

Remaking History:

Tracing Politics in Urban Space

Lejla Odobašić Novo & Aleksandar Obradović



International Burch University

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PREFACE

Critical Review

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Before you is a document about change. *(Re)making History: Tracing Politics in Urban Space* is an attempt to arrest moments of history - a process still very much in the making. Written by two authors, Aleksandar Obradović and Lejla Odabašić Novo, *(Re)making History* provides a concise analysis of the renaming of streets in recent years in two former Yugoslav cities – Belgrade and Sarajevo.

Due to their geographic proximity, shared history, and common language, the two cities' destinies are inextricably bound together. As in the other former Yugoslav territories, recent changes have sought to emphasize and deepen divisions. *(Re)making History* shows us how these revisionist steps by subsequent governments aim to erase the communist past. Often, they end up creating absurd contradictions, eloquently described by Croatian journalist Boris Dežulović as 'a suicide from behind'. Serbian historian Dubravka Stojanović astutely interprets this as the closing in of paranoia and isolation; the exclusion of one's self from one's own history and geography. *(Re)making History* suggests that our collective memory and knowledge is being erased and repressed, and as such needs to be re-read over and over again. One needs to understand this study based not only on its face value, but also as an outline of a complex body of knowledge of what is absent. *(Re)making History* demonstrates what disappears when tragic events, including war and even genocide, repeat in the same territory within a single generation.

Starting with their names, the differences seem apparent. The capital city of the former Yugoslavia, Belgrade's name translates (from Serbo-Croatian, the official language of Yugoslavia) to the White City, whilst Sarajevo's name comes from the Turkish word for Palace. During its heyday, Sarajevo was a microcosm of Yugoslavia, ethnically and culturally the most diverse of all former Yugoslav capital cities. The city reached international fame and peaked in prosperity and size during the Winter Olympics in 1984, when an extensive new part of the city and impressive sport facilities and infrastructure were built. Famous for its tolerance and the many religious and ethnic communities living together, Sarajevo was commonly referred to as the *European Jerusalem*. This is the only city in Europe where we can find a Catholic Cathedral, Serbian Orthodox Church, Jewish Synagogue and Muslim Mosque within 100 meters of each other. Testimony of this is that Emerik Blum, the founder of one of the largest Yugoslav conglomerates Energoinvest, which was headquartered in Sarajevo, was the initiator of Sarajevo's candidature for the Olympics and the city's Mayor during this time.

Within Socialist Yugoslavia, cultural and religious differences were smoothed over through Tito's politics of promoting Brotherhood and Unity and actively encouraging youth to travel across Yugoslavia and physically help build the country. In some cities, this may have been a superficial covering, but the names of Sarajevo's streets from this period tell a story of a genuinely multicultural and pluralist city with a mixed population and many intermarriages.

In Yugoslavia, almost every town and city had its major street named after Tito, with Brotherhood and Unity and the Yugoslav National Army also very common street names. Even one whole city, the capital of Montenegro, was named after Yugoslavia's life-long president – *Titograd*. Many others added prefix Titov to

their names. As this study shows, during Tito's Yugoslavia, many streets in Belgrade and Sarajevo shared the same names, often named after Yugoslav National Army, Communist War Heroes, and international statesmen, reflecting the unique political position of non-alignment.

With the break-up of Yugoslavia, in most former Yugoslav cities, streets named after Tito were the first to be renamed. The capital of Montenegro changed its name back to Podgorica in 1992. There is no longer a Tito street in Belgrade, but as *(Re)making History* tells us, despite everything that this city suffered, Sarajevo's main street has resisted this change and is still called *Maršala Titova* – Marshall Tito's Street. During one of the many recent attacks on this street's name, the cult graphic design group Trio, from Sarajevo, ran a poster campaign highlighting the absurdity of the proposed change being presented as a priority in a city with many more acute needs.

Shortly after Bosnia and Herzegovina was officially recognized as an independent country on the 1st of March of 1992, its capital city Sarajevo entered four years of brutal siege. *(Re)making History* traces the name changes which began during the siege, when Bosnian Serb paramilitaries seized the Yugoslav National Army's arms from the city and surrounded it. Sarajevo endured the longest siege in modern European history, with the 1995 Dayton agreement leading to a fragile peace. The siege destroyed the diversity of the city's people – with over half of the pre-war population leaving the city, subsequently replaced by displaced persons from other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Post-Dayton Bosnia is split across two entities – the Federation and *Republika Srpska*. As the capital of the Federation of Bosniaks and Croats, Sarajevo has become a predominantly Bosnian

Muslim city – further, this has led to the rise of a 'parallel' city, first named *Srpsko Sarajevo* and now known as East Sarajevo.

During the siege, Trio redesigned many iconic images, such as the Coca-Cola sign (one of the main sponsors of the Olympic Games) by playing on the name of Sarajevo in Cyrillic script.

The first victim of the war on the Sarajevo's street names were Cyrillic street signs, which were removed from all the buildings. This was accompanied by a change in the name of the official Yugoslav language, Serbo-Croat, which quickly became 'separate' languages: Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian (and later Montenegrin). Narrow minded nationalist leaders sought to divide and erase those who declared themselves as Yugoslav – even though the people who use each 'language' can understand each other perfectly well. Sadly, street names in Sarajevo are only displayed in Latin script, and in East Sarajevo exclusively in Cyrillic script.

It is perhaps unsurprising that many streets in Sarajevo reverted to their old pre-communist names – many of Turkish origin. Even those with Bosniak names who fought on the side of Yugoslavs have been replaced, simply because anything Yugoslav is equated with being Serbian and therefore undesirable.

Many of the street names seen as 'pro-Serbian' disappeared from Sarajevo, and 'migrated' to the new areas of East Sarajevo. Significantly, there is no longer a *Beogradska* Street in Sarajevo, it was renamed after Emerik Blum. Progressive voices have called for the reinstatement of the name of Belgrade street as they rightly suggest that Sarajevo shouldn't follow others, but instead show how, despite everything, the city can still rise above it all; not least because there remains a *Sarajevska* street

in Belgrade, perhaps because many Bosnian Serbs from Sarajevo now live in Belgrade. *Beogradska* exists in East Sarajevo.

Sarajevo's streets still bear visible marks of the war damage – the Sarajevo Roses, red infilled shell marks lie scattered everywhere you go. Yet, as *(Re)making History* will tell you, only a few streets are explicitly named after recent events, instead ethnic and nationalist names are asserted. There is no Sniper Alley, even though unofficially everyone knows its location. *(Re)making History* shows that the most tragic conflict in recent European history has led to a reversal in time, reintroducing names and events from an imagined past.

Pertinently, this study shows that the process of revisionism along ethno-nationalistic-religious dividing lines is confusing, complex, illogical, and far from over. This damaging, absurd, and short-sighted process is not finished in either of the two cities in focus, and even less so in other cities of the former Yugoslavia. For all these reasons, research like this cannot and should not be seen as conclusive in any way. As the authors rightly suggest, *(Re)making History* is just a beginning, and they call for many more in-depth and wide studies.

However, this study is one of the very important steps in acknowledging, and coming to terms with one's past, as set out by Theodor W. Adorno, who argued that societies which attempt to repress or reinvent their violent pasts are in fact allowing the violence to continue in perpetuity (Adorno, 1959).

Studies such as this are essential for enabling all of the citizens of Sarajevo or Belgrade or any other Yugoslav city, all of those forcibly removed from these cities, the current citizens, and most importantly the future ones, to be released from our past. We need to collectively leave the past behind and fully commit

ourselves to a better future. Only then can these cities become known again for their prosperity and cosmopolitan beauty, as centres of European cultural and artistic creativity. Small positive signs can be seen in Belgrade, where the previous street names are commonly listed (often as many as five different names) along with the current names in both Cyrillic and Latin script. In this way, they serve as a record of changes. Perhaps the powers that be will realise how unnecessary and preposterous it is to keep on making such frequent changes.

At the time of writing, we find ourselves in the midst of the worldwide pandemic, with many old borders reinstated and created anew. For those of us from the former Yugoslavia, there is a sense of *déjà vu*, and even a fear that, rather than just being a medical crisis, the future of whole countries, perhaps even the future of the European Union itself, may be at stake. With studies such as *(Re)making History*, we can all learn what is worth remembering, and returning to, and what must be recorded for the future generations. If we don't allow these words to exist – that's all they are: words –, then these names retain the ability to have a hostile impact on our future. After all, violence, especially when hidden, only perpetuates more violence.

Critical Review

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The publication “(Re)making History: Tracing politics in urban space” is a collaborative effort from Aleksandar Obradović, of Philopolitics, and Lejla Odobašić Novo, of International Burch University. It analyzes the toponym changes in the central areas of Belgrade and Sarajevo during and after the fall of Yugoslavia. Through their analysis, the authors also address the underlying historical and political shifts that have fragmented the common Yugoslav multicultural narrative into more narrow ethnic ones.

Belgrade is a city of stunning historical discontinuity. Little is visible today of its nearly two millennia of continuous urban existence, even from the most splendid eras it experienced during Roman times, the late medieval period, the centuries spent under the Ottomans, or the brief moment of Hapsburg baroque reinvention. This partly comes as a result of the disastrous wars fought over it, but an equally important factor is the continually present will for radical change and eradication of the previous culture(s). This has created a specific environment: a large and important city with little respect for traditions, with an inclination to embrace new ideas and forms as well as new, mostly revolutionary beginnings.

Studying street names and their changes anywhere in the world offers an insight into the past and present worldviews of its inhabitants, the ideologies, wishes and traumas of a community. Nowhere is this truer than Belgrade, where most of the streets have changed names as many as seven times in a century and

a half. By studying these changes we can observe the ruling ideologies that shaped not just the city but Serbian society in general.

The examination of the most recent changes, those that occurred in the past three decades, as given in this work, gives us an insight into present-day reality, into the way Belgraders think or – rather – are conditioned to think. It reveals the dynamic relationship between the state, the city government, professionals and the general public. This analysis leads us through the turbulent 1990s and sheds new light on how Milošević’s *ancien régime*, clad in nationalist clothing, attempted to signal the change while keeping it on a mostly modest level. Next, we see the shift made by opposition parties, differing in political views but willing to signal the new era by reviving the idealized past. Lastly, the authors give us a rare opportunity to inspect the confused and insincere doings of the present authorities.

Though this study restrains itself from delving deeper into past, its findings and analysis of the past thirty years clearly show us many of the underlying *longue durée* processes troubling Belgrade’s relation with its street names: from having too many names and places to commemorate within a comparatively small city center, to the utter lack of common direction, which signals a more fundamental identity crisis in Serbian society as a whole.

“(Re)making History: Tracing politics in urban space” explores the toponyms in Belgrade and Sarajevo at the point of divergence within their common Yugoslav past. It is a noteworthy read and acts as a good foundation for the authors’ future ambitions in examining the remaining former Yugoslav capitals.

INTRODUCTION

Street names play a powerful role in the formation of collective and/or national identities, and in the legitimization of political ideologies by those in power. Often, with a radical formation of a new ruling elite and political ideology comes the renaming of streets, public spaces and public institutions as a reflection of the new ideologies. They become physical testaments to the historical narrative that is always under reconstruction by those in power (Robinson et al 2001). Thus, studying the revisionist trends of street renaming often reflects political shifts, their aspirations and eventual downfalls.

The renaming of streets is also an indication of deliberation in post-communist power shifts. These changes were seen as a reconfiguration of space and history, which was a fundamental and essential element of the post-communist transformation (Light, 2004). Thus, new street names became a means of creating new public iconographic landscapes in accord with the principles of the new regimes. Examining these changes might offer some comprehension of the ways in which post-communist countries attempted to alter the contours of national identities and national pasts (Light 2004).

This is also the case with the former Yugoslavia, where street names often celebrated the socialist ideals which, ultimately, gave way to series of ethno-national conflicts within the different republics and resulted in the fragmentation of geographies and the resurrection of former national tendencies. Perhaps the most extreme examples are the city of Belgrade (the former capital of Yugoslavia and the seat of Yugoslav power during the 1990's conflict) and the city of Sarajevo (the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one of the former Yugoslav republics and now an independent country). The latter was deemed as the most

heterogeneous in terms of its population and the most reflective of the Yugoslav notion of “brotherhood and unity” in the way its population coexisted, and is the city that suffered the longest siege in modern history at the hands of the Serb forces. After the last war in the 1990’s, East Sarajevo was built under the territory of *Republika Srpska* almost as an alternate Sarajevo with its own historical narrative that glorifies the Serbian nation.

This publication analyses the historical undercurrents that defined the trends of name changes in the two cities, and the ways in which the same tools were most successfully used in creating and defining new national identities in both cities.

For digital maps please visit:

[www. remakinghistory.philopolitics.org](http://www.remakinghistory.philopolitics.org)



Figure 1. Map of two cities within the context of former Yugoslavia

METHODOLOGY AND STUDY AREA

For the analysis of the two capital cities, Belgrade and Sarajevo, their historic cores, as defined by the national tourist information agencies, were examined. This limitation of the study is based on the political significance of historic cores, and their chronological longevity that withstands all the different political changes. Furthermore, these areas play a very significant role in the mental map of citizens and thus the formation of collective identity. It is most common that historic centres, buildings, squares, streets, and urban scenes become the image of that nation.

The study examines the names of 52 streets and public spaces in Belgrade and 112 in Sarajevo with reference dates of 1990, just before the fall of Yugoslavia, and 2020, the present day. In the case of Belgrade, the names of certain streets have changed multiple times in this thirty-year period and some are still in the process of changing. In Sarajevo, on the other hand, most changes of street names in the study area occurred between 1992-1995, as the new independent Bosnia and Herzegovina was being formed. The new ideals of autonomous Bosnian identity were rooted in the old historical patterns that attest to that autonomy, which will be explained as well.

Within the study area, the toponyms have been divided into several categories and then further subdivided into more specific subcategories (see *Table 1*). The first category is dedicated to influential persons, which was further subdivided into four subgroups. In the first group are names that are linked to statehood, including presidents, influential politicians, army leaders, kings and nobility, mayors, etc. The second subgroup is dedicated to streets named after culture-creators and artists, such as poets, writers, painters, sculptors, architects, and other persons who had a significant cultural impact, as well as scientists and academics. The third subgroup is dedicated to religion, containing

Categories	Groups	Explanation
Persons	Statehood and Royalty	Presidents, politicians, army leaders and generals, the nobility, kings, emperors, etc.
	Culture-creator, artists scientists	Poets, Writers, Painters, Sculptors, Architects, etc./ Renowned person from various scientific fields
	Religion/religious objects	Saints, religious orders, priests, bishops and popes
	Entrepreneurs	Entrepreneurs, benefactors, and craftspeople
Geography	Geographic names	Rivers, towns, regions, countries, mountains, islands, etc.
	Localities	Vicinity to a railway station, market, river-bank, palace, castle, church, hospital, etc.
	Appearance (traits, nature)	Narrow, steep, wide, long, hill, and names from nature: orchids, linden trees, etc.
Historical Events/ Institutions and Values	All areas	May 1st (labour day), banks, newspapers, social movements, armies, or army units
	SFRJ and Socialist Ideals	Historical event pertaining to WWII and SFRJ (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia)
Crafts and Trades	Crafts and Trades	Places where butchers, blacksmiths, millers, weavers etc. once worked
Other	Other	Street names that could not be grouped or categorized.

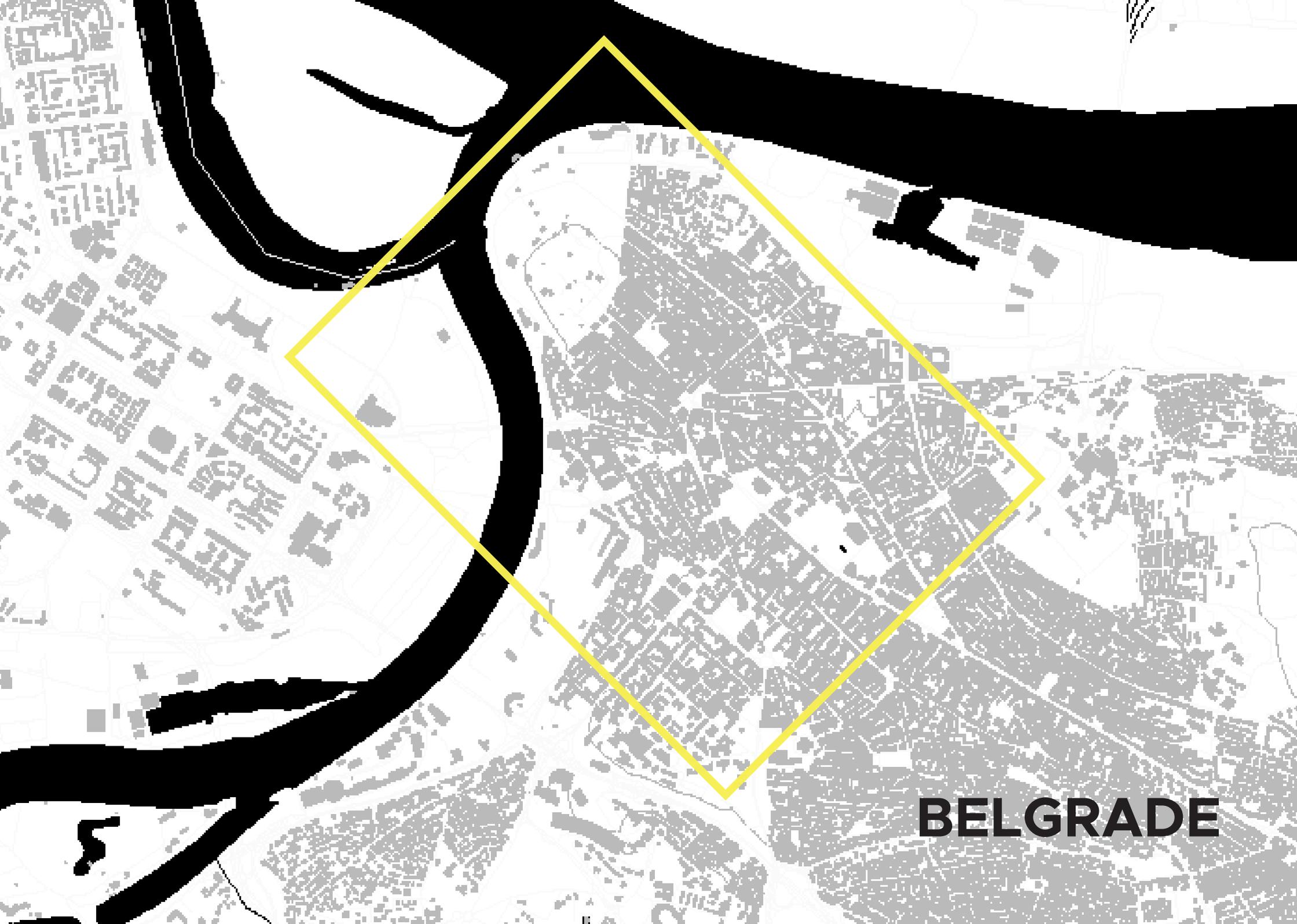
names honouring saints, religious orders, priests, bishops, and popes, but also buildings named after any religious affiliation. The fifth subgroup is dedicated to entrepreneurs.

The second group is dedicated to streets named after geographical features, with three subgroups. The first subgroup is for streets named after geographic features like rivers, towns, regions, countries, mountains, etc., while the second subgroup in this category deals with names associated with the street's location in the vicinity of landmarks such as railways stations, markets, river-banks, etc. The last subgroup in this category is for names associated with geographical traits or attributes such as narrow, steep, wide, long, hill, etc.

In the third categories are the names taken from historical events, institutions, and historical dates (e.g. May 1st International Labour Day), or from the names of certain social movements or armies. In this category there is a separate subgroup for streets named after historical events and intuitions within Federal Yugoslavia (SFRJ), as this period played a crucial role in the creation of the names within the 1990 analysis, and the common political narrative of these two cities. The last category is for crafts and trades, wherein streets are named after butchers, blacksmiths, millers, weavers etc.

Finally, some of the streets that could not be placed within one of the above outlined categories were placed in the 'other' group. Since some of the names (honouring persons for example) could be placed into more than one group, certain decisions had to be made. This could be the case when, for example, a writer or culturally important person was also a participant in an important political movement. In these instances, the decision had to be made as to the most important role of the person involved: either in the cultural- artistic field, or in the sphere of statehood (politics).

BELGRADE



BELGRADE

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
Kralja Milutina	King Milutin (1253-1321), ruler of Serbia	1990		Cara Haila Selasija	Haile Selassie (1892-1975) the last emperor of Ethiopia and one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda.
Beogradska	City of Belgrade, the capital of Serbia and Yugoslavia	1991		Borisa Kidriča	Boris Kidrič (1912-1953) Yugoslav and Slovenian politician, one of the most prominent leaders of the Yugoslav revolutionary movement.	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 47
Nikola Tesla Boulevard	Nikola Tesla (1856 - 1943) was a world-renowned scientist and innovator.	1991		Edvard Kardelj Boulevard	Edvard Kardelj (1910 - 1979), was a Yugoslav and Slovenian politician, one of the most prominent leaders of the Yugoslav revolutionary movement.	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 99
dr Aleksandra Kostića	Dr. Aleksandar Kostić (1893-1983) doctor, histologist, sexologist, professor at the University of Belgrade	1991		Teslina	See: Nikola Tesla Boulevard	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 221
Vojvoda Bojović Boulevard	Petar Bojović (1858 - 1945) was a Serbian and Yugoslav military commander	1991		Donjogradski Bulevar	The Lower Town (Donji Grad) of the Belgrade Fortress, around which the boulevard circles	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 94
Kralja Milana	King Milan Obrenović (1854—1901), ruler of Serbia	1992		Maršala Tita	Josip Broz Tito (1892—1980), President of Yugoslavia	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 396
Nikola Pašić Square	Nikola Pašić (1845-1926), Serbian and Yugoslav politician	1992		Marx and Engels Square	Karl Marx (1818-1983) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), German philosophers who created scientific communism	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 2 (N-Š). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 757

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
Sava Square	Sava River	1992		Brotherhood and Unity Square	During the SFRY, brotherhood and unity became the official state ideology. The policy of "brotherhood and unity" has contributed to mutual respect, reducing ethnic distance among the population and developing a sense of solidarity and empathy.	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 2 (N-Š). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 670
Dečanska	Visoki Dečani Monastery	1997		Moše Pijade	Mosha Pijade (1890-1957), revolutionary and politician	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 206
Kralja Petra	King Petar I Karadjordjević (1844-1921), ruler of the Kingdom of Serbia and of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes	1997		7. jula	July 7, 1941 - Day of the uprising of the people of Serbia against the Nazi occupation	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 399
Svetogorska	Sveta Gora (eng. Holy Mountain, gr. Athos), an autonomous monastic state under Greek sovereignty	1997		Lole Ribara	Ivo Lola Ribar (1916–1943), revolutionary and national hero	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 2 (N-Š). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 679
Carigradska	Caringrad - an ancient Slavic name for Istanbul (i.e. Imperial City)	1997		Đure Strugara	Đuro Strugar (1912–1941), National Liberation Movement activist in Belgrade and national hero	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 2 (N-Š). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 804
Kralja Aleksandra Boulevard	King Aleksandar Obrenović (1876-1903), ruler of the Kingdom of Serbia	1997		Bulevar Revolucije	October Revolution (1917)	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 97

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
Krunska	By the Crown, as a symbol of the monarchist system	1997		Proleterskih brigada	Proletarian brigades, elite units of NOV and PO Yugoslavia	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 407
Kneginje Zorke	Zorka-Ljubica Karadjordjević (1864-1890), wife of Prince (later King) Petar I and mother of King Aleksandar I Karadjordjević	1997		Ivana Milutinovića	Ivan Milutinović (1901-1944), liberator of Belgrade (!), Yugoslav communist and revolutionary, member of the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, participant in the People's Liberation War and national hero of Yugoslavia	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 361
Makenzijeva	Francis Mackenzie (1833-1895), landowner and entrepreneur	1997		Maršala Tolbuhina	Fyodor Ivanovich Tolbukhin (1894-1949), liberator of Belgrade, Soviet Marshal, Hero of the Soviet Union, Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and People's Hero of Yugoslavia	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 452
Mileševska	Mileševa Monastery	1997		Sava Kovačevića	Sava Kovačević (1905 - 1943), Yugoslav revolutionary. Famous partisan commander and national hero of Yugoslavia. He died as a commander of the Third Division in an attempt to break through during the battle of Sutjeska in 1943.	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 486

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
Resavska	Manasija - Resava Monastery	1997		Generala Ždanova	Vladimir Ivanovich Zhdanov (1902 - 1964), Colonel-General of the Soviet Red Army, Hero of the Soviet Union and People's Hero of Yugoslavia. Liberator of Belgrade.	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 2 (N-Š). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 654
Mihajla Pupina Boulevard	Mihajlo Idivorski Pupin (1854 - 1935) was a Serbian and American scientist, inventor, professor at Columbia University and honorary consul of Serbia in the USA. He was also one of the founders and long-term president of the Serbian People's Alliance in America. He also received the Pulitzer Prize (1924) for his autobiographical work "From Immigrant to Inventor".	1997		Bulevar Lenjina	Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov Lenin (1870 - 1924) was a Russian revolutionary, statesman, philosopher and publicist; leader of the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia; founder of the first Communist Party and the Comintern; founder of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union.	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 99
Slavija Square	The idea of all-Slavic unity and solidarity	1997		Dimitrija Tucovića Square	Dimitrije Tucović (1881 - 1914) was a journalist, politician and publicist, as well as a prominent leader and theorist of the socialist movement in Serbia and one of the founders of the Serbian Social Democratic Party (SSDP).	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 2 (N-Š). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 760
Despota Stefana Boulevard	Despot Stefan Lazarević (1377–1427), Serbian ruler	2004		29. novembra	The day of the formation of SFR Yugoslavia, ie. former Republic Day - 29.11.1943.	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/004

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
Venizelosova	Elefterios Venizelos (1864-1936), Greek politician	2004		Đure Đakovića	Đuro Đaković (1886—1929), revolutionary and politician	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 114 ; City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/004
Generala Lešjanina	Milojko Lešjanin (1830—1896), General and Chief of the General Staff of the Army of the Kingdom of	2004		Boška Vrebalova	Boško Vrebalov (1912-1943), physician and national hero	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/004
Jelisavete Načić	Jelisaveta Načić (1878—1955), chief architect of the city of Belgrade	2004		Pavla Papa	Pavle Pap Šilja (1914—1941), national hero	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/004
Knjeginje Ljubice	Princess Ljubica Obrenović (1785—1843), wife of Prince Miloš Obrenović	2004		part of the still existing Zmaj Jovina Street	Jovan Jovanović Zmaj (1833—1904), physician and poet	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 361; City of Belgrade. 2004-
Kraljice Natalije	Queen Natalija Obrenović (1859—1941), wife of the King of Milan	2004		Narodnog fronta	People's Front of Yugoslavia	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/004
Kraljice Marije	Queen Marija Karadjordjević (1900-1961), wife of King Aleksandar Karadjordjević, King of Yugoslavia	2004		part of the still existing 27. March Str.	March 27 - Day of major demonstrations against the pact with Nazi Germany	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/002

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
Borislava Pekića	Borislav V. Pekić (1930 - 1992) was one of the most important Serbian writers of the 20th century, a novelist, playwright, film screenwriter, academic and one of the thirteen intellectuals who renewed the work of the Democratic Party.	2004		Malajnička	Malajnica, a village in eastern Serbia	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/004
Desanke Maksimović	Desanka Maksimović (1898-1993), poet, professor of literature and academician of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts	2004		Đure Salaja	Đuro Salaj, (1889-1958), socio-political worker	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 202 ; City of Belgrade.
Ivan Đaja	Ivan Đaja (1884 - 1957), biologist and physiologist, professor and rector of the University of Belgrade; signatory of the Appeal to the Serbian people	2004		Vlade Zečevića	Vlado Zecevic, an Orthodox priest, a participant in the National Liberation War and a socio-political worker of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/004
Patrijarha Varnave	Patriarch Varnava (secular Petar Rosić) (1880 - 1937)	2004		Filipa Kljajića Fiće	Filip Kljajić Fića, participant in the National Liberation War, political commissar of the First Proletarian Brigade and national hero of Yugoslavia	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/004
Patrijarha Gavrila	Patriarch Gavriilo V (secular Đorđe Dožić) (1881 - 1950)	2004		Dušana Bogdanovića	Dušan Jovanović, Yugoslav publicist and politician	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/004
Radoslava Grujića	Radoslav Grujić (1878 - 1955) Serbian theologian, historian and corresponding member of SANU. He was the manager of the SOC museum; signatory of the Appeal to the Serbian people	2004		Božidara Adžije	Božidar Adžija, communist, publicist and national hero of SFR Yugoslavia	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 2 (N-Š). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 645–646; City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Offi-

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
Park Luke Čelovića	Luka Čelović Trebinjac - was at the beginning of the twentieth century one of the leading financiers, the president of the Belgrade Cooperative, a great Serbian educational benefactor. Čelović left all his property in a will to the University of Belgrade.	2004		Park kod Ekonomskog fakulteta	Faculty of Economics, University of Belgrade; Park is located in the front of the Faculty's building.	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/005
Savska	Sava river	2004		Slobodana Penezića Krcuna	Slobodan Penezić - Krcun (1918 - 1964), participant in the People's Liberation War, socio-political worker of the SFRY and SR Serbia and national hero of Yugoslavia.	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/002
Mitropolita Mraovića	Metropolitan Teodosije (secularly Teodor Mraović; 1815 - 1891) was the Metropolitan of Belgrade from 1883 to 1889.	2004		Alekse Dejovića	Aleksa Dejović (1920-1943), national hero of the National Liberation War	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/002
Liberation Boulevard	Without a clear indication of what the liberation refers to. Since this name was first proposed for this street in 1919, it can refer to World War I or even earlier to Karadjordj's liberators from 1806 who came in this direction to Belgrade.	2004		JNA Boulevard	Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), the official name of the armed forces of SFR Yugoslavia	Ulice i trgovi Beograda 1 (A-M). 2005. Compiled by Nikola Stojanović and Ljubica Čorović. Belgrade: Biblioteka grada Beograda. p. 99 ; City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2004/004
Žorža Klemansoa	Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929), French politician	2006		part of the still existing France Street	France, country in Europe	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2006/024

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
Park Republike Srpske	Republic of Srpska is a ethnic Serb entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina created during Yugoslav Wars 1992-1995	2008		Park Pokreta nesvrstanih	The Non-Aligned Movement (Pokret nesvrstanih) is a forum developing world states that are not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc. It was established in 1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia through an initiative of the Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito.	Danas Newspaper, 6th May 2008
Koče Popovića	Konstantin Koča Popović (1908–1992) participant in the Spanish Civil War, commander of the First Proletarian Brigade and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the SFRY; Liberator of the City of	2014		Zagrebačka	City of Zagreb, the capital of the Republic of Croatia	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2014/069
Brane Crnčevića	Branislav Brana Crnčević (1933-2011), writer and politician, defender of war criminal Radovan Karadžić and a member of his SDS party, also a member of the far right party in Serbia - the Serbian Radical Party, and after its split he became the "winning wing" - the Serbian Progressive the party that gave him the street.	2016		Ohridska	Ohrid, a city in Macedonia	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2016/090
Nikolaja Krasnova	Nikolay Petrovich Krasnov (23 November 1864 - 8 December 1939) was a Russian Serbian architect and painter, who served as Chief Architect of Yalta, Crimea, between 1887 and 1899. From 1922 he lived and worked in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and was a key figure in the architectural development of Belgrade	2016		Avalska	Avala, a mountain near Belgrade	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2016/090

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
Milorada Ekmečića	Milorad Ekmečić (1928-2015), a Serbian historian who predominantly dealt with the history of the Serbian people in the 19th and 20th centuries. According to the explanation of the City Commission, "(Ekmečić) was one of the few who rose high above the prevailing state of mind in the Yugoslav and Serbian historical science of the Communist era, boldly researching the truth according to his own understanding of history and the scientific method in its knowledge."	2019		Travnička	Travnik, a city in Bosnia	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2019/013
Dobrice Ćosića	Dobrica Ćosić (1921-2014), politician and writer; President of the FRY	2019		Zadarska	Zadar, a city in Croatia	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2019/013
Pjarona de Mondežira	Jean Frédéric Lucien Piarron de Mondésir (1857-1943) was a French general who commanded the Serbian army in Albania in 1915 and withdrew, chose Corfu as the residence of our army and commanded the transfer of the Serbian army to the Thessaloniki front. He initiated the sending of 4,000 Serbian children to France for recovery and schooling and secured the future of the Serbian people - Vesić reminded	2019		part of the still existing Tadeuša Koščuška Str.	Andrzej Tadeusz Bonawentura Kościuszko (1746 - 1817) was a Polish-Lithuanian military engineer, statesman, and military leader who became a national hero in Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, and the United States.	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2019/064
Beogradski park	See:: Belgrade	2019		/	Belgrade Waterfront project	Belgrade Waterfront website: https://www.belgradewaterfront.com/en/belgrade-park-and-woodrow-wilson-boulevard-
Woodrow Wilson Boulevard	Woodrow Wilson provided unreserved support to the Serbian people by issuing the Serbian proclamation in 1918 and advocating for the safe provision of the naval exit of the Kingdom of Serbia (from the BW statement)	2019		/	Belgrade Waterfront project	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2018/067

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
Nikolaja Kravcova	Nikolai Kravtsov (1921–1944) was a soldier of the Soviet Union, who with his courage and selflessness made an immeasurable contribution to the liberation of Belgrade in October 1944.	2019		/	Belgrade Waterfront project	City of Belgrade. 2004-2019. Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2019/101
Park Diane Budisavljević	Diana Budisavljević (born Obexer; 15 January 1891 – 20 August 1978) was an Austrian humanitarian who led a major relief effort in Yugoslavia during World War II. She carried out rescue operations and saved more than 15,000, mainly Serbian, children from Croatian Ustashe camps in the Independent State of Croatia, Nazi puppet state established in occupied Yugoslavia.	2020		/	Belgrade Waterfront project	City of Belgrade - Official website (20th May 2020): https://www.beograd.rs/cir/beoinfo/1773399-usvojenao odluka o imenovanju parka diane budisavljevic/

Introduction

Over the past 30 years, downtown of the Serbian capital has “expelled” multiethnic and multicultural references, as well as references related to the National Liberation War¹, the Socialist and the Labour² Movement, and the Non-Aligned Movement³ from its public space. Srđan Radović, a researcher at the Ethnographic Institute in Belgrade, said of these processes: “(Official) Belgrade did not speak about it publicly, but the basic policy was to erase from the name not only what is reminiscent of socialism, but also Yugoslavia, in order to show the country as Serbian as possible. Today, the naming and renaming of streets in Belgrade still reflects the great division in Serbian society [between those who want to remember a Yugoslav past and those who oppose it, *author’s comment*] in terms of the way the past is remembered” (Willingham: 2016).

This section seeks to uncover the connection between changes of the names of downtown streets and squares in Belgrade and changes in the political and ideological orientation of Serbia at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries. Through the analysis of the **processes of commemoration and decommemoration**, it focuses on the interpretation of the change of narrative in the most representative of public spaces -- Belgrade, the capital of Serbia and the former Yugoslavia. The text reveals new and old **memory spaces** (*lieux de mémoire*) that were created in, and removed from, Belgrade. “A lieu de mémoire is any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community” (Nora: 1998). For the creation of new places of memory, it is necessary to delete the older and more dominant ones. Therefore, this paper follows the process of decomemo-

ration - that is, the creation of **spaces of oblivion** (*lieux d’oubli*) or social forgetting.

This research focuses on three decades of change: from 1990, when the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) began disintegrating, until June 2020. A division of these decades into four periods not only corresponds to changes in political elites, but also to waves of mass renaming of public space. Lefebvre’s concept of centrality hints at the importance of the city center for the symbolic and ideological appropriation of the entire city (Lefebvre: 2000). In the case of capitals, this appropriation spills over to the entire nation. Thus defined, Belgrade’s historical center is a well-framed subject of research, filled with the meaning and symbolism that institutions want to (selectively) present to citizens and foreign visitors.

1990-1997 Manifesto of “ideological cleansing of public space” in Serbia

In the late 1980s, serious political and ideological changes took place in the SFRY. In the vacuum that remained after the death of lifelong leader Josip Broz Tito, the two largest ethnic groups, Serbs and Croats, began a contest for dominance within the federation. Trampling on the principles of “Brotherhood and Unity” (Lefebvre: 2000), political elites, in cooperation with conservative circles of intellectuals, began to promote ethno-nationalism in opportunistic ways in order to strengthen their political position. Serbia, the largest member of the federation, was led by Slobodan Milošević, who was at the forefront of this trend -- a leader in upsetting the delicate balance of power within the Yugoslav commonwealth (constituting of six republics and various ethnic groups) by using ethnic nationalism to win and concentrate power.

As multiethnicity was no longer valued, the Serbian political elite began the process of transforming *the working people into the Serbian people* (Radović: 2012). This ideological turn in politics was accompanied by the decommemoration of all *those who resented the Serbian people*. This policy was very direct: On July 24, 1991, the Serbian Parliament recommended that the City of Belgrade and other municipalities launch an initiative to “remove from the names of cities, squares, streets, and educational and cultural institutions the names of persons responsible for plundering the economy of Serbia, the relocation of its factories and decades of economic policy to its detriment - as well as the return of the names of famous people from Serbian history” (Radović: 2012). From this recommendation of the Assembly, it is possible to discern the ideological manifesto of Milošević’s Serbia. There was a showdown with the former party comrades and leaders, a kind of witch hunt against them as the new political elite sought to assert its legitimacy and power in ethno-nationalism, often accompanied with the religion which was discouraged in Yugoslavia.

Even before this recommendation, the downtown streets with the names of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement had already begun to disappear discreetly in Belgrade. Yugoslavia had been the leader of the Non-Aligned movement; it was a child of the Cold War and of President Tito. In 1990, the Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie lost his street name, being “erased” by the neighboring street of the medieval Serbian king. Following the 1991 recommendation of the Assembly, the changes were radical, though not nearly as massive as in other Central European or in other Yugoslav cities. The “enemies of the Serbian people” -- who had been until just recently the undisputed leaders of Yugoslavia and Belgrade -- had largely lost their street names. These included lifelong President Josip Broz Tito, and top Yu-

goslav officials such as Boris Kidrič and Edvard Kardelj. They were blamed of systematically destroying the Serbian economy and of decades of discrimination against the Serbian people. Although it was not among the official objections, all three leaders were of non-Serbian origin (two Slovenes and one half Croat - half Slovene), which was certainly an aggravating circumstance given the deepening ethno-nationalist discourse in Serbia after 1988. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels also lost their square, just as their ideology had lost support among former members of the Communist Party. The official motto of SFR Yugoslavia - Brotherhood and Unity - lost its place in the public space, too. By renouncing brotherhood and unity, the Serbian political elite symbolically renounced multiculturalism as it had existed until then in Belgrade, and in Yugoslavia as a whole.

At the same time, the commemoration of individuals who the political elite did consider desirable took place. Josip Broz Tito Street was renamed *Srpskih vladara* Street (i.e *Serbian Rulers’ Street*) in 1992. Same year, Nikola Pašić, the conservative Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, got his square. Pašić’s character was interpreted very negatively by the communist authorities because of his conservative and anti-communist policy based on Serbian centralism. Milošević’s socialists rehabilitated him and his ideas by giving his name to one of the central squares of the capital. Other streets were named after geographical determinants in Serbia - such as the Sava River and the city of Belgrade. One large boulevard was named after Nikola Tesla, as well. Although Tesla already had his own street, it was significantly smaller. In the ethno-nationalist conflict between Serbia and Croatia, Tesla was especially important because he was a world-renowned scientist born on the territory of today’s Croatia to a family of ethnic

Serbs. Giving his name to a prominent boulevard in the center of Belgrade was intended to highlight Tesla's Serb identity.

The changes during the period from 1990 to 1997 were significant at the level of values and symbols, but limited in scope because the Milošević's regime opportunistically wanted to win over both nationalists and communists. Condemning only Tito and people from his immediate environment, the Serbian authorities preserved almost all of the names related to the Labour Movement, the Partisan Movement and the National Liberation War. Yet, those streets that lost their previous name were re-named into terms and personalities with distinctly Serbian connotations, which pleased nationalists. This populist mix would remain a lasting feature of the Milošević regime until its ultimate demise. While Yugoslav People's Army tanks destroyed cities in Croatia and Bosnia, he continued to argue that the mini-federation of Serbia and Montenegro, created in 1992, was the legitimate successor to the SFRY.

1997-2000 Royalists' Reaction and Revision

With the signing of the Dayton Agreement⁴ and the end of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia in 1995, society in Serbia regained the opportunity to dedicate itself to its current problems. The economic decline and authoritarian behavior of the ruling party, as well as the national catastrophe⁵ of losing the war in Croatia, caused waves of civil discontent. The political monopoly that Milošević's Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) held until then slowly started to break down. In the 1996 local elections, Milošević lost almost all major cities in Serbia, including Belgrade. After the regime's refusal to concede defeat and three months of civil and student protests, the opposition took power in the Serbian capital.

The new Belgrade city government was made up of an eclectic coalition that grouped together parties from the center and the monarchist right. After only a few months in power, the conservative part of the coalition took over. This meant that the city government was made up of monarchists, who were descendants and sympathizers of the controversial Chetnik movement⁶. This political current placed the royal Karađorđević dynasty and the Serbian Orthodox Church at the center of its political program and its core value system. The ideological turn became clearly visible in the new toponyms on the streets of Belgrade.

The newly elected Commission for Monuments and for Naming of Squares and Streets, headed by the writer Svetlana Velmar Janković, adopted the "Proposed Criteria for Determining the Names of Streets and Squares in Belgrade" in April 1997. In its introduction, the Commission states: "it is possible to follow many socio-political changes in the life of Belgrade, because the names reflect the political tendencies and program aspirations of the ruling class. This is manifested not only in the names of certain personalities, but often those given by toponyms" (Vreme: 2014). In the adopted criteria, the seventh refers to toponyms, saying: "Preservation of these names protects the historical heritage of Belgrade from the era when it was the capital of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, FNRJ and SFRY" (Vreme: 2014).

Nevertheless, some streets were stripped of their original names. For example, New Belgrade's Lenin Boulevard, so-called since its construction, became the boulevard of the Serbian-American scientist Mihajlo Pupin. Street names pertaining to people and ideas related to the Labour Movement and the National Liberation War were often changed. However, the power of the Belgrade city government was limited, as the National Assembly had to approve all changes of street names. Between the

struggle for power of both the capital and the seat of the national parliament, it is interesting which names were preserved and were erased. On one hand, the Milošević regime allowed the conservatives to remove the names of the October Revolution, the Proletarian Brigades and July 7 (the Day of the Uprising against the Nazi Occupation in Serbia). On the other hand, the regime preserved the street of November 29 (the Day of the Formation of SFR Yugoslavia) and the boulevard of the Yugoslav Army. This was completely in line with Milošević's policy of declarative continuity with the old Yugoslavia and his insistence at the international level that Serbia was the only legal successor to the SFRY.

As for acts of commemoration during this period, the Commission consistently chose to reinstate the old names of streets from the period before 1945. At this time, three monasteries of the Serbian Orthodox Church (Dečani, Sveta Gora and Mileševa) got their street names back. Also, two kings and one princess were commemorated. In addition, street names were given to the medieval Serbian name for Istanbul: Carigrad (*Imperial City*), and to the Crown; these were perhaps the most revisionist moves of the new city government. Yet there were a few exceptions to this trend. For example, the street of Soviet General Zhdanov was not renamed to its older name of Zrinjski, as the conservative Belgrade city government did not wish to reinstate the name of a Croatian noble and therefore decided to give the street the name of the Orthodox monastery of Resava.

2000-2012 Nationalist Democracy

After the Kosovo war, the bombing of Serbia in which Belgrade was badly damaged, and the loss of Kosovo in 1999, Milošević lost his support among the citizens of Serbia. Well before that, he lost support of the international community, as well. In the 2000 presidential election, he⁷ lost to united opposition candi-

date Vojislav Koštunica. Shortly after, the united opposition won 64 percent of the vote and absolute majority in the general elections. In the local elections in Belgrade, the opposition won even more decisively, ending the "cohabitation" of the capital and the national government and establishing a center-right liberal-civil government.

One of the first actions of the newly formed Belgrade city government was the creation of the Commission for Monuments and Names of Squares and Streets of the Assembly of the City of Belgrade (hereinafter the *Commission*) on March 15, 2001 (Vukšović: 2002). The Commission proclaimed that "we need to return to the proven and lasting spiritual values of the Serbian people by bearing the old names unjustifiably suppressed by the one-sided evaluation of history after 1945" (Vukšović: 2002). The proclaimed goals clearly show the value orientation of the new political elite. First of all, the mission of the Commission was to "liberate" the city from the legacy of communism whose values are not "verified and permanent", as well as to reclaim a public space that had lost its monoethnic Serbian character through communist multiculturalism.

Such a manifesto would suggest that the Commission would decide to reinstate the names that the streets bore before the communists came to power. But, that did not happen. Streets "liberated" from the names of WW2 heroes and working-class ideals were given completely new names, even of persons who were contemporaries of the Commission. Thus, "proven and lasting values" turned into current and purposeful interests that aimed to mark the public space of the capital with personalities who were close to the regime and the ruling party. For example, the writer Borisav Pekić, one of the founders of the ruling Democratic Party, got his street. Also, part of the central square of

the capital was named after Zoran Djindjić, the Prime Minister of Serbia who was assassinated in 2003, and who was also the president of the ruling Democratic Party. In addition to symbolically positioning the Democratic Party in the very heart of the capital, the Commission continued to name streets after representatives of the Serbian church and monarchy. The wives of the noble rulers – the princesses consorts and queens consorts – also began to get their own streets.

2012-2020 Capital of the “Serbian World”

In the presidential and parliamentary elections of 2012, there was a sweeping change on the political scene in Serbia. The Serbian Progressive Party (SNS), made up of close associates and members of the Milošević regime, replaced the Democratic Party at all levels. Their dominance was completed with Aleksandar Vučić, the president of the SNS and the infamous Minister of Information in Milošević’s wartime government in 1997-2000, gaining absolute power.

One of the main unresolved issues that Vučić inherited is the status of Kosovo. Although he is declaratively committed to Serbia’s European integration, President Vučić is looking for allies elsewhere, primarily in Russia. Trying to play a double game, he often compares himself to Tito (Gedošević: 2015). Also, he often invokes principles of the Yugoslav-era foreign policy of non-alignment and military neutrality. This simulation of the Cold War position of Serbia is perhaps best seen in the President Vučić’s main urban project: the Belgrade Waterfront. This controversial investment venture is the most ambitious urban project in the central part of Belgrade in the last three decades. Within it, two newly created streets have been named after the “Cold War key” -- one after an American, and the other after a

Soviet. On the one hand, US President Woodrow Wilson is honored with a boulevard because he “provided unreserved support to the Serbian people by issuing the Serbian proclamation in 1918 and advocating for the safe provision of the naval¹⁰ exit of the Kingdom of Serbia” (Blic: 2019). On the other hand, Nikolai Kravtsov, a Soviet soldier who died during the liberation of Belgrade from the Nazis in 1944, was also honored with a street. This is the first street named after a Soviet communist and liberator of Belgrade for 30 years. Both of these proposals for naming streets were submitted personally by President Vučić in his capacity as a citizen while still being the President and one of the most powerful people in Serbia (RTS: 2019).

The rest of Belgrade’s central zone that is within this study’s area has also been the subject of revision by the Vučić regime. In accordance with Vučić’s view of Serbia’s position in the region, Belgrade’s toponyms are beginning to take the shape of the so-called *Serbian World*. This euphemism is a washed-out version of Greater Serbia¹¹ that was a motivation for war and ethnic cleansing in the early 1990s¹². At that time, Vučić himself wholeheartedly embraced the violent struggle for Greater Serbia. This time, the Serbian world is being realized through more peaceful methods, even by changing toponyms in Belgrade. Minister of Internal Affairs Aleksandar Vulin confirmed this position of the government and said that “Vučić should create the Serbian world. Belgrade must gather all Serbs in and around itself, and the president of Serbia is the president of all Serbs” (Danas: 2020).

In terms of decommemoration, some of the remaining names of streets associated with Communism and the National Liberation War were changed during this period. Only a few streets that are associated with that period are left in the center of Belgrade.

The remained streets within this study area are Braće Baruh (Baruh Brothers)⁸ street and just a part of formerly large street of the 27th March⁹ street. The *damnatio memoriae* of the Socialist and the Partisan Movements was definitive.

Another spokesman for the idea that Belgrade is the capital of the Serbian world is the deputy mayor of Belgrade, Goran Vesić, who said that the streets in Belgrade should bear the names of people to whom Serbia is indebted, as well as friendly countries and peoples, and those who to whom humanity is indebted. “That is why we will continue to change the names of all streets named after those who no longer have ties with Serbia, as well as those named after areas where anything that comes from Serbia is not welcome,” Vesić explained (N1: 2020). The Belgrade city government has already stripped away the street names commemorating cities in the former Yugoslav republics such as Zadar, Zagreb, Travnik, Ohrid and Pohorje. A new list of places “which are hostile to Serbs” and have their own street names in Belgrade is ready to guide further decommemoration (N1: 2020).

In addition to this decommemoration, which has elements of urban ethnic cleansing, the commemoration carried out by the Vučić regime is also significant. “Liberated” streets are named after the ideologues of Greater Serbia and the creators of war policy from the time of Milošević. That is how ideologues of Greater Serbian nationalism, like Dobrica Ćosić¹³, revisionist historian Milorad Ekmečić¹⁴, as well as Brana Crnčević, a writer, friend of Milošević and advocate of the innocence of Radovan Karadžić¹⁵, got streets named after them. By paying tribute to the initiators of the *Serbization* of Yugoslavia and Belgrade, Vučić’s regime symbolically closed the toponymic circle of the capital.

Analysis of new toponyms

In the period 1990-2020, there was a return to a “better past” - kings, nobility, military leaders and statesmen who preceded or opposed the socialist period. In addition to this royalist renaissance in the public space of Belgrade, it is important to note that all street names in this category are related to Serbs and national history. On the other hand, foreign royalty and military leaders have lost their streets or been marginalized. Thus, the Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie, one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement, was one of the first to lose his place in Belgrade¹⁶. The most representative part of Tadeusz Kościuszko street was taken away from this great Polish and French hero and fighter for independence. Jean Frédéric Lucien Piarron de Mondésir took his place. Although he is also a foreigner, the French military leader, according to the city commission, is credited with forming the Thessaloniki Front, saving the Serbian army, and sending Serbian children to school in France during the First World War (Official Gazette (Belgrade): 2019/064).

One of the more positive aspects of renaming the streets is the increase in the number of women commemorated in the city center. The famous poetess, Desanka Maksimović¹⁷, and the first woman architect and urban planner of the City of Belgrade, Jelisaveta Načić, got their streets. In addition to these positive examples, a number of controversial figures - artists and scientists - who’ve got their streets are also noticeable. Particularly problematic are the streets of Brana Crnčević and Milorad Ekmečić, both of whom openly supported war criminals from the Yugoslav wars and participated in the work of their political organizations. In addition to them, there is a cloud of doubt over the appropriateness of naming individuals who supported the Quisling government in Serbia during the Second World War.

Table 2 Belgrade Street Name Changes

Belgrade 1990	Groups	Belgrade 2020
2	Statehood and Royalty	19
2	Culture-creator, artists, scientists	12
/	Religion/religious objects	7
/	Entrepreneurs	2
8	Geographic names	7
2	Localities	/
/	Appearance (traits, nature)	/
10	Historical Events and Values (All areas)	3
24	SFRJ and Socialist Idea	2
/	Crafts and Trades	/
/	Other	/
48	TOTAL	52

Among them are the rector of the University of Belgrade Ivan Đaja and the theologian and historian Radoslav Grujić who were signatories of the infamous Appeal to the Serbian People¹⁸.

In urban toponymy, there was a boom in street names dedicated to religion and religious buildings, as well as to religious leaders. As many as seven (7) monasteries and clergymen, all belong to the Serbian Orthodox Church, got their streets. At the same time, all former Yugoslav territories where Serbs were not in the majority, began to disappear. It has also become a public policy of the city administration to deliberately erase cities and places where “Serbs are not welcome” (N1: 2020). Perhaps the most symbolic revision was made in 2014, when Belgrade lost Zagrebačka Street. In its place is now the street of Konstantin Koča Popović, the Yugoslav military leader, writer and statesman who liberated Zagreb in 1945.

Socialist ideas and prominent figures, as well as historical events, experienced the greatest pogrom. Out of 48 streets whose names were changed within the observed area, as many as 34 streets belong to these categories. Almost every memory of the Second World War, the International Workers' Movement, or the values and leaders of socialist Yugoslavia has disappeared. In addition to the above-mentioned personalities, their place was taken by representatives of large capital who were engaged in philanthropy in the past, or events that were more ideologically neutral or indeterminate. An example of this is a Liberation boulevard, where there is no consensus to which liberation of the boulevard refers.

Belgrade Concluding Remarks

When we look at the last 30 years, we can see that an almost complete decommemoration of the National Liberation War, the Labour Movement, international cooperation, and toponyms from the former Yugoslavia has taken place. Accompanied by political opportunism, various waves of revisionism have removed any cosmopolitan spirit from the streets of Belgrade downtown. Changing the names of squares and streets was one of the instruments of silencing of ideological opponents and a tool for establishing the dominance of the value-ideological system of those with power in public space and discourse.

The emptiness of Belgrade's central streets was filled by some old and new heroes, chosen to reflect what was convenient for power holders in that historical and political moment. That is how the monarchy, the church, and other "verified values of the Serbian people" got their streets and boulevards. Also, controversial personalities of older and newer Serbian history have been given their place of remembrance in public space, such as the formerly prominent, recently deceased members of the party organizations in power.

However, as much as the decisions made during these four waves showed different preferences, the constant of the Serbian political elite in dealing with the culture of memory in the last three decades has been monoethnic nationalism. This policy was diligently pursued by both Milošević and opposition leaders. And today, it is visible on the central streets of Belgrade through its absence: street and square names associated with the International Labour Movement and with Yugoslav and Non-Aligned multiculturalism are equally unacceptable to the current political regime.

This stands in striking contrast to the cosmopolitan Belgrade that existed until the end of the 1980s, when it was the capital not only of a multiethnic and multicultural Yugoslavia, but also the political center of the Non-Aligned Movement, which gathered a diverse circle of African, Asian and Latin American states. Belgrade downtown is now the site of commemoration almost exclusively in the spirit of Serbian ethno-nationalism; this has provincialized the city and erased its links with cities from its immediate neighborhood.

The capital of a multiethnic Yugoslavia has become the center of the Serbian world. On the symbolic battlefields of the central city streets, the International Labour and Liberation Movement lost to the onslaught of revisionist heroes. Belgrade downtown has turned the circle of history. New enemies of the Serbian people are being found again. This time it's not just people, but cities.

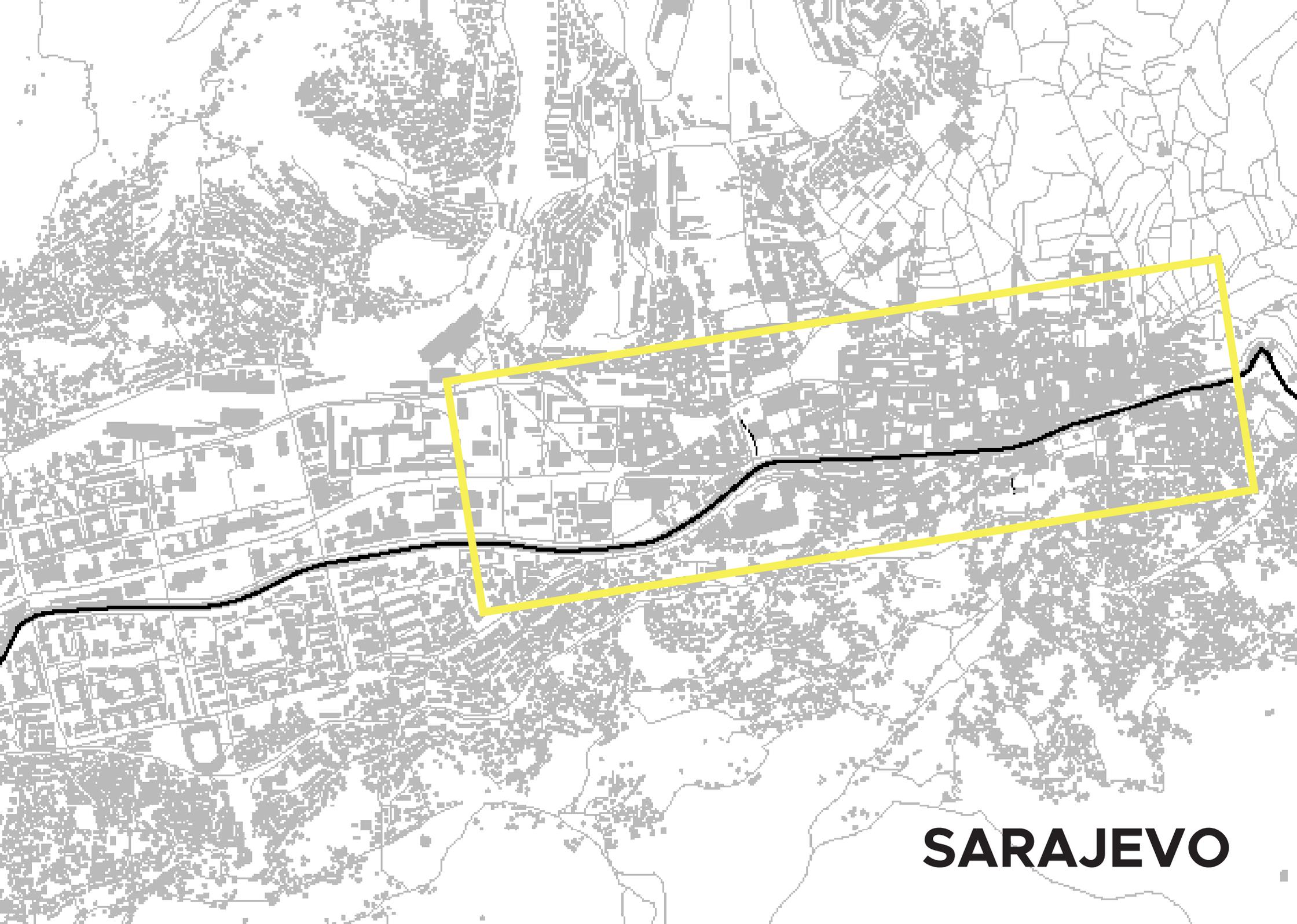
Belgrade Endnotes

1. The National Liberation War is a term used to describe the struggle of the Yugoslav peoples, led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, for liberation from fascist occupation during the Second World War. It covers the period from July 1941 to May 1945, across the entire territory of Yugoslavia.
2. The Labor Movement is a collective action of the working class in the struggle to improve the working conditions provided by their employers and governments. Unions are bodies of the organized labor movement formed for the purpose of representing the interests of workers and the working class.
3. The Non-Aligned Movement is a forum of 120 developing world states that are not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc. After the United Nations, it is the largest grouping of states worldwide. It was established in 1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia through an initiative of the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah, Indonesian President Sukarno, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, and Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito.
4. The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, also known as the Dayton Agreement is the peace agreement reached at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio, United States, on 21 November 1995, and formally signed in Paris, on 14 December 1995. These accords put an end to the 3 and a half year-long Bosnian War, one of the Yugoslav Wars. (Author's comment)
5. After the military operation Storm, by which the Croatian forces recaptured the rebel territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, it is estimated that between 150,000 and 200,000 Serbs became refugees scattered throughout Bosnia, Serbia and Montenegro. (Author's comment)
6. The Chetniks, also known as the Yugoslav Army in the Homeland, was a Yugoslav royalist and Serbian nationalist movement and guerrilla force in Axis-occupied Yugoslavia. While it was anti-Axis in its long-term goals and engaged in marginal resistance activities for limited periods, it also engaged in tactical or selective collaboration with the occupying forces for almost the entire war. (Author's comment)
7. After losing the elections, Slobodan Milošević was delivered to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in 2001
8. The Baruch brothers (Isidor, Bora and Josif) were Belgrade Jews. All three died in World War II, as members of the People's Liberation Movement. The street in Dorćol, where they used to live, took their name, as did the elementary school built near their house.

9. The Yugoslav coup d'état of 27 March 1941 in Belgrade, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, replaced the regency led by Prince Paul and installed King Peter II. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia played no part in the coup, although it made a significant contribution to the mass street protests in many cities that signalled popular support for it once it had occurred. Demonstrators gathered on the streets of Belgrade shouting "Better the grave than a slave, better a war than the pact" (Serbo-Croatian: Bolje grob nego rob, Bolje rat nego pakt). The coup annulled the Vienna Protocol on the Accession of Yugoslavia to the Tripartite Pact (Axis) and led directly to the German-led Axis invasion of Yugoslavia.
10. Serbia's access to the sea has remained a permanent unfulfilled wish of Serbian nationalists and expansionists (Author's comment)
11. Greater Serbia describes the Serbian nationalist and irredentist ideology of the creation of a Serb state which would incorporate all regions of traditional significance to Serbs, a South Slavic ethnic group, including regions outside modern-day Serbia that are partly populated by Serbs. (Author's comment)
12. "It is no longer about "Greater Serbia", because this criminal enterprise has been denounced in international circles, but about "Serbian world", and the primary spokesmen for these dangerous ideas in the Balkans were Aleksandar Vulin, back then Minister of Defense, and Ilica Dačić, back then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia." (AlJazeera Balkans :2020) "
13. Dobrica Ćosić (1921-2014) was the first President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 1992 to 1993. His admirers sometimes refer to him as the Father of the Nation, due to his influence on modern Serbian politics and the national revival movement in the late 1980s. His support was important in Serbian nationalist leader Slobodan Milošević's rise to power. Liberal Serbs saw Ćosić as one of the key people behind the Greater Serbia project, an idea pushed forward by Serbian nationalists who wanted to unite Serbia with Serb-populated areas of Croatia and Bosnia. (Los Angeles Times: 2014).
14. Milorad Ekmečić (1928-2015), was a Yugoslav and Serbian historian. Ekmečić participated in the Bosnian War as an advisor to the convicted war criminal Radovan Karadžić while Karadžić was President of Republika Srpska. Through his connection to Karadžić, Ekmečić was also a founder of the radical nationalist Serb Democratic Party (SDS) in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1990. According to an analysis of Serbian historiography after 1991, Ekmečić was "complicit in the weaponization of history, in particular that of the mass atrocities of the Second World War". (Nielsen: 2020)

15. Radovan Karadžić (1945) is a Bosnian Serb former politician who served as the president of Republika Srpska during the Bosnian War, and was later convicted of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).
16. Other leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement, whose streets are further from the city center, have managed to preserve their streets. One of these is Nehru Street dedicated to Jawaharlal Nehru (1889 - 1964) in New Belgrade. Nehru was an Indian independence activist and, subsequently, the first Prime Minister of India, as well as a central figure in Indian politics both before and after independence.
17. Desanka Maksimović (1898 - 1993) was a well-known poet during Yugoslavia, and also a supporter of Slobodan Milošević's policy.
18. The Appeal to the Serbian people (Serbian: Apel srpskom narodu) from 1941 was a public appeal signed by 546 prominent ecclesiastical, intellectual, and political representatives of Serbia to all so-called "true patriots" to fight against the communist resistance movement and for "order and obedience" to the Serbian government that collaborated with the German occupiers. The Appeal condemned any action against the German occupiers and especially any armed action by the People's Liberation Movement.

SARAJEVO



SARAJEVO

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
ALEKSE ŠANTIĆA	After that the street changed its name several times. Livanjska, Njegoševa (to Petar Drugi Petrović Njegoš.) And at the end of Aleksa Šantića Street. Aleksa Šantić was a famous writer and poet from Mostar who wrote on the theme of love and patriotic feelings.	1994		NJEGOŠEVA	The street is located on the right side of Miljacka, and belongs to the area of "Džidžikovac - Koševo I". It connects Josipa Vančaša Street (before Skerlićeva) and Koševo Street (before Kralja Tomislava). Until 1910, it was called Koševo Vančaševa.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/355
ALIJE ISAKOVIĆA	Since 1998, it has been named after Alija Isaković, after the writer and lexicographer Alija Isaković.	1998		BRANKA ŠOTRE	It stretches from Maršala Tita Street, on the south, to Mehmeda Spaha Street (formerly Boriša Kovačevića Street), on the north side. It was created in the early 1920s and its first name was Sokolska. From 1974 to 1998, it was named after Branko Šotra, painter and a hero of the liberation war 1941-1945.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/527
ALIPAŠINA	Then, it again bears the name of Alipašina, as the whole neighborhood around the mosque was called for more than 400 years.	1994		ĐURE ĐAKOVIĆA	In the Austro-Hungarian period, it was called Uz Koševo. In the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the initial part was named Ali Pasha, after Gaza Ali Pasha, the founder of a nearby mosque. By his will of 27.10.1557. year, Ali Pasha decided to build a mosque next to his grave. After the war of 1941-1945. year, it was named Moscow, after the Russian city of Moscow, and from 1953 to 1954 it was named after the then living politician, Yuri Pucar Stari.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/291
ARMAGANUŠA	Since 1994, it has been called Armaganuša again.	1994		LAJOŠA KOŠUTA	In the Ottoman period and until 1931, it was named Armaganuša, after the Mahala Armagandža Sinana, where it was located. In 1931, it was named Ban Jelačić, after Count Josip Jelačić (1801-1859), the Croatian-Dalmatian-Slavonian ban. Then it was named Lajos Kossuth after the Hungarian politician (1802-1894).	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/426

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
AUGUSTA BRAUNA	Since 1994, it has been named after August Brown, an industrialist who founded the modern construction industry in Sarajevo in the early 1980s.	1994		SLAVIŠE VAJNERA ČIČE	In 1945, it was named after Slaviša Weiner Čiča, the hero of the liberation war 1941-1945. Until then, it was part of Maghreb Street.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/398
BEHUDINA SELMANOVIĆA	Since 1994, it has been named after Behaudin Selmanović, after the painter Behaudin Selmanović.	1994		OLGE IVKOVIĆ	The street is located on the right side of Miljacka, and belongs to the local area "Mejtaš - Bjelave". It stretches from Čekaluša to Roman Petrović Street. Until 1948, it was called Rešina Street, after the old Sarajevo Bosniak Muslim family Rešo. From 1948 to 1994, the name of the street was Olga Ivković, after the fighter of the liberation war 1941-1945.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/448
BRANILACA SARAJEVA	In 1992, the name was changed to Ulica Branilaca Sarajeva. In 1994, part of this street, from the Federation Army House (formerly the JNA House) to the Latin Bridge (formerly the Gavriilo Princip Bridge), is named Zelenih beretki Street.	1994		JNA	During the forty-year Austro-Hungarian occupation, it was named Franz Josef Strasse (Bosnian: Franja Josipa), after Tsar and King Francis Joseph I. From 1918 to 1941, it was named King Peter, after King Peter I Karadjordjević of Serbia and Yugoslavia. During the occupation of 1941-1945, it was named Street no. 1. After the liberation, the street was named after the Yugoslav People's Army.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/505
BRANISLAVA ĐURĐEVA	Since 1995, it has been named Branislav Đurđev, after academician, historian Branislav Đurđev, the first director and founder of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo.	1995		DOSITEJEVA	From 1865 to 1919, its name was Štamparska, after the Vilajetska printing house, which was in that street. From 1919 to 1941, it was named after the Serbian writer and educator Dositej Obradović. During the German-Ustasha occupation 1941-1945, it was named after the Croatian writer and educator Matija Antun Reljković. In 1945, Dositej's name was returned to it.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/516

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
BUKA	In 1994, the street was renamed Noise Street.	1994		STAKE SKENDEROVE	It was named after the stream that once flowed through an open bed, and is now channeled below Dalmatinska Street. In 1931, the street was named Stake Skenderova, after the national educator, Staka Skenderova.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/427
ČEKALUŠA	Since 1994, the street has been named Čekaluša again.	1994		NEMANJINA	In the Ottoman period, the street and mahala in which it is located (Čekaluša) had the same name after the nickname of the Grand Vizier Rustem Pasha, "Čegale". According to the writings of his contemporary Bernard Navadjer, Rustem Pasha was born in the vicinity of the then Sarajevo. From 1885-1919. the street was called Čekaluša, and then it was named Nemanjina, after the founder of the Serbian dynasty Nemanjić, Stefan Nemanja.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/351
ĆEMALUŠA	Since 1994, the street has been renamed Ćemaluša, reminiscent of the former large mahala formed around the mosque, which was built before 1515 by Hodža Kemaludin. The mosque was located on the site of today's Vakuf skyscraper. In the past, the Ćemaluša mahala covered a large area: part of today's Titova Street, Ferhadija, Mula Mustafa Bašeskija, to Gazi Husrev-beg's hammam.	1994		ŠALOMA ALBAHARIJA	Until 1931, it was named Sulejmanova, after the kadija Sulejman-efendija Music, who had a house there and in 1740 was buried in the harem of the mosque of Havađa Kemaludin. The street was also known as Hadžirustemagića sokak, after the Sarajevo merchant and philanthropist Mustafaga Hadžirustemagić. From 1931, it was named Ćemaluša, and in 1950 it was named after a social fighter and a victim of fascist terror in the war of 1941-1945. Shalom Albahari.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/510

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
DALMATINSKA	From 19.05.1994. it was again named Dalmatinska, and a street in the settlement of Boljakov potok was named after Mahmut Bušatlija.	1994		MAHMUTA BUŠATLIJE	Until 1929, it was just a trail along the Buka stream. After the regulation of the stream in 1931, the street was traced and named Dalmatinska, after the province of Dalmatia in Croatia. On 10.06.1966. it was named Mahmut Bushatlija, a hero of the war 1941-1945.	https://vimeo .
DOLINA	Since 1996, it has been renamed Dolina, after the old Sarajevo Muslim family Dolo, which owned the property in that area.	1996		ALBANSKA	It was created in the 16th century within the Mahala of Sheikh Maghreb. From 1948 to 1996, it was called Albania, after the state of Albania.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/399
ĐOKE MAZALIĆA	Since 1994, the street has been named Đoko Mazalić, after the painter and former curator of the National Museum in Sarajevo, Đoko Mazalić.	1994		ALI-BEGA FIRDUS	The old name of the street was Mrkvina, after the Sarajevo family Mrkva, which had houses in that area. In 1931, the street was named after Veljko Čubrilović, a member of the "Young Bosnia" movement, who was executed on February 3, 1915 for participating in the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. During the time of Nazi-Ustasha occupation, the name of the street was Ali-beg Firdus Street, after the Livno owner and leader of the Muslim People's Organization, Ali-beg	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/400
DŽIDŽIKOVAC	After 1995, the name Džidžikovac was extended to the initial section of the former Mustafa Golubica Street (from Koševo Street to the Police Station).	1995		MUSTAFE GOLUBIĆA	The name is probably derived from the Turkish word jiji, which means decorated, as the street Džidžikovac used to be lined with gardens. Later it was named Mustafa Golubic who was a member of "Young Bosnia", which assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand. He came out of the First Balkan War as a sergeant of the Serbian army with a medal	https://vimeo .

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
ČOBANIJA	Since 1994, it has been called Čobanija again, and the name of Tomaš Masarik was given to the former Aleksa Bojovića Street in the settlement of Staro Hrasno.	1994		TOME MASARIKA	It starts from Čobanija Bridge and ends under the Young Muslim Road. Until 1921, it had the same name as the mahala in which it is located, Čobanija, which is the popular name of the mosque that was built in the middle of the 16th century by Čoban Hasan Vojvoda. In 1921, the street was named after Tomas Masaryk, the Czech statesman (Tomas Garrigue Masaryk).	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/ulica-cobanija
EJUBA ADEMOVIĆA	Until 1994, the street was named Pionirska, after the Association of Pioneers of Yugoslavia. Since 1994, it has been named after Ejub Ademović, a lawyer and state prosecutor during the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.	1994		PIONIRSKA	It stretches from Čobanija Street, to Soukbunar Street and the city bypass. The central part, several hundred meters long, is a macadam road and passes through an uninhabited area. Until 1994, the street was named Pionirska, after the Association of Pioneers of Yugoslavia.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/476
FEHIMA EFENDIJE ČURČIĆA	Since 1994, it has been again named after Fehim Effendi Čurčić, and the name Jablanička was assigned to Titogradska Street in the settlement of Dobrinja.	1994		JABLANIČKA	It stretches from Hamdija Kreševljakovića Street (formerly Dobrovoljačka) to Skenderija Street. Until 1948, it was named Čurčić Fehim efendi, after the last mayor of Sarajevo of the Austro-Hungarian period, and since then it has been called Jablanička, after the city of Jablanica.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/477
FERHADIJA	Since 1993, it has been called Ferhadija again.	1993		VASE MISKINA	Until 1928, the street was named Ferhadija, after the Bosnian governor Ferhad-beg Vuković-Desisalić, who in 1561/62. built a mosque in that street. From 1928 to 1941, it was named after Crown Prince Peter, prince and later King Peter II Karadjordjevic. From 1941 to 1945, it bore the old name Ferhadija, and from 1945 to 1993, its name was Vase Miskina Crnog, after the hero of the	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/507

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
FRANCA LEHARA	Since 1994, the street has been named Franz Lehar, after the Austrian musician Franz Lehar, the father of the famous operetta composer Franz and the lesser-known military conductor Anton Lehar. According to some allegations, Father Lehar conducted a military orchestra in Sarajevo for a short time during the Austro-Hungarian rule.	1994		BULEVAR BORISA KIDRIĆA	A few years before the 1992-1995 war it was practically excluded from traffic by building a road along the east side of the former barracks "Marshal Tito". Until 1994, the street was named Boris Kidrič Boulevard, after a prominent Slovenian politician of the socialist period.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/420
GABRIJELE MORENO LOKATELI	From 21.04.1994. it has been named Gabriele Moreno Locatelli, after the Italian humanist journalist Gabrielle Moreno Locatelli, who died in the area in a peace mission.	1994		NEVESINJSKA	It is interesting that this street shares the route with Nevesinjska Street. The left side of the street is Gabriele Moreno Lokateljija and the right side is Nevesinjska. It stretches from the Vrbanje Bridge to the south, next to the Jewish cemetery. In 1931, it was named after the town of Nevesinje	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/ulica-gabrielle-moreno-locatelli
HADŽI IDRIZOVA	It bears this name since 21.04.1994.	1994		SUTJESKA	The street is located on the right side of Miljacka, in the area of Koševo. It belongs to the local area "Džidžikovac - Koševo I". It originated in the Ottoman period and stretches from Koševo Street to Džidžikovac Street. It was named after Hadži-Idriz, the founder of the former Mahala Hadži-Idriz, better known as Žabljak. From 1945 to 1994, the entire route of the street, from Alipašina to Džidžikovac, was called Sutjeska.	http://www.centar.ba/pretraga
HALIDA KAJTAZA	Until 19.05.1994. was called Brodska. It is named after Khalid Kajtaz, a member of the Young Muslims organization, who was killed in 1949.	1994		BRODSKA	The original name of the street is Brodska, which is reference to a ship.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/ulica-halida-kajtaza

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
HAMDIJE KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆA	The street is located on the left side of Miljacka in the central part of the city. It was named after the academician, historian Hamdija Kreševljaković. Until 19.05.1994. year, the name of Hamdija Kreševljaković was carried by the current Alibega Firdusa Street in Švrakino selo (before Naselje Pavla Goranina). On that date, the former Dobrovoljacka Street was named after Hamdija Kreševljaković.	1994		DOBROVOLJAČKA	In the 16th century, the street that connected the current Austrian Square and Čobanija was called Terazije after a special dividing water reservoir, which was located on Atmejdan. At the end of the Ottoman administration, Hadžagin Sokak Street was built by the local Tatar (courier) Hadžagi, who owned a house on the southwest corner of Atmejdan. With the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian administration, the entire route of the square to Vrbanja was named Terazije. In 1931, the part from the Skenderija Bridge to the current Austrian Square was named Dobrovoljacka, after the volunteers of the Serbian	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/478
HAMIDA DIZDARA	Since 1994, the street has been named after the writer Hamid Dizdar, and Maksim Gorkog Street has been named after Hamza Huma. Due to the negligence of the appropriate services in the city, the former Vahida Muminovića Street in the area of Bistrik also bears the name of Hamid Dizdar.	1994		HAMZE HUME	Before it got its current name, it was called Hamze Hume after the Bosnian writer, and before that its name was Bubina.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/402
HAMZE HUME	Since 1994, the street has been named after the writer Hamid Dizdar, and Maksim Gorkog Street has been named after Hamza Huma. Due to the negligence of the appropriate services in the city, the former Vahida Muminovića Street in the area of Bistrik also bears the name of Hamid Dizdar.	1994		MAKSIMA GORKOG	Russian writer, founder of social realism and political activist	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/402

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
HERCEG STJEPANA	Since 1994, the street has been named after Herceg Stjepan, after the medieval Bosnian nobleman, Duke Stjepan Vukčić Kosača.	1994		VELJKA LUKIĆA KURJAKA	It was built around 1940 with the construction of the Church of St. Joseph. Until 1994, it was named Veljko Lukić Kurjak, after the hero of the liberation war 1941-1945.	http://www.centar.ba/pretraga
HISETA	From 19.05.1994. year, the street is again called Hiseta.	1994		BRANKA RADIČEVIĆA	It belongs to the local area "Marijin dvor - Crni vrh". Until 1994, it was named Brankova, after the Serbian poet Branko Radičević. The old name of this street was Donja Hiseta (ar. Hise: "part"). During the German-Ustasha occupation 1941-1945. the street was named after Eugen Kumičić, after the Croatian writer Eugen Kumičić. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, this area was also known as Ciganska (Roma) mahala.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/ulica-hiseta
JOSIPA VANČAŠA	from 19.05.1994. is named after Josip Vančaš.	1994		SKERLIĆA	It belongs to the local area Džidžikovac - Koševo I ". It was constructed before the First World War and its first name was Mala ulica (Little Street). In 1908, it was named Vančaševa, after the architect Josip noble Vančaš. In 1919, it was named Skerlić after the literary critic Jovan Skerlić. During the German-Ustasha occupation 1941-1945. it was named after the last Croatian king Petar Svačić. From 1945-1994. was renamed Skerlic	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/352
KOSTE HERMANNA	From 19.05.1994. the street is named Kosta Herman after a high official of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina and a cultural worker Konstantin Kosta Herman.	1994		ĐURE DANIČIĆA	Until 1919, it was called Officer's Street, and then it was named Đuro Daničić, after the philologist Đuro Daničić.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/421

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
KAPTOL	Since 1994, the name of the street is Kaptol, because the street is the residence of the Archbishop of Vrhbosna and the Archbishop's Ordinariate.	1994		RADOJKE LAKIĆ	In the Ottoman period it was called Kutubegovica, Turbegovica and Tubegovica. In 1919, the flat part of the street was named Krekova, after the Slovenian politician and publicist Dr. Janez Krek. The steep part of the street kept the name Tubegovica. During the German-Ustasha occupation, from 1941-1945. Krekova Street was named Ulica Nadbiskupa Ivana Šarića, after the Archbishop of Vrhbosna. From 1945-1946. again Krekova, and from 1946-1994. was named Radojka Lakić, after the hero of the liberation war of 1941-1945. This name referred to the entire route of the street.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/511
KEMAL BEGOVA	From 19.05.1994. was named Kemalbegova, after the founder of the eponymous masjid and mahala, known as Koševo (Koševa).	1994		FILIPA KLJAJIĆA	It belongs to the local area "Džidžikovac - Koševo I". It was built in the 16th century within the Kemal-beg mahala. Towards the end of the Ottoman rule, until 1902, it was named Ibrahimagina, and since 1902, the street has been named Kablareva, after the same person, the eminent Sarajevo kazaz, Ibrahimagi Kablar. June 8, 1948. it was named after the hero of the liberation war of 1941-1945, Filip Kljajić.	http://www.centar.ba/pretraga
KOŠEVO	Since 1994, the street has been renamed Koševo.	1994		KRALJA TOMISLAVA	It belongs to the local area "Džidžikovac - Koševo I". Until 1931, it was called Koševa, after the village of Koševa from the time of Bosnian independence. In the Ottoman period, it belonged to Kemal-beg's mahala, founded around 1533, better known as Koševo. From 1931 to 1994, the street was named after King Tomislav, after the Croatian king who ruled from 910-930. years.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/353

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
KOTROMANIĆA	From 19.05.1994. the street is named Kotromanić, after the medieval Bosnian ruling family. There are three buildings in this street that have been declared a national monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina.	1994		GUNDULIĆA	In the seventies of the 19th century, when Topal Sherif Osman-pasha ordered the relocation of Tabac (leather) workshops from the bazaar, tannery workshops were opened here, so the area and the street were named Novi Tabaci. Since 1885, the street has been called Donji Tabaci. In 1919, the street was named Gundulićeva, after the Dubrovnik poet Ivan Dživa	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/406
KRANJČEVIĆA	Between the two wars (WWI and WWII), it was called Kranjčević. One of its offshoot streets was called Kranjčević čikma. The former route of this street continued from Stanični square to Pofalić.	1994		SILVIJE STRAHIMIRA KRANJČEVIĆA	In the Ottoman period, it existed as a road called Sušica, along the stream of the same name that flows under the so-called first transversal and flows into Miljacka near the National Museum. It was also called Nizputnica up until Pohvalića. In 1921, it was named after the poet Silviije Strahimir Kranjčević, who reached the peak of his work in Sarajevo. In Sarajevo for a full eight years (1895-1903) he edited the literary magazine Nada, published by the Provincial Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/338
LUDVIGA KUBE	From 19.05.1994. it is named Ludwig Cuba, after the Czech painter, ethnographer and musicologist Ludvik Cuba, who, among other things, recorded 1,200 songs with music notes while traveling through Bosnia (the name of a Cuban painter was misspelled on street boards).	1994		STEVANA MOKRANJCA	It belongs to the local area "Mejtaš - Bjelave" and was built in the 16th century within the former Mahala Dudi Bula. From the Ottoman period until 1948, it was called Hadži-Omerov sokak and Hadži-Omerova, and on June 8, 1948. It was named after the Serbian composer Stevan Stanojević Mokranjac.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/431

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
KULOVIČA	From 19.05.1994. the street is again named Kulovic.	1994		SLOBODANA PRINCIPA + SELJE	In the Ottoman period, it was called Sokak Sulejman Ruždija Kulović, after the Sarajevo kadija and benefactor Sulejm efendija Kulović. Since 1878, the name of the street is Sulejman-efendije Kulovića, and from 1885 to the 1920s, only Kulovića Street. Between the two world wars, a part of this street, from Obala Kulina bana to Ulica Branilaca Sarajeva, was called Pozorišna ulica, after the National Theater in Sarajevo. The entire route, from the Coast of Kulina Ban to Maršala Tita Street, was awarded on April 6, 1946. was named after Slobodan Princip, the hero of the liberation war 1941-1945. and one of the founders of the Collegium artisticum.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/512
LA BENEVOLENCIJA	In 1994, the name of the street was again La Benevolencija, and Nikica Pavlića Street in Boljakov potok was named Augusta Cesarac. Then Augusta Cesarca Street was renamed Mahmuta Bušatlije Street.	1994		AUGUSTA CESARCA	It was constructed in 1914. At that time, the home of the Jewish society "La Benevolencia" was built on it. Even in the Ottoman period, it existed as a path within the Sahtjanusha Mahala (Mahala Hajji - Mahmut Bali Sahtijanji). The street was named La Benevolencia in 1924. During the German-Ustasha occupation 1941-1945. it was named Matija Divković Street, after the writer, the Franciscan Matija Divković, and on July 8, 1948. It was named August Cesarec, after the writer and social fighter.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/518
M. BEGA KAPETANOVIČA LJUBUŠAKA	From 19.05.1994. it is again named after Mehmedbeg Kapetanović Ljubušak, and the name of Rade Ličine in the settlement of Boljakov potok was given to Mladen Stojanović.	1994		MLADENA STOJANOVIČA	It belongs to the local area "Džidžikovac - Koševo I". From 1895 to 1948, it was named Kapetanović after Mehmedbeg Kapetanović Ljubušak, and on June 8, 1948. was named after the hero of the liberation war of 1941-1945. Mladen Stojanovic.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/357

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
MEHMEDA SPAHE	Since 1994, it has been named Mehmed Spaha, after the politician of the period between the two world wars, Mehmed Spaha. Mehmed Spaho was among the founders of the Yugoslav Muslim Organization and its leader for a long time.	1994		BORIŠE KOVAČEVIĆA	It was constructed in 1921, when it was given the name Sokolska. From 1941-1945. it was called Ustasha's. On 04.06.1945 it was named Borisa Kovacevic, after the national hero of the liberation war of 1941-1945.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/521
MICE TODORVIĆ	Since 1994, it has been named after the painter Mica Todorović. she was a Bosnian artist. She was one of the founders of the Association of Fine Artists of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the School of Applied Arts in Sarajevo and the first woman artist at the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.	1994		ŽUPANJSKA	It connects the streets of Alipašina and Gorica. In 1916 it was named Županjačka, after the town of Županjac (Duvno, or Tomislavgrad). There was a wrong name on the street and house signs: Županjska.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/342
MUHAMEDA KANTARDŽIĆA	Since 1994, it has been named Muhamed Kantardžić, after the mathematician, Professor Muhamed Kantardžić.	1994		PETRA PRERADOVIĆA	The street is located on the right side of Miljacka, in the central part of the city. It stretches between Ferhadija Street (before Miskin Crni) and Branilaca Sarajevo Street (before the Yugoslav People's Army). During the Austro-Hungarian rule, it was named Šljivina Street, after the Sarajevo family Šljivo. In 1919, it was named Petar Preradović, after the Croatian poet.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/513
MUSALA	From 19.05.1994. again bears the name of Musala.	1994		OMLADINSKA	Until 1931, it belonged to Musala Square, then to Banski Square. On April 6, 1946. it became part of the Republic Square. From 08.06.1948. to 19.05.1994. it was called Omladinska (Youth Street).	https://vimeo .

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
MULA MUSTAFE BAŠESKIJE	Since 1993, one part of this street (from Baščaršija to the Eternal Flame) has been called Mula Mustafa Bašeskije Street, after the most important chronicler of Sarajevo, Mula Mustafa Ševka Bašeskija.	1993		MARŠALA TITA	In 1919, it was named Ulica Prijestolonasljednika Aleksandra, and in 1921 Ulica Kralja Aleksandra. During the German-Ustasha occupation 1941-1945. It was named Dr. Ante Pavelić, after the Ustasha leader Ante Pavelić. In 1945, the name of King Alexander I was returned to the street. On April 6, 1946. the entire route was named after the leader of the liberation anti-fascist movement in Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/409
MUSTAJBEGA FADILPAŠIĆA	From 19.05.1994. it is named Mustajbeg Fadilpašić, after Mustaj-beg Fadilpašić, the mayor of Sarajevo during the Aus-	1994		ISTARSKA	Until 1931, it was called Vrbanja, after the name of the entire region, and in that year it was named Istarska, after the province of Istria in Croatia	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/422
NURUDINA GACKIĆA	Until 28.11.1995. was part of Mrakuša Street. It was then given the status of an independent street and named after Nurudin Gackić, a member of the Young Muslims movement, who was killed on April 11, 1945. years.	1995		MRAKUŠA	The original name of this street is Mrakuša (referring to it being dark).	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/ulica-nurudina-gackica
REISA DŽEMALUDINA ČAUŠEVIĆA	From 19.05.1994. is named after Reis Džemaludin Čaušević.	1994		SAVE KOVAČEVIĆA	From the Ottoman period until 1931, the street was called Musala Sokak, then Musala Square. In 1931, the street became part of Banski Square. During the German-Ustasha occupation 1941-14945. the street was again called Musala. In 1946, the street became part of Republic Square, and in 1948 it was named Sava Kovačević, after the hero of the liberation war of 1941-1945.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/524

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
OBALA KULINA BANA	Since 1993, its name has been Obala Kulina bana. It is named after the Bosnian ruler Ban Kulin, whose rule is known in folklore as a period of peace and abundance ("... from Kulin Ban and better days")	1993		OBALA VOJVODE STJEPANA	The street that leads along the right bank of the river Miljacka, from the mouth of Koševski potok, to Šeherćehajina ćuprija. The beginning of the street belongs to the Municipality of Centar and after the bridge Drvenija Street passes into the Municipality of Stari grad. During the Austro-Hungarian rule, when it was created by regulating the flow of the Miljacka as a road, it was named Appel quai, after the Landlord, Baron Johan Apel. In 1919, it was named Obala Vojvode Stepe Stepanovića, after the duke of the Serbian and Yugoslav army. During the German-Ustasha occupation 1941-1945. it was called the Coast of Adolf Hitler.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/515
OBALA MAKI DIZDARA	From 19.05.1994. the street is named Obala Maka Dizdar, after the poet Mehmedalija Mak Dizdar.	1994		OTOKARA KERŠOVANIJA	In 1910, the promenade was named Filipović's coast, after the Austrian general who on August 19, 1878. at the head of the occupying army, entered Sarajevo, and thus started the forty-year-old Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1919, the street was renamed Zvonimirova obala, after the Croatian king Zvonimir, and from 1948 the street was named Otokara Keršovanija, after the journalist and social fighter Otokar Keršovani.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/480
RIZAH ŠTETIĆA	From 19.05.1994. is named after the painter Rizah Štetić.	1994		JUG BOGDANA	It belongs to the local area "Džidžikovac - Koševo I". It was first assigned a name in the thirties of the 20th century, after the hero of epic poetry South Bogdan. During the German-Ustasha occupation 1941-1945. it was named Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić, after the Bosnian duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/350

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
ODOBAŠINA	From 19.05.1994. again bears the name Odobashina. Odobasha - The elder leaves; commander of the janissary platoon.	1994		KRAIŠKA	It starts from Kranjčevića Street and leads north all the way to the place where Dajanli Ibrahim-bega Street begins (before Dajanli Osman-bega Street). At the very end of the street, one part of it separates and descends like a narrow alley to Gorica Street. This street developed in the Turkish period as an alley in the Dajanli Hajji-Ibrahim mahala that originated in the 16th century. Since 1885, it has been called Odobashina, after one of the members of the old Sarajevo Muslim family Odobashin who lived there. In 1948, it was named Krajiška, after the Krajina region in northwestern Bosnia, which, as an insurgent area, produced a large number of fighters in the People's Republic of Croatia.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/ulica-odobasina
PEHLIVANUŠA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo from May 19, 1994. to the part of Vuka Karadžića Street, from the beginning to Bjelava, the name Pehlivanuša was returned.	1994		VUKA KARADŽIĆA	Until the end of the Second World War, the street consisted of three parts with the following names: Pehlivanuša (from Maršala Tita Street to near Bjelovar), Karpuzova (from the end of Hriste Boteva Street to Koševo Hospital) and Breka (from Koševo Hospital until the end). The entire route of the street was gradually renamed to Vuk Karadžić, part by part, (first part on January 10, 1919, and the entire route after the Second World War). During the occupation of 1941-1945. It was named August Harambašić, after the Croatian writer.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/443
TRG BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE	From 19.05.1994. to 16.07.1998. it was called the Republic Square, and since then, its name is the	1994		TRG ĐURE PUCARA STAROG	Until 1994 was named Trg Đure Pucara Stari, after the Bosnian statesman and hero of the liberation war 1941-1945.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/415

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
PRUŠČAKOVA	From 19.05.1994. the street is named Pruščak, after Ibrahim Munib Pruščak, a legal writer in Turkish and mufti for the area of Livno and Prusac in the Ottoman period. In 2015, a unique music staircase was opened on the street. Recordings of the founders of pop-rock music in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be heard on music boxes. (Indexi, White Button, Merlin, Pro arte, etc.)	1994		PAVLA GORANINA	In the Ottoman period (until 1885), it was called Hajjagina, after a certain Hajjaga who had a house there. From 1885 to 1919, the street was named Kadračića, after the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian tax official Hasan Kadračić. From 1919 to 1941, it was named Korošček, after a Slovenian politician, dr. Antun Korošec. During the German-Ustasha occupation 1941-1945. the name of the street was Stadlerova, after the first Archbishop of Vrhbosna, Dr. Josip Stadler. In 1946, it was named after the hero of the liberation war of 1941-1945. Pavle Goranin, one of the founders of the Collegium artisticum	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/522
SAFETA MUJIĆA	In 1994 this street was renamed form Dokotora Safeta Mujica to simply Safeta Mujica Street.	1994		DR SAFETA MUJIĆA	It was built in the 16th century within the Tavil hajji-Mustafa mahala formed around the mosque of the same name. The old name of the street was Mutevelina, after some mutevelija of the mentioned mosque. It received its current name on June 8, 1948. after the hero of the liberation war 1941-1945. dr. Safet Mujic.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/423
TEREZIJA	From 19.05.1994. The street is called Terezija.	1994		MIĆE SOKOLOVIĆA	The street on the left side of Miljacka, between the bridges Skenderija and Vrbanja. From the end of the Ottoman period until 1931, it was part of old Theresa Street. From 1931-1946. was part of Dobrovoljacka Street. From 1946-1954. it was named Đuro Đaković and from 1954 to 1994 it was named Mića Sokolović after a trade union fighter and organizer of workers' strikes in Sarajevo, in May 1906.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/492

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
SEPETAREVAC	In 1994, the old name Sepetarevac was returned to the street.	1994		MILADINA RADOJEVIĆA	It belongs to the local area "Mejtaš - Bjelave". On Sepetarevac is the source of Kevrin stream, where it runs into the city sewer. The name Sepetarevac probably comes from the word sepet (basket). During the Austro-Hungarian rule, and from 1918 to 1931, this area was called Banjski Brijeg. The street was created in the Ottoman period within the Mahala Didi-Bula and the Mahala Sarača Hadži Hajdar. Since 1960, it has been named after a liberation war 1941-1945. fighter, Miladin Radojevic.	http://www.centar.ba/pretraga
STOLAČKA	From 19.05.1994. year again bears the name Stolačka	1994		AGANA BOSTANDŽIĆA	It was created around 1920. In 1921, it was named Stolačka, after the town of Stolac in Herzegovina, and on December 11, 1948. was renamed to Agan Bostandzic, after the fighter of the liberation war 1941-1945.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/490
TABAŠNICA	From 19.05.1994. year again bears its original name, Tabasnica.	1994		IVANA MAŽURANIĆA	It was built in the second half of the 16th century and was named after the popular name of the former mahala, which in the Ottoman period bore the official name: Mahala of the Masjid Pešiman Hadži-Husejna. During the Austro-Hungarian rule, from 1878 to 1885, it was called: Tabaci-Mutni potok. After that, its name was again Tabasnica. From 1919 to 1994, it was named Ivan Mažuranić, after the Croatian writer and ban.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/485
VRBANJA	From 19.05.1994. is named Vrbanja after the old name of the bridge in the vicinity of Vrbanja (Bridge of Suada Dilberović and Olga	1994		BRANIMIRA ČOSIĆA	From 1918-1945. it was named Fadilpašić after the first mayor of Sarajevo, Mustaj-beg Fadilpašić. Until 1994, its name was Branimir Cosic, after the writer Branimir Cosic.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/413

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
TINA UJEVIĆA	On 05.19.1994. the street was given its current name: Tina Ujević, after the poet Augustin Tin Ujević, who worked in Sarajevo between 1930 and 1937. During that period wrote and published some of his most significant works.	1994		MUSTAFE GOLUBIĆA	It belongs to the local area "Mejtaš - Bjelave". It was built in the Ottoman period and its first name was: Čekrkčinica, after the nearby former cemetery, Austria in Bosnia and Herzegovina. From 1919 to 1948, it was named Trumbić, after the politician Dr. Ante Trumbić, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the first Government of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. From 1948 to 1994, the name of the street was: Mustafa Golubić, after the social fighter.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/433
TRG DJECE SARAJEVA	On November 28, 1995, October Square was re-named Sarajevo Children's Square. On May 9, 2009, a monument to the children of besieged Sarajevo, who died during the siege of the city in the 1990s, was erected in nearby Veliki (Large) Park.	1995		TRG OKTOBRA	October Square was named after the revolution in Russia in October 1917.	https://sarajevo.travel/ba/sta-raditi/trg-djece-sarajeva/1257
VILSONOVO ŠETALIŠTE	Since 1994, the name of the street is again Wilson's Promenade.	1994		OMLADINSKO ŠETALIŠTE	The quay was arranged in 1903 and was named Kalaj's Promenade, after Benjamin Kalaj, an Austro-Hungarian statesman and ruler of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1919, the quay was named Wilson's Promenade, after the American president Thomas Woodrow Wilson, the founder of the League of Nations, the forerunner of the UN. During the occupation of 1941-1945. the street was named Mussolini's Promenade. In 1945, its old name, Wilson's Promenade, was returned to it, and in 1960, it was renamed the Youth Promenade.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/416

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
ZMAJA OD BOSNE	Since 1994, it has been named the Dragon of Bosnia, after Husein-Captain Gradašević (called the Dragon of Bosnia), who the leader of the rebel Bosnian nobility in the 1930s.	1994		VOJVODE PUTNIKA	The first name, Kolodvorka, was given to the street in 1882, after the railway station built along the street. In 1919 (January 10), it was named after the duke of the Serbian army, Radomir Putnik. During the occupation (1941-1945) it was named after the Croatian politician Ante Starčević. From 1946 to 1952, it was called the Boulevard of the Red Army, then the Boulevard of the Soviet Army, and from May 29, 1952. again, Duke Radomir Putnik.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/414
ĐOKE MAZALIĆA	Since 1994, the street has been named after Đoko Mazalić, a painter and the former curator of the National Museum in Sarajevo.	1994		VELJKA ČUBRILOVIĆA	It stretches from Hiseta Street (formerly Brankova Street) to Maršala Tita Street. The old name of the street was Mrkvina, after the Sarajevo family Mrkva, which had houses in that area. In 1931, the street was named Veljko Čubrilović, after a member of the "Young Bosnia" movement, who was executed on February 3, 1915 for participating in the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. The name of the street was Ali-beg Firdus Street, after the Livno owner and leader of the Muslim People's Organization, Ali-beg Firdus.	http://www.centar.ba/pretraga
FERHADIJA	Since 1993, it has been called Ferhadija again.	1993		VASE MISKINA	Until 1928, the street was named Ferhadija, after the Bosnian governor Ferhad-beg Vuković-Desisalić, who in 1561/62. built a mosque in that street. From 1928 to 1941, it was named after Crown Prince Peter, after Prince and later King Peter II Karadjordjevic. From 1941 to 1945, she bore the old name Ferhadija, and from 1945 to 1993, her name was Vase Miskina Crnog, after the hero of the 1941-1945 war. year Vasi Miskin Black.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/507

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
AUSTRIJSKI TRG	Since 1993, it has been named Austrian Square, celebrating the friendship between the Republic of Austria and Bosnia and Herzegovina.	1993		TRG 6. APRILA	The square was formed at the very beginning of the 20th century, with the construction of Austro-Hungarian military facilities on its eastern and western sides, so it was initially named Military Square. Later it was connected with the neighboring Filipović Square (At Mejdan), which was named in 1910. Franjo Josip I Square. On January 10, 1919, the area of today's square was named Ranković Square, after General Živan Ranković, commander of a unit of the Serbian Royal Army, which entered Sarajevo on November 6, 1918 through Bistrik, marking the definitive end of Austro-Hungarian epoch in BiH. After the Second World War, the Square was named April 6, in memory of the day when Sarajevo was liberated from fascist occupation.	https://sarajevo.travel/ba/sta-raditi/aus-trijski-trg/994
AVDAGE AHINAGIĆA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the street was returned to its original name.	1993		DIMITRIJA TUCOVIĆA	Avdage Šahinagića Street is located in the eastern part of the Old Town, on the left side of the river Miljacka. It was created in 1906 by regulating and covering Čolina potok. It was named in 1909 after the Sarajevo City Councilor and member of the Bosnian Parliament, the prominent landowner Avdaga Šahinagić, who was most responsible for the construction of the street, which also housed the Šahinagić family house. From 1948 to 1993, it was named after Serbian politician and political writer Dimitrije Tucovic.	https://vimeo .

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
BAKAREVIĆA	By the decision of the City Assembly of August 24, 1993, the street was renamed again as Bakarevićeva.	1993		DRAGICE PRAVICE	The neighborhood is better known as Bakarevic, after the rich Sarajevo family Bakarevic, whose members were mostly chohajis, merchants and military officers. In the last period of the Ottoman rule, the street was named Na turbetu, after the turbe (grave) of a prominent Sarajevan from the 18th century, Emir čelebi Muhamed-efendija Švraka. From 1948 to 1993, it was Dragica Pravice Street, named after a prominent participant in the Liberation War (1941-1945). who was proclaimed a national hero.	https://vimeo .
BISTRIK	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Bistrik was returned to the street.	1993		6.NOVEEMBRA	The name of the street and the whole area originated in the pre-Ottoman period and is of Slavic origin. In the Ottoman period, the route of this street had three sections with three different names. The first part, from the beginning to Bakarevića Street, was called Šehove dugonje. The second part, from Bakarevića Street to the bridge, was called Bistrik, and above the bridge, Pastrma. Since 1878, the entire street has been called Bistrik, and in 1931 it was named November 6, after the date of entry of the Serbian army into Sarajevo in 1918.	https://vimeo .
HAMIDA DIZDARA	Since 1994, the street has been named after the writer Hamid Dizdar (1907-1967), and Maksim Gorkog Street has been named after Hamza Huma.	1993		VEHIDA MUMINOVIĆA	The street was named after Vehid Muminović, a social fighter and associate of the People's Liberation Movement (1941-1945).	https://vimeo .

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
BRAĆE MORIĆ	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, it was named the Morić Brothers, in memory of the famous Morić brothers, Hajji-Mehmed and Ibrahim-aga, a janissary (rank in Turkish army), and the ringleader of the Sarajevo uprising in the 18th century. They lived in Vekilharč mahala (Hadžijska), where this street is also located. The Morić brothers were executed in Bijela Tabija in 1757, along with other rebel leaders. They were buried in the harem of the Hadžijska mosque, and a record of their death is on the wall of the mosque harem. This event is memorialized in the famous ballad about the death of the Morić Brothers.	1993		KOSOVSKA	Braće Morić Street is located in the eastern part of the Old Town, in an area called Alifakovac. It belongs to the local community of Babić bašča. It was created in the Ottoman period, within the old Jakub-pasha mahala, better known as Maguda. The Jakub Pasha Mosque, as the center of the mahala, was built in 1491/2. year, and demolished in 1936. Until 1931, part of this street was called Under the Cemetery, and from 1931, it became an independent street called Kosovska. From 1941 to 1945, it was called Krbavska, then again Kosovska.	https://vimeo .
BRODAC	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo from August 24, 1993, the street was named Brodac, after the name of the historical site where the founder of Sarajevo Isa-beg Ishakovic built a zavija (tekke), which meant the beginning of urban development in Sarajevo. The word brodac is of all-Slavic origin and it primarily means a place where a river can be crossed, a draft.	1993		BENJAMINA FINCIJA	Brodac Street is located in the central part of the Old Town, on the west side of the City Hall. It belongs to the Local Community of Baščaršija. From 1910, when it received the status of a street, until December 15, 1959, it was called Vijećnička. In 1959, it was named after the social fighter Benjamin Finci, who was killed by the police in 1929. The infamous Beledija prison was also located in this street.	https://vimeo .

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
BUDŽAK	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo from August 24, 1993, the street was returned its original name Budžak.	1993		NURIJE POZDERCA ČIKMA	Budžak Street is located in the southern part of the Old Town. It separates from Franjevačka Street opposite the Sarajevo Brewery. It was created in the Ottoman period within the former Mahala Halača Davuda, better known as Murdarija. Budžak means angle, corner, and as the name of the street it means the same as čikma or dead end. The street was officially created in 1900 under its current name. During the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, (ie the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), until 1949, it was called Pašića sokak. In 1949, it was named Nurija Pozderac čikma, after the national hero of the Liberation War (1941-1945).	https://vimeo.com/313371119
ČEMERLINA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Čemerlina was returned to the street	1993		SVETOZARA MARKOVIĆA	Čemerlina Street is located in the central part of the Old Town. It belongs to the local community of Logavina and connects the streets of Logavina and Sagrdžija. It was created within the Mahala Buzadži hadži-Hasana, which were formed around the mosque of the same name in the middle of the 16th century and was named after the old Muslim family Čemerlija, who owned a house in that street. Together with the former alley Behind the Spa and Ridzaji Effendi Alley, Čemerlin Alley has formed a unique street called Čemerlin since the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian administration. In 1948, the street was named after Svetozara Marković, a 19th-century Serbian socialist theorist.	https://vimeo.com/318716137

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
ĆUMURIJA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Ćumurija was returned to the street.	1993		ZRINJSKOG	Ćumurija Street is located in the central part of the Municipality of Stari Grad. It belongs to the Local Community of Baščaršija. It stretches from Zelenih beretki Street to the Kulina Ban Coast. It was built within the former Ajas-pasha mahala around the mosque of the same name from 1477. First, it was called Kulukčija, after saber blacksmiths who had their bazaar there. After the establishment of Austro-Hungarian rule, the street was named Sabljarska, and from 1895 to 1919, it was called Ćumurija, after the nearby bridge of the same name over the river Miljacka. which is so named probably because the saber blacksmiths dumped the waste of charcoal, charcoal. After 1919, the street was named Zrinjski, after the Croatian nobleman Petar Zrinjski.	https://vimeo.
DESPIĆEVA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name of Despić was returned to the street.	1993		OGNJENA PRICE	It was created in the Ottoman period within the Frankish or Latinluk mahala. It was named after a member of the Sarajevo Orthodox family Despić, presumably after Hajji-Maxi Despić Baba who lived in the family house. He left behind valuable written and published memoirs which are a testimony of inestimable value for the study of the history of Sarajevo. From the end of the Turkish period until the liberation in 1945, the street was called Despićeva. Since 1945, the street has been named after the writer, social fighter and Marxist theorist Ognjen Price.	https://vimeo.

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
DUGI SOKAK	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Dugi sokak was returned to the street.	1993		DŽAVIDA HAVERIĆA	Dugi sokak (Long) Street is located on the left side of the river Miljacka in the central part of the Old Town and belongs to the Local Community of Bistrik. It was created at the end of the 16th century within the former Mahala Hajji-Isa, better known as Dugi sokak. From 1950-1993. year, it was named after a social fighter and associate of the People's Liberation Movement (1941-1945), Džavid Haverić.	https://vimeo.com/318718834
EDHEMA MULABDIĆA	Until 1993, the street was called Romanijska. After that, it was named after the Bosnian-Herzegovinian writer Edhem Mulabdić.	1993		ROMANIJSKA	Edhema Mulabdića Street is located in the central part of the Municipality of Stari Grad and belongs to the Local Community of Baščaršija. It was built in the second half of the 16th century, within the former Oruča-Pehlivan Mahala, better known as Mutevelijina, named after the mutevelija of Gazi Husrev-beg's waqf who owned a house in that mahala. Since its construction under the beginning of Austro-Hungarian rule in 1878 it was named Hadži Durakova, and from 1878 to 1885, Mutevelija's chikma, according to the mentioned mutevelija. This street used to be a deadend. The intersection and establishment of the passage towards today's Josip Stadler Street was carried out in the Austro-Hungarian period.	https://vimeo.com/318718834
JOSIPA ŠTADLERA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo from August 24, 1993, it was named Josip Štadler, the first Archbishop of Vrhbosna, dr. Josip Stadler, who held that position from 1882 until his death in 1918.	1993		SVETUZARA MAR- KOVIĆA	It was built in the 16th century, within the former Mahala Haseći-hatun. From the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian government until 1948, the street was named Čemerlina, and after 1948 it was named after the Serbian politician and socialist theorist Svetozar Markovic.	https://vimeo.com/318718834

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
FRANJEVAČKA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, one of its old names, Franjevačka, was returned to the street.	1993		NURIJE POZDERCA	It was created at the beginning of the Ottoman period, in the immediate vicinity of the first Sarajevo mahala formed during the founding of the city of Sarajevo by Isa-beg Ishaković. This core of Sarajevo is known by several names, Hatibova mahala, Hunkarija, Džami-atik mahala and popularly Careva mahala. The current street was created by uniting three streets, Ploče, Konak and Murdarija. In 1919, it was named after Nikola Pasic, the Prime Minister of Serbia. During the German-Ustasha occupation of 1941-1945 the street was named Duke Slavko Kvaternik, after Pavelic's doglavnik, and from 1948, after the national hero of the Liberation War (1941-1945), Nurija Pozderac. One branch of this street was called Franjevačka in 1878, after the Franciscan church built in 1872. Later, a Franciscan monastery and the Church of St. Anthony of Padua were built in that area. The street also houses the Sarajevo Brewery, which was founded in 1864.	https://vimeo.com/119
ISEVIČA SOKAK	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Isevića sokak was returned to the street.	1993		IVANA MARKOVIČA IRCA	Isevića sokak street is located in the center of Stari Grad, on the left side of the river Miljacka and belongs to the local community Bistrik. It was built in the 16th century, within the former Mahala Hadži-Isa, better known as Dugi sokak (Long Street) and was named after the founder of the mahala. In 1948, the street was named after the national hero of the Liberation War (1941-1945), Ivan Mažuranić the Irish.	https://vimeo.com/120

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
HAMDIJ KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆA	The street is located on the left side of Miljacka in the central part of the city. It was named after the academician, historian Hamdija Kreševljaković. Until 19.05.1994. year, the name of Hamdija Kreševljaković was carried by the current Alibega Firdusa Street in Švrakino selo (before Naselje Pavla Goranina). On that date, the former Dobrovoljacka Street was named after Hamdija Kreševljaković.	1994		DOBROVOLJAČKA	The name Dobrovoljačka actually included two old streets: Tabašnica (Tabačnica), from the Skenderija plateau to Čobanija Street to Austrian Square. In the 16th century, the street that connected the current Austrian Square and Čobanija was called Terazije after a special dividing water reservoir, which was located on Atmejdan. At the end of the Ottoman administration, Hadžagin Sokak Street was built by the local Tatar (courier) Hadžagi, who owned a house on the southwest corner of Atmejdan. With the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian administration, the entire route of the square to Vrbanja was named Terazije. In 1931, the part from the Skenderija Bridge to the current Austrian Square was named Dobrovoljacka, after the volunteers of the Serbian army in the First World War.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/478
KARPUZOVA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Karpuzova was returned to the street.	1993		HRISTE BOTEVA	It was created in the 16th century within two former mahalas, Mahala Mula Arab Jedid and Jano-zade Hajji-Hasan. It was named after the old Sarajevo Muslim family Karpuz, who owned a house there. In 1931, it was named Bregalnička, after the Macedonian river near which the Serbian army won a significant victory in the Balkan War. It received a new name, Hriste Boteva, in 1948.	https://vimeo.com/121212121

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
KASIMA EFENDIJE DOBRAČE	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the street was named after Kasim Effendi Dobrača, born in 1910 in Rogatica. He was educated at the Gazi Husrev-beg Madrasa and the Higher Judicial School in Sarajevo, and then graduated from El-Azhar in Cairo. He was a professor at the Gazi Husrev-beg Madrasa and a librarian at the Gazi Husrev-beg Library. He has written a number of articles and discussions in Novi Behar, the Herald of the Islamic Community, Al-Hidaji and Gajret. He compiled a catalog of manuscripts of Gazi Husrev-beg's library.	1993		ZIJE DIZDAREVIĆA	It was created in 1902. After its founding, the street was named Hadži Nezir Effendi Škaljić who was the then mayor at the time. In 1948, the street was named after the writer Zija Dizdarević who was killed in the Ustasha camp Jasenovac.	https://vimeo.com/185338912
KEČINA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Kečina was returned to the street.	1993		ALIJE HODŽIĆA	It belongs to the local community of Logavina. It was created in the Ottoman period within the Jahja pasha mahala, better known as Čurčića mahala. The oldest known name of this street is derived from the surname of the old Sarajevo Muslim family Kečo, who owned a house there. In 1950, it was named after Alija Hodžić, a prominent fighter of the Liberation War (1941-1945).	https://vimeo.com/185338912
KRAČULE	By the decision of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Kračule was returned to the street.	1993		SAMARDŽIJE	It was built at the beginning of the 16th century within the then Mahala Isa-beg. The name Kračule is, in all probability, of Roman origin. This old name of the street was used until 1931, when it was given the name Samardžija, after the craftsmen who made saddles and other parts of horse equipment. There were several inns in Samardžije Street, among others, Čifte han, owned by the old Sarajevo family Džino.	https://vimeo.com/313177563

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
KONAK	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, one of the old names, Konak, was returned to the street.	1993		NURIJE POZDERCA	It originated in the early Ottoman period. It was named after the residence of the Bosnian governors, built in 1869, instead of the old konak, the palace of the Bosnian governors, which was located a little further west, on the site of the current large barracks at the foot of Bistrik. The name Konak unites three independent parts of that street, Konak, Ploča and Murdarija. In 1919, the street was named after Serbian politician Nikola Pasic; during the German-Ustasha occupation (1941-1945), it was named after Pavelić's deputy military leader Slavko Kvaternik, and in 1948 it was named after the national hero of the Liberation War (1941-1945), Nurija Pozderac.	https://vimeo .
LOGAVINA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Logavina was returned to the street.	1993		KAUKČIJE ABDULAH- EFENDIJE	It was created in the 16th century as a road that connected four Sarajevo neighborhoods, Buzadži hadži-Hasanova, Mimar Sinanova, Sarač Alijina and Abdi Halifina. It was named after the old Muslim family Logavija (Logavijina, Logavina). In 1931, it was named after Abdullah Effendi Kaukchi, the muderis of the Kursumlija madrasa and the imam of the Gazi Husrev-beg mosque, who stood out in resistance to the Austro-Hungarian occupying army in 1878.	https://vimeo .
MAGUDA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, one of the old names, Maguda, was returned.	1993		STEVANA SINĐELIĆA	It was created in the Ottoman period, within the former Jakub-pasha mahala, better known as Maguda. In 1931, two parts of the current street (Maguda and Ispod groblja) were connected and named after the Serbian hero from the First Serbian Uprising, Stevan Sinđelić.	https://vimeo .

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
MEHMEDA MUJEZINOVIĆA	The current name of the street was given by the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo on August 24, 1993, after Mehmed Mujezinović, a prominent scientific and cultural worker, orientalist, researcher of Islamic epigraphy.	1993		ZEHRE MUIDOVIĆ	Mehmeda Mujezinovića Street is located in the southern part of the Old Town. and belongs to the local community of Babić bašča. It was created after the Second World War and was named Ćolin potok, after the nearby Trebević stream. In the sixties of the 20th century, the street was named after the participant in the Liberation War (1941-1945), Zehra Muidović.	https://vimeo .
MULA MUSTAFE BAŠESKIJE	Since 1993, one part of this street (from Bašćaršija to the Eternal Fire) has been called Mula Mustafa Bašeskija Street, after the most important chronicler of Sarajevo in its history, Mula Mustafa Ševka Bašeskija.	1993		MARŠALA TITA	In 1919, all the mentioned parts were named Ulica Prijestolonasljednika Aleksandra, and in 1921 Ulica Kralja Aleksandra. During the German-Ustasha occupation 1941-1945. It was named Dr. Ante Pavelić, after the Ustasha leader Ante Pavelić. In 1945, the name of King Alexander I was returned to the street. On April 6, 1946. the entire route was named after the leader of the liberation anti-fascist movement in Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/409
MUSE ĆAZIMA ĆATIĆA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the street was renamed Musa Ćazim Ćatić, a prominent Bosnian writer.	1993		HAJDUK VELJKOVA	Muse Ćazima Ćatića Street is located in the central part of the Old Town, north of the Cathedral. It was built in the Austro-Hungarian period before the end of the 19th century. Until then, it was just a road along a stream that flowed in an open stream. Until 1921, it was named Hadžimulić, after an old Muslim family that had a house in that street. In 1921, the street was named Hajduk Veljkova, a hero from the First Serbian Uprising. During the German-Ustasha occupation (1941-1945), the street was named after Musa Ćazim Ćatić. After the liberation (1945), it was again called Hajduk Veljkova.	https://vimeo .

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
NA VAROŠI	By the decision of the City of Sarajevo of August 28, 1993, the street was given the name Na Varoši, (Please see the other side of the table for more explanation)	1993		NEDELJKA ČABRINOVIĆA	It was created in the Ottoman period, within the old quarter of Gornja Varoš or Varoš. The older name of the street, at the time when it was čikma (dead end), was Kraljevića čikma, named after the old Orthodox family Kraljević. In the time of the old Yugoslavia, the street was averaged in the upper part towards Hrgičeva Street. In 1954, the street was named after Nedeljko Čabrinović, a member of the Young Bosnia organization.	https://vimeo.com/315832718
NIŽE BANJE	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the street was named Niže banje after the popular name of the former Mahala Jagdži-zade hadži Ahmed.	1993		ILIJE GRBIĆA	Niže banje Street is located in the central part of Sarajevo, near the Markale City Market and belongs to the Ferhadija Local Community. It was created in the Ottoman period, within the former Jagdži-zade Hajji Ahmed mahala, better known as Dženetića mahala and Niže banje. Towards the end of the Ottoman administration, the street was named Mustafa Dženetića. In 1954, it became Ilija Grbića Street, named after a social fighter, writer and teacher.	https://vimeo.com/315835169
OBALA ISA-BEGA ISAKOVIĆA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the street was named Obala Isa-bega Ishakovića, in memory of the founder of Sarajevo.	1993		OBALA PARIŠKE KOMUNE	At the beginning of the First World War in 1914, the street was named after Sultan Mehmed Reshad, the then Turkish Sultan who was in an alliance with Austro-Hungary. In 1919, the name Careva ulica, ie Careva obala, was returned to it. From 1941 to 1945 it was called Reis Čaušević, and from 1945 to 1993 the Coast of the Paris Commune (the first world-famous example of the workers' socialist revolution).	https://vimeo.com/315835169

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
OBALA KULINA BANA	Since 1993, its name has been Obala Kulina bana. It is named after the medieval Bosnian ruler Ban Kulin, whose rule is known in folklore as a period of peace and abundance ("... from Kulin Ban and better days")	1993		OBALA VOJVODE STJEPANA	During the Austro-Hungarian rule, when it was created by regulating the flow of the Miljacka as a road, it was named Appel quai, after the Landlord, Baron Johan Apel. In 1919, it was named Obala Vojvode Stepe Stepanovića, after the duke of the Serbian and Yugoslav army, Stepa Stepanović. During the German-Ustasha occupation 1941-1945, it was called the Coast of Adolf Hitler.	http://www.centar.ba/stranica/515
OPRKANJ	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Oprkanj was returned to the street.	1993		DANILA ILIĆA	It was built in the 16th century. According to one etymology, 'oprkanj' means a kind of covered street, because this street (or at least a part of it) was once covered. This old street name was changed in 1921, when it was named Danilo Ilić after one of the main members of the Young Bosnia Association and one of the organizers of the Sarajevo assassination. He was born and lived in his parents' house, which is still located on that street.	https://vimeo .
PATKE	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, it was named Patke (Ducks) for the third time. The street has two branches and both lead to Kasima Effendi Dobrača Street.	1993		TRIFKA GRABEŽA	The name comes from the fact that before the arrangement of the street route, there was an extended arm of Mošćnica with numerous ducks. Since 1931, the street has been named after a member of Young Bosnia, Trifko Grabež. During the occupation (1941-1945), the name Patka was restored to the street, and after the liberation in 1945, it was renamed Trifka Grabeža.	https://vimeo .

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
PETRAKIJINA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Petrakijina was returned to the street.	1993		NIKOLE TESLE	It was created during the Austro-Hungarian rule, more precisely in 1904. It was named after the Sarajevo merchant and then deputy mayor of Sarajevo, Petrakija Petrović. In 1948, it was named after the world-famous inventor Nikola Tesla.	https://vimeo .
POTOK	In 1921, the street was divided into two parts, Miloš Obilić Street and Konstantin Jeftić Street. The second section, by the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, was named Potok.	1993		KONSTANTINA JEFTIĆA	It was created within the former Mahala Tokmo-zade Hajji Ahmed, better known as Potok mahala. Until 1920, part of the current Safvet-beg Bašagić Street was called Potok Street. This name comes from the small watercourse of the so-called Ramića spa, which before the regulation flowed through an open riverbed.	https://vimeo .
POTOKLINICA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Potoklinica was returned to the street.	1993		LEZE PERERE	It was established in the Ottoman period within the former mahalas, Haseći hatun, better known as the mahalas Za Banjom and Busadži hadži-Hasanova. The oldest name of this street is Potoklinica, obtained from Mulića potok, which flowed openly through the current Muse Čazima Čatića Street. At the end of the Ottoman rule, it was called Dere sokak (Potok sokak). In 1959, it was named Leze Perere, after a social fighter (Eliezer Leza Pereri).	https://vimeo .
ŠIROKAC	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the name Širokac was returned to the street.	1993		MIRKA LAZIĆA	It was created as a road in the pre-Ottoman period. Until the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian administration in 1878, it was part of Vratnik-mejdan Street. In 1882, in the plan of Sarajevo, it was marked as Širokac. It was named after Mirko Lazić, a fighter of the Liberation War (1941-1945) in 1954.	https://vimeo .

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
SAFVET BEGA BAŠAGIĆA	By the decision of the City Assembly of August 24, 1993, the name Safvet-beg Bašagić was returned to the street.	1993		MILOŠA OBILIĆA	In the Ottoman period, part of this street, with several neighboring streets, formed one street, called Potok. The second, larger part of the current Safvet-beg Bašagića Street was the stream of Ramića Banja, which was regulated in 1931 and introduced into the sewage system. The newly created street, connected to Potok Street, was named after Miloš Obilić, the hero of Serbian folk songs. From 1941 to 1945, the street was named Dr. Safvet-beg Bašagić, and after the liberation, until 1993, it was again named Miloš Obilić. Today's street route has two branches. The first, which separates to the right, leads to Fojnička Street and the second, which ends the route, leads to Grličića brdo Street.	https://vimeo.com/313175556
SALIHA HADŽIHUSEI-NOVIĆ MUVEKITA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the street was named Muvekita Salih Hadžihuseinović. Salih Hadžihuseinović (1825-1888) was a librarian in Gazi Husrev-beg's library, and later a muvekit (one who determines the exact time) in muvekithana place where time is determined) of Gazi Husrev-beg's waqf. He was also nicknamed Muvekit after the service he performed.	1993		VESELINA MASLEŠE	It was created in the Ottoman period, within the former Frankluk mahala or Latinluk. Until 1895, the street was called Budimlića sokak, after the old Sarajevo Orthodox family Budimlić, who owned a house on that street. Since 1895, it has been called Čukovića Street, after the Sarajevo merchant Kosta Čuković, the then city representative, who also lived in that street. In 1948, the street was named after Veselin Masleša, a writer and national hero.	https://vimeo.com/313175556

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
TEKIJA ČIKMA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, the old name Tekija čikma was returned to it.	1993		ZRINSKOG ČIKMA	Tekija čikma was named after the Naqshbandi tekke, which was founded in 1664 by Sheikh Hasan Kaimi, better known as Kaimi-baba. The tekke was destroyed in a great fire in 1879. After that, it was named Behind the Čikma Mosque (the Ajas-pasha mosque to which this refers, was also destroyed in a fire in 1879). In 1918, this dead end street was named Zrinjski čikma, after the Croatian ban Petar Zrinjski. After construction work in 1962, the street ceased to be a dead end.	https://vimeo .
TELALI	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo of August 24, 1993, one of the old names Telali was returned to the street.	1993		PETRA KOČIĆA	It was traced in 1863, by order of the then Bosnian governor Topal Šerif Osman-paša. In his honor, it was named Osman-pasha's jade, but was better known as Nova testa (New Street). In the Austro-Hungarian period, presumably in 1885, the street was named Telali, after the shops with old goods that the bodies sold loudly (telalili). In 1948, it was named after the writer and member of the Bosnian Parliament Petar Kočić.	https://vimeo .
TRG ALIJE IZETBEGOVIĆA	By the decision of the Assembly of the Sarajevo Canton adopted at the session on October 6, 2005, the name was changed to Trg Oslobođenja - Alija Izetbegović, in memory of the first President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.	2005		TRG OSLOBOĐENJA	From 1919 until before the Second World War, it was called Clemenceau Square, after the French statesman Georges Clemenceau. After that, it was named the Square of King Peter I the Liberator, the Serbian King Peter I Karadjordjević. During the German-Ustasha occupation, it was called Herceg Stjepan Square, the duke of the medieval Bosnian kingdom, Herceg Stjepan Vukčić Kosača. After the liberation in 1945, the name of the square was changed to Trg Slobode, then to Trg Oslobođenja.	https://vimeo .

Current name	Description	Year of change		Old name	Description	Source
VLADISLAVA SKARIĆA	By the decision of the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo from August 24, 1993, the street was named after the historian Vladislav Skarić, who from 1926 to 1928 was the director of the National Museum in Sarajevo.	1993		VASE PELAGIĆA	During the Ottoman period, the street was called Mala Ferhadija. In 1882, the Sarajevo merchant and landowner Gligorija Gliša Jeftanović built a modern hotel called Evropa in that street. After that, the Sarajevo City Administration named this street after him. In 1917, the street was renamed once again. It was named Kevešova, after an Austro-Hungarian citizen. From 1948 to 1993 it was named after the writer and people's tribune Vaso Pelagić	https://vimeo.com/313181804
ZELENIH BERETKI	Since 1993, by a decision of the Sarajevo City Assembly, the street has been called the Green Berets in memory of a military formation formed in 1991 in Sarajevo, whose aim was resisting the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sarajevo during the seige of 1991-1995.	1993		JNA	In the second half of the 19th century, both of these sections, as well as part of today's Branilaca Sarajevo Street, were called Galata Jadesi or Galata. Before the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the street was named Tašlihanska after Gazi Husrev-beg's stone inn Tašlihan (today's gardens of the Hotel Evropa). During the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the street was named after Franz Joseph, Emperor Franz Joseph I of Habsburg (1830-1916). During the old Yugoslavia, it was King Peter Street, so named after King Peter I Karadjordjevic (1844-1921). During the Second World War (1941-1945), the street was marked as Street no. 1. In 1946, it was renamed the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA).	https://vimeo.com/313181804

Introduction

Much like in Belgrade, with the breakup of Yugoslavia and the establishment of Bosnian and Herzegovinian sovereignty in 1992, the renaming of the streets became part of a deliberate strategy of breaking away from Socialist ideals and heritage in Sarajevo. As a means of claiming political sovereignty, it also became important to reinforce a Bosnian national identity, which was often rooted in earlier historical narratives from the periods where Bosnia and Herzegovina claimed political autonomy.

This section will examine the historical development of street toponyms in Sarajevo. In the first part, we will be examining the street names from the city's conception until WWII and, in the second part, the period after WWII and the formation of Socialist ideals through toponyms. The last part of this section is an analysis of the changes that took place in the early 1990's and their relationship to the country's historical context.

Sarajevo Toponyms, a Historical Background

Sarajevo was founded by the Ottomans in 1462 and was under their rule until 1878. The origin of the name Sarajevo is derived from the Turksuh word Saray, meaning palace. During the Ottoman rule, Sarajevo was known as Saraybosnia, which is still its name in Modern Turkish. It is often also referred to as *Šeher* (city in Turkish), the Damascus of the North and *The European Jerusalem*.

According to Ottoman principles of urban organization, residential areas of the city were always separated from commercial and religious centers. This was also the case in the conception of Sarajevo's urban composition. The central core of commer-

cial and religious activity was known as *čaršija* (market) and ran parallel along both shores of the river Miljacka. More precisely in Sarajevo the *čaršija* is known as *Baščaršija* – the name of this whole part still to this day- after old city bazaar. Thus, *čaršija* became not only the economic but also the social center of the city, a place where those of all faiths and classes associated with one another in and among the small shops crowded next to one another. The official religion of the empire was Islam, and as such Islamic religious buildings in the city center stood at the nexus of Islamic faith, conquest, administration, and prosperity that defined the Ottoman theoretical state ideal.

The street names in *čaršija* often referred to the trades practiced in the near proximity and were in the official language of the empire at the time, Ottoman Turkish. One could argue that it is due to the apolitical (and perhaps very practical) nature of the names pertaining to the different crafts, that most streets in this part of the town have remained unchanged throughout the varying regimes¹. Like most other Ottoman cities, *Sarajevo's čaršija* was surrounded by residential neighbourhoods that were built on the inner slopes of the hills, called *mahalas*. Each *mahala* was typically home to members of only one religious community, and was anchored by a house of worship. During the Ottoman era, Sarajevo was surrounded by hundreds of *mahalas*, mainly of Muslim denomination, which gave Sarajevo the name of 'city of a hundred mosques' (Bublin, 2006).

After more than four hundred years of Ottoman rule, at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the great powers of Europe decided that Bosnia and Herzegovina, while remaining notionally under Turkish sovereignty, would be occupied and governed by Aus-

tro-Hungary. Thus, Sarajevo became an important political tool for implementing a second imperial vision of urban spatial design, this time based on Western models and Viennese precedents, which led the city to expand and acquire a new Western face to accompany its previous profile as a classical Ottoman town (Kurto, 1998). The cultivation and further prospering of Catholic population became an important aspect of the imperial vision. In urban terms this meant installing Habsburg imperial values in Bosnia's capital city through the rearrangement of central urban space (Bublin, 2006). This included the introduction of an urban grid and a strong major axis that would extend beyond the Ottoman core to form a new Western counterpart. Thus, in addition to the Islamic religious buildings that occupied the central part of the city, other major religious, cultural and educational institutions of each religious community began to cluster around a city center square and placed in close proximity to one another, symbolically indicating a leveling of political importance.

In addition, by 1900 two new secular buildings at either end of the city defined the above mentioned east-west axis: the Regional Government Building in the west and City Hall (*Vijećnica*) in the east. Two clusters of religious structures were also built along this axis, one Orthodox and one Catholic, and in close proximity to each other. The central Christian houses of worship were thereby divorced from residential neighborhoods and located in positions of parity with those of the Muslims, asserting the power balance between the representation of the three religious groups. During the Austro-Hungarian rule, the principal inspiration for Sarajevo's physical transformation was Vienna's Ringstrasse, where Viennese trends were copied on a more modest scale in hundreds of buildings beyond the central core of *čaršija*, which remained largely untouched, including the street names in the Ottoman part of the city. In the new

"European" part, where the central axis was introduced with a number of smaller streets in a grid-like pattern, the streets were named after important entrepreneurs.

The more prominent streets also bore names of important statespeople on both a local and international level, such as the emperor himself. Some of the less prominent streets were given names based on geographical features or proximity to certain landmarks, much like during Ottoman times. The approach of integrating the existing streets and their names to the new streets was a deliberate strategy employed by the empire as a means of appeasing the local population and thus asserting the administrative power shift with less resistance.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, although under Ottoman rule from the 15th until the 19th century followed by Austro-Hungarian rule from 1878-1918, maintained administrative autonomy; however, with the formation of Yugoslav Kingdom (1918-1941), that autonomy subsided. (Donia, 1994). This is visible in the name itself, where the priority is given to Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The notion of Yugoslav or South Slav identity was developed as a means of resisting, or asserting independence from, colonial rule in the Western Balkans. Even though the kingdom consisted of Serbs, Croat and Slovenes, there were also parallel and competing ideologies based on ethno-nationalism and geared towards separate statehood for each of these three ethno-nationalities (Banac, 1984). This left Bosnian (and Kosovian-Albanian) Muslims as an excess from the imperial past whose presence was overlooked by those advocating for independent states, with perhaps the default solution being the amalgamation of Bosnia and Herzegovina into a greater Croatia and a greater Serbia.

During the twenty-three years under royal rule, Sarajevo suf-

ferred in almost all aspects of life: the economy stagnated while political leaders struggled in vain to win political autonomy from the city council. Although other cities in the region experienced a similar fate, Sarajevo suffered greatly as a result of the transfer to Belgrade of many institutions and functions that had perpetrated its dynamic growth during the Hapsburg rule.

The new royal rulers gave preference to Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, the major urban centres corresponding to the three groups of the kingdom. In the city centre, many of the Hapsburg street names were changed, mostly in reference to Serbian heroes and statesperson with little regard to local history. Sometimes the names also referred to Croatian figures, but it was not very often that Bosnian Muslim or local Bosnian history would be included in the new narrative. This exclusion of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the political sphere would be renounced by Josip Broz Tito during the establishment of the Socialist Federal

Sarajevo within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

In April 1941, Bosnia and Herzegovina was incorporated into the 'Independent State of Croatia' (NDH), which was ruled by the Axis powers. During the occupation all the major street names in Sarajevo were changed to glorify the Axis and NDH political heroes such as: *ulica Ante Starčevića*², *ulica Vojvode Slavka Kvaternika*³, *ulica Dr Ante Pavelića*⁴, *Obala Adolfa Hitlera*⁵, etc. Attila Hoare argues that the Bosnian and Herzegovinian resistance movement organized by the People's Liberation Movement (NLP) ranks as the most successful in Axis-occupied Yugoslavia, perhaps even in Europe in general (Attila, 1996). Since the Bosnian population was heterogeneous, especially in the urban areas, the different ethno-nationalist groups had conflicting po-

litical and national loyalties both among the citizens and among the Communists leaders.

The NLP was composed of all ethno-national groups, Serbs, Croats and Bosnian (Muslims, who had the status of nationality), all fighting for proletarian rights based socialist ideals of equality for all. However, in addition to fighting against the Axis who were collaborating with the Croatian ultra-national movement, the *Ustasha*, they were also opposed by a strong Serbian ultra-national movement, the *Chetniks*, that claimed to be defending the Serbian population from *Ustasha* prosecution. Aside from joining the NLP, some Muslims joined (in certain cases were forced to join) the Axis and the *Ustasha*, while still others formed their own units. As such, the conflict became quite complicated with switching alliances.

In the end, the NLP (eventually the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ)) managed to appeal and persuade many people to join through the notion of heterogeneous ethnic inclusivity and a promise of equality in terms of human rights and economic security. Bosnia and Herzegovina, having been part of a strong resistance to fascism in Yugoslavia during World War II (Hoare, 1996), became one of the new Federation's constituent republics, with Tito using it as one of the means to balance the forces of Serb and Croat nationalism (Samary, 1995).

As stated earlier, with the establishment of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) in 1945, Bosnia and Herzegovina once again claimed its administrative autonomy as one of its six republics. As its capital, Sarajevo again assumed importance, and thus the renaming of its streets would once again become an important political tool for asserting Socialist and anti-fascist values, celebrating the heroes of NLP, glorifying its leader Mar-

shall Tito, and asserting the notion of “brotherhood and unity.”

The major streets in the study area changed names to major socialist prominent figures such as *Bulevar Borisa Kidriča*⁶ and *ulica Ivana Mažuranića*⁷. The majority of the renamed streets were named after NLP fighters such as *Đuro Đaković*, *Slaviša Weiner Čiča*, *Olga Ivković*, *Šalom Albahari*, *Mahmut Bušatlija*, *Vaso Miskin Crni*, *Veljko Lukić Kurjak*, *Radojka Lakić*, *Filip Kljajić*, *Mladen Stojanović*, *Boris Kovačević*, *Sava Kovačević*, *Safet Mujić*, *Miladin Radojević*, *Agan Bostandžić*, *Mustafa Golubić*, *Đuro Pucar Stari*, *Dragica Pravica*, *Nurija Pozderac*, *Džavid Haverić*, *Nurija Pozderac*, *Vehid Muminović*, *Alija Hodžić*, *Zehra Muidović*, *Mirko Lazić*. If one examines the ethnic origin of these names, it becomes clear that they form a heterogeneous group and are thus an important component of solidifying the notion of “brotherhood and unity”. It is important to note that all of the streets listed above were renamed in the early nineties during the formation of the newly independent Bosnia and Herzegovina which will be discussed in more detail below.

In addition, major streets were named after important events, institutions, or leaders such as: *JNA* (Yugoslav People’s Army), *Pionirska ulica* (Association of Pioneers of Yugoslavia), and the leader of the liberation anti-fascist movement in Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, with *Titova Ulica*. In 1945, there were also streets named after important cultural contributors, such as painters and writers. Some were part of the NLP’s units, while others did not fight directly but were very strong supporters of Socialist ideals. Some examples are *ulica Slobodana Principa*⁸, *ulica Pavle Goranina*⁹, *ulica Otokar Keršovana*¹⁰, *ulica Veselin Masleše*¹¹, *Branka Šotre*¹², and *ulica Hamze Hume*¹³. Not all of these streets were completely renamed in the 90s, some were relocated, such as *ulica Hamze Hume* which was moved to a more prominent location in the early 1990s as part of glorifying Muslim intellectuals

which were deemed repressed under Yugoslav rule.

These notions were in large part due to the fact that during Yugoslav rule, many traditional Muslim institutions were fully or partially abolished, such as the Quranic primary schools, charitable foundations (*vakuf*), and the Dervish religious order, which was connected to mysticism in Islam. It was only with the change of official policy in 1961 that the notion of “Muslim” as a national identity, or “Muslim in the ethnic sense”, was used in the census. In 1968, the Bosnian Central Committee announced that “Muslims were a distinct nation.” By 1971, the largest component of the BH population was constituted by Muslims, which was reconfirmed in the 1991 census. From the mid-1990s, the term Bosniak replaced Muslim as the name Bosnian Muslims use for themselves. This identity played a large role in the forging of national spirit and the renaming of the streets in the new independent Bosnia and Herzegovina (Robinson et al, 2001).

During forty-five years (from 1945 until 1991) of Socialist rule, Sarajevo underwent an unprecedented transformation in scale as it expanded to several times its previous physical size and experienced a fivefold increase in population from 1945 to 1991. The city’s previously separate spheres of political and social life marked by segregated residential areas gave way to an array of integrated housing communities. Driving the transformation was a grand vision formulated by relatively few Socialist party members, but it was shared by many Sarajevans who hoped for a more equitable and progressive society. Only four years after Tito’s passing, in 1984, at its pinnacle, Sarajevo hosted the winter games in 1984 along with which came world-class infrastructure and cultural expansion. Whole new city part like Mojmiro - the Olympic village close to the airport, was first built for the athletes and then given out for free as state housing to those in need.

After the death of Tito in the early 1980's, there was a continuing economic crisis throughout the SFRY, while at the same time there was an intensifying struggle for power between the republics, and the ultimate loss of legitimacy of the federal state. That instability produced the conflicts and independence first of Slovenia and then much more violent conflict in Croatia in the early 1990s, followed by the most violent conflict, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which lasted from 1992 until 1995, during which Sarajevo was under the siege with many innocent citizens killed and injured. Unfortunately, the ethno-nationalistic pattern that was made visible in Bosnian and Herzegovina during WWII and the amalgamation into SFRY repeated itself again in the early 1990s. This time it resulted in the fragmentation of both territory and the common narrative of "brotherhood and unity", leaving a number of unsettled 'national' questions within which include the politics of history, ethnicity, religion, territory and geography. With the deterioration of Yugoslavia in the 1990's, Sarajevo fell victim to resuscitated nationalism and economic decline, which culminated in a brutal war and the longest modern-day siege that lasted from 1992 until 1995 and took place in the heart of Europe.

The assertion of independent Bosnia and Herzegovina

As outlined above, by the mid-1990s there were three major ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Croats, Serbs and Muslims. This classification excluded many Sarajevans, especially those from mixed marriages and others who identified themselves as Yugoslavs. Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats have been able to associate themselves with a greater Serbia and a greater Croatia respectively, while Muslims have had an identity defined by their religious affiliation and a territorial dimension, which is tied to the boundaries of Bosnia–Herzegovina

and includes large areas dominated by ethnic Croats and ethnic Serbs. At the end of the conflict, this resulted in the signing of the Dayton peace agreement, which split the country into two entities: *Republika Srpska* (controlled by Bosnian Serbs) and the Federation (controlled by Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats). Sarajevo is within the Federation and officially on papers acts as the capital city of the entire BH (in reality there are many people who live in *Republika Srpska* or Herzegovina do not identify it as such).

Early in the formation of the independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, the canton of Sarajevo appointed a fifteen-person Committee comprised of artists, historians, and writers who were residents of Sarajevo (and mainly Muslim) and who had survived the siege to perform the task of renaming the streets (Robinson et al, 2001). While they were not an elected body, their decisions had political power in that they could shape and legitimatise the new Bosnian identity. They did this in a number of ways, the first being removing connections with Serbs (including all the signs in Cyrillic script) and Serbian territorial aggrandisement, as well as removing names that related to Serbs or events primarily associated with Serbia rather than BH. It is important to note that in the case of Sarajevo, most of the name changes (which included 112 streets in the study area of the city centre) were made during the city siege from 1992 until 1995 (see Table 3).

Analysis of new toponyms

Within the central core of Sarajevo (the study area), out of 112 streets whose names were changed, 40 belonged to the "SFRY and Socialist Ideals" category (see Table 3). All of the NLP fighter streets outlined earlier were changed. Also, a large portion of the street names changed belong to the category of "Historical

Events and Values (All areas)”. As a result, there is an increase of names under “Entrepreneurs” and “Religion/religious objects,” categories that were discouraged or even banned within the Socialist ideals of the SFRY and as such were hardly present in 1990.

Table 3 Sarajevo Street name changes in the study area

Sarajevo 1990	Groups	Sarajevo 2020
19	Statehood and Royalty	20
21	Culture-creator, artists scientists	28
1	Religion/religious objects	12
/	Entrepreneurs	17
12	Geographic names	6
1	Localities	8
/	Appearance (traits, nature)	13
17	Historical Events and Values (All areas)	4
40	SFRJ and Socialist Ideals	1
1	Crafts and Trades	2
/	Other	1
112	TOTAL	112

Statehood and Royalty

When looking at the number of changed toponyms that are affiliated with “Statehood and Royalty,” it seems that very little has changed from 1990 until 2020. However, even though the number of streets within this category remains largely unchanged, there has been a large shift in what is being commemorated between the two time periods. For example, names that pertained to Serbian state, not directly connected to Bosnian history, such as *Obala Vojvode Stepe*¹⁴, *Vuka Karadžića*¹⁵, *Nemanjina*¹⁶, *Vojvode Putnika*¹⁷, *Dimitrije Tucovića*¹⁸, *Miloša Obilića*¹⁹ were removed from the urbanscape. Similar cases are seen in two streets, *Kralja Tomislava*²⁰ and *Zrinjski*²¹, named after Croatian rulers and nobleman, as well as the *Lajos Kossuth*²² and *Tome Masarika*²³, named after Hungarian and Czech politicians. Two street names that point to the change in historical narrative since the fall of SFRY are *Mustafe Golubica* and *Benjamina Finci-ja*, which were both renamed in the early 1990’s. The first street is dedicated to Gavrilo Princip, a member of “Young Bosnia”(for more on the organization please see “Historic events”), who infamously assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand and triggered WWI. Princip came out of the First Balkan War as a sergeant of the Serbian army with a medal from Obilić for his courage. The second street was named after the social fighter and revolutionary Benjamin Finci Binjo, from a prominent Jewish family, who was killed by the police in 1929.

The new toponyms that were introduced in this category, however, tend to pertain to those persons that somehow asserted or reasserted the notion of Bosnian and Herzegovinian sovereignty. They vary in historical period, but all precede the SFRY. Thus, it is not an accident that the names start with a reference to the Medieval Bosnian Kingdom, with street names such as

*Obala Kulina Bana*²⁴, *Kotromanića*²⁵ and *Herceg Stjepan*²⁶ with the intention of illustrating a long-standing autonomy that predates even the Ottoman period and thus is older than the history of the city itself. Other newly (re)introduced toponyms commemorate (largely local) statespeople from the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian periods. In many cases, they were the original names of the streets prior to WWII. These are *Obala Isa-bega Ishakovića*²⁷, *Ali Pašina*²⁸, *Čekaluša*²⁹, *Čobanija*³⁰, *Braće Morić*³¹, *Fehima Efendije Ćurčića*³², *Petrakijina*³³, *Mehmedbega Kapetanovića Ljubušaka*³⁴, *Avdage Šahinagića*³⁵, *Mustajbega Fadilpašića*³⁶ and *Kosta Hermana*³⁷ (the only one who was not Bosnian but had a large impact on the local politics).

The only new name that referenced the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was *Ejuba Ademovića* Street, named after a lawyer and state prosecutor of local origins. Furthermore, there is the introduction of *Mehmeda Spahe* Street, named after a politician of the period between the two world wars, who was among the founders of the Yugoslav Muslim Organization and its leader for a long time, and *Zmaja od Bosne* named after Husein-Captain Gradaščević (called the Dragon of Bosnia), who was the leader of the rebel Bosnian nobility in the 1930s. Finally, in 1994, a significant promenade along the river Miljacka was named *Vilsonovo Šetalište*, after the American president Thomas Woodrow Wilson, the founder of the League of Nations (the forerunner of the UN). This was perhaps a very fitting reference as Sarajevo at that time was enduring a second year of the brutal siege, and much expectation was placed on the international community to halt the violence.

Culture-creator, artists, scientists

When examining the category of “Culture-creator, artists, scientists,” we see a predictable pattern wherein the names of

omitted individuals are mainly those associated with the socialist movement like *Avgusta Cesareca*³⁸, *Svetozara Markovića*³⁹, *Ognjena Pricea*⁴⁰, *Ilije Grbića*⁴¹ and *Maksima Gorkog*⁴². Zijo Dizdarević, a Bosnian writer who was a partisan collaborator and killed in the Ustasha concentration camp Jasenovac, also lost his commemorative street name. There were also removals of names that bore a direct relation to Serbian history such as *Đure Daničića*⁴³, *Stevana Stanojevića Mokranjca*⁴⁴, *Branimira Ćosića*⁴⁵, *Skerlićeva*⁴⁶, *Dositejska*⁴⁷ and *Jug Bogdana*⁴⁸, and two that were related to nationalist Bosnian Serbs, *Vase Pelagića*⁴⁹ and *Petara Kočića*⁵⁰. Three Croatian poets lost their commemorative street names: Petar Preradović, Ivan Dživa Gundulić and Silvije Strahimir Kranjčević. Nikola Tesla, the world-famous inventor (to whom both Serbs and Croats lay claim as he was a Serb born in Croatia), was also omitted from the street names perhaps due to the lack of a direct connection to Bosnia.

The names instated under this category in the early 1990’s bear the most diversity in terms of the array of people they commemorate and their different ethnic backgrounds. The common thread here is that all of these individuals made a positive contribution to the city of Sarajevo and/or Bosnia and Herzegovina. These includes commemorations of the names of academics and historians such as *Hamdije Kreševljakovića*⁵¹, *Branislava Đurđeva*⁵², *Đoke Mazalića*⁵³, *Vladislava Skarića*⁵⁴ and *Muhameda Kantardžića*⁵⁵. The new toponyms also include the names of writers (*Mula Mustafe Bašeskije*⁵⁶, *Alekse Šantića*⁵⁷, *Hamida Dizdara*⁵⁸, *Edhema Mulabdića*⁵⁹, *Muse Ćazima Ćatić*⁶⁰, *Alije Isakovića*⁶¹, *Tina Ujevića*⁶², *Kranjčevića*⁶³, *Safvet Bega Bašagića*⁶⁴ and *Obala Maka Dizdara*⁶⁵); painters (*Behaudina Selmanovića*⁶⁶, *Rizaha Štetića*⁶⁷, *Ludvika Cube*⁶⁸, and *Mice Todorović*⁶⁹); a musician (*Franza Lehara*⁷⁰); an architect (*Josipa Vancaša*⁷¹); and a librarian (*Saliha Hadžihuseinović Muvkita*). Finally, there is also a

contemporary addition; *Gabrielle Moreno Locatelli* street was named after the Italian humanist journalist who died in the area while conducting a peace mission during the siege.

Religion/religious objects

Since religious outlooks were not compatible with Socialist ideals, it is not surprising that there were not many socialist-era street names in the study area that fit into this category. In the early 1990s, a number of streets were added relating to religious figures and primarily Islamic and Catholic institutions. The examples of Islamic references are *Kemal Begova*⁷², *Kulovića*⁷³, *Prušćakova*⁷⁴, *Reisa Džemaludina Čauševića*⁷⁵, *Kasima Efendije Dobrače*⁷⁶ and *Mehmeda Mujezinovića*⁷⁷, while Catholic references were applied to *Fra Anđela Zvizdovića*⁷⁸, *Josipa Štadlera*⁷⁹, and *Kaptol*⁸⁰. In addition, there was also the reintroduction of *Franjevačka*, which was named after a Franciscan monastery and the Church of St. Anthony of Padua that were built in that area, and *La Benevolencija*, named after the home of the Jewish society “La Benevolencia” that was built on it. There were no Orthodox references added to the new names of streets, perhaps as that would have been seen as a direct association with Serbian heritage.

Entrepreneurs

The objective for the Committee was to restore the traditional or original street names that were lost or replaced under SFRY (or even under earlier regimes). e Names from the Ottoman empire held special importance, but so did some significant events and individuals from the Astro-Hungarian period that reinforced and contributed to the notion of Bosnian identity.

Examining the pattern of revision (please see *Table 3*), it can be seen that the biggest increase came within the “Entrepreneurs” category. In the old *čaršija* the majority of the trade names were kept, while in the other parts as well as in the *mahalas* the names relating to the Ottoman period families and individuals were restored, which was seen as the reinstatement of Bosnian history. Old names were reinstated pertaining to wealthy individuals during Ottoman times, who contributed to the construction of these urban areas their wealth, such as *Armaganuša*⁸¹, *Ferhad-ija*⁸², *Hadži-Idrizova*⁸³ and *Isovića Sokak*, and also wealthy families (mostly of Muslim origin) who did the same, such as *Dolina*⁸⁴, *Bakarevića*⁸⁵, *Čemerlina*⁸⁶, *Karpuzova*⁸⁷, *Kečina*⁸⁸, *Logavina*⁸⁹ and *Despićeva*⁹⁰ (who were an Orthodox Christian family who lived during the Ottoman period).

Geography (Geographic names, Localities and Appearance)

Overall there was also a large increase to the three categories that are based on geographical features: “Geographic names”, “Localities” and “Appearance”. These three subcategories were dispersed on 12 streets in the 1990s, whereas in 2020 there are 27 streets bearing the names of geographical features. For the most part these were once again the original names of the streets and they include descriptive names in Ottoman Turkish such as *Džidžikovac*⁹¹, *Sepetarevac*⁹², *Konak*⁹³, *Telali*⁹⁴, *Budžak*⁹⁵, and *Tekija Čikma*⁹⁶, as well as descriptive words in Bosnian like *Buka*⁹⁷, *Ćumurija*⁹⁸, *Hisetova*⁹⁹, *Vrbanja*¹⁰⁰, *Bistrik*¹⁰¹, *Dugi Sokak*¹⁰², *Potok*¹⁰³, *Širokac*¹⁰⁴, *Niže Banje*¹⁰⁵, and *Patke*¹⁰⁶. The reason for the restoration of these names might be the fact that they seem true to their geographical context and as such are seen as appropriate for reinforcing local identity.

There were also names geographical locations such as *Koševo*,

(named after the village of Koševa, from the time of Bosnian independence), *Stolačka* (named after Stolac, a town in Herzegovina) and *Dalmatinska* (named after the Croatian province of Dalmatia). It is interesting to note that the name of *Dalmatinska* street was chosen to be restored despite its foreignness, and yet there were a few other omissions that highlighted geographical locations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as *Sutjeska* and *Jablanička*, which were where significant battles took place during WWII with heavy connotations to the SFRY and Socialist ideals; as such these names were removed from the urban landscape. A notable example of this is *Beogradska Street* (Belgrade Street). In 1994, it was renamed to Emerika Bluma Street (1911-1984), named after the founder of the Energoinvest Company and the former Mayor of Sarajevo (1981-1983). Despite eminent lobbies to reinstate *Beogradska Street* this has not been done yet. However, *Zagrebačka Street*, named after the capital of Croatia after WWII never got renamed. Here the deliberate attempt to break away from the capital of both Serbia and former Yugoslavia is apparent.

SFRY and Socialist Ideals

As discussed earlier, after WWII many of the streets in the study area were named after the NLP fighters, which the Committee deemed unsuitable for this part of the city. As such, many of these names were replaced or, alternatively, a small number of them were moved to the streets further from the centre and in the suburbs. This was particularly true of the names deemed to pertain to Serbian or Croatian individuals, rather than Bosniaks. In the case of existing Bosnian Muslim names, the streets often were awarded a more prominent location in the centre, as was the case with ulica Hamze Hume, outlined earlier. Hamza Humo was a Bosnian Muslim writer and intellectual whose significance

in the history of Bosnian Muslims was deemed to outweigh his role in the socialist Yugoslavia.

Only one very significant street name remained, *Titova Ulica*. Officially in 2017 (although the unofficial debate started much earlier), there was an initiative by SDA (Party of Democratic Action / based on ethno-national value of Bosniaks) to rename the city's main artery from *Titova Ulica* to *ulica Alije Izetbegovića*, after the first president of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the founder of the SDA party. This initiative was met with general pushback and protest from the citizens. It is clear the street naming Committee were not supportive of the SFRY and its ideology; however, regard for the former leader Tito seems to have remained high among all the citizens and the ethnic groups in Sarajevo. This phenomena might be understood by one of Tito's declarations after WWII, wherein he stated: "*During the war, a battle was fought here, not only for the creation of a new Yugoslavia, but also a battle for Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign republic. To some generals and leaders their position on this was not quite clear. I never once doubted my stance on Bosnia. I always said that Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot belong to this or that, only to the people that lived there since the beginning of time.*"

In many ways, the fact that Tito's Street remains today might also be a reflection of the city's multi-layered identity, which might still be present and not so rigidly fixed by the prevailing ethno-national narratives that seem to be the primary focus in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina (Robinson et al., 2001)

Historical Events and Values (All areas)

In terms of the "Historical Events and Values" (in all areas), there

has been a large decrease in the number of toponyms within this category. Some twenty names, largely relating to SFRY values and significant dates, were removed, such as *Omladinska*¹⁰⁷, *Omladinsko šetalište*¹⁰⁸, and October Square¹⁰⁹. The street dedicated to April 6, in memory of the day when Sarajevo was liberated from fascist occupation in 1945, was also renamed. However, this date remains important in the city's history, as it is also the day on which the European Community recognized the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. April 6th is now celebrated as the Day of the City of Sarajevo.

Furthermore, names with direct reference to Serbian history were removed such as *Hajduk Veljkova* and *Stevan Sindelić* (heroes from the First Serbian Uprising), *Dobrovoljačka*, (after the volunteers of the Serbian army in the First World War) and *November 6* (after the date of entry of the Serbian Royal army into Sarajevo in 1918). Another very noticeable omission from the toponym names within this category are the names pertaining to the Young Bosnia organization. Young Bosnia (*Mlada Bosna*) was a revolutionary movement active before WWI. Its members were predominantly school students, primarily Bosnian Serbs, but there were also some Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats. They supported two key ideologies - the Yugoslavist (unification into a Yugoslavia) and the Pan-Serbian unification into Serbia). This group was responsible for the assassination of Arch Duke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie in 1914. The killings sparked a chain of events that led to the outbreak of World War I. During SFRY rule, the group was presented as heroic and as such many streets, monuments and urban elements were named after them. However, due to their strong Serbian nationalist sentiments, after the signing of Dayton Agreement this group was seen as rebellious /terroristic in the Federation, while they are still proclaimed as heroes in *Republika Srpska*. As such, the

streets that bore the names of their members (*Nedeljka Čabri-novića*, *Danila Ilića*, *Trifka Grabeža*, and *Veljka Čubrilovića*) were omitted during the formation of independent Bosnia in the early 1990's. Also *Principov Most*, named after Gavrilo Princip, the member who shot the archduke and his wife, was renamed to its old name, Latin Bridge, after the name of the mahala in its vicinity.

Only four new names were introduced within this category. The most prominent is the former *JNA* (Yugoslav National Army Street), which was renamed in two sections: *Branilaca Sarajeva* and *Zelenih Beretki*. *Branilaca Sarajeva* literally translates to "Defenders of Sarajevo" and refers to the last conflict, i.e. the defenders of the city during the siege. It is interesting to note that there are no specific names, affiliations or ethnic groups associated with the defenders, but rather the term encompasses all those who defended the city, which included people of all ethnic backgrounds. The second section of the street was named *Zelene Beretke* (Green Berets), after a paramilitary organization founded in Sarajevo in the early 1992 consisting mostly of Bosniaks. They were integrated into the newly founded Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of 1992. Here the struggle of the Committee to include the multi-layered identity of Sarajevo's defenders, while at the same time honouring the military efforts of primarily one ethnic group, is evident. In some way, the fragmentation of this street is symbolic of the Post-Dayton Bosnian reality.

The other two streets introduced in this category are *Halida Kajtaza* and *Nurudina Gackića*, who were members of the *Mladi Muslimani*¹¹⁰ (*Young Muslims*) movement. Both were prosecuted and executed in 1949 and 1945, respectively, by the SFRY government for treason.

Parallel History

On the other hand, adjacent to Sarajevo is the newly formed East Sarajevo (previously called Srpsko Sarajevo or Serb Sarajevo), which was the former suburb of Lukavica. With the division of BH in 1995 into *Republika Srpska* and the Federation, East Sarajevo was built under the territory of *Republika Srpska* almost as an alternate Sarajevo with its own historical narrative that glorifies the Serbian nation. Of more than 50 streets in East Sarajevo, all except one bear Serbian-related toponyms which were ascribed by the Committee for Renaming of Streets of East Sarajevo--a completely separate body from the one formed in Sarajevo. In the case of East Sarajevo, the committee did not include any Bosniak or Croatian members. In fact, here we can see the reinstatement of some of the names that were omitted in Sarajevo such as Beogradska, Vuka Karadzica, Njegoseva, and Nikole Tesle. Perhaps the most controversially there are also street dedicated to *Draže Mihajlovica*¹¹¹ and Prve Sarajevske Brigade (Dedicated to Srb forces responsible for the siege of Sarajevo). According to Mirjana Ristić, “they operate as explicit tools of territorialisation of exclusive Serbian ethnic identity and transform the street matrix into a symbolic infrastructure that expresses Serbian domination over the city”. (Ristić, 2008; p. 146).

Sarajevo Concluding Remarks

With the breakup of Yugoslavia and the establishment of Bosnian and Herzegovinian sovereignty in 1992, the renaming of the streets in Sarajevo was part of the deliberate strategy of breaking away from Socialist ideals and heritage, thus creating a specifically Bosnian history. All the old, ‘negative’ associations were replaced by names deemed to be more acceptable as part of

a deliberate reshaping of this particular aspect of place. Thus, through the emphasis of the selective reconstruction of Bosnian history in order to appease the contemporary nationalist aspirations, there was a conscious invoking of a collective memory, recalling both distant and recent events, to enhance group identity.

The particular nationalistic element in the renaming of streets in Sarajevo reflects the Commission’s strong desire, on behalf of the city’s inhabitants, to establish an identity that can contribute to development of a more secure basis for self-government and territorial integrity. (Robinson et al., 2001). The desire to build a new national narrative that highlights the differences between Bosnia and its neighbouring states has emphasised the nation as specifically consisting of Bosnian Muslims, whose awareness of their own distinctive heritage and differences from Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs has been greatly heightened. The same is true in East Sarajevo, where, in contrast, the Serbian national narrative has been heightened. This indicates the inevitable inconsistencies in historical narratives and political ideologies between the two parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which makes one question the relationships between ‘state’ and ‘nation’, and especially these relationships within the context of the former Yugoslavia.

Sarajevo Endnotes

1. Some examples of these streets are: *badžije* (tailors); *atari* (pharmacists); *baltadžije* (axe makers); *bardakčije* (ceramics); *bičakčije* (knife makers); *čizmedžije* (cobblers); *ćurčije* (leather works); *halvadžije* (desert makers); *kujundžije* (precious metal jewellery makers); *sarači* (saddlers); *tabaci* (leather goods) etc.
2. Ante Starčević was an ultra-nationalist Croatian politician.
3. Slavko Kvaternik was a Croatian Ustasha military general and politician, who was one of the founders of the Ustasha movement.
4. Dr Ante Pavelić was a Croatian Ustasha chieftain; this is a major street and was named Tito's Street after the liberation of Sarajevo in 1945 and still remains Tito Street until today. Interestingly, a street in Belgrade was recently named after Blagoje Jovović who shot Ante Pavelić in 1957 in Argentina
5. Meaning "the bank of Adolf Hitler".
6. Boris Kidrič was a prominent Slovenian politician of the socialist period in Yugoslavia.
7. Ivan Mažuranić was a socialist Croatian writer in Yugoslavia.
8. Slobodan Princip (who was a nephew of Gavrilo Princip who assassinated Franc Archduke) Seljo was a Partizan hero of the liberation war 1941-1945. and one of the founders of the Collegium artisticum, the major contemporary art gallery in Sarajevo. At the end of the WWII a number of Bosnian artists established the annual Collegium Artisticum exhibition in 1947. The initial founders were all former members of the Collegium Artisticum movement and included very renowned artists like Ismet Mujezinović, Vojo Dimitrijević, Mica Todorović, Vojislav Hadžidamjanović, Roman Petrović, Behaudin Selmanović, Sigo Summerekker, Petar Šain and Hakija Kulenović.
9. Pavle Goranin was also one of the founders of the Collegium artisticum.
10. Otokar Keršovani was a journalist and social fighter.
11. Veselin Masleša was a writer and national hero.
12. Branko Šotra was a hero of the liberation war 1941-1945 and a prominent Bosnian painter.
13. Hamza Humo was an influential Bosnian writer and a socialist supporter.

14. Obala Vojvode Stepe Stepanovića was named after a duke of the Serbian and Yugoslav army.
15. Vuka Karadžića Street was named after Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, who was a Serbian philologist and linguist. He was one of the most important reformers of the official language of Yugoslavia – Serbo-Croat and the modern Serbian language.
16. Nemanjina Street was named after the founder of the Serbian Nemanjić dynasty, Stefan Nemanja.
17. Vojvode Putnika Street was named after a duke of the Serbian army, Radomir Putnik.
18. Dimitrija Tucovic Street was named after a Serbian politician and political writer, Dimitrije Tucovic.
19. Miloša Obilić Street was named after Miloš Obilić, a hero of Serbian folk songs and legends.
20. Kralja Tomislava Street was named after King Tomislav, a Croatian king who ruled from 910-930.
21. Zrinjski Street was named after a Croatian nobleman Petar Zrinjski.
22. Lajos Kossuth Street is named after a Hungarian politician (1802-1894).
23. Tome Masarika Street is named after Tomas Masaryk, a Czech statesman (Tomas Garrigue Masaryk) founder and the first president of Czechoslovakia.
24. Obala Kulina Bana is named after the Bosnian ruler Ban Kulin, whose rule is known in folklore as a period of peace and abundance.
25. Kotromanića Street was named after a medieval Bosnian ruling family by that name.
26. Herceg Stjepan Street was named after after a medieval Bosnian nobleman, Duke Stjepan Vukčić Kosača.
27. Obala Isa-bega Ishakovića was named in memory of the founder of Sarajevo, Isa-bega Ishaković.
28. Ali Pašina street was named after Hadim Ali Pasha, who was born in Sarajevo. He was raised in Istanbul, where he received his education, and later carried out his service in the Ottoman Army in both Bosnia and Buda.

29. Čekaluša was the nickname of the Grand Vizier Rustem Pasha, “Čegale”. According to the writings of his contemporary Bernard Navdjer, Rustem Pasha was born in the vicinity of Sarajevo.
30. Čobanija has the same name as the mahala in which it is located, Čobanija, which is also the popular name of the mosque that was built there in the middle of the 16th century by Čoban Hasan Vojvoda. Čoban means Shepherd in Turkish and Bosnian and has a derogative meaning, often used as an insult.
31. Braće Morić Street was named the Morić Brothers, Hajji-Mehmed and Ibrahim-aga, who were janissaries (rank in Turkish army) and ring-leaders of the Sarajevo uprising in the 18th century.
32. Fehima Efendije Ćurčića Street was named after the last mayor of Sarajevo of the Austro-Hungarian period.
33. Petrakijina Street was named after a Sarajevo merchant and deputy mayor of Sarajevo, Petrakija Petrović, who lived during the Austro-Hungarian rule.
34. Mehmedbega Kapetanovića Ljubušaka Street was named after a Bosnian writer and public official, who became the mayor of Sarajevo in 1893.
35. Avdage Šahinagića Street was named after a Sarajevo City Councilor and member of the Bosnian Parliament, the prominent landowner Avdaga Šahinagić. He was most responsible for the construction of the street, which also housed the Šahinagić family house during the Austro-Hungarian period.
36. Mustajbega Fadilpašića was named after Mustaj-beg Fadilpašić, a mayor of Sarajevo during Austro-Hungarian rule.
37. Kosta Hermana Street was named after a high official of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a cultural worker, Konstantin Kosta Herman.
38. August Cesarec was a writer and left-wing Croatian politician who lived from 1893-1941.
39. Svetozara Markovic was a 19th-century Serbian socialist theorist.
40. Ognjen Price was a social fighter and Marxist theorist.
41. Ilija Grbić was a social fighter, writer and teacher.
42. Maksim Gorkog was the Russian founder of social realism and a political activist.

43. Đuro Daničić, after the Serbian philologist, translator, linguistic historian and lexicographer who lived from 1825-1882.
44. Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac was a Serbian composer.
45. Branimir Ćosić, after a Serbian writer and journalist who lived from 1903-1934.
46. Skerlić was one of the most influential Serbian literary critics of the early 20th century.
47. Dositejska street was named after a Serbian writer and educator, Dositej Obradović. He was the first minister of education in Serbia and lived from 1739-1811.
48. Jug Bogdan was named after a hero of Serbian epic poetry.
49. Vaso Pelagić street was named after Vasilije “Vasa” Pelagić. He was a Bosnian Serb writer, physician, educator, clergyman, and a Serb nationalist.
50. Petar Kočić was named after a writer and member of the Bosnian Parliament. He had a large role in the Serbian and Yugoslav nationalist movements, as well as the Bosnian autonomist and Yugoslav communist movements.
51. Hamdija Kreševljaković was a Bosnian academic and historian. He lived from 1888-1959, his son Muhamed Kreševljaković was the mayor of Sarajevo 1990-94, during most of the Bosnian War.
52. Branislav Đurđev was an academic, historian, and the founder and first director of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo. He lived from 1908-1993. He taught at the Faculty of Philosophy and was a member of Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
53. Đoko Mazalić was a painter and former curator of the National Museum in Sarajevo. He lived from 1880-1975. He was engaged in scientific work, painting technology, art history, art criticism.
54. Vladislav Skarić was a historian, who from 1926 to 1928, was the director of the National Museum in Sarajevo.
55. Muhamed Kantardžić was a famous Sarajevo mathematician and Professor, who lived from 1890-1976. He taught physics at the Medical Faculty in Sarajevo, wrote many academic papers, and translated academic works from German language.
56. Mula Mustafa Bašeskija was the most important chronicler of Sarajevo. He lived from 1731-1809 and was a Bosnian chronicler, diarist, poet, calligrapher and retired Jannisary (a special military order) in the Ottoman Empire.

57. Aleksa Šantić was a famous writer and poet from Mostar who wrote on the theme of love and patriotic feelings for Bosnia. He lived from 1868-1924.
58. Hamid Dizdar was a Bosnian writer and poet living from 1907-1937. His younger brother Mak Dizdar was also a prominent poet. After WWII, Hamida became the Director of the Archives of the City of Sarajevo.
59. Edhem Mulabdić was a Bosnian writer and co-founder of the Bosniak political journal Behar. He lived from 1862-1954.
60. Musa Ćazim Ćatić was a prominent Bosnian writer and poet who lived from 1878-1915.
61. Alija Isaković was a Bosnian writer and lexicographer.
62. Augustin Tin Ujević was a Croatian poet, who worked in Sarajevo between 1930 and 1937. During that period, he wrote and published some of his most significant works.
63. Silvije Strahimir Kranjčević was a poet who reached the peak of his work in Sarajevo. In Sarajevo for a full eight years (1895-1903), he edited the literary magazine Nada, published by the Provincial Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
64. Dr. Safvet-beg Bašagić, also known as Mirza Safvet, was a Bosnian writer who is often described by Bosniak historians as the “father of Bosnian Renaissance”, and was one of most renowned poets of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the turn of the 20th century. He lived from 1870-1934.
65. Obala Maka Dizdara was named after the poet Mehmedalija Mak Dizdar (1917-1971). His poetry combined influences from Bosnian Christian culture, Islamic mysticism and the cultural remains of medieval Bosnia, especially the stećci.
66. Behaudin Selmanović was a Bosnian painter who lived from 1915-1972.
67. RizahaŠtetić was a Bosnian painter who lived from 1908-1974.
68. Ludvika Cube was a Czech painter, ethnographer, and musicologist, who, among other things, recorded 1,200 songs with music notes while traveling through Bosnia (the name of a Cuban painter was misspelled on street boards).
69. Mica Todorović was a Bosnian painter and artist, who lived from 1900-1981. She was one of the founders of the Association of Fine Artists of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the School of Applied Arts in Sarajevo,

- and the first woman artist in the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
70. Franz Lehar an Austrian musician, the father of the famous operetta composer Franz and the lesser-known military conductor Anton Lehar. According to some allegations, the elder Franz Lehar conducted a military orchestra in Sarajevo for a short time during the Austro-Hungarian rule.
71. Josip Vančaš was a renowned architect. He was an Austro-Hungarian and Yugoslav architect who spent most of his career in Sarajevo, where he designed over two hundred buildings. He also designed important buildings in present-day Croatia and Slovenia. He was also the first conductor of the Männergessangverein in Sarajevo, from its founding in 1887.
72. Kemal Begova was named after the founder of the eponymous masjid and mahala, known as Koševo (Koševa).
73. Kulovića was named after the Sarajevo kadija (Islamic judge) and benefactor Sulejm Efendija Kulović.
74. Pruščakova was named after Ibrahim Munib Pruščak, a legal writer in Turkish and mufti for the area of Livno and Prusac during the Ottoman period.
75. Reisa Džemaludina Čauševića was named after Reis-ul-ulema Džemaludin Čaušević, who, in September 1903, was elected to be a member of the distinguished Meclis-i Ulema, the managerial body of Bosnia and Herzegovina Islamic Community.
76. Kašima Efendije Dobrače Street was named after Kasim Effendi Dobrača, who was a professor at the Gazi Husrev-beg Madrasa and a librarian at the Gazi Husrev-beg Library.
77. Mehmeda Mujezinovića was named after a prominent scientific and cultural worker, orientalist, researcher of Islamic epigraphy.
78. Fra Anđela Zvizdovića was named after a Bosnian Franciscan, Fra Anđelo Zvizdović (Zvijezdović), who, in 1463, received a document from the Turkish Sultan Mehmed II El Fatih on the field of Milodraž, near Fojnica, guaranteeing the freedoms of Catholics in Bosnia.
79. Josipa Štadlera Street was named after the first Archbishop of Vrhbosna, dr. Josip Štadler, who held that position from 1882 until his death in 1918.
80. Kaptol is so named because the residence of the Archbishop of Vrhbosna and the Archbishop’s Ordinariate is on the street.

81. Armaganuša was named after Armagandža Sinana, a wealthy patron from the Ottoman times who built a mosque in this mahala, after which the whole mahal and street were named after him.
82. Ferhadija, after the Bosnian governor Ferhad-beg Vuković-Desisalić, who built a mosque in 1561/62 on that street.
83. Hadži-Idrizova Street was named after Hadži-Idriz, the founder of the former Mahala Hadži-Idriz during Ottoman times, better known as Žablja.
84. Dolina Street was named after the old Sarajevan Muslim family Dolo, which owned property in that area.
85. Bakarevića Street after the rich Sarajevan family Bakarević, whose members were mostly merchants and military officers in the late period of the Ottoman rule.
86. Čemerlina Street was named after the old Muslim family Čemerlija, who owned a house on that street during Ottoman rule.
87. Karpuzova Street was named after the old Sarajevan Muslim family Karpuz, who owned a house there during Ottoman rule.
88. Kečina Street is derived from the surname of the old Sarajevo Muslim family Kečo, who owned a house there.
89. Logavina Street was named after the old Muslim family Logavija (Logavijina, Logavina), who lived in the area during Ottoman times.
90. Despićeva Street was built during the Ottoman period within the Frankish or Latinluk mahala. It was named after a member of the Sarajevo Orthodox family Despić, presumably after Hajji-Maxi Despić Baba who lived in the family house. He left behind valuable written and published memoirs, which are a testimony of inestimable value for the study of the history of Sarajevo.
91. The name of Džidžikovac Street was derived from the Turkish word džidžic, meaning decorated, as this street used to be lined and decorated by flowers during Ottoman times.
92. The name of Sepetarevac Street was derived from the Turkish word sepet, meaning basket.
93. Konaks were an early form of Ottoman hotels. This street originated in the early Ottoman period. It was named after the residence of the Bosnian governors.
94. Telali Street was named after the shops with old goods that the bodies sold loudly (telalili)

95. The name of Budžak street was derived from the Turkish word bucak, meaning remote or hidden.
96. Tekija Čikma Street was named after the Naqshbandi tekke, which was founded in 1664 by Sheikh Hasan Kaimi, better known as Kaimi-baba.
97. Buka in Bosnian literally means noise. There was a stream with a small waterfall, which made noise according to some sources, and that is why the street got its name. However, buka also means a masjid without a minaret which could have been present at the time the street was built.
98. Ćumurija refers to ćumur meaning coal in Turkish. The street was named after the nearby bridge of the same name over the river Miljacka, which was probably so named because the saber blacksmiths dumped charcoal waste off of it.
99. The old name of this street was Donja Hiseta (ar. Hise: "part") and was named Hisetova in 1994.
100. This street was named Vrbanja after the old name of the bridge in the vicinity of Vrbanja (Bridge of Suada Dilberović and Olga Sučić).
101. Bistirk derives from the word bistar, meaning clear.
102. Dugi Sokak literally means a long street.
103. Potok means a stream, which was probably located in the vicinity of the street at its construction.
104. Širokac means wide, probably referring to the width of the street.
105. The street was named Niže Banje after the popular name of the former Mahala Jagdži-zade hadži Ahmed.
106. The name comes from the fact that, before the arrangement of the street's route, there was an extended arm of Mošćnica with numerous ducks (patke).
107. Omladinska means Youth Street. Youth was often used in propagating socialist values. After the Second World War, young people in Yugoslavia volunteered to build roads and railroads in Communist youth work actions.
108. Omladinsko šetalište means Youth Promenade. Dan Mladosti was Tito's birthday- celebrated every year on the 25th May – with a rally travelling from Slovenia to Belgrade across the whole Yugoslavia. Many large infrastructural projects were built by Omladinska Radnicaka Akcija (roads, bridges, railways) but also by the Yugoslav National

Army - including the projects for the Sarajevo Olympic Games.

109. October Square was named after the Socialist revolution in Russia in October 1917.

110. The Mladi Muslimani (Young Muslims) movement was an organization formed by Bosnian Muslims in 1941. They called for Islamic state values. During the SFRY, the movement was seen as treasonous and its members were prosecuted. One of its most famous members was Alija Izetbegović, the first president of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the founder of the SDA party, which is still the predominate party within the Muslim majority in BH and one of the three leading ethno-nationalist parties within the country.

111. Dragoljub “Draža” Mihailović (1893 – 1946) was a Yugoslav Serb general during World War II. He was the leader of the Chetnik Detachments of the Yugoslav Army (Chetniks), a royalist and nationalist movement and guerrilla force established following the German invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941.

CONCLUSION

Street names are sensitive pointers toward the link between political processes and the urban landscape because the allotment of names is tied inevitably to nation building and state formation. As a means of political ownership over the urbanscape, urban nomenclatures have been especially susceptible to revision, especially in the wake of major power shifts and regime changes. Furthermore, toponyms are powerful cultural signifiers and vehicles of memory to which political authorities resort in their bid to symbolically appropriate space by inscribing into the landscape a self-legitimizing iconography of power. Along with the breakup of Yugoslavia, both in Belgrade and in Sarajevo, there was a large shift from the common Socialist narrative to localized and national ones, which is reflected in the new names of the toponyms of both cities.

Within the examples of Belgrade and Sarajevo, we can see the extent to which the recent war influenced the change of urban toponyms. Sarajevo experienced the longest siege in Europe after World War II (1992-1995). That period coincided with its main wave of street names' changes. As the Bosnian Serb army shelled the city, the determinants that connected it to Yugoslavia disappeared from Sarajevo. Belgrade, on the other hand, was not directly affected by the war. Changes to its streets were in stages. During the period of the Yugoslav wars (1991-1996), only a small number of streets were changed because Milošević insisted on prolonging the illusion of Belgrade as the Yugoslav capital.

What can be recognized as a similarity in how the streets were renamed is a return to the "better past". The meaning of that past differs as much as the history of these two cities, but the principles by which its "goodness" is determined are very similar. Both Belgrade and Sarajevo have experienced a flood of

toponyms that refer to personalities and historical determinants that are important for the construction of the Serb and Bosniak ethnic identity, respectively. The memory of socialism, the labor movement, and industrialization (which brought economic progress to both Bosnia and Serbia) is ultimately rejected. In their place comes the mythical golden age of kings and ancient monasteries, in the case of Belgrade, and traditional Ottoman toponyms, in the case of Sarajevo.

The return to the (monoethnic) past has reduced the profile of multiethnicity in the narratives of public spaces in both cities. As the national territory shrank, the toponyms in the capitals become more and more exclusive. Ethnic minorities were not desirable bearers of public narrative, and their discourse and memories needed to be removed. Other minorities did not fare any better. Insisting on ethnicity and creating a single, narrow identity has closed these cities. They both symbolically and spiritually rejected their cosmopolitan settlement and voluntarily turned into a province.

Although the specific historical and political motives differ, there was a definite obliteration of the common Yugoslav past in both cities. In the future, it is our hope to extend this study to the remainder of capital cities of former Yugoslavia and to see how the revisionist patterns occurred in Ljubljana and Zagreb (both cities now in the EU) as well as Podgorica (once Titograd) and Skopje.

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