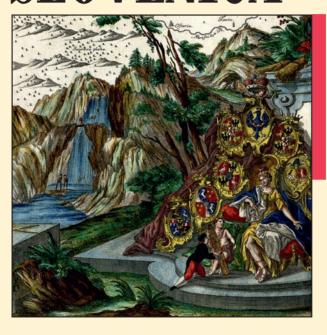
ACTA GEOGRAPHICA SLOVENICA GEOGRAFSKI ZBORNIK



ACTA GEOGRAPHICA SLOVENICA GEOGRAFSKI ZBORNIK 63-2 • 2023

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Front cover photography: The image shows part of the cartouche of the map Ducatus Carnioliae tabula chorographica by Janez Dizma Florjančič from 1744. The personified Carniola is surrounded by the coats of arms of noble families and a mountainous landscape showing the entrance to a mine, a waterfall, a river gorge, and people on stilts (Geographical Museum GIAM ZRC SAZU). Fotografija na naslovnici: Na sliki je predstavljen del kartuše zemljevida Ducatus Carnioliae tabula chorographica Janeza Dizme Florjančiča iz leta 1744. Personificirano Kranjsko obdajajo grbi plemiških rodbin in gorska pokrajina, kjer so upodobljeni vhod v rudnik, slap, rečna soteska in osebi na hoduljah (Zemljepisni muzej GIAM ZRC SAZU).

THE FIRST WORLD ATLAS IN SLOVENIAN, AND SLOVENIAN TERRITORY IN SOME EARLY WORLD ATLASES

Drago Perko



The 2005 reissue of Matej Cigale's *Atlant* consists of a facsimile of all the maps, a seven-chapter supplemental volume, and a handmade cardboard case that protects the inserted maps and book.

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Drago Perko¹

The first world atlas in Slovenian, and Slovenian territory in some early world atlases

ABSTRACT: *Atlant* was the first world atlas in Slovenian. It was published between 1869 and 1877, when most Slovenians lived in Austria-Hungary. The first-ever world atlas was authored by Abraham Ortelius and published in 1570, and the first Austrian world atlas was published in 1796 by Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly. In both of them, the territory of what is now Slovenia is depicted on several maps. *Atlant* was edited by Matej Cigale, who carried out pioneering work in Slovenianizing geographical names and preserving Slovenian exonyms. The Slovenian geographical names used in the atlas reflect the relationships at the time between Slovenian and other languages. *Atlas* is important because it uses Slovenian geographical names on the maps. It also influenced later world atlases, especially the first school atlases in Slovenian. A facsimile of *Atlant* with accompanying studies was published in 2005.

KEYWORDS: cultural geography, cartography, map, geographical name, Matej Cigale, Slovenia, Austria-Hungary

Prvi atlas sveta v slovenščini in slovensko ozemlje v nekaterih zgodnjih atlasih sveta

POVZETEK: Atlant je prvi atlasa sveta v slovenskem jeziku. Izhajal je med letoma 1869 in 1877, ko je večina Slovencev živela v Avstro-Ogrski. Prvi atlas sveta Abrahama Orteliusa je izšel leta 1570 in prvi avstrijski atlas sveta Franza Johanna Josepha von Reillyja leta 1796. V obeh je ozemlje današnje Slovenije prikazano na več zemljevidih. Atlant je uredil Matej Cigale, ki je opravil pionirsko delo pri slovenjenju zemljepisnih imen in ohranjanju slovenskih eksonimov. V slovenskih zemljepisnih imenih se kažejo takratna razmerja med slovenščino in drugimi jeziki. Atlas je pomemben zaradi uporabe slovenskih zemljepisnih imen na zemljevidih. Vplival je tudi na poznejše atlase sveta, še posebej prve šolske atlase v slovenskem jeziku. Leta 2005 je izšel faksimile Atlanta s spremnimi študijami.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: kulturna geografija, kartografija, zemljevid, zemljepisno ime, Matej Cigale, Slovenija, Avstro-Ogrska

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1 Introduction

This article presents the significance of the first world atlas published in Slovenian as a vital element of Slovenian cultural heritage and promoter of Slovenian national identity. It is connected with the first world atlases published in the sixteenth century, when the foundations for the development of Slovenian language and culture were laid through the first books printed in Slovenian. In addition, the article describes the first two Austrian world atlases because Austria was where nearly all ethnic Slovenians lived in the eighteenth century, when the first world atlas was published in Slovenian, and, also through this atlas, they began to place themselves on a more equal footing with other European nations. Using examples from various maps, the article illustrates how the territory of what is now Slovenia was depicted in these atlases.

Most of the article focuses on presenting the author of the first Slovenian world atlas, Matej Cigale (1819–1889), his work in geography, and, first and foremost, an evaluation of his atlas and the atlas's importance for Slovenian world and school atlases. Special attention is dedicated to Slovenian geographical names.

This review article thus contextualizes the first Slovenian world atlas within the history of world atlases, as well as the history of Slovenian geography, cartography, linguistics, and culture in general.

1.1 Material and methods

A variety of atlases and other old materials were examined for this study. Non-Slovenian world atlases were available in digital form, and Slovenian atlases and books were largely available in both digital and print versions. Most digital world atlases in languages other than Slovenian were obtained from the David Rumsey Map Collection website (www.davidrumsey.com), which provides access to over 150,000 maps, and most Slovenian materials were obtained from the National and University Library and especially its website Digital Library of Slovenia (www.dlib.si), and from the Geographical Museum and Geographical Library at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts Geographical Institute. The title pages of the most relevant publications reviewed are provided in the figures.

In all atlases, the maps on which Slovenian territory was depicted in greatest detail were identified. Special attention was dedicated to the first two world atlases, the first two Austrian world atlases, and the first two Slovenian world atlases (Table 1).

In reviewing non-Slovenian atlases, special focus was placed on finding similarities with the maps in Cigale's atlas to determine which world atlases he based his *Atlant* on.

The review of other materials followed the development of school atlases and world atlases in Slovenian, and it examined the influence of Cigale's atlas on Slovenian geographical names. The gazetteer of geographical names produced while preparing the facsimile of Cigale's atlas in 2005 (the original had no gazetteer; Fridl et al. 2005) was also used in the process.

In evaluating Cigale's atlas and his work, it was vital to take into account the historical, political, and cultural contexts in which atlases and other materials were created. To better understand Cigale's atlas, a brief review of the development of the Slovenian nation and language, or some important points on this path, are presented below.

			reviewed	

Works examined	Title	Year
First two world atlases	Theatrum orbis terrarum (A Representation of the World) Atlas sive Cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura (Atlas or Cosmographical Meditations upon the Creation of the Universe, and the Universe as Created)	1570 1595
First two Austrian world atlases	Grosser deutscher Atlas (Great German Atlas) Allgemeiner Grosser Atlass (Great General Atlas)	1796 1800
First two Slovenian world atlases	Atlant (Atlas) Velika atlas sveta (Great World Atlas)	1877 1972

1.2 Cultural-geographical introductory overview: Young Slovenia, old Slovenians

Atlant, the first Slovenian world atlas produced by Matej Cigale in the second half of the nineteenth century, holds a special place in the history of the Slovenians and their language, and especially Slovenian geography and cartography.

Slovenians thus obtained the first world atlas in Slovenian three centuries after the publication of the first world atlas, and they obtained the second one another century later. The heyday of Slovenian world atlases was the 1990s (Perko 2005b), when several atlases were published to place independent Slovenia on world maps.

Slovenia is among the youngest countries in the world. It declared independence on June 25th, 1991, and it became a member of the United Nations on May 22nd, 1992, and of the European Union on May 1st, 2004.

Before it became independent, Slovenia was a Yugoslav republic with a constitutionally guaranteed right to secede. Most Slovenians lived in Yugoslavia's Drava Province before the Second World War and in the Austrian crown lands of Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, and the Littoral before the First World War.

The principality of Carantania was established in the seventh century. This was the first state of the ancestors of today's Slovenians, who settled the area between the sources of the Enns, Mura, and Drava rivers to the west, the Danube to the north, Lake Balaton to the east, and the Adriatic to the south in the sixth century (Perko et al. 2020).

Slovenians and their language are hence significantly older than the Slovenian state. The Freising manuscripts (Figure 1) are the oldest document in Slovenian and, at the same time, the oldest Slavic text written in Latin script. They were created at the end of the tenth century and are composed of three separate documents on nine parchment pages featuring religious content (Bernik et al. 2004). They are now held by the Bavarian State Library (*Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*) in Munich.

The Slovenian used in the Klagenfurt (or Rateče) manuscript (Figure 2) is of similar age. This is a copy of an older original from the period of early Christianization of the Slovenians, but it was only created in the second half of the fourteenth century. It comprises one parchment leaf with three prayers. It was used in Rateče, a Slovenian village right next to today's Austrian and Italian borders, and it is now held by the Carinthian Provincial Archives (*Kärntner Landesarchiv*) in Klagenfurt (Orel 1996).

An atlas is like a cartographic bible, but Slovenians obtained a printed Slovenian translation of the Bible much earlier than the first Slovenian atlas. Slovenian belongs to languages that was among the first into which the Bible was translated in full. As early as 1578, the Protestant writer and theologian Jurij Dalmatin (1547–1589) translated the Old and New Testaments into Slovenian (Figures 3 and 4). It was printed five years later in Wittenberg with the title *Biblia, tu ie, vse Svetu pismu, Stariga inu Noviga Teftamenta* (The Bible, i.e. the Entire Old and New Testaments). The Bible was first printed in German in full in 1534 in Wittenberg, and it was translated by the Augustinian friar Martin Luther (1483–1546). The first English translation was printed in 1535, most likely in Antwerp, and it was translated by Myles Coverdale (1488–1569), also an Augustinian friar (Cain et al. 2023).

Slovenians thus obtained a printed copy of the entire Bible in Slovenian less than half a century later than the English or Germans, and only three decades after the first book in Slovenian, *Catechifmus* (Catechism), printed in 1550. It was written by the Protestant priest and writer Primož Trubar (1508–1586), who dubbed himself *Philopatridus Illiricus* (an Illyrian patriot) in the book. With this work, Trubar established Slovenian as a standard language, and five years later, in his foreword to the Gospel of Matthew, he was the first in history to refer to his compatriots as Slovenians (Figures 5 and 6).

This was also the period of Jacobus Gallus (a.k.a. Jacobus Handl or Händl in German and Slovenianized as *Jakop Petelin Kranjski*), a late-Renaissance Slovenian composer (1550–1591), who authored numerous motets and madrigals (Figures 7 and 8).

Hence, the sixteenth century, which was of great significance for the development of atlases, was also of exceptional importance for the development of Slovenian and the consolidation of Slovenian culture and identity. That, however, was also one of the key roles of Cigale's *Atlant* three centuries later.

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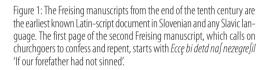




Figure 3: Jurij Dalmatin (1547–1589) translated the entire Bible into Slovenian in 1578.

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Figure 2: The Klagenfurt manuscript from the second half of the fourteenth century comprises one parchment leaf with three prayers. The first is the Our Father, and it begins with Otfcha nass kyr sy wnebessich posswerschenu body twoye yime 'Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name'.

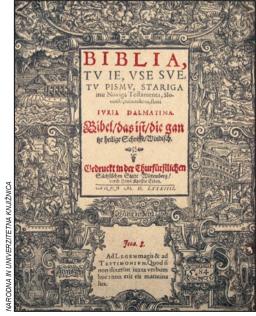


Figure 4: Title page of Dalmatin's *Biblia* (Bible) printed in 1583 in Wittenberg, Germany.

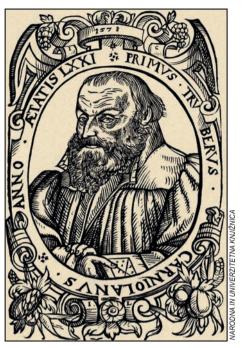


Figure 5: Primož Trubar (1508—1586) authored the first two books printed in Slovenian.



Figure 7: Jacobus Gallus (1550–1591), probably the best-known Slovenian late-Renaissance composer.



Figure 6: Title page of Trubar's *Catechilmus* (1555). Its first edition was printed in 1550 in Germany.



Figure 8: The three-volume collection *Harmoniae morales* features fifty-three madrigals by Gallus. It was published in 1589 and 1590 in Prague.

2 The first two world atlases

The credit for the modern meaning of the term *atlas* 'systematic collection of maps' goes to the famous Flemish cartographer, geographer, and mathematician Gerhard Kremer (1512–1594), better known as Gerardus Mercator (Figure 9), who in 1569 began preparing maps of individual parts of the world for his *Atlas sive Cosmographicæ meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura* (Atlas or Cosmographical Meditations upon the Creation of the Universe, and the Universe as Created). The work was finished after his death by his son Rumold (1545–1599), who published it in 1595 (Figure 10). After Rumold's death, the atlas was first reissued in 1602, and then several times by 1641, including in extended editions and various languages. The atlas was 50×33 cm in size. The title page features the mythological Titan Atlas, which is why these types of books have been referred to as *atlases* ever since (Krogt and Koeman 2003; Perko 2005b).

The territory of what is now Slovenia is depicted in greatest detail on the maps *Forum Iulium, Karstia, Carniola, Histria Et Windorum Marchia* (Friuli, Karst, Carniola, Istria, and the Windic March; Figure 11) at an approximate scale of 1:750,000 (47×35 cm) and *Stiria* (Styria) at an approximate scale of 1:1,500,000 (41×31 cm).

However, Mercator was not the author of the first world atlas. This was Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598), a Flemish geographer of German descent (Figure 12), who published the book *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (A Representation of the World) a quarter of a century earlier, in 1570, in Antwerp. The atlas (Figure 13) was 42×30 cm in size, and it contained 288 pages. Copperplate maps, approximately 45×32 cm in size, predominate. He created them based on earlier maps produced by eighty-seven cartographers. The first

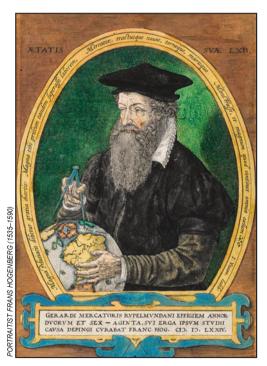


Figure 9: Gerardus Mercator (1512—1594) was the first to call a systematic collection of maps an *atlas*.



Figure 10: Title page of Mercator's atlas, published in 1595 by his son Rumold.

Figure 11: Reduced-scale map of Friuli, Karst, Carniola, Istria, and the Windic March, depicting the majority of what is now Slovenia except its easternmost part. > p. 98–99

Drago Perko, The first world atlas in Slovenian, and Slovenian territory in some early world atlases

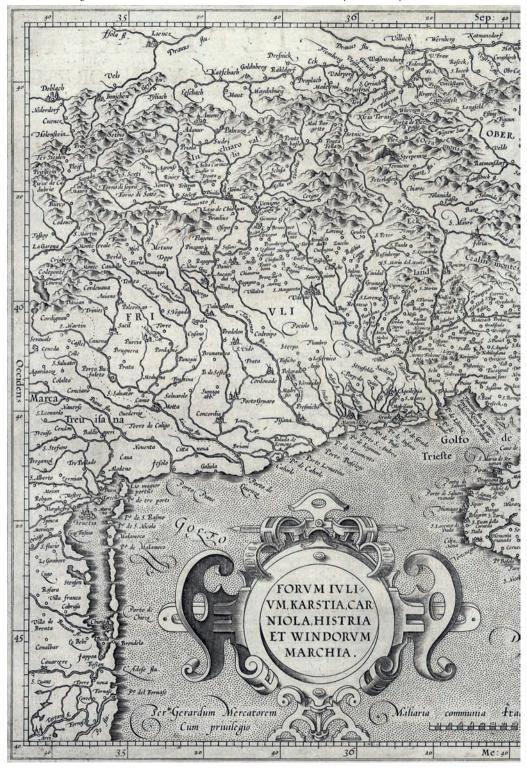






Figure 12: Abraham Ortelius (1527—1598) did not yet refer to his map collection as an *atlas*.

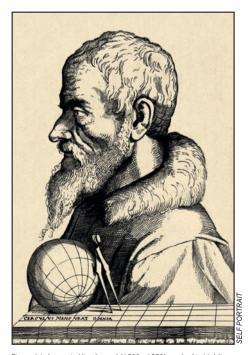


Figure 14: Augustin Hirschvogel (1503—1553) worked in Ljubljana from 1536 to 1543.

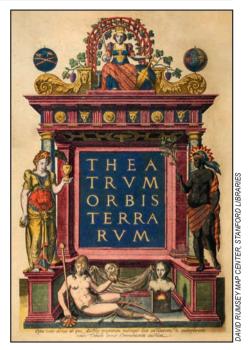


Figure 13: Title page of Ortelius's 1570 atlas, featuring the title *Theatrum orbis terrarum*.



Figure 15: János Zsámboki (1531—1584) was a Hungarian physician, linguist, and historian.

Figure 16: The reduced-scale map *Schlavoniae, Croatiae, Carniae, Istriae, Bosniae Finitimarumque regionum nova descriptio* from the 1570 edition of Ortelius's atlas. It was created based on Augustin Hirschvogel's map and shows the entire territory of present-day Slovenia, except its northeasternmost part. ➤ p. 102−103

Figure 17: The reduced-scale map *llirija* (Illyria) from the 1608 edition of Ortelius's atlas. It was created based on János Zsámboki's map and shows the territory of what is now Slovenia and all its neighboring regions where ethnic Slovenians still live today. > p. 104–105

edition featured fifty-three maps, the 1587 edition contained a further fifty, the 1593 edition already featured 137, and the 1612 edition contained a full 167. At least thirty-seven editions were published altogether, including in other languages, the last one in 1641 (Broecke 1986; Krogt and Koeman 2003; Perko 2005b).

Ortelius depicted the territory of what is now Slovenia in detail on four maps: its northern part on the map Austriae (Austria) at an approximate scale of 1:1,000,000 (47 × 34 cm), its northeastern part on the map Hungariae (Hungary) at a scale of 1:3,000,000 (51 × 36 cm), its western part on the small map $Fori\ Iulii$ (Friuli) at a scale of 1:1,500,000 (16 × 12 cm), and nearly its entire territory on the map Schlavoniae, Croatiae, Carniae, Istriae, Bosniae Finitimarumque Time regionum Time regionum

3 The first two Austrian world atlases

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the territory of what is now Slovenia was part of Austria: until 1804 it was part of the Habsburg Monarchy, until 1867 it belonged to the Austrian Empire, and until 1918 to Austria-Hungary.

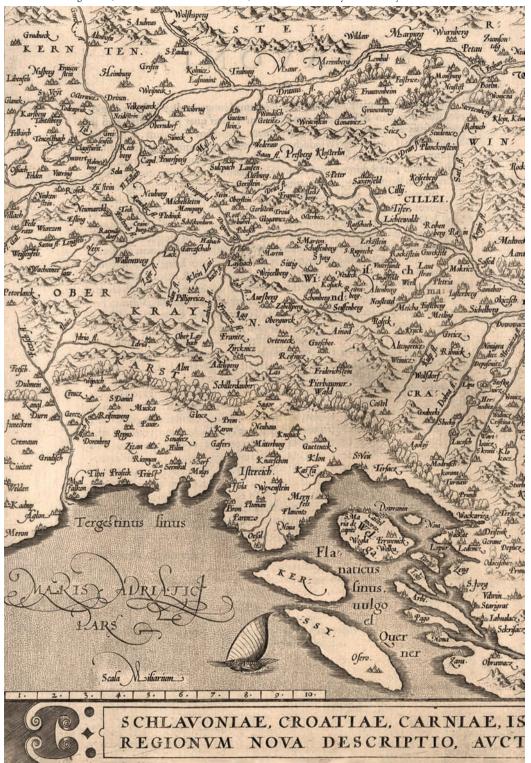
The first Austrian world atlases are over two hundred years younger than Ortelius's first world atlas and just under one hundred years older than the first Slovenian world atlas. An important factor in their creation was the establishment of an engraving school in Vienna in 1766, thanks to which in just a few years Vienna became the cartographic capital of central Europe in terms of the number and quality of maps published. Twenty years later, Franz Anton Schrämbl (1751–1803) began preparing the first Austrian world atlas, but it was Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly (1766–1820) that completed one first in 1796 (Dörflinger 1981).

In 1786, Schrämbl announced the publication of a world atlas in German. He entitled it *Allgemeiner Grosser Atlass* (Great General Atlas; Figure 18). In 1787, he established a bookstore together with Reilly and got to work. He planned to publish thirty-six large sheets with full-page copper engravings per year and complete the atlas in three years (Dörflinger 1981).

To promote sales, he set the pre-order price for an individual leaf at only twenty kreuzers, or a third of a gulden, even though maps printed abroad cost between one and three guldens or even more. By sacrificing his entire fortune, he published over a hundred sheets by 1790, after which he had to sell the project to another publisher, Philipp Joseph Schalbacher. The atlas was ultimately completed in 1800 (Dörflinger 1981).

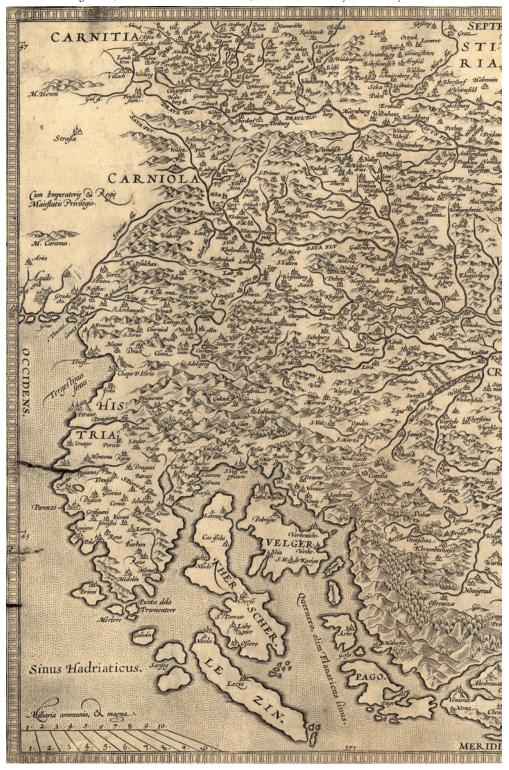
It was 65×51 cm in size, and it contained 133 sheets with $31-61 \times 53-81$ cm maps. Because of the various sources used, the maps vary greatly in terms of size, scale, design, and quality.

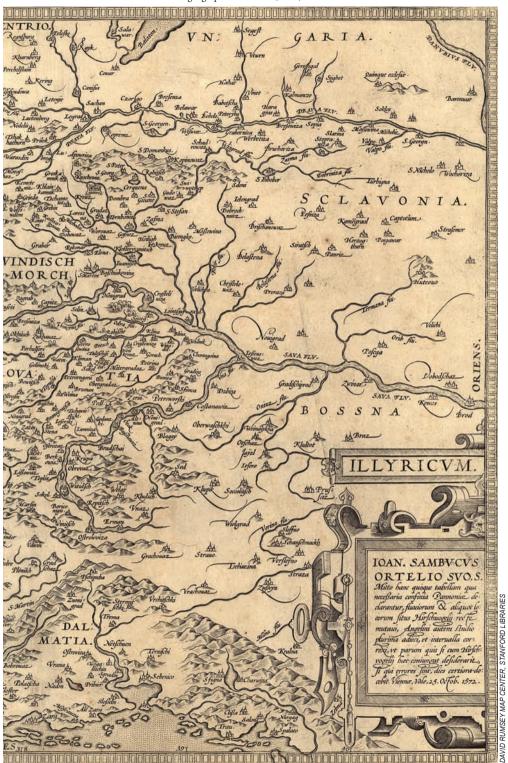
Drago Perko, The first world atlas in Slovenian, and Slovenian territory in some early world atlases





Drago Perko, The first world atlas in Slovenian, and Slovenian territory in some early world atlases





Present-day Slovenia is depicted in greatest detail on three maps: its western part on the map *Deutschland XXIV* (Germany XXIV; Figure 19) at a scale of 1:530,000 (41×55 cm), its northeastern part on the map *Ungarn Siebenbürgen, Sclavonien N.72.D* (Hungary, Transylvania, and Slavonia N.72.D) at a scale of 1:1,140,000 (44×56 cm), and its southeastern part on the map *Ungarn Siebenbürgen, Sclavonien N.72.F* (Hungary, Transylvania, and Slavonia N.72.F) at a scale of 1:1,140,000 (44×56 cm).

Hearing about the success of Schrämbl's atlas, Reilly embarked on a similarly extensive project. He inherited a substantial fortune from his father, which allowed him to focus on printing and cartography. Between 1789 and 1806, he published a map almost every week for his world atlas *Schauplatz der fünf Theile der Welt* (A Representation of Five Parts of the World). In seventeen years, this added up to 830 maps, which, however, only depict Europe. In contrast to Schrämbl's atlas, the maps are only 22–28 × 31–43 cm in size (Dörflinger 1981).

In 1791, when Schrämbl was facing bankruptcy and further publication of his world atlas was under threat, Reilly decided that his world atlas would contain fewer maps. He entitled it *Grosser deutscher Atlas* (Great German Atlas; Figure 20). He prepared all the maps between 1794 and 1796, modeling them on the relevant maps from Schrämbl's atlas. Even though the price of an individual sheet was thirty-six kreuzers, compared to twenty kreuzers for a sheet in Schrämbl's atlas, because of fewer sheets the total price of his atlas was lower than that of Schrämbl's atlas, and the number of copies printed was larger (Dörflinger 1981).

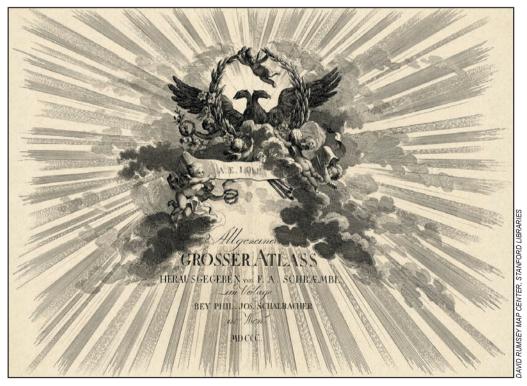


Figure 18: Title page of Allgemeiner Grosser Atlass by Franz Anton Schrämbl (1751–1803) published in 1800.

Figure 19: Reduced-scale map of Germany, sheet XXIV from Schrämbl's world atlas. The map was created in 1797 and printed in 1800. It shows roughly two-thirds of what is now Slovenia west of Celje. > p. 108–109

The atlas was 69×50 cm in size, and it contained twenty-seven double-page maps $40-48 \times 50-80$ cm in size. They were all hand colored. The first map showed the western and eastern hemispheres, followed by five maps of the continents (Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, and Australia) and twenty-one maps of Europe.

The atlas comprises a total of thirty double-page sheets: in addition to twenty-seven sheets of maps, the title page, a page with explanations and an index, and a sheet with data on the population and area in square miles for European countries.

Present-day Slovenia is depicted in detail and in full on the map *Deutschland* (Germany, Figure 21) at a scale of 1:1,900,000 (56×78 cm) and its eastern part also on the map *Ungarn* (Hungary) at a scale of 1:1,470,000 (56×74 cm).

Because it took Schrämbl thirteen years to complete his atlas in 1800, and it only took Reilly two years to finish his in 1796, Reilly's atlas is considered the first Austrian world atlas.

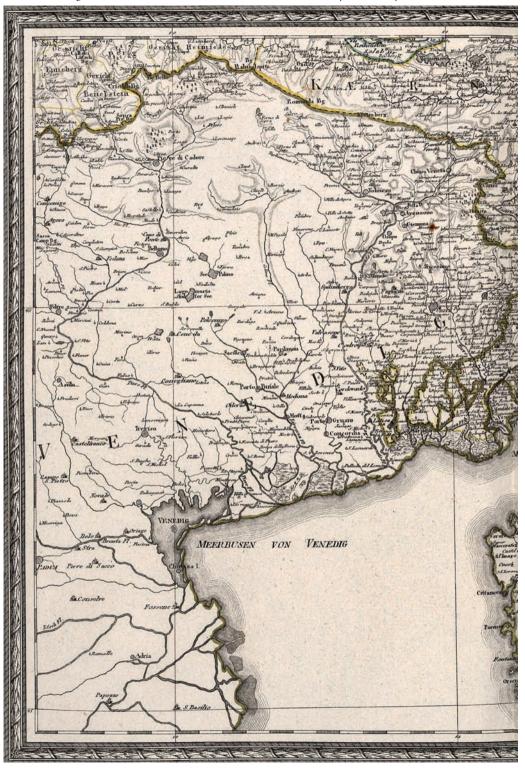
Even though the two world atlases by both Viennese authors from the end of the eighteenth century did not introduce any important new features in terms of cartography, they contributed to the spread of maps to a wider circle of people, improvements in creating maps in Austria, and subsequently also the creation of the first world atlas in Slovenian.



Figure 20: Title page of Grosser deutscher Atlas (1796), which Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly (1766–1820) allegorically dedicated to the development of cartography.

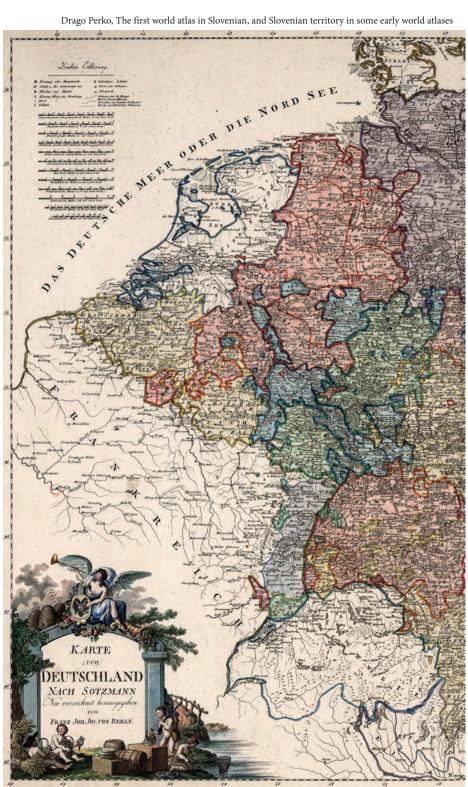
Figure 21: Reduced-scale map of Germany from Reilly's 1797 world atlas. It shows the territory of what is now Slovenia and all its neighboring regions where ethnic Slovenians still live today, except the northeasternmost corner between the Rába and Mura rivers, which belonged to Hungary. > p. 110—111

Drago Perko, The first world atlas in Slovenian, and Slovenian territory in some early world atlases





Drago Perko, The first world atlas in Slovenian, and Slovenian territory in some early world atlases





4 The first world atlas in Slovenian

4.1 Matej Cigale and his works

The author of the first world atlas in Slovenian, Matej Cigale (Figures 22 and 23), was born on September 2nd, 1819, to a rural family in the mountain village of Lome near Idrija. He attended high school in Gorizia from 1834 and 1839, and the lyceum there from 1840 to 1841. In 1841, he entered the seminary in Ljubljana, but he decided to drop out the next year and study law instead. He first studied in Graz until 1843, and then in Vienna until 1846 (Atelšek 2022).

In 1847, Cigale started working as an apprentice judge at the city and provincial court in Gorizia. The following year he passed the judicial exam in Klagenfurt. In 1849, he returned to Vienna, where he worked in the editorial office for the official gazette until his death on April 20th, 1889. He was buried in Vienna (Atelšek 2022).

In 1894, a monument commemorating Cigale was unveiled in the center of Črni Vrh above Idrija (Figure 24) along with a plaque on his birthplace in nearby Lome (Urbanc 2005), which describes him as a writer (Figure 25).

Cigale spent over four decades translating legislation and hence developing Slovenian legal terminology, in which his knowledge of classical, Romance, Germanic, and Slavic languages acquired during his schooling and later professional career proved very useful (Urbanc 2005).

In 1853, *Juridisch-politische Terminologie für die slavischen Sprachen Österreich* (Legal and Political Terminology for the Slavic Languages of Austria), a German–Croatian–Serbian–Slovenian dictionary, was published in Vienna as the basis for translating the Austrian official gazette (Germ. *Reichsgesetzblatt*, Sln. *Državni zakonik*). Cigale wrote the Slovenian foreword for this dictionary and edited most of its Slovenian



Figure 22: The only known photo of Matej Cigale.



Figure 23: A drawing of Matej Cigale in the newspaper Slovan (1887).

material. He sought to use terms that would be readily understood in all the Austrian crown lands where ethnic Slovenians lived. That same year, he also translated the Austrian penal code (Germ. Strafgesetz) into Slovenian (Kazenska postava) in addition to the civil code (Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch für die gesammten Deutschen Erbländer der Oesterreichischen Monarchie / Občni deržavljanski zakonik za vse nemške dedne dežele avstrijskega cesarstva), which was published in three parts comprising 668 pages. In 1887, he produced a new translation of the civil code based on the terminology used in Državni zakonik. His translations laid the foundations for modern Slovenian legal terminology and influenced the development of terminology in other disciplines.

Cigale's most important lexicographical work was his two-volume German–Slovenian dictionary (*Deutsch-slovenisches Wörterbuch*) published in Ljubljana in 1860. It comprised 2,025 pages with 103,000 German headwords. It also included an appendix with German–Slovenian lists of male and female names, historical figures, and Slovenian and foreign geographical names. In 1880, he produced the dictionary titled *Znanstvena terminologija s posebnim ozirom na srednja učilišča / Deutsch-slovenische wissenschaftliche Terminologie* (Technical Terminology with Special Reference to Secondary Schools / German-Slovenian Technical Terminology), which was also published in Ljubljana and featured the terminology of twenty-four disciplines.

Cigale also helped produce school textbooks. In 1859, he simply added Slovenian terms in parentheses to the German text in *Lehrbuch der Physik für Unterrealschulen* (Physics Textbook for Secondary Schools) by Franz Josef Pisko (1827–1888). In 1861, he translated the geographical textbook on Austria and its crown lands into Slovenian. He also served as advisor for the second edition of Anton Janežič's (1828–1869) *Slovenska slovnica za domačo in šolsko rabo* (Slovenian Grammar for School and Home Use), which was published in 1863 and became the most important Slovenian grammar in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1885, he wrote a German grammar for the first grade of primary school, followed by one for the second and third grades in 1886 (Atelšek 2022).



Figure 24: In 1894, the residents of Črni Vrh erected a monument to Matej Cigale, who came from the area.



Figure 25: In 1894, a plaque commemorating Matej Cigale was installed on the house where he was born.

Outstanding was also Cigale's work in geography, especially in relation to textbooks, maps, and geographical names. In 1860, he published the aforementioned appendix with geographical names in his German–Slovenian dictionary (Figure 26). It includes twenty-four pages from pages 1989 to 2012 (Cigale 1860) and 2,175 German headwords, for which he provided the corresponding Slovenian endonyms (e.g., *Laibach/Ljubljana*) and exonyms (e.g., *Deutschland/Nemčija*). To some names, he also added demonyms in the singular male and female forms and the corresponding adjectives (e.g., *Deutscher/Nemec*, *Deutsche/Nemka*, *Deutsch/nemšk*).

In 1861, Cigale translated the geographical textbook Österreich und seine Kronländer: ein geographischer Versuch / Kratek popis cesarstva avstrijanskega sploh in njegovih dežel posebej (Austria and its Crown Lands: A Geographical Overview / A Brief Inventory of the Austrian Empire in General and its Crown Lands in Particular, Figure 27), written by Ludwig Heufler (1817–1885), comprising four hundred pages (Heufler 1861), followed by the textbook *Grundzüge der allgemeinen Erdkunde / Početni nauk o zemljepisu* (Basics of General Geography) in 1863, which was, however, never published (Žigon et al. 2017).

In 1865, Cigale arranged the geographical names and terminology for the textbook *Vévodství Korutany a Krajina v geograficko-statistickém i historickém přehledu* (The Duchy of Carinthia and Carniola in a Geographical-Statistical and Historical Overview), written by the Czech geographer and statistician Josef Erben (1830–1908) and translated by France Rebec (1841 – after 1887). It was published in two parts a year later: the first part was entitled *Vojvodstvo Koroško v zemljepisnem, statističnem in zgodovinskem spregledu* (The Duchy of Carinthia from a Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Perspective; Figure 28) and it contained sixty-nine pages (Erben 1866a), and the second part was entitled *Vojvodstvo Kranjsko v zemljepisnem, statističnem in zgodovinskem spregledu* (The Duchy of Carniola from a Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Perspective) and it contained eighty-six pages (Erben 1866b).

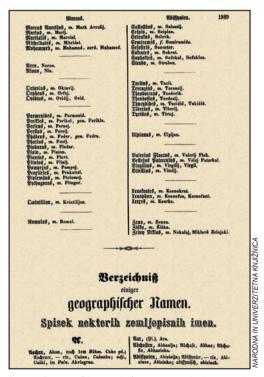


Figure 26: First page of the appendix featuring geographical names in the 1860 German—Slovenian dictionary.



Figure 27: Title page of Cigale's translation of the geographical textbook on Austrian crown lands published in 1861.

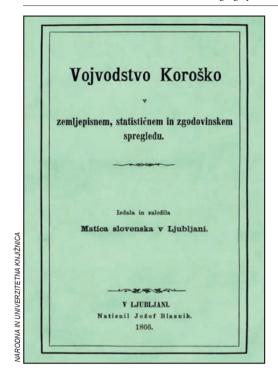


Figure 28: Title page of the 1866 textbook on Carinthia.

4.2 Atlant

Cigale's most important geographical work was *Atlant* (Atlas), which was published in individual sheets from 1869 to 1877. Relevant for its creation were primarily the conditions under which Slovenians lived in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the status of their native language. Ever since the early Middle Ages, Slovenians had not been politically united in a nation state. Until the revolutionary year of 1848, the Slovenian national movement largely had a cultural character. In 1848, Slovenians formulated the United Slovenia political program in Vienna, in which, first and foremost, they requested that all ethnic Slovenian territories be united within a kingdom of Slovenia through an administrative reorganization of the Austrian Empire, that Slovenian become equal to German in all areas, and that a Slovenian university be established.

Their program was cartographically supported by *Zemljovid slovenske dežele in pokrajin* (Map of the Slovenian Land and Its Regions) published by the lawyer, geographer, and politician Peter Kosler (1824–1879), a Gottschee German by birth. He drew the ethnic Slovenian border on the map, explaining the grounds for it in an accompanying booklet. Even though the map was already printed in 1853, it was only released in 1861 because censorship prevented it from being published based on the fact that it depicted a non-existing political entity (Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005b).

In 1861, when Franz Joseph I reorganized the Austrian half of the monarchy through the February Patent, reading rooms began to be established, where ethnically conscious Slovenians from all classes gathered and held plays, concerts, talks, parties, and balls. The reading rooms became the center of Slovenian cultural and political activities (Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005b). The first ones were founded in 1861 in Trieste, Maribor, Ljubljana, and Celje, totaling fifty-seven by 1869, when the first three maps of Cigale's *Atlant* were published. Slovenian ethnic identity was promoted by new newspapers and newly founded societies. In addition, connections between Slovenian provinces and the center of the monarchy were boosted by the newly constructed railroad between Vienna and Trieste, which reached Ljubljana in 1849 and Trieste in 1857.

The main association in charge of printing demanding works from a variety of areas, developing Slovenian terminology, and raising Slovenian cultural awareness was the Slovenian Association (*Slovenska matica* or simply *Matica*; initially *Matica slovenska*). It was established in 1864 through voluntary contributions from intellectuals and businessmen, including a generous donation of five hundred guldens (or 50,000 kreuzers) from Emperor Franz Joseph. For comparison, a mug of beer at that time cost twelve kreuzers and an egg cost two (Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005b). The Slovenian Association tried to connect the ethnic Slovenian territories as much as possible, and to transcend the division of Slovenians into provinces.

As early as 1867 – that is, only three years after its inception – the Slovenian Association decided to publish *Atlant*, which indicates how important it thought it was to also deliver the first world atlas in Slovenian to Slovenians. It planned to publish one fascicle with a few maps per year. The following year it held unsuccessful negotiations with printing houses in Olomouc, Bohemia, and in Hildburghausen and Gotha, Germany. At Cigale's proposal, it ultimately selected the printing house of the Köke Lithography Institute (*Lithographische Anstalt Köke*) in Vienna, whose owner, Friedrich Köke (1823–1882), demanded 565 guldens for the first fascicle, 270 of which (i.e., nearly half) he requested for the map of Austria alone. Between 1866 and 1872 (i.e., when the first three fascicles of *Atlant* were printed), his nephew Gustav Freytag (1852–1938) worked for him as a lithography apprentice. Freitag later became a well-known German-Austrian cartographer and publisher, and the cofounder of the Freytag & Berndt Cartographic Institute (*Kartografische Anstalt Freytag & Berndt*), which by the early twentieth century grew into one of the most important cartographic publishers in Europe and still operates in Vienna today (Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005b).

The atlas was published for nine years in fascicles of three maps each. The fascicles were numbered with Roman numerals from I to VI. The first three were printed in 2,000 copies each, and the fourth, fifth, and sixth in 3,000 copies each, which was only slightly more than the number of members of the Slovenian Association. For example, when the first fascicle was published in 1869, the association had 1,633 members. The cost of producing an individual fascicle ranged from 1,000 to 1,200 guldens, and Cigale was paid between 170 and 200 guldens per fascicle for his work, which covered everything from translation to printing supervision (Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005b).

The atlas was 38×24 cm in size, with individual sheets measuring 38×48 cm. The first fascicle, published in December 1869, included the following maps:

- Face of the Entire Earth in Hemispheres (*Obraz cele Zemlje v polutah*) at a scale of 1:120,000,000 (the scale is not provided on the map; 26×36 cm),
- A 1:18,000,000 map of Europe $(30 \times 38 \text{ cm})$ and
- A 1:3,300,000 map of Austria (33 × 42 cm).

The second fascicle, published in January 1871, comprised the following:

- A 1:30,000,000 map of Asia $(34 \times 42 \text{ cm})$;
- A 1:30,000,000 map of North America (34×42 cm); and
- A 1:30,000,000 map of South America $(34 \times 42 \text{ cm})$.

The third fascicle was published in February 1872, and it included the following:

- A 1:25,000,000 map of Africa (the scale is not provided on the map; 34×43 cm);
- A 1:30,000,000 map of Australia (the scale is not provided on the map; 34 × 44 cm); and
- A 1:9,600,000 map of Russia (34 × 41 cm).

The fourth fascicle, published in August 1874, included:

- A 1:3,800,000 map of the German Empire $(33 \times 43 \text{ cm})$;
- A 1:3,300,000 map of Italy $(34 \times 42 \text{ cm})$; and
- A 1:4,000,000 map of Turkey and other eastern lands (the scale is not provided on the map; 34 × 41 cm). The fifth fascicle was published in December 1875, and it included:
- A 1:3,800,000 map of Great Britain and Ireland $(33 \times 41 \text{ cm})$;
- A 1:3,200,000 map of France (the scale is not provided on the map; 33×43 cm); and
- A 1:5,300,000 map of Scandinavia (33 × 41 cm).

The last fascicle was published in December 1877, and it included the following maps:

- A 1:800,000 map of Switzerland (29 × 44 cm);
- A 1:3,000,000 map of Spain and Portugal (33 × 42 cm); and
- A 1:1,200,000 map of the Netherlands and Belgium $(31 \times 40 \text{ cm})$.

The map of Austria (Figure 29) is a typical example of how the maps in the atlas were cartographically outfitted. The legend (Figure 30) contains the map's title, along with a numerical scale and two graphic

scales (in German geographical miles to the left and in Austrian miles to the right) below it. Provided below the scales are the symbols and labels for towns based on the size of their population, and the symbols for roads, railways, and various types of borders.

Hachures – a method perfected in 1799 by the Saxon cartographer Johann Georg Lehmann (1765–1811) – are used to represent relief. The thickness and length of the strokes indicate the slope, and their orientation and distribution communicate specific shapes of terrain (Perko 2001). Seas and lakes are blue, and rivers are black.

Land outside Austria, which had been renamed Austria-Hungary two years before the map was published, is depicted in black and white, and land inside the empire is represented in color (e.g., Carinthia in brown, Styria in light green, Carniola in dark green, and the Littoral in yellow; Figure 31). All geographical names in Carniola and the Littoral are Slovenian. They are also all Slovenian in Carinthia, except one that is provided in German, and in Styria half of the names are Slovenian and half are German. Outside the provinces populated by ethnic Slovenians, both within and outside the empire, the names of major towns are provided in Slovenian (e.g., *Mnihov* for Munich, *Karlovec* for Karlovac, *Osek* for Osijek, *Zader* for Zadar, and *Belgrad* for Belgrade), as are the names of major lakes (e.g., *Blatno jezero* for Lake Balaton, *Nežidersko jezero* for Lake Neusiedl (Germ. *Neusiedler See*, Hung. *Fertő*), and *Skadersko jezero* for Lake Skadar (SCr. *Skadarsko jezero*, Alb. *Liqeni i Shkodrës*)) and rivers (e.g., *Ina* for the Inn, *Naba* for the Naab, and *Adiža* for the Adige). Some of these exonyms are practically no longer used today (e.g., *Mnihov*, *Zader*, *Belgrad*, *Ina*, and *Naba*).

The map features a degree grid with marked latitudes and longitudes, measured from the Ferro meridian. *Ferro* is the French name for El Hierro, the westernmost of the Canary Islands, also referred to as the Meridian Island.

An interesting feature is the addition in the upper right corner of the map (Figure 32), where Cigale provided instructions on how Slovenian readers should read specific letters or their combinations in Hungarian names (e.g., zs as \dot{z} , ly as lj, and gy as $d\dot{z}$ or gj). Cigale provided similar instructions on other maps, such as instructions on how to pronounce the Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, English, Scandinavian, and Russian geographical names.

The label Založila in izdala Matica Slovenska (Published and issued by the Slovenian Association) appears in the left corner below the map, along with the label Vrezal na kamen in tiskal F. Köke na Dunaji (Etched on stone and printed by F. Köke in Vienna) in the right corner. The label on the right thus reveals that Atlant's maps were printed using lithography, a technique invented in 1796 by the Bavarian Alois Senefelder (1771–1834), who used limestone plates for printing. Lithography is a printing procedure in which an image is drawn with a greasy substance onto the surface of a smooth stone plate. The ink from the roller sticks only to the oil-based drawing and so, when the plate and paper are run through a press, only the drawing is printed onto the paper. Various chemical substances are used to improve the quality of the printed image. Great progress was achieved through this technique because, compared to copper engraving, which Orteli's and Mercator's world atlases were based on, and woodcut, it made printing cheaper and faster, while also making color printing easier. Specifically, it made it possible to apply various colored areas in a drawing onto separate stone plates and print them on the same sheet of paper. Stone plates were used to print maps until the mid-twentieth century, which means that Cigale's atlas was printed in what was the most state-of-the-art technique at the time, but it was also comparable to other atlases of that time in terms of cartographic quality (Fridl 2005).

The Slovenian Association distributed the maps to its members together with other books, but they were also available for general sale. Each fascicle of three maps cost one gulden and five kreuzers. In 1871, the association considered reprinting the atlas in five hundred copies. Even though, according to the stock inventory, only 2,132 individual maps of the total of 27,000 printed as part of the first four fascicles were still available in 1876, and even though by 1880 the first fascicle had already run out, the atlas was never reprinted (Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005a).

After all the fascicles had been published, the Slovenian Association never printed the title page or bound the maps into a single volume. Therefore, individual sheets were often lost, and so the complete sets of all eighteen maps have rarely been preserved and the atlas has nearly fallen into oblivion. Two complete sets



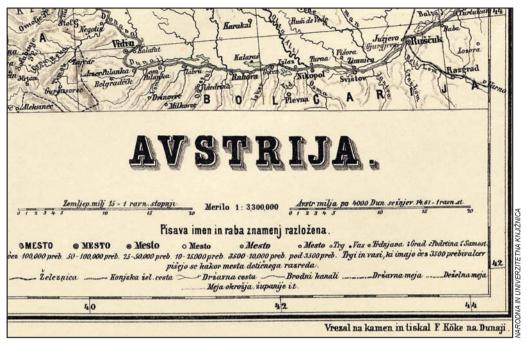


Figure 30: Lower right corner of the map of Austria featuring the legend and information conveying that the map was printed by F. Köke.

Figure 31: Detail from the map of Austria, showing the Slovenian-inhabited provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Littoral. > p. 121

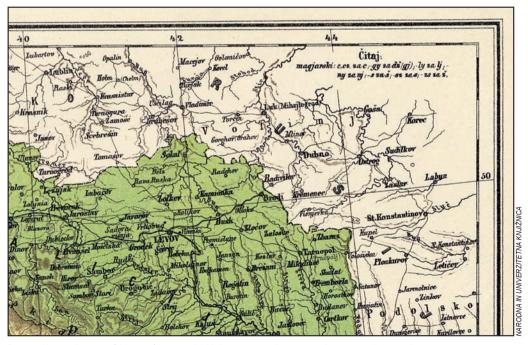
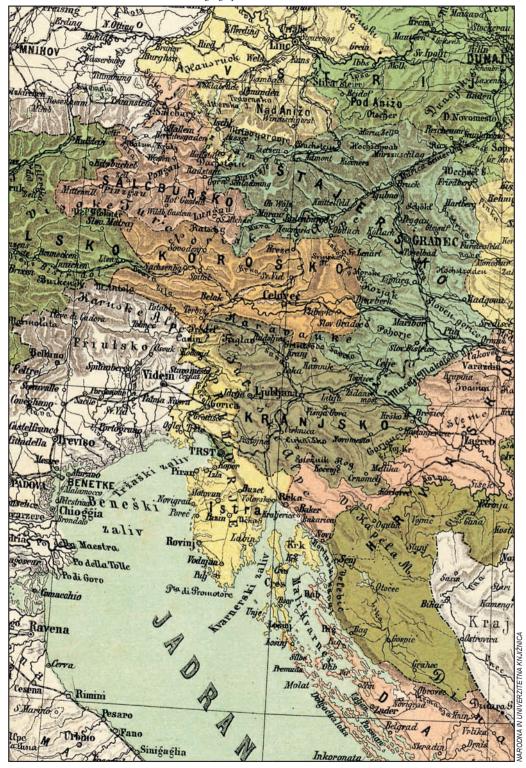


Figure 32: Upper right corner of the map of Austria with added instructions on how to properly pronounce Hungarian letters.



are held by the National and University Library in Ljubljana, and one is held by the Geographical Museum at the ZRC SAZU Geographical Institute. The full set discovered by Milan Orožen Adamič (1946–2018) among his great-aunt's estate (Orožen Adamič 2005) provided the impetus for publishing a facsimile. One of the sets held by the National and University Library was used as the basis for preparing the 2005 facsimile edition of the atlas because it is the best preserved of all the remaining known copies.

4.3 Atlant's facsimile

A facsimile edition of *Atlant* was published in 2005 by the Anton Melik Geographical Institute of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts' Research Center to mark its sixtieth anniversary (Fridl et al. 2005). The institute presented it to the professional community and the press on September 28th, 2005, at its Geographical Museum in Ljubljana, where it also launched an exhibition dedicated to the atlas and Matej Cigale.

The facsimile is composed of three parts:

- A color facsimile of all eighteen maps $(379 \times 482 \text{ mm})$ folded in half $(379 \times 241 \text{ mm})$;
- An accompanying ninety-six-page volume (381 × 245 mm); and
- A cardboard case $(402 \times 260 \text{ mm})$ for the folded maps and the accompanying volume; ten cases were leather-bound (Figure 33).

The accompanying volume is also composed of three parts.

The three introductory pages are followed by seven two-page chapters:

- Zemljevid in atlas, kartografija in geografija: od okostja do vezja (A Map and an Atlas, Cartography and Geography: From a Framework to Connections; Perko 2005b);
- Politična in družbena podoba druge polovice 19. stoletja: dom in svet Cigaletovega Atlanta (Politics and Society of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: The Home and World of Cigale's Atlant; Šumrada 2005);

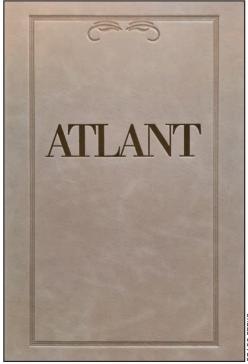


Figure 33: Cover of the 2005 leather-bound facsimile of Cigale's Atlant.

DRAGO PERK

- Okoliščine nastanka Atlanta: od zamisli zanesenjakov do knjižnih polic narodno zavednih Slovencev (The Circumstances Surrounding Atlant's creation: From Enthusiasts' Ideas to the Bookshelves of Ethnically Conscious Slovenians; Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005b);
- Matej Cigale 1819–1889: Petričev dohtar (Matej Cigale, 1819–1889: Doc Petrič; Urbanc 2005);
- Kartografska podoba zemljevidov 19. stoletja: vrezal na kamen in tiskal (The Cartographic Character of Nineteenth-Century Maps: Etched on Stone and Printed; Fridl 2005);
- Zemljepisna imena v Atlantu in njihov pomen za sodobno imenoslovje: gora Balkan se imenuje bolgarski Stara planina (Geographical Names in Atlant and Their Significance for Modern Onomastics: In Bulgarian the Balkans Are the Old Mountains; Kladnik 2005);
- Odzivi na Atlant in njegovo mesto v slovenski geografski literaturi: od ene strani hudo grajane, od druge pa toplo hvaljene (Atlant's Reception and Its Place in Slovenian Geographical Literature: Strongly Criticized on the One Hand and Highly Praised on the Other; Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005a).

This is followed by a set of black-and-white reproductions of the maps (thirty-six pages). The maps are numbered, with the number printed above the upper left corner of each map. The coordinates A, B, C, and so on and 1, 2, 3, and so on are added along the edges; they formed the basis for compiling the gazetteer of geographical names appearing on the maps. The accompanying volume concludes with a forty-three-page index of all geographical names in the atlas. They are listed in alphabetical order, in full forms, and they are printed in bold. Each geographical name is followed by a label in italics, indicating its type. There are seventeen types altogether (e.g., continent, country, settlement, natural landscape, and landform). To find a geographical name on the map more easily, the map number (and a lower-case letter for smaller maps included on larger maps) is provided with each name, followed by a quadrant label after a slash, consisting of a letter and number. The quadrant grid is made up of the meridians and parallels drawn on the map. If a geographical name appears on several maps, it comes with the corresponding number of quadrant labels.

For example, this is how the Soča River is listed in the index: **Soča**, *kopenski hidronim*, 3/C3; 10/N11. This means that the Soča River is defined as a land hydronym (*kopenski hidronim*) and that its name appears twice: on map no. 3 (i.e., the map of Austria), in quadrant C3, and on map no. 10 (i.e., the map of the German Empire), in quadrant N11.

In producing the facsimile, the compilation of this index took the longest. The atlas contains a total of 28,075 instances of names (or tokens), but, because many names appear more than once, the actual number of different names (or types) listed in the index is 22,233, of which 4,651 or 20.9% are Slovenianized.

The largest number of names (2,298) appear on the map of Austria, followed by four other maps that include over 2,000 names: the Netherlands and Belgium, France, Turkey and other eastern lands, and the German Empire. The maps of South America and North America contain the fewest names (636 and 791, respectively; Kladnik 2005).

The largest share of Slovenianized geographical names in general appear on the maps of the continents. This share is the highest on the maps of North America (45.3%) and Europe (44.7%), and the smallest on the map of South America (19.8%). The largest share of Slovenianized names overall (56.5%) appears on the map Face of the Entire Earth in Hemispheres and the smallest share overall (2.0%) appears on the map of Spain and Portugal (Kladnik 2005).

It remains unclear which atlases Cigale used as the basis for his atlas. A comparison of the maps of the hemispheres, Europe, and Austria in *Atlant* against the same three maps in the world atlases that were published up to one hundred years before *Atlant* (i.e., from 1770 to 1869) and are available online did not reveal an evident source.

Based on the geographical names used, it can be concluded that Cigale modeled his work on Czech and German (Austrian) atlases because he Slovenianized several names following the Czech example – for instance, *Mnihov* (Cz. *Mnichov*, Germ. *München* 'Munich'), *Moguč* (Cz. *Mohuč*, Germ. *Mainz*), and *Bazileja* (Cz. *Bazslej*, Germ. *Basel*) – or the German model – for example, *Lutih* (Germ. *Lüttich*, Fr. *Liège*, Du. *Luik*) – or he simply used the Czech and German names – for example, *Jakin* (Cz. *Jakin*, Ital. *Ancona*), *Tiflis* (Germ. *Tiflis*, Georg. *Tbilisi*), or *Oporto* (Germ. *Oporto*, Port. *Porto*). Cigale also Slovenianized several names outside the Slavic-speaking world, such as *Kraljevec* (Germ. *Königsberg*, now *Kaliningrad*), *Branibor* (Germ. *Brandenburg*), *Devin* (Germ. *Magdeburg*), and *Kraljevo* (Rom. *Craiova*), which demonstrates the strong influence of the pan-Slavic movement (Kladnik 2005).

5 The importance and evaluation of Atlant

Even though *Atlant*, as the first Slovenian world atlas, was a pioneering work and an exceptional promoter of Slovenian identity and the development of Slovenian as a native language, its received very little coverage. The newspaper *Novice* reported in 1872 that the Slovenian Association had published three »attractive« maps, and in 1878 that the Slovenian Association commended Cigale for his »beautiful« maps and thanked him for nine years of effort and high-quality work (Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005a).

The first proper review was only published in 1925, when Slovenian was no longer under such a threat. In the opening article on the development of geography published in the first issue of *Geografski vestnik*, Valter Bohinec (1898–1984) wrote that *Atlant* had contributed to the development of Slovenian geographical names, but that it had not introduced any new features in the cartographic and methodological sense (Bohinec 1925).

In 1964, Silvo Kranjec (1892–1976) described the history of *Atlant's* creation in detail in the chapter *Geografija* (Geography) in the volume *Slovenska matica 1864–1964* (Kranjec 1964). He concluded that the maps' content focused excessively on political elements, while neglecting physical and human elements. He believed that Cigale went too far in Slovenianizing geographical names, but he nonetheless confirmed that *Atlant* was a great achievement, especially compared to similar cartographic works produced by other Slavs in Austria-Hungary at that time.

Atlant was also overlooked by the extensive volume Atlantes Austriaci published in 1995, which provides the most comprehensive overview of all cartographic publications in the former and present territory of Austria and depictions of this territory (Dörflinger and Hühnel 1995). The volume, does, however, mention all the editions and language versions of the school atlas by the Slovenian geographer and cartographer Blasius Kozenn (1821–1871), as well as some Czech and Hungarian world atlases from that period (Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005a).

Atlant was also mentioned by Branko Korošec (1927–1999) in his book on cartography (Korošec 1978), as well as in volume 1 of *Enciklopedija Slovenije* (1987) under the entry *Atlas*, but with only one sentence.

In turn, the publication of *Atlant*'s facsimile was covered twice by *Geografski vestnik*. In the first issue of volume 77, published in 2005, this journal presented *Atlant* and its facsimile edition (Rojc 2005), and in the second issue of the same volume it reported on the opening of the exhibition on *Atlant* and Matej Cigale (Perko 2005a). Both articles were distinctly positive, highlighting the versatile importance of the atlas.

It was only with the publication of *Atlant*'s facsimile that Slovenians again became aware of the importance of this atlas and Cigale's work. Moreover, because *Atlant* is not only a collection of maps, but also a reflection of the second half of the nineteenth century and the people from that period, it is important not only for cartography (Fridl and Šolar 2011), but also for disciplines like geography, linguistics, and history, to name just a few.

Maps reflect social, cultural, and political development, political power, and appropriation of land, and they also serve as propaganda material because, due to their visual power, they are generally a very useful medium for communicating information (Fridl and Urbanc 2006).

In evaluating *Atlant*, it is first and foremost vital to highlight the following:

- As the first world atlas published in Slovenian, it became an important part of Slovenian cultural heritage;
- It strengthened Slovenian national identity;
- It was the first to introduce Slovenian maps to schools and influenced the first Slovenian school atlases;
- It also influenced other Slovenian world atlases; and
- It laid the foundations for Slovenian geographical names.

Cigale's *Atlant* has already been presented as an important publication for Slovenian identity, ethnic consciousness, and cultural heritage by several research articles (Kladnik et al. 2006; Fridl and Urbanc 2006; Urbanc et al. 2006). Therefore, more attention is given below to a detailed presentation of its geographical significance, especially its role in school atlases, world atlases, and geographical names.

5.1 Atlant and Slovenian school atlases

As the first Slovenian world atlas, *Atlant* also partly played the pioneering role of a school atlas (Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005a) because, for a quarter of a century, it was the only source that provided Slovenian

maps to Slovenian students and teachers. The first proper Slovenian school atlas, Zemljepisni atlas za ljudske šole s slovenskim učnim jezikom (Geographical Atlas for Primary Schools with Slovenian-Language Instruction, Figure 34), was not published until 1899. The maps for this atlas were prepared and printed by the Eduard Hölzel Geographical Institute (Eduard Hölzel Geographisches Institut) in Vienna (or, as written on the maps, Ed. Hölzlov zemljep. zavod na Dunaju), which from 1877 to 1896 was headed by the Viennese military cartographer Vinzenz Haardt von Hartenthurn (1843–1914). The atlas cites Haardt as the author, and the geographers and historians Simon Rutar (1851–1903) and Fran Orožen (1853–1912) as coeditors. The first edition contained seven maps (Haardt 1899), and the second edition published in 1902, which was edited only by Orožen, featured fourteen maps (Haardt 1902). Orožen kept approximately three-quarters of the exonyms that Cigale had used in Atlant.

During the interwar period, Slovenian schools used Croatian adaptations of Kozenn's school atlas. Kozenn produced his first school atlas in 1861. Nearly three hundred editions of his atlases were published in six languages (i.e., German (Figure 35), Czech, Polish, Hungarian, Croatian (Figure 36), and Italian), but never in Slovenian. However, four Croatian editions of the atlas were published between 1934 and 1940, with the introductory pages translated into Slovenian (Bratec Mrvar et al. 2011; Bratec Mrvar and Gašperič 2023).

At the beginning of the Second World War in Yugoslavia (i.e., in 1941), the first extensive Slovenian school atlas, *Zemljepisni atlas za srednje in njim sorodne šole* (Geographical Atlas for Secondary and Similar Schools; Figure 37), was published. It contained fifty-six color maps and 350 black-and-white photographs (Visintin 1941b). It was produced and printed by the De Agostini Geographical Institute (*Istituto Geografico De Agostini*) in Novara, which was headed by the Italian geographer Luigi Visintin (1892–1958) from 1920 to 1958. The atlas lists Visintin as the author, and the Slovenian geographers Valter Bohinec, Ciril Bernot (1900–1961), France Planina (1901–1992), and Roman Savnik (1902–1987) as coeditors. The atlas was reprinted in 1942 and 1948.

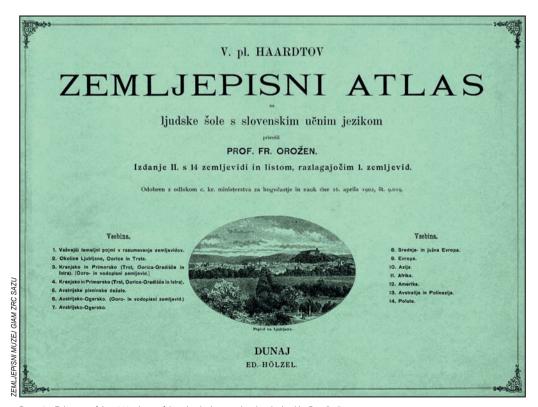


Figure 34: Title page of the 1902 edition of the school atlas, translated and edited by Fran Orožen.



Figure 35: Title page of the German edition of Blasius Kozenn's atlas (Kozenn 1880).

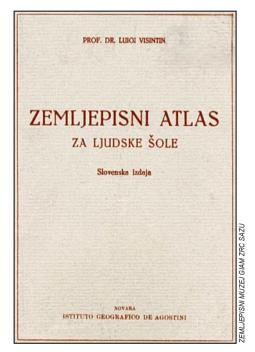


Figure 37: Cover of De Agostini's 1941 school atlas, which was adapted by Valter Bohinec et al.

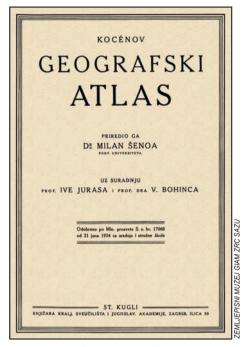


Figure 36: Title page of the Croatian edition of Blasius Kozenn's atlas (Kocen 1934).

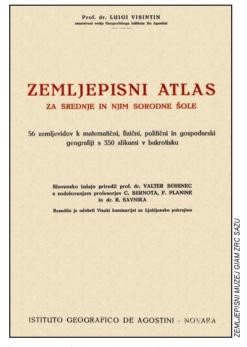


Figure 38: Cover of De Agostini's 1941 school atlas, which does not provide the names of its translators.

An abridged version of this atlas was published in 1941 and 1942. It was titled *Zemljepisni atlas za ljudske šole* (Geographical Atlas for Primary Schools; Figure 38) and it contained twenty maps and ninety-one photos (Visintin 1941a).

The number of Cigale's exonyms used in this atlas decreased significantly, especially on the maps depicting Italy, which was connected with the Italian annexation of a major part of Slovenia, including Ljubljana, during that time. Thus, only two exonyms, *Benetke* 'Venice' and *Rim* 'Rome', were still used in Italy, and even these two were provided together with the endonyms *Venezia* and *Roma*; the well-established Slovenian endonyms *Trst*, *Gorica*, and *Videm* were absent, and only the Italian names appeared (i.e., *Trieste*, *Gorizia*, and *Udine*). However, it is interesting that Slovenian names on maps depicting Austria did not bother the Italian publisher: on all maps of various scales, the towns of Klagenfurt, Graz, Villach, and Vienna were only provided in Slovenian (i.e., *Celovec*, *Gradec*, *Beljak*, and *Dunaj*).

After the Second World War, when the modern period of Slovenian school atlases began, Valter Bohinec was involved in most of them. The first one was published in 1950, with the simple title *Šolski atlas* (School Atlas; Figure 39). Bohinec translated it and coedited it with the Croatian geographer Josip Roglić (1906–1987). Like Cigale's *Atlant*, it contains folded two-page maps. All ten maps in it are bound into a book with a cover.

Bohinec was among the harshest critics of *Atlant* (Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005b). In general, he criticized the geographical names the least, but in the many atlases that he produced he nonetheless refused to use many exonyms introduced by Cigale. He even provided the name for the Croatian town of Rijeka in Croatian only, and the name of the Italian town of Udine in Italian only. Bohinec's atlases practically put an end to the influence of Cigale's *Atlant*.

5.2 Atlant and Slovenian world atlases

Despite the deficiencies it was criticized for, *Atlant* was only surpassed in Slovenian by *Veliki atlas sveta* (Great World Atlas) published by Mladinska Knjiga in 1972 (Medved and Ingolič 1972) – that is, over a century

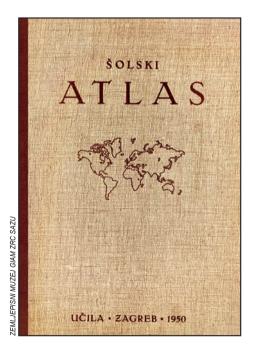
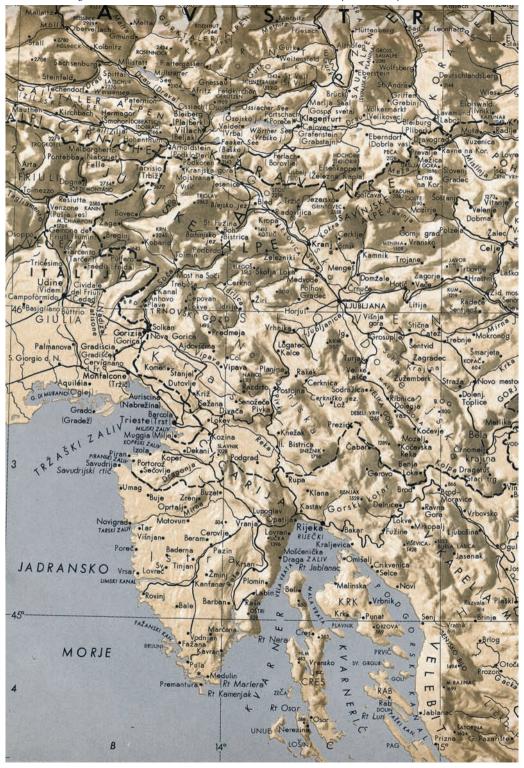
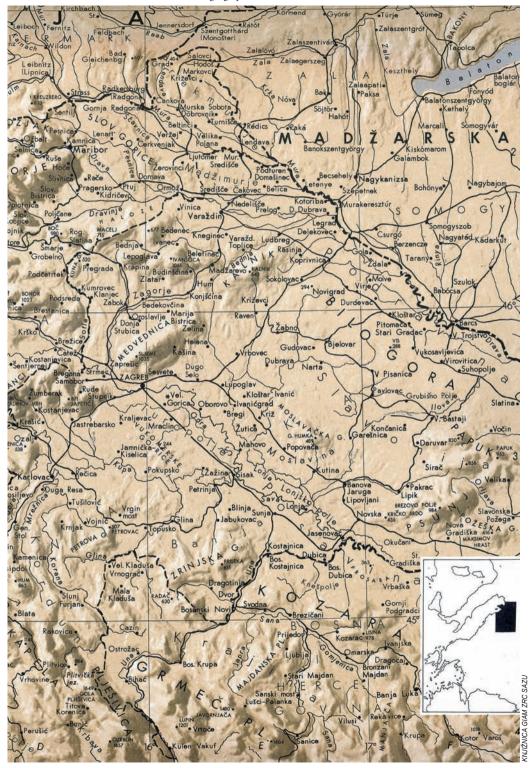


Figure 39: Cover of the school atlas translated and coedited by Valter Bohinec in 1950.

Figure 40: Map of Slovenia in the 1972 *Veliki atlas sveta*. Small-scale maps are provided in color, and most large-scale maps are provided in black-and-white or brown. ► p. 128–129

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after Atlant. The geographer Jakob Medved (1926–1978) and linguist Janko Moder (1914–2006) were involved as expert advisors in the creation of this first Slovenian general world atlas in the twentieth century. Moder made a significant contribution to geographical onomastics with a valuable article on the orthography and pronunciation of geographical names in the appendix to the atlas (Moder 1972). This atlas is of course much more extensive than Atlant, and it is an atlas in the true sense of the word because, in addition to maps of various parts of the world, it also contains a variety of thematic maps, a comprehensive gazetteer, and other content typical of modern atlases. However, this atlas, too, received criticism, especially for its predominant use of black-and-white or brownish large-scale maps, including the 1:1,452,400 map of Slovenia (Figure 40).

Hence, from 1570, when the first world atlas was published, to 1972, Slovenians only obtained two Slovenian world atlases. After Slovenia's independence in 1991, a decade-and-a-half »heyday« of Slovenian atlases started. A translation of De Agostini's world atlas was published in 1992, followed by five more world atlases until 2005, when the last one was published (Hrvatin, Kladnik and Perko 2005). In addition, the extensive *Geografski atlas Slovenije* (Geographical Atlas of Slovenia) was published in 1998 (Figure 41), followed by *Nacionalni atlas Slovenije* (National Atlas of Slovenia) in Slovenian and English in 2001 (Figure 42), and the first Slovenian census atlas in 2007 (*Popisni atlas*; Figure 43). The work *Slovenia in Focus* (Figure 44) was published at the start of Slovenia's EU presidency in 2008. In terms of geographical names, all these atlases, even though they are not world atlases, follow the orientation of Cigale's *Atlant* much more than the school atlases published after the Second World War or the 1972 world atlas.

These high-quality works (Fridl et al. 1998, 2001, 2007; Dolenc et al. 2007) placed Slovenians on an equal footing not only with the »Austrian Slavs,« as Cigale termed them (Cigale 1880), but also much larger nations with a longer literary tradition in their native languages.

However, it is interesting that, for example, the 1:800,000 map of Switzerland in *Atlant* has remained the most accurate and detailed Slovenian map of this central European country to date, even though a variety of Slovenian world atlases have been published since then (Kladnik 2005).

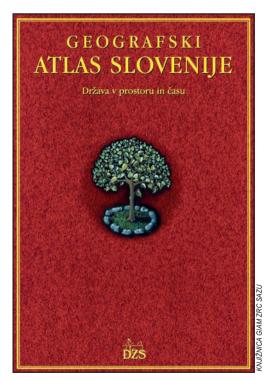


Figure 41: Cover of Geografski atlas Slovenije published in 1998.

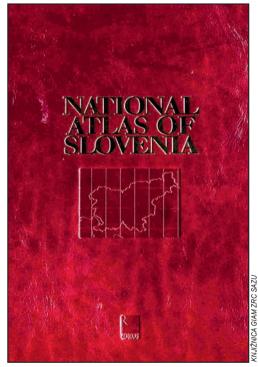


Figure 42: Detail from the cover of the 2001 English edition of *Nacionalni atlas Slovenije*.



Figure 43: Cover of the first Slovenian census atlas, published in 2007.



Figure 44: A special atlas was published at the start of Slovenia's EU presidency in 2008.

5.3 Atlant and Slovenian geographical names

Atlant's most significant achievement is the use of Slovenian geographical names on its maps. Through this work, Cigale laid the foundations for Slovenian exonyms. He provided many Slovenian and Slovenianized names of foreign geographical features for the first time, and he Slovenianized the names of these features in a planned and critical manner. As a linguist, he took into account linguistic rules when forming the names, and he also made good use of his knowledge of foreign languages.

Prior to Cigale, Slovenian geographical names had only been systematically dealt with by the geographer Janez Jesenko (1838–1908), who recorded the Slovenian names of most major geographical features in his textbook *Zemljepisna začetnica za gimnazije in realke* (An Introduction to Geography for High Schools and Secondary Schools; Figure 45), such as the continents, regions, mountain ranges, mountains, islands, seas, straits, gulfs, lakes, and rivers. He added three tables at the end of the textbook in which he provided the names of the largest towns in Austria, Europe, and beyond (Jesenko 1865).

He provided predominantly Slovenian names for the Austrian towns of that time (e.g., *Benetke* for Venice, Italy, *Dunaj* for Vienna, Austria, *Krakov* for Kraków, Poland, and *Segedin* for Szeged, Hungary), or bilingual names separated with an equals sign (e.g., *Gorica = Görz* (Slovenian–German) for Gorizia, Italy, *Reka = Fiume* (Slovenian–Italian) for Rijeka, Croatia, *Pečuh = Fünfkirchen* (Slovenian–German) for Pécs, Hungary, or *Braševo = Kronstadt* (Slovenian–German) for Brașov, Romania). He also provided bilingual pairs for certain towns in what is now Slovenia; for example, *Maribor = Marburg* (Slovenian–German) or *Koper = Capo d' Istria* (Slovenian–Italian). In contrast, Cigale used only the Slovenian names for all ten of these towns, and they were the same as the ones provided by Jesenko.

In the table with the names of European towns, the names in the languages of the respective country predominate, but a few Slovenian names are also provided (e.g., *Belgrad* for Belgrade, Serbia, *Draždane*



Figure 45: Cover of Janez Jesenko's 1865 textbook *Zemljepisna začetnica za qimnazije in realke*.

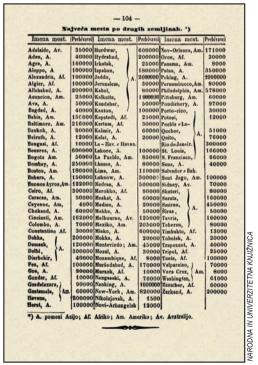


Figure 46: Page 104 from Jesenko's geography textbook, containing a table of the names of the largest towns outside Europe.

for Dresden and *Mnihov* for Munich, Germany, *Rim* for Rome, Italy, and *Varšava* for Warsaw, Poland). The first three exonyms are no longer used in Slovenian today, whereas the last two are now standard. Something similar applies to the table with the names of towns outside Europe (Figure 46). It contains only few Slovenian names (e.g., *Nov-Orleans* for New Orleans in the US, which is also no longer used today). There are no bilingual names in these two tables. Cigale used the same names on his maps for the five towns mentioned above, and he used the form *Novi Orleans* instead of *Nov-Orlenas*.

Based on the analysis of geographical names used by Jesenko, it can be concluded that his selection of several hundred geographical names must have been an important source and model for Cigale in creating *Atlant*.

Atlant is an important source for studying Slovenian geographical names, including their foundations. Certain Slovenianized forms of foreign names now sound awkward in Slovenian (Kladnik 2005); for example, the names of certain countries: Cigale referred to Switzerland as Švajca (now Sln. Švica), China as Kitaj (now Kitajska), and Japan as Japonija (now Japonska). In addition, he Slovenianized certain major towns for which only endonyms are used in modern Slovenian (e.g., Novi Jork for New York, Kodanj for Copenhagen, Kolin for Cologne, Germany, Antverpa for Antwerp, Marsilja for Marseille, Curih for Zurich, or Jakin for Ancona, Italy).

However, some of his solutions are absolutely remarkable from today's perspective. One of them is the use of the Slovenian common noun dežela 'land, country' for a cohesive piece of territory, such as a country, part of it, or a region; for example, Viktorijina dežela for Victoria Land or Wilkezova dežela for Wilkes Land in Antarctica, Bafinova dežela for Baffin Land (now Baffin Island) in Canada, Washingtonova dežela for Washington Land in Greenland, Aleksandrina dežela for Alexandra Land in Russia, and Van Diemenova dežela for Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) in Australia. During the period of the pan-Slavic movement and the influence of Russian, and especially later, during the period of Yugoslavia and the influence of Serbo-Croatian, the word zemlja predominated over dežela until the last decade of the twentieth century, even though the primary meaning of this word in Slovenian is 'soil' or 'upper layer of earth'. The Slovenian term for a foreign country or geographical unit is tuja dežela 'foreign land' or tuja država 'foreign country', and the Croatian expression is strana zemlja.

Cigale used the word *dežela* twenty-eight times, and he only used the word *zemlja* outside Russia in the geographical name *Ognjena zemlja* (Sp. *Tierra del Fuego*). In Russia, he used the word three times (e.g., *Nova Zemlja* for Novaya Zemlya).

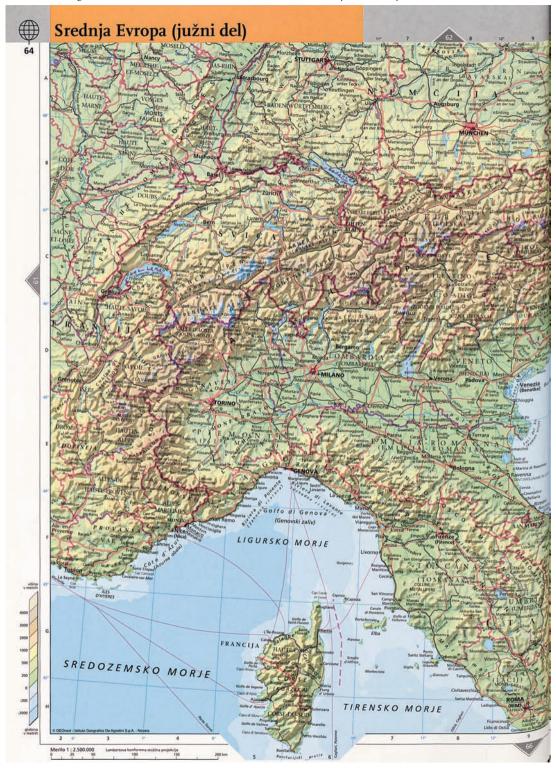
Examination of geographical names used in *Atlant* and later atlases makes it possible to follow the changes in Slovenian and in the political situation, which are also associated with chronological changes in the ratio between exonyms and endonyms.

By examining the names of thirty-six major towns in Slovenia's vicinity (Table 2), for which Slovenian exonyms and endonyms are more commonly used in various atlases, it can be established that Cigale used the Slovenian name for as many as thirty-four, or 94% of them. He only kept the original forms of the names for Sarajevo and Kotor, which already sounded »Slovenian« enough. The share of Slovenian names decreased over the years, reaching the lowest value (33%) in the 1972 world atlas, after which it began to increase again. In the latest world atlas, published in 2005, this share was 44%.

Only seven Slovenian names appear in all seven atlases examined. These are *Benetke* 'Venice' and *Rim* 'Rome' in Italy, *Celovec* 'Klagenfurt', *Beljak* 'Villach', and *Dunaj* 'Vienna' in Austria, *Budimpešta* 'Budapest' in Hungary, and *Solun* 'Thessaloniki' in Greece. The names *Trst* 'Trieste' and *Gorica* 'Gorizia' in Italy, *Gradec* 'Graz' in Austria, and *Lvov* 'Lviv' in Ukraine appear six times, and the names *Videm* 'Udine' in Italy and *Monošter* 'Szentgotthárd' in Hungary appear five times. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kotor, Montenegro, are always referred to with their original names.

Figure 47: Reduced-scale map of the southern part of central Europe (at a scale of 1:2,500,000) from the latest Slovenian world atlas (*Veliki atlas sveta*), published in 2005. The geographical names on it are written in full compliance with the recommendations by the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN), which is why multilingual endonyms are separated with a slash (e.g., the Italian—German endonyms *Bolzano/Bozen* or the Italian—French endonyms *Aosta/Aoste*), and Slovenian exonyms are added to the original names in parentheses: e.g., *Wien (Dunaj)* 'Vienna' or *Roma (Rim)* 'Rome'. The name of Brussels, which is bilingual (French—Flemish) and for which Slovenian uses an exonym, is written as *Bruxelles/Brussel* (*Bruselj*). This atlas again contains a substantial number of exonyms (i.e., Slovenian names of foreign geographical features) in the form used by Matej Cigale, which were neglected in the world atlases published after the Second World War (e.g., *Rijeka (Reka)* in Croatia). > p. 134—135

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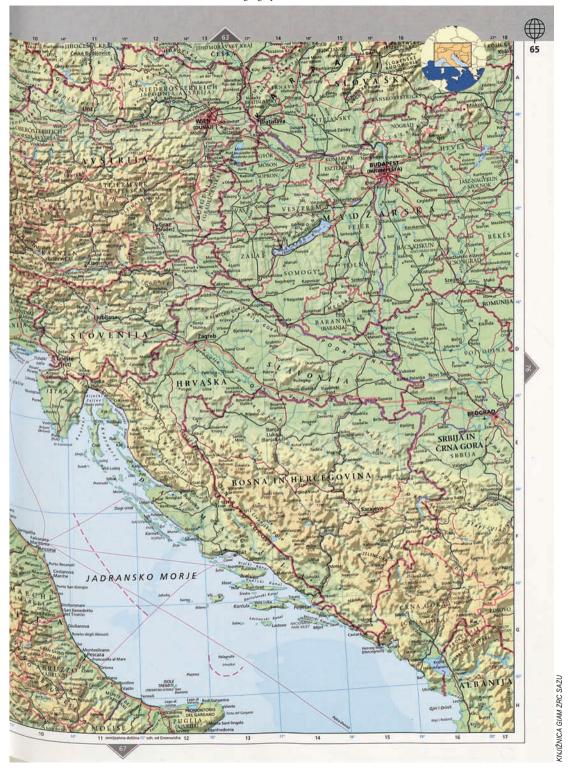


Table 2: Overview of changes in the names of certain major towns in countries close to Slovenia in individual atlases (the name adaptors are provided in parentheses in the first row).

Trieste		language	(Cigale)	(Orožen)	(Bohinec et al.)	1950 (Bohinec)	1972 (Medved, Moder)	(Kladnik et al.)	(Hrvatin, Kladnik, Perko)
	Italy	Italian	Trst	Trst	Trieste	Trst	Trst	Trst	Trst
GONZIG	Italy	Italian	Gorica	Gorica	Gorizia	Gorica	Gorica	Gorica	Gorica
Udine	Italy	Italian	Videm	Videm	Udine	Udine	Videm	Videm	Videm
Venezia 'Venice'	Italy	Italian	Benetke	Benetke	Benetke	Benetke	Benetke	Benetke	Benetke
<i>Roma</i> 'Rome'	Italy	Italian	Rim	Rim	Rim	Rim	Rim	Rim	Rim
München 'Munich'	Germany	German	Mnihov	München	München	München	München	München	München
Nümberg 'Nuremberg'	Germany	German	Norimberk	Nürnberg	Nürnberg	1	Nürnberg	Nürnberg	Nürnberg
Chemnitz	Germany	German	Kamenice	Chemnitz	Chemnitz	Chemnitz	Karl-Marx-Stadt	Chemnitz	Chemnitz
Dresden	Germany	German	Draždane	Dresden	Dresden	Dresden	Dresden	Dresden	Dresden
Leipzig	Germany	German	Lipsko	Leipzig	Leipzig	Leipzig	Leipzig	Leipzig	Leipzig
Klagenfurt	Austria	German	Celovec	Celovec	Celovec	Celovec	Celovec	Celovec	Celovec
Villach	Austria	German	Beljak	Beljak	Beljak	Beljak	Beljak	Beljak	Beljak
Graz	Austria	German	Gradec	Gradec	Gradec	Gradec	Graz	Gradec	Gradec
Innsbruck	Austria	German	Inspruk	Innsbruck	Innsbruck	1	Innsbruck	Innsbruck	Innsbruck
Wien 'Vienna'	Austria	German	Dunaj	Dunaj	Dunaj	Dunaj	Dunaj	Dunaj	Dunaj
Bern	Switzerland	German	Berna	Bern	Bern	Bern	Bern	Bern	Bern
Plzeň 'Pilsen'	Bohemia, Czechia	Czech	Pelzenj	Plzenj	Pilsen	Plzeň	Plzeň	Plzeň	Plzeň
Bratislava	Slovakia	Slovak	Požun	Požun	Bratislava	Bratislava	Bratislava	Bratislava	Bratislava
Kraków	Poland	Polish	Krakov	Krakov	Kraków	Kraków	Kraków	Krakov	Krakov
Pécs	Hungary	Hungarian	Pečuh	Pečuh	Pečuh	Pécs	Pécs	Pécs	Pécs
Szeged	Hungary	Hungarian	Segedin	Szegedin	Szeged	Szeged	Szeged	Szeged	Szeged
Budapest	Hungary	Hungarian	Budim, Pešta	Buda Pešta	Budimpešta	Budimpešta	Budimpešta	Budimpešta	Budimpešta
Győr	Hungary	Hungarian	Gjur	Gjur	Györ	Györ	Győr	Győr	Győr
Szentgotthárd	Hungary	Hungarian	Monostur	S. Gotthard	Monošter	1	Monošter	Monošter	Monošter
Osijek	Croatia	Croatian	Osek	Osek	Osijek	Osijek	Osijek	Osijek	Osijek
Rijeka	Croatia	Croatian	Reka	Reka	Fiume	Rijeka	Rijeka	Reka	Reka
Karlovac	Croatia	Croatian	Karlovec	Karlovec	Karlovac	Karlovac	Karlovac	Karlovac	Karlovac
Zadar	Croatia	Croatian	Zader	Zader	Zara	Zadar	Zadar	Zadar	Zadar
Dubrovnik	Croatia	Croatian	Dobrovnik	Dubrovnik	Dubrovnik	Dubrovnik	Dubrovnik	Dubrovnik	Dubrovnik
Sarajevo	Bosnia and	Bosnian	Sarajevo	Serajevo	Sarajevo	Sarajevo	Sarajevo	Sarajevo	Sarajevo
2	Herzegovina			2		2			
Kotor	Montenegro	Montenegrin	Kotor	Kotor	Cattaro	Kotor	Kotor	Kotor	Kotor
Shkodër	Albania	Albanian	Skader	Skader	Skader	Skadar	Skadar	Skadar	Skader
Thessaloníkī	Greece	Greek	Solun	Solun	Solun	Solun	Solun	Solun	Solun
Beograd 'Belgrade'	Serbia	Serbian	Belgrad	Beligrad	Beograd	Beograd	Beograd	Beograd	Beograd
Braşov	Romania	Romanian	Вгаѕечо	Braševo	Braşov	Braşov	Braşov	Braşov	Braşov
L'viv 'Lviv'	Ukraine	Ukrainian	Levov	Levov	Lwów	Lvov	TNON	Lvov	TNON

The first world atlas after the Second World War, published in 1950, only retained nine Slovenian forms introduced by Cigale, and the last one from 2005 (Figure 47) retained fifteen, which is two-thirds more (including the forms *Levov* 'Lviv' and *Monostur* 'Szentgotthárd' that Cigale used and their modern Slovenian variants *Lvov* and *Monošter*). This most likely cannot be attributed to *Atlant*'s resurgent influence, but to the fact that, after Slovenia became independent, the producers of new world atlases thought along the same lines as Cigale, who also prepared his atlas during a period of Slovenian emancipation.

6 Conclusion

Atlant received some well-founded, primarily linguistic, criticism when it was published. In addition, it did not represent any technological progress in cartography and the publication of maps, and it initially received very little coverage from geographers, despite promoting Slovenian ethnic identity and developing Slovenian as a native language, which is why it gradually sank into oblivion. Nonetheless, it is a priceless source for studying Slovenian geographical names, including their foundations. Namely, it reflects the geographical, linguistic, and political situation that determined the degree of Slovenianizing geographical names and the language the Slovenianized forms were based on. Thus, already a century and a half ago, Atlant enriched Slovenian with many exonyms that have been retained in Slovenian until today, which is an important value during a time of globalization and the great predominance of English (Urbanc et al. 2006).

In metaphorical sense, the importance of the first Slovenian world atlas can also be inferred from its title. In Slovenian, *Atlant* means 'Atlas' (Gr. Å $\tau\lambda\alpha\varsigma$), a 'Titan in Greek mythology. Because he helped other Titans fight the Olympians, he was condemned by Zeus to hold up the heavens for eternity (Figure 48). Mercator depicted him on the cover of his atlas holding the globe (Figure 10). In architecture, an atlas (plural: *atlantes*) is a large male sculpture that gives the impression that it is supporting the entire building (Figure 49).



Figure 48: Statue of Atlas (Sln. *Atlant*) on the roof of the main railway station in Frankfurt, Germany.



Figure 49: Four atlantes on the facade of the Bank of Slovenia main building, symbolizing the strength of this financial institution.

At the time it was published, Matej Cigale's *Atlant* promoted the development of Slovenian as well as Slovenian ethnic consciousness and identity through Slovenian geographical names, and, well over a century later, its facsimile continues to do the same. From the Slovenian perspective, this is especially important considering that Slovenians were without their own nation state for over 1,200 years.

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