

Writers on the Streets of Ljubljana: The Onomastics of Street Names¹

Urška Perenič

0 Introduction: Street names as a visual and tangible element of symbolic commemoration

Street names are—like the names of such locations as squares, parks, paths, and elevations, as well as memorials, memorial plaques, grave markers, institutions (e.g., schools), memorial rooms, houses, gathering places, and, of course, museums—tangible means of symbolic commemoration that typically have national significance—that is, they aid in identifying and affirming national, collective identity.

The function of these places explains why they act as barometers of the political, governmental, and economic spheres, for they are in fact a self-affirming tool of prevailing power structures that employ them to appropriate urban public space. Since the process of naming streets is conditioned on ideological (i.e., economic, political, and religious) factors, some street and other signs are even categorized as “contested” spatial practices (Azaryahu 2012, 2011a, 2011b; Rose-Redwood, Alderman, and Azaryahu 2010; Azaryahu and Kook 2002; Azaryahu 1997, 1996; Yeoh 1996, 1992). Michael Billig (1995) groups such practices with the concept of “banal nationalism,” which some other theoreticians have adopted to mean the reproductive discourses of nationalism and nationalistic practices in the context of everyday life. Ideologically motivated street naming includes various interconnected processes: selecting ideologically and culturally appropriate personages after whom to name streets and erasing personages who were once present in the urban space but are ideologically unacceptable at a given historical moment.

Street signs as have been customary since their introduction in eighteenth-century Paris are, on the one hand, a common part of the spatial and physical infrastructure—they are universal and abundant (Azaryahu 2012: 464). On the other hand, they can have controversial ideological and political motivation, and for that reason they may acquire conflict potential. In other words, street signs, which have the primarily utilitarian function of

¹ The basis of this article is a paper entitled “Književniki v poimenovanjih ulic v ožjem središču slovenskega glavnega mesta: Prostorska analiza z GPSV in *Google Earth*” (Authors and Street Names in the City Center of the Slovenian Capital”), which I presented at the symposium *Kulturni svetniki in kanonizacija: Slovenski in evropski kontekst* (Cultural Saints and Canonization: The Slovenian and European Contexts), sponsored by the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts’ Scientific Research Center, May 2015, Ljubljana.

naming locations and facilitating orientation in a city, are simultaneously the (not entirely innocent) bearers of symbolic messages (Azaryahu 1996, 2012).

Their commemorative potential is an important aspect of their ideological messaging. They function to represent “official” discourse on history and cultural memory in everyday life (Azaryahu 1996, 1997, 2012; Azaryahu and Kook 2002; Alderman 2000, 2002, 2003; Light, Nicolae, and Suditu 2003). For this reason a historical perspective is methodologically crucial in investigating the naming of streets, one informed by knowledge of societal changes in politics and law that influence the onomastics of street names. This perspective must be combined with a semiotic approach that questions how street names or their signs codify political and ideological messages (Azaryahu 2012).

We can readily conclude from the Israeli geographer Maoz Azaryahu’s research pertaining to the multilingual Israeli context (Azaryahu 2012,² 2011b, 2006; Azaryahu and Kook 2002; Azaryahu and Golan 2001) that ethnically mixed (and contested) areas are fertile ground for such investigations (Stanić, Šakaja, and Slavuj 2009: 92).³ Since the 1990s, Azaryahu has studied street naming and renaming in postwar Berlin, 1945–48 (Azaryahu 2001a), as well as the situation in (East) Berlin (Azaryahu 1997), where there were quite radical changes in urban topography following German reunification. Stanić, Šakaja, and Slavuj (2009: 92) take special note of a set of studies on street names motivated by changes in socio-political systems in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. In this regard, Duncan Light’s (2004) research into street names in Bucharest, 1990–97, is noteworthy. It appears that renaming streets is one of the most important aspects of post-socialist change that affect not only urban space but history as well, creating new foundations for possibly defining national identity anew.

Rhys Jones and Peter Merriman’s (2009) study of street onomastics falls into a special group. They deal with the presence and role of Welsh, an alternate official language to English, in road signs and place markers, using a critical social approach. Their research has a resulting advocacy flavor. Some more recent studies dealing with the process of naming streets in close connection with racial segregation or the marginalization of minority groups in the U.S. resemble the former. These

² He researched the political and legal bases of multilingual, Hebrew-English-Arabic street signs in different Israeli cities; the results of multilingual policy; and the street signs’ symbolic import.

³ A larger and richer object of scholarly interest is the process of name streets after the disintegration of large colonial configurations, which leads to reevaluation of colonialism in post-colonial circumstances (Stanić, Šakaja, and Slavuj 2009: 91–92)

would include Alderman and Inwood's (2013) studies of symbolic commemoration of Martin Luther King, Jr. in the Southeast U.S. (e.g., in Statesboro, Georgia and Greenville, North Carolina). The authors note that given racial and social segregation it is insufficient to attend to the presence of a personal name (e.g., King's) on street signs, but that it is necessary to take into account where on the city grid a street is located, since there are "better" and "worse," "central" and "peripheral" districts. A street's location indicates the social standing of its namesake and how effective the commemorative act of naming was—in this case, the amount of cultural power African-American citizens possessed.

The question of who controls the process of naming streets—and who is excluded from the process—is especially important in the critical social approach. The examples cited show that local and regional, as well as state authorities make decisions in accordance with a state's legal and administrative norms. Towns and other communities, their administrations, commissions, and representative bodies can make decisions about street names, or decisions can be regulated at the regional or state levels, even engaging higher instances of state administration responsible for the environment and internal affairs. Commissions of specialists are sometimes appointed; in some cases individuals may make proposals. However, in general it is true that whoever holds the keys to naming and renaming places is acting in the context of social and political changes.

1. Investigating the process of the "literary" naming of streets in the confines of Ljubljana and the wider context of street onomastics: The research method and goal

The naming of Ljubljana streets after literati as considered in this article was in practical terms the domain of the city administration since the time the street system came into being. At first a special working body, a five-member committee was in charge, headed by the mayor, Ivan Hribar.⁴ From the 1950s, it was the city council; today it is a special commission that is division of the city council. One of the central aims since the end of the nineteenth century was to give Ljubljana a Slovene character by virtue of its street names. Slovene literary culture played a prominent role in this process, as it did throughout history in constituting Slovene culture, nationhood, and identity.⁵

⁴ The committee was formed at the beginning of 1889. Members in addition to Hribar were Fran Povše, Ivan Rozman, Josip Vošnjak, and Tomo Zupan.

⁵ The majority of studies of street onomastics appear to focus on political figures in the context of discourses of nationalism, while there are no fundamental studies of literary street names.

The process of naming Ljubljana's "literary" streets thus belongs to forms of symbolic commemoration of the nation's essence. It would be speculative to conjecture to what degree city dwellers—those who used the streets—were in fact aware that some streets bore the names of literary personages.⁶ However, based on prevailing politico-cultural motivation (and selectivity) in choosing literary personages, we can say that literary streets' central role is to represent and foster national identity while reinforcing a sense of national political homogeneity in the community, especially from the end of the nineteenth century.

If the process of naming streets affords a unique view of the national past (Azaryahu 1997; Light 2004), then what is of interest here is the view of the Slovene cultural and literary past through the prism of Ljubljana street names.

For the purpose of this research, I have considered, on the one hand, compilations of archival data (mainly decrees by municipal commissions having to do with namings), especially those that are available in Vlado Valenčič's exhaustive *Zgodovina ljubljanskih uličnih imen* ([History of Ljubljana street names] 1989). The history of Ljubljana's literary streets will, among other things, reveal when writers more frequently lent their names to central streets; which writers were most recognized in this way; the proportion of poets and prose writers, men and women, creative writers and linguists;⁷ and which period in the history of Slovenian literature is most represented in street names. Additionally, there is the question of possible synchronic symbolic meaning accruing to literary street names—that is, the possibly fluctuating meaning that their locations, positions, and courses communicate. What can we learn from spatial relationships between literary streets (e.g., are literary connections between the authors expressed in the parallel courses of streets named after them, and is it possible to connect the streets' parallels or any other patterns with the authors' literary relationships?).

In this research I test contemporary analytical tools, such as an open-source GPS Visualizer (GPSV),⁸ Google Maps, and Google Earth.

⁶ This is made more difficult by the fact that mixed motives are joined in individual names; for example, Ivan Tavčar, Valentin Zarnik and Rudolf Maister were honored for political, cultural, and political reasons.

⁷ The analysis considers Protestant writers who took credit for Slovenian Protestant writing, as well as the linguists and writers who collaborated in the process of establishing national identity and culture. The roles of the literary personalities are diverse and include that of poet, writer, dramatist, printer, publisher, critic, editor, and literary historian, which means they cover different segments of the literary process.

⁸ The author of the application is Adam Schneider. For more information see <http://www.gpsvisualizer.com/>.

The Google Maps technology is available through a browser and enables street views, data collection about the location of an object, and measurement of distances, while Google Earth furnishes a more complex computer analysis of these types of empirical data on literary streets. The Google Earth application has more tools and functions, which offer different information about a geographical data. We measure the distances with a ruler and set the time with a time slider; it is possible to obtain relief data and traffic information. We can change the map view (by rotating, zooming, etc.), see satellite pictures, and—last but not least—we can simulate flying. It furthermore enables the import of different spatial data—in this case, GPS data about the location of the literary streets. To obtain GPS coordinates, we preliminarily marked the literary streets in the GPS Visualizer, then we imported the data as kml files to Google Earth, which was the basis for creating the analytical maps. Google Earth's function, which enables different ways of creating a map, proved to be useful; we can, for example, change the color of the points, lines, and patterns of the streets, which is an advantage when analyzing large amounts of spatial data. Computer aided tools are therefore not used simply to display information and results obtained, but are also included in the process of the analysis. With their help it is possible to make new and fresh discoveries; in the present example about the location and role of cultural figures whose names were inscribed in the heart of the Slovenian capital.

The heart of the city or the town center is not a static category, since its borders, perimeter, area and (traffic, touristic, cultural, economic, administrative, etc.) arrangement can vary over time. The ground plan of the center changes with varying intensity (e.g., with the appearance of newly planned streets). Over time the center of Ljubljana has also changed, which can in a nutshell be described as a process of expansion. Besides prehistoric settlements and Roman Ljubljana, which covered most of that what is today's town center, we have in mind mostly early medieval Ljubljana, when we find the first mention of the city's name and which was walled at least until the fourteenth century (Košič Humar and Pinterič 2012: 11). The old town center⁹ was located under the castle; besides Stari trg, which is its oldest part; it included Mestni trg and Gornji trg (i.e., Old Ljubljana); furthermore, medieval Ljubljana developed around the (walled) Novi trg. After two earthquakes (in the sixteenth and at the end of nineteenth century), the town center was restored and it slowly expanded outwards from the old center until the middle of the twentieth century, while on the margins Ljubljana was still expanding in different directions (e.g., towards

⁹ In German, the expression, *historischer Stadtkern*, is used for the old town center, also *historisches Zentrum* or *Altstadt*, while the name *Neustadt* applies to the smaller central part or the center of the town, which spread after the Middle Ages and also applies to Ljubljana, which arose from its medieval foundations.

the south) in the 1970s. Considering the continuous expansion of the town center in multiple directions, the “town center” refers not only to the most central part, but “the core town center” (the area inside the ring road). As understood from several spatial planning and traffic regulation decrees issued by the Municipality of Ljubljana and published in the *Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia*, this area is within the inner city ring and is surrounded by the following streets: Tivolska cesta, Bleiweisova cesta, Aškerčeva cesta, Zoisova cesta, Karlovška and Roška cesta, Njegoševa cesta, Masarykova cesta, and Trg OF.

2 Analysis: Historical survey and symbolic import

An analysis showed that the naming of streets, roads, and squares in the core town center happened in several stages. When speaking about “literary” streets we can distinguish several periods in the process of naming. The main source for the history of the naming of literary streets is Valenčič (1989), who relies on archival material (the official decrees of the responsible municipal commissions). We will not follow his periodization,¹⁰ but will base the individual stages on one or more consecutively issued decrees that refer to the naming of the streets in the area of the core town center of Ljubljana.

Stage 1: until the year 1877

Stage 2: 1892–98¹¹

Stage 3: 1906¹²

Stage 4: 1910

Stage 5: 1919–1923

Stage 6: 1934¹³

Stage 7: 1946–1952

Stage 8: 2009

¹⁰ The suggested periods, as they are also understood from the book’s index, are: the year 1848 and Slovenian street names; the Hribar period; the period of 1912–18; after the creation of Yugoslavia; during the occupation of 1941–45, etc.

¹¹ In this stage, four decrees, referring to the literary names of the streets, were issued and are from the years 1892, 1893, 1897, and 1898.

¹² This stage is dealt with separately, since it is to a certain degree specific: the literary street names from the year 1906 could be understood as a consequence of the Prešeren statue, which was erected in the center of Ljubljana the year before.

¹³ In the middle of the 1930s there was only one literary street name and is dealt with separately for two reasons: for the first time a female literary writer lent her name to a main street, and because the next literary street appeared only after WW II.

2.1 The first among the writers, whom we “meet” on the periphery of the core town center, was a patron and supporter of the beginnings of Slovenian literature in the Age of Enlightenment, **Žiga Zois** (1747–1819). Until 1877 Cojzov¹⁴ graben (Eng. Cojz’s Gully) existed, which later was named “Road” (Slo. *cesta*, Ger. *Straße* [Valenčič 1989: 48, 69, 228]). In several other cases (Aškerčeva cesta, Cankarjeva cesta, Erjavčeva cesta, Prešernova cesta, etc.), “road” (Slo. *cesta*) represents a traffic artery which is wider, longer, and has heavier traffic than a “street” (Slo. *ulica*), which could indicate the relatively greater importance of the writer after whom it was named. In today’s street arrangement, Zoisova cesta forms an inner circle of the town center from the crossroads with Aškerčeva cesta, and continues to Karlovška cesta. In 1877, another “pioneer,” this time of the Slovenian literary language, got his “road”—**Primož Trubar** (1508–86). Initially it was the street from Šentjakovski most to Sv. Jakoba trg (today’s Levstikov trg), since that was the location of Trubar’s house (Valenčič 1989: 63); however, today’s Trubarjeva ulica dates from 1952, when they renamed Sv. Petra cesta (Valenčič 1989: 227–28). There are several other cases where the location of the street changed (e.g., Prešeren or Čop); however, commemorative tradition is shown by the year of the first naming, when a street in the center of the (provincial) capital was named after the writer for the first time, and that is what will be considered in the analysis.

If we look at a bird’s eye view of the town center, we see the tangent streets Trubarjeva cesta and Dalmatinova cesta, which could meet at a distant junction.

2.2 Jurij Dalmatin (about 1547–89), who influenced the formation of the literary language primarily with his translation of the Bible, had a street named after him at Mayor Ivan Hribar’s suggestion, and (only) after the renaming of Dolga ulica in 1898 (Valenčič 1989: 118). The process of naming streets after members of the circle of the Age of Enlightenment is comparable; **Valentin Vodnik** (1758–1819) received his spatial memorial approximately fifteen years after his patron, Zois, when in 1892 an area of Valvasorjev trg was renamed after him (Valenčič 1989: 65, 108).¹⁵

Trubarjeva cesta and Petkovškovo nabrežje are connected by a short and narrow street, which was only named after the editor of the literary almanach *Krajnska čbelica*, Miha Kastelic, in 1923, while the other classic figures of Slovenian Romanticism and the cultural historians of that time, who were involved in the process of Slovenian nation building, received their street names together with Dalmatin and Vodnik in 1892. They are (listed by their age): **Kopitar** (1780–1844), **Metelko** (1789–1860), **Čop** (1797–1835), **Prešeren** (1800–49), and **Slomšek** (1800–62). The

¹⁴ In the year of independence the name was corrected to its original spelling.

¹⁵ There, next to the statue, stands a lyceum where Vodnik lectured.

original Prešernova ulica was in the most central part of the town center, where Slonova ulica had previously run and where today's Čopova ulica is. Today's Prešernova ulica is where **Bleiweis**¹⁶ street was since 1897 and dates from the year 1949—that is, from the centenary of Prešeren's death. (Valenčič 1989: 109, 221, 238) That means that between 1949 and 2009, when part of Tivolska cesta was renamed as Bleiweisova cesta, the name Bleiweis was not attached to a street. Today's location of Bleiweisova cesta does not otherwise differ much from the former one, where today's Prešernova cesta is, so that Bleiweis and Prešeren remain in the immediate vicinity. They cross each other, which could be connected with their "contradictions." The fact that Janez Bleiweis (1808–81) had a street named after him five years after Prešeren must also be connected to his later death; we can only guess whose name would have first appeared in the area of the core town center had Prešeren and Bleiweis died at the same time.

Slomšek and Metelko¹⁷ Streets in the northeastern part of the core town center can, at least in the case of the former, be connected with regional origin, whereas Prešeren and Bleiweis are located in the western part. Aside from Bleiweis, in the area of the core center, Prešeren meets his closest friend Čop, at Prešernov trg (1949) and today's Čopova ulica.¹⁸ Conversely, in the area of the town center, Kopitar is completely separated from them and, moreover, is located on the other side of the river Ljubljanica; towards the south Kopitarjeva ulica continues into Krekov trg.

While streets were named after the classic figures of Romanticism, they were also named after authors of Slovenian Realism in the years 1892 and 1893.¹⁹ The first ones after whom a street or square were named were **Fran Erjavec** (1834–87), when they renamed Aleksandrova cesta,²⁰ and **Josip Jurčič** (1844–81),²¹ whose name was given to a previously nameless

¹⁶ During the Italian occupation, Bleiweisova cesta was renamed to Cesta Viktorja Emanuela III, but only until 1943, when it again became Bleiweisova cesta.

¹⁷ He was a cathedral catechist in Ljubljana and since 1817 also a professor of Slovenian language at the chair in the Ljubljana Lyceum.

¹⁸ Today's Čopova ulica is also from the year 1949, the original was where today's Čuferjeva ulica is (Valenčič 1989: 113, 221, 226). Again we consider the first year, since it shows the tradition of street naming.

¹⁹ Tomanova ulica was also named in 1893, but we do not take it into consideration in this group of streets because the name has not survived in the area of the core town center, and cannot be used for synchronous analysis with the help of the aforementioned applications.

²⁰ Part of Erjavčeva cesta was redesigned in 1893 and the street was extended to the railroad.

²¹ He cooperated on founding the *Ljubljanski zvon* journal and thematized the history of Ljubljana, as in his historical novel *Hči mestnega sodnika* (Daughter of the local judge, 1866).

area of Old Ljubljana (Valenčič 1989: 109–10, 112). It is somewhat surprising, that the older **Levstik** (1831–87), who was kind of a spiritual leader of the group called *vajevci*, and for the younger generation, having practically worked in Ljubljana all his life (even after returning from Vienna),²² and also dying there, got his namesake street later than Erjavec. However, Erjavec was born in Ljubljana and that could be one of the reasons. It would be interesting to gauge the circulation of Levstik and Erjavec's names in periodicals of that time, the period after their deaths, and until the naming of both streets. To a certain extent, the cultural and historical atmosphere can be ascertained with the help of dLib, since we can search for their names amongst all the digitalized material.²³ The entry, "Fran Levstik" gives 166, and "Fran Erjavec" 170 hits, which is not much more, but could explain the higher currency of Erjavec's name in the general public.

From the second stage of literary streets, two linguists remain: **Fran Miklošič** (1813–91) and **Matej Cigale** (1819–89). Both names entered the core center in 1898: the Styrian Miklošič's road and Slomšek's road in the northern part of the city's inner ring road. Cigaletova ulica runs in the same direction (towards the south of the inner ring road) and is parallel to Miklošičeva cesta. Cigale's linguistic work in the editorial office of *The German–Slovenian Dictionary* (1860) and his work in the field of legal terminology were to a great extent responsible for the naming of the street after him (Valenčič 1989: 118). Honoring Miklošič, who is considered a foremost Slovenian Slavicist, and rose to the position of rector at the University of Vienna, could be connected with his work in the Viennese Society of Slovenia, which gave birth to the United Slovenia program (Slo. Zedinjena Slovenija), since in 1898 it was exactly fifty years after its establishment. In the heart of the core town center, Miklošič crosses paths with Trubar and Prešeren (Prešernov trg).

If we look at how the literary streets are layered, we notice a harmony with the development of Slovenian literature: the parallel streets were first given to the members of the Age of Enlightenment, who were responsible for the beginnings of literary production, and to the Protestant writers; they are followed by the classic figures of Slovenian Romanticism and their contemporaries (born from 1780 until 1819), who are numerically most often represented until the end of the nineteenth century. After that, Levstik, Jurčič, and Erjavec entered the core center, paving the way to recognition of the authors of Slovenian Realism. In the next stage several

²² He worked as a secretary at Slovenska matica, he was active in the reading society movement and Dramatično društvo. Upon returning from Vienna he worked in the lyceum library.

²³ Thanks to Miran Hladnik for pointing this out.

other authors will have streets named after them, further contributing to the Slovenian character of the city.

2.3 In 1905, a statue was erected in Ljubljana in honor of Prešeren, and in 1906 the town center received some new literary street names. As more than eight years had passed since the last literary naming of a street, the erection of a statue of the most prominent poet could be understood as one of the incentives for the cultural public to honor nationally important authors in such a way. We also cannot overlook some deaths (Trdina, Gregorčič) as well as some anniversaries of a birth (Stritar) in the years of 1905 and 1906. From biographic information about **Josip Stritar** (1836–1923), we can discern that a street was named after him on the seventieth anniversary of his birth. On the other hand, Valenčič refers to accessible sources that state that the then Municipal Counsellor Karel Triler and Mayor Hribar argued for the renaming of the street mostly based on Stritar's merits in canonizing Prešeren. Formerly known as Špitalska ulica (Valenčič 1989: 124), it was from then on Stritarjeva ulica, which starts at Prešernov trg and runs southeast towards the crossroads of Mestni trg and Ciril-Metodov trg. The immediate vicinity of Stritarjeva ulica and Prešernov trg could be a symbolic hint for Stritar's merits in honoring Prešeren, wherein we think about the reprinting of *Poezije*; in 1906, exactly forty years had passed since the second edition in 1866.

A street in the southwestern part of the core center was named after **Simon Gregorčič** (1844–1906) the year the poet died. The street, running parallel with Erjavčeva ulica, was purposefully given the name Gregorčič to highlight his friendship with Erjavec (Valenčič 1989: 124, 158).²⁴ If we look at the (south)western part of the core town center from a distance, another literary “connection” reveals itself—the street named after their younger contemporary, Aškerc, runs parallel with Erjavčeva ulica and Gregorčičeva ulica,²⁵ his older contemporaries, the former in a friendly way defending Gregorčič in a famous polemic about the first edition of his book, *Poezije* (1882). Aškercova cesta forms the center's ring and runs towards the river Ljubljanica in the core center of the city. However, it has a somewhat shorter tradition than the other two, since its name dates from the year 1919 (Valenčič 1989: 152).

²⁴ Outside the core town center, in Moste, there were several streets in 1930 where it was unclear when exactly they got their names. The street of Simon Gregorčič was among them. At the end of the 1930s it was renamed Moškerčeva ulica, and in 1941 as Poljedelska ulica (Valenčič 1989: 147).

²⁵ Among the poets who “meet” Gregorčič in this area, we cannot overlook Prešeren; Gregorčičeva ulica is perpendicular to Prešernova cesta and runs towards the southeastern part of the city ring road.

Janez Trdina (1830–1905)²⁶ had a narrower street in the northern part of the concentric zone of the city named after him one year after his death. Regarding his work in Ljubljana, let us mention that he was Gregorčič and Stritar's colleague at the journal *Ljubljanski zvon*.

2.4 Zarnikova ulica and Vrazov trg date from 1910. We learn from Valenčič that the street was named after **Valentin Zarnik** (1837–88), due to his working in the town council. The author also mentions his living in the suburban Poljane and Šentpeter²⁷ (Valenčič 1989: 130, 157). Zarnikova ulica is actually located between Streliška ulica and Poljanska cesta. The motivation for the naming was, as a matter of fact, political: while Zarnik entered literary history by his participation in the *vajevci* group, his relatively greater political importance, as opposed to his cultural and literary activities was suspected during the spatial analysis; Zarnik and Erjavec are, namely, separated in the town center (one is in the southwestern part and the other in the southeastern part).²⁸

Fran Ilešič takes the most credit for naming (Stanko) Vrazov trg²⁹ (Valenčič 1989: 131, 159). Literary history tells us that **Stanko Vraz** (1810–51) was Ilešič's subject of research. From bibliographical data we can furthermore discern that 1910 was the 100-year of Vraz's birth, which Ilešič probably took as an additional or even the main reason for naming the street. If we again look at the core town center from a higher perspective, we notice that in the vicinity of Vrazov trg there is Ilirska ulica and Hrvatski trg to the north, and Njegoševa ulica³⁰ in the eastern part of the city zone; as a consequence this part of the centre has a strong southern Slavic character.

2.5 The process of (re)naming literary streets continued after the downfall of Austria-Hungary and formation of the new Yugoslavian country in 1919. The former Nova ulica was changed to Kersnikova ulica; Francevo nabrežje became Cankarjevo nabrežje; and Nadvojvode Evgena cesta was renamed

²⁶ In 1923, there was a small change; the street's name changed from Janez Trdinova ulica to Trdinova ulica (Valenčič 1989: 124, 159, 238).

²⁷ After 1923, Dr. Valentin Zarnikova ulica was shortened to Zarnikova ulica.

²⁸ While Erjavčeva ulica and Gregorčičeva ulica, or Prešernov trg, run parallel with it or are in its immediate vicinity.

²⁹ Since 1923 Vrazov trg.

³⁰ The former Jegličeva cesta was, in 1952 (another important period in the process of naming the streets), renamed after Petar II. Petrović Njegoš, the author of the famous *Mountain Wreath*. Another South Slavic author who lent his name to the streets in the core town center of Ljubljana is the Croatian author Vladimir Nazor; Nazorjeva ulica (former Frančiškanska ulica) was renamed in the same year, at the instigation of the then Ljudski odbor (People's committee) (Valenčič 1989: 226–27). As we can see, the type of renaming is the same: in the latter example they changed the name of the church order, and in the former, the name of the bishop in Ljubljana.

as the aforementioned Aškerčeva cesta (Valenčič 1989: 152). Renaming the streets after **Aškerc** (1856–1912) and **Kersnik** (1852–97) in some sense continued the tradition of honoring the classics of Slovenian Realism, which began with Erjavec and Jurčič and ended with Zarnik (with otherwise stronger political motivation for the naming). Cankarjevo nabrežje, which is on the right side of the river Ljubljanica and was named after **Ivan Cankar** (1876–1918) almost immediately after his death, designates the entry of the Slovenian Modern Movement into the central part of Ljubljana. After WW II, a street in the western part of the core center would also be named after Cankar, and he would be accompanied by Župančič within the zone of the core town center; Murn and Kette would, on the other hand, stay outside the inner zone (in Spodnja Šiška).³¹

In 1923, Cankar, Aškerc, and Kersnik were joined by **Josip Vošnjak** (1834–1911), **Ivan Tavčar** (1851–1923), and **Rudolf Maister** (1874–1934). Vošnjakova ulica replaced Cesta na gorenjsko železnico, Tavčarjeva ulica, which connects Kolodvorska ulica and Slovenska cesta, replaced the former Sodna ulica, and Vojaška ulica was renamed as Maistrova ulica (Valenčič 1989: 158–59). Vošnjak and Tavčar helped to consolidate the position of the classic figures of Slovenian Realism,³² while Maister, as Cankar’s contemporary, represented the Slovenian Modern Movement.

Spatial analysis shows that all three of them had streets named after them in the northern part of the city zone, Maister even in the northeastern part, which could symbolically hint at his role in battles for the northern border. From the author’s biographical data we see that the street was named after him rather quickly—that is, eleven years before his death, which is unusual. On the one hand, this is interesting, because it contradicts the general thesis about Maister being overlooked as a contemporary of the Slovenian Modern Movement. On the other hand, it is possible to suspect that it was more about Maister’s contribution as a general during war; as a reminder, he lent his name to the former Vojaška ulica (Eng. Military Street). Similar “suspicions” occur with Vošnjak, as well as with Tavčar, who were politically active in the liberal circle with Kersnik. Tavčar was the mayor of Ljubljana from 1911 until 1921, and a street was named after him the year he died. The parallel position of Kersnikova ulica and Vošnjakova ulica, as well as the immediate vicinity of Tavčarjeva ulica, therefore, not only hint at the literary, but at least to the same extent, at their cultural and political connections and contributions.

³¹ Streets were named after them in 1928 (Valenčič 1989: 169).

³² And, as we will see, also liberalism.

In the same year, a street was named after **Miha Kastelic** (1796–1868), who joined the other classic figures of Romanticism in the area of the core center, with an approximately twenty-years delay.

2.6 In the history of literary street names, the year 1934 stands out, when **Josipina Urbančič Turnograjska** [1833–54] lent her name to a street in the core center (Valenčič 1989: 180, 192).³³ The recent hundredth anniversary of her birth, or the seventieth anniversary of the author's death, could be responsible for the naming. Turnograjska is (to this day) the only female artist who has her own rather narrow street, which could nevertheless be associated with the relatively narrow group of female artists in her time, in the core town center.

2.7 In the period after WW II, the process of naming literary streets continued as follows. First, **Cankar**, whose name was already on an embankment, Cankarjevo nabrežje, had a street named after him in 1946 (Valenčič 1989: 217).³⁴ Cankarjeva cesta is situated in the western part of the city zone; of all the crossroads of Cankarjeva cesta, the one with Prešernova cesta jumps out, since both "giants" of Slovenian literature cross paths.³⁵ **Župančič** [1878–1949] Street came to be on the seventieth anniversary of the poet's birth with the renaming of Gledališka ulica (Valenčič 1989: 219), which consolidates the position of the Slovenian Modern Movement in the town center. Župančičeva ulica, which runs towards the south, traverses Cankarjeva cesta.

Marijini trg was renamed Prešernov trg, after **Prešeren**, on the hundredth anniversary of his death, in 1949 (Valenčič 1989: 58, 63, 109, 221).

The process of naming literary streets more or less ended in 1952, when three more streets were renamed. **Levstik** Square replaced Sv. Jakoba trg, Tomanova ulica was renamed Prežihova ulica, and the former Čopova ulica became Čufarjeva ulica (Valenčič 1989: 225–27). Even though Čufarjeva ulica and Prežihova ulica are separated in space, it is probable that the memory of **Lovro Kuhar** (1893–1950), who died only two years prior to the renaming, and **Tone Čufar** (1905–1942), who died ten years previously, was important in the context of consolidating people's power; this includes honoring writers who were involved cultural-political workers.

³³ First of all Turnograjske ulica, and from 1937 the current name.

³⁴ Former Aleksandrova cesta.

³⁵ The greatest Slovenian poet and writer are also close in the core center, but they do not cross paths there; between them is Stritar, who connects the right and the left part of the bank of the Ljubljanica.

However, in literary history they can both be found under the keywords “social realism.”

2.8 After fifty years, the name of “the nation’s father,” Janez Bleiweis, again entered the ground plan of the core center of Ljubljana, when a part of Tivolska cesta was renamed after him in 2009.

The majority of authors lent of their names to streets at the end of nineteenth century—more precisely, in the period from 1892–98 (stage 2)—which corresponds with the time when Ljubljana was gaining the character of national and cultural capital. Thirteen street (re)namings stem from that time. From the period between the years 1919 and 1923 (stage 5), and from the period after WW II (stage 7) there are six or seven literary namings, which is half as many as before. In other stages there were one, two, or three (re)namings. If we consider the double namings, we can say that among the authors in the town center, France Prešeren, Fran Levstik, and Ivan Cankar are the most recognized, as was expected. However, the Slovenian Modern Movement, which in the core center, alongside Cankar, is also represented by Župančič and Maister; is not the most strongly represented “period” of Slovenian literature. According to the number of streets, the representatives or contemporaries of the Slovenian Modern Movement are greatly outnumbered by the classic figures of Slovenian Realism and Romanticism and their contemporaries,³⁶ which could be connected with their roles in the development of Slovenian poetry and prose. There are thirteen³⁷ representatives of Slovenian Realism and eleven³⁸ of Romanticism. Slovenian Protestant literature and literature of the Age of Enlightenment are represented by two authors each. Prežih and Čufar adequately represent Social realism. It is interesting to compare (outside of historical labelling or generational belonging), the difference between poets and prose writers to see how other literary roles and professions³⁹ are represented and see the proportion between creative

³⁶ Since we are aware of the problematic nature of historic denotations, we rather speak about the classic figures of Realism and Romanticism and their contemporaries, who form a generation (e.g., Turnograjska is placed among the classic figures of Realism and their contemporaries, because they were all born around 1800; Bleiweis and Miklošič are placed among the classic figures of Romanticism and their contemporaries, born between 1800 and 1820, etc.).

³⁷ Aškerc, Erjavec, Gregorčič, Jurčič, Kersnik, Levstik (2), Stritar, Tavčar, Trdina, Vošnjak, Turnograjska, Zarnik.

³⁸ Bleiweis, Cigale, Čop, Kastelic, Kopitar, Metelko, Miklošič, Prešeren (2), Slomšek, Vraz.

³⁹ The classification of authors exclusively into one category can sometimes also be problematic; we went by the author’s main activity (e.g., we classified Levstik under prose writers, even though we could also put him under literary critics and mentors; we classified Stritar among poets, even though he combined several roles with his diverse activities; we placed Slomšek in the

writers and linguists. Somewhat against our expectations, which were based on the generally accepted position that Slovenians are a nation of poets, the ascertained proportion speaks in favor of prose writers⁴⁰—namely, eight or nine poets and ten or eleven prose writers.⁴¹ However, the proportion of both types of authors compares favorably to that of linguists, who are, with four people, relatively poorly represented (Cigale, Kopitar, Miklošič, and Metelko). Female authors in the town center are represented even more poorly. Their reputation is saved only by Josipina Urbančič Turnograjska (the ratio of women to men is one to thirty-three).

The synchronous analysis with the help of the GPS Visualizer program and Google Earth application uncovered some patterns in the way the streets, roads, and squares run or are connected, which on a symbolic level hints at different types of literary relationships. First, we notice a pattern of tangent streets that could come close to each other and even intersect at a faraway junction; the streets belong to two authors from the same period, or the two Protestant writers. The other is the pattern of intersecting streets in the area of the core center, which can symbolically be understood in two ways. On the one hand, the junction of parts of the streets can hint at ideological or other oppositions between the authors (e.g., Prešeren and Bleiweis); on the other hand, we are dealing with junctions between contemporaries and friends (e.g., Cankar and Župančič). A special case of intersecting streets is the junction or “meeting point” between the greatest Slovenian poet and writer in the western part of the core center. From the viewpoint of sampling, the example of authors “meeting” stands out, where one street flows into another and where we can find two symbolic implications: it can be about close friendship and literary connections (e.g., Prešeren and Čop) or we can associate it with different types of literary reciprocity; for example, the responsibility for canonization (e.g., Stritar and Prešeren). We can see “contrasts” in space, in the pattern of the streets, lying on separate riverbanks (e.g. Prešeren, Čop, and Kopitar); while a parallel position can indicate friendly relationships. Regarding

category of poets, etc., in accordance with his main literary activity). We assigned other literary roles and professions to, e.g., Čop (literary criticism and history), Kastelic (editor), Bleiweis (publicist, editor), also Zois (patron), while we considered Dalmatin and Trubar separately and under the category “[Protestant] writer.”

⁴⁰ Four people were classified in the field of other literary activities (Bleiweis, Čop, Kastelic, Zois), while Trubar and Dalmatin were placed in a separate group.

⁴¹ The ratios differ if we count Levstik and Prešeren twice, which makes sense when counting. When validating the hypothesis about Slovenians as a nation of poets, it would be interesting to perform an analysis of the wider center and whole city.

position according to the cardinal directions we can, in some cases, read the author's regional provenance from it, while the narrowness of a street in the core centre could point to the marginal representation of women at the time.

While analyzing the literary streets with the help of both computer tools, we noticed that "roads" (Slo. *cesta*) appear more infrequently in comparison to "streets" (Slo. *ulica*). If it is true that the "road" is a wider and more (traffic-wise) connected thoroughfare, then relatively greater prominence in the core town center is assigned to Zois, Trubar, Prešeren, Bleiweis, Erjavec, Miklošič, Aškerc, and Cankar in comparison with other authors. If we assign the label "Protestant literature" to Trubar; "Age of Enlightenment" to Zois; "classic figures of Romanticism and their contemporaries" to Prešeren, Bleiweis, and Miklošič; "Realism" to Aškerc and Erjavec; and "the Slovenian Modern Movement" to Cankar; then that actually corresponds with the periods in the history of Slovenian literature until the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Further spatial analysis shows that in the subgroup of literary streets the greatest Slovenian poet, Prešeren; the somewhat younger and so-called national father, Bleiweis; and Prešeren's censor and the youngest, Fran Miklošič stand out even more. Together and synchronically speaking focus viewers' attention on events around the middle of the nineteenth century.

3 Concluding remarks

The middle of the nineteenth century sees the beginning of the Slovenian national movement, an essential component of which is the cultural and literary movement. The process of national formation escalates in the second half and towards the end of the century, when a committee for naming streets and squares was established. Mayor Hribar headed the committee, and it was Slovene authors who came to be most well represented in the Ljubljana city center. The next wave of naming took place during the great socio-political change following the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the formation of a new state. At this time, seven more streets were named after writers. The mixed motivations that accompanied the memorialization of individual writers in the urban space, whose merits were cultural, literary, and political, show the importance of cultural, political, and linguistic elements for building national identity. This was the course of affirming not only a Slovenian national literature, but also an authoritative narrative of national history, which underwent a slight correction with the renewed entry of Janez Bleiweis's name into city center, from where it had disappeared after WW II.

Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana

Works Cited

- Alderman, Derek. 2000. A street fit for a king: Naming places and commemoration in the American south. *Professional geographer* 52, no. 4: 672–84.
- . 2002. School names as cultural arenas: The naming of U.S. public schools after Martin Luther King Jr. *Urban geography* 23: 601–26.
- . 2003. Street names and the scaling of memory: The politics of commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr. within the African American community. *Area* 35: 163–73.
- and Joshua Inwood. 2013. Street naming and the politics of belonging: Spatial injustices in the toponymic commemoration of Martin Luther King Jr. *Social & cultural geography* 14, no. 2: 211–33.
- Azaryahu, Maoz. 1996. The power of commemorative street names. *Environment and planning D: Society and space* 14: 311–30.
- . 1997. German reunification and the politics of street names: The case of East Berlin. *Political geography* 16: 479–93.
- . 2006. *Tel Aviv: Mythography of a city*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- . 2011a. The politics of commemorative street renaming: Berlin 1945–1948. *Journal of historical geography* 37/4: 483–92.
- . 2011b. Rabin's road: The politics of toponymic commemoration of Yitzhak Rabin in Israel. *Political geography* 31: 73–82.
- . 2012. Hebrew, Arabic, English: The politics of multilingual street signs in Israeli cities. *Social & cultural geopgraphy* 13, no. 5: 461–79.
- and Amon Golan. 2001. (Re)naming the landscape: The formation of the Hebrew map of Israel 1949–1960. *Journal of historical geography* 27: 178–95.
- and Rebecca Kook. 2002. Mapping the nation: Street names and Arab-Palestinian identity: Three case studies. *Nations and nationalism* 8: 195–213.
- Billig, Michael. 1995. *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage publications.
- Košič Humar, Kristina and Jana Pinterič. 2012. *Ljubljana med nostalgijo in sanjami*. Ljubljana: Mestna knjižnica.
- Jones, Rhys and Peter Merriman. 2009. Hot, banal and everyday nationalism: Bilingual road signs in Wales. *Political geography* 28: 164–73.
- Light, Duncan. 2004. Street names in Bucharest, 1990–1997: Exploring the modern historical geographies of postsocialist change. *Journal of historical geography* 30: 154–72.
- Light, Duncan, Ion Nicolae, and Bodgan Suditu. 2003. Toponymy and the communist city: Street names in Bucharest, 1948–1965, *GeoJournal* 56, no. 2: 135–44.

- Rose-Redwood, Reuben, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu. 2010. Geographies of toponymic inscriptions: New directions in critical place-names studies. *Progress in human geography* 30, no. 4: 468–86.
- Schneider, Adam. GPS Visualizer. Web.
- Stanić, Jelena, Laura Šakaja, and Lana Slavuj. 2009. Preimenovanje zagrebačkih ulica i trgova. *Migracijske i etničke teme* 25, no. 1–2: 89–124.
- Valenčič, Vlado. 1989. *Zgodovina ljubljanskih uličnih imen*. Ljubljana: Zgodovinski arhiv, Partizanska knjiga.
- Yeoh, Brenda. 1992. Street names in colonial Singapore, *Geographical review* 82: 313–22.
- . 1996. Street-naming and nation-building: Toponymic inscriptions of nationhood in Singapore, *Area* 28: 298–307.

POVZETEK

KNJIŽEVNIKI V POIMENOVANJIH ULIC V OŽJEM SREDIŠČU SLOVENSKEGA GLAVNEGA MESTA

Ulična poimenovanja spadajo skupaj s poimenovanji lokacij, kakor so še trgi, parki, poti, vzpetine ipd., spomeniki in spominskimi tablami, nagrobniki, poimenovanji ustanov (npr. šol), spominskimi sobami, hišami, središči in ne nazadnje muzeji k vidnim, otipljivim predmetom simbolne komemoracije, ki so največkrat nacionalnega značaja oz. pomagajo predstavljati in utrjevati narodno, kolektivno identiteto.

Njihovo znatno občutljivost na spremembe na politični, upravni, gospodarski ravni je mogoče pojasniti z njihovo funkcijo, saj so pravzaprav reproduktivno sredstvo vladajočih struktur moči, ki na ta način obvladujejo urbani javni prostor. (Azaryahu 2012; 2011a; 2011b; Rose-Redwood/Alderman/Azaryahu 2010; Azaryahu/Kook 2002; Azaryahu 1997; 1996; Yeoh 1996; 1992)

Ulične table, kakor jih poznamo od njihove uveljavitve v Parizu 18. stoletja, so po eni strani čisto običajen element fizične prostorske infrastrukture – so vsepovsod in v velikem številu – (Webster's Collegiate Dictionary 1943 v Azaryahu; Azaryahu 2012: 464). Po drugi strani pa

imajo lahko sporno ideološko, politično motivacijo in zaradi tega posedujejo določen konfliktni potencial. Pomemben vidik ideološkega sporočila je njihov komemorativni potencial, saj skrbijo za predstavljanje "uradnih" diskurzov zgodovine in kulturnega spomina v vsakodnevnem življenju (Azaryahu 2012; 1997; 1996; Azaryahu/Kook 2002; Alderman 2003; 2002; 2000; Light/Nicolae/Suditu 2003).

Proces poimenovanja ljubljanskih "literarnih" ulic v ožjem središču mesta tudi predstavlja poseben pogled na slovensko kulturno-literarno preteklost in kliče po umestitvi k oblikam simbolnih komemoracij nacionalnega značaja. Na podlagi večinske kulturno-politične motiviranosti (in tudi selektivnosti) pri izbiranju literarnih osebnosti lahko rečemo, da je glavna vloga literarnih ulic povezana z reprezentiranjem in izgrajevanjem narodne identitete ter krepitvijo občutka narodnopolitične homogenosti znotraj skupnosti. Slovenski književniki so najbolj množično vstopili v mestno središče v zadnji petini 19. stoletja, ko je bil tudi ustanovljen odsek za poimenovanje ulic in trgov, ki ga je vodil Hribar. Naslednji bolj množičen vstop pa se je zgodil ob večji družbenopolitični spremembi, in sicer po razpadu Avstro-Ogrske in nastanku nove države. Vstopanje književnikov v središče mesta se tudi sklada z razvojem slovenske književnosti: najprej in vzporedno vanj vstopijo protestantski pisci in razsvetljenci, sledijo jim klasiki slovenske romantike in njihovi sodobniki, nato pripovedniki slovenskega realizma in predstavniki moderne itd.

Na ta način je potekalo afirmiranje ne samo slovenske nacionalne književnosti, ampak tudi uradne pripovedi nacionalne zgodovine, ki je svojevrstno korekcijo doživela s ponovnim vstopom Janeza Bleiweisa v mestno središče, iz katerega je izstopil po drugi svetovni vojni.