

Mirceta Vemic\*

## **OVERSPREADING OF TOPONYMS IN DEPENDENCE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE EXAMPLE OF MOUNTAIN ZLATIBOR**

**Abstract:** Toponyms are proper geographic names of longer historic-geographic continuation. Local population inherits them by generation, remember them and inform both descendants and population of their spatial encirclement. In science toponyms denoting concrete geographic objects are recorded and written on maps with certain spatial borders representing thus a very stable element in studying geographic area. Changes of toponyms occur in longer time, i.e. civilization epochs, and very rarely in shorter time periods, these are usually the cases of sudden change of population or changes of political-historical circumstances of a territory. However, as linked to human conscience, toponyms often get different internal spatial meanings as well as different territorial belonging, where, in dependence on causes, they get narrower or overspread as in the case of Zlatibor toponyms.

Total economic development of Zlatibor in the last more than a hundred years has caused this toponym spatially spread and got new forms. It appeared as oronym (name of relief object) and it has kept the same meaning up today, although in one period it was recorded as horonym (regional name) on maps. In the last decade it also appeared as oikonym (name of settlement)-Zlatibor, the name for ex settlement of Kraljeva Voda, later Partizanske Vode, joined with Palisad, but also as the name for wider spatial-administrative region-Zlatibor Region. At the same time, by spreading Zlatibor toponym, the toponyms of Cigota, Tornik and Murtenica are narrowed territorially, while with similar continuation of economic development it may be expected that Zlatibor toponym will overspread on the territory of Tara and Zlatar Mountains in the future, while these ones will reduce on names of their parts-peaks.

**Key words:** toponyms, Zlatibor, Cigota, Tornik, Murtenica

### **Introduction**

Term toponym originated from Greek word *tópos*, which means place and it is particularly used for names of inhabited places, but also the names of any other geographic object. Derived term toponymy denotes linguistic discipline (branch of onomastics) which studies geographic names. Toponyms denote exactly determined territory which is unique, noticeable and limited by certain natural

---

\* Geographical institute Jovan Cvijic SASA, Belgrade, gijcsanu@eunet.yu

borders. Toponyms stay very long in usage and historic-geographical memory of the local population, being transmitted from generation to generation. Changes of toponyms are very rare and they are recorded only by longer time or civilization changes so that, for example, even today some toponyms from the classical period still exist. In shorter time period changes of toponyms occur in cases of sudden population change or radical change of political-historical circumstances on some territory.

Toponyms are studied not only in toponymy but also in geography, particularly in cartographic toponymy. Various geographic maps are significant source for the study of toponyms, their origin, development, meaning, usage, spatial spreading, narrowing, as well as their disappearing. Toponyms are divided into oikonoms-names of settlements (Uzice, Cajetina), hydronyms-names of hydrographic objects (Rzav, Uvac), oronyms-names of relief objects (Cigota, Tornik), horonyms- regional names (Rujno, Ribnica), ethnonyms-ethnographic names (Stari Vlah), phytonyms-names with etymology of plants (Zlatibor, Borova glava), zoonyms-names with etymology of animals (Kozjaca, Konjoder) etc.

Zlatibor toponym is in its base phytonym, while until now it has been recorded on maps as oronym, horonym and oikonym. It is considered it got its name under white pines of golden yellow needle (*pinus silvestris variegata zlatiborica*) that used to grow on the slopes of these mountains<sup>1</sup>. According to some other versions Zlatibor got its name under wealth of pine forests that local population was cutting down and considering them as worth of gold, but also under pastures that were becoming golden yellow by autumn.

### **Economic conditions and overspreading of Zlatibor toponym**

Nowadays Zlatibor is being considered as spacious rolling plateau in western Serbia, while on maps as significant and reliable sources, only a hundred years ago this toponym related on several mountain peaks between the settlements of Mokra Gora and Uzice, scattered above inhabited settlements of Kremna from the northwestern and Cajetina from the southeastern side of the mountain. Knowing that, by the rule, toponyms are written on maps in such a way that they follow the main direction of object stretching, we may conclude here that at that time Zlatibor had southwest-northeast spreading direction (Fig.1), namely

---

<sup>1</sup> As local residents from the village of Negbin narrated, half a century ago there were four pine trees left, while up to seven years ago there was just one. In 2008 the author of this paper found only a block almost completely rotten

completely opposite in relation to the recent understanding of its spreading direction. Following this direction the peaks that then belonged to Zlatibor were the following: V. Vigor (1,042 m), Okruglica(1,037 m), Stamenica vis (1,210 m), Sisatovac (1,231 m), closer to Mokra Gora, and Gradina (968 m), Milosevac (963 m) and Veliki stit (925 m) closer to Uzice, with several smaller peaks.



Figure 1 Fragment from Cvijic's map "Geographic and Cultural Connection of Serbia with the Adriatic Sea" 1:1,500,000 from 1912.

Given fragment from Cvijic's map shows very truly the political and economic condition of this region before the Balkan wars (1912-1913) where the border with still occupied parts of Old Serbia under Turkish power could be seen on Uvace, and where because of that there were not any transportation connection between Uzice and Nova Varos. The only road communication for animal-drawn traffic of lower rank connects Uzice over Mackat up to Cajetina while further on only several villages were inscribed on that roadless area up to Mt. Murtenica, which was written on the map by the same size of letters as Zlatibor, meaning that they were considered and presented with the same significance.

Stronger need of connecting the liberated territories with the main territory of Serbia and further on with Montenegro felt after the Balkan wars, which first of all required the making of road directions and road construction. The only roads on this area were horse and pedestrian paths (the so-called smooth ways) made by caravan moving on suitable terrains which thus gained on their significance. That is why those roads began to be straightened and repaired, especially through wooded areas, by clearing forests that followed the routes of Serbian medieval roads the sections of which exist somewhere even today. Significant trade transportation developed there, immune on unfavorable natural characteristics of this region. Hilly nature and richness in stones and timber influenced unfavorably the construction of team roads as well as their slow getting through such areas which caused certain cultural isolation of this part of the territory and lagging behind 30-40 years in relation to lower, plain parts of Serbia.

The main occupation of the population on Zlatibor in the past was cattle breeding and agriculture, but throughout the whole 19<sup>th</sup> century and up to thirties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century especially characteristic trade transportation of kindling wood and tar, and partially of wooden dishes developed. As Radovan Rsumovic states, during that time “cattle-breeding products of this region had not been sold well on the market because Serbia of that time was mostly cattle-breeding country. But as agriculture began to strengthen relatively early in the plain regions of Serbia which removed cattle breeding, so except kindling wood, tar and wooden dishes, the transport caravans of Uzice were more often loaded with cattle-breeding products such as leather, wool, cheese, kajmak, smoked ham, bacon etc.” (Rsumovic et al, 1991). Above mentioned, the transport of goods of tradesmen from Uzice as well as tradesmen from wider region were gradually developing, directing their goods toward Zlatibor region, for example, wine from Aleksandrovac region or from the surroundings of Kraljevo (Fig. 2).



Figure 2 A tradesman of kindling wood, tar and wooden dishes from Zlatibor, the so-called 'Zlatibor express train'

Such condition of road network was very truly shown on most maps of those times, as it was on "New Map of Serbian Kingdoms and Neighboring Regions" 1:1,000,000 from 1914, by Stevan Boskovic which is used here as an example. Although in small scale, the most important transport roads as well as the first roads for team transport were shown on the map. At first they were built for ox, animal-drawn, and later horse-drawn vehicles, and they were connecting Uzice and Pozega over Cajetina and Ljubis with Kokin Brod (place that had been on the border before the Balkan wars) and further towards Nova Varos and

Montenegro. What is very interesting, however, is that changed orientation of Zlatibor toponym in relation to the previous Cvijic's map can be seen on this map (fig. 3). Exactly this oronym occupies northwest-southeast direction, i.e. the direction of stretching of mentioned roads for transport and team traffic, but only up to the present Ribnica Lake on the Crni Rzav River, wherefrom its great meander begins. Over the riverbed of this river, oronyms of separate relief objects of Tornik, Cigota and Murtenica were singled out and written with same significance.



Figure 3 Fragments from ‘New Map of Serbian Kingdoms and Neighboring Regions’ by Boskovic 1:1,000,000 from 1914

Changed orientation of Zlatibor oronym goes also together with the orientation of other three toponyms of Tornik, Cigota and Murtenica, and even with oronyms of Tara on northwest and Zlatibor on southeast in the extension. Now Zlatibor oronym follows the mountain range which begins with peaks of Susatovac (1,231 m), Stamenica Vis (1,210 m) and Viogor (1,281 m), beginning from Mokra Gora and proceeding with the peaks of Veliki venac (1,133), Gruda (1,142 m), Lecic vrh (1,091 m) on Tusto brdo, and ending with Kobilja glava (1,178m), Pandurica (1,043 m), Crni vrh (1,175 m) and Gradina (1,146 m) where today's settlement of Zlatibor is situated (former Kraljeva voda, then Partizanske vode). There starts especially physiognomically observed and separated geomorphologic wholeness of Mt. Cigota with three peaks of Cuker (1,359 m), Konjoder (1,337m) and Cigota (1,422 m). On the other side of Cigota massive, over the Crni Rzav River, Tornik Mountain rises with two characteristic peaks of Bandera (1,496 m) and Ravni Tornik (1,442 m). From the source of the Crni Rzav River towards southeast the mountain range of the Murtenica continues with peaks of Medvedje brdo (1,389 m), Brijac (1,480 m), Culetina (1,433 m), Karaula (1,349 m), Slovica vrh (1,339 m), Bela glava (1,339 m) and many lower peaks.

The spreading of the direction of Zlatibor toponym extension, together with change of orientation, was also recorded on maps of larger scales, but not for name of the relief object (oronym) but as the name of region (horonym). So, on the Map of Yugoslav countries 1:200,000, newspaper Zvornik from 1916, which was made during the First World War on Krf by Geographic Department and Cartographic Working Group of the Supreme Command of Serbian Army, according to our and foreign most recent data, it can be seen that rolling upper part of Zlatibor plateau was considered as region, not mountain (Fig.4). If it is known that the map was done under the supervision of Stevan Boskovic who published previously mentioned one millionth map, then this change of oronym into toponym cannot be considered as a mistake, especially since in the continuation of the regional name of Zlatibor, oronyms as Mt Cigota and Mt Murtenica were written down, by which the difference was emphasized between regional comprehension of Zlatibor area in relation to two mentioned mountains. What is interesting is that Tornik was only shown as mountain peak (peak elevation) in the area marked as Ribnica on this map.

As Rsumovic states "This spreading of the term of Zlatibor has its geographic logic: term Zlatiborac is connected with term Zlatibor, i.e. the resident of this mountain. However, it is known that on real Zlatibor, except tourist, there are not almost permanent settlements, which means that 'residents of Zlatibor' were away from its real orographic area. Consequently, Zlatibor economically



Namely, around Zlatibor a spatial area is being formed which also begins to be called Zlatibor” ...while mainly tradesmen from Zlatibor are to ‘blame for it’ (Rsumovic et al, 1991).

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1912) the first railroad came to Uzice which strongly connected Uzice with other trade centers of Serbia, accelerated the circulation of people and goods and stopped long lines of tradesmen towards Belgrade. Above this, in period 1923-1927 the reconstruction of macadam roads was done: Uzice-Cajetina-Kraljeva voda as well as Uzice-Rozdestvo-Ljubis-Kokin Brod, while trade transportation withdrew into local frames. In 1927 by putting hard macadam road Uzice-Kraljeva Voda into operation more apparent development of tourism began, the economic branch of which developed more quickly and rapidly on Zlatibor.

Except Kraljeva Voda, which got its name (King’s water) when king Aleksandar Obrenovic built a fountain on Kulasevac in 1893, on Palisad, where the first tavern was built in 1905, private houses and hotel capacities were also rapidly built in order that in 1931 they got water supply, too. These two tourist points took the priority over Ribnica where after the First World War several wooden summer cottages and a summer bathhouse were built, while in the 30’s of the last century, with road modernization Ribnica also got auto connection with Uzice. At that time the third tourist settlement also appeared in Oko, where in 1931 the commemorative fountain was built for died warriors, while Belgrade Central Hygienic Bureau built children’s summer resort with two swimming pools and showers. These settlements appeared as the most favorable places near the traffic artery but not as places of the greatest natural values<sup>2</sup>).

Slower development of road traffic in Yugoslavia generally reflected the economic development of the country and by itself the tourism of Zlatibor, while that phase lasted till the end of the Second World War. As it was established statistically, “the total length of roads with hard tracks that were built in period between two world wars was 900 km, or almost only symbolic 0.3 km on 10 km<sup>2</sup> of the state territory” (Pavicevic, 1990).

However, since after the Second World War road traffic took over the leading role in transportation of goods and passengers it came to a sudden increase of road network, especially since 1972 when the construction of highways began.

---

<sup>2</sup> “Shortly before the Second World War Zlatibor had about 700 beds, 1,300 guests and 26,000 overnights and a renown of well known mountain rest home” (Rsumovic et al, 1991)

Parallel with the construction of Bratstvo Jedinstvo Highway and Adriatic Highway, several important highway traffic arteries were built<sup>3</sup> such as road of meridian look on Belgrade-Uzice-direction over Zlatibor-Kokin Brod-Bijelo Polje-Ribarevina, which goes on Adriatic Highway. It was one of the most frequent directions in internal Yugoslav transportation. Belgrade-Bar railroad track also follows the route of this road.

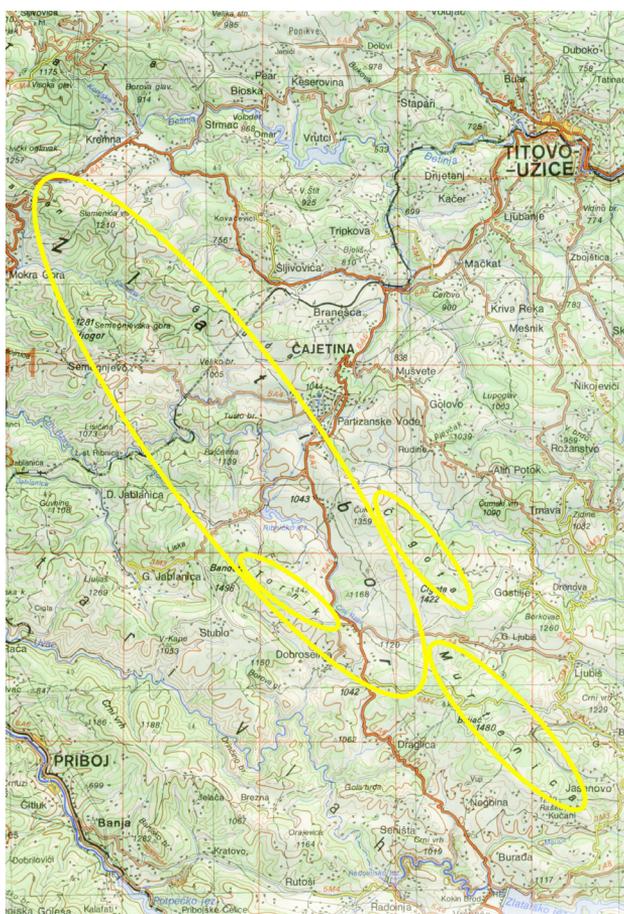


Figure 5 Fragment from topographic map 1:200,000 from 1987 where the overspreading of Zlatibor oronym to Murtenica can be seen

<sup>3</sup> At the end of 1986 the total length of categorized roads was 119,401 km, whereof 69,401 km went for hard surface roads or 58.1% of the total network.

Therefore, on the direction of this road and railroad, which connects Belgrade and Voivodina with the south Adriatic, Zlatibor toponym, which is again being written as oronym on maps, has now overspread Tornik and Cigota, omitting the Rzav River and stretching towards the Uvac River, so that it touches, i.e. overlaps the northeastern side of the Murtenica mountain range (fig. 5). By taking over and including Tornik and Cigota, these two lower mountains now appear just as parts, i.e. as mountain peaks of Zlatibor. The range of Murtenica, as Rsumovic stated, “although represents the extension of Zlatibor plateau by some geomorphologic characteristics, according to other characteristics it considerably stands out from it”. (Rsumovic et al, 1991). Olga Savic concluded similarly stating that “Murtenica and Zlatibor have become one, the highest peak of which is Brijac...” (Savic 1989).

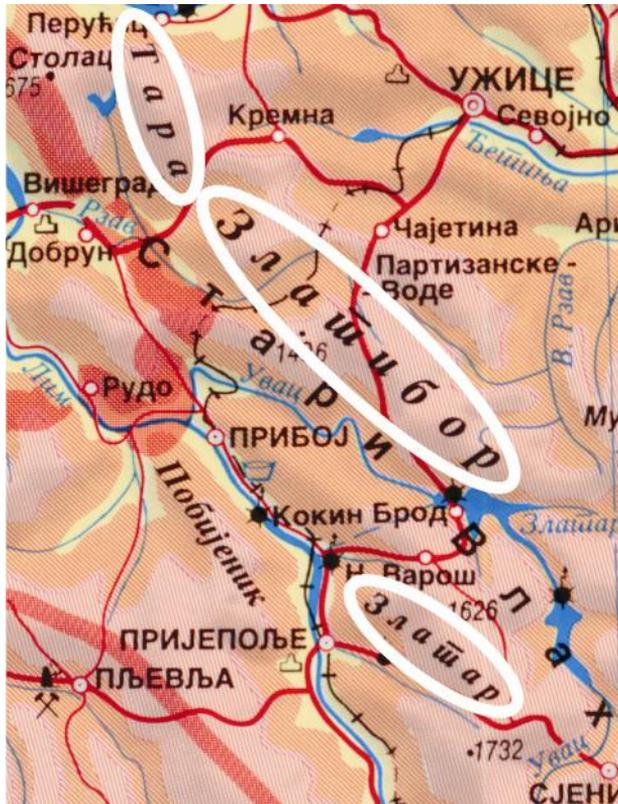


Figure 6 Fragment from the map of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 1:1,500,000 from 2000 where the overspreading of Zlatibor oronym on Murtenica can be seen

At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century mentioned “combining“ of Zlatibor and Murtenica cartographers also noticed and overspread Zlatibor toponym (oronym) on Murtenica, too. Thus Zlatibor as one of four equal toponyms at the beginning of the last century became general name of all four mountains at the end of the century especially owing to much better transportation and tourist economy in this part of Serbia (Fig. 6). The domination of this toponym influenced that at the end of the century Zlatibor oikonym was created for two joined tourist settlements of Partizanske Vode and Palisad, as well as that the whole previously named Uzice Region changed into Zlatibor Region consisting of the following municipalities: Bajina Basta, Kosjeric, Uzice, Pozega, Cajetina, Arilje, Priboj, Nova Varos, Prijepolje and Sjenica (Fig. 7).



Figure 7 Sketch of the present Zlatibor region

Therefore, it is obviously noted on maps that changed economic conditions at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the development of transportation and tourism in these areas especially, have overspread Zlatibor toponym in relation to the beginning of the century: as oronym- Zlatibor-on all mountains between Tara and Zlatar; as horonym-Zlatibor Region-on the whole Uzice Region; and oikonym is also formed-Zlatibor- for the largest tourist settlement in this region.

According to economic effects and urban development, this settlement gradually reaches Uzice, the present largest regional urban settlement, with a tendency to surpass it in the future.

If geographic prognosis starts from a series of general principles of the prognostication, while "among them the genetic principal is being emphasized as the major one, which means the developmental approach to the phenomenon, process or object" (Dinic, 1999) then it may be expected, taking the intensive tourist development on Tara and Zlatibor into consideration, that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century Zlatibor oronym will overspread these two mountains, while Zlatibor settlement will become the main regional center of Zlatibor Region, the influence of which will strengthen on and stretching towards northern Montenegro as well as towards the eastern part of the Republic of Srpska.

### **Conclusion**

As proper names of geographic objects toponyms are very stable element of geographic area research. Changes of toponyms occur in longer time, i.e. civilization epochs, excluding sudden changes of population or changes of political-historic circumstances on given territory. However, it has been noticed that in dependence on the economic development toponyms often get different internal spatial meanings as well as different territorial belonging, where almost by the rule they get overspread or narrower, as in the case of Zlatibor toponym and others nearby in western Serbia. If they are written on maps successively, then such process can also be analyzed.

In the last more than a hundred years, especially after the Balkan wars and by the liberation of Stari Vlah parts of Old Serbia and connection with Montenegro, above cattle breeding as traditional economic activity, the trade of kindling wood, tar and wooden dishes considerably developed as additional activity. That caused the first overspreading of Zlatibor oronym, from mountain hills on Mokra Gora-Uzice direction in the northwest-southwest towards Cigota, Tornik and Murtenica as neighboring mountains. By the development of team roads, later macadam roads, then railroad tracks and hard surface roads, together with considerable change of tourist activities, at one period Zlatibor oronym was recorded on maps as horonym (regional name), gradually including Cigota and Tornik oronyms, and also Murtenica at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In the last decade of the last century Zlatibor toponym also appeared as the name for the settlement which originated by linking up of two tourist settlements of Kraljeva Voda, later Partizanske Vode and Palisad, but also as the name for

wider spatially-administrative region-Zlatibor Region-which includes the following municipalities: Bajina Basta, Kosijerac, Uzice, Pozega, Cajetina, Arilje, Priboj, Nova Varos, Prijepolje and Sjenica.

### Reference

Цвијић Ј. (1912): Geographische und kulturarelle Zusammenhänge Serbiens mit dem Adriatischen Meere. Entworfen von Prof. Dr. Jovan Cvijić; Leitung: Prof. Paul Langhans, 1:1.500.000. Gotha: Justus Perthes 1912. (карта) *Гласник С.Г.Д, св. 2*. Српско географско друштво, Београд.

Бошковић С. (1914): Нова карта српских Краљевина и суседних области, 1:1.000.000. Картографска Радионица Географског Одељења Гл. Ћ-штаба, Београд.

Ршумовић Р, Милојевић М, Лазаревић М. (1991): Златибор, географска студија. Српска академија наука и уметности, Посебна издања, књ. DCVII, Одељење друштвених наука, књ. 100. Београд.

Карта југословенских земаља 1:200.000 – Зворник (1916): Географско Одељење и Картографска радионица Врх. Команде по најновијим нашим и страним подацима, Крф.

Топографска карта 1:200.000 – Титово Ужице (1987): Војногеографски институт, Београд.

Павићевић М. (1990): Саобраћајна географија Југославије. Научна књига, Београд.

Савић О. (1989): Географске одлике Ужичког подручја. Историја Титовог Ужица, Народни музеј, Титово Ужице и Историјски институт САНУ, Београд.

Савезна Република Југославија 1:1.500.00 (карта) (2000): Војногеографски институт, Београд.

Динић Ј. (1999): Економска географија. Универзитет у Београду, Економски факултет, Београд.