities, at least for a period of their history, lived a cartographic "competition", as a reflection of the historical one, which was at the end, as we know, won by Napoli. This result is the consequence not of spatial differences, but of historical events and political decisions that have given to Napoli the primacy in South Italy since the end of the 13th century. The two cities, in fact, from a geographical point of view, are similar: both have a mild climate and enjoy an excellent position. Napoli, located in the middle section of the Mediterranean, right in the heart of the Tyrrhenian coast of the peninsula, has always had, in its history of 2500 years, a considerable maritime importance (Coppola *et alia*, 1934).

Similarly, Salerno, favoured by a lucky geographical place, in ancient times dominated the trade in the gulf located between Campania and Lucania on the sea routes connecting the markets of the Levant and those of the western Mediterranean, then conquering, in the early Middle Ages, a considerable commercial, cultural and political fortune (Panebianco, 1965, *online*). Its trading prosperity, however, depends not so much on the port (not very functional for these purposes, especially due to the phenomenon of repeated silting), as on its links with the hinterland, since Salerno is an obligatory hub towards the far south

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* University of Salerno (Italia).

of the Kingdom, near to Napoli, and a reference for organizations and commercial companies active in several business sectors (Siniscalchi, 2020, pp. 73, 75).

The port of Napoli, on the contrary, becomes a node capable of connecting the productive hinterland with the rest of the Mediterranean. In fact, between the end of the Byzantine Duchy and the Norman age, the city reached exploits that allowed its trade balance to overtake that of other southern urban realities; above all that of Amalfi, which represents the myth of early medieval commercial growth in southern Italy. So, a solid economic starting point is created, based on the close complementarity between Napoli and its hinterland, between the port and the organization of production and exchange, between land and money. All elements that form the background of a city that will soon have all the skills, strength, and aptitude to present itself as the capital of the Kingdom (Feniello, 2014, *online*).

From an institutional point of view, two important historical-political choices sanction this status quo: the decision of Frederick II of Swabia to establish the University in Napoli (1224); the Angevins' selection to move the capital of the Kingdom from Palermo to Napoli after the Sicilian Vespers (1282). So, from the 13th century ahead, the functional and hierarchical position of the city changes completely and Napoli becomes so important that it denotes all southern Italy by its name: the Kingdom, from the Angevin period onwards, in fact, is called "di Napoli" [of Napoli] and only in limited historical periods "delle Due Sicilie" [of the Two Sicilies] (Manzi, 1987, p. 344).

In this same period, Salerno achieved from the Emperor Frederick II the privilege of being the seat of the only medical faculty of the Kingdom. The recognition was derived from its prestigious title of "hippocratica civitas", obtained from the 9th century onwards thanks to the Medical School, the first of the Christian West, founded in the 9th-10th centuries and became the most important medical institution in Europe in the Middle Ages (11th century)[1] . Despite this stardom, the scientific studies on the Salerno medical school, in the *Collectio Salernitana*, edited by Salvatore De Renzi (mid-19th century), albeit developed in the second half of the 20th century, are able to ascertain little about the origins of the institution, above all due to the lack of adequate documentation. Little is known of its structural organization (at least up to the Frederick age) and its context of origin (secular, monastic, or clerical) is not clear (D'Angelo, 2005, online). In general, it is possible to say that in the 10th and 11th centuries, certainly an excellent and prestigious medical class was already active in Salerno, equipped with a good bibliographic availability, but it is highly likely that no institutionalized form of teaching, much less university, was active in the city. This phase therefore represents, for Salerno, a "pre-school" period, where there should not have been a type of teaching other than that which was given in other cities [...] and which was connected in one way or another to ecclesiastical institutions, such as monasteries and cathedrals (Vitolo, 2001, p. 197). It is, therefore, to be assumed that, in this age, not a single school flourished in the city, but a plurality of institutes where, alongside the arts of the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, elements of medicine were taught, perhaps

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[1] Today again the University of Salerno preserves and transmits its memory through its logo, in which we can read "Hippocratica civitas", the ancient title earned by Salerno (Italia).

more intensely than elsewhere. This explains the myth of the "four founders" of the Salerno medical school, who would have been – in the mists of time – a Jew, an Arab, a Greek and a Latin: they are not individuals, but cultural addresses, points of intersection of the School itself, where different cultures contribute to the Ars medica. Therefore, the Salerno Medical School is characterized as an entity with an interdisciplinary vocation, ready to admit and incorporate the most disparate, if not contradictory, cultural traditions and directions). So, if in the early Middle Ages there were also other medical teaching centres in Italy before the rise of the *universitates studiorum*, none of them passed to posterity as a health seminary for all of Europe like Salerno. Therefore, in the 12th century it is necessary to think in the city of the existence of some form of coordination, of some collegial way of practice and teaching of medical art, with a curriculum based on a standard group of textbooks (D'Angelo, 2005, online).

The prominent position conquered by the city seems to be strengthening with the advent of the Angevins in 1282; Salerno is elevated by Charles I to the rank of county seat of the Principality Citra, an autonomous province reserved for Charles II, heir to the throne. But subsequent events determine its slow decline, and it becomes a fiefdom of various families. It reconquers a role of great prestige through the Sanseverino princes during the 16th century but loses it after the condemnation of the last prince, Ferrante, who came into conflict with the Viceroy Pietro of Toledo. The subsequent events of Salerno thus follow those of southern Italy, until the conquest of national unity and the beginning of a new historical period.

Regarding the medical school, it began to decrease in importance after the enlargement of the University of Naples (favoured by the Angevin kings), whose growing prestige in the centuries eventually causing its closing on November 29, 1811, through a decree of Gioacchino Murat (Capparoni, 1936, *online*).

Napoli and Salerno: the cartographic "war"

There is no trace of the "challenge" between Napoli and Salerno in cartography before the Middle Ages. Both are coastal cities and, after the fall of the Roman Empire, despite the reduction in the volume of production and trade, they manage to fit advantageously in the commercial spaces of the Byzantine Empire and the Arab world, together with other cities of Campania (Amalfi), southern Lazio (Gaeta), Puglia (Otranto, Bari, Taranto) and Calabria (Reggio). They are cities that nominally depend on Byzantium, but which, at the same time, profit from the de facto autonomy they enjoy. The initial role of the southern merchants, up to the beginning of the 9th century, is above all to mediate between the producers of the Langobard hinterland and the Byzantine merchants, active along the coasts; however, the Italians begin to take on their own commercial initiative with Constantinople and become the hub of exchanges between Langobardic, Byzantine, and Muslim areas. But commercial relations are also internal: Salerno, in fact, during the 11th century becomes a destination for Genoese merchants before Napoli (Di Girolamo, 2014, *online*).

In addition to this condition of substantial "parity" between the two cities is

added the fact that, as it is well known, only from the 15th century did Italy have a continuing cartographic tradition which, through documents of different types and values, can be reconstructed up to the present day (ALMAGIÀ, 1929). However, we can consider for our research some other more ancient cartographic materials, as Nautical charts and a type of maps which concern not only Italy, but the entire world known in antiquity and the Middle Ages: *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the medieval T-O maps.

The first allows us to verify the relations of territorial hierarchy between Napoli and Salerno in the Imperial age; the others are an important representation of the collective imagination and of the "weltanschauung", we could say, of the men of the Christian Middle Ages. They can therefore offer a reliable yardstick on the perception that the authors of these maps had of the importance of the places and cities of their time, through their decisions on what to represent and what to omit.

The most ancient cartographic mention of Salerno and Napoli that has come down to the present day can be seen in *Segmentum VI* of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Figure 1), a medieval copy of an *itinerarium pictum* from the late Imperial era (PRONTERA, 2003), whose reproduction, as is known, was edited by Konrad Peutinger. The map, oriented with the east at the top, by virtue of its instrumental nature as a road and continental itinerary, favours the representation of communication routes and buildings, most of which (429) are single structures. Interpreted either as rustic villas lined up with the streets for hospitality purposes (*mansiones*) or to change horses (*mutationes*) or as centres that are also important from a military, economic and logistical point of view, the buildings often appear as starting points for the minor network of roads or as terminals of maritime routes. In this case they show, with the toponymic indication, the design of ports and lighthouses, in the form, respectively, of semicircular buildings and superimposed cubes holding a large flame (AVERSANO, 2010, p. 56).

Figure 1. Tabula Peutingeriana (Codex Vindobonensis 324), Segmentum VI, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Napoli and Salerno are represented as two less important centres than Capua, Benevento and Nuceria. Source: Konrad Miller-Ulrich Harsch Bibliotheca Augustana, Tabula Peutingeriana, 1st-4th centuries CE. Facsimile edition by Konrad Miller, 1887/1888.

Salerno, located on the right of the Sele river (formerly *Silarum*), has three road arteries that cross it, directed, respectively, to the east, towards *Abellinum* and Benevento, to the northwest, towards *Nuceria, Pompei* and *Neapolis*, and, to the southeast, towards *Paestum* and *Velia*.

The latter is the Via Aurelia Nova, a strategic link between Salerno and the Calabria (*Regio II* together with *Apulia*), marked on the map not by a red line but by the Roman number IX (indicating nine miles of distance), that splits into an internal path (through *Forum Popili*) and a coastal one (marked however in an incomplete way). But the real position and importance of Salerno with respect to the great Roman roads is not yet well known. The most important route passing through its area was the Capua-Reggio, a large road on whose path, however, there are still several doubts (Avagliano, 1982, pp. 47-49).

Napoli, located near the Neapolitan Crypta or *Grotta di Posillipo* – dug into the tuff in the 1st century BC to facilitate communications with Pozzuoli – is crossed by three roads: the first to the west, towards Pozzuoli (*Puteoli*), the second to the north, towards Capua, the third to the southeast, towards Nocera (*Nuceria*) and Salerno, crossing Herculaneum (*Herculanum*), *Oplontis* (now Torre del Greco) and Pompei (whose presence is an indication of the different origin dates of the *segmenta* of the *Tabula*, since these three cities had been destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 AD).

The number of road connections shows that Napoli and Salerno were not the most important cities of the time; in fact, they do not have the same number of routes as *Nuceria*, Benevento and Capua, important road junctions of the *Regio I* (*Latium et Campania*, according to the Augustan territorial division of Italy into eleven regions). However, both Napoli and Salerno have the advantage of overlooking the sea, even if the *Tabula* does not represent their ports. But it is, however, certain that they had a seaport, undoubtedly facilitating traffic and commercial activities, for import or even export, considering that sea transport was the most easily used route at the time.

So, despite their lack of importance during the Imperial era, nevertheless both cities had a favourable position with respect to trade and commerce and had a very ancient history. Regarding Napoli, founded by the Greeks in two different phases (Parthenope, in the 8th century BC, then called *Palepoli; Neapolis* before the 5th century BC), during the Second Punic War opens its doors to the Romans (326 BC), but then began to decline, due to the increased importance of *Puteoli* (Pozzuoli) as a port of Rome, becoming a simple municipality (90 BC). During the civil war the city takes the side of Mario (82 BC), thus undergoing the revenge of Silla: more active classes became even weaker, Napoli lost its commercial role and was transformed into a place of "otia" for Roman high society, for its mild climate, the beautiful landscape, and its "terrace" in the shape of an amphitheatre on the sea (See "Napoli" in *Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani* online).

Salerno, even before the Roman foundation, had its own commercial importance, perhaps as a port of the Etruscan and then Samnite-Campania city of Irna, equipped with an important political-economic function thanks to its strategic position along the road that from Amina, then Picentia (now Pontecagnano) led to Nuceria and Capua. In the 5th century BC, after the battle of Cuma and the

Etruscan defeat, the city of Irna was gradually occupied by the Samnites and underwent the cultural and commercial influence of Posidonia-Paestum, to then become a progressively peripheral area after the foundation of the Roman colony of Salernum. The latter was established in 197 BC., as a castrum for coastal control; it begins to take on a more articulated urban form probably from the Augustan age (PEDUTO, 2007, p. 10), thanks to its favourable position on the sea and the strengthening of the road network.

If the meaning of the toponym Napoli is simple to understand (from Greek *Neapolis* [new city]), more difficult is the significance of the place name *Salernum*. According to some scholars, it can be traced back to a pre-Latin base **sal(-a)* of hydric significance ("canal" and the like) and with a formant *-ern-* which occurs in other toponyms that are assigned to the substrate (AA.VV., 2006, sub voce "Salerno"). This hypothesis is supported by the large number of streams that cross the current ancient centre of Salerno and which are connected precisely to the birth of the Medical School.

So, perhaps, the fame of the latter is the reason for which in the Ebstorf Map (13th century) the name of Salerno appears but not that of Naples. The map (Figures 2. a-b), printed in Stuttgart, is a reproduction of the famous Ebstorf map which was destroyed in 1943. This large circular *mappa mundi*, by Gervase of Ebstorf, is one of the most famous 13th century historic maps of the world. With common medieval manuscript and the medieval forms of place names, it reflects the contemporary religious ideas of its author and represents cosmography and not cartography, which teaches the constitution of the whole order of nature, or the figure, disposition, and relation of all its parts. It visually portrays the Greek concept of the earth as flat, circular, popularized by the addition of Christian dogma. The original map, discovered in the Benedictine convent of Ebstorf, Germany, in 1830, dates to around the 13th century[2]. Various dates about its origin have been given by researchers ranging from 1270 to 1350. The map is centred on Jerusalem and the Tower of Babel, Bethlehem, Sodom and Gomorrah, and Mount Sinai. As Pischke writes (2014, p. 156), it "clearly differs from its predecessors, not only in size and in the compactness of information shown by the large number of entries – 2345, of which 1500 are texts and 845 pictures (500 buildings, 160 rivers, lakes, seas and other waterways, 60 islands or mountains, 45 people or mythical persons, and 60 animals) – but also in the twofold representation of Christ and numerous religious motifs".

So, the Christ's head represents in the east, at the top of the map, the direction of Paradise. His hands mark the northern and southern limits of the known world, and his feet are in Gibraltar where the Mediterranean meets the Atlantic. Europe is in the bottom left, Africa in the bottom right, and Asia in the upper half. The map surrounded by water, depicts significant landmarks highlighted by gold; the towns are shown by towers; wildlife, rivers, mountains are shown pictorially and there are also points of interest for the curious pilgrim. Then shown are the symbols for the four great rivers, the Nile, Tigris, Euphrates, and Ganges.

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[2] The original of this mappa mundi from the 13th century AD (WOLF, 2006), measuring 3.58 by 3.56m (=12.74m²), was discovered around 1830 at the convent of Ebstorf (Germany, Lower Saxony, in the Lüneburger Heide region) and named after it (PISCHKE, 2014, p. 155).

Figures 2. a-b. Ebstorf Map. Circular colourful pictorial map of the world, 101cm diameter, on sheet 118x106cm, dissected into 20 sections 29x21cm, mounted on linen. The names of Salerno (highlighted here in a blue rectangle), Benevento and Capua are visible in the drawing, while that of Napoli is missing. Source: (https://warnke.web.leuphana.de/hyperimage/ EbsKart/index.html#O9999/).
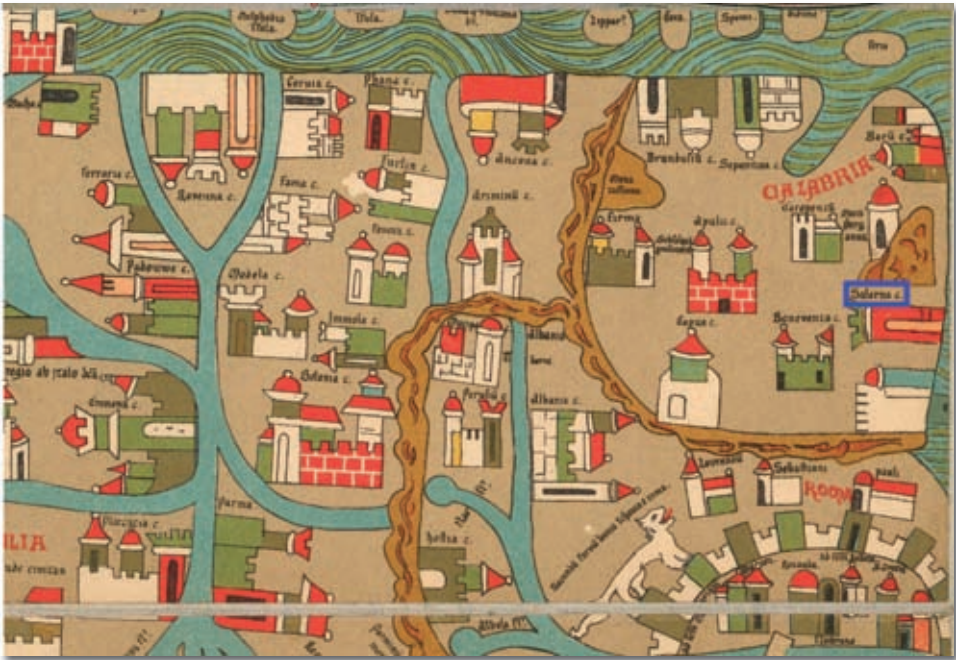
Considering its perfection, it seems strange, but in this map the toponym Napoli does not appear; instead, there is the toponym Salerno clearly highlighted.

In this regard, Andrea Cantile however underlines an important detail: the presence on the map of the tiny rock of Magaris, on the Neapolitan coast, outlined as a sort of rectangular offshoot of the facing Mount Echia, accompanied by its name and placed next to the symbol of a fortified city, without a toponym, which can be identified as likely Naples. The detail is not accidental, even more so because on that same rock stood "Castel dell'Ovo", later enlarged by Frederick II (1194-1250). The mapmaker, therefore, considers the reference to the legendary foundation of Naples (linked to the myth of the siren Parthenope, abandoned by Ulysses, who lets herself die on the rock of Megaride) more important than the

real geographical data (Cantile, 2013, p. 104). Perhaps for this same predilection towards mythical aspects the name of Salerno is instead reported because it is linked to the Medical School, whose foundation was similarly shrouded in legend, although in the 13th century it had lost its importance, as highlighted before, while Naples was conquering and affirming its own significance. The map shows Salerno near to some towers (perhaps, those of its castle, now called "di Arechi" [of Arechi], from the name of the Langobard prince who built it) and overlooking the Mediterranean: its economic and cultural exchanges can be sensed. Therefore, the presence of Salerno on this map is a consequence of its celebrity and of its importance in the Middle Ages, when, with the Langobards, above all during the reign of Guaimario V (1027-52), it exercised a kind of political primacy over the southern Italian states. Napoli, on the other hand, known for the legend of Parthenope, in the collective imagination of the time, was not yet perceived as an important city: it will be instead at the end of the 13th century, as we have already highlighted.

However, the same circumstance is not found in Hereford's *mappa mundi* (Figures 3. a-b), the largest medieval map known to date. Painted between 1276 and 1300 in England by Richard of Haldingham and preserved in Hereford Cathedral, the map "is drawn on a single large piece of vellum, measuring 158 cm […] from its base to its apex and 133 cm […] across. Like every other display *mappamundi* of which there is record, it depicts the oecumene, the three continents known to classic geography – Europe, Asia, and Africa – encompassed by a thin band of ocean. This round land mass […] is strewn with a plethora of lines, pictograms and legends representing the entirety of human history and knowledge. At the centre is a circular image of Jerusalem, a hub around which the whole world can be rotated (in the imagination) by turning one of the four large handles attached to the map's circumference. Above the map is a depiction of the Last Judgement, with the Saved approaching the gates of Heaven on the left and the Damned being dragged down to the gates of Hell on the right. In the bottom left-hand corner is a depiction of Caesar Augustus, wearing a papal tiara […]" (De Wesselow, 2013, pp. 181-182).

So, like the Ebstorf map, the Hereford map reproduces the world known at the time by basing its representation on historical, biblical, classical, and mythological notions. Contrary to the previous one, however, this map shows the name of Napoli together with that of Salerno and Pozzuoli, too. Considering that the two maps are similar from an ideological and chronological point of view, the presence of Napoli and Pozzuoli probably does not indicate a different perception of the importance of the centres by the author, but could instead reflect a reference to classical antiquity, or an older cartographic model that inspired him.

A further example of the cartographic competition between Salerno and Naples is offered by the so-called "Pisan Chart" (Figures 4. a-b), the oldest nautical map known up to now. The heavily damaged original, which is kept in the National Library of France, is certainly of Genoese origin, as Almagià writes (1927). It is called "Pisan" by the family that owned it and dates to the penultimate decade of the thirteenth century. Most of the nautical charts date from this time, although some scholars speculate that they have an older substratum, from the classical era. Due to its antiquity and some characteristics of the design, the Pisan Chart occupies an

Figures 3. a-b. Hereford Mappa Mundi, c.1300. Parchment, 158x133cm. New Library Building. Hereford Cathedral. Showing evidence of the place names of Napoli and Salerno. Source: (https://upload.wikimedia. org/wikipedia/commons/4/48/ Hereford-Karte.jpg).

original position, and it is therefore relevant to observe the way it represents Napoli and Salerno: as well as Amalfi – which with Pisa, Genoa and Venice was at the time one of the four maritime republics – both Napoli and Salerno are indicated with a red toponym, clearly indicative of the importance of their ports.

Figures 4. a-b. BnF, département Cartes et plans, GE B-1118 (RES) [Nautical chart of the Eastern Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea and part of the Black Sea, known as the Pisan Chart]. The red colour of the toponyms of Napoli and Salerno in the "Pisane Chart" denotes that at the time of the map their ports had the same importance, considered equal to that of the Maritime Republic of Amalfi (in turn highlighted with the red colour). Source : Bibliothèque nationale de France, (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52503226n).

A fourth example of the cartographic comparation between Napoli and Salerno is represented by the legendary Map of Fra Mauro (Figures 5. a-b), datable to circa 1460, one of the most precious and best-known relics kept in the Marciana Library in Venice.

Justly considered as the most important example of occidental cartography, it was created just before the onset of overseas discoveries by Fra Mauro. He is known as "the 'incomparable cosmographer', who lived as a Camaldolese monk in the San Michele monastery located at Murano near Venice, and whose cosmographic workshop certainly shaped the worldview of many of his contemporaries. He based his maps on Ptolemy translated into Latin, as well as on the most important works by classical geographers and on any contemporary information he was able to procure. The map, which measures two by two metres and contains numerous annotations, is unique in size, wealth of detail and in its factual straightforward

Figures 5. a-b. Map of Fra Mauro. In evidence the name of Napoli. That of Salerno, however, does not appear. Source: David Rumsey Historical Map Collection (https://www.davidrumsey. com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1 ~289827~90061349:Composite-map-- Mappemonde-Pl--1-6).

beauty. It was completed on August 26, 1460 by Fra Mauro's collaborators in San Michele, barely one year after his death" (VOGEL, 2011, p. 81).

Therefore, this map, for its monumental workmanship, and, even more, for the history of its composition and for the geographic content, is one of the most important documents of Venetian cartography in the transition period between the medieval conception of the world and the new knowledge brought by exploration voyages and navigations. It is therefore important that in this precious map only the name of Napoli appears, indicating the whole of Campania and the west side of south Italy (further south, in fact, the map shows only the toponym "Bibona" [now Vibo Valentia]). In the fifteenth century, so, the importance of Napoli is by now consolidated and the city had become representative of all southern Italy. Salerno, on the other hand, was going through a period of low fortune, having lost importance following the affirmation of Napoli as a cultural and political capital during the reign of the Swabians and then of the Angevins.

Figures 6. a-b. Nautical map of the Mediterranean (15th century) n. 1, with the name of Salerno (highlighted by the blue star), but without the name of Napoli.
Source: Gallerie Estensi di Modena, Mappe e carte geografiche / Fondo Estense, C.G.A.5.B (https://n2t.net/ark:/65666/v1/8216).

However, the cartographic competition between Napoli and Salerno is not over yet. In fact, a fifteenth-century nautical chart preserved in the Estensi Galleries of Modena (Figures 6. a-b), which represents the coasts of the Mediterranean basin and Northern Europe, including the British Isles, only shows the name of Salerno, while that of Napoli is absent. The circumstance could be related to the rediscovered importance of Salerno in the fifteenth century, thanks to the princes of Sanseverino, who recovered its ancient splendour, as already highlighted above. After their were condemned to exile by the Spaniards (1553), the city began to decline again. In fact, in another nautical map of the same century (Figures 7. a-b) the situation is reversed: only Napoli appears, without Salerno.

The detail is interesting because these are more advanced and updated maps than the previous one.

The nautical chart, in fact, does not represent only the Mediterranean basin, the western coasts of Europe, including the British Isles, but also most of those

of the Black and Red Sea, up to Cape "Buyetdor" [Cabo Falso Bojador] and the Canary Islands. The coasts are drawn in detail, with a considerable number of black and red designators. The interior of the territories, as always in nautical charts, is not very detailed, although in this case the main rivers are represented, in blue, and mountain ranges, in green. To these are added the profiles of some cities and some flags or coats of arms that symbolize local power. Furthermore,

Figures 7. a-b. Nautical map of the Mediterranean (15th century), n. 2, with the name of Napoli (highlighted by the blue star) but without the name Salerno.
Source: Gallerie Estensi di Modena, Mappe e carte geografiche / Fondo Estense, C.G.A.5.D (https://n2t.net/ark:/65666/v1/8217).

Figures 8. a-b. Catalan Chart (1450-1460). Both Napoli and Salerno are represented, here highlighted by the blue stars. Source: Gallerie Estensi di Modena, Mappe e carte geografiche / Fondo Estense, C.G.A.1 (https://n2t. net/ark:/65666/v1/13654).

in Africa, some sovereigns are depicted, flanked by a descriptive caption. Finally, the Red Sea, coloured red, in the upper part has a caesura that indicates the passage of the Jews during the escape from Egypt[3].

Equally interesting is the Catalan Chart (Figures 8. a-b) from the second half of the 15th century, part of those "complex" mappaemundi, produced mainly between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that show the transition from the representation of the world centred on religious values, typical of the Middle Ages, to a more "scientific" representation, which is spreading since the fifteenth century in Europe thanks to the rediscovery of Ptolemy's work. Maritime traffic is still internal to the Mediterranean; America has not yet been discovered. However, the map also represents the Cape Verde peninsula and Cape Roxo, on the west coast of Africa between Senegal and Guinea-Bissau, areas explored by the Portuguese after

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[3] For a description of these two nautical charts (Figures 6 and 7) see ALMAGIÀ 1926, FRABETTI 1978, BINI 2001 and MILANO 2012.

Figures 9. a-b. Cantino Chart [Carta da navigar per le isole novamente tr[ovate] in la parte de l'India: dono Alberto Cantino al signor duca Hercole] (Lisboa, 1502) Source: Gallerie Estensi di Modena, Mappe e carte geografiche / Fondo Estense, C.G.A.2 (https://n2t.net/ark:/65666/v1/13655).

1450. Therefore, it may have been produced by the Catalan cartographic school, around the middle of 15th century. The chart integrates representation techniques typical of nautical maps with information derived from the exploration journeys of the Portuguese and Spanish to the Atlantic islands and along the coast of Africa[4]. Considering that the Aragonese of Spain ruled the south of Italy and that this chart is of Spanish origin, it is interesting to note that it represents Napoli and Salerno in the same way, without attributing more importance to either of the two. Even in this case, however, the explanation could lie in the rediscovered importance of Salerno during the 15th century.

The last examined chart (Figures 9. a-b), finally, is considered one of the first that also represents the coasts of the new American continent. The planisphere shows, in fact, the Caribbean and Brazilian coasts and highlights the raya, that is the line that

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[4] About this chart, reference is made to the authors cited in note 3, to MILANO and BATTINI 1995 and to WOODWARD 1987.

divided the Portuguese possessions from the Spanish ones defined with the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. The geographical representation is quite accurate as regards the design of the coasts, along which numerous toponyms can be read written in black and red depending on their importance, as in the traditional production of nautical charts. The chart was made by Alberto Cantino, from whom it takes the name by which it is commonly known, "orator" sent by Hercules I to Portugal. Despite the prohibitions on taking maps that represented the most up-to-date geographical discoveries of the time outside the Portuguese borders, Cantino managed to steal the precious chart and send it to the Este court[5]. In this chart, then, Salerno is not represented. Instead, Napoli appears, highlighted with a more marked red colour, just to highlight its importance. It can therefore be assumed that with the advent of modern age cartography, the cartographic competition between Napoli and Salerno ends with the definitive affirmation of Napoli.

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The Leonardian toponymy for the reconstruction of the historical landscape of Tuscany in the 16th century

Lucrezia Iacuzzi and Martina Simeone*

Abstract

The research focused on the study of the toponymy used by Leonardo da Vinci in his cartographic documentation of Tuscany. More specifically, a comparison has been carried out between his maps and both contemporary and later sources, which highlighted consistencies, transformations and replacements that have occurred over the centuries. Spelling forms, origins and meaning of geographical names have been investigated and compared, especially in their generic components, to common terms of the Tuscan vernacular dialect, specifically to the shapes of the landscape. With regard to the latter the research has also highlighted the essential function of toponymy for the geolocation of two famous maps by Leonardo and the reconstruction of the historical landscape of the 16th century, along the path of the river Arno, upstream and downstream from the city of Florence.

Keywords: *Leonardo da Vinci, toponyms, historical landscape.*

Introduction

The cartography of Leonardo da Vinci, present in many drawings and maps of the Tuscan territory, is rich in toponyms, hydronyms, oronyms and phenomena, probably collected during surveys. The spelling, in addition to reflecting the popular pronunciation of the time, does not always display capital letters and often uses abbreviations (Cantile, 2003, p. 328). Furthermore, the recording of these names on paper, contrary to the Leonardian practice of writing from right to left, is sometimes done in canonical order, from left to right, probably because it is not reserved for personal use but intended to illustrate to third parties the characteristics of the places mapped (Baratta, 1941).

The toponymy of nine drawings and maps of the Tuscan territory by Leonardo has been analyzed and compared with mixed coeval sources, from earlier and later periods, to observe the orthographic differences; to analyze the etymology, when possible, with the aim of geographically identifying places and making considerations on their permanence, transformation and replacement. The toponyms have, therefore, become the main fixtures of the historical reconstruction of the landscape of 16th century Tuscany. In this study, toponyms have played a role in geolocating historical information, as they have overcome the problem of the lack of a constant map scale in the sources examined. There are in fact considerable inaccuracies in the positioning of the topographical details and large distortions, a consequence of an approximate geodetic surveying territory (Cantile, 2003, pp. 299-331).

* Landscape planners (Italia).

Materials and methods

For Leonardo, cartographic representations of the territory were one of the many facets of drawing, part of the most powerful method of scientific investigation. If this is true in general for his industriousness in the various fields of study of his multifaceted research and design, it is even more true for his cartography, which bases its communicative ability solely on the combination of simple signs to form a complex but accessible language (SALVESTRINI, 2016, pp. 66-67).

In order to identify and study Leonardo's toponyms, once recognized they were compared with the toponyms of the Istituto Geografico Militare (Italian Geographic Military Institute), whose database of toponyms is available online on Retore, the Regional Toponymy Registry of Tuscany.

Figure 1. [A map of the rivers and mountains of central Italy] (RCIN 912277).

Among Leonardo da Vinci's maps the most emblematic example of representation of the territory is the Carta dell'Italia Centro-Nord [A map of the rivers and mountains of central Italy], RCIN 912277 of Windsor (Figure 1) in which the rivers, the bodies of water and the relief from the Gulf of La Spezia up to Civitavecchia are drawn, for a total of about 300 km. In this drawing Leonardo highlights the shapes of the topographic features with the use of the "sfumato" technique, paying particular attention to the outline of the valleys, noting and describing the riverbeds and tributaries of each river or torrent. Just as for the orography of this sheet, where "the darker, the higher" rule applies, the hydrography uses the same concepts of three-dimensionality, and the same technique of hypsometric hues, which applied to waters means "the darker, the

deeper" (Cantile, 2003, pp. 325-327). With the help of the list drawn up by Baratta in 1941, 140 different toponyms have been identified; 9 of them are repeated more than twice, bringing the total to 151. The toponyms found outside the borders of Tuscany have been excluded from the tally and the subsequent analysis. Contrary to the list of Baratta the toponyms have been reported following the Leonardian form including abbreviations, silent letters now disappeared, capital letters, lowercase letters and punctuation. Examples include: "calci.f", a hydronym that has undergone a transformation and that today is called "Zambra di Calci", "Lago di Bientina", a lake drawn by Leonardo that has disappeared, and the city "Lucca", written following the pronunciation.

The two following drawings depict downstream of Florence, RCIN 912678 of Windsor, and upstream of Florence, RCIN 912679 of Windsor (Figure 2), respectively with 9 and 16 toponyms, in which Leonardo not only meticulously draws the river but also renders its depth. In these drawings we observe the different shades of blue of the river waters, which effectively differentiate the flow rates between the multiple branches found in the riverbed (Cantile, 2015, pp. 66-67). All this shows that, behind the accurate depiction of the river, there was a deep knowledge and an interest that went beyond the simple cartographic illustration. Leonardo's real objective was in fact a major project of hydraulic control of the waterway (Croce, 1983, p. 78) which then lead to the idea of a navigable canal in Florence. Among the toponyms identified here we note the inclusion of phenomena: "bixarno", which indicated a branch of the river Arno, and "Larotta", a breach of the river banks.

Figure 2. [A map of the Arno east of Florence] (RCIN 912679).

In the "scheme for a canal to bypass the Arno" (RCIN 912685r), several nondescript circles indicate the main urban centres, nine of which are readable and therefore identified including "canpi", today's "Campi Bisenzio" and "malmantile", which remains unchanged today. This watercolour drawing is the most dramatic from a visual point of view, but it is also the one in which Leonardo noted details

and personal observations with mirrored writing on the navigable canal, showing he did not want the patrons to understand them (CAMEROTA, 2018, p. 112). In addition, probably for secrecy, only the names of some minor villages are entered while the most important ones, such as Florence, Pistoia, Empoli and Pisa do not appear (RUSCHI, 2019, p. 112).

On sheets 22v-23r of the Codice di Madrid (Codex Madrid), [Bird's-eye view of the lower Valdarno with the plan for the grand canal and three guidelines for the diversion of the Arno near Pisa], Leonardo describes the orographic and hydrographic situation of the lower Valdarno through the use of colour: the mountain areas are covered with a yellow-brown colour while the bodies of water and the waterways are blue. In this map 71 toponyms have been identified, among which we find "m lupo", today's Montelupo Fiorentino, "potormo", today's Pontorme, and "vinci", the birthplace of Leonardo.

In the Codex Madrid II, ff. 52v-53r, Leonardo draws a "technical map" (CROCE, 1983, p.78) of the territory surrounding the city of Pisa, accurately reporting all the structural elements such as waterways, marshes, hills, roads, towns and their toponyms, for a total of 61 names. Among these we highlight: "bagno", found in many papers as a generic toponym indicating a thermal spring, in this case pointing to the locality of San Giuliano Terme, and "barbericina", today's Barbaricina, a bend of the river Arno.

In sheet RCIN 912685r [A scheme for a canal to bypass the Arno], there are several villages and castles from the Arno valley to the Garfagnana. Also drawn here the navigable canal that starts from the walls of Florence, bends towards Prato and Pistoia, passes the gorge of Serravalle and enters the Padule di Fucecchio. However, the drawing seems incomplete, as if it was unfinished: in some sections the Arno is only outlined, like the final part of the canal. The identified toponyms are 53, among which we find once again "bagno", showing in this case "Montecatini Terme".

In the map of Valdichiana (RCIN 912278) (Figure 3), the attention paid to the realistic representation of villages, castles and cities and the annotation of the toponyms written in a conventional way from left to right, suggest a motivation linked to strategic needs. The importance of this specific geographical area is highlighted by the use of a considerable discrepancy in scale for the north-south and east-west areas where the territories are more compressed to emphasize the characteristics of the central belt and its general waterways system, rich in details. The paper is vibrant from the inks and watercolour hues: from the more or less intense blue to suggest the different depths of the water, to the Sienna red of the cities and the ochre yellow of the mountains, drawn in different reliefs and with a powerful plastic effect of highlights and the Leonardian invention of the "sfumato" technique (STARNAZZI, 2003, pp. 281-286). On this map Leonardo notes the main cities and the waterways in capital letters, often with double hydronyms, a sign that probably the real focus of the drawing was in fact the complex and intricate waterways. Referencing the list of Baratta, 267 toponyms have been identified, among which are the city of "Chiusi" and the river "Orcia" in capital letters. On this map Leonardo also uses the acronyms: FL for the Latin word flumen, river, and the letter M for mons, mountain. Again, non-Tuscan place names were excluded from the study.

Figure 3. [A map of Valdichiana] (RCIN 912278).

The last analyzed of the Leonardian series is the bird's eye view of western Tuscany (RCIN 912683). This map shows Tuscany from Volterra, lower left, to Lucca, upper right. The territory is depicted with a series of high hills, drawn with the highlight technique or "sfumato" (CANTILE, 2003, p. 323), on top of which the towns are located. The bodies of water are highlighted in blue: the Tyrrhenian Sea at the top, Lake of Bientina to the right and at the bottom the final parts of the rivers Arno and Cecina. Referencing the list of Baratta, 104 toponyms have been identified, among which "arno", still used today, "ponte di saccho", transformed today into "Ponsacco", and "serravallino", now disappeared.

In the nine drawings analyzed, a total of 562 different toponyms have been identified, referring to cities, towns, building complexes, individual buildings, bridges, portions of territory, roads, rivers, streams, canals, ditches and mountain peaks of Tuscany. With all this information a table was created to facilitate and make the analysis easier: each row shows a single Leonardian toponym, while the columns show the sources in chronological order.

Subsequently, the toponyms identified in Leonardo's drawings were compared with other cartographic sources in order to highlight spelling differences, analyze their etymology to geographically identify the places and take note of their permanence, transformation and replacement.

The first source examined is the geographical map of Piero del Massaio, from the second half of the 16th century, from which Leonardo took inspiration for his maps. Leonardo's acquisition of cartographic competencies happened over the years: a fundamental contribution came from the tradition of the Florentine

workshops, and in particular from Piero del Massaio, who in 1469 drew the city of Florence in perspective, based on Ptolemy's geography (Malara, 1983, p. 32). In the second half of the 15th century, Pietro del Massaio, an expert miniaturist, drew some of the most famous maps of the time, such as il Parigino [The Parisian] lat. 4802 for Alfonso of Aragon.

At a later date Hieronimo Bellarmato drew the map of Ancient Tuscia, an edition edited by Abraham Ortelius. In this version the represented territory extends beyond the borders of Tuscany, encompassing part of Umbria and northern Lazio, but the study does not include toponyms outside the region under consideration. The orography is present only on the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines while the hydrography that stretches between the many inhabited centres and the groups of trees is particularly detailed.

The first *Carta Geometrica della Toscana* [Geometric Map of Tuscany] by Giovanni Inghirami was used for comparison with the modern era. Completed in 1830, it is based on basic triangulation and on the land registry maps from 1817 to 1827, with scales ranging from 1:5000 to 1:625. The work, in addition to the chorography of the region, was comprised also of the maps of the main towns of Tuscany on a 1:35,000 scale (Cantile, 2011, p.77), towns that were also noted by Leonardo in his maps. Among these we remember Pistoia, noted as "pisstoia", and Sansepolcro, noted as "borgo a sa sepolcro".

The *Dizionario geografico fisico e storico della Toscana* [Natural, Geographic and Historical Dictionary of Tuscany] by Emanuele Repetti has been used to compare the position of the toponyms found on the maps and the historical-geographical location of the names, and to investigate the possible forms in use at the time. In 2004 the University of Siena launched a project of computerization of the Dictionary that has made it possible to consult it online today: together with the complete digitization of the volumes, a territorial information system has been created with geo-referencing of the sites corresponding to the entries in the Dictionary. Thanks to this database not only was it possible to search for the toponyms found in the Leonardian papers but, in the case of minor toponyms without entry, to be able to find them within others. Information on the nineteenth-century toponymy has been extrapolated from the Dictionary, about their position and etymology, like in the case of "Varlungo", from the Latin vadum longum which means "long ford", and on the identification of other forms in use, as in the case of "Montopoli", also identified as "Monte Topoli", "Monte Topari" or "Monte Taupari".

To complete the study, the volumes on toponymy of the glottologist Silvio Pieri were analyzed. The volumes *Toponomastica della Valle dell'Arno* [Toponymy of the Arno Valley] (1919), *Toponomastica delle Valli del Serchio e della Lima* [Toponymy of the Serchio and Lima Valleys] (1937) and *Toponomastica della Toscana meridionale e dell'Arcipelago toscano* [Toponymy of Southern Tuscany and the Tuscan Islands] (1969) offer an extraordinarily complete record in regard to the origin of Tuscan toponyms, which are subdivided on the basis of the etymology: Etruscan, Latin and Germanic proper names, plants, animals, by titles, by adjectives, pedological, of various origins or of uncertain etymology. For example, it is possible to mention the hydronym "cecina", which comes from the Etruscan proper name "Caecina",

the phytotoponym "laleccia", today's "Leccia", which is derived from the Latin ilicem, holm oak, or the toponym "quarata", which comes from the Latin quadratu, square, and which probably documents the ancient presence of agri centurati (Roman land grids).

Finally, the Online Lexicography of the Accademia della Crusca was consulted, which includes the contents of the five editions of the Vocabolario degli Accademici [Scholars' Vocabulary]. The computerized system allows word searches and the comparison of these results with the different editions. The investigation is therefore useful to identify the possible meaning of the toponym, as in the case of "Alberese", a toponym that indicates the presence of the white stone of the same name.

Conclusion

Thanks to the analysis of all these sources it was possible to consider the toponyms with regard to permanence, transformation, substitution and disappearance that Leonardo noted in his papers. Of the 562 toponyms, 77 (14%) have disappeared due to incomprehensible reading or without a match within the current toponymy, like for example "pietrafina". 151 (27%) have undergone a transformation and 334 (59%) persist over time. Of the latter, 1% has been recovered, 2% have seen transformation, such as "casstel vecchio", today's "Rovine di Castelvecchio". 44% of them still exist with spelling differences, and 53% have not changed. On the other hand, 40% of the toponyms that disappeared have been replaced like "caprona", today's "Torre", 9% are in disuse and 51% are lost, like "mulino" (Figure 4).
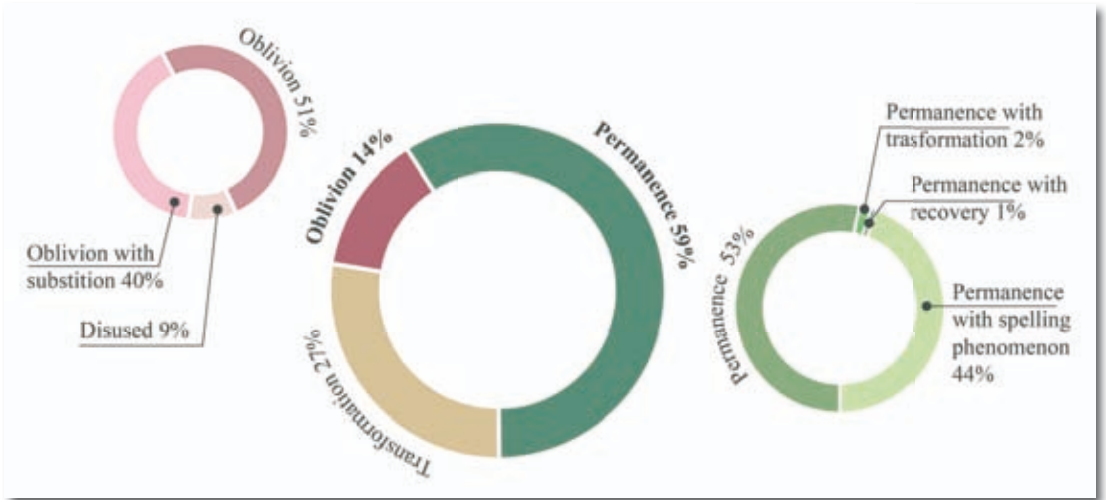
Figure 4. Graphs with percentages results.

The purpose of this study was to underline the importance of Leonardian toponymy not only to understand the evolution of Tuscan toponymy, but also as a visual representation of the landscape in the 16th century. The geographical location and the variations of the names noted by Leonardo in his maps and drawings offer

the opportunity to trace the history of the landscape, and imagine how the Tuscan territory might have presented itself to Leonardo. Starting from a particular area todayit has been possible to geolocalize Leonardo's drawings using the toponyms analyzed as fixed points, as in the example of the city of Florence (Figure 5). To make up for the lack of Leonardian sources specific to the urban centre, one of the first geodetic maps of the city was used, thus reconstructing the territory and the river Arno as they were possibly supposed to appear in the 16th century and as Leonardo observed them.

Figure 5. Historical reconstruction of the landscape.

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Invented toponymy for invented lands.
Place names and reclamation in the Emilia-Romagna sector of the Po River Delta (Northern Italy), 1920s-1960s

Stefano Piastra*

Abstract

Between approximately the late 19th century and the middle of the 20th, the Emilia-Romagna sector of the Po River Delta (Northern Italy) experienced huge reclamation projects, carried on through dewatering pumps, aiming at the drainage of the wetlands in order to create new agricultural lands. This process, to be encompassed in the broader context, at that time, of a national economy based on the Primary Sector, was developed in three main stages: at the end of the 19th century, in the framework of private investments; during the Fascist Age, in the context of State-driven operations and autarchic economy; between the 1950s and 1960s, during the Italian Land Reform (which was funded by the Marshall Plan). Phase by phase, the newly reclaimed areas saw the superimposition of an invented toponymy, which reflected the ideological and political background of the works. The paper will focus on the second and the third stages of the programme mentioned above. In particular, during the Fascist Age, as obvious for a totalitarian regime, the "invented toponymy" for these "invented lands" was characterized by a strong nationalistic dimension. The aim was to stimulate national pride among the new settlers and to celebrate the policies of Fascism: the place names of the reclamation of the Gallare wetland (drained before the rise of Fascism, but partially colonized during the 1920s-1930s) referred to the Italian victories at the battles of Vittorio Veneto and Podgora (WWI); and the toponymy of the reclamations of Trebba, Ponti and Isola wetlands (municipality of Comacchio) was based, respectively, on Italian key cities and regions, on Italian key rivers and Alpine passes located on the "sacred border" of the country. During the Italian Land Reform, now developed under a democratic regime, the Christian Party, which led the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic for decades, adopted here the perspective of a virtual re-composition, through the place names, of the territories which Italy had gained after WWI and had lost after WWII (Istria, Dalmatia). After the end of the Land Reform and after the institution of the ordinary statute Regions, such as the Emilia-Romagna Region (1970), some small villages founded in the drained areas (e.g. Anita, municipality of Argenta), now run by the Communist Party at the regional and local levels, decided to officialize a new urban toponymy. As a reaction to the place names instituted by the Christian Party in the previous years, this toponymic new deal showed a leftist connotation, referring to Socialism or to Communist partisans of WWII.

Keywords: Po River Delta; land reclamation; new place names; place names and politics; place names and nationalism.

* University of Bologna (Italia).

The historical evolution of the Po River Delta: natural and anthropogenic processes

Located very close to the biogeographical border between Mediterranean and Continental biomes, and currently shared between the administrative regions of Veneto and Emilia-Romagna (Northern Italy), the Po River Delta represents the largest river mouth and, at the same time, the largest wetland in Italy. This deltaic system allows the water discharge into the Adriatic Sea of most of the Po Valley, the biggest plain in the Italian peninsula, encompassed between the Alps to the north and the Apennines to the southwest.

In a long-term perspective, the Po River, thanks to its sediment transport, built its delta on a flat coastline made of sands and alluvium, where, as a consequence of the small tidal range in the Adriatic, sedimentation prevailed over marine erosion. In the framework of this process, while the front of the delta was under construction, the back underwent a fast subsidence due to the compaction of the alluvial soils. These dynamics formed the basis for the morphogenesis of the natural landscape of the area, characterized by subparallel lines of sand dunes, interspersed with freshwater or brackish-water lagoons or wetlands, frequently located below sea level.

Several factors (subsidence, climate changes, floods, regression/transgression of the sea level and, last, but not least, human activities and works) drove the historical evolution of the delta in approximately the last 2,000 years (Figure 1) (Bondesan, 1990; Cencini, 1998).

The physiognomy and the natural features of this particular region influenced, in a historical perspective, human settlement and activities. Urban areas were rare and scattered population was the most common form of settlement; freshwater wetlands of the delta were exploited for marsh grass, used both in construction of huts and store houses and in daily life, while brackish-water wetlands hosted

Figure 1. Historical evolution of the Po River Delta in approximately the last 2,000 years (from Bondesan, 1990; modified). No. 1 indicates the delta of the Roman Age; no. 2, the Medieval delta; no. 3, the Modern Age delta; no. 4, the present-day delta, shaped after the completion of the hydraulic work known as "Taglio di Porto Viro", promoted by Venice in 1604 AD. The green line represents the present-day border between Veneto and Emilia-Romagna Regions.

fisheries, in particular eel fishing (Cecchini, 1990); some marginal basins, with a higher degree of salinity, were exploited for salt production (Cecchini, 1997).

In about the last 150 years, drainage of the wetlands, until then undertaken in the Po River Delta only on a small scale, experienced a boom on the basis of a top-down approach. The aims were at the same time economic (to strengthen the agriculture, in order to feed a population under growth), social (to turn fishermen and poachers into farmers) and hygienic (to defeat malaria disease). This new deal was possible, from the middle of the 19th century, thanks to the importation into Italy of the technology of steam-powered dewatering pumps, whose use guaranteed shorter periods of time to fulfill the operations of reclamation, and the presence, since 1861, of a national government after the rise of the Kingdom of Italy, which regulated the programme.

Reclamation focused in particular on the province of Ferrara (Emilia-Romagna Region).

The actors involved in the first phase were private investors with speculative intentions (this is the case of the Gallare wetland reclamation, Figure 2, no. 1) but, particularly after 1882 (year of promulgation of the so-called "Baccarini Law", named after Italian politician Alfredo Baccarini, 1826-1890), the Italian State funded the reclamation based on public interest (Novello, 2003).

Figure 2. Carta di Cabotaggio del Mare Adriatico [Nautical map of the Adriatic Sea] by the Austrian Army Geographical Institute (1822-1824), sheet 2 (in Italian language). Original scale: 1:175,000; North at top-left. The map highlights the original relevance on the landscape of the wetlands in the Emilia-Romagna sector of the Po River Delta. The original numbers on the maps indicate the depth of the wetlands, expressed in French paces. Overwritten in red, no. 1 indicates the Gallare wetland, reclaimed thanks to private investment in the late 19th century; nos. 2-5 indicate brackish wetlands (Trebba, Ponti, Isola, Mantello) drained during the Fascist Age; nos. 6-7 underline brackish wetlands (Pega, Mezzano) reclaimed during the Italian Land Reform in the 1950s-1960s. In the original landscape made up of wetlands, with just a few reference points, toponymy was not detailed and referred mainly to the small islands present here ("Bari" and "Dossi" in local dialect) and the embankments.

The rise of Fascism (1922) started a new stage of implementation for State-driven reclamation in general in Italy (Cavallo, 2011, pp. 33-36), the Po River Delta included. The reclamation drained, among others, three brackish-water wetlands (Trebba, Ponti, Isola, about 150 km^2; Figure 2, nos. 2-4) north of the

town of Comacchio; a further wetland subject to reclamation (Mantello, about 67 km^2) was located southwest of the same town (Figure 2, no. 5). The cultivation set up in the newly formed fields consisted mainly in cereals, wheat mostly, considered by Fascist elites as the core of the Italian agriculture. As a result of the large scale of the programme, besides scattered houses, new settlements were founded on the reclaimed lands in the late 1930s, as is the case of the village of Anita (municipality of Argenta), named after Giuseppe Garibaldi's wife, who had died not far from here in 1849.

After the fall of Fascism and the rise of the Republic of Italy (1946), in the early 1950s the reclamations experienced a new deal. Since the De Gasperi IV Cabinet (1947-1948), the Republic of Italy was guided by a government led by the Christian Party [Democrazia Cristiana, DC], without the contribution of the Communist Party. Moreover, since 1949 Italy had joined NATO: at this historic juncture, in the broader context of the Cold War and under the American funding of the Marshall Plan (Bernardi, 2006), a programme for land reform was developed. Institutionalized by law (1950), the Italian Land Reform aimed at transforming the properties and the structure of the Primary Sector, core of the Italian economy in those years, passing from the large estates and the sharecropping to the direct ownership of the lands by the farmers, and, at the same time, aimed at re-directing the voting behaviour of the field hands and farmers towards DC.

The programme was carried on through two perspectives: from one side, expropriation of the land from the large estates, and its redistribution to the farmers; from the other, creation of new lands through reclamation works.

In the Po River Delta, the latter strategy had a large development: in early 1951, a special authority for the Land Reform in the delta was instituted (Ente per la Colonizzazione del Delta Padano). The works experienced fast progress, with the drainage in some 20 years (c. 1951-1971) of more than 300 km^2 of fresh- and brackish-water wetlands (e.g. Pega and Mezzano wetlands, Figure 2, nos. 6-7). Drainage was undertaken using dewatering pumps now powered with electricity. The new lands were organized on the basis of a perfect square grid; along the new roads, scattered houses for the farmers, characterized by a serial layout, were built.

Starting from the early 1970s, the situation changed.

The Marshall Plan was terminated; the Italian economy was now based on the Secondary Sector, and there was political debate concerning huge public investments in the Primary Sector, considered anachronistic by some politicians and scholars. Since 1970, thanks to the institution of Regions, Italy had skipped from the form of a central state to a regional state; and last, but not least, a new ecological awareness had arisen in Italy. Eventually, in those years, the reclamation of the Falce wetland managed by the Ente per la Colonizzazione del Delta Padano became a legal question, denounced to the judiciary by the environmentalist associations as an environmental crime. The verdict (1975) condemned the Ente per la Colonizzazione del Delta Padano, which was officially closed down one year later.

After this event, further drainage in the Po River Delta was permanently blocked (Dagradi, 1979) (Figure 3). Thanks also to the articles by the journalist Antonio Cederna (1921-1996) (Cederna, 1975, pp. 56-57), a new concept of the

Figure 3. The present-day situation of the Emilia-Romagna sector of the Po River Delta: a man-made delta, where most of the original wetlands have been artificially drained and turned into fields, now organized on the basis of a perfect square grid. The reclamations of the former wetlands of Figure 2 are highlighted with the same numbers in the satellite image; on the right, is the small sector of the wetlands of the Po River Delta, which survived the reclamation programme (source: Google Earth).

deltaic wetlands as natural heritage became common knowledge, and finally led, some decades later, to the institution of the Po River Delta Regional Park (1988) and its acknowledgement as a UNESCO World Heritage site (1999) and part of the UNESCO Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB) (2015).

Houses and infrastructures of the land reform in the Po River Delta at first started to experience a marginalization, then a general abandon, while the reclaimed fields, characterized by peaty and saline soils in the case of the former brackish wetlands, proved to be underproductive (Piastra, 2021).

The various stages of the reclamation programme as outlined above unbalanced, in about the last 150 years, the original ratio between wetlands and lands in the delta: for the first time there was here an overabundance of new fields and the necessity for new place names.

In fact, as visible in Figure 2, originally toponymy in the wet landscape of the area was not so detailed: only small islands and the embankments of the wetlands were designated by a specific place name, while the central parts of the water bodies, without any reference points and "empty", were unnamed.

Once the waters had been drained, there was a higher need to designate single places, just created or built: canals, fields, roads, houses, etc.

In order to manage the problem, phase by phase, an "invented toponymy" was created and became official: the new place names reflected, period by period, the political and the ideological background of the drainage projects.

It was a top-down approach, as the "making" of the place names was in charge of the authority/local body which managed the reclamation works.

In the following paragraphs we will focus on the second (Fascist Age) and third (Italian Land Reform) historical stages of this process of toponymic appropriation of the newly reclaimed lands in the Emilia-Romagna sector of the Po River Delta, while the last paragraph deals with the recent outcomes and trends.

The new place names in the lands reclaimed during the Fascist Age (1920s-1940s)

During the Fascist Age, as obvious for a totalitarian regime, the "invented toponymy" for the lands during this period was characterized by a strong nationalistic dimension, whose aim was to stimulate the national pride among the new settlers and to celebrate the policies of Fascism.

In fact, the place names of the reclamation of the Gallare wetland (Figure 4, no. 1), drained before the rise of Fascism, but partially colonized during the 1920s-1930s, referred to the Italian victories at the battles of Vittorio Veneto and Podgora (WWI) (the rhetoric of "Mutilated victory" became a key point in the propaganda of Fascist Italy).

Figure 4. Section of a tourist map of the Po River Delta Regional Park – Emilia-Romagna branch (Carta del parco; original scale 1:75,000; no date). It shows, reclaimed area by reclaimed area, the different typologies of "invented place names" here adopted during the Fascist Age: related to WWI (Gallare, no. 1); related to Italian key cities and regions (Trebba, no. 2); related to Italian key rivers (Ponti, no. 3); related to Alpine mountains and passes (Isola, no. 4). Reclamations nos. 6-7 date back to the years of the Italian Land Reform.

Moreover, the toponymy of the reclamation of the Trebba wetland (municipality of Comacchio) (Figure 4, no. 2) was based on Italian key cities and regions (Roma [Rome], Milano [Milan], Bologna, Napoli [Naples], Genova [Genoa], Liguria, Marche [Marches], Veneto, Romagna, etc., with the last one being Mussolini's home region). The toponymy of the reclamation of the Ponti wetland (Figure 4, no. 3) referred to Italian key rivers (Tevere [Tiber], Po, Arno, Rubicone [Rubicon]: in Fascist propaganda, rivers related to the destiny of Rome and Italy). The toponymy of the reclamation of the Isola wetland (Figure 4, no. 4) included place names of mountains and Alpine passes located on the "sacred border" of the country (Sempione [Simplon], Adamello, Brennero [Brenner]: the second mountain was the site of the front between Austrian and Italian troops during WWI, while the latter pass was annexed to Italy after the Paris Peace Conference).

Consistent with an idea of a complete reorganization of the area, almost all the original place names related to the former wetlands were erased and substituted by new ones.

This newly invented "nationalistic toponymy" was institutionalized on maps by the authorities, but, also to spread the new place names among the locals and to encourage their use in daily conversation, the toponymy was made visible as reference points: all the serial scattered houses built during this phase reported, on the façade, their respective name, with a Fascist style in the writing (Figure 5).

Figure 5. A rural house, built during the Fascist Age, located in the reclamation of Trebba (municipality of Comacchio). On the façade, the name of the house, referring, in a perspective of national pride, to the Italian region of Basilicata, is visible (photo by S. Piastra, 2017).

The new place names in the lands reclaimed during the Land Reform (1950s-1960s)

After the fall of Fascism and the end of WWII the Italian Land Reform, now developed under a democratic regime, promoted a new stage of huge drainage projects in the province of Ferrara.

Through the local body for reclamation (Ente per la Colonizzazione del Delta Padano), the Christian Party, which led the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic for decades, used a new toponymy, in the newly drained lands of Pega (municipality of Comacchio) (Figures. 3-4, no. 6), to embrace the perspective of a virtual "substitution" of the territories (Istria, Dalmatia) which Italy had gained after WWI and had lost after WWII in favour of Yugoslavia (and currently located in Slovenia and Croatia) (Piastra, 2011, p. 19; Piastra, 2017, p. 366, Figure 1). All the new roads of the square grid of the reclamation were named after cities or regions of that area, such as Istria, Capodistria [Koper], Buiedistria [Buje], Portorose [Portorož], Pola [Pula], Dalmazia [Dalmatia], Arsa/Arsia [Raša], Fiume [Rijeka], Monte Nevoso [Snežnik] (Figure 6).

Moreover, a road of this reclamation was named after the city of Trieste (of course, using the Italian place name for it, and not the Slavic place name of Trst): for almost a decade, between 1947 and the Memorandum of Understanding of London (1954), the city, under dispute between Italy and Yugoslavia, was constituted as an independent territory ("Free Territory of Trieste"), and only finally annexed by Italy.

In other words, toponymy was here instrumental for the re-affirmation of the national pride in contraposition to the land loss that Italy had suffered after WWII and for the support of national claims of those years (Trieste as a part of Italy). In this stage, it was a concept of "national pride" under democratic circumstances, differing from the "imperialistic pride" of the Fascist Age.

In this intersection between toponymy and geopolitics, the fact that engineer Giuseppe Druscovich (italianized in Giuseppe Di Drusco), in charge of the reclamation in the Pega wetland under the umbrella of the "Ente per la Colonizzazione del Delta Padano" in the 1950s, was an Italian refugees from Istria who played a further significant role, bridging the international context with the personal story of one of the protagonists of the works (Guzzon, 2017, p. 47).

The last decades: toponymy, local community and reappropriation of places

The early 1970s saw the end of the Italian Land Reform and the institution of the ordinary statute Regions, such as Emilia-Romagna Region.

Then all the Emilia-Romagna sector of the Po River Delta was run, both at the regional and local levels, by the Italian Communist Party (PCI) (the so-called "Red Region" of Italy), and it was relatively independent in some ways from the central government, toponymy included. On the one hand, the place names instituted during the Fascist Age and during the Land Reform were conserved if

Figure 6. Road sign in the reclamation of Pega (municipality of Comacchio), drained during the Italian Land Reform (1950s). The right angled crossroads reflect the perfect square grid of the organization of the reclaimed lands. The road names mainly refer to cities, located in Istria and Dalmatia, that Italy had gained after WWI and had lost after WWII in favour of Yugoslavia, or to Trieste, city for almost a decade under dispute between the two countries (1947-1954) and finally annexed by Italy (photo by S. Piastra, 2012).

they had come into regular use and were perceived as nationalistic, but devoid of "inconvenient" or "unacceptable references".

On the other hand, also in this phase toponymy was used to give a new imprinting to the area.

In the case of the village of Anita (municipality of Argenta), located in the reclamation of Mantello (drained during the Fascist period) (Figure 3, no. 5), it was decided to officialize a new street toponymy. As a reaction to the place names instituted in the previous decades, this toponymic new deal showed a leftist connotation, referring to Socialism (Fossa dei Socialisti [Canal of the Socialist]) or to Communist partisans of WWII (Primo Guerrini, Giancarlo Pomoni, Mario Bedeschi, Iginio Mazzolini, etc.) (Figure 7) (Piastra, 2010, p. 16).

It was, again, an ideologically-driven toponymy, but, in contrast to the top-down toponymic experiences of the Fascist Age or the Land Reform, for the first time it was a bottom-up approach to the creation of the local place names: a symbolic reappropriation of the territory by the resident community, that still lasts today.

Figure 7. Present-day street names in Anita (municipality of Argenta), village founded in 1939 in the reclaimed lands of Mantello (source: Google Maps). After the rise of the Emilia-Romagna Region (1970), as a reflection of the leftist orientation of the municipality (at that time led by the Italian Communist Party), the streets were named after partisan brigades or local partisans of WWII.

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Mapping the Walser toponymy in the western Italian Alps. State-of-the-art report and project proposals[1]

GUIDO LUCARNO*

Abstract

The Walser are a population of Alemannic origins who, from the 12th century, migrated from Bavaria to the Alpine area and finally reached some valleys of the western Italian Alps. Economic and cultural isolation has preserved their language and cultural heritage for eight centuries, including the toponymy of their territories, which until now has been handed down mainly in oral form. During the Symposium on "Place names and Migration" held in Vienna in November 2019 (Dollimore and Jordan, 2021), problems related to the preservation of this cultural heritage were outlined: they are caused by the population's demographic decline and assimilation into the cultural context of the Italian nation. This research represents a state-of-the-art report on the glottological research on the Walser population and perspectives for the preservation of oral toponymy by proposing methods and aims of a mapping project for the toponyms still existing.

Keywords: *Walser, place names, cartography, cultural heritage.*

Introduction. Brief historical notes on the arrival of the Walser population in Italy

We just briefly mention the Walsers' history and migration to Italy, treated in extensive and systematic works by various authors in about half a century of historical, ethnographic and linguistic research (SALVADORI AND FAVRE, 1979; ZINSLI, 1984, 2006; WANNER, 1989; RIZZI, 1993, 1981, 2004; MORTAROTTI, 1979; COOLIDGE, 1990). For a brief introductory summary of their cultural characteristics, see also a previous monograph on the traces of their settlements in the Ossola Valley (LUCARNO, 2007). These works can be consulted for further information.

The Walser are a population of Alemannic origins, who settled between the Danube and the right bank of the Rhine up until the 6th century. From here, they migrated to the Swiss plateau where they settled for some time. In the 9th century, they began to move again towards the heart of the Alps where in several stages they founded new colonies, dispersing themselves in various valleys, between Vorarlberg and Savoy, but above all in the central-western Alps, around the

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* Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milano (Italia).

Gotthard pass and in the present Valais (Wallis). Their current name originates from this region.

The Walsers arrived south of the Alps, coming from the upper Rhone Valley in the 12th-13th centuries, and settled in the highest parts of the Ayas and Gressoney Valleys (Aosta Valley), the Sesia, Anzasca, Strona and Antigorio-Formazza Valleys (Piedmont). Some groups also arrived in the neighbouring Val Rovana (Canton Ticino). In the Antigorio-Formazza Valley – province of Verbano-Cusio-Ossola (VCO) – the population came there in the 13th century (Rizzi, 2004, p. 31). The Formazza Valley is the high basin of the Toce river, which flows for about 20 km from the springs located near the Gries and San Giacomo passes, to the village of Foppiano. They probably came from the Binn Valley, crossing the Arbola Pass. The Rodis, local lords, from 1296 to 1298 granted lands, woods and pastures in "hereditary rent" to about thirty families. The hereditary rent was a provision that ensured perpetual possession also to their heirs (Rizzi, 1993, pp. 49-55, 65-66). Their settlements also covered the whole territory of the current Formazza municipality, the geographical area of this research.

An "amman", village chief chosen by the population, led the community. He had the function of intermediary in relations with the feudal power, which recognized him as a delegate to the local administration of civil and criminal justice (Crosa Lenz, 2003, p. 81). The stabilization of the settlements and the relationship with the political power put an end to the immigration movement and replaced the pre-existing Romance toponymy with the Germanic one, which can still be found today in part in the official cartography, but above all in the oral tradition of the population.

The case study of Walser toponymy

Many researchers from the linguistic and glottological fields have dealt with Walser toponymy in the populated areas along the valleys of the Alps. In particular, for the settlements in the Italian territory, among the main reference works we recall those of Zinsli (1984, 2006) and Rizzi (1981, 1993 and 2004); for the Formazza Valley, the object of this research, very accurate systematic works have also been carried out (Bacher, 1983, 1995). However, the researchers have not georeferenced the registered toponyms, nor did they attempt to do so subsequently, if we exclude the maps attached to the two volumes of the Atlante Toponomastico del Piemonte Montano, concerning the Walser localities of Rimella (vol. 31, 2007) and of Alagna Valsesia (vol. 32, 2007), in the province of Vercelli.

Most of these toponyms are reported from the oral tradition, so this type of testimony is rapidly disappearing following the death of the elderly representatives who made the collection possible. Without them, it is often no longer possible to identify the places to which the names refer.

A first attempt to create a cartography with Walser toponymy in the Ossola Valley produced a topographic map presented at the Geonames Symposium "Place names and migration" held in Vienna from November 6-8, 2019 , in a paper entitled "The toponymy of Walser immigration in the Italian Alps since the 13th

century" (Lucarno, 2021). On this map, representing the whole municipality of Formazza, about ninety toponyms have been georeferenced according to the original Walser version which, in recent decades, had been partially translated, replaced or transliterated into Italian or German in the official and derived Italian and Swiss cartography.

The georeferencing referred to a topographic map at a scale of 1:25,000, and it highlighted a considerable variety of possible cases of correspondence between the official and Walser terms. For their classification, see the proceedings of the symposium.

The official version of the original names in the Walser language is often distorted and dramatically proposes the problem of contamination, which prevents correct conservation of the local identity and heritage. But the extinction of the toponyms preserved in the local memory – which continues inexorably to lose part of its cultural heritage – is even more worrying. Therefore, it is urgent to intervene in order to register all the toponyms already collected (or to be collected), of which it is still possible to identify the correct localization, on a cartographic document.

The making of a Walser toponymic map in the Formazza Valley

The research presented at the Vienna Conference in 2019 is based on the detailed and valuable research carried out by Dr. Angela Bacher in her degree thesis in glottology in 1975[2]. She had identified as many as 1,051 toponyms in the Walser language, collected from the testimony of 32 local elderly representatives, no longer living today, who at the time would still have been able to locate them on a map. However, this phase never started and, after almost half a century, it is now only partially achievable, thanks to the memory of the elderly inhabitants still alive.

We must underline that, although the surviving place names are now fewer than those recorded in 1975, they could still be so numerous and concern such specific elements as to require the use of a cartographic tool on a much larger scale, up to that used for cadastral maps (1:1,000). Only with these maps will we be able to associate the names with very circumscribed places, such as small lands, springs, meadows, trees, boundary walls, isolated rocks that the official cartography has ignored due to lack of graphic space or lack of interest in orientation purposes.

The research methodology

A toponymic field survey, such as the one outlined here, finds in Formazza a privileged and favourable site for research. Here, unlike other municipalities where depopulation has been significant and assimilation to Italian culture has almost

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[2] Contributo agli studi sul dialetto "walser" della Val Formazza, doctoral dissertation approved in the 1974-1975 academic year at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan. The dissertation was subsequently published (Bacher, 1983, 1995).

completely dispersed linguistic and cultural identity, the Walser population is still a large percentage and able to provide useful evidence for the reconstruction of a map in the Titsch language. Furthermore, the local population is still interested in the preservation of their cultural heritage, as evidenced by the fact that, until spring 2021, the local language was taught an hour a week in local elementary schools. For this reason, they are in favour of the toponymic research, validating its urgency.

This stage of the research starts from the list of toponyms, divided into chapters based on the hamlets and the surrounding territories, recorded by Angela Bacher. Then it carries out systematic interviews with Walser-speaking representatives living in the municipality of Formazza. They are asked if they have knowledge of the toponyms and if they are able to identify their position on large-scale maps. The local population was sensitized during a meeting, held at the Town Hall on July 18, 2021, during which the cartographic results of the 2019 survey and the details of the project relating to the subsequent phases were exhibited.

The scientific representatives are generally elderly men and women who speak Titsch fluently, remember having used or heard toponyms used and are able to georeference them on the basis of direct knowledge of the places. The representatives have a detailed knowledge of the area where they lived, generally within a few kilometres around home, but their knowledge drastically decreases as the distance increases.

Then, with the help of Walser linguistic experts, the researcher rectifies the grapheme by modifying the special characters used by glottologists with those of standard German, also used in the scholastic teaching of Titsch and in the transcription of texts of the oral tradition. The toponyms are then transcribed as in Figure 1. municipality of Formazza. The framework of cadastral maps used for georeferencing Walser toponyms, is a computerized cartographic base that allows them to be printed and disseminated.

The cartographic base is that of the cadastral maps edited by the Provincial Directorate of Verbano-Cusio-Ossola, relating to the municipality of Formazza, composed of sheets at the original scale 1: 2,000 or 1: 1,000. Since about seventy sheets cover the 131 km^2 of the territory, the survey began with those at a lower altitude, near the river in the main valley. The thalweg, of glacial origin, is characterized by more or less wide flat areas where villages, farms, pastures and cultivated fields are located. These areas are less than a kilometre wide and extend from north to south, over the entire length of the municipal territory. Here we can find most of the toponyms, linked to the places where the main human activities developed for centuries. The land is in fact divided into hundreds of cadastral parcels, still cultivated mainly for forage and, near the inhabited centres, for vegetables, but once also for mountain cereals (emmer wheat, rye), hemp and potatoes. Figure 1 shows the framework of the sheets currently used for the survey, with their number assigned by the land registry office.

The scale used allows an adequate positioning of the toponyms, avoiding their excessive density which would make them difficult to read and so prevent the exact identification of the point to which they refer. As the distance from the river increases, the toponyms decrease, down to less than five per km^2. Therefore,
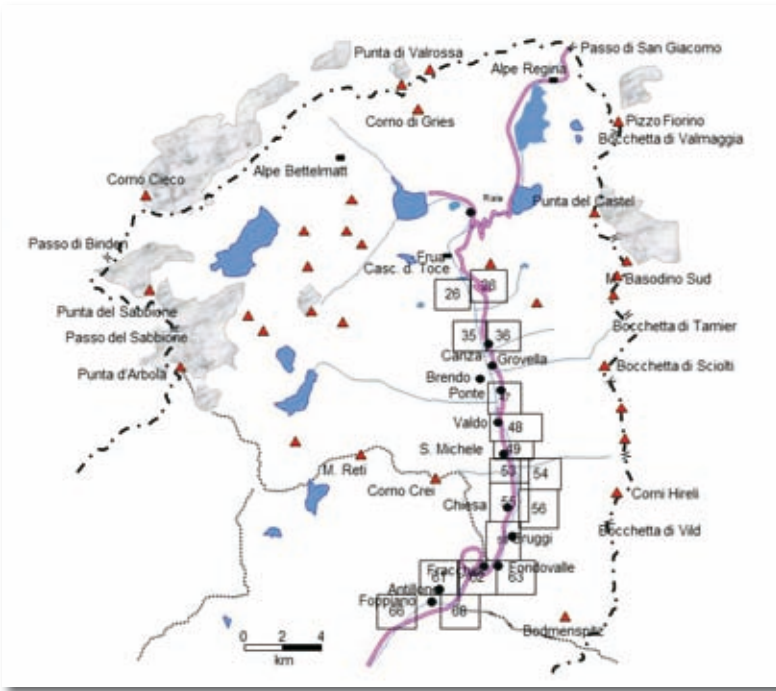
Figure 1. Municipality of Formazza. Framework of cadastral maps used for the georeferencing of Walser toponyms.

for their transcription, a map at a scale of 1:1,000 is not necessary, as some sheets may be devoid of toponyms. So, we use the Regional Technical Map of the Piedmont Region at a scale of 1:10,000. This map has an intermediate role between the cadastral and the topographical map at the 1:25,000 scale that, in the 2019 research, recorded only general toponyms, strictly necessary for orientation during trekking activities.

Figures 2, 3 and 4 show some examples of the work in progress, relating to the territories of the hamlets of Fondovalle, Fracchie
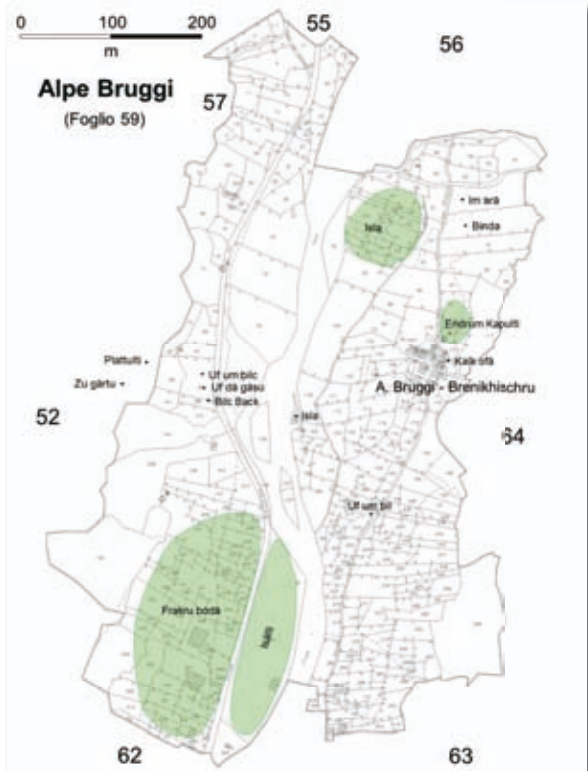
Figure 2. Municipality of Formazza. Map of Walser place names, sheet no. 59 – Alpe Bruggi.

Figure 3. Municipality of Formazza.
Map of Walser place names,
sheet no. 62 – Fracchie hamlet.

and Alpe Bruggi, where the place names found in the 1975 glottological survey have already been considered. Fifty percent of them have already been georeferenced (about 10-12 toponyms per km^2), with a density about ten times higher than that found in the cartographic document at the scale of 1:25,000 drawn up in 2019. We expect that, at the end of the study that will last at least a year, we will be able to complete the georeferencing of more than half of the known place names in the municipality of Formazza.

Next stages of the research project

When all the toponyms that are still recognizable are positioned on the map, they will be catalogued according to the characteristics of the topographical elements, indicatively classified according to the following list:
a) Orography: mountains, passes, relief features in general, landslides, moraines, scree.
b) Hydrography: rivers, lakes, springs, canals (excluding glaciers).
c) Glaciers and snowfields.
d) Vegetation elements: woods, meadows, clearings, single trees, swamps, peat bogs, stony ground, mountain pastures, permanent crops, vegetable gardens, gardens.
e) Infrastructure: streets and squares.
f) Towns and buildings: hamlets, houses, farms, stables and shelters, churches, oratories, votive shrines.
g) Production sites: quarries and mines, craft offices, processing sites for agricultural products, markets.
h) Other elements.
The purpose of the cataloguing is to identify to what extent the toponyms describe the morphology of the territory or attest to the human activities and

climatic changes of the past, allowing us to interpret the evolution of the relationship between the environment and the human landscape. We will thus obtain a non-interactive map that will simply show the collected place names, preserving for future memory the cartography of a cultural heritage that is still alive but destined to be lost after the passing of the current older generation.

However, in a future project we could hypothesize an extension of the research to all 15 Italian Walser municipalities (6 in the provinces of Verbano-Cusio-

Figure 4. Municipality of Formazza.
Map of Walser place names,
sheet no. 63 – Fondovalle hamlet.

Ossola and Vercelli, 3 in that of Aosta) and the transformation of the maps onto a GIS platform.

This would allow further possibilities of toponymic and territorial analysis, helping historians and linguists to identify evolutionary models of the language as a function of the space-time variable of its diffusion, linked to past migrations. The advantages of applying GIS could be:
- the instantaneous processing of thematic cartography at various scales, according to the different study purposes;
- a continuous cartographic adaptation to the future updating of the toponymic database;
- appropriate links positioned on the GIS map in order to view information boxes with photographs of the place and its anthropic and physical landscape, the etymology of the names, historical, geographical, artistic information of the site, services available for tourists and useful for the local economic development;
- links to audio files to listen to the exact pronunciation of toponyms.

Considerations on the research work

After the public presentation of the project at Formazza, in July 2021, the local Walser population has shown good support, evidently because they appreciate the preservation of a cultural heritage at high risk of extinction. The meetings between

researchers and inhabitants are attended by generally elderly or very old people. They wish to hurry up further appointments to complete as quickly as possible a task that they consider culturally important, in particular after the stopping of lessons in Titsch for the primary school pupils because of the retirement of the last available teacher, in autumn 2021. If possible, the scientific representatives participate in pairs, to consult each other before expressing their opinions. To guarantee the reliability of the cartographic results, the toponyms have been georeferenced only when there is reasonable certainty and agreement on their location.

The elderly representatives show an unexpected ability to understand cadastral plans. We believe that this ability is due to a habit of drawing mental maps of the territory and reading the cadastral tools. In fact, they need to know precisely, in the absence of demarcations on the ground, the layout of the boundaries and the shape of the various fields, to avoid intrusions of cattle or for harvesting.

It is difficult to find representatives for the villages or mountain pastures that were completely depopulated after the mountain exodus. For example, this is the case for the hamlet of Antillone, whose ancient residents have all emigrated, even outside Ossola, many years ago.

In the cartographic processing, we must remember that the use of cadastral maps instead of topographic maps does not facilitate the precise recognition of places, as the maps do not show the physical characteristics of the territories but only the cadastral boundaries. The properties are very numerous due to subdivision through many generations and also the difficulty of merging land units that are now often unproductive. Furthermore, the properties have limits that do not always correspond to physical elements of the landscape, except for correspondence with the banks of the main river.

Some toponyms, which generally refer to morphological elements widespread in the municipal territory, are of a general nature and can refer to similar situations in the territory of different hamlets. Furthermore, as indicated for glaciers, they can contribute to the historical reconstruction of the environment and climate changes of the past, for which they are intangible evidence valuable for environmental archeology.

Finally, the problem of transliteration of names persists. Many of them have pronunciations that vary from municipality to municipality and even from village to village. In this case, we decided to register the name suggested by the people who live closest to the place and use it currently.

Conclusions

Regarding possible tourist developments based on the contribution of toponymy to the identity of the territory, the local administration of the municipality of Formazza has already hypothesized the possibility of creating an app for smartphones, to generate the georeferencing of places. This available cartography could be applied to local tourism information and development activities, such as the dissemination of promotional materials on paper or online,

territorial marketing projects, etc. The introduction of bilingual street names would more effectively complete and reinforce the sporadic private initiatives to promote the Walser culture, such as the signs of shops or streets and squares, giving the place a historical-cultural identity otherwise destined to fade into oblivion.

The Walser identity could be used in a more interactive way as a particular characteristic of the tourist region. It supports the promotional action that has so far installed only a few bilingual road signs, but with a much more incisive action to enter the market, the Walser identity could spark the curiosity of visitors and enhance their stay in the area.

Finally, this research prototype could be re-proposed to spread the experience and know-how to other Walser municipalities in the province of Verbano-Cusio-Ossola or neighbouring provinces. The necessary condition is the existence of previous glottological studies, such as the one carried out in Formazza, or the widespread presence of informants, who can provide a toponymic database to be implemented in the cartography. The GIS would no longer contribute only to promoting the interests and cultural image of a single municipality, but of an entire Italian "Walser district" with a trans-regional dimension, with the possibility of extending it to the neighbouring Swiss territory as well.

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Rewriting the territory. The use of toponymy in the dynamics of dominion, the Italian experience.

Andrea Masturzo*

Abstract

Libya and Alto Adige-Südtirol are very distant territories, different in geographical characteristics, with incomparable geopolitical frameworks and extremely different relations with Italy. In both territories, after the establishment of the Italian dominion, important operations to redefine the toponymy were carried out. These toponymy rewriting operations were imposed from the state authority.

The fate of the toponymy in the two countries was ultimately entrusted to two men, Carlo Alfonso Nallino in Libya and Ettore Tolomei in Alto Adige-Südtirol. The first was a university professor, expert in the Islamic Arab world; the second was a journalist and politician with a strong nationalist attitude.

Despite the diversity of the two territories, the juxtaposition of the two realities has allowed us to clarify the role of toponymy in the dynamics of dominion. The primary connotative role of the Italian language in the symbolization of the territory and further connotative dynamics emerged. The different ways in which the italianization process was carried out are also identified. The role of toponymy in its testimonial and certification dynamics is highlighted.

***Keywords**: Libya toponymy, Alto Adige-Südtirol toponymy.*

This work aspires to reveal the role of toponymy within domain dynamics, placing side by side two historical frameworks such as the colonization in Libya and the annexation of Alto Adige-Südtirol after the First World War. In both cases I have focused on analyzing the official documentation issued by the Italian State on the toponymic issues and I have limited the reflections exclusively to this type of documents. In fact, it was the state that dictated the rules of the toponymy, entrusting their editing to toponymic experts.

Transcription and adaptation of toponymy in Libya[1]

In Libya, the question of toponymy was limited to the sole purpose of transliterating a language that did not use the Latin alphabet and adapting the

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* Scholar of Italian colonial studies (Italia).

1 In consideration of the fact that I have already dealt with the toponymy of Libya in the two previous symposia (Masturzo, 2016, Masturzo, 2019), I give here only a synthetic summary of the topic and I prefer to refer to those essays for any further information on that territorial area.

transliterated names to the Italian orthography. A ministerial decree was approved on February 1st, 1915 to establish the rules of Italian transcription and Arabic script of the geographical names of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The text of the decree was written by Carlo Alfonso Nallino, one of the major Italian scholars of Arabic studies.

The rules established the principle of use of the transcription of Arabic names, adapting the Libyan names to a "rigorous national orthography".

Immediately after having explained the basic principle of the transcription, Nallino clearly enumerated many serious linguistic and practical issues[2]. To overcome these problems, it was decided that on the maps of Libya at the scale of 1:100,000 (one to one hundred thousand), or larger scale are given in the margins names in Arabic characters; and bilingual lists were published and distributed to the colonial offices, after being published by special decree. Having stressed, accurately, the defects of the transcription system and the affirmation of the necessity of bilingual lists, Nallino reveals the concern for the transcription, acceptable only on condition that it works alongside a repertory that would restore the original orthography of the name: the lists represented the instrument to reconcile the "national character" and the need for greater accuracy in the transliteration of the name.

For the preparation of rules, Nallino put into effect the strict guidelines of the Ministry of the Colonies, as he had the opportunity to say later in an article in the magazine Oriente Moderno[3].

A symbolic toponymy for the rural colonial villages in Libya

Between 1938 and 1940 the Italian demographic colonization in Libya was realized; it saw the construction of more than thirty colonial villages where part of the derelict Italian agricultural population was transferred for the cultivation of those territories.

For these Italian villages, new names were created. This process took place by naming the colonial villages after famous Italian men whose history and events

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[2] Among these: "a) recording the local pronunciation in a very imperfect way, confusing different consonants, even suppressing some, not distinguishing long vowels from short ones, giving a well-defined character to the short vowels, which in Arabic dialect, not only possess some gradation unknown to our language, but also an uncertain and oscillating sound; b) often confusion of names that in reality are very different; c) the difficulty, in many cases, to read to the natives and make them understand what is the name; d) the difficulty of the correct re-transcription of the names in Arabic characters, for correspondence with the natives, the translation of documents, etc.; e) removal of the essential base to much of the historical, ethnographic, linguistic research, which are based on the exact knowledge of the local names" (Ministero delle Colonie, 1915, p.6).

[3] "Il sistema di trascrizione dei nomi usato nella carta è quello di cui, contro la mia convinzione personale ma in ossequio alle direttive impostemi, io diedi amplissime norme (The system of transcription of the names used on the map is that of which, against my personal conviction but in compliance with the imposed directives, I gave very broad standards" (Nallino, 1937, p. 161).

were strongly connected to well-identified meanings[4]. With the new creation of toponyms, the symbols of the new territorial planning based on the values linked to the Risorgimento, irredentism, nationalism, colonialism and fascism were crystallized on the ground. The experience of demographic colonization in Libya appears to be of great interest, as the Italian colonial project found its completion in the creation of a toponymy that characterized the territory with those values that belonged to the ideological baggage of the Italian colonial state. In the demographic colonization in Libya the new creation of toponyms was symbolic[5].

Alto Adige-Südtirol: toponymy as "the perennial seal of national dominion"

After the First World War, the toponymy of Alto Adige-Südtirol was decided by decree of the Italian State (Regio Decreto 29 marzo 1923, n. 800) in the midst of the Fascist period. Afterwards, with the decree July 19, 1940 of the Ministry of the Interior, it was given legitimacy in the third edition of the *Prontuario dei nomi locali dell'Alto Adige* (hereinafter only *Prontuario*) published in 1935 by the Royal Geographical Society and written by Italian journalist Ettore Tolomei[6], on which I will base my analysis.

Unlike Libya, in Alto Adige there was a more complex situation involving nationalistic tensions active in the territory. Already from the first lines of the introduction of *Prontuario*, in fact, the political argument of a strongly nationalist brand emerges.

"*Nell'atto di riprendere il proprio suolo fino ai termini sacri, di riunire alla Patria*

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[4] These names were: Villaggio Garibaldi, Villaggio Mameli, Borgata Micca, Borgo Tazzoli, Villaggio Oberdan, Villaggio Battisti, Borgata Filzi, Borgata Sauro, Villaggio Crispi, Villaggio Razza, Villaggio Di Savoia, Villaggio Giordani, Villaggio Berta, Villaggio Breviglieri, Villaggio Bianchi, Villaggio Gioda, Villaggio Baracca, Villaggio Oliveti, Villaggio Maddalena, Villaggio D'Annunzio.

[5] Symbolic is a denomination that crystallizes general beliefs based on socially produced values in a place. Symbolic toponymy not only denotes a stretch of the earth's surface (referential function) but connotes it by virtue of one or more secondary codes that incorporate. "La denominazione simbolica attinge negli strati profondi del serbatoio metafisico delle diverse comunità e cristallizza al suolo credenze di tipo religioso, morale o estetico. In tal modo, essa proietta il territorio al centro di rappresentazioni, emozioni, pratiche idonee a soddisfare i bisogni identitari e, al tempo stesso, atte ad assicurare la vita e la riproduzione sociale (The symbolic denomination gets from the deep layers of the metaphysical reservoir of the different communities and crystallizes religious, moral or aesthetic beliefs on the ground. In this way, it projects the territory at the centre of representations, emotions, practices suitable for satisfying identity needs and, at the same time, suitable for ensuring life and social reproduction)" (Turco, 2010, 97).

[6] Three editions of the *Prontuario* were published: 1916, 1928 and 1935. On March 29, 1923, King Vittorio Emanuele III signed the decree with which the toponymy of Alto Adige was made official and the work of Tolomei consecrated. The toponymy was modified in 1935 when the definitive list was published, which was finally ratified by decree on July 10 1940.

i lembi avulsi della regione Veneta, in parte inquinati da secoli da gente straniere, l'Italia doveva affermare il suo diritto e il suo genio reimprimendo con tutti i nomi dei monti e delle acque, delle città e dei paesi, fino all'ultimo casolare, il sigillo perenne del nazionale dominio" (Tolomei, 1935, p. 5)[7].

The connection between toponymy and the political needs of affirming dominion over a recently acquired territory is clearly made explicit. To the author it appears necessary that the state affirms its national dominion – or rather "the perennial seal" of its national dominion – by determining, up to the last cottage, all the place names.

Tolomei then makes explicit the reasons for this inevitable need, which derives, in his opinion, from the need of the Italian state to demonstrate to the world that the new provinces belong to the Italian territory.

"lo stato italiano [...] vuole e deve dare subito al mondo la coscienza della salda e immutabile pertinenza delle provincie nuove al Paese, e subito farla evidente con la nomenclatura dei luoghi, con tutto ciò ch'è scritto, stampato, pubblico ed apparente in pubblico" (Tolomei, 1935, p. 5)[8].

He understood that toponymy communicates the right of possession over a territory to the rest of the world. From this awareness emerges the urgency to rewrite it in Italian.

Bulletins and maps, the political role of toponymy

"[...] i nomi dei bollettini italiani continueranno ad essere nomi tedeschi: Königspitze, Schwarze, Rienz [...], ecc., come infatti avvenne. La cosa non aveva soltanto quella futile consistenza di forma che altri le dava, essa aveva invece un valore politico. I bollettini, accettando e seguendo senz'altro per la zona delle dolomiti la nomenclatura ibrida delle carte diffuse tra noi, o addirittura la nomenclatura tedesca delle carte militari austriache, davano in Italia e all'estero l'impressione di un'avanzata in paese germanico, quando eravamo invece in valli ladine, cioè italiane. Peggio sarebbe stato, avanzando nell'Alto Adige dove più la patina germanica copre gli antichi nomi locali, che si vogliono redimere, quando non decine ma centinaia e migliaia di nomi si sarebbero presentati in veste straniera. I Comandi, si capisce, prendevano le carte che trovavano. E così i giornali. Ma a

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[7] "In the act of resuming their land up to the *sacred borders*, of reuniting with the homeland the detached strips of the Veneto region, partly corrupted for centuries by foreign people, Italy had to affirm its right and its genius by repressing all the names of the mountains and waters, cities and towns, up to the last cottage, the perennial seal of national dominion" (Tolomei, 1935, p. 5).

[8] "[...] the Italian state [...] wants and must immediately give the world the awareness of the solid and immutable belonging of the new provinces to the country, and immediately make it evident with the nomenclature of the places, with everything that is written, printed, public and appearing in public" (Tolomei, 1935, p. 5).

farne trovare di italiane occorreva pur provvedere [...]" (Tolomei, 1935, pp. 28-29)[9].

Tolomei realizes that the toponymy did not have the low level of importance that others gave it, it instead had a political value. According to him, if the German toponymy had continued to be used in military bulletins or topographical maps, the communication of a military conquest in German territory would have emerged.

We know that the creation of a place name represents the original act with which the natural space is given an anthropological value, transforming it into "territory". Through the name, man is able to establish an order in the natural space and to communicate it (Turco, 2010, pp. 55-56).

Through the language in which the toponymy is expressed, a primordial operation of symbolization of the territory is carried out. The language in which the toponymy is expressed represents the connotation that precedes any other, the basic connotation of the territory.

Tolomei refers to the capacity of the toponym to communicate the symbolic values of the territory. It is a function of toponymy that he perceives extremely clearly even though he is not a geographer, but a politician with a nationalist brand. It is the political point of view that naturally leads him to this awareness.

The connotation to which Tolomei refers, which is realized through the language, is the most immediate, understandable by all people. Toponymy in German means German territory.

This is extremely evident to him and he is amazed that others – politicians and military men – do not realize it and do not give the exact value to the question.

Toponymy communicates the cultural identity of a territory and through it the aims of domination of a state in that territory are legitimized (or delegitimized).

Toponymy and national construction

In other parts of the *Prontuario*, the reflection of Tolomei on the role of toponymy goes beyond the pure need to communicate to the rest of the world that the territory belongs to its own cultural area, and he examines the role of toponymy in the construction of national identity:

"Le sfere dirigenti dalle quali non era stato compreso abbastanza [...] che fin

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[9] "[...] the Italian bulletins will continue to contain German names: Königspitze, Schwarze, Rienz [...], etc., as indeed happened. The thing not only had that futile consistency of form that others gave it, it instead had a political value. The bulletins, accepting and certainly following for the Dolomites area the hybrid nomenclature of maps widespread among us, or even the German nomenclature of Austrian military maps, gave in Italy and abroad the impression of an advance in a Germanic country, when we were instead in the Ladin, that is, Italian valleys. It would have been worse, advancing in Alto Adige where the Germanic patina covers the ancient local names, which we want to redeem, when not tens but hundreds and thousands of names would have presented themselves in a foreign guise. The Commands, of course, took the maps they found. And so did the newspapers. But to find Italian ones it was necessary to provide [...]" (Tolomei, pp. 28-29).

dalla guerra e dalla prima occupazione l'Italia doveva riconquistare anche col nome i lembi della Regione Veneta, fino all'ultimo casolare" (Tolomei, 1935, 33)[10].

And, in particular:

"Non vorranno essi (i parlamentari) statuire che gl'Italiani dell'Alto Adige, Italiani in proprio suolo d'Italia, possano legalmente chiamare con proprie voci i luoghi della regione ricongiunta alla Patria? Non intenderanno una volta che il Verbo è la Vita? Non s'interesseranno ai nomi, quando i nomi hanno un sì grande significato e un sì grande valore?

Anzi tanto grande da essere al di sopra della guerra stessa che abbiam vinto, giacché i fatti d'arme sono il mezzo, ma l'avvenimento essenziale, il cui valore s'impone al presente e all'avvenire e che trova nel rinnovamento dei nomi il suo esponente, è il rifluire della Nazione Italiana entro le valli atesine e giulie già perdute, fino ai riconquistati termini sacri, è il coronamento della grande spinta latina, dai profondi secoli del medioevo volta ad espellere al di là delle alpi l'invasione straniera" (Tolomei, 1935, p. 34-35)[11].

Tolomei continues his reflection: toponymy constitutes the very essence of the nation whose flow in the valleys of Alto Adige-Südtirol constitutes the completion of the conquest of those territories and the return of Latinity. The Verb (toponymy) is the Life of a Nation. Names have a great meaning and a great value, so great to be above the war. Therefore, the affirmation of the nation is achieved, first of all, through toponymy. Tolomei, through the political approach, comes to understand the relevance of toponymy within the national construction, absolutely contrasting those positions that consider toponymy to be irrelevant.

The "Tolomei" method

The method underlying Tolomei's work was obviously based on the maintenance of Italian place names, on the preservation of Ladin toponymy and on the recovery of the Italian form of toponyms in German. This recovery basically took place trying to recover the neo-Latin toponym; where this was not possible, a new toponym had to be translated or created.

This methodology can be summarized, as Tolomei himself said in his work, with the three verbs: 'return' the Latin or neo-Latin form; 'replace' (which is mainly equivalent to 'translate') when necessary and possible; and 'create'

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[10] "The political classes from which it had not been understood enough [...] that from the war and from the first occupation, Italy had to reconquer even with the name the edges of the Venetian region, up to the last farmhouse" (TOLOMEI, 1935, 33).

[11] "They (parliamentarians) will not want to rule out that the Italians of Alto Adige-Südtirol, Italians on their own soil in Italy, can legally call places in the region that has been reunited with the Motherland with their own names? Will they not intend once that the Verb is Life? Will they not be interested in the names, when names have a so great meaning and a so great value?

(Giaimo, 1988, p. 291, Mastrelli Anzilotti, 1998, p. 320).

"[…] restituire, cioè, nell'uso le voci originarie latine o italiane, quasi irriconoscibili in molti casi sotto la secolare deformazione tedesca, e talora di sostituire alcuni nomi, ed anche di crearne ed insomma in un modo o nell'altro di apparecchiare una completa nomenclatura italiana per la geografia fisica e politica di tutto il paese cisalpino […] dal confine trentino alla grande catena culminante nella Vetta d'Italia, denominavo Alto Adige" (Tolomei, 1935, p. 7)[12].

Some Italian scholars (Giaimo, 1988; Mastrelli Anzilotti, 1998), who have filed and analyzed the toponyms of the *Prontuario*, have identified the criteria with which Tolomei has formulated the toponymy in Italian into 11 categories[13]. We can more generally summarize them into 4 categories: maintenance of the German toponym with different forms of adaptation; recovery of a pre-Latin, Latin or medieval term; new creations; and translations.

Giaimo (1988, p. 295), relating only to the area of the Burgraviato di Merano[14], specifies the incidence of the different categories listed above[15].

From the analyzed data it emerges that the most used typology is that of translations[16]. After the translations, the new creations follow[17]. The new creations are made by referring to the location of the toponym or by adding a determinative, that is, a preposition or a noun that does not change the original meaning of the toponym, but underlines its morphological and topographical aspects (Mastrelli Anzilotti, 1998, p. 321).

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[12] "[...] *to restore* in use the original Latin or Italian voices, almost unrecognizable in many cases over the centuries by old German deformation, and sometimes *to replace* some names, and also to create and in so doing *to arrange* a complete Italian nomenclature for physical and political geography of the whole Cisalpine country, [...] from the Trentino border to the great chain culminating in the Vetta d'Italia, that I called Alto Adige" (Tolomei, 1935, p. 7).

[13] Both Giaimo (1988) and Mastrelli (1998) identified 11 categories of toponyms: 1) partial or total adaptation of the German toponym to Italian phonetics, 2) partial or total adaptation of the German toponym to Italian spelling, 3) without adaptation of the German form; 4) maintenance of the Italian dialectal form; 5) recovery of a pre-Latin, Latin or medieval term with adaptation; 6) recovery of a pre-Latin, Latin or medieval term without adaptation; 7) new creation by substitution; 8) new creation by adding a determinative; 9) translation into Italian; 10) translation into a dialectal term of the Triveneta area; 11) omissions.

[14] Burgraviato di Merano is a mountain community in the province of Bolzano made up of 26 municipalities whose territory develops for the most part in the mountain areas of the Alpi Venoste, the gruppo dell'Ortles-Cevedale and of massiccio del Sarentino (Giaimo, 1988, p. 286).

[15] Although I am aware that I am dealing with a limited sample of toponyms (1442 toponyms out of the total of 8000 appearing in the *Prontuario*), considering that no further data is available to me, I try to use this information for some general reflections.

[16] Translations correspond to 77%. It should be noted, as specified by the author (ibid. p. 295), that the sum of the various categories is clearly higher than 100 (just over 150), as many toponyms, consisting of several words, fall into different categories.

[17] 7.55% new creation with substitutions and 10.32% new creation with addition of a determinative.

It is evident that the newly created toponyms have a referential[18] and not a symbolic[19] character.

This is a relevant aspect of the new Italian denomination in Alto Adige-Südtirol. Apart from a few rare exceptions[20], even when new toponyms were created, they were based on the referential aspects of the territory, such as its morphology, its position or its naturalistic aspects. In that case, no use was made of a symbolic denomination – as it was for the Colonial Villages in Libya – which would have connoted the territory with symbols belonging to Italian ideological baggage.

Toponymy and Romanity

The argument that justifies the italianization of toponymy, and which is central in Tolomei's work, is that the toponymy of Alto Adige-Südtirol is of Latin origin, while the German toponymy is considered as a simple "translation", "deformation" or "germanization" of a pre-existing Latin name (FAIT, 1998, 149-150).

Tolomei, in this regard, writes:

"I nomi di luogo d'origine indubbiamente latina sono abbondantissimi nell'Alto Adige e traspariscono con evidenza sotto la deformazione germanica più o men profonda […] Più o men corrotti, ma tutti più o men facilmente restituibili; da quelli cui bastava completare il suffisso […] a quelli sepolti sotto la metamorfosi grafica ma ancora redimibili e talvolta assai più vicini all'etimo di quello che a prima notizia apparrebbe" (Tolomei 1935, pp. 19-20)[21].

"Viene quindi la grande schiera dei nomi più o meno germanizzati, dei quali prima di tutto occorreva riconoscere l'etimo. Ognuno intende con quanto interesse seguimmo in ispecie la ricerca di sopravvivenza di romane e preromane" (ibid., p. 19)[22].

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[18] The referential denomination has the purpose of establishing references on the earth's surface (here / there, near / far, above / below, right / left, a little / a lot, front / back, before / after, top / bottom are some of the polarities used by territorial action). The reference can be obtained by compacting in the toponym the properties that refer to a recognition procedure thanks to which certain eminent characters of the space or territory are selected, capable of establishing some distinction. (TURCO, 1988, pp. 84-85).

[19] Cf. note 6.

[20] I am referring in particular to very few mountain toponyms, such as Vetta d'Italia, Cima Garibaldi.

[21] "The names of places of undoubtedly Latin origin are abundant in Alto Adige-Südtirol and are evident under the more or less profound Germanic deformation [...] More or less corrupt, but all more or less easily recovered; from those that just needed the suffix completed [...] to those buried under the graphic metamorphosis but still redeemable and sometimes much closer to the etymology of what would appear at first notice" (TOLOMEI 1935, pp. 19-20).

[22] "Then comes the great multitude of more or less germanized names, of which first of all it was necessary to recognize the etymology. Everyone understands with how much interest we followed in particular Roman and pre-Roman names seeking survival" (TOLOMEI, 1935, p. 19).

"[...] nomi che sono spesso traduzione di un nome latino preesistente e che trovano, quasi tutti, spiegazione nelle condizioni topografiche o negli avvenimenti storici. Con grandissima cura questi elementi sono stati tenuti presenti, né fu stabilito alcun nome senza l'accurato esame dei dati topografici – sia dalla memoria e dall'impressione diretta dei luoghi, sia dal rilievo delle carte – per quanto riguarda le condizioni telluriche, geologiche e della flora e della fauna a seconda" (ibid., p. 20)[23].

The neo-Latin origin is considered as such an important element that even a foreign toponymy on Italian territories is accepted when it has this origin. On the other hand, the Germanic origin (barbaric in the words of Tolomei) makes toponymy unacceptable and therefore its change is necessary. In fact Tolomei specifies:

"Talora i nomi tedeschi si trovano sparsi e sporadici in territorio preponderatamente latino; talora sono invece scarsi e dispersi i nomi latini in valli ch'ebbero più forte e soverchiante immigrazione tedesca. La nomenclatura odierna di queste avrebbe portato un ben grave e intollerabile contingente straniero nella toponomastica della Penisola! Non è punto qui lo stesso caso che si presenta in Val d'Aosta e in altre minori valli alpine piemontesi di toponomastica francese; colà i dialetti nostri sfumano nell'idioma di Francia insensibilmente, la radice è comune, latina; latina in ogni maniera la toponomastica. Qui invece eravamo di fronte ad un esotismo barbaro e irriducibile. Non potevamo accoglierlo. Eravamo in dovere di sostituirlo" (Tolomei, 1935, p. 21)[24].

The neo-Latin origin of place names is, therefore, considered a central element of the discourse on toponymy. The territory contains the signs of its history, of its socio-cultural belonging and these signs must be recovered. The toponymy, therefore, becomes a central element of identity. The search for the names of places of Latin origin agrees with the search for the archaeological evidence of Ancient Rome that Tolomei does not hesitate to present in other

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[23] "names which are often translations of a pre-existing Latin name and, almost all of which, find an explanation in topographical conditions or in historical events. With great care these elements have been kept in mind, nor was any name established without the careful examination of the topographical data – both from the memory and direct impression of the places, and from the relief of the maps – as regards the telluric and geological information and the flora and fauna" (Tolomei, 1935, p. 20).

[24] "Sometimes the German names are found scattered and sporadic in predominantly Latin territory; sometimes the Latin names are scarce and dispersed in valleys that had stronger and overwhelming German immigration. The current nomenclature of these would have brought a very serious and intolerable foreign contingent in the toponymy of the Peninsula! This is not the case here but occurs in Val d'Aosta and in other minor Piedmontese Alpine valleys of French toponymy; there our dialects fade insensibly into the French idiom, the root is common, Latin; the toponymy is Latin in every way. Here, on the other hand, we were faced with a barbaric and irreducible exoticism. We could not welcome it. We were obliged to replace it" (Tolomei, 1935, p. 21).

works[25] (Fait, 1998, 133). The recovery of the Roman era appears central[26], in fact it clearly demonstrates the Italian character of the region.

Toponymy in domain dynamics, the role of language

From the cases analyzed in this work it emerges that both in Libya and in Alto Adige-Südtirol, the Italian state carried out an italianization of toponymy.

The language in which the toponymy is expressed, in fact, constitutes the primary connotation code of the territory and sanctions its historical and socio-cultural belonging; it played an important role in legitimizing the politics of domination.

This Italianization takes place in different ways and gradations which can be generally summarized as: adaptation; recovery of a pre-Latin, Latin or medieval term; translation; or new creation.

The least invasive form of Italianization is the "adaptation" of the foreign toponym to Italian spelling or phonetics, as it happened in Libya (after having carried out the transcription) and partly in Alto Adige-Südtirol. The original toponym is maintained even if partially modified. The resulting toponym is more acceptable in the new linguistic community as it is harmonized with the phonetic or spelling rules of the dominant culture.

The "translation" involves the change of language and therefore the outcome of the connotation linked to the use of the Italian language is fully expressed. In relation to Alto Adige-Südtirol (in Libya there was no translation) it was widely used. The characteristic of this modality is that it presents itself with the characteristics of objectivity. In reality, the change of language alone, as we have seen, clearly connotes the toponymy and through it the territory. This is an aspect that has not been sufficiently considered by toponymy scholars who have limited themselves to analyzing the etymology of the toponym and on this basis have evaluated the translations made in the *Prontuario* as correct or not[27].

About the new creations, I must specify that they can have a symbolic character and therefore crystallize on the ground values belonging to the ideological baggage of the dominant nation. This was the case of the Libyan colonial villages, where, in line with a well-defined colonial territorial project (Masturzo, 2009), a new toponymy was created that recalled the founding values of the fascist regime. In

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[25] In some other works, Tolomei lists a whole series of archaeological evidence that would prove the Italian character of Alto Adige-Südtirol. In other cases, it was other collaborators of the magazine "Archivio per l'Alto Adige", directed by Tolomei, who investigated the Roman archaeological evidence in Alto Adige-Südtirol (cf. Fait, 1998).

[26] We also remember the strong pressure that Tolomei put on the central government to replace, in the central square of Bolzano, the statue of the medieval poet Walther von der Vogelweide with that of Drusus, the Roman conqueror of those territories (*ibidem*).

[27] See, for example, Pellegrini "Qualora le traduzioni rendano con precisione o con buona approssimazione il nome tedesco, esse dovrebbero essere accettate senza esitazione (If the translations render the German name accurately or with a good approximation, they should be accepted without hesitation)" (Pellegrini, 1979, p. 92).

this case the territory was affected by a double level of connotation: the language connotes the territory as belonging to Italy, the meanings recalled by the toponymy connote the territory as a space disseminated with symbols that referred to the values of fascist ideology.

In Alto Adige-Südtirol the newly created toponymy was instead of a referential character, that is to say that the toponym essentially referred to the morphological and natural conditions of the territory.

Regarding the recovery of a pre-Latin, Latin or medieval term in Alto Adige-Südtirol, we have seen that the argument that the substratum of toponymy in that area was of Latin or Italic matrix was the basis of the toponymy rewriting operation. On the basis of this assumption, the Italian State considered it correct to italianize toponymy in the different ways I have described.

Therefore, on the one hand, the symbols that justified the historical belonging of the territory were sought in the territory. The toponyms assumed the role of historical *testimony* of the belonging of a certain territory to a certain cultural area and therefore ultimately to a state.

On the other hand, it was considered necessary to clearly express this political belonging always using the symbols of the territory, that is toponyms. This happened through the italianization of the toponymy. So toponymy assumed the role of *certifying* the belonging of the territory to a particular state.

What is interesting here is to note how toponymy, in its double *testimonial* and *certification* function, has assumed an extremely relevant role in the dynamics of domination, in particular in revealing the identity character of the territory with all the political reflections that it entailed and which found its natural outlet in nationalist dynamics. All this emerges clearly from the work of Tolomei who, in an extremely clear way, reveals, on the basis of political needs of a nationalistic nature, the role of toponymy in situations of domination.

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Mapping micro-toponymy in Alpine linguistic minority languages. Historical GIS as a meeting point

Viviana Ferrario*

Abstract

This contribution explores some aspects of an action-research conducted in the frame of an Interreg European cooperation project, whose main purpose is to enhance minority languages as a heritage for local communities and a resource for cultural tourism. As part of the project, a virtual Atlas of micro-toponymy in the Ladin-speaking Comelico valley (Dolomites) is going to be completed. The Atlas has been built upon a Historical GIS that integrates several sources, including 19th century cadastre and some local toponymic maps, realized in the last 20 years by local experts and cultural associations.

The Comelico micro-toponymy Atlas allows us to reflect retrospectively on toponymy mapping practices in minority language speaking areas. Historical GIS works as a meeting point and collaboration tool between historical-cartography-based and oral-sources-based approaches in micro-toponymy collection, between experienced and non-expert knowledge, between Ladin and non-Ladin speaking people, between locals and outsiders.

Keywords: *micro-toponymy; minority language; 19th century cadastre; HGIS.*

Minority toponymy as cultural heritage: the PRIMIS project

There is broad agreement among scholars that place names reflect spatial characteristics, contribute to the territorialization process, and contribute to the identification of inhabitants with their places (Jordan, 2012).

The United Nations has recognized the importance of toponymy as part of a nation's historical and cultural heritage (United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, 2002; *Idem*, 2007). As an intangible heritage, toponyms pose specific conservation and enhancement problems (Cassi, Marcaccini, 1998).

This is much more delicate in areas inhabited by linguistic minorities, where the risk of loss is increased due to the weakness of the minority language itself (Palmer and Korson, 2020).

This contribution explores some aspects of action-research conducted in the frame of the project "PRIMIS – Multicultural journey between Italy and Slovenia through the prism of minorities", funded by Interreg VA Italy-Slovenia 2014/2020. PRIMIS involves 10 partners across the North-Eastern Italian border, an area characterized by the presence of several linguistic minorities (Figure 1).

* University IUAV of Venezia (Italia).
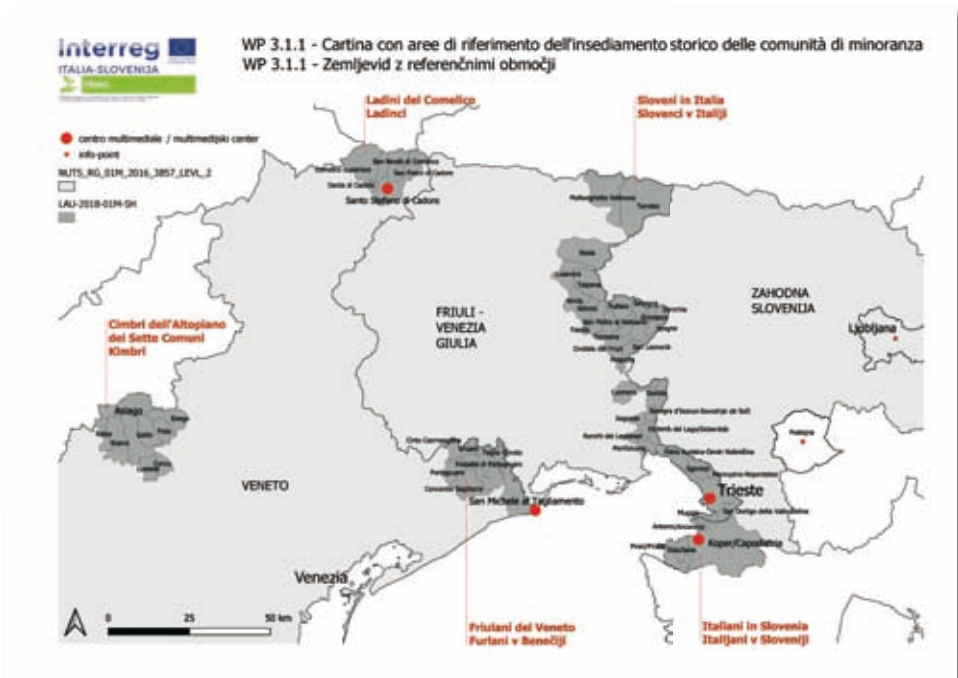
Figure 1. Linguistic and cultural minorities involved in the PRIMIS project.

The main purpose of the PRIMIS project is to enhance minority languages as heritage for local communities and a resource for cultural tourism. From the beginning of the project, minority toponyms have been recognized as an important cultural asset.

In Comelico, a valley of the Venetian Dolomites located on the border between Italy and Austria, people speak a Ladin dialect (Ascoli, 1873; Tagliavini, 1926; 1944). This area has been recognized as a linguistic minority by an Italian national law (482/1999). In the Ladin-speaking area of the Comelico valley, the PRIMIS project offered the opportunity to finalize an Atlas of Ladin micro-toponymy, that will be displayed in the coming local multimedia centre (Ferrario, 2019). Given the stratified information collected about local minority toponymy, the instrument of Historical GIS (HGIS) (Gava et al., 2020) has been chosen as a base of the activity. The Atlas is noteworthy in at least two respects: it integrates several initiatives about local toponymy; it deals with problems raised by minority language toponymy.

In the following text, we critically examine the questions that emerged during the work, regarding the choice of sources, the transcription of Ladin terms, the use of existing toponymic collections and maps, and the Historical GIS as a meeting point.

Minority toponymy in Comelico valley: the sources

Published sources

The Comelico micro-toponymy Atlas can rely on previous research that has

studied the Ladin toponymy of Comelico both linguistically and geographically. After a first collection of geographical dialectal terms (Marinelli, 1901), the first toponyms collected by Tagliavini should be mentioned. In the 1990s a volume dedicated to Auronzo, Ampezzo and Comelico was published in the series of Belluno oronyms (Angelini, Cason, 1993). The first toponymic maps were published in the 2000s (GRCCS, 2002; De Bolfo, Ferrario, Turato, 2005) and have recently been unified and exhibited in the section dedicated to the Ladin language in a local museum. Some other smaller maps have been published in books (Cesco Frare, 2016).

Unpublished maps

In the 1990s Piergiorgio Cesco Frare, mapped a very large number of micro-toponyms in the high summer pastures. As a teacher at the local University for Seniors, he also collected some micro-toponymy lists and handwritten maps made by his students (Figure 2).
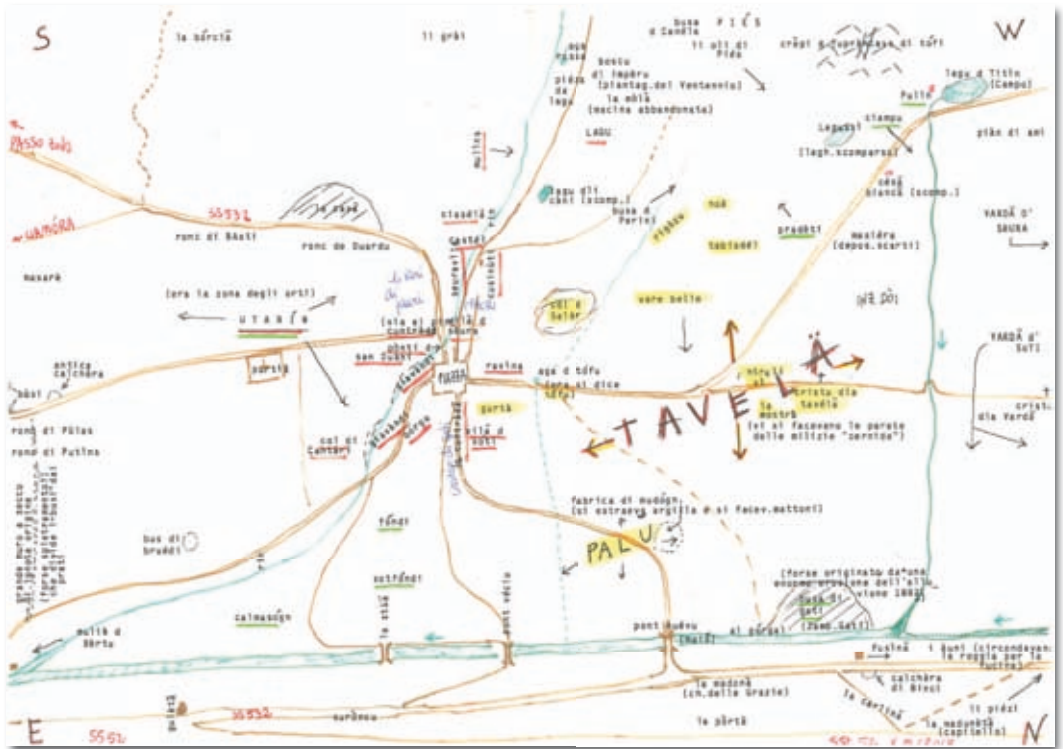
Figure 2. One of the handwritten local maps made by the scholars of the University for Seniors in 2001 (Padola, by Achille Carbogno).

Despite that the aforementioned sources were created at different times, with different criteria and methods and using different base maps, they cover a large part of the valley (Figure 3). The Comelico micro-toponymy Atlas aims to collect all information and to present it to the public within a single framework.
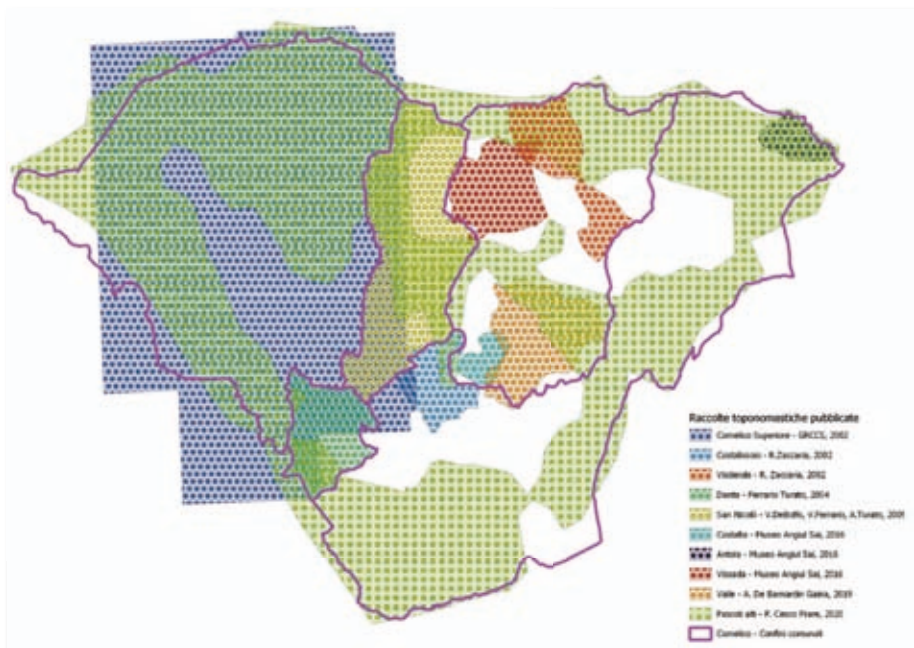
Figure 3. The five municipalities of Comelico valley,
covered by published and unpublished toponymic maps.

A base map for the toponymic HGIS: the Napoleonic cadastre in the Comelico valley

The Atlas project develops the methodology adopted in 2004-05 within a research project financed by the Italian National Institute of Mountains (IMONT) for drafting the toponymy map of the municipality of San Nicolò already mentioned (De Bolfo, Ferrario, Turato, 2005), in which the work of collecting toponyms started from the historical toponymy recorded in the 19th century land registers and specifically in the so-called "Napoleonic" cadastre (Ferrario, 2019).

Modern cadastres can be considered a kind of *ante litteram* GIS, in which the spatial data (the parcels drawn on the map) are uniquely linked to alphanumeric data contained in the corresponding register. Therefore, cadastres have been largely used as a basemap to HGIS reconstructing past land use in various disciplines, such as historical ecology, forestry, landscape history and historical geography. However, HGISs have been more rarely adopted in toponymy studies in Italy (Gava et al, 2020). As already observed (Ferrario, 2019), the Napoleonic cadastre is placed in a favourable temporal position to act as an intermediary between the historical toponymy, recorded in the archival documentation of the modern age, and the toponymy of the contemporary and current age. In fact, the 19th century cadastres record some toponyms that are no longer in use and whose oral memory has been lost, thus offering valid help in the case of toponyms present in the archival documentation, but with uncertain geographical location. Finally, the experience conducted in 2005 shows that Napoleonic toponymy can be an excellent tool to bring back the memory of informants about now little used or disappearing toponyms.

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The Comelico valley, that covers a surface of about 280 square kilometres, has been surveyed by cadastral technicians from 1815 and 1816. The outcome is represented in 23 maps and 18 registers (some registers have been later merged) all preserved in a single copy in the Venice State Archives. All the registers were photographed by the author and her collaborators between 2004 and 2006. The scans of the maps were purchased bit by bit, from 2008 to 2015, as the Venice State Archives made them available.

The GIS procedure

To create a geodatabase from the Napoleonic cadastre, each register was transcribed into a CSV file, while each cadastral map was georeferenced and digitized in a polygonal file. For the purposes of building the database, the different transcriptions of the same toponym have been normalized (for example: *Ladié, La Dié; Calzinera, Calcinera; Vare Belle, Varre Belle; Mezzilongo, Medilongo; Prato Lungo, Pra Lungo*), choosing the one most similar to that of the spoken language, but without changing the spelling. Then, the fileshape was joined via the join function to the CSV file, thus obtaining a database in which each parcel has its own place name. When their parcels were adjacent, less obvious variants have also been normalized (for example: *Ravina, In Ravina; Arcei, Arces; Vantadei, Vantaden*) with the help of previous linguistic studies (BARBIERATO, VIGOLO, 2008). The dissolve function provides a map in which each toponym refers to a polygon made of a group of parcels that share the same toponym. In principle, each polygon should define the area that, at the time of the survey, was referred to by the toponym. Two other layers were added: a linear one, to which odonyms and hydronyms are associated, and a file of points for the toponyms, taken directly from the cadastral map. For the quantitative comparison between the toponyms coming from the map and those coming from the register, centroids were extracted from the polygons made of parcels, transforming the toponyms of the Napoleonic register into a file of points.

The Napoleonic toponymy so obtained suffers from some inconsistencies, such as the presence of isolated parcels having the same toponym as a nearby area, or two separate groups of parcels identified by the same toponym, or, more rarely, the non-correspondence between toponyms of the map and toponyms of the register. These inconsistencies may be due to two different factors: 1. Transcription errors: the compiler of the register did not transcribe the toponym for each single parcel, but in case of repetition he used the term "detto" (= as above). It must have been quite easy to run into transcription errors, especially in the case of toponyms referring to a small number of parcels. This is a mistake which cannot be corrected without questioning other sources. 2. Hierarchy of toponyms: sometimes a toponym is associated with a small number of parcels in a very restricted area, or at other times to a larger area that includes other smaller ones. The cadastral toponymy works as a mosaic of parcels, while toponymy is instead structurally hierarchical: in this sense the toponyms coming from the map integrate with those coming from the register, establishing a sort of hierarchy (the map usually shows only the toponyms referring to the main localities).

The content of the Napoleonic HGIS

The completion of the toponymy database coming from Napoleonic maps and registers allows us to make some general considerations, valid for the cadastral toponymy in the Comelico area but presumably extendable to geographically similar areas subject to the same Napoleonic cadastre.

Toponymic content in the maps and in the registers
A first relevant aspect is the diversity and disproportion between the toponymic content of the Napoleonic registers with respect to that of the maps, as already observed in some samples collected in different areas (FERRARIO, 2019). Maps and registers are differently specialized: the map records the names of streets and watercourses, while the register records predial micro-toponyms that are not reflected in the map. Some oronyms, for example those referring to the peaks, are recorded only on the maps and not in the registers. Despite this, in the whole cadastre of the Comelico valley the toponyms coming from the registers are in greater number than those coming from the maps (Figure 4). On average, the number of toponyms in the registers is triple compared to the maps, but in some cases, it is even 15 times higher.
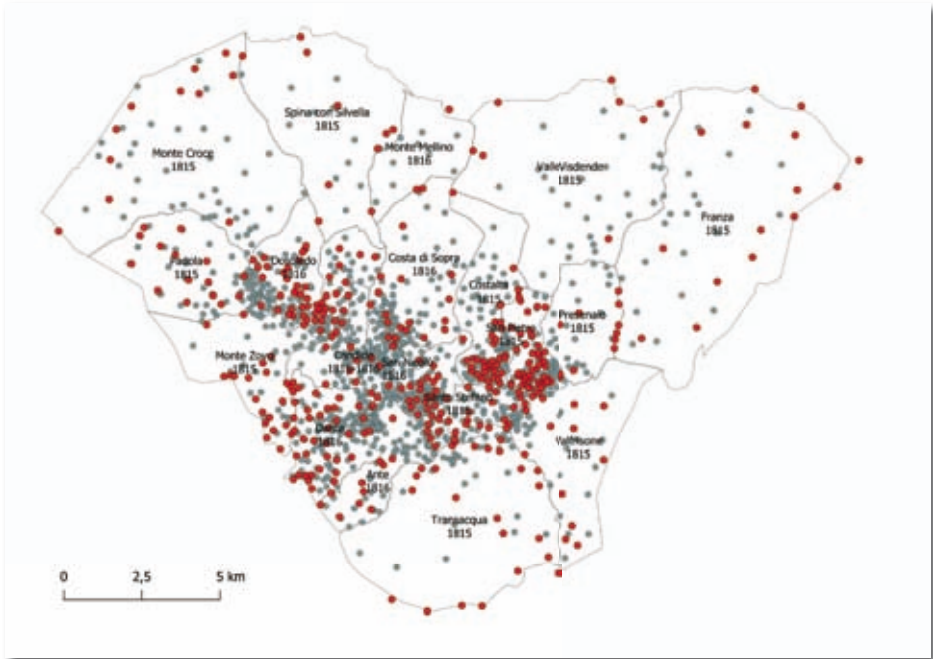
Figure 4. Toponyms from maps (red) and registers (grey) of Napoleonic cadastre of Comelico valley, surveyed between 1815 and 1816.

The subsequent "Austrian" and "Austro-Italian" maps ("Censo stabile" and "Censo stabile attivato", drawn up for the Comelico valley from 1845 onwards) show a number of toponyms similar to that of Napoleonic maps, but their

toponymic heritage cannot be integrated from the corresponding registers that no longer have a column dedicated to the toponym. The lack of toponymic references in the subsequent registers on the one hand makes the Napoleonic summaries particularly important for the toponymic memory, on the other hand, however, prevents a complete diachronic comparison within the framework of the cadastral source alone (Ferrario, 2019). This confirms the importance of not relying solely on the cadastral maps in detailed studies on the historical toponymy of the Veneto region. In the following observations, therefore, reference will be made to the overall toponymic endowment of the maps and registers of the Napoleonic cadastre, naming it "Napoleonic toponymy".

Toponymic density
     The average toponymic density of the valley is about nine toponyms per square kilometre. However, it varies a lot according to several factors. Firstly, the altitude matters and affects settlements, human activities, and the consequent uses of the land: the greatest densities are found in the areas cultivated as *zappativo* [hoed field], near the villages on the slopes and in the valley bottom. Certainly, this data also depends on the intrinsic characteristics of the source: the densest areas are those of the stable settlements (in Comelico valley between 900 and 1600 metres above sea level), where the land fragmentation is greater and therefore the cadastral surveyors could report a greater number of toponyms linking them to very small parcels (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Toponymic density in the permanently inhabited area of the Comelico valley
(toponyms from the map in red, toponyms from the register in blue).

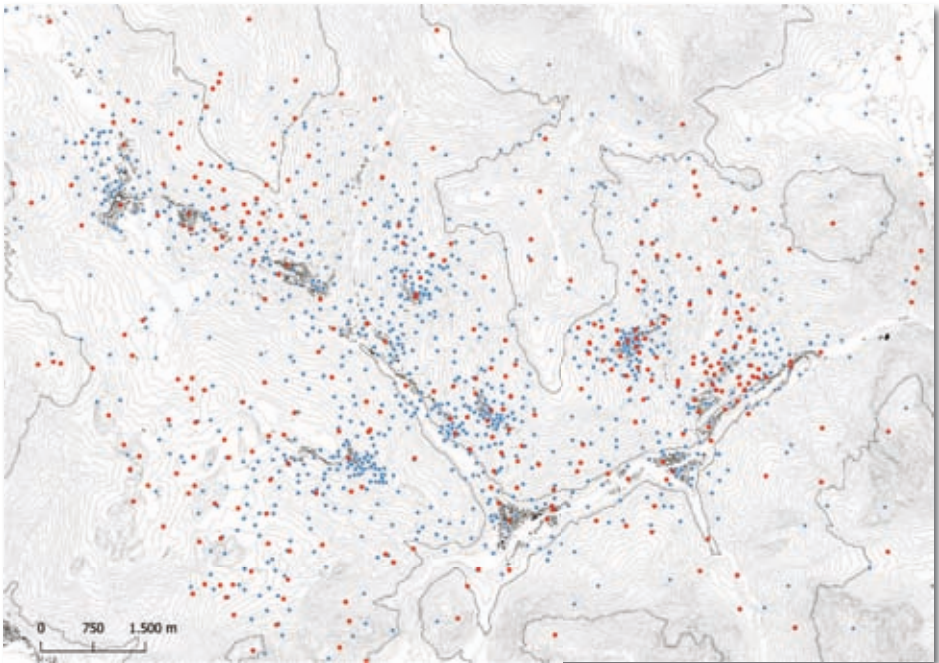Secondly, the very different accessibility between the inhabited areas served by roads and the areas at high altitudes, less served, may have influenced both the quality of the survey and the toponymic density. A third factor that may have influenced the toponymic density is human error. Although it is not possible to conduct a statistically relevant study due to the relatively small numbers of the database, it seems possible to observe a certain correlation between the toponymic density and the group of local technicians and informants involved in the survey operation of each map. It should be remembered that one or two census surveyors sign the documents for each map, sometimes accompanied by an assistant, and a municipal informant. Between 1815 and 1816 the Comelico valley has been surveyed by 20 cadastral surveyors, 9 assistants, and 21 municipal indicators. A study on these figures is still in progress, but it is not difficult to think that a more or less scrupulous surveyor, or a more or less experienced informant may have influenced the quality of the toponymy collection.

The language

In a Ladin-speaking valley, the linguistic aspect of toponymy is crucial, and must be observed bearing in mind the political and cultural context in which the cadastral survey took place. With the Peace of Presburg (26th December, 1805), the Austrian Empire renounced the Venetian provinces which remained under French domain until April 1814. It was in this period that the cadastral survey was conceived and largely carried out. In Comelico, however, census surveyors arrived in the early years of the Lombardo-Veneto Kingdom, an Austrian domain resulting from agreements made during the Congress of Vienna in 1815. As documented for many of the officials employed in the political-administrative roles of Lombardo-Veneto (Tonetti, 1997) even the surveyors active in the valley – at least judging by their surnames – seem to come from Lombardy and to a lesser extent from the Veneto region. This fact may have influenced the methods of collecting toponyms and their transcription. On the contrary, as is obvious, the municipal informants bear local family names and are sometimes well-known figures in the history of the valley.

There are no studies on the language spoken in Comelico in the 19th century, however, it can be hypothesized that the situation was not very different from what could be observed in the first half of the 20th century: in addition to the native Ladin dialect, the inhabitants of the Comelico valley spoke a kind of Alpine-Venetian *koinè* that was used with outsiders. It can be imagined that, unlike the Bergamo informant of the topographer of the Italian Geographic Military Institute cited by Franco Farinelli, the municipal indicators recruited in Comelico for this purpose were concerned with transmitting to the cadastral surveyor the toponyms already transposed into the dominant language. This would explain the fact that the Venetianization and Italianization of Ladin toponyms mostly seems to be a conscious "translation", at least where the meaning of the toponym was (or seemed to be) transparent to the informant. Some examples, which can be reconstructed based on a comparison with the still living Ladin toponymy, collected by local informants (see below): *Davoi Predi> Drio Prese,* but also *Dietro Prese; Murtidi> Mortise; Li Vari> Alle Avare; Cutarné> Contornà; Tresaga> Transacqua; Prabechin> Pra Becchino.*

In other cases, the toponym is transcribed as it sounds. This is the case, for example, of a family of toponyms that have as root *sta- / sto-*, probably resulting from the Latin term *stabulum*. In this case, the result is a phonetic transcription of the dialectal form. During normalization for cartographic purposes, some doubtful cases arose which could only be solved by knowing the local language. An example is the toponym (no longer in use) *Casa vecchia* [old house, in Italian], presumably translated from the Ladin *céda vecia* [old house, in Ladin]. Knowing that the sonorous c is always transcribed with the syntagm ch, it can be concluded that the adjacent toponym *Chieda vecchia* is in all likelihood a variant, transliterated rather than translated. In this case we have opted for the form that most respects the local language.

Recurrent toponyms

Toponyms are known to be synthetic descriptors of the historical landscape, the elements of which inspired the naming process. The HGIS allows us to spatially locate them and to recognize possible recurrences not only in the name but also in the localization. A significant example is that of the toponyms derived from the Latin term *stabulum*, mentioned above. Their spatial distribution seems to follow a pattern, lining up along two or three different altitudes on the sunny slopes (Figure 6). This distribution could be related to the origins of the human settlements in Comelico, not fully clarified in their dynamics to date. Similarly, it is interesting to observe the recurrence of the toponym Mas (from Latin *mansum*) which is also linked to the ownership and management of the land and therefore to the human settlement.
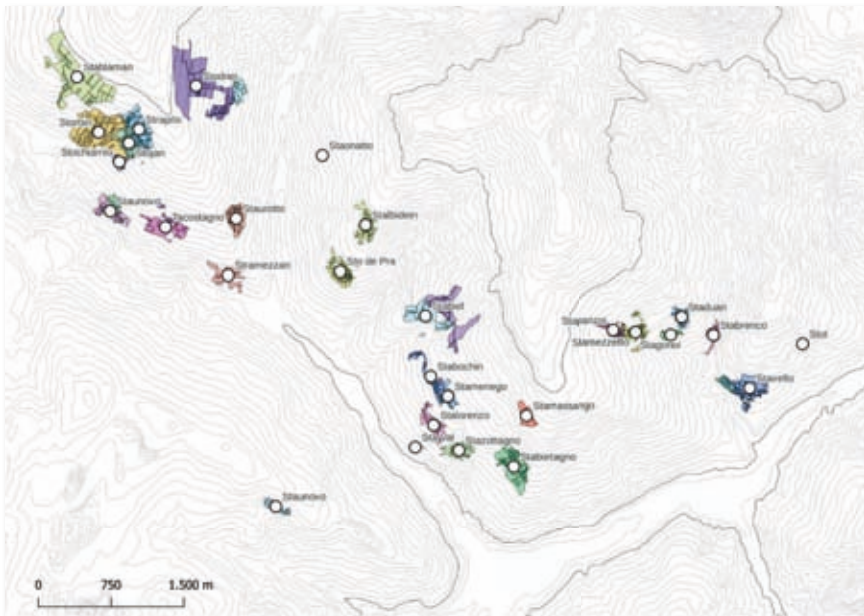

Figure 6. The toponyms presumably derived from the Latin stabulum (stable), perhaps to be related to the first permanent settlements in the Comelico valley. The contour lines of 900 m and 1600 m a.s.l. are highlighted, marking respectively the bottom of the valley and the top of the permanently inhabited area.

The HGIS and the present-day toponymy

The previous examples bring us to the comparison between the Napoleonic toponymy and the current toponymy.

To compare the historical toponymic heritage recorded by the Napoleonic cadastre and the one currently alive, two comparisons are necessary, one of a spatial type and one of a linguistic type. On the spatial level, the comparison takes place – as is obvious – by identical or close placement; this verification, however, presupposes another level of analysis, which involves a sort of reversal of the Italianization of Ladin toponyms conducted by land surveyors or their informants at the time of the Napoleonic cadastre. In other words, it is necessary to hypothesize which Ladin form each Italianized form of the land registry could correspond to. Since Italianization and Venetianization follow unwritten rules well known by the speakers (and therefore also by some members of the research group), in the case of the current maps it was easy to verify the correspondence between the Italianized and Ladin forms shown on the map.

Where the current maps were not available (Figure 2), the researcher followed what was an experimental approach with the 2005 map of San Nicolò, that is to submit the Italianized toponym or a hypothetical transliteration or translation into Ladin to the current informants: this is a "reminder" for informants who "recognize" the toponym and place it spatially without the aid of the historical map. In essence, it is a reversal, conducted with the help of informants, that gives back to the inhabitants the toponymy in their Ladin language.

The comparison

Having made this necessary premise, it is appropriate first to highlight the extraordinary survival of historical Ladin toponymy, either still in use, or at least still remembered by the informants. There are very few toponyms (about a dozen in the whole valley) registered in the Napoleonic cadastre that are not reflected in the recent toponymic maps or lists, or that have not been recognized by the informants. Overall, we do not observe a marked toponymic erosion, such as that observed in other Alpine and pre-Alpine areas.

The situation is different if we look at the toponyms recorded in recent years that are not registered in the census documentation. First, it is necessary to distinguish between permanently inhabited areas, where we have observed the greatest concentration of Napoleonic toponymy, and those of high pastures, where Napoleonic toponymy thins out. In the inhabited area the toponyms reported by the informants that are not recorded by the cadastre are relatively few and depend very much on each single informant. They are mostly names of single landscape elements known by informants who, due to their activity (hunters, breeders, shepherds) have a truly widespread knowledge of the territory. Some examples in Figure 7: *Crepo Platél; Pieze Doi; Costa d Val da Rodal Pala di Pezediés*, refer respectively to rock outcrops, clearings, slopes, steep slopes. Some other examples (which, according to the informants, we defined as ".ephemeral") are linked to the owner of a single land parcel, to a fact that occurred in living memory or to the sphere of a family group and seem not destined to be used for any length of time:

in the same figure, *Pra di Clere* probably refers to the Eicher Clere family who owns land there.

Figure 7. Comparison between Napoleonic toponymy (blue and red) and living toponymy mapped by a local informant (Amedeo De Bernardin Gaina) in 2019, in the permanently inhabited area.

In the summer pasture areas, where Piergiorgio Cesco Frare conducted a specific field survey in the 1990s, the situation is reversed. In this case the toponyms reported by the informants, all elderly shepherds with many years frequenting widespread areas of summer pastures, clearly prevail over the toponyms recorded in the cadastre. The pastures of Dignàs and Ciampobón, depicted in Figure 8 are examples. The informants report a very high number of toponyms, some ephemeral, others linked to specific landscape elements, but mostly referring to small areas (Sacùl, Cianbon, Intra i Giai, etc.).

We focus on the case of *Cianbón* (or *Ciampobón*), a pasture with a double hut. This toponym does not appear in the register, even if the pasture near the hut clearly coincides with parcel 82 of the Napoleonic map. It must be said that both the hut of Dignas and that of Ciampobon were built around the middle of the 19th century, therefore they do not appear in the cadastre. The register attributes the same toponym to all the parcels of the area, namely "Dignàs", which today refers only to the westernmost pasture. Even the map shows only the toponym *Forcella Dignas*, located on the border with Austria.

The only reference to the current name of Ciampobon hut is the hydronym *Rio detto di Campo Bon*. This suggests that the toponym, as well as the

Figure 8. Comparison between Napoleonic toponymy (blue and red) and toponymy mapped in the high pasture area by P. Cesco Frare on the basis of information from old herders in the 1990s.

corresponding pasture, already existed at the beginning of the 19th century, but it was not recorded in the register. Failure to attribute a toponym to parcel 82 may be due to imprecision of the informant, or to the inattention of the surveyor, or even to the absence of human settlement at that time. The construction of the two huts could later have specified the areas of the two toponyms Dignas and Ciampobon, the first today attributed to the western hut, but also to the pasture up to the saddle, the latter now attributed to the easternmost hut and to the surrounding pasture.

HGIS as a meeting point

The desire of the author, shared with the participants in the drafting of the Comelico Micro-Toponymy Atlas, was to respect the toponymic stratification reconstructed through the collection of toponyms and documented in the HGIS. For this purpose, it was decided to include in the Atlas the following layers:
1) As the main layer, the living Ladin toponyms collected from previous research and informants.
2) In the areas not covered by previous toponymic collections: living Ladin toponyms, collected by new informants with the help of Napoleonic cadastre.
3) Italianized Napoleonic toponyms (micro-toponyms, hydronyms and odonyms)

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coming from the Napoleonic map and the Napoleonic register.

The points of layers 1 and 2 are connected to sound files in which the informants pronounce the toponym in the local language, in order to better render the specific sounds (obscured vowels, aspirated consonants, etc.) that are lost with the transcription rules in force today.

The HGIS is open to further contributions. For example, the digitization of the toponyms present in subsequent maps is already underway: the so-called Austrian and Austro-Italian maps, the maps of the Italian Geographic Military Institute, the Ceased Cadastre. Moreover, the examination of other archival sources prior to the 19th century cadastre in some sample areas will allow us to deepen the linguistic and geographical history of recurrent toponyms related to the human settlement in the area (Cesco Frare, 2001). Each of these sources will constitute a new layer of the HGIS, which is therefore confirmed as a particularly suitable tool for collecting and conserving, for comparison purposes, the historical and current toponymic heritage.

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