

# ***IDENTITIES, MEMORIES, AND STREET NAMES IN BARCELONA, LIMA AND MANILA.\****

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## **1. Collective memory and identities**

The question of the relationship between historical culture and identity has gradually become one of the most fundamental and inescapable subjects for reflection in the humanities. The cultural and anthropological shift that the social sciences and the humanities have experienced in the last few decades has led to a growing attention to this transversal topic on the part of historians, philosophers, political scientists and sociologists. The study of identity has been shown to be of particular interest in multicultural contexts, where identities constantly come into contact and also collision. This latter situation is an even greater reason for seeking, to use Richard Vann's fortunate phrase, ways of *bridging narratives*.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, this reflection on identity has opened up lines of research involving other related subjects that contribute to this question. Among these lies that of personal and collective memory. In recent years *memory* has shown itself to be a prism-like transversal category and the study of historical culture has been turned into an original, highly fruitful line of historiographical enquiry.

About fifteen years ago, Professor Charles Olivier-Carbonell (who made a decisive contribution to setting up this Commission for the History and Theory of Historiography) brought a number of historians and anthropologists together in Montpellier to consider the question of identity from a multidisciplinary standpoint. More precisely, he sought to analyse the many European identities and to determine to what extent a common European identity existed or might exist. The senior author of these pages (F. Sánchez-Marcos) set out to undertake a comparative study of identities in a multilingual Spain by means of an analysis of urban nomenclature (street names). He was convinced that a street map of a town embodied its inhabitants' collective identity with a certain degree of precision. In the end, the comparison was restricted to Barcelona and Madrid (in alphabetical order), which were chosen as being the two main cities in Spain. The results of this research seemed to be satisfactory and were used to establish the similarities and differences in the historical memory of the two cities<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Sánchez-Marcos contributed to the colloquium organised by Ewa Domanska ("Time, Space and the Evidence of Experience", Poznan, 2000) with the same aim of reflecting on how the historian could act as a cultural mediator with the *paper* "The Historian as Translator" (Spanish version in: *Pedralbes. Revista d'Història Moderna* 21, p. 27-44; Polish version: in *Er(r)go* 3, pp. 61-75)

<sup>2</sup> See Sánchez-Marcos, F.: "En revenant sur les identités et les noms des rues en Espagne. Le cas de Barcelona", in C. Amalvi (ed.): *Une passion d'Histoire. Histoire(s), Mémoire(s) et l'Europe*. Toulouse 2002, p. 339-349.

Now the subject matter of this international meeting invites us (the historian who contributes his experience and the younger scholar beginning his research trajectory) to take up and expand this comparative socio-cultural essay together. We aim to broaden the analysis with a global perspective in a number of multiregional contexts. In addition, since the Montpellier meeting, the study of how the tapestry of the past is woven and rewoven has been enriched by a further conceptual category: *Geschichtskultur* (Historical Culture), created to consider the articulation of operative historical awareness displayed in a specific society. This conceptual category has been analysed in depth by Jörn Rüsen and his collaborators<sup>3</sup>.

Thus we now aim to study the historical memory – and therefore identity – detectable (as an element of coherence at first sight hidden) in the urban place-names of three cities located in very different regional contexts: Barcelona, Lima and Manila. (This choice will be justified later). On the one hand, we seek to unravel the identifying memory of each of these cities and to establish similarities and differences. At the same time, we want to adapt and try out on a wider scale a methodology that has been shown to be effective at a national level. If the approach and the method turn out to be effective, we will have identified a possible new way for the cross-cultural comparative analysis of identity and collective memory.

Before explaining the methodology at certain length and expounding the results of this study, we would like to propose a number of theoretical considerations concerning the relationship between collective memory and collective identity.

In the first place, we consider it opportune to make some brief precisions on the slippery concept of *identity*. This is effectively a broad, multi-faceted, analogous and ambiguous concept. Two main inter-related but differentiable levels can be distinguished in identity. At a first level, we find *objective identity*; at a second level, *subjective identity*.

*Objective identity* covers the set of features and attributes that define and characterise an individual or collective reality. In other words, *objective identity* is the particular form of being that individuals have - and which differentiates them from others. In contrast, *subjective identity* lies in the representation that individuals have of themselves, of their defining attributes. It is an image of awareness, a self-representation that seeks to understand itself. This self-representation has three dimensions: objective, constructive and inter-subjective<sup>4</sup>.

The subject of identity is directly linked to the question of memory. In practice, man is a plastic being who delimits his way of being in both cultural and historical terms. He becomes (himself) within time. He is, to a certain extent, the result of his history. For this reason, in order to answer the question of his own identity, he resorts to memory. The human being is – in the words of Augustine of Hippo - *memoria sui* (the memory of himself). In memory he recognises himself as a unitary individual, with a logical

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<sup>3</sup> Cfr. Füssman, K; Grütter, H; Rüsen, J: *Historische Faszination. Geschichtskultur heute*. Böhlau Verlag, Köln, Weimar, Wien, 1994.

<sup>4</sup> On the one hand, subjective identity is generally based on a given objective reality. On the other, it has a constructive nature (objective reality is focussed and interpreted in a particular cultural manner). Finally, it is shaped in both relational and intersubjective terms (in dialogues and confrontations with *others*). Subjective identity is thus the image that an entity forms of itself by applying a certain perspective – expressed in social and cultural terms – as regards its own objective reality.

development in time that explains his present situation. In his own history, the human being finds the explanation of his present and the key for finding and understanding the features that define and differentiate him. In order to recognise and understand himself, man resorts to memory.

Nevertheless, the various scholars who have dealt with this question all indicate that memory is never a mere repetition, a simple copy of past events. Memory is not a photograph or a mirror. The working of memory – through which we recognise our identity – is more complex. Memory is not a repetition but a reinterpretation. By means of memory, we bring past realities up-to-date. But this updating is carried out from the present. This implies that the contents stored and recalled by memory are re-read and reinterpreted according to the categories and the paradigms of the present. In memory, we recover past realities, but not in the same way as they were experienced. We endow them with new sense and meaning in the light of our present situation. “Thus a process of resemantisation of the past takes place, through which images are maintained as signifiers that are adaptable to different meanings under a cloak of apparent continuity”<sup>5</sup>.

Reinhart Koselleck has skilfully pointed out that we always approach the past from our areas of experience and our horizons of expectation<sup>6</sup>. People interpret ‘yesterday’ from the experiences of ‘today’ and their expectations for ‘tomorrow’. Human reason tends to interpret reality in teleological terms. Memory is also *future-oriented memory*, in other words, it orders and interprets the past according to expectations for the future. When the teleological horizon changes, the interpretation that is made of history also changes.

This future-oriented interpretation of the past occurs in both the individual and the social context. The working of memory is similar in the personal and the collective spheres. The historical memory of a nation, for example, fluctuates according to the political context. When there is a change in the political situation, when new interests or national projects emerge, the interpretation that a nation makes of its history changes. As the points of reference in the present and the future are modified, the points of reference of the past are also transformed. *A new future needs a new past*. Hence, it is not so much a matter of inventing a new history, but rather of simply modifying the centres of attention, of stressing the importance of certain moments and of reducing the significance of others. A re-founded collective identity requires a renewed collective memory.

However, to what extent can we honestly speak of *collective memory*? Is perhaps society an entity capable of memory? In order to answer this question it should, in the first instance, be stated that a person’s memory usually transcends the limits of their life-span; it goes back several generations into the past. Individuals are aware of events that they have not lived through, but which condition and explain their present reality. Such events have been passed down and related to them, and they store them carefully in their memory.

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<sup>5</sup> Colmeiro, J.F.: *Memoria histórica e identidad cultural*. Barcelona, 2005, p. 17. Authors’ translation.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Koselleck, R.: *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Zemanik geschichtlicher Zeiten*. Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt, 1979.

“Cultures, religious communities, nations exist in a much broader temporal horizon; by taking part in one or another of these “we groups” (*wir-gruppen*), the individual enters other temporal dimensions. Even though his life span is existentially limited, he does, however, move within much greater temporal horizons, which stretch the limits of his own experience into the past and the future. The individual’s memory thus goes beyond his own stock of unchangeable experiences; individual and collective memories become inter-twined within it”<sup>7</sup>.

Collective memory is thus not a kind of magic mistiness. When we talk about collective memory, we refer to a particular *discourse of memory shared by the members of a community*. The category of collective memory refers to a common vision and interpretation of the past. This common memory is possible thanks to language and the relating of events. The members of a community have a common vision of the past because they share the same language and have listened to the same accounts of events. On the one hand, language in itself encourages a certain perspective of reality. On the other hand, shared stories promote the memory of specific events and a particular interpretation of the same. The individual memory is nourished by and constructed upon a society’s extended paradigms and accounts.

Collective memory plays a decisive role in the shaping of social identities. “On the bases of histories, identities are stabilised and destabilised, are confirmed and criticised, are changed or consolidated”<sup>8</sup>. In the collective sphere, identity is also sustained on the basis of memory. Shared identity is nourished by collective memory. In order to strengthen their unity and justify a common future project, communities appeal to their shared past. A community feels strong and united insofar as it understands itself to be a *stable and permanent individual in time*, with a past trajectory and a future path to travel down. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the French thinker and essayist Ernest Renan well appreciated the cohesive strength of shared memory: “In the past, a common inheritance of glory and pain, for the future a collective programme; having suffered, having rejoiced, having hoped together: this is more valuable than common taxes and frontiers”<sup>9</sup>.

Aware of the versatility and the mobilising power of memory, dominant elites advocate a certain discourse of memory that serves their interests, ensures unity and promotes the advance of the community in the direction that they want. They thus encourage a certain historical narrative that adopts various forms (textbooks, museums, statues, monuments, films, etc.). Be that as it may, although it is certain that elites can promote a particular perspective of history, it is also true that it is impossible to dominate the collective historical memory in its entirety, since other spheres of communication also exist alongside other narratives that perforate power’s possible monopoly of discourse<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Assmann, A.: *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*. C.H. Beck, 2006, pp. 22-23.

<sup>8</sup> Füssman, K; Grütter, H; Rüsen, J: *Historische Faszination. Geschichtskultur heute*. Böhlau Verlag, Köln, Weimar, Wien, 1994, p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Renan, E.: *What is a nation?*, 1882. Loc. cit. Assmann, A.: *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*. C.H. Beck, 2006, p. 42

<sup>10</sup> The past is not only a transitory memory. It is also a reality that took place, the impact of which continues to condition the present. In this respect, the past is also a presence. The present contains – to a greater or lesser degree – the entirety of the real events of the past. And in the same way that the present cannot eliminate the past even though it might wish to renounce it – it can only redirect it -, neither can a

Memory – in particular in its collective form – possesses another characteristic feature; it tends to take shape, to manifest itself in various ways. Historical consciousness always pours itself into historical culture. If the memory of the past – historical memory – were to remain as a simple container for consciousness, it would be extinguished when the individual disappeared. In order to become collective and transcend the limits of its own contingent individuality, historical memory has to become *historical culture*<sup>11</sup>, it has to manifest itself and achieve some degree of institutional establishment. We pointed out some of these possible manifestations above, but there are innumerable ways in which such physical realisation can take place. Moreover, materialisation is the only way which memory has of overcoming oblivion. Memory needs vestiges and physical stimuli in order to remember.

There are certain objects, spaces or reference points which memory seems to focus upon in particular. They are those realities, those vestiges that evoke the past in a particularly intense way. History is concentrated in them. *The past is especially present* in them. Pierre Nora baptised such contexts as *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory)<sup>12</sup>. In any community, there exist several “sites of memory”, which remind it of its shared history, its moments of glory, struggle and pain. These sites are two-faceted and have two functions. On the one hand, they represent and condense history. They are witness to and reflect the past. On the other hand, they promote a particular interpretation of history, inasmuch as they emphasise certain events and articulate a number of fundamental points of reference within the collective memory. Thus, *sites of memory reflect and encourage a particular collective identity*.

## 2. Urban place-names as a site of memory

One of the peculiar attributes of human beings is their capacity to name reality. By means of names, humankind identifies and endows the world with sense and meaning. By naming, we provide an identity; we make things special; we open ourselves up to reality and appropriate it. Nevertheless, there are various types of names. Some are neutral and aseptic, merely functional, the purpose of which is just to mark out things. However, there are other names of great depth and meaning, which bring about a resounding impact within us. They do not limit themselves to pointing to something closed and objective; instead, they evoke a world of truths or existential experiences within us and they awaken our memories.

City streets also bear names. There are two main systems for naming city street names. The first is a practical and functional approach, in the American way. Streets are given

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memory discourse completely manipulate memories of real events that occurred. It is true that memory tends to recall certain events and forget others. Yet in these same absent-minded memories, forgotten memories are also recorded – implicitly, subtly and unconsciously. In many cases, “historical reality travels not as a paying passenger but as a stowaway” (Runia, E.: “Presence, History and Theory”, in *History and Theory*, 45, 2006, pp. 1-29)

<sup>11</sup> Jörn Rüsen put forward a theory on the concept of historical culture in the article “Was ist Geschichtskultur? Überlegungen zu einer neuen Art, ubre Geschichte nachzudenken”, in Füssman, K; Grütter, H; Rüsen, J: *Historische Faszination. Geschichtskultur heute*. Böhlau Verlag, Köln, Weimar, Wien, 1994, pp. 3-26. For Rüsen, historical culture can be defined as “praktisch wirksamen Artikulation von Geschichtsbewusstsein im Leben einer Gesellschaft”.

<sup>12</sup> Nora, Pierre (ed): *Les lieux de mémoire*. Gallimard, Paris, 1984-1992.

numerical or geographical names that make it easier to identify and deal with them. The second approach is functional and symbolical, following the European system<sup>13</sup>. In this case, streets also receive a name that makes it easier to locate and use them, but this name is not just formal and neutral. Instead, it includes identifying contents. These street names refer to illustrious characters, great events, key dates, shared values, valued territories. Names of things that are appreciated, figures who are honoured and realities that the city identifies with are given. For this reason, this type of streets can be considered as *identity showcases*, in which the values and the main points of reference of a community can be studied<sup>14</sup>.

In many cases, urban nomenclature (street names) makes an appeal to the past, by referring to historical figures or events. They refer to figures or events that had a decisive influence in the community's history and its present-day form. Even though they may have been buried by history, their exploits have lasted down to the present and permeate the current identity of the collective. The city fixes the memory of these figures and deeds by giving their names to a street. When people move along it or refer to it, they will remember them. For this reason, we can consider urban place-names as an excellent *site of memory*. It is a subtle sort of everyday site of memory that evokes and constantly refers back to the past.

In the same way that a city's plan – the structure and layout of the streets – shapes a spatial and geographical map of reference among its citizens, urban place-names also create a *map of the city's memory*. All the street names in a city weave a tapestry of historical memory in the collective imagination, establish a series of coordinates and memory- and identity-based references. It could be stated that all a city's apparently unconnected, heterogeneous street names make up a special *macrotext*. If we analyse this macrotext carefully, we will discover that it possesses an internal coherence, which reveals the principal identifying traits of the group in question.

Urban nomenclature has two facets, an aspect that is interesting to mention. On the one hand, street names reflect the historical awareness of the city's inhabitants. Likes and dislikes, what is close to or distant from the city's identity can be perceived in its streets. However, urban place-names do not only reflect historical memory. They also project it, establish it and encourage it. Street names are chosen with the aim of esstudy of street names. Street names are not decided by the population, but by the authorities. In this respect, they reflect, above all, the discourse of the dominant memory promoted by political elites, which represent society to a greater or lesser extent.

However, neither would it be reasonable to think that urban names - and the memory that they reveal – depend only and exclusively on the authorities of the moment. When there is a new political regime, some basic streets tend to change name, but the majority conserve their former names. It is difficult to revoke names because it affects the

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<sup>13</sup> After we have written this paper, we knew (by a gentle information from Chris Lorenz) the book edited by R. Jaworski and P. Stachel, *Die Besetzung des öffentlichen Raumes. Politische Plätze, Denkmäler und Strassennamen im europäischen Vergleich*. Berlin 2007.

<sup>14</sup> It should be pointed out that the formal and neutral system is not completely random either, and displays a symbolic component and encourages a certain identity structure. Numerical organisation marks out a centre and a periphery. The division of the world by means of geographical meridians has, for example, a high symbolic content, since it organises the way the world is represented and understood from the viewpoint of London, through which the 0 meridian runs.

traditions and customs of an entire city. On the other hand, the authorities have greater freedom to put forward their ideas concerning memory and identity in new streets and districts. Urban names can be considered to be similar to a work of art painted by various hands. Each one of them adds new shapes and colours and slightly modifies the previous contributions. In a city map we also find different memory discourses that reveal the multiple strata within the city's political and identity history. However, the sum result of all these interventions and layers is a single map, which eventually comes to impregnate the inhabitants' collective memory and imagination. It is a complex macrotext that, in spite of its potential for multiple directional tendencies, decisively contributes to structuring the collective memory and identity.

### **3. Study approach and methodology**

As has been pointed out in the introduction, the aim of this communication is *a comparative study of the underlying identity and historical memory* recorded in the urban plans of three cities: Barcelona, Lima and Manila (in alphabetical order). Our objective is not an in-depth, thorough examination of the question, but rather we aim to offer a preliminary scale essay in order to see whether this is a valid approach and the methodology is suitable. By means of this exploratory study, we will also endeavour to identify the basic features of the urban memory of each of the three cities analysed.

One of the central themes of this conference is the relationship between global history and regional history. Under this heading, there lies a tension that has affected the whole world for a number of years. We are referring to the tension between local and global matters, to the tension between a homing instinct towards the specific and an inclination towards the universal. The world has become a global village and everybody wants to take part. However, at the same time, former local villages are afraid of losing their identity in this new global pattern and are fighting to reinforce and defend it.

This paper is a comparative study of identity in three cities. It is a global study, because it covers cities in different parts of the world, based on the analysis of three local contexts. We aim to determine the identifying features of each of these three cities and, at the same time, to find relationships and points of convergence between them. A city's history – like its memory – has a local focal point, but it is open and influenced by the great world-level trends. In particular, we hope to verify to what extent a city's historical memory is open to global influence.

The three studies chosen for this study (Barcelona, Lima and Manila) lie in three different regional spaces. Barcelona is situated in Mediterranean Europe. Lima is in Latin America and Manila in what is known as Pacific Asia. In spite of being separated by oceans, the three cities form part – although the question is both debated and debatable – of a cultural super-region, a region of regions: the Hispanic context. Their local history is linked to Spain's Empire, the formation, expansion and decline of which between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries was clearly a global process. Logically, the history and memory of these cities is not limited to their relationship with the Spanish crown. Each one of them had an earlier history, its own genuine culture and its own future project. However, in all three cases the Spanish presence has impregnated – in varying degrees – cultural paradigms and the collective imagination. In the course of the

following pages, we will study which identifying traits make these cities both similar and different.

In the future, the comparative study of identities by means of urban place-names may be extended to other regions of the world. It would be highly revealing and original to analyse the urban plans of cities located in clearly differentiated cultural contexts, such as, for example, Shanghai, Barcelona, Tehran, Casablanca, New York and Bogotá, in comparative terms. The comparative analysis of different historical cultures of the world may offer a way to provide an approximation to local matters from a global perspective and, at the same time, may be a suitable way to gain better knowledge of the various identities that enrich the world with their diversity.

Why have we chosen specifically Barcelona, Lima and Manila? There is a certain degree of arbitrariness in our choice. This would be difficult to avoid. The three cities were linked to the Hispanic sphere of influence but none of them layed in its centre, Castile. But, why these three in particular? There are both objective and subjective reasons for this choice. Barcelona is the city where we live. Lima is a great Latin American city in which we have felt at home. It is the capital of a country with a strong sense of identity and historical awareness. Finally, Manila is the most important city associated with the Hispanic world in Asia. Moreover, Manila has also had important cultural and economic ties with China<sup>15</sup>.

In order to analyse the urban names of these cities from the perspective of history and identity, three databases have been compiled. Each of these databases contains a representative sample of the streets of each city. In the case of Barcelona, the sample contains 214 entries. In that of Lima, we have included 130 and in that of Manila, 155. When deciding which streets to select, the following criteria were taken into account:

- a) The sample had to contain a sufficiently large number and wide variety of names to allow analysis of the different dimensions of identity and historical memory: chronological depth, geo-identity vectors, and thematic vectors.
- b) The place-name corpus had to be representative of all the names to be found in the city. It should not be restricted to the historic core; it had to cover all districts of the city.
- c) In some way, our selection had to take into account the relative importance of streets. The sample had to give priority to the most commonly used streets and those of greatest importance because of their width and length.

In order to respect these criteria and to avoid arbitrary decisions, the choice of streets was based on the *relatively neutral criterion of arterial function*. In other words, we selected for the sample those *thoroughfares that stood out on street maps because of their width and importance*<sup>16</sup>. These are the most commonly frequented and known streets in the city. They are, therefore, the ones that shape the citizens' collective

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<sup>15</sup> A sample of the growing interest in Spain in the last decade in the history of relations between the Philippines and China is the work by M. Ollé, *La invención de China. Percepciones y estrategias filipinas respecto a China durante el siglo XVI*. Wiesbaden 2000.

<sup>16</sup> The maps that have been employed are the following: 1. Barcelona: *Barcelona*. Ed. Distrimapas Telstar, S. L., 1999; 2. Lima: *Plano 2000*. Editorial Lima 2000. ISBN 9972-654-03-6; 3. Manila: *Manila (Greater Manila)*. Periplus Editions. ISBN 962-593-124-4.

memory most directly and efficiently. In addition, these thoroughfares can be found both in the centre and on the outskirts<sup>17</sup>.

The streets selected were introduced into the databases. Each entry was analysed and identified in accordance with several categories of analysis. These categories have made it possible to order and rationalise the set of streets and easier to unravel the historical memory that they reflect and promote<sup>18</sup>. It has not been easy to find valid categories for all three cities since, in spite of having had convergent histories, each of them has had its own trajectory and has its own idiosyncrasies. For this reason, we have combined rigid categories (in the case of name typologies) with other more flexible ones that can be moulded to the peculiarities of the city (in the case of the categories covering political geography and time factors). The categories are always debatable and inevitably involve a particular perspective that somehow conditions the results. For this reason, we will explain the category divisions that have been applied so that they can be criticised and improved.

**A)** The first of these parameters or fields in the database is that of *the category or type of name*: names that belong to physical geography (GF) or political geography (GP), historical characters (PH), institutions (I), “values” in a broad sense and symbols (V) and others (O) for the inevitable remaining heterogeneous entries. Thus, among the geographical names we have been able to distinguish between the ones that belong to the field of physical geography, with less of an identifying element, and those that refer to political geography, in other words, names derived from historical geography.

As regards historical characters, five subgroups have been differentiated:

1. Relating to the royal family (PHR); 2. Politicians or leaders, excluding the former (PHP); 3. Military leaders (PHM); 4. Civilians, excluding leaders, in other words, individuals from the world of culture, science and economics (PHC); 5. Religious figures, both members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and Catholic saints, as well as all the names referring to the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus Christ (PHE).

**B)** In order to analyse the chronological depth of collective memory and the historical periods that are most present within it, we have divided the entries in accordance with three *time categories*, of flexible nature so that they can be adapted to the reality of each city. In order to establish these time divisions we have looked for historical turning points in which the birth of new political situations and the expansion of new global

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<sup>17</sup> In the cases of Lima and Manila, the whole metropolitan area has been studied. Lima and Manila are large metropolises made up by many districts or townships. Our research on the streets of Lima has been facilitated by the kind help of the Peruvian Prof. Pedro Escajadillo, who wrote an excellent paper (for the Barcelona’s Master’s programme in Historical Culture and Communication) “La historia escrita en papel moneda. El caso de Perú” (“History written in bank notes. The case of Peru”). Another outstanding paper in the same Master’s programme was prepared by the Serbian student Sanya Frkanec on street names and historical culture in Belgrade.

<sup>18</sup> In this study once again we have been faced with the practical problem of finding universal periodisation categories. In practice, time divisions that seem to be most suitable for one region are not so relevant for others. This demonstrates the complexity of carrying out comparative global history, since regions and cultures have different rhythms and trends. However, civilisations are not parallel lines. There are points of contacts and tangential periods over the years. On the basis of these points of contact – increasingly frequent with the passing of the centuries – one can start to construct history from a world standpoint.

communication systems converge<sup>19</sup>. It is logical that, in some way, political and communication transformations should occur at the same time, since any revolution in communication leads to alterations in political and social structures and relationships. Each of these three time bands that have been established is defined by a particular world communication situation and by a regional political situation (which are interconnected).

1. *The period of limited intercivilisation relations.* In general, this period is characterised by scant contact between the civilisations of the five continents. The majority of civilisations continued to be restricted to their continental contexts and developed a *largely autonomous political, economic and cultural history*. There were no means of transport making frequent intercontinental and transoceanic relationships possible<sup>20</sup>. This period is identifiable with the *pre-Hispanic* period in America and the Philippines<sup>21</sup>. In the case of Barcelona – in accordance with the usual categories of European historiography – this period has been subdivided into *Antiquity* and *the Medieval period*<sup>22</sup>.

2. *First globalisation period.* At the end of the 15th century, a process of globalisation that was to have far-reaching repercussions began. The Castilian and Portuguese expeditions, accompanied by violent conquest, succeeded in linking the five continents by sea. Trade and cultural communication routes were thus opened up. For the inhabitants of the world, the earth multiplied its extent and possibilities. Yet at the same time, thanks to maritime communication, it became more attainable and accessible<sup>23</sup>. This expansion of geographical and cultural referents was accompanied and driven by European imperialist expansion. The three cities here analysed lay within the dominions of the *Spanish Empire*. This process of globalisation was also assisted by the birth of the

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<sup>19</sup> The concept of *communication* is used with its two meanings, both as regards the physical communication involved in trade and the exchange of messages by means of language.

<sup>20</sup> This does not deny the existence of certain contacts between the different civilisations. More specifically, Chinese civilisation had stood out for her navigational skills and had reached South-East Africa and, according to some, also the Americas in the first third of 15<sup>th</sup> Century c.E. There were also commercial contacts between Europe and Asia. However, these contacts were few in number and did not connect the five continents in a stable fashion.

<sup>21</sup> Within the frontiers of modern-day Peru, there could be found various regional kingdoms and lordships prior to 1438 when the Incas unified the greater part of western modern-day South America under their Empire (Tawantinsuyu). In the pre-Hispanic period, the Philippine Islands were influenced by various cultures, such as that of China, India or Muslim culture.

<sup>22</sup> In Antiquity, Barcelona was under Roman rule. In the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the city was conquered by the Muslims. However, the Christian nobility soon took back the city, which, in the course of time, became the capital of the Catalan-Aragonese Kingdom, with territorial possessions all around the Mediterranean.

<sup>23</sup> The basic idea that the world had been turned into a single city and it had all been opened up to the human race appears in the words of the French thinker J. Bodin, *La méthode de l'histoire* 1566, (ed. P. Mesnard 1941, p. 298) and prior to that in the work of the Spanish humanist J. L. Vives, *De Disciplinis* 1531 (in the dedication to John III of Portugal). As a result of the influential work of I. Wallerstein, *The Modern-World System*, 1974-1979, the great question of interaction between different civilisations and regions, as regards cultural, economic and social aspects has led to a flow of studies, has been a recurrent subject of debate at recent International Congresses of Historical Sciences and has been a stimulus for the appearance of several journals, such as *Journal of World History*.

first phase of capitalism. The limits of this period are similar in the three cities under study<sup>24</sup>.

3. *Birth of the modern State and the second globalisation down to the present day.* In this final period there was a certain time-lag between communication and political changes. This sub-period is defined more by regional political transformations than by global communication practices. This third time phase is marked by the birth of modern states, which abandoned the mindset of the Ancien Régime and adopted a *parliamentary constitutional model*, with the bourgeoisie playing a leading role<sup>25</sup>. However, this political change, which in the case of Peru and the Philippines saw its reflection in *independence*, was not unrelated to global communication developments. The enlightened ideas that underpinned these new models of the state were spread in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century thanks to the emergence of the *press*, which allowed the ideas of the enlightenment to expand around the world. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, global communication took a great step forward thanks to the invention of the telegraph and the steamship. Such new inventions reduced both time and psychological distances even more and strengthened a second phase of globalisation

C) We have also aimed to study the geo-political limits of the urban memory of these cities. With this aim in mind, we have established several categories, which have been of use in order to define the *geography of memory*, what is *near* and what is *distant*, that the street-names project in the citizens' minds. The aim has been to determine which geographical entities are present in the urban plan of these cities and what identity frontiers they delimit<sup>26</sup>. The geography of memory has been studied giving priority to the present (*present dimension*)<sup>27</sup>. Four categories have been established in accordance with the contexts of geographical identity determined by present-day political frontiers. These are categories that reflect four basic concentric circles in contemporary geo-political identity.

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<sup>24</sup> In Peru and the Philippines, this period can be identified with the *colonial period*. The Inca Empire was conquered by the Spanish in the 1530s. The city of Lima was founded by the colonisers in 1535. In contrast, the definitive settlement of the Spanish in the Philippines did not take place until the 1570s. The case of Barcelona is quite different. The kingdom of Catalonia was not conquered by the Castilians; instead it was united with the Kingdom of Castile by means of the royal marriage of the two kingdoms' monarchs. Since then, the two lands – Catalonia and Castile – have been united under a single Monarchy within the Spanish state. This does not necessarily mean that coexistence of the two kingdoms has always been harmonious. Between 1641 and 1652, for example, war broke out as a result of the secessionist declaration of Catalonia. At present, there is a current of opinion in Catalonia calling for independence.

<sup>25</sup> This period began in Barcelona at the moment when Spain received a Constitution (1812). In the case of Lima, it started in 1821, when Peru declared independence from the Spanish metropolis. The Philippines attained nominal independence in 1898 (from this moment onwards it can be included in the third sub-division) although it did not attain real independence, from a political point of view, until 1946.

<sup>26</sup> In the first instance, we analysed all the streets with geographical names by means of these categories. In a second stage, we endeavoured to categorise individuals and institutions in geographical terms as well, taking into account the areas where they carried out their activity.

<sup>27</sup> It would also have been possible to categorise the streets taking into account the historical dimension. That is to say, we could have defined the categories on the basis of cartographic and identity criteria of the past (the Inca Empire, the Spanish Empire, the former Catalan-Aragonese Kingdom, etc.) and not of the present-day (Spain, Peru, Philippines). In this paper, however, even though we are aware that it is not the only possible one and that a subsequent study could include both of them (which could complement each other, like two dimensions), we have preferred to restrict ourselves to the present-day dimension.

- I. *The present-day regional political context.* This category only attains full sense, in our opinion, in the case of Barcelona, since this city is the capital of Catalonia, an autonomous community within the Spanish state<sup>28</sup>. This region has a high degree of political autonomy, its own language and a marked awareness of its identity. In the case of Lima and Manila, this category has been omitted as there is not such a strong sense of awareness of regional identity<sup>29</sup>.
- II. *The present-day state context:* Spain (in the case of Barcelona), Peru (in the case of Lima) and the Philippines (in the case of Manila).
- III. *The continental context,* excluding the respective national territories: Europe (in the case of Barcelona), South America (in the case of Lima) and Asia (in the case of Manila).
- IV. *Other countries of the world,* excluding those forming part of the continental context.

#### 4. Exposition and discussion of the results

In the following section we plan to lay out and explain the results obtained as a result of studying the database of Barcelona, Lima and Manila's streets in analytical and comparative terms<sup>30</sup>. The first important point to make is that, generally speaking, the three cities use the system of *symbolical-functional* names. The street names are not neutral, mere geometric or numerical references. A very high proportion of them include symbolic and identifying contents. In Manila, however, a greater use – although still at a relatively low level – of the practical and functional system can be detected, maybe a consequence of American colonisation in the early decades of the last century.

On the other hand, the urban nomenclature of the three cities reveals a very high level of *historical saturation*. The names of the great majority of streets have clear historical echoes, referring to individuals, institutions or political entities that can only be understood from a temporal perspective<sup>31</sup>. It has therefore been possible to establish that

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<sup>28</sup> Since the restoration of democracy in 1978, Spain has been a decentralised, semi-federal state. It is divided into 17 autonomous communities, which have considerable political, administrative and cultural power. There are three communities with a more noticeable and more intensely defended identity: Catalonia, the Basque Country (or Euskadi) and Galicia.

<sup>29</sup> Lima and Manila primarily identify themselves with the identity of the nation state, while the identity of Barcelona is more ambiguous and complex, since the (Catalan) regional identity in some cases supersedes the identity of the (Spanish) nation state.

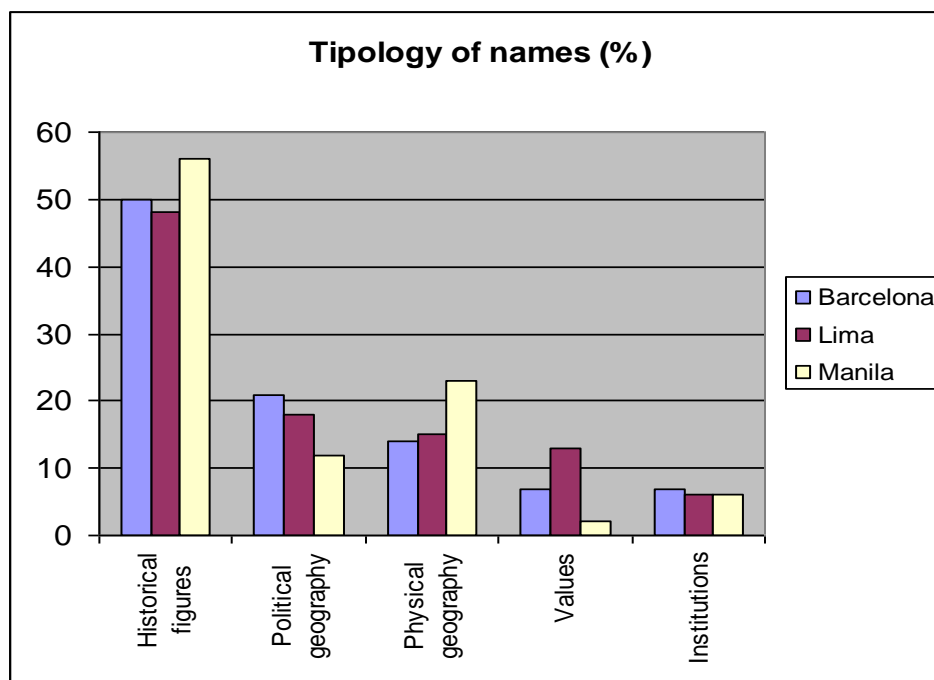
<sup>30</sup> So as not to lengthen this article excessively, we have preferred not to include the data charts. They will be placed on Internet and made freely available (<http://fersanchezcosta.googlepages.com/home>). In the case of Barcelona and Lima, we have been able to identify and categorise almost all the streets in the sample (100% for Barcelona, 98% for Lima). We therefore consider that the results are reliable. In the case of Manila, we have succeeded in analysing 76% of streets in the sample. We will continue working so that the provisional results for this city can be confirmed or rectified. (Although still incomplete, our research on Manila has been possible thanks to the help provided some specialists, such as Sandra Ezquerro, that we have contacted through the *Casa Asia* institution in Barcelona. Among the works published by Casa Asia, in this context the book on *Año Filipinas – España 2006 / Taon ng Pilipinas – Espanya 2006*, with abundant, up-to-date bibliography, is of particular relevance).

<sup>31</sup> The level of historical saturation is approximately 75% for Barcelona, 77% for Lima and 73% for Manila.

there is a close relationship between identity and collective memory in these regional contexts. This historical saturation fits in with the European historicist mentality, which in some way has impregnated the imagination and thought patterns of the three regions under study<sup>32</sup>.

### A) Historical figures

The urban naming patterns of the three cities are both referential and historical. However, which realities do they refer to? In the first place, the street names recall historical figures. The memory of Barcelona, of Lima and of Manila is a *personalistic memory*, which is established, embodied and revolves around individual figures. Approximately half the streets of the three cities bear names of historical figures (Barcelona: 50%, Lima: 48%, Manila: 56%). Before calling to mind great events, situations, structures or institutions, the urban plans of these cities recall specific men<sup>33</sup>, who stand as representative of a period, a value or a collective project. Once again, it would seem that the individualist and responsibility-oriented mentality of the West, in which the individual and his responsibility have always played a central part (leaving, to a certain extent, the community and collective phenomena in the background) may also have influenced this *personalism of memory*<sup>34</sup>.



<sup>32</sup> In practice, both the Jewish religion and Christianity, which constitute one of the main roots of European mentality, understand human evolution and the religion itself as a History of Salvation. In the Judaeo-Christian tradition, religious dogmas refer to history and to progressive divine action in history. During the Enlightenment, the teleological and progressive concept of History, characteristic of Christianity, was secularised. The Christian History of Salvation became History of Progress.

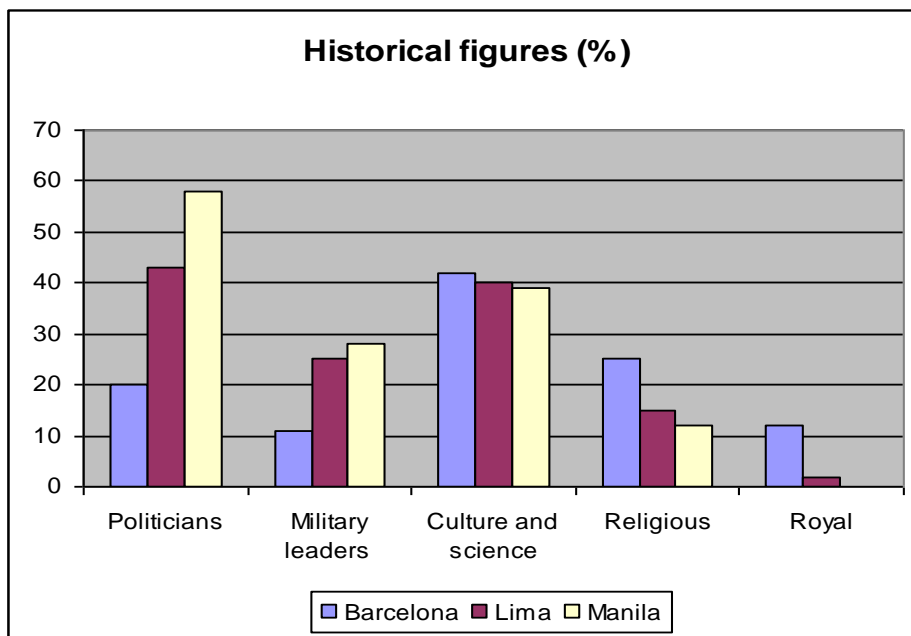
<sup>33</sup> From the gender standpoint, the results are overwhelming. The memory-based narratives of the three cities are male-dominated.

<sup>34</sup> However, these general conclusions on cultural influences of different civilisations on the urban plans of memory are provisional until they can be compared and contrasted by studying the urban names of other cities located in clearly different cultural contexts.

The second most frequent category according to the typology of names is that of “political geography” (Barcelona: 21%; Lima: 18%; Manila: 12%), which covers all those places of political entity (countries, regions, cities) and historical meaning (for example battles). Physical geography – geometric names, local place-names and natural features or elements – represents 14% of all the cases in Barcelona, 15% in Lima and 23% in Manila. The cause of this higher proportion in the case of the Philippine capital has before been mentioned. Both in Lima and Manila a noticeable increase in references to natural elements (plants, heavenly bodies) can be detected. This would seem to suggest a characteristic feature of the native culture, which is much closer to natural matters and experiences than European culture.

The number of references to institutions is similar in the three cities (about 7% of cases) while “values” attain much higher levels in Lima<sup>35</sup> (13% as opposed to the meagre 7% for Barcelona and 2% for Manila). Religious values, followed by economic ones, are predominant in Barcelona, whereas political ones clearly take the lead in Lima. This is an almost non-existent category in Manila.

We will now proceed to analyse the historical figures, which by themselves make up approximately half the street names in each city. These are figures that the city seeks to establish in the civic memory, to honour and to present as models for various reasons. By extolling these figures, the city also reveals the values and the fundamental characteristics that it identifies with. These subcategories enable us to start to appreciate certain different tendencies in the memory maps of the three cities<sup>36</sup>. There is a noticeable difference between the type of historical figures commemorated in Barcelona, on the one hand, and those recorded in Lima and Manila, on the other.



<sup>35</sup> This is due to the fact that in Lima there is a type of name that is not found in the other two cities: there are thoroughfares that bear important dates as their name. These cases have been included in the category of values.

<sup>36</sup> These categories are not totally separate. Although a figure will usually fit into a single category, there are some who, because of the multifaceted nature of their activity, fall into more than one category.

The presence of *political leaders* among the historical figures is, for example, relatively discrete in Barcelona (20%), abundant in Lima (43%) and clearly predominant in Manila (58%). Both in Lima and Manila, politicians occur more frequently in the historical figures category. Figures belonging to the *military sector* make up just 11% in Barcelona. Both Lima (25%) and Manila (28%) double the number of military figures recorded in Barcelona.

The politicians commemorated in the streets of Barcelona by and large belong to the Catalan context (a substantial proportion distinguished themselves by demanding or fighting for the political autonomy of Catalonia). The political and military category in Lima is divided between national heroes connected with independence, presidents of the Republic and heroes of the Pacific War against Chile (1879-1884). As regards Manila, almost half the political and military figures (46%) were directly involved in the independence movement that fought the Spanish and Americans in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Figures associated with the world of the arts, literature, science or economics are of great importance in all three cities. More precisely, approximately 40% of the historical figures commemorated in each city form part of what might be called civilian society. However, this observation should be qualified, because the way in which these figures were involved with the arts and science is different in the three cases. In Barcelona, for instance, the immense majority of these figures devoted themselves exclusively to their contributions to the humanities or science (90%) whereas in Lima and Manila a significant proportion combined their artistic or scientific activity with a commitment to politics (50% in the case of Manila and somewhat more than a third in that of Lima)<sup>37</sup>.

*Religious figures* are clearly visible in Barcelona (25%), whereas their presence is more discrete in Lima (15%) and Manila (12%). In the case of Barcelona, the majority are saints belonging to the first centuries of Christianity, although various Catalan ecclesiastical figures and recent Popes are also commemorated. The religious figures referred to in the street names of Lima in their majority derive from the first globalisation period. St Rose of Lima is the most commemorated figure in the place-names of the metropolitan area of Lima<sup>38</sup>. In addition to Catholic saints, in the case of Manila we find the founder of a non-Catholic Christian denomination (Félix Ysagun Manalo).

The streets of Barcelona also reflect a certain *monarchic* memory (12%) whereas in Lima and Manila this category is almost non-existent<sup>39</sup>. The majority of the monarchs present in the street names of Barcelona bore the Spanish crown, which includes both the territories of Catalonia and Castile.

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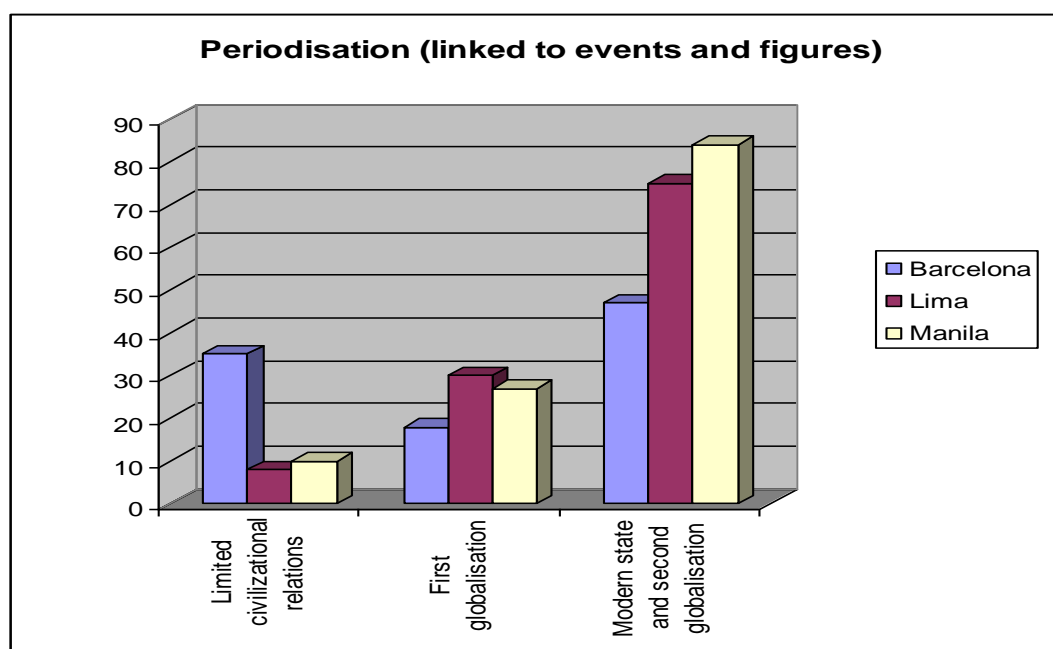
<sup>37</sup> In Barcelona, writers, artists, architects and scientists (especially physicians) are abundant. In Lima, there is a greater presence of professors, jurists, historians, engineers and property-owning patrons. Among the civilian figures in Manila writers, journalists, jurists and entrepreneurs stand out.

<sup>38</sup> St Rose (1586-1617) has always been particularly venerated by Peruvians. She was the first saint from Peru.

<sup>39</sup> It should be remembered that, in this respect, Barcelona forms part of a monarchical state (Spain) while both Lima and Manila are in republics where there has been no monarch for centuries – even though they were for a long time linked with the Spanish Crown.

## B) Time and space of memory

By means of this study, we aim to determine the *time length* of the collective memory of Barcelona, Lima and Manila. Which historical periods do urban place-names recall in particular?<sup>40</sup> As far as this point is concerned, the three cities are remarkably similar – although there is one significant divergence. The collective historical memory that the urban names of the three cities reflects is short-lived, generally limited to the third of our categories: *the modern State and the second globalisation* (Barcelona: 47%, Lima: 75%; Manila: 84%). In the case of Lima and Manila, the greater the distance in time, the less its presence is reflected in the town-plan memory. The tapestries of memory in Lima and Manila are fundamentally woven around the wars of independence and the constitution of the modern nation state. The emancipation movement undertaken at the end of the 19th century is the most common point of reference for memory in the streets of Manila, whereas there are two national milestones that are commemorated in particular in Lima: the process of independence and the war against Chile in the 1880s<sup>41</sup>.



The progressive decline the further one goes back in time is not sustained in the case of Barcelona. Memory of the first period (35%, *limited intercivilisation relations*) is noticeably higher than that of the second period (18%, *initial globalisation*)<sup>42</sup>. What is

<sup>40</sup> In the chart and the percentages presented here, we include all those cases that can be classified in terms of historical period: historical figures and events, dates and institutions. The percentage, therefore, is not of the total number of examples, but rather of all those names that can be assigned to a period. In some cases, one name refers to different historical periods (for instance, some institutions). Consequently, the percentages total more than 100%.

<sup>41</sup> 8% of all the streets in Lima refer to the Pacific War against Chile – a war that Peruvians consider to be heroic even though they were defeated – and 13% of the historical figures played an active role in it. The war against Chile became a decisive national *site of memory*, even a site of memory par excellence that served to unite the nation in its formative stages.

<sup>42</sup> We should differentiate two stages in this early period: Antiquity or the Roman period (11%) and the Middle Ages-Catalan-Aragonese kingdom (24%).

the reason for this phenomenon? The reply must include two aspects. On the one hand, Catholic saints of the first centuries of Christianity are recorded in considerable numbers. On the other hand, Catalonia experienced a period of great splendour between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Barcelona was the capital of the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom, which expanded politically, commercially and militarily all around the Mediterranean. Even though at a regional level, in this period Catalonia experienced its own period of internationalisation. When the period of planetary globalisation arrived (16<sup>th</sup> century), Catalonia remained outside this movement and entered a period when it had a low profile, even one might say a period of decline. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Catalonia recovered a certain strength of self-identity, the municipal authorities decided to name the most important streets of the newly-urbanised districts after the lands of its former territories and the most outstanding figures of the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom.

In the three cities the period of *initial globalisation* (Barcelona: 18%; Lima: 31%, Manila: 23%) is characterised by particularly close ties with the kingdom of Castile. In the case of Lima and Manila, this link resulted in colonial rule. In the case of Catalonia, it took the form of dynastic union, which also brought about intermittent tensions until, after the War of Spanish Succession (1714), Catalonia lost its own legal code and institutions and was incorporated into Castile<sup>43</sup>. What vision of this period do the street-naming patterns of the three cities represent? In all three cases, its impact is ambiguous. On the one hand, there are streets commemorating institutions and individuals who were fully identified with Castilian rule (streets named after Magistrates, Viceroy, writers and saints of the period). On the other hand, there are also thoroughfares that recall resistance heroes and precursors of independence/autonomy (Rafael Casanova or Pau Clarís in the case of Barcelona; Tupac Amaru or Micaela Bastidas in that of Lima; Rizal or Father Burgos in Manila).

Furthermore, the limited presence of references to the period of *limited intercivilisation relations* in Lima and Manila (8% and 10% respectively) raises a question: is there no native or pre-Colombian memory in the streets of these two capitals? The fact of the matter is that references to the pre-Hispanic period are almost non-existent among the main streets of Manila<sup>44</sup>. The native presence in Lima is somewhat larger. Be that as it may, these references do not project a clearly Inca memory, but simply a native one. It should be remembered that the capital of the Inca Empire was not in Lima but in Cuzco – Lima was founded by the Spanish and Indians of a different culture from that of the Incas lived in its vicinity. There are references to the Incas in the urban street network, but the ones who occupy a more prominent position are the natives who opposed the Spanish during the colonial period. Among the ten most frequent place-names of the city can be found those of Tupac Amaru and his wife Micaela Bastidas, who are considered to have been martyrs and forerunners of independence, at the same time as defenders of native identity and rights. However, it should be borne in mind that the

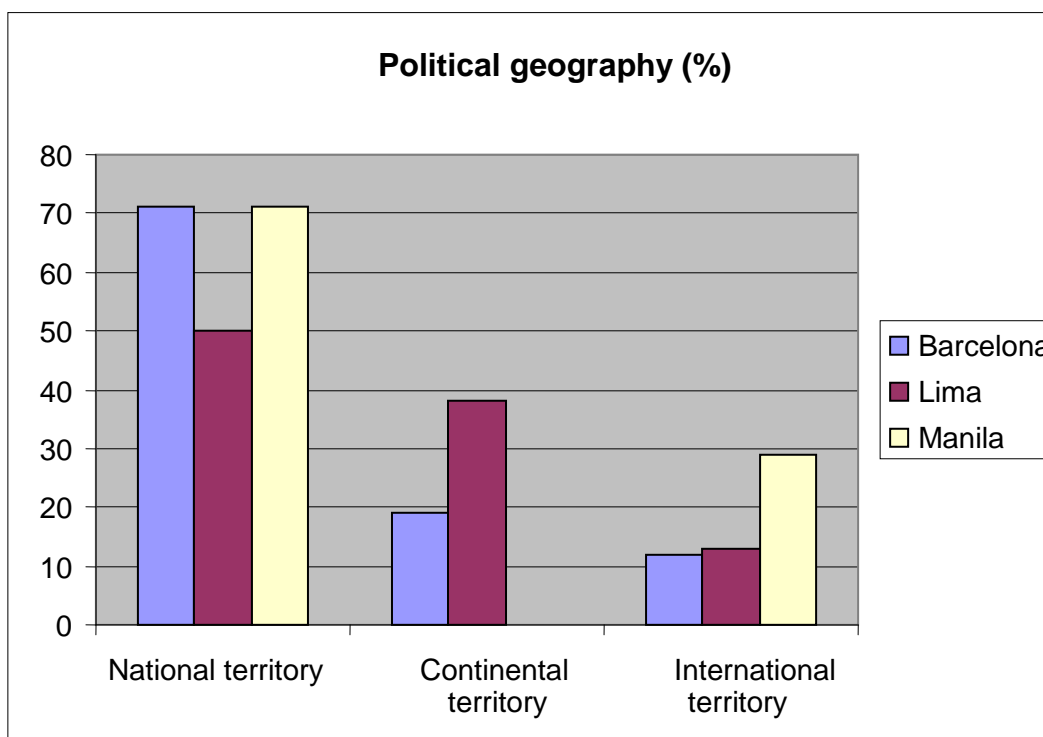
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<sup>43</sup> This war broke out after the death of the last monarch of the Hapsburg dynasty (Charles II). The great European powers, interested in the extensive overseas territories of the Spanish monarchy, took part in it.

<sup>44</sup> The majority of the streets that refer back to the pre-Hispanic period bear saints' names. There is one street commemorating a native leader who fought heroically against the Spanish occupation. There are also Tagalog place-names that pre-date Spanish colonisation. However, Manila's memory is clearly 20<sup>th</sup> century.

political and economic elites that have ruled Peru have been creoles (of European descent) and have not felt particularly identified with the Inca culture and memory<sup>45</sup>.

Finally, we will turn to analysing the geography of memory, that is to say *the proximity and the distance of the geo-identifying features* that the urban plan of a city exhibits. While we have so far analysed the personal names and institutions recorded by the streets, we will now consider the geo-political ones (which represent between 15% and 20% of the total). In the first place, it is noteworthy that, in all the cities, more than half the geo-political names recorded are to be found within the present-day state limits (Barcelona<sup>46</sup>: 71%, Lima: 50%, Manila: 71%). It can be concluded that the urban memory map of these cities is of limited geographical breadth since it is largely limited by the country's borders.



On the other hand, 19% of the geographically classifiable Barcelona street names refer to places within Europe, while in Lima, 38% of the thoroughfares relate to other South American countries. In spite of forming part of a stable European economic and political union, the streets of Barcelona only rarely allude to other European countries (many of the lands in the rest of Europe mentioned in the street names of Barcelona are former Catalan possessions). In contrast, the names of many Latin American countries are present in the main streets of Lima (one of the principal thoroughfares of the city is

<sup>45</sup> There is a certain discrepancy, although it is far from complete, between the popular memory of Lima and the memory discourse that is reflected in the city's principal avenues. The ten most frequent place-names in Lima are, in order: Santa Rosa, Miguel Grau, Mariategui, Tupac Amaru, Ramón Castilla, el Sol, Micaela Bastidas, Alfonso Hugarte, Virgen María and José Gálvez. The official memory, which is projected in the principal avenues, lowers the impact of the native profile to be found in the popular memory and gives a higher profile to institutional and official realities.

<sup>46</sup> In the case of Barcelona, somewhat more than a third of these examples can be placed within the context of Catalonia, while the remaining two-thirds refer to other parts of the Spanish state.

called 'Panamericana'). Surprisingly, the Manila's streets that we have studied do not contain a single reference to the rest of the Asian landmass, so that the many commercial and cultural ties that the Philippine *Islands* have had with other parts of Asia are forgotten. Manila is, however, the city in which there are most place-name references to international territories (the majority in Spain).

### C) Overall analysis

What interpretation can be offered of this collection of data? Are there certain fundamental lines that can offer clues for interpreting these results as part of a single pattern? In our opinion, the answer is affirmative. We believe that the urban naming patterns of Lima and Manila contain certain substantial common features. The memories of both centre upon the formation and development of their respective independent nation states. They are *republican memories*, insofar as they focus on the birth and consolidation of a modern republican state and inasmuch as they reflect the theoretical and practical values and principles that led to its creation and sustain it<sup>47</sup>.

The process of revolution and emancipation undergone by the Republic of Peru and the Republic of the Philippines can be placed within the framework of the stages of the Hispano-American liberal paradigm. This movement had similar characteristics in all the countries of the Hispanic context and was shaped by liberal and enlightened political principles derived from Europe, which advocated the creation of new constitutional parliamentary states based on institutional rationality, the citizenship contract and social progress. A secessionist liberal wave swept Latin America in the first few decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The same current reached the other side of the Pacific, the Philippines, at the end of the century. This Latin-liberal political project was always promoted by a limited *bourgeois, Creole, intellectual, political and military elite*. This *republican elite*, which has always sought to embody the patriotic and institutional values of Latin liberalism, occupies the greater part of the urban memory of both Lima and Manila.

Both the figures selected and the historical events that are highlighted promote a markedly institution-centred republican memory, led by a political and military sector of society that guaranteed the newly-established regime. This political and military leadership was supported by (and in the case of Manila clearly intermixed with) a substantial group of intellectuals, scientists, entrepreneurs and philanthropists, who, following in the wake of the Enlightenment, were presented as representing national glory and promoting social progress.

The case of Barcelona is also interesting. The first sub-category in terms of frequency is that of figures related to the world of culture and science (42% of historical figures). Individuals who devoted their whole life to the letters and sciences are commemorated. In the streets of Barcelona, the arts of peace are clearly ahead of those of war. We believe that the fact that Barcelona is not the capital of the state has played a decisive role in the historical development of the city and the progressive configuration of the

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<sup>47</sup> In the case of Manila, as independence was attained more recently, the memory is particularly concentrated in this period. In Lima, on the other hand, the focus of attention is not so exclusively connected with this period, as it also covers the state's institutional consolidation in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Moreover, the civilians commemorated in Manila are closely related to the political sector, whereas the inhabitants of Lima are not so closely linked to national political and military developments.

inhabitants' memory. For many decades, Barcelona had neither political nor administrative power. This meant that the city, far from the advantages and drowsiness of the capital, had to develop a powerful civil society, characterised by its economic dynamism and its capacity for forming associations. For many decades, rather than boasting of its political situation, Barcelona stood out for its economic growth and cultural strength<sup>48</sup>. This entire process is reflected in the city's naming patterns, which pay greater attention to members of civil society than to politicians and military leaders.

This does not imply, however, that Barcelona's memory obliterates politics from its streets. They bear the names of politicians and monarchs (20%+12%). The vast majority of the politicians are Catalans, who stand out for having defended greater political freedom for Catalonia in different periods. In practice, the urban memory of Barcelona is a *Catalan memory*. The subject of the memory is Catalonia. Nevertheless, it is not an exclusively nationalist Catalan memory, but rather it encompasses the complexity of the Catalan situation, which enjoys a marked identity of its own, but, at the same time, possesses centuries-old cultural and political ties with the rest of Spain. This link is reflected in the city's streets by means of references to Spanish monarchs and numerous regions in the rest of the state.

On the other hand, from the point of view of religion, Barcelona, Lima and Manila are noticeably Catholic cities. The religious figures commemorated by the streets of the three cities are Catholics in the vast majority of cases. In Barcelona, figures derived from the Catholic list of saints make up 25% of the total of historical figures, while the most frequently repeated name in the capital of Peru is that of St Rose of Lima. The Catholic religion is one of the identifying features uniting the three cities.

## 5. Concluding considerations

The set of a city's street names will finally define in the inhabitants' collective mindset a series of referential axes of memory, a variety of historical points of emphasis. That all come together to mould the image that we have of *ourselves* in our collective mentality. The urban place-names of a city are a clear example of a site of memory because they define a collective memory plan among the inhabitants. Streets names that follow the functional-symbolic system and which are deeply permeated by history act as an interpretative repository for the past. They retain the past and they structure, promote and spread it, thereby laying the foundations of a particular collective identity.

By means of our analysis of the urban plans of Barcelona, Lima and Manila, we have come to the conclusion that the memories that they contain and shape are not unilateral and univocal, but rather complex and stratified. It is true that, deep down, there may be an underlying *narrative structure with a degree of internal coherence*. However, it is also true that this structure is made up by different superimposed and interwoven *layers*.

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<sup>48</sup> This state of affairs has changed in the course of recent decades. Since the political transition that took place after the death of the dictator Franco in 1975, Barcelona has been the capital of Catalonia. In the last few years, the effort and the creativity that used to be directed towards economic and social development have increasingly been oriented towards the construction of a Catalonia with a strong sense of identity.

Within these landscapes of memory, we can distinguish two basic types of layers. On the one hand, urban names include and reflect different *time layers*, insofar as they bring together different historical periods. In this paper, we have defined three periods or layers, which have subsequently been recognised in the lists of names of these cities. On the other hand, we can also make out different *interpretative layers* in the urban plan, insofar as successive memory discourses, differing visions of the past are superimposed and interleaved within it. Over the years, those responsible for naming the city's streets endow new districts with names according to the interpretation of the past that they have and wish to promote. When historical and political contexts change, different discourses of memory take over, and ultimately these are all put together and reflected in the present-day memory map. The existing list of names is the result of the complex process of interweaving the two types of layer involved (time and discursive).

The resulting memory tapestry is therefore an incredibly fruitful macrotext. At an initial level, it reflects the successive historical stages that the city has experienced. At a second level, it reveals the successive interpretations of the past that have permeated the collective mindset and which have been expressed and shifted by those in a position of authority. Studying urban memory maps can be of interest both to historical theorists, insofar as it enables an in-depth analysis of the ways and means of collective memory, and to historians of historiography, since urban plans represent a historical macrotext with their own context that can be analysed critically. Not only is it possible to compare the memories of different cities, but we can also analyse the urban plans of the same city in comparative terms at different moments of the past.

Logically, if we analyse the existing plan, the most recent *layers* stand out and are most prominent. For one thing, collective historical attention tends to focus upon the contemporary period. For another, the historical discourse prevailing in recent decades tends to be predominant in overall terms. Those responsible for naming patterns have been able to name new streets, re-name other older ones and paint the city with the hues of memory and identity that they wish to promote. However, the most recent layers do not drown out all the earlier ones, which emerge and surface in various ways. Be that as it may, in spite of the many patterns of discourse that they contain, urban nomenclature finally constitutes a single text, a single narrative structure which, despite its incoherencies, ultimately permeates the collective mindset and shapes certain basic features in the citizens' shared memory. The inhabitant does not discover the various levels that make up the memory map, but sees them as a whole instead. This unity of memory is what we have endeavoured to study in this paper<sup>49</sup>. We will try to bring together some of the most important comparative conclusions that have been obtained as a result of analysing these street plans of memory.

At the beginning of this paper, we raised the question of whether bridging narratives could be defined between the three lists of street names. The result of this systematic analysis points to there being certain fundamental coincidences in the collective memories of the three cities in spite of there also being noticeable divergences. Whatever the case, we at least find substantial *formal similarities*. In practice, it can be concluded that the three cities share the same patterns or archetypes of memory. If we

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<sup>49</sup> It is certain that, in the approach that we have adopted, the production (or construction) of the representation of the past is given priority. This approach could be complemented by a study of collective reception.

analyse the typologies of street names, it will be found that there is a fairly similar degree of frequency. They are *markedly person-centred memories*, which revolve around historical figures (approximately 50% of the streets commemorate historical figures). They reveal the human being's need to specify and personalise history, by synthesising via outstanding decisive individuals. Furthermore, the results also reveal patterns of *memory of short time span and restricted geographical scope*. These limited horizons act in favour of interests that promote the construction of national identity.

A high proportion of the streets refer to the *we concept*. In fact, they presuppose, define and strengthen this *we concept*. Urban place-names are an *identity display case*, which is used to reinforce and define collective identity. However, how far does this concept of *us* extend; what are its limits? What resources does the list of street names use to define them? A collective subject can be made out fairly clearly in the memory discourse of each city<sup>50</sup>. In the case of Barcelona, the subject is *we Catalans*. In the case of Lima, the subject is *we Peruvians*. In the case of Manila, *we Filipinos*. These collective subjects may seem obvious and logical, but there is no reason why this should necessarily be so. The sense of awareness of Lima could adopt other forms, such as 'we, the inhabitants of Lima', 'we Incas' or 'we South Americans'. Yet both in the case of Lima and that of Manila, the urban plan mainly puts forward a nation-state identity, centring upon the recent past. It is a political identity, which revolves around the modern republican State. We do not find a popular memory, but rather an institutional one. The case of Barcelona is somewhat different. The Catalan identity that emerges from the urban nomenclature does not consist of only a political subject, but instead comprises a *political and cultural subject*. This is not restricted to the recent past, but rather is understandable as a cultural unity (with political entity in various periods) that has been permanent in time since the period of limited intercivilisation relations down to the present day.

The recognition and construction of identity always includes a substantial dialectic dimension. The discovery, to a certain extent the creation and invention, of self identity requires the difference as regards *the other* to be verified, it needs contrast and differentiation as regards other realities. In this respect, the confrontation with Castile is a stimulus for the construction of self identity in the three areas<sup>51</sup>. The streets of the three cities honour figures who fought against the Castilians to defend the rights and separate nature of each region. The wars of independence structure the memories of Lima and Manila. These two cities, and to a certain extent Catalonia as well, gradually gave rise to their modern identity in the sometimes cultural, at others armed confrontations and struggles against Castile<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup> Some lucid observations on the plausibility that the concept of the collective character (or *quasi character*) as an "opérateur narratif" can be found in Ricoeur, P.: *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*. Paris, p. 313-314.

<sup>51</sup> We cannot cover here all the nuances and clarifications that would be advisable. However, we should at least clarify the point that we use *Castile* as an approximate and abbreviated term to designate the collection of Spanish territories that have Castilian as their own language and their centre of gravity in Madrid. In this respect, it would also include, for example Andalusia. As regards the term 'Castiles' used in some parts of Asia to identify the European explorers from Spain, the contemporary evidence of B. Leonardo de Argensola in his *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* (Madrid 1609) is of interest.

<sup>52</sup> In the case of Manila, the struggle for independence from Spain was followed by the fight for independence against the USA.

Nevertheless, while it is true that the struggle against the Castilians has been used to inform the *we concept*, it is also certain that in none of these cases did Castilian-related matters remain completely alien to it. Castilian aspects were (and are) not only present as a source of conflict, but also, and on no few occasions, as an accepted and assimilated reality. If the streets referring to the period of Spanish rule in Lima are analysed, it will be seen that the majority of them refer to institutions or individuals forming an integral part of the colonial system (Viceroy, Garcilaso de la Vega, St Rose, Magistrate). In addition, the Castilian inheritance does not infuse only part of the contents of memory; it also permeates the whole form. In practice, the place-names and memory of Lima are expressed in Castilian – or Spanish. In Manila, the great majority of the foreign territories that are named are connected with Spanish places<sup>53</sup>. Castilian matters therefore serve to define the circle of the *we concept*, both because of conflict and through acceptance. At the same time, these two capitals bear a noteworthy Catholic memory, a consequence of the Castilian presence. Catholicism constitutes a bridge and a meeting point between the three cities.

We might say that the memories of Lima and Manila, in spite of the differences that have already been mentioned, have common elements; they are *neomestizo* memories. In other words, the native and colonial cultures (which also includes North American influence in the case of the Philippines) come together and become intermixed in them. Yet the *neomestizo* memory and identity does not restrict itself to gathering and synthesising the two traditions involved; it also stretches beyond them and erects a new political and social reality upon them, which we have called *republican*, which stands as the centre point for the collective memory and identity. This republican identity is not only based on dialectic conflict with the former colonisers, but it also promotes an affirmative memory discourse in which national civilian and political figures are honoured so that the collective identifies itself with the projects and values that they embody and represent.

The case of Barcelona is also of interest. We have already pointed out that the core of identity's circle, the subject of memory, is Catalonia. Yet in the Barcelona memory, Spanish-related matters are not relegated to the place of the *other*. Spain is also very present, as a second level or concentric circle of the *we concept*. In fact, in the geo-political aspect of the town-plan memory, other regions of Spain are predominant and, at the same time, several important streets bear the names of Spanish monarchs. This demonstrates that the identity subject is not a completely closed and exclusive being; various levels or concentric circles also exist within it. The *we concept* consists of various degrees. In the street names of Lima, for example, the presence of other Latin American countries is noticeable. The Peruvian identity falls within and links itself to the Latin American political and cultural context.

These are some of the conclusions that we have reached after studying the lists of names of Barcelona, Lima and Manila. A considerable similarity in the form adopted by memory in the three cities can be observed, alongside some noticeable similarities in its contents, especially in the case of Lima and Manila. We believe that this preliminary

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<sup>53</sup> An exhibition on the Spanish legacy in Manila's streets was held at the Instituto Cervantes in Manila last year. Its title was "Marlón Después: Las calles de Manila". Some photographs taken by Marlón Después were exhibited there. Después is a Filipino-American photographer, who documented the large city with his camera, searching for streets with Spanish names to link the past and the present.

essay demonstrates that the initial hypotheses and the methodology used are suitable, although logically they can be developed and perfected. It has been shown that it is difficult to establish valid categories for all regions. In spite of their being culturally and historically linked, it has proved complicated to find analytical categories that suit the three cases perfectly. This may become even more difficult if, in the future, an attempt is made to carry out a comparative analysis of the urban plan of cities located within different political and cultural paradigms. However, the mere act of investigating possibilities of categorisation is in itself interesting and fruitful, because it encourages a reconsideration of regional histories from a global perspective and forces us to consider a new approximation of history on the basis of multipolar and cross-cultural patterns of thought. Basically, it is a matter of shifting the axis of reference and the viewpoint from a specific culture to the world understood as a global unity.

In our opinion, urban street names are an interesting field of study to gain an understanding of the historical cultures of different regional contexts of the world. Collective identities are coming to be envisaged as a decisive factor in the political and social configuration of the world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In view of the prejudices and ignorance that often hinder our understanding of the *other*, it may be opportune to promote this type of study of town-plan memory. They may be of use to gain a better knowledge of cultural memories – the nucleus of social identities – and to discover latent bridges between the collective mindsets of different civilisations. Whatever the case, they will be of use to gain a better understanding of reality and to drive away the phantoms of ignorance (which culminate in a priori rejections or ethereal utopianism). In addition, demonstrating the localism and regionalism usually found in urban memory may also be a good reason for insisting that those in authority should promote a more open and universal memory, in accordance with the global community in which we live and which we are heading towards.