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PLANNING AND CREATING  
PLACE IDENTITY FOR PODGORICA  
AS OBSERVED THROUGH HISTORIC  
URBAN PLANNING

UDC 711.4-122 (16.16 PODGORICA) "19/20"

PLANIRANJE I STVARANJE  
*PREPOZNTLJIVOSTI MJESTA*  
GRADA PODGORICE OČITANO KROZ  
POVIJESNE URBANISTIČKE PLANOVE

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FIG. 1 AERIAL VIEW OF CENTRAL PODGORICA BY THE CONFLUENCE OF RIBNICA AND MORAČA RIVER  
SL. 1. ZRAČNA SNIMKA SREDIŠNJEG DIJELA PODGORICE POKRAJ USĆA RIBNICE U MORAČU

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## PLANNING AND CREATING PLACE IDENTITY FOR PODGORICA AS OBSERVED THROUGH HISTORIC URBAN PLANNING

## PLANIRANJE I STVARANJE *PREPOZNTLJIVOSTI MJESTA* GRADA PODGORICE OČITANO KROZ POVIJESNE URBANISTIČKE PLANOVE

PLACE IDENTITY  
PLACE-MAKING  
PODGORICA  
TITOGRAĐ  
URBAN PLANNING

PREPOZNTLJIVOST MJESTA  
STVARANJE MJESTA  
PODGORICA  
TITOGRAĐ  
URBANISTIČKO PLANIRANJE

Existing and recognized natural and historic values within a city district play an important role in maintaining and creation of the recognizable city image. The respect of a planner for their perception and conservation can be well observed through prepared and adopted urban plans of different levels. Taking Podgorica as an example, this paper represents an overview of how these values were recognized and implemented in city planning documents.

U stvaranju i održavanju prepoznatljive slike nekoga mjesta veliku ulogu imaju postojeće, a prepoznate prirodne i povijesne vrijednosti unutar područja planiranog za njegov razvoj. Odnos planera prema pravilnoj spoznaji i čuvanju tih vrijednosti može se očitati kroz izrađene i usvojene urbanističke planove. Na primjeru grada Podgorice dan je prikaz načina prepoznavanja i planerski odnos prema tim vrijednostima, od prvih urbanističkih planova pa do danas.

## INTRODUCTION

### UVOD

One of the methodological approaches in revealing the creation of a place identity is, by no means, a search for and adequate scientific reading of existing historic planning documents. Through these documents, the planner's attitude towards existing (natural or historic) values and the importance of preserving existing or creating new identity can be recognized, determined and implemented in the future Place creation and management. The major approaches that are regularly mentioned in the process of urban planning are: *Conservation, Preservation and Protection* of Place identity. This paper<sup>1</sup> will try to reveal the creation of Place Identity for Podgorica, the capital of Montenegro, as seen through the prepared planning documents.

### PLACE IDENTITY AND URBAN PLANNING

#### PREPOZNTLJIVOST MJESTA I URBANISTIČKO PLANIRANJE

The natural environment is undoubtedly major source of identity elements in regional and urban planning. The affluence of the natural heritage of a region, along with its cultural and historic heritage, requires special attention in their detection and valorization. As a result of the improved criteria for preservation of natural and cultural heritage and a desire for self-sustainable development, there is a common need in today's planning legal practice<sup>2</sup> to modify professional and legal terms<sup>3</sup> and

approaches in conventional planning models and methodologies. The planning ideas and schemes have been mostly based on the notion of creating optimal physical and functional patterns, while the environment preservation and its resources were reduced to a mere re-recording of facts from previous plans, and which has to be changed in order to preserve the natural diversity and integrity of places and their curtilage.

Thus, one of many important urban planners' responsibilities is capturing the *sense of place*, a sense that makes the area so special and different from the neighboring one, and keep it not only throughout the entire planning process but also throughout the Place life. A plan, as a step-by-step process, must protect and preserve the unique physical resources of each place through *time* by solving problems, or at least by giving guidelines on how to avoid problems.

But in many physical plans the buildable areas were planned regardless the natural (topographic) conditions and features of the area, or real needs. As a result of that neglectedness, there are numerous buildable areas in close vicinity to valuable natural identity elements or within the viewshed upon such elements, imposing direct (aesthetic) threat to the place identity.<sup>4</sup> This is often explained as the political or investor's demand, but it brings us to forgetting that the process of *Place making* should be understood as reaching different goals that are of obvious symbolic, civic and social interest, but could also open new opportunities for architectural and urban development.<sup>5</sup> This kind of planning approach takes us undoubtedly to waste of space, regardless the real Place and Region growth and development needs.

<sup>1</sup> This paper represents preliminary research results on creation of the identity of Place through the urban planning history for Podgorica, Montenegro. The research is performed within the scientific project *Heritage Urbanism – Urban and Spatial Planning Models for Revival and Enhancement of Cultural Heritage* [HERU-2032] financed by the Croatian Science Foundation, which is being carried out at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb, with Prof. Mladen Obad Šćitaroci Ph.D. as a principal scholar.

<sup>2</sup> LIPOVAC, POPOVIĆ, ROBINA, 2015: 49

<sup>3</sup> The most common problem in planning is the usage of three terms: *conservation, preservation and protection*. Without their clear and *omni* acceptable definition it will be quite impossible to produce plans that will be professionally accepted and enforceable.

<sup>4</sup> *Place identity* usually refers to a cluster of elements scoped through geography, urban planning and design, landscape architecture... Methodologies used for understanding these elements primarily involve techniques such as mapping the entire range of physical elements from natural and cultural environment. Urban planners, along with landscape architects, should use some forms of deliberative planning, charettes, public discussions with local communities as a way of working with and for place identity.

<sup>5</sup> PALERMO, 2014: 4

<sup>6</sup> The *Place identity* is pretty often understood and recognized as the *urban character*, or *neighborhood character*, or just a *local character*.

Consequently, much has been written about the *Place Identity* and the *Sense of Place*; two terms that are closely related to urban planning. The importance of the *Place Identity*<sup>6</sup> in urban and physical planning has been recognized differently throughout the planning history, but the most important approaches can be observed in the last 30 years when *It* became a significant issue in urban planning and design. This process could be noted in urban plans prepared for Podgorica (Montenegro), once named Titograd, in former Yugoslavia. One of the ways to explore the making and changing of the *Place Identity* is obviously the study of the roots of the *Place* name, as one of many *Place* identities is the name of a particular *Place*. However, the *place* names are subject to many changes and people are forgetting or neglecting that the names usually are connected with the heritage of the particular *Places*. What are the motives behind such name changes in global contexts? One of the answers for changing the *Place* name is inextricably linked to political changes in the region where the *Place* is.<sup>7</sup>

The *Importance of Place, Concept of Place, or Nature of Place experience*<sup>8</sup> has been examined more within sociological researches, less as a part of an urban planning process. But, dealing with *place* concept without knowing and accepting geographic issues in urban and physical planning process does not take us to *Place Making*. A very good discussion of this subject can be found in the article<sup>9</sup> written by professor Emeritus Fred E. Lukermann in which he revealed six major components of the *place* concept.<sup>10</sup> According to this, it is obvious that the first step in

defining a *Place* is to experience, reveal and describe its location, along with the surrounding environment and naming all, or at least most, of the existing elements of identity. However, the description of the location alone is not sufficient to define the entire *place*, its meaning and experience. Therefore, the planners need to reveal and use the existing elements of identity from the natural environment<sup>11</sup> throughout the entire planning process. Some of the most influential elements from natural environment in urban planning are the ones known as relief and landform which includes all terrain form appearances and water (mountains, hills, valleys, creeks, rivers, lakes... and their banks). The way how these natural features have been used within the planning process is reflected on creation and later maintenance of the *Identity of Place* and life of the *Place*. Some of the important *sources of identity*, by no means, are the historic plans prepared through Time for the future settlement development. In this paper, the authors will try to reveal the relation through Time between the planners and the existing *place* identity elements from the natural environment for the town of Podgorica, from its very beginning of planning history (second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) until the last produced plan in 2014.

## HISTORY OF MAKING CITY OF PODGORICA THROUGH URBAN PLANNING PROCESS

### POVIJEST NASTANKA GRADA PODGORICE KROZ URBANISTIČKO-PLANERSKI PROCES

The modern city of Podgorica, the capital of Montenegro, is nested in the northern part of the Morača (Moracha) River valley (Fig. 1), surrounded by a neckless of small hill chains along the three sides (east, north, west) and the marshy coast of Skadar Lake on the south. Geographically, the entire area is intersected by five rivers – Morača, Ribnica (flowing through the town itself, and Zeta, Cijevna and Sitnice at the town outskirts). The first names of a settlement (Ribnica and Podgorica) built in this valley must have been derived from one of the rivers name (Ribnica), and later one (Podgorica) as a term meaning "by the foothill". The settlement was started up by the river mouth of Ribnica River into Morača River, and later by the north foothill side of Gorica hill. The entire wider urban development of Podgorica can be observed through four major historic periods that encompass the years as follows:

- a) Roman to Ottoman period (49 BC-1474 AD),
- b) Ottoman period (1474-1878),
- c) Principality of Montenegro and Kingdom of Yugoslavia period (1878-1946),
- d) Post World War II period (1946-today).

<sup>7</sup> Name of Podgorica, the capital of Montenegro, has its meaning connected with the fact that the *place* is nested at the foothill of a small hill: *Gorica* (close to the center of the town) reaching some 107 meters above sea level. Other hills near by the town, which are creating the city appearance are *Malo brdo*, *Velje brdo*, *Ljubovic brdo* i *Dajbabe brdo*. Also the name was changed for political reason in the mid of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the *place* returned the original name after the country became independent state.

<sup>8</sup> LIPOVAC, 1997: 8-12

<sup>9</sup> The article titled *Geography as a Formal Intellectual Discipline and the Way in Which it Contributes to Human Knowledge* was published in *Canadian Geographer*; in 1964.

<sup>10</sup> Professor Lukermann was the Chair of the Geography Department, University of Minnesota. According to him, the *Place* concept consists of: a) The idea of location, location as it relates to other things and places, is absolutely fundamental; b) *Place* involves an integration of elements of nature and culture; this undoubtedly implies that every *place* is a unique entity; c) Although the *places* are unique, they are interconnected by a system of spatial interactions and transfers, part of a frame of circulation; d) *Places* are part of larger areas and are focuses in a system of localization; e) *Places* are emerging and becoming: with historical and cultural change new elements are added, while some old disappear; f) *Places* have meaning: they are characterized by the beliefs of individuals.

<sup>11</sup> LIPOVAC, 2000: 59-64

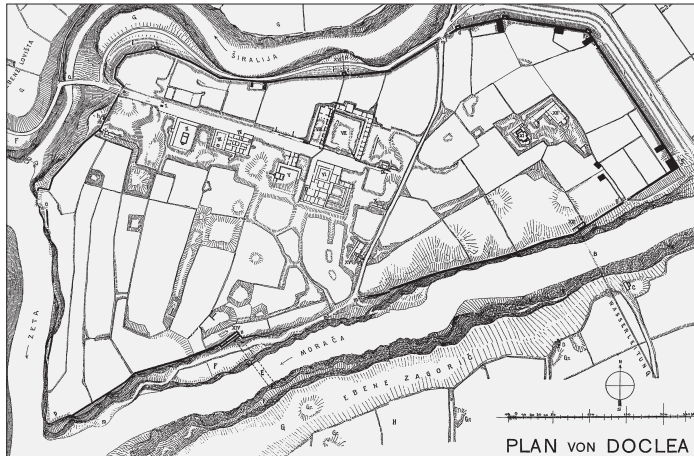


FIG. 2 ARCHEOLOGICAL MAP OF DUKLJA (DOCLEA) SITE  
SL. 2. ARHEOLOŠKA KARTA LOKALITETA DUKLJA



FIG. 3 AERIAL PHOTO OF DUKLJA (DOCLEA) SITE TODAY  
SL. 3. ZRAČNA SNIMKA ARHEOLOŠKOG LOKALITETA DUKLJA DANAS

**a) From Roman to Ottoman Period (49 BC-1474 AD)** – First settlement records within this area originate from the Roman period when a settlement known as the Roman Municipality of *Doclea*<sup>12</sup>, was built as a part of a Roman Municipium. It was an urban area, walled by a very strong walls and towers, between the riverbanks of three rivers: Zeta, Morača and Širalijska (Shiraliya) sizing nearly 25 hectares<sup>13</sup> and having the only terrestrial access to the nearby *Via Naronia* road across the bridges over Širalijska River (westbound) and Morača (southbound). The entire settlement layout was a typical Roman one: irregular extended polygon with two main (perpendicular) streets and a square (forum) with a basilica at their intersection. But in the case of *Doclea*, the main streets were not following a north-south and east-west direction (as was the case with most of Roman towns), but followed the natural environment appearance: the topographic features of the terrain north of the mouth of Zeta and Morača Rivers (Fig. 2). Besides these general city appearances and nesting, it is important to mention that the town had the water supply system (aqueduct) directly bringing fresh and clean water from nearby Cijevna River (and possibly Širalijska River). The place was destroyed several times but was re-erected and inhabited until the mid of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup> Another proof of the importance and a long life of this settlement is the fact that the settlement had two necropolises (cemeteries) planed outside the settlement walls. Today, the area is an archeological site, which was highly devastated by the railway that went right through it (1947/48), by construction of the electric power station, asphalt road, power lines, ravage of the town walls including stone building decoration<sup>15</sup>, plus numerous illegal house constructions (Fig. 3). Fortunately, the future town spread did not go that direction!

Today, there are some professional discussions that the very first Slavic settlement (as

a historic nucleus of today's Podgorica) was nested atop a small mesa, by the confluence of Ribnica and Zeta River, and named after one of them – Ribnica.<sup>16</sup> But, there are no real scientific proofs for that. To the contrary, some recent researches are putting Ribnica settlement in the wider range of Zeta River valley. As the proof for this conclusion they is the fact that there was no case in the history of Montenegro that a settlement would have changed the name from one (Ribnica) to another one (Podgorica<sup>17</sup>), both of a Slavic origin. Later, the settlement grew and served as a pretty strong trade and customs road point between the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and Serbia, interconnecting by road some other places with Ribnica, like Trebinje and Nikšić. This first settlement, probably just a hamlet, must have had been a typical unplanned medieval irregular street network

<sup>12</sup> The name of a settlement probably originates from the Illyrian tribe known as *Docleati*, while the Slavic tribes that spread over this area after the 7<sup>th</sup> century named it *Duklja*.

<sup>13</sup> The site was minutely researched by Piero Sticotti, Italian archeologists, between 1896 and 1898. The results were published in a book titled *Über die Ergebnisse einer Reise nach Doclea*, printed in *Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-historische Klasse*, XLV (1908), Wien and reprinted by *Matica Crnogorska* and the Association for Culture and Science (under the title: *The Roman Municipality of Doclea in Montenegro*) in Podgorica, 2000. This is the only graphic presentation of the place found ever since.

<sup>14</sup> The long life of this settlement obviously was caused by the fact that the nearness of river was used not only for defense but also for drinking water supplement and watering the near-by fields.

<sup>15</sup> Interestingly, by the mid of the same year (July 3<sup>rd</sup>) the Government of Peoples' Republic of Montenegro constituted the Institute for Protection and Scientific Research of Cultural Heritage and Natural Values, which announced in 1956 the Duklja site as a heritage monument of national importance. But it was already too late, as the stone material from the site was spread around and used for construction of two basilicas and a church prior the railway construction had started. After the railway has been set in traffic, the new infrastructure (water supply, sewage, electricity and at the end the asphalt road) was introduced into this antic site which created the basic conditions for the

FIG. 4 AERIAL PHOTO OF STARA VAROŠ TODAY  
SL. 4. ZRAČNA SNIMKA STARE VAROŠI DANAS



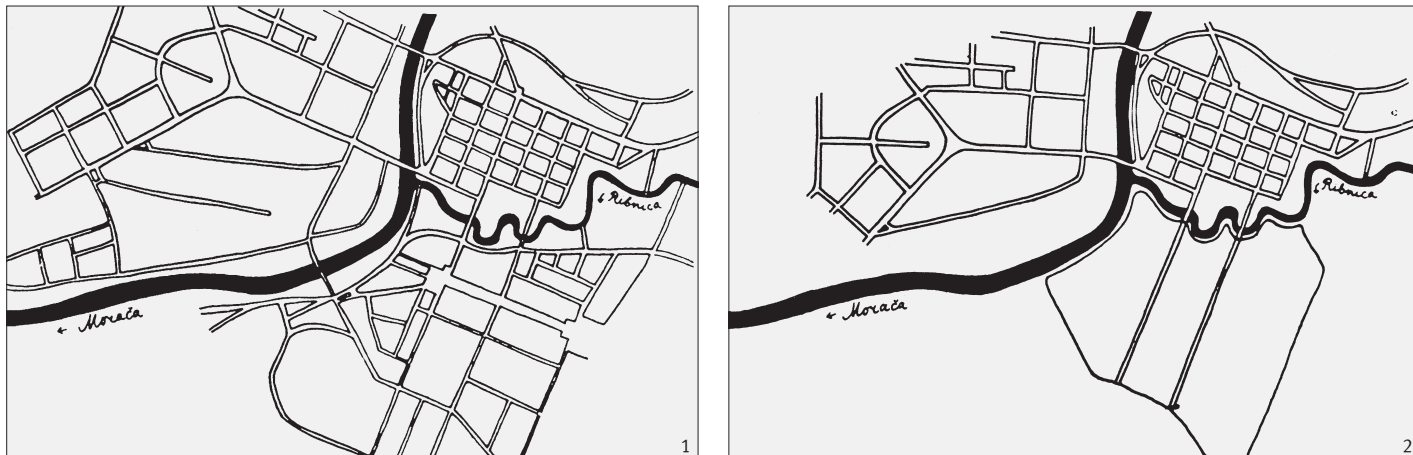


FIG. 5 VORMAN'S PLAN (1879), VERSIONS 1 AND 2  
SL. 5. VORMANOV PLAN IZ 1879., VARIJANTE 1 I 2

settlement, spread around the little church. There is not much remains of this settlement preserved today to help in better understanding of this Place.

**b) Ottoman Period (1474-1878)** – Podgorica urban development was interrupted by the Ottoman's military penetration into this area in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Today we can still witness some of the relics from Ottoman period – the remains of a triangle shaped military fortress, also known as *Depedogen*<sup>18</sup>, at the confluence of two rivers (Moraca and Ribnica). South of the fortress, an organic street lay-out medieval settlement (*Stara Varoš*) was later established<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 4). The Moraca River was never considered as something a settlement would be close to. To the contrary, along the steep river banks (on the top of the mesa) the first palisades were erected around the medieval settlement.

inhabitation of this valuable site. In May 2007 the Republic Institute for heritage Monuments Protection approved a new project for future railway re-development, which considers the removal of the entire railway structures (causeways and pillars) from the site before the end of 2017.

<sup>16</sup> The first mentioning of the name Ribnica dates back to 1216, but the real proof for a settlement nested on the mesa overlooking the confluence of Ribnica into Moraca River is the existence of a small church of St. George dating back to the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>17</sup> The first written data on the name of *Podgorica* takes us back to the year 1326 when the name was briefly mentioned in a court document which is today stored in *Kotor Archives*.

<sup>18</sup> The fortress was built by sultan Mehmed-han between 1474 and 1479 and used as an ammunition warehouse for the Ottoman army.

<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, the spread of the settlement was east of Moraca and south of Ribnica, and has never occurred on the right bank of Moraca River, as it probably served as a natural defense area from the enemy's attack from the west.

<sup>20</sup> KNEŽEVIC, BRAJOVIC, 1987: 13

<sup>21</sup> The stone bridge originate from the Roman period, was destroyed by the earthquake in 618 a.d. and restored by the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Hadji Pasha.

<sup>22</sup> The both versions of the plan were made by a Russian engineer Vladimir Vorman.

They probably served as an additional defense line against the enemy. Within *Stara Varoš*, not even at the highest peak of a settlement, there were no public buildings but only several hundred small residential houses built along curving narrow streets.<sup>20</sup> The only built structure out-topping the settlement was a Scender-Chaush (or *Doganjska*) mosque from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and the clock tower from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They are both still well preserved today. The most impressive infrastructure building that is still holding the image of the Ottoman's time is, by no means, an old (well conserved and preserved) stone *Hadji-Pasha Bridge*<sup>21</sup> over Ribnica River on the north edge of *Stara Varoš*. From this period, there are no mapping documents on settlement planning, but some construction remains are revealing the fact helping in dating the construction – the fortress and the wall design provide the proof elements that they were built at the very beginning of the usage of firearms and the gunpowder period. The settlement built outside the fortress, and surrounded by a palisade wall, was irregularly shaped settlement nested on the top of the mesa, with narrow meandering streets and obviously was never planned.

### c) Principality of Montenegro and Kingdom of Yugoslavia Period (1878-1946)

– After the Berlin Congress (1878), the town of Podgorica was united with Montenegro, and that year is considered to be the end of Ottoman period and the beginning of a new one having sudden growth of incoming residential population. By the year 1878, Podgorica had some 1,500 houses and nearly 8,000 residents, the number that had a constant tendency in growth. In order to enable the "organized" accommodation for the increasing number of residents, for the area out of *Stara Varoš* limits, the first urban plan for settlement enlargement was prepared in 1879.<sup>22</sup> According to the plan, the area planned for a new town

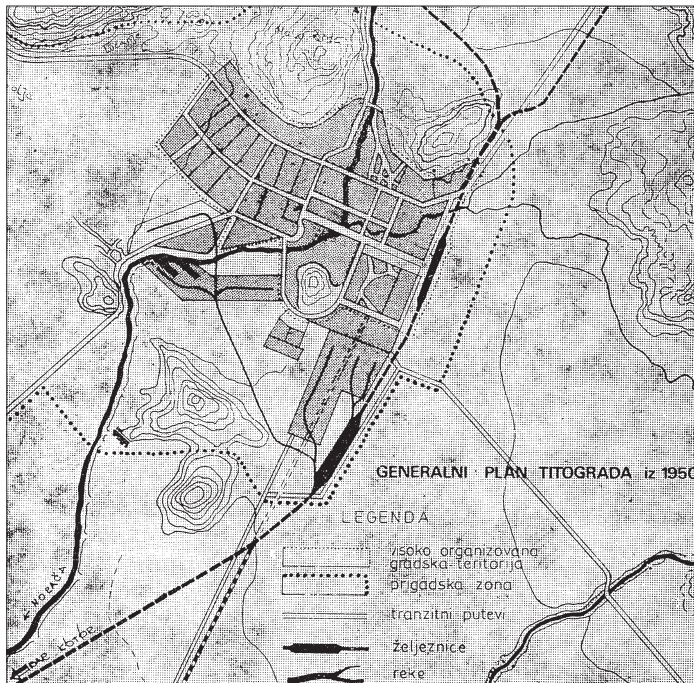


FIG. 6 GENERAL PLAN FOR TITOGRAĐ, 1950  
SL. 6. GENERALNI PLAN TITOGRAĐA IZ 1950.



FIG. 7 GENERAL PLAN FOR TITOGRAĐ, 1957  
SL. 7. GENERALNI PLAN TITOGRAĐA IZ 1957.

was spread north-west from the confluence of Ribnica into Morača River. Following the ideas of neoclassicism in urban planning, two versions of a new city plan were proposed: both based on a grid street network with slight modification of the street direction of the New Town (Fig. 5) planned on the other side of Morača River. The first one had the same direction of a street grid layout for Nova Varoš and the New Town. In the second version, the street grid layout was rotated counterclockwise for some 15 degrees. But somehow, none of the versions paid any attention to the existence of two rivers, as the proposed town development occupied the area far from the rivers and their features. The closest point, in both plan versions, where the town reached the river remained the same – the Hadji-Pasha Bridge. Both versions of the plan proposed the mayor redevelopment for Stara Varoš (Fig. 5) rolling over the inherited street network, which fortunately has not happened ever since. But, most of the carried out urban development proposal for Nova Varoš followed the Vorman's ideas, and they are notable in today's layout of Podgorica: a strict street grid network, forming rectangle shaped town blocks. The street layout of a New Town was totally different: the main concept was based on three main streets forming the shape of a letter Y. The idea was to have a center of a New Town by the junction of these, main "Boulevards" (ending nowhere). The second plan version had a road which was planned to follow slightly the Morača River bend, but that was all that could be recognized as a connection with sur-

rounding natural features the river. On both rivers there were two planned bridges. The Vorman's plan stayed "in power" until the end of the World War II, although the town has out-grown the planned number of residents reaching nearly over 13,000 between the WWs, and having over 16,000 residents by the end of WWII.<sup>23</sup> The rivers within a town image remained the same – "uncontrolled natural wilderness" that divided the town.

**d) Post WWII Period (1946-2014)** – The first interventions within Podgorica after the end of WWII were focused upon the reconstruction of the destroyed parts of Nova Varoš and supporting infrastructure. By the end of 1946 a Decision on preparing a General Plan for a new Podgorica<sup>24</sup> was adopted, and core planning idea<sup>25</sup> was to locate the railway station into the New Town area (west of Morača River) obviously trying artificially to move the town spread westbound, across the Morača River. But the planning idea was grounded in 1948 by the Ministry of traffic Decision by which the railway and the station had to be relocated, this time east of Morača. Due to the lack of skilled planners in Montenegro, the republic government of Montenegro passed the General Plan preparation to the Fed-

<sup>23</sup> During the WWII Podgorica was heavily bombarded – most of residential and public buildings were destroyed (more than 80%), along with the entire town infrastructure.

<sup>24</sup> On July 13<sup>th</sup> 1946 the City Council changed the town name from Podgorica to Titograd.

<sup>25</sup> An architect Vujadin Popovic was named for a principle planner.





eral Urban Institute.<sup>26</sup> The plan was prepared in 1950 (Fig. 6) but was not adopted due to many objections.<sup>27</sup> The main planning objection was cutting down the residential areas based on demographic miss-planning – by the year 2000 the plan estimated a city to have only 60,000 residents! Most of the city functions were planned west of Morača although most of them existed already east of Morača. The railway and main roads were planned to serve the city area east of Morača River. The main boulevard between Nova Varoš and the New Town was planned to end at the New Town square, slightly far from the Morača River crossing. East side was planned to host cultural and public and government buildings, while the west one was planned for new residential areas. The plan proposed a wide greenbelt along Morača River without any traffic, which was to be over-passed by five bridges, but there were no other planning ordinances on what to use the greenbelt for. Compared to Vorman's plan, there was a small improvement on validation of natural features and values in urban planning: the layout of the street-network west of Morača River was curved<sup>28</sup> and somehow parallel with the foothill line of Malo brdo. Regarding

<sup>26</sup> This time an architect Ljubo Ilić was named for a principal planner.

<sup>27</sup> Besides moving the existing town (political) functions west of Morača, while the railway *Stara Varoš* was to be totally destroyed.

<sup>28</sup> Today's Dalmatinska Street represents a part of that curved street network.

<sup>29</sup> This time the principal planner was Miloš Somborski.

the usage of natural features (hills and rivers) in planning of a new town image, that was all!

### URBAN PLANS OF PODGORICA THAT WORKED

#### USVOJENI URBANISTIČKI PLANOVI PODGORICE

Most of the area planned for the spread of Titograd (Podgorica) was built up by illegal housing, due to the enormous migration of people to Titograd, a core industrial city in Montenegro. After the failure of the Plan from 1950, a new planning group<sup>29</sup> was formed and they made a new proposal partially based on the first Vorman's plan. The plan concept was based on forming three clearly recognized sub-centers: *Stara Varoš*, *Nova Varoš* and *New Town*. The *New Town* was planned over the open, unbuilt space west of Morača River, which was to be connected by *Nova Varoš* by a wide boulevard west of Morača (Fig. 7). After reaching a certain point in space (new center) the boulevard was to split into two avenues ending (again) nowhere! Instead of stipulating preparation of more detailed zoning plans for unbuilt areas, the author prepared and submitted to the City council set of detailed plans for city blocks (with outlines of buildings) in scale 1:2500, along with related infrastructural plans. Regardless the over-detailed presentation of blocks and the expressed natural landscaping along the river banks, the critiques were focused upon the urban concept – a rigid street network and three town parts divided by the rivers. The

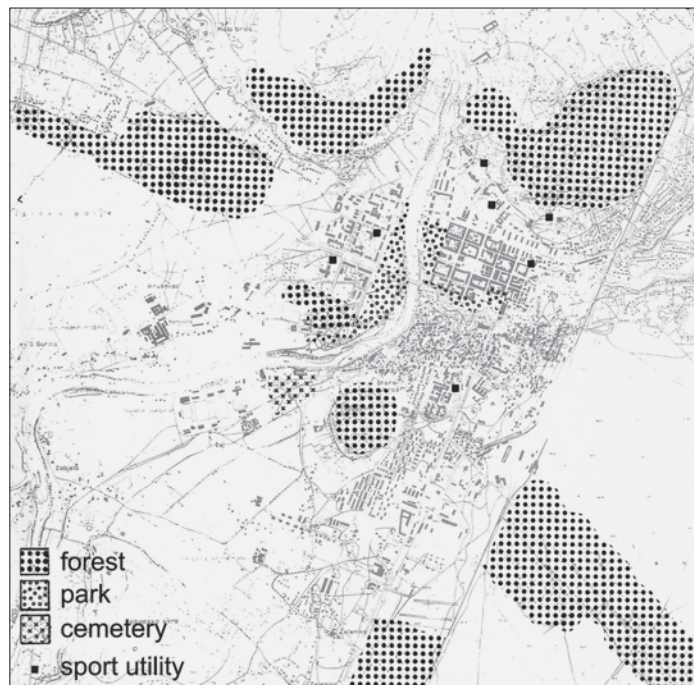


FIG. 8 GENERAL PLAN FOR TITOGRAD, 1964  
SL. 8. GENERALNI PLAN TITOGRAĐA IZ 1964.

FIG. 9 LANDSCAPED AREAS WITHIN GUP LIMITS  
SL. 9. KRAJOBRAZNE POVRŠINE UNUTAR PODRUČJA OBUHVATA GUP-A



FIG. 10 GENERAL URBAN REGULATION  
– GENERAL LANDUSE (2014), EXCERPT  
SL. 10. GENERALNA URBANISTIČKA REGULACIJA  
– OPĆA NAMJENA POVRŠINA (2014.), IZVOD

FIG. 11 GENERAL URBAN REGULATION – PLANNING  
CONDITIONS FOR SPACE DEVELOPMENT (2014), EXCERPT  
SL. 11. GENERALNA URBANISTIČKA REGULACIJA – REŽIMI  
UREĐENJA PROSTORA (2014.), IZVOD

only reasonable street lay-out was the one of a boulevard connecting the New Center and Nova Varoš, ending on Ribnica river bank. The plan was made for the city which was to reach the number of 45,000 residents by the year 1975. Again, the natural features values and importance of rivers have not been recognized – the wide area along the river banks remained “natural site” (without any possible usage ideas), creating a very large distance between the New buildings and the river bank. Still, some essential ideas of this plan have been realized and can be recognized in the street network of today’s Podgorica.

Due to the unplanned and increasing migration into the capital, the (planned) residential areas, (along with some public functions) became too small for the future-to-become town residents. The plan had to be amended by enlarging residential areas and that process started at the beginning of 1961 by the Institute of Urban Planning in Titograd.<sup>30</sup> The plan covered the area of 29 km<sup>2</sup> and was meant for 85,000 residents to reach by the year 1990 (nearly double compared to Somborski Plan) and was adopted in 1964 (Fig. 8). This time four city cores were set and named: Stara Varoš, Nova Varoš, Kruševac and Zagorič. The natural devious river bed of Morača and Ribnica contrasted to rigid orthogonal street network created large areas of greenery.<sup>31</sup> The plan was prize awarded, although there were a lot of complains, like: the wide greenbelts along rivers (on both sides) served only as a “protection” zone between the

built areas on both Morača river banks; having no relations and connection with them and in between. However, this “green” plan put the city of Titograd to be the second city in former Yugoslavia having in mind square meters of greenery *per capita*. as the green areas near Morača and Ribnica were sized to over 120 hectares. Another visionary idea of this Plan for the establishment of river importance within a city was the construction of two dams – one each, on Morača and Ribnica. This water regulation flow by the dams was planned to raise the water level during summer months (when the quantity of water is very low) and help in creating and maintenance of ponds and artificial lakes within recreational areas along the rivers. The green areas along rivers were to help in cooling down the city temperature during summer. Unfortunately, nothing of that idea was realized, ever since.

Following the ordinances of the *Urban and Regional Physical Planning Act*<sup>32</sup> first steps were undertaken towards another revision of the GUP. For the next generation of the GUP several preliminary guidelines were outlined in 1972.<sup>33</sup> We would like to stress out some of them:

- a) life of residents to be routed towards rivers,
- b) usage of natural values through protection of cultural and natural heritage,
- c) distribution of city functions in accordance with the results of natural environment analyses,
- d) enlarge the accessibility to river banks and northbound areas.

These preliminary research and guidelines<sup>34</sup> pointed out that within the GUP coverage there were more than 400 hectares of forest and other natural landscaped areas. But, there were no guidelines on how to connect these natural landscaped areas with the planned ones within the built areas (parks, sport and recreation, playgrounds...). The average size of a landscaped area within residential communities ranged between 8 and 10 m<sup>2</sup> per resident. As it can be observed on graphic analysis of the existing landuse within GUP limits (Fig. 9), the areas along river banks

<sup>30</sup> An architect prof. Uroš Martinović was assigned as a principal planning consultant, and he kept most of Somborski plan idea and enlarged the town residential development areas west of Morača River.

<sup>31</sup> IVANOVIĆ, 1974: 113

<sup>32</sup> “Službeni list SR Crne Gore”, 36/64, 28/71 and 29/73.

<sup>33</sup> \*\*\* 1972: 30-32

<sup>34</sup> The very same guidelines were outlined during the process of preparing Physical Urban Plan that was adopted in 2014, which indicates that not many of them originating from the GUP of 1972 have not been realized ever since.

<sup>35</sup> If the density is calculated according to the planned area and the number of planned number of residents we

were planned for sport and recreation usage, but no solution or planning model was stated on how to master the difference of levels between river banks and the area where the sport and recreation was planned: there was no space that could have been used as a "link" between these planned recreational and public parks with the landscape of the river banks. The rivers were still "excluded" from the image of the city, and no planning ordinances regarding the river appearance and preservation or maintenance within the city limit were mentioned.

The GUP, which was adopted in 1974, covered the area sizing more than 89 km<sup>2</sup> and was planned to fulfill the needs of nearly 140,000 residents by the year 1991. Compared to the previous one, this GUP "opened" some new city cores. There were no significant changes compared to the GUP (1964) concept, except for one portion of Morača River bank being planned for exhibition functions (which has never been realized). Nevertheless, in 1975 a plan for regulation of the rivers confluence was prepared by an architect Vasilije Knežević, and the regulation lasted until 1981. The regulation comprised the Hadji Pasha Bridge and both Ribnica banks next to the confluence into Morača River. This is still the only regulated access to the river, ever since.

The revision of the GUP in 1990 covered the area of nearly 85 km<sup>2</sup>, and planned for 142,000 residents.<sup>35</sup> It has emphasized the need for re-location for most of the industry nested next to the town center. The importance of rivers within the town was the topic, again – the river banks of Morača and Ribnica were planned to have bike lanes, along with numerous pedestrian walks through the landscaped area, but there were no special planning ordinances how to preserve the natural character of the river banks. As a part of tourism development there was a proposal for a recreational center on Morača River that would, besides swimming and different sport fields have some accommodation buildings (hotels, motels, bungalows). Archeological site of old Duklja was planned to become

get a very low density – below 20 residents per hectare. The reason for that is: the plan was covering a lot of surrounding rural areas, without building areas, but no planning ordinances regarding the conservation and preservation of natural features that help in creating the identity of a city.

<sup>36</sup> Physical urban Plan of Podgorica was produced as a joint venture project between URBI Montenegro and WINsoft from Podgorica in coordination with Urban Institute of Slovenia and Geateh from Ljubljana. The Plan was prepared using topographic maps in two scales – 1:50000 and 1:25000. The latter scale was used for more detailed presentation of the City area itself, while the larger scale covered the whole entire City-area.

TABLE I PLANER'S RELATION TOWARDS RIVERS AS SCOPED THROUGH URBAN PLANS FOR PODGORICA  
TABL. I. PLANERSKI ODNOS PREMA RIJEKAMA KROZ URBANISTIČKE PLANOVE PODGORICE

Plans for Podgorica (Titograd)	Planning issues about river appearance within the city image					
	River recognized as a natural value in the city	River banks used to infiltrate greenery into the city	Area next to river banks used for recreation	Recognized connection between rivers and the city	Approach to the river for residents	Street network and the natural issues (river flow and adjacent hills)
Vorman's Plan (1879)	-	-	-	-	-	/
General Plan (1950)	-	-	/	-	-	+
General Plan (1957)	-	/	+	-	-	-
General Urban Plan (1964)	-	-	+	/	-	/
General Urban Plan (1974)	-	-	-	/	+	-
Plan for river regulation (1975)	+	-	+	+	+	-
General Urban Plan (1990)	+	+	+	+	+	-
PUP (2014)	+	/	-	/	/	-

connected with rivers and green network of Titograd. The height of buildings next to rivers and the recreational areas was limited to P+1, maximum in order to maintain the natural appearance of rivers as much as possible.

The Physical Urban Plan of Podgorica, adopted in 2014, presented two spatial observation of the City: first as it was at the moment of preparing the Plan, and second as it should look like in 20 years. The whole process was performed in a much comprehended manner than in previous plans. Many cartographic presentations were prepared in different scales (ranging from 1:50000 to 1:5000). But still, the natural features (rivers and near-by hills) in the future city image were not recognized. Looking at the physical planning document from 2014<sup>36</sup> someone can easily distinguish the river flows and understand that their appearance within the city has to be observed and planned as a whole (Fig. 10). However, the map no. 16 of the same Plan, represents the areas for which the more detailed plans have to be prepared and adopted, and it becomes obvious that the central city area (the confluence of Ribnica and Morača River) has been divided over six detailed plans (Fig. 11), each dealing with one side or just one portion of the river bank, as the borderline between areas was set in the middle of the river bed! Even if each planner had in mind all the best with river bank image preservation, it is clear that without an overall plan setting general ordinances for how to incorporate rivers into the city life, it would be impossible to expect that these plans would drive towards the desired river curtilage appearance. Each of them would do it in own way and the result would be... The very similar planning relation was given to the existing hills within the GUP boundary.

Luckily or not, not much of the proposed ideas had been realized (Fig. 12) and the natu-

FIG. 12 VIEW UPON THE MORAČA RIVER WEST BANK  
SL. 12. POGLED NA ZAPADNU OBALU RIJEKE MORAČE



ral river banks, for most of the river length through the city, are pristine and waiting for a proper recognition and incorporation within the city image. They were just something that has to be spanned over by new bridges, revealing the architectural ideas for that kind of buildings. The natural features of Podgorica are still waiting to be recognized and evaluated adequately in future.

## CONCLUSION

### ZAKLJUČAK

In urban planning it is difficult to define a unique and universal planning methodology or a model that would preserve the values of a certain *PLACE*. But one step ahead in this process is, obviously, the evaluation of existing values and their possible implementation in future plans. This would help in defining planning goals that would work and help in preserving values that could be used in creation the unique image of a Place. Consequently, this paper focused on bringing to surface how the fact that a city of Podgorica has two rivers and hills was recognized through time and plan making. Rivers are considered to be city lungs; they are places of recreation and enjoyment for their residents. Unfortunately, throughout urban planning history of Podgorica this was neglected or just put aside. In this paper the authors tried to search for some of the issues about the rivers and how they were recognized and used in planning process:

- rivers as a natural value of a city (mentioned in ordinances and recognized in graphic),
- river banks as green veins penetrating the city area (as a natural feature or planned one),
- usage of river bank areas for recreation (active or just walking and strolling),
- rivers connecting the city (by bridges or similar landuse on both sides),
- approachability to rivers (physical),
- relation between natural features and street network (following the appearance or not).

The results were not very promising, as it can be noticed today that most of the river banks within Podgorica area remained "natural" areas, covered by trees and bushes (in most of the plans it was noted as forest!), not allowing much of the river access for residents. In order to preserve all the values the rivers have it is of crucial importance do define one single obligatory urban (or even landscape) plan for a town section that would encompass the most important river sections (with both, banks and surrounding landuse), including all existing cultural and built values, rather than splitting the area into several detailed plans that were or will be prepared by several different planning groups. In planning history Podgorica had one of that kind (1974) but was not put into action!

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## SOURCES

### IZVORI

#### INTERNET SOURCES

##### INTERNETSKI IZVORI

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2. <http://www.podgorica.me/sites/podgorica.me/files/Urbanizam/PUPnact> [20/3/2016]

#### ILLUSTRATION SOURCES

##### IZVORI ILUSTRACIJA

- FIG. 1 N. Lipovac
- FIG. 2 GELICHI, et al., 2012: 12 (originally prepared by Piero Sticotti in 1913)
- FIG. 3 Google maps [25/3/2016]
- FIG. 4 Google maps [25/3/2016]
- FIG. 5 IVANOVIĆ, 1974: 68
- FIG. 6 IVANOVIĆ, 1974: 70
- FIG. 7 MILIĆ, 1974
- FIG. 8 MILIĆ, 1974
- FIG. 9 GUP Titograd, predkonceptija 1 (1972): 201
- FIG. 10 <http://www.podgorica.me/sites/podgorica.me/files/Urbanizam/PUPnact>
- FIG. 11 <http://www.podgorica.me/sites/podgorica.me/files/Urbanizam/PUPnact>
- FIG. 12 N. Lipovac

## SUMMARY

## SAŽETAK

## PLANIRANJE I STVARANJE *PREPOZNTALJIVOSTI* MJESTA GRADA PODGORICE OČITANO KROZ POVIJESNE URBANISTIČKE PLANOVE

Izrada prostornoplanske dokumentacije za gradove i naselja u Crnoj Gori novijega je datuma. Jedan od malobrojnih gradova za koji je rađena urbanistička dokumentacija koja bi odredila buduću razvoj grada jest Podgorica (Titograd). U ovome je radu autorsko istraživanje bilo usmjereno na postojeću i dostupnu prostornoplansku dokumentaciju izradenu za grad Podgoricu u Crnoj Gori u posljednjih 140 godina. U provedenom istraživanju naglasak je dan na analizu dostupnoga pisanog i kartografskog dijela pojedinih planova, ocjenu planerskog odnosa i pristup prema postojećim vrijednostima iz prirodnog okoliša koji utječu na stvaranje slike grada, kao i jesu li i kako su stečene spoznaje ugrađene u te planove. Tu se ponajprije misli na pojavnost rijeke(a) u prostoru nekog naselja i njezine uloge u stvaranju i održavanju slike grada. Povijest nastanka grada Podgorice može se promatrati tijekom četiriju glavnih razdoblja: razdoblje od nastanka u antičko doba pa do 1474. god., razdoblje od 1474. do 1878., razdoblje od 1878. do 1946. i razdoblje od 1946. do 2014. godine. Jasno je bilo već na samom početku istraživanja da se stvarna prostornoplanska dokumentacija počela izradivati tek u trećem razdoblju, ali u stvaranju najranije slike nastanka naselja pomogle su postojeće skice nastale tijekom provedenih arheoloških istraživanja antičkoga lokaliteta. Za područje grada Podgorice (Titograda) od 1879. god. do danas izradeno je sedam regulacijskih ili generalnih (prostornih) planova uređenja. Svaki je od njih na neki svoj način promatrao širenje početne jezgre naselja – Stare Varoš na uscu rijeke Ribnice u rijeku Moracu. To su tzv. Vormanov plan regulacije (1879.), Generalni plan Titograda iz 1950., 1957. i 1964. godine te Generalni urbanistički plan Titograda iz 1974. i 1990. godine. Izradi svakoga od ovih planova prethodila je izrada određenih smjernica od strane vlasti. Posljednji u nizu izrađenih planova za Podgoricu (nekadašnji Titograd) jest Prostorni urbanistički plan grada Podgorice iz 2014. godine.

Temelje budućega razvoja Podgorice svakako je zacrtao tzv. Vormanov plan koji je kroz prijedlog nove prometne mreže predložio stvaranje tri prostorne cjeline grada (Stara Varoš, Nova Varoš i Novi Grad) u odnosu na položaj rijeka Morace i Ribnice. Ova se zamisao provlačila i kroz sve sljedeće urbanističke planove, s manjim odstupanjima u osnovnoj ulicnoj mreži. Međutim, svi planovi do 1974. predlagali su velike prostorne promjene u najstarijem dijelu Podgorice – Staroj Varoši. Srećom, ništa po tome nije postuđeno, pa je i dandanas Stara Varoš ostala nedirnuta srednjovjekovna prostorna jedinica grada. Stoga je vrlo važno za to područje provesti vrlo detaljnu konzervatorsku studiju koje bi se smjernice ugradile u buduću urbanističku dokumentaciju grada. Činjenica da prostorom planiranim za razvoj grada protječu dvije rijeke i nalaze se velike ozelenjene površine te da sve to ima vrlo veliku prirodnu vrijednost, kao i vrijednost za život i rad stanovnika, prepoznata je tek u tijeku izrade smjernica za izradu GUP-a 1974. godine. Nažalost, sve je ostalo u tim dobro sročnim smjernicama o potrebi približavanja rijeke gradu i približavanja stanovnika rijeci – obala ovih dviju rijeka i nadalje je ostala 'vrlo prirodna' i bez mogućnosti pristupa do same vode te korištenja njihovih obala za setnju, rekreaciju i sl., osim u jednome vrlo malom dijelu koji je uređen temeljem detaljnog plana uređenja dijela rijeka Morace i Ribnice. 'Prirodni' pojasi uz rijeke ostaju i nadalje prostori koji razdvajaju (a ne spajaju) pojedine dijelove grada, a to nikako ne ide u prilog suvremenoj planerskoj želji da se prirodne vrijednosti čuvaju i štite kako bi postale sastavni dio nekoga naselja i prepoznatljive (postojeće ili nanovo stvorene) slike, u ovome slučaju – grada Podgorice. Pokušaji da se dijelovi grada uz rijeke ili brda pretvore u sportsko-rekreacijske površine samo su djelomično planski ostvareni (i to novom generacijom planova iz 2014.), ali ništa cjelovito. Možda je jedan od razloga to što su predlagani zahvati promatrani odvojeno, bez nužnog pro-

mišljanja o potrebi cjelovitoga sagledavanja prirodnih prostora u gradu.

Autori ovoga istraživanja smatraju kako je upravo sada pravi trenutak da se izradom odgovarajućih studija (na temelju novoutvrđenih modela u planiranju i zaštiti prostora) o procjeni stvarnoga stanja čimbenika iz prirodne i kulturne baštine spoznaju vrijednosti dijela prirodnog okoliša koji se nalazi unutar područja Podgorice te temeljem suvremenih znanstvenih spoznaja predlože modeli i planerski koraci k uvrštavanju prirodnih vrijednosti i pojavnosti u sadašnji i buduci (planirani) život grada i njegovih stanovnika. Potrebno je ponajprije shvatiti da se prirodne značajke prostora, primjerice – rijeka i obala, ne smiju gledati unutar umjetno stvorenih granica pojedinih detaljnijih prostornoplanskih dokumenata (pogotovo gdje su razdvojene umjetnim granicama koje idu 'sredinom riječnog toka'), već isključivo kao jedinstveni prostor koji se uvlači u tkivo grada. Samo na taj način planer će uspjeti sacuvati postojeću prepoznatljivost ili stvoriti novu prepoznatljivost mjesta koje će služiti na zadovoljstvo svim stanovnicima i posjetiteljima toga mjesta (grada).

Prostor i Mjesto – pojmovi su koje svaki planer mora spoznati pri postupku izrade prostornoplanske dokumentacije bilo koje razine. Da bi se spoznao dio prostora, moraju se spoznati osnovne odrednice, a na prvome mjestu granica obuhvata promatranoga prostora. U urbanističkom i prostornom planiranju to je tehnička granica određena na razini drugih zakona ili planova višega reda. Da bi se spoznale sve vrijednosti toga mjesta, nužno je provesti iscrpnu analizu svih postojećih vrijednosti i utvrditi smjernice za njihovo održavanje, poboljšavanje i ugradbu u planske odrednice kojima se postize sveukupan planski i gospodarski rast određenoga mjesta (prostora). Jedino ce se na taj način stvoriti planerski uvjeti da se sve tako spoznate i ocijenjene vrijednosti ugrade u planski dokument i pomognu u budućem razvoju grada.

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## BIOGRAPHIES

## BIOGRAFIJE

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