

Humanizacija arhitekture

Koželjeva urbanistična analiza ljubljanskega Trga revolucije (1973) /

Humanizing architecture

Janez Koželj's urban analysis of Trg Revolucije in Ljubljana (1973)

Raimondo Mercadante

Povzetek

Trg revolucije v Ljubljani je urbanistična mojstrovina Edvarda Ravnikarja (1907–1993) in je rezultat 40 let trajajočega raziskovalnega procesa oblikovanja središča slovenske prestolnice. Janez Koželj (1945–), Ravnikarjev študent na Oddelku za arhitekturo FAGG v Ljubljani, je v svoji eksperimentalni diplomski nalogi predlagal »poskus potrditve osnovne pravice ljudi, da sami določajo okolje, ki jih obdaja, in pri tem razvijajo individualno in kolektivno ustvarjalnost.«

Ključne besede

Urbanistično oblikovanje, urbanistična analiza, Ljubljana, Edvard Ravnikar, Janez Koželj

Abstract

Revolution square in Ljubljana (Trg Revolucije) was Edvard Ravnikar's (1907–1993) urban planning masterpiece, the outcome of a 40-year research process in shaping the centre of the Slovenian capital. In his experimental thesis, Janez Koželj (1945–), Ravnikar's student at the FAGG Architecture Department in Ljubljana, intended to propose "an attempt to affirm the elementary right of people to determine their own surrounding environment, developing a process of individual and collective creativity".

Keywords

Town design, urban analysis, Ljubljana, Edvard Ravnikar, Janez Koželj

Uvod

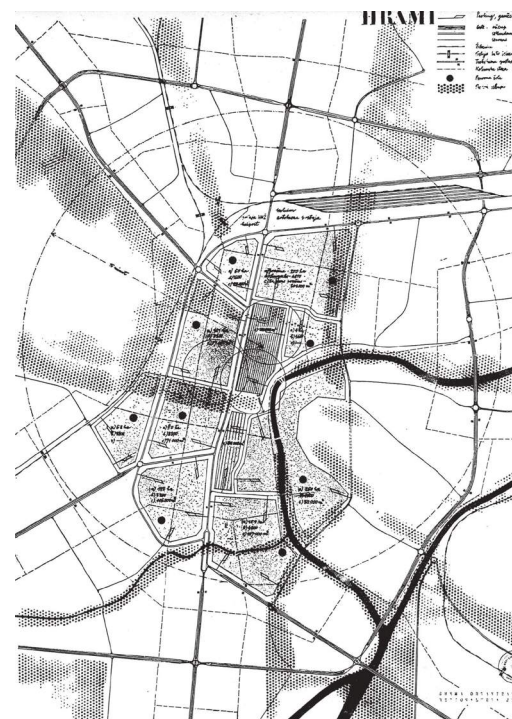
Trg revolucije: razvoj Ravnikarjevega arhitekturnega projekta (1960–1983)

Zgodovina projekta Trga revolucije sledi preobrazbam arhitekturne vizije Edvarda Ravnikarja (1907–1993) v obdobju 20 let dela pri projektu ter razvoju s stališča potreb javnega naročnika, ki so zaznamovale prvotno zasnovno modernega monumentalnega trga v Ljubljani. Po drugi svetovni vojni je arhitekt izdelal študijski projekt (1946/1947) za območje Uršulinskega vrta – bodočega sedeža Trga revolucije –, kamor je umestil Prezidij Ljudske skupščine LRS, Nunski vrt, ki je leta 1947 prejelo prvo nagrado. Hkrati je delal še na enem projektu, ki je bil leta 1948 nagrajen z drugo nagrado *ex aequo* na natečaju Ljudske skupščine Ljudske republike Slovenije v parku Tivoli (Ljudska skupščina LRS, Park Tivoli, 1948). V študijskem projektu je predvidel mogočen trg, orientiran v smeri sever-jug, na katerem bi bila sedež Ljudske skupščine in nova stavba opere (Mihelič 1983, 38; Ivanšek 1995, 64–66). Leta 1957 je Okrajni ljudski odbor v Ljubljani (OLO) razpisal še en natečaj za ureditev središča Ljubljane (sl. 1), in sicer za ureditev območja med Kongresnim trgom, Uršulinskim vrtom ter Titovo in Dalmatinovo ulico. Na natečaju je Ravnikar skupaj z Vladimirjem Bracom Mušičem in Toneom Pibernikom prejel posebno omembo zunaj kategorije za projektno nalogo Hrami. Že v tem projektu je temo obravnaval z vidika oblikovanja mesta, ki se ukvarja s terciarnimi dejavnostmi, brez stanovanjskih posegov, in upošteval vpliv stolpnic na mestno silhueto, o kateri je arhitekt v tistih letih razmišljal (Mušič 1960; Ravnikar 1960). Njegovi predlogi so se navezovali na poskus, da bi rešili pred rušenjem Koslerjevo palačo iz 18. stoletja ob Titovi cesti,

Introduction.

Trg Revolucije: the evolution of the architectural project by Edvard Ravnikar (1960–1983)

The history of the project for Trg Revolucije summarized the transformations that occurred over the course of twenty years in the architectural vision of Edvard Ravnikar (1907–1993) and, at the same time, the same evolution of the needs of the public client, which marked the original layout of the modern monumental square in Ljubljana. After the Second World War, the architect had drawn up a study project on his own (1946/1947) for the Ursuline Garden area - the future headquarters of Trg revolucije - where he planned to locate the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Slovenia, obtaining the first prize in 1947 (Prezidijske Ljudske Skupščine LRS, Nunski vrt, 1a. nagrada, 1947). Contemporaneously, he worked to another entry, awarded with the second prize *ex aequo* in 1948 in a competition for the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Slovenia at the Tivoli Park (Ljudska Skupščina LRS, Tivoli Park, 1948). In the study, he envisaged the creation of an imposing square oriented in a north-south direction, which would house the seat of the Assembly and a new Opera house (Mihelič 1983, 38; Ivanšek 1995, 64–66). In 1957, the People's District Council of Ljubljana (Okrajni ljudski odbor, OLO) announced another competition relating to the layout of the center of Ljubljana (fig. 1), for the renewal of the area between Kongresni Trg, the Ursuline Garden and Titova and Dalmatinova streets. On that occasion, Ravnikar, author of the "Hrami" entry, together with Vladimir Braco Mušič and Tone Pibernik, was awarded an out-of-competition redemption. The project already addressed the



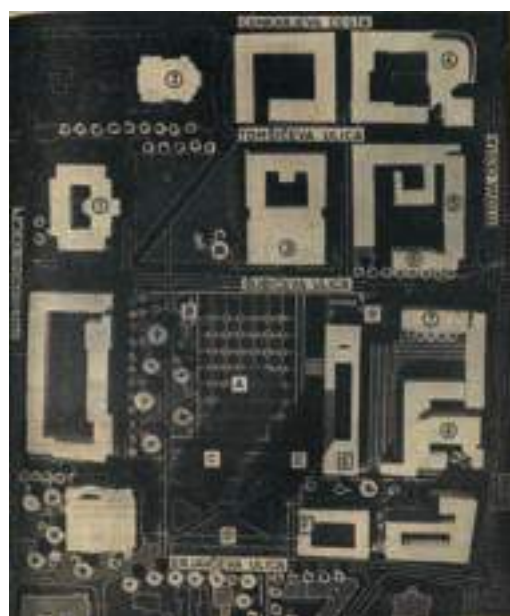
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Sl. 1: Projekt Hrami, Edvard Ravnikar, Vladimir Mušič, Tone Pibernik, natečajna naloga iz leta 1957, iz revije Arhitekt, št. 4, 1960.

Fig. 1: Project Hrami, Edvard Ravnikar, Vladimir Mušič, Tone Pibernik, 1957 competition entry, from Arhitekt, št. 4, 1960.

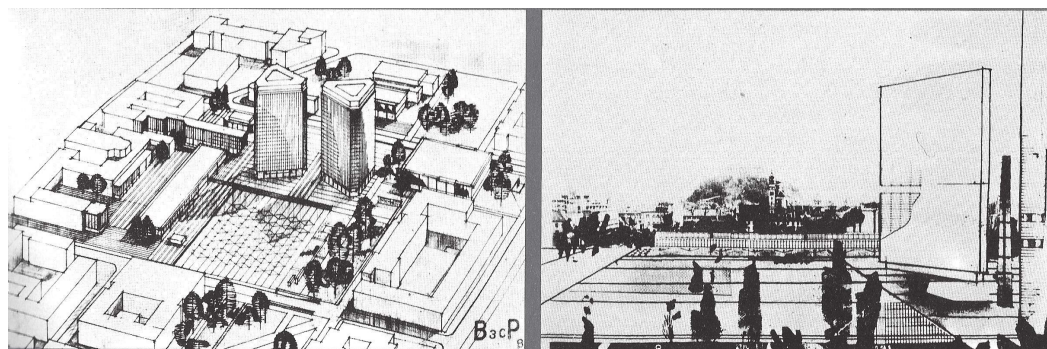


Sl. 2: Novo središče Ljubljane, iz *Tovariš: ilustrirana revija*, št. 13, 6. 4. 1963.



Sl. 3: Slika makete, ki prikazuje nove stavbe (označene s črkami) ob že obstoječih (številke), iz *Tovariš: ilustrirana revija*, št. 13, 6. 4. 1963.

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|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1: Narodni muzej | A: Trg revolucije |
| 2: Opera | B: Spomenik revolucije |
| 3: Državni zbor | C: Stolpnici |
| 4: Nama | D: Kino |
| 5: Konzorcij (knjigarna) | E: Poslovna stavba |
| 6: Komunalna banka | F: Dom tehnike (knjižnica) |
| 7: Uršulinska gimnazija | G: Prizidek h gimnaziji |
| 8: Uršulinska cerkev | |



Sl. 4: Edvard Ravnikar, perspektiva območja med Maximarketom in načrtovanim Domom tehnike, iz Jurij Jenšterle, Božo Podlogar, *Investicijski zavod za izgradnjo Trga revolucije Ljubljana*, Ljubljana 1980 [Vir: Archivio Marco Pozzetto, Dipartimento di Architettura dell'Università di Palermo].

Sl. 5: Edvard Ravnikar, Franc Mezner, zmagovalni projekt za natečaj Trg revolucije 1960, maketa, iz revije *Arhitekt*, št. 4, 1960.

Sl. 6: Drago Tršar, Spomenik revolucije (javni razpis 1962) [Foto: Raimondo Mercadante, januar 2020].

Sl. 7: Ureditev Trga revolucije [Vir: arhiv Jurij Kobe].

Sl. 8: Naslovnica revije *Arhitektov bilten* št. 4, 1972: karikatura, ki ironizira zmanjšanje višine stolpnice.

tako da bi skozi del palače speljali arkade, kontekst sosednjih stavb pa bi žrtvovali širitvi ceste, ene glavnih mestnih osi (Mušič 1958; Mušič 2010). Podrobnejšo rešitev so najprej naročili arhitektoma Borisu Kobetu in Vinku Glanzu, vendar se je mestna uprava nazadnje odločila za Ravnikarjevo rešitev (Kralj 1963, str. 10). Leta 1960 je bil objavljen jugoslovanski natečaj za Trg revolucije (sl. 2), na katerem je bil ob sodelovanju Franca Meznerja izbran Ravnikar. Urbanistični in arhitekturni program, kakor ga je oblikovala republiška skupščina, naj bi vključeval trg za množične prireditve v velikosti približno 15.000 kvadratnih metrov, vizualno vstavljen med Grajski hrib in Rožnik (Šlajmer 1960). Na tem prostoru naj bi stala spomenik revoluciji in kip Borisa Kidriča: tako bi Ljubljana dobila socialistično urbano okolje, primerljivo s tistimi, ki so bila značilna za Beograd in Zagreb (sl. 3). Stavbe, predvidene v Ravnikarjevem projektu (sl. 4), so: uradi predsedstva (zahodna stolpnica) in delavskih organizacij (vzhodna stolpnica) ter Dom tehnike, stavba v obliki paralelepipeda, v kateri naj bi bili Centralna tehniška knjižnica (CTK) in sedež Društva gradbenih inženirjev in tehnikov, podzemni kino, veleblagovnica in podzemno parkirišče za 600 vozil (Kralj 1963, 12–13). Druge natečajne rešitve, na primer projekt Antona Bitenca in Jožeta Kregarja, so predlagale eno stolpnico za sedež Centralnega komiteja Zveze komunistov Slovenije (CK ZKS) in prizmatično stavbo za Izvršni svet republike (Šlajmer 1960, str. 56). Po pričevanju zgodovinarja Naceta Šumija, kot ga navaja Peter Krečič, naj bi zamisel o stolpninah dvojčkih (sl. 5) predlagal Boris Kraigher, vodilna osebnost slovenske in jugoslovanske politike, ki je opravljal funkcijo predsednika Izvršnega sveta republike: model, ki bi ga lahko našli v sodobni ameriški arhitekturi (Krečič 1996, 33; Marušič 1982).

Zasnovo novega mestnega središča, strukturiranega kot območje za pešce, posejano s trgovinami, kavarnami in restavracijami, najdemo tudi v natečajnem predlogu iz leta 1963, za ureditev severnega območja zgodovinskega središča Ljubljane, okolice Prešernovega trga, v soavtorstvu s Fedjo Koširjem (Vavken, 1963). Šlo je za nadaljevanje predlogov, s katerimi sta eksperimentirala Johannes H. van der Broek in Jakob B. Bakema na območju za pešce Lijnbaan v Rotterdamu (1949–55).

Delo je bilo zaupano podjetju Tehnika iz Ljubljane, za reševanje projektnih vprašanj in težav, povezanih z gradbiščem, pa je bil ustanovljen poseben organ – Investicijski zavod za izgradnjo Trga revolucije (IZTR), ki ga je vodil Jurij Jenšterle. Z Ravnikarjem so sodelovali še arhitekti Anton Bitenc, Miloš Bonča, Jože Koželj, Anton Pibernik, France Rihtar in Vladislav Sedej ter vrsta drugih sodelavcev;¹ podjetje naj bi se naslednjih dvajset let ukvarjalo z bolnišnicami, hoteli, bančnimi poslovalnicami, urbanističnimi načrti, trgovskimi centri in tehničnim svetovanjem po vsej Sloveniji, občasno pa tudi v drugih republikah. Za spomenik revoluciji, delo kiparja Draga Tršarja (sl. 6), so dolgo iskali pravo lokacijo: leta 1963 je bil izveden poskus z maketo v merilu 1 : 1,² leta 1975 pa je Ravnikar razvil novoureditev podzemnih prostorov. Najzanimivejši vidik Ravnikarjevega oblikovalskega pristopa so nenehne spremembe med delom pri projektu, ki so jih narekovala okoliščine izvedbe (sl. 7), spremembe vključenih institucionalnih akterjev, predvsem pa arhitektova stalna refleksija, ki so jo spodbujala tudi soočanja s študenti in sodelavci. Leta 1962 so odkrili arheološke ostanke rimske Emone, odkritje je sledilo naključnim najdbam izpred dveh desetletij. Ravnikar je odkritje deloma upošteval in fragmente rimskega zidu vključil v vrt na jugozahodni strani Cankarjevega doma, pa tudi v prehodno območje, pridobljeno z

- Vsi sodelavci so bili: Mika Berlič, Radko Blažič, Dejan Bleiweis, Judita Černič, Barbara Demšar, Sergej Dolenc, Miroslav France, Damjan Gale, Ana Gospodarič, Vojka Ivanek, Tomo Jurčič, Štefan Kacin, Mirko Kajzelj, Rasto Konič, Fedja Košir, Tine Legat, Črtomir Mihelj, Marija Pipan, Božo Rot, Majda Sevšek, Mitja Simoniti, Bogdan Spindler, Sonja Spindler, Cveta Stepančič, Marijan Uršič in Filip Vraber. Projektanti statike so bili Ervin Prelog, Jože Coren in Ivo Vodopivec, glej: Jurij Jenšterle, Edvard Ravnikar, »Trg revolucije, Ljubljana: arhitekti: Edo Ravnikar s sodelavci«, *Sinteza* 30/32 (1973), 81. O zgodovini in dosežkih IZTR glej tudi Jurij Jenšterle, Božo Podlogar, *Investicijski zavod za izgradnjo Trga revolucije Ljubljana: 1960–1980* (Ljubljana: IZTR, 1980).
- Ljubljanski dnevnik (28. 6. 1963), 4; Osnovni projekt so razvili s pomočjo fotomontaže, datirane 20. 6. 1975, ki jo hrani MAO, arhiv Edvard Ravnikar (ni inventariziran): *Predlog dopolnitve obeležja spomenika revolucije, tako da bo bolje in dokončno pripravljeno za družbeno obredje pomembnih dogodkov političnega življenja. Ob tem si načrt prizadeva za čimbolj zaključeno podobo zahodne strani Trga revolucije.*



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theme from the perspective of creating a tertiary city, excluding residential interventions and considering the effect of the towers on the urban silhouette, a subject of reflection for the architect in those years (Mušič 1960; Ravnikar 1960). These proposals were associated with a project to protect the eighteenth-century Kozler palace on Titova cesta from demolition, adapting a part of it to an arcaded street but sacrificing the context of the adjacent buildings, to favor the widening of the avenue, one of the main axes of the city (Mušič 1958; Mušič 2010). Requests for detailed design proposals were submitted to the architects Boris Kobe and Vinko Glanz, but ultimately the city administration opted for Ravnikar's work (Kralj 1963, 10). Thus came the Yugoslav tender for Trg Revolucije of 1960 (fig. 2), won by Ravnikar, with the collaboration of Franc Mezner. The urban planning and architectural program, formulated by the Assembly of the Republic, was to include a square for popular events of about 15,000 square meters, visually included between the Castle hill and the Rožnik hill-park (Šljajmer 1960). This space should have housed a monument to the Revolution and a statue of Boris Kidrič: in this way, Ljubljana would have received a socialist urban environment comparable to those that now characterized Belgrade and Zagreb (fig. 3). The buildings envisaged in Ravnikar's project (fig. 4) were the offices of the Presidency of the Republic (west tower) and of workers' organizations (east tower), as well as the "Dom tehnike", a parallelepiped-shaped building, which would house the Central Technical Library (CTK) and the headquarters of the Society of Engineers and Technicians, an underground cinema, a shopping gallery and an underground parking for 600 vehicles (Kralj 1963, 12-13); other projects proposed in the competition, such as that by Anton Bitenc and Jože Kregar, proposed a single tower, as the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and a prismatic building as the Executive Council of the Republic (Šljajmer 1960, 56). According to a testimony by the historian Nace Šumi reported by Peter Krečič, the idea of the twin towers (fig. 5) would have been suggested by Boris Kraigher, a leading figure in Slovenian and Yugoslav politics, who held the role of president of the Executive Council of the Republic: a model attributable to contemporary American architecture (Krečič 1996, 33; Marušič 1982).

The layout of a new city centre structured as a pedestrian area dotted with shops, cafes and restaurants was also found in the 1963 proposal, formulated with Fedja Košir, for the competition relating to the new layout of the northern area of the historic center of

Ljubljana, around in Prešeren square (Vavken 1963): it was a resumption of solutions experimented by Johannes H. van der Broek and Jakob B. Bakema for the Lijnbaan area in Rotterdam (1949-55).

The work was entrusted to the company "Tehnika" of Ljubljana and a special body was set up in charge of resolving the design issues and problems inherent in the construction site, the Investment Consortium for the construction of Trg Revolucije (Investicijski Zavod za izgradnjo Trga Revolucije), led by Jurij Jenšterle, but in association with Ravnikar were also the architects Anton Bitenc, Miloš Bonča, Jože Koželj, Anton Pibernik, France Rihtar and Vladislav Sedej, as well as a host of other collaborators; the consortium would have dealt throughout Slovenia for twenty years but also, occasionally, in other republics with works such as hospitals, hotels, banking offices, urban plans, shopping centres and technical consultancy.¹ The monument to the Revolution, the work of the sculptor Drago Tršar (fig. 6), was the subject of various searches for an optimal location: in 1963 an experiment was made with a 1/1² scale model, while in 1975 Ravnikar developed a new basement.

The most interesting aspect of the design approach, however, was determined by the continuous changes in progress, suggested by the circumstances of implementation of the project (fig. 7), by the change of the institutional actors involved but above all by the architect's reflection, also stimulated by the confrontation with students and collaborators. In 1962, archaeological remains of the ancient Roman Emona were found, which followed the discoveries made

1 The collaborators were: Mika Berlič, Radko Blažič, Dejan Bleiweis, Judita Črnič, Barbara Demšar, Sergej Dolenc, Miroslav France, Damjan Gale, Ana Gospodarič, Vojka Ivanek, Tomo Jurčič, Štefan Kacin, Mirko Kajželj, Rasto Konič, Fedja Košir, Tine Legat, Črtomir Mihelj, Marija Pipan, Božo Rot, Majda Sešek, Mitja Simoniti, Bogdan Spindler, Sonja Spindler, Cveta Stepančič, Marijan Uršič and Filip Vraber. The care of the static aspects was entrusted to Ervin Prelog, Jože Coren and Ivo Vodopivec, see: Jurij Jenšterle, Edvard Ravnikar, "Trg revolucije, Ljubljana: arhitekti: Edo Ravnikar s sodelavci", Sinteza 30/32 (1973), 81. For the history and achievements of the investment consortium, see also: Jurij Jenšterle, Božo Podlogar, Investicijski zavod za izgradnjo Trga revolucije Ljubljana: 1960-1980 (Ljubljana: IZTR, 1980).

2 Ljubljanski dnevnik (28 June 1963), 4; the base project was conceived with the use of a photomontage, dated 20.06.1975, kept at MAO, Arhiv Edvard Ravnikar (not inventoried): Predlog dopolnitve obeležja spomenika Revolucije, tako da bo bolje in dokončno pripravljeno za družbeno obredje ob pomembnih dogodkih političnega življenja. Ob tem si načrt prizadeva za čimbolj zaključeno podobo zahodne strani Trga Revolucije.



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Fig. 2: The new centre of Ljubljana, from Tovariš: ilustrirana revija, št. 13, 06. 04. 1963

Fig. 3: Picture of a model, showing the new buildings (pointed out with letters) alongside the already existing ones (numbers), from Tovariš: ilustrirana revija, št. 13, 06. 04. 1963.

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|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1: National Museum | A: Trg revolucije square |
| 2: Opera House | B: Monument to the Revolution |
| 3: National Assembly | C: Towers |
| 4: Nama | D: Movie theater |
| 5: Konzorcij (bookshop) | E: Commercial building |
| 6: Komunalna banka | F: Dom tehnike (Library) |
| 7: Ursuline Gymnasium | G: Expansion of the gymnasium |
| 8: Church of the Ursulines | |

Fig. 4: Edvard Ravnikar, perspective of the area between the Maximarket and the planned Dom tehnike, from Jurij Jenšterle, Božo Podlogar, Investicijski zavod za izgradnjo Trga revolucije Ljubljana, Ljubljana 1980 [Archivio Marco Pozzetto, Dipartimento di Architettura dell'Università di Palermo].

Fig. 5: Edvard Ravnikar, Franc Mezner, winning design for the 1960 Trg revolucije competition, model, from Arhitekt, št. 4, 1960.

Fig. 6: Drago Tršar, Monument to the Revolution (public tender 1962) [Photo by Raimondo Mercadante, January 2020].

Fig. 7: General layout of the Trg revolucije [Archive Jurij Kobe].

Fig. 8: Cover of "Arhitektov bilten" št. 4, 1972: caricature that ironizes the reduction in height of the towers.



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Sl. 9: Primeri življenja v okolici Trga revolucije v Ljubljani: notranjost blagovnice, kavarna Maximarket in javna prireditve.

Iz: Jurij Jenšterle, Božo Podlogar, *Investicijski zavod za izgradnjo Trga revolucije Ljubljana*, Ljubljana 1980 [Vir: Archivio Marco Pozzetto, Dipartimento di Architettura dell'Università di Palermo].

Sl. 10: Slika blagovnice Maximarket s sodobnim oglaševanjem in označevanjem (1979). Iz: Jurij Jenšterle, Božo Podlogar, *Investicijski zavod za izgradnjo Trga revolucije Ljubljana*, Ljubljana 1980 [Vir: Archivio Marco Pozzetto, Dipartimento di Architettura dell'Università di Palermo]

Sl. 11: Slika (1979), ki prikazuje notranjost nakupovalnega podhoda s kavarnami, trgovinami in potovalno agencijo Globtourt. Iz: Jurij Jenšterle, Božo Podlogar, *Investicijski zavod za izgradnjo Trga revolucije Ljubljana*, Ljubljana 1980 [Vir: Archivio Marco Pozzetto, Dipartimento di Architettura dell'Università di Palermo]

združitvijo objektov uršulinskega samostana, kjer je bil tudi prehod proti Titovi (danes Slovenski) cesti (1975).³ Kljub prezentaciji arheoloških ostankov, ki so sicer omejeni na posamezne fragmente, so se nekateri kritiki pritoževali nad uničenjem velikega dela ostankov rimskega emonskega tkiva (Pirkovič - Kocbek 1984).

Do večjih sprememb projekta in s tem podobe mestnega prostora je prišlo z zmanjševanjem in spremembo programa: višina stolpnice se je zmanjšala z 80 na 60 metrov, z 12 nadstropji ter pritličjem, kletjo in servisnimi prostori (vzhodna stolpnica je kasneje pridobila še štiri nadstropja, zahodna pa še eno na manjšem tlorisu). Do znižanja stolpnice je po eni strani vodila menjava vladnega programa s poslovnim: republiškega naročnika sta zamenjali Ljubljanska banka (vzhodna stolpnica) in Iskra, podjetje za telefonijo in elektroniko (zahodna stolpnica), po drugi strani pa je bilo znižanju naklonjeno javno in strokovno mnenje. V članku o poteku del v *Ljubljanskem dnevniku* iz leta 1967 novinar pojasnjuje zmanjšanje višine: »Načrt so spremenili, ker bi 80-metrške stolpnice zakrile značilno panoramo ljubljanskega gradu.«⁴ Leta 1972 je *Arhitektov bilten*, ki ga je takrat urejal Marjan Ocvirk, sprožil obsežno razpravo med zgodovinarji, arhitekti, oblikovalci in intelektualci o vprašanjih, ki jih je sprožila ta namerna »degradacija« Ravnikarjevega projekta (sl. 8). Med njimi so bili kritik Stane Bernik, oblikovalca Niko Kralj in Saša Mächtig, arhitekt Janez Lajovic, literarni kritik in filozof Dušan Pirjevec, igralec in dramatik Marko Slodnjak, umetnostni zgodovinar Nace Šumi in novinar Peter Žagar, vsi iz Slovenije, ter kritičarka Antoaneta Pasinovič iz Zagreba.⁵

Peter Krečič je nato leta 1975 v kratkem zgodovinskem pregledu sodobne slovenske arhitekture⁶ pozitivno ocenil znižanje stolpnice.

Ob spremembi namembnosti stolpnice, ki je pomenila popolno redefinicijo trga, saj je ta iz institucionalnega prostora postal emblem mesta in njegovih vodilnih podjetij, opazimo tudi metamorfozo arhitekturnega jezika: prvotno predvideni zavesni zid je zamenjala obloga iz granitnih plošč, pritrjena z vidnimi vijaki, ki se navezuje na Semperjev Princip der Bekleidung in

dunajske mojstrovine Otta Wagnerja. Vplivu dunajskega *fin de siècle* pa se je pridružilo sklicevanje na skandinavsko arhitekturo. V podstavku Iskrine stolpnice in v volumnu njene vhodne avle (1976) pa za znano elegantno dekorativno rabo opeke, izpeljano skoraj do manierizma: ta poseben način uporabe opeke je za kar nekaj let pustil svoj pečat v slovenski arhitekturi, verjetno pa ima vzor tudi v delih italijanske smeri *Neoliberty*, ki se je nekaj let prej pojavila v Torinu in jo je Ravnikar poznal iz strokovnega tiska.

Pomemben vidik uporabe Trga revolucije za priložnostne dejavnosti pa je pomenila blagovnica *Maximarket* (sl. 9), za tisti čas novost. Odprlo jo je podjetje Agrokombinat Emona (podjetje se je prvotno specializirano za trženje semen in izdelkov za kmetijstvo), ki je ponudilo zahodno potrošniško blago na 16.000 kvadratnih metrih trgovskega prostora v petih nadstropjih. *Maximarket* (sl. 10), odprt leta 1968, je bil poleg mariborske blagovnice Kvik ena od najboljših trgovin v Jugoslaviji. Zajemal je blagovnico (sl. 11) s prodajalno oblačil, fotografskega materiala in tehnike ter z različnimi storitvami, pa tudi bogato izbiro gostinskih lokalov: samopostrežno restavracijo s 168 sedeži, restavracijo z 80 mizami, okrepčevalnico s 95 sedeži in med Ljubljanci zelo priljubljeno slaščičarno, katere opremo je v skladu s takrat sodobnimi estetskimi tokovi načrtoval Ravnikar in je imela obešen strop iz poliestrskih cevi.⁷

Pri Trgu revolucije gre predvsem za nov način razumevanja urbanega prostora, ki ga je Ravnikar povezoval z razvojem informacijske tehnologije in novo vlogo arhitekta, ki ne snuje več le statičnih okolij, temveč ustvarja živahne prostore druženja, kakršni so značilni za sodobno življenje. Z njimi je prispeval k ustvarjanju ozračja Ljubljane, ki jo razume kot politično prestolnico in kot središče na visoki kulturni in gospodarski ravni.

»Prav informatika kot kvalitetna dejavnost ima v tem malem urbanizmu in arhitekturi popolno prednost pri izboru možnosti s čim večjo raznoličnostjo okolja in diferenciacijo poslovalnic pred strogimi strukturami. To [Trg revolucije] postaja v resnici vsak dan bolj kraj gibanj, svobodnosti, dostopov in

notranjega prelivanja nešteti različnih, od vstopov, prehodov, podhodov, stopnišč in zaprte podzemne trgovinske galerije v nasprotju s še vedno zelo običajnimi nizanji ločenih zgradb v stisnjene bloke, zaradi prilagajanja produkciji in prometu z nujnostjo grde zadnje strani s tehničnim dvoriščem. Že dosedanja program z banko, poslovnimi površinami, trgovinami, gostinstvom in posebnimi storitvami vidno oblikuje zanimivo družbeno sfero, ki ji bo nadaljna graditev Trga revolucije dodala še nove programe, prireditvene možnosti v treh dvoranah, povečanje možnosti shajanja, razstave industrijske produkcije in zelo mnogo možnosti za likovne razstave ter vedno več prireditev na prostem, od gledaliških do družbenih vsake vrste. Z vsem tem nastaja na čisto novih temeljih tudi podlaga za zelo potrebno višjo raven našega mestnega življenja, kadar ta raste iz okolja.« (Ravnikar 1973, 83)

Gradnja Cankarjevega doma je še dodatno obogatila kulturno ponudbo trga. Cankarjev dom je center za kongrese, koncerte in kulturne prireditve s štirimi dvoranami od 200 do 1406 sedežev. Konstruktorsko gre za izjemno zapleteno stavbo, pri kateri sta bila velik izziv tudi akustika in funkcionalnost. S Cankarjevim domom se je dopolnilo Ravnikarjevo raziskovanje modelov skandinavske arhitekture in iskanje sodobnega načina izražanja monumentalnosti (Mušič 1983).

3 Na novem Trgu revolucije, kjer so arheologi našli rimsko najdbišče, kopljejo in preiskujejo še preostali del 19. insule, *Ljubljanski dnevnik* (4. 5. 1963, 1); Jaroslav Šašel, *Varstvo spomenikov*, letn. 8: (1962), 273–274, 302–303; glej tudi zapis arheologa Jožeta Kastelica, strokovnjaka in Ravnikarjevega prijatelja, v F. Achleitner, F. Ivanšek (ur.), *Hommage à Edvard Ravnikar: 1907–1993* (Ljubljana: France in Marta Ivanšek), 207–211.

4 »Stolpnica spet v gradnji«, *Ljubljanski dnevnik* (16. 5. 1967), 1.

5 »Trg revolucije v Ljubljani«, *Arhitektov bilten*, 4 (1972), 15–16.

6 Peter Krečič, 1945–1975: 30 let slovenske arhitekture, *Dnevnik*, 13. 5. 1975, p. not num.

7 Lojze Jakopič, »Izpolnitev velikega načrta«, *Ljubljanski dnevnik*, 6. 3. 1968, p. 5; Peter Krečič, *Edvard Ravnikar, arhitekt, urbanist, oblikovalec, teoretik, op. cit.*, p. 36.



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Fig. 9: Fig. 9: Examples of the life around the Trg revolucije in Ljubljana: interior of the shopping centre, the Maximarket café and a public event. From: Jurij Jenšterle, Božo Podlogar, Investicijski zavod za izgradnjo Trga revolucije Ljubljana, Ljubljana 1980 [Archivio Marco Pozzetto, Dipartimento di Architettura dell'Università di Palermo].

Fig. 10: Picture of the Maximarket shopping centre showing contemporary advertising and signposting (1979). From: Jurij Jenšterle, Božo Podlogar, Investicijski zavod za izgradnjo Trga revolucije Ljubljana, Ljubljana 1980 [Archivio Marco Pozzetto, Dipartimento di Architettura dell'Università di Palermo].

Fig. 11: Picture (1979) showing the inside of the shopping underpass with cafés, various shops and the Globtour travel agency. From: Jurij Jenšterle, Božo Podlogar, Investicijski zavod za izgradnjo Trga revolucije Ljubljana, Ljubljana 1980 [Archivio Marco Pozzetto, Dipartimento di Architettura dell'Università di Palermo].

fortuitously in the previous two decades: Ravnikar partially took this into account, integrating fragments of Roman walls in the garden on the south-western side of the Cankarjev Dom, but also in the graceful passage area obtained from the unification of the structures of the Ursuline convent, where there was also an underpass for Titova cesta (1975).³ Some observers, however, complained of the destruction of a large part of the traces of the Roman Emona fabric caused by the works for the new complex, despite these archaeological references, limited to single points (Pirkovič - Kocbek 1984).

A radical change in the projects and in the physiognomy of the urban space occurred with the reduction and change of program: the towers were reduced in height from 80 to 60 m, distributed over 12 elevations plus the ground floor, basements and service rooms (moreover, the west tower received four further elevations, the east one, obtained on a reduced volume). On the one hand, the abandonment of the projects for imposing institutional headquarters, which would have been replaced as clients by Ljubljanska banka (east tower) and the telephone and electronics company "Iskra" (west tower), on the other the considerations shared with public opinion and the circle of specialists had led to a reduction in the impact of the towers.

For example, the chronicler of the newspaper "Ljubljanski dnevnik" lent himself to this kind of analysis in an article on the progress of the works in 1967, who stated how the programs had changed "because two 80-meter towers would have concealed the characteristic panorama of the Ljubljana Castle".⁴ In 1972, "Arhitektov bilten", still under the direction of Marjan Ocvirk, launched an extensive consultation among historians, architects, designers and intellectuals on the questions raised by this intentional "degrowth" of Ravnikar's project (fig. 8): the names were those of the critic Stane Bernik from Ljubljana and Antoaneta Pasinović from Zagreb, the designers Niko Kralj and Saša Mächtig, the architect Janez Lajovic, the literary critic and philosopher Dušan Pirjevec, the actor and playwright Marko Slodnjak, the art historian Nace Šumi and the journalist Peter Žagar, all from Slovenia.⁵

Then in 1975, in a brief historical review of contemporary architecture in Slovenia, Peter Krečič positive-

ly evaluated the corrections in height of the towers.⁶ Alongside the change in destination of the towers, which implied a total redefinition of the square, which from an institutional place became the emblem of a city and its leading companies, a metamorphosis of the architectural language was observed: from the curtain wall initially envisaged, it passed to a cladding in granite slabs fixed with supports, with a revival of the Prinzip der Bekleidung by Gottfried Semper and the Viennese masterpieces of Otto Wagner. However, this fin de siècle influence was joined by the reference to Scandinavian architecture, in the elegant decorative use of brick, pushed almost to mannerism, evident in the base and in the volume of the entrance hall of the "Iskra" tower (1976): this particular way of using brick left its mark on Slovenian architecture for a few years but was also probably rooted in the reference to the works of the Italian "Neoliberty" trend that arose a few years earlier in Turin, which Ravnikar knew thanks to the circulation of magazines.

An important aspect of the use of Trg Revolucije in terms of space for free time was represented by the "Maximarket" shopping center (fig. 9): a new initiative for the times, started by the company "Agrokombinat Emona", originally specialized in the marketing of seeds and products for agriculture, which for the first time offered Western consumer goods in a commercial space of 16,000 square meters on five floors. The "Maximarket" (fig. 10) opened in 1968, representing, together with the "Kvik" department store in Maribor, one of the excellences of the retail trade in Yugoslavia; in addition, however, it offered a commercial gallery (fig. 11) with clothing, photography and technology stores and various services, as well as a wide choice of dining places: a self-service with 168 seats, a restaurant with 80 tables, a snack grill with 95 seats and a patisserie much loved by the Ljubljana people and furnished to a design by Ravnikar himself based on extremely contemporary aesthetic criteria, with a false ceiling in polyester tubes.⁷

However, Trg Revolucije represented above all a new way of understanding urban space, which Ravnikar linked to the developments of information technology and to a new role of the architect, no longer just a creator of static environments but of vibrant places of sociality typical of modern life, thus contribut-

ing to create the climate of a Ljubljana understood as a political capital and a pole of high cultural and economic level:

"It is information technology itself - with high-level activities in an extremely varied environment and with a plurality of branches - that is favoured in this genre of small-scale urban planning, compared to rigid and inflexible structures. In reality [Trg Revolucije] is increasingly becoming a dynamic place, of freedom, made of access and crossing within an infinite variety of entrances, passages, underpasses, stairs and an underground commercial gallery: the exact opposite of the usual row of buildings separated, divided into blocks, so as to conform to production and traffic, which necessarily results in ugly rear facades with service courtyards. The contents of a bank, office areas, shops, restaurants and services are already taking shape within an interesting social environment, which the new Trg Revolucije complex will implement with ever new elements; through the possibility of organizing events in three auditoriums, which will increase the opportunities for aggregation, with exhibitions of industrial productions, art exhibitions and even outdoor events, from the theatre to all sorts of social gatherings. All this creates an entirely new basis for the indispensable high cultural standard of our city, which arises from the context"

(Ravnikar 1973, 83).

The cultural offer of the square was subsequently further enriched with the construction of the Cankarjev Dom, a centre for congresses, concerts and cultural events with four rooms from 200 to 1406 seats, a structure of great complexity and articulated by significant challenges also for the acoustics and the functionality of the spaces, which completed Ravnikar's research on the models of Scandinavian architecture and on the formulation of a modern way of the monumental (Mušič 1983).

3 "Na novem Trgu revolucije, kjer so arheologi našli rimsko najdbišče, preostal kopljejo in preiskujejo še preostali del 19. insule", Ljubljanski dnevnik (04 March 1963, 1); Jaroslav Šašel, Varstvo spomenikov, Letn. 8: (1962), 273-274, 302-303; see the memoirs of the archaeologist Jože Kastelic, expert on the subject and a friend of Ravnikar, in F. Achleitner, F. Ivanšek (eds.), Hommage à Edvard Ravnikar: 1907-1993 (Ljubljana: France and Marta Ivanšek), 207-211.

4 "Stolpnica spet v gradnji", Ljubljanski dnevnik (16 May 1967), 1.

5 "Trg Revolucije v Ljubljani", Arhitektov bilten 4 (1972), 15-16.

6 Peter Krečič, 1945-1975: 30 let slovenske arhitekture, Dnevnik, 13. 05. 1975, p. not num.

7 Lojze Jakopič, "Izpolnitev velikega načrta", Ljubljanski dnevnik, 06. 03. 1968, p. 5; Peter Krečič, Edvard Ravnikar, arhitekt, urbanist, oblikovalec, teoretik, op. cit., p. 36



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Diplomsko delo Janeza Koželja: polje delovanja in kulturne reference

Janez Koželj (sl. 12), rojen leta 1945 v Ljubljani, je diplomiral na FAGG v seminarju prof. Ravnikarja 31. oktobra 1973, z diplomsko nalogo *Vrednotenje urbanega prostora – raziskava novega Trga revolucije* (Koželj, 1973). V njej je analiziral vpliv urbanizma in arhitekture novega kompleksa z dvema stolpnicama, blagovnico in pripadajočimi objekti na ljubljansko staro mestno jedro.

Koželj je bil močno vpet v politiko, bil je funkcionar Zveze socialistične mladine Jugoslavije (SKOJ – *Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije*) v Beogradu. Njegova prva dela so s področja grafike in oblikovanja spomenikov: za ljubljansko galerijo Škuc je oblikoval naslovnice (1972), z oblikovalcem Miljenkom Liculom plakate za *Ligo študentov* (1973), z Miho Kerinom in Branetom Kregarjem pa idejni projekt za spomenik Augustu Cesarcu v Zagrebu (1973) (Arhitektura + beseda 1981, 13–19).

Diplomsko delo je bilo del novih tem, ki so se jih lotevali Ravnikarjevi študentje v okviru seminarja Soba 25. Odlikuje ga obsežno poznavanje sodobne mednarodne literature s področja urbanizma. V tistih letih je temo v Sloveniji obvladoval Leonid Lenarčič, ki je leta 1974 objavil rezultate raziskave o *percepcijskih aspektih mestne vizualne oblike in njihovem pomenu v urbanističnem načrtovanju*. Lenarčič je diplomiral v Beogradu in že leta 1960 sodeloval pri načrtovanju Novega Beograda. Svojo raziskavo je opravil med bivanjem v Londonu na šoli za arhitekturo Architectural Association. S svojim delom je slovenski javnosti predstavil dosežke do tedaj v Sloveniji manj znanih raziskovalcev, kot so James Gibson, Stanley Eiler Rasmussen in Françoise Choay (Lenarčič 1974; Pogačnik 1976; Gulič 2011).

Koželjevo delo je tako v analizi in predlogih izboljšav, ki so bile sicer implicitno že nakazane v Ravnikarjevih oblikovalskih rešitvah prejšnjega desetletja, zavzela novo perspektivo – perspektivo participacije, na podlagi katere arhitektura in urbanizem prispevata k ustvarjanju konteksta za vsakdanje življenje. V uvodu avtor navaja: »Arhitekturo lahko opredelimo kot sistem znakov, ki lahko nastaja in učinkuje le znotraj posredovalnega procesa, ki je po svoji naravi družben.« (Koželj 1973, 1)

Družbeno razsežnost arhitekture in urbanizma je opredelil kot široko in prevladujočo tudi v odnosu do drugih umetnosti, pri čemer je povzel misel Nikolauša Pevsnerja v uvodu knjige *Oris evropske arhitekture*: »Stikom s tako imenovanimi lepimi umetnostmi

se lahko ognemo, ne moremo pa pobegniti pred stavbami in skoraj nezaznavnimi, a predirljivimi vplivi njihovega značaja, pa naj bo ta plemenit ali prostaški, zadržan ali vsiljiv, pristen ali izumetničen.« (Pevsner 1948, 19-20; povzeto po: Koželj 1973, 2) Koželj trdi, da so temeljne značilnosti družbene narave arhitekture v povezanosti med obliko in funkcijo stavb ter urbanizmom, v povezanosti med materialom in tehniko, v fizični prisotnosti arhitekture v grajenem prostoru, v tesni povezanosti med željo arhitekta in prevladujočo politično strukturo. Ob spoznanju o očitni heteronomiji arhitekture glede na družbi imanentne družbenoekonomske moči in sile, se je avtor spraševal o izvoru znakov in sporočil, ki jih posreduje Trg revolucije v Ljubljani, o semiotični ustreznosti arhitekture glede na prejemnike posredovanega sporočila (meščane in uporabnike prostorov), spraševal se je, ali je bila izbira znakov in simbolov zaupana izključno arhitektom in urbanistom: »Kdo oblikuje red in kdo ga uveljavlja? Kdo kontrolira in vrednoti učinke, ki jih ustvarjajo zgradbe oz. urbanistične ureditve?« (Koželj 1973, 2)

Koželj razume možnost participacije kot razsežnost aktivnega ali pasivnega, neposrednega ali posrednega sodelovanja v procesu odločanja, ki je podlaga za oblikovanje oblike in funkcij urbanega prostora. Ravnikarjev učenec je zato odkrito kritiziral ostanke hierarhičnih in totalitarnih odnosov in praks, izhajajočih iz sistema samoupravnega soodločanja, v katerem na koncu dejansko niso upoštevali potreb državljanov. S tega vidika participativni mehanizmi samoupravljanja, ki so se nekaj let pred tem začeli uveljavljati v jugoslovanskem sistemu, ne bi prinesli bistvenih učinkov (Koželj 1973, 3)⁸. Med najpomembnejšimi zahtevami za ustreznost urbanističnega ali arhitekturnega projekta naj bi bile zahteve po formalni »RAZLIČNOSTI FORME« in »potreba po SPREMENLJIVOSTI FORME«; raznolikost in členjenost urbanih prostorov predstavlja mnogoterost družbe in različnost odnosov posameznika s skupnostjo. Koželj je kritiziral tudi pristope arhitekturne teorije v Jugoslaviji in trdil, da je bila prednost popolnega »delovanja«; da je imelo popolno »delovanje« posamezne stavbe kot avtonomnega organizma vedno prednost pred upoštevanjem navezave na kontekst (Koželj 1973, 4).

V skladu s to kritiko je avtor zastavil nove cilje urbanističnega oblikovanja, na primer: možnost, da se uporabniki mesta v grajenem prostoru orientirajo s pomočjo simbolov ter vizualnih in kromatičnih referenc; možnost ustvarjanja vizualno-čutnih povezav med človekom in okoljem skozi skupek pozitivnih ali negativnih asociacij, fantazij, spominov in vtisov krajev, ki jih dnevno prečkajo; možnost ustvarjanja raznolikosti in kompleksnosti v urbanem okolju in končno možnost ustvarjanja estetskih elementov, kot so mestna silhueta, materiali in kompozicija. Koželj se je skliceval na tri temeljne modele interpretacije urbanega prostora, in sicer na modele Kevina Lyncha, Gordona Cullena in Jane Jacobs (ki jih navaja po nemški izdaji) (Koželj 1973, 7–13; Lynch 1960; Cullen 1961; Jacobs 1961).

Sl. 12: Janez Koželj na posnetku z razstave Slovenska likovna umetnost 1945–1978 [Vir: arhiv revije Sinteza, hrani Muzej za arhitekturo in oblikovanje, Ljubljana].

Navedenih modelov ne povzemamo, zanimivo pa je, kako je Koželju uspelo učinkovito uporabiti njihove ideje, kolikor je to mogoče v tako specifičnem kontekstu, kot je urbano okolje glavnega mesta jugoslovanske republike, katerega institucionalni in uradni trg je postal središče nedokončanega ameriško navdihnjenega mesta, ki se ukvarja s terciarnimi dejavnostmi. Tako naj bi orodja za oblikovanje mesta postali elementi Lyncheve analize, kot so pot, rob, soseska, vozlišče in referenca, pa tudi kategorije tukaj in zdaj, kombinacija, projekcija in recesija, dopolnjeni s Cullenovim pojmom *zveznega pogleda* (serial vision) in s konceptom, ki ga je vpeljala Jane Jacobs, množstvom mestnih funkcij. Po Koželjevih besedah je z vsemi temi značilnostmi izražala »potrebo po ustvarjanju ustrezne stopnje raznolikosti, neprevidenosti in spremenljivosti prostora« (Koželj 1973, 17). Avtor je od Jane Jacobs prevzel zlasti načelo kakovosti urbanih prostorov, za katere je značilna »NAJUGODNEJŠE STOPNJE RAZNOLIKOSTI KORIŠČENJA PROSTORA. Slednja omogoča zadovoljevanje človekovih bivalvi, družbenih interesov in potreb ter ustvarja stalno prisotnost ljudi v urbanem prostoru; daje mu življenje in utrip« (ibidem), kar zagotavlja stalno živost.

Element participacije je prevzel iz Lyncheve analize, s katero je ta potrdil pomen »kolektivne reprezentacije tako za nadzor kakovosti kot tudi za oblikovanje specifičnega urbanega prostora, skladnega z življenjskim stilom večine uporabnikov in z njihovim svetovnim nazorom« (Koželj 1973, 18).

Kar zadeva sintezo med arhitekturo in urbanizmom ob upoštevanju antropoloških in kulturnih potreb skupnosti, ki naseljuje prostore sodobne arhitekture, se Koželjev pristop približuje raziskavam, s katerimi se je ukvarjal Team X in pa, v Italiji, Giancarlo De Carlo (Molinari 2017). Nanje se sicer ne sklicuje neposredno v besedilu, se pa nanje sklicuje Koželjeva bibliografija. Med navedenimi deli so *Researches on the collective form* (Raziskave o kolektivni formi) Fumihika Makija, *Complexity and Ambiguity in Environmental Design* (Kompleksnost in dvoumnost pri oblikovanju prostora) Amosa Rapoporta in Roberta Kantorja in *Stadt für Menschen* (Mesto za ljudi) Paulhansa Petersa (Maki 1964; Rapoport & Kantor 1967; Peters 1973). V praktičnem delu naloge je Koželj evolvencijo urbanističnega projekta trga obravnaval skozi štiri filtre, odnose do prostora: normativnega, aktivnega, čutnega in simbolnega (Koželj 1973, 20).

8 O razpravi o vlogi samoupravljanja v urbanističnem načrtovanju in prenovi mestnih središč, ki je v Sloveniji potekala v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, glej: Mercadante, R., (2023) »Between Restoration, Urban Renewal, and Revitalization: Maribor Old Town during the Late Socialist Period (1978–1990)«, *Architectural Histories* 11(1). doi: <https://doi.org/10.16995/ah.9618> in Mercadante, R., »The rise and fall of Yugoslav urbanism: the Maribor-Jug plan (1973–1982)«, *Territorio* 103, 1–24. (v tisku). Glej tudi: »Jugoslovanski prostori v Sloveniji«, POGAČNIK A. (1983). *Urbanizem Slovenije: Oris razvoja urbanističnega in regionalnega prostorskega načrtovanja v Sloveniji*, Ljubljana, FAGG.

Janez Koželj's thesis: field of action and cultural references

Janez Koželj (fig. 12), born in 1945 in Ljubljana, graduated from the FAGG at the seminar of prof. Ravnikar on 31 October 1973 with a thesis entitled *Evaluation of urban spaces - a research on the new Trg revolucije* (Koželj 1973): in the paper, he intended to analyze the impact of urban planning and architecture of the new complex with the two towers, the shopping gallery and all related facilities, on the old town of Ljubljana.

Strongly involved in politics, Koželj had been an official of the Yugoslav Youth League (SKOJ - Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije) in Belgrade: his first jobs had been in the field of graphics and monument design: he had designed editorial covers for the Škuc gallery of Ljubljana (1972), posters for the Students' League with designer Miljenko Licul (1973), a project for a monument to August Cesarec in Zagreb, together with Miha Kerin and Brane Kregar (1973) (*Arhitektura+beseda* 1981, 13-19).

The thesis was part of the new research undertaken by Ravnikar's students in the "Soba 25", but was distinguished by the extensive knowledge of the contemporary international bibliography on Urban Studies, a topic treated in those years in Slovenia by Leonid Lenarčič, who in 1974 published the results of a research funded by the Research Council of Slovenia on the perceptive aspects of urban forms in urban planning applications; Lenarčič, who had graduated in Belgrade, having already taken part in the planning of Novi Beograd in 1960, had carried out his research during a stay in London, at the Architectural Association School of Architecture.

His work had introduced to the Slovenian public the acquisitions of hitherto little-known scholars such as James Gibson, Steen Eiler Rasmussen and Françoise Choay (Lenarčič 1974; Pogačnik 1976; Gulič 2011).

Koželj's research therefore adopted a new perspective in the analysis and in the enhancement proposals, albeit already implicitly suggested by Ravnikar's design solutions of the previous decade, that of participation, on the basis of which architecture and urban planning contributed to the creation of a context for daily life. «Architecture - stated the author in the introduction - can be defined as a system of signs, which can arise and exert an impact only within a naturally social intermediation process» (Koželj 1973, 1).

This social dimension of architecture and urban planning was defined as broad and prevalent, also in relation to the other arts, taking up a thought by Nikolaus Pevsner in the incipit of *An Outline of European Architecture*: «We can avoid intercourse with what people call the Fine Arts, but we cannot escape buildings and the subtle but penetrating effects of their character, noble or mean, restrained or ostentatious, genuine or meretricious» (Pevsner 1948, 1920; cited in: Koželj 1973, 2). According to Koželj, the fundamental characteristics of the social nature of architecture resided in the link between form and

function of buildings and urban plans, in the link between materials and techniques, in the physical presence of the works in the built space, in the close link between the aspirations of the designers and the dominant political structure. Recognizing the evident heteronomy of architecture with respect to the socio-economic powers and forces immanent in society, the author wondered about the origin of the signs and messages transmitted by Revolution Square in Ljubljana, about the semiotic appropriateness of architecture with respect to the recipients of the message transmitted (citizens and users of its spaces), wondered if the choice of signs and symbols had been entrusted exclusively to architects and urban planners: «Who configures and establishes the rules? Who does control and evaluate the effects produced by the buildings and/or by the regulatory plan?» (Koželj 1973, 2).

For Koželj, the dimension of participation was in terms of the possibility of taking part actively or passively, directly or indirectly in the decision-making process underlying the formulation of forms and functions of urban spaces. For this reason, Ravnikar's student openly criticized the residues of hierarchical and totalitarian attitudes and practices in the public works system, which ended up not really taking into account the needs of citizens. From this point of view, the participatory mechanisms of self-management launched a few years ago in the Yugoslav system would not have produced significant effects (Koželj 1973, 3)⁸. Among the most crucial requirements for the adequacy of an urban or architectural project must have been that of formal "variety" and "possibility of transformation": the variety and articulation of urban spaces should have represented the multiplicity of society itself and the different relationships of individuals with the community. Koželj also criticized the approach of architectural theory in Yugoslavia, arguing that priority was always given to the perfect «functioning» of the single building as an autonomous organism, therefore without considering the relationships with the context (Koželj 1973, 4).

In the light of these criticisms, the architect set new goals for urban design, such as the possibility for city users to orient themselves within the built space through symbols and visual and chromatic references; the possibility of creating visual-sensorial links between man and the environment, understood as the set of associations, fantasies and memories, with positive or negative nuances of the places crossed daily; the possibility of creating new variety and complexity in the urban environment and finally the creation of aesthetic values, through the research of elements like the study of the urban silhouette, of the materials and of composition. Koželj referred to three fundamental interpretative models of urban space: those of Kevin Lynch, Gordon Cullen and Jane Jacobs, cited in the German Ullstein edition (Koželj 1973, 7-13; Lynch 1960; Cullen 1961; Jacobs 1961).

Fig. 12: Fig. 12: Janez Koželj in a shot during the exhibition "Slovenska likovna umetnost 1945-1978" [Vir: Sinteza arhiv, kept by Muzej za arhitekturo in oblikovanje, Ljubljana].

Without wishing to summarize the thought of these authors, it seems useful to observe how Koželj managed to effectively apply their message, at least insofar as this was useful to the peculiarities of such a specific object of study as an urban environment of a capital of the Yugoslav republic which an institutional and official square had become the center of an unresolved American-inspired tertiary city. The elements of Lynch's analysis, paths, edges, neighbourhoods, nodes and references, as well as the categories of here and now, combination, projection and recession, Cullen's serial vision and the multiplicity of functions suggested by Jane Jacobs for the city were to therefore become tools at the service of design. All these characteristics expressed, according to Koželj, "the need to create an appropriate degree of variety, unpredictability and changeability of the built space" (Koželj 1973, 17). In particular, the author took from Jacobs the principle of the quality of urban spaces characterized by "a fair degree of variety in use, with the coexistence of housing, social and aggregative interests and needs" (*ibidem*), guaranteeing constant animation.

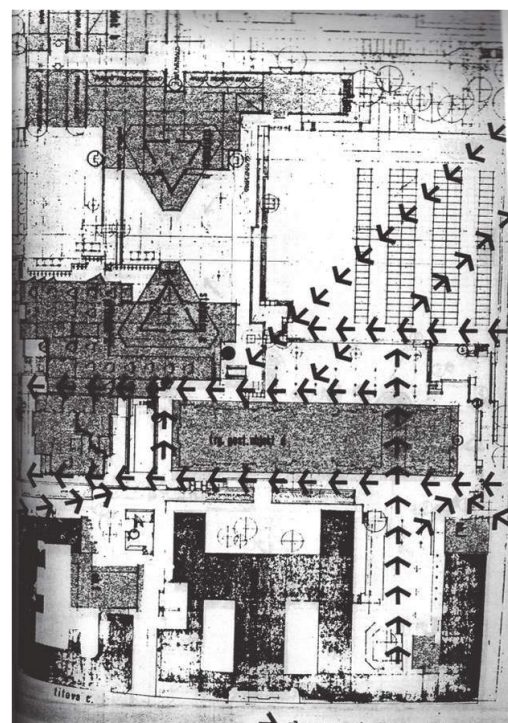
The element of participation, on the other hand, was identified in Lynch's analyses, who affirmed the value «of collective representations, both for quality control and for the formation of a specific urban space, which is coherent with the ways of life of the majority of users and with their way of seeing the world» (Koželj 1973, 18).

In this way, the approach suggested by Koželj approached the research carried out by Team X and, in Italy, by Giancarlo De Carlo regarding a fusion between architecture and urban planning and to the consideration of the anthropological and cultural needs of the communities that would have inhabited the spaces of contemporary architecture (Molinari 2017). A hint in this sense comes from the other texts cited in the bibliography but not within the text, among which were *Researches on the collective form* by Fumihiko Maki, *Complexity and Ambiguity in Environmental Design* by Amos Rapoport and Robert Kantor and *Stadt für Menschen* by Paulhan Peters (Maki 1964; Rapoport & Kantor 1967; Peters 1973). In the implementation part of the dissertation, Koželj reconstructed the evolution of the urban project of the square through four different filters linked to the use of its spaces, normative, active, sensorial and symbolic (Koželj 1973, 20).

8 In the debate occurred in Slovenia in the 1970s about the role of the self-management in urban planning and in the renewal of town centers, see: Mercadante, R., (2023) "Between Restoration, Urban Renewal, and Revitalization: Maribor Old Town during the Late Socialist Period (1978-1990)", *Architectural Histories* 11(1). doi: <https://doi.org/10.16995/ah.9618>; Mercadante, R., (in press) *The rise and fall of Yugoslav urbanism: the Maribor-Jug plan (1973-1982)*, *Territorio* 103, 1-24. See also: POGAČNIK A. (1983). *Urbanizem Slovenije: Oris razvoja urbanističnega in regionalnega prostorskega načrtovanja v Sloveniji*, Ljubljana, FAGG.



14



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13

Sl. 13: Stolpnici Iskre in Ljubljanske banke z Erjavčeve ceste [Foto: Raimondo Mercadante, julij 2015].

Sl. 14: Slika iz časa konec osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, na kateri je še vedno vidna uporaba trga kot parkirišča.

[Foto: Miran Kambič, vir: zasebna zbirka Andrej Hrausky].

Sl. 15: Janez Koželj: opazovanje glavnih smeri gibanja pešcev.

Sl. 16: Zamiki nivojev.

Sl. 17: Območja za prosti čas.

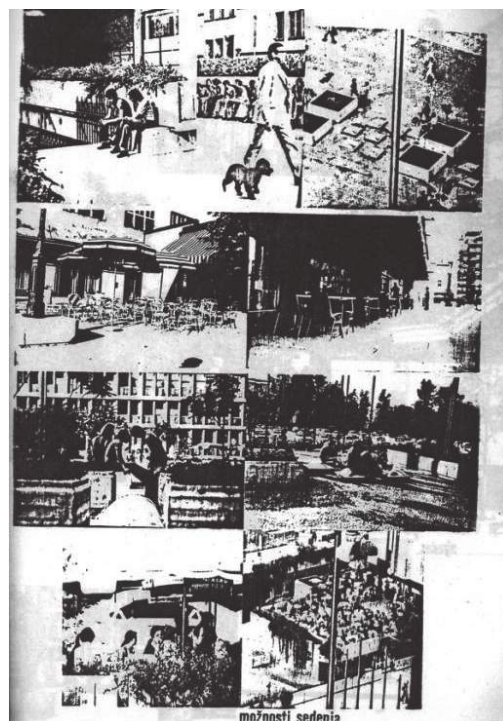
Sl. 18: M = mirna območja. H = hrupna območja; neprijetne vonjave (temen trikotnik); prijetne vonjave (bel trikotnik).

Z normativnega vidika je avtor poudaril štiri različne faze oziroma korake: 1946–47 in 1957–58, potem obdobje okrog leta 1960, čas refleksije natečaja, in nazadnje obdobje gradnje, od leta 1961 do 1973. V prvih dveh fazah je bil za območje Uršulinskega vrta, ki je ležal na osi med Glanzevo stavbo skupščine in načrtovano stavbo izvršnega sveta, prevladujoč institucionalni značaj, s študijami o lokaciji predsedstva Ljudske skupščine LRS in nato s predlogom ureditve trga. V tem času je javni naročnik svojo pozornost usmeril predvsem na skladnost trga s spomenikom, ki naj bi stal na njem, in na možnost zbiranja množic do 120.000 ljudi; poleg tega je odobral vertikalni poudarek stolpnice v urbanem prostoru (sl. 13). V obdobju po potrditvi Ravnikarjevega projekta so programska izhodišča sicer ostala nespremenjena, prišlo pa je do postopnega prilagajanja družbenoekonomski in politični preobrazbi Ljubljane in Jugoslavije, ki je na eni strani pripeljala do prestrukturiranja prostora v trg za trgovske in storitvene dejavnosti, na drugi pa do izgube središčne pozicije trga v mestu zaradi težnje, da se slovenska prestolnica širi proti severu, medtem ko je širjenje v osi vzhod–zahod ostajalo manj pomembno (Koželj 1973, 22). Možnosti dejavne rabe trga je avtor diplomske naloge raziskoval z metodo opazovanja: odobral je uporabo Trga revolucije kot zbirališča na poteh univerza–železniška postaja ter Zvezda–Tivoli, grajal pa je načine dostopa za avtomobile in pešce, predvsem pa rabo osrednjega prostora trga za parkirišče (sl. 14). S svojimi opažanji je vnaprej predvidel možnost zapiranja mestnega središča in ureditev območja za pešce; zamisel pa se je začela uresničevati šele v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja (Koželj 1973, 23–24; Mercadante 2022).

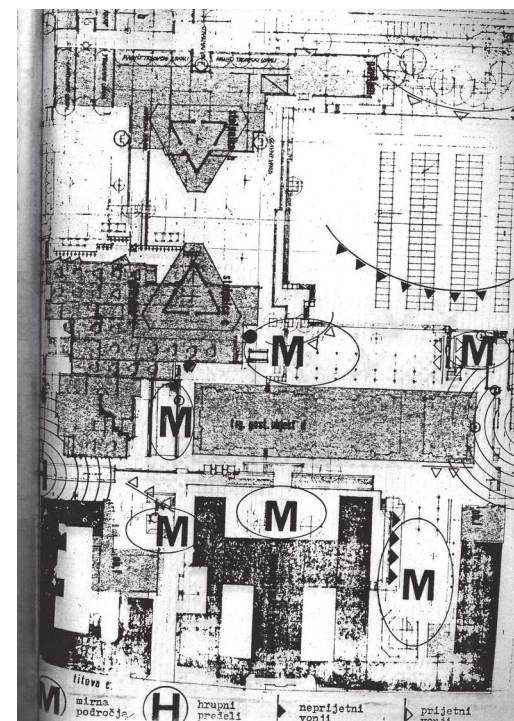
Avtor je opozoril na odsotnost načrtovanja prostora, namenjenega počitku, meditaciji in druženju, ki bi ga bilo mogoče uporabljati tudi brez vnaprej določenih ciljev, povezanih s potrošnjo ali poslom. Konkretni Koželjevi predlogi so ureditev podhoda pod Šubičevo ulico in ureditev teras na stolpnih, s katerih bi lahko uživali v panoramskem pogledu, kar bi bila lahko tudi turistična zanimivost. Še posebej so ga zanimali podhodi, zato se je tej velemestni tipologiji, takrat novi za Ljubljano, posvetil tudi v nadaljnjih raziskavah in predlagal psihološke in vedenjske usmeritve pri njihovem načrtovanju in oblikovanju (Koželj 1976). Perceptijski vidik prikazuje serija fotografskih posnetkov in diagramov prometnih tokov pešcev (sl. 15), prikazal pa je tudi elemente privlačnosti, kot so zavetje pred vremenskimi vplivi, vonjave in potencialno privlačni učinki prostorov (sl. 16–18). Simbolno polje trga, ki ga poudarjata monumentalnost stolpnice in kakovost uporabljenih materialov (sl. 19–22), pa bi bilo po njegovem predlogu treba še bolj poudariti z elementi, kot so oznake in informacije o kulturnih in političnih dogodkih na trgu. Poseben eksperimentalni del naloge je bil kratek film, zmontiran iz statičnih posnetkov fotoaparata, narejenih vsakih 5 sekund. Z njim je želel zabeležiti oblike aktivnega in družabnega življenja v urbanem okolju. Še bolj dosledno pa jih je zaznal z vprašalnikom, s katerim je preučeval pogostost in razloge za obisk Trga revolucije glede na starost, poklic ali stopnjo izobrazbe oziroma socialne kategorije (preglednica 1). Temu so sledile ankete o vrednotenju nove arhitekture (preglednica 2), ki so pokazale, da trg bolje sprejemajo mladi, medtem ko delavci in nižji uradniki ostajajo bolj zadržani (Koželj 1973, 27–36).



16



17



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From a regulatory point of view, the author emphasized four different phases or steps: 1946-47 and 1957-58, the years around 1960 with the reflection on the competition and finally the period of construction, from 1961 to 1973. In the first two phases with the studies on the location of the Presidium of the LRS Popular Assembly and then with the proposal for a variant of the square area, the institutional character of the Ursuline Garden area was a dominant feature, with an axis between the Assembly Building planned by Vinko Glanz and the planned Executive Council building. In the competition phase, the public contractors focused their attention on the conformity of the square project with respect to the monument to be placed there and on the creation of moments of collective gathering of up to 120,000 people; moreover, he saw favourably the vertical appeal of the towers (fig. 13) in relation to the urban shape. In the period following the approval of Ravnikar's project, while the programmatic bases remained unchanged, there had been a progressive adaptation to the socio-economic and political transformations of the city of Ljubljana and Yugoslavia, which had led on the one hand to its restructuring as a commercial and tertiary type square, on the other hand to a loss of centrality, due to the continuous expansive trend of the Slovenian capital along the northern axis, with respect to which the east-west axis was marginal (Koželj 1973, 22). The possibilities of active use of the square were investigated on the basis of observation and the drafting of notes: the author of the thesis appreciated the character of a meeting place of Trg Revolucije as a point on the director University - railway station and Zvezda - Tivoli park but criticized the methods of access for cars and pedestrians but above all the use of the central area as a parking lot (fig. 14), anticipating the trend towards pedestrianization of the centre realized in Ljubljana only starting from the 1990s (Koželj 1973, 23-24; Mercadante 2022).

The author complained about the absence of a project for spaces intended for rest, meditation, sociality detached from a precise reason related to consumption or business. As concrete interventions, Koželj suggested the creation of an underpass in Šubičeva ulica and terraces to enjoy the panoramic view from the towers, as a reason for tourist interest. He was particularly interested in the theme of the underpasses and devoted further research to this metropolitan typology, apparently new to Ljubljana, suggesting psychological and behavioural directions in their planning and design (Koželj 1976). The perceptual aspect was illustrated by series of photographic shots and diagrams of pedestrian traffic flows (fig. 15), but elements of attraction were also taken into consideration such as shelter from the elements, smells and the potentially attractive effects of the spaces (figs. 16-18). The symbolic field of the square, present in the monumentality of the towers and in the quality of the materials used (figs. 19-22), should have been emphasized by elements such as the signage and information on the cultural and political events referring to it. A particularly experimental trait of Koželj's research was the creation of a short film through a static shot with progress every five seconds: the goal was to resume the forms of active and social life in urban environments. These goals were pursued even more rigorously through a survey obtained by means of a questionnaire, which investigated age, social categories, reasons for frequenting Trg revolucije, frequency of visits based on profession or level of education (table 1). These data were followed by surveys on the appreciation of the new architecture (table 2), which demonstrated how the square was more accepted among young people, while it left workers and exponents of the lower white-collar class sceptical (Koželj 1973, 27-36). Similarly, to the positions on the recovery of city centres and their ancient nucleus expressed a few years

later in Slovenia by the Marxist-oriented urban planner Rudi Jakhel (Jakhel 1978), Koželj claimed in conclusion for the spaces of the new Ljubljana square, as for the to be used for pedestrian use, a character emancipated from mere consumerism:

Instead of a centre for moral, social, cultural and associative activities, the shopping centre with the shopping arcade, which leaves no room for competition, has become a space with the atmosphere of shopping fever [...] Only the beat of the operation of shops and clubs allows and directs life in the square. If Trg revolucije is destined to become a strategic point from which to draw impulses for the new forms and functions of the city, it will first of all be necessary to remove the monofunctionality of its program and adapt it to the real needs of city life (Koželj 1973, 39).

Conclusions

From this point of view, by way of conclusion, Janez Koželj's research paved the way for many of the critical arguments against capitalist development which characterized the peculiar socio-economic frame of Yugoslav self-managed socialism, which were further developed on the most intense issues of "AB" between 1973 and 1980. Furthermore, it was the first step of the life-long campaign pursued by the author as a university professor of city architecture and as a politician and city administrator in the Municipality of Ljubljana (Koželj 2018, 36).

Fig. 13: The Iskra and Ljubljanska banka towers seen from Erjavčeva Street [Photo by Raimondo Mercadante, July 2015]

Fig. 14: Miran Kambič, picture from the end of 1980s, still showing the use of the square as a parking lot. [Private collection Andrej Hrausky].

Fig. 15: Janez Koželj: observation of the main directions of pedestrian movement.

Fig. 16: Shifts of levels.

Fig. 17: Leisure areas

Fig. 18: M = quiet areas. H = noisy areas; nasty smells (dark triangle); good smells (white triangle).

motivi obiska in aktivnosti uporabnikov / <i>Reasons for the attendance of the place</i>	Zaposleni / <i>Workers</i>	Gospodinje/ <i>Housewives</i>	Srednješolci / <i>High schoolers</i>	Študentje / <i>University students</i>	Srednja izobr. uslužbenci / <i>Middle-educated workers</i>	Višja in visoka izobrazba / <i>Higher education users</i>	Upokojenci / <i>Retirees</i>
Zanimiva pešpot / <i>Interesting route</i>	31 %	12 %	45 %	40 %	21 %	23 %	30 %
Sedenje / <i>Place for a stopover</i>	0 %	25 %	11 %	20 %	8 %	19 %	0 %
Družabne aktivnosti, zmenki, srečanja / <i>Social activities: dates, meetings</i>	19 %	0 %	22 %	13 %	5 %	0 %	0 %
Nakup in opravi / <i>Shopping</i>	38 %	63 %	22 %	20 %	50 %	35 %	40 %
Služba / <i>Workplace</i>	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	2 %	15 %	0 %
Prehrana / <i>Food and beverage</i>	0 %	0 %	0 %	7 %	10 %	0 %	0 %
Radovednost in privlačnost / <i>Curiosities and opportunities</i>	12 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	2 %	4 %	30 %
Parkiranje / <i>Parking</i>	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	2 %	4 %	0 %

Preglednica 1: Razlogi za obisk trga (Koželj 1973, 29) / *Table 1: Reasons for the attendance of the place (Koželj 1973, 29)*

Vrednotenje arhitekturnega kompleksa / <i>Appreciation of the architectural complex</i>	Zaposleni / <i>Workers</i>	Gospodinje/ <i>Housewives</i>	Srednješolci / <i>High schoolers</i>	Študentje / <i>University students</i>	Srednja izobr. uslužbenci / <i>Middle-educated workers</i>	Višja in visoka izobrazba / <i>Higher education users</i>	Upokojenci / <i>Retirees</i>
Izgled mestnega centra / <i>City centre apperance</i>	10 %	0 %	13 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	16 %
Celovitost viz. strukture, skadnost arh. celote, sožitje staro-novo/ <i>Overall effect of the structures, adequacy of the architecture, new/old coexistence</i>	10 %	0 %	29 %	22 %	24 %	42 %	0 %
Koncentracija življenja in programa / <i>Density of animation and programme</i>	10 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	14 %	0 %	0 %
Obseg in prepletanje programa / <i>Breadth and interest of the programme</i>	40 %	25 %	29 %	22 %	19 %	0 %	16 %
Zanimiva in urejena pešpot / <i>Interesting and well-kept pedestrian path</i>	30 %	25 %	0 %	11 %	5 %	0 %	16 %
Arhitekturni in prostorskielementi: klopi, ograje, tlaki, ... / <i>Architectural and urban elements: benches, fences, flooring ...</i>	0 %	50 %	29 %	45 %	38 %	58 %	52 %

Preglednica 2: Ocena arhitekturnega kompleksa (Koželj 1973, 33). / *Table 2: Appreciation of the architectural complex (Koželj 1973, 33)*

Podobno, kot je nekaj let kasneje marksistično usmerje- ni urbanist Rudi Jakhel (Jakhel 1978) izrazil stališče o oživitvi mestnih središč in njihovih starih jeder v Sloveni- ji, je Koželj v zaključku pozval, naj bo trg namenjeni pe- šcem in naj kot prostor presega zgolj potrošniško vlogo: »Če naj trg postane strateška točka, iz katere bado izhajali impulzi za novo obliko in funkcijo mesta, bi bilo treba v prvi vrsti razbiti eno-namembnost njegova programa in ga ustrezno prilagoditi resničnim potre- bam mestnega življenja. Omogočati bi moral različne oblike aktivnosti, ki ležijo onstran potrošnje: družbe- no-politični shodi, gledališča na prostem, letni kino, glasbeno zabavne prireditve, koncerti beat ansambla, ex-tempore, razstava in prodaja umetnin, otroška igra, tedenski sejmi, itd. V prilagajanju prostora zna- čilnosti in obsegu programa se kažejo za najbolj upo- rabne in učinkovite številne izkušnje koriščenja osre- dnje ploščadi in okoliških prostorov trga »na čas«. Proces nadaljnjega razvoja in izgradnje ožjega me- stnega središča in v njem Trg revolucije še traja in od- staja odprt najrazličnejšim vplivom. Pokazal bo, ali graditelji in mesto izkoristili opisane priložnosti.« (Koželj 1973, 39)

Sklep

Poudariti je treba, da je diplomsko delo Janeza Kože- lja tlakovalo pot številnim kritičnim argumentom proti kapitalističnemu razvoju, ki je zaznamoval spe- cifičen družbenoekonomski okvir jugoslovanskega

samoupravnega socializma. Ti so našli svoj odmev v vprašanih, s katerimi se je intenzivno ukvarjala revija ab med letoma 1973 in 1980. Poleg tega pa je bilo diplomsko delo za Koželja prvi korak vseživljenjskega poslanstva, ki mu je sledil kot univerzitetni pedagog, profesor urbanizma in kot politik, mestni uradnik in podžupan v Mestni občini Ljubljana (Koželj 2018, 36).

prevod: Kristina Dešman

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i Avtor uporablja imena ulic in trgov, ki so bili v uporabi v času nastanka del: Trg revolucije je danes Trg republike, Titova cesta je danes Slovenska cesta (op. ur.).

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Objavil je več monografij in člankov v recenziranih revijah. V zadnjem desetletju je preučeval predstavnike nemške arhitekturne kritike iz obdobja drugega in tretjega desetletja 20. stoletja (ob tem je uredil italijansko izdajo *Die Architektur der Großstadt* Karla Schefflerja in dve monografiji o delih Walterja Curta Behrendta). V zadnjem obdobju se ukvarja z izseki arhitekturne in urbanistične zgodovine Slovenije skozi optiko vpetosti v jugoslovanski in srednjeevropski okvir.

V letu 2024 bo pri *Leuven University Press* izšla njegova monografija *History, ideologies, conflicts: Slovenian architecture in the late Twentieth century, from Edvard Ravnikar to the 'AB' group, 1970–1990*.

Sodeluje s katedro za arhitekturno zgodovino in teorijo na *Politehniški univerzi v Milanu* (predstojnik prof. Alessandro De Magistris) ter se udeležuje mednarodnih kongresov (EAHN, EAUH, AISU) in konferenc.

Je član več raziskovalnih skupin in združenj, med drugim mreže *GUDesign*, raziskovalne skupine, ki se ukvarja z zgodovino urbanizma in izvaja mednarodne interdisciplinarne raziskave.

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He has published several monographs and papers in peer-reviewed journals. In the last decade, he has studied some figures of German architectural criticism of the 1910s-1920s (the Italian edition of *Die Architektur der Großstadt* by Karl Scheffler; two monographs on the works of Walter Curt Behrendt). The most recent period has been focused on episodes of the architectural and urban history in Slovenia, seen through its Yugoslav and Central European framework.

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Sl. 19: Prehod med Maximarketom in Ljubljansko banko [Foto: Raimondo Mercadante, januar 2023].

Sl. 20: Fasada stavbe Ljubljanske banke, obložena z granitnimi ploščami [Foto: Raimondo Mercadante, januar 2023].

Sl. 21: Manjši trg s stavbo Gospodarske banke (danes SID banka, op. prev.) [Foto: Raimondo Mercadante, januar 2023].

Sl. 22: Zamik nadstropij med teraso slaščičarne Maximarket in nakupovalno pasajo spodaj [Foto: Raimondo Mercadante, januar 2023].

Sl. 23: KOŽELJ, J. (1973). Vrednotenje urbanega prostora – raziskava novega Trga revolucije, FAGG Ljubljana, 31. 10. 1973.



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Fig. 19: Passage between Maximarket and Ljubljanska banka headquarters [Photo by Raimondo Mercadante, January 2023].

Fig. 20: Particular of the cladding with granite slabs of the Ljubljanska Banka building [Photo by Raimondo Mercadante, January 2023].

Fig. 21: Small square with the Gospodarska banka building [Photo by Raimondo Mercadante, January 2023].

Fig. 22: Shift of levels between the Maximarket pastry shop terrace and the underlying shopping arcade [Photo by Raimondo Mercadante, January 2023].

Fig. 23: KOŽELJ, J. (1973). Vrednotenje urbanega prostora – raziskava novega Trga revolucije, FAGG Ljubljana, 31. 10. 1973.