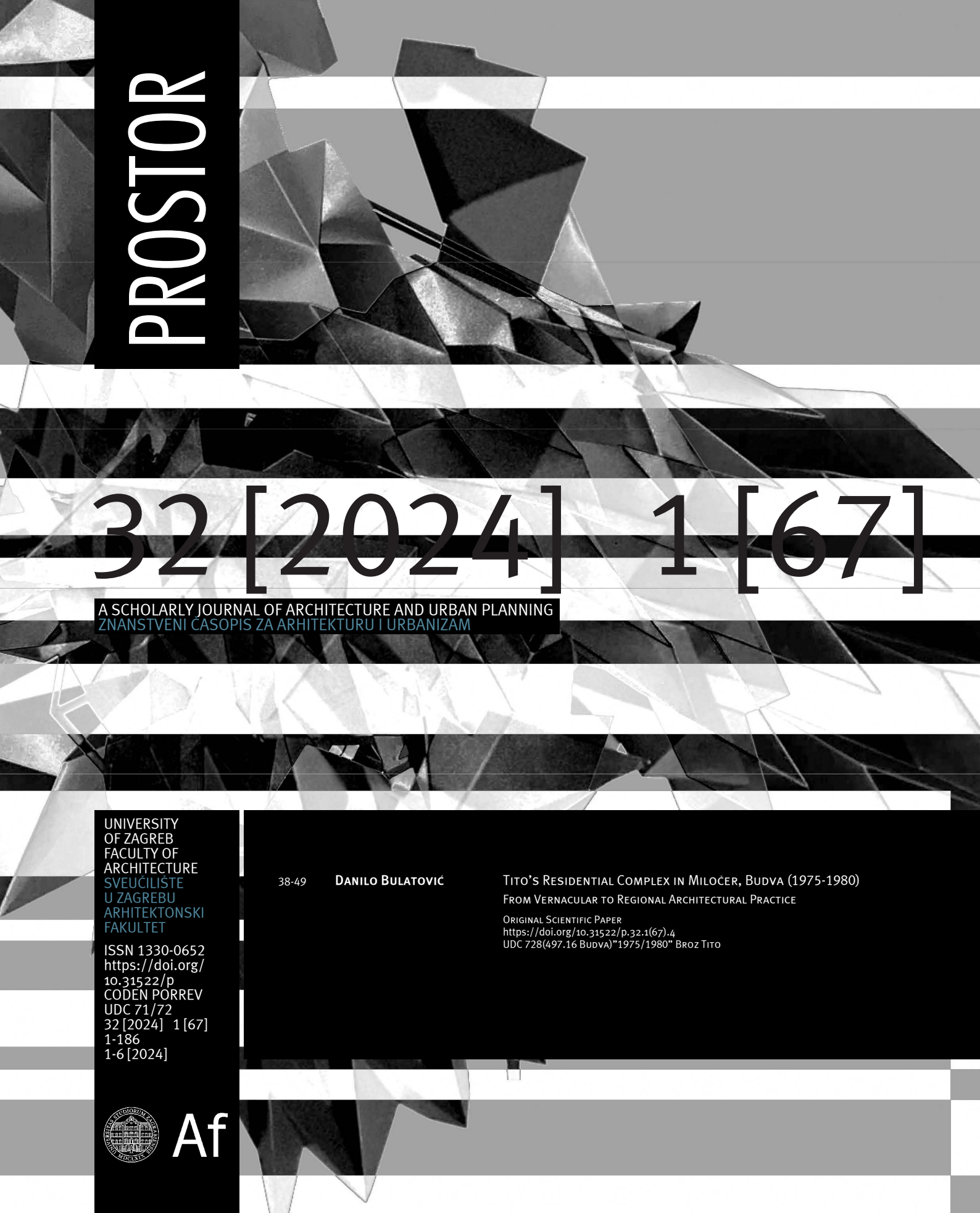
Tito's Residential Complex in Miloer, Budva (1975-1980)



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PROSTOR *m* space, room; (*površina*) area; (*zona*) tract; (*prostranstvo*) extent, expanse; (*za kretanje/manevriranje*) elbow-room, playroom, leeway, scope; (*prostorije, smještaj*) premises, accomodation | **životni** ~ living space; **stambeni** ~ housing; **školski** ~ school space; **poslovni** ~ office space/premises; ~ **za noge** legroom; *prema raspoloživom* ~**u** on a space available basis; *fig* **pružati** ~**za** offer/give scope for; **posvetiti (pokloniti)** ~ (*u novinama*) devote (give) space to; **zbog pomanjkanja** ~**a** because of limited space; **radi uštede na** ~**u** to save space; **povreda zračnog** ~**a** violation of airspace, aerosp; **istraživanje** ~**a** space exploration

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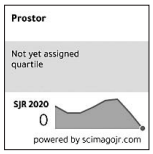

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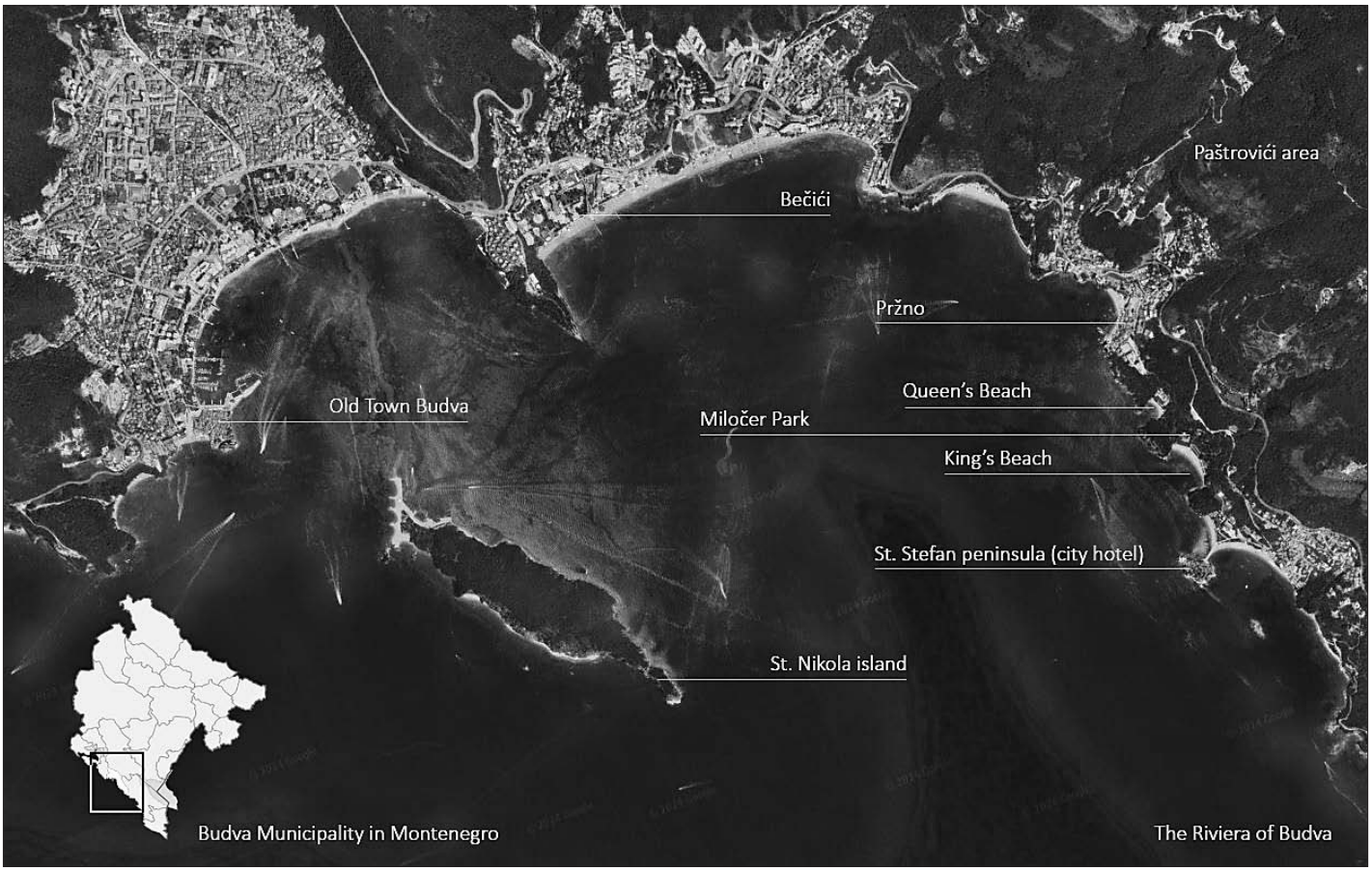

Fig. 1 Map of Budva Municipality Riviera

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Tito's Residential Complex in Miločer, Budva (1975-1980)
From Vernacular to Regional Architectural Practice

Miločer, Budva
Montenegro
regionalism
state-residence
Tito, Josip Broz

The subject of this paper is the development of a conceptual design proposal for the official residence for the President of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito on the Adriatic coast of Miločer, Budva (1975-1980). The research aims to unveil patterns of the regionalist approach within urban and architectural thought in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro (SR Montenegro) through the project of the presidential complex, shown here for the first time since its official presentation to the president himself in 1976. In methodological terms, the paper examines multiple layers of historical background of Miločer that affected the designers' process of thinking, followed by a clear-cut description of the planning procedures, methodologies and reasoning that emerged from the archives and first-hand witnesses of the whole process. The final results reflect on the critical approach within the practice of the post-war generation of Montenegrin architects, successfully balancing between the poles of power-representation and contemporary architectural currents.

INTRODUCTION

The last decade has recorded a significant upsurge of an academic interest on the topics of design and urban practices in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) between 1945 and 1990. However, sharing a doubled peripheral status both as part of the federal union, wretched between the communist East and capitalist West, and the least developed among six federal republics at the same time, the Socialist Republic of Montenegro (SR Montenegro) earned marginal space within the overall scholarship. Only recently have new findings zoomed out from capturing individual oeuvres and expansions on a comprehensive network of urban planners, architects and engineers who played a crucial role in the development process across Montenegro during the socialist period (Stamatović Vučković, 2023). Those hidden actors of modernizations represent an essential foundation for further examination of subaltern architectural and urban practices within the wider Yugoslav mosaic.

Being the most underdeveloped part of the country after World War II, Montenegro served as an ideal terrain to implement many of the newly proclaimed development programmes that would improve its socio-economic status. Such development directly reflected on design concepts across the Montenegrin Riviera, serving at the same time as a litmus test for observing fluctuating dynamics in the implementation of new architectural languages respective of each decade (Bulatović, 2022). At the end of the 1960s, the high-modernist approach was gradually replaced by regionalist tendencies vividly displayed within the layers of conceptual design developed between 1975 and 1980 for the residential complex of the president of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito in Miločer, Budva (Fig. 1). Although the project was never completed, coming to a halt soon after Tito's death in 1980, the project's idea serves as a hybrid that successfully synthesized the ideas of the local heritage, contemporary architectural currents and the cult image of the highest political figure.

The following chapters analyse the process from its initial design phase to the final presentation before the president himself. The first chapter maps Tito's residences in Montenegro, where he stayed between 1945 and 1980 while in Montenegro and the reasoning behind a decision for a new residence in Budva Municipality. The second chapter brings to light the history of the leisure industry of Miločer and the federal competition for conceptual urban-architectural proposal for the tourist area Sveti Stefan-Miločer-Pržno from 1964, which marks the first major influx of new ideas into the local architectural practice. The third chapter presents the traditional Paštrović house as an exemplar unit of the coastal building tradition in Montenegro. Finally, the last chapter shows a symbiotic relationship between the former influences incorporated within the presidential complex proposal and its official presentation to the president in Miločer in 1976 (Fig. 2).

TITO'S RESIDENCES IN THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF MONTENEGRO

There were at least 34 official or temporary residences throughout ex-Yugoslavia in which President Tito spent longer or shorter periods of time during his travels (Niebyl, 2020). These were used for coordination and management of his official duties while in the country, but also as a place for leisure and relaxation, dominant in the 1970s. Although

1 Tito visited Montenegro in 1946, 1951, 1959, 1963, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979.

2 Along with rehabilitation spaces in the building, it also served as the main administrative and logistical center of the president, with spaces such as meeting rooms, offices, library and various accommodation units.

3 Compared to the residences in Herceg Novi, the Miločer complex showed by far the most advanced approach in urban composition, architectural language and relationship with the landscape, deeply rooted in the history of the Paštrovic building tradition, both in terms of its recent experimental discourse and its vernacular background.

some of them were purposefully constructed for the president, many others were acquired through the process of nationalization after WWII. This was particularly relevant in the case of the Karađorđević royal family of Yugoslavia, who were deposed by the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly and whose lavish properties ended up being used by most prominent party officials. These included castles, hunting lodges, seaside manors and luxury palaces.

During the war, Tito had many informal settlements of which the most important one was in Bare Žugića, Žabljak from where he commanded the troops in the region in 1940 (Broz Tito, 1959). From 1945 onwards, without a newly built residence in Montenegro, until 1976, Tito usually stayed in the former royal "Miločer" castle (Fig. 3) in Budva Municipality or even in a hunting lodge in Žabljak (1970) near the Black Lake (Fig. 4).[1]

The deterioration of Tito's health condition in the mid-1970s anticipated an urgent need to find a new place for his stay and rehabilitation, as his personal residence in Brijuni (Brioni), Croatia, was unsuitable due to humidity. Without an official residence for executive bodies of the federal government in the whole of Montenegro, it was decided that new facilities would be built in the city of Herceg Novi and Budva, choosing the most adequate positions with respect to the environment, climate and historical circumstances. With "the strength and influence of the Yugoslav military which offered preconditions for the rapid and effective completion of construction" (Radulović, Alihodžić Jašarović, Žarić, 2020: 70) Villa "Galeb"[2] (Igalo) was designed by architect Milorad Petijević and finished in January 1977. In addition, Villa "Lovćen" designed by Tihomir Ivanović, was built on the initiative of the Yugoslav Army in Meljine in the same year, which was later characterized by Tito himself as "irrational and unnecessary spending of funds by the army" (Radulović, Alihodžić Jašarović, Žarić, 2020: 72).

While villas in Herceg Novi were important for therapeutic reasons, Miločer, on the other hand, was most likely marked as the twin counterpart to the other "White Houses" scattered across Yugoslavia, which carried their own symbolic and historical meanings.[3] Namely, the succession of power from royalism to communism, reflected through the occupation of the "White House" in Belgrade as a „symbol that the masses already knew well" (Kulić, 2009: 94) and "Bijela Vila" (white villa) at Brioni, probably made the case for Karađorđević's white palace complex in Miločer park to become a new emblematic example of this symbolic power shift in Montenegro.

Fig. 2 Official presentation of the residence conceptual proposal to President Tito in Miločer, Budva (1976); President of the People's Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro Vidoje Žarković, Prime Minister of Yugoslavia Džemal Bijedić, Chief of the President's Protocol Mirko Milutinovic, President of the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro Marko Orlandić, President of SFRY Josip Broz Tito, architect Vasilije Đurović, Head of the Republic Institute for Urban Planning and Design (Titograd) Professor Božidar Pavićević (from left to right)

Fig. 3 President Tito and his wife Jovanka Broz, with Vladimir Mitrović (director of Sveti Stefan hotel complex), visiting the Miločer castle in the 1970s.

Therefore, after a few visits to Miločer in 1969, 1972, 1973 and 1975, a decision brought by the highest army officials to build a new residence in this location was communicated to the representatives of the Republic Institute for Urban Planning and Design in Titograd (RZUP) by the end of 1975. The development of the project, classified as highly confidential, started in two parallel phases. Urban, architectural and construction projects were developed in the first phase by RZUP and finished in 1976, while the infrastructure system was developed by the Institute for Security in Belgrade, guided by Police General Jovan Popović, and finished in 1980.

Miločer as an Architectural Laboratory

A growing interest for leisure activities in Miločer began as early as in 1952 upon the

Fig. 4 Villa "Galeb" in Igalo (left), Villa "Lovćen" in Meljine (middle), Villa in Žabljak (right)

FIG. 5 CONCEPTUAL DESIGN PROPOSAL FOR TOURIST COMPLEX IN MILOČER BY EDVARD RAVNIKAR'S TEAM (1964)

suggestion of the high official of the Communist party Edvard Kardelj. The idea was to "transfer the last inhabitants and the transformation of the city [Sveti Stefan] into a hotel-village", after which the new hotel-city was inaugurated on July 13th 1960 with "80 restored houses, with the interiors completely redone, 110 comfortable apartments and 237 beds" (Lajović, 2015: 1).[4] The authors of the transformation process were architects Branko Bon[5], Vojislav Đokić[6] and Radmilo Zdravković[7] and executed by construction company "Crna Gora" from Nikšić (Đ.Z., 1963: 42). Moreover, the "Megayear 1964" (Banham, 1976: 70) brought a completely new wave of innovations in the leisure industry.[8] Adopted as the main theme of Triennale di Milano (1964), the idea of the holiday village was perceived in two ways – "small self-sufficient town or miniature town" and "the concept of a mega-structure as the most suitable system for the creation of leisure-time settlements in any type of seaside or mountain landscape" (Savorra, 2018: 133). Such an approach was primarily reflected through new "mega-structural agglomerations of individual unit cells, more or less formal in organization" already present in France, Portugal and Spain, while "in part drawing inspiration from the systemic thinking of Team 10" (Kulić, 2014: 1).[9] At the same time, a federal competition call was released for the development of a conceptual urban-architectural proposal for the tourist area Sveti Stefan-Miločer-Pržno. The first prize[10] was awarded to the team led by architect Edvard Ravnikar, Majda Kreger and Edo Ravnikar Jr. from Ljubljana (Fig. 5). According to the jury committee "the work is consistently based on the idea of respecting the landscape, freeing large areas of the complex south of the road for recreation, intactness of nature in its elementary forms, adaptation to the terrain to the maximum, respect for the agglomerative value of St. Stefan and the formation of new modern agglomerations, experiencing the Mediterranean" (Minić, 1965: 64).[11] In addition to the intersecting volumes enriching the morphology of the terrain, Ravnikar carefully guided tourists through the set of visual sequences from ground level to the accommodation units up in the hill. Framing the views with the rectangular volumes of the room, architects created an extended spatio-visual experience closely tied to the natural surroundings.

Although second and fourth prize were not awarded to any of the competitors, there were three third prizes.[12] Echoing the proposal of Edvard Ravnikar, architect Zoran Kvajtmejer from Ljubljana *(Jedro)* designed descending accommodation units, intercon-

4 As the Non-Aligned Movement (1961) of which Yugoslavia was one of the founders, gained pace and started to become widely appraised throughout the world, the city hotel also served as a venue for hosting world celebrities, thus identifying with popular Mediterranean resorts in the West.

5 Branko Bon (1912-2001). Further biography in: Šentija, 1982.

6 Vojislav Đokić (1902-1984). Further biography in: Martinović, 2021.

7 Radmilo Zdravković (1912-1992). Further biography in: Markuš, 2008.

8 The term "Megayear 1964" was introduced by Reyner Banham in: *Megastructure: Urban Future and Recent Past* (1976) describing the year in which the implementation of 'megastructures' typology culminated, experimenting on the issue of mediation between architecture and global socio-economic issues.

9 Examples include Michel Bezancon's Tourist Complex on the Grande Plagne Savoy (1966-1980), Aquitaine Architectes Associes's Tourist Village Anglet (1969) and Julio Lafuente's Hotel Gozo (1967).

nected with passages, with shared spaces at the bottom of the hill (Fig. 6). The jury stated that the "author provides a very transparent zonal organization, making thus clear and rational contribution to the competition task" (Minić, 1965: 65).

Two mentions[13] were awarded to the teams led by architect Vladimir Belikov from Belgrade *(Stena)* and architects Marjan Debelak, Braco Mušič and Marko Mušič from Ljubljana (*Hommo Additus Naturae*; Fig. 6). Both proposals differed greatly from their predecessors since the authors decided to experiment both with the form and the location of the buildings. In the case of the *Stena* team, an effort to free the hinterland from construction as much as possible made the cliffs of Queen's and King's beach coalesce with the structure of the hotel. The second proposal followed a similar organic pattern, emphasizing an elaborated hotel-urban agglomeration in the foreground, while preserving the natural environment in the background. The authors situated a requested capacity program in the small village of Pržno in the form of a ziggurat shaped "tourist town" (Minić, 1965: 65) from which the tourist activity would then disperse throughout Miločer park.

Such a diversity in approaches and number of important regional actors who took part in the competition in 1964, reflected the clear idea of the "post-war period in which tourist resorts came to be understood, similar to the colonies in former days, as 'free-places' for the exploration of new urban and architectural concepts and ideas" (Avermaete, 2004: 22) present throughout Europe.[14] This gave a significant impulse to the architectural and planning dynamics of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, as it helped move the focus from the vocabulary of high-modernism commonly exercised until the mid-1960s and marked the first major influx of the experimental international tendencies.

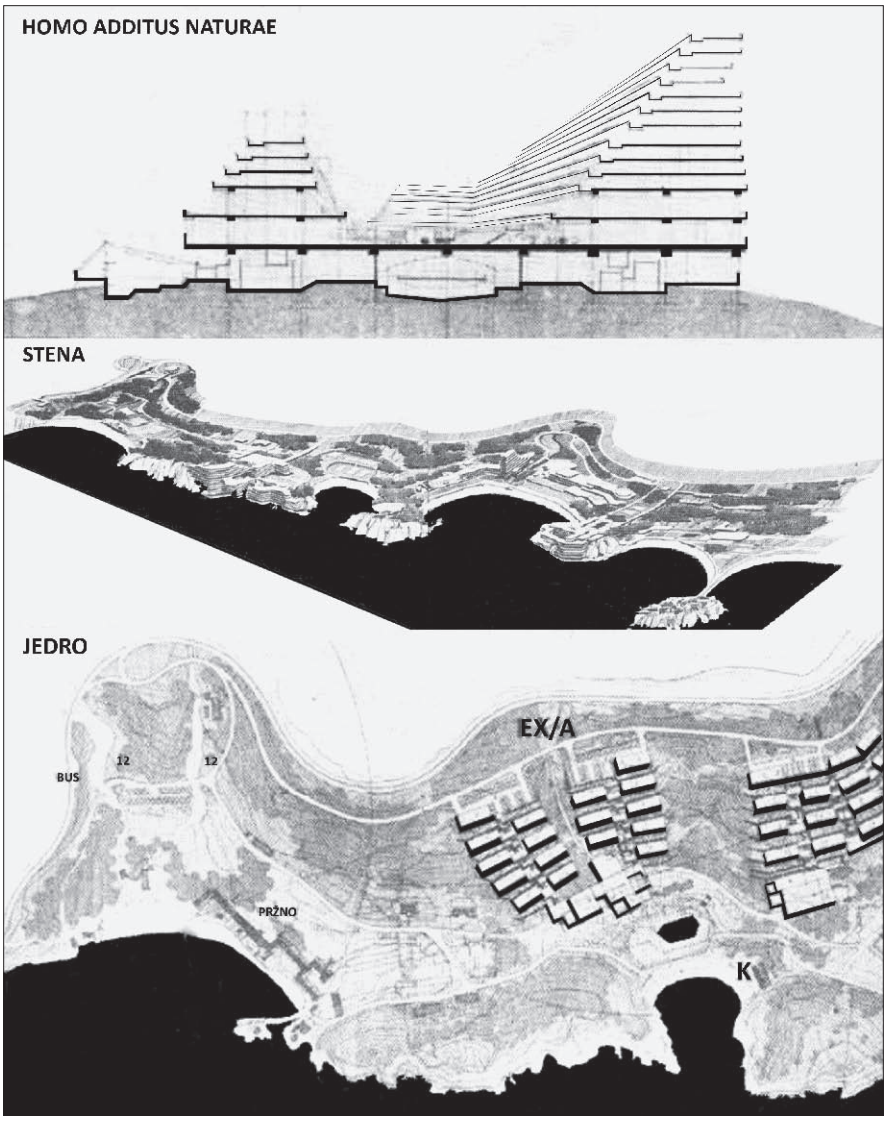


Fig. 6 Conceptual design proposals for tourist complex in Miločer by the team *Jedro* (bottom), team *Stena* (middle) and team *Homo Additus Naturae* (top) (1964)

In Search of the 'Genius Loci' of Paštrovići

At the turn of the decade, the transformative tendencies in Europe sought to include "more fleeting references, though still present, such as natural elements – the coast, the trees the terraces – or historical elements of the 'environment' – towns, isolated settlements road networks – which may provide ideas for the settlement to be built from scratch." (Aymonino, 1970: 18-19).

Adding to the previous Yugoslav scholarship[15], the Regional Development Program for South Adriatic[16] attracted numerous international ac-

10 The prize consisted of 3,500,000 dinars, while the team was competing under the code name *Natel*.

11 While Hotel Maestral in Pržno (1970-1971) represents only a small part of the whole complex that was actually completed, the idea paved the way for the integration of local practice with the evolving architectural currents across the world.

12 The prizes worth 1,500,000 dinars were awarded to teams under code names *Jedro*, *14109* and *25115* (Minić, 1965: 65).

13 Mentions of 1,000,000 dinars each were awarded to the teams under code names *Stena* (Cliff) and *Homo Additus Naturae* (Minic, 1965: 65).

14 The proposal from *Natel, Jedro* and *Stena* represented a "mega-structure" approach with dispersed accommodation units, while the team *Hommo Additus Naturae* put forward the "miniature town" concept with the main building aggregating the social and physical activities of the whole area, referencing the themes from Milano Triennale (1964).

15 In Yugoslavia, the pioneering writing on oriental housing by Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt in

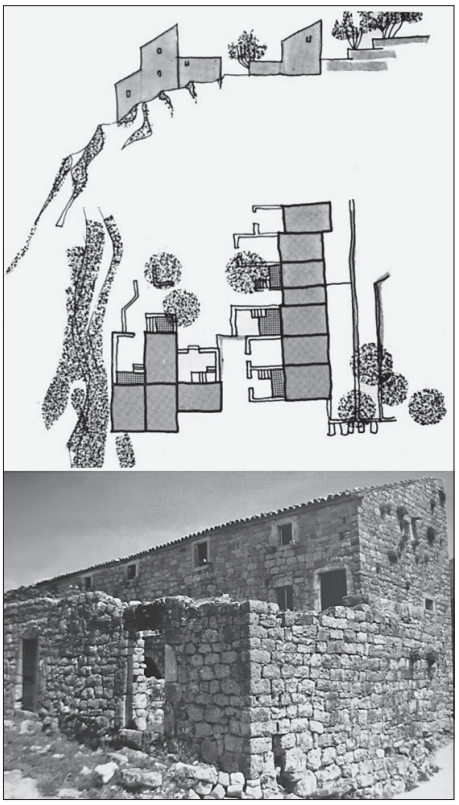


FIG. 7 TYPICAL PAŠTROVIĆ HOUSEHOLD

FIG. 8 URBAN CONCEPTION OF THE COMPLEX DESIGNED BY ARCHITECT VUKOTA TUPA VUKOTIĆ AND TECHNICIAN SLOBODAN KOKOTOVIĆ: A – PRESIDENTIAL VILLA, B-F – GUESTS' VILLAS, 1,2 – COMMON BUILDING FOR THE ENTOURAGE, 3 – PRIVATE BEACH PAVILION

tors, including Georges Candilis and Konstantinos Dioxiadis and it served as an ideal platform for the research of "genius loci" within Montenegrin coastal villages. Particular attention of domestic and foreign experts was dedicated to the analysis of the Paštović house[17], which belongs to the "Dalmatian type of folk architecture" (Kekovic, Petrović, Ćurčić, 2019: 686-687), specific both from the urban and architectural point of view.

A linear urban formation[18] was bonded with traditional urban artefact that served as a public meeting space not just in Paštrovici (Adriatic Sea) but also in Crmnica (Skadar Lake) and Gornja Lastva (Boka Bay), commonly called 'guvno' (usually with the circle form). The architectural composition of the Paštrović house complements the environmental conditions of the site, while the household contour follows the configuration of the terrain (Fig. 7). The houses are comprised of three floors, each serving a specific function. The basement was usually divided in two rooms that served for storing household necessities while the staircase led directly to the main room on the first floor, which served as a sleeping area. The top floor was used as a kitchen most often with the fireplace. The most conspicuous element of the house is a single-pitched roof "convenient for its conforming to the contour line of the terrain and protecting from the north wind – the *bura*, by channeling the wind stream down the slope" (Kekovic, Petrović, Ćurčić, 2019: 686-687). The terraces are built of stone with a brick fence and profiling in sight benches known as 'pižun' usually covered with wooden pergola with grapes. Thus, the building exemplified a physical condenser of the social, cultural and pragmatic layers of the ethnographic traits of Paštrovici, while providing a vast field for contemporary interpretation aligned with an emerging critical discourse on domestic and international level.

THE SYNTHESIS: PRESIDENTIAL COMPLEX PROPOSAL (1975-1980)

Upon the receipt of the executive order to make a conceptual design for the new residence complex for President Tito in Miločer in 1975, the RZUP, guided by Božidar Pavicevic[19], launched the procedure of creating working groups for the project. The supervisor of the design team was engineer Vladimir Stanković[20], who oversaw the working groups[21] guided by architect Milorad Vukotić[22], construction engineers Veljko Belada and Aleksandar Jovanović. The urban conception of the complex was proposed by architect Vukota Tupa Vukotić[23] and technician Slobodan Kokotović. The first phase of the project was finished in May 1976, when it was officially presented to the president in the courtyard of the Miločer castle[24] (Fig. 2).

In accordance with the accumulated architectural background of Miločer, the new proposal for the presidential complex required a thoughtful and reflective approach in response to the program of the new residence. Compared to the design of those in Herceg Novi, where the formal interpretation of both buildings stands in sharp contrast to the location, the one in Miločer differed greatly both in terms of size and form, respecting the fragility of the local landscape. The words of the chief architect Milorad Vukotić that "the Montenegrin coast will never be attractive only because of the buildings ... but because of the unique configuration of the terrain, which cannot be found in this form anywhere else in the world." (Vukotic, 1975)[25] clearly reflected this position.

Settled on the Queen's beach, north from the castle "Miločer" and south of the hotel "Maestral" in Pržno, the urban plan envisioned an exclusive resort with the presidential villa (A), five additional buildings for official guests (B, C, D, E, F), a common building for the guests' entourage (1, 2) and a private beach with an auxiliary pavilion (3; Fig. 8).[26]

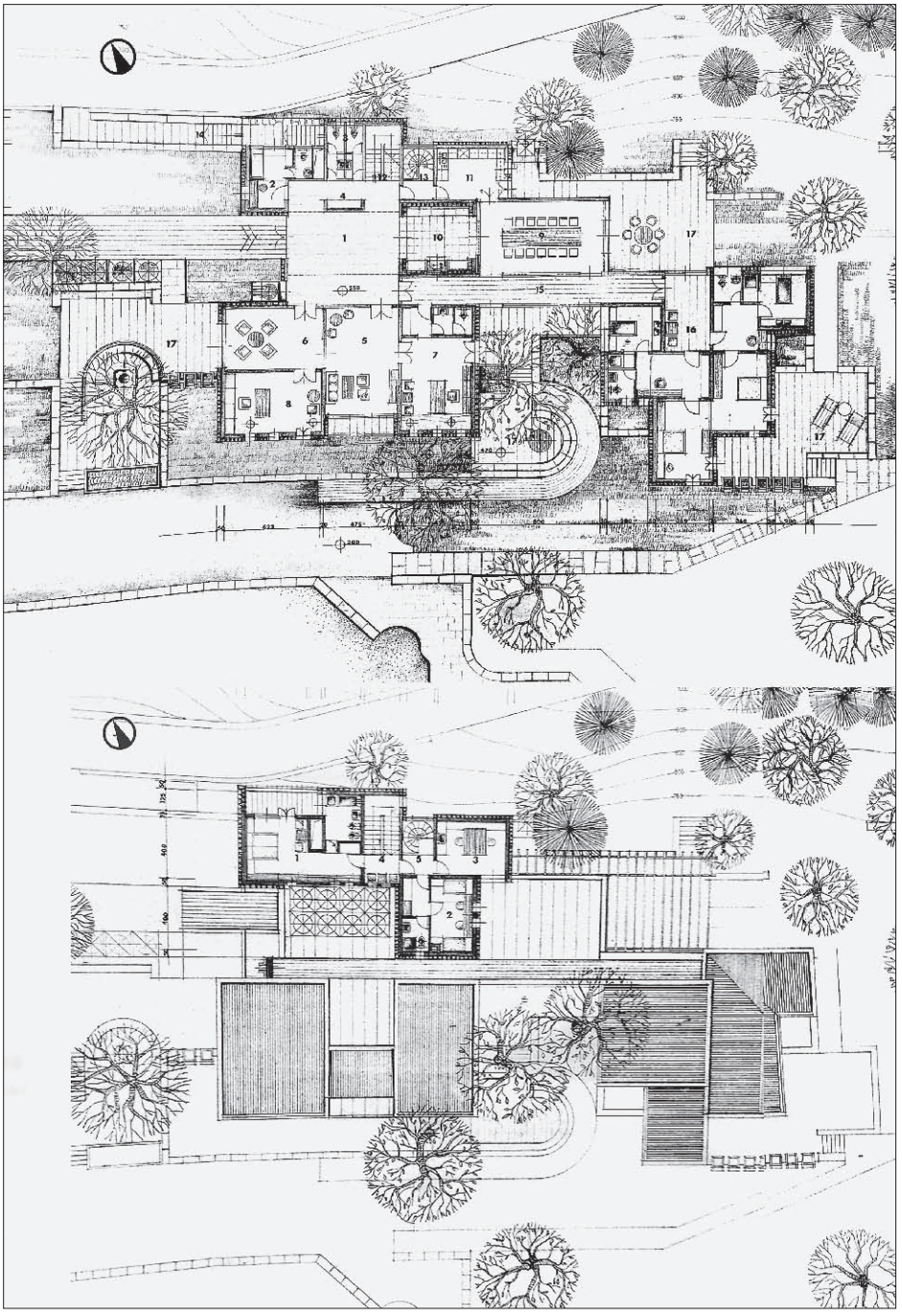


Fig. 9 Ground floor (up) and first floor (down) of the presidential villa in Miločer. Ground floor includes: 1. Entrance hall; 2. Officer's apartment; 3. Guests' toilets; 4. Guests' cloakroom; 5. Male salon; 6. Female salon; 7. Workroom 1; 8. Workroom 2; 9. Dining room; 10. Fireplace; 11. Office; 12. Staircase; 13. Service staircase; 14. Service entrance; 15. Hallway; 16. Guests' apartments; 17. Terraces. First floor includes: 1. Sami-apartment; 2. Doctor's room; 3. Office; 4. Staircase; 5. Service staircase.

Scattered across the Miločer park, the complex aligned with the organic approach introduced in the competition proposals from 1964, whereby the process of decomposition served as the common strategy for better integration with the natural environment.[27]

When asked about the design difficulties from the president himself, although reluctantly, Božidar Pavicevic outlined two main issues: "The first and most important one is

Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno (1957), shifted the interpretation from vernacular to contemporary reading, while such approach was also exploited by Aleksandar Deroko, Zoran Petrovic, Branislav Kojic, Brana Milenković and Milan Zlokovic at Belgrade University. In "L'architecture rurale de Boka Kotorska" and "Maison et Palais" (1964), Petrovic, Kojic and Zlokovic analyzed the vernacular housing of Boka Kotorska "representing an important chapter in the history of the local cultural heritage and serving as a model in the realization of contemporary proposals" (Zlokovic, 1964: 58).

16 The Regional Development program was developed upon the request of the Federal Government to the UDNP, between 1967 and 1972 and included the area between the city of Split and Ulcinj.

17 Park Miločer is situated within the wider region called Paštrovici in the coastal part of Montenegro, with St. Stefan as its core.

18 This is particularly reflected through continual rows of tightly arranged plots of land of different 'brotherhoods' *(bratstvo)*, conditioned by the rules of territorial defence and rational exploitation of land resources in the mountains above the sea.

19 Božidar Pavicevic (1933) graduated from the Faculty of Engineering, University of Belgrade in 1959 and worked in Organizational and Construction Company (OGP) in Montenegro from 1959. From 1974, Pavicevic held the head position in the RZUP in Titograd. Apart from recognized role on federal level, from 1985 he was employed at University of Montenegro, Faculty of Engineering. Pavicevic is still active and contributes to the relevant issues related to urban planning, engineering and design (Pavicevic's personal archive).

20 Vladimir Stankovic (1933-2005) graduated from Faculty of Engineering in Sarajevo in 1959 and obtained his Ph.D. in Skopje in 1989. Stankovic was the Technical director of RZUP (1975-1990; RZUP archive).

21 The architecture team was comprised of several prominent Montenegrin architects including Vasilije Đurovic, Milan Popovic, Pavle Popovic, Nikola Drakic, Slobodan Slovinic (for detailed biographies: Markuš, 2008) and technicians Bogic Vukcevic, Dušan Ratkovic, Sonja Savic and Slobodanka Radunovic.

22 Milorad Vukotic (1932-1978) was the chief responsible for the architectural design in Miločer. However, after his deteriorated health conditions this position was given to architect Vasilije Đurovic, who presented the project to the President in 1976.

23 Vukota Tupa Vukotic (1932-2002). Further biography in: Markuš, 2008.

24 President Tito visited Miločer on the same occasion of the opening ceremony of the Belgrade-Bar railway (nearby Miločer) on May 28th 1976.

25 Radio Televizija Crne Gore Archive (1975), Crnogorsko primorje: Arhitekta Milorad Vukotic interview [video].

26 The general disposition of the buildings, resulted from an effort to preserve valuable plantations, takes advantage of the best views and ensure optimum insulation conditions, considering the lack of a predominantly west-oriented location.

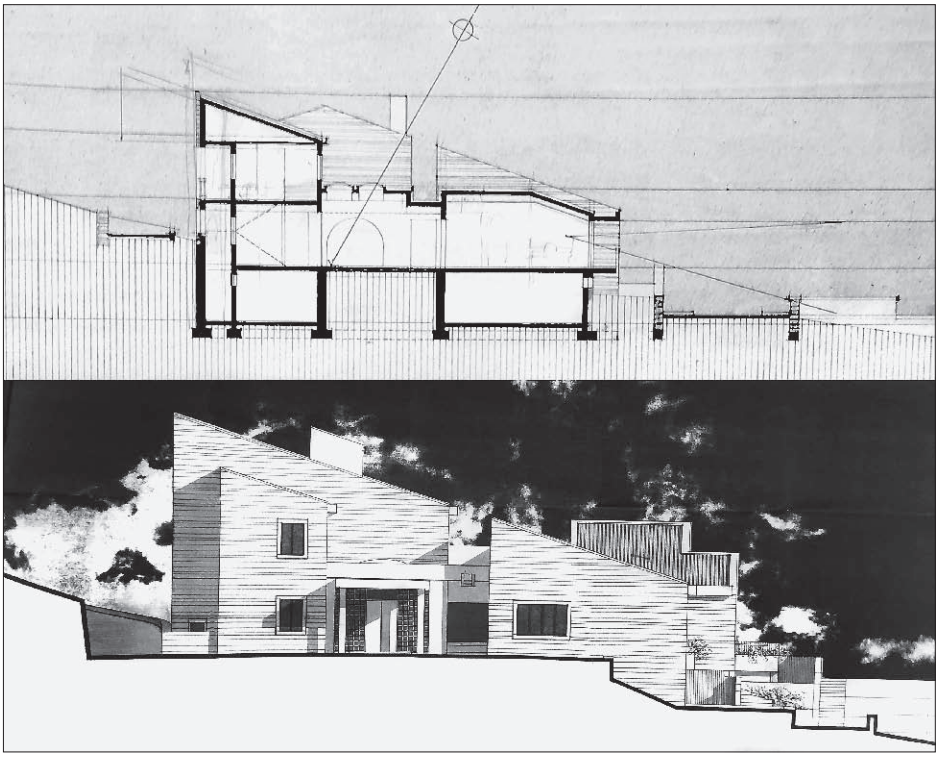


FIG. 10 A-A SECTION (TOP) AND WEST ELEVATION (BOTTOM) OF THE PRESIDENTIAL VILLA IN MILOČER

related to overcoming the sloping terrain and moving seamlessly between different levels, while the second one has to do with the style of the interior design" (Bulatović and Pavićević, 2024).[28] Tito's answer to the first question discarded any worry about the differentiated levels giving designers "full liberty of organizing the complex according to what chief engineer thinks should be done" (Bulatović and Pavićević, 2024), while the second question was left for Jovanka Broz to be discussed later on.

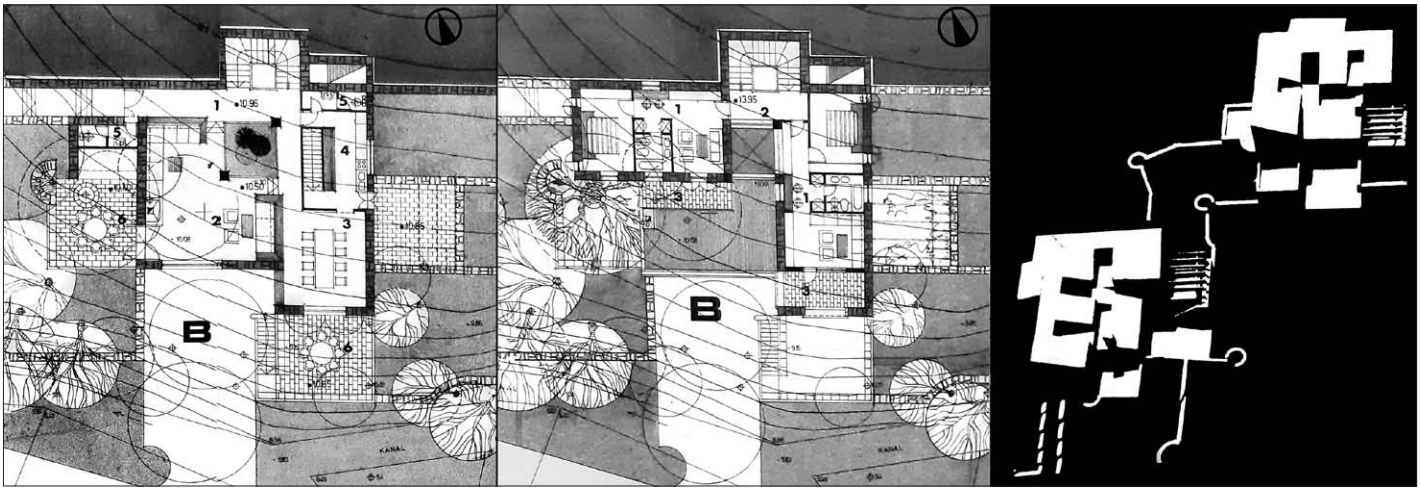
The micro-location of the presidential villa was fully defined by a detailed urban plan and it occupies the southernmost part of the complex near the beach. The sloping land towards the sea, cleared by previous interventions and refined with sub-walls, was characterized by the presence of a large number of olives, fir, cypress, oak and other trees. This is why the architects judged that "the value of the ambience of this area as a whole and the exceptionally beautiful view had a decisive influence on the choice of the location of the building in this place" (RZUP, 1976).[29] The villa consisted of the basement, at an elevation of +2.70 m, ground floor, connected to the main entrance at an elevation of +5.50 m and first floor at an elevation of +8.80 m. The ground floor and first floor (with the president's semi-apartment and health service) were connected to the main staircase from the hall, and all three floors were connected by the service staircase (Fig. 9).

The villa developed parallel to the slopes of the terrain, in accordance with the vernacular principles of the Paštrović house. Levels of privacy, with public spaces in the north and private spaces on the south side, changed accordingly along the main compositional axis (north-south).[30] This division also represents the main feature of the proposal, clearly reflected through the volumetric ramification of the building units according to each functional zone (Fig. 12).

The contents of the first floor were separated, whereby a semi-apartment for the president (hall, bathroom, room and loggia) was directly connected to the main staircase, while the office and doctor's room with a bathroom relied on the service stairs. The decision for the secluded orientation of the presidential apartment towards the mountain was due to security reasons, also implemented in his residence in Herceg Novi.

Furthermore, the architects insisted on the symbolic extension of the living space provid-

FIG. 11 TYPICAL VILLA (B, C, D). GROUND FLOOR INCLUDES: 1. ANTRE, 2. SALON, 3. DINING ROOM, 4. KITCHENETTE, 5. TOILET, 6. TERRACE (LEFT); FIRST FLOOR INCLUDES: 1. APARTMENTS, 2. ANTRE, 3. TERRACE/LOGGIA ((IN THE MIDDLE). MODEL EMPHASIZES SINGLE-PITCHED ROOFS, PERGOLAS, TERRACES, *PIŽUN*, *GUVNO* AND ARCHES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PAŠTROVIĆ HOUSE TYPOLOGY (RIGHT).



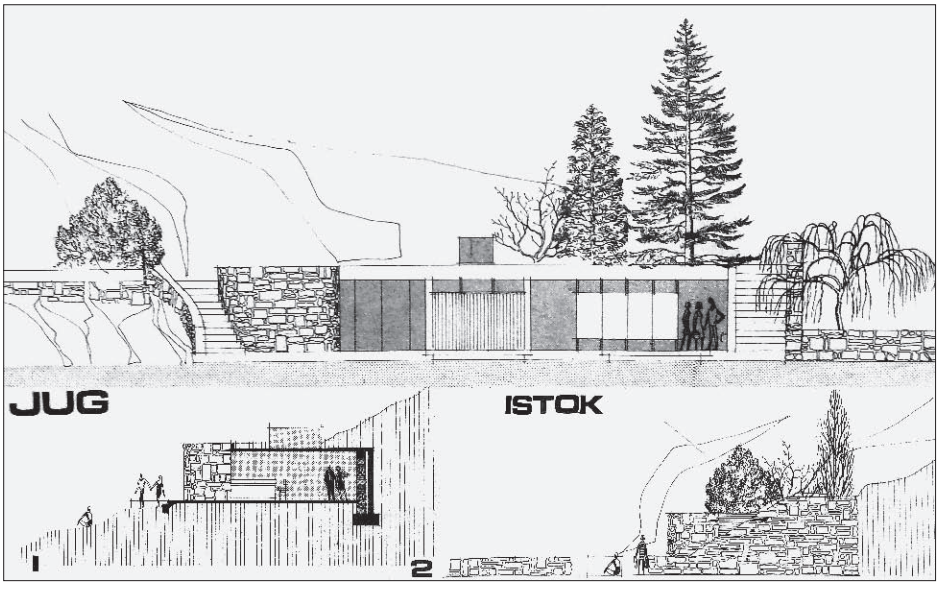
ing a continuous visual relationship throughout the ground floor with the environment of the Miločer park (Fig. 10). The internal courtyard of the villa, with the semi-circle form, referenced the traditional urban artefact called "guvno", whereby such urban agglomeration articulates a subtle connection between household functional units, as it did between different brotherhood households in Paštrovići. Furthermore, this approach can also be traced in the design for villas dedicated to the official guests of the president, members of the federal government and the republic's representatives (Fig. 11). Composed of a dining room, kitchenette, salons and bathrooms on the ground level and two master bedrooms with terraces at the first floor, altogether developing around the central courtyard, the buildings complemented the inherited building traditions. This is particularly reflected through the usage of arches, pergolas, "pižuns", "guvno" and single-pitched roofs[31] responding to the local topographical, climate and social prerogatives of the area, while simultaneously complementing contemporary requirements of the presidential protocol activities.

Moreover, along the regionalist approach adopted by the team[32], it could be argued that the proposal also reflected a range of pragmatic concerns related to the legitimization of Tito as a leader figure. Namely, as argued by Vladimir Kulić in the case of the popularization of Tito's birth-house in Kumrovec, it "was of utmost importance to present Tito as 'one of the people'" (Kulić, 2009: 114). Consequently, the implementation of vernacular principles of the Paštrović house aligned with a representational agency of the Tito cult, turning it into a cohesive connection with the ethnographic traits of this historic community in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro (Fig. 12).

Fig. 12 Model of the presidential villa in Miločer (made and photographed by Savo Đorđević)

Finally, along the northern part of the complex which was dedicated to the accommodation of

Fig. 13 Presidential beach pavilion at the private Queen's beach



27 The issue of managing height differences in such a small area was something that was particularly relevant for the authorities. Anticipating the upcoming period of Tito's hobbling condition in the second half of the 1970s, adjutant colonel Marko Rapo was explicit to Božidar Pavićević not to mention any obstacles in the design process to the president during his official visit to Miločer.

28 The interview with Professor Božidar Pavićević was conducted in January 2024 at his home in Danilovgrad, Montenegro.

29 Extract from the project documentation 'Objekti reprezentacije saveznih organa: Područje Opštine Budva, Miločer' from 1976 [100×80 cm], Podgorica.

30 Officer's room, dining room and kitchenette were oriented towards the mountain, while the western part oriented to the sea was reserved for the everyday use of salons, workrooms and guests' apartments.

31 This was the first time those elements were interpreted and put together reflecting the authentic architectural approach on the Montenegrin coast, while their reinterpretation was later successfully deployed in post-earthquake (1979) design concepts for Hotel complex "Slovenska plaža" (1984) in Budva and "Dubrovački vrtovi sunca" (1988) in Dubrovnik, designed by Slovenian architect Janez Kobe (Karač, Premović, 2021: 634-657).

32 At the same period, a similar example of the regionalist approach could be traced in the presidential villa Gorica in Bugojno (1978), whereby architect Zlatko Ugljen proposed a sophisticated concept of spatial continuity fully integrated with the surrounding environment (Bernik, 2002).

the guests' entourage (1, 2) with the double storey building of 40 hotel rooms, the proposal included a wide network of gravel pathways that led to several private beaches. At the Queen's presidential beach, architects proposed a small pavilion that blended within the rocky background of Miločer cliffs (Fig. 13). The small facility was equipped with a dressing room and bar to serve the needs of those using the beach, while its composition reflected a clear idea of the subtle relationship between natural and artificial permeating the whole complex, from its greatest to its smallest unit.

CONCLUSION

The project for the presidential complex in Miločer emerges as an important artefact in the historical analysis of the Yugoslav architectural mosaic. Juggling between the issues of spatial arrangement, function, typology, scale, connection with the socio-ethnographic and physical features of the Paštrovići region, while striking a balance between strict program requirements and subtle political representation, the team from RZUP demonstrated a sophisticated level of the local architectural practice. In fact, it could be rightly said that the complex in Miločer represents a valuable contribution to the more accurate examination of the regionalist approach and its exploitation in Yugoslavia at the same time evaluating its position within the shifting discourse of the international architectural scene of the time.

Moreover, it is also a daunting reminder of an obvious reversal in the field of architectural and urban practice on the Montenegrin coast for the last half century. Stuck in the gap between an everlasting transition from a highly-regulated socialist system to the complete discharge of the liberalized (mis)governance of space, the socialist heritage serves as a guiding tool for – questioning our current positions. It stands in sharp contrast to the speculative approaches currently underway in the same area, offering neo-liberal concepts of dwelling, fundamentally opposing both normative and natural characteristics of the location. However, as erroneous as these practices may be, it is through these errors that they facilitate, that they can actually play a vital role in expanding the possibilities of reimagination and with the critical approach to historical discourse again play an active role in innovative localizations. This can become just one of the possible ways towards comprehensive practices which would guarantee more nuanced paths of future development.

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Illustration sources

Fig. 1	© Google Earth
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Fig. 3	Vladimir Mitrović's private archive
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Fig. 6	Minić, 1965: 64-65
Fig. 7	RZUP, 1969: 34-58
Figs. 8-13	RZUP, 1976: 1-12

Author's biography

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