

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TOPOGRAPHIC ELEMENT OF HILL IN THE MODERN URBAN CONTEXT: CRKVINA AND JABLANICA

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The position of the first settlements was determined by geography, which defined their form and set the basis for building the identity of modern urban environments. Although the correlation between the natural and man-made components of towns was changing under the influence of cultural circumstances and the manner of social production of space, primarily in the 20th century, the natural elements still appear as primary urban elements.

The paper analyses the significance of Crkvina hill in the socio-spatial context of the town of Trebinje, as well as the significance of Jablanica hill in the socio-spatial context of the town of Novi Grad. It examines the influence of the topography and hill element on the genesis of urban structures, as well as the ways in which the hill is incorporated into the urban tissues and activities of these towns today. It also analyses the symbolic character of the hill, its role in transmitting socio-cultural processes and in creating collective identity. It further determines the potentials of the element of the hill, which can help increase the quality of urban space and highlight the identity of Trebinje and Novi Grad.

Key words: element of hill, identity, urban genesis and space, Crkvina, Jablanica.

INTRODUCTION

Two factors lay the foundation for forming and developing any town: location, which gives the town its primary shape, and geographic framework, which determines and stimulates the occurrence of roads as essential bearers of urban dynamics (Poëte, 2011). Geographic position is essential to urban genesis and town evolution on one hand, and the creation of specific cultural characteristics of its inhabitants on the other. The relation of the natural environment and community always works both ways: the community influences the environment, and the environment influences the community which inhabits it. Through this mutual interaction, the natural environment becomes part of the urban environment. The apparent conflict of natural and constructed environments, embracing and sometimes redesigning nature, supplies the basic formal characteristics of a town and its identity (Kostof, 1991; Radović, 2009).

As the most prominent part of the natural framework, the element of hill or mountain had a major role in the historic process of town creation and development. Positioning settlements on a hill or high terrain provided safety and quality of environment. Apart from determining the position, expansion direction and form of the town, the hill element, which is often attributed with symbolic meaning, contributes to the sense of belonging to a place or community, or simply marking the urban space.

Throughout history, topography has always been a tool of expressing spiritual or temporary values and power. In ancient Greece, mountaintops were a place of gods, in the Middle Ages hilltops were the location of feudal castles etc. The tendency of powerful institutions and individuals to occupy the tops of mountains or other higher grounds in the urban landscape has continued to this day. But still, in some cases, high terrain can present obstacles and barriers which marginalize and segregate a certain part of urban space or a social group (Madanipour, 1996).

Along with striking architecture, high terrain or hilltops provide bearings in space and identification with it, which are two basic psychological functions involved in forming a sense of truly belonging to a place (Norberg-Schulz, 1976), with nature playing a vital role in its creation (Lovell, 1998). The hills show the roots of a people, its tradition and mythology – ‘so significant was the role of mountaintops in the life of people, that the whole history of humanity could be linked to the cult of peaks’ (Reclus, 1910: 176).

Bosnia and Herzegovina is made up of two distinct geographical and historical regions, resulting in the appearance of different formal characteristics of the town and cultural patterns reflecting on the character of the urban space. Both regions are predominantly mountainous, which affected the first road routes, and caused the towns to have irregular, but consistent forms. The first towns of the medieval state developed from Old Roman forts that guarded

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Roman road routes. These towns were closely related to the topography of hills and mostly occupied the tops of naturally formed peaks, adapting their form to the 'natural foundations' (Truhelka, 1904).

The elements of natural environment, during periods of further development of the towns, have had different roles in the organization of the urban space or in assigning meaning to it. Their roles were directly linked to the cultural and economic influences of the dominant periods of the urban accumulation process. Since the majority of structure in modern towns originated in the second half of the 20th century – when modernization and urbanization were implemented with regard to industrialization, socialist ideology and the principles of the Athens Charter – the production of urban space was neglecting the natural component. Today, however, the elements of natural environment can be seen as the protagonists of identity, whose role in the urban space of a town is complex and is reflected in various fields of urban and sociological activities.

This makes it necessary to begin carefully analyzing them in order to display and determine: the role of topography in the urban evolution of the town in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the characteristics of the element of hill which defined its form and the identity of the environment; the existing and potential degree of integration – physical, functional and symbolic – in regard to the scale of immediate environment and the scale of the town.

METHODOLOGY

The article incorporates elements of basic and applied research, implying complex methodology which is aimed at understanding and explaining the complex roles of the hill element in urban space and life within that space. Because of the two distinct historical and geographical entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, comparative research design was used, unifying various spatial and pivotal levels of analysis and reducing them to exploring the significance of Crkvina hill in the socio-spatial context of Trebinje, and the same for Jablanica hill in Novi Grad. The applied comparative research design implies not only results reached through exclusive comparison of two case studies, but each case study can be considered a result in their own right (Flyvbjerg, 2001). The two towns were selected based upon a group of parameters, which apart from the primary parameter of belonging to different geographical regions include approximate extent of urban space and number of residents, which places them in

medium-sized municipalities, which are dominant in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and various cultural influences.

The focus of research was placed on the spatial level of the hill, its immediate surroundings, including the town central zone, and on the current time period, observed through the composite of previous periods and their corresponding cycles of urban evolution. The research was done in regard to three aspects of approaching the issue coming from the theoretical framework laid out in the introduction and from the spatial level of research:

- The influence of the hill on the genesis, structure and characteristics of the urban space, and vice versa;
- The symbolic meaning of the element of hill in creating urban and collective identity;
- The integration of the element of hill in relation to various scales of the environment: form, connection, activity and flow.

Throughout the research three important approaches to urban research were used to a lesser or greater extent: the time-space system, comparative analysis, and the relation between process and consequence.

CRKVINA HILL IN TREBINJE

Trebinje belongs to the region of Herzegovina, which determined the basic morphological characteristics of the town, whose form was defined by karst landform mountain ranges with

slopes of over 30°. To the west, the ranges end in the form of Crkvina hill (406 m.a.s.l.; surface area cca 34 ha), which is adjoined by the Trebišnjica river on the north side. Crkvina protrudes from a compact massif of the mountain range into the flatlands (275 m.a.s.l.) where the current town is located (Figure 1).

The specific relation of the river, the hill and the flatlands was most probably the main reason why the first settlement in the modern-day urban space of Trebinje, according to most authors who have studied the region (Figurić, 1930; Korać, 1966), developed at the Crkvina hillside. The terrain, cover from wind and access to water made this a unique place, necessary for further development of the settlement. It is believed that the first settlement on Crkvina appeared in the time of the Illyrians (Korać, 1966), and the recovered relics are estimated to date from before the 7th century. An archeologist named Janković (2009), member of the archeological team at the Crkvina site in 1996, put together the following reconstruction of the formation and transformation of the settlement on Crkvina: it is assumed that originally there was a Roman camp located on the hill, from which a town was formed in Late Antiquity. With the arrival of the Ottomans (1466), Crkvina loses the role of the urban center and becomes a strategic point of a new, Ottoman town developing on the other side of the Trebišnjica river.

Along with the Trebišnjica river, Crkvina defined the position of the original settlement and

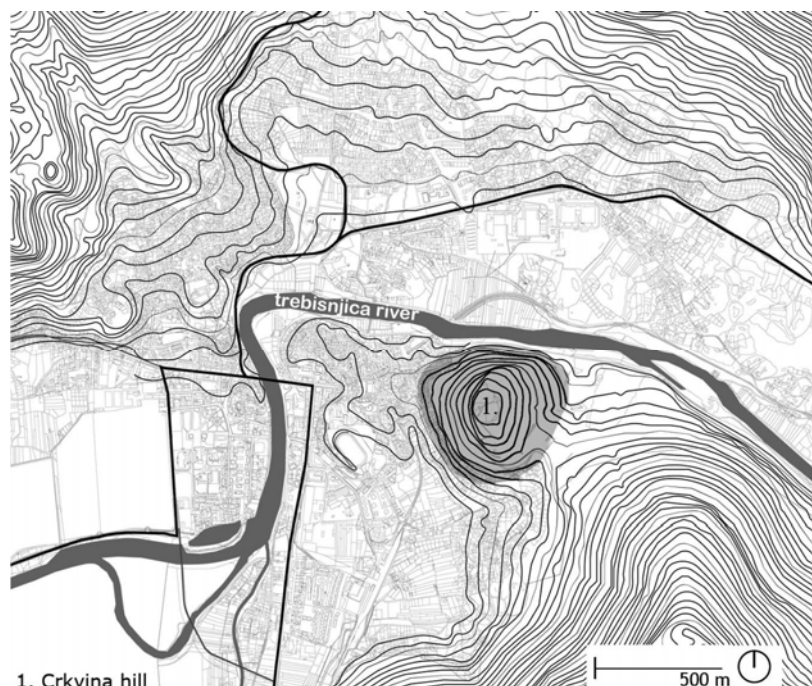


Figure 1. Form of the town in relation to topography, position of Crkvina hill.
Source: Isidora Karan

influenced its further expansion. Although at a certain historical moment Crkvina was a nucleus from which the current town developed, today it is perceived as part of its natural borderline; there are, however, plans to build structures on the east side of the hill (Urbanistički zavod RS, 2002). Since the appearance of the first settlement, Crkvina has had the role of an urban impeller, influencing the development of the urban space, albeit with reduced intensity since the arrival of the Ottomans.

In the context of the current town, Crkvina's primary role is that of the urban identifier, in terms of creating a clear image of the town and in terms of forming its identity. Crkvina represents the fundamental element of 'urban horizon and portrait' of Trebinje. (Kostof, 1991) In forming the town, it operates in both the outside-inwards perspective, from the mountain ranges towards the urban space, and the inside-outwards perspective, from the urban space towards Crkvina. As a landmark in the open urban space of Trebinje, providing for the opportunity to encapsulate the entire structure of the town into one image, it enhances our impression, primarily the visual one, of the town, and it also provides bearings in the town (Figure 2).

The presence of the Crkvina directly identifies the location as Trebinje, and not some other town of similar topography and form. Without Crkvina Trebinje would not be the same town. Its significance lies in the satisfaction it induces within a person, from being in this particular town (Lynch, 1974). Apart from bearings, Crkvina provides association with the urban space of Trebinje.

The specific position and form of the hill in regard to the natural surroundings are what gives it symbolic meaning, which has been expressed through architecture. Before the Ottomans came, there had been a church on Crkvina hill. The Ottomans built a tower in place of the church, which was removed by the Austro-Hungarians when they established their authority in Trebinje (1878), building a fort like on many other mountaintops towards the border with Montenegro (Korać, 1966). At the beginning of this century, an orthodox church named Hercegovačka Gračanica (Gračanica of Herzegovina) was built on top of Crkvina, where it remains today. The alternation between sacral and military structures corresponds to periods of different dominions. Crkvina served as a crossroads of different periods of urban evolution of Trebinje, which did not result in superposed physical form, but in forming awareness of Crkvina as a primary element. The process of changing structures was accompanied by changing the name of the

hill, where toponyms had always originated from names of man-made structures (Pujić, 2003), which indicates the significance of Crkvina in the urban space and processes.

Hercegovačka Gračanica was built as part of the testament of poet and diplomat Jovan Dučić (1871-1943), who left an impression on Trebinje of the 20th century. The church is a replica of the monastery church Gračanica near Priština, Kosovo. The Kosovo Gračanica was built in the beginning of the 14th century and is one of the most influential monuments of Serb culture built in the Serbo-Byzantine style. It has been on UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites since 2006.

The construction of the Hercegovačka Gračanica just several years after the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995) was seen as an attempt to associate the territory to an ethnicity, in this case Serbian. On the other hand, its design mimicking the Gračanica in Kosovo amplifies the Hercegovačka Gračanica as an ethnic symbol. The quest for the past, a global phenomenon arising from anti-globalist tendencies, mostly expressed through religious structures (Rykwert, 2004), affected the urban identity of the town, and the Hercegovačka Gračanica became a landmark in Trebinje.

Alexander (1977: 66) describes religious objects as 'doorways', through which the individual 'enters the world and leaves it', and in a way the Hercegovačka Gračanica is the 'doorway' into the period of religious renaissance, which came about after the fall of the socialist regime, and an element where the collective and personal identities of the residents of Trebinje can be formed.

In the urban tissue of Trebinje, Crkvina stands out as a specific entity which loses definition as one gets closer to it. From the urban space, it is difficult to determine its edges and borders, either natural or urbanized. Lacking clearly defined borders can have the positive effect of gradual progress through space, but the difficulty of identification and lack of roads leading to the top have the negative effect of spatial confusion. Visually and spatially Crkvina can be clearly identified, unlike the roads leading to the top. Mostly because of distinctly steep terrain, variations of possible two-rut roads have been reduced to one road, coincidentally the main pedestrian access road. The connection routes, mainly pedestrian ones, which are more adaptable to sloping terrain, are inadequate, especially when coming from the south part of the town (Figure 3).

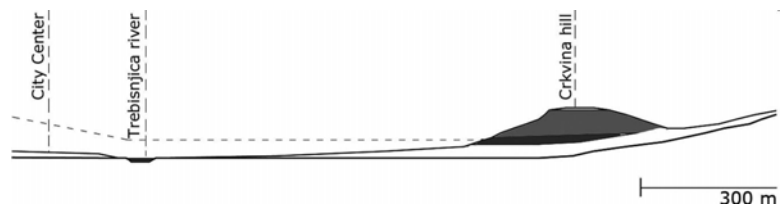


Figure 2. Crkvina hill as a dominant visual marker (section).

Source: Isidora Karan

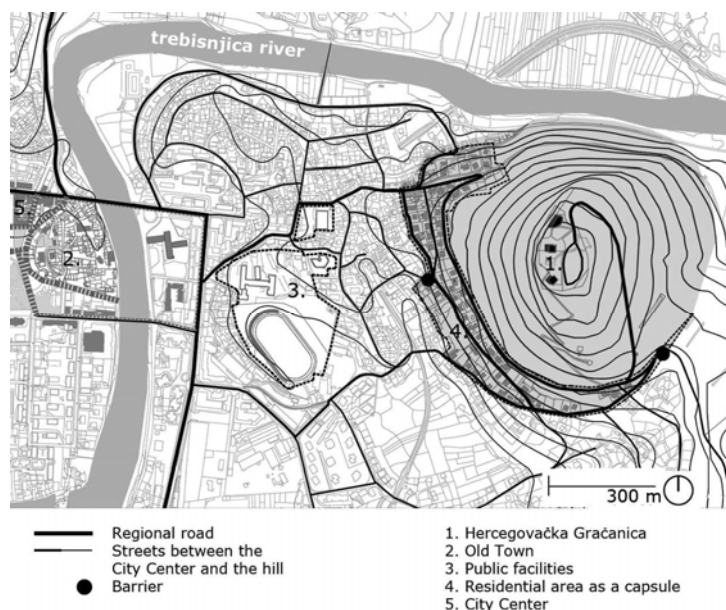


Figure 3. The correlation of Crkvina, its immediate surroundings and the city center.

Source: Isidora Karan

One way of dividing the area referred to as Crkvina in this paper, in regard to its typology, texture and content, is into three zones, or horizontal rings: the residential zone, the green zone and the zone of Hercegovačka Gračanica.

The residential zone develops in the form of a horizontal strip on the western slope, adapting to its configuration. It is defined by concentric streets which encompass a distinctly elongated and narrow block of individual residences. The clear form of the strip vanishes in the south and fragments into the beginning of a new, dispersedly organized residential zone. The existence of only one block, consequential to land division, indicates a lack of transversal routes linking the hill to its surroundings and influences the perception of the residential area as a capsule between the rest of the hill and the part of the town developed in the plains.

The central zone, defined by Trebinje's spatial plan as a memorial park dedicated to Hercegovačka Gračanica, encompasses an area of approximately 20 ha, afforested by coniferous species characteristic for the region. Emphasizing significant elevated buildings using greenery is common throughout history. Contrasted with the karst environment, the green belt has an ecological and ambient value, its only functions. There are no recreational or other facilities linked to green or park areas.

At the top of Crkvina is the complex of Hercegovačka Gračanica, which apart from the church, contains the Bishop's palace and an outdoor amphitheater. In the urban setting of Trebinje, apart from the primary, visual and symbolic role, the Hercegovačka Gračanica serves as a generator of a portion of urban activity which is not exclusively religious in character, and which is turned both towards the residents of Trebinje and tourists. Field observation and loose estimates give way to the conclusion that the Hercegovačka Gračanica complex is used more frequently by tourists, usually visiting Trebinje only in transit, than residents. The outdoor amphitheater, which uses the natural slope of the terrain and a panoramic view of the town as a distinctive backdrop, appears in the summer period as the centerpiece of urban activity in the complex.

JABLANICA HILL IN NOVI GRAD

Novi Grad belongs to the territory of Bosnia. The municipality of Novi Grad, including its urban zone, is predominantly mountainous. The northern part is at the foot of Mount Kozara, while the southern part is at the foot of Mount Grmeč. Flatlands (121 m.a.s.l.) open up in a narrow strip along the Sana and Una rivers, widening at the estuary and forming a peninsula, the western side

of which is the Jablanica hill (142 m.a.s.l.; cca 4 ha). Up until the early 20th century, when the inundation wall was built, the flat ground was mainly unsuitable for buildings. The flood issue having been resolved, the modern-day central zone of the town was developed. That way, the Jablanica hill, a sort of an ending of the slopes of the western part of Novi Grad, was positioned as an urban element operating in the organization of the town structure (Figure 4).

The form of the hill manifests a certain geometric regularity, begging the question of its origin and role in the urban development of Novi Grad. There are assumptions, without scientific evidence and originating from oral tradition, which explain the form of the hill through the dislocation of the Una riverbed, hinting at the existence of an earlier settlement, older than the one located on the Kulsko Brdo hill (1280) on Jablanica.

The first material pieces of evidence of human activity on Jablanica are the remains of an Ottoman graveyard on the northern slope. The hill was owned by Mehmed-bey, who at the time governed the district of Novska (1790-1806), and entrusted a portion of his land to the Islamic community, intended for 'mezar' (Kreševljaković, 1991), a type of Muslim graveyard, specific among other things for being formed on observation points (Krstić, 2010). A part of the graveyard has survived to date as a structure of sporadic tombstones. Up until the second half of the 20th century, Jablanica hill was outside the urban core, i.e. it was part of the natural boundary where the Ottoman, and later the Austro-Hungarian part of the town had developed.

After WW2, the industrial development increased the population of Novi Grad, as well as the urban area. With terrain configuration unsuitable for construction on one hand, and an inherited division and layout of town traffic routes on the other, Jablanica emerged as part of unexploited construction space surrounded by developed urban structures. The route of a regional category road adjoining the hill to the west has defined its current form and created a clear distinction between the Jablanica rise and the portion of terrain which that rise used to be part of.

The way Jablanica was formed is different from the ways that the physical or symbolic space of many towns developed hills or rises as primary urban-topographical elements. Based on available information, Jablanica and its immediate surroundings were not the original location of the first settlements in the territory of Novi Grad, and up until the 20th century its position did not have any major effects on the growth or fragmentation of the urban structure. In the 1960s, Jablanica, as a stretch of non-urbanized space, was attributed with symbolic meaning expressed through the monument dedicated to the 'Partisan Mother'. Although the area of Jablanica was defined as a memorial park in the planning documentation, from the aspect of its formation, structure and usage, it could be defined as a sort of a blend of 'redundant space', previously exploited land that was abandoned, and 'reserve', a portion of land which had been unexploited mostly due to inaccessibility (Clément, 2007). Today, Jablanica may fit McHarg's (1992) concept of 'natural spaces in towns', which satisfy the need for 'greenery and

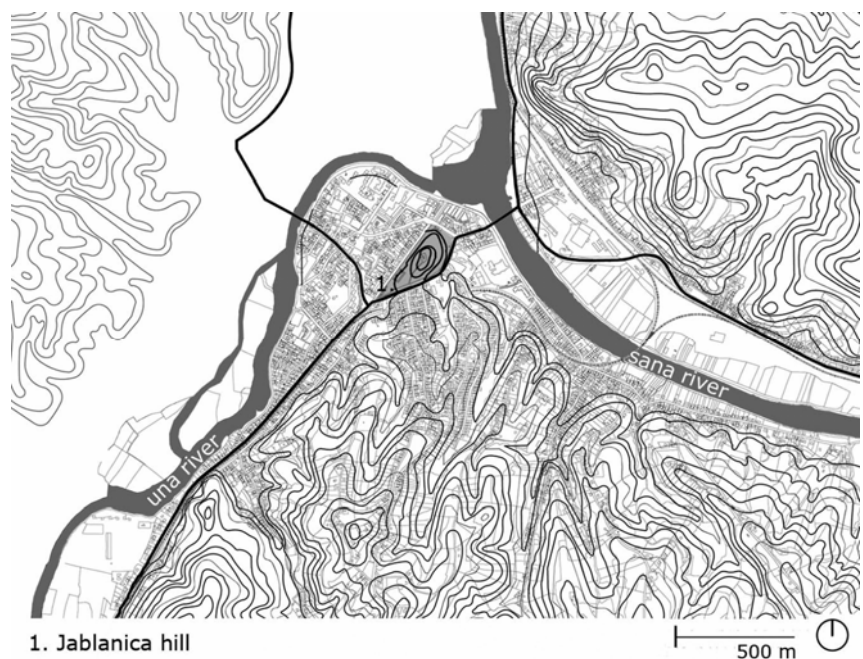


Figure 4. Form of the town in regards to topography, position of Jablanica.
Source: Isidora Karan

nature' in urban environments. Although it never emitted urban pulses, Jablanica has become an integral part of the identity of Novi Grad, incorporating traces of its urban evolution.

When examining the town map, Jablanica appears as a centrally positioned green zone. Clearly defined borders, varying topologies of immediate context and position in an organically developed matrix, make this zone seem as a dominant natural and urban unit. However, when crossing from the perspective of the map to the perspective of the urban space and the available visual field, the impact of Jablanica as a primary element diminishes, beginning to exhibit some negative characteristics. From the urban space, Jablanica is perceived as a barrier that physically separates the two parts of town, and as such participates in determining one's bearings within it. Jablanica cannot be visually registered as a unit and is seen in segments, its form often dissipating in the predominantly mountainous area of Novi Grad (Figure 5). From certain parts of town, including most of the center and river bank, visual contact is completely lost.

The central position of Jablanica contributed to the hill or its top being used as a medium to transmit symbolic messages, in this case through the structure of the monument to the Partisan Mother and the remains of the Ottoman graveyard. Mumford (2006: 8) says that in a certain sense the city of the dead is 'the predecessor, almost the heart of every living town', while Alexander (1977: 70) believes that the presence of the 'dead' among the 'living' is an incentive for the further life of a community and its urban environment. Today, the presence of a graveyard on Jablanica instinctively sends a message about the existence of past stages in the formation of the physical and demographic structure of Novi Grad, seen in a latent but intense way. Unlike the graveyard, in the period of its construction, the Partisan Mother monument was aimed to attribute the hill with meaning and to develop collective and urban identity.

The monument consists of a bronze statue of a mother, a relief with war scenes, and a granite cube with verses from a poem about WW2 holocaust. When built (1966), the monument was a symbol of the Yugoslav Resistance Movement, of the socialist dogma of brotherhood and unity and of SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). The monument can only be seen by direct access – a sort of pilgrimage, implying the intensity of its past symbolic meaning. Following the fragmentation of SFRY, the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the ensuing transition from socialism, monuments dedicated to the Resistance Movement, including the Partisan Mother, lost their symbolic meaning and were

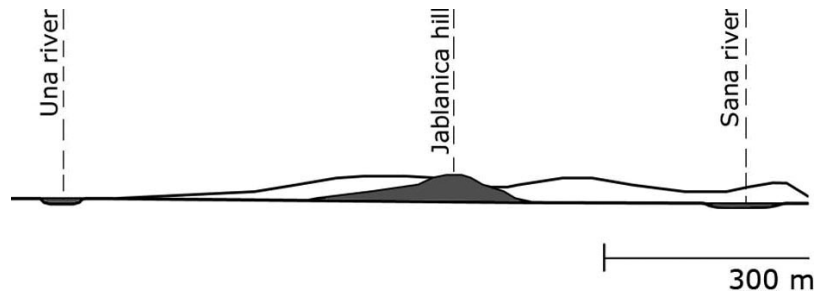


Figure 5. Visual quality of Jablanica in relation to the surroundings (section).
Source: Isidora Karan

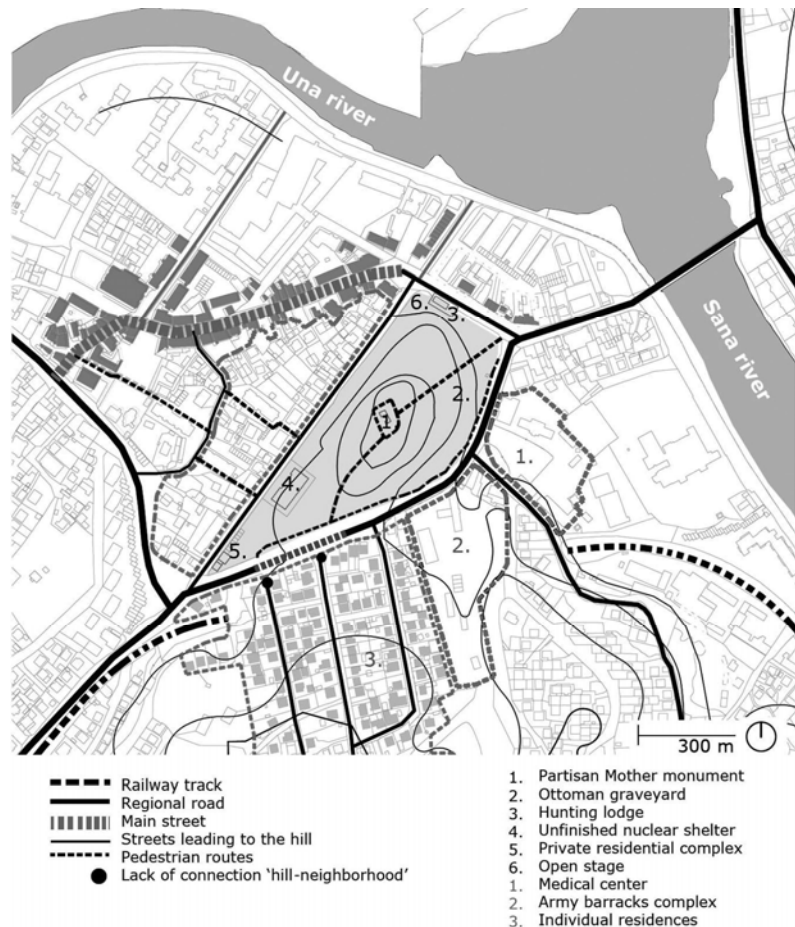


Figure 6. The relation of Jablanica, its immediate surroundings and the town center.
Source: Isidora Karan

transformed into 'negative cultural landscape' (Watson and Bentley, 2007). Unlike a certain number of monuments, previously damaged, dislocated or destroyed, the Partisan Mother monument did not sustain any physical damage, but ceased to exist at the given time frame in the map of the 'collective memory of the town' (Boyer, 2010). It became an isolated fragment of the time-space system, waiting for a favorable moment of its reintegration. The loss of symbolic meaning and role in the formation of collective identity was intensified by the fact that after 1992, the demographics of Novi Grad were altered by more than 30% (Municipality of Novi Grad, 2010).

Since Jablanica hill was planned to be a backdrop for the monument, there was a significant decrease in activities and the hill as a whole started to deteriorate.

The position of Jablanica can be said to be favorable for the development of urban activities; the hill is approximately 120 meters from the estuary, and on average 100 meters from the main street. Despite its favorable position, Jablanica has not been sufficiently integrated into the urban flows of Novi Grad (Figure 6). It appears as an introvert entity bypassed by the primary traffic routes, not generating any urban activity. Reasons for isolation and a usage level low in the

margins and only on 2% of the total surface of the hill can be found in: inadequate connection routes, both external and internal; the existence of comparable green zones, primarily the Una river bank; and insufficient appeal of the space.

There are no projected pedestrian routes between the main street and the western part of Jablanica, which are from 40 to 150 m apart. The only routes are two improvised trails. Similarly, in the street marking the western edge of the hill, approximately 400 m in length, there are no access points to the hill. This is indicative of a failure to recognize Jablanica as a potential for developing urban activity, and of its perception as a greenery backdrop for the monument.

The east side of Jablanica is defined by a regional road, essentially a huge barrier in urban space, one part of which is lowered in the terrain. That way, Jablanica is physically separated from the residential area which developed across the road. Poor connection of Jablanica to immediate and broader surroundings is accompanied by content of closed character – individual residences, army barracks complex, medical center – in its immediate vicinity.

Internal communication paths come down to two trails leading to the monument, and one peripheral, serving as a sidewalk for the regional road. The trails leading to the top were designed in such a manner to emphasize the monument or reach it as directly as possible. That way they activate and make available only a small portion of the surface. It is difficult for spontaneous, alternative trails to occur in the steep and unmanageable terrain. The reduced number of paths and their lack of basic elements of urban fixtures (lamps, benches, waste baskets, etc.) make Jablanica insufficiently attractive, and give out an image of unsafe space.

In the context of landscape design, Jablanica falls into the category of public spaces of high degree of selectivity, where people go because they choose to do so (Whyte, 1980). Loss of symbolic meaning, lack of elementary elements of urban fixtures, congregation of 'undesirable' individuals or groups and lack of safety have led to a significantly small number of people using the Jablanica area. Just like the presence of people draws in more users of public spaces (Gehl, 2010), in the same way the absence of people causes further scarcity of users of Jablanica.

There have been intermittent attempts at activating and developing the peripheral zones. The northern zone, shortest and most exposed to the urban core, has been supplied with additional content, such as a hunting lodge and an open stage – creating a sort of a street front,

albeit uncoordinated. The western side of the hill has two objects of different typology and character: an unfinished nuclear shelter, and a private residential complex, built during the past decade, which does not contribute to urban activities and reflects the changes in the post-socialist city (Slavuj *et al.*, 2009).

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES: CRKVINA AND JABLANICA

The previous analysis and comparison of the results reveal the following points:

- Crkvina and Jablanica had different roles in the genesis of the original settlements of Trebinje and Novi Grad, respectively. Crkvina was determinative for the position of the first settlement in Trebinje, while Jablanica developed as a topographical element during the process of intensive expansion of Novi Grad. During urbanization, Crkvina was left at a peripheral position in regards to the built urban structure, while Jablanica has a central position in the town form. One explanation for this is their different topography, as well as Crkvina being approximately eight times the size of Jablanica.
- In regards to the urban tissue, both Jablanica and Crkvina are perceived as characteristic entities. In case of Trebinje, Crkvina is visually very dominant, and makes the town unique. Jablanica is recognizable as a separate, introvert entity because of its distinct borders separating it from the surroundings, having the role of a spatial barrier determining movement routes.
- The tops of both Crkvina and Jablanica were used as tools to promote collective identity and indicate that the territory belongs to a certain political regime, ideology or ethnicity. In that sense, the top of Crkvina, probably because of its longer urban tradition, has been used more intensely than the top of Jablanica. The arising physical structures on the tops of the two hills also speak of the characters of the towns and the periods significant to their urban and economic development, while the frequencies of transformation speak of the intensity of urban dynamics in general. Both hills are today defined as memorial parks, although the concept of a memorial park could be redefined.
- Crkvina evokes a sense of belonging, either individually or collectively, through its visually prominent position and strength of symbolic meaning apparent in the accumulated layers of history and the currently present symbolic meaning of the Hercegovačka Gračanica. Jablanica develops a sense of belonging based on the potential to

evoke the primordial and necessary sensation of proximity of the individual to nature. Jablanica's isolation in the time-space system enhances our sense of *genius loci*.

- Regarding access, connection routes and urban activity, neither Crkvina nor Jablanica, regardless of their different positions and degrees of visual dominance in the urban tissue, are sufficiently integrated into their immediate surroundings and the town as a whole. The segregation problem, from all these aspects, is much more evident for Jablanica than for Crkvina.
- Crkvina and Jablanica fit the concept of heritage, which requires a symbiosis of natural and cultural heritage (Martín Ramos, 2008), maintaining local uniqueness and values, and potentially serving as a basis of the future urban evolution of their respective town (Bajić Brković and Milaković, 2011).

CONCLUSIONS

Whether being the origin of the genesis of the urban tissue or becoming part of it during the process of urban evolution, the element of hill participates in forming the image and urban identity of a typical town in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the symbolism assigned to the hill in certain time periods takes part in forming the collective identity of the citizens. Apart from symbolic value, hills in urban spaces have significant environmental value.

The urban character of a hill, in regard to the scale of immediate and broader surroundings, is not recognized as such, and its urban potential is not sufficiently utilized. The first step towards a more intensive integration of the element of hill into the urban context is: improving existing ones and introducing new means of access and communication routes, introducing new content compatible to the natural ambient of the hill and forming the basis for the appearance of spontaneous urban activity.

In the case of Crkvina, this could be applied through introducing walking paths and perforating the residential zone; creating a connection to the riverbank of Trebišnjica; activating the central green zone; introducing new contents and differentiating the roads that lead to the complex of Hercegovačka Gračanica; creating a gradual perception of the space going from the bottom to the top, etc. For Jablanica, it could be applied through introducing pedestrian paths linking Jablanica to the main street and indirectly to the Una riverbank, which are the primary bearers of Novi Grad's urban activity; creating a physical connection between Jablanica and the residential block east of the regional road;

defining and activating the peripheral zone along with creating alternate paths leading across the hill up to the monument, etc.

The complex structure of the element of hill, which combines seemingly opposite categories of natural and urban, full and empty, active and inactive, symbol and antisymbol, represents significant potential for future development of the urban space and identity of towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their detailed analysis, aimed at determining their existing and foreseeing possible influences on the immediate surroundings and the town as a whole, is a first step towards an attempt to intensify their urban, ambient and symbolic meaning, as well as their integration into the urban tissue and processes of the town.

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