

Tirana street naming as a mirror of social and political changes in Albania (1945-1990)

Abstract: *Street names are the signs of a city. They can be memorials to different moments in its history. Tirana, the capital of Albania, underwent transformational changes during the 20th century and such transformation is reflected in its street names as well.*

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the socio-spatial transformation processes in the capital of Albania, Tirana. Grounded on the analysis of the street names of Tirana, on the "names movement", the paper purports to investigate in-depth consequences of events having a bearing on different historical periods.

Observing the names of the streets of Tirana outlines the general idea that the streets in Tirana are commemorative of historical events in Albania. A detailed analysis of the street names of Tirana during the Communist era (1945-1990) helps to understand how the ideological hegemony of the regime permeated Albanian life.

The partisan war during World War Two became the foundational narrative of the Communist statehood. The data confirm the general claim that the celebration of the Communist party and statehood in Albania was often coupled with the celebration of the partisan war with many streets in Tirana commemorating partisan martyrs.

Keywords: *toponomastics, street names, transformation, ideology, Albania, communism.*

Introduction

Toponymic changes reflect the transformation of societies and serve as an important medium through which changes take place. The street names mirror the history of cities and indicate the political regime and its socio-cultural values.

Research on toponymic changes has been conducted in vastly different fields of study, among others in: Linguistic Landscape and Critical Toponymy.

The linguistic landscape is defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997, 25)¹ as “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings.”

Linguistic Landscape studies (Amos and Soukup 2020, Buchstaller and Alvanides 2018, 2022) have documented and analysed the distribution of languages, voices and messages in public textuality.² Amos and Soukup³ (2020, 35) argue that quantitative Linguistic Landscape studies “are capable of capturing and explicating details regarding the appearance and context of LL signs and their function in public space, by their power to throw into relief general patterns and trends of distribution and co-occurrence.”

In the framework of Linguistic Landscape (LL), Buchstaller & Alvanides (2020) developed methods “for capturing the interplay between linguistic, social and geographical spaces through georeferencing”.⁴

Traditional studies of place names have tended to concentrate on taxonomic and etymological concerns and to treat place names as artefacts (Alderman, 2016; Alderman & Inwood, 2013; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010).⁵ According to these studies, the street names in pre-modern cities were descriptive. European medieval street naming was mostly motivated by topography and function, being customarily coined on the basis of geographical features (Upper, Lower Street), the predominant resident businesses (Butchers’ Street) or architectural and topographic landmarks (Castle Street, Church Street)⁶. This descriptive system was used until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was enriched by a totally new form of naming known as commemoration.

Critical toponymy has traditionally explored “power relations, public

- 1 R. Bourhis, R. Landry, Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality—An Empirical Study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, (1997) 16, 23-49. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0261927X970161002>
- 2 I. Buchstaller, M. Fabiszak, Editorial: ideology and commemoration in the urban space. “*Linguistics Vanguard*”, (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1515/lingvan-2021-0010>.
- 3 H. W. Amos, B. Soukup. *Chapter 3. Quantitative 2.0: Toward Variationist Linguistic Landscape Study (VaLLS) and a Standard Canon of LL Variables*. In D. Malinowski, S. Tuf. *Reterritorializing Linguistic Landscapes. Questioning Boundaries and Opening Spaces*. Bloomsbury Academic 2020.
- 4 M. Putz, N-F. Mundt. *Expanding the Linguistic Landscape: Linguistic Diversity, Multimodality and the Use of Space as a Semiotic Resource*. “*Multilingual Matters*” (2018), <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781788922166>.
- 5 B. Williamson, *Historical geographies of place naming: Colonial practices and beyond* Beth Williamson. Wiley, 2023. DOI: 10.1111/gec3.12687.
- 6 F. Malgorzata, I. Buchstaller, C. Schneider. *Ideology in the linguistic landscape: Towards a quantitative approach*. Vol.2, Issue 4. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926521992149>.

memory [and] identity formation” in commemorative renaming (Azaryahu 2012: 388), especially following ideological shifts in recent history⁷.

Over the past decade, there is an increase in the research work focused on the cultural politics of naming itself. Urban toponymy is treated as an important element of larger cultural landscapes that are produced in support of a particular political agenda, but which can also be contested by the denizens of the city itself.⁸

Renaming of streets is a simple act that has a direct impression on the public. Renaming of the streets that is politically motivated is a common feature of revolutionary changes (Azaryahu, 2011).

And for a social transformation “to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language and on space.” (Lefebvre, 1991, 54).

For Azaryahu (2009, 53): “When used for commemorative purposes, street names and the version of history they introduce into the public sphere belong to the semiotic makeup of local and national identity and to the structures of power and authority. In their commemorative capacity, street names communicate official representations of the ruling socio-political order. In particular, they introduce an official version of history into networks of social communication that involve ordinary urban experiences that seem to be separated from the realm of political ideology.” Many research studies have focused on the role of place names in nation building and how they are rewritten in times of political and ideological change (Azaryahu, 1992).

Referring to Alderman (2008, 196):

“These studies largely emphasize how government elites in countries such as Israel, Germany, Russia, Romania, and the former Yugoslavia have manipulated place names – particularly commemorative street names – to advance reinvented notions of national identity and history [...]”

Cohen and Kliot⁹ analyzed how in Israel the selection of place-names has become “a powerful tool for reinforcing competing national Zionist ideologies. Implicit in this competition are two major Israeli place-name themes: the message of essentialism or continuity, and epochalism or change.”

Studies about Germany offer insights into large-scale renaming of

7 I. Buchstaller, M. Fabiszak, *Editorial: ideology and commemoration in the urban space*. *Linguistics Vanguard*. <https://doi.org/10.1515/lingvan-2021-0010>.

8 D. Light, C. Young, *Toponymy as commodity: Exploring the economic dimensions of urban place names*. “*International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*”, (2015a), 39 (3), 435-450. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12153>.

9 S. Cohen, N. Kliot. *Place-Names in Israel's Ideological Struggle over the Administered Territories*. “*Annals of the Association of American Geographers*”, 1992.

streets as a ritual of revolution. (Re)naming in Germany has been indexing “fluctuation in political *Weltnaschauung*: the encroachment of Nazi henchmen (*Göring, Göbbels, Himmler*, etc.) in the years following Hitler’s takeover in 1933, Soviet influence after WWI resulting in street names such as *Stalinallee* (‘Stalin avenue’) or *Leninstraße* (‘Lenin street’), etc. The fall of the Communist regime in 1989 and the subsequent political transformation leading to reunification (known as the *Wende*), brought with it the eradication of socialist ideology from the semiotic landscape”.¹⁰

In similar way, when the communist regimes came to power in many countries, they mobilized a wide variety of symbols in the urban landscape in order to legitimate and institutionalize the ideology of revolutionary socialism. In several countries in Eastern Europe, communist regimes have imposed their ideological vision on the street naming by commemorating their values and immortalizing their heroes.

Similar to other East European countries that have seen changes in state ideology, there is a tradition in Albania of changing street names and memorials according to major political transformations. Especially, street names of the Communist period demonstrate how ideological elements related to communist ideology were forced into the cultural space of the city.

Method

In this paper we aim to investigate commemorative street (re)naming processes as reflexive of consecutive waves of political ideological orientation in the capital of Albania, Tirana. The aim of this paper is to present a historical-ideological portrait of Tirana from the beginning of the 20th century until the end of World War II.

Analyzing the waves of street renaming in Tirana, allow us to observe onomastic transformation related to Monarchy years, the Italian occupation, and especially the Communist period (1945-1990).

We build our research on memorialization and critical toponymy. The research was based on the complementary between the descriptive approach, which accompany the quantitative investigation of the toponymic turnover in the capital of Albania, Tirana across the past century (1915-1990). We focus on the role of street names in the process of institutionalizing the ideology of the communism in Albania with reference to Tirana, the capital of Albania, during the 1945-1990 period.

The article begins with a brief historical background of the capital of Albania, Tirana. If we focus on the street naming of Tirana, there are

10 I. Buchstaller, S. Alvanides, Frauke Griesse, *Changes in the commemorative streetscape of Leipzig over the past 100 years*. Published online by Cambridge University Press: 01 August 2022.

several historical periods that have influenced this process, therefore we will present first the street names of Tirana and their politically motivated renaming in different periods before and during the World War II, based on the data provided by previous studies, and then we will continue with the data analysis of the street names in Tirana from 1945-1990.

This is the first detailed study for the street names in Albania during this period, using the data kindly provided from Tirana Municipality.

The list of the streets provided from 1945-1990 includes 190 Tirana Street names. We could not find information about the names of 19 streets¹¹. Therefore, we will analyze, in this study 171 street names, using the statistical data.

Tirana-A brief historical background

The archeological data trace the existence of human society in the region of Tirana since the late paleolithic period (40000-10000 years B.C). According to Frashëri (2004, 17) in the first millennium, the region of Tirana belonged to the territory of Illyrian tribes, more specifically to the Taulantian¹² federation, where belonged also the Illyrian tribe of Parthini¹³.

Under the Roman Empire administrative organization of the 4th century A.D, by Diocletian, the region of Tirana was included under the province of *Epirus Nova*. With the division of the Roman Empire in 395, the province of *Epirus Nova* was included within the Roman Empire of East (The Byzantine Empire). Under the Byzantine Emperor Justinian, to protect the inhabitants from the invasion of the barbarian tribes in the province of *Epirus Nova*, 33 new castles were built and 26 were reconstructed. Several of these castles are in the region of Tirana.

There are around 10 castles built by Illyrian tribes and during other periods in the region of Tirana. In the list of these castles, built or reconstructed under the Emperor Justinian, is included the castle of *Tyrkanos* that has attracted the interest of the Croatian scholar Milan Shufflaj, who thinks that this is related to the name of *Tirana*. (Frashëri, 2004, 30). Excavations of the castle of Tirana, which is in the historical center of the capital, that took place in 2001 and 2008, discovered that the early reminiscences of the castle of Tirana, were constructed during the late Roman and late antiquity. According to FRASHËRI (2004, 35), if the

11 We would like to acknowledge the support of Elidjana Cana and Shpresa Bejo (Todri) supporting this research, with information about the martyrs of Second World War in Albania.

12 *The centre of the Taulantian kingdom is likely to have been in the area of Tirana, in the hinterland of Dyrrah/Epidamnus.*

13 *The Parthini or Partheni or Peerthenetai were Illyrians, part of the Taulantii who were located in the north, in the mountainous neighborhood of Epidamnus, and thus, next to the Taulantii.*

archeological work will continue and will prove the existence of the castle of the late antiquity in the present heart of the capital of Albania, this could prove the thesis of the Croatian Medievalist, Shufflaj.

In 1272, Tirana was included in the *Kingdom of Albania* (Regnum Albaniae). During this period, Tirana was under the Skuraj family. In the 14th century, with the creation of the Principate of Karl Topia, Tirana became part of it and had some stability (Frashëri 2004, 35).

In 1419, Sultan Murad I, organized the ottoman feudal registration of the regions of Central Albania. According to this registration, the region of Tirana was included in the Vilayet of Kruja.

According to Bakiu (2019, 41), during the historical period of Skanderbeg, Tirana was included in the principate of Skanderbeg. Topiaj's family and the population of Tirana played an important role during this period. Marin Barleti (1510) mentions during this period two Tirana: *Tirana e madhe* (most probably the current location of the capital) and *Tirana e vogël* (most probably Fushë Kruja). Skanderbeg seemed to have lost his control upon Tirana to the Ottoman troops around the year 1466-1467.

The history of Tirana as a modern city began in 1614, when Sulejman Pasha Bargjini, a rich feudal from the village of Mullet, built four main buildings: a mosque, a Turkish bath, a bakery, and some inns.¹⁴ Bakiu (2019, 66) states that "These buildings thus became the center of the new town. Tirana was born as a city where the two main activities were: *craftsmanship* and *trade*. These activities were carried out at the old bazaar, that remained the economic center of Tirana for over 300 years."

In the beginning of XVIII century, Tirana was a *kaza*¹⁵ under the Ohrid Sanjak¹⁶. Frashëri (2004, 30) considers Tirana as was one of the important cities of Albania, in 1881, with 2200 houses. Bakiu (2019, 164) speaks about the division of Tirana in 6 neighborhoods in 1830.

The Independence of Albania from the Ottoman Empire was proclaimed first in Tirana on November 25th, 1912, three days before the Albanian flag was raised in Vlora. In 1915th, during the First World War, Tirana was occupied by Austro-Hungarian troops. Bakiu (2019, 66) states that according to the Austro-Hungarian registration of the population, the first census based on regular standards, in 1917, Tirana was the center of the prefecture, with 20181 houses and 111088 inhabitants, 26.1% lived in the city and 73.9% in the rural areas.

14 *Tirana municipality*. <https://tirana.al/en/page/tirana-short-story>.

15 *In the Ottoman Empire, a kaza was a subdivision of a sanjak and corresponded roughly to a city with its surrounding villages.*

16 *In the Ottoman Empire, a sanjak was a larger military-administrative district.*

Tirana street names 1915-1944

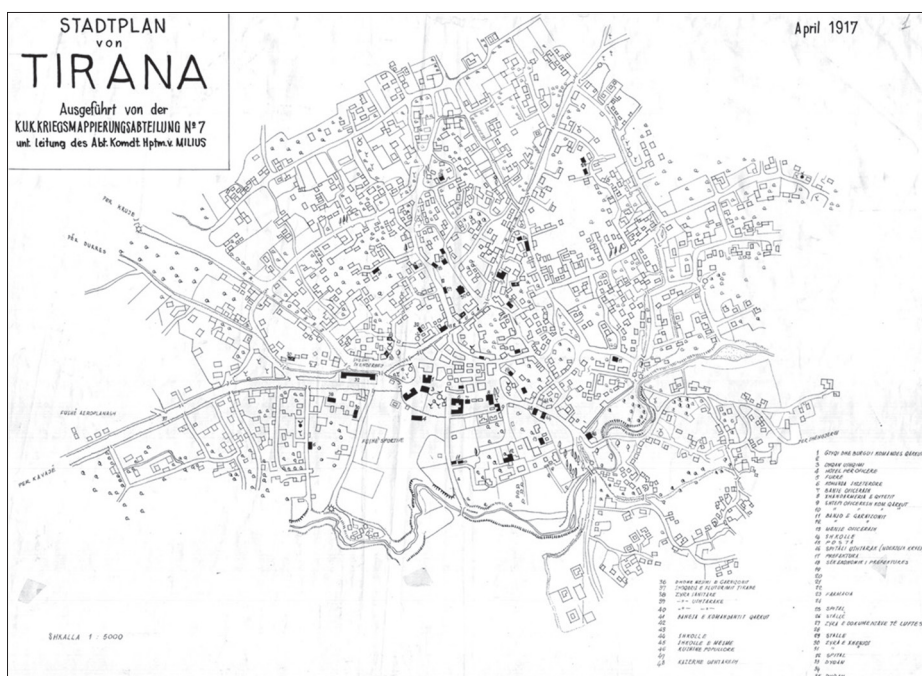
If we focus on the system behind street naming in Tirana, there are several key periods in the development from the beginning of 20th century to the end of Second World War.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the economic center of Tirana was the old bazaar. The main activities that took place in the old bazaar were *leather handicraft activities, woolen handicraft, tailors, barbers, embroidery, butchery* etc.

According to a map compiled by the Austrians in 1916 (Bakiu, 2019, 66), it is obvious that some streets are named after the crafts and trades housed in the Old Bazaar, paying in this way tribute to the local culture:

Rruga (The street): *e Miellit* (of the flour), *e Këpucbamësve* (of shoemakers), *e Krypës* (of the Salt), *e Farkëtorëvet* (of blacksmiths), *e Argjendit* (of the Silver), *e Pazarit* (of the Bazaar), etc. The names of two squares are: *Pazari i Krypës* (Salt's market), *Sheshi i Pazarit* (Bazaar's square).

Fig.1. Map of Tirana (1917)¹⁷



17 Tirana - Urban Stories (citizens-channel.com).

Tirana experienced a variety of political alignments through the beginning of the 20th century. On February 9th, 1920, the Congress of Lushnja, that was held in a very difficult situation for Albania, with 50 representatives from all regions of the country, proclaimed Tirana as the provisional capital of Albania.¹⁸ All the members of the Congress of Lushnja, along with the newly established government entered Tirana on February 11th, 1920. Even though, Tirana took its final status as the capital of Albania by the Constitutional Assembly on January 31st, 1925, the first day of Tirana as the capital of Albania is considered February 11th, 1920.

In 1920, when Tirana became the provisional capital of Albania, it had 11 334 inhabitants. The city still had 6 neighborhoods: 1. *Sulejman Pasha*. 2. *Xhamia Sherif*. 3. *Abdulla Bej*. 4. *Ismail Efendi*. 5. *Ali Bej*. 6. *Lagjia e Re*. According to the planimetry of Tirana of March 26th, 1921 (Bakui, 2019, 167), we note that:

- a) all the streets of Tirana are in a two-part form: the generic (*rruga*), and the specific name: *Rruga e Durrësit* (The street of Durrësi), *Rruga e Topijas* (the street of Topija).
- b) Many streets of Tirana in 1921 had their traditional names, of the cities they lead, even though in some cases the city was many kilometers away:

Rruga e Kavajës (Kavaja's Street¹⁹), *Rruga e Durrësit*²⁰ (Durrësi's Street), *Rruga e Krujës*²¹ (Kruja's Street), *Rruga e Dibrës*²² (Dibra's Street), *Rruga e Elbasanit*²³ (Elbasani's Street), etc.

We have to mention the fact that since late 16th century, the field of Tirana was a major route for the caravans. The ancient roads were revitalized, and new ones were built. The ancient road of Egnatia became active a road from Durrës through Ndroqi; other important roads were the road from Durrësi, the road that connected Shkodra and Tirana, and the roads that connected Tirana with Dibra and with Elbasan.

- c) Some streets were named after the areas the streets connected: *Rruga e Kodrës Kuqe*²⁴ (The Street of the Red Hill), *Rruga e Brakës*²⁵

18 Tirana municipality. <https://tirana.al/en/page/tirana-short-story>

19 Kavaja is a city 27km west of Tirana.

20 Durrësi is a city 34 km west to Tirana, located along the Adriatic coastline.

21 Kruja is a city 32 km North of Tirana. The importance of the city is closely related to the National Hero Skanderbeg, who in the 15th century made Kruja a bastion of the resistance against the Ottoman Empire.

22 Dibra is a region in Northeast of Tirana.

23 Elbasan is a city 33 km east of Tirana.

24 Kodra e Kuqe is a village in Tirana.

25 Braka is one of the oldest neighborhoods of Tirana, located in the Northwest.

(Braka's Street), *Rruga e Shëngjergjit*²⁶ (Shëngjergji's Street), *Rruga e Farkës*²⁷ (Farka's Street), *Rruga e Trishit*²⁸ (Trishi's Street).

- d) Most of the streets are named after distinguished individuals, people or families directly associated with the street:
Rruga e Ali Beut (Ali Beg's Street), *Rruga e Haxhi Jasës* (Haxhi Jasa's Street), *Rruga e Bamit* (Bami's Street), *Rruga e Katroshit* (Katroshi's Street), *Rruga e Kokonozit* (Kokonozit's Street), *Rruga e Dervishit* (Dervishi's Street), *Rruga e Zajmit* (Zajmi's Street), *Rruga e Vathit* (Vathi's Street), *Rruga e Hoxhë Voshit* (Hoca/Hodja Voshi's Street), *Rruga e Myezinit* (Hoca/Hodja's Street), *Rruga e Moisiut* (Moisiu's Street), *Rruga e Spahiut* (Spahiu's Street), *Rruga e Tabakëve* (Tabaku's Street), *Rruga e Jevgjëve* (Gypsies' Street), *Rruga e Topijas*²⁹ (Topija's Street), *Rruga e Muzakës* (Muzaka's Street), etc.
- e) Two streets are named after important people:
Rruga e Mbretëreshës Donika (Queen Donika's Street) that honored the wife of the National Hero, Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg.
- f) *Rruga "Hoxha Tahsin"* honors an important Albanian National Renaissance figure, Hasan Tahsini, also known as Hoxha Tahsin (also the first rector of the Istanbul University)
- g) Occupational street names were also common in Tirana in 1921:
Rruga e Farkëtarve (Blacksmiths' Street), *Rruga e Këpucbamsvet* (Shoemakers' Street), *Rruga e Rrobaqepësve* (Tailors' Street), *Rruga e Bukbamsve* (Bakers' Street), *Rruga e Mësuesit* (Teacher's Street), *Rruga e Katundaris* (Villagers' Street), etc.
- h) Some street names of Tirana in 1921 denoted locations:
Rruga e Këmbanës (Bell's Street), *Rruga e Kishës* (Church's Street), *Rruga e Pazarit* (Bazaar's Street), *Rruga e Shkollës* (School's Street), *Rruga e Qeveris* (Government's Street), *Rruga e Gjelltores popullore* (Popular Kitchen's Street), *Rruga e Teqes* (Masjid's Street), *Rruga e Mullinit* (Mill's Street), *Rruga e Lumit* (River's Street), *Rruga e Kodrës* (Hill's Street), *Rruga e Lanës* (Lana's Street), *Rruga e Aeroplanave* (Airplanes' Street), etc.
- i) Some streets relate to the horizon directions: *Rruga e Veriperëndimit* (Northwest's Street), *Rruga e Veriut* (North's Street), etc.
- j) Few streets were named after the street characteristics:
Rruga e Re (New Street), *Rruga e Vogël* (Small Street), *Rruga e Shkurt(ë)* (Short Street).
- k) Several streets were named after flowers and fruits:
Rruga e Fiqvet (Figs' Street), *Rruga e Trandafilave* (Roses' Street), *Rruga*

²⁶ *Shëngjergj* is a village East of Tirana.

²⁷ *Farka* used to be a village Southeast of Tirana.

²⁸ *Trishi* is a village East of Tirana.

²⁹ *Muzaka, Katroshi, Kokonozi, Zajmi, Vathi, Spahiu, Tabaku, Topija* are family names.

e Mollëve (Apples' Street), *Rruga e Livadheve* (Meadows' Street), *Rruga e Gjetheve* (Leaves' Street).

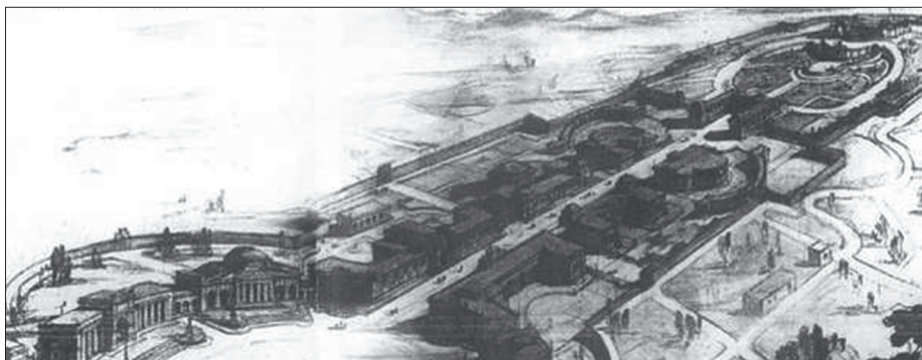
gj) One street is named after the Independence Day of Albania, November 28th (*Rruga e 28 Nëntorit*).

In 1921, Tirana had 6 squares:

- a) One of the main Squares of Tirana were named after the Albanian National Hero, Skanderbeg (*Sheshi i Skënderbeut*), and one other after the founder of Tirana (*Sheshi i Sulejman Pashës*),
- b) the other squares had these names:
 1. *Sheshi i Pazarit* (Bazaar' Square). 2. *Sheshi i Sundimtarëve* (Rulers' Square) 3. *Sheshi i Rrapevet* (The plane trees' Street) 4. *Sheshi i Shqiptarve* (Albanians' Street); and *Tregu Krypës* (Salt's Market).

According to Aliaj (2003), during the 20s'-30's of the 20th century, there were four urban Regulatory Plans for Tirana, developed by Austrian (1923, 1928) and Italian architects and engineers (1925, 1929).

Fig. 2. Brasini's plan for the center of Tirana³⁰



On August 29th, 1928, the Assembly of Albania charged a committee to make the necessary constitutional changes to allow change of the regime from Republic to Monarchy by voting. On September 1st, 1928, the Albanian Monarchy was proclaimed with Ahmet Zogu as the King of Albanians, under the name Zogu I. During the years of the Monarchy, Tirana witnessed the building of new streets and the reconstruction of the old once, and along this, the changes of the names of the Streets. In this period, commemorative street naming took precedence. King Zog himself and members of his family took their place in street names.

- *Bulevardi "Zogu 1"* (Zogu 1 Boulevard). Built in 1930-1931 as the first part of the North-South boulevard (Bakui, 2019, 207), the boulevard was

30 Historia e Tiranës, Fakte rreth Tiranës (visit-tirana.com).

named after the Albanian Monarch, Ahmet Zogolli, known as King Zog.

- *Rruga e Dibrës* (Dibra's Street). During the years of the Monarchy the name of this street changed to *rruga "Xhemal Pasha"* (Xhemal Pasha's Street) (Bakui, 2019, 213), to honor the King Zogu's father (Xhemal Pashë Zogu).
- *Rruga e Durrësit* (Durrësi's Street) changed its name to "*Nana Mbretëreshë*" (Queen Mother)³¹ in honor of the King Zogu's mother.
- *Rruga e Republikës* (The Street of the Republic). Previously known as "*Sheh Ahmet Pazari*" Street because of the important Halveti Tekke of Sheh Ahmeti, that was located there, this street changed its name in 1925 to the Street of the Republic in 1925 when Albania was proclaimed Republic for the first time. But after September 1st, 1928, when Albania was proclaimed a Monarchy, the street name changed again to *Rruga Mbretërore* (Royal Street). And in 1938, after the marriage of the Albanian monarch to Geraldine, this street was renamed as the street *Mbretëresha Geraldine* (Queen Geraldine). (Bakui, 2019, 212).

Other streets of Tirana were named in the honor of foreigners, mostly Italians, that it is a sign of the strong connection of King Zog to Italy.

- *Rruga e Kavajës* (Kavaja's street) changed this old name to *Bulevardi "Benito Mussolini"* (Boulevard "Benito Mussolini"³²) on 17 January 1930.³³
- *Rruga "Fortuzi"* (Fortuzi Street). In 1930s this street was named after the Italian general Alberto Pariani (Bakui, 2019, 216), who served from 1927 to 1933 as a military attaché to Albania and simultaneously as head of the Italian Military Mission in the country.
- *Rruga "Carnavaron"* (Carnavaron Street). Constructed from 1925-1934, was named in the honor of the Lady Elizabeth Carnarvon who founded the first public library in Albania.³⁴
- *Rruga "Sir Aubrey Herbert"* (Sir Aubrey Herbert Street)- This street was named after *British public figure, diplomat and writer, Aubrey Herbert (1880-1923)*³⁵ who had a considerable influence on Albania's obtaining independence.³⁶ The old name of the street was *Rruga e Pishës* (Pine's Street).

31 B. Andoni, *Kur Tirana bëhej qytet prej rrugëve*. "Javanews", 6.7.2015, <https://javanews.al/kur-tirana-behej-qytet-prej-rrugeve>.

32 *Benito Mussolini was the founder of the Fascist Movement and the prime minister Italy from 1922-1943*.

33 B. Andoni, *Kur Tirana bëhej qytet prej rrugëve*. "Javanews", 6.7.2015, <https://javanews.al/kur-tirana-behej-qytet-prej-rrugeve>.

34 R. Elsie, *Albanian Art*. <http://www.albanianart.net/painting/kaceli>.

35 R. Elsie, *Texts and Documents of Albanian History*. http://www.albanianhistory.net/1912_Herbert/index.html.

36 Exmoor National Park. <https://www.exmoor-nationalpark.gov.uk/Whats-Special/culture/literary-links/the-herberts-and-waugh>.

During the '30s, important Albanian figures were also honored.

- Rruga "*Hoxha Tahsin*" (Hoca Tahsin's Street). Opening and construction years (1929-1937) named after the important Albanian National Renaissance figure, Hasan Tahsini known as Hoxha Tahsin.
- Rruga "*Ibrahim Pashë Parga*" (Ibrahim Pashë Parga's Street). This street was named after Ibrahim Pashë Parga (BAKIU, 2019, 217), of Albanian origin, who was born to Orthodox Christian parents in Parga, and was enslaved when he was young. He was the Grand Vezir of the Ottoman Empire from 1523-1536.
- Rruga "*Koço Kotta*" (Koço Kotta's Street). First known as *Rruga e Dajtit* (Dajti's street) the road that connected Tirana to Dajti mountain, During the years of the Monarchy was named after an important politician Koço (Kostaq Kotta) (Bakiu 2019, 215), one of the delegates of the National Convention of Vlora that proclaimed the Independence of Albania in 1912th, and prime minister of Albania in 1928.³⁷
- Rruga "*Murat Toptani*" (Murat Toptani's street) This street was opened in 1927-1928 (Bakiu, 2019, 217) and took the name after an important activist of the Albanian National Renaissance Movement, Murat Toptani. He also one of the signatories of the Albanian Declaration of Independence in 1912. In 1930s, this street's name changed to "Pjetër Bogdani" named after the most distinguished figure of the old (early) Albanian literature.

During this period some streets didn't change their names:

- *Rruga e Shkodrës* (Shkodra's Street), the road that took to the city of Shkodra.
- Rruga "*28 Nëntori*"³⁸ (28th of November Street) Named after the Independence Day of Albania, November 28th, 1912, this street didn't change its name during the years of the Monarchy.
- *Rruga e Veriut* (North's Street)

Successive socio-political regimes have imposed their ideological vision on the streets naming in Tirana by commemorating their leaders or their values.

King Zog ruled the country from 1928 to April 1939, when the Italian Fascist troops invaded the country. In April 12^{ve}, the Albanian Parliament voted to unite the country with Italy. Afterwards the Italian Dictator Benito Mussolini declared the creation of the Italian Empire and Victor Emmanuel III was crowned the King of Albanians.

Only few days after, on April 21st, 1939, The Council of Ministers approved

37 H. Kotta, *Dr. Koço Kotta-personalitet i madh në historinë e popullit shqiptar*. <http://www.radiandradi.com/koco-kota-personalitet-i-madh-ne-historine-e-shtetit-shqiptar>.

38 Built in the 20ths of 20th century.

the change of the main streets names of Tirana.³⁹ The Monarchy affiliated names disappeared from the city's street names and were replaced with the Italian correspondents (including the name of the King of Italy and his wife).

- *Bulevardi "Zogu I"* Zog 1" Boulevard changed the name to *Bulevardi "Viktori Manuelli III"* 'Boulevard Victor Emanuel III', to honor Victor Emanuel III, King of Italy (16.4.1939-8.9.1943).
- "*Nana Mbretëreshë*" 'Queen Mother' street changed its name to *Rruga "Princi Umberto Savoia"* 'Prince Umberto Savoia, referring to the Italian royal house of the Savoyards, who used this title for their appearance.
- After April 7th, 1939, when Albania was under the Italian King Victor Emanuel, the street name *Mbretnesha Geraldina* (Queen Geraldine). changed for the fifth time, this time to honor the wife of the King Victor Emanuel, Queen Elena: *Rruga "Mbretnesha Elena"*.
- "*Kostaq Kotta*" street its name to "Galeazzo Ciano" (The Foreign minister of Italy).

During the occupation of Italy, Albania was *de facto* under the control of the Kingdom of Italy, and the Italian capital dominated the Albanian economy.⁴⁰

The Italian administration of Albania during the Second World War collapsed in September 1943, when German troops occupied the country.⁴¹

Tirana street names 1945-1990

Between 1941 and 1944, communist partisans and some nationalist groups fought Italian and German troops. After the communist resistance, the German troops withdrew from the capital of Albania, Tirana, in November 1944, after a 20-day battle. Afterwards, the partisan troops moved to the capital, establishing a provisional government.

In January 1945 "*tribunals begin to condemn thousands of 'war criminals' and enemies of the people' to death or to prison. Communist regime begins to nationalize industry, transportation, forests, pastures*".⁴² King Zogu and his followers were barred from returning to Albania by Enver Hoxha's communist regime.

39 1939/Emrat e rrugëve të reja në Tiranë pas pushtimit fashist. <https://www.55news.al/dossier/item/252610-1939-emrat-e-rrugeve-te-reja-ne-tirane-pas-pushtimit-fashist>, 25 September 2020.

40 R. Zickel, W. R. Iwaskiw, *Albania: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994. <https://countrystudies.us/albania/30.html>

41 R. Elsie, *Text and documents of Albanian History*. http://www.albanianhistory.net/1945_German-Wehrmacht.

42 R. Zickel, R. W. Iwaskiw (eds). *Albania: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994. <https://countrystudies.us/albania/4.html>.

According to Iacono (2017, 508), in 1945, “the conclusion of the Liberation War, as in many other contexts in Eastern Europe, represents the main revolutionary event of Albania”. Lubonja (2002) as cited in Iacono (2017, 509) states: “Although culture did not represent an immediate priority in the aftermath of World War Two, establishing an ideological hegemony quickly became very important for the regime”.

The People’s Republic of Albania was born officially on January 11th, 1946, but the communist government had already created the official titles for the honorific system on July 9th, 1945.⁴³ The first awards and medals established in 1945 were: *Hero Kombëtar* (National Hero), *Urdhëri i Flamurit* (The Order of the Flag), *Medalja e Kujtimit* (the Medal of the Remembrance), *Urdhri “Ylli Partizan”* (The Partizan Star), *Urdhëri dhe Medalja e Trimërisë* (The Order and Medal of Bravery).

On the same day, the first titles *Hero Kombëtar* (National Hero), were accorded to the soldiers and partisans, who died fighting against the Nazi-fascists troops for the liberation of Albania during the Second World War: *Qemal Stafa*, *Vojo Kushi*, *Perlat Rexhepi*, *Kajo Karafili*, *Misto Mame*, *Reshit Çollaku*, *Asim Zeneli* and *Ali Demi*.⁴⁴

Iacono (2017, 509) recognizes “the urgency of making the liberation struggle the foundational narrative of the emerging communist state in the proliferation of exhibitions, museums and house-museums connected to this period and related episodes and key figures.”

In this study, we will show how the street naming in Tirana during the communist period support the idea that the “liberation struggle was made the foundational narrative of the communist regime” in Albania, starting from the very first days of this regime in 1945 to its last days in 1990.

In Albania as in other communist countries when the Communist regime came to power “it embarked on widespread renaming of streets as one means of both ‘decommemorating’ the pre-socialist regime and proclaiming the agenda and ideology of the Communist state.” (Light, Nicolae, Suditu, 2002, 135).

On September 1945, the Councils of Ministers changed the street names of Tirana. All the new names honored the partisan and martyrs of the War World II who gave their life for the liberation of Albania:

Hamdi Mëzezi, Myslim Shyri, Xhoxhi Martini, Ali Demi, Syrri Kodra, Shinasi Dishnica Dum Alla, Vëllezërit Huta, Mustafa Lleshi, Shyqyri Ishmi, Reshit

43 C. Carmelo L’ordinamento legislativo del sistema onorifico nella Repubblica Popolare Socialista d’Albania (Sistemi i ligjit të sistemit të nderon në Republikën Popullore Socialiste të Shqipërisë). https://www.academia.edu/30401524/L_ordinamento_legislativo_del_sistema_onorifico_nella_Repubblica_Popolare_Socialista_d_Albania_Sistemi_i_ligjit_të_sistemit_të_nderon_në_Republikën_Popullore_Socialiste_të_Shqipërisë

44 Arkiva Mediatike Shqiptare (13 December 2010). <http://www.arkivalajmeve.com/Komunizmi-regjimi-qe-prodhoi-400-heronj-te-popullit-e-tepunes>.

Çollaku, Shyqyri Bërzolli, Mujo Ulqinaku, Kajo Karafili, Mihal Duri, Halim Xhelo, Maliq Muço, Prokop Myzeqari, Hamit Shijaku, Jordan Misja, Riza Cerova, Thanas Lito, Dëshmorët e Prishtinës 'the Prishtina martyrs' etc.

As noted, the partisan martyrs became the heroic image of the Albanian resistance during World War II and many of the street names commemorate the *Heroes of People, martyrs, partisans*.

As mentioned above, we have analyzed the street names of Tirana (171) from 1945-1990 and according to our data, since 1945, World War II casualties have been honored by naming:

- a) 13,4 percent of the city streets (23 streets out of 171) after the Heroes of People, people of historical significance, who lost their lives for the liberation cause during the World War II:

Ali Demi, Asim Zeneli, Dervish Hekali, Emin Duraku, Maliq Muço, Perlat Rexhepi, Margarita Tutulani, Reshit Çollaku, Mihal Duri, Sabaudin Gabrani, Mine Peza, Shyqyri Ishmi, Gjikë Kuqali, Mustafa Matohiti, Xhorxhi Martini, Hamid Shijaku, Myslym Shyri, Ylbere Bylykbashi, Jordan Misja, Nazmi Rushiti, Zonja Çurre, Kajo Karafili, Qemal Stafa

- b) 25 percent (42/171 streets) after the martyrs/partisans of War World II

Bajram Çela, Ibrahim Buzhiqi, Pasho Hysa, Shyqyri Bërxolli, Bedri Karapici, Idriz Dollaku, Prokop Myzeqari, R. Shijaku, Besim Imami, Ludovik Shllaku, Shemsi Haka, Vildan Luarasi, Demir Gashi, Muhamet Gjollasha, Shaban Bardhoshi, Xhezmi Delli, Dum Alla, Nikolla Lena, Siri Kodra, Shenasi Dishnica, Frosina Plaku, Mustafa Lleshi, Shyqyri Greblleshi, Qazim Vathi, Ferit Xhajko, Musa Agolli, Thanas Ziko, Ymer Kurti, Grigor Heba, Njazi Meka, Shaqir Oshafi, Zenel Baboçi, Hamdi Cenojmeri, Nikolla Tupe, Stavri Themeli, Skënder Kosturi, Haxhi Sina, Urani Pano, Teli Ndini, Hasan Sufa, Pandi Dardha, Shyqyri Peza

- c) 5 percent (9/171 streets) after people who lost their live in the massacre of February 4th, 1944 in Tirana, from the Nazis, during the Second World war

Ali Visha, Fadil Rada, Gjergj Legisi, Islam Alla, Ramiz Treni, Sitki Cico, Todi Shkurti, Vangjel Capo, Vllazën Huta

- d) 4 percent (7 streets) after the people who lost their life in the Extermination Camp of Prishtina, on October 23rd, 1944.

Irfan Tomini, Niko Avrami, Ramazan Farka, S. Grablleshi, Sadik Petrela, Shaban Jegeni, Tasim Shehu

The communist regime also named the street names of Tirana to honor other holders of the title “Hero i Popullit”, the highest title in the Communist Albania. A total of 12 streets (7 per cent of the street names) honored the figures of pre and post-World War II:

- a) 2 street names honored other important figures of Communism in Albania before the war: *Ali Kelmendi*⁴⁵, *Halim Xhelo*⁴⁶
- b) 4 streets were named after communists who lost their life after the Second World War:
*Babë Rexha*⁴⁷, *Bardhok Biba*⁴⁸, *Myslym Keta*⁴⁹, *Pal Mlyshi*⁵⁰
- c) 6 streets were named after important political figures before the World War:

*Dedë Gjo Luli*⁵¹, *Çerçiz Topulli*⁵², *Isa Boletini*⁵³, *Mihal Grameno*⁵⁴, *Mujo Ulqinaku*⁵⁵, *Riza Cerova*⁵⁶

Other streets honored martyrs collectively:

- street names refer to all the martyrs of the World War II: *Rruga "3 Dëshmorët"* 'Three martyrs'steet', *Rruga "4 Dëshmorët"*⁵⁷ 'The 4 Martyrs Street', *Rruga "Dëshmorët e 4 Shkurtit"* 'The Martyrs of the 4th of February Steet'⁵⁸;
- One street "*Dëshmorët e Fekenit*" honored the Martyrs of Feken, who lost their loves in Feken, on February 6th 1981⁵⁹;
- *Bulevardi "Dëshmorët e Kombit"* (Martyrs of the Nation Boulevard) honored all the martyrs of the Albanian.
- Three streets were named after people who contributed during the

45 *Organizer of the Communist movement. Died in Paris in 1939 due to health problems.*

46 *An activist of the Communist International, died in Moscow in 1937 due to health issues.*

47 *Was killed in 1946 from the anti-communist organizations.*

48 *Member of the People's Assembly, he was killed in 1946 from anti-communist paramilitary group.*

49 *Partisan, killed accidentally after the war, in 1966.*

50 *Member of Albanian Intelligence Service, killed in 1950 from the anticommunist groups.*

51 *An Albanian leader, most notable for commanding the 1911th revolt against the Ottoman troops.*

52 *An Albanian patriot involved in the National resistance against the Ottomans.*

53 *An Albanian commander, politician, member of the delegation for the Independence of Albania. Was killed in 1916.*

54 *Politician, writer, freedom fighter, delegate in Vlora, for the Independence of Albania.*

55 *Known for his resistance on April 7, 1939 to the Italian forces during the Italian Invasion of Albania.*

56 *Albanian political figure, was in killed in the uprising against king Zog in 1935.*

57 *Skender Kosturi, Gjergj Frasheri, Viktor Gjokoreci, Trajan Pekmezi), killed on February 28th.*

58 *Honored all the victims of the massacre of February 4th, 1944, killed in the streets of Tirana.*

59 *Honored 11 martyrs of Feken (professors and students of the military school "Skanderbeg", who lost their lives in Feken, on February 6th 1981, during their winter training.*

years of Communism: *Tafil Njazi Agai*⁶⁰, *Nasi Pavllo*, *Llazi Miho*⁶¹

Some main events in the history and cultural development of Albania and Albanians remained also important for the communist government and drew their attention. Their importance is attested on the street names of the capital Tirana, as a wish to remember these events.

- a) three street names commemorate important event of the history of Albania in different periods:
*Rruga "Lidhja e Prizrenit"*⁶² League of Prizren's Street', *Rruga "Kongresi i Manastirit"* 'the Congress of Monastery'⁶³, *Rruga "Kongresi i Lushnjës"* 'The Congress of Lushnja's street'⁶⁴
- b) two street names are related to the antifascist movement:
*Rruga "Brigada VIII"*⁶⁵, *Rruga "Konferenca e Pezës"* 'The Conference of Peza's Street'⁶⁶
- c) one street was named after a world historic event, considered by Karl Marx as the first example for the "Dictatorship of the proletariat" that was actually the fundamental law of the Communist Albania (People's Socialist Republic of Albania): *Komuna e Parisit* 'Paris Commune' street'
- d) one street was named after the 5th of May, the Martyrs Day⁶⁷ in Albania: *5 Maji*.
- e) The street *28 Nëntori* (28 of November) honoring the Independence Day of Albania didn't change its name even under the Communist government.

The new street names commemorated a variety of events and personalities from the history of Albania. According to Iacono (2017), citing (Lubonja 2002, 97–99). "As nationhood and nationalist sentiments were critical for the regime, the periods which were traditionally considered formative for Albanian national identity remained within the attention of the regime, which tried to appropriate them.

So, the period of Skanderbeg (Albania's national hero) and likewise the Albanian Renaissance (or Rilindja), which led to independence in 1912, were incorporated into the heritage discourse of the regime". This approach is attested by the street names (11/172 or around 6 percent)

60 *Was a pilot who lost his life in 1989, in the tragic accident of Himara.*

61 *"Hero of people", "Hero of Socialist work".*

62 *Honored the important event of the League for the Defence of the Rights of the Albanian Nation, founded in June 10th 1878 in Prizren, Kosovo.*

63 *The Congress that standardized the Alphabet, in 1908.*

64 *An important political conference in 1920, where among others it was decided for Tirana as the provisional capital of Albania.*

65 *The VIII Brigade of the Partisans was founded on April 25th, 1944.*

66 *The First Conference of the National Liberation Front, organized on 16.9.1942.*

67 *May 5th, to honor Qemal Stafa, who was killed during the second WW n May 5th 1942.*

that were named after important figures of the history of Albania in Middle Ages:

- three of them related to Skanderbeg: (*his father, his wife, and his advisor*): *Gjon Kastrioti*⁶⁸, *Donika Kastrioti*⁶⁹ *Kont Urani*⁷⁰
- four streets are named after early Albanian writers: *Gjon Buzuku*⁷¹ *Frang Bardhi*⁷², *Marin Barleti*⁷³, *Pjetër Bogdani*⁷⁴, *Pjetër Budi*⁷⁵
- two streets are named after important rulers from Middle Ages not from Tirana: *Gjin Bue Shpata*⁷⁶, *Gjon Muzaka*⁷⁷
- one street honors an important Feudal family of Northern Albania, Balshaj family: *Rruga e Balshajve* (Balshaj's street)

Twenty-three out 171 street names (12 percent) were named after important writers, scholars, educators, diplomats, Warriors, religious people, of the Albanian Renaissance, who contributed for the national awaking of the Albanians

*Andon Zako Cajupi*⁷⁸ *Asdreni*⁷⁹, *At Shtjefën Gjeçovi*⁸⁰, *Dervish Hima*⁸¹, *Hil Mosi*⁸², *Hoxhë Vokrri*⁸³, *Jani Vreto*⁸⁴, *Ismail Qemali*⁸⁵, *Kostandin Kristoforidhi*⁸⁶, *Ndre Mjeda*⁸⁷, *Papa Kristo Negovani*⁸⁸, *Petro Nini*

68 *The father of the Albanian National Hero "Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu".*

69 *The wife of the Albanian National Hero "Gjergj Kastrioti Skënderbeu".*

70 *One of the commanders and closest counselors of Skanderbeg.*

71 *The writer of the first known printed Albanian book in 1555.*

72 *An Albanian writer, known for his work about Skanderbeg and the first dictionary Latin-Albanian in 1635.*

73 *The first Albanian historian, best known for his biography on Skanderbeg.*

74 *The most original writer of early literature in Albania.*

75 *A prominent Albanian writer of early literature.*

76 *An important Albanian Noblemen, ruler of the Despotate of Arta in the 14th century.*

77 *An Albanian nobleman whose family ruled the Myzeqe region.*

78 *A poet, a playwright, one the most important of the Albanian National Renaissance.*

79 *Aleksandër Stavre Drenova - a poet who wrote the national anthem of Albania; Albanian Renaissance.*

80 *An Albanian patriot, killed by the Serbs.*

81 *A 19th-century Albanian politician, one of the delegates for the Albanian Declaration of Independence.*

82 *An Albanian politician and poet, one of the main supporters of Fan S. Noli.*

83 *An important teacher and Renaissance person.*

84 *An Albanian writer, publisher and important figure of the Albanian National Awakening.*

85 *Considered to be the founding father of modern Albania.*

86 *Has the merit of founding the basis of the unification of both dialects into a national language.*

87 *An Albanian poet, translator, and an influential figure of the Albanian Renaissance.*

88 *An Albanian religious leader and writer.*

*Luarasi*⁸⁹, *Naim bej Frashëri*⁹⁰, *Sotir Peçi*⁹¹, *Sotir Kolea*⁹², *Sali Nivica*⁹³, *Sali Frashëri*⁹⁴, *Thimi Mitko*⁹⁵, *Vaso Pasha*⁹⁶, *Zef Jubani*⁹⁷

As we can see from the discussion above, after 1945, all the old street names of Tirana changed. The street names related to the family names of the Tirana were replaced by the names of martyrs, partisans, important figures of Albanian history etc. Anyway, to honor the contribution of the patriots of Tirana, 11 streets (6 percent) were named after important figures of the city, who contributed for the independence of Albania and especially for their leading role in opening the schools to teach Albanian. One street didn't change the original name, honoring the founder of the city of Tirana *Sulejman Pasha*.

*Adem Kruja*⁹⁸, *Beqir Luga*⁹⁹, *Hafiz Ibrahim Dalliu*¹⁰⁰, *Hajdar Hidi*¹⁰¹, *Haxhi Hysen Dalliu*¹⁰², *Him Kolli*¹⁰³, *Mahmut Fortuzi*¹⁰⁴, *Muhedin Llagani*¹⁰⁵, *Myrtesim Këllici*¹⁰⁶, *Reshit Petrela*¹⁰⁷

Eleventh streets (6.4 percent) honored famous Albanians of different periods of the history of Albania, representing different Albanian communities abroad. The street "Hoxha Tahsin" didn't change its name:

- two of them were famous architects under the Ottoman Empire:

89 *An influential figure of the Renaissance.*

90 *A poet and one of the most distinguished and influential figures of the Albanian Renaissance.*

91 *In 1906 he published the first Albanian-language newspaper in Boston, U.S.*

92 *An Albanian folklorist, diplomat and activist of the Albanian Renaissance.*

93 *An important politician, patriot, journalist and teacher.*

94 *A prominent figure of the Albanian Renaissance.*

95 *An activist of the Albanian National Awakening and folklorist.*

96 *A writer, poet and publicist of the Albanian National Awakening.*

97 *An Albanian folklorist, philosopher and activist of the Albanian National Awakening.*

98 *A patriot who fought against the Ottoman Troops.*

99 *A patriot who contributed for the schools in Albanian language.*

100 *A patriot, the founder of an Albanian school for girls in 1905.*

101 *A patriot arrested from Ottoman troops.*

102 *A patriot who contributed for the schools in Albanian language.*

103 *An Albanian patriot, known for using the Albanian flag even during the Ottoman Empire.*

104 *A patriot who fought for the Independence of Albania, delegate in the Congress of Elbasan.*

105 *A patriot who played an important role in the Congress of Lushnja.*

106 *A patriot who fought for the independence of Albania, and represented Tirana, Durrës and Kavajë in the Congress of Lushnja.*

107 *Albanian Patriot, arrested from Ottoman troops.*

*Arkitekt Kasemi*¹⁰⁸, *Arkitekt Sinani*¹⁰⁹;

- four of them were famous Arbëreshë from the old Albanian community in Italy: *Dhimitër Kamarda*¹¹⁰, *Gavril Dara*¹¹¹, *Jeronim de Rada*¹¹², *Jul Variboba*¹¹³
- one was an important Arvanite of the Albanian community in Greece: *Anastas Kullurioti*¹¹⁴
- one was a famous Albanian actor in Austria: *Aleksandër Moisiu*¹¹⁵
- one was an Engineer in Switzerland: *Karl Gega*¹¹⁶
- only one woman is included in this list, Dora d'Istria, who played an important role for the Albanian national cause.
- Three streets referred to specific locations: *Fabrika e Qelqit* 'Glass Factory', *Rruga e Barrikadave*¹¹⁷ (Barricade's Street), *Studenti* 'Students'street'¹¹⁸, *Parku i Madh* "The Big Park" and
- one Street commemorates a fundamental value of the Albanians: *Besa* (the Oath): *Rruga "Besa"* (Oath's Street)

As mentioned above, the communist government removed the old street names and replaced them with appropriate communist names that served to encode communist symbolism. The data show (Table 1.) that 57.9% of the Tirana Street names commemorate the foundational narrative of the communist State:

Table 1. Street naming of Tirana (1945-1990)

Streets commemorating the foundational narrative of the communist State		Other	
Hero of people (communists, before War World Two)	2	Albanians abroad	11
Hero of people (communists, after War World Two)	4	Foreigners	1
Second World War (Hero of people: partisans/ martyrs)	23	Important dates	1

108 *An Albanian master of Ottoman classical architecture.*

109 *The chief Ottoman architect, of Albanian origin.*

110 *One the main initiators of the Italo-Albanian (Arbëreshë) cultural movement in Italy.*

111 *An Arbëreshë- one of the early writers of the Albanian National Awakening.*

112 *Was named after the most influential Arbëreshë figure.*

113 *An Arbëresh poet that gave an important contribution to the literature in the Albanian language.*

114 *An Arvanite.*

115 *An Austrian actor of Albanian origin.*

116 *An engineer of Albanian origin, who constructed the Semmering railway.*

117 *honoring the Barricade's Street during the liberation of Tirana in November 1944.*

118 *Located behind the Faculty of Engineering, in Tirana.*

Second World War (Massacre of February 4th 1944 in Tirana)	9	Important events-Albania	3
Second World War (Ext. Nazi Camp in Pristina-executed on Oct.23rd 1944)	7	Important events-World	1
Second World War (Partisans)	42	Historic figures-Middle Ages	10
Second World War: Martyrs-general commemorative name	3	Location	4
Martyrs (general commemorative name)	2	Patriots from Tirana	11
Second World War-important events, partisan war, Albania	2	Renaissance patriots beg. of 20th century	23
Important dates-Communism	1	Heroes of people (warriors before War World Two)	6
Post war Socialist Heroes	3	Values	1
Location	1		
Total	99		72

Conclusions

Street names are the result of historical processes and reflect the population's commemorative priorities (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010).

The use of street names as a data source to create cultural and political indicators of the local history of a city has been a research topic of interest in many countries.

This study focusses on examining the patterns of street name changes in Tirana, based on statistical data. Urban development in Tirana has varied in magnitude across different periods and political regimes, and this is also reflected in the street names.

Our findings show that political and social changes in Albania, have been mirrored in the street names of Tirana, the capital of Albania, where different rounds of renaming were commenced during turbulent historical times. Albanian and foreign authorities have used their power to influence who should be remembered in Tirana.

As shown in the previous sections, most of the street names in Tirana since the beginning of the 20th century were eponymous names. In the Monarchy years and during the fascist occupation of Albania, many streets were named after family members of the Albanian and Italian Monarchy houses.

Renaming of the streets in Tirana has been also part of the process of the symbolic revision of the past. Under communism, street names that commemorated the Monarchy were eradicated and gradually replaced by the naming of streets with the World War Two partisan heroes, to

celebrate their victory. Street names of Tirana have acted as a reminder of communist power.

With the change of the political regime in 1990s, the street naming in Tirana changed again.

Further work will address the street name changes in Tirana after the fall of communism, to provide another insight into the historical dynamic of street name changes in Tirana that would help understand the politics of urban naming in Albania in general and the toponymic transformation that occurred in Tirana.

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