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SPATIAL DETERMINANTS OF THE “CIRCLE OF TWO” IN BELGRADE

Abstract. The "Circle of Two" in Belgrade is an area of the city defined by the circular route of the tram No. 2. This space, enriched with commercial, cultural, historical, political, and geographical elements, promotes the informal centre of Belgrade. Long-term urban planning is a complex process that necessitates the involvement of multidisciplinary teams, including urban planners, architects, sociologists, energy specialists, traffic engineers, ecologists, and others. Straying from validated plans or implementing ad hoc solutions regardless of the initiator can result in the disintegration, degradation, and disorientation of urban spaces. This paper does not focus on the aspects related to the aforementioned qualified specialists. Considering the significant current and anticipated changes in both the narrow and broader centre of Belgrade, the primary aim of this paper is to document today's spatial determinants along the line of the “Circle of Two.”

Keywords: Belgrade, tramways, “Circle of Two“, spatial determinants, urban culture

1. Tram no. 2 - „Circle of Two“

The end of the 19th century is the beginning of the intensive development of Serbia and Belgrade. Certainly, the most important achievement was completing the Belgrade - Niš railway. The railway and the Belgrade Railway Station were opened to traffic in 1884. Implementing effective urban plans at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries provided space for constructing significant administrative, cultural and public facilities in Belgrade. In those years began the planned organization of public transport. The first horse-drawn trams were introduced in 1892. The Power plant in Dorćol was put into operation in 1893, thus providing the prerequisites for the introduction of electric trams. [1]

At the same time, the introduction of electric trams into public traffic began in Europe. They were in use in Gothenburg (1879), Budapest (1887), Prague (1891), Kyiv (1892), Milan and Genoa (1893); Belgrade, Rome, and Bucharest (1894). After Belgrade, electric trams were introduced in Porto (1895), Vienna (1897), Helsinki (1899), and Gdańsk and Sarajevo (1895). Notably, Belgrade was one of the first European cities to introduce electric trams. Theline No. 1 starting operations in 1894 and connected Kalemegdan to Slavia Square (Figure 1). In the following years, new tram lines were introduced and existing ones were extended. In 1912, Line No. 2 was extended, connecting the Power Plant, Port (Pristanište in Serbian), Railway Station, and Slavija Square (Figure 2). [1]



Figure 1. Tram lines No. 1 and No. 2
(1892-1894)



Figure 2. Tram lines with line No. 2
(1906-1914)

After Serbia endured three wars from 1912 to 1918, the expansion of Belgrade's tram network continued. In 1928, the development of new urban-designed streets allowed for the introduction of a circular tram line, designated as No. 2. This line connected King Dušan Street, Paris Street, Port, Karadordeva Street, Sava Square, Nemanjina Street, Slavia Square, Belgrade Street, King Alexander Boulevard, Roosevelt Street, 27 March Street, George Washington Street, and returned to King Dušan Street. Because of its circular route, the inhabitants of Belgrade colloquially refer to it as the "**Circle of Two**". (Figure 3) [1]



Figure 3. Tram lines in 1928 included the "Circle of Two"

Since 1928, the "Circle of Two" has not changed. The exception is the moving of the start station from King Dušan Street to Sava Port. (Figure 4).

2. Spatial determinants of the „Circle of Two“

The "Circle of Two" connects significant objects and spatial units in Belgrade. The defining determinants of the „Circle of Two“ are its official names. However, both residents and visitors of Belgrade often refer to locations using toponyms (words of foreign origin that denote a specific location), jargon (specialized words and phrases used by particular groups), colloquialisms (informal words or expressions more suitable for speech than for writing), and sometimes urban slang (very informal language associated with particular groups, typically spoken rather than written) [2].

These material determinants are often identifiable cultural monuments, public institutions, and spatial units, as well as well-known taverns and other public or private entities. Examples of material determinants in the "Circle of Two" include the Port, railway and bus stations, the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, Vuk's Monument, Tašmajdan, the Palilula and Skadarlija markets, and Kalemegdan, among others. Immaterial determinants refer to recognizable aspects of a space and could, but do not have to, relate to the existing material determinants.



Figure 4. Sava Port - the first and the last stops of the “Circle of Two”

Spatial determinants often arise spontaneously and typically originate from the specialized vocabulary of specific groups of people [2]. Their relevance can be temporary and may change with significant societal shifts or changes in the surrounding environment. Additionally, determinants can become meaningless if the object they are associated with either disappears or is repurposed. Examples include the Belgrade Railway Station, which has been closed and renamed the "Old Railway Station"; the Tram Bridge, now called the "German Most"; and the Žagubica Tavern, which has been renamed the "Tram Tavern." Spatial determinants are crucial components of a city's urban culture, contributing to the identity and subjective experience of its public spaces.

The length of the "Circle of Two" is approximately 8.5 km, the ride on tram No. 2 lasts on average about 45 minutes, and the line has 17 stations. Some of the facilities on the "Circle of Two" are nine faculties (Economics, Law, Electrical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Architecture, Mechanical Engineering, Technology, Mining and Geology and the Faculty of Fine Arts); the First and Fifth Belgrade Gymnasiums, the secondary technical schools of the Aviation Academy and the former Wood Industry School; the "Vuk Karadžić" Elementary School; the embassies of the Republic of France, the Kingdom of Sweden and the Republic of Slovenia; the Kalemegdan and Tašmajdan parks; Palilula and Skadarlija Markets; Student Dormitory "Vera Blagojević"; Museum of Science and Technology and Pedagogical Museum; Government and ministries of Serbia, General Staff of the Serbian Army; Hotels Bristol, Slavija and Metropol; closed the railway station "Belgrade", built in 1884 and Belgrade bus station; Post Office 6; Hospital "St. Sava", etc.

3. Karađorđeva Street

The first stop on the „Circle of Two“ is the Port (Figure 4). Moving along the outer circle, the tram travels through Karađorđeva Street.

3.1. Port and Customs Warehouses (Concrete Warehouse). The Customs Warehouses, constructed between 1936 and 1939, were originally intended for customs operations on the Sava River (Figure 5) [3]. The space recently was repurposed and rebranded. Today it is known as the Concrete Hall (Serbian: Betonhala) and has become the mostpopular Belgrade's nightlife hub (Figure 6).



Figure 5. The last preserved crane of the Sava Port



Figure 6. Former Customs Warehouses, today the Concrete Hall

3.2. The "King Alexander I Bridge". Bridge was constructed between 1930 and 1934 but was demolished during World War II. The engineer responsible for its design was D. Dragojević. The current "Bridge of Branko" was built on the same site from 1953 to 1956 (Figure 7). The bridge is named after the Serbian poet Branko Radičević. On the Belgrade side, the new bridge is supported by two preserved pylons from the original structure, which were artistically shaped by the architect Nikolaj Krasnov (Figure 8). [3]



Figure 7. Bridge of Branko over the Sava River connects Belgrade and New Belgrade



Figure 8. Pylon of the King Alexander Bridge, built according to the design of the architect Nikolaj Krasnov

3.3. Belgrade Cooperative . The Belgrade Cooperative building (Beogradska zadruga in Serbian) was constructed between 1905 and 1907 (Figure 9). The architects were Andra Stevanović and Nikola Nestorović, while the sculptor Franja Valdmán was responsible for the plastic art. [3]

3.4. Hotel Bristol. The famous Hotel Bristol was designed by architect Nikola Nestorović and built between 1910 and 1912 (Figure 10). [3]



Figure 9. The Belgrade Cooperative designed in the academic style from the early 20th century



Figure 10. The Bristol Hotel with Art Nouveau features

3.5. The Sava Tram Bridge. The Sava Tram Bridge was completed in 1942. During World War II, it was referred to by the German name "Prince Eugene Bridge". The post-war name "German Bridge" was used briefly before it was renamed as "Sava Bridge." Tram tracks were installed in 1984, and the citizens of Belgrade commonly refer to it as the "Tram Bridge". (Figure 11)

After 70 years of service, demolition of the Sava Bridge began, sparking controversy among current politicians and architects. President of Serbia, Aleksandar Vučić, graduated lawyer, assessed that the bridge's construction was unreliable and posed a risk of collapse [4]. The Mayor of Belgrade, Aleksandar Šapić, the former water polo player, urges that the bridge, associated with the Nazi era (Figure 12), should be demolished and replaced with the New Serbian Bridge. [5]



Figure 11. The tram crossing the Tram Bridge on way to New Belgrade, September 2024



Figure 12. Traffic on the Tram Bridge before demolition, September 2024

On the other hand, some architects and civil engineers argue for the bridge's preservation. Architect Dragoljub Bakić asserted that the bridge is safe, essential for Belgrade residents, and should be maintained. [6, 7] Architect Ksenija Radovanović has noted the lack of planning and insufficient attention to the needs and wishes of citizens, as it should be.[7] Despite protests from groups of Belgrade residents, the demolition of the Sava Tram Bridge commenced on November 20, 2024 (Figure 13). [8]



Figure 13. Demolition of the Sava Tram Bridge, May 2025

3.6. Belgrade Bus Station. The Belgrade Bus Station (known as “BAS”) was opened on March 3, 1966. [9]To allow for the expansion of the settlement “Belgrade Waterfront”, it was decided to demolish the existing bus station and construct a new one somewhere [10]. (Figure 14, Figure 15)



Figure 14. The Belgrade Bus Station, September 2024



Figure 15. The place of the demolished Belgrade Bus Station, May 2025

The final bus departed from the Belgrade Bus Station for Ljubljana on September 29, 2024. As a result, there is no longer a bus station in the centre of Belgrade. A new bus station is opened in New Belgrade, but too far from the Belgrade's centre. [11]

4. Sava Square

Sava Square is the main public transportation hub in Belgrade. It was established at the end of the 19th century with the construction of the Belgrade Railway Station. In the years that followed, tram service was introduced in the city, and one of the tram station, starting from 1894, was located at Sava Square (Figure 16). During World War II, in 1942, the current Tram Bridge was opened for traffic, and the Belgrade Bus Station was built in 1966.



Figure 16. A busy time at the Sava Square, April 27, 2016

Over the years, the official names of Sava Square have changed, but residents and visitors commonly refer to it by colloquial names such as "Station," or the more specific "Railway Station" and "Bus Station".

4.1. Railway Station “Belgrade”. The Belgrade Railway Station was completed in 1884 with the opening of the Belgrade-Niš railway. The architect responsible for its design was Dragutin Milutinović [12]. This building was specifically adapted to meet the needs of railway traffic and was constructed in an academic style (Figure 17). It showcases the remarkable technical and architectural advancements in Serbia during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The first train departed from the station on September 1, 1884, traveling from Belgrade to Vienna via Zemun at 3 p.m. Regular train service to Niš and Pest started on September 15, 1884, with two trains operating daily. Belgrade Station was officially closed after 134 years of operation and railway traffic at the Belgrade Main Railway Station was completely halted starting in June 15, 2018.

The last train depart from the Belgrade Main Railway Station left for Bar on June 15, 2018, at 9:10 p.m. and the Station was definitely closed. [13] The railway tracks at the Belgrade Main Station also were abolished, and all railway activity in the Sava Amphitheatre area was ceased. A new railway station has been constructed outside the city centre of Belgrade.



Figure 17. Railway station "Belgrade" was opened for traffic in 1884, April 27, 2016

Figures 18–21 depict process of demolition of the Railway station "Belgrade" in August 2019.



Figure 18. The main platform



Figure 19. Former tracks and platforms



Figure 20. Destroyed platforms and removed tracks



Figure 21. Destroyed platforms and the "Belgrade Waterfront" in the background

4.2. Steam Locomotive of the "Blue Train". The steam locomotive of the "Blue Train" holds a significant place in the history of the former Yugoslav Railways. The "Blue Train" was used by President Josip Broz and is currently on display next to the entrance of the Belgrade Railway Station (Figures 22–23). This locomotive is part of the JŽ 11 series, one of only three locomotives manufactured in 1947 at the MAVAG factory in Budapest. The specific locomotive on display is marked JŽ 11-022. The other two locomotives are JŽ 11-015, which is housed in the Railway Museum in Zagreb, Croatia, and JŽ 11-023, located in the Railway Museum in Ljubljana, Slovenia.

After the closure of Belgrade's Railway Station, the locomotive was neglected, leading to the deterioration of this important symbol of the former Yugoslavia.



Figure 22. The steam Locomotive of the "Blue Train", September, 2024



Figure 23. The steam Locomotive of the "Blue Train", May 2025

4.3. Main Post Office - Post Office No. 6. The Main post office building on Sava Square in Belgrade was built in 1929 (Figure 24). The Serbian-Byzantine style project is the work of architect Momir Korunović. It was destroyed during the Second World

War, and was partially reconstructed after the war (Figure 25). Residents of Belgrade colloquially called it the “Post Office No. 6”.

The future of the building is uncertain. Actual politicians mention two possible solutions. The first is to demolish the building forever [14]. Another idea is to demolish it and build a "new old building" [15].

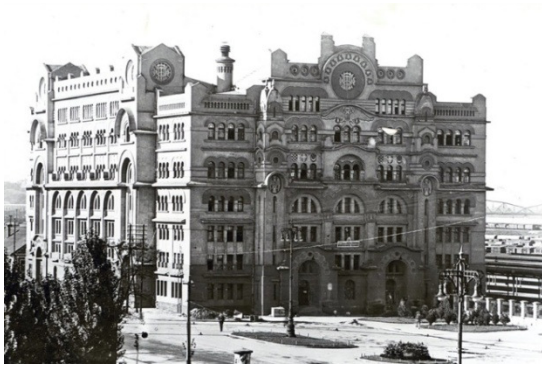


Figure 24. Main Post Office, 1940
(Wikipedia)



Figure 25. Post Office No. 6, September 2024

The final decision was to demolish the building and to use the place for the further “Belgrade Waterfront” expansion. (Figure 26)



Figure 26. The former place of the destroyed Post Office No. 6, May 2025

5. Sava Square - the main public traffic hub in Belgrade

Public transport hubs are crucial focal points for public transportation, typically located in city centres. They include railway stations, bus and tram stops, and other forms of public transport. Notable examples are Termini in Rome, St. Maria Novella Station in

Florence, Milano Centrale, Moncloa and Estacion de Atocha in Madrid, and Helsinki Central Station (Helsinki Rautatiasema). When the Belgrade Bus Station opened in 1966, complementing the existing rail and public transport stations, Sava Square has become the main public transport hub in Belgrade. (Figure 27)

The disintegration of this hub was set in motion by controversial urban plans announced and *ad hoc* adopted in 2016. These plans were considered necessary for the implementation of the new residential complex, Belgrade Waterfront. Following the announcement and adoption of the new urban plans, opinions diverged among politicians, architects, engineers, and the citizens of Belgrade. [16] Politicians touted the project as a modern and financially viable solution, while groups of architects, civil engineers, and traffic engineers expressed concerns that the plans threatened the city's cultural heritage, visual identity, and functionality. [17]

Citizens of Belgrade have also voiced opposition to the changes and repurposing of Sava Square and its surrounding areas. They wish for the development of the city to reflect their needs and desires while preserving their cultural identity [18]. Addressing to this issue, Richard G. Fox concluded: "Researchers within the field of Urban Cultures also stress questions regarding the cityscape and its impact on people's emotional experience, affecting the overall perception of the urban atmosphere" [19].

The Belgrade Waterfront project commenced in 2014 with preparations for the construction site. The Belgrade Railway Station was subsequently closed, and its tracks were removed. The Belgrade Bus Station was also closed, and demolition began shortly thereafter. As of November 2024, the dismantling of the Tram Bridge had begun.



Figure 27. Sava Square - The main public traffic hub in Belgrade (April 27, 2016)

Additional changes to Sava Square included the erection of a monument to Stefan Nemanja (Figures 22–29).



Figure 28. : Monument to Stefan Nemanja dominates at the Sava Square (December 2024)



Figure 29. The Sava Square after demolishing the Post Office 6 (May 2025)

Opinions on the artistic value and location of the monument have been contentious. While A. Vučić, President of Serbia, describe it as one of the most beautiful and valuable monuments in Serbia [20], many architects, art historians, and citizens argue that the monument, created in a style reminiscent of outdated national romanticism, lacks artistic merit. They also contend that its size and location obstruct the view of the Belgrade Railway Station building, a significant cultural asset from the early period of Serbia's modern history. [21]

6. Nemanjina Street

After passing SavaSquare the “Circle of Two” continues along Nemanjina Street towards Slavia Square. This section features some of the most important state buildings.

6.1. Ministry of Transportation. The Ministry of Transportation Building was constructed between 1927 and 1931, designed by the architect Svetozar Jovanović. The artistic elements were contributed by sculptors Toma Rosandić, Dragomir Arambašić, ŽivojinLukić, Lojze Dolinar, and Risto Stijović. (Figure 30) It is regarded as one of the premier achievements of high academicism in Belgrade during the interwar period. [3]

6.2. Financial Park. Financial Park was established in 1836 in the English style (Figure 31). It became the first open public park in Belgrade in 1864. On April 18, 2017, after two centuries, it was renamed “Gavrilo Princip Park”. [22]



Figure 30. Ministry of Transportation, September 2024

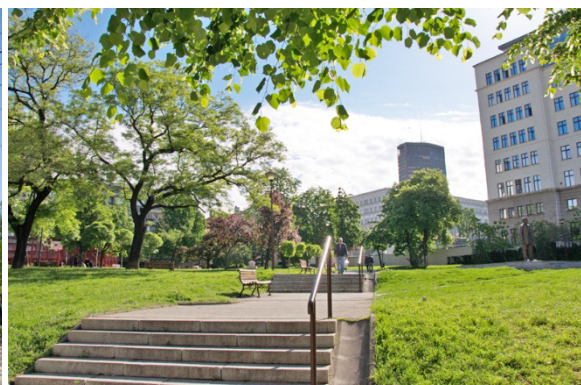


Figure 31. Financial Park, September 2024

6.3. Government of Serbia. The Palace of the Ministry of Finance of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia is a distinguished building constructed between 1926 and 1928. It was designed by Russian architect Nikolaj Krasnov (Никола́й Петро́вич Красно́в), who moved to Belgrade in 1922. The artistic sculpture was created by sculptor Đorđe Jovanović. After World War II, the building became the official seat of the Government of Serbia. [3]

6.4. General Staff of the Armed Forces of Serbia and Ministry of Defence. The architect Nikola Dobrović designed the General Staff building (Generalštab in Serbian), which symbolizes the canyon of the Sutjeska River - a site of one of the most significant battles of World War II in Yugoslavia. (Figures 25, 26) The complex was constructed between 1957 and 1965. [3]

During the NATO aggression against Yugoslavia, the complex was bombed twice: first on April 29, 1999, and again on May 7, 1999. (Figures 32–33)

In 2017, the Government of Serbia announced plans to demolish the remaining parts of "Building A" to eventually restore it to its original appearance. To prevent the building from being removed from the Registry of Cultural Properties, the Association of Serbian Architects initiated a campaign to nominate it for UNESCO World Heritage Site status.

Additionally, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia and the City of Belgrade declared that the building is a protected cultural property, making any plans for its destruction illegal [23]. (Figure 33)



Figure 32



Figure 33

The bombed building of the General Staff of the Serbian Army and the Ministry of Defence

In March 2024 it was revealed that the Government of Serbia intends to sign a memorandum that would effectively transfer ownership of the buildings to American offshore companies - Kushner Realty and Atlantic Incubation Partners. [24] Despite the building's protection under the Cultural Heritage Law [3] and the advice from architects and experts in cultural heritage protection, a contract for the sale of the complex was signed with the aforementioned American offshore companies. In response to these developments, some experts from state institutions dealing with cultural heritage resigned, acting in accordance with their professional ethics and personal convictions. [25]. Meanwhile, The International Council on Monuments raised concerns about the risks associated with the potential demolition and alterations of the General Staff and the Belgrade Fair. [26]

6.5. The Barracks of the 7th Regiment. The barracks of the 7th Regiment were built in the late 19th century. [3] The architects responsible for this building were Dragutin

Dorđević and Božidar Vukićević, and the design features the artistic style of academicism (Figure 34).

6.6. Manjež Park. Manjež Park (French “*manège*,” meaning “riding school”) is one of the oldest public parks in Belgrade. It was constructed between 1931 and 1933 on the site of the former riding school. [22] The landscape architect Aleksandar Krstić designed the park. Although the riding school – Manjež and the tavern of the same name no longer exist, the name of the park is still in use. (Figure 35)



Figure 34. Barracks of the 7th Regiment,
December 2024



Figure 35. Manjež Park, November 2024

6.7. National Bank of Serbia. The National Bank of Serbia building was completed in 2006 and is one of the newest structures in the "Circle of Two". (Figure 36)

6.8. Slavija Square. Slavija Square was established before the start of World War II. In 1942, the Germans built the most famous traffic roundabout in Belgrade at Slavia Square. The configuration of the square has remained largely unchanged since then. After World War II, it was renamed to Dimitrija Tucovića Square, but residents and visitors to Belgrade continue to refer to it colloquially as "Slavija." (Figure 37)



Figure 36. The new building of the National
Bank of Serbia



Figure 37. Slavija Square

7. King Aleksandar's Boulevard

Starting from Slavija Square, the "Circle of Two" continues along Beogradska Street to King Aleksandar's Boulevard. Although Belgrade has more boulevards, locals and visitors refer to it just as "Bulevar."

As the "Circle of Two" enters King Aleksandar's Boulevard, it passes near Tašmajdan Park and makes a loop around the Academic Quarter. This quarter includes several faculties and academic institutions, including the Faculty of Law, the State Archives of Serbia, the University Library, as well as faculties of Electrical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Architecture, Mechanical Engineering, and the Technical and Technological Faculty. In this part of the "Circle of Two," there are numerous specific spatial landmarks.

7.1. Tašmajdan Park. Tašmajdan is one of the most beautiful central parks in Belgrade (Figure 38). The name "Tašmajdan" is of Turkish origin, derived from the words "*taş*" (stone) and "*meydan*" (a place where stone is extracted, or mine). Residents and visitors colloquially refer to it as Taš. Construction of the park began in 1950 and was completed in May 1954.[22]



Figure 38. Tašmajdan Park

7.2. Faculty of Law. The Faculty of Law (Pravni fakultet in Serbian) building was constructed between 1936 and 1940, designed by architects Petar Bajalović and Petar Anagnosti. [3] Built in a modernist style, it is colloquially referred to just as "Pravni". (Figure 39)

7.3. Hotel Metropol. The project for the Metropol Hotel was designed by architect Dragiša Brašovan. Initially intended to serve as the headquarters for the Central Committee of Youth of Yugoslavia, the purpose of the building changed during construction, and it was ultimately opened as a hotel. (Figure 40) Hotel Metropol was built from 1954 to 1958 [3].



Figure 39. Faculty of Law



Figure 40. Hotel Metropol

7.4. University Library "Svetozar Marković". The University Library building was designed by architects Dragutin Đorđević and Nikola Nestorović, while sculptor Aca Stojanović created its expressive artistic facade (Figure 41). The Library was constructed between 1922 and 1926, with funding provided by the Andrew Carnegie Endowment. [3]

7.5. State Archives of Serbia. The State Archives of Serbia building was designed by architect Nikolaj Krasnov and completed in 1928. [3] Notable for its prominent decorative facade, the building exemplifies the architectural style of monumental academism (Figure 42). It is located on Carnegie Street, adjacent to the University Library, which is one of the Carnegie libraries. Carnegie Street is named in honour of Andrew Carnegie.



Figure 41. University Library



Figure 42. State Archives of Serbia

7.6. Technical Faculties and Monument to Nikola Tesla. The Faculty of Engineering building was built between 1925 and 1931 (Figure 43). It was designed in the academic and classicist style by architects Nikola Nestorović, Branko Tanazević and Mihailo Radovanović. The artistic decoration of the facade is the work of sculptors Ilija Kolarević, Lučev and Bedrih Zeleni. [3] Today, the building houses three faculties: the Faculty of Electrical Engineering, the Faculty of Civil Engineering and the Faculty of Architecture.

The monument to Nikola Tesla was created in 1956 by sculptor Frano Kršinić and was erected in front of the Technical Faculty building in 1963 (Figure 44). The significance of the monument is underscored by the fact that a copy was erected at Niagara Falls in honour of Nikola Tesla. [3]



Figure 43. Technical Faculties



Figure 44. The monument to Nikola Tesla

8. Monument to Vuk Karadžić and the public traffic hub

The monument is situated at the intersection of King Aleksandar's Boulevard and Ruzveltova Street (Figure 45). It was unveiled on November 7, 1937, to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Vuk Karadžić's birth. The author of the monument is sculptor Đorđe Jovanović. [3] This location is one of the most recognizable parts of Belgrade, known colloquially as "Vuk" or "At Vuk." These names are commonly used by both residents and visitors.

The area serves as a significant public transportation hub, featuring trams stations and an underground station named "Vuk's Monument" (Vukov spomenik in Serbian).



Figure 45. Monument to Vuk Karadžić



Figure 46. Former tavern Žagubica was one of the main tram stations in the history of Belgrade's trams [1]

8.1. Role of the Žagubica Tavern in the history of trams in Belgrade. The Žagubica tavern was built before World War II. Due to its popularity, the tavern gave its name to the surrounding area, which became a well-known spatial determinant in Belgrade. The Žagubica tavern played an important role in the development of tram traffic in the city, as the first tram lines terminated at "Žagubica" (Figures 1, 2, 3). Furthermore tram tickets were sold in the Žagubica tavern. By the early 21st century, the tavern had closed, and the colloquial name "Žagubica" is now rarely used (Figure 46).

9. 27 of March, George Washington's and King Dušan's streets

When the "Circle of Two" line makes a loop at the Vuk's Monument, it continues along 27 of March, George Washington's and the King Dušan's streets.

9.1. Faculty of Mechanical Engineering. The Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, known colloquially as "Mašinski" by the residents of Belgrade and "Mašinac" by students, is located in the University Quarter. The building was constructed between 1957 and 1960 (Figure 47). It is located in 27 of March Street.

9.2. The First Town Hospital. The First Town Hospital was established in 1868 at the initiative of Prince Mihailo Obrenović (Figure 48). It was the first town hospital in Belgrade. It was designed by the architect Jovan Frencl.[3] It is located in George Washington Street.



Figure 47. Faculty of Mechanical Engineering



Figure 48. The First Town Hospital

9.3. Bajloni Market (Skadarlija Market). Skadarlija Market was opened in 1927.[27] Initially a wholesale market, it was originally called “Bajloni Market”. After World War II, it transformed into a green market and adopted the name “Skadarlija Market”. (Figures 49, 50) Despite this change, people still refer to it as “Bajloni Market”.



Figure 49. Bajloni Market (Skadarlija Market)



Figure 50. Bajloni Market and BITEF Theatre

9.4. Skadarlija. Skadarlija is one of the most famous and significant historical quarter in Belgrade (Figure 51). Forming of Skadarlija began in the early 18th century. Today, Skadarlija aims to preserve the old spirit of the city and remains one of the most recognized areas within the „Circle of Two“. [3]

10. Kalemegdan and Pariska Street

The name "Kalemegdan" is derived from two Turkish words: “*kale*” (meaning "fortress") and “*meydan*” (meaning "plaza" or "square"). (Figure 52) This area is one of the most popular destinations in Belgrade and is colloquially referred to as "Kališ." The arrangement of Kalemegdan dates back to 1869, initiated by Emilijan Josimović, the first educated urbanist in Belgrade. The landscape architect Aleksandar Bugarski continued the work on Kalemegdan's development, with significant changes occurring between 1920 and 1930. [3]



Figure 51. Skadarlija, the popular historical quarter in Belgrade



Figure 52. Kalemegdan, one of the most popular destination in Belgrade

10.1. Embassy of the Republic of France. The building of the Embassy of the Republic of France in Belgrade was constructed between 1929 and 1933 (Figure 53). The project was designed by Roger-Emile Expert, the chief architect of the French government, with assistance from Serbian architect Josif Neumann. [28] After passing by the French Embassy, the "Circle of Two" descends along a steep, circular path beside Kalemegdan, leading towards the Port, which serves as both the first and last station. Thus, the "Circle of Two" is closed (Figure 54).

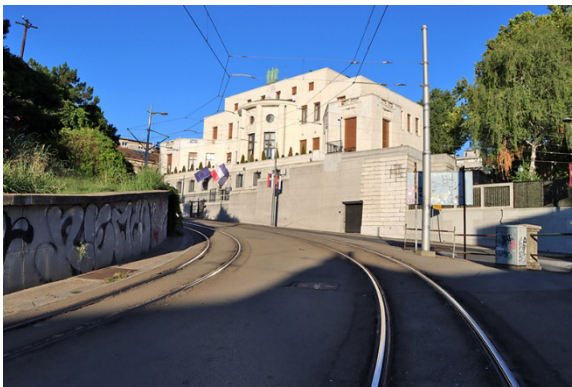


Figure 53. Embassy of the Republic of France in Belgrade

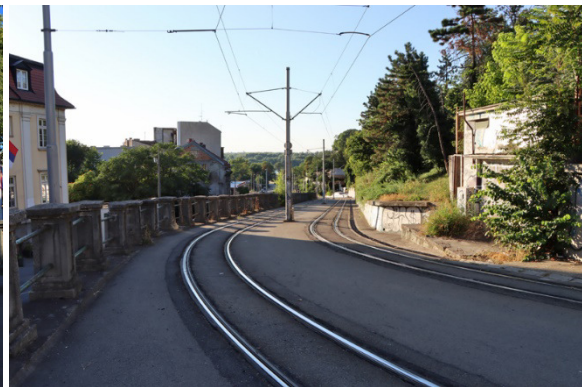


Figure 54. The "Circle of Two" on the way to the last station - the Port (Pristanište)

11. Conclusion

This paper lists significant determinants of tram line No. 2 in Belgrade. Because of the circular route, it is colloquially called the "Circle of the Two." However, in addition to the name of the tram line, the term "Circle of the Two" is also used by the citizens of Belgrade to designate the space framed by the tram route, considering it the centre of Belgrade.

Moving around the "Circle of Two," this paper addresses some complex issues related to the city's changing and urban planning. In this context, the "Circle of Two" described is only a framework for expressing these problems as a whole.

Belgrade has experienced significant urban changes over the last decade, leading to sharply opposing opinions regarding these transformations. Current politicians often justify their decisions based on their personal sense of "beauty" [29] and leverage their political power in the process. In contrast, specialists such as urban planners, architects, historians, and sociologists argue against this approach. Their perspectives are grounded

in principles of functional city planning, cultural heritage preservation, and “aesthetics” [30].

Additionally, there are the residents of Belgrade, who do not hold executive political power and are typically not specialists in the fields mentioned. Their viewpoints are centred on the belief that changes in the city should address their needs and desires while respecting their urban culture. Obviously, the list of significant issues noted here is likely incomplete.

Given the recent and ongoing changes in Belgrade, authentic documents may be unavailable. Therefore, some of the facts presented in this paper rely on media sources, which raises concerns about their authenticity.

To address this issue, it would be beneficial to establish a system for the continuous independent recording, documentation, and archiving of these changes, incorporating insights from relevant experts. Without such an initiative, the city’s identity, urban history, and culture will rely solely on the fleeting memories of its current residents.

Looking ahead, the removal of the "Circle of Two" (Figure 55) may cause Belgrade to become a disoriented city (Figure 56).

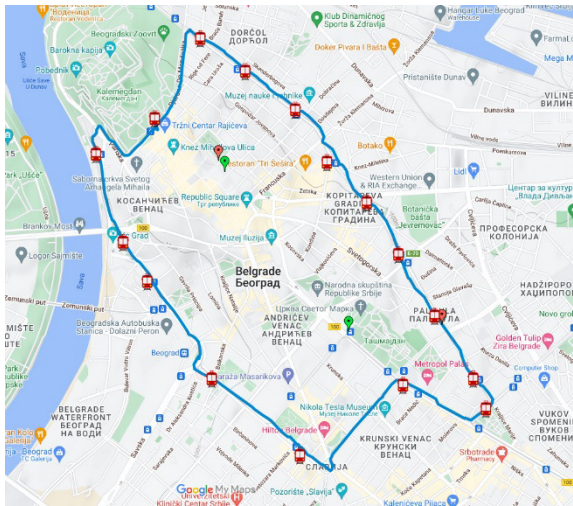


Figure 55. The “Circle of Two” shapes the centre of Belgrade

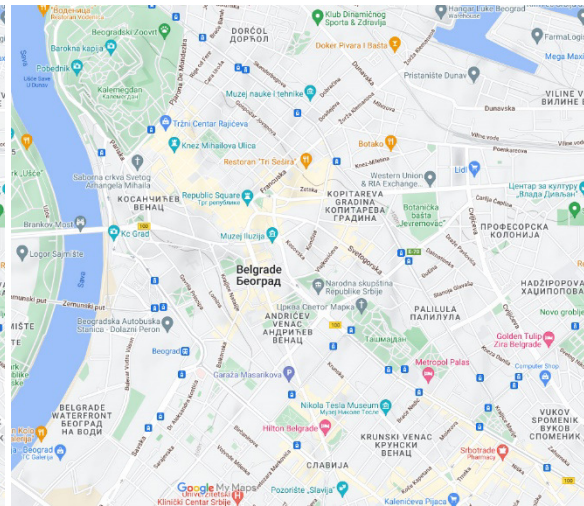


Figure 56. Belgrade without the “Circle of Two” becomes a disoriented city

Lastly, making and evaluating decisions about urban changes requires thorough and relevant multidisciplinary research before any alterations are implemented.

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- Author’s conclusions do not necessarily reflect the attitudes of the City Transport Company "Belgrade"
- Author of images is Z. Cvetković

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