

## ČRNA GORA IN MONTENEGRO

### CRNA GORA AND MONTENEGRO

#### Ključne besede

Črna gora, vernakularna arhitektura, dediščina, kultura, turizem.

#### Izvleček

Črnagoranine velika in ne bogata dežela. Bogastvo kažejo njena zgodovina, narava in kultura. Prav kot Slovenija ima tudi ta dežela morje in planine in seveda predvsem arhitekturo kamna in lesa. Ob morju so večja mesta z imenitno vojaško arhitekturo, ki so jo gradili veliki poznavalci. Ti so tam gradili tudi palače in bogate hiše. Mesta na kontinentu so povečini zrasla iz vasi, ki pa še vedno kažejo svoje značilnosti. Vernakularna arhitektura Črne gore je izjemno bogata, tako kamnita kot v lesu. Lesene hiše s strmimi lesenimi strehami so značilne za planinske predele, v sklopih s hlevi in s sušilnicami ali prekajevalnicami. Transhumanca je bila v Črni gori osnovno gospodarstvo vasi in oddaljenih domačij. Življenje na planinah zahteva drugačno arhitekturo, saj so tam naselja obljudena le občasno, poleti. Značilno pašništvo najdemo v Prokletijah in na Durmitorju, obrnjen sistem pa poznajo na Rumiji. Na visokih planinah so stalne kočice [gladej] krite s slamo ali z lesenimi škodlami, ob Skadarskem jezeru pa so stalne konstrukcije, slamnato kritino pa snemajo v jeseni in jo spet namestijo spomladi, da preko zime ne zgnije. Ta letni čas je tam očitno bolj vlažen kot v planinah. Kaj lahko naredimo z zapuščenimi, propadajočo ali že uničeno arhitekturo? Najboljša rešitev bi bila vrnitev izvirnega gospodarstva, a je življenje v industrijskih mestih seveda udobnejše od tega na vasi. Zato rabimo pomoč države in strok. Druga rešitev je vnos novih idej. Ena takih je sodoben digitalni muzej, za kar lahko uporabimo zelo razširjene pametne telefone. Za to potrebujemo le program, dobro organizacijo in seveda podporo in sodelovanje domačinov. Navidezni muzej lahko veže kulturo z gospodarstvom – in to z velikimi rezultati. Za to pa rabimo predvsem osveščenost javnosti in seveda izobraževanje. Prvo je stvar kulture in drugo strokovnjakov. Predvsem kulturna krajina bi tako postala kvalitetnejša. S temi elementi bi lahko postala Črna gora znamenita in gospodarsko uspešna dežela, ki jo Evropa pozna pod imenom Montenegro. Tako bi bila tudi bolj cenjena.

#### Key words

Montenegro, vernacular architecture, heritage, culture, tourism.

#### Abstract

Crna Gora is neither a big nor a rich country today. Its wealth can be found in its history, nature and culture. Like Slovenia, it has the sea and mountains and mostly architecture in stone, though also in wood. By the coast, there are mostly larger old towns, especially in Boka Kotorska, with dominant military architecture, made by specialists, who also built palaces and wealthy houses. Other towns inland grew over the course of history from small villages, with their own characters.

Vernacular architecture in Montenegro is extremely rich in stone and wood. Wooden houses with steep roofs are typical of the mountain regions, in complexes with stables and drying huts. Transhumance was the basic economy in villages and in remote homesteads in Montenegro. Life on the mountains needs different buildings, inhabited only over the summer season. Typical transhumance is found in Prokletije and Durmitor, and an inverse type on Rumija mountain. Permanent huts are located in the high mountains, thatched in straw or with shingles; at Skadar Lake the straw is removed because of the wet winter season.

What can be done with abandoned, decaying or destroyed architecture? The best solution is a return of the successful original economy, but life in the industrial centres is too comfortable. Governmental and specialist help is needed. Another solution is the organization of a modern digital museum, with the help of smart phones. This needs only good organization and, of course, the support and collaboration of the inhabitants. A virtual museum can connect culture with the economy, with high expectations. For this purpose, the awareness of the people and education by professionals is first needed. Crna Gora can become well-known in Europe as valued and economically efficient Montenegro.

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prof. dr. Borut Juvanec

Institute of Vernacular Architecture, Ljubljana  
borut.juvanec@fa.uni-lj.si

## 1. Uvod

Architecture does not just mean building objects but represents culture and relations among people – users, investors, builders, managers, as well as relations in society and in space. Egenter wrote: "Architecture becomes a general human phenomenon that synchronically extends over individual cultures and diachronically includes all cultures, researching various cultures for the same or analogous features"[Egenter, 1996: 85].

Vernacular architecture was never intended for the gods, for kings or for the dead but for ordinary people in everyday life and work. It is not the work of professionals, who are familiar with materials, technologies, techniques and know great architecture of the past and who came to this knowledge through schools. Vernacular architecture is work in modest circumstances, bound to survival. So it is not little, unimportant, imperceptible or ugly, bad architecture. It is true, though, that it is only appreciated by intelligent people [Juvanec, 2013: 12].

Paul Oliver, from Oxford, the most important scholar in this field, wrote about this question: (this architecture) "was so little known we don't even have a word for it" [Oliver, 2003: 11]. We professionals have agreed on the term "vernacular architecture".

Architecture's existence depends on the in-built materials, its use and other circumstances. Not only do materials decay through normal use and aging, other physical factors, both natural and man-made, are important for it. Questions of existence, restoration and current use – in changed circumstances – are important and very problematic [Juvanec, 2016].

Classical architecture, the work of professionals, has identical problems as vernacular architecture, more than we can imagine.

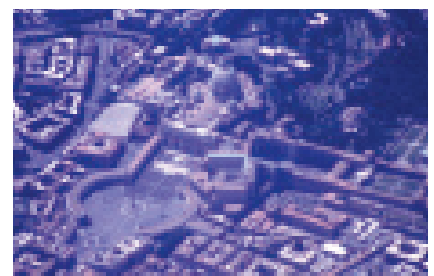
Architectural identity is in any case the sum of different values, which represent its image as a whole but in a hierarchic connection of all involved [Bontron, 1991].

Crna Gora is neither a large nor a rich country. Its wealth can be found in its history, nature and culture.



Slika 1: Kultura nuraghov med leti 1800 in 400 pred štejetjem; Grobnica velikanov pri Nuoru na Sardiniji ima javni trg, stelo in grobni prostor. Grobnica je namenjena eliti, stela kaže pomembnost spomenika, trg kot javni prostor pa je namenjen ljudem. Berninijev trg pred cerkvijo sv. Petra v Rimu, ki jo je narisal Michelangelo: cerkev je najprej namenjena duhovščini, trg ljudem. Cerkev, ki jo poudarja visoka kupola, je veličastna, v odprti prostor se odpira z vrati. Tako ideja kot izvedba obeh kompozicij sta enaki. Razlika je le v velikosti. Težko bi sodili, da Bernini ni poznal kulture nuraghov. Grobnica velikanov je namreč tri tisoč let starejša in je bila grajena z lokalnimi mojstri. Danes bi rekli, da je vernakularna arhitektura.

Figure 1: Nuraghe culture 1800 to 400 B; Domus de janas near Nuoro, Sardegna has a square, a stela and a tomb. The tomb is for highly esteemed dead people, the stela shows the importance of the monument, and the square is dedicated to ordinary people, it is a public place. Bernini's Plaza di St. Pietro, Rome and the basilica made by Michelangelo: the church is primarily meant for the clergy and the piazza for the people. The church, with its high dome, is magnificent, with a door to the open space. The idea and execution of both compositions are the same. The difference is only in dimensions. It is unlikely that Bernini did not know the Nuraghe culture. Domus de janas is at least three thousand years older and was made by local masters; today we would call it vernacular architecture.



Like Slovenia, it has the sea and mountains and mostly architecture in the stone, though also in wood.

Its importance grew also with the name. The proud kingdom survived the Ottoman Empire, pressures from East and North; it is close to Italy and Albania with, until recently, its special political system, and finally the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Kingdom of Serbs, Slovenes and Croats and the late Yugoslavia. The name Montenegro (Black Mountain) is linguistically Catalan and Castilian, but Italians have shown it to be not Italian but "Old Venetian" [Juvanec, 2015]. The importance of this country in the culture is greater than it seems.

## 2. Village stone architecture

Montenegro has a coastal belt, a central plain and the mountains. On the coast can be found several pleasant towns: Tivat, Budva, Bar and even Sveti Stefan on an island. Inland, the most interesting town is Cetinje, the capital, with important stone architecture. Other towns grew over the course of history from small villages, with their own characters.

Special stone buildings can be seen on the coast and near Skadar Lake, on the slopes of Rumija. The system of dry stone walling can be seen everywhere, especially in small villages near the sea, but also high in the mountains. One of those villages is Gornja Lastva above Tivat.

The dwellings are interesting not only because of the fireplaces in the attic but also the olive mills, wells with cisterns and terraces with a lot of green trees for shade and the fruit – public architecture.

Architecturally, town planning with social places, paved footpaths with an irrigation system and even with niches for candles as public lighting is especially interesting [Juvanec, 2002].

Urban planning connects three essential elements – public places, connecting paths and irrigation. In addition to wells, threshing places are important locations for social life in a village, not only the church with its courtyard [with a fine view to the hills and the sea]. Each house has its own terrace with a tree for shade – not just for the owners but also for neighbours and visitors.

Retaining irrigation: the system for retaining the soil, swept by rainwater from the fertile fields above the village, is most surprising. Retaining basins were cleaned by local women after each rain. This is a unique system for maintaining the fertility of village fields, which were necessary for survival.

Details in Gornja Lastva are really made by professionals. The fireplaces in the attic need a special construction, and keep the lower storeys cold. This is very important in hot summer days. Other details are all in use as practical devices: handles, racks, corbelling, bridges over ditches, irrigation dykes or windows and signs cut in the stone.

## 3. Skadar Lake

Virpazar, a small town near Skadar Lake, until the sixties was the end station of the world famous narrow gauge railway between Bar by the sea and Virpazar. Bar is a large and important port, historically also very important from a military point of view. The 750-millimetre narrow gauge railway [Brate, 1971] was constructed by the Italians, and was rare even for the Balkan countries, where railways usually had a 760 mm gauge. The steam engines were small, and the speed of passenger trains was up to 22 km/h and for goods 18 km/h [Brate, 1971]. The railway was in use until 1959, one of the last locomotives still exists – as a monument to the past [Burjanović, 2008]. Very rare "steam railcars" also existed: a steam engine and personal compartment, connected in a single carriage. Three of them were built, one being intended for the Montenegrin royal family.

The railway is now abandoned and ruined; the railway station in Virpazar is used as a dwelling but completely transformed. On the site of the former railway, not even a board with basic information or a picture can be found, and the former railway line, perfect for a bicycle track, has vanished in the green nature. At least stones in the road surface – as footprints - could show the former line in the village road in front of the railway station.

The small village of Godinje on the outskirts of Skadar Lake is all in stone [Guštin, 2013].

A few houses are still in use but others are abandoned and in decay. The village has its own threshing floor and the most important aspects are its location on sloping terrain and connections through the basements, in cellars. The village of Godinje must be preserved: now is the last moment before it disappears. The same is with Gornji Murići, a village with excellent homesteads from the Ottoman times.

Until 2000, the plain immediately behind hotel "13<sup>th</sup> July" (now Hotel "Vir") was occupied by people from the mountains, who spent the summers near Skadar Lake, where there was plenty of grass [Guštin, 2013]. This is a rare type of transhumance, known only in Wales, Great Britain.

The farming economy could be shown to visitors, because it is an important part of the local heritage and its culture. Moreover, the system could be transformed into a special type of thematic park, with all the information about the work and economy of past times. Putting straw on the racks and again its removal – as local feasts - could be an important part of a modern tourist attraction, with high economic return.

#### 4. Transhumance

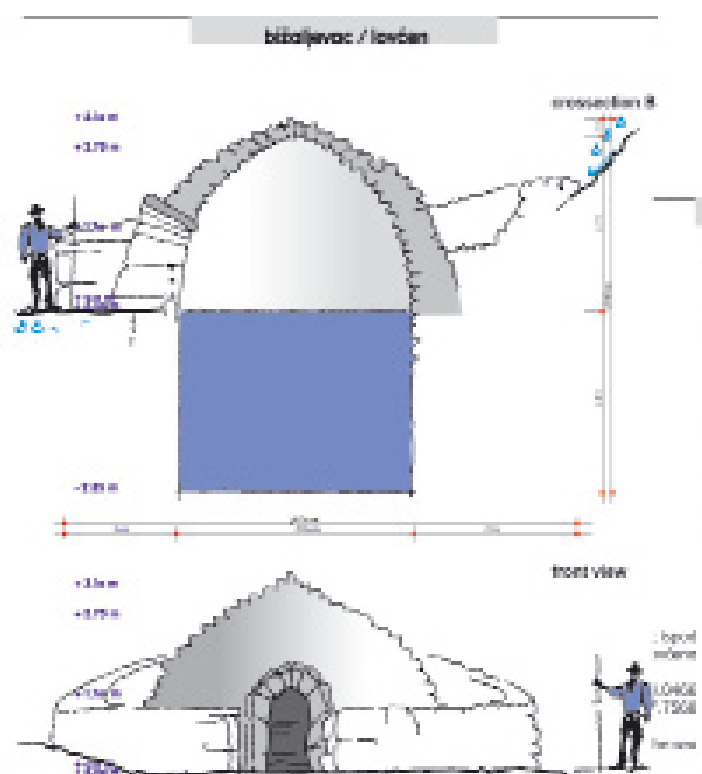
Transhumance is an especially important economic activity for the local people. At one time, it was important and efficient, nowadays it is not, although it could be again in the future.

While classical transhumance can be found on Prokletije and Durmitor mountains [Marković, 2003], on Rumija, between the sea and Skadar Lake, it is inverted. The people live on plateaus high in the mountains and in summer they come down to the green lake. They use permanent wooden constructions, prepared for thatching with straw or reed over the grazing season [Guštin, 2013]. At the end of the summer, they remove the roof cover and leave the construction. Its lifetime is thus longer, because the straw does not rot over the winter.

In the northern mountain systems, transhumance architecture is similar to that in the Alps: wooden constructions of the houses, covered by straw, wooden singles and finally, today, with thin plates.

Slika 2: Razen inventarizacije je prav dokumentacija pomembna za varovanje kulturne dediščine. To je dokaz starih kultur in edina možnost rekonstrukcije po kakoli naravni nesreči, vojni, razpadu ali po napačnem človekovem posegu [Juvanec, 2017: 77]. Pašniška arhitektura je ob zatočiščih, zidovih, ograjah in vodnjakih pomemben element arhitekture. Ubao, počuo je redka vrsta vodnjaka na obronkih Lovčena, ki s konstrukcijo varuje žejne živali pred padcem vanj, kar je lahko usodno za druge uporabnike zaradi onesnaženja. (Documentation/dokumentacija B. Juvanec, Ljubljana 2014).

Figure 2: In addition to making an inventory, documentation is an essential part of safeguarding our heritage. This is evidence of our past culture and the only possible way of replacing or making a copy after natural disaster, war, decay or misuse [Juvanec, 2017: 77]. As well as huts, walls, fences and wells are also elements of transhumance architecture. Ubao, počuo on the outskirts of Lovćen is a rare system of wells, protected from misuse or thirsty animals falling in, which is dangerous due to the water being infected by the decaying body.



Their name is "glada". The base, the lower part of the house, can also be constructed with stone. The average inclination of the roof is 50 degrees, sometimes also up to 60. A complex of such houses in the mountains contains only a pigsty and some wooden fences, while other livestock live freely on the grassland [Marković, 2003].

Homesteads on the outskirts contain dwellings with a hip roof, while the stable has a simple pitched roof. Beside the stable there is also a house for smoking sausages, ham and fish. These steep roofs can reach the ground, without vertical walls and they are all in wood.

"Kućara", a wooden sledge with a ridge roof of shingle, represents mobile architecture on the grasslands. In Serbia, such constructions can also be found with wheels – like the modern "mobile home" [Nenadović uses also several names as: kućer, torarica and katafa, Nenadović, 2000: 193]. Herdsmen pull this construction to the grazing plateau on the mountain with the help of a horse, and sleep in it. Groundplan dimensions are one metre by two metres, for one man only. These devices can very often be seen in use today on Durmitor.

Most of these compositions are still in practice, but with very low economic benefit. Professional help could be of great assistance, in the field of agriculture and stockbreeding, technology, economy and architecture. In architecture, as the design of space, tradition and heritage must be used for new projects. Unfortunately, what can now be seen as 'ecokatur' are inadequate in both detail and in complex. The help and good work of professional organizations for safeguarding this heritage is here essential. The government could help with technical support in realization of the economy, and also apply a moderate tax system.

## 5. Problematics

New possibilities in social life and in the economy are a special problem. There are two aspects: theory and practice. In theory, I agree with the thesis of Professor Alihodžić about perception: form and the space are not just geometrical elements but both psychological impressions and dimensions.

However, the quality of architectonic space and its form can be relevantly measured by perceiving it [Alihodžić, 2007: 19]. Here is the problem with educated people, with whom theoretical orders, based on regulations, can deform perception itself.

In practice, theory and order are more in use than we think in vernacular architecture. Theoretical principles are in practice very simple forms of order, inherited by forebears, in use for simplification of the work, with the final effect: harmonization, commonly understood as beauty.

The relation between an entire composition and its detail can be seen in both classical and vernacular architecture. St. Peter's Square in Rome was designed around an existing Egyptian obelisk (1565) in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Bernini, as the entrance to St. Peter's Basilica. The road between Castello di Sant'Angeli to the basilica's dome runs through this obelisk. This composition is characterized as "symmetry for organization of the whole square" [Alihodžić, 2007: 58]. It is more: there can be found the contrast.

It is symmetry in verticality and it is symmetry in horizontality. The whole composition, as seen from the dome, has a circular base with a line, and the same occurs in detail: a circle and vertical column form the same concept and the same practice.

"Beauty" in the historical understanding of aesthetic has a very clear definition: order. No architecture can be without clear and organized composition [Alihodžić, 2007: 188]. Classical architecture was made by professionals, trained and experienced workers. Vernacular architecture was made by simple, modest masters with inherited knowledge. The only help from their predecessors was order, which enabled the simplification of work and avoided mistakes [Juvanec, 2016: 31]. Professionals can read the proportions used, lay people can see only harmony, which is understood as "beauty".

In rural planning, Montenegro has the typical problems of other European countries:

- desertion of the land [people moving toward bigger cities and industry, Duclos, 2010],

- low incomes in the small and inefficient economy, too many holiday houses with extremely low occupation, a small number of visitors over the whole year and crowded at the peak seasons. However, this can also provide opportunities.

Montenegro has really great potential in modest but sincere architecture. This type disappeared in Europe long ago.

Revitalisation and renovation of village life, as well as its architecture and the whole cultural landscape is needed. Professionals in agriculture, stockbreeding and cheese and meat production know their own work. People have to implement suggested improvements for the best effects.

Architects must prepare strategies for the typical traditional space, with all the elements, from social life to machinery [railway] and culture, with today's needs and possibilities. Living needs have changed and current architecture cannot be just a repetition of old traditional solutions: a house today is much more complex than years ago. The new economy needs new architecture and new infrastructure. Heritage must be kept in the principle, not in the detail or shape. This cannot be a matter of "foreign knowledge" or "imported ideas" but is work for local architects, together with some professionals who are familiar with this local culture. In contrast to Bosnian architecture, in which Slovene architects had an important influence [Zupančič, 2012 – His Excellency A. Grasselli mentioned many Slovene architects there], only the architect Marko Mušič can be found in important architecture of Montenegro.

This is theory, well known science, but practice in such a rich culture offers many more solutions for improving social life, economy and culture.



Slika 3: Berninijev trg svetega Petra z dovozno ulico kaže enako kompozicijo kot vanj vrisani krogi v tlaku in pa obelisk. Tako sta arhitektura in urbanizem v popolnem skladju. Več, temeljno idejo lahko preberemo kot: to je središče sveta. Slovenski kozolec je zagotovo najpomembnejša slovenska arhitektura. Je sestav kvadrata z diagonalama. Uporabljena je le ena razsežnost, enota 'ena'. Ta določa kvadrat, katerega diagonalna je enak kvadratnemu korenu iz dve. Šest kvadratov tvori kocko in prostorska diagonalna je tako kvadratni koren iz tri. To je kompozicija celote, a jo najdemo v vsakem detajlu. Vsi tesarski rezi so vzporedni (navpično in vodoravno) ali pa pod kotom 45 stopinj. Ta sistem omejuje napake in poudarja skladno kompozicijo. Berninijev trg in kozolec uporabljata enak kompozicijski princip.

Figure 3: Bernini's St. Peter's Square with the road leading to the church shows the same composition as the circle drawn in the pavement with the obelisk. Design and town planning are in accordance. More, the main idea can be read here: this is centre of the world. The Slovene kozolec / hayrack is the most important Slovene architecture. It is composed by a square with its diagonal. Only one dimension (unit "one") has to be determined. Unit one composes the square, its diagonal is the square root of two. Six squares compose a cube, and its diagonal is equal to the square root of three. This is the composition of the whole construction but it can also be found in every detail. All the cuts are parallel (vertical and horizontal) or at a 45° angle. This system eliminates mistakes and shows harmonious composition. The idea of both Bernini's piazza and the kozolec/hayrack is the same.



## 6. Case studies

### 6.1. Case study No 1.1: Gornja Lastva, identifying typical details

Gornja Lastva above Tivat is a mountain village with a high level of socialization. A road leads around the village but inside can be found a network of paths, all paved with stone, equipped with kerbs, fences and retaining ditches for water. On the entrance road, niches for road lightning can also be found in the fence – the wind is too strong for using posts. Architectural details are numerous, all functional, well-constructed and pleasing, harmonious with other elements. Typical details of the eastern part of the village: chimney against the gable wall, because of fire safety. The fireplace is open, with a smoke exit to the chimney. The fireplace is raised above the floor by some centimetres, for heat insulation – it can also be deep between the ceiling beams, as a hanging construction. The well has a cistern cut into the rock, with an upper plateau, serving as a social place for the village people. All the paths have ditches for rainwater, and at several points can be found special reservoirs for collecting soil. The threshing floor, like everywhere, is circular, with higher stone walls, arranged for donkeys [an oxen's paunch hangs lower, near the floor]. These higher walls are used for sitting during village gatherings.

### 6.2. Case study No 1.2: Gornja Lastva, retaining irrigation

The irrigation system for rainwater has special reservoirs for cleansing the water of soil. Rainwater takes away fertile soil from the fields above the village. The running water is stopped in a side cistern, where soil can be removed and returned to the field. This was work of the village women.

### 6.3. Case study No 2.1: Virpazar, narrow gauge railway

This railway was built by the Italians in 1908 [Burjanović 2008: 38] from Bar to Virpazar. It was narrow gauge with a 750 mm track [Brate, 1872: 26] under the management of Compagnia di Antivari / Barsko Društvo CdA/BD.

The first locomotives, such as Zeta and Lovćen, were small and built from 1905 to 1910, but after 1910 the locomotives were bigger and stronger.

Slika 4: Gornja Lastva, Črna gora: vzhodni del vasi. Dimnik, ognjišče, vodnjak, odvod vode, gumno. Gornja Lastva, Delavnica 2002, visoko pokroviteljstvo princa Črne gore. (Project/projekt B. Juvanec, Ljubljana).

Figure 4: Gornja Lastva, Montenegro: Eastern part of the village. Chimney, fireplace, well, irrigation drainage, threshing floor. Gornja Lastva, Workshop 2002, Biennale de Cetinje and Napredak of Tivat, under the high patronage of The Prince of Montenegro.



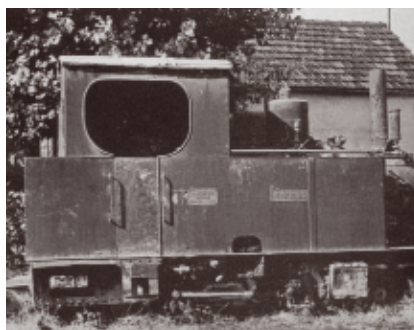
They came from the Mallet and Borsig factories, but the speed was modest: 22 km/h for passenger trains and only 18 km/h for goods, while the maximum allowed speed was 40 km/h [Brate, 1972: 26]. Virpazar was the end station toward Podgorica, and led over the mountains and a four-kilometre long tunnel. The 51-year old railway finished its life in 1959. Today there is no trace of it, and the station in Virpazar has been transformed into a dwelling. The railway line, extremely suitable for cycling, is now abandoned, disappearing in the green nature.

#### 6.4. Case study No 2.2: Virpazar, inverse transhumance system

The principle of transhumance is moving herds from hot to moderate places and from exploited grasslands to richer pastures. The common system is to move the animals from the valleys to the mountains. The only known exceptions are Wales and Montenegro, at Skadar Lake. Stone huts are built in Wales but on the slopes of Rumija, near Skadar Lake, they developed a different system. The huts have frames, wooden constructions of branches. These constructions are permanent and every year they thatched them with straw or reed. The transhumance season runs from spring to autumn. Before returning home, to the mountains, the herdsmen removed the straw. The huts, locally called "glada", stand beside the lake on marshy terrain [in autumn 2016 this terrain was under water]. Guštin found the last constructions in 2000 [Guštin, 2013]; today is hard to find people who know about this important heritage.

Transhumance is now a forgotten economy and the constructions have no use. They have practically disappeared.

Virpazar, as a small village, is very beautiful with a lot of tourist potential. However, merely classical hotels and excursions by boat, even connected with hunting or photo-safaris with photography contests, are not enough today. Transhumance settlement [built as a professional reconstruction] has excellent potential for cultural tourism. Two feasts can be arranged – at the beginning and at the end of the season – connected to thatching and dismantling the roof.



Slika 5: Parni vlak slovite tovarne Borsig iz leta 1908.

Ena kompozicija od vsega treh izdelanih je bila namenjena kraljevi družini. Zgoraj je original, spodaj lokomotiva z odezanim vagonom iz 1959 [Brate, 1972: 187]. Žalostna zgodba ohranjanja kulturne dediščine – kolikor temu sploh lahko tako rečemo.

Figure 5: Steam rail car from the famous Borsig factory in 1908. One of three versions was in use as an official car for the royal family. Above was the original rail car, below only the locomotive, with a public cabin removed in 1959 [Brate, 1972: 187]. This case is a sad story of preservation of the heritage – or it is not that at all.





The huts could be used for overnight facilities of the highest rank and participants could be awarded with a special certificate of involvement in the transhumance process. In addition, this could be completed with a sort of herdsman's ceremony, with consecrating visitors into the transhumance society of Skadar Lake. This type of tourism is not matter of masses, it is on a higher level, with higher incomes and could promote Virpazar as a top-grade tourist destination not only in Montenegro but in all Europe.

#### 6.5. Case study No 3: Homestead

Homesteads in Montenegro have no common scheme. In general, they have a dwelling, stable and drying hut, often one or more hayracks with one wooden pole. The house has a basement in stone with the first floor in wood. The roof of the house is hipped, while the stable has a typical gable roof and the drying hut has no walls, with the roof reaching the ground. The inclination of the roof is around 50 degrees.

#### 6.6. Case study No 4: Kućara

A mobile home is nothing new. Especially in the last ten years,

modern motor mobile homes have become very much more normal in the tourist economy, but it is not a modern invention. Kućera, torarica or katafa can be found in vernacular architecture of Serbia [Nenadović, 2000: 193]. In Durmitor, the same object on a sledge is typical. Today it has a roof of thin plates but originally they used wooden shingles – many of these objects can be seen in the area around Durmitor.

#### 6.7. Case study No 5: Katun, glada

Savardak is the oldest known hut for shepherds, with wooden construction and thatched with straw. None have been preserved in the original state. Glada is a hut for herdsman, the livestock live outside, with no roof. Glada can be just in wood or have a basement in stone and the roof construction in wood. It can be oval or with a rectangle groundplan, with hipped or simple gable roof. It is a single cell composition for sleeping, cooking and working, preparing and storing milk, cheese and butter. A pigsty can stand by the glada, with a wooden encircling fence for organization of the flock. A vegetable garden with a wooden fence is often cultivated by the women.

Slika 6: A.Nenadović je objavil pastirsko stajo z Durmitora, ki ima povsem enako konstrukcijo kot so bile na Skadarskem jezeru. Guštin je našel te konstrukcije pri Virpazarju še leta 2000, v zimski sezoni brez slamnatega kritja (source/vir: Nenadović, 2000: 107, Guštin, 2013: 27).

Figure 6: Nenadović published a herdsman's hut from Durmitor in the same shape as compositions at Skadar Lake. In 2000, Guštin found these constructions near Virpazar in the winter season, without thatched roofs.



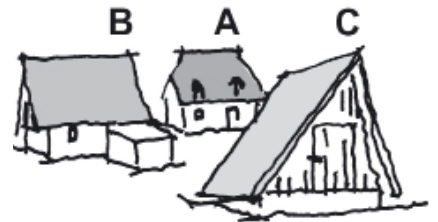
Slika 7: Kučara je lesen objekt na sankah s tlorisom kakega metra krat dva in s streho v naklonu skoraj 60 stopinj. Lesena vrata v zatrepu so velika kot so tam pač lahko, a enemu pastirju zadoščajo tudi ta. Nekdaj so te sani vlekli osli ali konji, danes jih traktor. Kučara je še vedno v uporabi.

Figure 7: Kučara has a wooden sledge with groundplan dimensions around one metre by two, with a gable roof with an inclination of almost 60 degrees. The wooden door is as big as it can be in the triangular gable and the bed is enough for one shepherd only. In the past, this device was pulled by oxen or horses, now it is work for a tractor. Kučara is widely in use in the grazing economy in the country today.



Slika 8: A. Značilna domačija v zaselku Poščenski kraj pri Žabljaku. A. bivalna hiša, B. hlev, C. prekajevalnica. Slednji objekt razpada, bivalna hiša ni več obljudena, čreda ovac okrog domačije pa je last sosedov (2016).

Figure 8: A typical homestead in Poščenski kraj near Žabljak, Durmitor. A. dwelling, B. stable, C. drying (smoking) hut. The latter object is in decay, the dwelling is abandoned, and the sheep flock on the terrain is owned by a neighbouring homestead (2016).



Slika 9: Izvirne pastirske staje, kot so savardak ali glada, s kamnitim temeljem in leseno konstrukcijo strehe so po vsem območju transhumance redke.

Novo hiše so lesene s sodobnimi konstrukcijami in krovnim materialom, a tudi povsem lesene se še vidijo. Danes so pametni telefoni, televizija in sončni kolektorji nujni elementi življenja. A to se vidi predvsem v notranjosti, na zunaj so katuni še dokaj originalni. Vulića katun, Komovi, Prokletije 2014.

Figure 9: Original herdsmen's huts, such as savardak or glada, with stone base and wooden construction of the roof are rare monuments throughout the transhumance areas. New huts are made of wood, but with modern timber construction technology, although wooden roofs can be still seen. Today, smart phones, televisions and sun collectors are inescapable elements of life. This can be seen inside the hut, but katuni appear more or less in the original state. Vulića katun, Komovi, Prokletije 2014.

## 7. Conclusions

Architectural identity is certainly the sum of different values, which represent its image as a whole but in a hierarchic connection of all involved [Bontron, 1991].

Tourism is one of the most important branches of economy today. Big hotels are "different", noticeable by their concept and shape, but different in the space and strange in the culture. Only people with low culture like them. There is the same problem with "ecokatuns", small mountain huts placed in strange lines, perhaps with pink fences and green roofs – seen everywhere in the country as "modern" and "ecological", although they are definitely not. They are neither traditional nor modern or ecological.

Montenegro's countryside – as I see it – is today a real folk museum in Europe, but a living museum in the good sense. Museums, especially not open air museums with false, artificial ambients, are not needed [Juvanec, 2016a]. Modern technologies open numerous possibilities for high level tourism for demanding visitors, who need a lot of information. Computers, tablets and smart phones provide possibilities to give text, sketches, schemes, pictures, photos, directions, information in several languages, even in local slang or specific expressions and music [Juvanec, 2016]. This type

of museum does not need a site, or movement of the artefacts with all the problems and expensive maintenance and security. It needs only a good strategy and its execution with existing technical equipment. Even this can be hired at information centres. This type of museum can offer much more: on a tour we must eat, sleep, to hire a bicycle or boat, to buy something or visit a cultural and sporting event. This is not only an offering, it can be even organized in its best form.

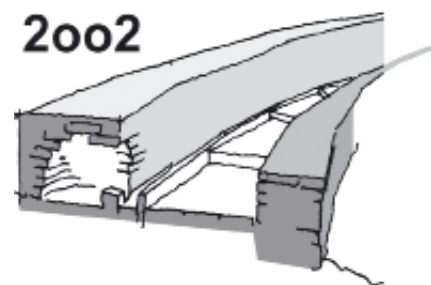
This type of museum is real culture, connected with the economy. Culture has never been connected to the economy, it was always an orphan, dependant on people's or organizations charity [Juvanec, 2015]. Now we have opportunity to change it.

Montenegro needs tourism of a higher level, with higher incomes. This is cultural tourism and visitors of this type are demanding and need real quality. This is not just a matter of architecture, nor tourist workers, but all the people of the country, as well as government, both local and state.

For this is needed higher awareness and education, from the very beginning: in kindergartens, schools, universities, in everyday life. This is only one of the possibilities, whereby small Crna Gora can grow into well-known in Europe as valued and economically efficient country Montenegro.

Slika 10: Učinkovita uporaba ustrezne dokumentacije. Odtok deževnice z zadrževalnikom plodne zemlje je bil dokumentiran leta 2002. Trije taki so še v uporabi v Gornji Lastvi. Leta 2014 je en objekt povsem izginil, dva pa so zasuli z odpadnim materialom, preklado pa ukradli. Po dokumentaciji iz 2002 so v okviru Delavnice Gornja Lastva 2014 v organizaciji kotorskega Expeditia, Občine Tivat in Kulturnega društva Napredak, oba obstoječa objekta povsem obnovili v izvorno stanje (dokumentacija 2002 and 2014, B. Juvanec, Ljubljana, foto Marija Nikolić, Tivat 2016).

Figure 10: Effective result of adequate documentation. This drainage of rainwater with a retaining cistern for fertile soil was documented in 2002, three of them existed in the village of Gornja Lastva. In 2014 one had completely disappeared, two were filled with waste stone rubble and bricks, with broken or stolen stone lintels. With help of documentation from 2002, a workshop organized by Kotor's Expeditio and Tivat's Community and Napredak, the two objects were completely reconstructed into the original state (documentation 2002 and 2014 by B. Juvanec, Ljubljana, photo Marija Nikolić, Tivat 2016).



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