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1

CRITICAL TOPONYMY: PRACTICES OF (RE)NAMING AND THE POWER TO TRANSFORM TIME INTO SPACE

a cura di
Arturo Gallia, Giuseppe Muti, Valeria Pecorelli

SEMESTRALE DI STUDI E RICERCHE DI GEOGRAFIA

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Geography Notes on Critical Toponymy

Arturo Gallia[*], *Giuseppe Muti*[**], *Valeria Pecorelli*[***]

Parole chiave: *toponomastica critica, spazio, tempo, memoria, territorializzazione*

Keywords: *critical toponymy, space, time, memory, territorialisation*

Mots-clés: *toponymie critique, espace, temps, mémoire, territorialisation*

1. *Introduction*

Commemorative odonymy has (and gives) the power to transform time into space: the policies and practices of naming and renaming streets create «places of memory» (Nora, 1986) and enable a concrete «public use of history» (Gallerano, 1995). This is a crucial issue in an era characterized by multiple and differing demands for socio-spatial justice and identity assertion (racial, ethno-nationalist, decolonial, gender, etc.) advanced with determination by movements and organized groups that are not necessarily institutionalized.

This was discussed in the session *Critical toponymy: practices of (re)naming and the power of transforming time into space* hosted by the IGU-UGI World Geographical Congress of Paris in 2022 and devoted to «the time of geography»[1]. The panel hosted eleven scholarly contributions from Europe, Africa and Latin America, dialogued with the UGI Toponyms Commission and stimulated the reflections and debates that find space in this thematic issue of the Semester of Studies and Research in Geography.

Building on the methodological preamble that presented the session, this introduction aims to establish the field of inquiry, identify the conceptual tools offered by geography, and share a common vocabulary and bibliography.

2. *Geography notes: conceptual tools, vocabulary and bibliography to share and discuss*

The notes offer a compass in reading the contributions by addressing the following scholarly nodes: 1) the social production of space; 2) the process of

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[1] The session was held on Thursday, July 21, 2022 from 10h30 to 17h30 in the Petit Anphitheatre of the Institut de Géographie.

territorialization; 3) memory as a spatial fact; 4) the places of memory (and territory as media); 5) the power of transforming time into space; and 6) critical toponymy as a geographical research perspective.

2.1. *The Social Production of Space* – We take as our starting point the relational nature of geographic space and the concepts of place and territory. Every human being and every society locate and acts in space, modifying it and being influenced back in an incessant dynamic.

Social space is the result of a set of past actions, which today allows, suggests or prohibits other actions (Lefebvre, 1974) while according to Fremont (1976) lived space has administrative, historical, ecological, economic, and especially psychological components.

Not differently, the concept of place is understood not as a geometric category but as a custodian and mediator of the values, meanings and aspirations of human beings and societies (Tuan, 1977). Massey (1995, 2005) instead explains that places are revealed as open and discontinuous interweavings of spatial relations: they are interpretive categories constructed and reconstructed to give meaning to space.

Just as place is not the context or backdrop of actions, identities and belongings, but is an integral part of them, so the territory is not the theater or container of social relations but is the result of them, capable of influencing by referral the spatial relations that produce them (Turco, 1984; Dematteis, 1985).

2.2. *Territorialization* – Space, Raffestin (1980) explains, is in a condition of anteriority with respect to territory. By appropriating a space concretely or abstractly, the actor "territorializes" it. Territorialization represents the incessant process by which territory is produced over time through social action and unravels in three simultaneous dimensions (fig. 1):

a) naming identifies social appropriation and symbolic control, through the production of representations, images and discourses; *b*) reification identifies material transformations: structures and infrastructures produced to adapt space to the needs of society; *c*) structuring expresses the organizational and functional control of the territory aimed at the realization of specific social objectives (Turco, 1984).

Structuring and reification are fundamental but cannot be separated from the production of meanings and discourses, which orient the public imagination toward a particular meaning. Every process of territorialization involves conflicting dimensions between actors acting at different scales with different purposes.

The concept of "deterritorialization" represents the crises of the system; that of "reterritorialization" indicates its reorganization (Raffestin, 1984). Each cycle of territorialization deposits and stratifies settlement and cultural structures, some of which persist in the long run such as toponyms.

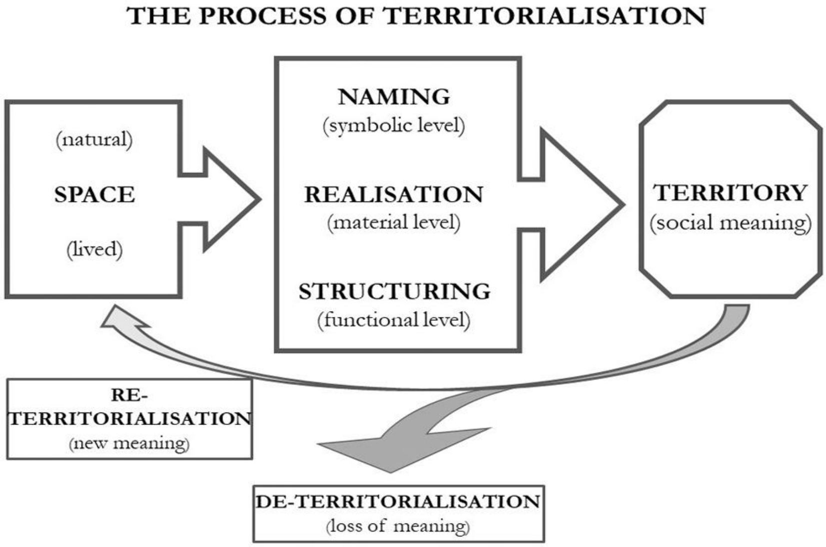

Fig. 1 – The process of territorialisation.
Fonte: Turco, 1984.

2.3. *Memory as a (unstable)spatial fact* – Since the second half of the 1990s, the study of toponymy has been the subject of a critical geographic reformulation aimed at addressing the topic from a political and cultural perspective (Azaryahu, 1996; Berg, Vuolteenaho, 2009; Rose-Redwood *et alii,* 2018). Central to this perspective is the issue of social memory, an interdisciplinary issue on which geography has much to say. Indeed, social memory is eminently spatial, since space is its main medium of transmission. The social production of space generates images and ties that activate memory and, often unconsciously, allow it to crystallize as a spatialized image (Halbwachs, 2001)

Collective memory is a "cultural system" that rationalizes a certain past experience by adapting it to the present for the organization of a certain type of society. Memory is a model of society (and its problems) and a model for society, to which it provides guidance (Schwartz, 1996). Given the composite nature of society, collective memory functions as a plural and unstable system, since it is in constant renegotiation, determined by conflicts and compromises between different memories. The public sphere is the arena in which different groups compete for hegemony over plausible and relevant discourses within society (Jedlowski, 2001).

Places of memory are relational, physical and symbolic spaces created to legitimize a particular historical representation in society, such as: archives, anniversaries, museums, monuments, ceremonies, and of course toponyms and odonyms (Nora, 1986).

They promote a "public use of history"[2], that is, they produce history outside scientific historiography and can promote a reading of the past that conforms to or is alternative to common sense. In this sense, places of memory are "agents of history" (Gallerano, 1995).

The spatial and relational key is crucial: the study of social memory and memory places tells us much more about the societies that produce them than about the societies and pasts that are commemorated. (Milo, 1986; Till, 2009)

Territory is a media, and toponymy is one of its most visible but least obvious languages. Having acquired the understanding that all semantics is political (the linguistic environment in which we grow up has incalculable ideological effects and moreover is manipulable), the French Revolution transformed commemorative odonomastics into a political and pedagogical tool (Milo, 1986).

2.4. *The power of transforming time into space* – When used in a commemorative capacity, odonyms inscribe an official version of history in urban space, embedding it in all relations of social communication involving everyday practices decoupled, at least on the surface, from symbolism and power (Azaryahu, 1996).

In this sense, odonomastics is enrolled among the "low-voltage communication networks"[3], capable of introducing political messages into ordinary contexts of human experience, thanks in part to the little attention users pay to the ideological content of communication (Azaryahu, 1996).

By spatializing social memory, place names and street names in particular transform time into space. Naming is not a simple "semantic implementation", but «a threshold effect by virtue of which the designator changes referential status» (Turco, 2006). The shift from history to geography disconnects the odonym from the original referent and geographic naming takes over.

In the urban context, the new semiotic reality is integrated into the spatial narratives of the city. Naming can spread to indicate addresses, public places, stations, businesses, stores, and place can become a metaphor for the social environments and cultural phenomena that characterize it in a true «semantic wandering» (Azaryahu, 1996; De Certeau, 1985).

2.5. *Critical toponymy as a geographical research perspective* – Urban toponymy can be understood as a memorial arena of competition, debate, and public negotiation over which memory should be remembered in the urban landscape, and thus which memories represent the dominant discourse and which its alternative narratives (Alderman, 2002).

Naming a street is an expression of power that perpetuates in the urban landscape the memory of people, dates and events judged worthy of public honor. Judged by whom? When? And Why?

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[2] The expression is used with the meaning conferred on it by Nicola Gallerano (1995) as opposed to the meaning restricted to German historiography attributed to it by Jurgen Habermas (1977).

[3] This includes, for example, banknotes and stamps.

The act of naming, argues Rose-Redwood (2008), is an act of propagating a worldview and history, traceable as much to an elite project aimed at reproducing the system as to a practice of a fringe movement gaining recognition.

In this perspective, several avenues of study open up for geographic research, both in terms of the relations between actors and social spaces and in terms of the practices and production of social spaces. Urgent but often neglected issues are, on the one hand, the institutional choices vis-à-vis colonialist and fascist odonymy, gender odonymy, and memorial odonymy for victims of political and criminal violence. On the other, practices of naming and renaming from below that reshape urban landscapes and rewrite maps through new symbolic content.

3. *Critical toponymy: practices of (re)naming and the power to transform time into space*

Building on the reflections shared at the Paris 2022 Congress, the eleven papers that follow, all work in the research direction outlined in this introduction.

The first contribution, by Michel Ben Arrous, raises relevant methodological issues related to the process of territorialization and offers a critical look at the meaning and implications of popular, non-institutional toponymy in African cities and their urban history.

The second and third articles are inscribed in a political dimension of historical and cartographic imprint. Arturo Gallia studies the dynamics of island naming and domination from voyages of exploration. While, through the travel account of Ibn Gubayr (1145-1217) Giovanna Zavettieri, Lisa Scafa, and Monica Morazzoni demonstrate instead how the Arab presence contributed to resemantizing Sicily by spatializing meanings of Islamic culture and perceptions in the past.

The next three papers, on the other hand, denote a contemporary political perspective and study in the field the relationships between street renaming and nation-state building processes. From Spain, where Samuel Esteban Rodríguez analyzes the 2007 Law on Historical Memory and its effects on the Francoist toponymic legacy and in the independence regions. To Syria, where Jack Keilo studies toponymic reconfigurations imposed by the regime and postwar perspectives. To the Caucasus Republics (Abkhazia and South Ossetia) where Ariane Bachelet illustrates how new interests and atavistic ethnic and political rivalries are expressed through toponymy.

The four articles that conclude the review, pay critical attention to informal designations and the naming power of more or less institutionalized association movements. Ivaldo Lima analyzes the names of Rio de Janeiro's favelas, the value judgments inherent in the designations, and the relationships to the dynamics of urban violence. Cyriaque Hattemar, on the other hand, studies the hierarchy of urban powers through the popular naming of streets, places, and particularly markets in Lima. Giuseppe Muti illustrates the street names of anti-mafia memories in Italy and the role of civic movements in proposing a new national memory. Then, Valeria Pecorelli analyzes in the critical gender perspective, the practices of urban "guerrilla odonomastics" implemented by the transfeminist movement in Milan.

Finally, in the specific cartographic section called *Geoframe*, the work by Gianluigi Salvucci, Stefania Lucchetti and Damiano Abbatini discusses a new cartographic technique for the administrative identification of odonyms and addresses in Italy, igniting the discussion on the dual nature of the practice, at once a tool for controlling citizenship and a device for accessing citizenship rights.

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Geography Notes on Critical Toponymy

The methodological introduction to the critical toponymy session of the IGU-UGI World Geographical Congress Paris 2022 proposed actual geography notes aimed at delimiting the field of inquiry, identifying the conceptual tools offered by the discipline, and sharing a vocabulary and bibliography. The concise reflections offered again here focus on (1) the social production of space; (2) the process of territorialization; (3) memory as a spatial fact; (4) the places of memory; (5) the power of transforming time into space; and (6) critical toponymy as a geographical research perspective.

Appunti di geografia sulla toponomastica critica

L'introduzione metodologica alla sessione di toponomastica critica del Congresso geografico mondiale IGU-UGI di Parigi 2022 ha proposto dei veri e propri appunti di geografia finalizzati a delimitare il campo di indagine, individuare gli strumenti concettuali offerti dalla disciplina e condividere un vocabolario e una bibliografia. La sintetica riflessione che si ripropone in questa sede verte su: 1) la produzione sociale dello spazio; 2) il processo di territorializzazione; 3) la memoria come fatto spaziale; 4) i luoghi della memoria; 5) il potere di trasformare il tempo in spazio; 6) la toponomastica critica come prospettiva di ricerca geografica.

Notes de géographie sur la toponymie critique

L'introduction méthodologique à la session sur la toponymie critique du Congrès mondial de géographie IGU-UGI de Paris 2022 proposait des notes de géographie réelle visant à délimiter le champ d'investigation, à identifier les outils conceptuels offerts par la discipline et à partager un vocabulaire et une bibliographie. Les réflexions synthétiques proposées ici portent sur : 1) la production sociale de l'espace ; 2) le processus de territorialisation ; 3) la mémoire comme fait spatial ; 4) les lieux de mémoire ; 5) le pouvoir de transformation du temps en espace ; 6) la toponymie critique comme perspective de recherche géographique.

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Raffestin aurait-il pu révolutionner la toponymie?

Michel Ben Arrous[*]

Mots-clés: *toponymie critique, multi-toponymie, Afrique urbaine, toponymie relationnelle*

Parole chiave: *toponomastica critica, toponomastica multipla, Africa urbana, toponomastica relazionale*

Keywords: *critical toponymy, multi-toponymy, urban Africa, relational toponymy*

1. *Introduction: la question du regard*

« Foucault aurait-il pu révolutionner la géographie ? », demandait Raffestin en 1997. Lui emprunter ce titre, qu'il empruntait lui-même à Paul Veyne (1978), c'est indiquer une direction possible : les études de toponymie gagneraient, à la fois en pertinence et en profondeur, à mobiliser une approche relationnelle à la Raffestin (1980). Il s'agirait pour elles de se doter d'un nouvel objet prioritaire : non plus les noms de lieux ni même les processus de nomination mais, de façon plus heuristique, les relations des sociétés humaines à ces noms et à ces processus. Là se joue en effet la réalité du " pouvoir " dont la toponymie critique peine à se saisir. Nous reviendrons plus loin sur les impensés de ce champ d'études, sur le " pouvoir " qu'on y observe et le " pouvoir " qui y reste inaperçu, mais il convient de s'arrêter déjà sur la question du regard. C'est la question centrale.

Toute révolution est une révolution du regard qu'on pose sur les choses. Cela vaut pour les révolutions politiques, cela vaut aussi dans le champ des savoirs. L'immense apport de Foucault aura été d'établir que le regard est indissociable du langage. Les choses qu'on voit, matérielles ou idéelles, sont celles sur quoi l'on sait poser des mots. Si Foucault a révolutionné l'histoire (Veyne, 1978) mais pas la géographie (Raffestin, 1997), c'est que suffisamment d'historiens et trop peu de géographes ont interrogé leur regard disciplinaire – et donc leur langage, et donc leur capacité à penser. Raffestin cite abondamment *Naissance de la clinique*, un modèle d'enquête sur l'émergence d'un espace conceptuel autorisant « le passage, exhaustif et sans résidu, de la totalité du visible », en l'occurrence le patient, son état, ses symptômes, « à la structure d'ensemble de l'énonçable » (Foucault, 1963, p. 105). Le rapport entre regard et langage s'articule, pour les cliniciens, à des enjeux forts. La possibilité d'une pratique thérapeutique, d'un diagnostic, d'un traitement, est

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déterminée par le « labeur implicite du langage » qui permet « la transformation du symptôme en signe, le passage du malade à la maladie, l'accès de l'individuel au conceptuel » (*ibidem*, p. 163). Les erreurs se paient par la mort du patient. Rien de tel pour la géographie, dont « le regard n'est pas, à l'origine, identifié à quelque domaine de l'expérience » : c'est un « regard de voyeur mobilisé par la curiosité », un « regard aveugle » qui se laisse envahir par des objets posés devant lui, « offerts à une description aussi infinie qu'indéfinie » (Raffestin, 1997, pp. 142-144).

Bientôt trente ans ont passé depuis le jugement sévère de Raffestin, qui mériterait sans doute quelques nuances. Les géographes qui interrogent leurs pratiques ne sont plus tout à fait des oiseaux rares. Mais cette trentaine d'années est aussi l'âge de la toponymie critique, un champ de recherches qui émergeait à peine dans les années 1990. L'unification du champ s'est opérée autour de l'épithète " critique ", dénominateur commun d'un ensemble de perspectives sur la nomination des lieux – la toponymie comme technologie de pouvoir, comme écriture ou réécriture de l'histoire, comme arène de luttes symboliques, comme enjeu de justice sociale, notamment (Vuolteenaho, Berg, 2009 ; Rose-Redwood *et alii*, 2010). Paradoxalement, les références aux écrits tardifs de Foucault, sur la gouvernementalité et la biopolitique, se sont multipliées et banalisées hors de tout questionnement de fond sur le regard toponymique émergent. Il ne sert pourtant pas à grand-chose d'affirmer que le pouvoir et son corollaire, la résistance, sont partout et « s'enracinent dans l'ensemble du corps social » (Foucault, 1984, p. 318) lorsqu'on s'en tient aux toponymes les plus visibles – les noms *lisibles*, officiels, tels qu'ils apparaissent sur les cartes, les plans de ville et les répertoires.

L'acceptation tranquille de cette dictature du lisible est la forme particulière que revêt, dans le champ de la toponymie critique, le « totalitarisme de l'œil » dénoncé trente ans plus tôt par Raffestin (1997, p. 144). Faute d'intention propre, faute aussi d'un « labeur du langage » visant à rendre énonçable la totalité du visible, le regard se pose sur les objets les plus évidents – qui ne sont ni les seuls possibles ni toujours les plus pertinents pour penser la question du pouvoir. La focalisation quasi exclusive des études toponymiques sur les noms officiels ne résulte pas d'un positionnement théorique argumenté. Elle est une inclination largement inconsciente, qui laisse dans l'ombre l'ensemble des toponymies informelles, vernaculaires, autochtones ou populaires en usage de par le monde. A négliger ces dernières, la toponymie critique se prive d'observer la façon dont s'articulent, en un même lieu, différentes formes de nomination.

2. *Le regard toponymique à l'épreuve des villes africaines*

L'Afrique urbaine constitue un site épistémique de choix, à partir duquel repenser à la fois le " pouvoir ", virtuel ou effectif, de la toponymie officielle, coloniale ou postcoloniale, et les " résistances " qu'elle rencontre (Bigon, Ben Arrous, 2022). Plus de la moitié des citadins africains vivent dans des quartiers dits informels, aux rues sans adressage, mais n'en donnent pas moins des noms aux lieux !

C'est en réalité la majeure partie du monde ex-colonisé qui compose avec des toponymies multiples, dans la mesure où les modèles toponymiques coloniaux n'ont pas fait disparaître les modèles préexistants mais les ont plutôt contraints à s'actualiser. Plus largement encore, la multi-toponymie n'est pas étrangère à la vieille Europe : la co-présence de systèmes toponymiques hétérogènes, correspondant à de multiples formes de pouvoir (religieux, politique, marchand, etc.), y a longtemps été de règle (Topalov, 2002). La nouvelle visibilité donnée, par directives européennes, aux langues régionales et à la signalisation toponymique multilingue crée elle aussi des situations de multi-toponymie. Il en va de même de la néotoponymie lorsque, dans la pratique, on continue d'employer d'anciens noms (devenus " informels ") plutôt que les nouveaux censés les remplacer.

L'impasse de la toponymie critique sur la multi-toponymie appelle trois séries de remarques. D'abord, sur le pouvoir de nommer. Ce pouvoir commence, en amont, avec l'identification de ce qui fait lieu. Que nomme-t-on ? Qu'est-ce qui vaut d'être nommé dans l'espace des sociétés ? Qui en décide ? Les réponses impliquent des systèmes de valeurs et des opérations de classement diversement partagées, acceptées, contestées ou ignorées.

L'odonymie par exemple, c'est-à-dire la nomination des rues, est en Afrique un produit d'importation coloniale. Elle accompagne le développement des comptoirs, plus tard des quartiers européens. Aussi loin qu'on remonte dans l'histoire urbaine africaine, on trouve des quartiers nommés mais pas de rues nommées, ou alors sous une forme purement descriptive – qui prévaut encore aujourd'hui : « la rue qui va à… », « la rue où vit telle famille ». Les sociétés africaines nommaient en revanche des lieux qui n'apparaissent pas dans les nomenclatures officielles. Un accident de relief, un bosquet, un point d'eau, continuent de faire différemment lieu pour différentes formations sociales. Il s'agit parfois de " hauts lieux ", inscrits dans un récit fondateur ou sanctuarisés, selon leur importance pour l'économie morale des sociétés en question. La toponymie officielle est un système de nomination des lieux, de *certains* lieux, parmi d'autres. Son hégémonie présumée est au mieux incomplète (Puzey, Vuolteenaho, 2016). Elle est mitigée par d'autres formes de nomination qui, portant sur d'autres catégories de lieux, lui restent irréductibles, et par les pratiques contre-hégémoniques qui s'y rattachent (Ben Arrous, Bigon, 2022).

Sur l'espace du visible, ensuite. On connaît le syndrome du lampadaire – l'histoire d'un passant qui, ayant perdu ses clés la nuit, les cherche sous le halo d'un lampadaire, pas parce qu'il les a perdues là, mais parce que c'est le seul endroit éclairé. Le regard toponymique a cette fâcheuse habitude de chercher le " pouvoir " là où il est a priori le plus manifeste (cartes et répertoires, rues de centre-ville) sans s'interroger sur la portée limitée de l'éclairage.

Sans mauvais jeu de mots, l'odonymie dans les villes africaines est à nouveau un exemple éclairant. Sa portée est doublement limitée, spatialement, et socialement. A quelques variations près, sa distribution spatiale répond au schéma suivant : concentration des rues nommées en centre-ville et/ou dans les quartiers résidentiels des classes nanties ; numérotation des rues de quelques quartiers adjacents ; et absence de noms comme de numéros sur la plus grande partie de l'espace urbain. Les quartiers dont les rues sont nommées, éventuellement renommées depuis les indépendances, sont ceux que l'administration coloniale singularisait déjà comme lieux de pouvoir. Les noms eux-mêmes – Churchill ou Nkrumah, Pasteur ou Lumumba… – sont à cet égard d'un intérêt relativement mineur pour penser le “ pouvoir ” de l'odonymie. La diffusion des messages politiques ou idéologiques qu'on leur prête est circonscrite à un espace restreint. S'y ajoute que les noms de rues ne sont pas les toponymes les plus usités. Dans la pratique quotidienne, on recourt plus spontanément aux noms de quartiers (officiels ou officieux) et à des points de repère. Le pouvoir de l'odonymie et, par extension, de la toponymie officielle, n'est pas moins concret pour autant. Il n'est simplement pas là où on le cherche conventionnellement. Dans notre exemple, il réside dans la répartition inégale des rues nommées, qui reconduit et accentue un régime de divisions spatiales (entre quartiers) et sociales (naguère raciales) issu, pour l'essentiel, de l'urbanisme colonial. Encore faut-il, pour l'observer, renoncer au halo aveuglant des quartiers bien pourvus en odonymes, et considérer les villes en plan suffisamment large.

Dernières remarques, enfin : sur la réception des noms, sur leurs usages (ou non-usages) et sur l'importance des pratiques dans la production de significations partagées. Quels noms, en situations de multi-toponymie, sont utilisés dans quelles circonstances ? Comment et par quelles pratiques sont-ils intégrés aux routines quotidiennes ou rejetés ? Que signifie l'inscription matérielle de certains noms dans l'espace, et pour qui ? De quelle manière l'articulation de différentes formes toponymiques participe-t-elle d'un univers de sens, d'une sociabilité globale, de sa reproduction ou de ses transformations ? Le regard toponymique, fasciné par l'évidence des noms, glisse sur les pratiques sans les voir. Ce n'est pas faute d'indices matériels susceptibles de le renseigner. Des noms “ informels ” peints à la main sur les façades des maisons et qui restent en place des années ; ou au contraire des panneaux officiels délavés par la pluie ou le soleil, recouverts d'affiches ou de végétation sans que nul s'en soucie, témoignent ici d'un attachement aux lieux et à leurs noms, là d'une souveraine indifférence. Tout n'est bien sûr pas matériellement visible : la toponymie vernaculaire est principalement orale (Amougou Mbarga, 2013). Le regard toponymique devrait alors se doubler d'une capacité d'écoute, au sens propre (dans quelles langues nomme-t-on quels lieux ?) comme au sens figuré (quels usages prévalent dans quels contextes ?). Est-ce trop demander ?

Le sens que revêtent les noms, la charge de “ pouvoir ” qu'ils véhiculent, les réactions qu'il suscitent (ou pas) ne sont pas des propriétés intrinsèques. Sans être des « œuvres ouvertes » au sens d'Umberto Eco (1962), c'est-à-dire des formes signifiantes aussi indéterminées que la poésie, la signification des toponymes est toujours plus libre et changeante que ce qu'auraient souhaité les nominateurs (Düzgün, 2020 ; Love, 2021). Une illustration suffira : celle des multiples avenues ou boulevards de la République, qui dans toute l'Afrique francophone signifiaient sans équivoque la IIIe République française, colonialiste entre toutes, et qui en sont venues à signifier, d'Abidjan à Dakar et de Libreville à Djibouti, la forme républicaine des Etats indépendants. L'intention première des autorités nominatrices est bien la seule chose qu'on puisse reconstituer sur la base des noms eux-mêmes (et d'une connaissance minimale du contexte de la nomination). Faute de s'intéresser à la réception des noms, c'est-à-dire aux significations que leur donnent les pratiques, l'on peut au mieux déceler des relations de pouvoir projetées, voulues, latentes peut-être, mais l'efficacité de la toponymie comme technologie de pouvoir est seulement présumée – et les géographes tendent trop volontiers à « croire les déclarations d'efficacité » des technologies de pouvoir qu'ils étudient (Crang, 2000, p. 137).

3. *Conclusion : pour une toponymie relationnelle*

La toponymie critique est devenue un champ de recherche légitime au cours des trente dernières années. Sa fascination pour les formes officielles repose cependant sur une double présomption : l'hégémonie de ces formes, et leur efficacité en tant que technologie de pouvoir. La vérification de ces présupposés – en l'occurrence non valides sans de fortes nuances – supposerait de faire porter le regard toponymique, non plus sur les formes de la nomination, mais sur les usages (et les non-usages) que les sociétés humaines font de ces formes, comment elles les perçoivent, les assemblent, les re-travaillent à leur mesure. La réception des noms, aujourd'hui portion congrue des études toponymiques, deviendrait prioritaire.

Ce serait là une toponymie relationnelle dont l'objet, comme dans la géographie relationnelle de Raffestin, ne se définirait « pas par un système de formes, mais bien plutôt par un ensemble de relations à un système de formes » (Raffestin, 1997, p. 141). La toponymie critique y perdrait sans doute quelques-unes de ses intuitions et généralisations les plus fragiles. Mais une approche relationnelle de la nomination des lieux renforcerait aussi sa pertinence sur bien des terrains, en Afrique et ailleurs, et conduirait à un renouvellement à la fois programmatique, méthodologique et théorique. Renouvellement programmatique, en s'ouvrant à de nouvelles directions de recherche : toponymies vernaculaires, usages différenciés des formes et ressources toponymiques locales, formation et transformation des paysages multi-toponymiques (rapports d'inégalité qui les structurent, relations de savoir/pouvoir qui s'y déploient), significations données par les pratiques… Renouvellement méthodologique, par nécessité : élargissement des échelles spatiales et temporelles d'analyse, diversification des sources, réévaluation du potentiel heuristique du quotidien et de la matérialité. Renouvellement théorique enfin, porté par une démarche réflexive et un questionnement enfin explicite du regard toponymique, de ses propres effets normatifs et de pouvoir, et de leur limites.

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Raffestin aurait-il pu révolutionner la toponymie ?

Raffestin dénonçait le « totalitarisme de l'œil ». Il désignait ainsi la propension de la géographie à se focaliser sur des objets morphologiques, les plus visibles et les plus évidents, plutôt que sur la relation des sociétés à des systèmes de formes. Par analogie, la « dictature du lisible » recouvre la fascination de la toponymie critique pour les noms officiels – ceux qu'on peut aisément lire sur les cartes, les plans de ville ou les plaques de rues, au détriment des toponymies informelles, vernaculaires ou populaires. Prendre ces toponymies au sérieux, c'est interroger les présupposés d'un champ de recherche qui surévalue le pouvoir de la toponymie officielle et son hégémonie. Les rapports de pouvoir qui se jouent dans la tension et les interactions entre systèmes hétérogènes ne se dévoilent qu'en étudiant la relation qu'entretiennent les sociétés avec l'ensemble des ressources toponymiques à leur disposition.

Potrebbe Raffestin aver rivoluzionato la toponomastica?

Quando Raffestin parlava di «totalitarismo dell'occhio» si riferiva alla propensione della geografia a concentrarsi sugli oggetti morfologici, i più visibili ed evidenti, piuttosto che sul rapporto delle società con i sistemi delle forme. Per analogia, la «dittatura del leggibile» riguarda la fascinazione della toponomastica critica per i nomi ufficiali – quelli che possono essere facilmente letti su mappe, piani urbanistici o cartelli stradali – a scapito dei toponimi informali, vernacolari o popolari. Prendere in considerazione questi toponimi significa mettere in discussione i presupposti di un campo di ricerca che sopravvaluta il potere della toponomastica ufficiale e la sua egemonia. Le relazioni di potere che si giocano nella tensione e nelle interazioni tra sistemi eterogenei possono essere rivelate solo studiando il rapporto che le società hanno con tutte le risorse toponomastiche a loro disposizione.

Could Raffestin have Revolutionized Toponymy?

Raffestin denounced the «totalitarianism of the eye». He was referring to the propensity of geography to focus on morphological objects, the most visible and obvious, rather than on the relationship of societies to systems of forms. By analogy, the «dictatorship of the legible» covers the fascination of critical toponymy with official names – those that can be easily read on maps, city plans, or street signs, to the detriment of informal, vernacular, or popular toponymies. To take these toponymies seriously is to question the presuppositions of a field of research that overestimates the power of official toponymy and its hegemony. The power relationships that are played out in the tension and interactions between heterogeneous systems can only be revealed by studying the relationship that societies have with all the toponymic resources at their disposal.

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Nesonyms and Power in Historical Cartography. The Denomination of Islands as an Act of Domination

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Keywords: *islands, historical geography, cartography, explorations*

Parole chiave: *isole, geografia storica, cartografia, esplorazioni*

Mots-clés : *îles, géographie historique, cartographie, exploration*

1. *Introduction*

Islands, indeed the lowest ones, have fascinated man since ancient times for their semantic versatility. Some have been inhabited, some have been visited, some have remained inapproachable, but nearly all have been represented in cartography, both to understand their distribution in the ocean and to honor them by their names.

The analysis of the toponymy of the islands allows us to understand the nuances of the territorialisation process of the places. It is well known that the naming of a place is the first stage in this process, defined as the symbolic control of the territory, which is followed by the material control and the organisational control of it (Turco, 1988). While it is true that, in mainland contexts, the delimitation of a territory, the current administrative carving out derives from a bottom-up action, where «the smallest localities [...] have traditionally endowed themselves with a territory, to which they have given boundaries and which they have surrounded with land of undivided use», starting from the naming of places (Cerreti, 2007, p. 51, translated by the Author); for islands, this is – generally speaking – a process that is initially heterocentric and only later self-centred, due in part to the historical depopulation of these small strips of land in the middle of the sea. The island is therefore named from the outset, in all its variations and mutations, whether it is actually reached or only seen and observed on the horizon, and in some cases even when it is only imagined (D'Ascenzo, 2015 and 2021).

Island places are named when the process of material control of the territory begins, both by sea and by land, when fishermen begin to frequent its waters and inlets, when the first settlers settle along the safer coasts, when military garrisons continuously guard the island, that is, when the island community takes shape.

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As the sedimentation process takes shape, the transformation or evolution of the detailed toponymy may occur, depending on the evolution of the settled social contexts (tab. 1).

Tab. 1 – Relationship between stages of territorialization and island toponymy.

Phase	Control of territory	Island toponymy
Denomination	Symbolic control	Naming *the* island
Reification	Material control	Naming the places *on* island
Structuralization	Organizative control	Toponymy evolution (Permanence, transformation, oblivion)

Source: Developed by the author from Turco, 1988.

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2. *Historical Cartography and Place Names*

This pattern, however, can be considered valid at a basic, or primitive, stage of exploration and peopling, that is, when the islands are depopulated, and in general can be referred to past eras. Moreover, it is good to consider that the phases of this process are not clearly consequential, but, depending on the contexts, may change even fading one over the other (Turco, 1988). When, then, we are dealing with forms of exploration and peopling, or conquest, which we can define here as advanced and complex, we can observe a further process, which can be made to fall under the forms of colonialism or imperialism. The external actor who identifies and names the island does not take into account pre-existing self-centered designations, let alone the presence of social groups, whether autochthonous or allochthonous, but of previous settlement. This dynamic pertains to all processes of new control of territories, but it appears well evident and illustrative with regard to islands, associating the use of historical cartography as an instrument of crystallization of new toponyms, which are also instrumental in defining the ownership of these strips of land (Boria, 2007).

As is well known, historical cartography today is one of the sources available to the geographer for the study of toponymy in its historical dimension as well (Cassi, 2015; Cantile, 2016), which also highlights it as an intangible cultural asset and strong identity element (Aversano, 2006; Cassi, 2009; Cantile, Kerfoot, 2016). Historical cartography today can bear witness to acts of naming in order to dominate; the map, then, as a political tool, insofar as it can convey semantic values beyond the topographic drawing. If at first the toponym passes appear as a simple label in the vicinity of a place, placed to distinguish it from others, in a process of deconstructing the map (Harley, 1989), which goes to analyse the semantic value beyond the topographic drawing alone, it is possible to recognize toponymy as a sign – intangible – of spatial appropriation (Rombai, 2010; Cantile, 2016). It is, therefore, a political and cultural act that the author of the map performs in order to demonstrate a possession and transmit the information to those who will enjoy the map. On the other hand, passing from hand to hand papers can be copied, even mistakenly, and place names be conveyed by persisting to mutations over time and spread, sometimes almost unconsciously, in process and cultural inherent by the denominator/dominator. So, it is not only the explorer or cartographer who initiated this process, but also the European, and Western cultural centers in general, who mapped and defined the names and ownership of these territories. In this sense, it is good to keep in mind the different forms of linguistic possession of the territory, which occur through different modes of appropriation, also depending on purposes (Cantile, Kerfoot, 2016 and 2022).

3. *Denominate to dominate. Forms of linguistic possession*

A first form of linguistic possession is the adjectivization of an island or archipelago, which often occurs because of geographical or administrative issues. Consider the Tuscan Archipelago, defined as such because it is close to the Tuscan coast and, at the same time, pertains administratively to that Region. The same adjectivization can change over time, either officially or merely customarily, depending on political intent or other cultural dynamics. The Ponziane Archipelago is so called in reference to the largest island – territorially and demographically – among those forming it, Ponza. In the past, these islands were referred to even more explicitly as the Ponza Islands or the Ponze Islands, declaring their belonging to them (fig. 1). In 1934, with the founding of Littoria, a new provincial capital promoted by the Fascist Regime and located in the center of the Pontine Plain, the islands were annexed to the new administration and called the Pontine Islands. This definition, which never officially came into effect, remains in common usage, indistinctly with Ponziane in Ponza, but predominantly in Ventotene, the second inhabited island, in order to free itself from the domination of its cousin island (fig. 2) (Gallia, 2020).

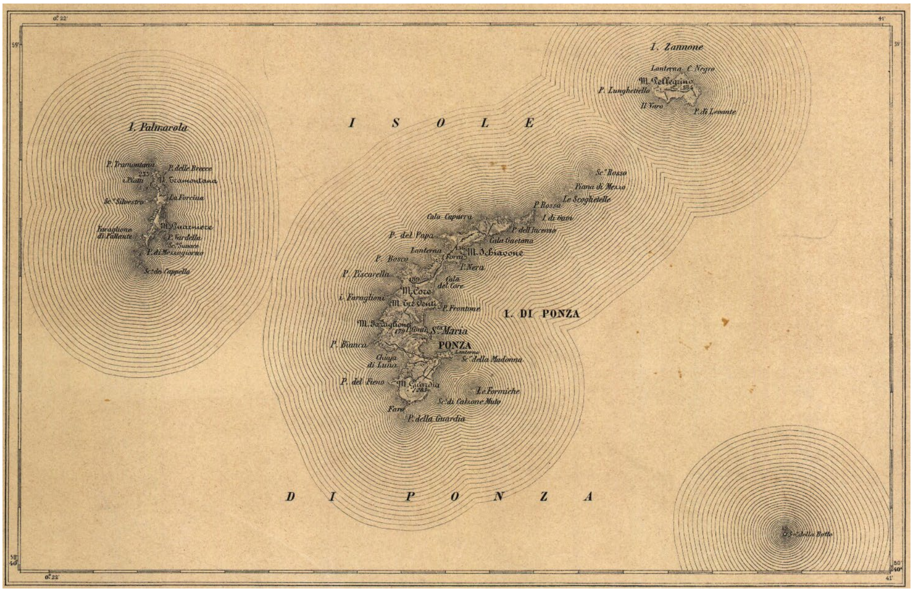

Fig. 1 – *Isole di Ponza*, in IGM F. 170 Terracina, 1883, detail.
Source: Maps Collection, Giuseppe Caraci Geocartographic Lab, University of Roma Tre, Rome, Italy.

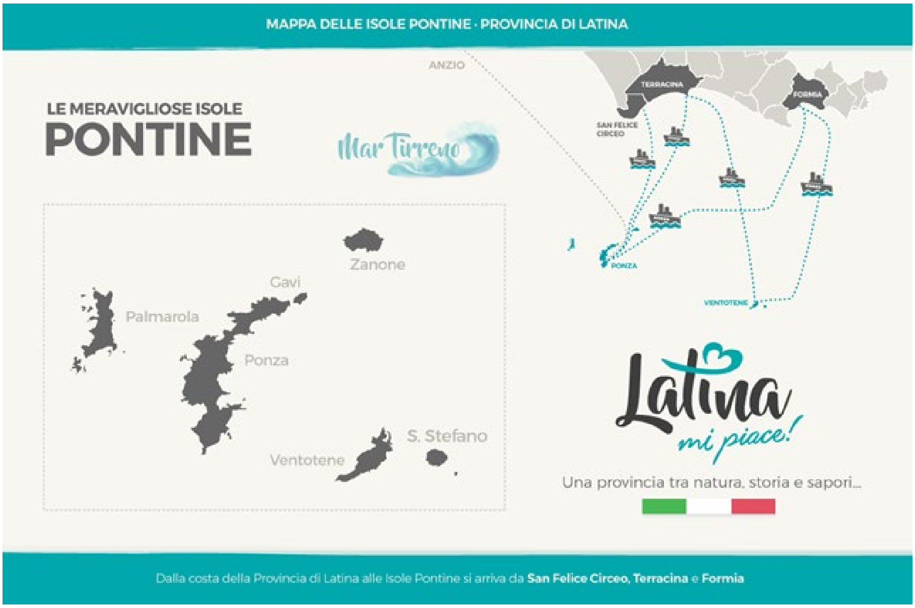

Fig. 2 – *Mappa delle Isole Pontine, Provincia di Latina*. S.d.
Source: Private collection.

In other cases, appropriation occurs indirectly, not through toponymy, but through an additional specification, referring, for example, to a universally recognized myth, character or event: Ithaca is the island of Odysseus. Homers tales, for example, alternate this solution with toponymy to define the belonging of an island, whether it is a social group, a king or a geographical element.

When the Portuguese began to settle along the African coast and the Spanish landed in the Caribbean islands, belonging became appropriation, possession and, therefore, domination.

Christopher Columbus named Española – diminutive and possessive at the same time of Spain – the island where he first landed, which later became Hispaniola according to the Latin tradition proposed by Bartolomé de las Casas.

The reassertion of the homeland place-name in newly discovered/explored/possessed territories by means of allomorphies, polyrhematic gematria, diminutives, vezzeggiatives is quite frequent throughout history. Likewise, a process of duplication of Old-World toponymy takes place in new lands, such as New Spain, which, however, is a continental land, New Holland, New Caledonia, New Zealand, New Amsterdam, and so on (fig. 3). This process is, yes, related to the appropriation of a newly discovered territory, but it also allows for the maintenance of a continuity of identity and, therefore, fosters its recognition – even with some comfort – by newcomers, repurposing the name, adjectivalized, of their place of origin.

Fig. 3 – *New Holland* in Aaron Arrowsmith's *World Map*, 1799.
Source: David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, 15294.000.

In the broad process of exploration of the seas to discover unknown and uninhabited patches of land, the entry of competing players such as the Dutch, British and French among all, is also reflected in the naming of these new territories. Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with aftershocks in the following century as well, we witness the appearance on maps of numerous islands, scattered across the oceans and of the most diverse sizes, isolated or grouped in archipelagos. These are the subject of a fairly continuous process of naming, renaming, reaffirmation of previous toponym or claiming. Effective dominance over an island territory was also guaranteed by the mere toponymic attestation crystallized on paper. And in a game of power – or demonstration of – translation from one language to another, justified by the different audiences for which it was intended, was a geopolitical instrument of reaffirmation of rights over a given strip of land, albeit isolated in the middle of the Pacific or squeezed between Antarctic ice.

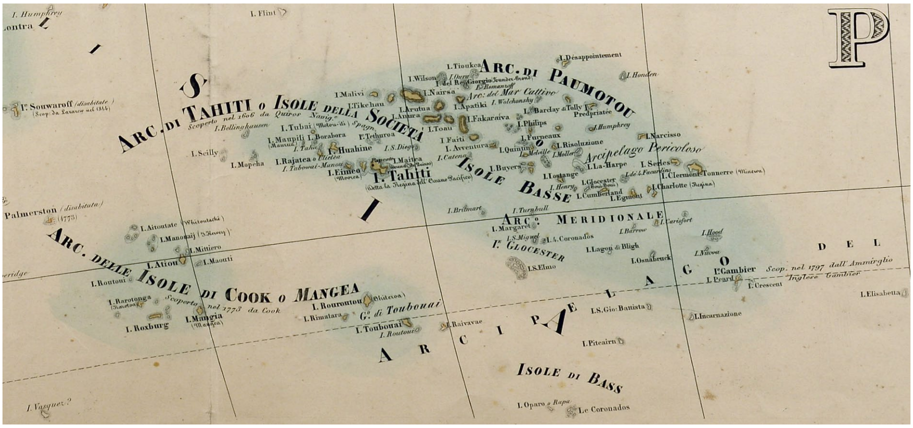

Fig. 4 – Pacific islands with explorers' indications, Evangelista Azzi's *World Map*, 1873.
Source: Private collection.

Immune to translation is – should be – the naming, with strong celebratory and political overtones, through the use of the sovereign's name. This ensures clear appropriation, but it is also a means of celebrating a sovereign so far-sighted as to be willing to finance such risky voyages with a low probability of success. To Philip of Spain, for example, the naming of the Philippine Islands is dedicated. Also, to Spanish rulers, but Bourbon, an archipelago east of Madagascar is dedicated.

Sometimes dedications are generated by allomorphies, apparently errors, intended by the cartographer to transform a toponym to celebrate their sovereign. This is the case, for example, of Louise – or Marie Louise – island, east of the Horn of Africa and not far from the Seychelles, discovered by Vasco da Gama in 1502 but explored by Joseph-Marie Collas, Knight of Roslan in 1771 aboard the ship Louise (Hagan *et alii*, 2010), which Evangelista Azzi, a cartographer at the court of Maria Luigia of Parma, deliberately renamed Luigia in honor of his own sovereign (Castaldi, Gallia, 2023).

Other forms of naming with proper names have the intent, yes, celebratory, but with respect to characters or events of the past, as is customary in the toponymic and odonomastic spheres.

Also, in the Indian Ocean, the archipelago to which Marie Louise Island belongs is dedicated to the A[l]mirante, Admiral Vasco Da Gama, the first – European – explorer of those seas (fig. 5).

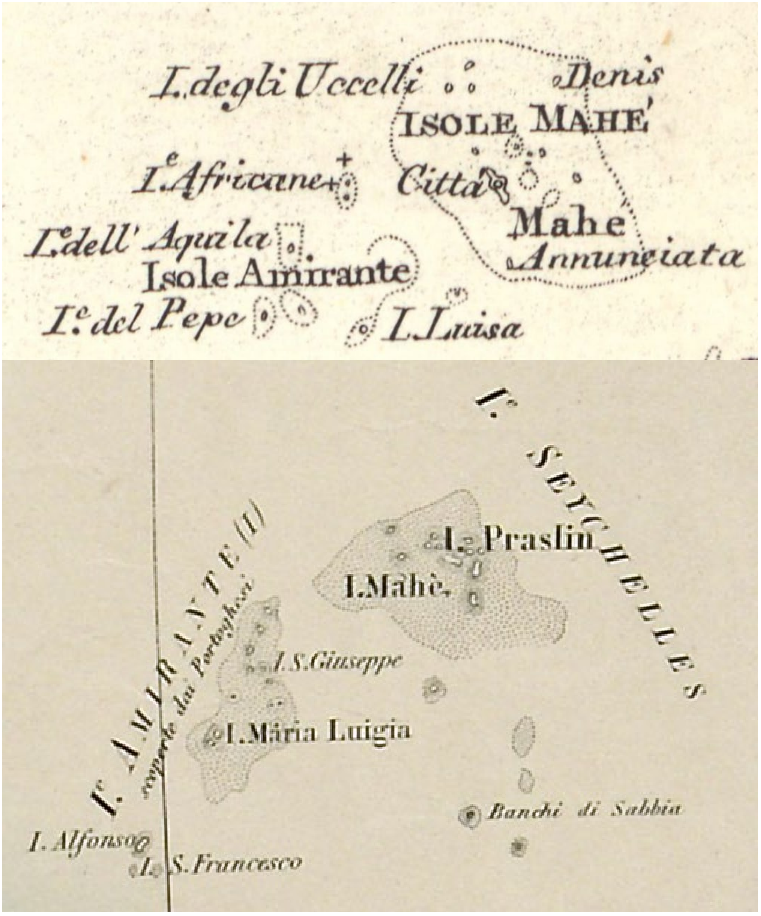

Fig. 5 – The Islands of the A[l]mirant with Luisa Island in Raffaele Mancini's *World Map* (1838), above, and Maria Luigia Island in Evangelista Azzi's *World Map* (1873), below.

Source: Raffaele Mancini's *World Map*, 1838, David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, 10406.000. Evangelista Azzi's *World Map*, 1873. Private collection.

The two Christmas Islands, one in the Pacific and one in the Indian, are named after the day they were sighted or scouted, celebrating a Christian holiday. Similar dynamics apply to Easter Island.

Other designations are meant to celebrate the commander of the expedition that discovered those territories, and this dynamic can be heterocentered, when posterity or European scientists decided on the naming, or self-centered, when it was the explorer himself who named the island or archipelago after himself to attest not to his possession but to the merit of that feat, such as the numerous designations dedicated to James Cook (fig. 4).

The saints of the day or to whom the crew was devoted named thousands of islands, even reiterating and repeating the name over and over again.

And when sovereigns, saints, explorers, and events were over and the longing for the home hearth returned, the names of the many wives left behind began to appear on charts, sometimes with little luck, other times with some persistence, as in the case of Adelia Land, now famous for the species of penguin widely distributed here. French explorer Jules Dumont d'Urville reached the Arctic land in 1840 and wanted to dedicate it to his wife who was so patient and accepting of his sea voyages, as he himself wrote in his travel journal (Dumont d'Urville, 1846; Duyker, 2015). In misinterpretations and translations, Earth became Island on some maps, until Antarctica in its entirety was delineated (fig. 6).

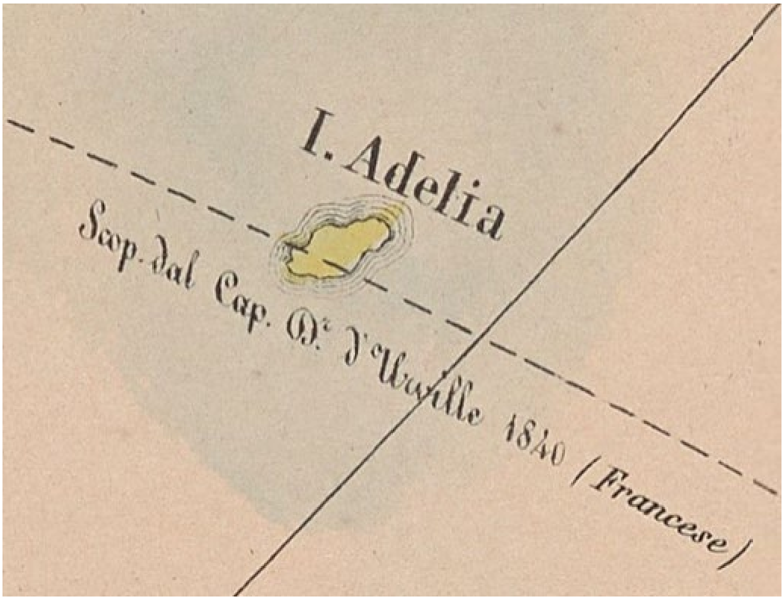

Fig. 6 – The island of Adelia, so erroneously reported in Evangelista Azzi's *World Map*, 1873.
Source: Private collection.

Today, in an almost fully explored world, insular toponymy is a contentious element in the appropriation of a strip of land emerging from the sea, although diplomacy more often than not is able to derivate the issue of naming[1]. New applications of toponymy, not only in a regressive and historical reading, see turning our gaze to other spatial, exogeographical contexts, leading human societies to deal with the naming of places on non-terrestrial planets, applying the same dynamics of heterocentered appropriation just above[2].

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[1] Among the actors deputed for the resolution of toponymic issues are the United Nations working groups, including the Roman Hellenic Division, headed by Andrea Cantile (IGM and University of Florence).

[2] On the topic of exogeography, see the works of Annalisa D'Ascenzo (2010 and 2021).

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Nesonyms and Power in Historical Cartography. The Denomination of Islands as an Act of Domination

The act of naming coincides with the symbolic control of a territory. When this process occurs from outside and concerns island contexts, it often coincides with a form of domination. Historical cartography crystallises this phenomenon and allows us today to understand the dynamics of naming and domination of newly discovered and explored island contexts in the past. The paper aims to address this issue with some reflections.

Nesonimi e potere in cartografia. La denominazione delle isole come atto di dominazione

L'atto di denominare coincide con il controllo simbolico di un territorio. Quando questo processo avviene dall'esterno e riguarda contesti insulari, spesso coincide con una forma di dominazione. La cartografia storica cristallizza questo fenomeno e ci permette oggi di andare a comprendere le dinamiche di denominazione e dominazione dei contesti insulari di nuova scoperta ed esplorazione nel passato. L'intervento si propone di soffermarsi sulla questione con alcune riflessioni.

Nésonymes et pouvoir dans la cartographie historique. La dénomination des îles comme acte de domination

L'acte de nommer coïncide avec le contrôle symbolique d'un territoire. Lorsque ce processus se produit de l'extérieur et concerne des contextes insulaires, il coïncide souvent avec une forme de domination. La cartographie historique cristallise ce phénomène et nous permet aujourd'hui de comprendre les dynamiques de dénomination et de domination des contextes insulaires nouvellement découverts et explorés dans le passé. L'article vise à aborder cette question par le biais de quelques réflexions.

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Practices of Re-naming and Re-semanticizing Places in Ibn Gubayr's Journey (Rihla, XII century)

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Keywords: *toponymy, Sicily, Arabs, cartography, travel itineraries*

Parole chiave: *toponomastica, Sicilia, Arabi, cartografia, itinerari di viaggio*

Mots-clés : *toponymie, Sicile, Arabes, cartographie, itinéraires de voyage*

1. *Introduction and method of analysis*

Several decades of geographical research have enhanced our understanding of the complex meanings of local action (Turco, 2016; Farinelli, 2003; Cosgrove, Daniels, 1988). To give new meanings to places, environments, and landscapes, numerous inter- and intra-disciplinary approaches exist in the literature (Tuan, 1976; Botta, 1989; Brosseau, 1994; Papotti, Tomasi, 2014; Rossetto, 2014; Rosenberg, 2016; Rossetto, Peterle, 2017). Indeed, the stratifications proper to geographical spaces demand a "new philology" (Gelling 1978; Cooper, Gregory, 2011; Douglas, 2014; Gregory *et alii*, 2015; Cantile, Kerfoot, 2016, 2019; Grava *et alii*, 2020; Gallia, Scaglione, 2021) to complement traditional geographical inquiry: new analytical approaches to construct multidisciplinary research models. This research is thus shaped as a study of historical geography devoted to toponymic analysis and, precisely, to the act of naming a Mediterranean liminal space (Sicily) as a stage in the process of territorialization.

This paper is part of a – theoretical and methodological – multidisciplinary investigation that draws on travel literature, cartography, toponymy, and historical-geographical research to examine the re-naming of Sicilian places as informed by the outlook and perceptions of the Arab traveler Ibn Gubayr.

In 1184, Gubayr embarked on a journey that took him to Sicily, as recorded in his admirable work *Adab al Rihla*, wherein he described the tangible spatial dimensions through a personal perceptual-sensory filter (his own emotional-affective experience and cultural conditioning).

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Although this paper was jointly planned by the three authors, Monica Morazzoni drafted Section 1, Lisa Scafa Section 2, and Giovanna Giulia Zavettieri Section 3. The conclusions were jointly authored.

In the present study, which offers a novel educational perspective, the qualitative-quantitative method developed by Jan Tent (2015) was used to systematically classify the Sicilian place names mentioned in Gubayr's travelogue. The aim has been to "discover", on the one hand, the meanings underlying the toponyms used to name places and, on the other, to present Gubayr's narrative as a "tool" for recovering the meaning of the history of Arab rule in Sicily. To this end, the translations of the *Rihla* by the Arabists, Celestino Schiaparelli (1906) and Michele Amari (1880, 1923 edition) have been studied, and specifically the section devoted to Sicily. The Sicilian place names and descriptions in the *Rihla* were compared with those on the map drawn by Amari in 1859, based on the itineraries and monumental 1154 work of the geographer Idrisi[1]. For Sicilian toponymy, in accordance with Jeremy John's (2004) findings on the work of the traveler Ibn Hawqal, there are numerous limitations of these studies since the correct and original reading of place names cannot always be established with certainty. Furthermore, Sicilian place names are not documented in Arabic works, which requires further investigation. And finally, maps of medieval Sicily do not provide a realistic picture of the island's topography. These difficulties are also related to the lack of studies using toponymy analysis of non-European culture.

The method of analysis comprised the following stages: 1) The reconstruction of Gubayr's travel route using GIS technology; 2) the production of a table with the current name of each Sicilian locality, the corresponding toponyms found in Gubayr's *Rihla* as translated by Amari (1880) and Schiaparelli (1906), and the description of the locality offered by Gubayr; 3) the comparison of the current map of Sicily with Amari's 1859 map, on which the place names are given in both Italian and Arabic; 4) the drafting of a table cataloguing the place-naming practices brought to bear by Gubayr on the Sicilian coast, according to Tent's (2015, p. 71) distinction between descriptive, associative, occurrent, shift, evaluative, eponymous, and indigenous toponyms[2].

Combining historical-cartographic investigation and analysis of travel literature yields the processes of territorialization of the period and the geographical characteristics of the area.

2. *Discovering lands from a sea voyage perspective: the trajectory of Ibn Gubayr*

Ibn Gubayr (Valencia, 1145-Alexandria, 1217) made three separate journeys to Mecca. The first, during which he wrote the *Adab al Rihla*, began in 1183 from Granada and ended back there again two years later.

[1] The research, in another publication, could be deepened through comparative work on the toponymy presented in Ibn Jubayr's Rihla and in the works of other Arabic authors, such as Ibn Battuta.

[2] Our analysis (see Section 3) identified the use of descriptive, shift, and eponymous toponyms. Specifically, Ibn Gubayr renamed places in order to describe their inherent characteristics (descriptive); he borrowed toponyms, in whole or in part, from other locations or features (shift); and he commemorated or honored a person or other named entity by adopting proper names as toponyms (eponymous).

Fig. 1 – Gubayr's landings in Sicily. The map shows both the current place names and, in italics, those attributed by Gubayr.

Source: GIS processed by the authors.

It was during this first journey that, while returning from Mecca, and after setting sail from Acre (*Akkah*), Ibn Gubayr made his "discovery" of the Sicilian coast (Schiaparelli, 1906, pp. XXV-XXVII), landing initially at Messina (fig. 1): «Paese avvolto nelle tenebre dell'incredulità, il musulmano non vi fissa dimora; zeppa di adoratori della croce, i suoi abitanti vi stanno soffocati […]» (Ibn Gubayr, translation by Schiaparelli, 1906, pp. 320-321).

It was first in Cefalù (Safludi) and later in Termini Imerese (Tarmah) that Gubayr began to detect an atmosphere evocative of the Arab world, noting a rich natural lushness that inspired confidence to the outsider, encouraging an overall positive view of Sicily:

> Città di costiera [Cefalù, ndr], molto ferace di territorio, abbondante in derrate, tutta circondata da vigneti ed altre piante, con mercati ben disposti. Vi dimora un certo numero di Musulmani. […] […] I Musulmani vi hanno [a Termini Imerese, ndr] un sobborgo grande dove trovansi le loro moschee [*ibidem*, pp. 326-327].

In Palermo, where Gubayr spent seven days, he dwelt in great detail on the features that recalled Medina and Islamic culture:

> In questa città i Musulmani conservano traccie di lor credenza; essi tengono in buono stato la maggior parte delle loro moschee e vi fanno la preghiera alla chiamata del muezzin. Vi hanno dei sobborghi dove

> dimorano appartati dai Cristiani [...]. Non tengono adunanze congregazionali il venerdì, essendo la hutbah loro proibita; la recitano però nelle feste solenni, facendo l'invocazione a nome del [Califfo] 'abbasida. [...] la più parte servono di scuola ai maestri del Corano. In generale questi Musulmani non praticano coi loro confratelli alla dipendenza degli infedeli [*ibidem*, pp. 330-333].

Again, in Alcamo (*Alqamah*), Gubayr was keen to point out that the inhabitants and those of the *masserie* «che trovansi lungo tutta questa strada» (*ibidem*, p. 333) were Muslims. In Trapani, furthermore, «si trovano mercati, bagni e tutte le comodità cittadine che possono occorrere[...]» (*ibidem*, pp. 333-334).

On March 5, 1185, Gubayr left Sicily for Spain, making his final Sicilian stops at Marettimo (*Malitimah*), Levanzo (*Yabisah*) and Favignana (*ar-Rahib*). This part of the sea was difficult to navigate, hence his perception of encountering isolated and unsafe territories:

> Arrivammo all'Isola del Romito (Favignana) [...] appena si accorsero di noi, si posero ad adocchiarci dalla nave [...], alzando le voci per salutarci e darci il benvenuto [...]. Fu questo un giorno solenne che, dopo la festa, ritenemmo come festa novella [*ibidem*, pp. 343-346].

3. *Sicily in Ibn Gubayr's Adab al Rihla: an experiment in analyzing the renaming practices of the Arab traveler*

Adab al Rihla offers a key case study in interpreting travel accounts within Muslim geography[3]. Nevertheless, literary reinterpretations and geographical insights are scarce – with the exception of Amari's translation, cartography, and criticism, and Schiaparelli's translation. Regarding Sicily between the 10th and 12th centuries, Amari states in a footnote that the «varied, plentiful, and ancient information» on the topography of the island was available at the

[3] The first hints of a Muslim geography began to take shape in the Abbasid era (IX century) informed by what Martínez (2001, p. 65-67) summarized as three forces, which are the requirements of state administration, the impressive works of translation, and the narratives of early travelers to the lands beyond *Dar al-Islam*. These drivers yielded different branches of geography (scientific, technical, popular shaped by the literary models of the *adab* or Islamic travel literature). Almost all the geographic literature cited above was produced by non-travelling authors based on the material of others. This changed from the tenth century onwards, when geographers began to write accounts informed by their own travels, yielding narratives that remained in line with the *adab* but combined the conventional format with '*iyan* or "personal observation", making for greater realism. Islamist scholars note that Islam has traditionally encouraged Muslims engage in various forms of travel: *hajj* or the pilgrimage to Mecca; *hijra*, migration from *dar al kufr* to *dar al islam* (Morazzoni, Zavettieri, 2019); *ziyarat*, visits to shrines (Morazzoni, Zavettieri, 2020); *al rihla*, journeying in quest of both religious and secular knowledge. Some journeys combined two or more types of travel: for example, for medieval Muslims, *hajj* and *rihla* usually coincided (Eickelman, Piscatori, 1990). The medieval travelers who pioneered the *adab al rihla* or travel tale genre were Ibn Gubayr (1145-1217) and Ibn Battuta (1304-1368).

Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula and on his own *Carte comparée de la Sicile moderne avec la Sicile au XII siècle. D'après Edrisi et d'autres géographes arabes*[4] (fig. 2).

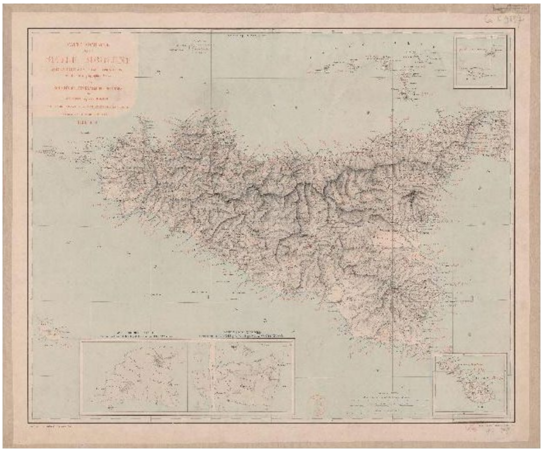

Fig. 2 – *Carte comparée* by Michele Amari, 1859.
Source: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53099608z/f1.item.zoom (last accessed July 2022).

The map, based on Idrisi's official itineraries «and some other information» (Amari, 1923, p. XIII), was published in Paris in 1859, accompanied by a *Notice* in French authored with Auguste Henri Dufour, and an index of topographical names drawn from medieval Arabic accounts. The main source of topographical information about Sicily during Muslim rule was Idrisi, who wrote in Arabic and published *Sollazzo di chi brama di percorrere le regioni* in Palermo in 1154.

We found no particular discrepancies between the travelogue of Gubayr, a contemporary of Idrisi, and Amari's map[5]. The latter features place names used by Gubayr and later transliterated into Arabic by Amari. For example, Trapani remained the same, but instead of the *p*, which does not exist in Arabic, the *b* was used, yielding *Trabani*. Similarly, Alcamo remained *Alqamah*, while Marettimo continued to be rendered as *Malitimah*.

Interestingly, Gubayr referred to a number of places (fig. 3) under toponyms not included by Amari. For example: Castellammare del Golfo, which Gubayr alluded to as *Hisn al-hammam* (Castle of the thermal waters) appears

[4] While Amari sourced his Arabic toponymy from the work of Idrisi, he drew his map from eight plates produced in the late 18th century by Monsignor Airoldi, a Sicilian ethnographer and geographer (Dufour, Amari, 1859, pp. 6-7).

[5] Notably, Amari pointed out in his footnote (1923, p. XIV) that some of the toponyms used by Ibn Gubayr or Idrisi likely do not describe observed phenomena but rather may reference the proper names of landowners of the time. This makes the work of contemporary scholars seeking to shed light on processes of renaming, resignifying, and resemanticizing places even more challenging.

in Amari as *Hisn al-darj*, where *darj* may mean “neutral”, yielding “neutral castle”. Levanzo is transcribed by Gubayr as *Yabisah*, meaning “solitary”, in keeping with the morphology of an island. Possible alternative meanings include “locked up” and “prisoner”. In contrast, on Amari’s *Carte comparée*, the toponym for Levanzo is *al-jazeerat aliabst*, where *al-jazeerat* means “island” and *aliabst* may be an incorrect transliteration of *alubst* (“lobster”), hence “lobster island”. The castle at Maredolce is *Qasr’ Ga’far* in both the *Rihla* and the *Carte comparée*. Similarly, Favignana is listed in both documents as *ar-Rahib* meaning “hermit”, a personage described by Gubayr as the only inhabitant of Favignana.

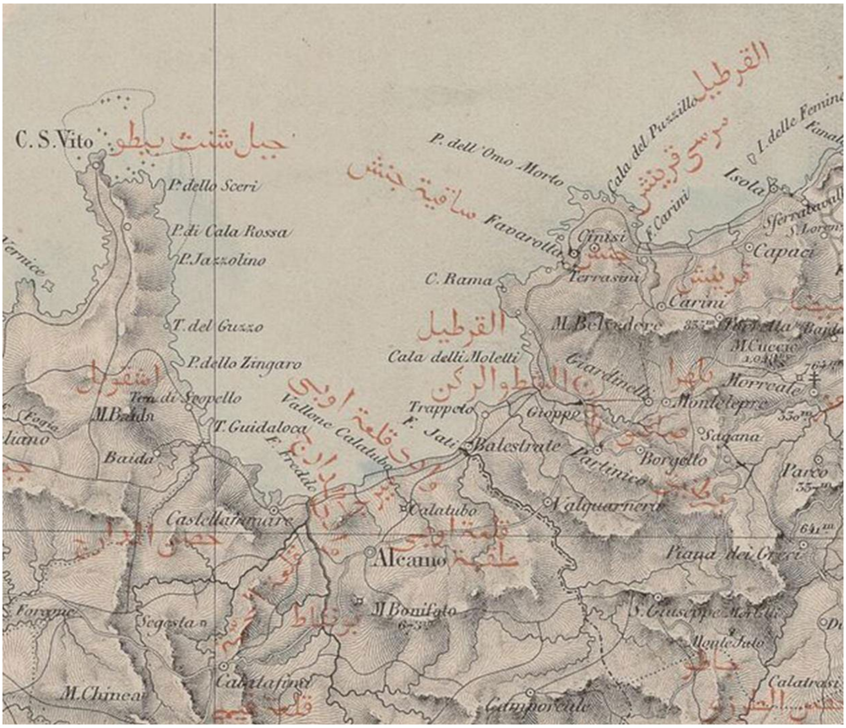

Fig. 3 – Detail of Castellammare del Golfo and Alcamo in the *Carte Comparée* of Michele Amari, 1859. *Source*: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53099608z/f1.item.zoom (last accessed July 2022).

After assessing the reliability of the information in the *Rihla* via the comparative analysis just outlined, further investigation was conducted into the types of toponym used. An initial check showed that, of nine locations where Gubayr landed (fig. 1), he renamed four (Maredolce Castle, Palermo, Castellammare del Golfo, Favignana Island). These instances of renaming, following the classification proposed by Tent (2015), deployed the following types of toponym:

a) eponym, e.g., the Castle of Maredolce in the *Rihla* is called *Hisn Ja’far,* meaning “castle of Ja’far”. In this case, Gubayr’s naming of the place was a tribute to Emir Ja'far, the Kalbita who ruled over Sicily during the Islamic dynasty; similarly, Favignana became *ar-Rahib* in honor of the hermit who was its sole inhabitant at the time of Gubayr;

b) shift, e.g., Palermo in the *Rihla* became *al-Madinah*, the city where «[...] i Musulmani conservano traccie di lor credenza» (Ibn Gubayr, trans. Schiaparelli, 1906, p. 330);

c) descriptive, e.g., Castellammare del Golfo in the *Rihla* was rendered as *Hisn al-hammam*, meaning "thermal castle". And indeed, Gubayr described Castellammare as a «terra considerevole con molti bagni. Dio ne fece scaturire le sorgenti dal suolo [...]» (*ibidem*, p. 333).

Hence, renaming in the travelogue spanned practices designed on the one hand to celebrate personages and elements of Islamic culture (Azaryahu, 1996, p. 314), and on the other hand to emphasize representative features of Sicily, both natural and man-made, as observed by Gubayr.

4. *Conclusions: future lines of research*

The study of place names offers interesting keys to interpreting a territory. This ongoing research adds new reflections concerning the processes of territorialization that occurred in Sicily. Gubayr's journey, read through the translations of Schiaparelli and Amari, throws up previously undiscovered knowledge concerning various aspects of the Arab domination in Sicily and Muslim-Christian relations. The renaming of places means that the study of place names can offer information about the geographical characteristics of an area, with its settlement patterns, geomorphology, and changes over time, as well as the influence of names on property values (Norris, 1999) and local or foreign cultures.

The study prompts inquiry into a further series of questions: What place-naming practices did Gubayr deploy in the Arab territories? Did he also feel the need to rename and re-semanticize the places of Islamic culture that he encountered on his way to Mecca? Or did this need to re-semanticize landmarks only hold for Sicily as a land of conquest for the Arabs?

Finally, this first study stimulates to check how other Arab travelers renamed Sicilian places. For example, which place names were used by Ibn Battuta in his *Rihla*? Which ones by Ibn Hawqal in the *Kitab al-Masalik*? Which ones by Al Mas'udi in the *Murug ad-dahab*? And which toponyms are found in the numerous compendia written by Arab travelers who remained anonymous?

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Practices of Re-naming and Re-semanticizing Places in Ibn Gubayr's Journey (Rihla, XII century)

The essay delves into toponymy in the literary works of a 12th-century Arab traveler, addressing in particular the issue of the "renaming" of Sicilian places consequent to the processes of territorialization following Arab domination. The study focused on the analysis of Schiaparelli's and Amari's translations of the traveler Ibn Gubayr's work and comparison with the cartographic source of the same translator Amari. The contribution deals with the analysis of a little-known work in the field of geography.

Pratiche di ridenominazione e risemantizzazione dei luoghi nel Viaggio di Ibn Gubayr (Rihla)

Il presente lavoro prende spunto dal resoconto di viaggio di Ibn Gubayr (1145-1217) per dimostrare che la presenza araba in Sicilia ha contribuito a risemantizzare questo spazio geografico, dotandolo di significati informati dalla cultura e dalle percezioni islamiche. Riletti oggi, i toponimi offrono un punto di partenza per ricostruire lo spazio arabo nell'isola. La ricerca combina tre ambiti: la letteratura di viaggio, la toponomastica e la cartografia storica e digitale.

Pratiques de renommage et de resémantisation des lieux dans le Voyage d'Ibn Gubayr (Rihla)

Cet article prend comme point de départ le récit de voyage d'Ibn Gubayr (1145-1217) pour démontrer que la présence arabe en Sicile a contribué à ressembler cet espace géographique, en lui donnant des significations informées par la culture et les perceptions islamiques. Relus aujourd'hui, les noms de lieux offrent un point de départ pour reconstruire l'espace arabe sur l'île. La recherche combine trois domaines : la littérature de voyage, la toponymie et la cartographie historique et numérique.

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Procesos de retoponimización en España

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Palabras clave: *España, retoponimización, callejero*

Parole chiave: *Spagna, ri-toponimizzazione, nomi delle strade*

Keywords: *Spain, retoponimization, street names*

1. *Introducción*

Los procesos de retoponimización han sido frecuentes en España. Desde la instauración de la democracia cabe destacar los relacionados con cuestiones lingüísticas y los relacionados con la guerra civil (Izu Belloso, 2010). Respecto a estos últimos, España cuenta con una regulación específica desde la aprobación de la Ley de Memoria Histórica (LMH), Ley 52/2007 (Jefatura del Estado, 2007). Esta norma impuso la necesidad de retirar del espacio público los nombres y símbolos que supusieran una exaltación de la dictadura de Franco. Por otro lado, España cuenta con numerosas lenguas regionales (Burgueño Ribero, 2002). Aunque no todas tienen carácter cooficial, desde la transición se ha efectuado un importante esfuerzo por traducir la toponimia a estos idiomas (Izu Belloso, 2010).

Aunque se conoce la existencia de los procesos que se han mencionado, no se ha cuantificado su intensidad. Este es el objetivo de este trabajo. Para ello se han estudiado los cambios en el callejero del censo electoral publicado por el Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) a lo largo del periodo 2001 – 2021. El estudio se ha efectuado a nivel nacional y autonómico. En el apartado siguiente, se desarrolla el marco teórico del trabajo. En el dedicado a la metodología, se detallan las técnicas utilizadas para detectar los cambios. En el apartado de resultados se efectúa una descripción general del callejero, se cuantifican los cambios y se presenta una clasificación de las regiones en base a su dinámica. Para finalizar, se ha añadido un apartado en el que se discuten los resultados y se sintetizan las principales conclusiones.

2. *Marco teórico*

La toponimia de las ciudades de España cuenta con numerosas referencias históricas (Sánchez-Costa, 2009). No obstante, todo topónimo «está describi-

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endo el contexto ideológico propio de la época en que fue creado» (Membrado-Tena e Iranzo-García, 2017, p. 204). En relación con esta cuestión, «la forma en que se representa el pasado no es inocua, sino que expresa relaciones de poder y autoridad, se materializa de manera muy clara en el espacio público de las ciudades» (García Álvarez, 2009, p. 189).

El nomenclátor de las vías urbanas es «una manifestación de la memoria colectiva de una comunidad» (Duch, 2002, p. 381-382). El estudio de su dimensión territorial ha derivado en el desarrollo de una geografía de la memoria (García Álvarez, 2009). Sin embargo, la memoria es una representación del pasado, incluye tanto el recuerdo como el olvido (Alfonso Pinilla, 2013). En relación con esto, en España, se han registrado múltiples procesos de retoponimización (Izu Belloso, 2010). Estos suelen estar vinculados con identidades y memorias impuestas por el poder (Andrés Sanz, 2006), «la memoria de las minorías excluidas podría identificarse como contramemoria» (Alfonso Pinilla, 2013, p. 132-133).

La modificación de los nombres de las calles es frecuente en los cambios de régimen (Izu Belloso, 2010). Esto es debido a que la retoponimización intraurbana es «una de las políticas de implantación de símbolos más eficiente, más rápida, más económica y más cercana» (Andrés Sanz, 2006, p. 12-13). En las ciudades, «desde el momento en que se impone, por ejemplo, el nombre de un personaje histórico a una vía, el lugar físico queda vinculado a dicha figura histórica, la refiere y la hace presente» (Sánchez-Costa, 2009, p. 5). La modificación sistemática de símbolos y toponimia puede llegar a suponer «la "colonización" de un paisaje preexistente o la creación de un paisaje nuevo por elementos de propósito expresamente identitario y nacionalizador, de acuerdo con una determinada política de memoria» (García Álvarez, 2009, p. 189). Esto puede afectar tanto a los elementos evocados por los nombres como al idioma en que se expresan.

3. *Metodología*

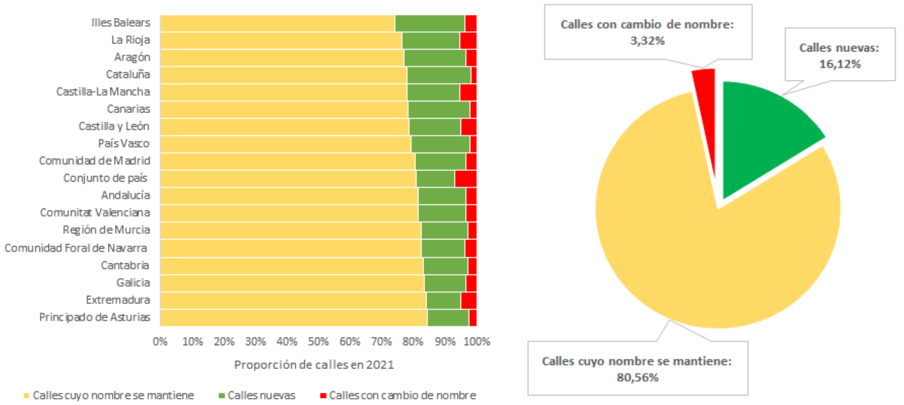
La principal fuente de datos con la que se ha trabajado es el callejero del censo electoral (INE, 2001-2021). El callejero recoge los nombres de todas las calles de España de forma periódica, lo que permite monitorizar sus cambios. Esto se ha hecho descomponiendo los nombres en trigramas (Bird et al., 2009) y contando, para cada calle, los que se repiten en dos callejeros consecutivos. Se ha considerado que una calle ha cambiado de nombre cuando, excluyendo signos diacríticos y caracteres extraños, la proporción de trigramas comunes ha disminuido de forma significativa.

La identificación de los cambios asociados con la LMH se ha hecho a partir de listados de nombres vinculados con el franquismo. Se han utilizado los publicados por Duch (2002), Andrés Sanz (2006), Ortiz y Morcillo (2015), Ayuntamiento de Madrid (2017), Deberiadesaparecer.com (2020), Casa de la República (2022), Foro por la Memoria (n.d.) y Combatientes.es (n.d.). En las calles cuyo nombre se ha modificado, el cambio se ha considerado vinculado con el franquismo cuando el nombre suprimido presenta una proporción significativa de trigramas comunes con alguno de los nombres de los listados.

Para conocer los cambios asociados a los restantes procesos, una vez descontado el efecto de la LMH, se ha efectuado una estimación del número medio de cambios en las comunidades autónomas sin lenguas cooficiales. Estos se han considerado aleatorios. El resto, se ha vinculado con los procesos de retoponimización lingüística y otros procesos de retoponimización intensa ajenos la LMH.

4. *Resultados*

4.1. *Composición del callejero de 2021* – El callejero de 2021 está compuesto fundamentalmente por calles con nombres que no han variado desde 2001; estas suponen aproximadamente un 80%. Las calles cuyo código censal no aparece en 2001 – calles nuevas – suponen cerca del 16%; las calles retoponimizadas algo menos del 4%; aunque, al respecto, hay diferencias sustanciales entre territorios (fig. 1).



Composición por regiones Composición en el conjunto de España

Fig. 1 – Composición del callejero *.

* Proporción de calles sobre el total de las existentes en el periodo 2001 – 2021.

Fuente: elaboración propia.

4.2. *Procesos de cambio de nombre* – En la serie de datos, se han puesto de relieve 3 procesos que afectan a los nombres de las calles españolas. El primero se corresponde con modificaciones de carácter aleatorio. Según la estimación efectuada, afecta a un 0,18% de las calles cada año. Las diferencias entre regiones son de pequeño calado (fig. 2). El segundo se produce, eminentemente, en comunidades con lenguas cooficiales y se asocia con procesos de retoponimización lingüística. En el conjunto de España, entre 2001 y 2021, ha afectado al 0,74% de las calles; un 0,05% cada año. El tercer proceso se corresponde con la aplicación de la LMH y supone el 0,58% de las modificaciones; un 0,04% anual.

Atendiendo al peso de cada proceso en las diferentes regiones, estas pueden agruparse en 4 tipologías: las regiones de tipo 1 cuentan con una baja proporción de cambios en relación con la LMH y, también, en relación con los procesos de retoponimización lingüística. En este grupo se encuentran la Comunidad de Madrid, Andalucía o Murcia (fig. 3). Las regiones de tipo 2 presentan una alta proporción de cambios en relación con la LMH y baja en

Tipo	Comunidad autónoma	Proporción de calles con cambios	Proporción de cambios aleatorios	Proporción de cambios en relación con LMH	Proporción de cambios en relación idioma y otros procesos
1	Canarias	3,89	2,64	0,52	0,73
1	Comunidad de Madrid	2,79	2,38	0,41	0,00
1	Andalucía	2,67	2,44	0,24	0,00
1	Región de Murcia	2,54	2,30	0,24	0,00
2	Castilla y León	3,97	2,49	1,48	0,00
2	La Rioja	3,94	2,64	0,90	0,39
2	Castilla-La Mancha	3,34	2,08	1,26	0,00
2	Aragón	3,14	2,19	0,95	0,00
2	Cantabria	2,11	1,06	1,06	0,00
3	País Vasco	7,97	2,64	0,07	5,25
3	Comunitat Valenciana	5,81	2,64	0,30	2,86
3	Illes Balears	5,55	2,64	0,29	2,62
3	Principado de Asturias	4,87	2,64	0,37	1,86
3	Galicia	4,32	2,64	0,56	1,12
3	Cataluña	4,23	2,64	0,04	1,55
4	Extremadura	6,56	2,64	1,45	2,47
4	Comunidad Foral de Navarra	6,24	2,64	0,93	2,66
Total		**3,96**	**2,64**	**0,58**	**0,74**

Fig. 2 – Procesos de retoponimización en España entre 2001 y 2021.
*Tipo: tipo de región atendiendo a los cambios vinculados con la LMH y la retoponimización lingüística.
Fuente: elaboración propia.

Fig. 3 – Tipos de regiones en función de los procesos retoponimización intraurbana.
Fuente: elaboración propia.

relación con el resto de los procesos. Estas, salvo Cantabria, son regiones del interior. Las regiones de tipo 3 cuentan con escasos cambios en relación con la LMH y numerosos en relación con la retoponimización lingüística. Se trata de comunidades con lenguas regionales ubicadas en el litoral. En las regiones de tipo 4 – Navarra y Extremadura – el ritmo de supresión de nombres franquistas es elevado. A la par, se observan otros procesos de retoponimización intensos que, en el caso de Navarra, se vinculan con cambios lingüísticos.

5. *Discusión y conclusiones*

Los resultados obtenidos, en línea con lo planteado por García Álvarez (2009), subrayan la relación entre identidad, memoria y espacio geográfico. Los procesos de retoponimización analizados no operan con la misma intensidad en todas las comunidades autónomas. Aunque los cambios de nombre ligados con la LMH son los más generalizados, son escasos en algunas regiones; especialmente en el País Vasco y Cataluña. En estas comunidades, el nacionalismo periférico tiene un peso político importante y, al respecto, se produjo una intensa retoponimización en los primeros años de democracia (Izu Belloso, 2010). Sin embargo, como esto no sucedió en todo el país (Duch, 2002), el efecto de la LMH ha sido más evidente en la España interior.

La aplicación de la LMH ha sido muy polémica (Andrés Sanz, 2006). No obstante, pese a tener un alcance espacial más limitado, los procesos de retoponimización lingüística han supuesto un mayor número de cambios. Estos se han concentrado en comunidades con lenguas cooficiales y en las que la identidad regional ha formado parte del debate político. Estos resultados sugieren la existencia de vínculos entre la geografía política y la dinámica de la toponimia; es decir, de una geografía política de la toponimia.

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Procesos de retoponimización en España

En España, existen diferentes procesos de retoponimización que afectan al espacio intraurbano; destacan la aplicación de la Ley de Memoria Histórica y la traducción de los nombres de las calles a las lenguas regionales. En este trabajo, a partir del callejero del censo electoral, se ha estudiado la intensidad de cada uno de ellos en cada región. Las modificaciones ligadas al idioma han supuesto mayor número de cambios que las vinculadas con la Ley de Memoria Histórica, pese a tener esta última mayor alcance territorial.

Processi di ri-toponimizzazione in Spagna

In Spagna esistono diversi processi di ri-toponimizzazione che interessano lo spazio intraurbano; spiccano l'applicazione della Legge sulla Memoria Storica e la traduzione dei nomi delle strade nelle lingue regionali. In questo lavoro, basato sul database dei nomi delle strade del censimento elettorale, è stata studiata l'intensità di ciascuno di questi in ciascuna regione. Le modifiche legate alla lingua hanno comportato un numero maggiore di modifiche rispetto a quelle legate alla Legge sulla Memoria Storica, nonostante quest'ultima abbia una portata territoriale maggiore.

Retoponimization processes in Spain

In Spain, there are different processes of retoponimization that affect the intra-urban space; the application of the Historical Memory Law and the translation of street names into regional languages stand out. In this work, based on the street map of the electoral census, the intensity of each of these in each region has been studied. The modifications linked to the language have meant a greater number of changes than those linked to the Historical Memory Law, despite the latter having a greater territorial scope.

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Post-war Urban Projects in Syria, a Toponymic Insight

Jack Keilo[*]

Keywords: *Syria, post-conflict, urban projects, state ideology*

Mots-clés : *Syrie, post-conflit, projets urbains, idéologie d'État*

Parole chiave: *Siria, post-conflitto, progetti urbani, ideologia di Stato*

1. *Syrian place names as "spatialised ideology"*

How do two new toponyms around Damascus, *Marota City* and *Basilia City*, represent continuity and change in the Syrian state's ideology and politics? This paper is exploratory and partially depends on the doctoral research of the author (Keilo, 2018).

Toponyms, being a part of the «organised remembrance» (Arendt, Canovan, 1998, pp. 52, 55), «provide for the intersection of hegemonic ideological structures with the spatial practices of everyday life» as a narrative without "villains" (Azaryahu, 1996, pp. 313-315, 317).

2. *The (re)writing of the map of the Syrian Arab Republic since 1920*

In founding new political entities in the Levant (Haut-Commissariat, 1921, pp. 132-141), the French Mandatory Power set in motion toponymic dynamics that still govern the maps of the Syrian and the Lebanese Republics today (Keilo, 2019). Following independence, Lebanon kept intact most of Mandatory toponyms (Keilo, 2017), while Syria followed the "ritual" of «toponymic cleansing» (Azaryahu, 2011, p. 29).

2.1. *The "baathisation" of the Syrian map 1963-2011* – On the 8th of March 1963, the Baath Party seized power and began rewriting the map of Syria: names reminiscent of "colonisation" and "enemies of the Revolution" were changed. The Article 8 of the 1973 Syrian Constitution confirms the Baath Party's pan-Arab and socialist ideology as the state's and the society's (Ace Project, 2022). New names commemorating Baath figures and values were added to map: the process accelerated around 1980. The most visible example on the map is Lake Assad and the Thawra [Revolution] Dam on the Eu-

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phrates: the lake is visible from space and thus is the name of Assad.

At city scale, street names commemorating key dates like Al Thawra [The Revolution], 8 Azar [the 8th of March] 1963, 6 Tishreen [The October war], 16 Tishreen [the Corrective Movement of Hafez Assad on the 16th of November 1970] were added to the map in every Syrian city and town.

2.2. *A toponymic war* – In 2011 the civil war began, after popular protests followed by armed opposition to the Syrian government. The ongoing conflict has resulted in a country fragmented in its territory and scarred in its economy, with several millions of its citizens as refugees and as displaced.

For the government's opponents, renaming what is reminiscent of the Baathist era is essential. In 2012, Syrian activists used Google Map Maker to change street names in several locations in Syria. The changes led to accusations of interference from Bashar Jaafari, then Syrian ambassador to the UN: «What does Google have to do with street names in Syrian cities? Isn't this a violation of the UN and Arab League resolutions on standardising geographical names?» (Keilo, 2015, p. 38).

In April 2014, *Abdelaziz Al Saoud Street* is renamed *Hugo Chávez Street*, and a garden in the University of Damascus is named after the late Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez Frías for «his support for the Syrian people» (Shafaqna, 2014; Damascus University, 2014). Chávez voiced out his «greetings to President Assad and the brothers of the Syrian People who are resisting imperialist aggression» in 2012[1].

In 2015, *Kim Il Sung Street* and *Garden* were inaugurated in Damascus, in honour of « Kim Il Sung […] dear friend of the Syrian Arab People» (SANA, 2015).

For commemoration of local "heroes", in 2015, the Damascus Governorate decided to rename 20 schools after soldiers killed in the war (Syria Daily News, 2015): the dynamic of commemorating "martyrs", set up by the Mandatory Power in 1920, continues to be used in its broadest sense. In retaliation to the Turkish government's interference in northern Syria, there is a movement calling for the removal of the numerous Ottoman toponyms in Damascus (Moubayed, 2016; Arabi21, 2018).

3. *Post-war [probable] urban projects*

The reconstruction of Syria would cost $ 250-400 billion and needs the support of the international community (Devadas *et alii.*, 2019; Daher, 2019), a theoretical objective in a country where the GDP of 2018 was $ 22 billion (The World Bank, 2022).

In 2012, while battle was raging around Damascus, the presidential decree N° 66 declared a zone of «redeveloping areas of unauthorised housing and informal quarters» around the southern Ring Road of Damascus (Syrian Parlia-

[1] See his speech (in Spanish) at https://youtu.be/zfBGspkk1VU (last access 24/09/2022).

ment, 2012). Later, this zone became two distinct urban projects: *Marota City* to the north of the Ring Road, and *Basilia City* to its south, mostly to be built on some "informal" quarters of Kfar Souseh and El Qadam[2] municipalities, destroyed by the war and their population displaced (fig.1). Other reconstruction projects, still theoretical, followed.

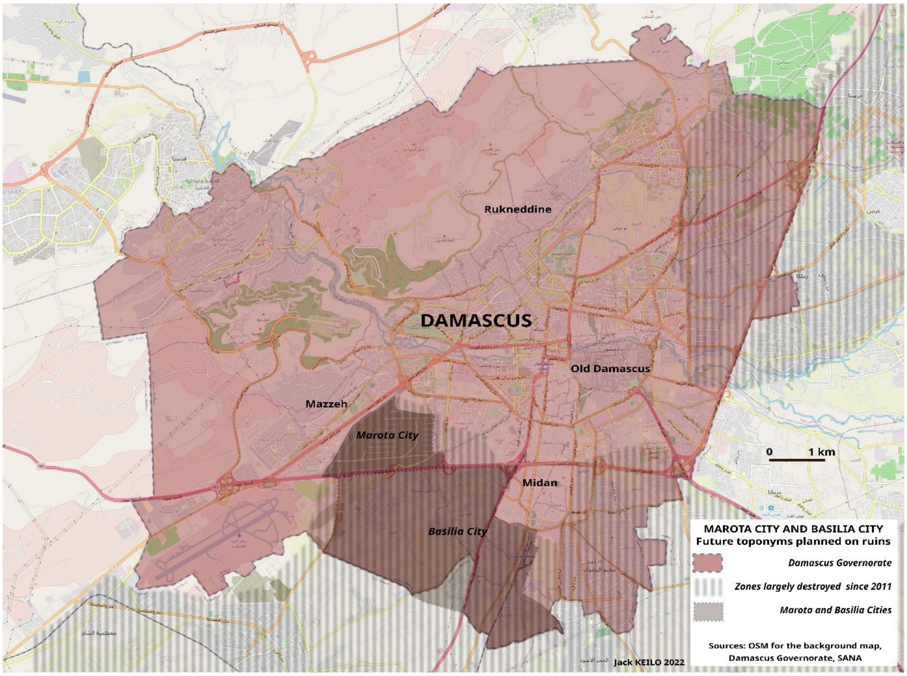

Fig. 1 – Marota and Basilia Cities, two new urban projects/toponyms in Damascus, 2022. Source: OSM.

3.1. *Marota City and Basilia City, the "local" in the "global"* – Two unique names were chosen: Marota (2,14 km^2, 70000 inhabitants) and Basilia (9 km^2, "alternative housing", and 4000 properties). Their generic name, *City*, is transliterated as it is in Arabic[3], thus constituting a shift in the supposedly pan-Arab and socialist toponymic scape of the SAR.

City reflects some (aspired) global dimension. We can find this globality in the description of Marota City by its managing society: «the new city that will contribute to the dawn of a new Damascus has a long tradition and history and

[2] Both have traditional pre-modern names: Kfar Souseh is Syriac for «the stud farm». El Qadam was known as El Qadam el Sharif (the Noble Foot) as its mosque was said to host a stone - originally from Bosra - on which an imprint was left of the foot of Muhammad, the founder of Islam, during his journey to Roman Syria.

[3] Even if the first version of the name of Marota City in Arabic was *Medinat Marota*.

puts it on the map of modernity and globalism» (Marota City, 2022). The two projects are described as "smart cities" (Arabrisk London, 2021) and "Dubai-style" (Syrian Law, 2019; Hanna, Harastani, 2019).

Marota, according to a source in the Governorate of Damascus, «will be even more beautiful than Dubai, as we [Damascus Governorate] will use world-class criteria in the [postwar] reconstruction process» (Economy2day, 2017), in a clear reference to *Dubaization* (Elshehstawy, 2012).

3.2. *From the global to the very local* – The two specific names, Marota and Basilia, are supposed to be "Syriac words": *Marota* is «sovereignty» and «homeland» (SANA, 2017); and *Basilia* is «Paradise» (SANA, 2018).

In Syriac, *Marûta* signifies "lordliness", and "sovereignty". The word is related to *Mor* (lord), *Morth* (a lady or Our Lady), and to the name of the Maronites.

Basilia is more complex: the Damascus Governorate uses it as "Paradise", while the word is Biblical and directly related to the Christianity of the Roman Empire. *Basilia*, in Syriac, is borrowed from the Greek *Basileia* [*tou Theou* or *ton Ouranôn*][4], meaning "Kingdom" [of God or of Heaven]». The two expressions, common in the New Testament, set a parallel with the *Basileia ton Rhômaion*, "Realm of the Romans", the popular name of the Roman Empire that time[5].

Apparently, such toponymic dynamics will shape new toponyms. In September 2021 a new presidential decree creates a redevelopment area on a deeply destroyed zone to the north of Damascus. According to Faisal Srour, of the Executive Bureau of the Damascus Governorate, «A new name of the area will soon be chosen, and will follow the same style of Syrian toponyms that represent Damascus in the Syriac language» (Alwatan, 2021).

4. *Toponyms of change?*

Meanwhile, the official pan-Arab policy of the Syrian state has not changed. The Syrian constitution of 2012, without giving the formal leading role to the Baath Party, asserts the ideas of "Arab civilisation", "Arab identity", and "Arab homeland", all while claiming the SAR as «proud of its Arab identity» (Constitute Project, 2022). President Assad himself, in 2020, in a speech at the Syrian Waqf, asserted the importance of the Arab identity and indirectly criticised the "Syriac-ness" of Syria, all while maintaining the official discourse of "protection of minorities (Christians)" (Al Sharq Al Arabi, 2020).

Yet the names of the new urban projects reflect a more complex reality. In this regard, we can propose some further possibilities of research: at first, some inventory work on the changes in the Syrian toponymy since 2011 will be indispensable to understand real estate, scheme, topographical, and prop-

[4] For example see Matthew 5:3, 6 :33, Mark 14:25, Luke 17:20-21, John 3:5.

[5] See primary sources on the names of the Roman State in Keilo 2020, https://centrici.hypotheses.org/1873 (last access: 23/09/2022).

erty adjustments in the post-conflict Syria[6], as to comprehend post-conflict spatial planning and management. Out of this inventory, reading the changes in the light of the new political and economic alignments of the Syrian government will also be a precious tool to understand both prospective planning in Syria and its ever-changing foreign and domestic policies. Which toponyms will define the Syrian landscape of tomorrow?

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[6] According to a toponymic analysis study in Dubai, conducted by the author in 2019 and 2020 (yet to be published), some toponymic changes appear in schemes as contractual place names, but are not included in the Cadastre or in the topographic maps: will Damascus and other Levantine cities follow a similar pattern and separate between "commercial" and cadastral place names?

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Post-war Urban Projects in Syria, a Toponymic Insight

How will Syria's post-conflict toponymy be? Since the civil war (2011-), toponymic reconfiguration has been used to consolidate the state's control and showing continuity of its Baathist ideology (1963-), but also to mark its qualitative changes. During the war, names of "heroes" and "friends of the Syrian people" were added to the map. Two new urban project names, Marota and Basilia Cities, reveal new trends not in line with the official pan-Arab and "socialist" past toponymic scape, but an aspiration to integrate global economy, to "be like Dubai", as to appear as "minority-protector" or nuance the official narratives of the country's history. The inventory of the Syrian new toponyms since 2011shall inform us about the new political and ideological alignments of the Syrian state.

Progetti urbani postbellici in Siria, uno studio toponomastico

Come sarà la toponomastica siriana postbellica? Dalla guerra civile (2011-), la riconfigurazione toponomastica è stata utilizzata per consolidare il controllo dello Stato e mostrare la continuità dell'ideologia baathista (1963-), ma anche per segnare i suoi cambiamenti qualitativi. Durante la guerra, sono stati aggiunti alla mappa nomi di "eroi" e "amici del popolo siriano". Due nuovi nomi di progetti urbani, Marota e Basilia Cities, rivelano nuove tendenze non in linea con il passato toponomastico ufficiale panarabo e "socialista", ma un'aspirazione a integrare l'economia globale, a "essere come Dubai", ad apparire come "protettore delle minoranze" o a sfumare le narrazioni ufficiali della storia del Paese. L'inventario dei nuovi toponimi siriani dal 2011 ci informerà sui nuovi allineamenti politici dello Stato siriano.

Projets urbains d'après-guerre en Syrie, étude toponymique

Comment sera la toponymie syrienne post-conflit ? Depuis la guerre civile (2011-), la reconfiguration toponymique a consolidé le contrôle de l'État et la continuité de son idéologie baathiste (1963-), mais aussi a marqué ses nouveaux alignements idéologiques. Pendant la guerre, des noms de « héros « et d'» amis du peuple syrien « ont été ajoutés à la carte. Deux nouveaux noms de projets urbains, Marota et Basilia Cities, révèlent de nouvelles tendances qui ne correspondent pas au paysage toponymique officiel panarabe et «socialiste» du passé, mais à une aspiration à intégrer l'économie mondiale, à « être comme Dubaï «, à apparaître comme « protecteur des minorités « ou à nuancer les récits officiels de l'histoire du pays. L'inventaire des nouveaux toponymes syriens depuis 2011 nous renseigne sur les nouveaux alignements politiques de l'État syrien.

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Réattribution toponymique dans le Sud-Caucase: les exemples de l'Abkhazie et de l'Ossétie du Sud

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Mots-clés: *Abkhazie, Ossétie du Sud, Caucase, souveraineté cartographique*

Parole chiave: *Abcasia, Ossezia del Sud, Caucaso, sovranità cartografica*

Keywords: *Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Caucasus, cartographic sovereignty*

1. *Introduction*

Dans le Sud-Caucase, les modifications toponymiques ont été nombreuses depuis la fin du XIXe siècle. Rattachée à l'Empire russe entre les années 1780 et 1810, puis soviétisée en 1922 cette région a été caractérisée par une forte instabilité politique et de violents conflits au moment de la disparition de l'Union soviétique. Le paysage toponymique de la Géorgie, et à plus forte raison celui de l'Abkhazie et de l'Ossétie du Sud[1], témoignent des changements multiples de souveraineté.

La particularité de ces deux territoires est qu'ils sont concernés par un triple processus de « décolonisation »[2] : le premier avec la Russie, le deuxième avec l'URSS, et le troisième avec la Géorgie. Cependant, les mémoires des trois « dominations » passées n'ont pas le même poids dans l'identité collective et ne sont pas rejetées avec la même force : le passé sous l'autorité géorgienne est rejeté en bloc tandis que la dé-communisation est incomplète et que le rejet de la Russie est limité, celle-ci étant devenue le principal allié géopolitique après 2000. Dans les deux derniers cas, l'Abkhazie se différencie de l'Ossétie du Sud car elle aspire à l'indépendance totale tandis que l'Ossétie du Sud cherche à

* Paris, Université Panthéon Sorbonne, France.
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[1] Il s'agit de deux anciens territoires autonomes de la République socialiste soviétique de Géorgie qui ont refusé le projet politique nationaliste géorgien de sortie d'URSS. Suite aux affrontements de 1991-1992 en Ossétie du Sud et de 1992-1993 en Abkhazie, les forces séparatistes ont acquis une indépendance de fait. En 2008, ces deux entités constituées sur le modèle étatique ont été reconnues par la Russie puis par quelques autres États alliés de la Russie. Les chercheurs nomment le plus souvent ces entités des États *de facto* (Kolosov et al., 2021)

[2] Le terme n'est pas employé par les acteurs locaux. L'emploi ici permet de faire le parallèle avec d'autres travaux sur la toponymie en situation de « décolonisation » (Noucher, 2022).

devenir sujet de la Fédération de Russie. Bien entendu, ce sont les Abkhazes et les Ossètes qui estiment que leurs territoires doivent être « décolonisés » de leur passé géorgien. Pour les Géorgiens, à l'inverse, ces deux « régions » sont des parties intégrantes et inaliénables du territoire national, et la « décolonisation » a lieu avec le passé soviétique voire avec la Russie. Dans cette région multiethnique et convoitée pendant des siècles par les empires ottoman, perse puis russe, l'acquisition de l'indépendance politique est très récente et remonte au début des années 1990.

L'Abkhazie et l'Ossétie du Sud sont l'objet d'un conflit qui prend sa source dans la conception soviétique de l'ethnicité. Dans les années 1920, les « nations titulaires » ont obtenu des privilèges sur leur territoire éponyme : les Abkhazes en Abkhazie, les Ossètes en Ossétie du Sud et les Géorgiens en Géorgie à l'inclusion de l'Abkhazie et de l'Ossétie du Sud. La période soviétique a territorialisé les identités. Cette superposition des droits perçus comme légitimes et historiques autant par les Abkhazes ou les Ossètes que par les Géorgiens sur les régions d'Abkhazie et d'Ossétie du Sud n'a posé que peu de problèmes jusqu'à la fin des années 1980. C'est au moment de l'effondrement du pouvoir central soviétique que la conception nationaliste et exclusive du territoire a entraîné des revendications incompatibles, chacun des groupes considérant le territoire comme « indivisible » (Kemoklidze, 2014).

À travers l'exemple de la toponymie, cet article entend présenter quelques grands traits de ce conflit ethno-territorial. Il interroge notamment l'idée de « souveraineté cartographique »[3] dans le cas où justement, la souveraineté est contestée. Comment un État peut-il alors nommer les lieux ? Les transformations toponymiques que l'Abkhazie et l'Ossétie du Sud ont proposées dans la période post-soviétique n'ont pas été adoptées par la Géorgie, ni par la communauté internationale qui la soutient. Dans de nombreux cas, deux toponymes sont en concurrence, l'un reconnu, l'autre utilisé sur le terrain[4]. La tentative de l'Abkhazie et de l'Ossétie du Sud d'imposer ces nouveaux toponymes et la résistance opiniâtre de la Géorgie à leur emploi sont de bonnes illustrations du conflit de souveraineté sur ces territoires. L'État reconnu est-il en capacité de nier les emplois toponymiques en vigueur sur le terrain et d'imposer ses propres toponymes alors qu'il ne contrôle plus le territoire ? L'État *de facto* est-il en capacité de réattribuer les toponymes alors que sa légitimité n'est pas reconnue ? Différentes stratégies sont mises en place dans les deux cas, rencontrant plus ou moins de succès.

[3] Pour Matthieu Noucher, il s'agit du « privilège exclusif des États de produire leur propre représentation du territoire national » (Noucher, 2022).

[4] Nous utilisons en premier le toponyme abkhaze ou ossète et en deuxième le toponyme géorgien, séparés par un « / ».

2. *La politique des États* de facto : *« dé-géorgianiser » les toponymes en Abkhazie et en Ossétie du Sud*

La réattribution des toponymes est l'un des premiers actes de réappropriation de l'espace identitaire que les Abkhazes et les Ossètes entreprennent après les affrontements. En Abkhazie, les toponymes sont réattribués à partir de 1993. En Ossétie du Sud, à part certains cas comme Tskhinval/i qui est redénommé officiellement Tskhinval en 1991, la majorité des transformations sont postérieures à 2010 (Karsanti, 23 octobre 2010), c'est-à-dire postérieures au affrontements de 2008 et à la prise de contrôle sur tout le territoire de l'ex-région soviétique à la faveur de l'intervention russe. Pour les acteurs locaux, aujourd'hui, il est essentiel d'employer les toponymes réattribués. Prendre le contrôle politique du territoire c'est s'arroger le privilège de le renommer.

Cette pratique est non seulement un acte de ré-appropriation symbolique de l'espace, mais aussi une manière pour les Abkhazes et les Ossètes de rétablir ce qu'ils considèrent comme historiquement juste. En effet, durant la période soviétique, on supposait que les « nations socialistes » devaient se consolider autour du groupe titulaire le plus nombreux, urbanisé et politiquement dominant. Les Géorgiens ont alors mis en œuvre des transformations qui allaient bien au-delà de la simple cartographie : enseignement du géorgien dans les écoles primaires, installation de colons géorgiens en Abkhazie, écriture de l'abkhaze et de l'ossète en alphabet géorgien, ou encore travaux d'historiens qui allaient jusqu'à nier l'autochtonie des Abkhazes et des Ossètes en Géorgie. Les Abkhazes et Ossètes parlent d'une politique de « géorgianisation », celle-là même dont ils tentent d'effacer les traces. D'une certaine manière, la « dé-géorgianisation » est donc une forme de « décolonisation ».

En Abkhazie, la *géorgianisation*[5] des toponymes commence à la fin des années 1930 ; entre 1948 et 1952, 147 localités sont renommées (Shnirelman, 2003 : 207-208). En Ossétie du Sud, du fait que les contacts entre les Ossètes et les Géorgiens étaient nombreux depuis le Moyen Âge (Dziccojty, 2018 : 950), la *géorgianisation* des toponymes est moins systématique et, durant la période soviétique, les locuteurs utilisent de manière interchangeable les différents toponymes, dans leur version russe, géorgienne ou ossète (Cxovrebova, 1979). Sur les cartes et sur les documents officiels, cependant, les toponymes d'Ossétie du Sud subissent le même processus de *géorgianisation* qu'en Abkhazie à partir des années 1930.

La majorité des transformations apportée par les Géorgiens est l'ajout du suffixe –i lorsque la dernière lettre du toponyme est une consonne. Sukhum, le centre administratif d'Abkhazie, est redénommé Sukhumi en 1936. Tskhinval, son équivalent en Ossétie du Sud, devient Tskhinvali sur les cartes soviétiques. La *géorgianisation* est ici une transformation simplement grammaticale car le suffixe –i pour les mots à terminaison consonante est la marque du nominatif

[5] Il s'agit d'un néologisme couramment employé dans ces territoires.

en géorgien. Elle s'applique d'ailleurs à tous les toponymes de Géorgie dès les années 1930 : Batum devient Batoumi, Tiflis devient Tbilisi, Kutais devient Kutaisi. En 1939, il reste peu de toponymes *non-géorgianisés* sur les cartes de la République socialiste soviétique de Géorgie.

En plus de ces transformations grammaticales, certains toponymes sont purement redénommés ou traduits en géorgien. En Abkhazie, l'actuel village de Yachtkhua/Tavisupleba, situé à quelques kilomètres au nord-est de Sukhum/i, portait jusqu'à la soviétisation le nom abkhaze russifié de Eshtkhva, littéralement en abkhaze « propriété de la famille Eshba » (Kvarčija, 2006). Déjà renommé Svoboda (« liberté » en russe) de 1925 à 1935, il prend le nom de Tavisupleba (« liberté » en géorgien) à partir des années 1940. Après les affrontements des années 1990, les Abkhazes réattribuent le toponyme antérieur dans une variante phonétique, Yashtkhua, tandis que les Géorgiens continuent de le cartographier Tavisupleba. Toujours en Abkhazie, l'actuel village d'Alakumkhara/Lekukhona qui portait le nom de Mariiskoe durant la période impériale, est redénommé Alakumkhara en 1923, littéralement « bosquet de rhamnacées » en abkhaze (Kvarčija, 2006). En 1948, le village prend le nom de Lekukhona, traduction d'Alakumkhara en géorgien. Après 1993, les Abkhazes redénomment le village dans sa version abkhaze de 1923.

Dans certains cas, les toponymes commémorent des héros ou personnalités politiques, pas toujours géorgiens d'ailleurs. Le premier village situé à l'est du Psou au niveau du rivage (actuellement au niveau de la frontière abkhazo-russe) portait le nom de Gechripsh[6] au moment de son annexion par l'Empire russe. À la fin du XIXe siècle il est renommé Ermolovsk en l'honneur d'un général russe qui s'était illustré dans les guerres caucasiennes. En 1944, c'est à la mémoire de Leselidze, un chef militaire soviétique d'origine géorgienne, qu'il est redénommé. En 1992, après les affrontements abkhazo-géorgiens, les Abkhazes réattribuent le nom antérieur abkhaze de Giachrypsh. En Ossétie du Sud maintenant, au début de la soviétisation, le centre administratif du district sud-ouest est déplacé du village d'Okona à celui de Tkisubani (littéralement « parcelle de forêt » en géorgien). En 1931, cette localité qui s'est alors développée est renommée Znauri en hommage au révolutionnaire bolchévique nord-ossète Znaur Ajdarov (Cxovrebova, 1979 : 100). Deux autres localités importantes connaissent le même sort en Ossétie du Sud : Tskhinval/i qui est redénommée Staliniri – parfois Stalinir – de 1934 jusqu'à la déstalinisation en 1961 et la ville principale du district meridio-oriental qui prend le nom de Leningori (littéralement « montagne de Lénine ») en 1934.

Les réattributions toponymiques après les affrontements se font surtout pour les toponymes à consonance géorgienne. Dans le cas de la *géorgianisation* grammaticale (ajout du suffixe -i aux toponymes à finalité consonante), le processus de dé-ethnicisation consiste simplement à supprimer ce –i. En Ossétie du Sud, Znauri est transformé en Znaur, Gduleti redevient Gdulet. En Ab-

[6] Littéralement en abkhaze, « territoire des Gečba », une famille noble qui administrait cette portion du littoral de la Mer Noire dans les siècles passés (Kvarčija, 2006).

khazie, Ilori redevient Ilor, Gulripshi redevient Gulripsh. Certaines transformations phonétiques mineures sont aussi possibles : Tagiloni est transformé en Taglan, Merkheuli devient Markhiaul. En Ossétie du Sud, Balaani devient Balata, Artsevi devient Artseu.

Dans d'autres cas, la réappropriation toponymique transforme complètement le nom de lieu et restaure l'identité abkhaze ou ossète, comme nous l'avons déjà expliqué plus haut[7]. Pour citer d'autres exemples, en Abkhazie Odishi devient Akapa, Akhalsopeli devient Khypsta, et en Ossétie du Sud Akhalsheni devient Nogkau, Tsinagari devient Amzarin.

Dans un cas au moins, la transformation sert à dénuer le toponyme de toute consonance ethnique. C'est le cas de Leningor/Akhalgori déjà mentionnée plus haut. Avant l'annexion de l'Empire russe, cette localité nommée Akhalgori – ou Akhalgor – (« petite montagne » en géorgien) était le lieu de résidence des *eristavi,* des gouverneurs géorgiens (Saparov, 2015). En 1934, le lieu est renommé Leningori, littéralement « montagne de Lénine ». Lorsque la Géorgie devient indépendante en 1991, elle réattribue le toponyme géorgien Akhalgori puisqu'elle conserve le contrôle de cette vallée après les affrontements. De la sorte, la Géorgie efface les traces de l'« occupation soviétique ». En 2008, les forces armées russes permettent de placer la vallée sous la tutelle de l'État *de facto* sud-ossète. A ce moment-là, la ville est alors redénommée Leningor, celle fois sans le suffixe –i. La transformation pour les Ossètes et les Russes n'est pas ici une réappropriation ethnique, plus compliquée étant donné le passé géorgien de cette localité, mais une dé-ethnicisation du lieu, le toponyme devenant un objet mémoriel d'un passé soviétique qui ne dérange plus[8].

Il faut enfin noter que quelques toponymes n'ont subi aucune modification après 1992-1993. Par exemple dans la région d'Ochamchyra/Ochamchire en Abkhazie, il y a Gudava, Chlou, Atara, ou encore Aradu. En Ossétie du Sud, il y a Ikorta, Khvtse, Patsa, Kirov, etc.

3. *Stratégies multiples et concurrence toponymique*

Toutes ces modifications entreprises par l'Abkhazie et l'Ossétie du Sud restent très confidentielles jusqu'à 2008. Avec la reconnaissance étatique, la Russie modifie ses cartes au format papier comme la carte en ligne de Yandex, l'équivalent russe de Google. Si la cartographie est le privilège des États souverains, elle devient parfois un instrument d'allégeance géopolitique : Google reconnait la souveraineté géorgienne et inscrit les toponymes géorgiens, Yandex reconnait la souveraineté des États *de facto* et inscrit les toponymes abkhazes et ossètes, bien que dans leur forme russifiée (il existe aussi une translittération en caractères latins pour la version anglophone de la plateforme). Derrière

[7] En Ossétie du Sud, c'est à partir de la fin des années 2000 grâce au travail d'une commission spéciale que sont « retrouvés » les toponymes antérieurs à la « géorgianisation » ; la plupart sont ossètes, mais certains sont turques et d'autres géorgiens.

[8] Le même processus de réhabilitation est en cours en Russie durant cette période.

les plateformes privées se trouvent aussi les intérêts des États. Le site internet d'Airbnb est un exemple. Sur la version française, la ville balnéaire abkhaze de Pitsunda est nommée Bichvinta (toponyme géorgien jamais utilisé sur le terrain) et la capitale abkhaze Sukhum/i est nommée Sokhumi (translittération du toponyme géorgien). Le site internet de Booking propose quant à lui Soukhoumi sur la version française et Sukhum sur la version russe. Le nom de lieu est donc chargé d'un sens qui le dépasse car son emploi permet de reconnaître telle ou telle souveraineté sur les territoires.

La concurrence toponymique ne se réduit pas à l'espace virtuel ni à la cartographie. Tous les partenaires étrangers de la Géorgie, à commencer par l'Union européenne, ont recours aux toponymes géorgiens dans leurs discours. Plus qu'un positionnement géopolitique dans le conflit géorgiano-russe, il s'agit d'un moyen d'obtenir l'allégeance de la Géorgie en faisant sien ses emplois toponymiques. Cette pratique est selon nous conçue comme un acte de neutralité par les partenaires étrangers. Ils s'abstiennent par exemple de certains usages à caractère nationaliste comme le terme Samachablo (littéralement « terre des Machebeli », des nobles géorgiens qui contrôlaient la vallée occidentale par le passée) qui désigne l'Ossétie du Sud dès la fin des années 1980 pour les nationalistes géorgiens. Ces derniers considéraient la création de l'entité au début des années 1920 comme artificielle, et dès 1991, elle est officiellement démantelée par le nouveau parlement géorgien. La région autonome qui se transforme en État *de facto* après 1992 est alors nommée « région de Tskhinvali » par le pouvoir géorgien, et c'est ce terme plus politiquement correct qui est employé par les partenaires européens, notamment par la mission d'observation de l'Union européenne en Géorgien (EUMM).

La stratégie géorgienne à l'égard de la toponymie en Abkhazie et en Ossétie du Sud est double : d'une part, elle nie les transformations toponymiques en vigueur sur le terrain (comme elle nie d'ailleurs l'existence des États *de facto* qu'elle considère des territoires occupés par la Russie) ; d'autre part, possédant la souveraineté *de jure*, elle est en mesure d'imposer sa propre toponymie sur les cartes à l'international. En dehors de la Russie et des quelques États qui reconnaissent ces entités, les toponymes abkhazes et ossètes, qui sont pourtant employés dans la pratique, ne sont donc ni connus ni cartographiés. Ainsi, pour qu'un État puisse avoir le privilège de nommer son territoire, il ne doit pas seulement posséder la souveraineté *de facto* mais aussi et surtout la souveraineté *de jure.*

4. *Conclusion*

Cet article produit à partir de recherches doctorales met en évidence au moins deux choses à propos des toponymes produits dans un contexte de souveraineté contestée. D'une part, des cartographies concurrentes peuvent apparaître avec un toponyme (re)connu employé par l'État *de jure* (ici la Géorgie), et un toponyme utilisé par les acteurs locaux mais non reconnu, proposé par l'État *de facto* (ici l'Abkhazie et l'Ossétie du Sud). D'autre part, c'est l'État majoritairement reconnu (ici la Géorgie) qui est en capacité d'imposer sa propre version de la toponymie au niveau international, et non l'État *de facto* qui contrôle le territoire dans la pratique (ici l'Abkhazie et l'Ossétie du Sud), quand bien même ce dernier soit soutenu par une puissance telle que la Russie. La reconnaissance étatique est ainsi fondamentale pour la « souveraineté cartographique ».

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Réattribution toponymique dans le Sud-Caucase : les exemples de l'Abkhazie et de l'Ossétie du Sud

À partir des cas de l'Abkhazie et de l'Ossétie du Sud, cet article met en évidence au moins deux choses à propos des toponymes produits dans un contexte de souveraineté contestée. D'une part, des cartographies concurrentes peuvent apparaître avec un toponyme (re)connu employé par l'État *de jure* (ici la Géorgie), et un toponyme utilisé par les acteurs locaux mais non reconnu, proposé par l'État *de facto* (ici l'Abkhazie et l'Ossétie du Sud). D'autre part, c'est l'État majoritairement reconnu (ici la Géorgie) qui est en capacité d'imposer sa propre version de la toponymie au niveau international, et non l'État *de facto* qui contrôle le territoire dans la pratique (ici l'Abkhazie et l'Ossétie du Sud), quand bien même ce dernier soit soutenu par une puissance telle que la Russie. La reconnaissance étatique est ainsi fondamentale pour la « souveraineté cartographique ».

La riallocazione toponomastica nel Caucaso meridionale: gli esempi dell'Abcasia e dell'Ossezia del Sud

A partire dai casi dell'Abkhazia e dell'Ossezia del Sud, questo articolo evidenzia due questioni centrali sulla toponomastica in un territorio a sovranità contesa. Da un lato, possono emergere cartografie concorrenti con un toponimo (ri)conosciuto usato dallo Stato de jure (qui la Georgia) e un toponimo usato dagli attori locali ma non riconosciuto, proposto dallo Stato de facto (qui Abkhazia e Ossezia del Sud). D'altra parte, è lo Stato riconosciuto a maggioranza (in questo caso la Georgia) che è in grado di imporre la propria versione della toponomastica a livello internazionale, e non lo Stato de facto che controlla il territorio nella pratica (in questo caso Abkhazia e Ossezia del Sud), anche se quest'ultimo è sostenuto da una potenza come la Russia. Il riconoscimento dello Stato è quindi fondamentale per la "sovranità cartografica".

Toponymic Reallocation in the South Caucasus: the Examples of Abkhazia and South Ossetia

Studying the cases of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, this article highlights two central issues regarding toponymy in a territory of disputed sovereignty. On the one hand, competing cartographies may emerge with a (re)known toponym used by the de jure state (here Georgia) and a toponym used by local actors but not recognised, proposed by the de facto state (here Abkhazia and South Ossetia). On the other hand, it is the majority-recognised state (here Georgia) that is able to impose its version of toponymy internationally, and not the de facto state that controls the territory in practice (here Abkhazia and South Ossetia), even if the latter is supported by a power such as Russia. State recognition is therefore crucial for "cartographic sovereignty".

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The Name of Favelas: Contradictions of the Urban Toponymy in Rio de Janeiro

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Keywords: *favela, social justice, urban toponymy, structural violence*

Parole chiave: *favela, giustizia sociale, toponomastica urbana, violenza strutturale*

Mots-clés: *favela, justice sociale, toponymie urbaine, violence structurelle*

1. *Introduction*

«To be a place is to be located (or at least localizable), named, known»
(Maskit, 1998, p. 266)

In this paper we aim to explore the power of naming. Quoting Pinchevvski and Torgovnik, Vuolteenaho and Berg (Vuolteenaho, Berg, 2009, p. 1) understand place naming as «a political pratice *par excellence* of power over space». We seek to present a critical analysis of place naming. In order to do so, we comparatively identify the naming of housing places where the poor population predominates – such as slums [*favelas*, in portuguese] – and residential places where rich social groups are concentrated. Then, we focus in the pivotal concepts of place and naming to clarify a political geography of the city through the critical toponymies.

The text is structured in three parts. In the first part, we will discuss about the significance of critical toponymies. In the second, we briefly present the geohistorical context of socio-spatial in Rio de Janeiro and systematize different toponymies in the city referring to favelas and luxurious residential places, to then analyze the mismatch between the meaning of the names of favelas in the past and in the historical present. Finally, we present a last part – as a conclusion – dedicated to the criticism of the persistent territorial injustices in the city of Rio de Janeiro, and a perspective of overcoming the constraints analyzed.

2. *Critical toponymy and its relevance*

We defend the premise that there is some ideological control behind toponymies and that this type of control aims often to legitimize social relations of oppression, especially those of domination of people according to the places where they live. «Place names have a semantic depth that extends beyond the

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concern with simple reference to location or to a single image» (Entrikin *apud* Myers, 2009, p.86). Then «the symbolic role of place names as expressions of ideological values» matters (Cohen, Kliot, 1992, p. 653). So, an emancipatory perspective insinuates itself in the studies of critical toponymies. It's like we're deconstructing some complicities in power struggles over toponymies from different angles of interpretation, but which intersect. It's important to note that spatially designating word class, such as common names that classify entities to a culturally known category – badland, alley, boulevard, slum, favela, bidonville – toponyms pinpoint a specific strategy to raise or lower the relevance of the natural and/or social content of that geographic place. «As signifiers of place, place names can involve powerful emotions within individuals and groups, and they thus 'conform to the most classic definitions of symbolism'» (Berg, Kearns, 2009, p. 25).

Vuolteenaho and Berg understand that naming a place is always a socially embedded act in intricate cultural interrelations; then, they touch the question of «why toponymies often appear to people as ideologically innocent rather than power-charged semiotic dynamos for making meaning about places» (Vuolteenaho, Berg, 2009, p. 7). It's crucial to decipher the ideological messages of dominant toponymies. According to Klass Willems (Zelinski, 2002: 243), «names are complex signs with specific linguistic, pragmatic, logical, philosophical, semiotic, historical, psychological, social and legal properties, and therefore represent a vast field of interdisciplinary study». We aim to discuss some issues revolving around place names of *favelas* as foci of conflicting meaning explored across an historical and geographical context.

> In essence, even if frequently presented in depoliticized guise in hegemonic discourses, the mapping of toponyms has formed an ancillary form of knowledge-production in the service a wider scientific-geopolitical project of knowing the world as accurately as possible as part of the process of controlling its spaces. [Vuolteenaho, Berg, 2009, p. 4]

The critical toponymy is interested in the role that naming in the construction of places. We try to clarify the contradiction between the urban place naming as a normalizing strategy and it as a contested ideological realm. Concerned with the meaning of the proper names of places, Michel de Certeau recognizes a «strange toponymy, displaced from places, hovering over the city like a nebulous geography of 'meanings' waiting for something» (Certeau, 1999, p. 185). Then a scientific-geopolitical project of deciphering space can be brought into the political geography of the city, requalifying the own project of a city that is being built historically. Therefore, a critical toponymy study is crucial for understanding what type of city project we currently have in Rio de Janeiro. We are inspired by the methodology outlined by Mello (1991) and Fernandes (1995) in their pioneering studies on the relationship between artistic sensibility of music composers and the production of scientific knowledge in Brazil.

3. *Inequal Rio de Janeiro's social geography: favela's names: past and present*

Our central question is to inquiry the inherent contradictions in the naming of Rio's favelas from the pioneer formations to the current days. To answer this question, we set the following objectives: 1. to unveil the value judgments that depreciate the favelas through their own names, and 2. to analyze the emptying of the meaning of the names of some favelas as a result of the dynamics of structural violence experienced in the carioca metropolis.

Rio de Janeiro is clearly divided into sectors with better basic infrastructure and transport, as well as the majority of white population living in these sectors with a higher average income. This is the case of *Zona Sul* (South Zone). The South Zone is where the buildings are more sophisticated and the neighborhoods are closer to or facing the sea, such as the famous neighborhoods of Copacabana and Ipanema. In the city, there are also sectors that present a concentration of black population that receive lower wages and that do not enjoy adequate basic infrastructure, such as water, electricity and sewage installations. It's the case of *Zona Oeste* (West Zone). In these sectors, the neighborhoods are cut by the railway lines, present low-income housing and are far from the beach leisure areas, in addition to not having cultural facilities, such as theaters, museums, cinemas or entertainment venues. But there is, however, a socio-spatial aspect that is historically present in all sectors of the city: the *favela* (slum). Currently, in Rio de Janeiro, there are more than 760 slums.

The names of the *favelas* – mostly made up of very aggressive, degrading and oppressive words, such as repulsive animals, tragic events, cursed characters etc. – contrast with the names of luxury residential building. A brief critical analysis of this contrasting toponymy is enough to reveal the geographic ideology that informs it. But, it's not just that. In addition to this evidence, the names of *favelas* seek to express attributes that stigmatize these places. Thus, stigmas such as dirt, ugliness, violence and dangerousness are often directed at *favela* spaces. The value judgments that depreciate the favelas it is also a mark of its naming almost always approaching the favelas with inferiority, attributing names to them that translate the worst that characterizes social life in the city. Consequently, the residents of these spaces – called *favelados* – are equally stigmatized. This standpoint clarify our first objective: to unveil the value judgments that depreciate the favelas through their own names.

We selected favela names based on the methodology suggested by Mello (1991) and Fernandes (1995) whereby composers choose those place names in their songs using artistic sensitivity to achieve a social critique. Seeking to ensure representativeness, the set of favela names we selected qualitatively expresses the discriminatory toponymy verified in Rio de Janeiro. First of all, let's see some names of favelas in Rio de Janeiro freely translated into English:

Hard Pollenta / Dry Tree / String /Red Clay / Black Clay /Seated Dog / Skunk / Rat's Mouth / Misery Village /Hot Hole / Vulture's Path /Tick / Five Mouths / Jaguar's Burrow / Scyte / Whoever To Do It / Lizard / Bumblebee / Dirty Foot / Kerosene / Frog Rock / Rat / Whitche's Alley / Piping.

Now, just as examples of names of buildings and luxury housing projects, we mention the following names:

Riviera del Fiori / Riserva Uno / Ilha Pura [Pure Island] / Península / Golden Green / Cidade Jardim / Mirage / Marbella / Ocean Front / Vila Firenze /Queen Elisabeth / Queen Mary / Tiffany / Ceramus / Da Vinci / Bethoven / Stradivarius / Montese / Chopin / Mozart / Vivaldi / Golden Bay.

The structural conditions of inequality that we present to us are clearly observed in the physiognomy of the favelas. Therefore, it is imperative to present some favelas seen from afar and seen from the inside, that is, at different scales of observation, as shown below in the image catalog that we have selected (fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5). However, it is very important to realize that favela residents struggle daily to maintain their dignity as human persons and that the stigmas addressed to them correspond to an ideological reading of the space and the social content that gives it urban life.

Fig. 1 – *Favela* Pavãozinho, Copacabana.
Source: Ivaldo Lima, 2022.

Fig. 2 – *Favela* Tabajaras, Copacabana.
Source: Ivaldo Lima, 2022.

Fig. 3-4 – *Favela* Tabajaras, Copacabana.
Source: Ivaldo Lima, 2022.

Fig. 5 – *Favela* Jacarezinho, Maria da Graça.
Source: Ivaldo Lima, 2022.

The images alone say a lot about the favelas. But what do their names say? We will take as a reference for our critical analysis of the topography of the favelas, the lyrics of a song written by Paulo César Pinheiro. The song: *Nomes de Favela* [Favela Names]. In this song, the composer makes a very curated reading of the names of the *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro in order to show how the socio-spatial reality of these places no longer corresponds to what their names designate. There is a double interpretation possible from this song: 1. the mismatch between name and place; and 2. the worsening of the lives of the people who live there. We use this source of research because we understand that it has a high critical potential for reading the socio-spatial reality of the city through the artist's poetic lens. Thus, we try to articulate the artist's interpretative sensitivity to the analytical critique of the political geography of the city. Here we find an analytical critique to the extent that the composer disagrees with the socio-spatial conditions under which favela residents live, directing his attention, above all, to the violence that occurs in these parts of the city. This *démarche* follows our second objective: to analyze the emptying of the meaning of the names of some favelas as a result of the dynamics of structural violence experienced in the carioca metropolis

FAVELA NAMES [*Nomes de Favela*]

The rooster no longer crows in *Cantagalo* [*Where the rooster crows*]
The water (already) no longer runs in *Cachoeirinha* [*Waterfall hill*]
Boys no longer catche mango in *Mangueira* [*Mango Tree hill*]
And now what a big city *Rocinha* [*Countryside hill*] is!
No one swears love in the *Juramento* [*Swear hill*] anymore
No one leaves *Morro do Adeus* [*Farewell hill*]
Pleasure ended up there in *Morro dos Prazeres* [*Plesure hill*]
And life is hell in the *Cidade de Deus* [*City of God*]
I'm not from the time of guns, that's why I still prefer to hear a samba verse than to hear a gunshot
By the poetry of favela names, life there was once more beautiful It used to be much better to live in, but today this same poetry asks for help
Or there in the favela life changes or all the names will change

Expressing the mismatch between the names and the current realities of the favelas, the verses of the song point out relevant socio-spatial issues. For example, the verse «The water (already) no longer runs in *Cachoeirinha* [*Waterfall hill*]» denounces the local ecological crisis. The verse «Boys no longer catche mango in *Mangueira* [*Mango Tree hill*]» goes in the same direction, denouncing the destruction of fruit trees to the detriment of the mass of houses built without free space or leisure between them. In «Pleasure ended up there in *Morro dos Prazeres* [*Plesure hill*]» there is a critique of a violent daily life in which pleasure is absent; the same we can read in «And life is hell in the *Cidade de Deus* [*City of God*]». Finally, the verses «I'm not from the time of guns, that's why I still prefer to hear a samba verse than to hear a gunshot» and «Or there in the favela life changes or all the names will change» we find the hope that political attitudes will change the reality of favelas for the better.

4. *Perspective: reinforcing territorial injustices?*

Based on what we have explained so far, it is possible to state that a emptying of the meaning of the names of some *favelas*. The loss of meaning of the names of several favelas due to the urban violence that historically reshapes the political and social geographies of Rio de Janeiro. This symbolic emptying is as if residents are losing sight of their own history. Then, this loss of meaning is equivalent to an emptying of the names of the favelas that no longer translate the environmental structures nor the social contents found there. As we notice «place names can involve powerful emotions within individuals and groups» (Berg, Kearns, 2009, p. 25), including the feeling of loss or emptying. Our argument goes in the direction that critical analysis of the toponymy of Rio's *favelas* becomes imperative, aiming at unraveling the contradictions that inform the circumstances under which the residents of these places undergo daily, as well as pointing out subsidies for the formulation of inclusive public policies that subvert the perverse course driven by such contradictions.

To complete, we assume that this is a form of knowledge-production in the service a wider geopolitical project of knowing the urban places, namely the *favelas*. More than this, both the names of favelas and the geo-historical contradictions that are articulated to them express the persistence of territorial injustices in the city of Rio de Janeiro. In our point of view, territorial justice «must be conceived as an effective idea capable of expanding the horizons of social rights, by mobilizing people and contexts to build civic spaces» (Lima, 2014, p. 79). Therefore, renewed urban policies that take critical toponymy seriously must be conceived and applied.

The critical toponymy analysis we propose here is one that i) recognizes the inappropriateness of favela names, compared to the names of luxury residential condominiums in the same city; ii) requires decision-making by the authorities through public policies that combat the more intense structural violence present in the favelas; iii) reduces territorial injustice through the elimination of oppressive spaces reinforced by a discriminatory toponymy that corresponds to the stigmatization of the residents of the favelas thus named. A territorial reality based on the perspective of a just city, on joint decision-making between the State and civil society: this is the most general proposal we present.

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The Name of Favelas: Contradictions of the Urban Toponymy in Rio de Janeiro

Currently, in Rio de Janeiro, there are more than 760 slums. In this work, as a central question, the inherent contradictions in the naming of these favelas are approached, from the pioneer formations to the current days. Our general objective is to explain such contradictions and the specific objectives are: to unveil the value judgments that depreciate the favelas through their own names and to analyze the emptying of the meaning of some of these names as a result of the dynamics of structural violence experienced in the carioca metropolis.

Il nome delle Favelas: Contraddizioni nella toponomastica urbana a Rio de Janeiro

Attualmente, a Rio de Janeiro, ci sono più di 760 baraccopoli. In questo lavoro, come questione centrale, vengono affrontate le contraddizioni insite nella denominazione di queste favelas dalle origini ai giorni nostri. Il nostro obiettivo generale è spiegare tali contraddizioni; come obiettivi specifici cercheremo invece di svelare i giudizi di valore che deprezzano le favelas attraverso i loro stessi nomi e di analizzare lo svuotamento di significato di alcuni di questi come risultato delle dinamiche di violenza strutturale presenti nella metropoli carioca.

Le nom des Favelas : Contradictions de la toponymie urbaine à Rio de Janeiro

Il existe actuellement plus de 760 bidonvilles à Rio de Janeiro. Dans cet ouvrage, comme question centrale, sont abordées les contradictions inhérentes à la dénomination des favelas de Rio de Janeiro, des formations pionnières à nos jours. Notre objectif général est d'expliquer ces contradictions et les objectifs spécifiques sont : de révéler les jugements de valeur qui déprécient les favelas par leurs noms mêmes et d'analyser la vidange de sens des noms de certaines favelas du fait de la dynamique de violence structurelle expérimenté dans la métropole carioca.

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La hiérarchie des pouvoirs urbains par la dénomination du populaire à Lima, Pérou

Hattemer Cyriaque[*]

Mots-clés: *toponymie, appropriation urbaine, pratiques informelles, Pérou*

Parole chiave: *toponomastica, appropriazione urbana, pratiche informali, Perù*

Keywords: *toponymy, urban appropriation, informal practices, Peru*

La ville de Lima connait une transformation accélérée depuis le début du XXIe siècle. Les municipalités comptent parmi les principaux instigateurs de ce changement. Pourtant, l'intervention de l'autorité publique dans l'aménagement urbain ne va pas de soi au Pérou. Entre 1940 et 1990, la migration rurale massive vers Lima entretient un processus d'auto-construction des quartiers. Jour après jour, la population construit une grande partie de la ville et crée en toute informalité d'innombrables entreprises qui la font fonctionner. Dès lors, le retour de l'autorité publique dans l'aménagement de Lima soulève des interrogations quant à la place et aux rôles qu'occupe désormais la population. Les tensions, les luttes et les conflits ouverts qui opposent régulièrement l'autorité publique aux habitants mettent en évidence un ordre urbain négocié dans l'interaction entre ces acteurs (Ingold, 2003). La place et le rôle de ces acteurs définissent une hiérarchie, donc des rapports de pouvoir. Objet des transformations contemporaines, la toponymie constitue un terrain d'affrontement symbolique pertinent pour les appréhender (Girault et al., 2008). Nous postulons qu'à travers la toponymie, population et autorité publique s'arrangent sur la place et le rôle accordés au populaire en ville. Les significations des toponymes des marchés liméniens et les pratiques de leurs dénominations servent d'exemple.

La Parada fut le principal marché de gros alimentaire de Lima pendant soixante-dix années, mais il serait très réducteur de ne parler que d'un marché. Le grand équipement commercial inauguré en 1945 relève d'une politique moderniste qui associe l'État à la municipalité de Lima. Le marché est à la fois un instrument de pouvoir pour réaliser ce projet et une image de ce projet dans la ville, capitale, qui sert de vitrine à l'échelle nationale. Le nom de baptême de ce lieu relève de cela. *Mercado Mayorista No 1* est un ensemble de mots techniques, traduction d'une vision fonctionnaliste du développement. Dès la création du marché, les Liméniens le renomment en usant d'une

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tonalité différente. Parada (en espagnol), employé au sens de l'action, désigne la fin d'un mouvement en court ou l'arrêt final généralement d'une course. Aux idées de déplacement, de rencontre et d'attente que ce mot évoque, répond cette trajectoire individuelle et collective prégnante dans la seconde moitié du XXe siècle : les migrations massives des populations des campagnes vers les villes. Le changement de toponyme décidé par les Liméniens indique ce surcroit de sens. Quand les camions se précipitaient vers ce marché pour approvisionner la capitale en nourriture, ils déchargeaient aussi en cet endroit des milliers de personnes. Espace Vécu, La Parada est le quartier où s'opère la transition vers la ville. Il offre l'acculturation et le sentiment d'appartenance à la ville ; Il s'y déploie des rêves et les mouvements vers les *barriadas,* d'autres lieux de la ville populaire autoconstruite (Matos Mar, 1986).

La toponymie des commerces renseigne, à une autre échelle, cette prise de possession du lieu par les Liméniens et sa transformation. *Paradita* est un nom de marché communément retrouvé. Les commerçants enquêtés reconnaissent la filiation entre les deux toponymes. Les paraditas évoquent un ensemble de marchés familiers et communs tout en appelant pour chacun d'eux, inconsciemment s'il le faut, à La référence à La Parada. Ce retour du nom propre au nom commun est remarquable. Par ce procédé mnémonique, la population marque nommément ses marchés avec un mot du registre populaire tout en les revêtant d'un sens spécial. Le nom de lieu permet de définir un espace du plus grand nombre en le pensant en termes de structures, de rapports sociaux, de flux économiques. La Parada est un haut-lieu de la ville populaire.

Ce nom symbolise aussi différentes tensions propres à la ville de Lima. D'une part, l'ascendant prit par le peuple dans la fabrique de Lima tant à invisibiliser la place de l'autorité publique dans cette histoire ainsi que celle de son projet moderniste. D'autre part, si beaucoup de gens passés par La Parada ont par la suite fait partie du noyau urbain, combien échouèrent pour sombrer dans la pauvreté ? La Parada est aussi un foyer de violence où toutes les formes de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme se rencontrent. Lieu d'arrivée en ville (Doug, 2012), La Parada est tout à la fois « dynamique, sinistre, improvisée, périlleuse, débordante de nouveaux arrivants et avec eux d'autant de projet audacieux ». Ce toponyme populaire inscrit au présent la mémoire des difficultés et des luttes passées. Ce nom, et à travers celui-ci ceux qui l'on choisit, interpelle l'autorité publique.

La ville et ses marchés acquièrent une nouvelle toponymie en 2015 lorsque la municipalité métropolitaine de Lima décide de bouleverser La Parada et ce qu'elle représente. Le fait que ce lieu pose problème fait consensus et cela facilite sa disqualification. En s'appuyant sur la dénonciation de la violence et du désordre produit par ce marché au centre de la ville, médias et politiques désignent pour responsables les commerçants et la population qui s'y trouve. La Parada devient synonyme du chaos liménien et l'autorité publique emploie cette rhétorique pour justifier l'aménagement d'un nouveau marché de gros en périphérie de la ville. Le déplacement des fonctions commerciales de gros vise aussi la récupération de l'espace central totalement saturé. La mise œuvre du projet tourne en conflit violent et le Mercado Mayorista No 1 disparait sous l'action de bulldozers. À l'endroit de l'ancien marché de gros, le Parque del migrant[1] commémore désormais une page d'histoire. Le nouveau lieu du commerce de gros, défait de bons nombres de ses fonctions sociales et culturelles, est nommé avec un ensemble de mots techniques : le Gran Mercado Mayorista de Lima[2].

Le toponyme Parque del migrante suggère une reconnaissance par l'autorité publique du rôle historique de la migration dans l'élaboration de la ville. Les discours de la maire de l'époque vont en ce sens. Cependant, les désignations sont toujours, sur le terrain politique en particulier, l'enjeu de rapports de force (Béroud *et alii*, 2016). L'expression est ambigüe. Cela tient autant à ses connotations qu'à la substitution au nom La Parada. Si l'affirmation de l'acteur migrant dans le nouveau toponyme est le signe d'une reconnaissance de son passage en ce lieu, sur le plan symbolique cette affirmation marque la fin de la prééminence d'un groupe dans la fabrique de la ville. Parc des migrants est un toponyme qui délimite l'histoire. Il renvoie à une époque révolue en focalisant l'attention sur l'arrivée de ces gens en ville. Il n'évoque pas l'action qui se joua à La Parada : le dépôt de la condition de migrant pour devenir pleinement Liménien. Par ailleurs, la substitution du toponyme La Parada, après que la municipalité ait désigné ce lieu comme la cause de tous les maux de la ville, accentue l'idée d'un désordre urbain produit par les migrations.

Le toponyme Gran Mercado Mayorista de Lima suggère une reprise du projet moderniste. Le Grand est l'indice de la volonté de façonner un marché capable de normaliser la façon dont se fait et se pratique le commerce alimentaire à Lima. Cet objectif est contesté dès l'inauguration du marché. Les organisations de commerçants ont aménagé d'autres marchés de gros dans la ville à mesure qu'elle grandissait.

La municipalité métropolitaine de Lima démontre sa capacité à ordonner la ville, mais se trouve confondue dans cette action lorsque les réalités populaires l'interpellent. Après 2015, la réunion des grossistes de l'ex Mercado Mayorista No 1 dans le Gran Mercado Mayorista de Lima est obtenue. L'opération laissa cependant des milliers de commerçants et des centaines d'activités autour du nouveau Parc des migrants. Les commerçants manifestent de nouvelles revendications et l'inquiétude grandit du côté des autorités publiques.

Le *Mercado de la Tierra Prometida*[3] est né en réponse à ce contexte. Localisé en périphérie du Gran Mercado Mayorista de Lima, ce second marché doit permettre de déplacer les commerçants restés à La Parada et créer par la même occasion un puissant groupe d'achats susceptibles de soutenir l'activité du commerce de gros. Ce projet émane d'une équipe péruvienne experte dans les questions de formalisation du commerce de rue et les institutions publiques. Elles s'assignèrent aussi la mission de le réaliser. Le choix du toponyme résulte de la redécouverte par l'une des membres de l'équipe d'un roman écrit par Luis Felipe Angell en 1958, intitulé *Tierra Prometida*. L'action

[1] Parc du migrant.
[2] Grand marché de gros de Lima.
[3] Marché de la Terre Promise.

se déroule dans le Cerro San Cosme, une colline située à l'arrière du marché de gros no 1 et la première *barriada* de Lima. Sans même connaitre ce fait littéraire, un tel toponyme renvoie nécessairement, dans l'imaginaire collectif des Liméniens, au champ lexical populaire employé pour dénommer les *barriadas* (Sierra *et alii*, 2021).

Le choix du toponyme Mercado de la Tierra Prometida fait partie intégrante de la stratégie employée par l'équipe du projet dès sa première présentation aux commerçants. D'une part, l'équipe utilise la référence au religieux pour se placer au service des commerçants. D'autre part, le champ lexical des *barriadas* appelle un sentiment d'action collective entre commerçants. Enfin, le choix d'un toponyme populaire pour un nouveau marché municipal participe à la perception d'une reconnaissance de ces commerçants dans les activités du commerce de gros. Plus des deux tiers des quarante associations de commerçants acceptent de participer au projet par un vote.

L'argumentaire diffère lorsque l'équipe travaille avec l'administration municipale. Le Mercado de la Tierra Prometida est l'élément central d'une stratégie où les commerçants, désormais désignés comme « complémentaire », détiennent un rôle important. Cependant, la localisation du marché sur un terrain en périphérie du Gran Mercado Mayorista de Lima permet de réintroduire la possibilité de les tenir proche tout les maintenant à distance sociale. En ce sens, le Mercado de la Tierra Prometida participe à la construction d'une hiérarchie commerciale où l'autorité publique domine. La hiérarchie des lieux n'est pas renversée dans la perception des administrateurs publics. Enfin, signalons que le toponyme concourt à la réussite du projet puisqu'il rappelle des responsabilités et engage ainsi les acteurs au-delà des mandats électoraux.

À Lima, cette façon de faire la ville semble l'une des principales modalités à l'œuvre. La population et l'autorité engagent une discussion qui reconnait à chacun une participation dans la fabrique de la ville. Cette modalité de faire la ville permet l'action des autorités publiques (Robert, Metzger, 2016). Elle conduit aussi à ne pas maitriser réellement ce qui est produit. Le Mercado de la Tierra Prometida n'a pas été l'objet d'un consensus, ni chez l'acteur public, ni chez les commerçants. Produit d'une multitude d'arrangements, le marché fut inauguré en 2020 sous le nom de Mercado temporal de la Tierra Prometida (temporaire). Chaque classe d'acteur a le sentiment d'avoir accompli sa tâche, mais par la même occasion, ils se rejettent la faute quant aux dysfonctionnements du marché.

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La hiérarchie des pouvoirs urbains par la dénomination du populaire à Lima, Pérou

La Parada est un haut lieu populaire de Lima ainsi que le principal marché de gros alimentaire de cette ville pendant soixante-dix années. Elle disparut en 2015, lorsque la municipalité métropolitaine de Lima choisit de bouleverser ce lieu et ce qu'il représente. À cette occasion, la ville et ses marchés acquièrent une nouvelle toponymie. Les significations des toponymes et les pratiques de dénominations informelles fournissent des renseignements sur les rapports de pouvoir qui s'établissent entre la population et l'autorité publique. La toponymie est révélatrice des arrangements pratiqués depuis une vingtaine d'années entre ceux qui ont fait et font encore la ville. Au travers de ces noms, citoyens et autorité publique discutent aussi de la place accordée au populaire en ville.

Gerarchia dei poteri urbani attraverso la denominazione del popolare a Lima, Perù

La Parada è stata per settant'anni un punto di riferimento importante per la classe popolare di Lima e il principale mercato alimentare all'ingrosso della città. È scomparso nel 2015, quando il Comune metropolitano di Lima ha preso la decisione di stravolgere questo luogo e ciò che rappresentava. A partire da quel momento chiave, la città e i suoi mercati hanno acquisito una nuova toponomastica. Il significato di questi toponimi e le pratiche informali di denominazione forniscono informazioni sui rapporti di potere che si instaurano tra la popolazione e l'autorità pubblica. La toponomastica rivela dunque gli accordi che sono stati presi negli ultimi vent'anni tra coloro che hanno fatto e fanno tuttora la città. Attraverso questi nomi, si instaura inoltre un dialogo tra cittadini e autorità sul luogo riservato al *popolare* nella città.

Hierarchy of Urban Powers and Naming the People's Places in Lima, Peru

La Parada is an important working class place in Lima and it was also its main wholesale food market for seventy years. It disappeared in 2015 when the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima chose to transform this space and what it represents. On this occasion the city and its markets acquired a new toponymy. The meanings of the toponyms and informal naming practices provide information about the power dynamics that are established between the population and public authorities. The toponymy reveals the negotiations that have taken place over the past twenty years between those who have made and still make the city. Through these names, citizens and public authorities are also discussing the place given to underprivileged social groups in the city.

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Italian Street Naming Practices and Anti-Mafia Memory Policies

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Keywords: *mafia, anti-mafia, memory, critical toponymy, fascism*

Parole chiave: *mafia, anti-mafia, memoria, toponimia critica, fascismo*

Mots-clés: *toponymie critique, espace, temps, mémoire, fascisme*

1. *Introduction*

The past twenty years have seen a considerable increase in the number of Italian odonyms (street names) that commemorate the innocent victims of mafia violence (Caffarelli, 2015). In the absence of state policies for fostering anti-mafia memory, this phenomenon may be attributed to the commemoration practices of civil society actors (Muti, Salvucci, 2020), especially Libera, a leading Italian NGO that acts as an umbrella for over 1,500 anti-mafia associations.

This essay offers a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the spread of anti-mafia place names in Italy (Section 2), before going on to examine the importance and meaning of this development from two different perspectives. On the one hand, in relation to the broader historical backdrop of Italian street-naming policies (Section 3), on the other, with respect to the contemporary public debate in Italy (Section 4) surrounding the difficulties and contradictions inherent in the anti-mafia place-naming process specifically.

When reinterpreted using the conceptual tools of "critical toponymy" (Azaryahu, 1996; Rose-Reedwood, 2008; Berg, Vuolteenaho, 2009) and through a "public use of history" lens (Ridolfi, 2005; De Luna, 2010; Raffaelli, 2010; Ravveduto, 2018), anti-mafia place-naming proves to be one of the leading symbolic apparatuses of Italian civic identity and key to fostering memory during Italy's "second republic", as the phase following the major anti-corruption and anti-mafia trials of the 1990s has been labelled.

However, opposition to commemorative place-naming practices and the bitter public debate surrounding anti-mafia street names shows that, whatever the official rhetoric, anti-mafia ideas and practices remain divisive for a significant proportion of Italian citizens and political leaders. Hence, the crucial role of civic associations, which are uniquely critical of both mafia groups and (certain) public institutions.

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2. *Anti-mafia street names in Italy*

In a recent study of Italian anti-mafia street names, a colleague and I compared a database of over a thousand innocent mafia victims compiled by Libera[1] with the main publicly available databases of Italian street networks[2], which we combined into a single dataset using geocoding techniques. We cross-checked the results and organized them into a reliable overview of the geographic distribution of anti-mafia odonyms and the level of commemoration accorded to the different victims (Muti, Salvucci, 2020).

To briefly summarize our findings, in 2020, there were 6.540 streets named after an innocent victim of mafia violence. These streets are located in 2.360 municipalities[3] spread across all Italian regions and provinces (fig. 1).

Among the regions, Sicily has the most anti-mafia odonyms, accounting for over a quarter of the national total (25,8%), followed by Lombardy (14,3%), Emilia Romagna (9,1%), Apulia (8,4%), Campania (6,2%), Veneto (6%) and Calabria (5,9%).

Among the provinces, Palermo leads with 502 anti-mafia odonyms (7,6% of the total) followed by Agrigento with 289 (4,4%). Twenty provinces have over 100 anti-mafia street names, of which: seven are in Sicily, five in Lombardy, two each in Apulia and Campania, and one each in Calabria, Emilia Romagna, Lazio, and Piedmont.

Among the municipalities, the city of Palermo ranks first with 85 anti-mafia odonyms. Three other Sicilian municipalities (Favara, Vittoria, and Niscemi) have over 30 anti-mafia street names each. Overall, 66 municipalities have 10-30 anti-mafia odonyms; this goes down to three to nine in a further 791 municipalities; finally 1.500 municipalities have only one or two.

The distribution of anti-mafia odonyms is clearly uneven. Anti-mafia street names are common and uniformly spread across Sicily, but this is not the case in all the southern regions with an entrenched mafia presence. Anti-mafia odonyms are also widespread in some central and northern regions, but the coverage there is patchy.

The distribution of anti-mafia street names is completely unrelated to the size or rank of urban centres: small towns of only a few thousand inhabitants can have many more anti-mafia odonyms than do the large metropolises, among which only Rome and Palermo have over 20 anti-mafia streets. Furthermore, the traditional relationship between street names and local history does not seem to hold in the case of anti-mafia names, as shown by the cases of Campania and Calabria where victims of the Sicilian mafia are commemorated but the local victims of local mafia organizations (the Camorra and the Ndrangheta, respectively) have received little or no commemoration.

The key to understanding anti-mafia street naming is not so much the presence of mafia-style groups in an area (which is generally far more widespread

[1] https://vivi.libera.it/ (last access: 10/06/2023).

[2] Archivio Nazionale Stradari Comunali, Open Street Map, Api Bing Maps, and Google Maps.

[3] Out of a total of 7.900 municipalities.

than anti-mafia street names) but rather the strength of local anti-mafia associations. In this sense, figure 1 may also be read as a measure of the sensitivity of individual local communities to the issue of organized crime[4].

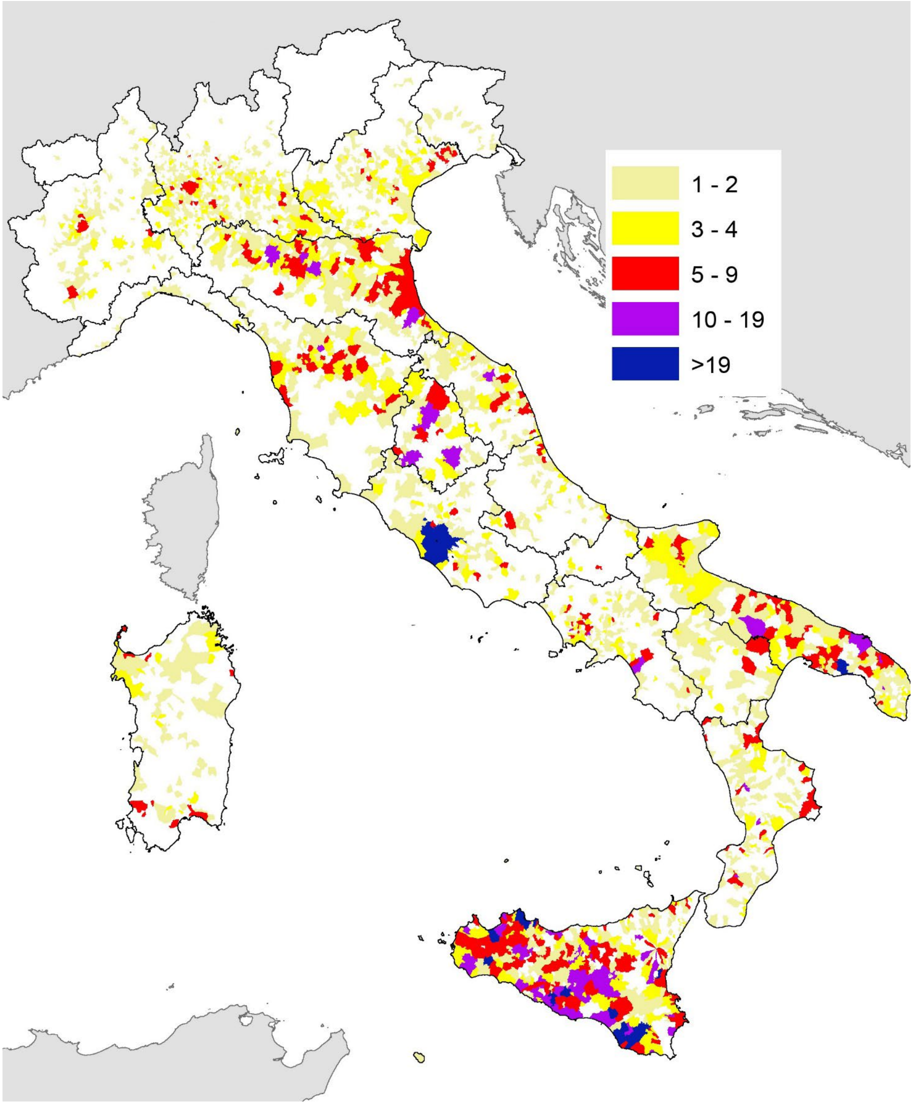

Fig. 1 – Number of anti-mafia street names in Italy by municipality, 2020.
Source: Author.

[4] In Italy, the power to naming places and streets is assigned to the municipal councils of local administrations (under the supervision of the Prefect, with the approval of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, according to the directives of the National Institute of Statistics ISTAT).

From the nineteenth century to the present day, mafia violence in Italy has been responsible for the deaths of over a thousand innocent victims. Nevertheless, it was only after the brutal mafia killings of the 1990s that anti-mafia street-naming became a widespread practice. Over the past 15 years, the number of anti-mafia street names has grown exponentially and today 268 mafia victims have at least one street named after them. But again, the level of commemoration of these victims is highly uneven.

Three victims have had over a thousand streets named after them: these are General Carlo Alberto dalla Chiesa, who was killed in a 1982 mafia attack, and the judges Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino who were assassinated in two separate attacks in 1992. Given the key historical and institutional roles of these three figures, the shocking manner of their death, and their high profiles in the media, they form «primary framework» (Schwartz, 1996) (that is, the backbone) of anti-mafia memory in Italy.

Three other victims have had over 250 streets named in their honour: the industrialist Enrico Mattei who was killed in 1962, the trade unionist Pio La Torre who was killed in 1982, and the politician Piersanti Mattarella who was killed in 1980. A further six victims have had over 100 streets dedicated to them (the magistrates Rosario Livatino and Rocco Chinnici, the political and anti-mafia activist Giuseppe Impastato, the journalist Ilaria Alpi, the entrepreneur Libero Grassi, and the priest Pino Puglisi). Thirty-one victims are commemorated in 10-99 street names and 62 victims in three to nine[5]. The remaining 60% of the commemorated victims (163) have each had one or two streets named after them.

For ease of recognition, street-naming practices have mainly concerned the best-known victims who have been most popular with the media, thereby enhancing their visibility even further in a circular dynamic. This strategy has had some counterproductive effects: specifically, it has contributed to the majority of the victims being forgotten and, in some cases, has facilitated the instrumentalization of commemorative practices (as was found to have occurred, for example, in some towns whose local councils were disbanded because they had been infiltrated by the mafia).

3. *The importance of anti-mafia memory and the role of the civic anti-mafia movement*

Mafias are a distinctive kind of criminal organization that build up socio-spatial relationship networks based on their skill in using violence with impunity and in influencing (both legal and illegal) political and economic systems at all scales (Catino, 2014; Muti, 2022).

[5] At the national level, a given street name is viewed as prominent if it recurs in over 800 localities (corresponding to one commemoration per ten municipalities). About 80 odonyms recur over 1.000 times. About 400 occur over 250 times. Names that have been adopted in less than 100 municipalities may still be viewed as important if most of the occurrences are concentrated in the same region (Caffarelli, 2015).

Although they have been rooted in at least three regions[6] since the time of Italian unification, the mafias in Italy have been the subject of a long political and social oblivion: they were not effectively countered by legitimate national institutions until the bloody massacres of 1982 and 1992.

Since then, both law enforcement and cultural anti-mafia campaigns have been launched and the contribution of civil society actors and anti-mafia associations has proved to be an indispensable adjunct to the work of the police and the judiciary. Through public practices promoting lawfulness, memory, and support for victims, civic anti-mafia associations have proved to be the only actors with the potential to effectively socially and symbolically undermine mafia relational systems based on intimidation and corruption.

Importantly, civic anti-mafia memory does not just serve to prevent the mafia phenomenon from being repressed within the social consciousness; rather, it is increasingly recognized as playing a key part in the symbolic construction of Italy's present and future national identity as a democratic and republican state. Street-naming practices are at the core of these dynamics (Ravveduto, 2018).

Street-naming policies in Italy more generally (and therefore the leading frameworks for the construction of national identity) may be traced back to three foundational periods (De Luna, 2010). Of these, the Risorgimento (the Italian "rising") together with Unification formed the first cornerstone, undergirding a national narrative that lasted from 1861 to the First World War (Gallia, 2018).

Subsequently, the fascist leadership invented and imposed a new self-legitimizing discourse and made aggressive use of place-naming practices (odonomastic territorialisation) to expand its influence over the national territory, culminating in its naming of a series of new towns (Gallia, 2018). In addition to a virtual pantheon of figures spanning the classical era and the Risorgimento, fascist street names were chosen to honour the royal family, the Italian colonial empire and, above all, "il Duce" and the fascist epic (Raffaelli, 2010).

In the second post-war period, constructing a new «republican territoriality» (Ridolfi, 2005) via place names proved to be a complex task. Local demands for change from anti-fascist and anti-monarchist perspectives, especially in the North where the partisan Resistance to Nazi-fascism had mainly been fought, were opposed by a central drive to reconstruct the historical narrative. The Resistance itself was represented as a «second Risorgimento» but failed to take hold as a genuinely shared national symbol (*ibidem*).

These divisions came to a head in the 1990s, when the so-called "first republic" entered a crisis phase and the party system essentially collapsed against the backdrop of major anti-corruption and anti-mafia trials. This period saw the spread of revisionist theories about fascism (heralding the entry into government of neo-fascist parties) and about the Risorgimento (heralding the entry of separatist parties into government).

[6] Cosa Nostra in Sicily, the Camorra in Campania, and the Ndrangheta in Calabria.

These developments explain the key civic role that anti-mafia place-naming practices have been playing since the 1990s. Commemoration of the anti-mafia movement was a defining characteristic of the transition from the first to the second republic and is often referred to as the "third Risorgimento" because it offers new heroes (martyrs) and new narratives for the consolidation of Italian democracy and national identity. The key question is whether and to what extent such a perspective is universally shared among Italians.

In post-unification Italy, the construction of a national identity via street-naming practices was mainly driven by intellectuals. During the fascist regime, the street (and place) naming was centralized and bureaucratized while with the first republic, the power to name streets were divvied out among political parties (Ridolfi, 2005). After, with the second republic, the influence of civil society actors has increased once more, but, as during the previous phases, profound social tensions remain.

4. *Disputed place names: the case of Mussolini Park in Latina*

The controversy that arose in 2021 in relation to Arnaldo Mussolini Park in the city of Latina is indicative of the challenges encountered by attempts to commemorate the anti-mafia movement. It also sheds light on the bitter ideological divisions that continue to torment Italian society and (fatally) the relationship between the country's history and how that history is remembered.

Latina was originally designed and built by the Fascism as the central feature of a larger project to reclaim the Pontine marshes: it was inaugurated in 1932 under the name Littoria and was made a province in 1934. The master plan for the city, which reified the myths and symbols of the fascism, included an urban park to be named after Arnaldo Mussolini, the brother of the dictator.

Between 1944 and 1945, as the country was being liberated from the Nazi and Fascist forces, the council decided to change the name of the city to Latina; many street names were also changed, with a view to endowing the fascist city par excellence with a more democratic face. The name of the park was changed to Municipal Park, a plain title that it kept until 1996, when a neo-fascist council restored the original fascist toponym. A plaque celebrating Mussolini's brother would remain part of the urban text of Latina for the following twenty years.

Only in 2017, despite protests and demonstrations organized by far-right groups, did a newly elected council re-name the public park in keeping with democratic values, calling it after the two modern heroes and martyrs of the national anti-mafia movement: Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino. This was an inspired choice given the key contribution made by these two men to the Italian Republic and given that their role and stature places them above party political controversies. But yet controversy there was.

In the summer of 2021, the then-Deputy Minister of Economy who had been elected for Latina publicly stated his hope that the fascist title for the park would soon be restored once again. He was obliged to resign due to the heated controversy that ensued upon his statements, but in 2022 he was re-elected as a member of the first neo-fascist government of republican Italy.

The Latina case prompts interesting reflections that are salient to the critical debate on place-naming. First, the minister's resignation confirms that the territorialization process triggered by naming practices «produces places through the simple enunciation of intentions to do so» (Berg, Kearns, 2009). It further suggests that the definitive eradication of fascism from Italian democracy still hangs in the balance, despite the reassuring rhetorical acrobatics of neo-fascist politicians. Finally, it illustrates that, in Italy, the fight against mafia groups remains a politically and culturally divisive issue that points up the political and identity-related disputes that can arise over the choice of place names and the creation of places of memory.

5. *Conclusions*

The urban landscape is an arena where the struggle between mafia and anti-mafia currents is reflected in symbols and representations. While mafia organizations produce geographies of injustice, violence, and oppression, the civic anti-mafia movement produces spaces of freedom from the criminal yoke and hence geographies of justice and active citizenship. The streets and places of anti-mafia memory, commemorate the sacrifice of victims and combat mafia violence through civic practices of urban resistance.

Although one cannot exclude fictitious anti-Mafia memories functional to criminal interests (real "mafia-washing" strategies in the politics of urban space), anti-Mafia odonyms have an extraordinary symbolic value. Anti-mafia place naming is a practice of active citizenship, political communication, and identity affirmation. It bolsters a new public discourse on the values of lawfulness and democracy and produces new places of memory, which in turn generate new ways of transmitting the anti-mafia message.

Finally, fatefully, in the future evaluation of the first neo-fascist government of republican Italy, the politics of memory will be a critical and relevant parameter of judgement, as will the politics of countering the mafias, not so much from a juridical and military perspective, but more from an economic and above all a social and cultural one.

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Italian Street Naming Practices and Anti-Mafia Memory Policies

The essay reviews the phenomenon of anti-mafia street names in Italy and discusses their meaning within the broader historical context of Italian street-naming policies. A particular focus is brought to bear on the challenges inherent in anti-mafia street-naming process and on the essential role of civic associations. Anti-mafia street naming emerges as key to Italians' civic memory of the "second republic" period that has followed the major anti-mafia and anti-corruption trials of the 1990s. Nevertheless, the opposition and bitter public debate generated by these same street-naming practices show that the "anti-mafia" approach remains divisive.

Pratiche di denominazione delle strade italiane e politiche per una memoria antimafia

Il contributo illustra la diffusione dell'odonomastica antimafia in Italia e ne studia il significato nel quadro storico delle politiche di denominazione delle strade in Italia, mettendo in luce le difficoltà del processo e il ruolo fondamentale dell'associazionismo civico.
L'odonomastica antimafia in Italia si propone come la memoria civica fondamentale della cosiddetta seconda Repubblica, nata dopo i grandi processi antimafia e anticorruzione degli anni Novanta, ma proprio le contestate pratiche di denominazione e l'aspro dibattito pubblico mettono in luce come l'"anti-mafia" sia ancora un'idea divisiva.

Pratiques de dénomination des rues italiennes et politiques pour une mémoire anti-mafia

L'article illustre la diffusion des odonymes anti-mafia en Italie et étudie leur signification dans le cadre historique des politiques de dénomination des rues en Italie, en soulignant les difficultés du processus et le rôle fondamental des associations civiques.
La odonymie antimafia en Italie est proposée comme la mémoire civique fondamentale de la Seconde République, née après les grands procès antimafia et anticorruption des années 1990, mais ce sont précisément les pratiques de dénomination contestées et l'âpreté du débat public qui soulignent à quel point la notion d'"anti-mafia" est encore une idée qui divise.

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Regendering Urban Space? Transfeminist Streetscapes in Milan, Italy

*Valeria Pecorelli**

Keywords: *city, streetscapes, feminist geography, social movements, right to the city*

Mots-clés: *ville, paysages de rue, géographie féministe, mouvements sociaux, droit à la cité*

Parole chiave: *città, streetscapes, geografia femminista, movimenti sociali, diritto alla città*

1. *The sexist city*

Gender is as ubiquitous in our urban existences as it is taken for granted (Bondi, 2005; Duncan, 1996; Rose, 1993); it is at the heart of numerous everyday practices that distinguish city life. In turn, the city is the space where we may «read all those mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion that are a reflection of the discursive construction of genders» (Borghi, 2009, p. 22). Thus, women often experience the city via «physical, social, economic and symbolic barriers – that shape their daily lives. […] Many of these barriers are invisible to men» (Kern, 2021, p. 6), who have different experiences in settings that are, by definition, more congenial to them. Feminist geographers participating in the debate on urban space have shown that the right to the city is not equally enjoyed by all subjectivities. There is no neutral way of experiencing urban space, given that «men are still the standard of normality» (Chapman, 1988, p. 247). The city has gender norms around which inequalities are generated[1]; it can present as exclusionary or inclusive depending on one's social class, age, sexual orientation, degree of able-bodiedness or skin colour. A gendered perspective – albeit often thought of as genderless – is also brought to bear on urban streetscapes (Fenster, 2005). For example, Poon (2015) pointed up the sexism of street names after mapping seven international cities and finding that only 27.5% of their streets were named after women. Over the past two decades, a growing body of literature has critically studied the politics of toponymy from within three leading frameworks that respectively conceptualize streetscapes as: city text, contested arenas, and performative spaces (Azaryahu, 1996; Alderman, 2002; Rose-Redwood, 2008; Rose-Redwood, Alderman, Azryahu,

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[1] In many cases, urban spaces and services are planned for and designed by men, given that the city is organized to facilitate traditional gender roles, male experience is the norm (Kern, 2021).

2018). Knowing that, to date, scant attention has been paid to investigating gender inequalities in streetscapes, in this paper, I draw on both critical toponymy and feminist geography perspectives to present a case study in which memories, identity and place have been revisited to produce a more inclusive urban space. From a methodological point of view, the data were collected via a solidarity action research approach (Pecorelli, 2015a) and semi-structured interviews with activists in Milan.

While the issue of gender imbalance in urban toponymies remains neglected from an academic perspective, there are projects under way to rename cities in commemoration of women that have been launched by members of the public and activists in Europe, the United States and India. In this context, a variety of actors engaging in a diverse range of practices have used toponymy and cartography as gender-inclusive tools. Interestingly, an ongoing initiative in Brussels involves renaming numerous stops across the city's underground network in honour of European women who contributed to social and political change. The Brussels Metro project was inspired by the "City of Women" map of New York, which was designed to celebrate women who made valuable contributions to the life of the city, or could have done, had they not been forgotten. An international project along similar lines uses the software application Mapbox to generate participatory maps based on user reports of "male and female" street names across a set of cities, including San Francisco, Mumbai, London, Paris, and Bangalore: the aim is to cartographically illustrate the sexist bias via the use of pink and blue colour codes. While this project, like the one in New York, is perceived by most observers as having little practical impact, for others it serves to highlight a problem and to point up the need to change our contemporary public spaces. For example, in 2015, the *Fémicité* project in Paris issued a map to celebrate a successful campaign by local feminist groups to introduce a female dimension into the toponymy of the French capital by getting over sixty additional streets named in memory of women.

2. *Milan*

On rereading Milan's odonymy through the lens of the city as "text" (Rose-Redwood, Alderman, Azryahu 2018), one fact is clear: only 3% of the city's odonyms honour women. Over 50 of these pay tribute to women religious and, in keeping with the city's historical development, are mainly located in the historic centre. About 30 streets are named after female historical-political personages: members of the nobility or royalty or leading lights in the *Risorgimento*. Almost no women protagonists of the World War II resistance have streets named after them. Some 30 streets pay homage to female writers, scientists, and artists, while over 20 are named after well-known women from the entertainment, sports, and business sectors. The last-mentioned are the most recent and are mainly situated on the outskirts of the city, although some are in prestigious locations that have been urbanized lately.

Since 2000, the City of Milan has selected 49 new urban toponyms that commemorate female figures, representing only 15 % of all new street names.

During the mayorships of Pisapia (2011-2016) and Sala (2017-2021), four times more places were named after women than in the 2000-2012 period, a trend that intensified over time (17 were assigned between 2019 and 2021 alone). More than half (26) of these toponyms, however, were assigned to parks and gardens. Gardens are not thoroughfares and thus do not have the same power to define a territory that streets do. In some ways, naming a park after a woman may be seen as an easy compromise for local authorities.

Despite such contradictions, Milan's odonomastic policies are not isolated measures, but rather are part of a broader drive to address gender issues that has been spearheaded by progressive city councils. Pisapia prioritized the "City of Women" within his program and inaugurated and sponsored the Milano Pride event that had been opposed by previous councils. Similarly, Sala has supported multiple gender-inclusive initiatives, for example by funding – through the Milano Urban Center – the "Sex & the City" project, which was designed to offer a gendered reading of Milan's urban spaces. With the involvement of academics, local authority representatives and various formal and informal collectives, this project explored gender-based differences in the way that people experience public space by collecting information on the degree to which the city of Milan fulfils individual gender needs. The outcomes were published in the Milan Gender Atlas. As stated on the project webpage (https://sexandthecity.space/2022/01/13/milan-gender-atlas-out-now/, last accessed: 05/08/2023), the findings «deconstruct Milan's contemporary urban space through specific lenses of observation that allow us to read the responses the city is able to offer to the needs of women and gender minorities». "Sex and the City" can usefully inform policies for organizing spaces in which all citizens can feel comfortable. An example of such inclusive policies and practices would be the appointment of a city gender manager, a post that already exists in other European cities such as Vienna and Berlin and whose purpose is to facilitate gender-inclusive urban planning from within the local authority.

If we shift from the perspective of institutional political action to the lowercase "p" (Mouffe, 2007) perspective of social movements, the city becomes a performative space that is «pregnant with possibility» (Chakrabarty, 1991, p. 26), a free and creative space from which new possibilities for representing and producing subjectivities constantly emerge, repeatedly regenerating the city as a space of negotiation and practices from below (Zara, Martinelli, De Vita, 2020). Over the past decade, some of the dominant issues in the international public debate have drawn renewed attention to women's and LGBTQIA+ concerns. This has been especially evident in movements such as *Non Una di Meno*, *Me Too* and *Black Lives Matter* which have become a new voice – articulating new contents and symbols – for migrants, Afro-descendants, indigenous women, and queer communities. These movements have joined together to form transnational solidarity networks that enact practices of struggle with a revitalized social justice dimension, as the case study presented in the next section illustrates.

3. *Performances of odonomastic guerrilla warfare*

In 2021, the demonstrations that traditionally enliven the streets of Milan on March 8th (Women's Day) and April 25th (Liberation Day) were complemented by odonomastic guerrilla warfare practices: these performances were aimed at the creative deconstruction of urban spaces, in an attempt to evade spatial control systems.

Odonomastic guerrilla warfare consists of grass-roots initiatives to change a street name or add information to a street name sign that alters the meaning of the naming with a view to temporarily deconstructing the supposed neutrality of the urban (Borghi, Dell'Agnese 2009). More specifically, «changing the names that we inhabit is to change the way we think about the city. By suddenly drawing attention to the meaning of the name of a street or square, odonomastic guerrilla warfare trains us not to take the place we live in for granted, and, by not taking it for granted, we begin to reappropriate it!» (personal conversation with an activist).

During the transfeminist odonomastic guerrilla warfare initiative in Milan, some street names were symbolically modified and renamed in memory of women and heroes of the movement. This action, which was implemented by the transfeminist collective *Non Una di Meno-Milano*, was part of the broader project "Decolonizing the City - for an Antiracist and Transfeminist Milan" run by the social centre *Il Cantiere*. It was, in the words of the activists, a "call to arts", an invitation to decolonize a patriarchal and colonialist city by weaving new urban meanings. The means and ends of the practice clearly emerged from my interviews with the activists of *Non Una di Meno-Milano*:

> The streets and squares of our city are almost always dedicated to white men, often colonizers and rapists or destroyers in some war. We decided to change the toponymy, choosing some LGBTQIA+ women and people to be commemorated in public space. Through this symbolic action, we want to begin to break down the wall of invisibility behind which, for centuries, women and LGBTQIA+ people have been relegated. Street by street, square by square we will tear down this wall. It is a task in progress.

The street names to be changed were chosen from among the historical figures or memorials most criticized by the transfeminist movement, during meetings and discussion and study sessions. At the guerrilla warfare events themselves, the original signs or plaques were marked "Rejected" and modified or flanked by new plaques with the name and explanation of the alternative commemoration. New heroines from the movement's cultural universe were integrated into the city's spatial narratives. Some ceremonies were accompanied by a brief explanation of the peculiar merits and characteristics of the commemoration in question. Where possible, a QR code was displayed to provide a link to the movement's webpage and guerrilla map.

As the activists explain, the aim of the movement is not to erase history but rather to propose a counter-narrative that deploys toponymic celebration to draw attention to personages and events whose historical memory has been overlooked in society. Bringing out these silenced identities reveals the normative role of urban space as a producer and manipulator of social presence and raises the question of what kind of city we wish to create.

Transfeminist guerrilla warfare may be understood as a form of "artivism" (Dumont, Gamberoni, 2020), which leads us to touch upon further dynamics of this kind of action. Specifically, the graphic and aesthetic dimension successfully stirs the collective consciousness by eliciting more intense social reflection. These practices «turn out to be a much more effective vehicle for "piercing veils", spreading messages, and questioning and fostering citizenship» (Dumont, Gamberoni, 2020, p. 5). Milan has already been the site of original and impactful practices and forms of artivism in the recent past. Examples that spring to mind include the fuchsia paint that was playfully poured over the statue of Indro Montanelli in the Porta Venezia public gardens or the fuchsia-varnished nail on the iconic middle finger that stands in front of the Stock Exchange building.

Social, and especially political, criticism of the guerrilla renaming initiative was not long in coming, and there was no shortage of instrumentalization, as often happens to social movements, whose contents and practices are readily belittled and ridiculed, rather than discussed on their merits (Pecorelli, 2015b).

4. *Concluding remarks*

The performance enacted by *Non Una di Meno* is not especially novel within the collective action practices of urban-scale social movements. What may be new is the movement's will to broaden the narrative by adopting an intersectional and decolonial perspective that turns a sensitive ear to unknown and long-forgotten stories in order to «knock down the wall of invisibility behind which, for centuries, these subjectivities have been placed» (https://nonunadimenomilanoblog.wordpress.com, last accessed: 05/09/2023). The purpose of performances to mark March 8th or April 25th was not so much to bring about the permanent renaming of city streets via institutional practices (e.g., by inviting residents to sign petitions), nor to vandalize street furniture as a means of disrupting *bourgeois* respectability. Via the aesthetics of their action, which is often misunderstood by the media as an "act of absurdity" bordering on violent, the stated intention of the activists from *Non Una di Meno* is to "draw out the contradictory", generate awareness, and invert the power of narrative. For if we imagine the city as a text, what story would we read? Furthermore, we should reflect on the power of renaming streets. By launching imagined toponyms in masculine cities, albeit merely by painting a few walls with the colours of rainbow, can we help to generate truly inclusive spaces?

At present, there appears to be active interest in including all subjectivities in the streetscape, both in the institutional sphere – as borne out by actions and policies inspired by the European Charter for Women in the City (2016) – and within social movements fighting for social justice. The academy could usefully foster further awareness and critical debate by actively engaging with the discourse of the gender divide and fostering dedicated inquiry into it.

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Regendering Urban Space? Transfeminist Streetscapes in Milan, Italy

Informed by critical feminist theory, this essay examines performative practices designed to re-territorialize the urban fabric of Milan by claiming the right to the city from a gender perspective. A further aim of the research presented here was to fill a gap in critical toponymy, because – to date – little has been written about gender and street names. Odonomastic guerrilla warfare, albeit a recent development, is not confined to the city of Milan, but rather, in light of ongoing initiatives by women's associations and transfeminist collectives in other Italian and European cities, is also driving change in other settings, via counter-narratives that go beyond the binary male/female dimension to rethink both our history and our contemporary life spaces.

Ri-generare lo spazio urbano? Paesaggi urbani transfemministi a Milano, Italia

Questo studio adotta l'approccio teorico della critica femminista, soffermandosi sulle pratiche performative di ri-territorializzazione del tessuto urbano milanese in cui il diritto alla città viene richiamato e rivendicato nella dimensione di genere. L'obiettivo è anche quello di colmare una lacuna nella toponomastica critica, poiché finora è stato scritto molto poco sul genere e sui nomi delle strade. La guerriglia odonomastica, seppur recente, non trasforma esclusivamente il volto della città di Milano, ma, visti i progetti in corso in Italia e nelle città europee da parte di associazioni di donne e collettivi transfemministi, anima anche altri contesti attraverso contro-narrazioni che superano la dimensione binaria maschile/femminile per ripensare la storia e ripensare lo spazio delle nostre vite.

Re-générer l'espace urbain ? Paysages urbains transféministes à Milan, Italie

Cette étude adopte l'approche théorique de la critique féministe, en s'attardant sur les pratiques performatives de reterritorialisation du tissu urbain milanais dans lequel le droit à la ville est rappelé et revendiqué dans la dimension du genre. Il vise également à combler une lacune dans la toponymie critique, car jusqu'à présent, très peu de choses ont été écrites sur le genre et les noms de rue. La guérilla odonomastique, bien que récente, ne transforme pas exclusivement le visage de la ville de Milan, mais, étant donné les projets en cours en Italie et dans les villes européennes par des associations de femmes et des collectifs transféministes, anime également d'autres contextes à travers des contre-récits qui dépassent la dimension binaire homme/femme pour repenser l'histoire et frapper au centre de l'espace de nos vies.

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Toponimi o odonimi? Aspetti critici e considerazioni metodologiche di una terra di confine

Gianluigi Salvucci[*], *Stefania Lucchetti*[*], *Damiano Abbatini*[*]

1. *Micro, meso e macro toponimi: aspetti definitori e cartografici*[1]

È noto in letteratura che gli odonimi sono un sottoinsieme dei toponimi e si riferiscono esclusivamente ai nomi delle strade[2]. Come tutte le categorie di toponimi, questi servono a trasmettere la posizione di un luogo nel linguaggio verbale, rimandando all'elemento geografico o dominante cui si riferisce e di conseguenza alla sua posizione. Per questo motivo esiste una naturale corrispondenza tra tipi di toponimi e segni geografici[3]. Se ci si riferisce ad un fiume ci si aspetta una linea su una carta geografica o eventualmente un poligono di forma allungata; mentre se si tratta di una città sarebbe naturale attendersi un poligono che identifichi il centro abitato o il confine amministrativo, per quanto spesso ritroviamo dei punti ad indicare la posizione di un'etichetta su una mappa.

Pur non esistendo una tassonomia ufficiale, universalmente riconosciuta, vari studi sono soliti suddividere i toponimi in macro e micro. I primi fanno solitamente riferimento a poligoni e identificano confini sulle carte geografiche, mentre i secondi rilevano punti con nomi. Si tratta di un immenso patrimonio culturale che serve a descrivere il territorio, la cui scelta dipende dalla scala e dalla risoluzione a cui viene effettuata la rappresentazione dei luoghi[4]. Ovviamente gli odonimi possono essere rappresentati solo a elevate scale geografiche e quindi rientrerebbereo naturalmente nel concetto di mi-

[*] Roma, Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (ISTAT), Italia.

[1] Sebbene l'articolo sia il risultato di un confronto e di un lavoro collettivo dei tre autori è possibile attribuire a Gianluigi Salvucci la stesura dei paragrafi 1 e 3, a Stefania Lucchetti il paragrafo 4 e a Damiano Abbatini il paragrafo 2; le conclusioni in comuni a tutti gli autori.

[2] Vogl, M., 2010. «Defining the Terms: Exonym and Endoym-Standardization of Geographical Names in the United Nations». PhD tanulmanyok 9, p. 625.

[3] Fairbairn, D. J. 1993, «On the nature of cartographic text», The Cartographic Journal 30 (2), pp. 104–11.

[4] United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names, 2006, *Manual for the national standardization of geographical names, Vol. 88*. Department of Economic, United Nations Publications.

crotoponimi al pari delle località abitate, per quanto si ritiene che sarebbe più opportuno introdurre un elemento di transizione tra macro e micro toponimi per includere in un *mesotoponimo* tutti i riferimenti a insediamenti urbani, anche se di natura non amministrativa.

In questo modo idealmente si avrebbe una tassonomia di elementei che vanno a delineare il piano topografico previsto dalle disposizioni del Regolamento anagrafico Dpr 223/89. Avendo costruito una serie di continitori di toponimi, gli elementi geografici che compongono il piano topografico consentirebbero una migliore individuazione e la geolocalizzazione delle informazioni censuarie. Infatti all'articolo 38 si individuano gli elementi poligonali quali confini comunali, località e sezioni di censimento. Questi elementi sono topologicamente coerenti perché delimitano ogni porzione di territorio del comune, senza soluzione di continuità e senza sovrapposizione. All'articolo 41, l'individuazione delle strade avviene attraverso l'indicazione del nome nello stradario cui si collegano i numeri civici. Gli odonimi, pur non essendo previsti come elementi geografici del piano topografico, sono idealmente contenuti all'interno delle sezioni di censimento per mezzo dei numeri civici che gli sono assegnati. Si delinea così un sistema che consente di gelolocalizzare le unità ecografiche in cui il toponimo riferito al comune è attribuito a un elemento poligonale che ne identifica il confine e al suo interno altri poligoni, quali Località e Sezioni di censimento connesse a loro volta idealmente a elementi lineari che sono gli odonimi.

Fin dai tempi antichi l'attribuzione degli indirizzi è stata percepita come un'imposizione del potere centrale che in questo modo ha la possibiltià di controllare il cittadino, in particolare le sue proprietà, e quindi poter interferire attraverso l'imposizione fiscale. D'altro canto una buona parte dei servizi che raggiungono le nostre abitazioni non possono essere materialmente erogati in assenza di un indirizzo.

L'utilizzo di una numerazione civica consente alla pubblica amministrazione di localizzare famiglie, aziende, uffici della pubblica amministrazione stessa, lungo le strade attraverso i numeri civici. La maggior parte dei numeri civici sono assegnati nelle aree urbane, mentre nelle zone rurali, inspiegabilmente, è frequente che i comuni non indichino strade, né assegnino numeri civici.

Nelle aree rurali è più difficile orientarsi, e per questo motivo si fa un largo ricorso all'uso di mesotoponimi. In questo modo si facilita l'individuazione di un indirizzo indicando la località che lo contiene. Ma si tratta di oggetti diversi che possono ingenerare confusione ed errori, soprattutto quando l'ente amministrativo non ha assegnato un odonimo ufficiale. Da un punto di vista pratico, sia per le amministrazioni che per i cittadini è utile domandarsi se esista un confine tra l'identificazione di un micro toponimo ed un toponimo. La realtà è che ad oggi questa distinzione non è stata formalizzata, pertanto nelle more di una definizione ufficiale o comunque riconosciuta in letteratura, si propone qui di avvalersi di una classificazione operativa dei toponimi che consideri la sovrapposizione tra elemento geografico e confini comunali per cui se l'elemento geografico a cui si riferisce il toponimo ricade esclusivamente all'interno del confine amministrativo di un unico comune, allora lo si può definire micro toponimo.

Da un punto di vista tassonomico, l'odonimo dovrebbe essere considerato un micro toponimo, poiché si riferisce a una strada o a un indirizzo composto dal numero civico. Per sopperire a difficoltà organizzative, e soprattutto per valorizzare i nomi abitualmente utilizzati nelle aree periferiche e rurali, il legislatore ha previsto una tipologia di odonimo che fa espressamente riferimento al toponimo dell'insediamento urbano. Nelle aree rurali esistono indirizzi territoriali (ad es. "località", "podere") che non possono essere identificati da una strada ma da un insieme di edifici. In questi casi l'elemento geografico da considerare è il poligono convesso identificato tramite l'insieme delle sagome degli edifici che condividono lo stesso indirizzo, al netto del numero civico.

In Italia uno standard per la scrittura di un indirizzo dovrebbe essere: tipo di strada, nome della strada, numero civico, località e comune amministrativo. In caso di località che intersecano più di un comune, queste non dovrebbero essere considerate come un unico indirizzo; così come, al contrario, se una stessa strada attraversa più comuni, l'odonimo corrispondente andrebbe scritto nello stesso modo nei diversi comuni interessati.

2. *Metodologia e dati impiegati*

L'archivio catastale, il Nuovo Catasto Edilizio Urbano, è uno dei principali archivi amministrativi che alimentano la nuova base informativa territoriale dell'Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, il *Registro Statistico di Base dei Luoghi* (RSBL). RSBL è costituito da singoli registri distinti ma integrati di indirizzi, immobili, edifici, sezioni di censimento, unità amministrative e funzionali.

L'archivio catastale che alimenta RSBL comprende l'*anagrafica catastale*, ovvero le informazioni relative, per ciascun immobile, alle *caratteristiche*, agli *estremi catastali*, agli *indirizzi* e alle presone fisiche e giuridiche *titolari* di diritti; e comprende anche la *cartografia catastale*, ovvero gli elementi geografici con i quali è possibile identificare le sagome dei fabbricati sul territorio. Un ulteriore archivio che alimenta RSBL è l'Archivio Nazionale Numeri Civici e Strade Urbane (ANNCSU), che raccoglie le informazioni relative agli indirizzi dichiarati dai comuni.

In questo lavoro, per quanto attiene agli indirizzi delle unità immobiliari sono state utilizzate soltanto le informazioni presenti nell'anagrafica catastale mentre non sono state utilizzate le etichette degli elementi geografici classificati come "strade" presenti nella cartografia; su questi ultimi si ipotizza un prossimo approfondimento che si qualifica come il prosieguo naturale di questo lavoro.

Rispetto ad altri analoghi lavori basati su dati catastali[5], la proposta presentata

[5] Gersic M., Kladnik D., 2016, «House Names and Field Names as an Important Part of Slovenian Cultural Heritage: A Case Study of the Lese Cadastral Municipality, Upper Carniola, Slovenia». Nomina Africana 301: 1–26.

Assenza E., 2014, «Official toponymy and popular toponymy: the contribution of dialect forms and ethnotexts in the etymological and motivational reconstruction of (micro) toponyms». In *Els noms en la vida quotidiana/Names in daily life*. ICOS-International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, 24o, 2011. Proceedings. Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura. Annex, Section, 6.

in questo lavoro si caratterizza per un uso di dati vettoriali che necessitano di una strumentazione Gis. L'aspetto più rilevante della metodologia adottata, infatti, è proprio il tentativo di *individuare e disegnare il poligono* che delimita ciascun micro toponimo. Nei lavori di questo tipo presi in esame, i micro toponimi sono invece sempre elementi puntuali, ovvero semplici etichette sulle carte topografiche.

La procedura operativa concepita per identificare i segni del territorio ai quali si riferisce il toponimo si costituisce principalmente di tre *step* successivi: in primo luogo, tra tutti gli indirizzi catastali si selezionano soltanto quelli di tipo territoriale, ovvero quelli che identificano non tanto un singolo tratto viario (strada) ma una località, un'area diffusa; secondariamente, si selezionano tutti gli edifici della cartografia catastale afferenti a questi indirizzi; in terzo luogo si costruisce il poligono convesso che circoscrive tutti i poligoni degli edifici selezionati.

In questo modo si ottengono i poligoni che identificano e delimitano i micro toponimi sul territorio.

3. *Compresenza e sovrapposizione di microtoponimi*

La mancata completa applicazione dei dettami del Regolamento anagrafico ha creato diverse complicazioni dal punto di vista della gestione degli indirizzi di tipo areale. Se questi fossero effettivamente identificati e delimitati ciascuno da una singola sezione di censimento e all'interno di questa non fosse contenuto nessun altro tipo di strada, allora sarebbero utilizzabili al pari degli altri odonimi. In realtà da un'analisi degli stradari amministativi e in particolare dallo stradario ricavabile dall'archivio catastale, si evince che micro toponimi di tipo areale vengono usati sia all'interno di altri toponimi che come contenitore di altri odonimi, alla stregua delle indicazioni di un percorso.

Le principali casistiche riscontrate sono rappresentate nel quadro delle compresenze dei diversi tipi di DUG (Denominazione Urbanistica Generica[6]) che, dal riconoscimento collettivo di un micro toponimo, può assumere configurazioni via via più articolate fino alla costituzione di una rete stradale dotata di indirizzi.

Molti indirizzi territoriali nascono a partire da un elemento naturale, ad esempio una fonte, una cima oppure una riva (*ripa*), come nel caso riportato in Figura 1, e sono i nomi comuni di questi elementi che vengono condivisi dalla comunità. Situazioni del genere sono usuali in aree rurali scarsamente abitate tanto da non richiedere l'esigenza di indirizzi specifici. Si tratta di micro toponimi che sicuramente non compaiono nelle cartografie ufficiali, ma sono patrimonio della comunità che li usa per orientarsi; classifichiamo questi casi nel tipo 0 (Fig. 1), mentre diremo che sono di tipo 1 nel caso in cui in questo tipo di aree sia presente

Cassi L., Arcamone M.G. , Calzolai L., Frondizi F., 2015, N*omi e carte: sulla toponomastica della Toscana*. Pacini editore.

Cassi L., Marcaccini P, 1998, *Toponomastica, beni culturali e ambientali: gli «indicatori geografici» per un loro censimento*, Roma, Società geografica italiana.

[6] La gestione operativa della toponomastica fa riferimento alla DUG (Denominazione Urbanistica Generica) e alla DUF (Denominazione Urbanistica Ufficiale).

un singolo fabbricato isolato. Mentre il tipo 0, in virtù dell'assenza di fabbricati, è presente nell'archivio catastale esclusivamente nella componente cartografica, come un elemento poligonale classificato come "acqua" o "strada" all'interno di un foglio di mappa, i casi afferenti al tipo 1 sono effettivamente rintracciabili tramite gli indirizzi catastali abbinati agli edifici che riportano lo stesso riferimento all'elemento naturale. Nell'esempio riportato in Figura 1 l'edificio è associato all'indirizzo "Località Ripa".

Situazioni di maggior urbanizzazione possono richiedere un maggior dettaglio per riuscire ad identificare un'area abitata. Nel tipo 2 (Fig. 1) un gruppo di edifici condivide lo stesso indirizzo "Contrada Ripa" senza ulteriore specificazione. Nel tipo 3 il microtoponimo è frazionato in più aree di circolazione distinte e i singoli indirizzi coesistono con il microtoponimo originale.

La stessa casistica si ritrova anche in assenza di un elemento naturale caratterizzante dal quale origini il nome del micro toponimo, come esemplificato nella colonna destra della Figura 1[7].

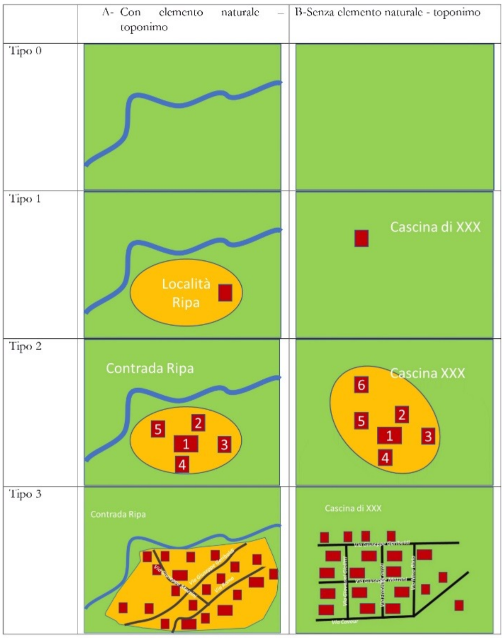

Fig. 1 – Quadro delle compresenze dei tipi di DUG.
Fonte: elaborazione degli autori.

[7] Nella figura non è rappresentato lo step successivo, quello in cui in un territorio, ad esempio in un centro abitato, gli indirizzi sono conformi al dettato dell'archivio nazionale numeri civici e strade urbane e gli accessi su un area di circolazione sono individuati compiutamente da DUG, DUF e numero civico (ad es. 'Via Nino Bixio, 12') senza riferimento a una qualsivoglia *località*. Questi casi sono comunque riportati e quantificati nella tabella 1 presentata nel prossimo paragrafo.

4. *Risultati della ricerca*

La ricerca sugli indirizzi catastali ha permesso di individuare una grande quantità di indirizzi di tipo territoriale, ovvero micro toponimi, in tutta Italia. La Valle d'Aosta e la Sardegna presentano la quota più elevata di micro toponimi, mentre le Regioni con una maggiore urbanizzazione come Veneto, Lombardia, Emilia-Romagna e Lazio hanno percentuali di indirizzi di tipo 4, ovvero conformi allo standard dettato dall'Archivio Nazionale Numeri Civici e Strade Urbane, superiori al 90%. Probabilmente il problema dell'odonomastica italiana non si limita al solo uso indiscriminato di indirizzi di tipo territoriale. Tuttavia è bene comprendere che questo fenomeno è ampiamente diffuso in tutto il Paese e coinvolge una quota consistente di odonimi.

Inoltre, l'abbinamento degli indirizzi agli edifici ha reso disponibile un geodatabase di poligoni (edifici) associati a uno o più toponimi (indirizzi) in maniera simile a quanto proposto da Idrizi[8] (2019). La disponibilità di un geodatabase di questo tipo permette di delimitare i micro toponimi sul territorio individuando il poligono delimitato dagli edifici e pervenire ad una classificazione operativa che possa favorire l'uso degli stessi in ambiti amministrativi.

Tab. 1 – Toponimi catastali per tipo e Regione.

REGIONE	*Tipo 1*	Tipo 2	Tipo 3	Tipo 4	Totale	Tipo 1	Tipo 2	Tipo 3	Tipo 4	Totale
	v.a	v.a	v.a	v.a	v.a	%	%	%	%	%
Piemonte	48.318	197.415	121.618	1.634.134	2.001.485	2,41	9,86	6,08	81,65	100
Valle d'Aosta	11.643	57.546	18.155	27.419	114.763	10,15	50,14	15,82	23,89	100
Lombardia	80.052	67.038	78.255	3.246.171	3.471.516	2,31	1,93	2,25	93,51	100
Veneto	6.578	68.353	54.086	2.226.005	2.355.022	0,28	2,90	2,30	94,52	100
Trentino A.A*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Friuli V. G.	3.398	31.793	14.795	538.624	588.610	0,58	5,40	2,51	91,51	100
Liguria	7.755	58.093	38.006	760.020	863.874	0,90	6,72	4,40	87,9	100
Emilia-Romagna	9.135	86.841	46.117	1.967.740	2.109.833	0,43	4,12	2,19	93,27	100
Toscana	27.878	145.082	108.044	1.699.717	1.980.721	1,41	7,32	5,45	85,81	100
Umbria	8.570	64.842	95.808	366.866	536.086	1,60	12,10	17,87	68,43	100

[8] Idrizi X, Idrizi B., 2019, «Database Establishing and Linguistic Research for Microtoponyms in Two Regions in North Macedonia», Eur*opean Journal of Geography* 10, 4.

Marche	3.116	95.413	82.302	575.008	755.839	0,41	12,62	10,89	76,08	100
Lazio	33.882	55.749	80.604	1.934.659	2.104.894	1,61	2,65	3,83	91,91	100
Abruzzo	9.614	80.423	61.663	618.474	770.174	1,25	10,44	8,01	80,30	100
Molise	11.166	32.348	21.365	206.015	270.894	4,12	11,94	7,89	76,0	100
Campania	39.764	97.784	77.314	1.798.738	2.013.600	1,97	4,86	3,84	89,33	100
Puglia	79.585	67.148	121.739	1.928.289	2.196.761	3,62	3,06	5,54	87,78	100
Basilicata	40.109	52.315	27.931	368.744	489.099	8,20	10,70	5,71	75,39	100
Calabria	74.453	98.050	133.417	999.986	1.305.906	5,70	7,51	10,22	76,57	100
Sicilia	231.174	114.438	323.891	2.393.690	3.063.193	7,55	3,74	10,57	78,14	100
Sardegna	108.020	24.813	87.036	738.869	958.738	11,27	2,59	9,08	77,07	100
Totale	*834.210*	*1.495.484*	*1.592.146*	*24.029.168*	*27.951.008*	2,98	5,35	5,70	85,97	100

Fonte: elaborazione Istat su dati Agenzia delle Entrate.
* *il catasto del Trentino-Alto Adige è gestito in autonomia dalle Province autonome di Trento e Bolzano*

Nella classificazione presentata emerge la necessità di una distinzione tra i diversi micro toponimi. Abbiamo visto che esistono gruppi di indirizzi dotati di numeri civici ma associati a toponimi piuttosto che a strade. Formalmente non si tratta di un errore, perché in Italia sono previsti questi casi, caratterizzati da una numerazione civica a spirale partendo dal centro della località. Per loro natura queste entità non sono delle semplici località ma sono effettivamente degli odonimi, completi di numeri civici. Che però, in alcuni casi, possono presentare dei problemi.

Di seguito la Figura 2 riporta un esempio per comprendere quali siano le difficoltà tecniche nell'utilizzo di micro toponimi al posto degli odonimi. Si consideri, ad esempio l'indirizzo territoriale Contrada Gaiano nel comune di Affile in provincia di Roma.

Guardando il contesto della figura si comprende che si tratta di un gruppo di edifici in ambito rurale. Ai fini statistici non possono essere classificati in una sezione censuaria di tipo nucleo perché le distanze tra gli edifici sono evidentemente superiori ai 30 metri. Tuttavia il fatto che condividano uno stesso micro toponimo indurrebbe a cercare di farli appartenere quanto meno alla stessa sezione di censimento. In realtà questo micro-toponimo interseca le sezioni di censimento 7 e 9, creando non pochi problemi di geocodifica e collocazione univoca dei loro residenti.

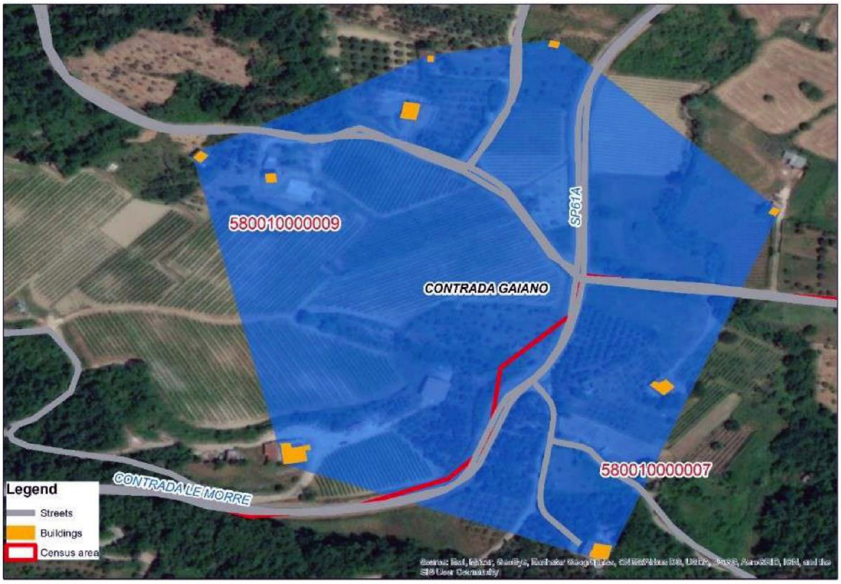

Fig. 2 – Limiti della contrada Gaiano. Elaborazione su dati catastali.
Fonte: elaborazione degli autori.

5. *Conclusioni*

La ricerca ha permesso di individuare una grande quantità di indirizzi di tipo territoriale, noti come micro toponimi, in tutta Italia ma maggiomente concentrati in alcune aree del territorio, come Valle d'Aosta e Sardegna.

La costruzione di un geodatabase in cui questo tipo di indirizzi sono associati agli edifici corrispondenti, permette il disegno di poligoni che circoscrivono con un dettaglio piuttosto elevato il tracciato di ciascuna località.

In una situazione in cui un indirizzo deve essere strutturato a diverse scale geografiche si dovrebbe avere una struttura sintattica di tipo "Dug, Duf, Numero Civico, Località, Comune".

Una volta che il micro-toponimo viene abbinato a dei numeri civici diventa un indirizzo e solo in quel momento avviene la sua metamorfosi: se il micro-toponimo non è dotato di numeri civici è semplicemente un toponimo. Tuttavia, per il micro-toponimo, anche nel caso di presenza di numeri civici il suo significato non è quello di una comune strada, perché si tratta comunque di un'area, seppur limitata.

Per questo motivo una volta che il micro toponimo diventa un indirizzo sarebbe preferibile considerarlo un macro-odonimo, una sorta di indirizzo "allargato" la cui sorte è inevitabilmente quella di tornare ad essere un micro-toponimo più grande di quel che era.

Una farfalla che non muore ma ritorna bozzolo dalle mille sfaccettature.