

Onoma 58

Journal of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences

ISSN: 0078-463X; e-ISSN: 1783-1644

Journal homepage: <https://onomajournal.org/>

Austrian toponymic policy in the late 18th to early 20th century cartography of Galicia and Bukovina

Wojciech Włoskowitz*

Institute of the Polish Language, Polish Academy of Sciences, Kraków, Poland

To cite this article: Włoskowitz, Wojciech. 2023. Austrian toponymic policy in the late 18th to early 20th century cartography of Galicia and Bukovina. *Onoma* 58, 177–198. DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.58/2023/10

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.34158/ONOMA.58/2023/10>

© *Onoma* and the author.

Article history

Received on 18 June 2023.

Final form accepted on 28 December 2023.

Published online on 29 December 2023.

Austrian toponymic policy in the late 18th to early 20th century cartography of Galicia and Bukovina

Abstract: The aim of the paper is to partially reconstruct and outline the Habsburg toponymic policy in the late 18th to early 20th century cartography of Galicia [Galicja, Galyčyna] and Bukovina [Bucovina, Bukovyna]. This is done by means of analysis of samples of toponyms extracted from the maps of (selected parts of) Galicia and Bukovina: the First and the Third Survey of Austria(-Hungary) as well as the Spezialkarte. Attention is paid mainly to the eastern part of Galicia and to Bukovina in order to highlight the cartographic relations between Ruthenian (Ukrainian) and Polish toponym forms. The discussion of the toponymic policy within the Third Survey is based on the analysis of survey manuals of 1875, 1887, and 1903. The empirical findings are preceded by a brief discussion of theoretical issues. An outline of the concepts of

* Contact: Institute of the Polish Language, Polish Academy of Sciences, al. Mickiewicza 31, 31-120 Kraków, Poland; e-mail: wloskowitz@gmail.com.

toponymic usus, norm/standard, and codification is made. The main elements of the theory of name and naming policy are presented.

Keywords: Name policy, cartography, toponym, Galicia, Bukovina, map.

La politique toponymique autrichienne en la cartographie de la Galicie et de la Boucovine à partir de la fin du XVIIIe jusqu'au début du XXe siècle

Résumé : Le présent article a comme le but une reconstruction partielle de l'aperçu de la politique toponymique des Habsbourgs en la cartographie de la Galicie [Galicja, Galyčyna] et de la Boucovine [Bucovina, Bukovyna] à partir de la fin du XVIIIe jusqu'au début du XXe siècle. La réalisation de ce défi a été basée sur l'analyse des toponymes choisis des cartes (des certaines régions) de la Galicie et de la Boucovine. Ces cartes sont telles que: le Première et le Troisième Relevé Topographique de l'Autriche(-Hongrie) ainsi que la Spezialkarte. La Galicie orientale et la Boucovine ont jouées ici un rôle prédominant pour souligner les rapports cartographiques entre les formes toponymiques ruthènes (ukrainiennes) et polonaises. La présentation de la politique toponymique en cadre de la Troisième Relevé est basée sur l'analyse des instructions topographiques portant les dates 1875, 1887 et 1903. Les constatations empiriques ont été précédées par la présentation concise des problèmes théoriques. Il était présenté un concept de l'usage toponymique, de la norme/standard linguistique ainsi que de la codification. Ils étaient également présentés les plus importants éléments de la théorie concernant la politique toponymique.

Mots-clés : Politique toponymique, cartographie, toponyme, Galicie, Boucovine, carte.

Österreichs Ortsnamenpolitik in der Kartographie von Galizien und der Bukowina vom Ende des 18. bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts

Zusammenfassung: Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es, die habsburgische Ortsnamenpolitik in der Kartographie von Galizien [Galicja, Galyčyna] und der Bukowina [Bucovina, Bukovyna] vom Ende des 18. bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts teilweise zu rekonstruieren und zu umreißen. Das erfolgt durch die Analyse einer Stichprobe von geographischen Namen, die Karten einiger Teile von Galizien und der Bukowina entnommen wurde: Blättern der Ersten und der Dritten Landesaufnahme von Österreich(-Ungarn) und der Spezialkarte. Der Fokus richtet sich auf die östlichen Teile Galiziens und auf die Bukowina, um das Verhältnis zwischen polnischen und ukrainischen Namensformen zu beleuchten. Die Ortsnamenpolitik der Dritten Landesaufnahme wird anhand ihrer Instruktionen aus den Jahren 1875, 1887 und 1903 dargestellt. Die empirischen Erkenntnisse werden von einer kurzen Besprechung theoretischer Fragen begleitet. Die Begriffe Ortsnamengebrauch, Standard/Norm, Kodifizierung werden kurz umrissen. Auch die Hauptelemente der Theorie von Namen und Namengebung werden dargestellt.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Ortsnamenpolitik, Kartographie, Toponym, Galizien, Bukowina, Karte.

1. Introduction¹

Galicia [Galicja, Galyčyna] (in German: *Galizien*; officially: *Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien*, ‘Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria’) was a Habsburg crownland established in 1772 after the First Partition of Poland. At the moment of its creation, it was a completely novel political and territorial entity comprising territories of different separate medieval provinces and states, i.e., Lesser Poland (*Polonia Minor*), Red Ruthenia (*Ruthenia Rubra*), Principality/Kingdom of Halych and Volhynia (*Ducatus Galiciae et Volhyniae/Regnum Galiciae et Lodomeriae*). As a newly created political entity Galicia only partially corresponded with the former medieval *Regnum Galiciae et Lodomeriae*. Nevertheless, the name was re-used by the Habsburg diplomacy in the second half of the 18th century in order to legitimize the territorial gain as resulting from the claims of the Hungarian Crown. (Since the 13th century the kings of Hungary used the title *Rex Galiciae et Lodomeriae*, which was derived from the short reign of the Hungarian King Coloman of Halych.) The territory of Bukovina was annexed by the Habsburg Empire in 1775 and remained a military district until 1786 when it was incorporated into the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria as a new district. Finally, in 1849, Bukovina was turned into a separate Cisleithanian crownland as the *Duchy of Bukovina* (see [Figure 1](#)).

A notable phenomenon is the difference in the way the Habsburg Kingdom of Galicia is perceived in the modern popular Polish and Ukrainian discourses. It seems that while the crownland is seen by many Poles as a very important and in many respects formative but still an alien chapter in the history of Poland, Ukrainians often underline the link between the medieval Principality of Halych and the Habsburg *Galizien*. The generalised Polish and Ukrainian mind maps are considerably different: while *Galicja* (Polish for Galicia) stands mainly for the Habsburg crownland, reign, territorial unit, and their multidimensional cultural heritage in what is the south-eastern part of present Poland, *Галичина* (Ukrainian for Galicia) underlines the existence of the medieval principality as one of the political ancestors of the present Ukrainian statehood, a medieval principality that to a certain extent found its continuation and expression in the Habsburg political entity existing from 1772 to 1918.

Almost one and a half century of Galicia’s political existence is characterised by several, in many respects considerably different, periods in the Viennese court’s policy towards the relatively vast crownland on the other side of the

¹ The author has received funding from the National Science Centre, Poland [Narodowe Centrum Nauki] in the Sonatina 2 funding scheme, application no. 2018/28/C/HS2/00319, project title: “Semantics and pragmatics of proper names. The onomastic definition of proper name and the theory and practice of naming policy.”

Carpathians. In a nutshell: Immediately after the annexation the newly gained territory was a kind of terra incognita. The old-fashioned and ineffective traditional Polish administration had to be replaced by the modern structures typical for the enlightened absolutism of Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph II. In the face of a lack of qualified German personnel able to cope with a new Slavic territory, the Habsburg authorities had to move some Bohemian civil servants to work in Galicia. The first half of the 19th century was characterised by unwillingness to recognize the political, national, linguistic, and ethnic individuality of the province. Changes came after the Springtime of the Peoples (1848) and especially after the reforms of the late 1860s when Galicia gained autonomy with a strong political position of Poles and the Polish language in public service (partially at the expense of Ukrainians and the Ukrainian language).

A special ethnic, linguistic, religious, as well as general West- and East-Slavic duality of the crownland was one of its main properties and was a direct remain of the long coexistence and neighbourhood of West-Slavic (Polish) Polonia Minor and East-Slavic (Ruthenian/Ukrainian) Ruthenia Rubra. Generally speaking, the western part of Galicia was inhabited by a Polish, Polish-speaking, Roman-Catholic majority while the eastern part was populated by a vast majority of Ruthenians (since the second half of the 19th century referred to as Ukrainians) speaking dialects of the (then still emerging standard) Ukrainian language and belonging to the Greek Catholic Church (being a descendant of the Ruthenian Uniate Church established by the Union of Brest). To put it simply: Galicia was the place where Roman and Greek heritage, Rome and Byzantium, Catholicism and Orthodoxy met each other.

The aim of this paper is to reconstruct and outline the Habsburg toponymic policy based on the late 18th to the early 20th century cartography of Galicia. This is done by means of analysis of samples of toponyms extracted from the maps of (selected parts of) Galicia and Bukovina made by the Habsburg military surveys and cartographic services within the First and the Third Survey of Austria(-Hungary). Attention is paid mainly to the eastern part of Galicia and to Bukovina so that the cartographic relations between Ruthenian (Ukrainian) and Polish toponym forms may be highlighted. In the second half of the 19th century the Polish language gained a dominating position over the Ukrainian language. In this context it is worth analysing to what extent this tendency was reflected in the Austrian toponymic policy on maps.

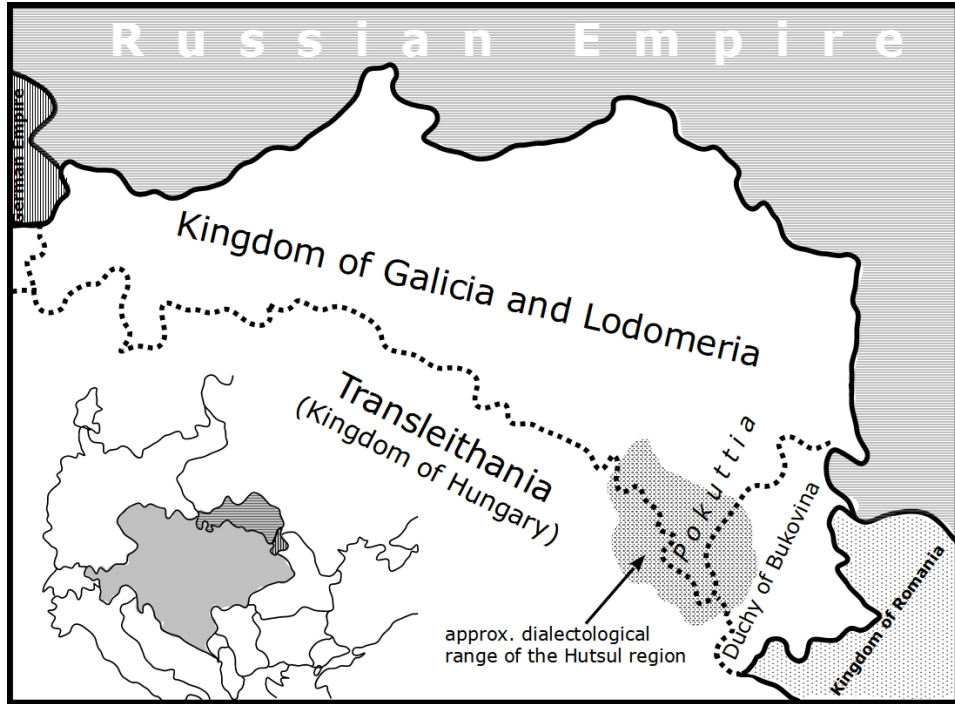


Figure 1: Territories in focus within Austria-Hungary (1914). (Source: author's own draft.)

2. Toponymic policy as a subtype of name and naming policy

Every name and naming policy² is a plan comprising goals and means of achieving them either in respect to names or by giving and using names. In other words, proper names themselves may be the very aim and goal of a name and naming policy or only a means of achieving other pragmatic goals and perlocutionary effects. It is mainly geographical names that have been traditionally used for purposes of politics and policies and have been legally governed by them. Therefore, toponymic policy may be perceived as a prototypical category within a broader category of name and naming policies.

Every state-run name and naming policy has its formal and pragmatic or perlocutionary aspects, which are often combined with language policy. In the case of a toponymic policy the formal aspects may be mainly about using toponym forms compliant with the phonetic, phonological or lexical principles of the state's official language or simply about using this language's exonyms for features located within a given country albeit outside the area, where the state's official language is commonly used. The pragmatic or perlocutionary aspects are about what is meant to be achieved by giving, using or promoting

² The concept covers both using names and giving/imposing them, hence the binominal expression *name and naming policy*.

a specific name form. Usually, the formal aspects of a policy are determined by the pragmatic ones, e.g., promoting toponymy in a state's official language may be an important instrument of manifesting territorial claims or gains. And it is cartography that makes an extremely efficient tool in this respect.

3. Cartography as a tool of moulding name usage and assessment

Maps are probably the most powerful tool of toponymy codification and standardization. Moreover, cartography is often the most convenient instrument of making people use name forms preferred by a policy maker. And making people use the desired names is often a good way of making them perceive the named features themselves in the way that is in various respects advantageous for a policy maker. In addition, putting a specific name form on a publicly and commonly available maps is usually an effective means of building the societal acceptance for this form or, in other words, the way of making people perceive the name as correct.

Therefore, it is advisable to take a closer look at the role cartography and maps play within the constellation of both linguistic phenomena and theoretical abstractions such as: toponymic usus, toponymic standard, and toponymic codification. In addition, it is necessary to consider the place of maps among different types of codification.

In the Polish linguistic theory of language correctness, the language usus is defined as a habit of using specific language forms (cf., e.g., [Markowski 2009: 21](#)). Such a societal habit of using specific forms establishes a set of language elements that are used commonly and on regular basis by the majority of language users. Therefore, the (individual or collective) "*toponymic usus* is a set of geographical names (or their variants) a single language user or a group of language users use consistently and repeatedly in texts they produce" ([Włoskowiec 2019: 296](#)). Of course, this regular use of specific toponymic forms may be made by language users either fully automatically (i.e., with no special consideration) or due to the fact that the used name variant is considered correct (by the speaking individual, his/her milieu or by the society in general) or due to the fact that the used variant is endorsed by its presence in dictionaries, encyclopaedias or maps (i.e., in documents of toponymic codification).

The language norm is, generally speaking, a narrower category than language usus because not everything that is commonly used is commonly accepted as 'correct'. In general linguistics it is an important theoretical issue to clearly define by whom language elements need to be perceived as correct in order to be counted to the norm. In Polish linguistics it was traditionally the educated class (more or less the intelligentsia) that was believed to be the right decision-maker in this regard. However, geographical names do not behave like general expressions and appellative elements of language when it comes

to their social distribution among speakers of a given language. There are many toponyms (especially names of minor features) that are known, used and therefore assessed only by small local communicative communities.³ Nevertheless, even a minor feature may become a subject of general interest of supra-local communities or even of a whole nation. And this stratification of communities needs to be taken into account when defining toponymic norm. Therefore: “The toponymic norm of a given language may be defined as a set of geographical names that are perceived as correct or at least acceptable by all communicative communities of that language. Of course, in most cases geographical names in a given language belong to the toponymic norm of that language (unless it is characterised by a great dialectal diversity and a limited use of standard language in everyday use)” (Włoskowitz 2019: 298).

Finally, the general language codification is traditionally defined as “a complex of actions aimed at sustaining the specific character and integrity of national language, at elimination of elements that disturb the language’s internal harmony and balance, as well as at promoting these elements which are especially effective from the communicative point of view and constitute a response to social needs” (Buttler 1985: 14, translated into English and quoted in Włoskowitz 2019: 298).

Societal acceptance for specific language elements changes over time. Sometimes this process may be very dynamic. The codification is then a static picture (a photo) of the norm/standard in a given moment. In the case of appellative language elements, the codification takes the form of dictionaries and grammar books. In the case of geographical names, however, the classification of possible types and documents of toponymic codification is a bit more complex and comprises: (1) official codification (legal acts establishing or changing geographical names issued by authorities), (2) linguistic codification (e.g., general dictionaries containing geographical names), (3) textual codification (the presence/use of a given toponym form in texts considered prestigious or correct per se, e.g., in an encyclopaedia, a geography textbook, scientific publication or in a gazetteer, the latter being both a document of official and textual codification), (4) cartographic codification (i.e., the presence of a given toponym form on a map; cartographic codification is a special instance of textual codification because a map is nothing but a polysemiotic text) (Włoskowitz 2019: 302–303).

Cartography as a special subtype of toponymic codification has influence on all mentioned spheres. It influences what is commonly used (toponymic usus) because many members of supra-local communities simply learn toponyms from a map and not from communication with local communities. It influences

³ The concept of communicative community and stratification of communicative communities are understood here as proposed by Zabrocki (1968) in what could be referred to as “spatial sociology of geographical names.” For a brief discussion in English see Włoskowitz (2019: 294–295).

the toponymic norm, because a map is often considered a reliable source of toponymic knowledge; it may be assumed that many people believe that a map, especially a state-made topographic map, cannot be wrong. Finally, cartographic codification influences other types of codification: what appears (= gets codified) on maps is later fixed in dictionaries or official toponym inventories.

Therefore, to have control over toponymy present on maps means to possess a convenient tool of moulding societal usage and acceptance of specific toponymic forms.

4. The Habsburg cartography of Galicia and its meaning for the cartographies of Austria-Hungary's successor states

The history of the Habsburg cartography of Galicia has been well discussed in the literature focused either on great Habsburg surveying projects of the whole Empire in general (e.g., Hofstätter 1989) or on the cartography of Galicia itself (e.g., Konias 2000; Faluszczak 2011; Bukowski & Janeczek 2013). A detailed discussion of the history of topographic cartography of the Bojko region of Galicia is provided in Wolski (2016).

The Habsburg empire was the first state to conduct a large-scale modern surveying project of the territories of the former Lesser Poland and Red Ruthenia (Wolski 2016: 108). The works started almost immediately after the annexation of the territories and were executed as a “module” within the whole Josephinian Land Survey (the First Military Survey, Josephinische Landesaufnahme, 1763–1785) of the Habsburg states. The survey of Galicia was done in the years 1779–1783 and was initially led by lieutenant colonel Friedrich von Mieg, which is why the Josephinian Land Survey of Galicia is traditionally referred to in the Polish literature as *mapa Miega* (‘the Mieg Map’). The Mieg Map comprised 413 sheets (every sheet in three copies: the one drawn in field, the final fair drawing and the copy thereof). The maps resulting from the First Survey of Galicia were kept secret (Bukowski & Janeczek 2013: 91–93).

The next great Habsburg surveying project of the whole Empire was the Franciscan Land Survey (the Second Survey, Franziszeische Landesaufnahme, 1806–1869). The provinces of Galicia and Bukovina were surveyed in the years 1861–1864 (Timár et al. 2006: 6). However, the materials of the survey served as a basis for only one map at the scale 1:288,000 (Faluszczak 2011: 56) and are not analysed hereinafter.

The undoubtedly most important surveying project of the Habsburg empire was the Francisco-Josephinian Land Survey (the Third Survey, Franzisco-Josephinische Landesaufnahme, 1869–1887) and the Spezialkarte map (1:75,000) based on it. According to Hofstätter (1989: 126–134), the field surveying works were conducted in Galicia in the years 1874–1876.

The maps and survey materials produced by the Habsburg military (In the several last decades of the Empire's existence it was the Viennese k.u.k. Militärgeographisches Institut that was responsible for these works.) served as the starting point for the surveying and map-making services of Austria-Hungary's successor states. The volume of this cartographical legacy was enormous: "Aus österreichisch-ungarischer Produktion lagen 1918 für später polnisches Gebiet [...] 389 Aufnahmesektionen im Maßstab 1:25.000 (1892–1908 berichtet), 107 Blätter der 'Spezialkarte' 1:75.000 (1888–1917 revidiert), 55 Blätter der 'Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa' 1:200.000 und 11 Blätter der 'Übersichtskarte von Mitteleuropa' 1:750.000 in der Abbildung nach Bonne vor" (Jordan 2014: 60).⁴

Hence, the Austrian toponymic policy in the cartography of Galicia or, putting it simply, the decision whether to use vernacular toponym forms or Germanized (or in other way linguistically modified and adapted) toponyms had an important influence on the further usability of the toponymy of Austro-Hungarian maps, i.e., for the Polish state map service (i.e., Military Geographical Institute in Warsaw [Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny]).

5. Reconstructing the policy: Toponymy of the First Survey of Galicia

Name and naming policies may be classified among others according to whether they are officially and explicitly articulated before being executed or are not described in any such antecedent documents (respectively overt or covert policies). This dichotomy corresponds to a certain extent with the distinction between prescriptive and customary policies. The former policies impose some characteristics of names in advance while the latter are mainly aimed at following the already existent patterns. If there are no explicit documents defining a name and naming policy before it is executed, some principles of such covert policy may be always inferred from the final results of such a policy, i.e., from the properties of the names established or used, which is the case with the toponymy of the First Survey of Galicia (Mieg Map).

The findings outlined briefly hereinafter are a part of a much more detailed analysis of linguistic properties of the toponymy of the Hutsul region (see Figure 1) present on the Mieg Map. The study was prepared for the Volume 14 of the printed Edition of the First Survey of Galicia⁵ which is planned to be

⁴ "In 1918 among the Austro-Hungarian cartographic works the following were available for the later Polish territory: 389 survey sections at the scale 1:25,000 (corrected in the years 1892–1908), 107 sheets of the 'Spezialkarte' 1:75,000 (updated 1888–1917), 55 sheets of the 'Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa' 1:200,000 and 11 sheets of the 'Übersichtskarte von Mitteleuropa' 1:750,000 in the Bonne projection" (Jordan 2014: 60, translated by the author).

⁵ Topographic map of Galicia (1779–1783) from War Archives in Vienna. Editorial project, www.iaepan.vot.pl/galicja/index-en.html (accessed 2023-02-28).

published soon. The excerpt covered the source sheets (i.e., the ones drawn in field) no. 224, 225, 248–250, 274–281, 307–312 as well as 334 and 335.

Generally speaking, the toponymy of the Hutsul region (see [Figure 1](#)) present on the Mieg Map was fixed with Polish orthography and contains relatively few examples of names noted down with German spelling, e.g., [ai] written as *ei* – *Raseilowec Bach* (on Sheet 249), [š ≈ ʃ] as *sch* – *Staupesch* (224), *von Jaschin* (225), [č ≈ tʃ] as *tsch* – *Jerčzitschnj bach* (249). Most examples of the German spelling are about the sound [c ≈ ts] being written down as *z* or *tz*: e.g., *Tarniza* (250), *zu Jabloniza* (277). An interesting case are the instances of a doubled letter standing for a consonant, which may indicate that the preceding vowel was interpreted by a speaker of German as a short one: *Wattahowa Chleba* (274), *Wolowi pottiyk* (277), *Zokollowa* (280), *Piffenÿ Kamen* (309). Nevertheless, in most names the sounds [š], [č], [c] are written down in Polish orthography as *sz*, *cz* and *c*. Finally, on the analysed sheets there are no examples of Hungarian orthography (mainly [č] written down as *cs*), which sometimes emerge on later Austrian (or Austro-Hungarian) maps of Galicia dating from the 19th century.

As far as strictly linguistic properties of toponyms are considered, the Mieg Map of the Hutsul region is the most ‘Hutsul’ and the most ‘Ukrainian’ among the region’s maps produced by the Habsburg empire. The toponymy of the First Survey comprises clear examples of Hutsul dialectal pronunciation (as opposed to later standard Ukrainian forms). One of the characteristics of the Hutsul dialect is the change of the palatalised [tʲ] and [dʲ] respectively into [kʲ] and [gʲ]. This Hutsul phonetic phenomenon is fixed down, e.g., in the names *Domengyil b* (307), *Czernÿ Giu b.* (309). There are also some other instances clearly containing traces of Ukrainian pronunciation: *Homnikiu* (250), *Hrencziu* (274), *Czepeliu* (275), *Stÿ Homnikiu* (276), *Czerheniuka* (334). The final segments *-iu* and *-iuka* manifest both the presence of (in the late 18th century still expanding) Ukrainian phonological phenomenon of ikavism (which is about the shift *o > i* in new closed syllables, to put it in a much simplified way) and the specific Ukrainian pronunciation of [u̯] (the sound produced at this location in the Polish pronunciation would be rather noted down with the letter *w*).

The outlined examples of the Hutsul and/or Ukrainian pronunciation fixed in the toponymy of the Mieg Map allow for the assumption that a considerable part of the toponymy of the First Survey of the Hutsul region was collected and fixed in direct interviews made by the surveyors with the local inhabitants and it is the vernacular language form of toponyms that was in many cases fixed on the survey sheets. This finding is additionally backed by the authenticity of some toponyms, especially when compared with distorted forms present on later maps. A good example is the oikonym *Prokurawa* (as fixed on the materials of the Second and Third Survey, on the *Spezialkarte* and on later interwar-Polish maps), which, according to [Hrabec \(1950: 24, 193, 226–227\)](#), may be correctly etymologized only in the light of the local vernacular dialectal Hutsul form *Pekur^leva* (still vivid in the 1930s) as coming

from the Vlach/Romanian word *păcura* ‘earth wax, ozokerite; petroleum, crude oil.’ In this respect it needs to be underlined that the sheet 308 of the Mieg Map contains the discussed oikonym in its authentic form as *Pekurawe*. The later distortion was a result of the attraction of the Latin word *procura*, which, however, had nothing to do with the real etymology of the name.

The findings discussed so far are related to the sheets of the Mieg Map covering the Hutsul region of Galicia. To provide a more general picture it is, however, necessary to take at least a glance at the toponymy of sheets from other parts of the crownland where slightly more numerous instances of Germanized toponym forms are to be found. In the western part of Galicia, e.g., Polish language toponyms were fixed with German orthography, sometimes in a distorted form: *Gortz B* (nowadays: *Gorc*, ‘a mountain’), *Ober Hodenicza* (*Ochotnica Górna*), *Ohotnitza* (*Ochotnica*), *Schorstein* (*Czorsztyn*; note that the Polish oikonym *Czorsztyn* comes actually from the German appellative *Schornstein* meaning ‘chimney’), *Schlachtowa* (*Szlachtowa*). On the other hand, there are examples of names fixing authentic vernacular language properties of names, some including even typical Polish diacritics: *Ustriky*, *Przemysl*, *Tęczyn* (note the letter *ę* in the spelling).

The toponymic policy of the First Survey of Galicia needs to be classified as a covert one for the reason that there were no (or at least there are not any known) documents that would prescribe the way the toponymy had to be fixed by surveyors or that would define the desired properties of this toponymy. Hence, the policy may be reconstructed from its final results. A general willingness to fix toponyms in their locally used forms may be observed. However, examples of interferences of the Polish language are numerous in the areas where dialects of the Ukrainian language were spoken by the majority of the population. Toponyms were not Germanized on any regular basis, albeit a considerable number of instances of German orthographic influence are to be found. One could say, therefore, the policy was of somewhat indifferent nature: the documentation of toponymy followed either the vernacular spoken form or the (generally Polish) orthography of toponyms but inconsistencies and possible instances of the German orthography were accepted. On the other hand, it may be definitely stated that there was a pragmatic and practical tendency for fixing the local forms for communicative purposes and no tendency to Germanize names is to be observed.

6. Mid-19th century voices on the Austrian toponymic policy

The policy of non-Germanizing geographical names of Galicia was continued in the 19th century. At this stage the policy was still, so to say, decentralized in the sense that it seems to have been shaped by beliefs, opinions, and actions of many individuals having different access and involvement to/in the structures of political and administrative power. So, it was still a rather covert

name and naming policy, though not a kind of hidden agenda anymore because it was articulated by interested and involved individuals. In this respect a set of very interesting documents are the minutes of the assembly of the Austrian Imperial Royal Geographical Society of 17 February 1857 published in the first volume (1. Jahrgang, 1. Heft) of the *Mittheilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft*. During the assembly the k. k. Ministerial-Secretär [Dr. A. Beck \(1857: 100–105\)](#) gave an almost fiery speech on the urgent need to prepare a topographic lexicon of the Austrian Monarchy. Having already said what took more than two pages of small font print in the *Mittheilungen*, [Beck](#) proceeded to the following statement:

Um jedoch die geehrte Versammlung nicht zu ermüden, will ich in eine ausführliche Darstellung der Nothwendigkeit eines solchen Behelfes vom praktischen Gesichtspunkte aus nicht eingehen, mir dagegen erlauben, das Interesse in nähere Betrachtung zu ziehen, welches eine Zusammenstellung blosser Ortsnamen mit einigem topographischen Detail vom rein wissenschaftlichen Standpunkte zu gewähren vermag. In dieser Hinsicht darf ich nicht unbemerkt lassen, dass eine solche Zusammenstellung, vorausgesetzt, dass sie correct und vollständig wäre, für alle historischen, geographischen und statistischen Arbeiten ein wesentliches Förderungsmittel bilden [...] müsste. [...] Ferner ist Niemanden in der geehrten Versammlung unbekannt, dass in der neuesten Zeit die Ortsnamen ein specieller Gegenstand historisch-ethnographischer Studien geworden sind, und das Dunkel jener Jahrhunderte, in welche geschriebene Denkmale nicht hinaufreichen, fast nur durch scharfsinnige Deutung der ältesten Ortsnamen bis zu einem gewissen Grade aufgehellt werden kann. Für die Frage, ob die Ureinwohner gewisser Länder Europa's dem celtischen, germanischen, slavischen oder noch einem andern Volksstamme angehörten, ist die Kenntniss aller topographischen Bezeichnungen von entscheidender Wichtigkeit und die Ortsnamen sind die Kerntruppen, mit welchen die gelehrten Schlachten auf diesem Felde geschlagen werden. Wie ist es aber möglich, sich hier vor Täuschungen sicher zu stellen, wenn es noch mit Schwierigkeiten verbunden ist, sich eine vollständige und verlässliche Kenntniss der Ortsnamen zu verschaffen und wenn über die richtige Aussprache und Schreibart zahlreicher Ortsnamen Ungewissheit herrscht? Muss nicht jeder Versuch, aus diesen Namen historische Folgerungen zu ziehen, einseitig und bedenklich bleiben, so lange das Material hiezu nicht vollständig und correct vorliegt? Besässen wir bereits ein topographisches Lexikon, in welchem die *Namen mit der richtigen Orthographie der Sprache, welcher sie angehören*, verzeichnet wären, so hätten alle geographischen Publicationen über Oesterreich davon Nutzen gezogen. *Dem Mangel eines topographischen Lexikons ist es zuzuschreiben, dass der Werth einer der ausgezeichnetsten Leistungen auf diesem Felde, ich meine der Karten des österreichischen Generalstabes, welche bezüglich ihrer Richtigkeit und technischen Ausführung den besten Arbeiten dieser Art gleichstehen, bezüglich der Schrift durch die uncorrecte Schreibart der slavischen Ortsbezeichnungen einigermassen vermindert wird* ([Beck 1857:](#)

102–103, italics by the author).⁶

The speech given by Beck is definitely worth quoting for several good reasons. First of all, it is one of the best praises of toponomastics made (most probably) by a non-linguist I have ever come across. Secondly, it illustrates well the relations between different types of toponymic codification outlined above, with special plea made for some kind of linguistic codification (“names with correct spelling in the language they belong to”). Finally, there is the belief expressed that Slavic toponyms need to be written on military (topographic) maps with correct orthography and the failure to meet this requirement decreases the overall quality of a map.

An answer to A. Beck’s appeal for preparation of a topographic lexicon was made by k. k. Sectionschef von Czoernig at the assembly of 21 April 1857. He drew attention to the fact that the k.k. Direction der administrativen Statistik had prepared lists of localities (*Repertoire*) already several years before. His further words are reported in the Mittheilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft the following way:

Er theilte zugleich der Versammlung zwei solche im Manuscript gedruckte Ortsrepertoire von Galizien mit Einschluss der Bukowina, dann von der croatisch-slavonischen Miliärgränze mit. Die nächste Veranlassung zu dieser

⁶ “However, in order not to tire the respectable assembly out, I would not like to elaborate on the need for such a makeshift compilation from the practical point of view and instead only venture to draw some closer attention to the interest that such a compilation of mere names of localities with some topographic details would surely arouse from purely scientific point of view. With this regard I must not let it go unnoticed that such a compilation, provided it would be correct and complete, would definitely make a substantial aid in all historical, geographical, and statistical works. Moreover, it is surely well known to everybody in this respectable assembly that names of localities have recently become a special object of historical and ethnographic studies and that the darkness of the centuries that cannot be reached through written documents may be, at least to a certain extent, illuminated with astute interpretation of the oldest place names. As far as the question is concerned whether the native inhabitants of specific European countries belonged to the Celtic, Germanic, Slavic or any other tribes, the knowledge of all topographic names is of crucial importance and names of localities constitute a kind of elite troops fighting scholarly battles in this field. However, is it possible at all to protect oneself from delusions if it is still difficult to acquire complete and reliable knowledge of names of localities and if there is still so much uncertainty about pronunciation and spelling of numerous names? Is it not so that every attempt to draw historical conclusions from these names will remain one-sided and dubious as long as there are not complete and correct materials for that? If we already had a topographic lexicon comprising names with correct spelling in the language they belong to, all geographical publications about Austria would benefit from that. It is due to the lack of a topographic lexicon that the value of one of the greatest achievements in the field – namely the maps of the Austrian General Staff that equal the best works of this kind as far as their correctness and technical quality are concerned – is to some extent decreased by incorrect spelling of Slavic names of localities” (Beck 1857: 102–103, italics and translation by the author).

Zusammenstellung der Ortsrepertoire war eine ethnographische. Es sei zwar auf der grossen ethnographischen Karte, deren seit 16 Jahren vorbereitete Herausgabe demnächst bevorsteht, möglichster Bedacht darauf genommen werden, alle jene Orte ersichtlich zu machen, welche an der Gränzscheide zweier Völkergruppen oder in gemischten, den ethnographischen Uebergang bildenden, Bezirken liegen, oder ethnographische Inseln ausmachen, wie auch in dem die Karte begleitenden Texte die Orte, durch welche die ethnographischen Gränzen laufen, insbesondere hervorgehoben worden sind. Demungeachtet erschien es zum vollständigen Abschlusses des Gegenstandes erforderlich, ein vollständiges Verzeichniss aller Ortschaften eines jeden Kronlandes [...] zu liefern [...] Auch die Orthographie wurde auf eine wissenschaftliche Grundlage gestellt, indem man *für jeden Ort die der nationalen Bezeichnung entsprechende Schreibart wählte, und nur dort, wo der Name des Ortes bereits das Bürgerrecht in der deutschen Sprache erhalten, die deutsche Schreibart annahm. Wo ein Ort in der einzelnen Landessprache verschiedene Benennungen hat (in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen hat ein Ort oft drei bis vier von einander abweichende Namen) wurden alle Namen in dem alphabetischen Verzeichnisse ersichtlich gemacht*, so wie anderseits Orte mit einem häufig vorkommenden Collectivnamen (in Böhmen z.B. kommen 304 und in Mähren 37 Orte mit dem Namen Lhotta, dann 65 Orte in Böhmen und 9 in Mähren mit dem Namen Lhotky vor) möglichst genau behufs ihrer Unterscheidung von andern ähnlich lautenden bezeichnet wurden (*von Czoernig 1857: 136, italics by the author*).⁷

Although the statements made by Beck and von Czoernig at the meetings of the Geographical Society and the quoted minutes do not constitute typical documents that would make the discussed name policy a fully overt one, they are a clear expression of the Austrian toponymic agenda that was fully declared in the perfectly overt name policy accompanying the Third Survey of Austria-Hungary.

⁷ “At the same time he informed the assembly about two printed manuscripts of inventories of localities, one covering Galicia and Lodomeria including Bukovina and the other covering the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier. The immediate reason to compile the inventories was of ethnographic nature. Indeed, on the great ethnographic map that has been being prepared for 16 years and will be published soon the most possible attention needs to be paid to making the very localities well visible that are located on a borderline of two ethnographic groups or in ethnically mixed districts constituting ethnographic transition zones or that are ethnically isolated. Additionally, in the text accompanying the map it is necessary to highlight localities divided by ethnographic borders. In spite of that, for the full completion of the task it seemed necessary to prepare a complete inventory of all localities of every crownland [...]. The spelling was based on scientific basis as well, i.e., for every locality the spelling was chosen that complies with its native name and the German spelling was used only with those names that have been already well established in the German language. If a locality bears various names in the local language of a given land (in Hungary and in Transylvania a single locality may often bear three up to five varying names), all of them were indicated in the alphabetical inventory. On the other hand, localities bearing commonly occurring collective names (e.g., in Bohemia there are 304 and in Moravia 37 localities bearing the name Lhotta as well as 65 localities in Bohemia and 9 in Moravia that bear the name Lhotky) were referred to in the most exact way in order to distinguish them from other ones bearing similar names” (*von Czoernig 1857: 136, italics and translation by the author*).

7. An overt prescriptive policy: Principles of fixing toponymy defined in the survey manuals of the Third Survey of Austria-Hungary

The Third Survey of Austria-Hungary (conducted in the years 1869–1887) served as the basis for the preparation of the numerous sheets of the Spezialkarte (1:75,000) which were elaborated in the years 1873–1889 (Faluszczak 2011: 79). Simultaneously the sheets of the Generalkarte (1:200,000) were prepared as based on the same survey. As Konias (2000: 92) points out, the main document that regulated the way surveyors did their field work was the survey manual *Instruction für die militärische Landesaufnahme (Militärmappirung), II. Theil* from 1875. The manual included many regulations concerning the way geographical names had to be collected and processed within the Survey. However, it was neither the only nor the last document that contained substantial dispositions in this matter. The manual was updated and partially replaced by several further manuals.⁸

The list of major survey manuals that moulded the Habsburg surveyors' toponymic work within the Third Survey comprises the following documents:

- *Instruction für die militärische Landesaufnahme (Militärmappirung), II. Theil* (Vienna, 1875, hereinafter referred to as IN1875);
- *Instruction für die militärische Landesaufnahme (Militär-Mappirung und Reambulierung), II. Technischer Theil* (Vienna, 1887, IN1887);
- *Instruction für die militärische Landesaufnahme, II. Technischer Theil* (2nd edition) (Vienna, 1903, IN1903).

The cartographic toponymic policy defined in the manuals constitutes a good example of a dense interlacing of pragmatic and formal aspects. The supreme principle is expressed in the oldest of the analysed manuals: “[...] eine richtige und correcte Angabe der Benennungen bleibt eines der wesentlichsten Merkmale der Güte und Verlässlichkeit einer Karte, namentlich einer Karte, die zu Kriegszwecken zu dienen hat” (IN1875: 59).⁹

The fact that this general principle was determined by practical aspects of map usefulness was additionally underlined in the declaration that: “Namen, welche in einer Gegend weit und allgemein bekannt sind, müssen als Orientierungsmittel jedenfalls aufgenommen werden” (IN1875: 91)¹⁰ which was in some way repeated in the last of the analysed manuals: “Nur jene Namen, welche der Bevölkerung geläufig sind, haben für den Soldaten Wert” (IN1903: 167).¹¹

⁸ A detailed discussion of the manuals with respect to the way toponyms had to be collected, processed, and (typographically) placed on the survey sheets has been provided in two separate papers: Włoskowitz (2015a) and Włoskowitz (2015b).

⁹ “[...] providing right and correct names remains one of the essential features defining quality and reliability of a map, namely a map that is meant to serve military purposes” (IN1875: 59, translation by the author).

¹⁰ “Names that are commonly known in a given area must be in any case fixed down as a tool of orientation” (IN1875: 91, translation by the author).

¹¹ “Only the names commonly familiar to the people are of value for a soldier” (IN1903: 167, translation by the author).

Hence, the formal aspects of the policy were determined by the pragmatic ones, which in turn may be reduced to the general rule that a map needs to provide its user with toponymy that will facilitate communication with the locals. Needless to say, this communication could be effective only if the local linguistic situation and the vernacular name usage were taken into account and this issue acquired special importance in multi-language areas. The oldest manual ordered in this respect: “Bei Ortschaften, Gebieten etc., welche gemischte Bevölkerung haben und mehrere Namen – in verschiedenen Sprachen – führen, ist der allgemein übliche oder der dem größern Bevölkerungsantheile zukommende als Hauptname zu bezeichnen, der andere jedoch auch beizusetzen” (IN1875: 60).¹²

The latest discussed the issue the following way: “In gemischtsprachigen Gegenden sind auch die von den verschiedenen Nationalitäten gebrauchten Namen zu erheben” (IN1903: 167).¹³ “Bei gemischtsprachiger Bevölkerung ist der am häufigsten gebrauchte Namen voranzusetzen; die anderen üblichen Bezeichnungen sind in Klammern beizufügen, jedoch nur dann, wenn sie wesentlich anders lauten und von einen [sic!] bemerkenswerten Theile der Bevölkerung benützt werden” (IN1903: 176).¹⁴

Of course, these regulations applied to the materials prepared during the survey and not directly to the final maps. Nevertheless, it was the toponymy collected and selected by surveyors that determined the toponymic layer of the published cartographic works.

In a multi-national empire, it could easily happen that a surveyor had to cope with toponymy in a language of which he had only poor or no command. Therefore, the manual advised that the collected toponymy needed to be consulted and checked by local authorities, officials, and members of the educated layer: “Da eine fehlerhafte Aussprache der Führer und die Unkenntnis der Landessprache von Seite des Mappers oft zu Verwechslungen und Schreibfehlern führen kann, so ist nie zu unterlassen, die politischen Behörden, Förster, Gutsverwalter, Geistliche, Ärzte u. dgl. bei der Richtigstellung und Ergänzung der Nomenclatur zu Rathe zu ziehen” (IN1887: 174).¹⁵

¹² “In the case of localities, areas etc. that are inhabited by a mixed population and bear multiple names in various languages it is the commonly used name or the one that is used by the biggest part of population that has to be marked as the main name while other names are to be listed next to it as well” (IN1875: 60, translation by the author).

¹³ “In linguistically mixed areas names used by various nationalities are to be collected as well” (IN1903: 167, translation by the author).

¹⁴ “In the case of linguistically mixed population it is the most often used name that is to be placed in the first position; other common names are to be added in brackets only if they sound substantially different and are used by a considerable part of population” (IN1903: 176, translation by the author).

¹⁵ “Due to the fact that incorrect pronunciation of guides and a surveyor’s lack of knowledge of a local language may often lead to mistakes and spelling errors it should never be neglected to consult political authorities, foresters, land property managers, clergymen, physicians, etc. while correcting and completing names” (IN1887: 174, translation by the author).

In the case of the eastern part of Galicia, inhabited by a vast Ruthenian majority, this instruction could have had some serious consequences: many officials, foresters, estate administrators, physicians etc. were Polish and so they may have had an (often unintentionally) Polonized version of the local toponyms in their personal everyday use. This may, to a certain extent, explain the reason of a relatively numerous presence of the Polonized toponym forms on the Spezialkarte sheets of the Ruthenian-populated parts of Galicia.

Finally, the name and naming policy expressed in the manuals of the Third Survey comprises a nice example of the mutual influences of other kinds of toponymic codification (especially official and textual) on maps: “Auch sonstige Behelfe, z.B. bereits vorhandene Karten, insbesondere jene der verschiedenen Touristen-Vereine und Clubs, die Reisehandbücher, die topographischen Post-Lexika, die geistlichen Schemas, Orts-Repertorien u. dgl. werden zur Ermittlung einer richtigen Nomenclatur wesentlich beitragen, müssen daher benützt werden; die sich ergebenden Differenzen können Anlass zu mancher Richtigstellung bieten” (IN1887: 174).¹⁶

A toponymy of a map could be useful in communication with the locals only if it consisted of the name forms used by or at least recognizable for the local inhabitants. In order to assure this quality of the toponymy of the Spezialkarte so much attention was paid to fixing authentic and correct vernacular toponym forms. Due to the general language policy of Austria-Hungary or rather its Austrian (Cisleithanian) part¹⁷ that recognized the local national languages it was not necessary to use state-made cartography as a tool of promoting non-vernacular toponym forms in a language that was not locally used but was the official language of a state (as it was done, e.g., in the German Empire and in the Russian Empire in the 19th century). In other words, the Habsburg Austria allowed its peoples to use their own languages and hence the geographical names in these languages.¹⁸

¹⁶ “Other makeshift sources, e.g., already available maps, especially the ones prepared by tourist associations and clubs, travel guides, topographic postal inventories of localities, schematisms of the clergy, inventories of localities, etc. may also considerably facilitate choosing correct names and therefore have to be consulted; if any discrepancies are found, they may serve as a cause for making amendments” (IN1887: 174, translation by the author).

¹⁷ As declared in the law Staatsgrundgesetz vom 21. December 1867 über die allgemeinen Rechte der Staatsbürger für die im Reichsrath vertretenen Königreiche und Länder (Reichsgesetzblatt 142/1867) in the Article 19: “Alle Volksstämme des Staates sind gleichberechtigt, und jeder Volksstamm hat ein unverletzliches Recht auf Wahrung und Pflege seiner Nationalität und Sprache. Die Gleichberechtigung aller landesüblichen Sprachen in Schule, Amt und öffentlichem Leben wird vom Staate anerkannt. In den Ländern, in welchen mehrere Volksstämme wohnen, sollen die öffentlichen Unterrichtsanstalten derart eingerichtet sein, daß ohne Anwendung eines Zwanges zur Erlernung einer zweiten Landessprache jeder dieser Volksstämme die erforderlichen Mittel zur Ausbildung in seiner Sprache erhält.”

¹⁸ However, in the second half on the 19th century in the Habsburg Kingdom of Hungary an increasing tendency is to be found to use Hungarian names or Hungarianized name forms on Austro-Hungarian maps. This followed the general Hungarian policy towards other nationalities in the Transleithanian part of Austria-Hungary.

8. Policy execution: Toponymy of the Spezialkarte sheet ZONE 13. COL. XXXIII. DAVIDENI und STOROŻYNETZ and survey sheets it was based on (a random sample of toponyms from Bukovina)

The toponymic policy of the Third Survey discussed above was, however, intended to mould directly only the toponymy collected by surveyors and its impact on the final map was of an indirect nature. Changes could have been done to names at the stage of preparation of the final map sheets. Therefore, it seems reasonable to take a look at a random sample of names of a sheet of the Spezialkarte (1:75,000) and compare it with the sheets of the Third Survey (1:25,000).

To this purpose a brief excursion may be done to Bukovina, a crownland adjacent to Galicia (see Introduction). There is one good reason for that: Bukovina was an extreme case of a multi-national and multi-language crownland inhabited by two major groups: the Romanians and the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) accompanied by several minorities (among them Poles living both in towns and rural areas – as a result of several different waves of migration from other Habsburg territories inhabited by the Polish population).

If one makes a tour with their index finger over a sheet of the Spezialkarte¹⁹ one comes across numerous toponyms that bear clear Romanian, Ruthenian/Ukrainian or Polish language properties. In fact, it is a mix of names in various languages; names that neighbour each other. The tour becomes even more interesting when one compares the name forms from the Spezialkarte sheet with names present on the sheets of the Third Survey.²⁰ In the following some randomly selected toponyms from the Spezialkarte are listed and accompanied by toponyms present on the Survey sheets, which are given in rectangular brackets only if they differ from the names on the Spezialkarte: *Pădurea Petrușca* [*Las Petruszka*], *Vrf. Chicirelele, Krasna Putna, Arșița, Althütte, Las Zubrowica* [*Las Żubrowica : Codrul Zubrovița*]²¹, *Cârligata, Czudin* [*Czudyn*], *Neuhütte, Câmpul Dunavățuluï* [*Câmpul Dunawec : Câmpul Dunavățuluï*], *Dunawec* [*Dunawetz (Dunavățul)*], *Czeresz* [*Czeresz (Cireșu)*], *Albowec* [*Albovăț*], *Obcina mare, Dąbrowa* [*Dumbrava*], *Storożynetz, Dealul petros, Hreniowa J.H.* [*J.H. Hrynawa*], *Pod Polanką* [*Pod Polanka*], *Czereszczek* [*Ceresenca*], *zu Alt-Broszkoutz, Liskowec* [*Liskowiec*], *Smotriszcze* [*Smotryszcze*], *Za bahnem u*

¹⁹ Sheet ZONE 13. COL. XXXIII. DAVIDENI und STOROŻYNETZ from 1876 (date of the first sheet preparation) with the following remarks: “nach Aufnahme 1873” (based on the survey made in 1873), “nach Zeichenschlüssel 1894” (compliant with the map symbol set of 1894), “Nachtr.30.IX.1904” (updated on 30 Sept. 1904).

²⁰ As presented at <https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/europe-19century-thirdsurvey/?layers=160%2C166&bbox=310028.5867246748%2C5762588.167480014%2C2167754.1221675985%2C6389983.2956447415> (accessed 2021-12-28). Note that what is presented there is not the original fair drawings of the 1:25,000 Third Survey but processed copies of it. Therefore, the inscriptions on what is presented as the sheets of the Third Survey does not necessarily have to comply exactly with what was fixed by surveyors on sheets prepared on the spot.

²¹ Two different spellings on two neighbouring survey sheets.

Janosza [*Za Bagnem u Janosza*], *Za bahnem u Wasilka* [*Za Bagnem u Wassilka*], *Perszij horb* [*Perszy Horb*], *Paseczna* [*Pasieczny*], *Komarestie* [*Komarestie*], *Mintici hora* [*Minticziu Hora*], *Seliszcze* [*Selyszczce*], *Szerszeniów grunt* [*Szerszeniów Grunt*], *Treř Mohili* [*Try Mohyły*], *Mazurowa polana*, *Żydówka*, *Sadowa na hori* [*Zadowa na Hori*], *Serednij* [*Seredny*].

Both the Spezialkarte and the survey sheets contain toponyms that bear clear language properties of one of the languages spoken in the area. (Note that these language properties do not necessarily need to comply with the origin of the name; several examples are constituted by names with Romanian etymology and Ukrainian phonetic and morphological form fixed with the Polish orthography.) On the sheet of the Spezialkarte it is, e.g., the toponyms *Pădurea Petrușca*, *Vrf. Chicirelele*, *Arșița*, *Câmpul Dunavățuluï*, *Obcina mare*, *Dealul petros* that are to be classified as bearing clear Romanian form, the toponyms *Albowec*, *Liskowec*, *Za bahnem u Janosza*, *Perszij horb*, *Serednij* as bearing Ukrainian forms, *Las Zubrowica*, *Dąbrowa*, *Pod Polanką*, *Szerszeniów grunt*, *Mazurowa polana*, *Żydówka* as typically Polish forms, and *Althütte*, *Czudin*, *Neuhütte*, *Storożynetz*, *zu Alt-Broszkoutz* as bearing more or less obvious lexical and orthographic German properties.

Interesting aspects of the execution of cartographic toponymic policy become visible when one compares the Spezialkarte with the survey sheets. The latter contain relatively numerous examples of name forms which the Spezialkarte later on adapted to other languages: Polish → Romanian: *Las Petruszka* → *Pădurea Petrușca*; Romanian → Polish: *Dumbrava* → *Dąbrowa*; Polish → Ukrainian: *Liskowiec* → *Liskowec*, *Za Bagnem u Janosza* → *Za bahnem u Janosza*; Ukrainian → Romanian: *Câmpul Dunawec*, *Câmpul Dunavățuluï* → *Câmpul Dunavățuluï*, *Minticziu Hora* → *Mintici hora*, *Try Mohyły* → *Treř Mohili*. There are further interesting changes and spelling properties: *Ceresenca* (on a survey sheet) seems to be a typical Ukrainian form (cf. *Черешенька*) written down with Romanian orthography. A Romanian → Ukrainian conversion is visible in: *Albovăț* → *Albowec*; replacement of the German spelling of the Ukrainian form and Romanian alternative form with the Polish spelling of the Ukrainian form: *Dunawetz (Dunavățul)* → *Dunawec*. As far as the plausible phonological properties of the stems of the forms *Perszy Horb* and *Seredny* are concerned they are definitely to be classified as Ukrainian ones (especially when compared with the possible Polish variants *Pierwszy Horb* and *Średni*). Nevertheless, the change between the survey sheet and the Spezialkarte *Perszy Horb* → *Perszij horb*, *Seredny* → *Serednij* may be interpreted as an introduction of the correct standard Ukrainian ending of a numeral/adjective.

The toponymic differences between the survey sheets and the analysed sheet of the Spezialkarte (and, most probably, other editions of the sheet that were not taken into account in this comparison) are a depiction of Bukovina's multi-language and multi-ethnic landscape, which was a quality of Galicia as well. It is a clear picture of the Habsburg toponymic policy in cartography of

both Galicia and Bukovina: the policy of non-Germanising toponyms and the willingness to use the vernacular name forms used by the majority of the local population (in the closest vicinity of a given feature).

9. Conclusions

The Habsburg cartographic toponymic policy in Galicia (and Bukovina) was definitely not a tool of manifesting political or linguistic supremacy. Toponym forms present on Austrian and then on Austro-Hungarian maps do not indicate any tendency to Germanize the crownland's toponymy. Just the opposite: the tendency (in the case of the First Survey) and a well-articulated policy (in the case of the Third) is to be found: the toponyms in their vernacular forms in the locally used languages had to be fixed in order to make a map's toponymy an efficient tool of communication between a (military) map user and the locals. Additionally, it needs to be underlined that since the late 1860s such a cartographic toponymic policy was compliant with the general language policy executed in the Cisleithanian crownlands and that the privileged position of the Polish language forms of toponyms in the Habsburg cartography of Galicia corresponds with the privileged position of the Polish language in Galicia's public life (when compared to the Ruthenian/Ukrainian language).

References

- Beck, A. 1857. Ueber die Nothwendigkeit eines topographischen Lexikons der österr. Monarchie [On the need for a topographic lexicon of the Austrian monarchy]. *Mittheilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 1(1), 100–105.
- Bukowski, Waldemar & Janeczek, Andrzej. 2013. Mapa józefińska Galicji (1779–1783) w przededniu edycji. Przedmiot i założenia programu wydawniczego [Josephine map of Galicia (1779–1783) on the eve of the edition. The subject and assumptions of the publishing plan]. *Studia Geohistorica* 1, 91–112. DOI: 10.12775/SG.2013.08
- Buttler, Danuta. 1985. Kodyfikacja normy [Norm codification]. *Prasa Techniczna* 4/1985, 13–16.
- Czoernig, Karl von. 1857. Ueber die Verfassung eines topographischen Lexikons der österreichischen Monarchie, und Vorlage von Ortsrepertoiren von Galizien, Bukowina und der croatisch-slavonischen Militärgrenze [On the preparation of a topographic lexicon of the Austrian monarchy and presentation of the inventories of localities of Galicia, Bukovina, and Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier]. *Mittheilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 1(2), 136–138.

- Faluszczak, Franciszek Paweł. 2011. *Kartografia Galicji Wschodniej* [Cartography of Eastern Galicia]. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego.
- Hofstätter, Ernst. 1989. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der österreichischen Landesaufnahmen. Ein Überblick der topographischen Aufnahmeverfahren, deren Ursprünge, ihrer Entwicklungen und Organisationsformen der vier österreichischen Landesaufnahmen* [Contributions to the history of Austrian surveys. An overview of topographic survey procedures, their origins, their development, and organisational forms of the four Austrian land surveys], vol. 1–2. Wien: Bundesamt für Eich- und Vermessungswesen.
- Hrabec, Stefan. 1950. *Nazwy geograficzne Huculszczyzny* [Geographical names of the Hutsul region]. Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności.
- Instruction für die militärische Landesaufnahme (Militärmappirung) II. Theil* (IN1875) [Manual for the military survey. Part two]. 1875. Wien: Verlag des k.k. militär-geografischen [sic!] Instituts.
- Instruction für die militärische Landesaufnahme (Militär-Mappirung und Reambulierung). II. Technischer Theil* (IN1887) [Manual for the military survey. Technical part two]. 1887. Wien: Verlag des k.k. militär-geographischen Institutes.
- Instruction für die militärische Landesaufnahme. II. Technischer Theil* (IN1903) [Manual for the military survey. Technical part two]. 1903. 2nd edition. Wien: Verlag des k. u. k. militär-geographischen Institutes.
- Jordan, Peter. 2014. Das Wiener Militärgeographische Institut und seine Bedeutung für die spätere Kartographie in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa [The Vienna Military Geographical Institute and its meaning for the later cartography in East-Central and Southeastern Europe]. In Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung und Sport (ed.), *250 Jahre Landesaufnahme. Festschrift* [250 years of land survey. Festschrift], 51–73. Wien: Bundesamt für Eich- und Vermessungswesen.
- Konias, Andrzej. 2000. *Kartografia topograficzna Śląska Cieszyńskiego i zaboru austriackiego od II połowy XVIII wieku do początku XX wieku* [Topographic cartography of the Cieszyn/Těšín Silesia and the Austrian partition territories from the 2nd half of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century]. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Markowski, Andrzej. 2009. *Kultura języka polskiego. Teoria. Zagadnienia leksykalne* [Culture of the Polish language. Theory. Lexical issues]. Warszawa: PWN.
- Timár, Gábor & Molnár, Gábor & Székely, Balázs & Biszak, Sándor & Varga, József & Jankó, Annamária. 2006. *The map sheets of the Second Military Survey and their georeferenced version*. Budapest: Arcanum. DOI: 10.13140/2.1.1423.7127 (https://www.arcanum.hu/media/uploads/mapire/pub/mkf_booklet.pdf) (Accessed 2021-12-31.)
- Włoskowicz, Wojciech. 2015a. Labels on the maps of the Third Military Survey of Austria-Hungary and on the survey maps of the Military Geographical Institute (Wojskowy Instytut Geograficzny) in Warsaw in the light of

- survey manuals. *Polish Cartographical Review* 47(1), 31–43. DOI: 10.1515/pcr-2015-0003
- Włoskowicz, Wojciech. 2015b. Toponomastyczna praca topografa w Austro-Węgrzech i w II Rzeczypospolitej [A topographer's toponymic work in Austria-Hungary and in the Second Republic of Poland]. *Prace Językoznawcze* 17(3), 137–153.
- Włoskowicz, Wojciech. 2019. Dissemination and correctness of geographical names. Geographers and cartographers as toponym users and promoters. *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 161, 291–324. DOI: 10.1553/moegg161s291.
- Wolski, Jacek. 2016. Kartografia topograficzna Bojkowszczyzny Zachodniej (1772–1939) [Topographic cartography of the Western Boyko Region (1772–1939)]. In Wolski, Jacek (ed.), *Bojkowszczyzna Zachodnia – wczoraj, dziś i jutro* [The Western Boyko Region – Yesterday, today and tomorrow], vol. 1, 107–174. Warszawa: Instytut Geografii i Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania im. Stanisława Leszczyckiego PAN.
- Zabrocki, Ludwik. 1968. Zasięgi wewnętrznego językowego magazynowania nazw jednostkowych [Ranges of internal linguistic storage of singular names]. In Hrabec, Stefan et al. (eds.), *Symbolae Philologicae in Honorem Witoldi Taszycki* [Philological contributions in honour of Witold Taszycki], 416–424. Wrocław & Warszawa & Kraków: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolinskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk.