Classical Place Names in the United States: An Updated, Open-Data Based Approach to a Cultural Phenomenon and Its Pitfalls

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Der classical canon *gilt als eines der zentralen Elemente der Identitätsbildung der frühen USA. Einer der Wege, auf denen sich dieser Bezug auf die griechisch-römische Antike äußerte, war die Vergabe von Ortsnamen im Zuge der Expansion aus den ursprünglichen britischen Kolonien heraus. Der Artikel präsentiert die ersten Stufen einer aktualisierten, GIS-basierten Studie zur Analyse dieses Phänomens, die auf frei verfügbaren Open Data aufbaut und Vergleiche mit einer früheren Arbeit aus den 1960er Jahren ermöglicht. Analysen des Verhältnisses zur biblisch-christlichen Tradition, zwischen Kolonialzeit und Unabhängigkeit sowie einzelner prägnanter Fallbeispiele werden vorgestellt.*

Classics in the U.S. – A Hallmark of Americana?

The classicist heritage of the English-speaking world, in particular the United States of America, has produced a long and exhaustive bibliography[1]. Many authors have noted this extraordinary relevance of Greek and Roman culture in a variety of aspects of the world's self-described 'oldest democracy' and at the same time one of the youngest national identities[2]. Naturally, with prominent historic sites such as *Philadelphia*, *Cincinnati, St Augustine* and *Syracuse*, and the long list of mining towns named *Eureka*, the naming of settlements after classical sites, persons or languages has its own history of topological research as well, albeit a much shorter one. Attempts at exhaustive studies of the issue have been comparatively rare in the past, with an early example by E. Sage being almost 100 years old, but the most in-depth one probably being that by W. Zelinsky, which is well over 50 years old by now and was limited to the technology of its time[3]. Today, the internet and large-scale GIS (geographic information systems) offer capabilities to compile, map and compute all sorts of historical spatial data[4]. The present study is thus an actualisation of Zelinsky's original work over half a century later, and based on two different open-data mapping projects done by the author in largely manual work. The goal will be to outline the ways in which classicist education inspired the naming conventions of the United States, the categories of names, to identify areas of 'heavy' or 'light' classicism, and draw attention to some case studies. Ultimately, the study is a proposal of a full-scale project to be undertaken in the future with much more rigour and technical support.

1 e.g. Downs 1944; Köster 1990; Winterer 2002; 2007; Lemak 2008; Hagerman 2013; Barnard 2018; Bloxham 2018; with a new activist twist recently Flewellen et al. 2021.

2 e.g. Sage 1929; Downs 1944; Zelinsky 1967; 1983; Lemak 2008.

3 Sage 1929. Zelinsky 1967 was cited as exhaustive e.g. by Leighly 1978, who worked with the same methodological restrictions. The earlier attempt by Sage relied on official railroad guides and road maps.

4 See Payne 2000; 2001.

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Methods and Materials

As the foundation, the *National Geographic Names Data Base* of the official *Geographic Names Information System* (GNIS) of the *United States Geological Survey* (USGS) was used, limited to their pre-filtered category of *Populated Places*[5]. The GNIS was introduced in cooperation with the *U.S. Board on Geographic Names* to create a unified and standardised database of toponyms, replacing older manual, independent lists (such as post offices or census data[6]) for easier accessibility, administration, and research[7]. The USBGN data acquisition consisted of two steps: first, the compilation of all toponyms on the official 1:24,000 USGS maps of individual areas, then a state-by-state collection of local knowledge and records[8]. The total number of localities included reaches well over two million, but in several categories and including Puerto Rico and other U.S. territories; for the scope of the present study, the aforementioned limitation of *Populated Places* in the U.S. states and D.C. was put in place. The GNIS also includes other things such as historic schools and natural features. A *Populated Place* for the purpose of the GNIS was defined as a "place or area with clustered or scattered buildings and a permanent human population"[9]. Each data point in the downloadable files includes a unique Feature ID and Name, the State's Name and internal Number ID, County Name and ID, geographical location coordinates[10], (often) Elevation, the original Map it was taken from, and Date of Entry/Edit.

An earlier part-time project followed similar guidelines and goals, but was based on freely available information about places listed on Wikipedia and Open Street Map, combing through the list of counties one state after another. The GNIS database was a notable improvement over this original process in order to put it on a scientifically viable standing. The present project used both text-based analysis and visualisation as well as a GIS[11]. GNIS information was downloaded in individual state files (text format), filtered for feature class *Populated Place*, and then exported into a layer shapefile in QuantumGIS. The associated table could then be edited again in Excel. Common original spelling 'errors' (such as *Capital Hill*, *Baccus*, *Lympus*, or possibly *Yreka*[12]) necessitated a manual process. The cleaned files would be re-loaded into the GIS and mapped, after the table-based statistical analysis was performed, as it proved to be more apt to visualise certain aspects. Casting a very wide and intentionally generous net at this first stage which the paper represents, the resulting reduction[13] was according to the following criteria based on Zelinsky[14], arranged in order of decreasing relevance or reliability:

5 Available for download at: <https://www.usgs.gov/u.s.-board-on-geographic-names/download-gnis-data>. For a documentation of the database and data acquisition 1968–2012, cf. USGS 1987; Payne 1995; Youst – Carswell 2009. The same database is at the heart of other case studies such as Fuchs 2015a; Léonard – Díez González 2018.

6 As used by Zelinsky 1967. He manually scoured 19 post office lists beginning from 1800 and census tables from 1790 to 1960, as well as some local maps. Considered were all "counties, minor civil divisions of every description, all agglomerations of dwellings from the smallest hamlet to the major metropolis, and post offices. […] Thereby excluded […] all natural features, streets, highways, railways, city neighborhoods and subdivisions, uninhabited railroad stations, schools, mills, mines, plantations, and other miscellaneous items" (467).

7 Payne 1995; 2000; 2001.

8 USGS 1998.

9 USGS 1987; Youst – Carswell 2009.

10 The coordinates come both in traditional degrees, as well as in the computable decimal system, with NAD 1983 being used by the USGS. The spreadsheet files were exported as comma separated value files (CSV) to be reimported into QGIS and mapped according to the reference system.

11 Made in QGIS 3.16.14 *Hanover* stable release. For the state outlines, State Plane Zones (https://catalog.data.gov/dataset/united-states-stateplane-zones-nad83) were used as the basis.

12 As a cautionary tale, it should be noted here that Gannett 1905 offers two alternative explanations for the name, 1) "a transposition of the letters in 'bakery'" and 2) a native tribe.

13 A full list of individual roots, all sorted into overarching categories, can be found in the appendix.

14 Zelinsky opted for a somewhat simpler selection with "all those names that are directly derived from the world of ancient Greece and Rome, that is, the place-names, names of historical or mythological personages, and other

1. **Ancient toponyms.** Of course, those direct imports come with their issues, the most pertinent being that a city such as *Rome*[15] obviously went on to thrive until today. Included in the list were thus cities and places of outstanding historical importance in the ancient time period[16], since without further information on the origin of the name in modern times, it was assumed *a priori* that the ancient model was referenced. A later screening process could then filter out all the modern references from those. A special case here is *Alexandria*, all instances of which (as well as other names based on Alexander, see below) were included in the first filtering, although it is well known that many do not refer to the ancient cities or the original Alexander. Where a clear difference between ancient and modern spelling exists, only cases of the original ancient name were considered[17]. Additionally, place names of Hebrew/Jewish and Christian relevance[18] were included, since in many cases it is not clear in the first place whether the classicist or the Christian perspective was the deciding factor – such as in the case of *Ephesus*, *Tarsus, Damascus* or *Corinth* (and of course *Rome* itself), major centres of early Christianity mentioned in the Bible. Regions were usually included when the spelling was ancient or a reference to historical times seemed likely, although the unbroken longevity of those names poses challenges[19].
2. **Names referring to mythology, history, etc.** Again, classical and Hebrew-Christian names have been considered equally in the first iteration. Here we find all sorts of cases from relatively straightforward things like *Achilles*, *Academy*, *Agricola*, *Brutus*, *Ceres*, *Colon*, *Mars*, *Ulysses*, *Vesta* or *Cincinnatus* to the much more confusing field of personal names which are still in use today in their original form. Here, *Alexander* is the most prominent case, with many place names in the U.S. deriving from modern individuals which were named after classical or early Christian persons. Thus, *Alexandria*, *Augusta*, *Horace*, *Marcus*, *Virgil*, etc. were included, but also prominent Hebrew and Christian names of Biblical tradition[20]. A case such as George, which is derived from Greek, was too broad of a category, and is only listed as *Saint George* or as *Georgia* because it fits criterion 1) or 3) instead.
3. **Modern toponyms derived from Latin or Greek**. This is a very loose and broad category with ample room for error and personal judgment. It includes places such as the very common *Eureka*, or telling names such as *Akron*, *Acme*, *Apex*, *Climax*, *Lux-*

elements in the classical vocabulary, and those names that are historically derived from the first group" (Zelinsky 1967, 468). Sage (1929)'s criteria were similarly broad and admittedly subjective, excluding the roots 'city', 'port', 'ville', 'mons/mont', 'polis', 'chester', all "names with Latin endings [...] like Astoria", "words like Bellevue or Belvidere, in the belief that their French and Italian immediate origins are of more significance" (261–263).

15 All examples in the text and in the footnotes are given as a root form or original form, with possible alterations and combinations meant thereby, e.g. *Romantown*, *Rome City*, *New Rome*, *Rome Township*, etc.

16 Antioch(ia), Athens, Carthage, Corinth, Delphi, Ephesus, Laconia, Lydia, Milo, Myra, Olympia, Rhodes, Rome, Salona, Sardis, Smyrna, Sparta, Syracuse, Troy, Tyre, Utica, etc.

17 e.g. Lucca, Naples, Ravenna, Vienna or Verona were assumed to be modern references or to refer to the Middle Ages or Renaissance period, since for instance Lutetia or Londinium never occur, but Paris and London obviously do so a lot. Rarely, a *Venetia* instead of a Venice occurs. Cf. Sage 1929, 262 on his approach to the same problem, counting all "those whose names in their modern forms show their descent from classical form" (262).

18 e.g. Bethel, Bethesda, Bethlehem, Beulah; see appendix.

19 e.g. Israel, Persia or Egypt might well allude to ancient empires, but in English many similar names commonly used to refer to ancient times have remained unchanged over the centuries. For fringe cases such as *Franconia* or *Vandalia*, antiquity was permitted, but if a region or tribe rose to prominence only later, like Arabia or Bavaria, it was not (for that reason, *Batavia*, *Germania* and *Caledonia* were included, Scotia not). As with *Egypt*, other peripheral names have been included as well, such as those derived from Levantine or Mesopotamian origins, since they are hard to separate from Graeco-Roman or Christian contexts anyway, e.g. *Babylon*.

20 In order to avoid total randomness, it was limited to the Evangelists (Mark, Luke, John, Matthew), and figures from the Bible and early Christian history, see appendix – in their English as well as Spanish, French, etc. versions.

ville, *Marathon*, *Philadelphia* or *Copperopolis*, but also variations of modern names or toponyms with what we can call a 'classicist touch', such as *Urbana*, *Centralia*, *Americus*, *Georgia*, *Gibsonia*, *Ursina*, *Virginia, Waltonia* or other Latinised and Greekified versions[21]. It is at the same time the most fascinating group with the most interesting individual cases. Here, the biggest source of error is undoubtedly the interference of Romance languages, which can result in names identical to Latin ones (especially Spanish). Perhaps the most prominent example is the *Vista* group. This word is one of the many in the English language which presents a more 'sophisticated' synonym for another, in this case 'view' (similar to 'prospect'). On its own and in certain combinations (*Mountain Vista*, *Altavista*) it might be considered to be Latin and was originally counted in the dataset[22], but more often than not it is quite clear that it is derived from Spanish (for instance, the very common *Buena Vista*) or the mediating Italian (e.g., *Bellavista*). On top, 'vista' is a very common term in modern English as well. Should every instance of it then be discounted as a likely Spanish/Italian derivative? The same is true for another big group. 'Colony' is too wide a term in the English language to really be considered, and many modern *Colonias* are Latino-settled shanty towns on the Mexican border. As an indirect reflection of the naming of the modern phenomenon after the ancient term, all occurrences of any names referring to colonisation have been counted at first, except for those recent colonias. As another example, many other modern English words are obviously Latin or Greek in origin, and it is a tough choice where to draw the line here: should *Concord* be counted in but *Harmony* not, or both? Ultimately, it was decided to leave in a set of such toponyms which was closely related to Latin or Greek in the first filtering process[23]. A special case are botanical, biological or geographical names which are not necessarily unheard of in English, but whose modern equivalents would be expected to be much more common: for instance, *Salix* instead of *Willow* or *Quercus* instead of the very common *Oak*.

4. **Possible errors.** The scope of the study does not allow for a detailed research of the intention behind a toponym in all cases (in many, it is arguably lost to time anyway, see the example of *Marathon*, FL[24]). There are names or forms in other languages which might give the illusion of a Latin or Greek word, especially verbs[25]. On top, there were

21 Rejected outright were all references to Columbus, Columbia, etc. for the obvious connection.

22 While not classical Latin form, it is recorded since the 17th or 18th century as a derivate of *vidēō* in etymological dictionaries through vulgar Latin and then Italian, e.g. Lemon 1783, 558. Sage 1929 includes it in the same category as other "made to pleasure but pleasing names, partly Latin, partly intended to be or to seem Latin", along with the derivatives of 'terra', 'monte', 'hypoluxo' and the otherwise unknown Homosassa, FL.

23 By and large, and true to the very generous approach of the first filtering process, these were Academy, Amity, Arbor, Bovine, Capitol, Concord, Congress, Cornucopia, Democrat, Echo, Equality, Harmony, Independence, Inferior, Legate, Liberty, Lithia, Lotus, Pluvius, Prospect, Providence, Republic(an), Senate, Silvania/Sylvania, Superior, Tranquility, Vista, Zenith (see appendix). This is not just mere padding of the dataset: Research undertaken by Pacheco-Franco – Calle-Martín 2020 and Rodriguez-Puente 2020 shows that especially during the development of early modern English, Latin (or indirectly Romance) influences found their way first into written, then oral language through a renewed conscious "adoption of a more learned and literate style" (R.-P. 2020) from the 16th to 18th centuries. There is a decision in choosing *Arbor* over Wood, and *honor* over honour – the latter of particular relevance for the differences of American English as it distanced itself from British English in a nationalist effort in the late 18th and early 19th century. We can thus argue in favour of a certain relevance of 'Latinised' forms for our study. Likewise, Sage 1929, 268 also counted items such as Concord, and even Florence.

24 Although generally referring to the same historical event, the construction of the Florida Keys railway line, various local stories are given as to how the name arose, s. Wilkinson 2022. Cf. the name history of *Phoenixville*, which was christened so after being rebuilt in the wake of a devastating fire, Sage 1929, 269.

25 e.g. *Disco* (Latin ‚I learn') is about as common as Cisco or Frisco, but the latter have no such connection and are modern names or adapted native terms. In fact, occurrences of Frisco all seem to be related to the nickname of the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway in some way or the other, and the name is coincidentally rejected as a nonsense

> some instances of *Seven Hills*, which might well be a reference to the Eternal City, but just as much fit into the group of *Seven Somethings* (Lakes, Oaks, etc.) – then again, it can be argued that *Seven* occurs far more often than any other number in toponyms, which might mean that founders went out of their way to pull attention to a number of high symbolical importance for classical as well as Christian sources[26].

After the first iteration of a sweeping selection process, cleaning and filtering was applied: for example, despite the Biblical person, all *Jamestown* references and derivates were eliminated due to their obvious colonial connection, as well as *Maryland* and *Petersburg*, references to the presidents Adams and Andrews, derivates and all names that were Biblical, but in obvious combinations referring to real individuals (which was not done for classical names, which had a somewhat less deeply entrenched naming history in western Europe). All place names in the 51 lists were also brought into a form that allowed them to be listed in alphabetical order according to the relevant toponymic element. A second process was then applied by which all toponyms were sorted into most likely operative roots in a common form[27], at which time some erroneous items were also removed, including references to 'colony', which were kept in the first round. At the same time, a categorisation into B-Biblical/Christian, C-classical and U-unclear[28], as well as a primary (P) or secondary (S) relevance[29] and a rough categorisation of the origin[30] were introduced, leaving ample room for error which could only be mitigated by further studies into the individual places' history.

Problems

With the procedures and definitions described above, several further issues beyond vague selection criteria become apparent immediately. First, every database is limited by the sources it uses, in this case the maps and local records. U.S. law determines that only GNIS toponyms be fit for use in governmental capacities[31]. Variant spellings or names may exist, but the large field of informal names, technically 'incorrect' names used in everyday parlance, etc. remains[32]. It has also been shown in the past that the database is faulty, containing references to insignificant localities which have never been permanently settled, or place names which have no meaning whatsoever

word by locals anyway, Garling 2013. It is likewise hard or impossible to determine the true origin of double-meanings, such as Paris, from the current viewing distance. There is also the small, but historically significant parish of Castor in Cambridgeshire, UK – the fact that it is not too far from the English fishing village of Boston and one of the areas the Pilgrims emigrated from should raise concerns over possible confusion with the mythical hero.

26 cf. Hoffmann forthcoming.

27 e.g. "Isabella" into "Elizabeth", "Concord" into "Concordia", etc. Forms like *Astoria* or *Wilsonia* were kept in under the substitute 'root' "Latinisation" for statistical purposes, the latter including rare occurrences of spelling of otherwise inconspicuous words in a Greek style, e.g. *Almyra* from Elmira (see below), analogous to the notion of German *Baiern* being spelled *Bayern* since Ludwig I (1825). The roots and their meaning were identified with the help of the Lewis – Short Latin dictionary and the Liddell – Scott – Jones Greek dictionary, as well as Gannett 1905 and other toponymic works on occasion, such as Kenny 1945; Overman 1958.

28 "X" was used for Latinate forms.

29 This was by necessity subjective, but a reasonable approach to Zelinsky's original criteria; cf. also Sage 1929. For instance, all *Alexandrias*, as well as the Latinate forms of modern names, were sorted into the secondary category to be able to exclude them in the future from the dataset to allow more of a comparison to his set. Uncertainties were also labelled (S). This categorisation has not been considered in this study yet, however.

30 In general, those were "Name" (of an ancient person or mythological figure), "Place" (including cities, provinces, regions, and natural features), "Item" (anything related to ancient culture like objects, traditions, institutions, animals, and the like), "Lang(uage)" (straightforward imports from Latin or Greek, or derivates of the former). The selection is obviously at odds with both Sage and Zelinsky.

31 USBGN 2016, 9 f.

32 cf. the similar issue of scale: "The GNIS names do not differentiate between various type [sic] of populated places. A subdivision having one inhabitant is as significant as a major metropolitan center such as New York City", Heard 1986, 12.

anymore to the locals. The way in which the original map and census data was compiled before entering the GNIS could also distort the results based on what criteria the cartographers of the area have followed[33]. On top, the database does not correspond to other maps such as postal codes or areas, despite the standardisation efforts. As only the GNIS category of *Populated Place* was included, classical place names of natural features are also not necessarily represented, although many will have lent their name to the nearest town. To further exacerbate issues with possible spatial analyses, a not insignificant number of database entries come without or with faulty coordinates, which result in them being mapped wildly out of place when imported into a GIS. Fortunately, most of those faulty datasets did not pertain to populated places to begin with.

Some issues with the datasets have already been addressed, but bear repeating. Most importantly, there are major discrepancies between GNIS and the open source Wiki of the precursor map, with the latter presumably incomplete due to lacking standards and an inconsistent listing protocol, and the former not including some interesting cases, such as many ghost towns (especially in the mining areas west of the Mississippi)[34], and the contributors of the open source project probably not always following dry USGS protocol, but rather living practice to an extent[35]. Other problems with the data have also been noted, but as those concern 'fake places' in the sense of localities which should not have been counted as populated by the USGS for the GNIS, they are of no concern for the integrity of the dataset. After all, they were identified and named as unique places at some point in time[36]. The GNIS is not always up to date, or does not reflect the realities on the ground. Furthermore, as a limitation of the file provided by the USGS, there is no population or historical information included, which can sometimes be found online and help excluding or confirming a specific feature – if one went about to exclude non-classical *Alexandrias*, for instance, one would find first clues to name patrons there. Otherwise, barring the painstaking research of local archives all over the U.S., local history websites are the closest to reliable information we can get to, and this is true to the open data approach of the title. Local tradition, presented in whichever way, should not be discounted as a research tool even if it is but a sort of topological folklore[37].

Other problems in data acquisition already worried Zelinsky. Apart from limited access to machines, definition and selection posed the same challenges to him: there was then and is now no complete etymological dictionary referencing a toponym's (intended) meaning, there is often no information on the founder's or mapmaker's intent, and no clarity about "their own motives, […] subconscious or inarticulate feelings"[38]. The author of the 1967 study was much more rigorous in excluding "scientific, technical, or other terms to be standard English."[39] He would also

33 For the process, see the works of Payne and USGS cited. See also n. 35.

34 The suffix 'historical' exists in the data, but it seems not to cover all former settlements. For example, Sage 1929, 267 discusses the towns of *Tuque*, MT, *Quod*, KY, *Quid Nunc*, AL, *Noxapater*, MS, and *Contra*, VA, all of which do not appear in the GNIS database.

35 This might also be influenced by shifts in local knowledge and pronunciation: *Renovo*, PA was originally named so after the local railroad wagon repair yard along the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad, but the original pronunciation (and thus connection) was lost by the early 20th century, Sage 1929, 269. As a particularly egregious example, there was only one *Mount Pisgah* in the GNIS dataset, but Wikipedia names no less than 20 towns in the U.S. named after the Hebrew for 'summit' or an alternative name of Mt Nebo.

36 The date range of the printed maps used for the database as indicated in the files is quite wide.

37 e.g. Garling 2013; Wilkinson 2022. Cf. Gannett 1905 for a general source, which should also exhibit the limitations of studies on such a scale.

38 Zelinsky 1967, 469; herein, Gannett 1905 as well as publicly available historical information was consulted.

39 As examples, he gives 'zenith', 'delta', 'zephyr', 'lithium', 'campus', 'zodiac' and "botanical names of classical coinage now in common use", as well as all names "alluding to contemporary or relatively recent individuals", leading to the exclusion of *Alexandria*, *Augusta*, *Eugene*, *Ulysses*, etc. I have already commented on the selection of 'quercus' vs. 'oak' , etc., but I would argue that for instance delta (referring to the geographical feature in his case) qualifies as classicist as the term's usage is largely a modern reception (Hoffmann forthcoming). By the same reasoning, the survival and reflection of a name such as Ulysses can be considered meaningful in itself, no matter

refrain from including any derivative of a Greek, Latin or Biblical name in modern circulation. I do not aim for such rigorousness at this stage, but will limit selection to 'original' name variants (i.e. those where the name is preserved and also not clearly part of a modern individual's name).

One major problem to Zelinsky, although thought to be of little actual importance to the overall aim of my study, was the existence of heritage lines, i.e. names which have a classical meaning, but got transplanted (usually west) by emigrants moving on from the original place (as likely happened with some of the *Philadelphias* and *Cincinnatis*), producing multiples of the same. Similar to this, and a more pressing issue for statistical analysis, are clusters going back to the same original name. For instance, a town called *Corinth* would really increase its prominence on the map by being divided into *East Corinth*, *West Corinth*, *South Corinth* and a neighbouring *Corinth Hills* and *Corinth Trailer Park*. To delete those, it would be necessary to identify clusters of similar names closely packed (in this case, all features including 'Corinth' in their name located 10 km or so to another such feature), and then going in and deleting all but the original. A place name like *Jamestown*, *Petersburg* or *Virginia* in the interior will most likely be linked to the historic settlements on the East Coast, but could still refer to the apostles or another origin.

As workarounds to those issues, all clear references to modern individuals (i.e. toponyms including last names) and those with direct colonial heritage (*Jamestown*, *Maryland*, *Petersburg*, etc.) were filtered out. Clusters were broken up by limiting toponyms to one case per county (e.g. one *Corinth*), a spreadsheet-based approximation to a true spatial analysis, whose exactness was deemed sufficient for the results aimed for herein.

Separation of a classical (i.e. Graeco-Roman) and a Christian tradition has been avoided for the most part, because it is in no way straightforward. It is probably best to view them as a Venn diagram, with one circle including firmly Hebrew or uniquely Christian names (think Mary, Joshua, Solomon, San Juan, Bethesda), one containing classical names (Achilles, Virgil, Eureka, Caesar, Acropolis), and one intermediate category (Corinth[40], Tarsus, Constantine, Jerusalem, Babylon, Judaea). The division is always an arbitrary one to an extent, unless one would follow pure linguistic criteria (Hebrew/Aramaic vs. Greek/Latin). Just take 'cross' as an example: the original context is clearly Roman[41]. There are also many more *Romes* than *Athens* in the U.S.[42] – is this the result of a greater love for the Roman empire or of the cities' relative importance due to the additional Christian context?

False Positives

The prevalence of Latinate forms (see case studies) is an issue that impedes proper statistical analysis of classical names to no small extent. In addition to that, the influence of Romance languages, particularly Spanish in the Southwest, creates interferences[43]. Thirdly, there is an issue of classical

whether a town was named after the original Greek traveller or after Ulysses S. Grant – especially as the name is attested since the end of the 18th century, cf. n.63. See also Sage 1929, 266 on his thoughts about ancient personal names.

40 Cf. Leighly 1978, 242 on this and other difficulties with biblically relevant names.

41 Likewise, Sage 1929, 267 points out that 'Saint' "is of course ultimately of Latin origin."

42 Almost 50% more (41 to 31 counted). Sage 1929, 268, observes that there are no Greek names west of the Mississippi, but contrarily, classical place names in sparsely dotted New England are majority Greek.

43 Notably, the roots 'altus/alto', 'bos/bovina', 'corona', 'mons/monte', etc. Some of those, like 'villa', have been excluded completely on the grounds that the term has so many meanings in so many languages, while the aforementioned were given consideration.

sounding words that were just made up, in either an attempt to 'standardise' native or foreign place names[44] or as an expression of the same classical fad Zelinsky identified (see below)[45]. Overall, the generosity of the initial selection will have produced many items which have no connection to antiquity at all, and more importantly will not have struck their namers as being connected[46]. Intent can thus be ruled out for a great number of these cases, leaving us with a very loose definition of relevancy. This, however, does not have to be seen as a weakness of the study: where Zelinsky, with all his caution, was out to look for clear signs of classical education and its relevance, a wider network of diffusely classically meaningful names, whose etymological and historical roots might have been forgotten, is a demonstration of the overall influence of this period of European history on early modern society in the United States. Yet, older toponymic works might shed light on some questionable items[47]. In particular, there were a set of names which are legitimate Latin words, but whose ancient connections seems dubious to me, although they were included: these being the likes of 'hero', 'leo', 'lex', 'rex' and 'Seneca'. While many of those have been included (see appendix), 'Paris' as a root for instance has been mostly rejected due to the strong suspicion that it most likely never goes back to the myth, but to the modern city. It was only counted once to at least appear as a possibility in the list of name roots.

The role of Latin in the formation of the modern English language, particularly its American variant, has been proven to have been a conscious choice on many occasions[48]. For this reason, some conventions of naming places are hard to separate out. A particularly pertinent case study is that of the *-ia* suffix. It is obviously derived from Latin and Greek endings and is referred to as an element used in the creation of "poetic toponyms" in which names and words were, according

44 *Mitrofania*, AK, e.g., is a Latinisation going by the suffix, but based on Russian Mitrofan, which itself is just the ancient Greek name Metrophanes. *Radum*, CA is likely a rendering of Radom, Poland (see Gannett 1905, 257 for Radom, IL). There are also cases of native vocabulary being Latinised, e.g. *Agamenticus* and *Seboeis*, ME, *Mianus*, CT, or *Anacostia*, D.C. (Gannett 1905, 17. 25. 207. 279), probably *Cummaquid*, MA, or the entire roster of toponyms based on the Seneca people. Gannett 1905, 24 further claims for instance *Amo* (CO, IN, MN) to be "an Indian word for 'bee'", and *Arcata* (CA) a "sunny spot" (27). I also suspect this to be the case for *Sumdum*, AK, which appears to be what people might have considered a 'proper' rendering of a native Tlingit onomatopoetic toponym stemming from glacial calving sounds, as it appears as Soundon in early governmental sources as well (https://alaska.guide/Glacier/Sumdum-Glacier, 06/01/23). *Avoca* is difficult as well, as it is a legitimate Latin form that makes sense in the context of a settlement or colonisation movement, but is more immediately a reference to the poem *Sweet Vale of Avoca* by Thomas Moore (1779–1852; Gannett 1905, 33. Since the conjugated *Avocet* exists as well, I suspect the name to be an active element rather than just the reference). Examples of cases that could be excluded were Artex, AR, which is named similar to the neighbouring Texarkana, on the border between the two states, Arlatex on the AR-LA-TX border or Bauxippi, AR, named as a combination of the local bauxite company and the Mississippi river (<https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/bauxippi-crittenden-county-16251/>, 06/01/23).

45 For instance *Sedona*, AZ is named after a woman whose Pennsylvania Dutch mother claimed to have made up the name herself according to local historians: <https://www.debnairrealestate.com/blog/what-is-the-meaning-of-the-name-sedona> (06/01/23). The same origin is shared by *Almyra*, AR (<https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/almyra-arkansas-county-6345/>, 06/01/23), probably a 'dignified' variant spelling of either Spanish Elmira or an Arabic name. Sage also discusses *Taurus*, British Columbia, which was named as "a politer substitute" for the local Bull Creek. Comparably, *Attala*, Mississippi is named after a fictional native woman from a romance novel, Gannett 1905, 32. Cf. also *Medora*, *Metamora* etc., which seem to be combinations of similar sounding Latin words as approximations to native names or were just supposed to sound educated (cf. *Sedalia*).

46 *Croton* was counted in the study, despite Gannett 1905, 96 giving the origin as a native chief "Kenoten, Knoton, or Noton, meaning 'the wind'". A local history source (<https://www.crotonfriendsofhistory.org/croton-in-the-1850s>, 07/01/23) explains it as a Dutch rendering of a local native term for a swift current, which I find different enough from Gannett's explanation and likely enough to propose it to be a deliberate approximation to the ancient colony of Kroton, following the lines of Sage's thinking. Groton, on the other hand, is convincingly explained by Gannett as the English town, as it exclusively appears in the New England area that was settled by English migrants first, cf, Leighly 1978.

47 See Gannett 1905; Kenny 1945.

48 Zelinsky 1983, 2, incl. n. 4 on the "classical syndrome in American thought and behavior".

to "the popularity of Latinate names […] suffixed in a standard toponymic fashion"[49]. From this, we get the *Alexandrias*, *Astorias*, *Fredonias*, *Gibsonias*, *Virginias* and so on, a subset of what has been called "anthroponymic astionyms"[50] elsewhere. These have been counted in the original dataset as expressions of a general proclivity towards Latin.

False Negatives

The multiple iterations of the filtering process during research might have helped greatly to reduce the occurrence of false negatives, i.e. toponyms that were overlooked. This is a subjective and vague issue. It is hoped that the approach consisting of a very generous first screening diminished this problem. However, what was lost is lost. The same occurred to Zelinsky, who delivered his own estimations of how many places he might have overlooked[51]. Furthermore, Gannett reveals many cases of Latin(ate) amendments or renderings of native names and words, which do seem too alien to be picked up upon on a glance when looking for classical place names, but should be considered in the spirit of a study of the general influence of classical education. Since capturing all of those occurrences would necessitate an approach turned around 180 degrees by beginning in works such as Gannett's, certainly not all of those cases were found[52].

While not a false negative because it would have been counted in some way no matter what, *Gallipolis*, OH serves as a good example of the derivative and subconscious nature of classical education in the late 18th or 19th century. Graced with a post-office of that name in 1794, the town does not have any relation to any Kallipolis (e.g. Gelibolu on the Propontis), but is a modern neologism based on the original French settler group. The imperfect combination of the Latin ethnonym and the Greek suffix is rather typical[53].

Results

Zelinsky came to six noteworthy general conclusions in his work, which we will summarise here as nothing is added or contradicted by our findings:

1. While the spatial distribution corresponds well with the overall pattern of settlement density, with a steep drop in density west of the Mississippi, there emerges a "'Classical Belt', occupying parts of the Northeastern and North Central states and extending west-southwest from central New York to central Kansas"[54] (**fig. 1. 2; tab. 1. 2**).
2. Occurrence of classical names can be divided into five distinct periods: first, the colonial era with little to no importance of classical toponyms, second the immediate

49 Baldwin – Grimaud 1992, 155, particularly focusing on the prevalence of Columbia in comparison with Columbus. The authors further note the attraction of a feminine ending within the general popularity of country or city personifications of the time of the American and French revolutions.

50 Garagulya et al. 2013. As an example, *Sedalia* follows the rule even though the exact origin of the root is unknown. Two independent seeds, in West Virginia and in Missouri, trace it back to a female name, likely Sarah, or a nickname, with one source stating that at least in one case the local population campaigned for a change from Sedville to *Sedalia* because -ville was perceived as unglamourous and pedestrian, and a "euphony" was sought after, also moving it closer to a plausible Latin root 'sedilia': Enc. Miss. 1901; Kenny 1945, 561. I suspect similar for *Aestaca*, California, likely from Spanish Estaca (rod), with a possible reference to 'aes' or 'aer'. Gannett also reported *Tuscola* as "said to refer to 'level place'" rather than Tusculum.

51 Zelinsky 1967, 474 and n. 25 f.

52 e.g. *Arenac*, MI from native *auke* and Latin *arena*, Gannett 1905, 28.

53 Overman 1958, 49; cf. Sage 1929, 266, on the new coinage of place names ending in -polis: "No purist could find fault with Demopolis, Ala., Cosmopolis, Wash., or even with Thermopolis, Wyo.; he might be shocked by Gallipolis, O., and Indianapolis, Ind.; his resentment at Coraopolis, Pa., would be justified, and his feelings at encountering Opolis might be imagined. And this town is found in that classical stronghold Kansas!"

54 Zelinsky 1967, 478. See Zelinsky 1967, *passim* for other quotes, which have been rearranged here for summary.

post-revolutionary period with "an abrupt crystallization of the classical idea"[55]. West central New York, the so-called Military Tract, emerges as the "cultural hearth" of classical toponymy[56] and other related things such as Greek revival architecture. Third, a wave of settlers and immigrants fanning out from New York to Indiana, Wisconsin and Missouri in the time between the Anglo-American War and the Civil War, with a secondary tract of classical names in the plantation belt of the South. Fourth, between the 1860s and 1920s, a "hollow frontier" develops, with almost all new occurrences of classical toponyms happening in the West and Southwest (where a "Classical syndrome" has been discussed in scholarship[57]). After that, the fifth and final phase of classical toponymy, lasting until Zelinsky's time, was one of virtual death.

3. The expansion of classical toponymy in the time between the Revolution and the beginning of the 20th century can be understood as an "innovation front" spreading both in the form of settlers from the Northeast bringing with them habitual place names and classical education[58] as well as a more generalised dissemination of those classical ideas through media. The oldest parts of the British colonies are therefore among the most sparsely dotted with classical names, since colonial toponymy dominates here.
4. The absolute nationwide high point of classical place naming was in the 1880s and 1890s, connected to the absolute maximum of post-office establishments. Except for the actively developing mining areas in the West, these can be understood as an expression of the gradual concentration of urban settlement cores in the older parts of the country, underpinned by a national proliferation of a "New Englandism", the connection between name-givers and classical education becoming more and more tenuous[59].
5. Contrarily, classical place naming had "burned out" in the Northeast by that time, either resulting from a shift towards the establishment of types of settlement not suitable for such names (e.g. factory towns), or because the fashion had "outworn its mystique".
6. The current visible pattern of existing towns is the result of an "etching out" of the original Northeast through "differential erosion" of many of the new places further west, which were not successful long-term.

The GNIS dataset of all 50 states and the District of Columbia contains 195,876 *Populated Places*. Zelinsky's focus lay on the proliferation of classical names through time and space, particularly in connection with the idea of a 'hollow frontier'. Compared to that, our study is narrower in the sense that it reduced the features to populated places according to the (not necessarily narrow, but constraining) definition of the USGS, but broader in the sense of sheer quantity of the dataset: Whereas Zelinsky arrived at 3,095 individual entries, with a "weighted total" of 2,870.5[60], we ultimately arrive at 10,507 just in this single feature category, 5.36 % of the *Populated Place*

55 Zelinsky 1967, 486, notably "the notion of a New Athens or a New Rome […] supplementing the long immanent doctrine of a New Zion." It appears thus that *Rome* could always be counted as classical rather than Biblical tradition.

56 Leighly 1978, 237 on the work of land surveyor S. DeWitt, who allegedly named many of the classical places in the region as part of a veteran land acquisition project; see below.

57 Cf. Sage 1929, 263.

58 Similarly, Sage 1929, 263 f.

59 "I suspect that the namers were decreasingly aware of the pristine import of their choices, the names thus becoming less purely and distinctly classical" (489), something particularly trivial in regards to the transplanted eastern originals.

60 Zelinsky counted 2,405 classical names for settlements and post offices and a further 690 for counties and subdivision, but opted for a counting method wherein duplicates were counted as 0.5 to express reduced value to any qualitative analysis, while still maintaining a sense of completeness. He himself was confident to have found "at least 70 percent – and possibly more than 80 percent – of eligible items" (474). For comparison, Sage 1929 counted about 2,200 place names.

total[61]. He trimmed off a sizeable portion of entries by controlling for doubles and his heritage lines, but argued that the share of classical names at any given time might have ranged between 1.5 and 2 percent of the total "name population"[62]. The overall geographical distribution, however, remains in place in our study (**fig. 1-3**)[63]. Of our place names, 5,420 fell into the category C(lassical), 4,303 into B(iblical-Christian), 447 into X (Latinate) and 334 into U(ncertain). Given the generous stance on inclusion taken herein, the study definitely over-represents reality. A second, more rigorous filtering to approach the Zelinsky model would be the logical next step. There are consequently three numbers: one for classical names (C), and one for classical names with liberal inclusion of Latinate forms (C+X). For (C) alone, this means 2.77 % of the total, 3.00 % for (C+X), for (B), 2.19 %, compared to the estimate by Zelinsky. The greater generosity taken into account, this is a reasonably good fit. If all the "names of classical coinage now in common use" were to be removed, for instance, the resulting loss of 'concordia', 'dependeo', 'harmonia', 'libertas' and 'prospectus' and 'vista' alone would probably drastically reduce the number closer to Zelinsky's, and the same applies to personal names (cf. appendix).

The initial screening process was undertaken in Excel, where categorisations and operative roots were assigned and most information from the original USGS files was preserved, allowing the 51 new spreadsheets to be summed up for a statistical analysis, as well as exported as comma separated value files, which were imported as point layers into GIS[64], both as 51 individual files and as combined layers of all toponyms (B+C+X+U) and (B) and (C) exclusively (**fig. 2. 3. 5**).

Examples of Analysis

A couple of case studies highlight the interplay of modern and ancient meanings of a name used as a toponym, and how their ambiguity in particular plays a role in identity politics. The town of *Nicodemus*, founded as the first all-Black village in Kansas in 1877, is commonly traced back to a "famous slave" of that name, but it has also been argued that the use of a Biblical name "in its veiled and biblical deployment […] communicates protest and defiance of the dominant culture and its dominant white Bible. By choosing a name with multiple meanings, the founders of *Nicodemus* were able to resist the identity conferred upon them (as slaves)."[65] The Greek origin of the name – unique for a Jew, only recorded in the gospel of John – adds a layer of meaning to the history that is relevant to us, even if the general popularity of the character among Black slaves and the recently emancipated in the Civil War period is well attested. Elsewhere, identity politics of the diverse immigrant populations flocking to the U.S. is expressed in ways we cannot see in our dataset directly: the German-founded town of *New Ulm*, MN, boasts a monument to Arminius as a "symbol of German-American achievement", a "Hermann on the Prairie" (**fig. 8. 9**). Meanwhile, the ethnoculturally German *Eudora*, KS, is named after the daughter of native landowner Pascal Fish, with explanations of the name shifting over time to "a symbol of the town's primordial origin passing over to sustained development."[66]

Clusters of names come in two forms: through geographic dissemination, for instance because a nearby geographic feature is the namesake, or through the heritage lines identified by Zelinsky,

61 Biblical names included.

62 Zelinsky 1967, 475.

63 NB: For the sake of accessibility and compactness, the maps shown here exclude Alaska and Hawaii, which were nonetheless part of the statistical analysis.

64 Preserving the original decimal coordinates by the USGS, projected in NAD1983.

65 Rodman 2008, qu. 49. The reception and use of the classical canon by Blacks, both communities and scholars, is an emerging field of study just now, in light of views that perceive of Classics as a part of systemic oppression, cf. Flewellen et al. 2021.

66 Fuchs 2015b. Indeed, the monument's statement of significance in the National Register of Historic Places (NHRP 1973) refers to the Cherusci and the Teutoburg Forest as foundational German symbols that the "Sons of Hermann", a German-American friendship group and immigrant society, used to express their ethnic affiliation as well as their

with people moving west and taking the names with them. The first problem was addressed by the deletion of multiples of the same name per county. **Fig. 10** shows a selection of toponyms which are very common throughout the U.S. (*Seneca*, *Tempe*, *Philadelphia*, *Syracuse*, *Troy*, *Utica*). The former two are geographic in origin: the distribution of *Seneca* shows a clear orientation towards the historic settlement area of the native people of that name, part of the Iroquois Six Nations[67]. From there, with a high concentration within the origin area, the name spreads out mostly towards the southwest. We thus have reason to assume that the likelihood of any occurrence of the name being linked to the ancient author is rather low a priori. *Tempe* on the other hand has its most famous namesake in *Tempe Valley* in Arizona, where the name occurs many times (it was deleted, according to the county rule, until only two remain there), which was named after Tempe river in Thessaly in a rebranding of a previously inconspicuous name, Hayden's Ferry[68]. Other instances of the name occur rather randomly spread out across the map. *Philadelphia*, *Syracuse* and *Utica*, in their likely first respective instances, are old settlements on the East Coast/near the New York Military Tract. This land distribution scheme was authorised in the 1790s to compensate veterans of the Independence War and famously contained some of the first instances of classical names, attributed to New York's surveyor general, S. DeWitt, or his Irish-born, Glasgow-trained clerk Robert Harpur[69]. This same man, also a professor at what would become Columbia University, claimed to have named *Utica* close by, too[70]. *Syracuse* was named slightly later, in 1820, due to its perceived similarity to the ancient Sicilian city's surroundings, which the postmaster had read about[71]. Although noted by Zelinsky as a hotbed of the classicist heritage of the U.S., this infatuation with classical education was the cause of ridicule in New York at the time[72]. In any case, the

hopes for the future in the late 19th century. The statue is modelled after the one in Germany and was the second largest cast sculpture in the U.S. after the Statue of Liberty. Cf. also the tombstones discussed in Lemak 2008 from the cemetery of Elmira, NY, which copy the composition and iconography of Roman monuments.

67 Cf. National Atlas. Indian tribes, cultures & languages (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3701e.ct003648r) (16/07/23). Sage 1929 did not want to count it in his survey for the same reason.

68 Blanton 2007, 8; cf. also n. 70.

69 The names of the 28 townships incorporated were Lysander, Hannibal, Cato, Brutus, Camillus, Cicero, Manlius, Aurelius, Marcellus, Pompey, Romulus, Scipio, Sempronius, Tully, Fabius, Ovid, Homer, Solon, Hector, Ulysses, Virgil, Cincinnatus, Junius and Galen, as well as Milton, Locke, Dryden and Sterling. For the history of the Military tract and all classical place names in New York, see Maar 1926 (also including the correction of the earlier theory that "deWitt shook his classical pepper-pot over Central New York"); Farrell 2002; Lemak 2008, 245. Maar also includes a letter written to him about the subject by another historian who claims that Harpur just recorded the names and deWitt "knew nothing of the obnoxious names until they were communicated to him", putting the responsibility on the Commissioners of the enterprise, Governor G. Clinton, Secretary L. A. Scott, Attorney-General E. Benson, and Treasurer G. Bancker, making the naming scheme a group effort of New York's educated post-revolutionary elite.

70 Macdonald Czarnota 2014. Encyclopedia Britannica (<https://www.britannica.com/place/Utica-New-York> 16/07/23) is one of several sources supporting the alternative claim that the name U. was picked rather random during a pub debate, in this case picked from a hat, or, according to <http://oneida.nygenweb.net/towns/utica/ and http://betteruticadowntown.com/utica-history-overview.php> (16/07/23), drawn from 13 sheets of paper, as a suggestion by a townsman of then Fort Schuyler, Erastus Clark, a college alumnus from Connecticut, who had submitted it as a reminiscence to both his education and the then prevailing feeling of economic growth and competition to the larger industrial centres in New York and around the Erie Canal, mirroring in his mind the fate of Utica as a neighbour to Carthage – although the Carthage in NY seems have just been founded as Long Falls in the same year, and renamed only decades later. In any case, the renaming of Fort Schuyler to Utica occurred in 1798.

71 <https://sites.rootsweb.com/~nyononda/SYRACUSE/SYRTELPC.HTM> (16/07/23).

72 Cf. also Lemak 2008. Maar explains how, after a generation of writers and journalists with their "patriotic, hortatory screeds" was supplanted in that decade by a clique of educated young authors around the Irving brothers, some of which collaborated in the publication of the satirical Croaker poems, of which Maar quotes one referring to the then current advertisements for the Military Tract towns which were populated by veterans-turned farmers, natives, craftsmen and artisans: "God-father of the christen'd West! / Thy wonder-working power / Has call'd from their eternal rest / The poets and the chiefs who blest / Old Europe in their happier hour: / Thou givest, to the buried great, / A citizen's certificate, / And, aliens now no more, / The children of each classic town / Shall emulate their

three toponyms seem to spread along the rivers and the pioneer routes to the west. *Troy*, on the other hand, is much more ubiquitous. As the ancient city was much more famous than the other three examples (of which *Philadelphia*, the existence of the name in Antiquity notwithstanding, was a new invention), a more general popularity of the name seems to be expected. However, for analyses of this kind, a strict chronology of the names would be necessary.

Given the phenomenon of purposefully 'Latinised' forms in the era of early colonial expansion as described above, some of the classical influence in the Northeast could have been funnelled not into 'blank-slate' names, but adapted native toponyms instead[73]. To support this hypothesis, we would have to find evidence that the share of Latinisations in the northeastern states is higher than the national average, even if the states themselves do not appear to be rich in database entries overall. The national total for Latinised forms is 0.28 % of all populated places, and 4.25 % of filtered results. **Tab. 3** shows how the ranking of states according to the prevalence of Latinised forms changes when they are considered first as a share of the total of names (column 1), then compared to their prominence within filtered toponyms. Within the filtered dataset of classical names (C toponyms, column 2), it becomes apparent that the Northeast heavily trends to the bottom third, and Zelinsky's corridor of classical names from New York to the Midwest is confirmed (see also **fig. 4**). Column 3 finally shows more northeastern states rising to prominence (cf. the states marked in bold) than if we just look at overall occurrence of classical names[74]. In other words, column 1 shows an overall ranking of states according to Latinised toponyms as a percentage *of all names* which does not tell a story, column 2 (along with **fig. 4**) proves Zelinsky's claim of the scarcity of fully classical names in the original colonies, and column 3 then shows us that if we consider the role of Latinised forms *within relevant names*, their increased importance in the Northeast emerges. This was not part of Zelinsky's question in any respect. It is thus possible to argue that where he identified the first phase of near non-existence of classical town names in the initial colonisation period, the classical fashion was already present in the adaptation of native names of the most densely populated eastern coast of North America into Latin or Greek shapes.

One case study is the comparison of Biblical-Christian versus classical names. My hypothesis is that, according to Zelinsky's notion of a classical corridor stretching from western New England to the Midwest after independence, the former Catholic colonies of Spain and France which were out of reach during Zelinsky's first phases of town naming, notably Florida, the Louisiana Territory, the Southwest, and northern stretches near Canada, should emerge as having a lower C/B value. That means, there should be fewer classical names in the overall dataset there, since Catholicism dominated these areas. The national average for this value is 1.259, meaning that overall, with the counting method applied, there are more classical names in the United States than Biblical-Christian ones. The states in question should fall below that average, the ones in Zelinsky's corridor above. **Tab. 2** gives that list. As we see in **fig. 6**, the results are not as straightforward as one would have hoped, but we might see a qualitative change within the Biblical-Christian name set on closer examination. Much of the noise filling up this category in

sire's renown / In science, wisdom, or in war / [...] Behold! where Junius town is set, / A Brutus is the Judge; / Tis true, he serves the Tarquin yet, / Still winds his limbs in folly's net, / And seems a very patient drudge. / But let the Despot fall; and bright / As morning from the shades of night / Forth in his pride he'll stand, / The guard and glory of our soil! / A head for thought, a hand for toil, / A tongue to warn, persuade, command. / What man, where Scipio' s praises skip / From every rustling leaf, / But girds cold iron on his hip, / With "shoulder firelock!" arms his lip / And struts, a bold militia chief! / And who, that breathes where Cato lies / But feels the Censor spirit rise / At folly's idle pranks; / With voice that fills the Congress Halls, / "Domestic manufactures" bawls, / And damns the Dandies and the Banks [...]" (full poem in Maar 1926, 157f.).

73 As examples from other areas, cf. again *Arenac*, *Sumdum*, or *Sedalia*. See also n. 44.

74 In particular, all Northeastern Seaboard states (except NH, with 0 cases) move out of the bottom 10 of states with Latinised place names, which is equally significant as the changes to the top 10. Similar to NH, D.C. should be excluded as a skewed data point.

northern states derives from simple naming conventions such as *Thomas*, *Elizabeth*, *James*, and references to Biblical or early Christian history like *Jerusalem*, *Bethlehem*, *Beulah*, *Bethesda*, *Gilead* or *Nebo*, whereas the former Catholic southern regions are naturally much heavier on the saints. By excluding the root 'Saint' (or San, Santa) from the data (cf. **fig. 3**), a new value labelled 'C/B without Saint' is calculated, and the difference between the two fractions should highlight areas of interest. In **fig. 7**, it becomes apparent that indeed the New England area/the Eastern Seaboard and the southern Plantation Belt experience the smallest to no change, whereas the southern border (former Mexican/Spanish territories), the Louisiana Territory and the Canadian border clearly show their Catholic influence. We also see this in a direct comparison between Florida and Georgia: both states with high numbers of both B and C names, Florida's C/B value is 1.1 and rises to 1.816 when saints are removed, whereas Georgia, colonised by the British since the beginning, only experiences a minor rise from 0.878 to 0.958[75].

Conclusion

In conclusion, the theoretical considerations which need to be taken into account when trying to convert historical toponyms, from a complex historical setting such as the U.S. expansion across the continent, into hard data are manifold. Extracting and carving out the classical heritage in the American landscape is a messy undertaking, with Sage, Zelinsky and the present study disagreeing over basic questions of definition and selection. Ultimately, there are many layers to the phenomenon of classical toponymy, starting from the adoption of Latin and Latinate forms in early modern English, which predates the colonisation or coincides with it. In many cases, defining categories and hard filters seems a futile task, but thinking about them confirms again what Zelinsky called "an American idea": the wide and total diffusion of classical tradition and education into every region of the United States and most, if not all layers of its early society and culture[76]. Wherever questionable items, clusters, or interesting case studies occur, as the ones discussed in these pages or by the regional studies cited here, the importance of individual agency of pioneers, settlers, and clerks raised in the classsical ideal becomes apparent. Furthermore, the academic lines between Biblical-Christian and classical heritage become rightfully blurred.

Future Possibilities

For future avenues of research, two main branches can be identified: first, a rationalisation and clean-up of the filtering process, ensuring greatest precision by developing a robust threshold of inclusion and a dataset as perfect and complete as possible from the source to the end[77], and second, an extension of academic value through comparisons. One such comparison was already attempted by (loosely) separating clearly Christian-Hebrew names from Pagan-Classical names, although the limits of these categorisations are painfully clear. Another one would be Norse or Germanic toponyms, which one would expect to fill the map of the northern Midwest (Minnesota, etc.) based on the distribution of German and Scandinavian heritage[78]. Another direction might be taken by extending the analysis to other geographical features in the GNIS (most notably so, lakes, rivers, and summits), and by sharpening the image through a more rigorous and hardened filtering process. Combing through local history and archival material to gather a complete list of

75 The idea has already been discussed, to no surprise, by Sage 1929, 267, but only in a short paragraph and without much statistical backing.

76 Cf. Sage 1929, 270 f.; Lemak 2008, 239.

77 Perhaps an automatic filtering of the GNIS dataset according to Sage's, then Zelinsky's criteria might be worth while, but they did not specify them to such a degree.

78 Fuchs 2015a; also Sage's (1929, 263 f.) comments regarding the various toponymical heritage portfolios of the individual states and regions of the U.S.

dates for town names and the reasoning behind their given names would be a monumental task necessary to clean up all false positives, but might even correct some false negatives, which were not considered before because the intent was not clear from the global perspective, e.g. because of a spelling error or misunderstanding.

Further, to approach the 1967 dataset with more compatible data, it is necessary to exclude the various high-yield roots which were included in this initial stage, such as 'Alexander' or the Latin-derived words (such as 'Independence', 'Harmony', etc.). The issue of drawing lines between categories, and between inclusion and exclusion of a toponym, was already admitted to be highly subjective by the two trailblazing nationwide studies by Sage and Zelinsky, which naturally came to conclusions which can hardly be compared to each other, although qualitative assessments are possible. Likewise, the separation into the categories 'Primary' and 'Secondary' (e.g. personal names), and into the various types of ancient items have not been taken into account here. The integration of diachronic data[79], finally, will open up new angles of research in terms of the motivation behind the names and their proliferation, perhaps coupled with a collection of local history.

The present study and its data set cannot be more than a baseline, or rather, a sculpting block, from which layers and imperfections and quirks will have to be chipped away, and more information added like colour to a statue.

79 For example, 'Paradise' is a very common Biblical-Christian root, but a large share of toponyms are trailer parks and variations of 'Village', 'Gardens', etc., typical for modern suburban developments and compounds.

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Figures

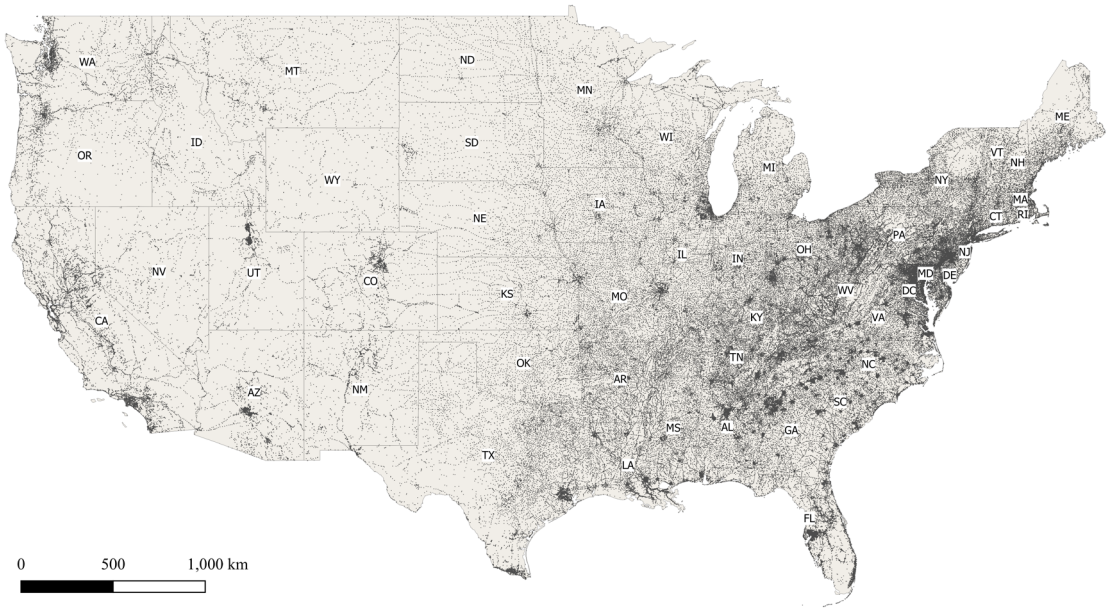

Fig. 1: Map of all features labelled *Populated Place* in GNIS. Work by author in QGIS 3.16, based on publicly available USGS data.

n =195,876

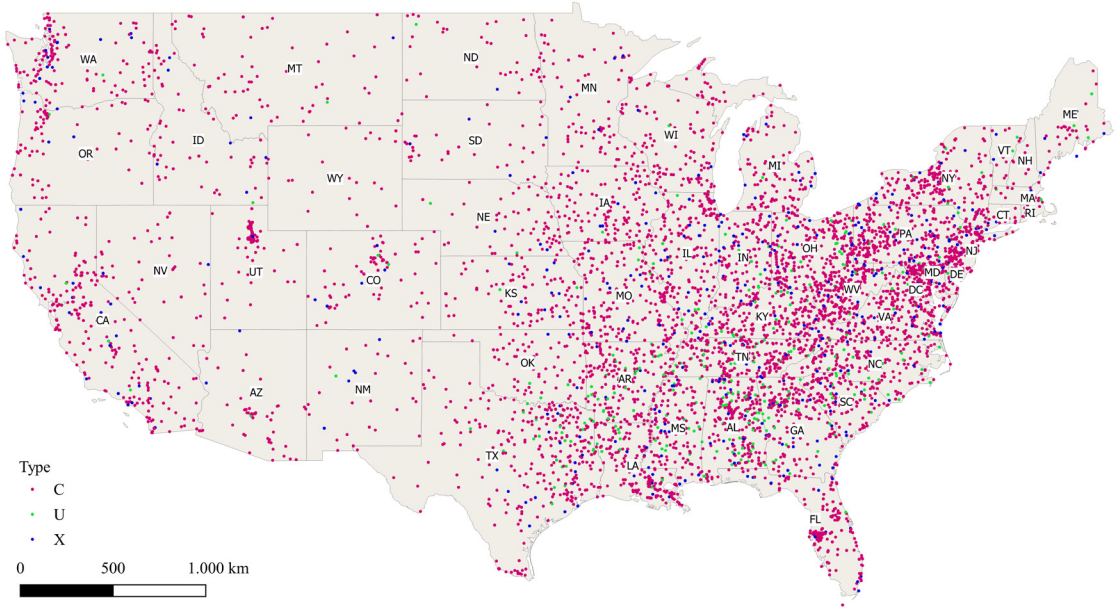

Fig. 2: Map showing all classical (C), uncertain (U) and Latinised (X) relevant toponyms in the United States. Work by author in QGIS 3.16, based on publicly available USGS data.

n = 6,206

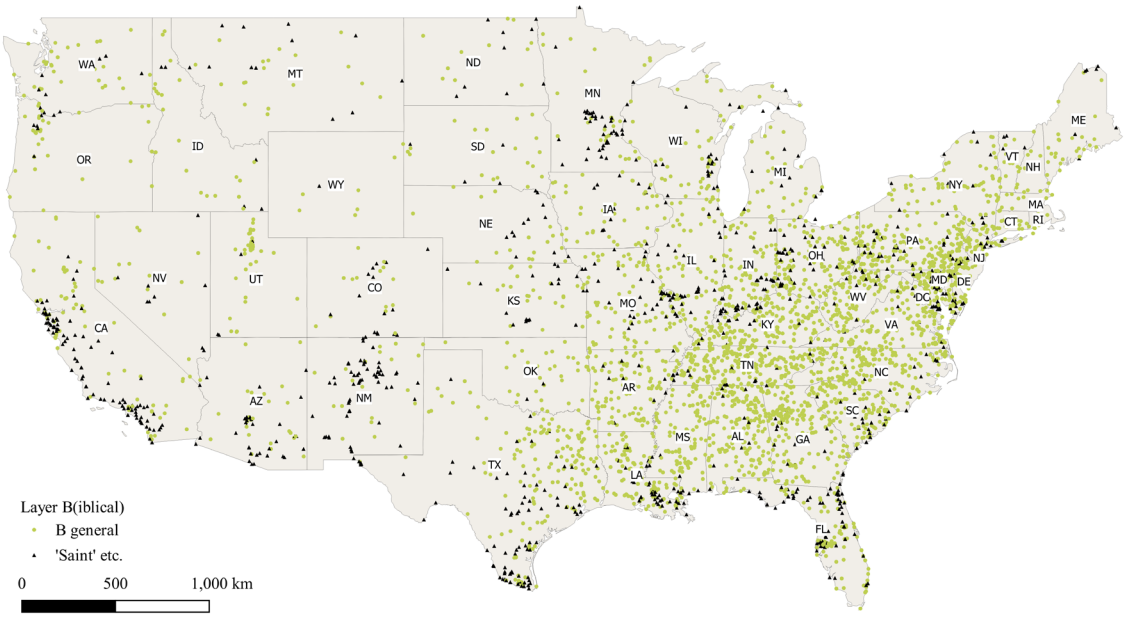

Fig. 3: Subset of Biblical-Christian place names, with operative root ‘Saint’ highlighted. Work by author in QGIS 3.16, based on publicly available USGS data.

n = 4,298 (all), 1,011 (Saint)

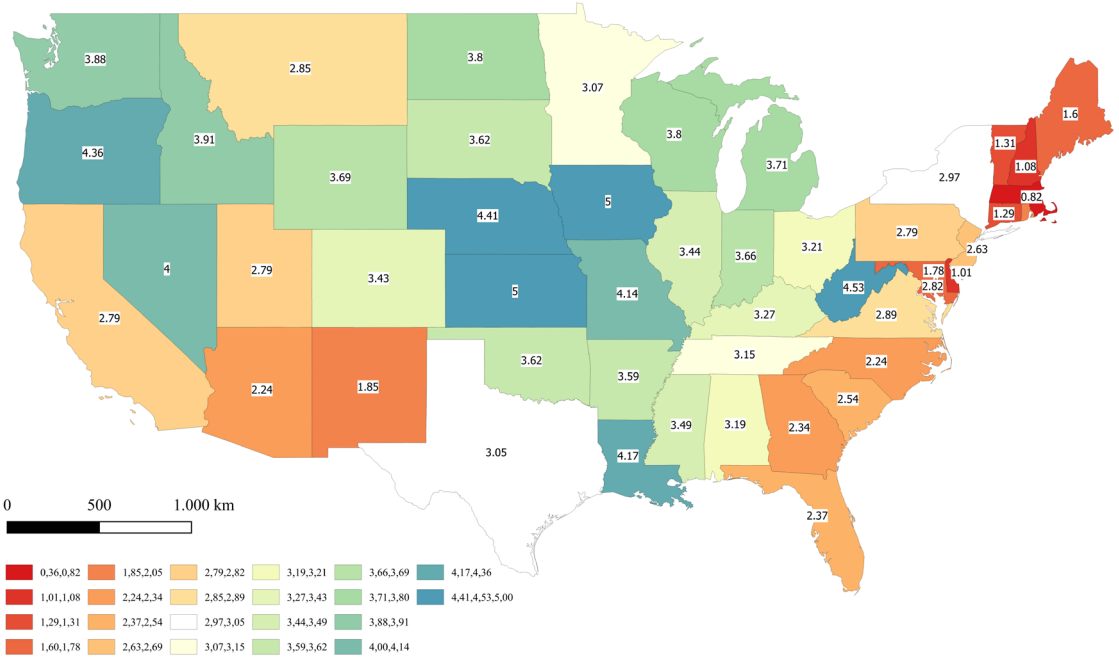

Fig. 4: Relative prevalence of classical place names in % (including Latinizations) per state, with the national average being precisely 3.00 %. Work by author in QGIS 3.16, based on publicly available USGS data.

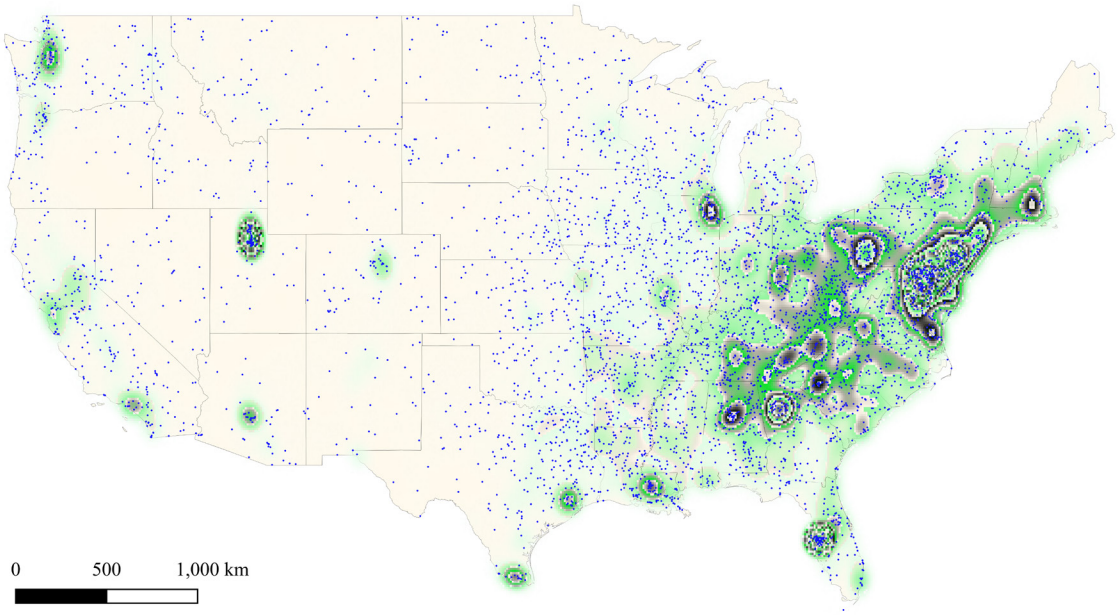

Fig. 5: Heat map (density) of *Populated Places*, with classical place names distribution overlaid as points. Work by author in QGIS 3.16, based on publicly available USGS data.

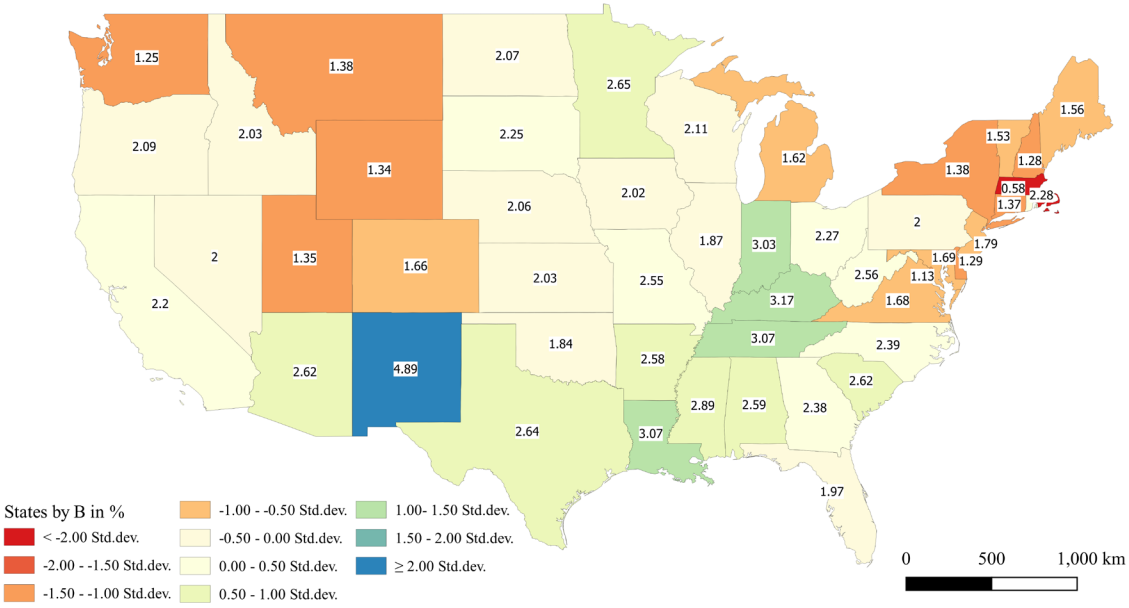

Fig. 6: Density of Biblical-Christian place names on state level, with standard deviation around the national average of 2.19 %. Work by author in QGIS 3.16, based on publicly available USGS data.

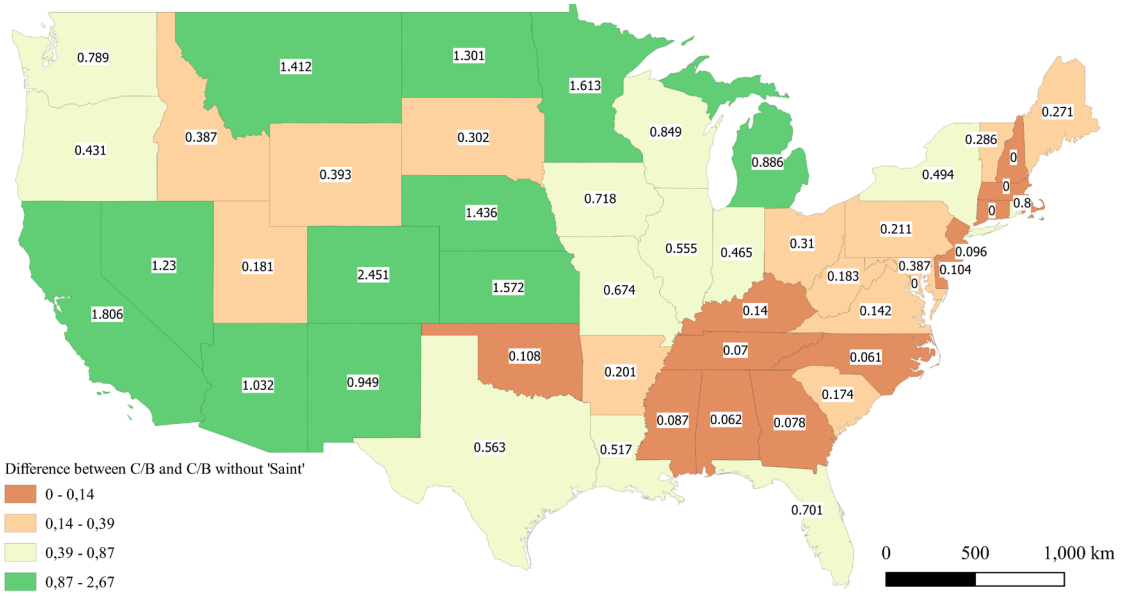

Fig. 7: Difference between the values C/B (classical place names divided by Biblical-Christian) from fig. 6 and C/B when excluding the root 'Saint', in quantiles showing those above and below the national average difference of 0.388. Work by author in QGIS 3.16, based on publicly available USGS data.

Fig. 8: Hermann Heights Monument, New Ulm, Minnesota, planned and financed by German immigrant J. Berndt for the Order of the Sons of Herman, 1888. Photo: Flip Schulke, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration NARA-558116, via Wikimedia (public domain). <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Hermann_Heights_Monument?uselang=de#/media/File:MONUMENT_AND_STATUE_OF_HERMANN-ARMINIUS,_GERMAN_PATRIOT_WHICH_WAS_ERECTED_IN_NEW_ULM,_MINNESOTA,_IN_1888._THE_TOWN..._-_NARA_-_558116.jpg>

Fig. 9: Detail of the statue by A. Pelzer, modeled after the Arminius monument near Detmold, Germany. Photo: Jet Lowe, via Wikimedia (public domain). <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermann_Heights_Monument#/media/Datei:Hermann_statue_closeup.jpeg>

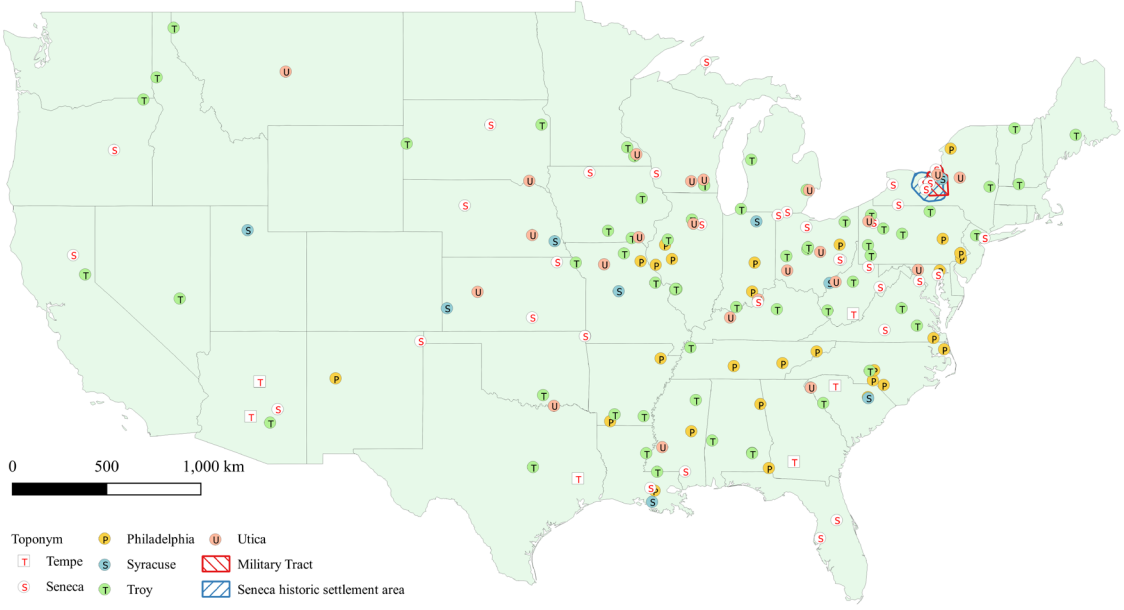

Fig. 10: Map of selected toponyms, with possible heritage lines. Highlighted the overlapping historic settlement area of the Seneca people, probable origin of most, if not all instances of the name, and the N.Y. military tract. Own work by author in QGIS 3.16, based on publicly available USGS data and the National Atlas (http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3701e.ct003648r).

Appendix

Table 1: Results of Selection by State

State	n of *Populated Places*	Relevaant n after filtering	B	Saint, San, etc. in B	C	U	X	Rank # acc. to Pop. Places	Rank # acc. to total filtered	Rank # acc. to B	Rank # acc. to C
Alabama (AL)	6,683	427	176	9	194	37	20	*12.*	*5.*	*7.*	*9.*
Alaska (AK)	1,151	45	14	8	28	0	3	*42.*	*42.*	*44.*	*42.*
Arizona (AZ)	2,409	118	63	35	52	1	2	*30.*	*30.*	*24.*	*35.*
Arkansas (AR)	4,463	300	116	15	154	24	6	*17.*	*17.*	*16.*	*16.*
California (CA)	7,780	392	171	104	199	4	18	*7.*	*8.*	*9.*	*8.*
Colorado (CO)	1,922	100	32	18	61	2	5	*36.*	*34.*	*35.*	*32.*
Connecticut (CT)	1,317	35	19	0	13	0	3	*41.*	*45.*	*43.*	*46.*
D.C.	177	7	2	0	4	0	1	*51.*	*50.*	*50.*	*50.*
Delaware (DE)	1,781	42	23	3	16	1	2	*37.*	*43.*	*39.*	*45.*
Florida (FL)	8,694	383	170	67	187	6	20	*6.*	*9.*	*9.*	*10.*
Georgia (GA)	7,620	383	180	15	158	24	21	*8.*	*9.*	*6.*	*14.*
Hawaii (HI)	563	4	2	1	2	0	0	*49.*	*51.*	*50.*	*51.*
Idaho (ID)	1,329	80	27	5	46	1	6	*40.*	*37.*	*38.*	*36.*
Illinois (IL)	5,093	279	95	24	156	9	19	*16.*	*18.*	*22.*	*15.*
Indiana (IN)	3,666	255	113	34	115	10	17	*20.*	*20.*	*17.*	*22.*
Iowa (IA)	2,522	178	51	12	119	1	7	*28.*	*23.*	*27.*	*20.*
Kansas (KS)	2,020	144	41	17	91	2	10	*34.*	*28.*	*30.*	*27.*
Kentucky (KY)	5,962	401	190	24	181	17	13	*13.*	*7.*	*5.*	*11.*
Louisiana (LA)	4,436	331	136	39	175	10	10	*18.*	*13.*	*13.*	*13.*
Maine (ME)	2,183	73	34	8	30	4	5	*31.*	*38.*	*33.*	*41.*
Maryland (MD)	8,818	310	149	42	147	4	10	*5.*	*15.*	*12.*	*18.*
Massachusetts (MA)	2,427	37	14	0	17	3	3	*29.*	*44.*	*44.*	*44.*
Michigan (MI)	3,584	192	58	17	124	1	9	*23.*	*22.*	*25.*	*19.*
Minnesota (MN)	2,602	149	70	41	75	0	4	*27.*	*27.*	*23.*	*28.*
Mississippi (MS)	3,638	251	105	8	111	18	16	*21.*	*21.*	*19.*	*24.*
Missouri (MO)	5,221	354	133	41	201	5	15	*14.*	*11,*	*15.*	*7.*
Montana (MT)	2,106	90	29	12	58	1	2	*33.*	*36.*	*36.*	*34.*
Nebraska (NE)	1,405	93	29	12	59	2	3	*39.*	*35.*	*36.*	*33.*
Nevada (NV)	1,149	69	23	9	44	0	2	*43.*	*39.*	*39.*	*37.*
New Hampshire (NH)	1,014	24	13	0	11	0	0	*45.*	*48.*	*47.*	*47.*
New Jersey (NJ)	2,619	117	47	3	66	1	3	*25.*	*31.*	*29.*	*30.*
New Mexico (NM)	2,107	143	103	78	33	1	6	*32.*	*29.*	*20.*	*39.*
New York (NY)	7,344	324	101	20	202	5	16	*9.*	*14.*	*21.*	*6.*
North Carolina (NC)	7,196	350	172	11	153	17	8	*11.*	*12.*	*8.*	*17.*
North Dakota (ND)	920	55	19	8	34	1	1	*46.*	*41.*	*42.*	*38.*
Ohio (OH)	9,127	517	208	39	275	17	17	*3.*	*3.*	*4.*	*2.*

Table 1 (continued)

State	n of *Populated Places*	Relevaant n after filtering	B	Saint, San, etc. in B	C	U	X	Rank # acc. to Pop. Places	Rank # acc. to total filtered	Rank # acc. to B	Rank # acc. to C
Oklahoma (OK)	2,016	113	37	2	70	3	3	*35.*	*32.*	*32.*	*29.*
Oregon (OR)	1,582	103	33	6	64	1	5	*38.*	*33.*	*34.*	*31.*
Pennsylvania (PA)	10,754	523	215	31	269	8	31	*1.*	*2.*	*3.*	*3.*
Rhode Island (RI)	438	19	10	0	8	0	1	*50.*	*49.*	*48.*	*49.*
South Carolina (SC)	5,112	277	134	22	119	13	11	*15.*	*19.*	*14.*	*20.*
South Dakota (SD)	1,023	60	23	4	33	0	4	*44.*	*40.*	*39.*	*39.*
Tennessee (TN)	7,297	487	224	15	219	34	10	*10.*	*4.*	*2.*	*5.*
Texas (TX)	10,211	607	270	92	294	26	17	*2.*	*1.*	*1.*	*1.*
Utah (UT)	3,618	150	49	4	100	0	1	*22.*	*26.*	*28.*	*25.*
Vermont (VT)	918	28	14	4	10	2	2	*47.*	*47.*	*44.*	*48.*
Virginia (VA)	9,122	427	153	13	234	10	30	*4.*	*6.*	*11.*	*4.*
Washington (WA)	3,273	169	41	9	115	1	12	*24.*	*24.*	*30.*	*23.*
West Virginia (WV)	4,260	307	109	11	177	6	15	*19.*	*16.*	*18.*	*12.*
Wisconsin (WI)	2,608	155	55	18	95	1	3	*26.*	*25.*	*26.*	*26.*
Wyoming (WY)	596	30	8	1	22	0	0	*48.*	*46.*	*49.*	*43.*
National total	195,876	10,507	4,303	1,010	5,420	334	447				

Table 2: Results in %/Relative Results

State	% in second filtering	%B	%C	%X	C/B	C/B excluding Saints	Change of (C/B excl. Saints) / (C/B) (incl. X)	Rank # acc. to total B+C+U+X	Rank # acc. to % B	Rank # acc. to % C
Alabama (AL)	6.39	2.63	2.90	0.28	1.102	1.183	0.089	*14.*	*9.*	*26.*
Alaska (AK)	3.91	1.22	2.43	0.26	2.000	4.667	2.952	*43.*	*48.*	*35.*
Arizona (AZ)	4.90	2.62	2.16	0.08	0.825	1.857	1.071	*32.*	*11.*	*38.*
Arkansas (AR)	6.72	2.60	3.45	0.13	1.328	1.525	0.205	*10.*	*12.*	*16.*
California (CA)	5.04	2.20	2.56	0.23	1.164	2.970	1.970	*29.*	*20.*	*32.*
Colorado (CO)	5.20	1.66	3.17	0.26	1.906	4.357	2.652	*27.*	*36.*	*19.*
Connecticut (CT)	2.66	1.37	1.06	0.23	0.684	0.684	0	*47.*	*42.*	*48.*
D.C.	3.96	1.13	2.26	0.56	2.000	2.000	0	*42.*	*49.*	*37.*
Delaware (DE)	2.36	1.29	0.90	0.11	0.696	0.800	0.117	*49.*	*45.*	*49.*
Florida (FL)	4.41	1.96	2.14	0.23	1.100	1.816	0.792	*38.*	*30.*	*39.*
Georgia (GA)	5.03	2.36	2.06	0.28	0.878	0.958	0.090	*31.*	*16.*	*41.*
Hawaii (HI)	0.71	0.36	0.36	0	1.000	2.000	1.000	*51.*	*51.*	*51.*
Idaho (ID)	6.02	2.03	3.46	0.45	1.704	2.091	0.438	*15.*	*25.*	*14.*
Illinois (IL)	5.48	1.87	3.06	0.37	1.642	2.197	0.623	*24.*	*31.*	*20.*
Indiana (IN)	6.96	3.03	3.19	0.46	1.017	1.456	0.533	*5.*	*5.*	*18.*
Iowa (IA)	7.06	2.02	4.72	0.28	2.333	3.051	0.760	*4.*	*27.*	*1.*
Kansas (KS)	7.13	2.03	4.51	0.50	2.220	3.792	1.745	*3.*	*26.*	*2.*
Kentucky (KY)	6.73	3.19	3.05	0.22	0.953	1.090	0.148	*9.*	*2.*	*22.*
Louisiana (LA)	7.46	3.07	3.95	0.23	1.287	1.804	0.547	*1.*	*4.*	*6.*
Maine (ME)	3.34	1.56	1.37	0.23	0.882	1.154	0.317	*45.*	*38.*	*45.*
Maryland (MD)	3.52	1.69	1.67	0.11	0.987	1.374	0.414	*44.*	*34.*	*43.*
Massachusetts (MA)	1.53	0.58	0.70	0.12	1.214	1.214	0	*50.*	*50.*	*50.*
Michigan (MI)	5.36	1.62	3.46	0.25	2.138	3.024	0.951	*26.*	*37.*	*15.*
Minnesota (MN)	5.73	2.65	2.92	0.15	1.101	2.714	1.698	*21.*	*7.*	*25.*
Mississippi (MS)	6.90	2.89	3.05	0.44	1.057	1.144	0.100	*6.*	*6.*	*21.*
Missouri (MO)	6.78	2.55	3.85	0.29	1.511	2.185	0.724	*8.*	*14.*	*7.*
Montana (MT)	4.32	1.38	2.75	0.09	2.000	3.412	1.460	*40.*	*40.*	*29.*
Nebraska (NE)	6.62	2.06	4.20	0.21	2.034	3.471	1.509	*12.*	*24.*	*3.*
Nevada (NV)	6.00	2.00	3.83	0.17	1.913	3.143	1.286	*16.*	*28.*	*8.*
New Hampshire (NH)	2.37	1.28	1.09	0	0.846	0.846	0	*48.*	*46.*	*47.*
New Jersey (NJ)	4.47	1.79	2.52	0.11	1.404	1.500	0.100	*36.*	*33.*	*33.*
New Mexico (NM)	6.79	4.89	1.57	0.28	0.320	1.320	1.181	*7.*	*1.*	*44.*
New York (NY)	4.41	1.38	2.75	0.22	2.000	2.494	0.533	*37.*	*41.*	*30.*
North Carolina (NC)	4.86	2.39	2.13	0.11	0.890	0.950	0.064	*33.*	*15.*	*40.*
North Dakota (ND)	5.98	2.07	3.70	0.11	1.789	3.091	1.340	*17.*	*23.*	*9.*
Ohio (OH)	5.67	2.27	3.02	0.19	1.333	1.643	0.329	*22.*	*18.*	*23.*
Oklahoma (OK)	5.61	1.84	3.47	0.15	1.892	2.000	0.113	*23.*	*32.*	*13.*

Table 2 (continued)

State	% in second filtering	%B	%C	%X	C/B	C/B excluding Saints	Change of (C/B excl. Saints) / (C/B) (incl. X)	Rank # acc. to total B+C+U+X	Rank # acc. to % B	Rank # acc. to % C
Oregon (OR)	6.51	2.09	4.05	0.32	1.939	3.370	0.465	*13.*	*22.*	*5.*
Pennsylvania (PA)	4.86	2.00	2.50	0.29	1.251	1.462	0.235	*34.*	*29.*	*34.*
Rhode Island (RI)	4.34	2.28	1.83	0.23	0.800	0.800	0	*39.*	*17.*	*42.*
South Carolina (SC)	5.42	2.62	2.33	0.22	0.888	1.063	0.191	*25.*	*10.*	*36.*
South Dakota (SD)	5.87	2.25	3.23	0.39	1.435	1.737	0.339	*20.*	*19.*	*17.*
Tennessee (TN)	6.67	3.07	3.02	0.14	0.978	1.048	0.073	*11.*	*3.*	*24.*
Texas (TX)	5.95	2.64	2.88	0.17	1.089	1.652	0.595	*18.*	*8.*	*27.*
Utah (UT)	4.15	1.35	2.76	0.03	2.041	2.222	0.183	*41.*	*43.*	*28.*
Vermont (VT)	3.05	1.53	1.09	0.22	0.714	1.000	0.343	*46.*	*39.*	*46.*
Virginia (VA)	4.68	1.68	2.57	0.33	1.529	1.671	0.160	*35.*	*35.*	*31.*
Washington (WA)	5.16	1.25	3.51	0.37	2.805	3.594	0.871	*28.*	*47.*	*12.*
West Virginia (WV)	7.23	2.56	4.18	0.35	1.633	1.816	0.199	*2.*	*13.*	*4.*
Wisconsin (WI)	5.94	2.11	3.68	0.12	1.745	2.595	0.876	*19.*	*21.*	*11.*
Wyoming (WY)	5.03	1.34	3.69	0	2.750	3.143	0.393	*30.*	*44.*	*10.*
National total	5.36	2.19	2.77	0.30	1.259	1.652	0.422			

Table 3: Share of Latinisations in the Total of Populated Place Names and Within the Filtered Dataset of Classical and Biblical-Christian Names

	State	% Lat. Forms of Tota		State	% of Filte-red Place Names C		State	% Lat. Forms of Fil-tered
1	D.C.	0.56	1	Iowa	4.71	1	D.C.	14.29
2	Kansas	0.50	2	Kansas	4.50	2	**Connecticut**	8.57
3	Indiana	0.46	3	Nebraska	4.20	3	**Massachusetts**	8.11
4	Idaho	0.45	4	West Virginia	4.18	4	Idaho	7.50
5	Mississippi	0.44	5	Oregon	4.05	5	**Vermont**	7.14
6	South Dakota	0.39	6	Louisiana	3.95	6	Washington	7.10
7	Illinois	0.37	7	Missouri	3.85	7	Virginia	7.03
8	Washington	0.37	8	Nevada	3.83	8	Kansas	6.94
9	West Virginia	0.35	9	North Dakota	3.70	9	**Maine**	6.85
10	Virginia	0.33	10	Wyoming	3.69	10	Illinois	6.81
11	Oregon	0.32	11	Wisconsin	3.68	11	South Dakota	6.67
12	Pennsylvania	0.29	12	Washington	3.51	12	Indiana	6.67
13	Missouri	0.29	13	Oklahoma	3.47	13	Alaska	6.67
14	New Mexico	0.28	14	Idaho	3.46	14	Mississippi	6.37
	Total ‘51	*0.28*	15	Michigan	3.46	15	**Pennsylvania**	5.93
15	Alabama	0.28	16	Arkansas	3.45	16	**Georgia**	5.48
16	Iowa	0.28	17	South Dakota	3.23	17	Rhode Island	5.26
17	Georgia	0.28	18	Indiana	3.19	18	Florida	5.22
18	Alaska	0.26	19	Colorado	3.17	19	Colorado	5.00
19	Colorado	0.26	20	Illinois	3.06	20	New York	4.94
20	Michigan	0.25	21	Kentucky	3.05	21	West Virginia	4.87
21	California	0.23	22	Mississippi	3.05	22	Oregon	4.85
22	Florida	0.23	23	Ohio	3.02	23	Delaware	4.76
23	Maine	0.23	24	Tennessee	3.02	24	Michigan	4.69
24	Rhode Island	0.23	25	Minnesota	2.92	25	California	4.59
25	Connecticut	0.23	26	Alabama	2.90	26	Alabama	4.45
26	Louisiana	0.23	27	Texas	2.88		*Total ‘51*	*4.25*
27	Kentucky	0.22	28	Utah	2.77	27	Missouri	4.24
28	New York	0.22		*Total ‘51*	*2.77*	28	New Mexico	4.20
29	Vermont	0.22	29	Montana	2.75	29	South Carolina	3.97
30	South Carolina	0.22	30	New York	2.75	30	Iowa	3.93
31	Nebraska	0.21	31	Virginia	2.57	31	Ohio	3.29
32	Ohio	0.19	32	California	2.56	32	Kentucky	3.24
33	Nevada	0.17	33	New Jersey	2.52	33	Maryland	3.23
34	Texas	0.17	34	Pennsylvania	2.50	34	Nebraska	3.23
35	Minnesota	0.15	35	Alaska	2.43	35	Louisiana	3.02

Table 3 (continued)

	State	% Lat. Forms of Tota		State	% of Filtered Place Names C		State	% Lat. Forms of Filtered
36	Oklahoma	0.15	36	South Carolina	2.33	36	Nevada	2.90
37	Tennessee	0.14	37	D.C.	2.26	37	Texas	2.80
38	Arkansas	0.13	38	Arizona	2.16	38	Minnesota	2.68
39	**Massachusetts**	0.12	39	Florida	2.14	39	Oklahoma	2.65
40	Wisconsin	0.12	40	North Carolina	2.13	40	New Jersey	2.56
41	**New Jersey**	0.11	41	Georgia	2.06	41	North Carolina	2.29
42	**Maryland**	0.11	42	Rhode Island	1.83	41	Montana	2.20
43	**Delaware**	0.11	43	Maryland	1.67	43	Tennessee	2.05
44	North Carolina	0.11	44	New Mexico	1.57	44	Arkansas	2.00
45	North Dakota	0.11	45	Maine	1.37	45	Wisconsin	1.94
46	Montana	0.09	46	Vermont	1.09	46	North Dakota	1.82
47	Arizona	0.08	47	New Hampshire	1.09	47	Arizona	1.69
48	Utah	0.03	48	Connecticut	1.06	48	Utah	0.67
49	Hawaii	0.00	49	Delaware	0.90	49	Hawaii	0.00
50	New Hampshire	0.00	50	Massachusetts	0.70	50	New Hampshire	0.00
51	Wyoming	0.00	51	Hawaii	0.36	51	Wyoming	0.00

List of Unique Place Names in Alphabetical Order by Word Root (Non-English Versions Included, but not Listed) Considered in First Filtration[1]

Classical-Ancient

Abdera (1); Academy (26); Accordo (1); Acer (1); Achilles (4); Acme (21); Actus (1); Ad (1); Addendum (1); Adelphos (5); Adonis (3); Adventus (2); Advocatus (1); Aegaeum (1); Aemilius (1); Aeolus (9); Aer (3); Aesopus (2); Aether (1); Aetna (41); Affinitas (1); Agathos (2); Ager (2); Aggregatus (1); Agricola (8); Ailanthus (4); Aithros (1); Aitolia (1); Ajax (7); Akron (18); Akropolis (2); Albion (34); Albus (8); Alesia (2); Alexander (65); Alexis (4); Aliquis (1); Alluvium (3); Alma[2] (33); Alpha (28); Alpheus (1); Altheia (2); Altus (65); Alum (12); Amalga (2); Amasa (1); Amatus (1); Amazon (2); Ambia (1); Ambrosia (10); Amelius (3); Amenia (3); Amicitia (7); Amicus (1); Ammon (5); Amo (2); Amor (1); Amphion (1); Amphitheatrum (1); Amyclae (1); Ancora (1); Andros (3); Annex (2); Annis (1); Annona (2); Ano (1); Ante (1); Antebellum (1); Anthras (1); Anti (1); Antiquity (1); Antonius, Antoninus (28); Apex (13); Apia (1); Apollo (10); Apollonia (2); Aptus (2); Apulia (1); Aqua (8); Aquaeduct (2); Aquarius (1); Ara (1); Arbor (50); Arbor Vitae (1); Arboretum (1); Arbutus (4); Arcanus (3); Arcolus (1); Arx/Arcus (1); Ardeo (1); Area (1); Arena (8); Argentum (5); Argo (14); Argos (3); Argus (4); Arion (2); Aristos (5); Arkadia (54); Arkadiane (1); Arktos (5); Armenia (2); Aroma (1); (Artemis (2); Asper (1); Asphaltum (2); Assyria (1); Asylum (3); Athena (3); Athens (31); Athos (1); Atlantis (3); Atlas (63); Attalos (2); Attica (9); Attila (2); Augustus (35); Aulos (1); Aura (3); Aurelius (6); Aureus (3); Aurora (43); Aurum (3); Australis (1); Auto (1); Ave (3); Avis (6); Avoca (21); Axis (1); **Bacchus** (10); Baculum (1); Barium (1); Batavia (11); Beatrix (3); Beatus (1); Bellona (2); Belus (1); Ben Hur (7); Benedictus (1); Benevolens (1); Berenike (10); Beroia (20); Beta (5); Bias (1); Bivalvus (1); Boiotia (1); Bonus (8); Boreas (2); Bos (5); Brigantes (1); Brutus (4); Bubona (1); Bucyrus (5); **Caecilius** (15); Caelius (1); Caeruleus (1); Caesar (5); Caesarea (1); Calamus (1); Calcium (1); Calco (1); Caledonia (21); Calidus (1); Caligula (1); Calor (1); Camelia (1); Camillus (5); Campania (2); Campus (10); Cana (4); Candor (2); Canisteo (2); Capito (1); Capitolium (32); Caprae (5); Captiu/Captus (2); Caput (2); Caritas (2); Carmen (4); Caro (5); Carpo (1); Carthago (21); Carus (1); Casa (1); Cascus (1) Caspium (1); Cassandra (1); Cassius (1); Castalia (2); Castor (5); Cato (16); Cedrus (1); Celestius (3); Cella (1); Celo (2); Centuria (2); Centurio (3) Ceres (10); Chaonia (1); Chariot (1); Charon (2); Cheiron (2); Chemos (1); Chitina (1); Chloe (2); Chrysopsis (1); Chrysos (2); Cicero (9); Cincinnatus (9); Cinna (1); Cispus (1); Clarus (7); Clematus (1); Clementia (1); Cleo (1); Clima (1) Climax (19); Clio (1) Colon (10); Colosssus (1); Communis (1); Comus (3); Concordia (114); Condit (1); Condo (1); Confluentia (2); Congruo (3); Constantia (4); Constantinus (5); Constitutio (1); Consul (1); Contra (1); Cor (1); Corinna (4); Cornelius (12); Cornucopia (3); Corona (13); Corus (1); Corvus (1); Cremo (1); Cresco (5); Creta (6); Criterium (1); Crocus (2); Cubus (1); Cupio (1); Cuprum (1); Cyclops (1); Cygnus (1); Cylon (1); Cimbria (1); Cynthus (6); Cyril (1); Cyrus (7); **Dalmatia** (1); Damon (6); Daphne (6); Darius (1); Datum (1); Dekapolis (1); Decorum (3); Delos (1) Delphi (8); Delphia (5); Delphinos (1); Delphos (5); Delta (41); Demento (1); Demokratia (8); Demos (1); Dendron (1); Dependeo (19); Dexter (2); Diana (6); Diantheo (1); Dico (1); Dido (2); Diomedes (1); Dione (1); Dirigo (1); Disco (5); Disputans (2); Dix (1); Dodona (1); Dora (16); Doris (5); Dorothea (6); Draco (4); Druid (16); Dryad (1); Duo (2); Duplex (3); Dysdaimona (1); **Echo** (76); Egeria (1); Ego (1); Eirene (11); Elektron (4); Elpis (1); Elysium (7); Eminens (1); Emporium (5); Enigma (1); Enos (1); Epsilon (1); Equalitas (2); Equitas (1); Equus (6); Erastos (3); Eris (1); Eros (2); Erratum (1); Esco (1); Esquilinus (1); Euclid (12); Eudora (5); Eugenius (9); Eulalia (1); Eulogia (2); Eunike (12); Euphemia (1); Eureka (68); Europa (1); Eustachius (1); Euterpe (1); Evandros (1); Ex (1); Excelsus (23); Export (1); Extra (1); **Faber** (1); Fabius (7); Factio (1); Factoria (1); Fagus (2); Fauna (1); Faunus (3); Faustina (1); Felicitas (2); Felix (8); Ferrum (2); Fertilitas (1); Festinus (1); Festus (3); Fiat (1); Fidelis (1), Fidelitas (1); Fiscus (1); Flaccus (1); Flexo (1); Flora (25); Fluvius (1); Flux (1); Fornix (1); Fortuna (13); Forum (1); Fossum (1); Franconia (1); Frons (1); Fugatus (1); Fuit (1); **Galaktos** (1); Galatea (2); Galatia (3); Galax (1); Galen (3); Galena (24); Galion (2); Gallia (1); Gallienus (2); Gambrinus (1); Gamma (2); Gaza (1); Georgica (1); Geranium (1); Germania (11); Gigantes (1); Gloria (4); Gratio (1); Gratis (3); Gravitas (1); **Hadrian** (1); Haimon (1); Halcyon (9); Halo (1); Hannibal (6); Harmonia (123); Hebe (1); Hektor (14); Hekate (1); Helena (49); Helikon (2); Helix (3); Helotes (1); Helvetia (5); Herculaneum (1); Hercules

1 Not listed are all sorts of 'West', 'North', 'East' and 'South', and variants with 'New', 'Old', 'Big', 'Little'. Wrong spellings have been merged with the correct ones. Latinate forms derived from modern names are also not listed. The form chosen, where relevant, was the singular or masculine base form (e.g. Aemilius, Altus, Caecilius), and the ancient alphabet preferred over the modern English spelling.

2 Counted here as derived from almus, although ʿalmâ (young woman) is a known word from the Hebrew Bible, which was probably less widely known than the Latin/Spanish.

(3) Hermon (11); Hero(s) (3); Hesper (4); Hesperia (2); Hesperides (3); Hesperus (1); Hesternus (3); Hibernia (9); Hix (3); Homer (35); Honor (2); Horace (13); Hydra (1); Hydria (1); Hydro (4); Hygieia (3); Hylas (2); Hypericum (1); Hyperion (1); Hypoluxo (1); **Iason** (6); Iberia (6); Ibex (3); Ibis (1) ; Iconium (4); Ida (25); Iduna (1); Ikaros (2); Ilias (1); Ilion (4); Illyria (4); Imperium (65); Index (6); Indica (1); Ino (3); Inter (1); Interior (1); Ion (1); Ionia (10); Ira (8); Iris (12); Ironia (2); Isodoros (3); Ita (1); Ithaka (6); Iuba (1); Iulia (5); Iulian (14); Iulius (3); Iunior (1); Iunius (2); Iuno (7); Iupiter (4); Iustitia (5); Iustus (2); Iustinus (2); **Kadesh** (1); Kadmos (3); Kakos (3); Kalliope (1); Kallistos (1); Kalos (4); Kalypso (2); Kampos (2); Kanon (6); Karia (1); Karnak (2); Kasssandra (2); Katarrh (1); Keno (1); Kestos (1); Kineo (3); Klao (1); Kleo (2); Kleopatra (2); Klio (11); Klito (2); Kore (13); Korinth (1); Kosmopolis (2); Kosmos (4); Kotyle (1); Kroton (8); Kyanos (1); Kyrene (1); **Labasco** (1); Labor (1); Laconia (11); Laetitius (3); Lannius (1); Lapidus (2); Larissa (2); Lascivio (1); Latium (1); Latona (6); Latus (1); Laurium (1); Lavinia (5); Leandros (5); Lectus (3); Leda (1); Legatus (2); Legion (6); Lego (2); Lemonium (1); Leo (16); Leonidass (3); Leopolis (2); Lesbia (1); Lethe (4); Leto (2); Leukadia (1); Levis (2); Lex (2); Liber (3); Libertas (110); Lignum (2); Ligo (1); Lingo (3); Lithos (12); Livia (1); Loco (2); Locus(1); Lotos (9); Lucan (1); Luciuss (6); Lucretia (1); Lucullus (1); Lukianos (3); Luna (13); Lupus (1); Lux (7); Luxomni (1); Luxor (1); Lydia (9); Lykurgos (1); Lyra (2); Lysandros (2); Lysippos (1); **Macedonia** (55); Magnesia (1); Magnus (2); Manlius (2); Manteo (2); Manus (2); Marathon (9); Marcellus (10); Marcia (2); Marcus (9); Margaritus (2); Mars (21); Martinuss (1); Mastos (1); Mathema (1); Matrimonium (1); Matuta (1); Media (4); Mediapolis (1); Medusa (1); Melanchthonos (1); Melissa (1); Melodia (1); Memphis (16); Mentor (9); Mercury (5); Merito (1); Mesopotamia (1); Meta (2); Meteor (2); Meter (1); Meto (2); Metro (1); Metrophanes (1); Metropolis (8); Mica (1); Midas (6); Mikros (1); Miles (1); Miletos (1); Millennium (1); Milo (23); Mima (2); Mina (1); Minerva (15); Mingo (6); Minimum (1); Minister (1); Minor (8); Minturnae (5); Mirabilis (1); Miralia (1); Miratio (2); Miser (1); Mollus (2); Moneta (2); Monitor (6); Mono (8); Montanus (4); Mora (9); Mundus (2); Mykene (1); Myra (6); Myron (1); Myrtis (2); **Naphtha (1)**; Narbo (1); Narcissus (2); Narnia (1); Nasco (1); Natis (1); Natrium (1); Natrona (3); Nautilus (2); Neapolis (2); Nebula (1); Necessitas (1); Nectar (1); Nemo (6); Neptune (11); Nero (4); Nerva (1); Nestor (4); Nestos (1); Nihil (1); Nikanor (1); Nikodemos (3); Nikolaos (1); Nimbus (1); Niobe (2); Nitros (1); Nix (8); Nola (1); Nolo (1); Nome (4); Nomen (1); Nona (1); Nonantum (1); Nora (1); Nostalgia (1); Notus (1); Novus (3); Nubia (2); Numa (4); Numidia (1); Nymph (1); Nyssa (2); **Obelisk** (1); Occupo (1); Oceanus (9); Octa (2); Octagon (2); Octavia (2); Oculus (1); Odyssey (2); Oleopolis (1); Oleum (1); Oliopolis (1); Olivarius (1); Olivia (3); Olympia (23); Olympus (8); Omega (19); Omni (1); Opheleia (2); Opium (1); Opportunitas (1); Ops (2); Optimus (3); Opus (1); Ora/Oros? (8); Oracle (1); Orapax (1); Orestes (1); Orion (9); Orpheus (1); Orphus (1); Osiris (3); Otho (4); Ova (1); Ovid (6); Ovis (1); Oxalis (1); Ozos (8); **Pachynum** (2); Pactolus (7); Padus (1); Paeon (1); Palaimon (1); Palatinus (4); Pallas (2); Palmyra (26); Palos (4); Pan (3); Panacea (1); Pandora (6); Panorama (4); Paonia (1); Para (2); Paradox (2); Paragon (5); Paramus (1); Pardus (1); Paris (1); Parnassus (4); Parthenon (1); Pastor (2); Pastura (1); Patria (1); Patricius (2); Paulinus (9); Pax (2); Pegasos (1); Pelion (2); Pella (5); Penelope (2); Perdix (1); Persia (4); Petros (1); Petra (4); Petroleum (12); Petronius (1); Petunia (1); Phalanx (3); Pharao (2); Pharsalis (2); Philadelphia (3); Philadelphos (1); Philandros (1); Philippi (3); Philippos (11); Philo (5); Philomath (3); Philomont (1); Philothea (1); Phlox (1); Phoebe (3); Phoebus (2); Phoenicia (3); Phoenix (35); Phon (1); Phyllis (3); Piopolis (1); Placentia (1); Plataiai (1); Platanus (1); Plato (9); Plentitudo (1); Plinius (1); Plutarch (2); Pluto (3); Pluvius (1); Polaris (2); (-)Polis (38); Pomona (18); Pompeii (1); Pompeius (2); Pons (1); Ponto (1); Porphyrios (1); Portus (3); Possessio (1); Praetorium (2); Pratum (1); Priamos (1); Primus (2); Progressus (1); Prospectus (94); Prosper (10); Prosperitas (3); Prosum (1); Protemus (2); Proto (1); Provolo (1); Proximitas (1); Prudentia (1); Pyramid (6); Pyrites (1); Pyros (2); Pyrrhus (1); **Quercus** (3); Quietus (1); **Racemus** (2); Radius (7); Ratio (1); Reclusio (1); Rector (7); Redivivus (1); Reductio (1); Refugium (1); Remus (5); Renovo (2); Res Publica (19); Rex (46); Rhea (12); Rhodes (23); Riparius (2); Rome (41); Romulus (4); Roxana (11); Roxolani (1); Rubia (2); Rubicon (6); Rufus (5); **Sabattus** (1); Sabinum (8); Sabula (3); Salix (3); Salluvii (1); Salona (4); Saltus (1); Salubritas (2); Salus (1); Salvo (3); Samos (3); Sanitarium (3); Sandix (1); Sapo (1); Sappho (1); Sardum (1); Sarepta (1); Saturn (3); Satus (1); Satyr (1); Savona (1); Saxis (1); Schola (1); Scio (4); Scipio (10); Sciron (1); Scopus (1); Scribus (2); Scythia (1); Sebastos (13); Seclusio (1); Seco (2); Sector (1); Securitas (1); Semitropic (1); Semper (1); Sempronius (2); Senator (1); Senatus (1); Seneca (41); Senior (2); Septa (1); Serapis (1); Serenitas (8); Servius (3); Seth (3); Sibyl (1); Sidon (4); Sigma (4); Silex (3); Silica (5); Silures (1); Silva (102); Simeon (1); Simplicitas (1); Sinceritas (1); Sine (1); Siren (1); Skene (1); Societas (1); Sol (3); Solaris (1); Solitudo (7); Solo (3); Solomon (2); Solon (11); Sophia (6); Sparta (33); Speculator (1); Sphinx (2); Spio (1); Spiro (2); Stadium (5); Stella (18); Stonehenge (1); Stratum (1); Styx (5); Subiacens (1); Subligna (1); Suburbium (2); Sulphur (1); Sum (1); Summus (1); Super (1); Superior (22); Swastika (1); Sycorax (1); Syene (1); Symphonia (1); Syracuse (9); Syria (2); Syringa (2); **Tagus** (1); Talisman (1); Talus (1); Tantalos (1); Tarentum (2); Taurus (2); Telos (1); Tempe (6); Temperatio (2); Ter-

minus (1); Terra (10); Terra Nova (1); Testor (1); Teutones (2); Teutopolis (1); Thalassa (1); Thalia (2); Thebes (4); Theodoros (5); Theodosia (2); Theon (2); Theos (3); Thera (1); Theresa (7); Thermopolis (1); Thermopylai (1); Thermos (2); Thessalia (1); Theta (1); Thule (1); Thyatira (2); Tiana (1); Tiber (4); Tigris (1); Timon (1); Timonium (1); Timotheos (3); Tina (1); Titan (1); Titus (15); Tmolos (1); Topos (3); Totus (1); Tranquilitas (8); Transsilvania (2); Transvilla (1); Tri- (11); Triadelphia (4); Tribune (3); Trident (3); Trifoliatus (1); Trigon (1); Trikala (1); Trio (1), Tripolis (2); Tristus (1); Triton (2); Triumph (6); Troy (62); Tullius (7); Tunica (4); Tusculum (5); Tyros (2); **Ultima Thule** (1); Ultra (1); Ulysses (5); Umbria (1); Una (1); Unicorn (1); Unitas (13); Uno (8); Unus (1); Urania (2); Urbs/Urbanus (12); Ursa (4); Utica (24); Utopia (9); **Vado** (2); Vadus (2); Vago (1); Valentinus (16); Valeo (9); Valerius (2); Valona (1); Vandales (13); Vastus (1); Velox (1); Venator (1); Veneti (5); Ventus (1); Venus (10); Verbena (1); Verbum (1); Vergo (1); Verna (2); Vernalis (6); Verus (8); Vesper (2); Vesta (27); Vesuvius (2); Veteranus (2); Veto (4); Vetus (1); Via (1); Viburnum (1); Victor (29); Victoria (48); Video (1); Vidus (1); Vigil (1); Vigo (1); Vigor (1); Vina (1); Vincentius (4); Vinco (5); Vindex (1); Vinum (1); Viola (3); Vir (1); Virgil (11); Virtus (1); Vista (112); Vistula (1); Vitellius (1); Vitis (1); Vivo (9); Vivus (1); Vocatio (1); Volens (1); Volo (2); Volusius (2); Vortex (2); Vox (2); Vulcan (12); **Xenia** (7); Xenophon (1); **Zama** (2); Zela (1); Zenith (11); Zeno (1); Zenobia (3); Zenon (3); Zephyr (6); Zeta (1); Zeus (1); Zoe (2); Zona (2).

Uncertain

Antiochia (93); Babel/Babylon (2); Corinth (46); Cyril (1); Damascus (20); Egypt (43); Ephesus (5); Galatia (2); Judaea (1); Kyrene (3); Nicolaus (1); Patmos (4); Philadelphia (24); Philippi (1); Providentia (5); Ravenna (1); Rome (Seven Hills) (7); Sardis (37); Smyrna (40); Tarsus (4); Vista (1).

Biblical-Christian

Aaron (9); Abel (3); Abraham (5); Absalom (1); Adam (6); Adlai (1); Adonijah (1); Ainon (32); Amos (13); Andrew (13); Angelus (37); Anna (19); Ararat (9); Ark (1); Assaria (1); Assumptio (3); Augustinus (6); **Bapt-** (3); Barnabas (1); Beersheba (2); Benedictus (9); Benjamin (3); Beroia (1); Beth (12); Bethanna (1); Bethany (49); Bethel (167); Bethesda (21); Bethlehem (50); Bethsaida (4); Bethsalem (1); Bethwood (1); Beulah (76); Bible (2); Bishop (2); Boaz (7); **Cain** (8); Calvary (16); Canaan (38); Candor (1); Capernaum (2); Carmel (71); Catherine (4); Catholic (1); Christmas (3); Christopher (4); Christos (10); Clement (11); Coelestinus (1); Conceptio (4); Corpus Christi (2); Cross (42); Crucifer (1); **Dagon** (2); Daniel (17); David (5); Delilah (1); **Easter** (1); Ebenezer (40); Eden (110); Edom (3); Elam (7); Eli (4); Eli(j)ah (6); Elias (2); Elim (1); Elisha (2); Eliza (3); Elizabeth (86); Elohim (1); Emmanuel (7); Emmaus (4); Enoch (7); Enos (2); Ephraim (9); Ephratah (3): Epiphania (1); Erasmus (1); Esau (1); Esther (5); Ethel (16); Eve (12); Ezra (4); **Francis** (4); **Gabriel** (2); Galilee (8); Gehenna (1); Genesee (10); Genesis (1); Gethsemane (3); Gibeon (1); Gideon (3); Gilead (23); Gilgal (1); Gomorrah (1); Gregorius (13); **Hallelujah** (1); Hannah (16); Heaven (1); Hebron (60); Hell (4); Hephzibah (6); Herod (2); Hiram (10); Holy (8); Hominy (5); Horeb (5); **Immaculata** (1); Incarnatio (1); Isaac (4); Isaiah (1); Ishmael (1); Israel (4); **Jacob(us)** (30); James (19); Jeptha (2); Jeremiah (3); Jericho (48); Jerome (19); Jerusalem (29); Jesus (2); Joanna (2); Job (2); Joel (5); Johannes (3); John (56); Jonah (2); Jonas (2); Jonathan (5); Joppa (20); Jordan (66); Joseph (14); Joshua (11); Judah (2); Judith (3); **Katherine** (27); Kiryas (1); **Leah** (2); Lebanon (76); Levi (4); Leviticus (1); Lot (2); Luke (37); **Magdalena** (2); Maria (Madonna; Lady, Notre Dame) (70); Maria Esther (1); Mariam (1); Mark (30); Martha (7); Masada (1); Matthew (8); Micah (1); Michael (1); Miriam (3); Mizpah (4); Moab (2); Molokai (1); Monk (1); Moriah (21); Moses (4); **Nabob** (1); Naomi (10); Nathan (3); Nathaniel (2); Nazareth (3); Nebo (35); Nimrod (6); Niniveh (11); Noah (5); Noel (6); **Obed** (3); Onan (1); Ophir 14); **Palestine** (35); Paradise (116); Pascha (2); Paul (21); Peter (15); Pisgah (1); Priscilla (2); Promised Land (8); Prophet (1); Providentia (73); Purgatorium (1); **Rachel** (1); Rebecca (9); Rehoboth (17); Reuben (5); Ruth (7); **Sabael** (1); Sabbath (3); Sacramentum (10); Sacred (1); Saint (San, Santa) (1,011); Salem (181); Salome (1); Samantha (1); Samaria (10); Samson (6); Samuel (6); Sanctuarium (1); Sarah (13); Sarepta (5); Satan (1); Saul (5); Shibboleth (1); Shiloh (107); Silas (3); Siloam (23); Silvester (6); Simon (2); Sinai (10); Sodom (11); Solomon (11); Stephen (10); **Tabernacle** (13); Tabitha (1); Tabor (45); Tadmor (3); Temple (48); Thomas (102); Thyatira (1); Timotheos (3); Tobias (3); Trinitas (47); **Zachariah** (3); Zebah (1); Zebulon (5); Zion (136); Zoar (15).