

Increasing the Toponymic Offshoots of *Castrum* and *Castellum*

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FEW PLACE NAMES have enjoyed such an enormous and wide-ranging diffusion as *castellum* and *castrum*. In the present Romania they spread over Italy, France and the Iberian peninsula, and to some extent reappear in former Romania—North Africa, the Middle East, Greece and Turkey, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Germany, Austria, the Low Countries and Britain. The topic has recently been treated by Professor Henri Diament in *The Toponomastic Reflexes of Castellum and Castrum: A Comparative Pan-Romanic Study* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1972, pp. 140). He discusses primarily 143 toponymical form-types or classes by which he means the two core-words as they appear in the different languages and dialects and the same cores plus suffixes. An abbreviated version, "The Toponymic Progeny of Latin Etyma *Castrum* and *Castellum*," has been printed in *Names* 18:4 (December, 1970), 237–246.

An adequate explication of the subject calls for the application of more than a half dozen branches of linguistic science: phonology, morphology, syntax, phonemics, lexicology, etymology, semantics, dialectology. The mastery of so many fields implies the expertise of an all around linguist and Professor Diament demonstrates that he is one. He has supplied definitive solutions for the bulk of the forms with which he deals and acceptable hypothetical or alternative solutions for others. In addition, wherever it has seemed pertinent he touches on chronological, historical and geographic data.

In view of the essentially linguistic nature of the study there was no need of compiling a catalog of the legion of *castellum-castrum* toponymia, hence the list we are given is properly selective except insofar as the form-types are concerned. However, selectivity in this case is based on incomplete data whereas, ideally speaking, it should have resulted from an exhaustive examination of all the material that is reasonably accessible. Professor Diament has done this for France. For Portugal and Dalmatia (or more exactly for Yugoslavia) he acknowledges that his information is insufficient but offers no such excuse for Italy, Spain and other areas. He has taken it for granted that Esso and Michelin maps, some travel guides and some other miscellanea would suffice and in this he has evidently been misled.

He has, for instance, surprisingly overlooked the largest of our toponymical repertoires, the multi-volume series of the *Gazetteer* put out by the United States Board of Geographic Names, each volume of which is, with some exceptions, a composite list taken from official publications with preference given to those most recently printed. However, though the volumes are extremely comprehensive they still need to be supplemented from other sources such as geographical dictionaries, atlases, encyclopedias, lexicons and toponymical and philological studies, a number of which have been used by Diament. Among those not utilized either by him or the compilers of the *Gazetteer* are the *Dictionnaire géographique et administratif de la France* . . . Paris, 1892; the *Diccionario geográfico de España* and the *Indice toponomástico del Atlas Nacional de España*, while among materials unconsulted by Diament are the *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze lettere ed arti*; the *Grande dizionario enciclopedico UTET*; the *Dizionario enciclopedico italiano*; the *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada hispano-americana (Espasa)*; the *Portugal: Diccionario histórico, biográfico, bibliográfico, heráldico, chorográfico, numismático e artístico* and the *Grande enciclopedia portuguesa brasileira*. Several regional toponomastic repertoires are either missing or have not been used such as G. Alessio, *Saggio di toponomia calabrese*; D. Olivieri, *Dizionario di toponomastica lombarda* and *Toponomastica veneta*; S. Pieri, *Toponomastica della Toscana meridionale* . . . Siena, 1969.

My own additional form-types (capitalized in order to distinguish them from other castle-names) follow together with notes and comments on toponymics in Diament's book or statements he makes concerning them.

FRANCE

CASTELLENS or CHASTILLENS (French Switzerland) with an ending common in Germanic names, *-ens, engo*, is, like Italian Castellengo, a rarity. See W. Bruckner, *Schweizerische Ortsnamenkunde* (Basel, 1945), p. 208. The remainder of the place-names given below are drawn from the *Dictionnaire géographique*: CASTELAT (Lot)* because of its *-at* from VL *-atum* is a rarity; CASTEIT, Casteit-Abidou (Basses Pyrénées, which is a variant of Castets; CASTILLY (Calvados) with the *y* resulting from the change of VL *-acum* to *-ac* and then to *-y*; Le CHALARD (Dordogne), Les CHALARDS (Puy-de-Dôme) are variants of the better known Cheylar; Plateau de CHÂTELLERET (Isère), CHÂTELERIE (Dordogne), La Châtellerie (La Manche) take their suffix from VL *er(i)rius*; CHATON (Savoie, Seine et Marne, Yonne) is an unusual foreshortening of *castellio-*

* The French names in parentheses refer to departments. Most of the parentheses elsewhere refer to provinces, communes, or centers near which place-names are located.

nem. My doubt as to its actual linkage to castle-names was dispelled on coming upon a Chatonrupt (Haute-Marne) which immediately led to the recall of Castelrotto (two instances in Venetia), Castelruino (Puglia), and Kastelruh, Italian Castelrotto from *castel ruptum*. It has been further confirmed by the example of CATONvielle (Gers), a variant form-type, which parallels Castelveiel (Gironde) and Italian Castelvecchio. On the strength of these I have been prompted to add CHATONNAY (Isère, Jura), CHATONNARD (Saône et Loire) with a paragogic *d* like Chelard, and CHATONNAX (Ain) bearing the nominative suffixal ending *-ax*. The meaning of Châteldon (Puy-de-Dôme) and Châteaudun (Orléans) with the Celtic word for fortress, *don/dun*, attached, is self-evident. If association can be invoked as proof as in the case of Chaton, it may be concluded that since CHAUDON, one of the three instances of which comes from the same area as Châteaudun, is a foreshortened variant of it. This argument should also hold for Chaudon (Ain).

ITALY

CASTELACCA is in Calabria (cf. Alessio). The suffix could be either VL *-acum*, *-aca*, or Greek *-aka*. CASTELLACE is also Calabrian (Reggio) and derives from Byzantine Chastelachion. The ending is prolific in this region and evidently serves to denote a zone or feudal holding. Cf. Corace, Gerace, Morace, Pedace, Straface. A Calabrian variant is Castejace. Here the original *ll* of *castellum* has been palatinized.

CASTELLANINA (Ravenna) is striking on account of being a substantivized adjective stemming from Castellana (itself a substantivized adjective). It might indicate a small settlement near a Castellana.

In referring to Castellare in Corsica, Diament states that it is the only example found on Italian soil. There are two: Castellare di Casinca and Castellare di Mercurio. Actually, the toponym is diffused in Northern and Central Italy. Prati in his *Dizionario valsuganotto sub voce "castellare"* notes that it is the name of "più poggi della valle così nominata." It is also found in the provinces of Cuneo and Alessandria in Piedmont and at least thrice in Tuscany. Tiraboschi in his *Dizionario topografico storico degli Stati Estensi* cites the following from a document dated 1029: a "Castellare qui dicitur Isimberti." Battisti-Alessio in their *Dizionario etimologico italiano* add under *castellare* (a. 1173 a Parma e Ravenna, a. 1255 a Matelica, a. 1060 a Marsiglia)." Though these sites may now have disappeared, they pre-suppose other such place-names in existence today. However forms ending in *-aro*, VL *-ar(i)um* and forms in *-ero*, VL *er(i)um* are more common. CASTELLARO, for instance, occurs in Cuneo, Lodi, Piacenza, Reggio Emilia, Sogliano in Romagna, Serra S. Quirico (Le Marche). There is a plural, CASTELLARI, (Tuscany).

CASTELLARA (Macerata) bears the feminized *-ar(i)am*. Among the names with variants of *-er(i)um* are CASTELLERIO, (Slavicized into CASTELLEVICH) and CASTELGLIERO (Istria), CASTELLER (Venetian), CASTELLERO (Asti, Piedmont). CASTEGLIERO (Venetia) is a very rare instance of a suffix based on *-ierius* rather than *-erius*. Under *castrum* Olivieri in *Toponomastica veneta* adds several local or Germanized developments, CASTELIR, CASLIR, GESLIR. The definition of *castellare* and variants as given by Olivieri is "Tipo di abitato preistorico e protostorico della Venezia Giulia e difeso da poderose cinte murarie." Battisti-Alessio, in their *Dizionario etimologico* give the same description with the added observation that the toponym is "comunissimo nella toponomastica." Olivieri, on his part, notes further that "Abitati analogici son chiamati Castellar nella Francia del Sud-est e nelle Alpi Marittime." The usual Italian lexicon meaning of *castellare* is "castello in rovine." Dauzat's theory that Castellar, Chatlar, Caylar etc. have taken their suffix on the analogy of *villare* hardly applies to instances in Northern Italy and Southeastern France, and I should doubt it for some other instances as well. *Villare*, of course, presupposes a settlement which is not what a name like Sommet du Castillard conveys to me. For Italy, in the forms with *-ar(i)us* and *-er(i)rus* especially, the presence of collective suffixes indicating a patch, a mass, a pile, in this case a pile or piles of stones, is pretty clear. Moreover, like them the *-are* of *villare* is a collective denoting a group or mass of villas, village. The *-ar(e)* in the *castellum* terms could, in short, have been employed without necessarily invoking the influence of *villare*.

There is a Castellazzo Novarese as well as a Castellazzo Bormida which is listed by Diament. We also call attention to CASTELLAZZA (Grosseto) site of several castles. However, it is *castello* with the suffixal variant *-accio*, CASTELLACCIO, that is more prevalent. Quite a few identical names can be located in Lombard-speaking territory, the Ticino, in Tuscany and, especially, in Romagna where there are at least five Castellaccio (Faenza, Imola, Lugo, Marradi, Tredozio). Rather than seeing a pejorative or even an augmentative in Italian *-accio*, *-azzo* and the Spanish *-azo* (Castilazo, Castellazo), I am convinced that the ending denotes material (cf. VL *arenaceus*) in the case of *castellum*, the equivalent of remains. There are more than a half dozen Castellaccio in Tuscany (cf. Pieri) and one in Carpegna, Romagna. If we take *castella* to be a plural the obvious interpretation would be ruins of several castles. This brings us very close to the meaning of Castellare, Castellaro, which we have just discussed. CASTELLARACCIO (Compagnatico, Tuscany) implies a series of castles in a very ruinous state. CASTELLARUCCI (Livorno) would be a small area of ruined castles. In the Milan Telephone Directory there is listed the toponymic place-name CASTELLARIN.

CASTEL(L)ENGO in Northern Italy draws its suffix from the Germanic *-engo*. Cf. Swiss French Castillens-Châtillens. The ending is more common in anthroponymics.

A CASTELLONE is located in Campobasso. In the *Epistolario* of Pedro Mártir de Angleria, edited by López de Toro (Madrid, 1955), mention is made of a Castellone, a "plaza fuerte" several miles from Gaeta. I cannot just now verify whether it still exists as a settlement. The implications are that in these two place-names the *-one* is an augmentative.

Perhaps the following should be included as form-types: CASLACCIO, CASLETTO, CASLINO (Caslino d'Erba, Caslino al Piano), SCASLETTO. These are in Lombardy and with reference to them Olivieri in his *Dizionario di toponomastica lombarda* notes that they "dicano tanto castelletto, castellino quanto casaletto, casalino. Cfr. ticin. CASLACCIO, *castellaccio* o *caslaccio*."

CASTIGLIA in the Budrio sector near Bologna may be the sole survivor of medieval Latin Castilia.

The toponymic surname CASTIGLIOLA (Brooklyn Tele. Dir.) is evidently a hybrid influenced by Castiglione.

CASTIGLIONCELLO (Rossignano), Castiglioncello Bandini, both in Tuscany and Castiglioncello (Firenzuola, Romagna) derive from medieval Latin *castillunculus* plus *-ellus*. Diament gives Casteglioncello which I do not find attested. Related names are CASTIGLIONCHIO (Parma) and CASTIGLIONCO (Marradi, Romagna).

The plural CASTIGLIONI (Ancona, Aquila, Ascoli Piceno, Rome, Trieste, Val d'Arno (Romagna) plainly reveals the *-oni* is a diminutive. Cf. also Poggio Castiglioni (Casole, Tuscany).

CASTIOLLI (Lombardy) is likewise a plural but from the dialectical *cas-castion*.

CASTOLAN is a current Germanized toponym alteration of Castellan in Walkenstein, Tyrol according to A. Giammarinaro, "I nomi locali del roveretano," *Miscellanea di studi linguistici in ricordo di Ettore Tolomei* (Firenze, 1953), p. 72.

CASTRÀ (Cerregato, Tuscany) recorded by Pieri in "Toponomastica delle Valli del Serchio e della Lima" (*Archivio glottologico* Supplemento, 1898), may be either a plural of *castrum* or a plural used as a feminine singular.

CASTRALE I have found in the Chicago Tele. Dir. There is no doubt about its being a toponomic surname even though it is a very rare one. The VL *-ale* was commonly used to form adjectives and nouns. Cf. also Avenale, Mercatale, Montale, Panicale, Pastorale, Stanziale.

CASTRECCIONI (Macerata) through its two diminutives connotes one or more badly ruined castles.

CASTRECHINI, CASTRICHELLA are toponymical surnomina taken from the Rome Tele. Dir. The plural *i* should, of course, be singularized to *o*.

Monte CASTRESI mentioned by Pieri in "Toponomastica delle Valli della Serchia . . .," *op. cit.*, involves Castresi (*-ensis > -esi*) turning this derivative into an adjective of apurtenance.

No plural of Castro is furnished by Diament, but cf. CASTRI di Lecce.

CASTRIA is near Volterra. As an alternative explanation for Castries Diament links it with a hypothetical *Castria. The hypothesis holds up as we see here. A Monte Castria is located in Le Marche. There is also a Greek Kastria, plural of Kastrion, which, however, does not seem to be related to our example.

In order to explain CASTRICE (Puglia) G. Colella in *Toponomastica pugliese dalle origini alla fine del medioevo* (Trani, 1941), cites Vigne Castrisi indicating that like Castresi it, too, is an adjective.

CASTRICONE is the surname-toponym of a resident of Guidonia, Rome. It is composed of *castro* plus two suffixes *-accus* and *-onem*.

CASTRONA (Comazzo near Lodi, and Venetia) appears to have been influenced by *castra* taken as a feminine.

The composition of CASTRONCELLO (Tuscany) listed in the *Gazetteer: Italy*, may have been affected by Castiglioncello.

CASTRON(E) is located in the S. Boldo area of Venetia.

CASTRONNO (Gallarate) bears the Lombard suffix *-onno*.

In addition to Castrozza (San Martino, Venetia), Olivieri, *op. cit.*, mentions the pluralized Le CASTROZZE (Valsugana, Venetia).

CASTRUZZI (Imola) has the diminutive variant of *-uccio*. Castruccio (Diament, 23) I have not found attested as a toponym. The reason may be that it is because it was already established as a first name deriving from the animal name for "hog."

KASTIDDIO (Bova, Calabria) is listed by Alessio. It comes from a Greek-speaking area. Since K is not in the Italian alphabet we should expect the official spelling to be Castiddio.

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Had Diament checked in Olivieri's *Dizionario della toponomastica lombarda* he might have learned that Casteggio has a Celtic source, and that in Roman times it was called Clastidium. According to him the normal development should have been Ciasteggio. In reading the sketch on Casteggio in the *Enciclopedia italiana* I have found an indirect connection with *castellum* that must have caused the change to its present name, the existence of a castle in the older town.

The statement, p. 26, that Castel is never found in isolation in Italy needs to be slightly revised. The *Gazetteer: Italy* lists one in the north-western section of the country, while the same for Yugoslavia lists another now officially called Kaštelec. Nor should Il Castell on the Maltese island of Gozo be forgotten. For some unexplained reason Castello in isolation is not mentioned in the book. The *Gazetteer: Italy* cites a score of instances.

The only so-called archaic plural, *castella*, that is recorded by Diament is Quattrocastella (p. 27). There is also Le Castella in Lazio, unique in the use of the definite article with the toponym. He also calls attention to the rare plural *Castelli* but cites only one example, Castelli Romani, really not the name of a single town but of a whole area near Rome consisting of 14 major centers and some minor ones. One Castelli appears in Lazio, two in Venetia, Pieri cites a Montecastelli in Val di Cecina, Tuscany. Attention has already been drawn to the plurals *Castiglioni* and *Castellini*.

Only one Castione, Castione della Presolana, is noted, but there are quite a few more scattered throughout Istria, Venetia, Lombardy, Romagna and Tuscany. Castions in the Friuli south of Udine is not further identified (p. 104). It may refer to Castions di Strada on which C. Costantini has just published a monograph (Udine, 1972).

The ending *-anza* of Castellanza is accepted by Diament as a borrowing from French, which itself borrowed it from Provençal. Bourciez in *Éléments de linguistique romane* (Paris, 1923), p. 307, says that the Troubadours made it fashionable. While it is true that Provençal borrowing was frequent in medieval Italy it was primarily cultural and literary allowing for doubt about its transference to this branch of linguistics. Furthermore, since *-antia* is a fairly common suffix in both Classical and Vulgar Latin, cf. *fragantia*, *elegantia*, *arrogantia*, *vigilantia* and *constantia* (also used as a first name) there is no valid reason for insisting on an exclusive intermediary source, Provençal or French. I prefer to see in *-antia*, *-anza* a continuation of a pattern started in Roman times, cf. Pallantia, the Roman name for Palencia, Spain, and Brigantia, the old name of Braganza in Portugal. Italian Peveranza, from Piperantius, a personal name dates back to at least the eighth century. I have not turned up historical data on the Novarese Castellanza, but there was another similarly named place, Castelantia de Marignano, mentioned in a thirteenth century document. Interestingly enough, there is a Pallanza also in the Novarese with a Ghibelline castle dating back to the twelfth century. Bovedanza and Povanza in Galicia and Maranza in Venezia Tridentina are other *-anza* toponyms.

Diament has, unfortunately, decided to interpret in an impromptu manner the adjectival modifiers of toponyms, especially those in the last group C, captioned "Doubtful, uncertain and unknown." He uses ques-

tion marks to indicate that he is relying on guesswork. Take the -fidardo of Castelfidardo, which he links with *fede* (?). It is pretty well-established that it belongs to the anthroponymic group B 1. The accepted version is that the castle-settlement was named after a Count Guiscardo sometime in the sixth century. In the fifteenth century it was changed to Castelfiscardo and finally to Castelfidardo. The -rano of Castelrano is translated as (frog's castle [?]). Incidentally, frog is *rana* not *rano*. In the explanation given by Tiraboschi in the *Dizionario topografico storico degli Stati Estensi*, the author notes several changes in it before it became what it is today – Castrum Olerianum, Castrum Arianum, Castrum Alaricanum, Castellarum, Castelarano. Regarding Castella neta (diminutive [?]) Diament is quite right in questioning it, though why he does not make clear. Colella, *op. cit.*, tells us that it derives from *castellum munitum* or *castella unita*. However, by virtue of the existence of a Castellaneta in the province of Potenza the name can remain as a genuine form-type. Bormida in Castellazzo Bormida, Piedmont, is not a family name; it is linked to the Bormida River. Castel d'Annone (castle of victuals?) rather than possibly having been a storehouse for provisions – *annona* would be the right word – is named after a settlement in Venetia, which in turn comes from an anthroponym, Ano, Anone. Castropignano (Campobasso) (pine-cone castle [?]) does involve *pigna* which is the common term for pine-cone, but it is more likely that since we are dealing with one of the most diffused Roman place-name endings, -*anus*, the great majority of which derive from anthroponyms, we can assume that Castelfinniano (castle at end border castle [?]) and Castel Focognano (Arezzo) (castle of fire [?]) are also based on false cognates for their meaning. Like Castropignano they betray a descent from Roman personal names. The -*accia* of Casteldaccia in Sicily (castle of steel [?]) bears no relation to steel which is *acciaio*. *Accia* means battle-ax but this is not necessarily the correct explanation.

Inasmuch as grouping by categories involves a certain amount of interpretation, it is pertinent to examine whether the toponymics are rightly placed or not. I shall begin by taking up four names that are followed by question marks between parentheses: Castiglione dei Pepoli, Castiglione delle Stiviere, Castiglione Olona, Casteldarne (d'Arno). The first is not toponymically determined as suggested. It takes its name from a famous noble family, the Pepoli. The second and third are correctly grouped but the question marks call for further proof that they should be so arranged. Castel delle Stiviere, near Mantua off Lake Garda, derives according to Olivieri, *stipa*, *stiparia*, a moorland. Castiglione Olona bears either the name of the town of Olona or the river by the same name. Casteldarne is far removed from the Arno, being located in the province of Bolzano in the Alto Adige.

In B 1, the anthroponymically determined group, there is one that does not belong. I refer to Castro di Sangro. The name Sangro comes from a river in Central Italy. The *-delfino* in Casteldelfino is only indirectly an anthroponym. It alludes to a castle in Piedmont built by Hubert II dauphin of Vienne.

Castel Madama is correctly placed in group B 3e, the appositional group. It would have been of interest to mention that it was first called *Castrum S. Angeli*, a unique, purely Latin designation. It was built by the Orsini in the fourteenth century and changed to its present name in deference to Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of Charles V who received it as a dowry. This raises the question of vogue *castrum* and *castellum*. Dauzat, as noticed by Diament, contends that they represent two different historical layers, *castellum* becoming popular after the fall of the Western Roman Empire. While *castellum* shows a greater and greater tendency to displace *castrum* geographically, as we progress from the early to the late middle Ages and Renaissance, it should be emphasized that in the Latin of the three periods the *castellum* names were almost always referred to as *castrum*.

Finally, two misspelled names may be noted: Castelfuelfo for Casteluelfo (p. 21) and Castello Larazzo (p. 22) correctly repeated as Castelvazzo. An alternate spelling is Castello Lavazzo.

IBERIA

CASTALÃES in Portugal (Braganza), CASTELÁN in La Coruña and Pontevedra in Galicia, CASTELANES in Pontevedra, CASTELÃO in Braga, Braganza, Lisboa, Vila Real, Ribeiro do Castelão in Faro, CASTELÃOS in Braganza and Vila Real, CASTELHANA in Querença, Ribeiro da Castelhana in Castelo Branco, CASTELHANAS in Leiria, Lisboa, Barranco do CASTELHANO in Faro, Ribeira dos CASTELHANOS in Beja and Setúbal, all of these in Portugal, are equivalents in Portuguese and Galician of Spanish Castellana, Castellán, Castellano, Castellanos. They are either adjectival forms or indications of Spanish settlements.

CASTELLARIA (Santarem, Portugal) is a rarity because of its suffix, VL *-ariam*. More popular in the country is CASTEL(L)EIRO (Beira, Faro, Guarda, Setubal, Orense, Galicia. The charmingly sounding CASTELARIÑA is in the province of Orense.

CASTELLEJO occurs in Portugal a number of times – Beira, Castelo Branco, Coimbra, Faro, Viseu.

The diminutive plural CASTEL(L)ETES is located in Pontevedra and the Azores.

CASTELGÓN is the former name of Castejón in Navarra. See C. E. Corona Baratech, *Toponomía Navarra en la Edad Media* (Huesca, 1947).

CASTÉLIGO in Orense (4 instances) is the only *castellum* toponym with the ending *-igo* from VL *-igo* which was characteristic of rustic speech according to Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 18.

The Portuguese form of Spanish Castellón seems to exist only in the plural – CASTELÕES (Braga, Braganza, Porto, Vila Real).

The small castle name CASTEL(L)INHO is thrice repeated in the province of Evora.

A Ponta CASTELITO with an *-ito* infrequent in *castellum*-names is situated on the island of Pico in Portugal.

Because of the plural *-castilla* in TramaCASTILLA and *-castiella* in its former name EntramCASTIELLA in the province of Huesca, the toponym qualifies as a form-type. For a discussion of it see W. B. Elcock, "Toponomía del Valle de Tena," *Archivo de filología aragonesa*, XII–XIII (1962), p. 303. A Tramacastiella is also located in the province of Teruel. Cf. Entrecasteau (Var, Nice), cited by Diament on p. 16. Quite noteworthy is Elcock's observation (303), "El significado de *castellum* común en la toponomía aragonesa probablemente no es castillo sino simplemente 'refugio, cabaña de pastores come el chalet suizo'."

Unlisted is the plural of Castellar, CASTELLARES, located in or near Alobra, Arazón and Zamora. It is also a barrio of Cuenca.

CASTELLIT is restricted to Mallorca. The suffix employed is *-icum*.

Like *-ito* it is rare to find the popular diminutive *-ico* attached to a *castellum*. Cf. CASTILLICO. One example can be found in the province of Almería.

In Portuguese CASTILHÃO (Braga, Braganza, Vila Real), CASTILHAS (Evora), CASTILHO (Porto) we are again reminded of Spanish equivalents this time of castellano, Castilla, castillo.

CASTRALLÓN (S. María de Nebra, La Coruña), I am unable to explain. Another rarity is CASTRARÓN (S. Tomé de Baos, La Coruña) with an ending that is extremely uncommon. A more normal form is CASTRELLÓN also in La Coruña.

The *-eje* of CASTREJE might be an alternative collective suffix of *-aje*. Cf. Spanish *boscaje*.

CÁSTRIGO (La Coruña) like Castéligo employs the rustic suffix *-igo*.

Diament has observed the popularity of the hybrid Castello in Leonese territory. A derivative, CASTRILINO (Villaquilambre, León), might be added.

On the surface the *-iz* of CASTRIZ appears to be a VL nominative *-ix* > *-iz*. Were it located in Spanish-speaking territory instead of Galicia, there would be no argument about it. But since all but five of the more than one hundred instances of *-iz* toponyms which I have assembled are actually *-riz* names, this indicates derivation from the Latinized Gothic genitive in *-rici* > *riz*. It may very well be that Castriz is also a member

of this group. In that case, its development would be *Castorici > *Castroriz > Castrix. Incidentally, unlike other -iz endings elsewhere I do not view the examples in Galicia and Portugal as patronymics but as place-names, most of them designating feudal holdings by means of the original first names of their presumptive owners. As such they were transmitted to their descendants as long as the ownership of them lasted. When possession changed hands as it often did the new owners took over the names of the estates as their own surnames.

Diament cites a Latin etymon Castulone and refers to the *Manual de gramática histórica española*. 10 ed. Madrid, 1958 by Menéndez Pidal (p. 228), who, in turn, tells us that it has developed phonologically into Cazlona but gives no location or any historical data. Castulone is the name of the ancient city where Scipio defeated the Carthaginians in 208 BC. The writer of the sketch in *Espasa sub voce Castril* speaks of an Arab castle "que se llamó CASTULLÓN y luego Castril." Since Castullón must have existed as a toponym it deserves mention among the form-types. Inasmuch as Cazlona has been mentioned I might add here that the *Diccionario geográfico* cites several names: CAZÁLIGAS (Talavera de la Reina), CAZÉLIGO (Orense), CAZALILLA (Jaen, Andújar) which are close enough to have been derived from the simple form Cazalla. I am not so sure of Cazorla (Sierra de Cazorla-Lorca).

The author finds only one Catlar across the border in the Catalan-speaking part of France. Another is in Catalonia near Tarragona. Cf. F. Moll, *Diccionari catalá-valenciá, balear*, III, pp. 54-55. Moll also refers to a variant CASTLAR. He likewise lists other derivatives: CATLLARÁS, a mountain near the Pobla de Lillet, CATLLARI, Planell i Serra del Llucanés, CATLLARÓ a square in Ripoll.

Only one instance is cited of Castro with the definite article. Nevertheless Espasa under Castro (El) lists 17 instances in Orense and two in León.

Much less diffused is Castríño but it is not restricted to Punta del Castríño (Pontevedra). It is also to be found in the parish of S. Cristobal de Couso (Pontevedra) and the parish of S. Sebastián de Taragoña (La Coruña).

Lack of access to material on Portuguese geographical names has drastically reduced the enumeration in the book of toponymics in this area, but in speaking of Castelo in isolation he does assume that some such locations exist. There are about 20 listed in the *Gazetteer: Portugal*.

The author limits Castejón to the province of Aragón. But the *Diccionario geográfico* shows that there are three Castejón names in Navarre and one each in the provinces of Burgos, Calatayud, Guadalajara, Logroño and Soria.

He devotes more than a page to a discussion of Castellote in the province of Teruel. Since its location is close to Cataluña the problem posed is to decide whether it is a Castilian or a Catalan form. He notes that the non-apocopated suffix favors the former but that this argument is outweighed by the popularity of apocopated *-ot* in the latter area. While *-ote* may still point to the Castilianization of the name my finding of a Castellot in Les Borges d'Urgel near the French border in the province of Lérida decisively supports Diament's argument in support of a Catalan form.

Three Aragonese examples are given of Castiello showing the preservation of the diphthong *ie* in that dialect. It also spills over into Asturias where the diphthong is likewise preserved. *Espasa* lists 11 instances in the province of Oviedo alone.

This leads Diament to discuss Mozarabic Castielfabib. *Espasa* and other sources locate it in Valencian not in Aragonese territory as he notes. The *Enciclopedia* also informs us that the original castle by that name was rebuilt by the Moors from whom it was taken by Pedro II of Aragón in 1210.

Incidentally, Mozarabic *castil* generally but not always indicates a castle town. The definition given by Corominas. *Diccionario crítico etimológico* is "forma mozárabe empleada por los moros en el sentido de villeta chica."

If we add to Diament's two examples of Castrejón in Valladolid and one in Palencia (p. 26) locations in Madrid, two, Ávila, Segovia and Toledo we have further support that it is a Castilian form. The plural Castrejones is listed for Cáceres and Valladolid.

Instead of saying that Castrillón in addition to Oviedo is also found in the Galician-Asturian area, I should have stated more specifically that it is frequent in Galicia with at least eight examples in La Coruña and seven in Lugo.

Questions can legitimately be raised as to the meaning and use of *-az* in Castraz. Rather than *-az* from a VL nominative *-ax*, the normal forms of this suffix whether augmentative or pejorative or not are drawn from the accusative yielding *-azo* as in Castillazo and Castellazo. I think a better case can be made for *-az* as a possessive particularly on account of the spread of Castilian toponyms containing it – Alfaz, Alcaraz, Alfaraz, Almoraz, Alocaz, Gormaz, Marchagaz, Orgaz, Valdesaz. Other instances can be found in Aragón, Asturias, Galicia, Navarra, and Portugal. From the examples given above and further examples I have collected it is clear that it is a typical place-name ending usually but not exclusively indicating fiefs named after the names of their owners. The toponyms in Al- in southern Spain make one somewhat suspicious. Presumably, once the vogue was started Castraz fitted into the pattern to denote an entity

dependent on a Castro. I should not go so far as does Lapesa in his *Historia de la lengua española* (2a ed., 1951) in associating it with other endings *-ez, -iz, oz, uz*. Here he cites *Garcíaz* which I would rule out because of its existence as a place-name in Cáceres. On *-iz* see *supra*.

Most of the geographical names in *-mil*, and they number at least a half hundred, are in Galicia. One example, *Castromil*, is repeated six times in that province. There is some discussion of it in J. M. Piel, "Comentario a cinco topónimos del noroeste de España: *Castromil, Palaciosmil, Regosmil, Sejosmil y Vallatresmil*," in *Strenae. Estudios de filología e historia dedicados a Manuel García Blanco* (Salamanca, 1962), 379-82, where he points out that the *-mil* of *Castromil* is probably a genitive of *-mirus*, "famous." I see no need for changing a *-mirus* to *-mil* since both could and did co-exist separately. Cf. *Boimir* (San Pedro de Coandres, La Coruña), *Sandemiro* (Santiago de Carrecedo, Orense). Whatever the source of *-mil* it is plain that it came to represent a suffix meaning "belonging to" or "part of" a larger settlement. While most of the *-mil* names seems to indicate in their root parts the names of feudal owners there are a few like *Palaciosmil, Villacemil, Villaframil, Villarmil* that support the second half of my hypothesis. It is even likely that *-mil* is a diminutive since it is clear that most of the toponyms are small entities within a parish community. *Castromil* is mentioned by Diament on p. 59.

On p. 116 Diament states "Modern Basque areas reveal no *castellum-castrum* forms on either the French or the Spanish sides." Yet there is a *Castillo Elejabeitia* which is registered as in Vizcaya in the *Atlas nacional de España*.

OTHER AREAS OF PRESENT ROMANIA

RHAETIA

Diament, p. 103, mentions *Tiefencastel* in Rhaetian-Romantsch territory. Locally, the word for castle is *casti* and *CASTI* is the name by which it is referred to there. W. Bruckner, in *Schweizerische Ortsnamenkunde*, makes mention of this: in his note on *Casti* he states, "Der Name kehrt an verschiedenen Orten, auch im deutschen Teil des Kantons in dieser oder in leicht geänderte Form wieder. Vgl. *CASTIEL, CASTELS* u. s."

RUMANIA

For this country Diament provides two place-names: *Castranova* and *Castrele Trainé*. From the *Gazetteer: Rumania* we can add two more: *CASTELUL* with the definite article in the province of Constanta and *CASTELU* *Turnu Roşu* or *Castel Turnul Roşu* in Stalin.

FORMER ROMANIA

NORTH AFRICA

ALGERIA, TUNISIA, LIBYA

The Roman conquest of North Africa has left virtually no traces of *castrum-castellum* on the maps. In Algeria the Spanish-Moorish wars have left the ruins of a few fortresses in Oran, a Castillo Viejo and a fort called Château Neuf, now a military headquarters and barracks. Châteaudun de Rhunel is clearly a town founded by settlers from one of the Châteauduns in France. Not many years ago Italian settlers, possibly from Castiglione di Sicilia, founded two towns by the name of Castiglione. They are now known as Bou Ismail and Iain Benian. In Tunisia are the forts Bir Castilia or Bir Gastilia and Burj Castile. In Libya we have Castel Benito, named for Mussolini now called Funduq Bin Gashir, and Castelverde now Qaar Qurābibūll also founded recently.

MIDDLE EAST

In Israel, in addition to the well-known Chastel Pélérin of the crusading days, we have a Château Neuf now Horbat Mezudat Hunin.

In Lebanon there are the ruins of Chateau de Beaufort, Gal'at Ash, Shagif, Château de la Mer, Cásr el Bahr, Château de Saint Louis, Gal'at el Mazzah.

GREECE AND TURKEY

Greece is lightly passed over by Diament with the mention of a few names: Argyrocastro, Sidkhirocastron, Palaiokastron, Kastelli and Kastelion in Crete, and Akra Kastleion on the island of Karpathos, the *castrum* names probably dating mostly back to the Byzantine period and the *castellum* names to the period of Venetian occupation. In this group several retained their unofficial Italian names such as Castello now KÁSTELLOS, Castellorizo now Kastelórizon. It is the *castrum*-names that are unusually common as the *Gazetteer: Greece* informs us. The KASTRAKI number seven, the KASTRÍ, ten, the KASTRIA, plural of Kastrión, two, KASTRION, two, KASTRÍTSI, one, Kastro eight, Kastron six, KASTROSÍKÍA, seven. D. G. Georgacas, "Italian Place Names in Greece," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, I (1949), mentions a Venetian Castel Bon Reparò now officially KASTELI Monopari. Herákleon is the former Megalokastron, site of the Metropolitan of Crete. KASTRADES is a suburb of Corfù. Paleocastrizza is also on the island of Corfù. For Turkey the *Gazetteer: Turkey* lists Byzantine Kastro, now Kaleskóy and Kastro Deresi now Kasaturaköfez. There is also a KASTELON, KASTELUM.

YUGOSLAVIA

A discussion of toponyms in Dalmatia should also include a large section of Istria, its northern neighbor. In both regions virtually all the Italian names have been officially either completely changed or have been respelt in Slovenian or Croatian. Despite the fact that this territory has many thousands of Italian speakers the majority of its inhabitants are Slavs and politically it is an integral part of Yugoslavia. On this account, information on the subject should more logically be placed in the former Romania rather than in the present Romania group. Unofficially, of course, many of the Italian names are still current, particularly in Istria. The *Gazetteer: Yugoslavia* records about 25 instances of *castellum* and its variations. To the extent that clear traces of it are revealed in its slavification we have the equivalent of several form-types. These, with their Italian names in parentheses, are KAŠTELIR (Castelir di Visinada), KAŠTEJA (Punta Castello), KAŠTEL (Castelvenere), KAŠTIONE (Monte Castione), in Istria; Kaštel Štaflić (Castel Strafileo), Kastel Štari (Castelvechio), Kaštel Sučurac (Castello Sučurac) in Dalmatia. Four are listed without Italian equivalents: Kaštel Gomilica, Kaštel Dežanovski, Kaštel Luksić in Istria and Kaštel Kembelovać in Dalmatia. What change Castalcambio in Split has undergone I do not know. It is not in the *Gazetteer*. A Yugoslav travel brochure gives us interesting information on KAŠTELA, situated on the coast between Trogir and Split. It consists of a group of seven villages which take their names from seven fortresses built as a defence against Turkish inroads. Some of these fortresses are still preserved. The name has more lately been replaced by KAŠTELLANSKA Rivijera.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA AND HUNGARY

I shall bring in these two neighbors of Yugoslavia at this point. They are not represented in Diament's book. On the first two the *Verzeichnis der Ortsnamen zur Kontorkarte der Tschechoslowakischen Republik* (Vienna, n. d.), gives us a CASTELOVIC or KOSTELEĆ nad Orlici and a CASTRO n. d.), gives us a CASTELOVIĆ or KOSTELEĆ nad Orlici and a CASTROV. *Lippincott's New Gazetteer of the World* adds KOSTEL and KOSTELATZ in Moravia.

For Hungary the *Gazetteer: Hungary*, surprisingly, reveals a number of names, all of them from *castellum*. They may originally have been fortresses built as safeguards against Turkish incursions. They are KASTÉLY (Zala Megye), four instances, Kastélydulo (Bacs-Kiskun Megye), KASTELYI Szöllök (Békés Megye), Kastélykut (Tanya Borsod, Abau Megye) Kastélyoldul (Szolonk Megye), Kastélyosdonbó (Somogy Megye), Kastélyresz (Bacs-Kiskun Megye).

GERMANY, LOW COUNTRIES AND AUSTRIA

For both Germany and the Flemish part of Belgium Diament relies mostly on Wasserzieher and Dauzat for information. The *Gazetteer* for each of these countries could have provided him with quite a few examples – in Germany, places in Bavaria, Hessen, Baden-Württemberg, Nordrhein, and Westfalen such as GASSELDorf, Gasselberg, KASTER, KASTL, KASTLER, KATZELried, numerous Kessel names, KESTEL. Belgium, too, has its quota of Kaster, Kester, and Kessel. On some of these see also A. Carnoy, *Dictionnaire étimologique du nom des communes de Belgique* (Louvain, 1939), pp. 30–31. I have found in Holland a CASTRICUM which looks like a pure Latin form. Austrian *castellum* toponyms do not appear in Diament's book. Three are listed in the *Gazetteer: Austria*: KATZELdorf, KATZELSdorf, and Katzelsdorf an der Ziel.

For France and Italy Professor Diament puts a curb on his investigation on the ground that "After a certain point, a point of diminishing returns, is reached in this search, one keeps on discovering new items, but *no new form-types*" (p. 98). The italics are his. For Spain he notes that new forms keep turning up, but does not fully exploit the situation. The minor *castellum-castrum* sectors in present and past Romania he treats somewhat cursorily. In short, in one way or another, there is an arbitrary cut-off for each one of the areas. Cut-offs, are, of course acceptable when research materials are scarce or extremely inaccessible. They are never advisable when the materials are abundant or readily available because there is always the potential risk of missing some important data, which is, in fact, substantiated in Professor Diament's case. Consequently, it is incumbent upon the reviewer to fill in the gaps, not merely to call attention to deficiencies but also to provide a supplement, a continuation. It should be stressed here that while we do not have a comprehensive survey, we do have a copiously detailed exposition of one of the most attractive of toponomastic phenomena. The information we are given is well-handled and, on the whole, with discrimination. Above all, the monograph stands out as a valuable linguistic contribution which sheds considerable light on the metamorphoses experienced by *castellum* and *castrum* in different lands and at different times.

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