

# The City as an Ideological Palimpsest: Reactualizing the Middle Ages and Colloquial Nationalism in the Urban Toponymy of Cluj-Napoca

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**Abstract:** This study investigates the construction of national identity in contemporary Romania through the lens of critical toponymy, proposing the concept of *colloquial nationalism* to describe the tacit, everyday acceptance of nationalizing practices. Focusing on the municipality of Cluj-Napoca, we analyze the city as an ideological palimpsest, where the *city-text* has been successively rewritten by shifting political regimes—from the Austro-Hungarian period to the Interwar era, Communism, and the post-1989 transition. The research highlights how administrative power instrumentalizes the Middle Ages to legitimize current political narratives. We analyze the spatial displacement of historical figures from the city center (*intramuros*) to peripheral neighborhoods, and their substitution with the names of historians—a trend suggesting a preference for the *creators of the historical narrative* over the historical actors themselves. By decoding these *hodonymic* shifts, the article demonstrates how urban nomenclature serves as a tool for power, generating a “nationalism of disillusionment” where lived history diverges from the official, written history inscribed on the city streets.

**Keywords:** urban toponymy, ideological palimpsest, colloquial nationalism, Cluj-Napoca, hodonymy, politics of memory

**Rezumat:** Acest studiu investighează construcția identității naționale în România contemporană prin lentila toponimiei critice, propunând conceptul de *naționalism colocvial* pentru a descrie acceptarea tacită, cotidiană, a practicilor naționaliste.

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Concentrându-se asupra municipiului Cluj-Napoca, lucrarea analizează orașul ca pe un *palimpsest ideologic*, în care textul urban a fost rescris succesiv de regimuri politice schimbătoare – de la perioada austro-ungară la epoca interbelică, comunism și tranziția post-1989. Cercetarea evidențiază modul în care puterea administrativă instrumentează Evul Mediu pentru a legitima narativele politice actuale. Analizăm dislocarea spațială a figurilor istorice din centrul orașului (*intramuros*) către cartierele periferice și substituirea acestora cu numele unor istorici – o tendință ce sugerează o preferință pentru creatorii narațiunii istorice în detrimentul actorilor istorici înșiși. Prin decodarea acestor mutații odonimice, articolul demonstrează cum nomenclatura urbană servește drept instrument al puterii, generând un „naționalism al deziluziei” în care istoria trăită diverge de istoria oficială, scrisă, înscrisă pe străzile orașului.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** toponimie urbană, palimpsest ideologic, naționalism colocvial, Cluj-Napoca, odonimie, politicile memoriei

In the context of the contemporary Romanian state, which perpetuates a national history frequently fragmented by recent events, our research compels an investigation into how this historical narrative is integrated into the substratum of national identity. Since 1918, the national discourse has experienced a continuous drift, signified by the dynamic affixation of the *ism* suffix, marked by instability both at the level of political ideology and institutional rationale. In the absence of a solid historical foundation capable of consolidating a reassuring self-knowledge within the collective memory and the state mentality, Romanian society is traversing a crisis of interpretation regarding its past<sup>1</sup>.

This *colloquial nationalism*<sup>2</sup> represents a distorted reflection of the evolution of the national imperative validated in 1918, alongside the achievement of Greater Romania. Although the interwar period represented, perhaps, the

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<sup>1</sup> Sorin Mitu, *Români și unguri. Un război imagologic de o mie de ani* (Iași, Polirom, 2024), 456-469.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), 6-9. We have opted against using the word *banal* because the national discourse and the strategies of this ideology may be perceived as banal, yet their task surpasses banality. We choose to use the word *colloquial* to express nationalizing practices embedded in a common routine, tacitly accepted in everyday life.

most fertile interval for cultivating a national narrative meant to offer symbolic legitimacy to the new state, this need often remained latent due to the ideological convulsions of the times. Its underlying aim was to direct public attention toward elements capable of instilling hope, or a glimpse of pride regarding the nation and the homeland<sup>3</sup>. However, we consider the crucial moment to be the National-Communist period, during which the national idea and ideology were doctrinally fetishized. The communist regime—initially oppressive-authoritarian and subsequently transformed into a nationalism centered on the cult of personality—instituted the concept of socialist nationalism, within this framework, history, key figures, and events became legitimizing markers for the regime.

Our research examines this ideological imprint within the spectrum of toponymy—the rewriting of urban and rural names, of symbolic places, and of hodonymy. This legacy remains visible today, despite the post-revolutionary process of toponymic cleansing an endeavor which, intentionally or not, omitted certain flagrant relics of totalitarianism. Within this interpretative key of a nationalizing narrative, which attempts a continuous education regarding a fragmented identity<sup>4</sup>, the current landscape—reflected in toponymy, architecture, and monuments—appears as a heterogeneous historical mosaic. At the administrative level, history is often instrumentalized to serve immediate political goals. The post-1989 Romanian state initiated a process of slow transition, a syncretism that amalgamated interwar diversities with communist ideological inoculations, generating a programmatic direction that often appears devoid of teleological coherence<sup>5</sup>.

Despite the aforementioned historical turbulence, the crystallization of a colloquial nationalism represented the natural outcome of the Romanian state's evolution. Within the framework of the present study, we employ onomastics—specifically toponymy—not merely as an auxiliary science of

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<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, 6. As the author notes: “banal nationalism is introduced to cover the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced... Daily, the nation is indicated, or ‘flagged’, in the lives of citizenry”.

<sup>4</sup> Katherine Verdery, *National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania* (Berkeley; University of California Press, 1991), 31-34. Eadem, *Compromis și rezistență: cultura română sub Ceaușescu* (București: Humanitas, 1994), 45-48.

<sup>5</sup> We define this approach as programmatic because it constitutes a deliberate attempt to configure the urban toponymy by integrating elements from both the interwar and communist pasts, driven by a nationalist agenda to construct an image of the ‘correct’ history.

history, but rather we align ourselves with the critical turn that emerged in the 1980s. This paradigm shift imbues the study of place names with a profound historical and political valence. Transcending the function of simple geographic indices or cultural landmarks—whether referring to cities, villages, or streets—critical toponymy entails interrogating the power mechanisms that dictate these names. Thus, an indissoluble relationship is outlined between the power-society binomial and the educational act (formal or informal): political power, holding the decision-making monopoly, shapes society through its control over the symbolism of public space<sup>6</sup>

From the perspective of critical toponymy, the municipality of Cluj-Napoca constitutes a paradigmatic case study due to its historical multivalence. In the last century, the city has undergone four major waves of urban nomenclature reconfiguration, each directly correlated with changes in political regime. State authority has systematically sought legitimation through the most efficient process of trivializing ideology: replacing neutral or previous landmarks with names appropriated by the new political order. This process marked the transition from the Austro-Hungarian to the Romanian administration, traversing short totalitarian episodes that culminated in the Communist regime until 1989 when the transition to the actual democratic regims begins. Cluj-Napoca is an urban palimpsest par excellence because its city-text is rewritten by every political authority<sup>7</sup>.

An eloquent example is the current 21 Decembrie 1989 Boulevard, whose hodonymy faithfully reflects the political history of the 20th century. In the interwar period, the thoroughfare bore the name Strada Victoriei (Victory Street), making direct reference to the Act of Union of 1918. With the Vienna Dictate and the installation of the Hungarian administration, the street was renamed Kossuth Lajos utca (commemorating the revolutionary leader of 1848) and Magyar utca (resuming the old medieval name of Ulița Maghiarilor /

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<sup>6</sup> Lawrence D. Berg, Jani Vuolteenaho (eds.), *Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming* (Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 1-18; Maoz Azaryahu, "The Power of Commemorative Street Names", in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14, no. 3, 1996, 317. Mihai-Stelian Rusu, *Politici ale memoriei în România postsocialistă: atitudini sociale față de redenumirea străzilor și înlăturarea statuilor* (Iași: Institutul European, 2022), 25-26.

<sup>7</sup> Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford University Press, 2003), 72-75; Maoz Azaryahu, "The Power of Commemorative Street Names", 328; Idem, "Naming the Past: The Significance of Commemorative Street Names," in *Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming*, 63-66.

Hungarian Lane). The advent of the communist regime brought a new ideological schism of the space: the artery was divided, with one section keeping the name Kossuth Lajos, and the other being named Armata Roșie (Red Army). Subsequently, during the process of Sovietization and the later national-communism of the 1960s, the entire artery became Lenin Boulevard. Today, through the name 21 Decembrie 1989, the street commemorates the fall of the totalitarian regime<sup>8</sup>. This succession demonstrates how political power penetrates the everyday, transforming street names into instruments for propagating the dominant ideology. The analysis above highlights the transformation of toponymy into political discourse<sup>9</sup> and underscores, simultaneously, the ephemerality of urban memory in the Romanian and *Neo-Romanian* space, which has not yet succeeded in consolidating into a stable specificity<sup>10</sup>.

However, acting as a leitmotif of Romanian history and collective memory, medieval personalities propagated, preserved, and amplified by both central and local administration seem to distinguish themselves. Names of kings, rulers (*domnitori*), voivodes, princes, and generals are used with priority, among whom the names of theologians, philosophers, philologists, humanists, or popes find only a modest place<sup>11</sup>, demonstrating the authority's appetite for heroes forged in fire and sword. This cult of the national hero is hardly surprising, as the pertinent repetition of certain national symbols

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<sup>8</sup> *General Map of the Municipal City of Cluj*, scale 1:10,000, compiled by A. Niklas, Ștefan Baga Lithography Institute, Cluj, 1923, in the Special Collections fund, Atlas and Map catalog of the "Lucian Blaga" Central University Library of Cluj-Napoca (hereafter: BCU), shelf mark H. 6/14; *Special Map of the Municipal City of Cluj*, Scale 1:10,000, compiled by A. Niklas, Ștefan Baga Lithography Institute, Cluj, 1929, BCU Special Collections fund, Atlas and Map catalog, shelf mark H. 64/36; *General Map of the Municipal City of Cluj*, realized by Petru Borteș, scale 1:10,000, Schildkraut Lithography, Cluj, 1937, BCU Special Collections, Atlas and Map catalog, H. 53/11; Petru Borteș, *Călăuza orașului Cluj: cu noul plan al orașului*, vol. I (Cluj: Tipografia Națională, 1930); *Denumirea Străzilor din Cluj*, ediție aprobată de Primăria Municipiului Cluj sub Nr. 2419/1946 (Tipografia Lyceum-nyomba kladása, 1946); Ștefan Pascu, Iosif Pataki, Vasile Popa, *Clujul – ghid istoric* (Cluj: Întreprinderea Poligrafică, 1957); *Map of the City of Cluj* (Consiliul Național pentru educație fizică și sport, 1968); *Map of the Municipal City of Cluj* (Cluj, Ed. Dacia), 1972.

<sup>9</sup> Maoz Azaryahu, "The Critical Turn and Beyond: The Case of Commemorative Street Naming", *ACME*, 10, 2011: 56.

<sup>10</sup> Vladimir Tismăneanu, *Reinventarea politicului: Europa Răsăriteană de la Stalin la Havel* (Iași: Polirom, 1997), 30.

<sup>11</sup> Șerban Turcuș, "Papa Inocențiu al III-lea (1198-1216) și Clujul," in Susana Andea, ed., *Pe urmele trecutului: Profesorului Nicolae Edroiu la 70 De Ani* (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul De Studii Transilvane, 2009), 59-72.

aims to transcend local sentiment toward a univocal national one, adopted by the entire nation for the integration of the historical narrative.

Regarding the chronological framing of the personalities analyzed in the present study, we adopt the historical perspective created by the paradigm of historical asynchronism, based on the theory developed by Krzysztof Pomian regarding the coexistence of different temporalities within the same epoch<sup>12</sup>. According to this theory, the phenomena defining mediocrity in the Transylvanian and Romanian space—social, confessional, and mental structures—remain active until the second half of the 16th century. This late moment is decisively marked by the impact of the Reformation and the printing press, thus justifying the inclusion of 16th-century personalities<sup>13</sup>, in this research and in Cluj's medieval pantheon<sup>14</sup>.

The utilization of names with historical resonance for toponymy or monuments within the Romanian state—personalities distinguished by significant battles, high-ranking functions, or organizational achievements for the medieval period<sup>15</sup>—is noted for the first time during the interwar period, when a total of 19 medieval toponyms and personalities (Matia Corvinul, Mihai Viteazul, Baba Novac, Ștefan cel Mare) found their presence in the urban toponymy of Cluj<sup>16</sup>. Today, Cluj's medieval toponyms are merely a part of local memory, not being marked in the public domain in a commemorative manner; nevertheless, records of these exist, and names such as Szén market (Hay Market), Kovács street (Smiths' Street), Claustrum street (Cloister Street) represent genuine toponyms of the medieval city preserved in the City Account Registry<sup>17</sup>. Exponential figures of the interwar period, who remained hodonyms

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<sup>12</sup> Krzysztof Pomian, *L'Ordre du temps* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), 40-57.

<sup>13</sup> We also include persons born in the 16th century even if their activity takes place within the 17th century.

<sup>14</sup> Șerban Turcuș, "Despre conceptul de Ev Mediu," *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, XLI, 1-2, 1996: 208.

<sup>15</sup> The hero cult does not apply only to personalities from the medieval period. It is also present today through the commemoration of the victims of the 1989 revolution; however, we wish to mention the necessary differentiation between the hero cult distinguished by actions and the national hero cult. The latter is far more attractive due to the echo it holds in collective memory. Mihai Rusu, "Shifting Urban Namescapes: Street Name Politics and Toponymic Change in a Romanian (Ised) City," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 65, 2019: 51.

<sup>16</sup> Petru Borteș, *Călăuza orașului Cluj*, 6-21.

<sup>17</sup> Cluj-Napoca City Hall, Fund 1/1, *Registrul socotelilor orașului Cluj, 1594-1596*. The first urban toponyms of the city were in Hungarian, Latin and German.

of Cluj's urban toponymy through the communist period and up to the present, include: Matthias Corvinus, Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul), Stephen the Great (Ștefan cel Mare), and the military commander Baba Novac.

Regarding the communist period, the usage of medieval personalities' names increased, totaling 33 medieval hodonyms. In the 1970s, a stabilization of urban toponymy can be observed, undergoing several processes of selecting "suitable" hodonyms. Communist urban toponymy is distinguished by the broadening of the hodonymic pool into European universal history; thus, names like Nicolaus Copernicus, Galileo Galilei, or Giorgio Martinuzzi appear in the city of Cluj. In 1945, in the previously mentioned guide, a street of the medieval city appears: Apei street (Water Street), alongside the retention of Anonymus street. In the spirit of those times, the communist administration in Cluj rallied to a community compromise: city streets would be kept in both languages, providing a guide to signal both the old and the current names, utilizing this symbiosis of the city's communities in the new appellations<sup>18</sup>.

In the current urban toponymy of Cluj (according to the 2025 nomenclature), one can observe the symbiosis of interwar toponymy with the post-war communist one, albeit with a slight advantage for the former, and, simultaneously, a new impetus to broaden the hodonymic pool into universal history; thus, the number of hodonyms dedicated to medieval personalities has reached 38 streets (see *tabel* and *figure 1<sup>19</sup>*).

A striking trend is constituted by the commemoration of local personalities with national resonance; therefore, we decided to include another category of hodonyms in our research: the names of historians who distinguished themselves as researchers of the medieval period, representatives of the Cluj school of medieval studies, or those whose activity contributed to medieval historiography. The 1919–1940 period totals 15 hodonyms of historians, a number that has almost doubled currently, reaching 28 hodonyms, a figure boosted by the insertion of the names of Cluj medievalists into the urban toponymy<sup>20</sup>. This toponymic trend debuted in 1990, when the medievalist

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<sup>18</sup> Thus, a brochure containing the new street names was compiled, which also cross-referenced the former names both those predating and those postdating August 30, 1940. *Denumirea străzilor din Cluj/ Kolozsvár város utcanévsora* (Lyceum Printing House edition, 1946).

<sup>19</sup> The tables do not represent the evolution of streets, but the evolution of the number of personalities used.

<sup>20</sup> Ioan Lupaș, Nicolae Edroiu, Pompiliu Teodor, Silviu Dragomir, Ștefan Meteș, Ștefan Pascu.

historian Silviu Dragomir was commemorated<sup>21</sup>. Gradually, the names of medievalists were inscribed into the city, both in central zones and in newly constructed neighborhoods; thus, in the city center, only the hodonyms of historians George Barițiu, Samuil Micu, and Mihail Kogălniceanu are preserved today.

We thus advance the hypothesis that Cluj-Napoca and its administration have attempted, in the last 35 years, to build a personalized hodonymic heritage; however, from this 106-year period, distinct names stand out that have resisted within Cluj's urban configurations: A. D. Xenopol, Alexandru Papiu Ilarian, Augustin Bunea, Bogdan P. Hașdeu, Gheorghe Barițiu, Dimitrie Cantemir, Gheorghe Șincai, Samuil Micu, Petru Maior, Ioan Budai Deleanu, Nicolae Iorga, Nicolae Bălcescu, and Miron Costin. The hodonyms of historians reveal a greater affinity of the authority towards those who write history rather than towards the historical figures themselves. Nevertheless, the environment of excellence for researchers, regardless of their field of activity, reverts to the universities through the naming of lecture halls (see tabel and figure 2).

The analysis of the interwar period reveals a quantitative expansion of the commemorative fund, dominated by medieval figures and representatives of historiography. However, by focusing on the historical core of the city (the intramuros zone), we observe a distinct configuration of urban semantics. This reflects the imperative of political power to symbolically appropriate the central space through the insertion of personalities with universal resonance. Thus, in the interval of 1919–1940, the city center became the stage for the consecration of 11 hodonyms from the sphere of medieval studies and historical research.

However, a paradigm shift occurred in the 1970s, marking a systematic "toponymic cleansing" of the old citadel. The objective was the neutralization of aristocratic or Western resonances by replacing medieval hodonyms with functional or ideological names. The examples are eloquent for this process of desacralizing the past: Strada Guttenberg is converted into Strada Tipografiei (Printing Street), Strada Bathori becomes *Poștei* (Post Office Street—currently Octavian Petrovici), Strada Bethlen is renamed *Făcliei* (The Torch Street—today Baba Novac)<sup>22</sup>, and the artery Budai Nagy Antal is substituted by the

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<sup>21</sup> *Nomenclatorul stradal al municipiului Cluj-Napoca*, October 2025. Decision 537/1990. Also in the same year, through decision 408, the historian Constantin Daicoviciu was inscribed into the city's toponymy.

<sup>22</sup> Baba Novac square is preserved!

name of the communist leader Dr. Petru Groza (currently Bulevardul Eroilor / Heroes' Boulevard). To this substitution process, the insertion of explicit ideological markers is added—23 August, 6 Martie, Lenin—reducing the central medieval fund from 13 elements (in 1945) to only 9. Currently, the street nomenclature conserves 8 such hodonyms in the intramuros zone, the difference being the result of relocating Gheorghe Doja Street to the Andrei Mureșanu neighborhood and the return of King Ferdinand Street to the central area.

Regarding continuity, a strong trans-regime affinity for certain emblematic figures is distinguished. Medieval personalities such as Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul), Ferenc Dávid, Matthias Corvinus, Paul Kinizsi (Paul Chinezul), and Baba Novac, alongside historians like Gheorghe Barițiu, Samuil Micu, and Mihail Kogălniceanu, have kept their place in the central public forum regardless of governance. Conversely, other historical names (Nicolae Iorga, Budai Nagy Antal, Ștefan Báthory) were displaced to residential neighborhoods, with the Andrei Mureșanu area standing out for its high density of adopted historical hodonyms.

A specific aspect of interest that has sparked debate within Romanian historiography concerns the name of King Matthias Corvinus. During the communist period, we observe how the interwar Matia Corvinul is inscribed as Matei Corvinul, not adopted from the preceding urban toponymy of the *Vienna Dictate* period—which recorded the king's name as Mátyás—but rather "Romanianized" using a common anthroponym from national onomastics<sup>23</sup>. The name of the king on the Hungarian throne is Matia (Matthias), as noted: "Matia after the Apostle, not after the Evangelist"<sup>24</sup>. The baptismal name given to the future king was inspired by the name of the Apostle Matthias, as the infant was born on the very day of the Apostle's commemoration, February 24<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> Sorin Mitu, *România și ungurii*, 457-458.

<sup>24</sup> Ioan Aurel Pop, "Numele din familia regelui Matia Corvinul – de la izvoarele de epocă la istoriografia contemporană", *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXVI, 2008: 112-113; Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Ioan de Hunedoara și românii din vremea lui: studii* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1999), 22.

<sup>25</sup> After the Second Vatican Council, the Feast of Saint Matthias the Apostle was moved to May 14. *Constituzione sulla Sacra Liturgia: Sacrosanctum Concilium*, (December 4, 1963) chap. V, L'Anno Liturgico, nr. 102-111. [https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_const\\_19631204\\_sacrosanctum-concilium\\_it.html](https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_it.html), Sacrosanctum Concilium (accessed January 30, 2026).

From an onomastic perspective, the arguments invoked for using the form Matei to designate King Matthias Corvinus lack scientific foundation, representing an improper adaptation of the anthroponym. The argument that the name Matia, Mathias, or Matthias does not exist in the Romanian language (although it is present in the Orthodox calendar) is invalid<sup>26</sup>. In recent anthroponymic research conducted on Transylvania of the 11th–14th centuries, the authors survey the apostolic anthroponyms in use, finding the anthroponym Matia with 124 attestations in medieval Transylvanian onomastics, showing a significant increase beginning with the 14th century<sup>27</sup>.

The analysis of interwar hodonymy reveals historical correctness: the artery originating near the Matthias House (Casa Matia) naturally bore the monarch's name in its consecrated form, Matia. The toponymic rupture occurred in 1945, the moment when the street's designation was altered to Matei Corvin. This semantic shift cannot be attributed just as a mistake, rather, it betrays the communist regime's strategy of instrumentalizing heroic historical figures to serve its own ideological legitimacy. The substitution of the form Matia with Matei functions as a subtle mechanism of onomastic assimilation, intended to reconfigure the identity of the Hungarian king into an autochthonous one<sup>28</sup>. Current toponymy has preserved the hodonym of Matei to this day, despite the retention of the name Matthias House.

The present analysis of the street nomenclature of Cluj-Napoca highlights the mechanisms by which toponyms, hodonyms, and ergonyms<sup>29</sup>, contribute to the identity construction of the urban space. The city thus becomes a readable text, a palimpsest in which every administration inscribes its own legitimizing narrative. Approaching toponymy from a critical perspective transforms the perception of the city, defining it as a public space for the reflection of power. The dynamics of changing political regimes inevitably

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<sup>26</sup> Ioan Aurel Pop, "Numele din familia regelui Matia Corvinul": 113.

<sup>27</sup> Șerban Turcuș, A.-C. Dincă, M. F. Hassan, V. V. Vizauer, *Antroponimia în Transilvania medievală (secolele XI-XIV): evaluare statistică, evoluție, semnificații*, Vol. I (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 201), 138-148. See footnote 252 on page 139 for derivatives of the name Matia.

<sup>28</sup> We bring back into discussion the concept of colloquial nationalism. This action falls within the spectrum of this nationalizing ideology, being a tacit strategy, easily overlooked, yet significant due to its role in spatial orientation.

<sup>29</sup> For the concept of ergonyms in the urban landscape, see Oliviu Felecan, Alina Bugheșiu (eds.), *Onomastics in Contemporary Public Space* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013).

entail an update of urban symbolism, subordinating public space to new ideologies. However, the process of erasing old symbols is never absolute; traces of former administrations persist latently in community memory, coexisting with the new official toponymic structures.

The adoption of certain personalities as ideological markers and their preservation is the key to understanding, at the societal level, the ideology intended to be transmitted. The fact that historians are preferred over historical figures conveys a statement which, upon interpretation, suggests that the political sphere favors the historical narrative—which may sometimes diverge from historical authenticity—and, through its prominent exponents, sidelines history to serve a mundane construct with a political visage. The removal of history from the city's central forum, as we have shown, actually produces the instrumentalization of power over society, culture, and education. The confusions arising from the authorities' attempts to inoculate a totalitarian or democratic policy meant to outline this nationalism of disillusionment<sup>30</sup>, which we experience even today, potentiate the discrepancy between lived history and written history.

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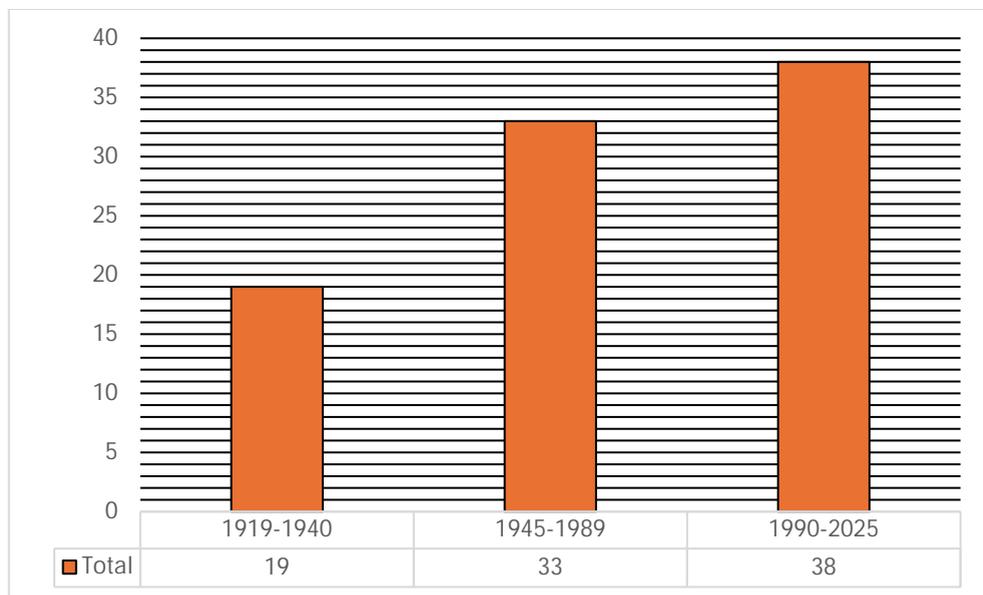
<sup>30</sup> Camil Mureșanu, *Națiune, naționalism: evoluția naționalităților* (Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română, 1996), 287.

## Appendices

**Table 1.** Table by Sections: Medieval Personalities Utilized in the 1919–2025 Period.

<b>Medieval Historical Figures in the Street Nomenclature</b>			
	<b>1919-1940</b>	<b>1945-1989</b>	<b>1990-2025</b>
1.	Baba Novac	Anonymus	Albert Szenczi Molnár
2.	Banul Mihalcea	Apei	Baba Novac
3.	Banul Udrea	Baba Novac	Bethlen Gábor
4.	Călugăreni	Banul Udrea	Bogdan I al Moldovei
5.	Clastrului	Bethlen Gábor	Budai Nagy Antal
6.	Faurilor	Budai Nagy Antal	Diaconul Coresi
7.	Ferenc Dávid	Diaconul Coresi	Dragoș Vodă
8.	Gelu	Dragoș Vodă	Ferenc Dávid
9.	Izabela	Ferenc Dávid	Galileo Galilei
10.	Jean Calvin	Galileo Galilei	Gáspár Heltai
11.	Matei Basarab	Gáspár Heltai	Gelu
12.	Matia Corvinul	Gelu	Gheorghe Doja
13.	Mihai Viteazul	Giordano Bruno	Giordano Bruno
14.	Nicolae Olahus (Nicolae Românul)	Giorgio Martinuzzi	Glad
15.	Paul Chinezul	Gheorghe Doja	Iancu de Hunedoara
16.	Petru Cercel	Iancu de Hunedoara	Ioan Sigismund Zápolya
17.	Petru Rareș	István Bocskai	Ion Viteazul
18.	Piața Fânului	Jan Hus	Jan Hus
19.	Ștefan cel Mare	Jean Calvin	Jean Calvin
20.	-	Johannes Guttenberg	Johannes Guttenberg
21.	-	Ladislau I al Ungariei	Leonardo da Vinci
22.	-	Martin Luther	Martin Opitz
23.	-	Matei Corvinul	Matei Basarab
24.	-	Mihai Viteazul	Matia Corvinul
25.	-	Nicolaus Copernicus	Menumorut
26.	-	Paul Chinezul	Mihai Românul
27.	-	Székely Mózes	Mihai Viteazul
28.	-	Ștefan Báthory	Mircea cel Bătrân
29.	-	Ștefan cel Mare	Nicolae Pătrașcu
30.	-	Tinódi Lantos Sebestyén	Nicolaus Copernicus

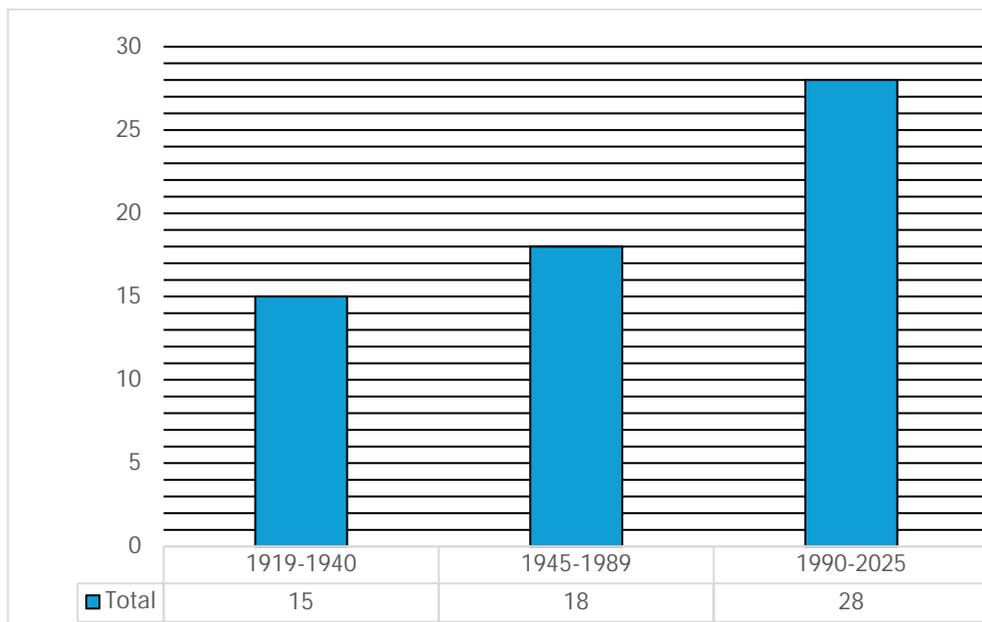
Medieval Historical Figures in the Street Nomenclature			
31.	-	Toldi Miklós	Paul Chinezul
32.	-	Vasile Lupu	René Descartes
33.	-	Zsuzsanna Lórántffy	Rovine
34.	-	-	Ștefan Báthory
35.	-	-	Ștefan Bocskai
36.	-	-	Ștefan cel Mare
37.	-	-	Vasile Lupu
38.	-	-	Vlad Țepeș



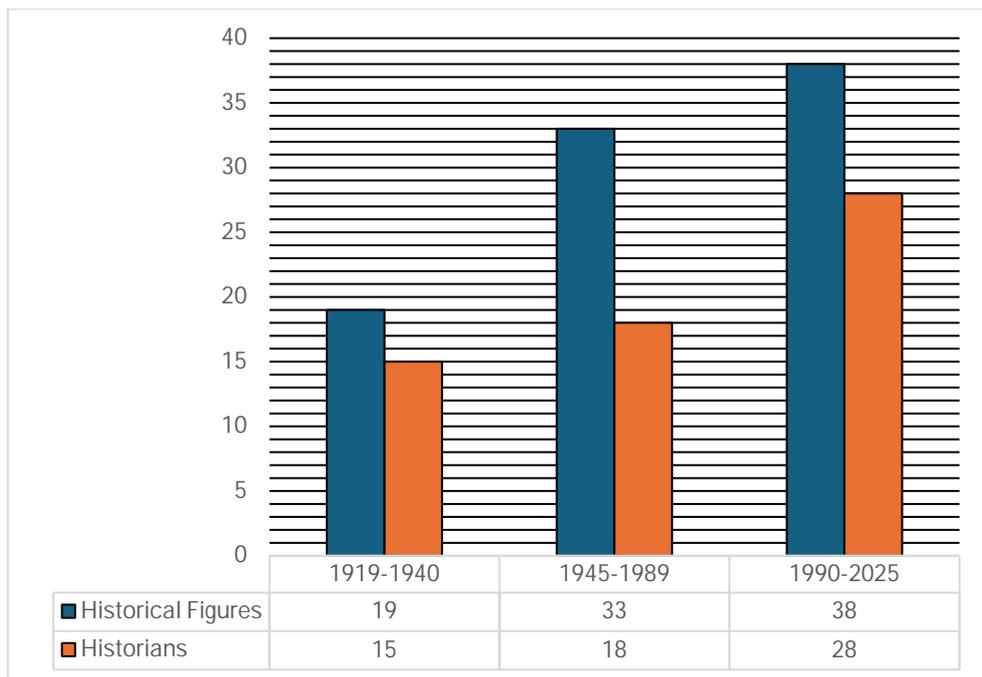
**Figure 1.** The Evolution of Medieval Historical Hodonyms in Cluj-Napoca, 1919-2025

**Table 2.** Historians in the Street Nomenclature of Cluj-Napoca, 1919-2025

<b>Historians in the Street Nomenclature of Cluj-Napoca</b>			
	<b>1919-1940</b>	<b>1945-1989</b>	<b>1990-2025</b>
1.	A.D. Xenopol	A. D. Xenopol	A. D. Xenopol
2.	Alexandru Papiu Ilarian	Alexandru Papiu Ilarian	Alexandru Lapedatu
3.	Augustin Bunea	Augustin Bunea	Alexandru Papiu Ilarian
4.	Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu	Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu	Augustin Bunea
5.	Dimitrie Cantemir	Dimitrie Cantemir	Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu
6.	Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi	Gheorghe Bariţiu	David Prodan
7.	Gheorghe Bariţiu	Gheorghe Şincai	Dimitrie Cantemir
8.	Gheorghe Şincai	Ion Budai-Deleanu	Dimitrie Onciul
9.	Ioan Budai Deleanu	Kővári László	Gheorghe Bariţiu
10.	Mihail Kogălniceanu	Márki Sándor	Gheorghe Brătianu
11.	Miron Costin	Mihail Kogălniceanu	Gheorghe Şincai
12.	Nicolae Bălcescu	Miron Costin	Ioan Lupuş
13.	Nicolae Iorga	Nicolae Bălcescu	Ion Budai-Deleanu
14.	Petru Maior	Nicolae Iorga	Kővári László
15.	Samuil Micu	Nicolae Românul (Nicolaus Olahus)	Márki Sándor
16.	-	Petru Maior	Mihail Kogălniceanu
17.	-	Samuil Micu	Miron Costin
18.	-	Szilágyi Sándor	Nicolae Bălcescu
19.	-	-	Nicolae Edroiu
20.	-	-	Nicolae Iorga
21.	-	-	Nicolaus Olahus
22.	-	-	Petru Maior
23.	-	-	Pompiliu Teodor
24.	-	-	Samuil Micu
25.	-	-	Silviu Dragomir
26.	-	-	Szilágyi Sándor
27.	-	-	Ştefan Metuş
28.	-	-	Ştefan Pascu



**Figure 2.** The Evolution of Historians Hodyonyms in Cluj-Napoca, 1919-2025



**Figure 3.** Comparative Evolution of Historical Figures and Historians Hodyonyms