

## МОВА І МІСТО

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### THE RENAMING OF STREETS AND SQUARES IN POST-SOCIALIST CROATIAN TOWNS

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The renaming of urban toponymy is considered to be one of the most common processes that follow major socio-political changes. It has been clearly evident in the urban landscapes of some countries in the Middle, Eastern and Southeastern part of Europe during the last hundred years. Accordingly, street names have been changed several times in Croatia, depending on the ideology of contemporary government (whether it was Austro-Hungarian or Italian rule, the «old» Yugoslav government, the brief government of the Independent State of Croatia, the government of socialist Yugoslavia or the one of the Republic of Croatia). By using comparative method, this paper represents the analysis of hodonym changes in the last twenty years. It has been indicated that many hodonyms assigned in socialist period were rejected and replaced with new ones, usually with the ones that contain pronounced nationalistic connotations. This sort of renaming politics can be seen as a result of the long-suppressed aspirations for the transparent and free expression of national identity.

*Key words:* urban toponymy, street names, hodonyms, renaming, postsocialist towns, Croatia.

If one tries to answer the questions as when, where and why the process of extensive renaming streets and squares occur, one could partly refer oneself to the argumentation of one of the most respectable researchers of the (re)renaming street names phenomenon – Israeli geographer Maoz Azaryahu [1: 479; 2: 199] – who argues that (re)renaming street names is well-trying and effective way of introducing and disseminating authorized version of history that political elite tries to implement into ordinary setting of «common» people's everyday life, with the main intention of creating new collective memory. It can also be interpreted as the political measure by which the government expresses its power and authority. Besides that, both the urban toponymy and the process of its renaming reflect certain needs of political elites and their ability of manipulation with the symbols of common cultural and historical heritage. According to the above mentioned, one can imply that Azaryahu makes strong connections between streets and squares renamings, the power, government, politics, ideology, manipulation and identity. He further argues that renaming street names, with all its positive and negative public reactions which accompany the renaming process, makes very common occurrence all around the world, because it marks up almost every regime change. Therefore, streets and square renaming that follow regime changes are usually the most widespread renamings, especially if they occur as the outcome of the revolutionary changes of the whole socio-political system (e. g. after the fall of the socialist system in the European countries, or after the decolonization of Asian and African states), or they occur as the reaction on the complex socio-political situation in the countries with inner ethnical disputes (e. g. Israel, Ireland, BiH). Azaryahu also emphasizes that the relationship between contemporary government and hodonyms renaming can be noted in the

increase of the portion of streets named after the persons and events from the part of the history that contemporary government considers to be the most important one in the development of the country, region or town. After naming the streets and squares in order to commemorate the notable persons, events, phenomena and so on, the government usually does not change the street nomenclature in greater extent any more. By displacing former hodonyms from the physical landscape, these street names are being erased from the collective memory. In this way the main desire of the new government, which has the strong need to confirm its power by making its mark in the urban landscape, has actually been fulfilled.

By further analyzing the phenomenon of hodonyms, Azaryahu argues that street names can be regarded as the canonic system of symbols that are employed to represent certain ideology, which thereby becomes valid, relevant and compulsory. Such as bank-notes and post stamps, but as opposed to monuments and memorial museums, street names are «trivial» symbols deprived of the sense of highness; they are omnipresent landmarks in the urban landscape which appear in the public sphere of «ordinary» people who accept them and use them without deeper thinking about their connotative meanings; they are everyday and common reminders of the historical development of a town, region or country, which carry messages in a very sensitive, almost imperceptible and subconscious way [3: 38; 4: 90]. Nevertheless, as it will be represented later in the text, renaming can lead to the collective awakening of their existence, as well as to the occurrence of strong public actions against the process of renaming.

Besides Maoz Azaryahu, the process of renaming of streets and squares has been the object of interest of many researchers – mostly onomasticians, historians, geographers, ethnologists, and culturologists. J. Stanić, L. Šakaja and L. Slavuj [4: 91–92] have systematized studies (articles and books) about renamings urban toponymy and have sorted them out into three main groups according to the sources of interest for the theme: 1) studies that rely on the interests regarding the fall of the great colonial systems, so they elaborate about the controversial onomastics of the former colonies (e. g. in Singapore), 2) studies that deal with the ethnical disputes, with respect to questionable onomastics in ethnically divided areas, such as Israel, Ireland and BiH, which also emphasize the importance of (re)naming streets as the mechanism of symbolic demarcation of ethnic groups, as well as the significance of hodonyms in building national and local identities, 3) studies that address the issues about changes of political regimes in the Middle European, Eastern European and Southeastern European countries. These political changes caused the formation of post-socialist identities embedded in the abandonment of the socialist past, which consequently ended up in renaming of those hodonyms that carried socialist connotations. The last group of studies will be the object of our deeper interest.

Among the studies which address the renaming of streets and squares caused by the changes of political regimes, those of Maoz Azaryahu [1] about renaming of streets in East Berlin after the fall of communism should be accentuated. The author has recognized six periods of (re)naming streets and squares in Berlin during the XIX and XX century, and has made special research on the latest renaming. He has concluded that despite the desire for erasing DDR heritage in East Berlin, not all streets from the socialist period were renamed; thus piety and responsibility towards the past has been kept. The study of D. Light, I. Nicolae and B. Suditu [5] deals with the renaming of urban toponymy in Bucharest after imposing communism in the 1950s and the 1960s; the authors have concluded that the streets were named to commemorate the leading figures in Romanian and Soviet communism, and they have also noticed

that the intention of spatial clustering the street names by certain thematic groups with strong ideological mark is clearly visible. In 2004 Duncan Light [6] has continued the research of the phenomenon of renaming street names in Bucharest in the 1990s. In the latest mass renamings, he has noticed the occurrence of hodonyms named after notable persons, events and figures that evoked the memories on the time before socialism, i.e. of the so-called «Golden period» of Romanian history. These processes can be noticed in contemporary Croatian urban toponymies as well, due to the general idea of the necessity of awakening national consciousness and identity among the citizens of newborn independent state. Similar conclusions were made by Graeme Gill [7], who compared hodonyms in Moscow before and after the fall of the Soviet Union. Namely, not all hodonyms associated with the Soviet regime were renamed. Those that were renamed mostly refer to the persons and events from the pre-socialist period or gain entirely new names that have no connections with the Soviet past (which is often the case because these streets have not existed before).

The interest for the scientific research of Croatian hodonyms has greatly increased after the radical renamings that followed the establishment of the independent Republic of Croatia in the 1990s, although, as it will be introduced later in the paper, the processes of renaming streets had occurred with every previous major change in the political regime as well. Therefore, after 2000 many studies that address the renaming processes in Zagreb [3], [8], [4], Vukovar [9], Zadar [10], Pula [11], [12], Rijeka [13] etc. have been published. All of the before mentioned studies have one thing in common: by analyzing the structure of new hodonyms, their researchers have tried to investigate the main ideas followed by the decision makers in the processes of renamings; the authors have also tried to decode the patterns by which the streets were (re)named. Moreover, the authors have been interested in finding the answers to the questions as: which streets were renamed, and which ones were left alone, why the specific ones were renamed, what kind of effects these renamings had in public, what can we say about the society and the time in which these processes occurred, by which hodonyms the earlier ones were named after, why these particular ones etc.

#### **Mechanisms and principles of (re) naming streets and squares in Croatia**

Azaryahu argues that the political aspect of renaming process has a two-sided face: on the one hand its political dimension is expressed through the changes of ideological background that caused modifications of urban landscape, and on the other hand it has concrete implications for the specific procedures of the decision makers who control and manage the renaming process [1: 480]. The latter is a very important factor that has direct influence on the (re)naming streets and squares because every decision about changing a street name is in a way an act of local politics and bureaucracy. It is only rarely the result of citizen action. Though suggestions and initiative of residents can affect the (re)naming process in lesser extent, this sort of cases in Croatia seem to be very rare. More often residents invent ironical and cynical parallel and unofficial street names rather than use the official ones [3: 56].

Legal background for (re)naming streets and squares in Croatia consists of laws, regulations and subordinate legislation upon which decisions about (re)naming streets has been made. On the municipal/city level there are *Streets and squares naming commissions* appointed by municipal/city councils. The members of the commission are elected members of the city council, distinguished and prominent citizens, experts and professionals in the town's history, geography, urban development or so who originate or live in the town, and also scientists, such as linguistic scholars (onomasticians), historians, geographers, urban planners, publicists. The main tasks of the commissions are: to consider initiatives about naming and renaming of streets

and squares, to professionally elaborate on them and to propose the final solution for a street or a square name to the municipal/city council. By doing so, commissions have to deal with two major groups of street names according to the time, process and principles of their naming:

a) *existing (present) street names*, which were made spontaneously by residents before the official process of naming toponyms (so they are older, informal, and usually express local features and dialects; these toponyms are usually named after churches, shops, crafts and other occupations or objects of public purposes, such as wells, main railway stations, schools etc.)

b) toponyms named through *the official administrative procedure*; they are newer, formal and not spontaneous. They are named after some prominent person, important event, local site, city or capital associated with local, regional, national or international area (e. g. *Martin Luther King Street, King Tomislav Street, Zagreb Street*). This is why these toponyms reflect temporary political ideology of the national government or of the local community better than those which date from earlier historical periods. Therefore, «official» toponyms are a more powerful instrument of political manipulation than the «existing» street names [14: 33–34].

In the process of (re)naming, *Streets and squares naming commission* tends to follow the general principles (regulations) about streets and squares (re)naming for the purpose of introducing methodical (re)naming of urban toponymy according to the defined, objective criteria:

1) *objectivity* – refers to an objective, rational and comprehensive evaluation of the role and significance of the person after which the street is named in historical and social development of town, region or state as well as the impact the person has in the memory of contemporary citizens (e. g. *King Zvonimir Street, Washington Road, Garibaldi Street*)

2) *renaming after original names* – refers to the replacement of some recent street names with the original, old ones, which have usually appeared in the period of forming these streets, such as *Large Square, Main Street, Narrow Alley*. Old toponyms are usually domesticated, common and widely accepted street names among local population

3) *structure* – refers to the structure of toponyms regarding the main types of street names. It means that there has to be approximately the same number of street names that symbolize different historical periods or diverse geographic areas

4) *categorization of the streets* according to the evaluated «importance» of a person, geographic name, idea or event. It actually means that depending on how «significant» the person was, the larger or smaller, the central or peripheral, the frequent or bleak street will be named in their honor. It is generally about the adequate size, extent, and location of a street according to the «significance» of a certain person, historical event, idea or geographic object. Since it often implies the evaluation of the person's relevance in national, regional or local history, it is considered a very delicate process (e. g. the main square in Zagreb is named after very prominent governor – *Banus Jelačić*, some of downtown squares in Zagreb are named after notable Croatians, so we have: *Marko Marulić Square, Marshal Tito Square, Kvaternik Square*)

5) *generic names* – refers to the naming of diverse urban areas regarding their generic characteristics (e. g. hill, ground, area, top, road, street, highway, alley, square, avenue, park, boulevard, bank, quay, path, boardwalk)

6) *uniqueness* – refers to respecting the request for not repeating the same street name in one town

7) *shortening street names* – refers to simplifying and converting street names, especially long and more important ones, into the adjective name variations so they would

be more user-friendly. In that way the unnecessary mistakes in writing and pronunciation would be avoided (e. g. *Marko Marulić Square* to *Marulić's Square*)

8) *relocating street names* – refers to the displacement of toponyms to a new location. It is done only if it is really necessary, usually when there is a growing need for implementing new name or when there is an obvious shift in the evaluation of the importance of the existing name

9) *territorial grouping (zoning)* – refers to the process of gathering similar toponyms in city districts in order to make precise and useful orientation (e. g. in Zagreb's district Dubrava toponyms were named after trees and flowers – *Oak Street*, *Linden Street*, *Sycamore Street*). Likewise, toponyms can be grouped by writers, scientists, geographic names or so. The zoning of street names in such a way is quite common in new, usually residential districts of large cities [14: 34–35].

#### **Periods of renaming streets and squares in Croatia**

During the last hundred years there have been five major renamings of streets in Croatia. These processes of renaming urban toponymy can certainly be interpreted as the direct implications of the huge political regime changes [14: 38–40; 15: 64]. They are as follows:

1) The first organized and official streets and squares naming process in Croatia began during the Austro-Hungarian or Italian rule (turning Croatian names into Italian ones in Istria and Dalmatia was not an exclusive action intended only for street names; other types of names, such as personal names, surnames and toponyms, were also under attack of the Italian language). Using Croatian town Opatija as an example, Amir Muzur [16] pointed out that one of the greatest originalities introduced by the Italian government was systematic naming process of streets, because during the Austrian rule the main landmarks in Opatija were the names of urban villas. In that period arose names such as: *Corso Vittorio Emanuele III*, *Via G. Garibaldi*, *Via C. Battisti*, *Via Dante Alighieri*, *Via Galileo Galilei* and so on. In another Croatian town, Vukovar, the first nomination and limitation of streets as well as the official numbering of houses were made in 1881 [9]. Streets and squares in Zagreb were not legally and officially named for the first time before 1878 [4: 94, 111]. The intention of making urban landscapes more politically and nationally colored during the naming processes was perceived. It was done by incorporating those street names that were associated with the notable political and cultural figures, particularly those with a more strongly expressed national identity in the urban tissue.

2) After the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the second nomination, i. e. the first denomination (renaming) of streets began. Between 1918 and 1947 some 80 per cent of traditional streets and squares names were changed [17]. Zagreb's streets gained pronounced national connotation during the new Yugoslav state, which was the outcome of naming many streets after Croatian politicians, writers and lawyers from the XIX century [3: 48; 4: 97, 112]. With every subsequent alternation of ruler, new changes in urban toponymy occurred.

3) The establishment of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) made a fertile ground for bringing back some old names, but also for introducing some ideological names, such as *Hitlerstrasse* in Vukovar [9] or *D'Annunzio Square* in Rijeka [13]. In Zagreb many toponyms that suggested the ideas of Yugoslavia and pro-Slavic ideas were eventually replaced with those that were suitable for the Croatian Revolutionary Movement (Ustaše), as well as for the German and Italian Nazi Movement, e.g. *Mussolini Street*, *Square of Munich Victims* [3: 41; 4: 98, 112].

4) In the former Yugoslavia changes of street names in Croatian towns pointed out a strong desire to express the idea of imaginary Yugoslav unity, so many streets and squares were renamed again (firstly all those which were imposed by the NDH government), mostly after the prominent revolutionaries, antifascist heroes, war victims and soldiers from the People Liberation Movement/Battle (NOB), as well as after the events, figures and ideas from partisan movement. Streets were named after partisans from all parts of ex-Yugoslavia, not only from Croatia, as well as after geographic names from all parts of the state (e. g. *Fraternity and Unity Street*, *Boris Kidrič Street*, *Sava Kovačević Street*, *Yugoslav National Army Street* in Poreč; *Edvard Kardelj Street*, *Užice Street* in Labin; *Vladimir Bakarić Street*, *XIX Division Street* in Crikvenica; *Beograd Avenue*, *Victims of Fascist Regime Square*, *Proleterian Brigade Street*, *Red Army Street* later *Socialist Revolution Street* in Zagreb; *Yugoslav Marines Bank*, *Podhum Victims Street*, *People's Revolution Promenade* in Rijeka; *AVNOJ Square* (AVNOJ stands for Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia), *Rade Končar Street*, *Marshal Tito Bank*, *Maxim Gorki Park*, *Park of Freedom* in Pula; *Sarajevo Street*, *Beograd Street*, *Molotov Path*, *Karl Marx Street* in Zadar). In Croatian littoral towns, which were under the great influence of Italy for a long time, many towns lost Italian names due to the politics of dissemination of Croatian names. Thus in Pula, for instance, *Piazza Alighieri* was replaced by *People's Revolution Square*, and then by *Dante Square*, while *Parco della Regia Marina* became *Yugoslav Marines Square* and then *Marines Square*; in Zadar, streets like *Riva Vittorio Emanuele III*, *Via Roma*, *Calle Riccardo Zanella* were renamed as well [12: 161, 245; 10: 710]. In Zagreb's Lower Town District (Donji grad) every fourth street was renamed in that period [4: 100]. Since this kind of streets and squares renaming was mostly perceived as something forced, foreign, something that distorts the historical reality and suppresses local and Croatian identity (as well as the state of Yugoslavia itself), in many Croatian towns in socialist Yugoslavia silent resistance to the newest renaming occurred. However, one has to be honest and say that despite the fact that socialist government conducted mass renaming processes, many streets in Zagreb that had been named in the pre-socialist period and carried the names of Croatian national ideas or persons were not entirely eliminated from the urban landscape. A huge number of Croats who were spreading the ideas of Croatianhood were still present on Zagreb's streets and squares. In the town's texture new honyms with strong socialist connotative meaning were implemented. The power of the new government in changing the urban landscape of Zagreb was most prominently noticed in the alternations of the key landmarks in Donji grad district by renaming the major, most frequent and most popular squares in town (eight out of sixteen squares were renamed; e. g. Zagreb gained *Republic Square*, *Marshal Tito Square*, *Stalin Square* later *Lenin Square* etc. [8: 116; 4: 99–101]).

5) The culmination of renaming streets happened after gaining independence in the 1990s, when many city councils in a rather short period of time have established *Streets and squares naming commissions*, which had the authority to change earlier nomenclature of urban toponymy in larger extent. By doing so, commissions have very often accentuated the Croatian history before the World War II, as well as the events, battles and persons connected with the Croatian War of Independence (e. g. *Miroslav Bulešić Street* – before *Yugoslav National Army Street* or *Stjepan Konzul Istranin Street* – before *Pino Budicin Street* in Pazin; *Grgur Senjanin Street* – before *Branko Jurčić Street* or *Silvestar Bedričić Street* – before *Dušan Orlić Street* in Senj; *Defenders of the Croatian War of Independence Street* in Rab; *Croatian National Guard Street* in Split; *Defender's Bridge* in Rijeka and so on). Attilio Krizmanić [12: 117] pointed out

that after 1990 even 70 percent of the streets gained new names. First in line for replacement were names such as: *Fraternity and Unity Square*, *Beograd Street*, *Yugoslav National Army Street*, *Yugoslav Marines Square*, *V. I. Lenin Street*, *Titograd Street*. In Zadar, for instance, *Yugoslav National Army Street* became *King Dmitar Zvonimir Street*, *Lenin Boardwalk* was renamed to *Bulwarks of Town Walls*, *People's Militia Street* became *Ruđer Bošković Street* etc. [10: 717]. Zagreb lost the same or similar hodonyms, as well as the date when it was liberated from the Nazi occupation (8<sup>th</sup> May 1945) and the square named after the Republic (of Croatia) – *Republic Square* – which is what Croatia actually is today. There were 474 changes in street and square names in Zagreb from 1990 until 2009, most of them named after persons connected with the former Yugoslavia (SFRJ), the People Liberation Movement or the toponymy from the former state. They were replaced by the hodonyms associated with older or newer Croatian history (especially connected to the War of Independence), but also by Croatian geographic names [4: 103–107].

However, regarding its intensity, the processes of the denomination of streets in the post-socialist period was not the same in all parts of Croatia. According to the importance that local community recognized in the People Liberation Movement and the battles in WWII, as well as in notable persons of the Partisan Movement, the present urban toponimies that commemorate the socialist period of history are very different from town to town (e. g. towns in Kvarner Bay region experienced more extensive renaming processes than towns in Istria after 1990 [14: 103]). It is also evident that in the areas or places where the renamings were more extensive, the national connotations, expressed in street and square names and seen as a result of stronger building of national identity, were more strongly expressed (in this case, contemporary street names in Kvarner Bay region express national identity more strongly than those in Istria).

Two simultaneous processes are evident during the last renaming of street names. On the one hand, there was the elimination of old hodonyms connected with the partisan battles during WWII and socialism, and on the other hand there was a strong process of building new references in the old national cultural and historical tradition in order to enforce national spirit (for instance, in Zagreb's urban toponymy many names of Croatian nobility, writers, artists, cultural workers and politicians occurred). That is the reason why the general impression embedded in the actual decrement of «political» hodonyms and at the same time increment of «non-political» hodonyms indicates that in the 1990s urban landscapes became less politicized and more neutralized. That means that street names were continually losing their political-ideological connotations and the significance of culture and heritage was being emphasized [4: 101–103, 112]. Nino Malešić [13] listed a number of examples of new hodonyms in Rijeka that commemorate notable entrepreneurs and cultural workers (*Adamić Quay*, *Quay of Karolina Riječka*, *Ružić Street*). By analyzing street renamings in Zagreb after 1990, Bojan Marjanović [8: 119] noticed that the result of «reading» town's streets has also been changed. Thus, from Zagreb's street names formed prior to 1990 one could «read» the heroes from People Liberation Battle and workers movement, as well as Croatian intelligentsia, victims of the Fascist regime, ideas of socialism, fraternity and unity, proletariat, and Yugoslav and pro-Slavic orientation, while the urban toponymy after the 1990 tells us about another part of Croatian history. Croatian narratives with the names of their main characters written on street tables (Croatian kings, aristocracy, rulers, Croatian scientists, intelligentsia, Croatian towns and counties, local

Croatian geographic names), as well as the names of Western countries and the Western European orientation can be «read» from contemporary toponyms.

#### **Sociolinguistic changes in street and square names**

The basis of Croatian standard language is Stokavian dialect (one of three dialects that are spoken in Croatia: Stokavian, Čakavian and Kajkavian). Linguistic politics that accepts Stokavian dialect as the official one in the areas with autochthonous Kajkavian or Čakavian dialects permanently influences the older variants of toponyms, which had been formed much earlier than the standard language, so the latter ones inherently contain parts of local languages and local dialects. Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin [3: 53–54] pointed out that Kajkavian variants are gradually disappearing and Stokavian variants are slowly replacing them in Zagreb and the neighbouring regions. Linguistic changes that come out of this process are evident through three aspects. Foremost, Rihtman-Auguštin emphasizes the changes that were made as the result of administrative (re)naming process, which imply respect for the norms of Croatian standard language, so the original Kajkavian suffix *-ec* has brutally been replaced by Stokavian ending *-ac*. Thus *Туљканес* became *Туљканас*, *Jelenovec* is now *Jelenovac*, and *Miroševac* *Miroševac*. The second aspect of changes refers to the replacement of Kajkavian group *šč* with standard variant *šč*. Although incorrect, many people say *Medveščak* instead of *Medveščak*, and on the street table one can see *Frateršćica* or *Kuniščak* instead of *Fraterčšica* and *Kuniščak*. The third aspect of sociolinguistic changes of toponyms is unofficial and colloquial; it implies the shortening of long and complex street names in spoken language, because in everyday communication they appear to be awkward and non-functional. Thus in spoken language one can very often hear *Trg* (*Square*) instead of *Trg bana Jelačića* (*Banus Jelačić Square*), *Kvatrić* or even older variant *Kvaternjak* instead of *Kvaternikov trg* (*Kvaternik Square*), *Zrinjevac* instead of *Trg Nikole Šubića Zrinskog* (*Nikola Šubić Zrinski Square*), *Mažuranač* instead of *Trg Antuna, Ivana i Vladimira Mažuranića* (*Antun, Ivan and Vladimir Square*), *Džamija* (*Mosque*; named after former mosque that once stood there) instead of *Trg žrtava fašizma* (*Victims of Fascist Regime Square*), *Zvonimirova* instead of *Ulica kralja Zvonimira* (*King Zvonimir Street*), *Vukovarska* instead of *Ulica grada Vukovara* (*Town of Vukovar Street*) and so on.

#### **Examples of contested renamings of streets and squares after 1990**

Every period of mass renamings of streets and squares closely connected with the changes in socio-political climate comes up with some contested toponyms, not only because the significance of a person, event, idea or geographic name after which a certain street or square should be named becomes questionable, but also because many people start to question the location and importance of the selected street compared with the locations of other possible streets within the urban tissue and compared with the importance of the person, event or geographic name itself.

One of the most controversial polemics that occurred during the process of renaming streets and squares over the last few years in Croatia was whether the streets or squares in Croatian towns should gain name after the first Croatian president Franjo Tuđman, and if that should be the case, in which towns Tuđman should have his street, and of course, where should the location of that street or square be. Namely, very soon after his death there was real euphoria in many Croatian towns about that idea, so many city councils wanted to rename some old street/square or to nominate a new one after him. However, because of the failure of the party he was leading (*Croatian Democratic Union – HDZ*) on the elections that were held soon after his death and because of the incriminations

on his own and on his party's account, the first public disapprovals, polemics and doubts occurred. Despite the legal period of 10 years that is considered to be necessary to pass from the person's death to the moment of (re)naming the street after him/her, during which there would be enough time to objectively analyze his/her part and importance in the social and historical development of the town or state, many city councils decided very promptly to nominate the streets after Franjo Tuđman. First of all, Vukovar gained *Franjo Tuđman Street*. Shortly after that, Split, Omiš, Kaštela, Zadar and other towns did the same.

However, the greatest polemics arose about the proposal for naming a square in Zagreb as *Franjo Tuđman Square*. The discussion was mainly about the location of *Franjo Tuđman Square*, not so much about whether the Croatian capital should have a square named after the first president or not. Since all centrally located squares in Zagreb were named after notable persons and events from the Croatian history long before (e. g. *Banus Jelačić Square*, *Marshal Tito Square*, *Mažuranić Square*, *Marulić Square*, *Roosevelt Square*), the location of *Franjo Tuđman Square* became the issue of left and right wing party rivalry in Zagreb and their desires to manifest political powers on the town level, and not the problem of professionals any more. Thus, at one point there were a few squares that applied for its location: *Marshal Tito Square*, *Roosevelt Square*, *French Republic Square*, *Britain Square* and *Kvaternik Square*, with some proposals that some non-built, new squares in the town's suburbs could be named after Franjo Tuđman. Understandably, at that moment the historical roles and importance of the persons after whom the squares had already been named were reviewed. The comparison of their deeds with the work and role of Franjo Tuđman was also made. Definite solution was seen as the compromise version between the most pronounced proposals. In 2006 it was decided to nominate one unnamed green area with no buildings on it in wider centre of the town [14: 41–42; 4: 110].

Due to its name, *Marshal Tito Square* is certainly one of the most controversial squares in Zagreb even today. Its name has provoked discussions and contestations for a long time. The problem is often actualized, what is evident in frequent caveats, articles in the newspapers, statements of town's government leaders. It is reactualized again with the issues about *Franjo Tuđman Square* nomination [3: 47; 14: 42]. There are people who think that no street or square in Zagreb should be named after «the Yugoslav dictator and oppressor», while others think that a representative square such as *Theatre Square* (or *University Square*), as once were the names for the square in question, should not be named after Josip Broz Tito, but the square should finally regain one of its previous names. Those who uphold the idea of renaming *Marshal Tito Square* refer to the existence of *Victims of Fascist Regime Square* and, according to the right wing political statements, assume that one square in Zagreb should be named *Victims of Communist Regime Square* [14: 42].

The *Victims of Fascist Regime Square* in Zagreb is a very illustrative example of the changes of the square name depending on the contemporary political ideology. Its name and the name of the neighbouring square *Croatian Splendors Square* (earlier *Stock market Square*), have been changed twice during the last fifteen years, which has caused strong abjudications and mass caveats. Namely, after renaming *Victims of Fascist Regime Square* into *Croatian Splendors Square* in 1990, caveats have been organized on a few occasions, with the idea to emphasize the importance of the antifascist struggle in Croatian national history. New government reclaimed the old square name in 2000, and neighbouring *Stock market Square* became *Croatian Splendors Square*. In spoken language residents of Zagreb perceive *Victims of Fascist Regime Square* as *Mosqe* (Džamija – «See you by the Mosque»), because of the mosque

that once stood there (it is the House of Croatian Artists today). Refusing the acceptance of the official name(s) and calling it by the unofficial name can be interpreted as the outcome of the frequent changes of its name during the last hundred years (*The N Square, Petar I Liberator Square, The III Square, Kulin Banus Square, Victims of Fascist Regime Square, Croatian Splendors Square* [18: 282; 4: 41; 14: 42]).

The last example considers renaming the highway that connects eastern and western side of Zagreb. After finishing the highway, it was nominated as *Fraternity and Unity Highway* in central Zagreb area, *Beograd Avenue* on its eastern part (the one that leads to Beograd), and *Ljubljana Avenue* on its western part (the one that leads to Ljubljana). The highway was built to connect Ljubljana, Zagreb and Beograd, but it also had strong symbolic meaning – to widespread the idea of fraternity and unity between the three towns (and three nations within Yugoslavia). When in the 1990s the idea of fraternity and unity became unacceptable and unwanted because it had strong connotations of the former state (SFRJ), *Fraternity and Unity Highway* was renamed. Its eastern part is now called *Slavonian Avenue* (after the Slavonia region in the easternmost part of Croatia), while a long portion of the western part (*Ljubljana Avenue*) was renamed to *Zagreb Avenue* [8: 123].

### Conclusion

The above mentioned examples of street and square renamings and the resistances that were the outcome of contested decisions of the local governments imply that toponym renaming process is socially and politically very important act. It can unexpectedly cause hypersensitivity within the public sphere and initiate discussions (as well as caveats) about the unsettled historical controversies and disputes. In spite of that, the ultimate and favorable result of renaming certain street or square is very often postponed because city councils have many ordinary and for daily urban living more important issues to discuss. That is the reason why questionable toponyms may wait for a long time to be discussed and accepted, usually until a suitable political environment for its reactualizing is created.

This paper has also confirmed the assumption that street renaming processes that have begun in the early 1990s in Croatia had many similarities compared with other post-socialist European countries. Three major shared characteristics can be identified: 1) not all street names associated with the socialist regime were renamed, 2) the desire for renaming socialistic street names after the persons, events, ideas or geographical names from the pre-socialist period arouse in larger extent due to the idea of the reinforcement of national identities, 3) the decrease of the «political» toponyms in order to increase the ones without political connotations, which is usually done by introducing street and square names associated with local and national culture and heritage. Nevertheless, it is also evident that, regarding different historical developments and diverse political goals of contemporary governments, each post-socialist country has its own specificities in the process of renaming streets and squares.

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## ПЕРЕЙМЕНУВАННЯ ВУЛИЦЬ ТА ПЛОЩ У ПОСТСОЦІАЛІСТИЧНИХ ХОРВАТСЬКИХ МІСТАХ

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Переименование городских топонимических элементов считается обычным процессом, сопровождающим основные социополитические изменения. Такие тенденции являются типичными для городских лингвистических ландшафтов некоторых стран центральной, восточной и юго-восточной части Европы на протяжении последнего столетия. В Хорватии в зависимости от идеологии действующего правительства (при австро-венгерском или итальянском господстве, «старом» правительстве Югославии, в короткий период работы правительства Независимой Республики Хорватия, во времена правительства социалистической Югославии или Республики Хорватия) названия улиц переименовывали несколько раз. При помощи сравнительного метода в статье охарактеризованы изменения названий улиц в течение последних 20 лет. Многие названия, образованные в социалистический период, заменены новыми, преимущественно такими, которые содержат очевидные националистические коннотации. Такая политика переименования является результатом стремлений свободного выражения национальной идентичности, что долгое время была под запретом.

*Ключевые слова:* городская топонимика, названия улиц, переименование, постколониальные города, Хорватия.

## ПЕРЕИМЕНОВАНИЕ УЛИЦ И ПЛОЩАДЕЙ В ПОСТСОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ ХОРВАТСКИХ ГОРОДАХ

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