



# **(UN)PLANNED BRATISLAVA**

**Henrieta Moravčíková**

**Peter Szalay**

**Katarína Haberlandová**

**Laura Krišteková**

**Monika Bočková**

© Department of Architecture,  
Institute of History, SAS,  
Bratislava 2019

Text and graphical analysis: Henrieta  
Moravčíková, Peter Szalay, Katarína  
Haberlandová, Laura Krišteková, Monika Bočková

Design: Monika Bočková

Maps and reproduction of archive materials and  
photos: Bratislava City Archives; Bratislava  
City Museum; Archive of Monuments Board of the  
Slovak Republic; Slovak National Archive, STK  
Fund; Slovak National Gallery; National  
Technical Museum Prague; Department of  
Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS

Cooperation and register: Dagmar Slámová

Expert reviewers: prof. Ing. arch. Ľubica  
Vitková, PhD., M. Arch. Ing. arch. Mária  
Topolčanská, PhD.

Editor: Katarína Jostičová

Published and printed by VEDA, Publishing House  
of the SAS, Centre of Operations of the SAS,  
Dúbravská cesta 5820/9, 841 04 Bratislava  
in 2019 as its 4534th publication  
Impression: 50 copies

**ISBN 978-80-224-1852-2**

This mockup was created as a result  
of the scientific project Unintended City:  
Architectural and urban concepts of the 19th  
and the 20th century in the urban structure of  
Bratislava, supported by the Agency for  
Research and Development (Project Registration  
Number APVV-16-0584)

<b>(Un)Planned Bratislava:</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>The history of city planning</b>	
1 Earliest conceptual interventions into the urban form	6
2 The start of modern planning	16
3 Functionalist planning and construction	28
4 Nationally engaged planning	38
5 Post-war renewal of the city	46
6 The culmination of modern planning	54
<b>(Un)Planned Bratislava:</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>A typology of urban situations</b>	
I. From linear street to complex urban space <i>/ Obchodná ulica</i>	66
II. From periphery to the new city center <i>/ Kamenné námestie</i>	96
III. Embankments as a problem <i>/ Danube embankments</i>	134
IV. Fragments of concepts <i>/ Government district and the transverse axis</i>	172
V. City-shaping modernity <i>/ Danube district</i>	228
VI. The ambiguous ring <i>/ Inner city ring</i>	256
VII. From factory yards to downtown <i>/ Zone Chalúpkova</i>	306
<b>(Un)Planned Bratislava:</b>	<b>336</b>
<b>A timeline</b>	

# (UN) PLANNED BRATISLAVA

the history of city planning

## An Unintentional Capital

In earlier history, we only know of one relatively long period in which Bratislava held the position of the capitol of a defined state. These were the years from 1536 to 1783, when as a result of the Turkish occupation it served as the capitol of the Hungarian part of the Habsburg monarchy. Broader political and social factors, though, ensured that Bratislava, or more accurately Pressburg/Pozsony/Prešporok, never managed, even in these two and a half centuries, to rise from provincial town to genuine metropolis. For all this time, it remained the proverbial "second city", even if this designation was not merely linked to a sense of disparagement but reflected an ambition to express its exceptional position within the context of the historic Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>1</sup> Yet this ambivalent status contained in the epithet "second" accompanied the city now established as Bratislava throughout the following centuries, and significantly marked the development of its built form.

Also influencing the character of the city's building was its stance toward the two closest centres, Vienna and Budapest, which on one hand served as inspirations for local designs, yet on the other as competition which Bratislava permanently struggled to match. The crucial factor that shaped the current form of the city was, moreover, the "state of instability with an uncertain outcome", which in the lands of Central Europe "has been the norm for much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century".<sup>2</sup> With regard to Bratislava, it is also noteworthy that the greatest period of urban growth took place precisely in this century of rapid change. As such, the physical form of the city has been most deeply marked by the rapid expansion of area and population in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the two waves of rapid modernisation just before and after World War II, changes in state authority or the actual status of the city in the years 1918, 1939, 1945, or more recently 1968 and 1993, and the associated changes – both natural and violent – in the ethnic and social composition of its population.

In parallel with these changes, other shifts transpired in the idea of what the city should be: its position in the state, its material form, its identity or the vision of its future. Bratislava shifted away from its initial multi-ethnic German-Hungarian-Slovak composition into a Czechoslovak city and then to a Slovak one. A city of merchants was made to become the city of an industrial proletariat. A small town

1 Viz. e.g. Dudeková, Gabriela: „Druhé mesto Uhorska“ Mentálne obrazy Prešporoka na prelome 19. a 20. storočíav reprezentatívnych publikáciách. In: Medzi provinciou a metropolou: Obraz Bratislavy v 19. a 20. storočí. Historický ústav SAV, 2012, p. 83 – 108.

2 Blau, Eve: City as Open Work. In: Blau, Eve – Rupnik, Ivan. Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice. Barcelona, Actar and Harvard University Graduate School of Design, 2007, p. 9.

on the western edge of the Hungarian Kingdom became the metropolis of Slovak statehood. And as the social requirements changed, the various city authorities and representatives hoped to change its material form. Throughout the entire 20<sup>th</sup> century, architects and urban designers created grandiose large-scale plans that, however, were only rarely brought into realisation – and if so, in a gravely limited form. Against the backdrop of these grand projects, moreover, we can witness not only the desire to erase or at least obscure the image of the immediately preceding historical period, but also a desire to overcome a certain sense of inferiority that Bratislava's inhabitants have always felt with respect to the more powerful metropolises to both east and west.

"Regarding the history of the building of the city, we have at the present time only a small number of publications. The cause of this situation is that the data on large public constructions remain in the large central state archives, for instance, in Vienna in the court state archive and the private archive of the former ruling house, or in Budapest in the regional archive. In addition, many valuable notebooks and plans are in the Hofkammerarchiv in Vienna, along with the archive of the former Hungarian court chamber, kept in Budapest" – so wrote the Bratislava city archivist Ovidius Faust in 1932.<sup>3</sup> This barrier is one that the city has practically till today never been able to overcome.

3 Faust, Ovidius: Príspevky k stavebným dejinám mesta Bratislavy. Slovenský staviteľ, 2, 1932, no. 8, p. 225.

**1**

**the history of city planning**

earliest conceptual  
interventions into  
the urban form

For a more thorough comprehension of the phenomenon of Bratislava's planning and construction in the previous century, it is useful to recall additionally those events that preceded it. The plans that accompanied the formation of the city in earlier historic periods had a deep impact on later developments.

Bratislava was not created on the basis of a plan, but emerged through gradual evolution on the site of a prehistoric settlement shaped by the natural factors – i.e. the Lesser Carpathians and the Danube – and the intersection of two ancient trading routes: the Amber Way running from the Adriatic to the Baltic, and the Danube Way linking Western Europe to Asia. Indeed, it was the intersection point of these two major roadways (essentially at the point of the present streets Panská and Ventúrska) that created the basis for the first settlement. Within the topography of Bratislava, it is characteristic that practically all urban radials emerge outwards from precisely this one historical intersection, and furthermore follow the trajectory of the original historic roads.<sup>4</sup> The first conceptual interventions into the urban substance that could be regarded as “planning” took place at the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, after Bratislava was granted the privileges of a royal town. During this time, the outlines of the city fortifications were raised, defining de facto the position and perimeter of the city itself. Nonetheless, in this decision the ideal topographical conditions were not decisive. If the councillors of the era had taken them into consideration, the city would have had its centre on the flat dry area north of the current historical centre (today's Hodžovo námestie and Námestie slobody). More important were the economic and security aspects, particularly protection of (and control over) the international trade routes beside or along the Danube and the income that they generated.<sup>5</sup> It was from these medieval plans that even today's Hlavné námestie was created, dating to the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century. The first fortifications assumed the form of simple stone walls, consisting of a defensive wall, a barbican wall and a water-filled moat. Originally, the fortifications had three main gates: Michalská, Laurinská/Vavrinecká and Vydrická, along with a smaller gate towards the Danube, the ‘Fishermen's Gate’ (Rybárska brána). Crucial in the formulation of the urban structure was likewise the separation of the city from the castle through its own fortifications, realised after 1291.

Further planned interventions in the city form

4 Horváth, Vladimír: Bratislavský topografický lexikón. Bratislava, Tatran, 1990, p. 17 – 18.

5 Šášky, Ladislav: Bratislava mesto na Dunaji. Bratislava, Smena, 1992, p. 62 – 63.

were similarly connected to its defensive capacities. King Sigismund of Luxembourg initiated in 1423 – 1427 the strengthening of the defensive walls and their modernisation in response to the development of firearms, along with the addition of an outer ring to protect the emerging extramural settlements. These ‘palisades’, essentially an earthen rampart surrounding even the external settlements, had gates at the points where long-distance roadways emerged (the ‘Goat Gate’ - Kozia brána, Suché mýto, Schöndorfská brána, Špitálska and Dunajská brána), which even today form the main urban traffic radials.

A decisive turning point in the city's construction was its declaration as the capitol of the Hungarian Kingdom in 1536. With the Ottoman seizure of Buda, Hungarian nobles and officeholders began to relocate northwards to ‘Pozsony’. Yet with the ongoing war and the Turkish threat, construction focused largely on the rebuilding and adaptation of extant structures, respectively the building of a few aristocratic residences. Indeed, for security reasons, more demolitions than new building took place, most notably the destruction of all masonry structures *ante portas* (three churches and two hospitals).

Nonetheless, the urban ‘intravilan’ of the inner city and inner suburb remained practically unchanged until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup>, when in response to the Ottoman retreat from Hungarian territory the city began to open up from its encircling palisades and witnessed new construction in the area of the inner suburb known as Kvetná Dolina (Blumenthal).<sup>6</sup>

However, a true construction boom only can be said to have begun under the rule of Maria Theresia, when the conditions in Hungary reached greater stability. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the population increased by thousands: in 1785, the city of Bratislava (including the settlement of Podhradie below the castle) counted 31,710 residents, thus making it the largest urban settlement in the entire Hungarian Kingdom. It was in these years that construction grew enormously: increasing built density in the inner city and the filling in of open plots that previously served for small-scale manufacturing or agriculture. Construction continued past the inner walls along the radials, yet more building took place even beyond the palisades – e.g., past the Schöndorf Gate with the settlement of Blumenthal, or the north suburbs with the garden-palaces and summer residences of the nobility. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there also began to appear rental buildings of several stories. Still, this construction took place essentially spontaneously, without any

6 Horváth, V., 1990, p. 29 – 30.





The oldest map of today's Bratislava, Michael Marquart, 1765  
Source: Bratislava City Museum

central guiding. Maria Theresia tried to bring this process under control when in 1774 she ordered the demolition of the inner walls and the filling of the city moat. Additionally, she entrusted the head of the court building office in Vienna, architect Franz Anton Hillebrandt (1719 – 1797) with the preparation of the very first regulatory plan for the city.<sup>7</sup> Here, the goal was to create unity between the inner city and its suburbs, along with the routing of new streets and building guidelines in the suburbs themselves. On the site of the former walls, there emerged a series of urban spaces that could later form the basis for an outer boulevard. Most strikingly, this principle was demonstrated on the area of the present-day Námestie SNP and Štúrova ulica. A special role in this process was assumed by the area of the southern fortifications, where there emerged the first urban avenue, the 'Stadt Alee', as the application of the era's characteristic typology of an imposing public space. Demolition of the inner fortifications between in the years 1775 to 1778. However, they were never fully removed: one long section of the western walls survived, in the section around the St. Michael's Gate and Tower, and the section of the 'Powder Bastion' (Prašná bašta). Removal of the outer fortifications started in the first years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Possibilities for the ring of open land freed up from the inner walls, or respectively along its outer edge, included the contemporary trends of creating promenades, tree-lined avenues or public parks, such as occurred in Paris, or the provision of space for the realisation of representative buildings for the rising bourgeois class. Yet in Bratislava, neither of these concepts was brought about. A tree-lined alley was built only on the site of the southern fortifications, along with a row of imposing buildings; a true public space in the sense of the Vienna Ringstrasse, though, was only realised fragmentarily, and at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

At the same time as Maria Theresia was ordering the destruction of the fortification walls, a new outer defensive ring of earth ramparts was being raised: built gradually starting from the outset of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the defensive wall for the outer suburbs was finally completed in 1775. In addition to its military-security function, this rampart also had a key economic role as a toll-collecting border, with tollhouses installed on all the outward roadways.

Another factor in the shaping of the urban structure in both the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was the activity of the Catholic Church, building a wide variety of monasteries, educational institutions and hospitals.

These three- or four-wing structures around a partially or fully enclosed courtyard occupied several of the city's narrow medieval parcels, bringing a new architectonic scale to the urban form. Worth mentioning in this regard are the complexes of the Jesuits (the reconstruction of the originally Protestant church and school on Františkánske námestie and the rebuilding of the residence and college on Primaciálne námestie, 1699 – 1713) and the Ursuline order (the rebuilding of the small Protestant church in Uršulínska ulica, the enlargement of the cloister and school in Nedbalova ulica, occupying the site of 10 earlier houses, 1677 – 1687) all in the city centre. Similarly extensive complexes also arose in the suburbs: the Capuchin monastery (1708 – 1711), the monastery and charity hospital of the Brethren of Mercy (1723 – 1728), the extensive Trinitarian complex of three cloistered courtyards in the northeast suburb (1739 – 1742), the cloister of the Order of St. Elisabeth and its hospital (1739 – 1742) or the monastery of the Order of the Crusaders with the Red Star (including an orphanage) and the cloister of the Nuns of Notre Dame. In the final decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Lutherans made their return into the suburban areas, with two churches and a lyceum. During the same time, new noble palaces also began to arise in the central core or its northern suburb. Usually, these urban palaces occupied two or even three medieval parcels, and like the church institutions had three or four wings surrounding a central open courtyard. As such, their influence on the changing scale of the urban structure was rather less pronounced. By contrast, the summer palaces in the suburbs had far greater spatial possibilities, resulting in their freer, open layouts. As head of the court building office, Franz Anton Hillebrandt had a major role in the process of constructing several such palaces, as much as his work in the rebuilding of Bratislava Castle. Indeed, the formulation of the built fabric of the north suburbs, including its connections to the medieval city-core structuring, could be regarded as the most visible trace of Baroque urban planning in the structure of Bratislava. Most visible, we could cite the Grassalkovic Palace (now the seat of the Slovak president), with its main compositional axis matching that of the historic urban roadway, Michalská ulica, which ends right in front of its formal 'cour d'honneur', with the further roadways splitting, in Baroque symmetrical practice, into the streets now known as Štefánikova and Banskobystrická. As a prolongation of the very same axis, even behind the palace itself we find the formal composition of the palace garden, as well as other garden-spaces outlined between these two major streets.

Not only did these monastic and palatial complexes from the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century represent significant formative elements

<sup>7</sup> Wagner, Vladimír: Franz A. Hillebrandt a jeho staviteľská činnosť na Slovensku. Turč. Sv. Martin, 1933.

in the urban structure: thanks to the early awareness of their historical value, most of them survived the waves of massive demolition throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and still form an essential basis of Bratislava's architectonic heritage and historic material substance.

In the later decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Bratislava received several major public buildings that further determined the appearance of the city, in this case under the guidance of the building office of the Hungarian Royal Chamber in Budapest. Most significant in the shaping of the urban structure were the 'Water Barracks' (Vodné kasárne, 1759 – 1763) and the Estates Theatre (1774 – 1775). In connection with the changing appearance of the urban landscape, it is also worth recalling the series of Baroque and Classical interventions in public open space. In one aspect, these consisted of sculptural ornament, such as fountains or Baroque statuary-compositions atop massive plinths, realised in the newly founded squares, gardens or parks; additionally, they included the creation of these landscaped gardens, public parks, tree-lined roadways, promenades and other efforts at shaping the natural elements, including the various uses for the Danube embankment. Dating from this period are such works of landscape architecture as the chestnut-tree alley on the lands of the aristocratic Pálffy family at the northern edge of the Castle Hill, or the alleys framing the garden of the Belvedere on the eastern edge of the hill of Hausbergl. Along the routing of the southern fortifications, a promenade was constructed with the planting of several rows of acacias.<sup>8</sup> Also dating from this period (1774 – 1776) is the establishment of the earliest public park in Austro-Hungary, the 'Sternallee' on the right bank of the Danube.

After the coronation of Emperor Josef II and the moving of the Hungarian offices to Buda, Bratislava's population declined, as did the dynamism of its urban life and public investments. Nonetheless, new infrastructure managed to be added, such as the horse-drawn (and later steam-powered) railway. With the implementation of the Edicts of March in 1848, though, conditions within the Habsburg domains began to change. Increasing modernisation, the growing power of the bourgeoisie and the social changes after the Austrian-Hungarian 'rectification' of 1867 brought economic growth to 'Prešpork' and thus new investments in construction. In 1886, Bratislava became a municipality, with the city and its surrounding county headed by a single 'župan' (Hungarian 'ispán'). This conjunction of municipal and county offices allowed for more far-reaching and complex administration of public matters,

benefitting the city's growth as well as the entire wider area of its county. Hence Bratislava could, in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, once more benefit from its geographically and historically determined economic potential.

#### Modernisation and Its Impact on the City's Form

Starting in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Bratislava began to undergo a process of modernisation, which nonetheless most significantly was reflected in the materiality of the city in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was, though, in this period that the decisive framework was set down in which the city was later to grow.

The first author to document the recent construction history of Bratislava, architect and writer Andreas Szönyi, characterised the Bratislava of 1850 as the key urban centre of northeast Hungary.<sup>9</sup> In this year, Bratislava had 42,238 inhabitants, 1881 houses and 9,521 individual residences.<sup>10</sup> Rapid expansion of the city in the second half of the century was primarily launched by the emergence of manufacturing industry and the necessary counterpart of building a rail network. A rail system began to operate in the city as of 1840, the year when the first building of the main rail station was completed. As of 1850, Bratislava already had regular daily train connections to both capitols of Austro-Hungary, Vienna and Budapest. Yet no less crucial for the city's development was river transport. Industrialisation and the population growth accompanying it also were reflected in the creation of the city's urban infrastructure, as the necessary basis for a modern metropolis. The first city gasworks were completed in 1856 along with the installation of the first public streetlights. A waterworks went into operation in 1885, with a sewage system installed between 1897 and 1904. By the turn of the century, most of Bratislava's streets were paved, and the city increasingly resembled a modern European one. Furthering this new image was the introduction of electrification: the city electrical works, founded in 1901, were only a year later able to supply electricity uninterruptedly. Moreover, Bratislava's famed tram network had already been in operation since 1885, before that of the capitol Budapest and indeed the very first tram system in the entire Hungarian Kingdom. Initially, it consisted of three lines connecting the city centre with the three rail stations. Line A ran from today's Hviezdoslavovo námestie via Gorkého ulica, Námestie SNP and Štefánikova ulica to the main rail station. Line B headed from today's Svobodovo nábrežie via

8 Lachmanová, Monika: Tvorba peších zón, peších ťahov a peších prepojení v historickom urbánnom priestore. PhD dissertation, Gregor Mendel University in Brno, Faculty of Gardening in Lednice, Department of Garden and Landscape Architecture, 2014, p. 56 – 81.

9 Szönyi, Andrej. Tak rástla Bratislava. Vývin architektúry a stavebníctva v Bratislave. Bratislava, Pallas, 1978, p. 25.

10 Horváth, V., 1990, p. 45.

Hviezdoslavovo námestie, Gorkého ulica, Námestie SNP along ul. Špitálska and Križna to the station Filiálka, while line C passed from Hviezdoslavovo námestie via Gorkého, Námestie SNP, Špitálska, Radlinského a Račianská up to the Stollwerck factory. Shortly before the outbreak of World War I, a tramline was built in 1913 connecting Bratislava to Vienna, starting once again from Hviezdoslavovo námestie but running along today's Vajanského nábrežie to the 'Old Bridge' (Starý Most) and then across the Danube.<sup>11</sup>

Construction activity, with the building of new factories, transport infrastructure or entire residential districts, along with the sharp growth in population, required reinforcements to the administrative organisation of the city as well as regulatory tools for new building. As of 1848, the territory of Bratislava was divided into five districts, which after 1890 were officially named bilingually in German and Hungarian: Old Town (Altstadt, Óváros), Ferdinand Town (Ferdinandstadt, Nándor város), Franz-Josef Town (Franz-Josefstadt, Ferenc József város), Maria Theresia Town (Theresienstadt, Terézváros) and New Town (Neustadt, Újváros). This organisation remained in force until 1930.<sup>12</sup> In 1879, the city council decided, for the first time in history, for the official administrative naming of individual urban spaces: the streets and squares were assigned names and the individual buildings given identification numbers in the newly implemented numbering system.

Part of the efforts to retain a grasp on the dynamic processes of industrialisation and construction included the preparation of a city regulatory plan.<sup>13</sup> In 1849 and 1850, a plan was commissioned by the City Council from the engineer Miklós Halácsi.<sup>14</sup> Though not a regulatory plan in the most precise sense, since Halácsi's work primarily focused on mapping the extant urban structure, it nonetheless outlined future street networks and structures of city blocks, thus forming the basis for the city's growth in an easterly

11 Danninger, Josef: Führer durch Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony) und Umgebubg. Pressburg, Carl Angermayer, 1927.

12 In 1930, Bratislava was divided into 9 districts, marked numerically from I to IX following the earliest tradition from the 13th century. A further treatment of the administrative-zoning divisions came after World War II, when Bratislava and the integrated suburbs were divided in 1949 into 13 sections: I. Staré mesto, II. Kvetná, III. Vinohrady, IV. Nové mesto, V. Trnávka, VI. Karlova Ves, VII. Petržalka, VIII. Prievoz, IX. Dvorník, X. Rača, XI. Lamač, XII. Dúbravka and XIII. Devín. Viz.: Horváth, V., 1990, op. cit., p. 35 – 36.

13 According to the contemporary press, it represented the cadastral surveying of the city. Pressburger Zeitung, 17. 12. 1849.

14 Moravčíková, Henrieta: Premeny obrazu mesta. Storočie plánovania a výstavby Bratislavy. In: Medzi provinciou a metropolou: Obraz Bratislavy v 19. a 20. storočí. Bratislava, Historický ústav SAV, 2012, p. 129-142. Barta, Eugen. Regulácia mesta. Regulierung der Stadt. In: Bratislava, hlavné mesto Slovenska [1943], op. cit., p. 27. Gašparec, Miloš: Urbanistický rozvoj. In: Bratislava, ročenka Mestského múzea, 10, 1998, p. 39 – 48.

direction.<sup>15</sup> No less essential in relation to the organisation of the construction development of Bratislava at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the 'City Construction Statute' issued in 1872.

The period of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was characterised, in terms of urban planning, more frequently by pragmatic steps. Here, the goal was to harmonise the extant city organism with a wide range of new elements brought in through modernisation. The most ambitious plans here are linked to the figure of Heinrich von Justi: often termed the "greatest mayor of Pressburg in the 19<sup>th</sup> century", he headed the city government from 1867 to 1875.<sup>16</sup> One of the most important projects related to the city's form was the regulation of the Danube and the placement of the winter port and shipyard away from the city centre. This far-seeing plan allowed for great expansion of both commerce and industry, opening the possibility of new construction plans on the riverbank as well as in the eastern part of the city. Undoubtedly in reaction to similar efforts in other cities along the Danube's course, these plans hoped to create a visually impressive river-frontage that would reinforce the metropolitan character of the city. In addition, Justi initiated the construction of the first permanent bridge across the Danube, though the steel framework of the 'Franz Josef Bridge' was realised only later in 1891. Justi was no less active in the area of culture, assisting in the foundation of the city museum as well as the city's 'beautification society'.<sup>17</sup>

Paralleling the new construction on the eastern edge of the city, a regulatory process also began from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to the west, on the area of the former market gardens adjoining the defensive palisades. After 1860, it was accompanied by the building of the first cohesive built fabric following the extant outer radials. In particular, today's Štefánikova ulica (then Marz Gasse / Marcal utca), connecting the city centre to the main rail station, emerged as one of the most representative avenues in the city. Though Bratislava never saw the creation of anything like Vienna's *Ringstrasse*, such boulevards as Štefánikova ulica in conjunction with newly regulated urban spaces like today's Námestie SNP (Marktplatz, later Námestie republiky), Štúrova ulica (Landererova ulica, later Barossova ulica) and Hviezdoslavovo námestie (Promenáda), together formed the first inner urban ring, thus a rough parallel

15 Miklós Halácsy and his brother Alexander also initiated the surveying of Pest in 1865. Obzor: noviny pre hospodárstvo, remeslo a domáci život. 5. 11. 1865.

16 Bořutová, Dana. The Impact of the Mayors on Architecture in Bratislava. In: Ed. J. Purchla: Mayors and City Halls / Local Government and the Cultural Space in the Late Habsburg Monarchy. Cracow, International cultural center, 1998, p. 78.

17 Stadtverschönerungsverein. Viz.: ibid, p. 77 – 82.

to the *Ringstrasse*. And this area became the construction site for large-scale public buildings, symbolising the urban ambitions of fin-de-siecle Prešporok. Its form was strongly marked by the works of the city's leading architects and builders: the Feigler family, the firm of Kittler & Gratzl or architect Viktor Rumpelmayer, all of whom created an entire series of apartment blocks and public buildings within the newly regulated streets.<sup>18</sup>

Still, the most grandiose architectonic endeavour of this era is unquestionably the construction of the new city theatre, to replace the far-outgrown building near the 'Fishermen's Gate' (Rybárska brána). The theatre's design was commissioned by the city council in 1881 from the most prominent theatre architects in the monarchy, Ferdinand Fellner and Hermann Helmer, with the completed building opened in September 1886.<sup>19</sup> The urban frontage of this new cultural and social focal point was connected to a freshly planted alley of trees, which in conjunction soon won recognition as one of the key public spaces in the city, known as the 'Promenade' (Promenáda).<sup>20</sup>

As we have already noted, the development of industrialisation had a decisive influence in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century on the built fabric of the city and its growing population. In 1900, Bratislava's 51 factories employed up to 37.5 % of the city's residents<sup>21</sup>, with the factory workers primarily attracted from Slovakia's rural population. Consequently, the growth of industry led to an equally surging demand for housing in the city. Several factory owners, in response, addressed the lack of housing with the construction of workers' colonies at the edge of the manufacturing areas. Such residential projects as the Dynamit Nobel, Danubius, Klinger, Matador, Roth or Stollwerck workers' colonies formed a significant part of the new city<sup>22</sup>. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Bratislava also saw its first attempts at social housing. A coherent program was first set out by lawyer Juraj Schulpe (1867 – 1936), who in 1894 initiated and financed the realisation of the workers' housing complex in Šancová ulica. Schulpe's colony was formed by five separately standing two-storey blocks with a total of 35 small flats, arranged in a

simple street pattern. Furthermore, the complex contained a medical clinic with pharmacy, a kindergarten, public library, and even a small museum displaying natural, artistic and historic objects from Schulpe's personal collections.<sup>23</sup> With its functional articulation and coherent operations, Schulpe's colony could be termed a prefiguring in miniature of later publicly financed housing construction in the city. By 1913, the first residential buildings for impoverished families financed from the city budget were completed: two blocks with outdoor staircase galleries in Mestská ulica, to house families rendered homeless by the devastating fire in Bratislava's Podhradie.<sup>24</sup>

Despite the significant growth in the number of housing units in the city during the later 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup>, the housing stock from this period does not form the basis of the city or even a significant part of its urban structure, as in many other European centres. Bratislava's greatest urban growth was still to come, with its culmination arriving only in the 1930s.

18 Lukáčová, Elena – Pohaničová, Jana: Rozmanité 19. storočie. Bratislava, Perfekt, 2008. Pohaničová, Jana – Buday, Peter: Storočie Feiglerovcov. Bratislava, Trio Publishing, 2016.

19 Moravčíková, Henrieta – Dlháňová, Viera: Divadelná architektúra na Slovensku. Bratislava, Divadelný ústav, 2011, p. 72 – 83.

20 Lachmannová, M., 2014, p. 56 – 81.

21 Among the most important manufacturing enterprises were the tobacco factory founded in 1853; the Georg Roth & Co. munitions factory, 1870; the Dynamit Nobel explosives plant, 1873; the Stein brewery, 1875; the Klinger textile mill, 1888; the Kablo cable and rubber works, 1894 and the Apollo oil refinery, 1895. Lehotská, Darina – Pleva, Ján (eds.). Dejiny Bratislavy. Bratislava, Obzor, 1966, p. 227 – 238.

22 More about specific workers colonies by Obuchová, Viera. Priemyselná Bratislava. Bratislava : Albert Marenčin Vydavateľstvo PT, 2009.

23 Dudeková, Gabriela. Juraj Schulpe, vedec a humanista. Bratislava: YMCA, 1994.

24 Obuchová, Viera: Bývanie v druhej polovici 19. storočia a na začiatku 20. storočia. Ročenka Bratislavy, 1998, no. 10, p. 49 – 59.





Map of today's Bratislava, Johan Leopold Neyder, 1820  
Source: Bratislava City Museum

2

**the history of city planning**



the start of modern  
planning

“Here in Prešporok they still wish to regulate us by the outdated principles of streets in straight lines. Definitely, it is incomparably simpler and requires far less of an aesthetic sense than regulating with curves, through which one could compose more variegated street-images. Despite this, the results are not successful... Our city could not be any more winding even if it had been built strictly by the principles of Camillo Sitte, as if they had been laid out with a similar lack of understanding as we find here in relation to the far simple principle of straight streets.” This statement was voiced in 1903 by a contributor to the German-language weekly *Pressburger Presse* using the pseudonym Kibitz. This commentary from a contemporary journalist immediately captures several aspects characteristic for the start of modern planning in Bratislava: the belated application of new findings in the area of city formation, inconsistent adherence to valid principles and privileging private interests over those of the entire city. This jaundiced view of the local situation ends in Kibitz’s assertion that “submitting to Sitte’s views would be too dangerous” since bearing in mind the “various private interests that have something to say in all matters, very unusual street bends would emerge, since the idea of the beautiful is flexible and cannot be assigned by a rule”.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, modern urban planning did not have an easy task ahead of itself in the conditions of fin-de-siècle Prešporok. Yet this situation was hardly exceptional within the wider conditions of Habsburg-ruled Hungary, where the formation of cities followed European urbanisation trends with a notable delay.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it is possible to state today that in the first two decades of modern urban planning, Bratislava managed to register all essential themes of the urbanistic discussions of the era, such as the mechanism of dual-phase planning (in the sense of vision/regulation), application of hygienic principles, systematisation of transport and organisation of urban boulevards into rings and radials, rational forms of construction, creation of public spaces and green areas within the city, the relationship of planning to the history and uniqueness of the city, or even evaluation of the macro/microeconomic impacts of planning. The first regulatory plans echoed the engineering-scientific approach of German urban experts, such as Reinhard Baumeister (1833 – 1917) and Joseph Stübben (1845 – 1936),<sup>3</sup> who viewed regulation as a

1 Kibitz: Fragmente von der Woche. *Pressburger Presse*, 6, 2. 3. 1903, no. 266, p. 2.

2 Moravčíková, Henrieta: Zrod moderného mesta: zmeny obrazu slovenských miest druhej polovici 19. a prvej polovici 20. Storočia. *Forum Historiae*, 10, 2016, no. 2, p. 1 – 11.

3 To mention at least the most important works of both authors: BAUMEISTER, Reinhard: *Stadterweiterungen in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung*. Berlin 1876. Stübben, Joseph: *Der Städtebau. Handbuch der Architektur*, vol. IV, Darmstadt, Bergsträsser 1890.

blanker process, strictly applying a grid-patterned street network with solid blocks and the transport system conceived as the basis of the city’s construction. This approach required strict zoning and placed great emphasis on adherence to hygienic and sanitary principles. A significant role here was also played by the management of construction through regulatory lines and the associated promotion of the seizure of property through eminent domain for the purposes of widening extant streets or creating new ones. At the same time, the regulatory plans created for Bratislava at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries also reflected several of the principles used by Otto Wagner in 1893 in the competition for the wider regulatory plan of Vienna. In particular, the central thrust was the clear delineation of an inner ring boulevard (Ringstrasse) around the historic core and the implementation of main radial boulevards and axes ensuring adequate traffic flow.<sup>4</sup> In the period between 1908 and 1917, principles of artistic city-formation made their way into still-Habsburg Prešporok, following the formulations of the Viennese architect and planner Camillo Sitte (1843 – 1903).<sup>5</sup> Questioning most of the pillars of engineer-planning, he stressed the need for the city as the creation of space, the importance of history, topography and original land parcelling. Sitte also queried the radical invocation of expropriation laws, which he felt to be a threat to cities’ unique characters. In pre-1918 Bratislava, the difference between the engineering and artistic conceptions of city building most prominently came to a head precisely in the dispute over whether new streets should be “straight or bent”. Yet what from today’s perspective seems the more far-reaching change, which thanks to Sitte became a reality, may have been in fact the first involvement of architects in the process of city planning.

### The History of Modern City Planning

The question of construction in the territory of historic Prešporok, whether the building of new districts, neighbourhoods or individual buildings, was assigned in the later half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the competence of the City Technical Department. In making its decisions, this institution relied on the ‘City Building Code’ of 1872.<sup>6</sup> All decisions concerning

4 Wagner, Otto: *Erläuterungsbericht zum Entwurf für den General-regulierungsplan über das gesamte Gemeindegebiet von Wien mit dem Kennwort: Artis sola domina necessitas*. Wien, Jasper 1893.

5 Sitte, Camillo: *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen*. Wien, Verlag von Carl Graeser 1889.

6 *Bauordnung für die kön. Freistadt Pressburg*. Pressburg 1872. Druck von C. Angermayer, vorm. A. Schreiber, in Pressburg. The document consisted of four parts. The first contained general rules and requirements for construction involving new buildings, alterations to extant ones, or the founding of new districts. The second part addressed building permission and the relevant documentation, the third comprised structural-technical and safety regulations, and the final part informed of sanctions for failure to adhere to the Code. Rules for construction were also determined by the Construction Act from 1876.

investments of larger scale, whether physically or financially, were nonetheless directly taken up by the city council, or if necessary the relevant Hungarian ministry. In general, the results were ad hoc decisions subject to the immediate preferences of the council deputies. Nor was it unusual to encounter repeated changes to the construction ruling. To address this situation, the city government took its first steps in 1896, assigning the Technical Department with the preparation of a city regulatory plan and the preparation of a new building code. These activities were also likely connected to the new act on tax relief for new construction, which entered into force in the same year with the aim of stimulating building growth.<sup>7</sup> The new building code was presented at the council session in March 1897. In 454 paragraphs, it summed up the regulations addressing permission for building, participants in building undertakings, construction safety, use permission, principles for designing individual building types, fire regulations, regulations for infrastructure, as well as guidelines toward the regulation of the city structure. Primarily, this final category involved building lines and new building forms, such as e.g. residential blocks with garden frontages or freestanding apartment-villas.<sup>8</sup> The plan for regulation and expansion of the city was presented by the Technical Department to the municipality in December 1898. It consisted of two parts, in which the first part spanned the existing part of the city and the streets that were (at this point) planned yet not approved. The second part addressed the newly planned street network in the city extravilan.

The public greeted the city regulatory plan with a certain scepticism from the outset. Primarily, the reason was previous experience with the practice of construction regulation, supposedly reflecting mostly "which way the wind was blowing within the council".<sup>9</sup> Another cause of public distrust in the effectiveness of the principles set by the regulation was the lack of any implement to ensure the effectiveness of the seizure of land or buildings in the public interest, since the city lacked sufficient funds to pay compensation to possible owners. As such, the principles of regulation could be fully implemented only in land in city or state ownership, or at most in new projects. In locations which required a solution to an unsustainable transport situation or in sites where it was necessary to remove an unsuitable function, the city could only intervene following an agreement with the owners,

<sup>7</sup> The issuing of Gesetzartikel 1896/XXIII on tax relief for new construction.

<sup>8</sup> Der Entwurf einer neuen Bauordnung. Pressburger Zeitung, 134, 27. 3. 1897, no. 86, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Der Stadtregulierungs-plan. Pressburger Presse, 4, Monday, 23. 9. 1901, no. 191, p. 1.

or possibly when an owner requested a new construction permit. And several critics of the time drew attention to these facts, objecting that "if the city wants to modernise, it is not possible to regulate it by a ruling but only to change gradually", and that this would only be possible if the interfering "structures were purchased, demolished and the land sold or built upon by [the city] itself".<sup>10</sup>

The criticisms of council deputies and the general public, though, were also addressed to the entity responsible for the plan, the Technical Department. The daily press printed objections to the effectiveness of its work and noted that "in questions of city regulation, one mistake is made after the next, without it ever being clear who bears the responsibility".<sup>11</sup> An overall critical mood with respect to the Technical Department and the continual postponement of approval for its draft regulatory plan led for the task of preparing a new plan to be taken up by an important local businessman, the director of the First City Savings Bank and council deputy, Johann Ludwig (1845 – 1911). Ludwig, in this way, also hoped to further his own vision of the city's development in connection with a new commercial waterway, assuming the form of an artificial canal around the eastern edge of the city linking the Danube to the Váh. This plan, prepared by the Hungarian royal councillor Viktor Bernárdt (1840 – 1923), was presented at the council meeting in September 1905.<sup>12</sup> While this plan was not approved, it nonetheless called up discussion on many questions of regulation, such as a peripheral ring-road, regulation of the city's industrial zone, or the construction of a second bridge across the Danube. And this same discussion likely even led the city administration to commission an expert assessment of the Technical Department's earlier plan. The task of preparing the assessment was assigned to the Budapest architect Antal Palóczy (1849 – 1927) in November 1906.<sup>13</sup> However, by March of the following year, the city had already concluded a contract for the preparation of a new regulatory plan with Palóczy himself.<sup>14</sup> To the city authorities, the new plan from the prominent Budapest urban designer promised significant changes of the approach to questions of regulations and resolving fundamental problems like the routing of the rail line, the situation of rail stations, the location of a

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Die Reorganisierung des technischen Amtes. Pressburger Presse, 7, Monday, 1. 2. 1904, no. 314, p. 3.

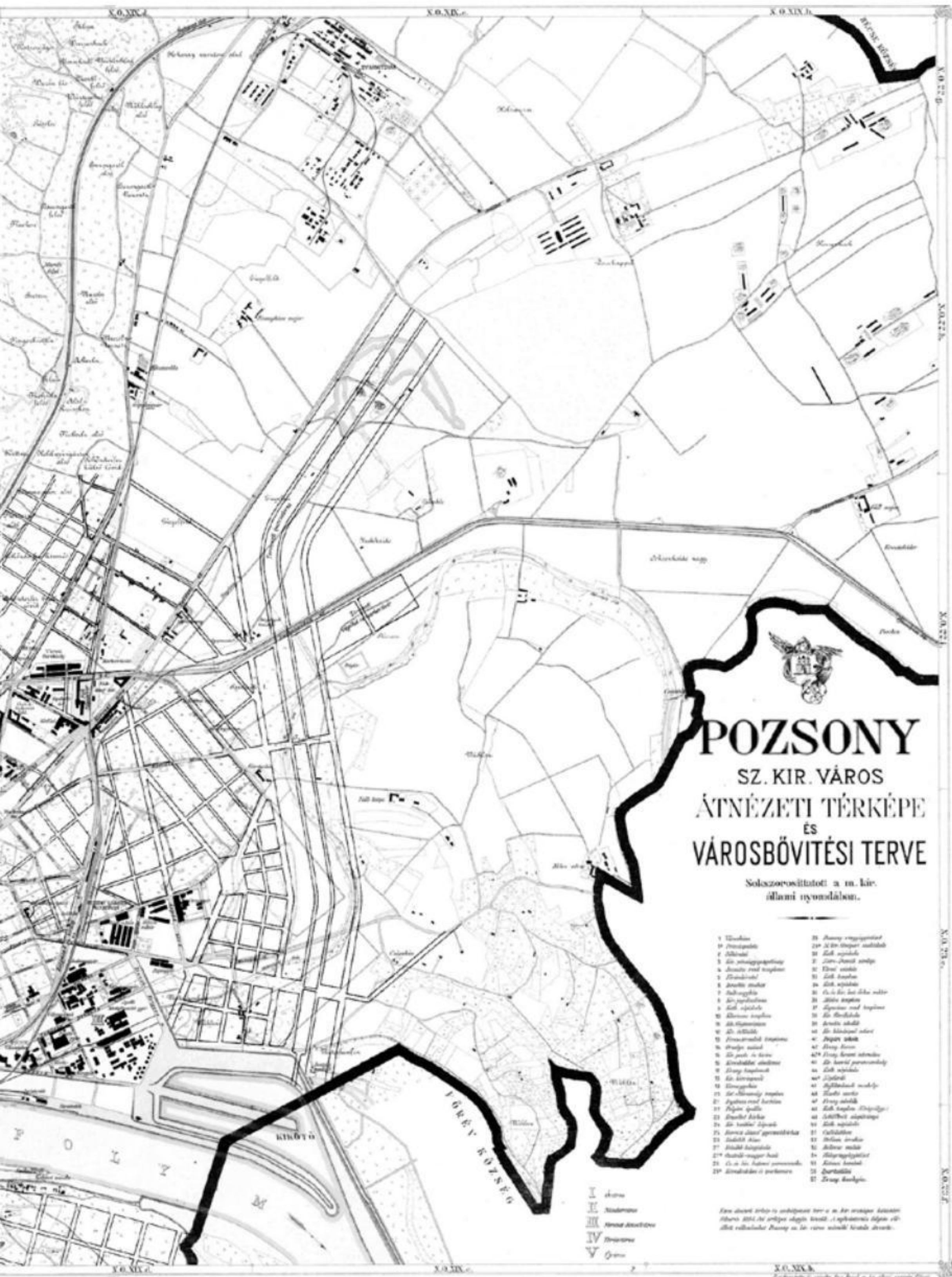
<sup>12</sup> Stadtregulierung. Pressburger Presse, 8, 25. 9. 1905, no. 400, p. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Nyugatmagyarországi Híradó, 19, 1. 11. 1906, no. 249, p. 5. and Nyugatmagyarországi Híradó, 19, 14. 11. 1906, no. 259, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> On 6 August 1907, a directive was issued by the Interior Ministry confirming the contract between the city and Palóczy. The subject of the contract was the preparation of new plans for the city's regulation. Nyugatmagyarországi Híradó, 20, 7. 8. 1907, no. 179, p. 5.



JELMAGYARÁZAT:



Plan of Regulation and Extension of the City, Technical Department, 1906  
Source: Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár

university quarter or the routing of the city's main ring-roads and radials. Palóczi worked on the regulation plan for 10 years, repeatedly revising it in response to the latest requests from the Bratislava city government or the decisions of the ministries in Budapest. The final version of the plan was presented at a meeting of the local section of the Hungarian Society of Engineers and Architects in June 1917.<sup>15</sup> However, the plan was never officially approved, in light of the radical social change in the city following the end of World War I and the integration of 'Bratislava' into the new Czechoslovak state.

Though the city had a completed regulatory plan available from the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as the work of the Technical Department, it never served as a binding document in evaluating individual construction projects by the Council.<sup>16</sup> Mostly, the voting was influenced by the better or worse arguments of deputies representing the participants in the building projects. At the time when the city authorities could make use of the original plan from the Technical Department as well as the still-unfinished Palóczi plan, they decided in individual cases from the possibilities offered in both plans and decided based on which solution the majority found to be correct.

#### The City Regulatory Plan from the Technical Department

The first version of the plan for regulating and expanding the city was prepared by the Technical Department under the guidance of chief engineer Anton Sendlein (1842 – 1918). The city council discussed the plan in a special session in December 1898 and recommended to the Technical Department several corrections, specifically concerning the widening of the planned streets. As such, the department's employees continued to work on the plan, after 1900 under Július Laubner (1854 – 1918), who had assumed the function of the city's chief engineer.<sup>17</sup>

Preserved in the archive of the Széchenyi National Library in Budapest is a blueprint from 1906, which is probably the final version of the city regulatory plan as prepared by the Technical Department.<sup>18</sup> It was prepared on the base of the city map from 1894. The regulatory lines are sketched out in red, which has led this document to be termed the "Red Plan". In

general, it can be said that the plan in its proposed new streets followed the trajectories of the then-extant network, whether of rural roads or urban streets. In this respect, it continued the rule of routing the new streets in the sense of the right-angled grid system. In the framework of the existing structure, this meant a widening of the most important radials, densification of the street network, the creation of several parallel streets and the outlining of trapezoidal city blocks. In the still-open land, they also served as the basis for the street network beyond the extant urban radials, which the plan proposed widening (Šancová, Račianska). Between them, a grid system was applied with still greater intensity, creating in certain sections an almost perfect checkerboard pattern (the vicinity of Račianska, Záhradnícka, Mlynské nivy). Similarly, a checkerboard pattern was applied to the regulation of construction on the Danube's right bank.

For the central city, the plan proposed breaking new streets through the extant fabric, often through historic areas, while also addressing the points that at the time were regarded as problematic in transportation terms. The streets near the former city gates were widened, in some cases straightened at the expense of the extant historic construction. The most sweeping regulatory interventions into extant structures were proposed in the plan for the areas then known as 'Ferdinand Town', 'Franz Josef Town' and 'New Town' (now the areas in the vicinity of the boulevards Štefánikova, Šancová and Vuka Karadžiča), where construction was sparse and consisted mostly of gardens, small factories, farmsteads, or isolated complexes of military barracks or noble estates. Most of the newly planned streets were conceived as right-angled, for the most effective connection of the extant main roads. This is how most of the present streets were set out, e.g. Spojná, Hollého, Cintorínska, Fraňa Kráľa or the continuation of Poštová. Also visible in the design was a significant widening of today's Šancová and Račianska ulica as well as the no less major enlargement of the areas of today's Račianske and Trnavské mýto.

The plan for construction in the eastern industrial zone of the city was most notably shaped by the idea of the planned new water route. The proposed industrial canal led in a slightly curving line from the Winter Port in a northeast direction towards the area of the Dynamit Nobel factory, to form the easternmost boundary of the city. The land between the extant city and this boundary was then regulated in the idea of a right-angled street grid with larger blocks for industrial manufacturing and smaller ones for other functions. The routing of the canal, its form as well as the situation of factory production

15 Vortrag Prof. Anton Palóczi über den Stadtregulierungsplan. Pressburger Zeitung, 154, 17. 6. 1917, no. 165, p. 3.

16 Based on contributions in the daily press and minutes from meetings of the city council, it is possible to infer that this document was never confirmed in whole by the Council.

17 Presentation of the completed plan for approval to the city assembly is mentioned in the local press in September 1901. Der Stadtregulierungs-plan. Pressburger Presse, 4, 23. 9. 1901, no. 191, p. 1.

18 Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár. OSZK TM 422. Pozsony sz. kir. város átnézeti térképe és városbővítési terve, 1906.

along its banks reflected the plan that the city government had approved in 1905. The invocation of this idea, both in the plan of the Technical Department and the successor by Antal Palóczy, confirms the great extent to which influential council deputies intervened in the problems of the city's development and construction.

#### The Viktor Bernárdt Plan

The plan for city regulation and enlargement presented to the city in September 1905 by Viktor Bernárdt after agreement with Johann Ludwig, recalled immediately in its introduction the main requirements for city planning: zoning, creation of a transport system and the related regulation of extant roads and construction of new ones, thus clearly revealing its allegiance to the German school of urban planning. In the city core, it proposed the widening and straightening of the streets, which in its view could be brought into adherence with the prescribed regulation lines in the course of over 50 years.<sup>19</sup> Nor did Bernárdt's plan lack the "ring roadways" which "are important not only from the transportation view, but allow for creation of adequate sewerage and, as a kind of large column of air, also improve the city's ventilation. Similarly, they are also of importance for hygiene."<sup>20</sup> Bernárdt proposed routing the inner ring-road as a 37-m-wide boulevard via today's Štúrova ulica, Námestie SNP, Hurbanovo námestie and Staromestská ulica, where it would then lead to a bridge (or at least footbridge) across the Danube. The ring would have been lined with open areas of greenery, while in front of St. Martin's Cathedral, the plan assumed the demolition of the surrounding structures to create a square. Bernárdt proposed three main urban boulevards. One consisted of a prolongation of today's Štefánikova ulica along Michalská up to the Danube bank. The second would have led from the Winter Port along today's Košická ulica up to the open area now serving as the city market in Miletičova ulica. The third avenue was imagined as the axis running from the (then) Franz Josef Bridge to the Blumenthal (Blumentál) Church. For the regulation of the outer urban sections, Bernárdt proposed several major changes. One of them was the destruction of the St. Andrew Cemetery (Ondrejský cintorín) and its reconfiguration as a promenade. Another involved the creation of a "people's garden" in the area of today's Grösslingová ulica. With respect to the industrial district, the most crucial formation was the industrial canal, which however was determined by an earlier decision of the city government and here essentially matched the plan from the Technical Department.

Critics of the era tended largely to reject

<sup>19</sup> Nyugatmagyarországi Híradó, 17, 23. 9. 1905, no. 216, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

Bernárdt's plan. Comparison of Viktor Bernárdt's solutions with the existing plan from the Technical Department, several observers openly admitted that the original "was far more to their liking".<sup>21</sup>

#### The Plan for Regulation and Enlargement of the City by Antal Palóczy

In his argumentation of the plan, Antal Palóczy appealed to the "modern principles of building cities, which primarily thanks to the German Hygienic Congress have received new rules".<sup>22</sup> In line with these principles, he drew attention to the need for bi-level planning, in which "in the design, first the general framework is set and only then does it begin the formation of individual city quarters".<sup>23</sup> Simultaneously, he maintained that "in 1889, the reaction to the Viennese architect Sitte grouped today's city regulators into a single camp". In response, he described his own position as an "attempt for compromise between the medieval and the modern understandings" where "in forming the street network and selecting the method of construction... attention is paid to modern demands, concretely transport and sanitary requirements, yet without losing sight of artistic demands and requirements for comfort."<sup>24</sup> Palóczy predicted that over the next 50 years, the population of the city would minimally grow to 150 000. He outlined two main directions of development, on the flatlands in the area then forming the industrial district, and on the adjoining hills to the city's east, which he gave the form of a villa suburb.

The final version of the Palóczy plan can be summed up in several basic principles. First of all, it assumed the removal of part of the rail lines in the city centre, or possibly their rebuilding as elevated routes. Additionally, he proposed the removal, or functional change, of several rail stations. In connection with transport and future city expansion on the river's right bank, Palóczy assumed the construction of three bridges across the Danube. Into his design, he also integrated the idea of the industrial canal; along this "link between the Danube and Central Europe's water routes, through which the port operations could receive a vital impulse", Palóczy envisioned the growth of "impressive industrial enterprises".<sup>25</sup> For the city's university, its buildings would be located, following the agreement between the city and the appropriate

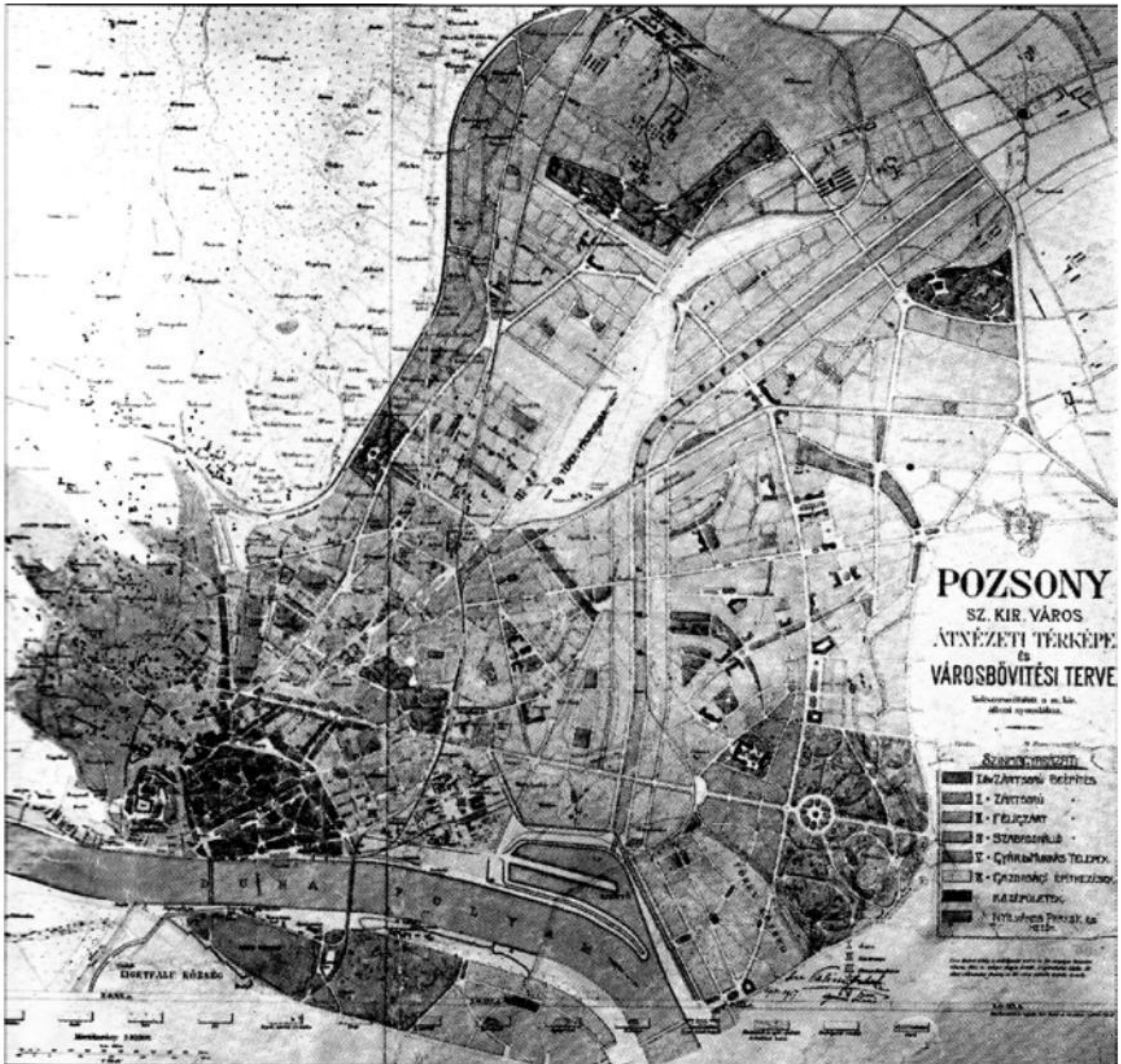
<sup>21</sup> Stadtregulierung. Pressburger Presse, 8, Monday, 25. 9. 1905, no. 400, p. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Prof. Palóczy über die Stadtregulierung. Pressburger Zeitung, 145, 11. 12. 1908, no. 341, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Palóczy, Anton: Über die Regulierung der Stadt Pozsony. Pressburger Zeitung, 145, 12. 12. 1908, no. 342, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Prof. Palóczy über die Stadtregulierung. Pressburger Zeitung, 145, 15. 12. 1908, no. 345, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Vortrag Prof. Anton Palóczis über den Stadtregulierungsplan. Pressburger Zeitung, 154, 17. 6. 1917, no. 165, p. 3.



Plan of Regulation and Extension of the City, Antal Palóczy, 1917  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives



Hungarian ministries, in the northeast part of the inner city on the "Schiffbeck lands" near today's 'Medická záhrady" and the area now occupied by Námestie slobody. For relieving the traffic burden in the old city, Palóczy hoped to open a new transit route between Michalská ulica and today's Hurbanovo námestie, widen several streets (e.g. Zámocká), or even widen the embankment of Batthyányho nábrežie (now Rázusovo nábrežie). The ruins of the Castle, he planned, should be preserved and restored, with its surroundings landscaped as a park; moreover, he suggested the building of a cable-car to reach the castle. Probably the most far-reaching intervention into the existing structure was the planning of a generously sized street, 22 to 50 m in width, leading from Mlynské Nivy to today's Hodžovo námestie, forming the shortest link to the eastern parts of the city towards the hills. In the western part of the hilly area, Palóczy drafted several gently rising paths with views, to replace the steep ones already there. Palóczy also had a direct view of the streets' form: to create more imposing urban spaces, he proposed, e.g. in streets with width above 22 m, planting rows of trees.

Recalling the views of Camillo Sitte, Palóczy stressed the terrain morphology and specific traits of the city. In conceiving new streets and changing original ones, he mentioned the importance of the views toward the Castle Hill with its picturesque ruin, which he viewed as a key identifying sign of the city. In this connection, he noted certain actual situations, e.g. the route from ul. Záhradnícka via Mickiewiczova, Obchodná and Kapucínska up to the hill's foot, respectively the route from ul. Račianskej via Radlinského to Obchodná, or even the routing of the main city boulevard from Mlynské Nivy up to the Grassalkovich Palace.

From the start, the regulatory plan by Antal Palóczy was greeted with approval. The press of the time described it as the necessary mechanism to ensure Prešporok a sensible future development. A positive response was taken even in the previously mentioned lecture by the otherwise harsh critic of the city's built form, August Helmár. However, several of Palóczy's proposals, such as the regulation of the site of the former Pálffy Barracks or the regulation of the settlement at the Castle's base (Podhradie) after the 1913 fire, clashed with objections from the owners of properties in these localities. As for the creation of the new, 18-m-wide Pálffyho aleje, planned to run from Palisády up to Kapucínska ulica and in doing so cut off part of the garden of the Capuchin monastery, protests were lodged by the monastery's abbot, who accused Palóczy of planning "to disturb a peaceful area with a busy road and even preventing the construction

of another educational institution".<sup>26</sup> In the case of Podhradie, where Palóczy wished to combine parcels, implant into the fabric a new 8-m-wide street parallel to Židovská ulica and create a series of other transverse streets leading up to the Castle ruins, the protesting voices of local landowners were reinforced by the prominent architect (and deputy to the City Assembly) Alexander Feigler. His claim was that "the new street demands from the city and the house-owners too many sacrifices".<sup>27</sup> Contrastingly, the young architect Friedrich Weinwurm, to have an impressive career of his own in Bratislava after World War I, published a statement in support of Palóczy's plan, in which he criticised local conditions and stressed the need for an aesthetic sense in building the city.<sup>28</sup> Approval of the new regulation of Podhradie by the city council eventually confirmed the great authority held by Antal Palóczy in the city, as well as the faith of the deputies in his cutting-edge knowledge in urban planning.<sup>29</sup>

### The Pitfalls of Planning

The first modern construction plans for present-day Bratislava were marked inter alia by the social conditions in Habsburg-ruled Hungary, changes in the paradigm of city construction, and local disputes as well as technical limitations. The lack of an elevation map of the city, for instance, meant that the authors of all three regulatory plans were confined merely to the positioning maps and the sporadic surveying data for selected important buildings or locations, created from the city's flood map. In this sense, all three plans were merely two-dimensional. Nor could any of them be viewed as unambiguously representative of either the engineering or the artistic line. Each plan, in principle, was created from an engineering-technical base and reflected, more or less, the unique givens of the site. Hence neither of the two competing contemporary visions for city planning, whether engineering or artistic, were reflected in the modern planning of Bratislava in an absolute sense. In the process of building the city, the realisations were compromise solutions, often a combination of proposals from all three regulatory plans.

An interesting picture is also provided through comparison of the city's current form with the era's sense of future trajectories and visions. Several of them, such as the idea of the industrial canal which was given much attention

<sup>26</sup> Pintér, Rafael: Die Regulierung des Pálffy Kaserne-Grundes. Pressburger Zeitung, 146, 5. 5. 1909, no. 123, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Was soll mit der Schlossgrundgasse geschehen? Pressburger Presse, 17, 19. 1. 1914, no. 834, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Weinwurm, Fritz: Zu Bebauung des abgebrannten Teiles in Pozsony. Pressburger Presse, 16, 30. 6. 1913, no. 805, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Ausserordentliche Generalversammlung des Munizipal-Ausschusses der kön. Freistadt Pozsony. Pressburger Zeitung, 151, 20. 1. 1914, no. 20, p. 2.

in the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, came to an end already by 1911, turned down by the higher authorities in Budapest.<sup>30</sup> Other ideas, which at the time of their first appearance received almost no reactions from the public, were almost completely fulfilled. One instance of the latter was Palóczy's idea of bridge connections between the two Danube banks. All the Bratislava bridges today stand at the points where a bridge was proposed in the plan of Antal Palóczy. The one bridge not planned for construction at this time was today's Lafranconi Bridge, and this only because the plan did not conceive of the city expanding in this direction. Also realised were the plans for the city ring-roads, whether we have in mind the inner ring running from Námestie SNP, through Staromestská ulica, SNP Bridge, Viedenská cestu, the Old Bridge (Starý most) and Štúrova ulica back to Námestie SNP, or the central ring running from the SNP Bridge via Staromestská, Štefánikova, Šancová, Vuka Karadžiča to the Apollo Bridge. While such a road system was essentially put forth in all three regulatory plans, the situation today most closely matches the Palóczy design. The routing of rail lines, placement of rail stations and their categorisation are likewise a direct outcome of decisions relying on frameworks sketched out in the Palóczy plan. Very similar in this sense is the later placement of university campuses, each in one of the three alternative locations offered to the city between 1910 and 1917 by Palóczy (Schiffbeck land, Námestie Slobody or the Lanfranconi lands). Even Palóczy's plan for preservation of the castle, if not as a ruin, finally managed to come about despite various later plans for its replacement with a government quarter or university campus. In the plan of Antal Palóczy, we can clearly identify the prefiguration of several actions that in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century would significantly influence the urban design of Bratislava. As such, the Palóczy regulatory plan could be regarded – even if it was never approved by the city government – not only as initiatory but even idea-shaping in its introduction of modern city planning. What is unusual in this, though, is that the later preparers of regulatory or land-use plans for the city generally made no reference to the original blueprint documentation or even the written texts of Palóczy himself – not even in those cases where their intentions were almost identical. Ignoring of historic materials was a characteristic of modernist city planning, intended to create an impression of entirely new, original solutions. If even these creators eventually reached similar results as their predecessors at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it attests to a clear if unintentional continuity: a continuity emerging from the

natural vitality and resilience of the urban structure, which in its own way guides the planners to the solutions that are for it the most natural.<sup>31</sup>

30 Johann Ludwig als „Projektmacher“. Pressburger Zeitung, 148, 15. 12. 1911, no. 345, p. 1.

31 The first regulatory plans are addressed in detail in the study Moravčíková, Henrieta – Lovra, Éva – Pastoreková, Laura: Červený alebo modrý? Začiatky moderného plánovania Bratislavy. Architektúra & Urbanizmus, 51, 2017, no. 1 – 2, p. 30 – 43.



# 3

**the history of city planning**

# functionalist planning and construction

The emergence of independent Czechoslovakia in 1918 brought the city now known as Bratislava radical changes. It had become part of a new state order, yet at the same time the main political and social centre of the Slovak section of the new republic. In addition to a growth in construction and an influx of new inhabitants, this circumstance also implied the gradual shift of the city's identity from a Hungarian to a Czechoslovak one. The full import of this aim is best illustrated by the official change of the city's name from Prešporok to Bratislava in March 1919. The efforts to hide the monarchist past of the city were manifested not only in the removal of historic memorials or changes to the names of streets and districts, but equally through a programmatic support for Modernist architecture as one of the key symbols of the new democratic state. As such, modernisation became in the 1920s and 1930s an essential implement in the creation of the image of the new Slovak capitol.<sup>1</sup>

The modernist architects who settled in Bratislava shortly after the founding of Czechoslovakia usually had little sympathy for the city's monarchist past and regarded even the planning and construction from the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries with great reservations. The clearest formulation of these views was presented by Jiří Grossmann, one of the Czech architects who found work in the city as part of the new state administration. He described Bratislava as a "city purely provincial until the political changes", which "in the former Austro-Hungary had no great goals for development and grew in a method quite placid, hardly forcefully".<sup>2</sup> The young architect (only thirty-one at the time) uncompromisingly critiqued the prevalent conditions in regulating and planning new construction. "The background for new buildings has proceeded, and until now still proceeds, according to the regulations by Professor Paloczi from 1891. [sic!] Yet this document is in fact only an unapproved project and now no longer matches the new, changed conditions of the city." Grossman also noted that during construction there often occurred "sad compromises of partial measures that may fit an immediate need but will, at some point, cause great harm to the whole".<sup>3</sup> The modernist architects may have been sceptical towards the city's past, yet they nonetheless had daring plans for its future. "There is something fairy-tale-like, almost American in its character, that is going to take place within a short time in this unique city. Does

1 Moravčíková, Henrieta: Premeny obrazu mesta. Storočie plánovania a výstavby Bratislavy. In: Medzi provinciou a metropolou: Obraz Bratislavy v 19. a 20. storočí. Bratislava, Historický ústav SAV, 2012, p. 129 – 142.

2 Grossmann, Jiří: Sanace starého města v Bratislavě. Časopis čsl. Architektů, 22, 1923, no. 9 – 12, p. 219.

3 Ibid.

it not resemble a tale from the first era of the colonisation of the New World – elevating a small backwater all at once into a focus for Central Europe's commerce?" – such was the unbounded enthusiasm for Bratislava's potential expressed by Grossmann's collaborator, architect Alois Balán.<sup>4</sup>

#### The Regulatory Commission

One of the first institutions that addressed the problem of construction regulation in Bratislava after the founding of Czechoslovakia was the Government Commission for Monument Protection in Slovakia, led by architect Dušan Jurkovič. In January 1920, he presented the city with a memorandum addressing heritage protection in the regulatory plan; by March, he had organised a conference on city regulation and eventually by October addressed the Ministry of Public Works with another memorandum for establishing a 'regulatory body'. At this time, Jurkovič gave an interview to the newspaper *Slovenský denník*, in which he formulated his ideas about the future development of the city as well as the role of regulation in this process. He stressed that "it is absolutely impossible that without the previous work on the project of Greater Bratislava successful construction activity would arise".<sup>5</sup> Additionally, Jurkovič predicted that the focus of new urban growth would lie in the area between Devín Castle, Bratislava Castle, the main rail station and the winter port. He assumed the revitalisation of the Castle Hill and preservation of the castle as a historic monument, but assumed the demolition of Podhradie below it, "since it cannot remain, for hygienic or aesthetic reasons, in a modern and developing city".<sup>6</sup> He also addressed the need for new construction in open sites in the city centre. Jurkovič was nonetheless well aware that "resolving these great and difficult problems is no easy task" and thus it would be necessary "that the completion of the construction plan and its implementation would be in the hands of a single, reliable, capable and first-class architect-artist" who would "create a Greater Bratislava not only functionally, but with a sense for attractive and artistic form".<sup>7</sup>

Jurkovič's efforts bore fruit in May 1921 with the establishment of the 'Regulatory and Artistic Commission for the City of Bratislava and the Municipalities of Petržalka and Karlova Ves'.<sup>8</sup> However, the practical launching of the

4 Balán, Alois: Otázka viac ako naliehavá. Slovenský denník, 4, 6. 12. 1921, no. 272, p. 4.

5 Jurkovič, Dušan: Veľká Bratislava. Rozhovor s architektom Jurkovičom, vládnym komisárom, 1920. Slovenský denník, 3, 3. 10. 1920, p. 1 – 2.

6 Ibid., p. 1.

7 Ibid., p. 2.

8 Ochrana stavebných pamiatok v meste. In: Stavebné dejiny

commission only came in December 1923, when the City Council asked several institutions to nominate their representatives to the commission. The commission's charter was approved by the City Assembly in the same month. Inspiration for both the commission's charter and its work drew mostly on experience from the operation of the Regulatory Assembly in Brno, in which architects along with professors from the German and Czech technical universities had immediate oversight in the city's planning.<sup>9</sup> Bratislava's city regulatory commission was headed from 1924 up into the 1930s by a graduate of the Munich Technical University, architect Eugen Barta (1890 – 1972), who at the same time served as chief architect of the city. Since the city regulatory commission cooperated with the City Construction Committee and evaluated essentially all large-scale building projects in the city, its set task was to "balance the public interest against the pressure of private investors", which often were directly or indirectly supported by individual commission members.<sup>10</sup> Among the representatives of various public bodies, the commission at various times also contained nearly all the important architects active in this period in Bratislava: Alois Balán, Emil Belluš, Jiří Grossmann, Jindřich Merganc, Andreas Szőnyi, Klement Šilinger, Juraj Tvarožek, Franz Wimmer or Friedrich Weinwurm.

The Government Commission for Monument Protection in Slovakia, which had operated since 1922 under the leadership of art historian Jan Hofman (1883 – 1945), was not only the initiator of the creation of the regulatory commission, but also its crucial counterweight. Hofman bears credit for the first listing of Bratislava's monuments and supported their protection even within the new construction regulation. Thanks in large measure to his efforts, Bratislava in the interwar period managed to avoid many ambitious plans for large-scale construction in the city's historic core.

In parallel with the process of forming the regulatory commission, the city surveyor Raidl in 1922 presented his 'zone plan' for the city. This was a schematic development plan for individual functional zones, e.g. housing, industry, university education or health care. To a considerable extent, the plan took its themes from Palóczy's regulatory and development plan, in particular the eastward direction of city growth, the enlargement of areas intended for construction of

manufacturing plants or the generous dimensions for the river port. Close by the port, he proposed a rail freight station, connected to the routing of the eastern rail line around the city's eastern perimeter. Residential areas were planned through spreading out a relatively extensive, low-rise fabric. The university complexes and the hospital area were situated in the eastern part of the city, near Mlynské Nivy.<sup>11</sup> This zone-plan, though, never assumed the form of a binding document and city construction continued to develop spontaneously, reflecting per circumstances sometimes Raidl's vision, sometimes Palóczy's, or even the application of statutes for local regulation depending on the current investment plans for the area.

One of the main barriers to the preparation of an encompassing regulatory document for the city's growth was also the absence of updated map data and height elevations. The city government attempted to resolve this situation through a new surveying project, starting in 1927 up to 1936. Part of this project included the height calculation of over 1000 ha of the city's terrain.<sup>12</sup>

#### The Regulatory Study for Greater Bratislava

Among the most active defenders of institutionalised urban planning in the early 1920s were the architects Jiří Grossmann and Alois Balán.<sup>13</sup> In their articles published in the daily press as well as professional journals, they called on the regulatory commission to show activity and insisted in the preparation of an official regulatory plan of the city. In doing so, they also drew attention to the architectural, economic or even societal advantages of a fixed regulatory plan.<sup>14</sup> Their initiative led to the preparation of a broad regulatory study, known as 'Greater Bratislava', which they worked on from 1920 to 1924.<sup>15</sup> This study presented ideas for the rebuilding of key areas of the city, illustrated with detailed ground plans and perspectival renderings of urban spaces. Balán and Grossmann assumed, similarly to Palóczy or Jurkovič, the expansion of the city in the

11 Beňuška, Milan: Stavebný vývoj Bratislavy v období rokov 1918 – 1945. In: Dejiny Bratislavy. Obzor. 1966, p. 444.

12 Barta, Eugen: Regulácia mesta. In: Bratislava, hlavné mesto Slovenska / Pressburg Hauptstadt der Slowakei. Basel, Landerdienst a. g., 1943, p. 28.

13 Ščepánová, Soňa: Veľká Bratislava architektov Aloisa Balána a Jiřího Grossmanna. Architektúra & urbanizmus, 53, 2019, no. 1 – 2, p. 88 – 102.

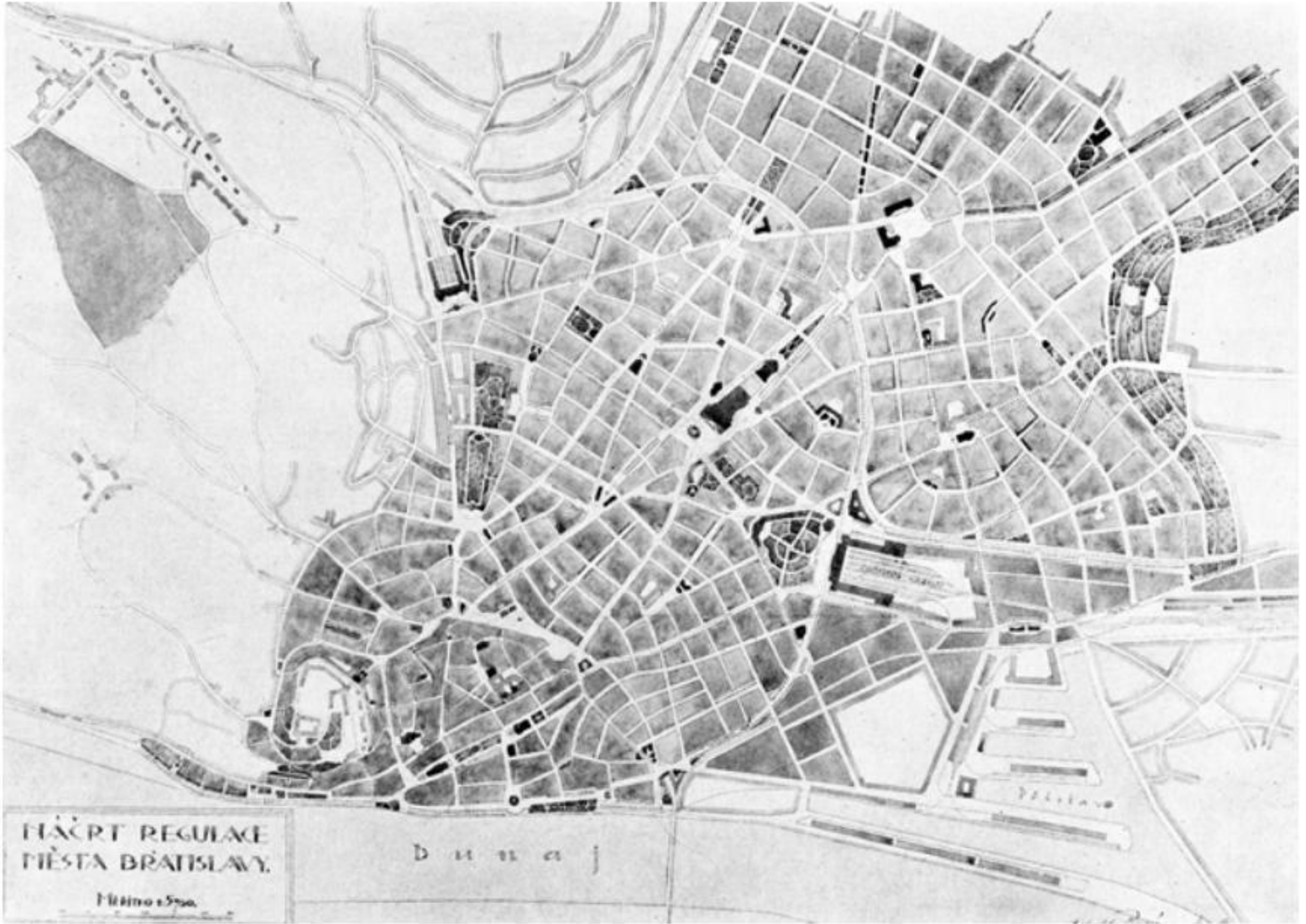
14 Alois Balán published during 1921 several articles in the newspaper Slovenský denník. For the text in support of founding a regulatory body viz. Balán, Alois: Otázka viac ako naliehavá. Slovenský denník, 4, 6. 12. 1921, č. 272, p. 2 – 4. Balán, Alois, 1921. Regulácia a výstavba mesta Bratislavy I. – III. Slovenský denník, 4, 12. 1. 1921, no. 8, p. 1 – 2, 13. 1. 1921, no. 9, p. 1 – 2, and 25. 1. 1921, no. 19, p. 3.

15 Grossmann, Jiří – Balán, Alois: Regulační studie velké Bratislavy. Časopis československých architektů, 25, 1926, no. 1, p. 39 – 52.

mesta Bratislavy. Bratislava. 1929, p. 3 – 4.

9 Notes from the working trip by E. Barta and J. Ruppeldt to Brno. City Notary Office, Regulatory Commission, box 2560/1923, Archive of the City of Bratislava.

10 Mencl, Václav: Ako sme začínali. Pamiatky a príroda, 1, 1976, no. 3, p. 39.



Regulatory study for Greater Bratislava, Alois Balán, Jiří Grossmann, 1924  
Source: Časopis československých architektů, 1926



northeast direction, the demolition of the original buildings at the castle foot and the removal of the rail tracks in the city centre. Shifting the eastern rail line out to the city edge was discussed for opening up the land in the area of the current streets Dostojevského rad, Karadžičova and Legionárska and allowing the creation of a perimeter boulevard with park landscaping. A crucial idea in the study was also the plan to create a new city centre with administrative, commercial and residential buildings in the area of the New Town, on the site of today's Americké námestie. The design likewise presented the conception of the main 'transverse link' for Bratislava, a road running from the intersection of ulica Šancová and Štefánikova, along today's Štefanovičova through Námestie slobody, past the garden of the State Hospital and the university, then following today's Ulica 29. augusta all the way to the port. The idea of such a transverse link, aiming at easing the transport connection of the city's northern areas to the southern neighbourhoods by the river, appeared in later urban-planning intentions, now as the 'transverse axis'. Balán and Grossmann, like Antal Palóczi before them, also planned to move the main rail station eastward, where it would be smoothly positioned along a straight section of track. The 'Greater Bratislava' study presented many ideas outreaching the scale of the city at the time, and at the date of publication was the most complex material devoted to urban planning.<sup>16</sup>

#### The International Competition for a Basic Regulatory Plan and the Rail Plan for Bratislava

The problems then facing Bratislava were universal and required addressing from other Czechoslovak cities. Beside the functional zoning and the regulation of new construction, one major issue was the organisation of the wider transport system. A solution to these problems was expected from the international ideal competition for the '*General Plan of Regulation and the Rail Plan for the Territory of Bratislava and Surrounding Settlements*', which after a long preparation period was opened by the city government in 1929. Conditions for the competition were prepared by the city's chief architect Eugen Barta in cooperation with the Rail Directorate, the heritage board, the city power plants and the Danube river administration. These materials contained information on the natural conditions of the city, its population, industry, and current transport situation.<sup>17</sup>

Entering the competition were 10 design teams

16 Ščepánová, S., 2019, p. 93 – 95.

17 Die Detailbedingungen und die Beschreibung zum Ideenwettbewerb für den Generalbebauungsplan und den Entwurf der Eisenbahnanlagen auf dem Gebiete der Stadt Bratislava und der umliegenden Ortschaften, 1928. Bratislava, Jednota, 1928, 79 pp.

from Czechoslovakia and 14 from abroad. No first prize was awarded. The second prize was given to the design with the code-name "Znak Slovenska" [Insignia of Slovakia] by the team of Alois Dryák, Juraj Tvarožek and Karel Chlumecký, third prize was given to the team of Jiří Grossmann, Alois Balán and Arnošt Suske, while fourth prize went to the team of Imre Forbáth, Lajos Déli, Ferenc Faragó, and Elemér Akay.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, four fifth prizes were awarded along with several honourable mentions. Already in the competition conditions, the growth of the city was routed in the northeast direction, with the prospective population given as 300 000. In this competition, the participants were asked to show the connection of the city to the surroundings at 1:25,000 scale, the directive plan at 1:10 000 scale, the detailed plan of the entire city at 1:2,880 scale and an even more detailed transport plan.<sup>19</sup>

Dryák, Tvarožek and Chlumecký in their competition conception supported the natural growth of the city towards the northeast. To the west and south, they planned dispersed low-rise construction. New construction in the intermediary sections was regulated on a plan of equal, right-angled street grids with several larger sections for parks or tree-lined roads. The new city centre was planned for creation in the site between today's ulica Vuka Karadžiča, Mlynské Nivy and Križna ulica. This central district would be reserved for the buildings of central government bodies and institutions. On the site of today's Americké námestie, they proposed creating a new large square. The main rail station was shifted eastward, to the site of the shunting yards, which had previously been proposed as well in the regulatory plan of Antal Palóczi. From the station, a ceremonial greenbelt would have led along the arch of the outer ring-road toward the southeast. The southeast rail line was shifted to the city edge and routed across the Danube via a new bridge at the point of the winter port. In turn, an industrial zone would have started in the southeast direction nearby the port. The competition design by Balán, Grossmann and Suske presented a more detailed and expanded idea of their study for Greater Bratislava from 1926. The focal urban development was planned in a northeast direction. At the foot of the Lesser Carpathians to the east and west, they proposed open low-rise construction. Like the previous plan, their vision for the main rail station resituated it to the shunting yards and, equally, the use of a greenery-lined

18 This collective was headed by Imre Forbáth, a Hungarian architect and planner who worked with Károly Kós on the design of the Wekerle-telep suburb in Budapest. Forbath, Imre: Pozsony szabályozási és vasútrendezési terve. A Magyar Mérnök és Építész Egylet Közlönye, 13. 9. 1931, p. 243 – 252.

19 Beňuška, Milan: Bratislava, hlavné mesto Slovenska. Architektúra ČSR, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 11.



General Plan of Regulation and the Rail Plan for the Territory of Bratislava and Surrounding Settlements, the highest awarded competition design, Alois Dryák, Juraj Tvarožek, Karel Chlumecký, 1928  
 Source: Časopis československých architektů, 1929



General Plan of Regulation and the Rail Plan for the Territory of Bratislava and Surrounding Settlements, 3rd prize awarded proposal, Jiří Grossmann, Alois Balán, Arnošt Suske, 1928  
 Source: Časopis československých architektů, 1929

ring-road. Their peripheral axis, though, had a smaller diameter, leading via Trnavské mýto to the port station. This route was lined by dense built fabric, with major public buildings situated along it. Compared to the design by Dryák, Tvarožek and Chlumecký, this design was more daring in its planning of new streets and squares within the existing structure, as well as the exclusion of industry from the city. And it was less schematic in its plan for the new street network, which was adapted to the routing of existing radials. Nonetheless, the most intriguing design was the one awarded fourth prize. Under the code name Freie Bahn, it had been submitted to the competition by a Hungarian team led by Imre Forbáth. In its planned structure of the street network as well as its developmental concept, it differed radically from the approaches of domestic authors. While several basic elements of the plan, like the movement of the main rail station to the current shunting yards, the focal northeast trajectory for city growth or the relocating of industry to the city's south edge, were used by several participants, Forbáth's team completely rejected the standard grid-form and designed the new city on a plan of separate districts or neighbourhoods. In their design, the main city radials intersected new main rings and half-rings, outlining districts with variously formed networks of streets and squares. In functional terms, it is also interesting to note the attention paid to the great space given to recreational and sports areas on the city's northeast edge, as well as the many parks and tree-rows in the central city: this was the only plan to take seriously the idea of a 'city in greenery'.

All the winning competition entries provided many forward-looking ideas, yet their realisation would have required radical interventions into extant built structures, application of clearance or eminent-domain laws, and above all significant financial investments. At this time, Bratislava was hardly prepared for such plans. Not even the relocation of the main rail station was realised, even though most of the competition participants and the city representation expressed support for it.

Today, the details of individual plans are known only indirectly, based on their contemporary interpretation. The original competition designs are located in the still-unclassified funds of the Archive of the City of Bratislava. One of the latest researchers who has analysed them is urban planner Milan Beňuška, himself the author of several land-use planning documents for Bratislava. His summary of the ideas from the competition consists of several basic principles: growth of the city expanding to the northeast, developing the communication 'skeleton' as a radial-ring system, routing the rail line to the city's

eastern edge and locating a new rail station there, while also moving the main station further east, and developing industry in the southeast direction.<sup>20</sup> Based on the competition results, the city's Technical Department, headed by Kamil Gross, then drew up its own "so-called zoning plan, which served as a provisory document for construction".<sup>21</sup> The city government approved this document in 1934.

#### Regulatory Plan versus Partial Regulations

In the second half of the 1920s, pressure for new construction in the city centre accelerated. Under this influence, two more competitions were held in 1930 concerning the historic core. Intriguingly, these were both launched during the still-open international competition for the city's regulatory plan. The impulse for holding these competitions was given by the State Board for Monument Protection, which requested a solution for the area around St. Martin's Cathedral and Židovská ulica and, simultaneously, the space of the 'Michalská Block', i.e. the opening of Michalská ulica into Hurbanovo námestie.

When in 1936 a special issue of the architectural journal *Slovenský staviteľ* analysed the situation regarding urban planning in Slovakia, the authors of the contributions continued to express criticism of the absence of "urban legislation" in Slovakia. A hope for a solution to the situation was seen in the emerging "new building code for Slovakia, which should replace the previously valid ca. 40 building statutes of individual towns and former districts".<sup>22</sup> At this point, Bratislava still lacked a valid regulatory plan, and construction in the city was regulated only by the building code from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The need for a regulatory plan, as an implement through which the city could ensure "enormous economic and social influence", was discussed in the pages of *Slovenský staviteľ* by the head councillor of Bratislava, Otto Rosenauer.<sup>23</sup> In his article, based on an analysis of the still-effective city building statute from 1872, he argued that "such a plan could be realised either as general for the entire territory of the city, or as partial for individual sections".<sup>24</sup> Similarly, he analysed in depth the tasks, possibilities and limitations of the regulatory plan in relation to the noted legislation, and highlighted when and under what circumstances parcel division or approved construction could be performed even in the absence of a regulatory plan. At the

20 Beňuška, M., 1966, p. 444.

21 Beňuška, M., 1958, p. 11.

22 Janšák, Štefan: Časové úlohy nášho stavebníctva. *Slovenský staviteľ* 6, 1936, no. 1, p. 11.

23 Rosenauer, Otto: Regulačný plán obcí v judikatúre. *Slovenský staviteľ*, 6, 1936, no. 1, p. 12 - 14.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

conclusion, he again encouraged the creation of the relevant land-use planning documentation, which would have "a highly serious significance, indeed essential for the orderly growth of cities and settlements".<sup>25</sup>

The absence of legislation in the area of planning and regulating construction was also mentioned by architect Josef Marek, who was then preparing a general guidance plan for the suburb of Petržalka. He regarded as one of the main conditions for regulating construction in the sense of public interest to be a clearance law. One result of its absence of Bratislava, he argued, was that the city government "paid excessive prices for the most vitally needed expansion of the inner city" and thus could not think in larger terms about changes to the extant construction.<sup>26</sup> Marek paid attention not only to the legislative framework of urban construction, but also analysed the specific possibilities for the spatial development of Bratislava. He criticised the "partial regulatory legislation, implemented in the sense of the idealising competition designs from 1929", which "were built on the assumption of the gradual shifting of the city's commercial centre out of the old section in a northeast direction". In contrast to this, he maintained that "the centre and stabilising core of the ground-plan formation" in the city should continue to lie in Námestie republiky. For this reason, he saw great potential in the development of Petržalka as the "nearest suburb". "Public and private employees, officials and workers... through settling on the right bank have corrected the already emerging tendency for the city to expand largely to the northeast."<sup>27</sup> In parallel, Marek appealed for the "revision of the previously practiced regulatory systems and a new regulatory plan".<sup>28</sup> The longstanding absence of a valid regulatory plan prevented the city from developing to match public interests and not succumbing to the ad hoc demands of private investors. Indeed, a regulatory plan represented "alongside eminent domain in public interest the greatest intervention in property rights" known to the legislation of the era.<sup>29</sup> Arguments in its favour, in turn, were derived from the position of protection for private investors, for whom "the regulatory plan provides almost the only possibility of ensuring the public burdens that are tied to a certain property".<sup>30</sup>

The lack of a valid regulatory plan had an

25 Ibid., p. 45.

26 Marek, Josef: Súčasné smernice plánovania miest a vonkova a skutočnosť. Slovenský staviteľ, 6, 1936, no. 1, p. 17 - 18.

27 Ibid., p. 141.

28 Ibid., p. 142.

29 Liewald, Ján: Význam upravovacieho plánu mesta pre nadobúdajúceho a vlastníka nemovitosti. Slovenský staviteľ, 6, 1936, no. 2, p. 42.

30 Ibid.

enormous impact as well on controlling the growth of all types of transport in the city. The "rail question" was regarded in the 1930s as "one of the most urgent regulatory and economic questions" for Bratislava.<sup>31</sup> The piecemeal construction of tracks and stations on the north and east perimeter of the city, and the changes in their use, meant that in this part of the city there existed in the interwar years a relatively dense yet only partially used rail network. As a consequence, this question received great attention in the opening of the competition for the city regulatory plan in 1929. From the results, it seemed optimal to move the main station 1 km to the east, as already indicated in the regulatory plan by Antal Palóczy, and the removal of several tracks within the city itself. These ideas, though, were never brought about. One reason was, in fact, the divergence of opinion regarding the solution between the city and the rail authorities. While for the city government, the decisive factor was that "the rail facilities disturb as little as possible the coherent built area of the city and that the rail facilities allow the building of an organic and fluid connection to the basic communication street framework", on the part of the railways the aim was that "the rail facilities be operationally efficient and construction economical".<sup>32</sup> In 1934, though, an agreement was finally reached regarding the siting of the freight station and the main passenger station. Based on this agreement, the rail administration began to prepare project documentation to be submitted to the city for evaluation. Great hopes were placed mostly in the moving of the main passenger station to the east, where it would have had a link to the ring-road at the point of Račianske Mýto. Intriguingly, the same solution had been recommended to the city by Antal Palóczy back in 1917. Yet this logical and repeatedly recommended solution never happened: the Ministry of Railways in December 1929, even before the judging of the competition for the city regulatory plan, started preparation for the rebuilding of the main rail station on its original site.

Even though the city representatives of Bratislava eventually managed in the brief inter-war decades to consider a broad city regulatory plan along with several partial regulations, construction in these years developed essentially spontaneously. Again, it formed a repetition of the situation from before World War I, when disputes in approving the plan eventually prevented its timely implementation.

31 Molínek, Robert: Komunikačné otázky mesta Bratislavy. Slovenský staviteľ, 6, 1936, no. 8, p. 237.

32 Ibid., p. 238.

4

**the history of city planning**

**nationally engaged  
planning**

While in the 1920s and 1930s the planning and construction of Bratislava was shaped by the investment plans of private entities, the period of World War II could conversely be regarded as one rich in large institutional plans. With the declaration of an independent Slovak Republic, Bratislava became the regular capitol of the state. This new status should have, in the eyes of the city's authorities, created the conditions for bridging the previous absence of such urban plans "that would have characterised it as a governmental city".<sup>1</sup> As they imagined it, the process involved the creation of a district that would form the seat of central state administration, as well as the rebuilding of the most exposed sections of the city, such as the Castle Hill and the Danube embankment, which were to have assumed "a character corresponding to a national capital".<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the representatives of the new Slovak State hoped from the outset to change the identity of the capitol city in the sense of official national ideology, proceeding much as their predecessors did with the founding of Czechoslovakia in renaming streets (as well as the city itself) and removing memorials that recalled the recent Habsburg past. And unlike the liberal democracy of the First Czechoslovak Republic, the authoritarian Slovak state had a far better starting point for planning and realising public investments to transform Bratislava into a genuine Slovak metropolis. An easy realisation was to have been made possible through a series of new laws concerning the organisation of construction, support to building entrepreneurs, demolition and property seizure for the needs of publicly beneficial construction.<sup>3</sup> The rapid growth in construction in the city in 1942 also gave hope for the realisation of the planned investments – yet it was only a short-term trend, followed in the next year by decline. The plans for grandiose investments and extensive city rebuilding thus never were brought to earth. The ambition of making Bratislava visible as Slovakia's metropolis in the wider international context is now documented only by a series of extensive urban planning competitions.

As a result of the nationalist policies of the Slovak state, thousands of Czech and Jewish residents were immediately forced to leave Bratislava and Slovakia. For city and state government, this population shift meant a change in the personnel occupying most of the

1 Barta, Eugen, 1943, *Regulácia mesta*. In: Bratislava, hlavné mesto Slovenska / Pressburg Hauptstadt der Slowakei. Basel, Landerdienst a. g., 1943, p. 30.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

3 E.g. the Act from 3.7.1940 on expropriation of properties for works of public interest, for goals of building construction, and on the General Construction Cooperative no. 177/1940 Coll. or the Act from 18.4.1941 on support for construction enterprises no. 75/1941 Coll. For more on specific laws viz. Hrdina, Miroslav: *Niekoľko poznámok o postavení architektúry v rámci prvej Slovenskej republiky (1939 – 1945)*. *Architektúra & Urbanizmus*, 44, 2010, no. 1 – 2, p. 83.

positions. And for Bratislava it implied a repetition of the situation from twenty years earlier, when in 1919 German and Hungarian officials were relieved of their jobs. Despite this major discontinuity, several prominent experts nonetheless managed to hold onto their posts. First among them was architect Eugen Barta, who had served in the interwar period as chair of the Regulatory Commission and de facto the chief architect of the city. With the establishment of the Slovak state, Barta was nominated to the function of chief councillor of the Bratislava municipal government and supervisor of the regulatory division. And indeed, his long years of experience truly authorised him to evaluate the planning and construction of Bratislava, which in his view had transpired "in all periods of the city somewhat incoherently, without any regular planning".<sup>4</sup> Continuity with the previous era was supplied as well by the important Slovak architects Dušan Jurkovič and Emil Belluš, who remained heavily involved in questions of city planning and construction. And further architects found work in the city administration such as Ján Štefanec or Kamil Gross.

During the era of the wartime Slovak Republic, questions of planning and the construction of individual buildings or infrastructure fell under the competence of the Technical Group of the cities and the Department for Above-Ground Construction. For the wider regulation and management of construction in the capitol, though, responsibility belonged to the Regulation and Surveying Department, headed by Eugen Barta. Despite his longstanding experience, though, it was not possible even under the conditions of the early 1940s to implement in Bratislava any unified view of the city and its future. In an interview for the daily newspaper *Slovák* in 1941, Barta described the problem unequivocally: "Bratislava is not being built to a single plan, but to the plans of various institutions".<sup>5</sup> The city did, at this time, have a single plan, yet Barta now regarded it as outdated. And it was this absence of a city regulatory plan that reflected the current requirements for construction in what was now a state capitol that he saw as the barrier to the systematic management of construction. "If there is no legal basis that would guide construction of the city from a single point, and do so through all its parts, until then construction will continue to lag behind and it will not be realised by this single plan but, as I have already said, by the plans of individual actions."<sup>6</sup> As the example worth following, he cited in this connection

4 Barta, E., 1943, p. 30.

5 Agor, A.: *Na hrade budú kliniky a pod hradom univerzitné mesto. Navštívili sme šéfa regulačného oddelenia Bratislavy Ing. Bartu*. *Slovák*, 23, 14. 12. 1941, no. 287, p. 7.

6 *Ibid.*



Nazi Germany, where “the Führer appoints for individual cities that should be rebuilt or built into larger ones a single general construction inspector, gives him full power and naturally binds him as well with full responsibility”.<sup>7</sup> In 1940, regulation of city construction entered into legal effect, with the ambition as well to define even the formal aspect of architecture. Here as well, the model for construction was given by the architecture and engineering projects of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

A planned economy, including construction, formed an integral component of the totalitarian organisation of the Slovak State. One of the tools allowing its plans to be realised was the clearance law. Such a legal implement had been the desire of the city administration already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, yet the relevant ministry in Budapest did not agree with extending the legal effect of the Construction Act: at the time, it only applied to construction in the Kingdom’s metropolis. Preparation of a new clearance act began shortly after establishment of the Slovak Republic; already by the summer of 1940, the architectural journal *Slovenský staviteľ* could publish the outline of a law that would allow “in cities, and in particular Bratislava” over buildings and entire neighbourhoods “the swinging of the pickaxes of Slovak workers, and in place of these unhealthy, poorly constructed, old, worn and often distasteful buildings and houses arose hygienic and modern, yet also simple dwellings, workshops or factories”.<sup>8</sup> The Clearance Act was then passed in the same year, under number 177/1940. In this way, the regime opened the possibility of nearly unlimited planning and realisation of its building projects without regard to the actual property relations in the vicinity. Shortly after its approval, the new law was planned to be invoked for a major project below Bratislava Castle. Already by December 1940, the outline of the clearance zone had been established in connection with the planned construction of the ‘university quarter’. This area was bounded on the south by the Danube and to the east followed around the old ‘Water Barracks’, continuing southwards along Hviezdoslavovo nábrežie up to Rybné námestie, where it then continued north in parallel with Židovská ulica following the outline of the old city fortifications up to Kapucínska ulica. The north boundary of the clearance zone was given by Zámocká ulica, the upper section of Palisády and Mudroňova ulica. At the very easternmost point, the area was bordered by Strmá cesta, running along the edge of the stone quarry up

to the entrance to the tunnel.<sup>9</sup> In April 1941, the regional office for Bratislava approved the ‘General Regulatory and Construction Plan’ for the area covered by the Castle and Podhradie, including the land occupied by today’s Námestie slobody and covering the blocks along both sides of Krížna ulica.<sup>10</sup>

#### New Plans for the Danube Banks: Exposition Grounds and University

The general regulatory and construction legislation applied to the area of the Castle, Podhradie and today’s Námestie slobody was intended to ensure preparation of the land for two grand construction projects: the ‘university city’ and the Government District.

Ever since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Castle Hill and the Danube embankment had attracted particular attention from the city and national authorities. During the 1940s, the focus of attention from politicians and planners was concentrated mostly on the western section of the embankment from the foot of the Castle Hill up to the university dormitories in the Lafranconi area. In parallel with the plans for basic infrastructure, in the form of regulation of the river and boring a tunnel through the hillside, discussions addressed the functional program for this highly exposed territory.<sup>11</sup> The decision to build on the riverbank a new complex for the International Danube Trade Fair was eventually approved even for pragmatic reasons: the growing war-production industry was occupying increasing amounts of land on the city’s eastern edge and coming up against the original exposition complex. For this reason, in 1940 the Assembly of the Slovak Republic passed a law for construction of a new exposition area.<sup>12</sup> And by December of the same year, a public anonymous competition was held for the ideal design for the construction plan and exhibition pavilions. The winners in this competition were the Bratislava architects Pavol Andriák and Ján Štefanec, whose design drew extensively on their interwar Functionalist experience.<sup>13</sup> Only later in the process of designing and construction did the complex assume a more traditionalist character. Nonetheless, it managed to retain the key planning principles, mainly the preservation of the open embankment

7 Ibid.

8 Kv.: Vyvlastnenie na ciele asanačné a s nimi súvislé ciele stavebné. Osnova takzvaného asanačného zákona. *Slovenský staviteľ*, 8, 1940, no. 7, p. 119.

9 Generála regulačná a zastavovacia úprava oblasti hradu a podhradia ako asanačného územia pre výstavbu univerzity a techniky. No. 54-439-VI/8-1940/č.5003-1940/ Archive of the City of Bratislava, box IV/42.

10 Viz. Szalay, Peter. ASANÁCIA: Priemet vyvlastňovacej legislatívy do plánovania Bratislavy ako hlavného mesta v prvej polovici 20. storočia; príklad Námestia slobody. *Architektúra & urbanizmus*, 9, 2018, no. 1-2., p. 18 – 35.

11 Gross, Kamil: Regulačná úprava nového dunajského nábrežia v Bratislave. *Slovenský staviteľ*, 9, 1939, no. 11 – 12, p. 187 – 190.

12 Hrdina, M., 2010, p. 93.

13 Výsledok súťaže na návrhy Dunajského veľtrhu. Rubrika *Zadávky*. *Slovenský staviteľ*, 9, 1941, no. 4, p. 95.

promenade and the positioning of the individual pavilions to give the entire complex the impression of a park.<sup>14</sup>

Almost in parallel with the emergence of the new form of the exhibition grounds, the idea of the new function and appearance of the Castle Hill began to take shape, the site intended for an ambitiously conceived university district. In this aim, the Slovak State combined two extant plans of the previous authorities, who had planned in the interwar years the construction of a concentrated university campus as well as the replacement of the ruin of the historic castle with the new seat of the Slovak government. The international architectural competition, held by the Slovak Ministry of Transport and Public Works in 1941, received designs from 24 participating teams. Yet the competition jury was not satisfied with the results, criticising the submitted designs for their superficial and empty representative forms. Equal dissatisfaction was expressed by the public, which – just as in 1938 – reacted with great displeasure to the demolition of the historic Castle remnants and a new project that significantly altered the historic outline of the city. The jury's eventual verdict, in consequence, could be viewed as an act of skilled public diplomacy: no winner was announced but two second prizes were issued: one to the Italian architects Ernesto and Attilio La Padula and the other to the German team of Hans Wolfgang Draesel and Willi Kreuer. The Slovak architect Emil Belluš received third prize. None of the winning competition entries, though, was ever built, nor even served as inspiration for post-war construction.

#### The New Government District

Another large urban project was the continuation of the earlier idea of building new government buildings on the site of the former military training grounds north of the city centre. Already, two nearby Baroque palaces had become seats for state institutions, hence the idea seemed a logical outcome of this development. In 1943, the Ministry of Public Works launched an international invited urban-architectural competition for the government district. Alongside Slovak architects, it invited as participants the Czech architect (of Slovak origin) Josef Gočár, the Italian architects Ernesto La Padula and Adalberto Libera and the Viennese architects Siegfried Theiss and Hans Jaksch.<sup>15</sup> Though in this case a first prize was awarded, the jury's decision was again an act of careful diplomacy. The first prize was

given to Josef Gočár, who had been allowed to participate only because his father had been born in Slovakia. The second prize went to the Austrian team and the third to the Italians, though all participants were given the right to participate in the design of the future buildings. In the context of the predominant official taste, however, the jury's decision was somewhat surprising. Josef Gočár planned his winning design in the sense of Functionalist principles as an orthogonal block structure, with the individual buildings forming simple rectangles with flat roofs. The other designs all imagined the government district in a far more ostentatious form as a hierarchical and representative urban space. Yet the winning design was never built, doubtless (at least in part) for its weak ideological stance. Surprisingly, the greatest recognition was given to the third-place design by the Italians La Padula and Libera, whose urban conception served as the basis for later construction on the square after World War II.

#### Practical Solutions for the City

Despite the massive investment plans marked by ideological emphasis and desire for public representation, the actual investments within the state capacity during World War II focused far more on the realisation of pragmatic engineering structures. And these efforts, in the final analysis, had a far greater impact on the city than the highly visible international competitions. Attesting to the significance that the city gave them is the attention paid by most of the authors contributing to the book *Bratislava hlavné mesto Slovenska* [Bratislava, Capital of Slovakia], which the Office of Urbanism published in cooperation with the Swiss publisher Läderdienst A.G. in 1943. The first of these undertakings was the construction of the tunnel under Castle Hill, backed by the Ministry of Transport and Public Works, but with realisation entrusted to the Central Administration for Rail Construction. Planned by Ernest Hron, the tunnel's construction began in the spring of 1943 with boring work starting from Zámocka ulica. The tunnel's purpose was in part to relieve the traffic pressure on Židovská ulica and to speed up the connection between the western Danube embankment and the main rail station; moreover, for the wartime era, the tunnel could also serve as an air-raid shelter. However, the extensive structure of planned ancillary spaces was never realised.<sup>16</sup> Construction of the tunnel, including the unique pedestrian corridor leading to the upper end of ulica Palisády, only concluded after the war's end in 1949. Also linked to pragmatic aims of building the city infrastructure was the rebuilding of the main rail station, which started even before the outbreak of war (A.

14 Barta, E., 1943, p. 32.

15 Stoličná, Elena: Nemecká misia. Urbanistické súťaže na Slovensku v prvej polovici 20. storočia a pôvodné nemecké myšlienky. *Architektúra & Urbanizmus*, 31, 1997, no. 4, p. 177 – 186.

16 Bogár, Michal: Plánovanie mesta. In: *Vojnová Bratislava, 1939 – 1945*. Ed. P. Szalay, Bratislava, Marenčin PT, 2019, p. 184 – 193.

Parkman, 1940). And the attention of city planners was also oriented towards automotive transport. Growing demands for road capacity were underscored by the reorganisation of traffic in the lower area of today's Námestie SNP into the form of a roundabout intersection. Additional rebuilding plans were formulated for other problematic traffic junctures, at today's Hodžovo námestie and Račianske Mýto. Completion of the regulation of the Danube and the landscaping of the left bank allowed for widening of the embankment roadway from today's Námestie Ľ. Štúra up to Karlova Ves.<sup>17</sup> The city's Technical Group, which ensured the preparation of road construction, was also given competition for planning public buildings. During the first half of the 1940s, for instance, it realised the preparation for construction of the new town hall on Kollárovo námestie on the site of the former military barracks, or the new hospital in Dolné Kramare including the relevant regulatory measures for the construction site.

Part of the securing of the utilitarian functions of the city was also the construction of housing. During World War II, its organisation was provided not only by the city authorities but also the 'General Construction Cooperative' [Všeobecné stavebné družstvo], established in 1940, along with the 'German Construction Service' or the era's flourishing industry. The plans for cooperative housing construction had notably ambitious titles – A Thousand Workers' Houses, A Thousand Officials' Houses or A Thousand Family Houses. It was within this initiative that the largest completed project was realised, the colony of single-family houses known as the 'People's District' [Ľudová štvrť], built in 1942-1943 between Háľkova and Vajnorská ulica. As such, it was during wartime that gradually the city began to match the aims of planners from the start of the century of expansion eastward, since most of the new residential areas grew precisely on this edge of Bratislava. Likewise, the eastern periphery of the city saw much growth in local industry. In particular, the factory Dynamit Nobel, which even before the start of the war had been acquired by Germany's IG Farbenindustrie, invested not only in expanding the manufacturing plant but also in building housing and sports facilities for its workers. Nonetheless, in connection with new construction on the eastern edge, it is necessary to keep in mind that it was more of a necessity than the free choice of the builders, since growth to the southward was barred by the ceding of the territory on the right Danube bank to the German Reich and the north and west edge were limited by the natural barrier of the Carpathians.

The loss of the right bank of the Danube also meant that the city lost the greater part of its sports and recreational areas. This factor hastened the creation of new sports areas in the area of Tehelné pole, where the city gave land free of charge and contributed financially for the construction of a soccer stadium (then Š.K. Bratislava, later Slovan Bratislava), a tennis stadium and a winter stadium along with a skating rink and summer swimming pool. In the area known as Kuchajda, they planned a public park as well as a horse track. Similarly, new sports and recreation facilities were also considered for the western areas: construction of a summer bathing area in the stone quarry adjoining the new tunnel, completion of the hiking routes to Železná studnička, planning even a 'weekend colony' in Koliba. "The start of this action was given by the felling of trees, grading and digging up the ground, and the coarse finishing of the resulting paths".<sup>18</sup> A similar ambitious plan for the city included the construction of a motor-racing track on the hill of Kamzík.

Though the officials of the Slovak State and the city of Bratislava managed in the early years of the war to maintain the idea of Slovakia and its capital as areas outside of direct military threat, developments of the war eventually forced the city to start planning and realising measures to protect its population. Even at the end of the 1930s, the completion of an air-raid shelter became a necessary part of every larger building or public project. With the threat of Allied air bombardment starting at the end of 1943, though, work began on temporary 'anti-flak' shelters. Shelters of all types, including the still-incomplete tunnel, found their use during the air raid of 16 June 1944, aiming at the Apollo refinery and the presidential palace. Despite the relative precision of the air strike, this one major bombing of the city during the entire war meant not only the destruction of much of the industrial area but also the loss of a section of Poštová ulica, hit by the bombs intended for the seat of the presidency.<sup>19</sup>

In the end, it was this destructive intervention of the conflict that changed the city far more visibly than the grandiose ambitions of the Slovak government, the desires of the city's German minority, or the ambitions of the local bourgeoisie.

17 Kalužay, Ladislav: Technická výstavba hlavného mesta Bratislavy. In: Bratislava, hlavné mesto Slovenska / Pressburg Hauptstadt der Slowakei. Basel, Landerdienst a. g., 1943, p. 37 – 49.

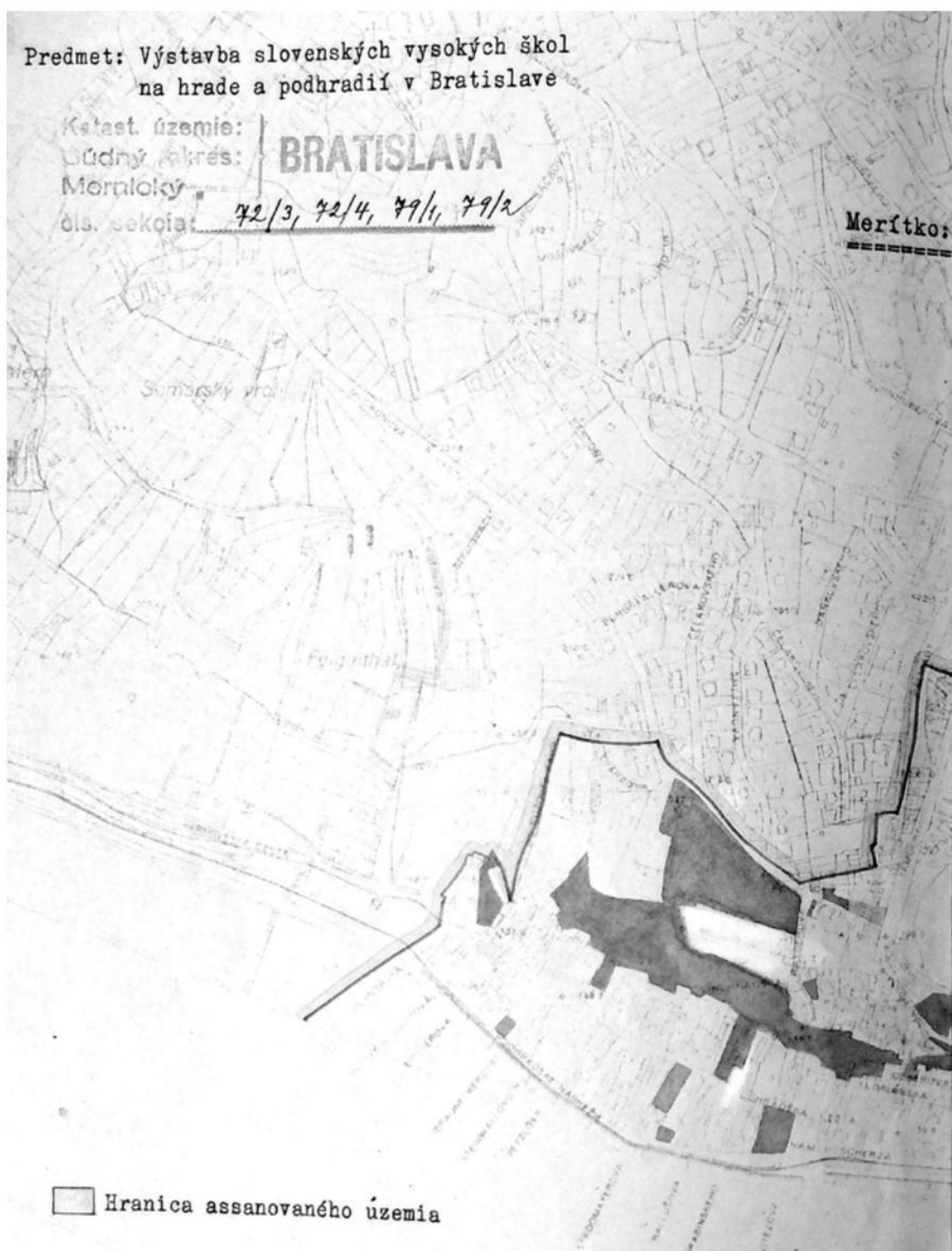
18 Ibid., p. 40.

19 Krišteková, Laura – Szalay, Peter: Vojna v meste. In: Vojnová Bratislava, 1939 – 1945. Ed. P. Szalay, Bratislava, Marenčin PT 2019, p. 284 – 305.

Predmet: Výstavba slovenských vysokých škôl  
na hrade a podhradí v Bratislave

Katastr. územie: **BRATISLAVA**  
Účdný okres:  
Mestský  
čís. sekcia: 72/3, 72/4, 79/1, 79/2

Merítko:  
=====

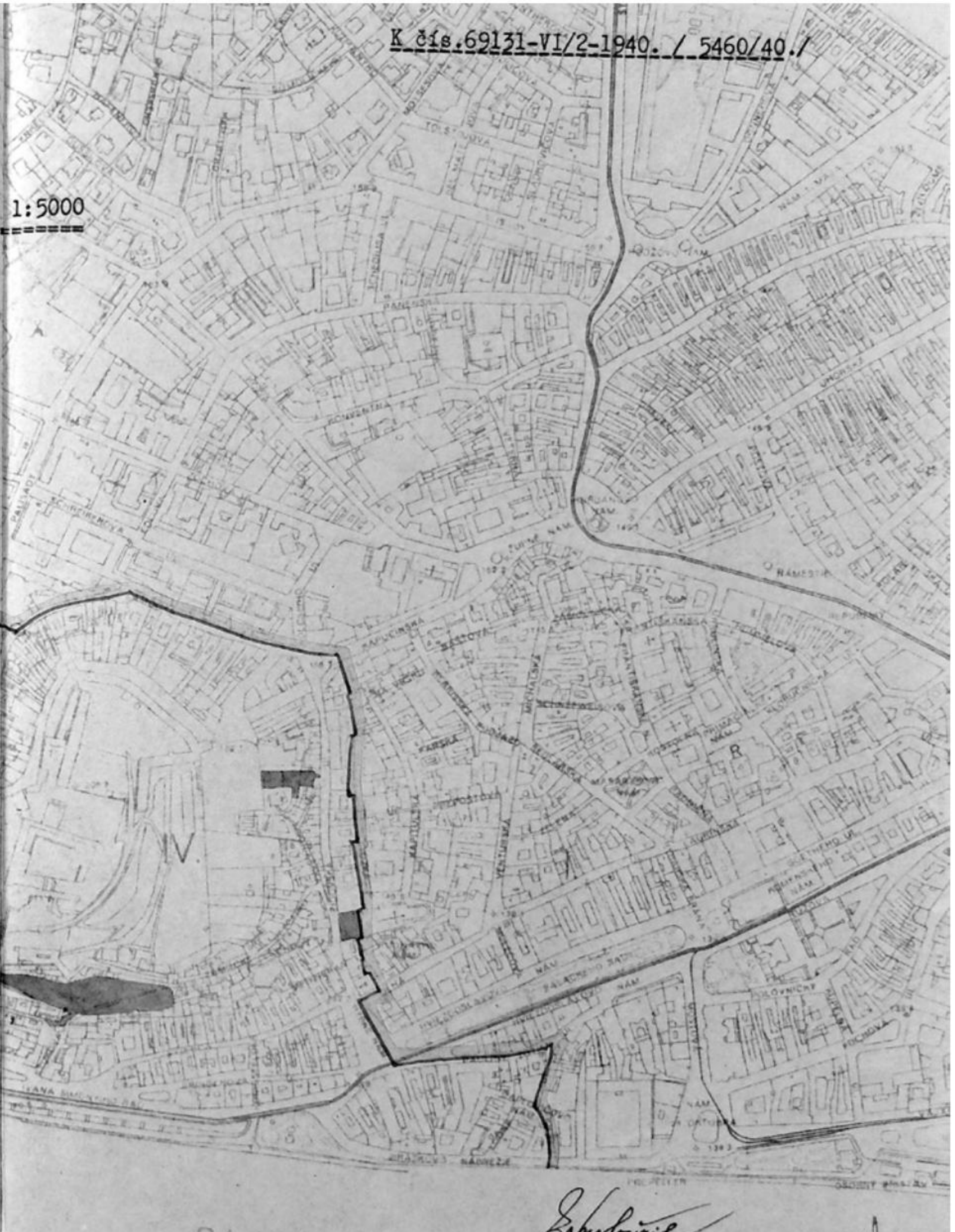


□ Hranica assanovaného územia

Bratislava, dňa 11.XII.1940.

K čís. 69131-VI/2-1940. / 5460/40. /

1:5000



*E. Kovalovskij*

The established clearance area in connection with the planned construction on the Castle Hill, 1940  
Source: Bratislava City Archives

5

**the history of city planning**

post-war renewal of  
the city

After the end of World War II, the city administration of Bratislava was immediately faced with the task of dealing with the war damage. The bridge and roads were repaired, the tunnel under Castle Hill completed, and work began again in the bomb-devastated industrial district. Yet before the city authorities and architects could think about a wider plan for the city's future form, they had to await the decision on the course of the southern state frontier. This decision was crucial for whether Bratislava would be confined to the Danube's left bank or would be able to fulfil its ambitions to expand further into the right bank. Even before the peace conference confirmed the post-war organisation of Europe and thus the routing of national borders, Bratislava's architects were defending the territorial demands of the Slovak capitol. Kamil Gross prepared as a "basis for the Paris Conference of the four victorious powers an elaboration for expanding the state territory to the right Danube bank, justified by the development conditions of the city".<sup>1</sup> Emil Belluš and Eugen Barta in 1946 published a series of articles in the journal *Architektura ČSR*, where they argued on grounds of historical development, wider geographic and economic ramifications of the city the planning requirements for keeping the right Danube bank within the state border.<sup>2</sup> Once the territorial demands of Czechoslovakia were approved, Bratislava could turn easily to the previous era before the war in its urban planning. Even the architect Eugen Barta, who since the mid-1920s had stood behind every decision in the city's plan, remained initially in his original post. Yet the same problems persisted. Emil Belluš in 1948 commented critically on the renewal of the war-damaged areas of Bratislava that "the capitol of Slovakia cannot come up with a more serious directive development plan, nor even detailed preparation of documentation for a promising future plan, and thus creates 'improvements' only from case to case, by chance, with the assistance of a large regulatory committee in which the two serious professional organisations of architects, the Architects' Association and the Chamber of Engineers, have so far only two representatives."<sup>3</sup> However, the regulatory commission headed by architect Kamil Gross was already at work on the plan for the city's development. Completed in 1949, the plan to a large extent drew upon the concept of a hierarchised ring-road and radial system with separate districts, as presented in the competition for the Bratislava urban plan by

the team of Imre Forbáth. Another echo was the idea of an inner ring around the edge of the historic core and two new bridges across the Danube, one emerging out of an extended Židovská ulica, the other roughly on the site of today's Most Lafranconi. One intriguing idea was a planned tunnel connecting Mlynská Dolina with Líščie údolie, hopefully reducing the traffic burden on the Danube embankment and reinforcing its function as a promenade. Gross likewise proposed the construction of lateral canals on both banks of the Danube. However, this plan was soon pushed aside by other alternatives, and the authority for urban planning also shifted from the Regulatory Commission to new specialised bodies.

A radical shift in urban planning took place after the Communist coup of 1948, with nationalisation and a planned economy. Changes also arrived in the situation of the legislation for planning and construction. "Until 1949, we created regulatory plans. Per Act no. 280, these ceased to be valid and were subjected to revision. Only around 1/3 of them can be used... all the rest fall short of today's urban and technical requirements. After 1949 there began to appear the 'directive land-use plans' which were produced very slowly, since there were not enough designers, map documents, field investigations, as well as unclear economic planning and insufficient oversight", was the summary of this transformation from one of the participants in the conference on city reconstruction in 1956.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, great changes also transpired within the profession of urban planning itself. Shortly after nationalisation, in 1949 the Department of Architecture and Construction at the Slovak Technical University in Bratislava created the Institute for Construction of Cities and Settlements, headed until 1962 by the Prague architect and planner Emanuel Hruška (1906 – 1989). Not only did this institution lay the foundations for urban-planning training in Slovakia, but its faculty members significantly shaped the discussions on planning and construction in Bratislava. Only shortly after the opening of the department at the STU, its students began, under Hruška's guidance, to investigate the conception of alternatives to the directive city plan to serve as inspiration for employees of the city government. Two alternative plans were also prepared by the 'Atelier for the Directive Plan of Bratislava' led by Professor Ján Svetlík. The extent of the work and the strong pressure for new housing construction specified in the national five-year economic plans soon led to the expansion of this group and eventually its anchoring in the state design institute. This new institutionalised group worked after 1955 under the guidance of architect and planner

1 Gross, Kamil: Sedem plánov pre Bratislavu. Projekt, 13, 1971, no. 5, p. 180.

2 Belluš, Emil: O budúcnosť veľkej slovenskej Bratislavy. Architektura ČSR, 5, 1946, no. 1, p. 49 and Barta, Evžen: O budúcnosť veľkej slovenskej Bratislavy, urbanistické požiadavky pre ustálenie štátnych hraníc na pravom brehu Dunaja pri Bratislave. Architektura ČSR, 5, 1946, no. 5, p. 117-119.

3 Belluš, Emil: Stavebná obnova mesta Bratislavy. Architektura ČSR, 7, 1948, no. 3, p. 105.

4 V. Horák v diskusii. In: Rekonštrukcia miest a ich historických jadier. SAV, 1956, p. 122.



Milan Hladký (1925 – 2013). Practically in one year, they had ready for evaluation the first directive urban plan for Bratislava.

#### How to Plan a Socialist Capitol?

In October 1955, the Slovak Academy of Sciences held a conference on the reconstruction of cities and their historic cores. It brought together all leading figures in the fields of heritage protection, architecture and urban planning active in Slovakia. Despite the general nature of the theme of urban planning and heritage protection, one of the key themes of the conference was, in fact, Bratislava. "Very disturbing is the situation even in the capitol city of Slovakia. That the city has no promising land-use plan or solution for its transport system could somehow be excused. [sic!] But it is impossible to be satisfied with the care for its historic centre, its valuable spaces and monuments. At present, it appears that the city has no caretaker. Landmarks are vanishing, valuable groups of buildings or even entire streets", claimed Emil Belluš in his opening address.<sup>5</sup> Further criticism of Bratislava's conditions was added by Emanuel Hruška, expressing the conviction that "hopefully never again will there be repeated the carelessness and disregard for Bratislava's Castle Hill, for the historic Židovská ulica, historic Vydrica and other ensembles, about which one high-ranking official stated during his visit to Bratislava that they made him think an air-raid had just taken place."<sup>6</sup>

The conference's participants tried as well to characterise the change that should occur in urban planning within the new socialist order in Czechoslovakia. Emanuel Hruška stressed that in planning cities the principle should be the "urban 'logic' of connecting new buildings into the ground plans and silhouettes of towns and settlements". Cities, in his view, should not "be disturbed with new interventions, whether at the periphery or the core, as was done under capitalism", but instead "be organically expanded and rebuilt, following the aesthetic principles of the given urban environment, settlement or landscape".<sup>7</sup> More on the limits of city design under conditions of capitalism was offered in the contribution by architect Jozef Lacko, who argued that "under capitalist conditions, the formation of urban ensembles and integration of individual buildings into the artistic composition of streets,

squares and public spaces is not realisable".<sup>8</sup> As a model for planning in Slovakia, he cited several examples of the planning and construction of new urban districts in Moscow and Leningrad.

Notably more pragmatic, and free of the era's ideological rhetoric, is the commentary on the preparation of the land-use plans by architect Ján Svetlík. The main problem, as he saw it, lay in the absence of sufficient knowledge of the specific qualities of individual towns. "For an architect and planner to decide responsibly on this or that alternative, he needs to know the cultural heritage, the historic development of each town with all its typical signs" – and precisely "this evaluation is what our cities have until now lacked", he stated.<sup>9</sup> For architect Ivan Kuhn, though, the errors "in preparing the directive plan for Bratislava, ensued from working isolated in separate standpoints".<sup>10</sup> The most vital difference between the building of cities in capitalist and socialist society, though, lay in the matter of planning and public interest. While capitalist construction was marked (per the professional press) by spontaneity and land speculation, "the victory of the idea of socialism in our nation has eliminated these hindrances and retarding moments".<sup>11</sup> Yet even the change in the social-economic order had much influence on changing the paradigms of urban planning. The opinions that in this period shaped Bratislava's planning continued to follow the principles stated in the Athens Charter: above all, the application of functional segregation with a stress on questions of housing and transport, along with selective protection of architectural heritage. The essence of urban-planning documents of this era was aptly captured by the unsigned author of the introduction to the special issue of the journal *Architektura ČSR* devoted to the planning and development of Bratislava, who stated that "the central point of interest of the broadest layers is housing construction and in this respect the problem of the clearance of structurally and hygienically defective areas, as well as a solution to transport problems".<sup>12</sup> Preparation of a land-use plan for the city in the mid-1950s should match the "demands of a scientific and professional approach to the urban questions of city building".<sup>13</sup> Such an approach should be manifested primarily through

5 E. Belluš: O potrebe zjednotenia štátnej starostlivosti o historické pamiatky mesta. In: Rekonštrukcia miest a ich historických jadier. Zborník konferencie SAV, 7. - 9. 10. 1955, Smolenice, SAV, 1956, p. 9.

6 Hruška, Emanuel: Úvod do problematiky prestavby historických miest. In: Rekonštrukcia miest a ich historických jadier. SAV, 1956, p. 15.

7 Hruška, Emanuel: Úvod do problematiky prestavby historických miest. In: Rekonštrukcia miest a ich historických jadier. SAV, 1956, p. 13.

8 Lacko, Jozef: Pohľad tvorivého architekta na prestavbu historických miest. In: Rekonštrukcia miest a ich historických jadier. SAV, 1956, p. 105.

9 Svetlík, Ján: Ku prestavbe historických miest na Slovensku. In: Rekonštrukcia miest a ich historických jadier. SAV, 1956, p. 100.

10 Kuhn, I. discussion comment. In: Rekonštrukcia miest a ich historických jadier. SAV, 1956, p. 124.

11 Editors: Úvodom. *Architektura ČSR*, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 1.

12 Ibid.

13 Beňuška, Milan: Bratislava, hlavné mesto Slovenska. *Architektura ČSR*, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 11.

the investigation, classification and analysis of extant built fabric, evaluation of potential landmarks and future development areas. A new and significant element for evaluation and planning would also be private automotive transport. Based on the summary of these analyses, a plan was then developed that defined the transport system, specified the functional use of different areas and traced the future development trajectories. Decisive here was, above all, "good operational relations between the basic functions of the city – housing, workplaces, centres for higher-level services and recreation".<sup>14</sup>

### The Directive Plan of Milan Hladký

Under the leadership of Milan Hladký, the design team completed the new directive plan for Bratislava in the spring of 1956. The plan had a time horizon of 15 years, during which it was expected that the city would grow into a metropolis of 300 000 inhabitants. In proportion, the plan assumed the growth of its housing fund by up to 60%. These new residential quarters were to arise in the immediate centre of the city, requiring a correspondingly large plan for demolition. Hladký's planning collective proposed relatively large clearance areas across the city (Podhradie including Židovská and Zámocka ulica, the entire block between Špitálska, Námestie SNP, Dunajská and Rajska, the large block from Kollárovo námestie between Mýtna and Radlinského almost as far as Račianske mýto, along with much of the extant buildings between Obchodná ulica and Hodžovo námestie and along Vysoká ulica), which was planned for "high-rise construction". The new residential area would develop their focal points toward the northeast and east, as well as partially to the northwest at the edge of the Lesser Carpathians and into the hilly terrain to the west. The focus of the central urban area would move to the northeast along Mýtna, Obchodná, Špitálska a Dunajská ulica up to Račianske and Trnavské mýto. The basis of the transport conception was formed by the extant radial-ring system, which the plan proposed enriching with a transverse greenbelt running axially from Šancová through Starohorská, Americké námestie and finally Mlynské nivy. The inner ring road would continue via an extension of Židovská ulica to the new bridge across the Danube, which along with the 'Old Bridge' would ensure the transport links for the future development area of Petržalka into the urban organism. A third bridge over the Danube was indicated in the design on the site of today's Lafranconi Bridge. Via Štefánikova, Šancová, Vuka Karadžiča and Dostojevského rad, the inner ring would be connected to the outer one. Here, the greatest symbolic as well as practical

task was the building of the intersection of this outer roadway with the paired radials of Radlinského and Križna ulica at Račianske and Trnavské mýto. The administrative centre was the square now known as Americké námestie; Námestie SNP was to retain its primarily commercial function, while Šafárikovo, Rybné or Mierovo námestie would have, per the plan, a primarily traffic-based function.<sup>15</sup> Precisely this categorisation, along with the functional division of the city, was key in the preparation of more detailed plans for construction, or for conceiving the competition conditions for the treatment of these areas of the city. In parallel with the directive plan, which addressed the entire area of the current as well as future city, there also appeared detailed land-use plans for those districts where the most intensive construction was proposed (e.g. the area around ul. Račianska, Vajnorská, Záhradnícka).

Professional circles were divided in their assessment of the plan. Individual working groups held different views mostly on the "purpose and solution for the area on the right bank of the Danube and thus the construction of Petržalka", on the plan's proposed "bridge emerging out of Rybné námestie", the treatment of the "area between Mierovo and Hurbanovo námesties with low-density building in greenery" as well as the "routing of the enclosed ring road around the historic city core via Židovská ulica"<sup>16</sup> The evaluation of the first directive plan of Bratislava for the post-war era was addressed by architects, planners and other experts in city development at another conference organised in November 1956 by the Association of Slovak Architects along with the Slovak Academy of Sciences and other institutions. Conference participants addressed a wide range of suggestions to the plan's authors, concerning e.g. the functional purpose of the future construction of Kamenné námestie, Suché mýto and Podhradie as exclusively residential areas. Also viewed as problematic in terms of compositional principles was the bridging of the Danube from Rybné námestie, though this idea was also viewed positively from the transport standpoint.<sup>17</sup> In general, though, the plan was accepted as a "good basis for the city's growth".<sup>18</sup> Several sharp criticisms of specific parts of the plan were nonetheless voiced by two major figures of Slovakia's architectural community, Emil Belluš and Emanuel Hruška. Both architects viewed as highly problematic the separation of the historic city centre from the castle base with

14 Steller, Ján: Kompozičné zásady smerného plánu. Architektura ČSR, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 28.

15 Steller, Ján: Kompozičné zásady smerného plánu. Architektura ČSR, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 29.

16 Editors, 1958, p. 2.

17 Vyhodnotenie smerného plánu z hľadiska perspektívneho vývoja mesta a prímestskej zóny na konferencii Sväzu slovenských architektov v novembri 1956. Architektura ČSR, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 39 – 40.

18 Ibid., p. 40.

a major transport artery following Židovská ulica and flowing into a new bridge across the Danube.<sup>19</sup>

The directive plan of Bratislava was approved in 1956 by the Central National Committee and the Slovak Board of Commissioners. Yet the national government failed to approve it; hence it did not become a binding document, as was manifested in its being only partially followed.<sup>20</sup> "Under such conditions, then, it is not possible to speak of the intentional guidance of the construction of the city, and unplanned growth is a frequent and unwelcome sign of the city's expansion", noted Emil Belluš in 1958.<sup>21</sup> Among the other factors that caused "us to be witnesses to improvisations poorly handling the great possibilities that realistically provided only by a socialist society", he noted the poor economic return on investment required by unsustainable demolitions, conditional on the creation of many hectares of new space without sufficient justification, in densely build areas, the absence of a chief architect, the low effectiveness of architectural competitions, and above all the absence of coordination between the separate bodies for city construction.<sup>22</sup> At the start of 1958, in other words, the planning and building of the city was accompanied by the same problems it faced at the start of the century, when the city authorities were first presented with the regulatory plan by Antal Palóczy.

Yet even though the directive plan of the authorial team led by Milan Hladký was never approved by the Slovak government, its influence on the form of the city was decisive. The radical Modernist ideas evoked in it matched the exceptional dynamism of investment construction in the city during the 1960s. It was on the basis of this plan and the series of urban-architectural competitions in the 1960s that the greatest amount of earlier construction was destroyed in the wider city centre and many ambitious construction projects launched. The most significant changes within Bratislava, such as the demolition of Podhradie and the construction of the SNP Bridge, the demolition of Kamenné námestie and the construction of the commercial-social centre, the destruction of the north side of Kollárovo námestie, the massive clearance in the block between Radlinského, Starohorská and Mýtna and the construction of the buildings of the Slovak Technical University all had their intellectual

grounding precisely in the Directive Plan from 1956. Unquestionably, the fulfilment of this idea was to no small extent furthered by the fact that Milan Hladký, the head of the team preparing the plan, held in the period 1962 to 1964 the post of chief architect of the city, and then from 1964 to 1969 that of Mayor of Bratislava.

19 Viz. e.g.: Belluš, Emil: Niektoré problémy pri výstavbe mesta Bratislavy. *Architektúra ČSR*, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 41 – 42. Hruška, Emanuel: Niekoľko myšlienok k urbanistickému rozvoju Bratislavy. *Architektúra ČSR*, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 42 – 43.

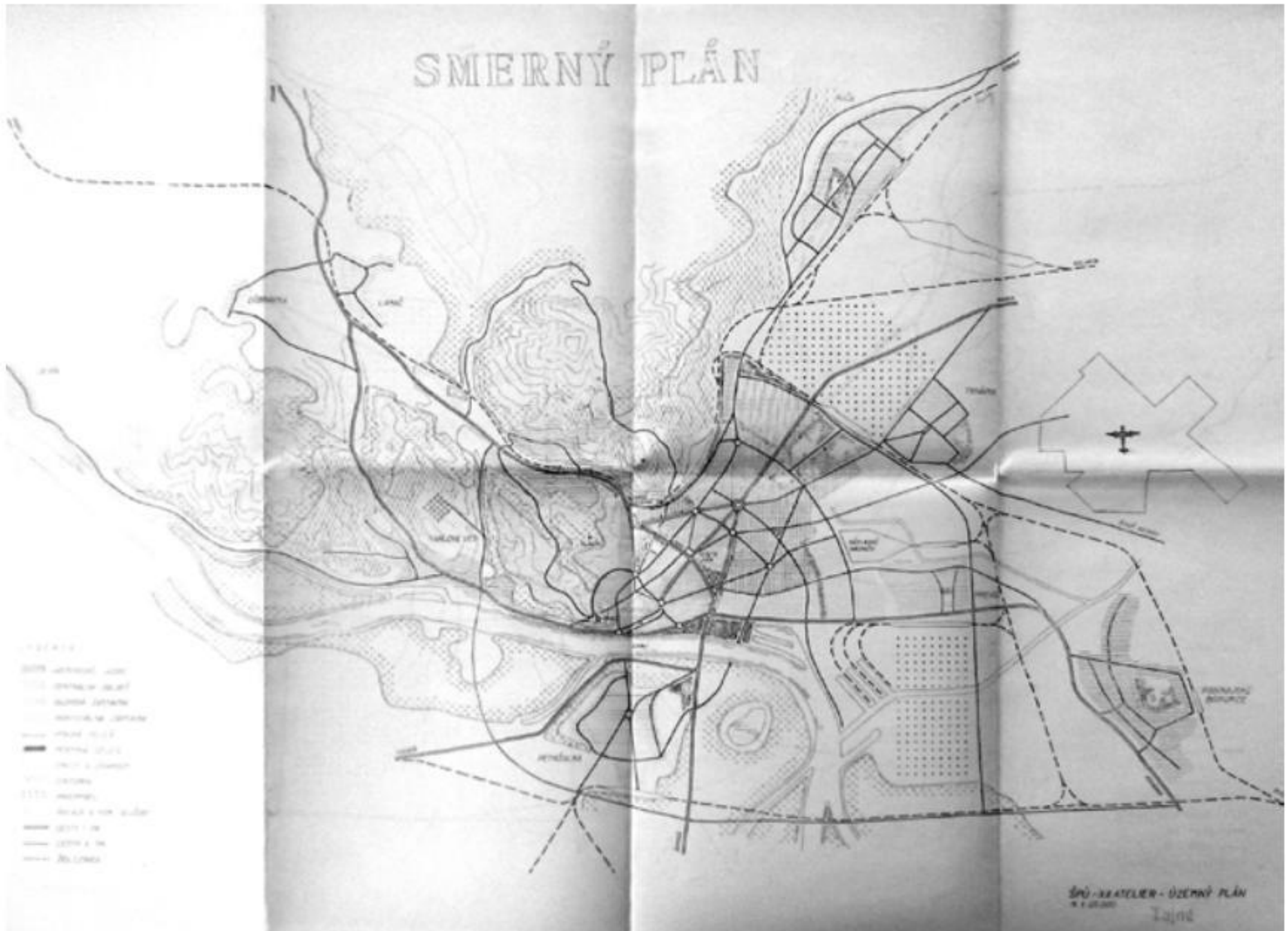
20 Rihák, Karol: Rozvoj mesta v druhom období budovania socializmu v rokoch 1954 – 1960. In: *Dejiny Bratislavy*, Eds: Darina Lehotská, Ján Plevza, Bratislava, Obzor 1966, p. 553.

21 Belluš, E., 1958, p. 41.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 42



The Directive Plan for Bratislava, analytical part, Milan Hladký et al., 1955  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives



Proposal of The Directive Plan for Bratislava, Milan Hladký et al., 1956  
Source: Bratislava City Archives

6

**the history of city planning**

**the culmination of  
modern planning**

Matching the sharp increase in Bratislava's population and the demands for housing construction, pressures increased as well on the process of urban planning. Land-use and urban planning were, moreover, regarded as inseparable components of the socialist planned economy and in this sense as an immediate tool for society's governance. Under the influence of these ideas, the 1960s witnessed the full institutionalisation of urban planning in the creation of the 'Office of the Chief Architect of the City'.<sup>1</sup> In Bratislava, this office was founded in 1962. Its head, i.e. the chief architect, was Milan Hladký. Immediately, this new institution began work on a new plan for the city.

An authorial team headed by urban planner Milan Beňuška was assigned the task of drawing up a plan with a time-perspective until 1980, at which time Bratislava was expected to increase to 350,000 inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> For questions of the basic directions of city growth and the rebuilding of its centre, though, it largely relied in the previous directive plan for Bratislava. One difference, though, was that "the urban conception in its aim assumed the spatial opening of the city" and the construction of residential ensembles around its edge.<sup>3</sup> The plan was completed in 1963 and in June 1966 was approved by the Czechoslovak government. Subsequently, it was to this plan's principles that the housing estates on the eastern and western edges of the city were constructed up until the early 1970s. As such, the plan already assumed the full growth of Bratislava onto the Danube's right bank. In addition to the two new bridges, which had already appeared in the plan by Milan Hladký, Beňuška considered the construction of two other crossings: one at the end of Košická, the second emerging from Bajkalská ulica, which are now reflected in the present locations of the 'Apollo Bridge' and the 'Port Bridge' (Prístavný most). The plan defined three ring roads, an inner, a central and an outer one. Like Kamil Gross, the team under Beňuška proposed routing a retention canal around the new residential satellite on the Petržalka side. Beňuška's team also devoted attention to the city centre, where – as in the previous plan – they also proposed radical urban renewal.

In 1961, Bratislava had 241,796 residents. In the following decade, the number grew by over 55,000. After the passing of the act on

1 A detailed treatment of this process in the federal capitol, Prague, is found in: Roubal, Petr: Plánování Prahy 80. – 90. Léta. Sebedestrukce urbanistické expertizy. In: Architekti dlouhé změny. Expertní kořeny postsocialismu v Československu. Ed. Michal Kopeček, Argo, 2019, p. 315 – 354.

2 The design team included, among others, Milan Hladký, Štefan Svetko, Ján Šteller or Rudolf Surový.

3 Hauskrecht, Jozef: Úvodom. Architektura ČSSR, 37, 1978, no. 1., p. 2.

the federal arrangement of Czechoslovakia in 1968, Bratislava's governmental function also changed, which had its own influence on the built development. These forces represented a major pressure for housing construction, planning of housing estates, yet also the construction of new public buildings. A further major change was the start of construction on the Petržalka side of the Danube. It became necessary to incorporate the designs produced in the international urban-plan competition for Petržalka from 1967 – 1968 into the directive land-use plan, resulting in the revision of the extant plan and eventually the drafting of a new one. Another reason, though, for the new plan was the personnel changes in the city administration and the Office of the Chief Architect following the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact forces in 1968.

#### The Office of the Chief Architect of Bratislava and Its Plans for the City

In 1970, the Office of the Chief Architect of Bratislava moved into its own new building on Dvořákovo nábrežie (I. Barta, 1970). At that time, the post of chief architect was held by Dušan Kedro (1925 – 2012). He was succeeded in 1979 by Jozef Hauskrecht (1934 - ), who held the position up until 1989. Under Hauskrecht's leadership, work began in 1970 for the draft of a new directive land-use plan for the city, which was completed in 1973 and in 1976 approved by the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic.<sup>4</sup> The design collective held a vision of Bratislava growing outward in all directions, gradually absorbing into itself the outlying settlements, running eastward as far as Pezinok and westward, within the 'Záhorie settlement belt', up to Záhorská Bystrica, which would have been connected as well to Petržalka. "Major changes" were assumed in the design for the city's central area, where the designers expected a "gradual concentration of facilities for public amenities of higher levels at the expense of the housing fund".<sup>5</sup> These expected "major changes" in the centre implied that this "area of provincial character will need to be overcome on a deep-structural level, i.e. with a functional, spatial and formal-aesthetic transformation".<sup>6</sup> The extent and format of these changes was to be determined in a nationwide public urban-planning competition for the 'Central City Region', which was opened in 1978. During the same period, the first mentions also occur in discussions of the transport system for a high-speed rail link, which allegedly had been recommended to the city by "Soviet experts for the development plan of Bratislava".<sup>7</sup>

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., p. 3.

6 Hruška, Emanuel: Centrálna oblasť Bratislavy (Niekoľko poznámok urbanistu). Architektura ČSSR, 37, 1978, no. 1, p. 9.

7 Hladký, Milan: Riešenie dopravy v Bratislave. Architektura



When urban planner Tibor Zalčík provided a recapitulation in 1978 of the development plans of the city in the post-war era, he stated that they "involved a clarification of the functional relations and areas in the city", concretely "in the layout of manufacturing areas with characteristic tendencies of a transition from originally strictly defined manufacturing zones in the area of their previous location towards their distribution into nearly all administrative divisions of the city", "in the area of placement of concentrated housing construction", "in the area of recreation through creating possibilities for gradual accentuation of the connection of natural qualities" and "in the area of transport with the application of tendencies leading towards the organisation of the rail and road networks".<sup>8</sup> In parallel, he noted that in the area of construction, this would imply mostly the building of new residential formations and specialised complexes of city-wide or regionally significant facilities and a "less adequate" growth of the city's surface area.<sup>9</sup> Rising critiques of urban spread were no doubt related to the stricter legislation for protecting agricultural land passed in the mid-1970s. In reaction to this "less adequate" spatial growth, attention of planners turned towards city centres, specifically to the 'modernisation' of central city zones. Intensification of extant built-up urban areas and rebuilding of central areas was also demanded in cabinet rulings on the federal (ČSSR) and national (SSR) levels.<sup>10</sup>

In Bratislava, this initiative was followed by the construction of new transit links between the central urban region and the outer housing estates, several planned (and partially realised) investments in the immediate vicinity of the historic core, and the associated series of extensive demolition in the areas of Kamenné námestie, Špitálska, Dunajská, Staromestská, Obchodná ulica or even Hodžovo or Kollárovo námestie. Architect Virgil Droppa characterised this situation in 1978 with the highly descriptive phrase "clearance explosion".<sup>11</sup> On the site of these earlier urban structures, plans were made for extensive public buildings, such as the realisations of the commercial-social centre on Kamenné námestie (I. Matušík, department store and hotel, Kamenné námestie 1, Rajská 2, 1961 – 1973), the buildings of the Supreme Court and the Ministry of Justice (Župné námestie 13, V. Dedeček, 1977 – 1989), the new Slovak Technical University buildings

for the faculties of civil (Radlinského 11, O. Černý, 1963 – 1974) and chemical engineering (Radlinského 9, I. Diklič, J. Liščák, J. Lupták, 1977 – 1983), the Slovak Radio building (Mýtna 1, Š. Ďurkovič, B. Kissling, Š. Svetko, M. Skočková, 1962 – 1984) or the City Market (Šancová 112, I. Matušík, 1975 – 1983) and the Trade Unions' House (Trnavské mýto 1, F. Konček, I. Skoček, L. Titl, 1956 – 1981). The criticised trend of the spatially disproportional growth of housing estates along Bratislava's edges was thus turned inward, and the original dense structures of the city centre began to give way to modernist open plans.

In October 1976, the field of urban planning was altered by the new Construction Act, no. 50, which formulated the individual stages, types and procedures for urban planning. Under its influence, as well as that of other social and economic factors, the Office of the Chief Architect began work on updating the directive land-use plan for the city. The expectation was that it would lead in 1982 to modifications of the current plan and in 1988 to the approval of a new development plan for Bratislava extending all the way to 2010. The focal theme of the plan, as before, was the building of the central urban region, though with a new requirement for an increased share of housing in this part of the city. A second was the strengthening of the functional specialisation of certain areas of the city, e.g. the cultural-social function in the present-day zone of Chalúpkova, the commercial and service function in Obchodná ulica or the administrative and university function near Námestie slobody. In connection with a higher share of flat construction in the city centre, it assumed the liquidation of the "housing stock primarily decrepit and not suitable for modernisation", though this process would not be possible "without demolition even of such housing that in terms of built quality is still suitable but makes extensive use of the land".<sup>12</sup> In the first phase of realisation of the plan, this process implied mostly the filling-in of empty lots, as occurred with the 'House of Fashion' (Dom odievania, Námestie SNP 31, J. Bahna, L. Mikálik, P. Valach, 1974 – 1985) or the multipurpose block of the 'House of Books' (Dom knihy, Krížna 15, Vazovova 19, D. Báľent, E. Horváth, I. Kočan, 1977 – 1982). New flats were planned even for areas of former inner suburbs, in the area of Vajanského nábřežie, Medená, Lazaretská, Moskovská, Starohorská, Panenská, Kozia or Zochova ulica. Set aside for complex rebuilding and enlargement were the areas of Mierové námestie, Starohorská or Obchodná ulica. However, it was still assumed that further expansion of 'complex residential development' would occur even in the outer areas, specifically Dlhé

ČSSR, 37, 1978, no. 1, p. 12.

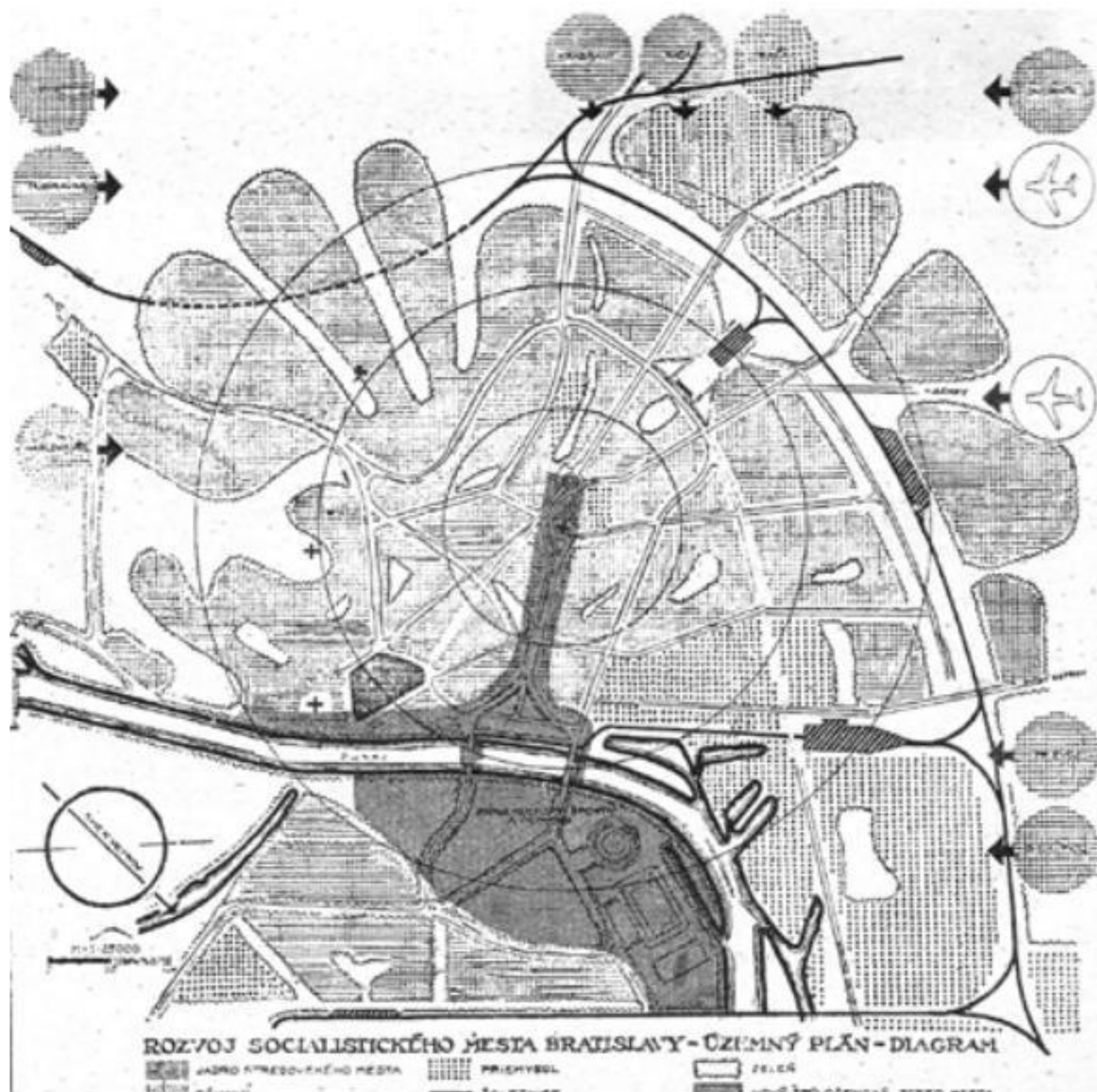
8 Zalčík, Tibor: Zamyslenie nad urbanistickými výsledkami výstavby Bratislavy. *Architektura ČSSR*, 37, 1978, no. 1, p. 4.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

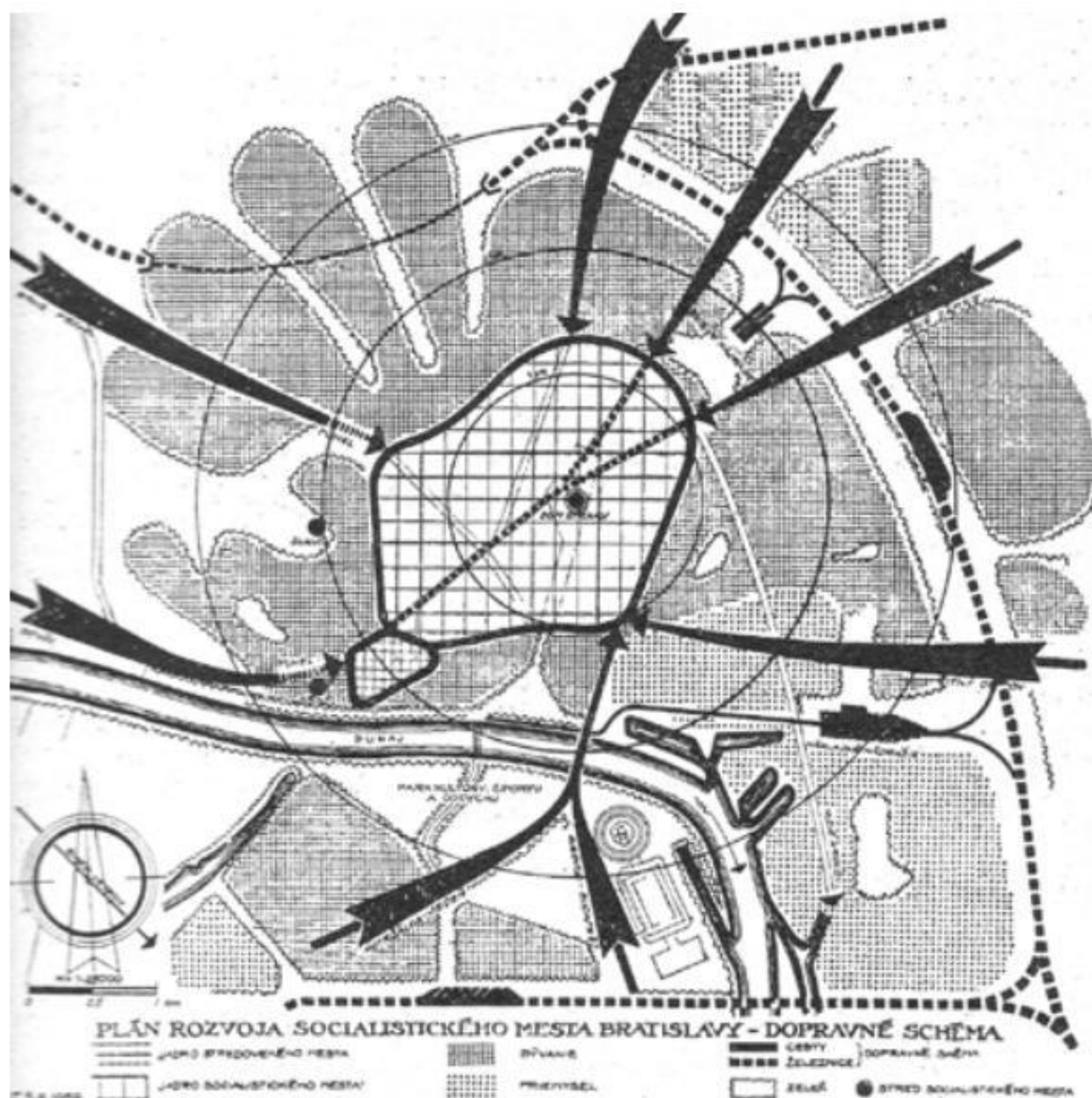
10 Hauskrecht, Jozef: Nad územným plánom hl. mesta Bratislavy. *Projekt*, 25, 1983, no. 4, p. 3.

11 Droppa, Virgil: Pripravované realizácie v Bratislave. *Architektura ČSSR*, 1978, no. 1, p. 29.

12 Hauskrecht, J., 1983, p. 4.



Development of the socialist city of Bratislava, General plan - diagram, Emil Belluš, 1960



Development Plan of the Socialist City of Bratislava, Transport plan, Emil Belluš, 1960



Prospective study of the long-term development of Bratislava, the third alternative,  
Štefan Svetko, Jozef Hauskrecht, Štefan Ďurkovič, 1983  
Source: Projekt, 1983

diely, Líščie údolie or Lamač. In connection with the solution to the transport situation, the plan continued to work with the idea of the transport system from 1966, i.e. of three ring-roads and radial boulevards. A strong theme of emphasis was the construction of the central high-speed automotive ring at the edge of the central urban area (Mlynská dolina, Pražská, a new section along the rail line, Jarošova, Bajkalská, the motorway bridge, a new section in Petržalke, the Lafranconi Bridge), though with equal stress on public transportation, including a high-speed rail line.<sup>13</sup>

In creating the plan, one aspect that came to the forefront for the first time was the quality of the natural environment and the related need to eliminate industrial production within the city limits.<sup>14</sup> This problem had, nonetheless, been noted already at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Antal Palóczy and planners had taken it into consideration even in the next decades. However, no steps had ever been taken towards moving industry outside of the city. Even in 1958, planner Milan Beňuška criticised the placement of industrial zones within the city, stating that factories were "scattered over nearly all the city's area".<sup>15</sup> Though a requirement for shifting manufacturing industry toward the city's edge was present in planning documentation from the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, its practical realisation only occurred at the century's end with the closure or termination of these enterprises.

#### The Last Effort of Socialist Planning

The size and ambitions of the land-use plan prepared by the Office of the Chief Architect at the end of the 1980s far outstripped the economic situation of the country itself. Detailed plans of individual zones were prepared less frequently, and even competitions for the planning of larger areas were held less often. By the 1980s, this situation led to an ever-greater opening of the metaphorical 'scissors' between abstract city planning and built realisations within Bratislava. When the chief architect, Jozef Hauskrecht, summed up the city's planning situation in 1988, he characterised its conception as an urban-design framework "derived from the principles favoured in the early 1960s" and in which "the basic goals in the humanisation of the urban organism lay in its physical openness and the conception of monofunctional complexes".<sup>16</sup> However, the planning and construction of cities in this period was most significantly

marked by enormous territorial spread. The then chief architect of Prague termed "this not entirely common process" an urban explosion,<sup>17</sup> drawing attention as well to the natural limits to growth and the danger of its hypertrophy. Yet this growth could not even be confronted de facto by the institutions that planned it and aimed to control it.

The period of the culmination of modernist urban planning was also linked to the predominance of a highly specialised, abstract view of the city. On one hand, this stance implied the creation of a series of independent proposals for the city's development, the 'general plans', in which a significant share of planning was taken away from architects and urban planners by other professions. A strong presence in this process was visible, e.g. among transport engineers. On the other side, the complex view of the city was reduced to the balancing of functions, traffic flows, and the size and number of housing units. Here, even planners and architects tended to prefer an abstract view of the city. One further major problem was the lack of coordination between the individual agencies for planning and for construction, though this should have been a vital part of any planned economy.

The planning of cities in the later 20<sup>th</sup> century is also illustrated by the shift from the concrete depictions of the street network and building types to abstract displays of transport schemes, functional areas, and directions for growth or mobility. When Emil Belluš analysed the "development of the socialist city of Bratislava", he illustrated his contribution with attractive graphic diagrams created with the Slovak Academy of Sciences, demonstrating the very essence of the shift from the concrete to the abstract.<sup>18</sup> A similar level of abstraction and increasingly large areas of involved land was visible in the reflections of all the era's urban planners, e.g. the sketch-schemas by Emanuel Hruška from the 1960s and 1970s or the attractive later drawings of Bratislava's urban conceptions by Štefan Svetko. The problematics of Bratislava's urban plan were not only addressed by the Office of the Chief Architect but also systematically by the State Design and Standardisation Research Institute. A prognosis study for the long-term growth of Bratislava, prepared in 1982 by the team of Štefan Svetko, Julián Hauskrecht and Štefan Ďurkovič at the request of the Bratislava municipal government (the National Committee of the Capitol of Bratislava) is a typical instance of the scale in which the city was used and what was

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., p. 3.

15 Beňuška, Milan: Bratislava, hlavné mesto Slovenska. Architektúra ČSR, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 3.

16 [Hauskrecht?]: Na prahu novej etapy vo výstavbe hlavného mesta SSR. Slovo hlavného architekta Bratislavy. Projekt, 30, 1988, no. 1, p. 2.

17 Borovička, Blahomír: Bratislava urbanisticky explodovala... Ako vidí hlavné mesto SSR hlavný architekt Prahy. Projekt, 30, 1988, no. 1, p. 3.

18 Belluš, Emil: Niekoľko komentárov k rozvoju mesta Bratislavy. Architektúra ČSR, 19, 1960, no. 6, p. 421 - 423.

of interest in connection with its future.<sup>19</sup> Similar programs were also developed at the Faculty of Architecture at the Slovak Technical University and the state design institute Urbion, prepared with the aim of serving as documentation for the new directive plan for Bratislava. In parallel, it is clear – and critical writings from the era confirm it – that with the growth of abstraction in the directive plan, its direct impact on the architectonic aspect of investment construction declined.

#### A Paradigm Change?

By the start of the 1970s, though, under the influence of international discussions reflections began to appear even in Slovakia concerning the humanisation of the city. Emanuel Hruška, for instance, drew attention to the need for humanisation and the formal consolidation of a multifunctional centre as the “social midpoint” of urban sociability. Not only did it include an appeal to the reduction of automotive traffic in the city centre, but even more a change in the angle of viewing the city itself. After decades of uniform schemes, the genre-register of architects again began to reach for sketches of street scenes and designs for their treatment from the pedestrian perspective, as their immediate user.<sup>20</sup> This trend grew even further under the influence of the ideas of postmodernism, which began to enter architectonic discussions in Slovakia gradually from the start of the 1980s. In the planning of Bratislava, this view manifested itself, among others, in the work of the design team of Ivan Marko, Marta Kropiláková, Vladimír Hrdý, who prepared a land-use plan for the zone of Obchodná ulica (the ‘Obchodná competition, 1988). Indeed, it was the first time in almost a century that an urban plan did not propose radical rebuilding, but instead the shaping of extant construction in the sense of traditional urban categories – the street, the block, the square.

After 1989, the field of urban planning was swept with dramatic changes, ensuing as much from the change in social and political conditions as in professional paradigms for the planning and regulation of city construction. Practically throughout Czechoslovakia, this change implied the rejection of Modernist urban practice. The historian Petr Roubal has termed this stance, “which strove for the most radical and most rapid departure from the state-socialist heritage” urbanist anti-communism.<sup>21</sup> In Bratislava, most of the city-planning institutions, such as Urbion, Stavoprojekt or the State Design and

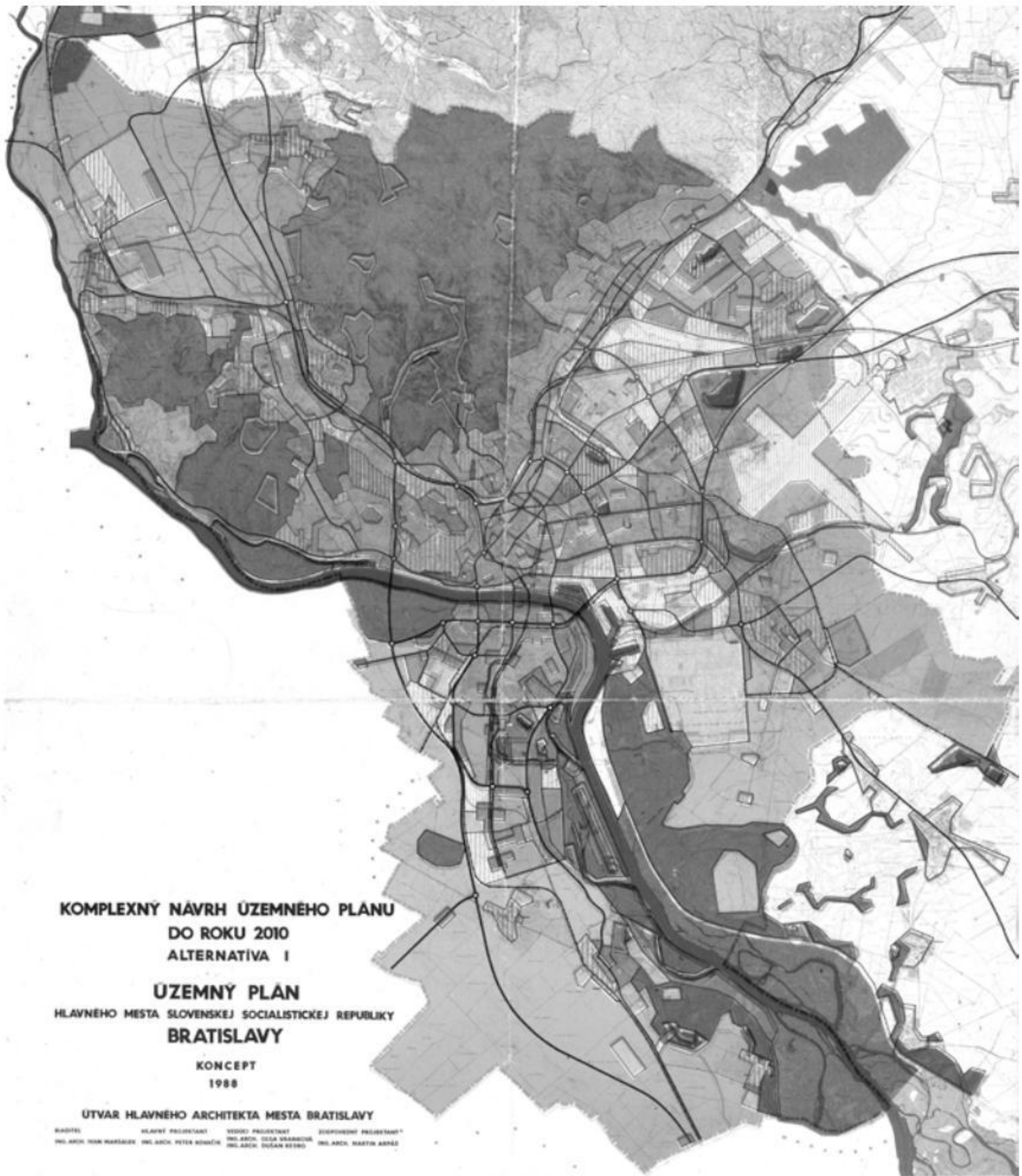
Standardisation Research Institute, were closed. Perhaps the symbolic culmination of the era of Bratislava’s socialist urban planning was the abolition of the Office of the Chief Architect and the demolition of its building in 2002. This development reflected the far-reaching doubts of the purpose of any sort of state planning within the context of a market economy. Continuity in Bratislava’s urban plan was ensured until the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century by a minimised Department of City Planning in the city hall. Its competence extended, though, to the preparation of an updated and binding development plan, a document that still, to a great extent, represented a remnant of the Modernist view on the city. This plan, the tenth so far for Bratislava, was approved in 2007.<sup>22</sup> In parallel with the dissolution of institutions covering the planning of the city’s future form, pressure increased on the decision-making policies regarding new construction, though now no longer the outcome of a planned economy but as the manifestation of the free market. In this sense, Bratislava faced a situation highly similar to the one from the inter-war years: private investors demanded quick decisions and clear construction guidelines yet failed to receive them from the municipal government or its Department of City Planning. The first years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century also saw the emergence of several Land-Use Plans for specific zones, which tried to provide detailed regulation for new construction in exposed areas of the city, yet these were often in direct reaction to the interests of private investors and failed to reflect the public interest of Bratislava’s residents, which remained hidden in the overly abstract and interpretively ambiguous urban plan. Nor was this process reversed by the re-instatement of the office of a chief architect in 2009. Even at the start of the new millennium, Bratislava was still an unplanned city.

19 Jankovich, Imrich: Urbanisticko-architektonické štúdie spracované pre Bratislavu v ŠPTÚ. Projekt, 25, 1983, no. 4, p. 23 – 26.

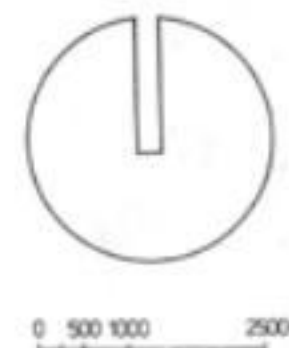
20 Hruška, Emanuel: O životnom prostredí v historických sídlach. Architektúra & Urbanizmus, 7, 1973, no. 2, p. 9 – 19.

21 Roubal, P., 2019, p. 316.

22 Územný plán hl. mesta SR Bratislavy. <https://www.bratislava.sk/sk/uzemny-plan>



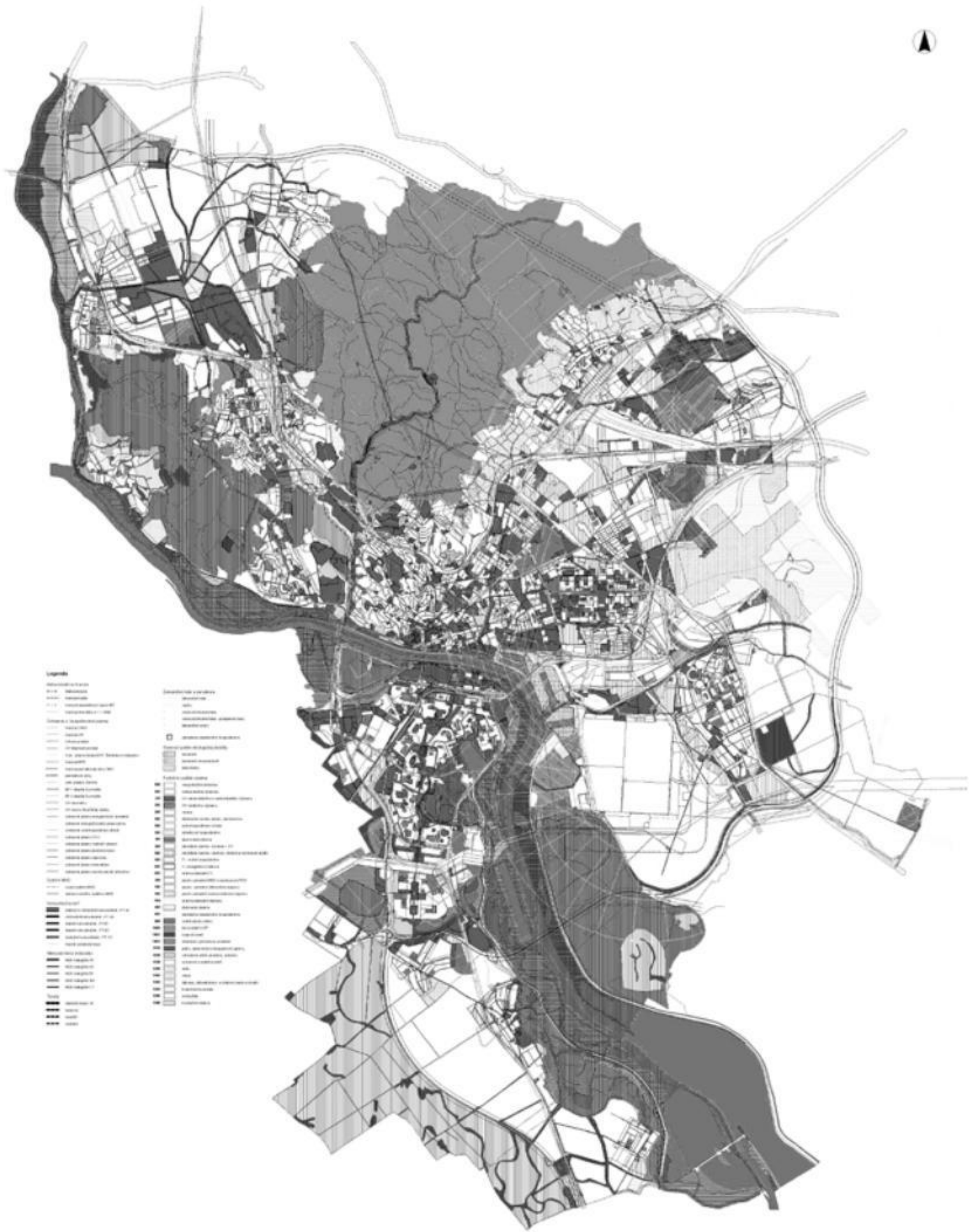
- |                                                                     |                                                                          |                                                                       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BÝVANIE V HROMADNEJ ZÁSTAVBE                                        | MIESTNE HOSPOD. SKLADY, STAVEBNÍCTVO ZARIADENIE TECHNICEJ INFRAŠTRUKTÚRY | POĽNOHOSPODÁRSKY PŮDNY FOND                                           |
| BÝVANIE V RODINEJ ZÁSTAVBE                                          | PLOCHY DOPRAVNÝCH ZARIADENÍ                                              | DIAZNICE A RÝCHLOSTNÉ KOMUNIKÁCIE MESTSKÉ TRIEDY A HLAVNÉ ZBERNÉ KOM. |
| VYŠŠIA OBČIANSKA VYBAVENOSŤ                                         | LESNÝ PŮDNY FOND                                                         | ŽELEZNICE                                                             |
| PLOCHY A AREÁLY ŠPORTU A REKREÁCIE                                  | ZELENĚ                                                                   | TRASY A STANICE RÝCHLODRAHY                                           |
| PLOCHY PREMYSLELNEJ A POĽNOHOSPOD. VÝROBY, ŤAŽBA NERASTNÝCH SUROVIN | VODNÉ PLOCHY A TOKY                                                      | HRANICA ŠTÁTU A KATASTRA MESTA                                        |



Vytlačila ČSTK Bratislava na podklade ZM ČSSR 1 : 50 000 ako účelový náklad pre ÚHA mesta Bratislavy na základe rozhodnutia Správy geodézie a kartografie v Bratislave č. 6 - 1223/88.

Len pre vnútornu potrebu starostyn organov a socialistickyn organizacij.

© Slovenský úrad geodézie a kartografie, 1988  
© ÚHA mesta Bratislavy, 1988



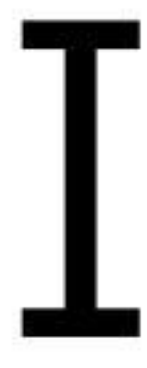
Bratislava Land-use plan, Complex Design,  
 Department of Urban Planning and Development, Department of Transport Planning, 2007  
 Source: <https://www.bratislava.sk/en/uzemny-plan>







**O B C H O D N Ä**  
**U L I C A**



**a typology of urban situations**

from linear  
street to complex  
urban space

**Type:** urban mutation  
transformation of linear street-form of construction into multipolar urban structure

**Case study /Locality:** Obchodná ulica (previously Uhorská, Schöndorfská)

**Other occurrences:** Vysoká, Dunajská, Špitálska

**Key formative plans:** City Regulation Plan (1906),  
City Regulation Plan (A. Palóczy, 1917),  
Regulatory and Construction Measures for Obchodná ulica (1929),  
Street Regulation Plan (I. Marko, M. Kropiláková, V. Hrdý, 1991)

**Key non-formative plans:** Competition for Commercial-Social Centre (1968),  
Study for Commercial-Social Centre (I. Matušík, 1970),  
plans for rebuilding of Obchodná ulica (I. Barta, Š. Svetko, 1982)



**Urban mutation** – a permanent change in the tissue caused by the (marginal / inconsistent / chance) implantation of a new alien form / shape and typology to extant construction. In using the term urban mutation, we base it not only on the concept of mutation in biology, but also on the specific ideas of urban mutation outlined by Solà-Morales in 1997.<sup>1</sup> Solà-Morales uses the idea of mutation to explain those urban changes or transformations that cannot be explained in terms of an organic-evolutionist model of the development of urban structure, nor in terms of modern rationalist logic in urban planning. In biology, a mutation is understood as a change in the genetic material of a cell that causes a change to one or more hereditary qualities and a disturbance of the mechanism of heredity. In cases where this change is essential, it influences the morphology and physiology not only of the cell or even the organ, but in the end the entire individual organism. In our conception of urban mutations, we have in mind an intervention to the urban structure that despite its seeming randomness, marginality, incompleteness seriously influences the morphology and typology not only of a specific plot of land but even an entire street or its surroundings.<sup>2</sup> Yet in contrast to most authors using the term, including Solà-Morales himself, our sense does not imply an inevitably negative connotation for urban mutation.

1 de Solà-Morales, Ignasi: Present and Futures: Architecture in Cities. Thresholds, 1997, no. 14, p. 18 – 25.

2 A similar use of the concept of mutation has been found in the writings of other authors, for instance Daniel Turczyn, Teixeira: MUTAÇÃO URBANA EM CAMPINAS: sua forma e paisagem. Dissertação de Mestrado no programa de Arquitetura, Tecnologia e Cidade Faculdade de Engenharia Civil, Arquitetura e Urbanismo – UNICAMP, Campinas 2013; LAURSEN, L. L. H. Urban Transformation. UPES – Parallel Patterns of Urban Growth and Decline – Sustainability Issues and Challenges for Spatial Planning in 21st Century Cities and Regions. Kaiserslautern, Germany: [s.n.]. March 2009. SOUSA, C. A. D. Do Cheio para o Vazio: Metodologia e estratégia na avaliação de espaços urbanos obsoletos. Lisboa, Portugal: Dissertação de Mestrado – Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, 2010.

Obchodná ulica is a typical urban radial connecting the city centre to the suburbs to the northeast, where it originally led to the Krásná Ves Gate, then further (along today's Radlinského ulica) extended toward Račianske mýto and onwards through the villages of the Lesser Carpathians on to Trnava. Historically, it represented a trading route linking the German-speaking territories with the area of Upper Hungary, which gave the street its first name - Uhorská ulica (Platea Hungarica).<sup>3</sup> Originally, Obchodná ulica was a traditional suburban setting: the access road into the city, sided with two lines of one- to two-storey buildings with long narrow utility wings reaching deep into relatively narrow plots, mostly serving as craftsmen's workshops. To the eastern end of the territory, even at the start of the past century most of the rear sections of the plots were open spaces or gardens. This small-town appearance to the street began to disappear in the late 1920s and early 1930s under the impact of modernisation, bringing changes not only to methods of production, sales or transport but even more radically to the wider vision of the form and function of the city.

3 Horváth, Vladimír: Bratislavský topografický lexikón. Bratislava, Tatran, 1990, p. 21.

Pozsony. Széplak utca.



View of Obchodná ulica from Kollárovo námestie, 1915  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



1900



Regulation and Construction Guidelines, 1929 - 1934



1940



Study for Commercial-Social Centre, I. Matušík, 1970



1980



Regulatory plan of Obchodná zone, Ivan Marko et al., 1991



2000

The actual and the planned transformation of urban structure around Obchodná ulica in the 20th century

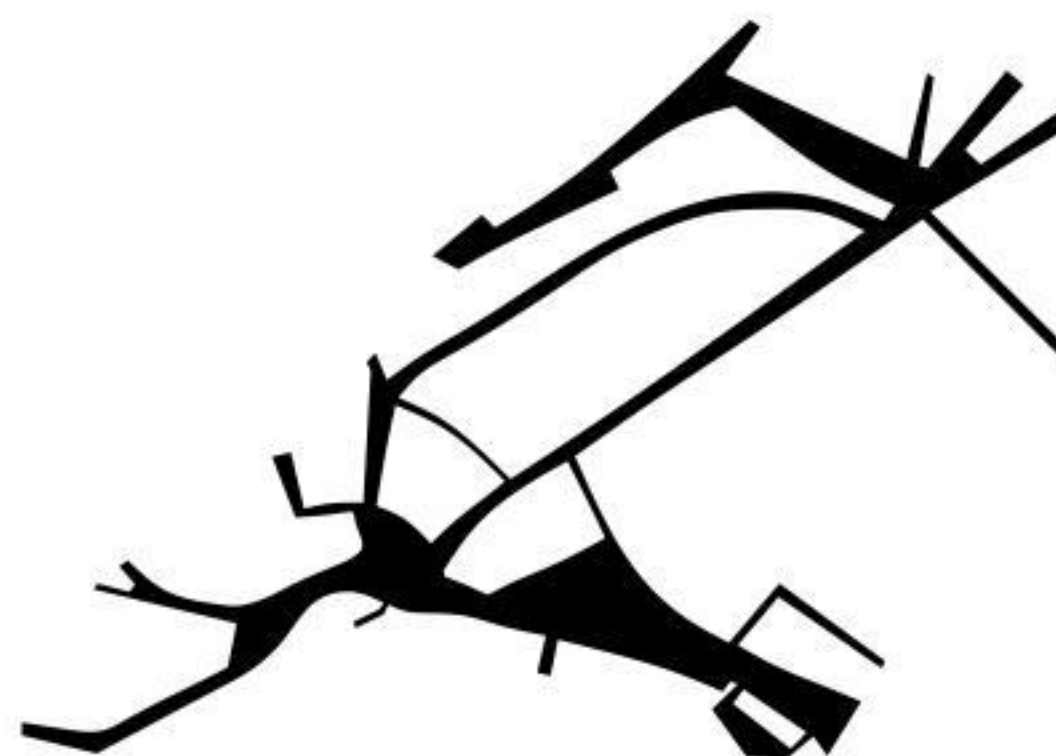


### The Revolutionary Role of Modern Regulation

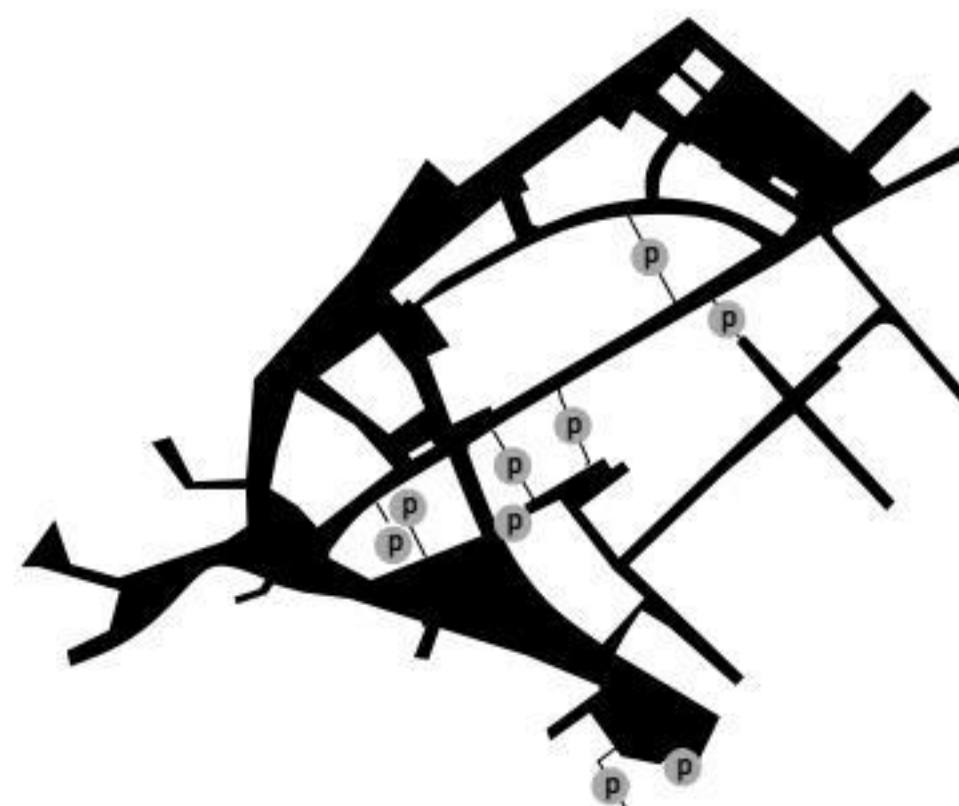
In preparing the first regulatory plan for Bratislava, employees of the city's Technical Department were aware of the potential of Obchodná, i.e. Uhorská ulica as an important transport radial. In the regulatory plan from 1906, a planned widening and partial straightening of the street is sketched, with the note that it was thought to be "very narrow and continually filled with horse-carts".<sup>4</sup> At the same time, the planners also considered the creation of two new streets intersecting Obchodná at a perpendicular angle, with the plan of dividing and rendering accessible the long narrow building lots in a Cartesian grid and thus enabling future construction. One of these proposed streets was incorporated into later regulations, forming the current Poštová ulica. The second planned street would have connected the streets Vysoká, Obchodná, Heydukova and Špitálska. The author of another regulatory plan, Antal Palóczy, described Obchodná ulica as part of the "characteristic street network of the New Town, where at the axis of the main streets there appears the ruin of the Castle", which in his view attested to an artistic sensitivity in its routing.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, his plan also had Obchodná intersected with two new streets: in addition to the previously noted Poštová ulica, it was crossed in the second half by a new road, up to 50 m wide, forming one of the focal points of the new city communication axis linking Mlynské Nivy to the square in front of the Grassalkovich Palace. Regulation of the surroundings of Obchodná ulica was also addressed by architects Alois Balán and Jiří Grossmann in 1926. In their 'Outline for

<sup>4</sup> Helmar, August: Neue Straßen oder Schulgärten und Schulsplatzplätze? Pressburger Zeitung, 2. 9. 1908.

<sup>5</sup> Palóczy, Antal: Über die Regulierung der Stadt Pozsony. Pressburger Zeitung, 13. 12. 1908.



Street network in 1900











Street network in 2000 with highlighted passages

Permeability of urban structure in the vicinity of Obchodná street in the 20th century

**Regulačná a zastavovacia úprava  
bloku medzi ul. Poštovou, Uhorskou,  
Marianskou, Špitalskou a  
Nám. Republiky.  
1:1440.**

**Vysveľivky.**

-  Zastavenie zvisle u. max. výška 24m - 6. posch. /
-  " " " " 24m - 5. " /
-  " " " " 19m - 4. " /
-  " " " " 15m - 4. " /
-  " " " " 13m - 3. " /
-  Novostavby a chránené budovy.
-  Predzahradky.
-  Nové a jestvujúce rozšírenie ulíc

Ustálené zastupiteľstvo mesta Bratislava		
číslo 343/18160/čar. II 1929		
v zasednutí vydržanom dňa 15. IV. 1929		
Ing. Ruppel v. r.	D. Holer v. r.	
predseda	starosta	
Ing. Barta v. r.	M. R.	Balent v. r.
predseda	člen	člen
Populár:	Kraťo.	

Regulation and Construction Guidelines, 1929  
Source: Bratislava City Archives

REGULAČNÁ A ZASTAVOVACIA ÚPRAVA BLOKU MEDZI ULICOU VYSOKOU, UHORSKOU, PREDL. POŠTOVOU A ÚPRAVA VYSOKEJ ULICE.

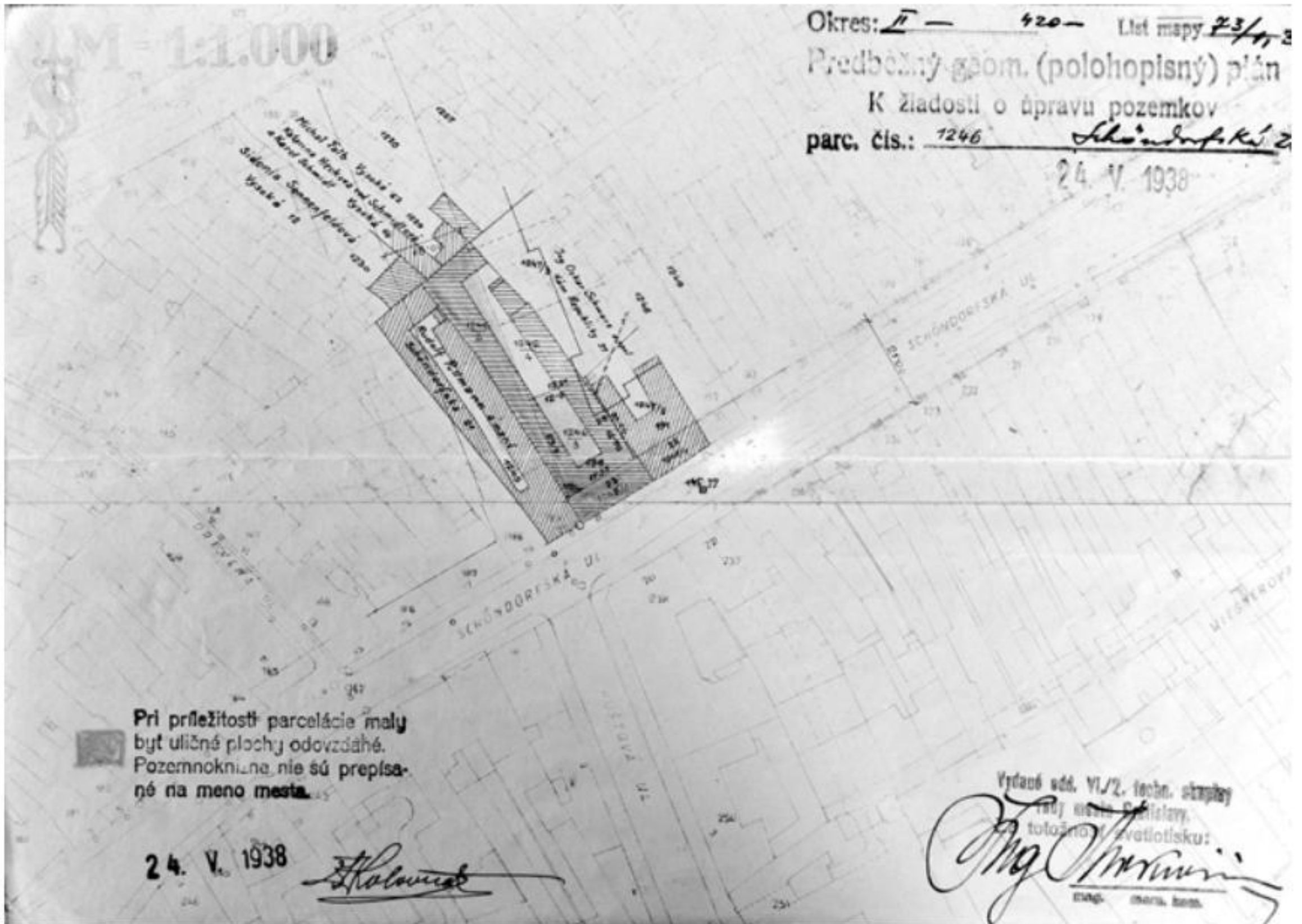
MERÍTKO 1:1000.



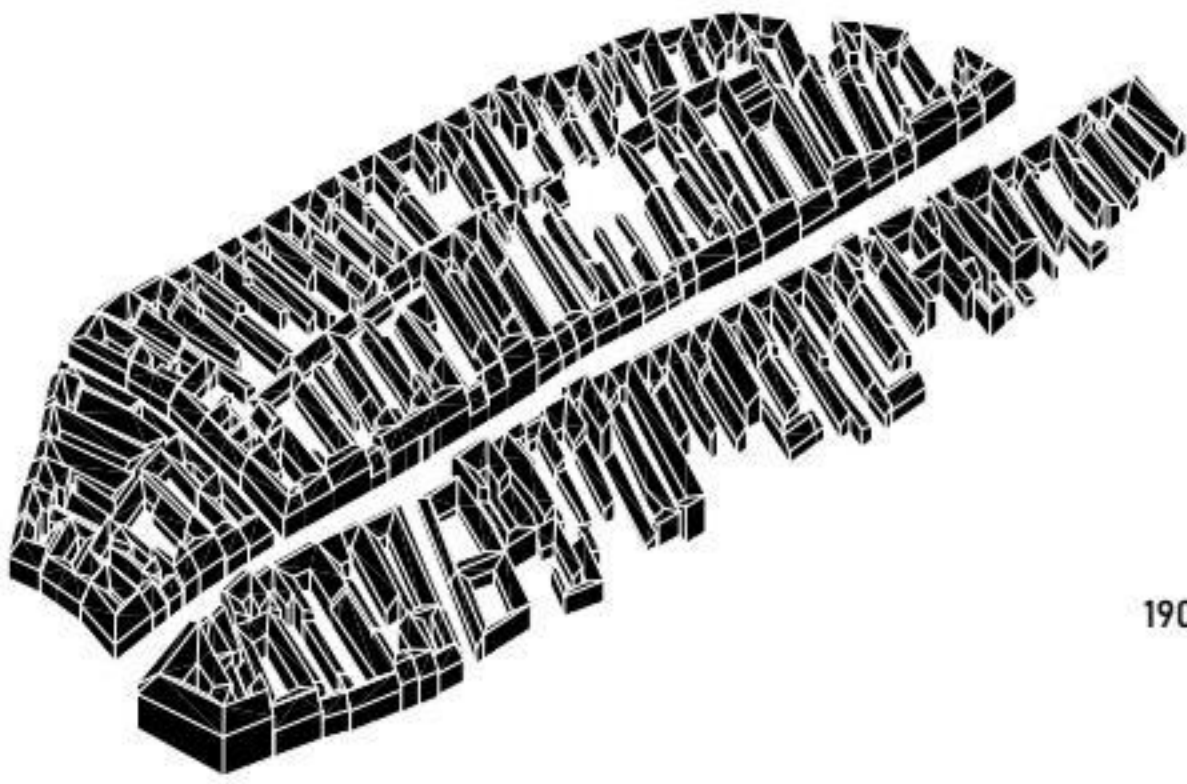
Regulation and Construction Guidelines, 1933  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives



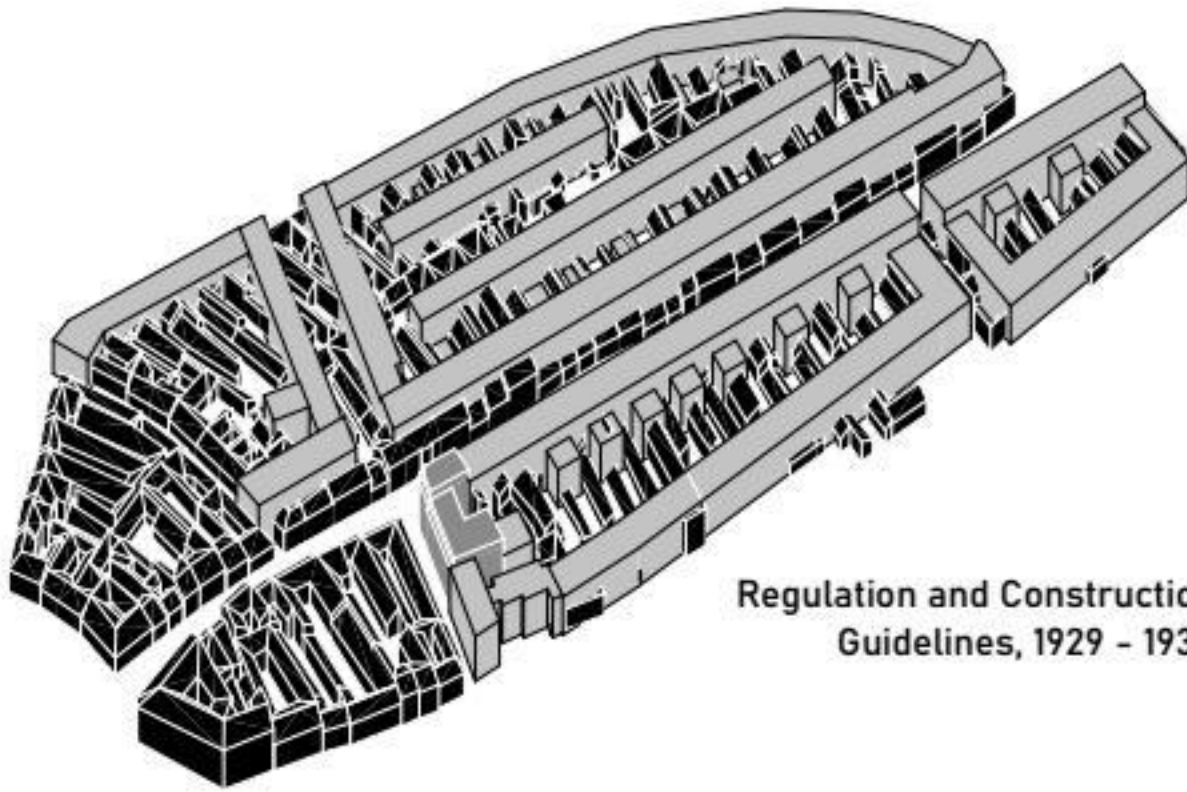
The House on Obchodná ulica No.23 before regulation  
Source: Bratislava City Archives



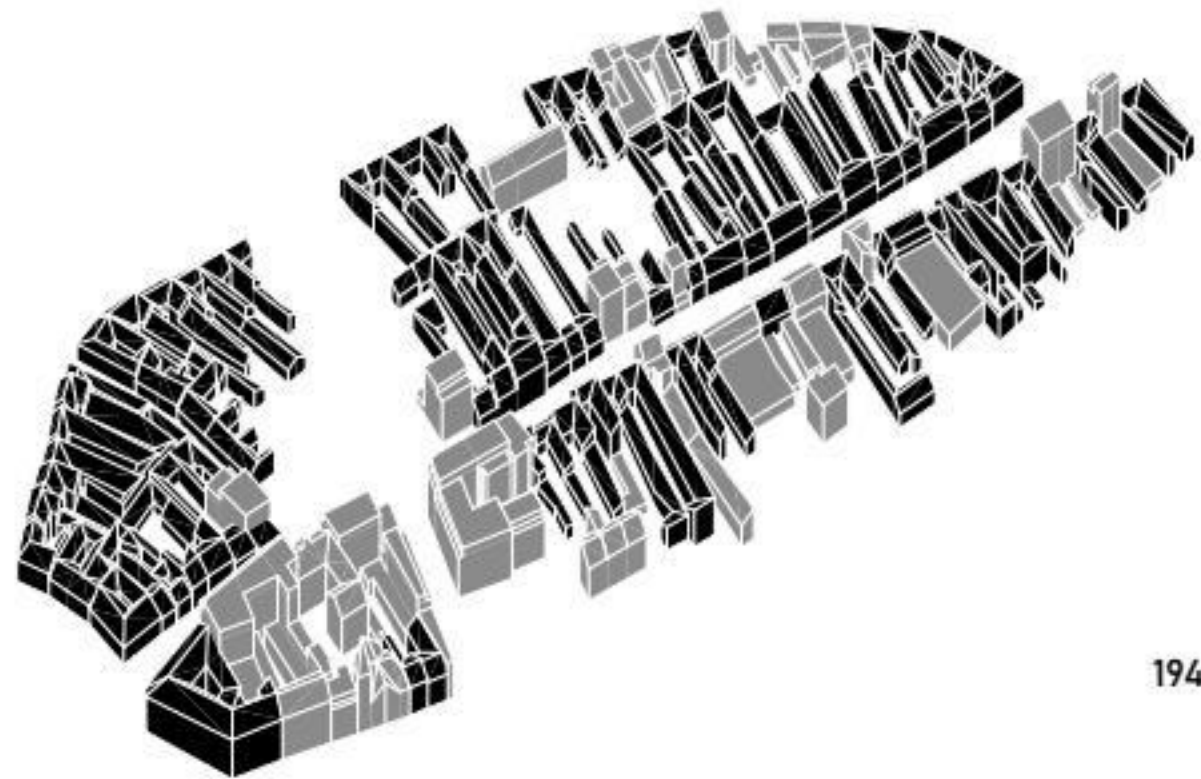
The House on Obchodná ulica No.23 before regulation  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives



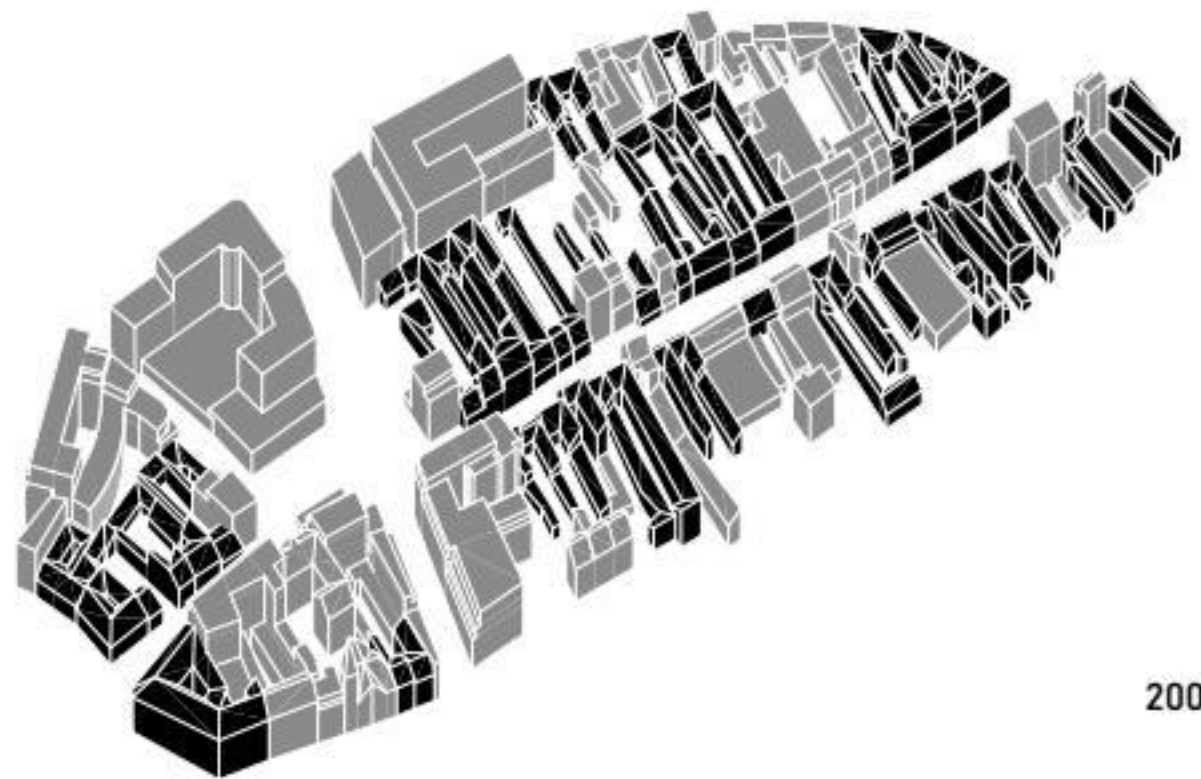
1900



Regulation and Construction  
Guidelines, 1929 - 1934



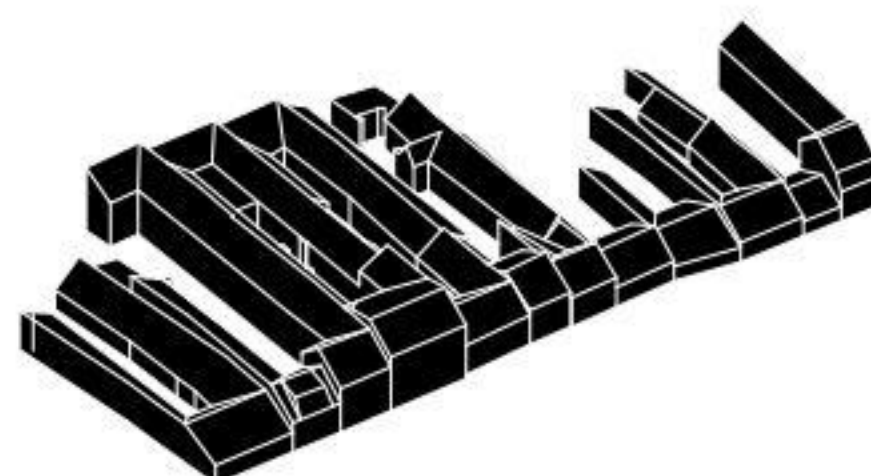
1940



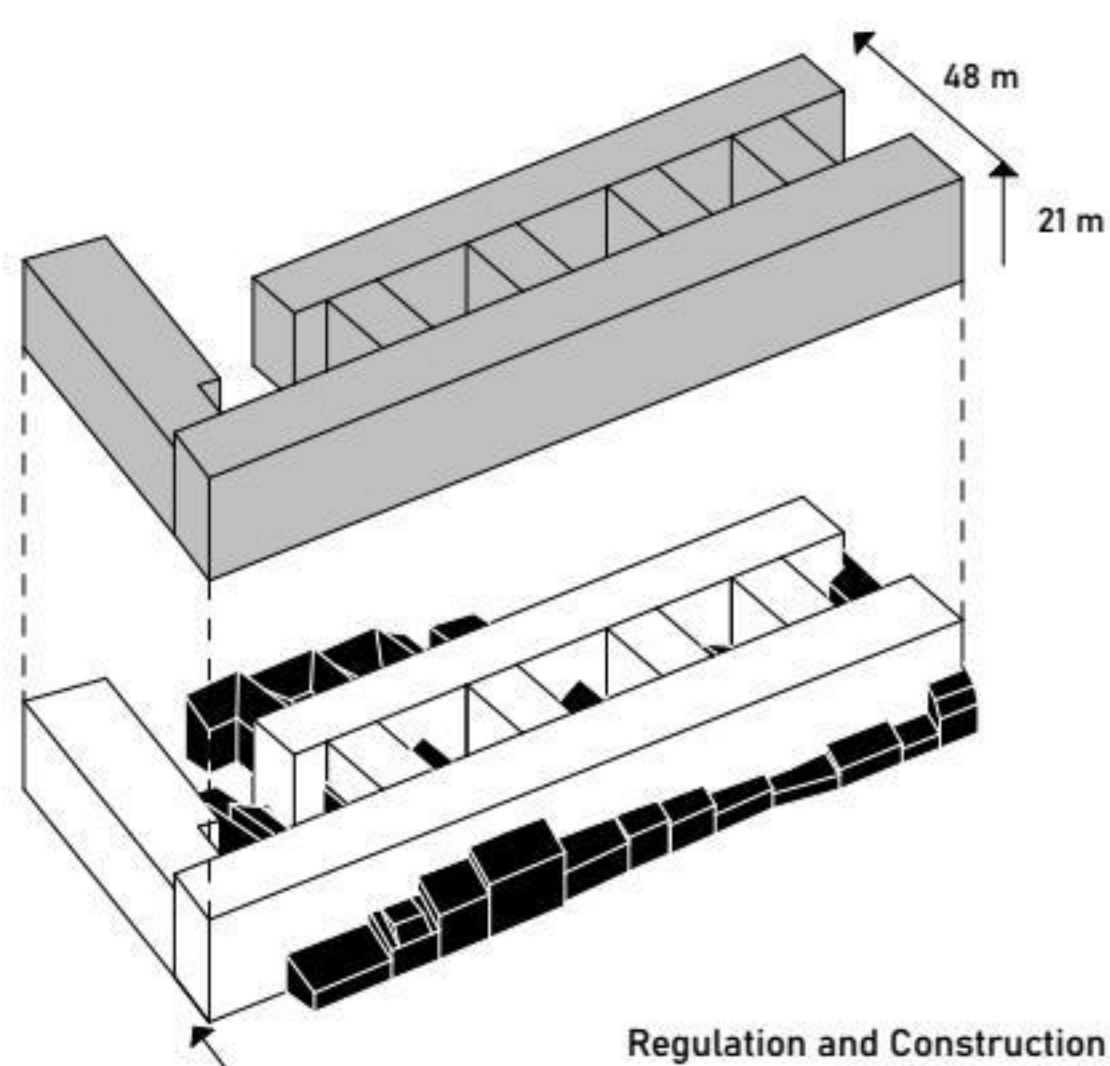
2000

The planned and the actual transformation of Obchodná ulica

the Regulation of the City', Obchodná was intersected with, or opened into, as many as five additional streets; furthermore, Balán and Grossmann assumed that it would be significantly widened. Yet none of these visions had any direct influence on the formation of the area or the street itself. Essential changes were wrought upon the form of Obchodná ulica only with the regulations imposed at the end of the 1920s, in reaction to the requirements of several builders wishing for new parcel division, or directly the construction of newer, larger and differently functioning buildings in the vicinity.<sup>6</sup> An entire list of construction permits from this period reveals that the most popular typology became the multi-storey block with retail spaces at parterre level and apartments on the upper floors, planned to fill the entire depth of the characteristic long narrow parcels.<sup>7</sup> In the sense of this pervasive view, the regulatory commission set the maximum height of the street frontage at 21 m, defined the form and height of the courtyard wings (maximum height of 17 m), set the street width at 21 m, and likewise set the routes and widths of the new streets. As such, they shaped the radical transformation of the one- or two-storey street front with single-storey courtyard wings into a comb-shaped block structure. And this regulation also assumed a major change in the



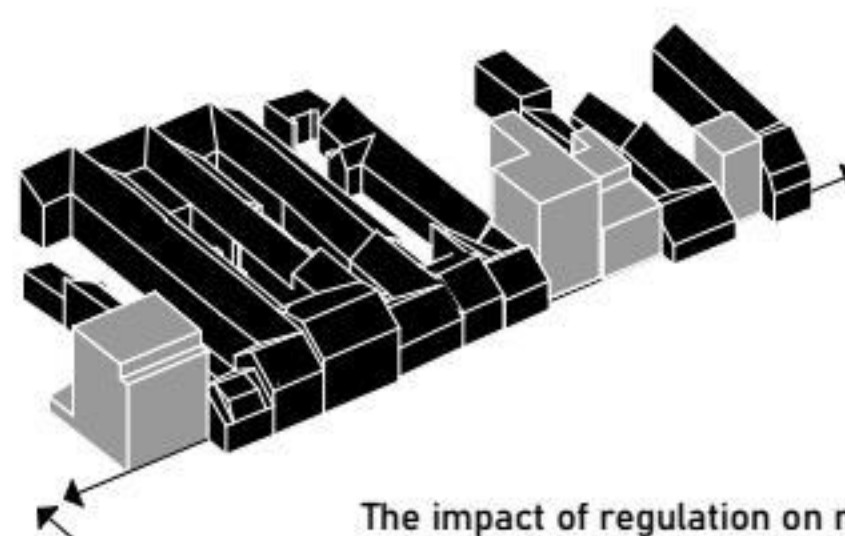
1900



Regulation and Construction Guidelines, 1934

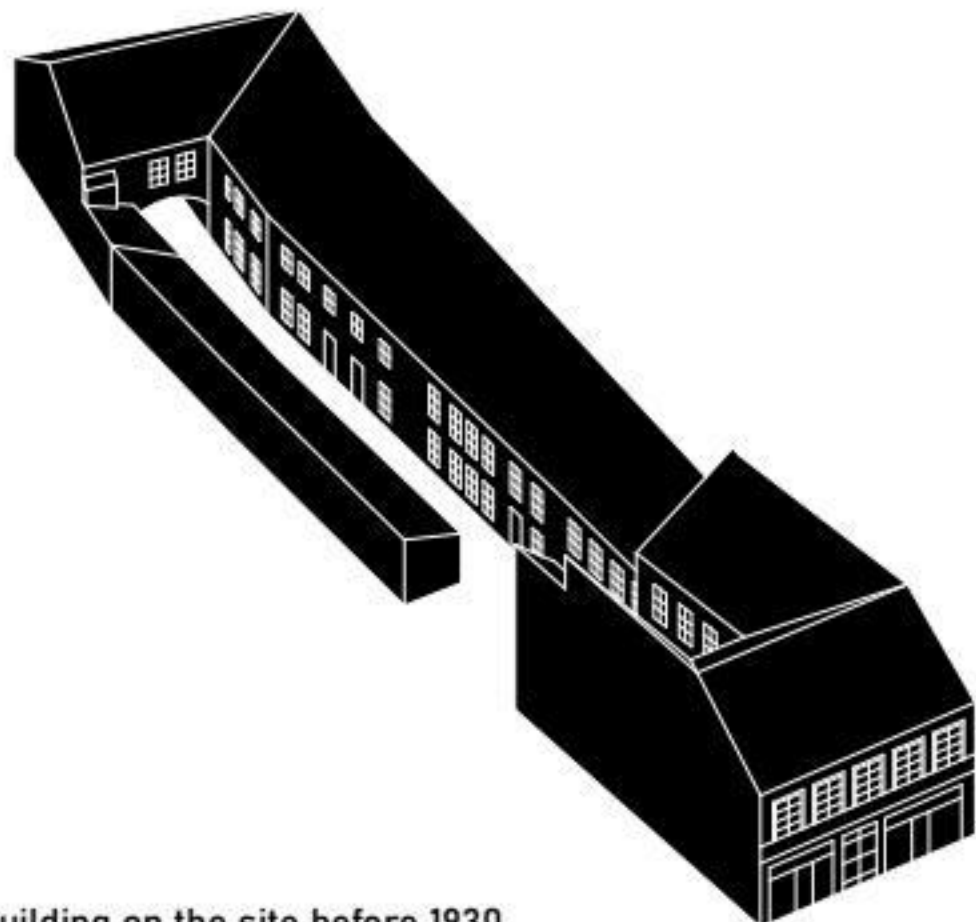
<sup>6</sup> The first regulation and construction measures for Obchodná ulica and vicinity were approved by the Bratislava city council in April 1929. Archive of the City of Bratislava, ÚHA, Regulácia mesta Bratislavy / 04, box no. 840, folio no. 55.

<sup>7</sup> In fact, it was this demand of investors at the time for a change in both construction typology and form that represented the decisive change that led to mutated structures. To mention the first initiatives, these included the Živnodom (construction permit and regulation of Živnostenská ulica, approved 1928), or the Büchler & Jedlin department store (construction permit approved 1932). In connection with the creation of new streets, the right of eminent domain was used to bring private lands into city ownership. In certain cases, this process reached completion (e.g. the creation of Poštová ulica), yet elsewhere was realised only partially (Hollého ulica, regulated in 1930 but never connected to Obchodná).

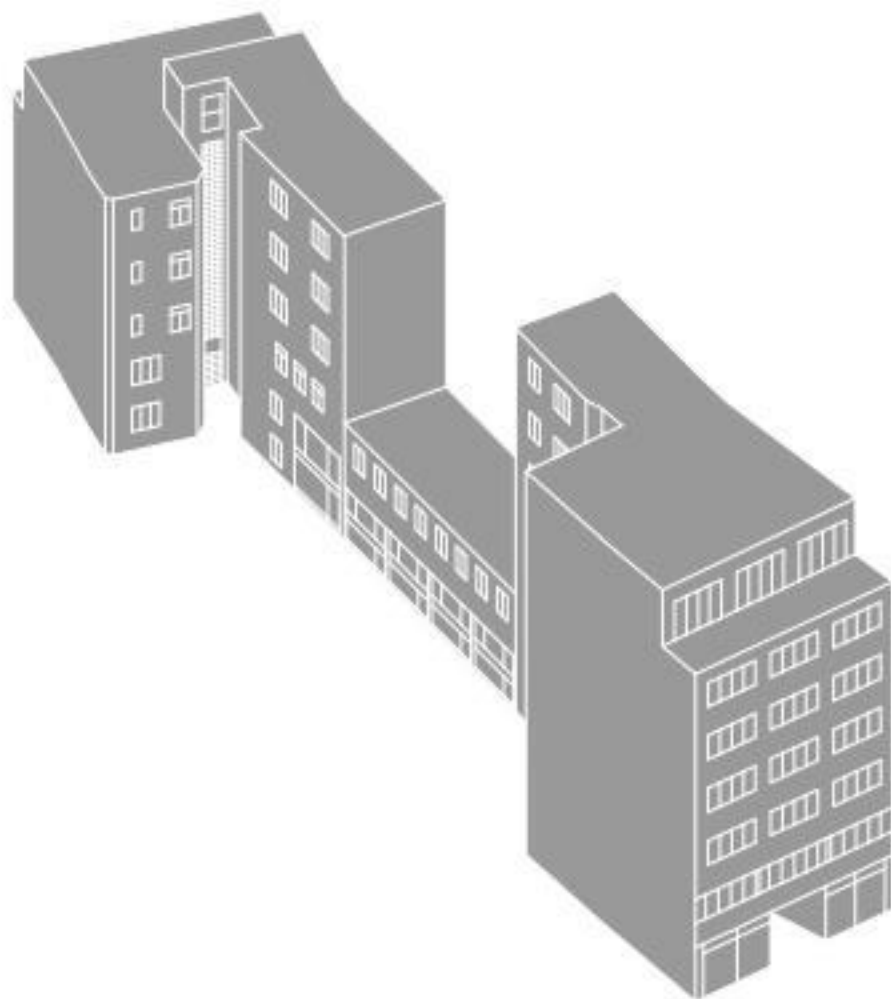


The impact of regulation on new construction

The planned and the actual transformation of Obchodná ulica according to Regulation and Construction Guidelines from 1934



Building on the site before 1930



Building on the site after 1934

The impact of regulation from 1929. In 1934, the Commercial and residential house of Büchler and Jedlin was built on the site of the original buildings.

permeability of the urban fabric: the long parcels with low-lying outbuildings needed to be intersected with new streets. Adding to the permeability and vitality of the urban tissue would be the shopping arcades, forming part of each new regulated city block – buildings like the Royko Passage (E. Steiner, 1925 – 1931), the Büchler & Jedlin commercial-residential block (J. Konrad, 1932 – 1934) or the Schön department store (F. Weinwurm, I. Vécsei, 1935) brought into solid form the era's ideas of urban construction and brought to the city a new typology, the Functionalist commercial palace. Though for many years, these interventions were regarded as merely one layer in the fragmented image of the street, it is increasingly clear that they were a major influence on the morphology as well as typology of Obchodná ulice and its vicinity. As such, the regulatory and construction measures can be regarded as a factor causing the mutation of the structure within and around Obchodná ulice. Implantation of modern residential-commercial blocks with ground-floor arcades into the original street-determined form of construction can, retrospectively, be termed a decisive shift in the development of the area, i.e. a characteristic manifestation of urban mutation.

The regulatory principles from the 1920s were only slightly modified in the following decades of the 1930s and 1940s. More significant change only came in 1947 in the new regulation and construction plan, which took as its aim the regulation of new construction in the war-damaged sections along both Obchodná and Poštová.<sup>8</sup> During the same time, in connection with the post-war confiscations of German property, the possibility opened for widening

<sup>8</sup> The detailed regulatory and construction plan for Obchodná ulica and vicinity from 1947 was approved at a meeting of the National Committee in Bratislava in March 1948. Archive of the City of Bratislava, ÚHA, Regulácia mesta Bratislavy / 04, container no. 840, folio no. 55.



Poštová ulica at the point where it joined today's Hodžovo námestie. The regulatory plan from 1947 formulated the structure of the area near Obchodná into semi-enclosed blocks, while also proposing an increase to the allowed construction height of up to 24 m. In the report from the meeting of the relevant committee, it is explicitly stated that the construction should "fully match the requirements of the 'City', i.e. for creation of large commercial structures", yet in the case of Vysoká ulica they conversely recommended "preserving the unique character of this vintners' street".<sup>9</sup> This plan as well assumed the regulatory line for construction in Obchodná ulica so as to have a width of 21 m for the street's entire length. Several of these principles, such as the routing of new streets and pedestrian access or the height level of construction, were reflected even in the last regulatory plan for the street, dating from 1991.<sup>10</sup>



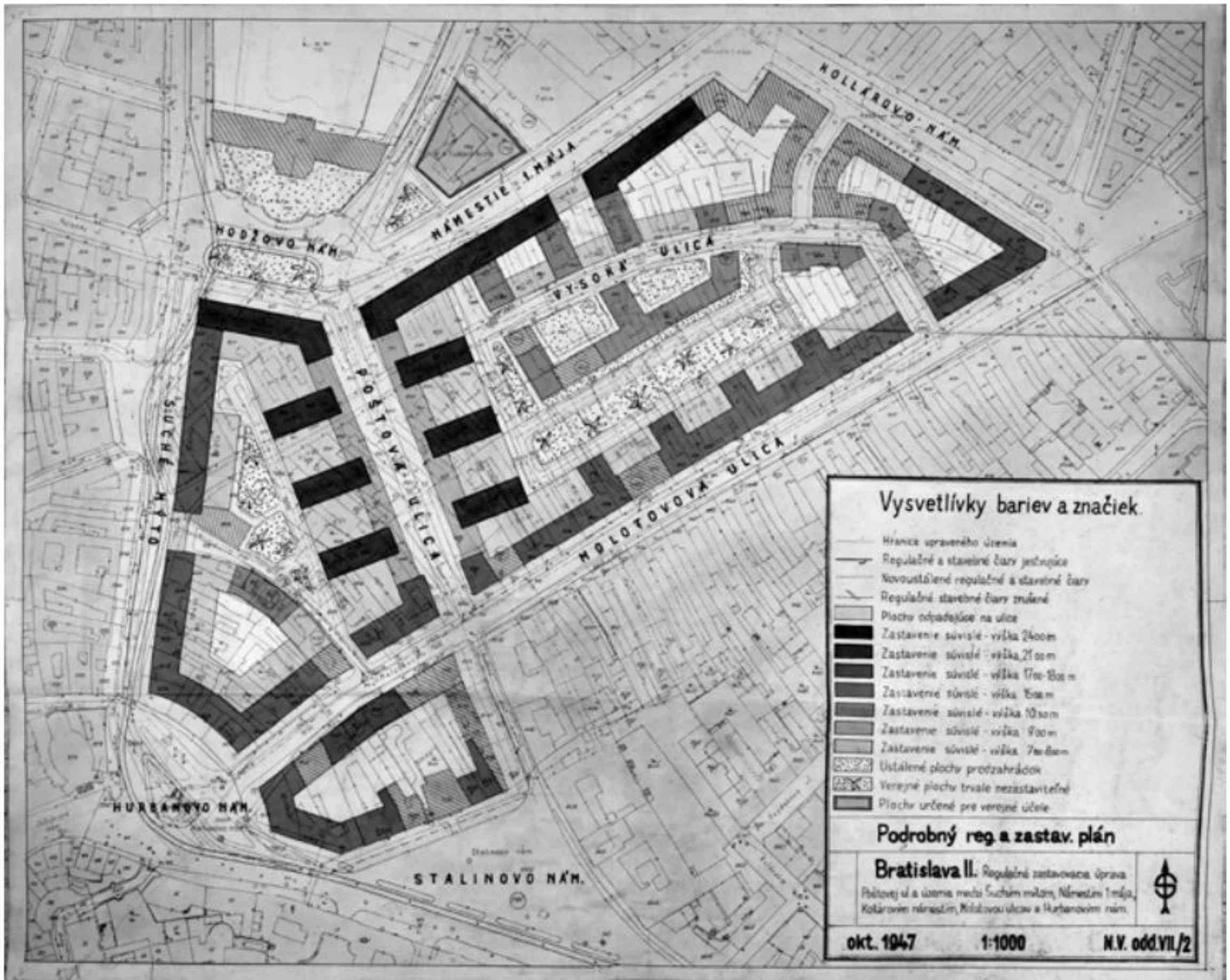
View of the yard before 1930  
Source: Bratislava City Archives



View of the courtyard after 1934  
Source: Forum, 1935

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

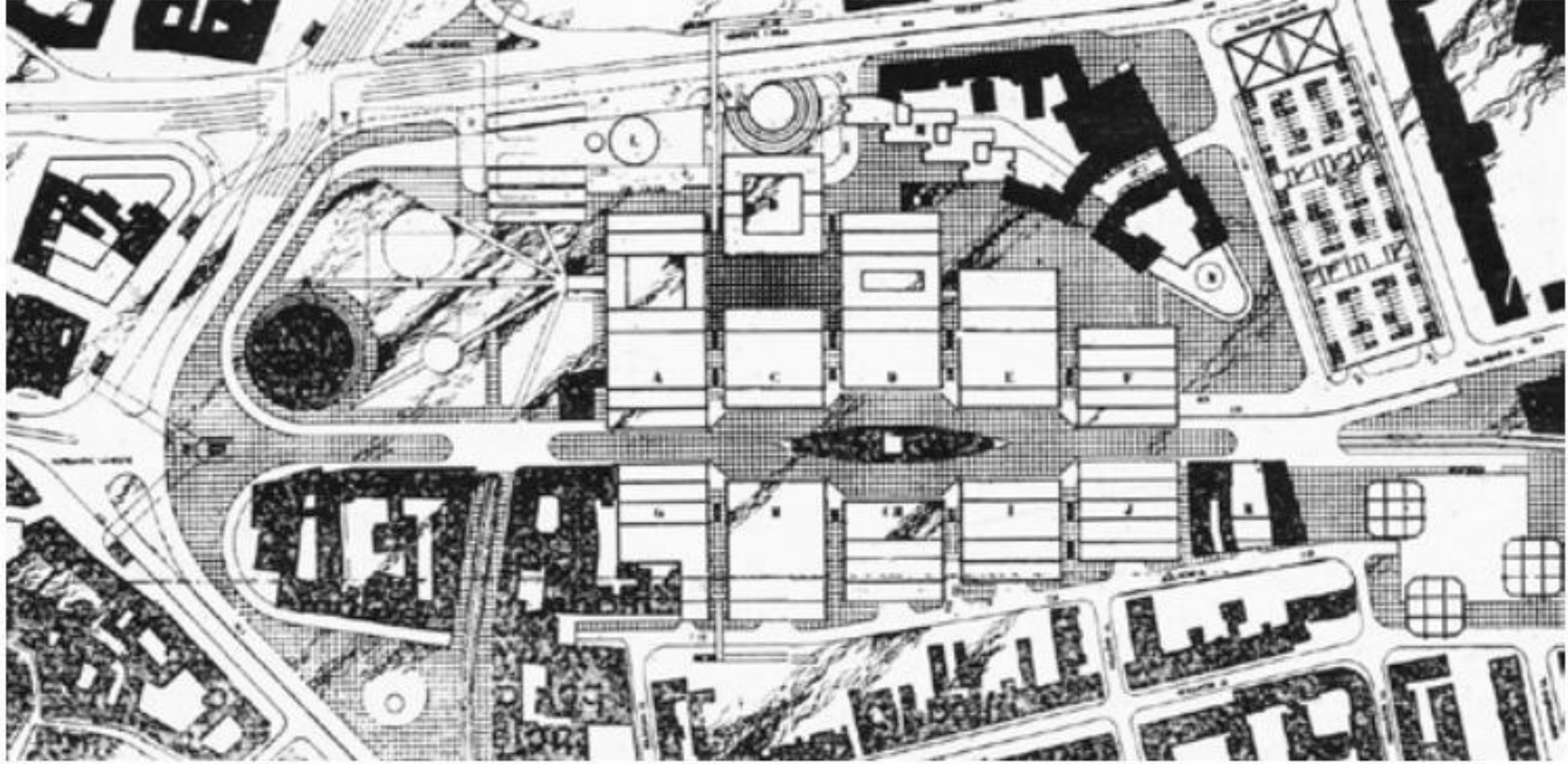
<sup>10</sup> The regulation plan for the zone of Obchodná ulica was prepared, under the auspices of the Office of the Chief Architect of Bratislava by 16 architects (Ivan Marko, Marta Kropiláková, Vladimír Hrdý a ďalší). This plan was never approved. Personal archive of Petr Vodrážka.



Detailed Regulatory and Construction Plan of Poštová ulica, 1947  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives



View from the northern part of Poštová ulica, which resulted from bombing of houses on Obchodná ulica, 1951  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



Study for Commercial-Social Centre, I. Matušík, 1970  
Source: Projekt, 1971



Study for Commercial-Social Centre, I. Matušík, 1970  
Source: Projekt, 1971

### The Unfulfilled Plans for a Megastructure

Several designs emerged during the 1970s and 1980s that planned a radical reformulation of the urban structures in the area of Obchodná ulica, involving the almost complete removal of all extant construction.<sup>11</sup> The original street network would have then been replaced with an abstract composition of freestanding volumes forming multipurpose megastructures. A significant element in this era's view of construction in the city centre was the thorough separation of pedestrian and automotive traffic, a functionalist stance giving priority to commercial-social functions and the strictly selective heritage protection of historic structures. The original built environment of Obchodná ulica was regarded in heritage terms as worthless; the street would have been utterly transformed into a broad pedestrian promenade framed by long horizontal commercial structures and the high-rise landmarks of office buildings. Below these structures, the cellar areas would in turn provide parking for around two thousand cars and a transit corridor for fluid traffic mobility. No radical rebuilding of Obchodná ulica, though, ever took place. The one recollection of this method of viewing the urban structure is given by the isolated volume of Hotel Forum (J. Hauskrecht, 1989), paradoxically completed right at the moment when objections to the modernist urban paradigm began to be voiced even in Slovak professional circles. Doubts about the vitality of this conception in the context of Obchodná

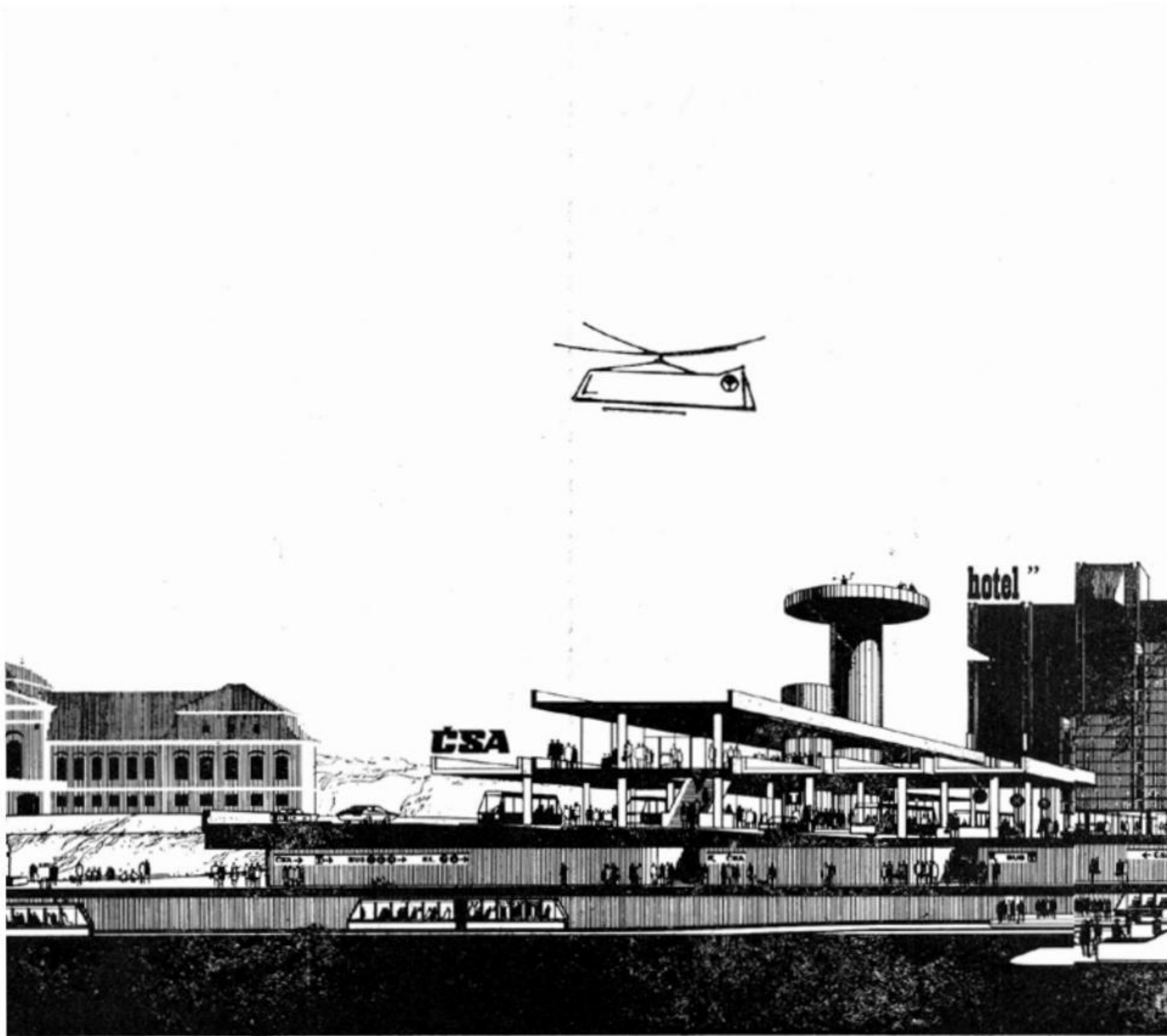
<sup>11</sup> These proposals are the plans for a competition for a commercial-social centre from 1968, the study by Ivan Matušík from 1970 or even, e.g., the designs by Imrich Bárta or Štefan Svetko from 1982. Záriš, František: Súťaž na obchodno-spoločenské centrum v Bratislave. Projekt, 1969, no. 1 - 2., p. 8 - 23. Karfík, Vladimír: Centrum, na ktoré sa čaká. Projekt, 13, 1971, no. 4, p. 185 - 195; Dulla, Matúš: Obchodná ulica v Bratislave. Polemika o charaktere širšieho obytného mestského centra. Projekt, 26, 1984, no. 4 - 5, p. 10 - 14.

ulica have been further confirmed by the longstanding inability of this structure to become integrated into its surroundings. Most problematic in this respect are the scale of the hotel's parterre and the size as well as treatment of the open area created by the set-back of the hotel from the street line. Indeed, these circumstances have been the subject of various attempts even since the 1990s at reducing the impact through raising small temporary structures in the open frontage. Yet in the final analysis, even these interventions only reveal a definitive hindering of the relationship between the building and its street.

### The Value of Mutation

The postmodernist paradigm shift in urban planning that occurred in the 1980s brought into play new views of Obchodná ulica. By this time, the analyses no longer rejected the entire built fabric as worthless but saw it through a more pluralistic and inclusive stance towards the street's history, perceiving its current form as the basis for future construction of greater formal and typological diversity. An interesting view of this paradigm shift was registered by Matúš Dulla, when in 1984 he compared three opinions on the future urban plan for Obchodná, each created in parallel in 1983 yet nonetheless reflecting diametrically opposed approaches towards the city.<sup>12</sup> Dulla confronted the modernist stance of Štefan Svetko and Imrich Bárta, who proposed for the area "freestanding objects in

<sup>12</sup> The zoning plan was prepared by the Office of the Chief Architect headed by Imrich Bárta, while the concept of the immediate urban plan was the work of the team from the State Planning Institute under Štefan Svetko and the urban study was created in Stavoprojekt under the direction of Ivan Marko. Dulla, Matúš: Obchodná ulica v Bratislave. Polemika o charaktere širšieho obytného mestského centra. Projekt, 26, 1984, no. 4 - 5, p. 10 - 14.



MEROVÉ NÁMESTIE

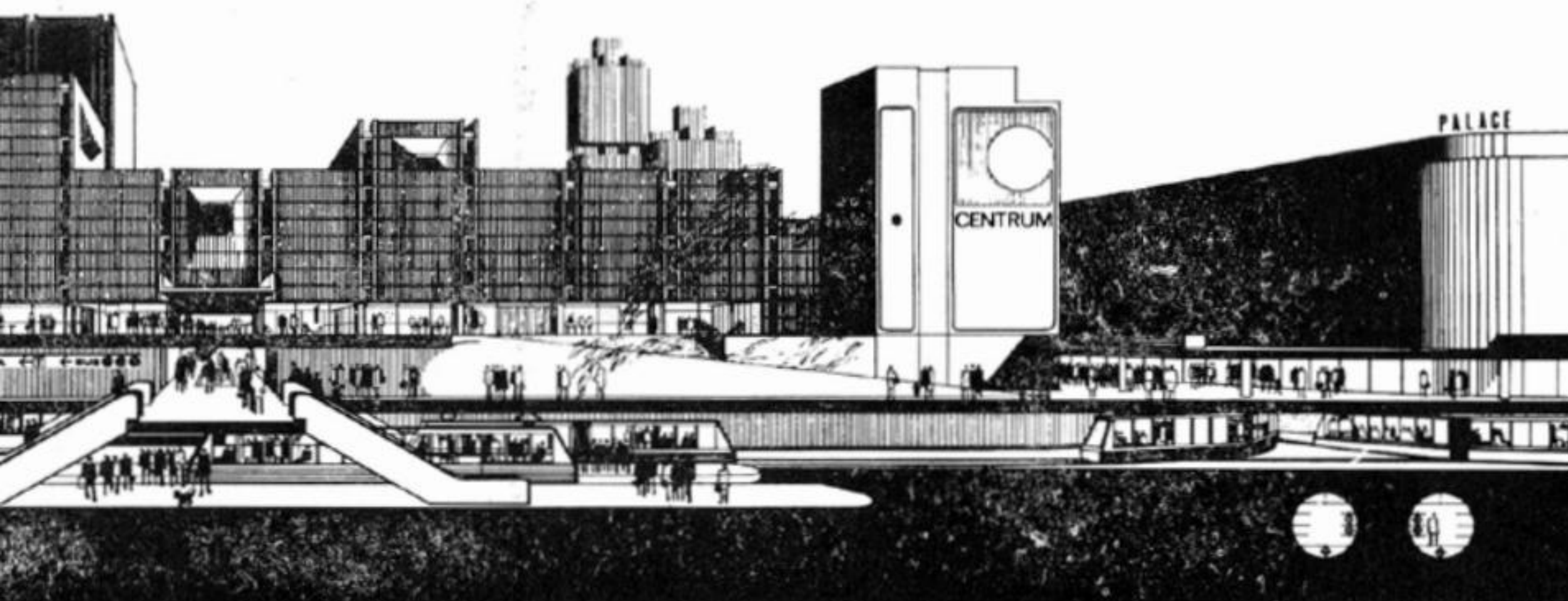
RÝCHLOSTNÁ KOMUNIKÁCIA

ODBAVOVACIA BUDOVA ČSA  
"AUTOBUSY ČSA"

STANICA MESTSKÝCH AUTOBUSOV/TAXI/  
PASÁŽ PRE CHODCOV  
PODZEMNÝ ÚSEK ELEKTRICKEJ DRÁHY

HOTEL

POH POTRAVIN



VÝŠOVÉ ADMINISTRATÍVNE BUDOVY

VSTUPY DO NÁKUPNEJ GALÉRIE

PRESTUPNÁ STANICA

PEŠIA OBCHODNÁ ULICA  
ELECTRICKÁ DRÁHA / OBCHODNÁ ULICA /  
MONTÁŽNY KANÁL / KOLEKTOR /

open ground,"<sup>13</sup> with the postmodern approach of Ivan Marko, which respected the existing parcelling as well as most of the buildings already standing.<sup>14</sup> And, in the end, it was the postmodernist approach, respecting history and organic development of built structures, that predominated in the architectural-planning competition for Obchodná ulica in 1988. Most of the prizewinning designs preserved the original land divisions and diverse massing of the street, rejecting the blanket demolitions proposed earlier.<sup>15</sup> Confirmation of the increasing interest in Obchodná ulica, as a kind of laboratory for testing new approaches to urban planning, is given by the series of research and study projects created just before and after the 1989 transition.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, the postmodern view of the city that equally valued all historic built layers and assumed the natural, gradual reshaping of the street following the sense of its extant structure and respecting the character of its own urban mutation, influenced the regulatory plan that the Office of the Chief Architect prepared at the start of the 1990s.<sup>17</sup> The built interventions that emerged along Obchodná ulica after 1990 can in general be regarded as "neo-Functionalist" implants that intuitively match the regulatory principles laid down in the 1930s. Increasing construction height, opening courtyards or ensuring free pedestrian passage through them, or changes in specific function all represent the slow culmination of the original transformation of a peripheral

urban street structure from a linear one into a more complex urban space, confirming the vitality of urban mutation. Indeed, it is all the most surprising that the professional heritage community, preparing the principles for protection of Bratislava's urban heritage zone in 2000, actually described the recent interventions fully respecting the 1929 regulations as disruptive.<sup>18</sup>

The current method of regulating construction in Obchodná ulica, whether on the part of the Construction Office or the Regional Heritage Institute, agrees on protecting the traces of historic organic development in the area as well as all construction created within the sense of the regulation from 1929. To an extent, it forms an application of the principles of the regulatory plan from 1991.

13 Ibid, s. 11.

14 This shift in opinions is also outlined by Moncol, Milan: Obchodná ulica znova na programe? Projekt, 1988, no. 10, p. 39 - 40.

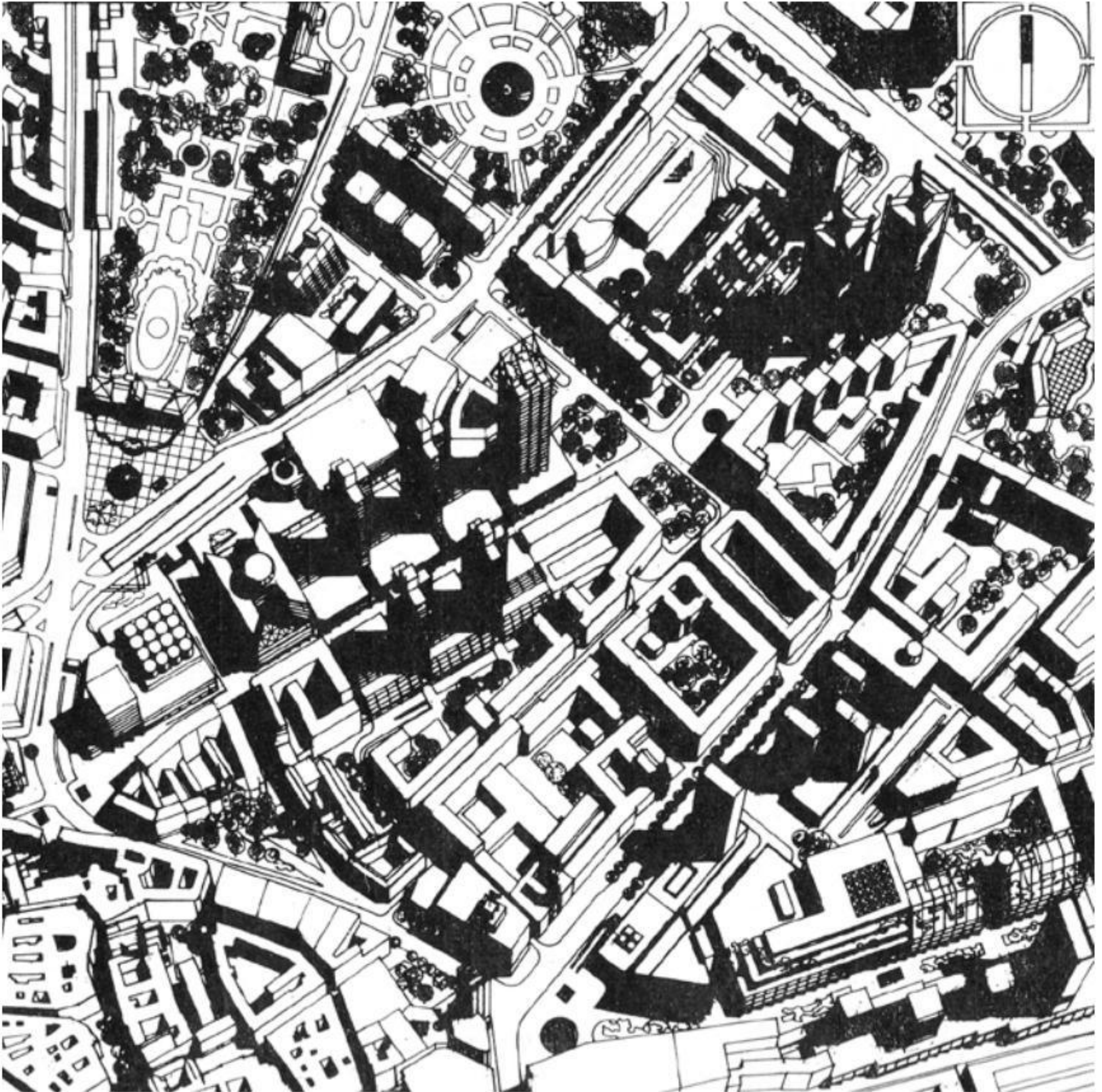
15 Výsledky architektonicko-urbanistickej súťaže Bratislava - Obchodná ulica 1988. Projekt, 1988, no. 10, p. 41 - 52.

16 Viz. e.g. Husák, Vladimír - Bogár, Michal - Frecer, Miroslav: Obchodná ulica. Projekt, 1989, no. 7 - 8, p. 43 - 47.

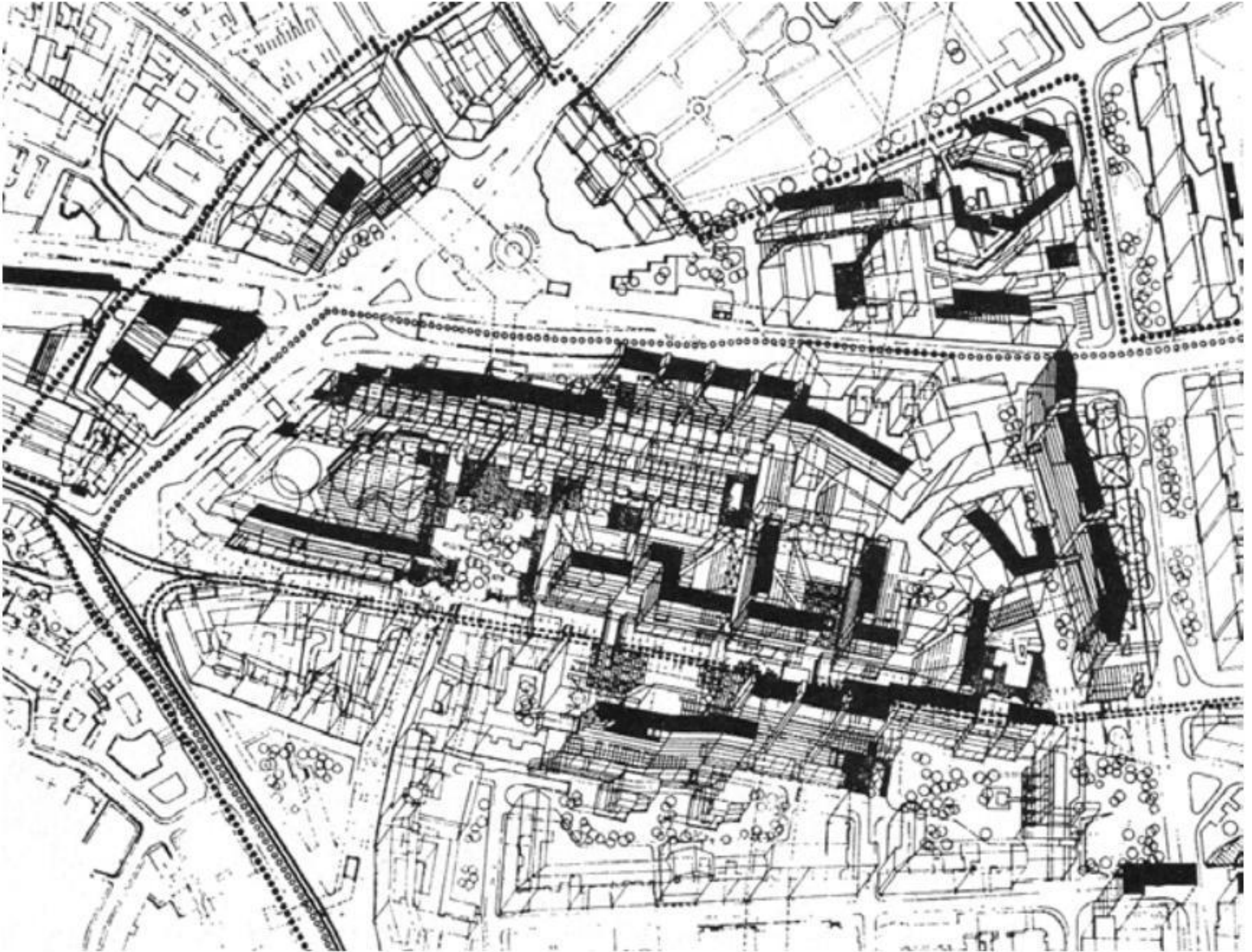
17 Obchodná ulica, regulačný plán zóny. I. Marko, M. Kropiláková, V. Hrdý, A. Bacová, M. Mašek, P. Meleg a kol., 1991.

18 Gregorová, Jana: Moderné v tradičnom - hlavný problém koncepcie pamiatkovej obnovy Pamiatkovej zóny centrálnej mestskej oblasti Bratislava. Projekt, 49, 2007, no. 1, p. 20 - 27.

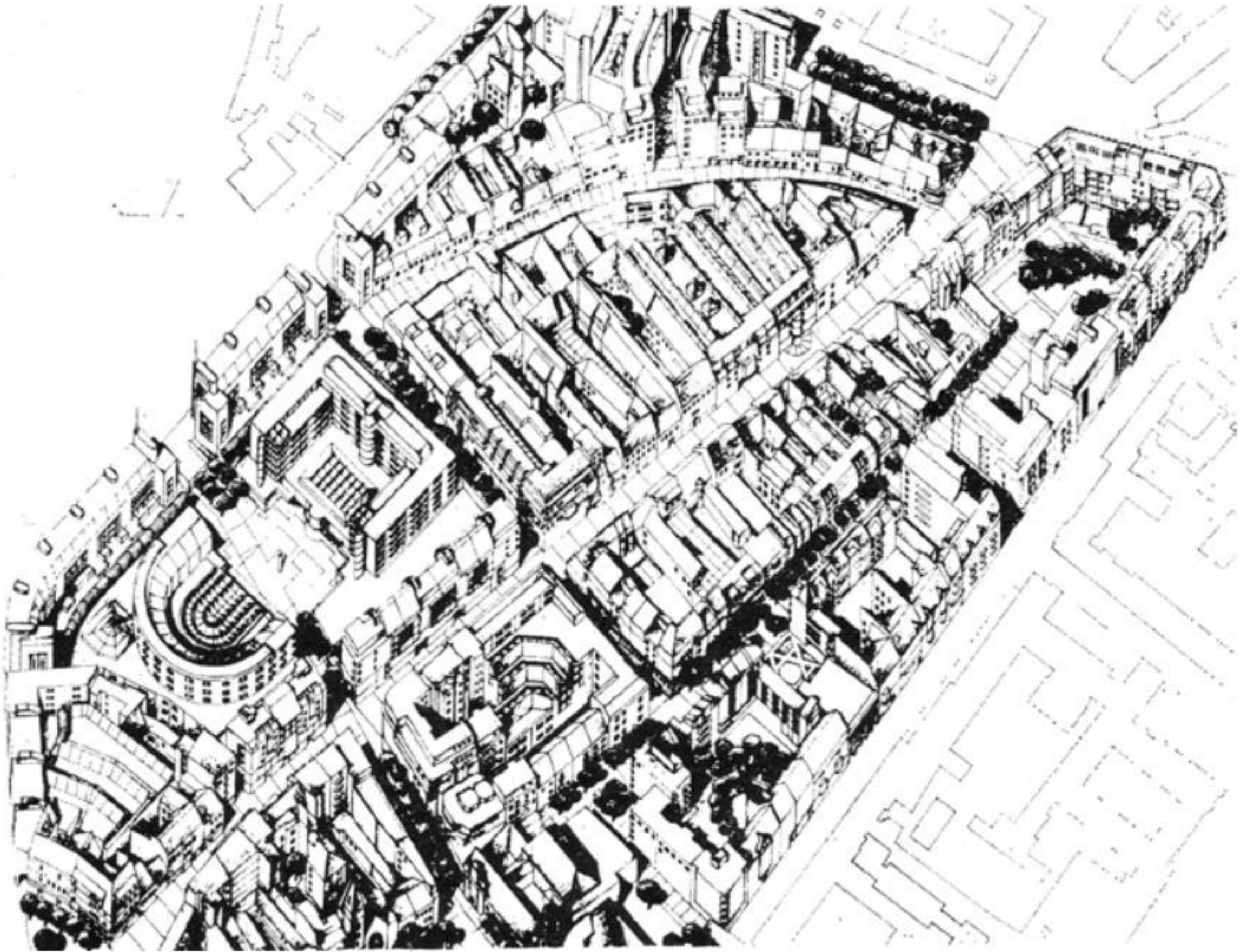




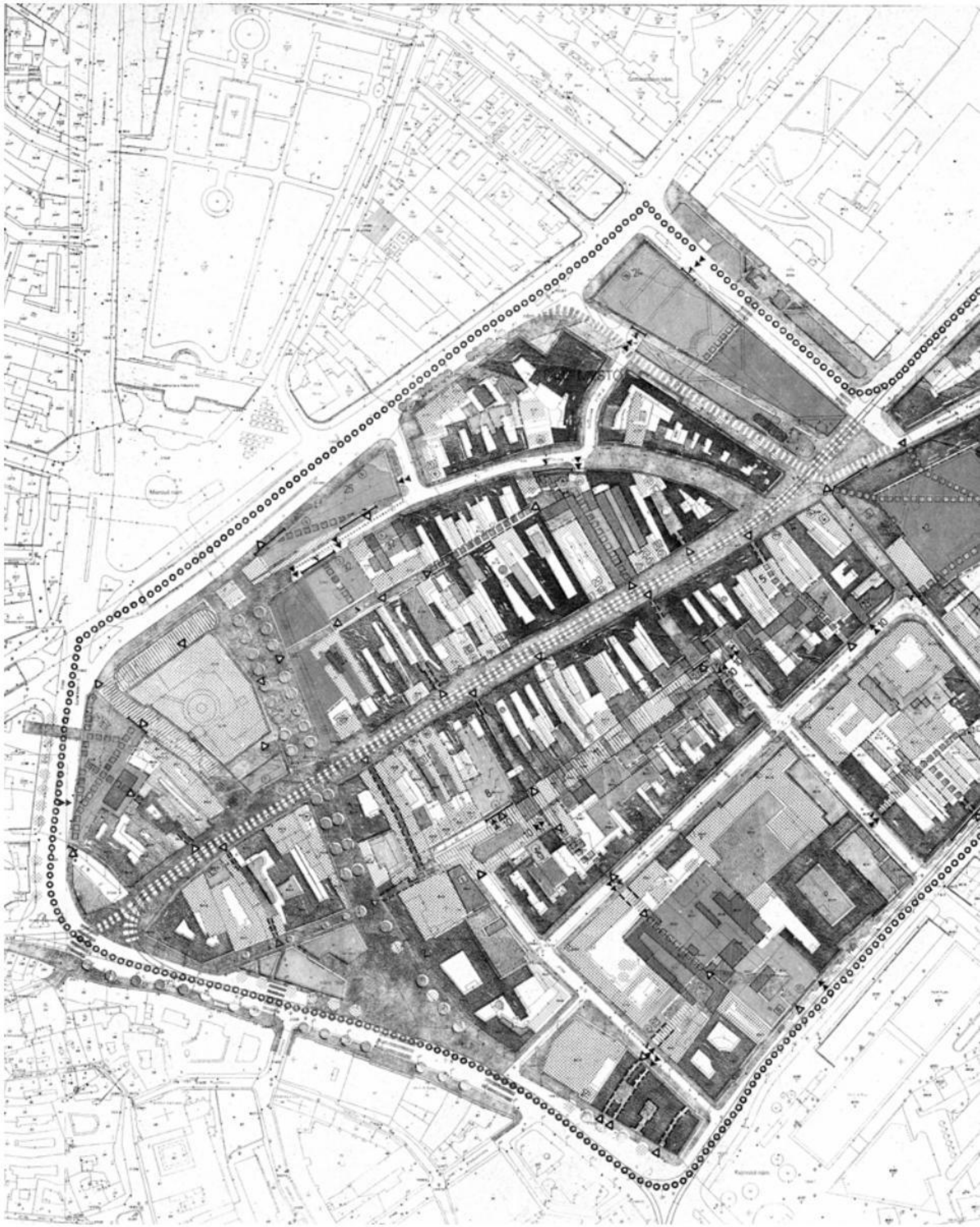
General plan for Obchodná zone, Imrich Bárta et al., 1983  
Source: Projekt, 1984



The concept of the General plan for Obchodná zona, Štefan Svetko et al., 1983  
Source: Projekt, 1984



Urban study for Obchodná ulica, Ivan Marko et al., 1983  
Source: Projekt, 1984





**LEGENDA:**

- NAVRHOVANÉ OBJEKTY
- OBJEKTY URČENÉ NA PAMIAJKOVÚ OBNOVU
- OBJEKTY URČENÉ NA PRESTAVBU
- OBJEKTY URČENÉ NA UDRŽBU A BEŽNÚ OBNOVU
- OBJEKTY URČENÉ NA OSTRANENIE
- POTENCIÁLNE PLOCHY PRE VÝSTAVBU
- POTENCIÁLNE PLOCHY PRE VÝSTAVBU SO ZVÝŠENÝM PAMIAJKÁRSKYM ZÁUJOMOM
- PEŠIE VEREJNÉ PRIESTORY/APRECHODY
- PEŠIE PRIESTORY S KORIDOROM MHD
- PEŠIE PRIESTORY S OBLUŽNOU DOPRAVOU
- EXISTUJÚCE PASAŽE A PRECHODY
- NAVRHOVANÉ PASAŽE A PRECHODY
- ZÁVAZNÉ ZACHOVÁVANÁ SADOVNÍCKA ÚPRAVA
- ZÁVAZNÉ NAVRHOVANÁ SADOVNÍCKA ÚPRAVA
- ZÁVAZNÉ ZACHOVÁVANÉ SOLITÉRY
- ZÁVAZNÉ NAVRHOVANÉ STROMORADIE
- HRANICA RIEŠENÉHO ÚZEMIA
- STAVEBNÁ ČIARA
- ULIČNÁ ČIARA
- HRANICA POZEMKU PRE VÝSTAVBU
- HRANICA PODZEMNEHO PODLAŽIA-PRESAHUJÚCA STAVEBNÝ POZEMOK
- ZÁVAZNÉ ZACHOVÁVANÁ PŮVODNÁ PARCELÁCIA
- PEŠI PRECHOD
- AUTOMOBILOVÝ PREJAZD
- PRECHOD A PREJAZD
- VJAZD DO PODZEMNÝCH GARÁŽI A SKLADOV
- UMIESTNENIE PÉŠEHO VÝPUPU
- ZÁVAZNÁ FUNKCIA
- ODPORÚČANÁ FUNKCIA
- OS PODZEMNÝCH INŽINJERSKÝCH SIETI

**STARÉ MESTO**

**ZÁVAZNÉ FUNKCIE:**

- |                          |                              |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 HOTEL PALACE           | 18 TELEKOM. ÚSTREDNÁ         |
| 2 KOSTOL MILOSRDNÝCH     | 19 DOM UMENIA, KLUB          |
| 3 SYNAGOGA               | 20 KINO                      |
| 4 MALÝ BAŠA              | 21 SLUŽBY                    |
| 5 REMPÓ                  | 22 STRAV., KULTÚRA, ADMIN.   |
| 6 DOM TEXTILU            | 23 STRAVOVANIE               |
| 7 NABÝTKO                | 24 OBCHODNÝ DOM, PG          |
| 8 TRŽNICA                | 25 ADMIN., OBCHOD, PG        |
| 9 PREDŠKOL. ZARIADENIE   | 26 OBCHOD S POTRAVINAMI      |
| 10 PODZEM. PG, SKLADY    | 27 KAVIAREN, CUKRAREN        |
| 11 OBYTNÁ ULICA          | 28 OBCHOD, DIELO             |
| 12 INTEGR. ŠKOL. ZARIAD. | 29 OBCHOD, BYVANIE, STRAVOV. |
| 13 POŽIAR. VNEMOČNICA    | 30 SLUŽBY, BYVANIE           |
| 14 ČERPACIA STANICA      | 31 VINÁREN                   |
| 15 JEDALEŇ               | 32 OBCHOD, BYVANIE           |
| 16 ONKOLOG. KLINIKA      | 33 POLYFUNKČNÝ OBJEKT, PG    |
| 17 STOMATOL. KLINIKA     |                              |

**ODPORÚČANÉ FUNKCIE:**

- |                         |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 GASTRO-SO ZACHOV. TS  | 9 ADMINISTRATÍVA          |
| 2 RESTAURACNÉ ZARIAD.   | 10 OBCHODNÝ DOM           |
| 3 MESTSKÉ BYTOVÉ DOMY   | 11 POLYFUNKČNÝ DOM        |
| 4 DOM DETÍ              | 12 SLUŽBY, VÝROB. REMESLA |
| 5 MEST. AREÁL VOĽ. ČASU | 13 STRAVOVANIE, VINÁREN   |
| 6 STRAVOVANIE           | 14 SLUŽBY                 |
| 7 KINO, STRAVOVANIE     | 15 BYVANIE                |
| 8 CENTRUM ZDROJ.        | 16 STRAVOVANIE, BYVANIE   |

OBCHODNÁ 6	21, 22, 23	POŠTOVÁ 6	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 26	21, 22, 23	VYSOKÁ 9	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 28	21, 22, 23	VYSOKÁ 11	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 30	21, 22, 23	VYSOKÁ 19	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 46	21, 22, 23	VYSOKÁ 2	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 70	21, 22, 23	VYSOKÁ 6	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 74	21, 22, 23	VYSOKÁ 22	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 170	21, 22, 23	VYSOKÁ 24	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 21	21, 22, 23	VYSOKÁ 26	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 25	21, 22, 23	VYSOKÁ 32	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 31	21, 22, 23	VYSOKÁ 34	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 33	21, 22, 23	29. AUGUSTA 2	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 43	21, 22, 23	29. AUGUSTA 6	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 45	21, 22, 23	29. AUGUSTA 1	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 47	21, 22, 23	29. AUGUSTA 5	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 49	21, 22, 23	29. AUGUSTA 5a	21, 22, 23
OBCHODNÁ 51	21, 22, 23	29. AUGUSTA 5b	21, 22, 23
POŠTOVÁ 3	21, 22, 23	MIEROVÉ NAM. 2	21, 22, 23
POŠTOVÁ 13	21, 22, 23	MIEROVÉ NAM. 6	21, 22, 23
POŠTOVÁ 15	21, 22, 23	MIEROVÉ NAM. 8	21, 22, 23

JEDLIKOVA 8	21, 22, 23	MICKIEWICZOVA 7	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 13	21, 22, 23	MICKIEWICZOVA 9	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 15	21, 22, 23	MICKIEWICZOVA 13	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 17	21, 22, 23	MICKIEWICZOVA 2	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 23	21, 22, 23	MICKIEWICZOVA 8	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 25	21, 22, 23	MICKIEWICZOVA 10	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 27	21, 22, 23	MICKIEWICZOVA 12	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 29	21, 22, 23	MICKIEWICZOVA 14	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 31	21, 22, 23	KOLARSKA 6	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 8	21, 22, 23	KOLARSKA 13	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 16	21, 22, 23	MARIANSKA 6	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 18	21, 22, 23	MARIANSKA 1	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 20	21, 22, 23	MARIANSKA 13	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 22	21, 22, 23	RADLINSKEHO 10	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 24	21, 22, 23	NAM. 1. MAJA 18	21, 22, 23
JEDLIKOVA 26	21, 22, 23		
JEDLIKOVA 28	21, 22, 23		
SPITALSKA 17	21, 22, 23		
SPITALSKA 53	21, 22, 23		
HEYDUKOVA 33	21, 22, 23		

**OBCHODNÁ ULICA  
BRATISLAVA**

**REGULAČNÝ PLÁN ZÓNY - 1. NÁVRH**

NAZOV VÝKRESU : **KOMPLEXNÝ NÁVRH REGULATÍV** MIERKA : **1:1000**

**AUTORI :** AKAD. ARCH. I. MARKO, ING. ARCH. S. KRSTIČAKOVA, ING. ARCH. V. NEDÍ  
 ING. ARCH. J. SÁBOTA, ING. ARCH. P. MELEŠ  
**SPOLUPRÁCA :** ING. ARCH. M. BOGAI, ING. ARCH. M. FREČER, ING. ARCH. V. HUSAR, CSO., ING. ARCH. L. URBAN, DOC. ING. ARCH. P. GAL, CSO., DOC. ING. ARCH. S. ČOVAN, CSO., DOC. ING. RICH. P. VOZRAŽKA, CSO., ING. ARCH. P. KOŠNÁČ  
**DOPRAVA :** ING. J. MORAVIEK, CSO.  
**EKONOMIA :** ING. O. VOJTOŠEKOVÁ  
**KOORDINÁTOR :** ÚTVAR PLÁNOVÉHO ARCHITENTA MESTA BRATISLAVY  
 ZAK. ČÍSLO : 9117 JUN 1991

Regulatory plan for Obchodná zone, Ivan Marko et al., 1991  
 Source: Professor Vodrážka Archive, Slovak University of Technology, Faculty of architecture





Formal and functional diversity of today's Obchodná ulica, 2019  
Photo: Olja Triaška Stefanovič

**K A M E N N Ě  
N Ā M E S T I E**

**II**

**a typology of urban situations**



from periphery to  
the new city center

**Type:** terrain vague,  
container

**Case study:** Kamenné námestie

**Other occurrences:** Trnavské mýto

**Key formative plans:** Regulation and Development Plan of the City, 1917;  
Regulation plan of the vicinity, 1934;  
competition for cultural-social centre, 1960;  
Zoning and land-use plan, 2005

**Key non-formative plans:** Regulatory Study for Greater Bratislava, 1925;  
winning competition entry for city regulatory plan, 1929;  
competition for urban design of the vicinity of Kamenné námestie, 1957



**Terrain vague** – an urban category of ambiguous, or respectively uncertain character. We use it in the sense defined by Ignasi de Solà-Morales: “on the one hand, vague in the sense of vacant, empty, inactive, unproductive and in many cases obsolete; on the other, vague in the sense of imprecise, undefined, vague, with no specific limits, without a future horizon”.<sup>1</sup> It could be an area that has lost its original function, is in decay or is excluded from the context of the extant urban tissue. In our case, we view it as a place where the architectonic or urban qualities have been repeatedly cast into doubt, a place where architects have repeatedly planned radical reconstruction, a place which has been repeatedly integrated into a developing urban structure and then left to decay yet nonetheless is now a “privileged place of identity, the confrontation of present and past” while also one of the last urban “fortresses where it is possible to realise the freedom of an individual or a small group”.<sup>2</sup>

**Container** – This category is used by Solà-Morales for those places he terms the “envelopes in which the ritual of consumption takes place”; or places that “are not always public, and not exactly private, where we find the production of exchange, transfer, gift-giving that forms the multiples of consumption in our highly ritualised society”.<sup>3</sup> In this case, we use the category of container specifically to designate the rituals of consumerism associated with sale, consumption and other commercial services.

1 Ignasi de Solà-Morales: Present and Futures. Architecture in Cities. In: Present and Futures. Architecture in Cities. Exhibition catalogue. Eds: I. de Solà-Morales – X. Costa. Barcelona, Actar, 1996, p. 23.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid, p. 20.

The section of Bratislava now bearing the name of ‘Kamenné námestie’, literally ‘Stone Square’, was part of a medieval extramural settlement, later known as the ‘St. Lawrence’ suburb, which emerged to the east of the city walls along the main royal road linking Bratislava to Trnava. Once Bratislava acquired the privileges of a royal city in 1291, a program of city rebuilding began to correct the destruction of the previous wars. Towards the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the positioning and nature of the city fortification was established, generally reacting to the site topography and the extant road network. Yet in many cases, the walls and ramparts literally split certain suburban settlements in half. Such was the case with the St. Lawrence settlement, which found itself on opposite sides of the wall; indeed, the section lying outside the fortifications, which contained the site of the future Kamenné námestie, was in fact demolished in 1528 as part of measures in defence against the Turks. Yet by the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there was already a clear and coherent built structure in St. Lawrence. Its main backbone was Špitálska ulica, named after the city hospital dating back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century (though the current appearance of the hospital and chapel was the result of a rebuilding in 1830). From around the same period, we first note in documents references to a ‘Stoneworkers’ Square’: Steinmetzplatz or Kőfaragó tér in respectively German and Hungarian. This urban space began to emerge at the start of Špitálska opening out from the street, as a counterpart to the hospital on the opposite side. In the city map from 1765, the square is indicated as a rectangular space with an area of approximately 400 m<sup>2</sup>. On three sides, it was outlined with the houses and workshops of the stoneworkers who gave it its name. Essentially, the square was the working area where the master craftsmen completed their works. Some of the land and even buildings were



Kamenné námestie around 1920  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



Kamenné námestie in 1937  
Source: Josef Hofer, Bratislava City Archives

owned by the prominent stoneworking family of Rumpelmayer, whose descendents included the architect Viktor Rumpelmayer (1830 – 1885). On three sides, the square was bounded with compact two- to four-storey structures; more striking was the south frontage, which also separated the square from its neighbour, the 'Market Square' - Tržné námestie (now Námestie SNP). Most of these buildings had a similar functional program: shops or craft workshops on ground level and residential quarters in the upper floors. Architecturally, they were traditional structures with peaked roofs, vertical windows and restrained Neo-Baroque ornament.

#### From Suburb to City Centre

After the demolition of the city walls and unification of the suburbs and inner town, the area began to assume a new status. Nearby Tržné námestie gradually emerged as the most important market and commercial space; equally, the importance increased of the streets Dunajská and particularly Špitálska, which became one of the key urban radials. Around the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the square changed its name, with the German and Hungarian versions matching the current designation: respectively Steinplatz or Kő-tér. With the decline in handcraft production at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the space also changed its functional use, with stonecrafters replaced by market sellers. During the 1930s, for instance, the square was the site of the flower market. By this point, its surface was partially paved, with the main landmark formed by the corner building of Hotel Rudolf. Kamenné námestie then formed part of a relatively large triangular block, outlined by the streets Špitálska, Dunajská, Richardova (now Rajská) and Tržné námestie (now Námestie SNP). Along the streets surrounding the block stood usually two-storey craftsmen's houses with narrow courtyard

sections on elongated plots. Up until the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the interior of the block still contained vegetable gardens.

The first proposal for large-scale changes to the area near Kamenné námestie was offered in the city regulation plan by Antal Palóczy. Špitálska ulica would have been radically widened into a true boulevard and connected to (today's) Šafárikovo námestie through a new street that would have led directly through the space of Kamenné námestie. All these urban spaces would have been framed with solid street frontages. Considering the minimal construction development in the area, this regulation had no effect on the space's form before 1918. Yet in the First Republic, during the 1920s, the situation changed. Increased construction in the eastern suburbs was an immediate result of the need to expand the city centre beyond its historic core. The first to take up the task of regulating the territory for this future centre was the partnership of the Czech-born architects Alois Balán and Jiří Grossmann. In their *Regulatory Study for Greater Bratislava*, they proposed keeping the integrity undisturbed of the block outlined by Námestie SNP, Špitálska, Rajská and Dunajská. However, in their somewhat simplified plan, no area is even depicted for Kamenné námestie, since Balán and Grossmann assumed that the area north of Grösslingová ulica would need to be "completely rebuilt", in which it would be unavoidable to "insert new street routes and partially transform the dimensions of certain blocks".<sup>4</sup> It was Bratislava's good fortune, they believed, that this part of the city was still built up with "mostly small low-lying houses, so that these changes can be implemented without too great financial sacrifice".<sup>5</sup> In their

<sup>4</sup> Balán, Alois – Grossmann, Jiří: *Regulační studie Velké Bratislavy*. Architekt SIA, 25, 1926, no. 1, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

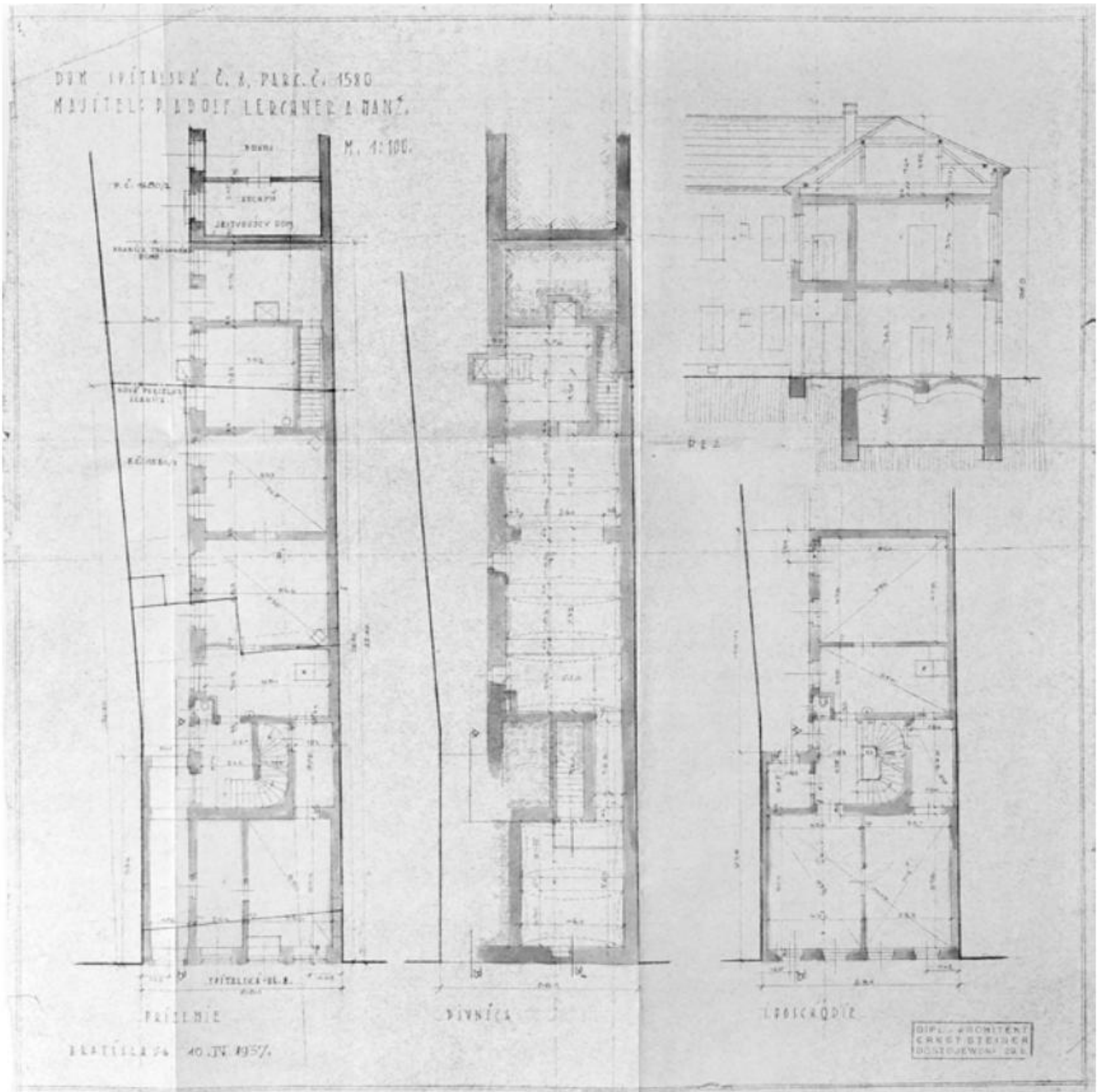


Urban structure of the eastern suburb around 1920  
Source: Bratislava City Archives



Original buildings around Kamenné námestie, Building at Špitálská no. 8 around 1937  
Source: Ateliér Koper, Bratislava City Archives











Building at Špitálská no. 8, drawing for a demolition permit, 1937  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives

REGULAČNÁ A ZASTAVOVACIÁ ÚPRAVA BLOKOV MEDZI  
ULICAMI: ŠPITÁLSKOU-DUNAJSKOU-REICHARDSKOU A NÁM.  
REPUBLIKY, A ŠPITÁLSKOU-PREDLŽENOU CINTORINSKOU-  
REICHARDSKOU A LAZARETSKOU.

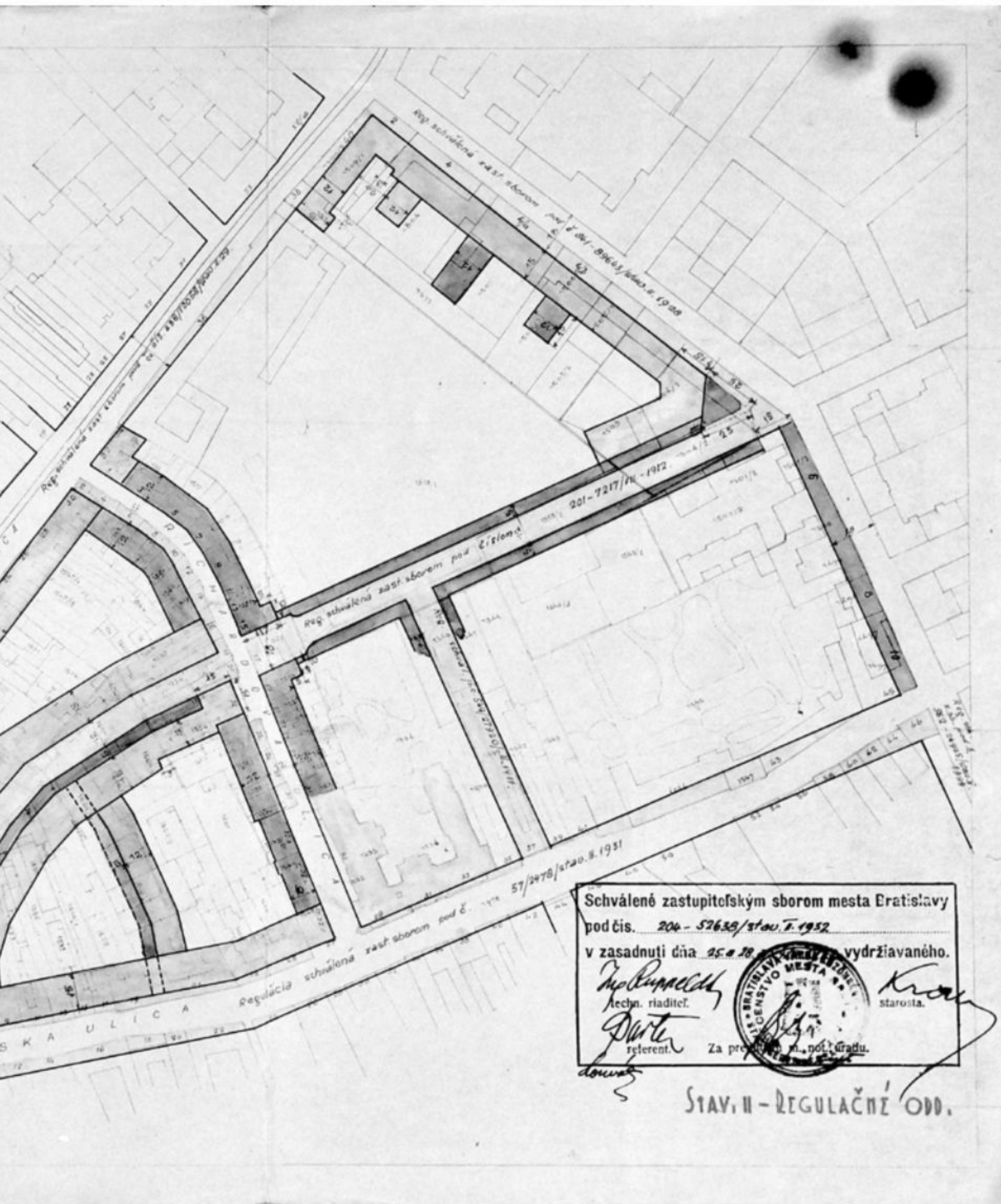
MERÍTKO 1:1440.

VYSVETLIVKY:

-  ZASTAVOVACIÁ VÝŠKA 21 m.
-  -"- -"- 18 m.
-  -"- -"- 15 m.
-  SKORŠIE USTÁLENE REGULÁCIE.
-  PREDZAHRÁDKY.
-  PLOCHY ODSTÚPENÉ.



BRATISLAVA, 27. IX. 1933.



Schválené zastupiteľským sborom mesta Bratislavy  
 pod čis. 204 - 57639/stav. B. 1932  
 v zasadnutí dňa 25. 8. 32 vydržianého.

*Ing. Ruppelch*  
 techn. riaditeľ.

*Dvorník*  
 referent.

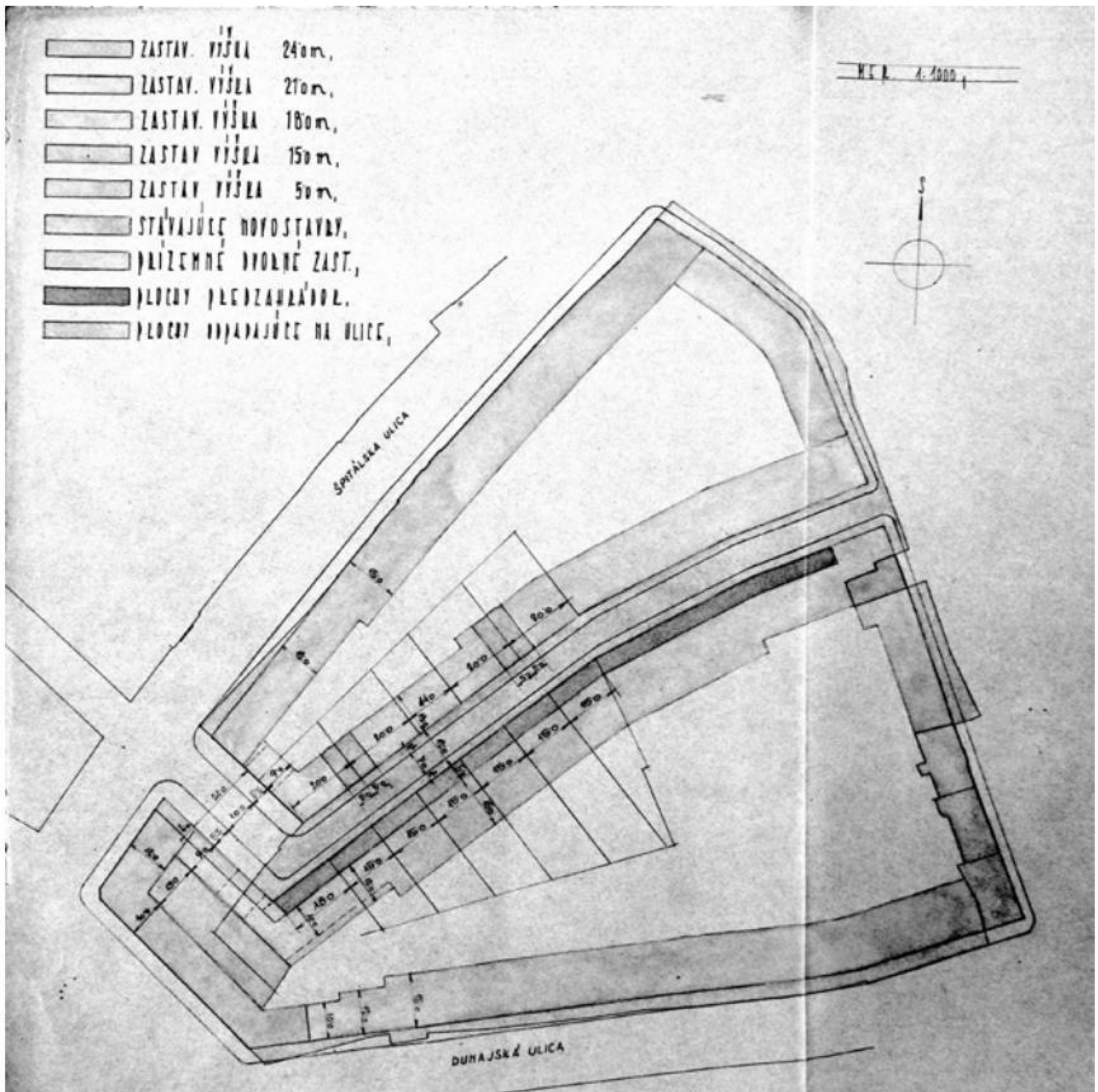
*Kraus*  
 starosta.

Seal: MESTO BRATISLAVA, ZASTUPITELSKÝ SBOR, LICENČENSTVO MESTA BRATISLAVY

Za predloženie n. n. not. úradu.

STAV. II - REGULÁČNÉ ODD.

Regulation and Construction Guidelines for blocks between streets Špitálska, Dunajská, Richardská and Námestie Republiky, 1933  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives



Addition and partial amendment of Regulation and Construction Guidelines for blocks between streets Špitálska, Dunajská, Richardská and Námestie Republiky, 1934  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives

designs, they considered that the streets that would serve as main shopping areas would be expanded, while assuming a construction height of four storeys along main streets and three along the side routes. Yet they also allowed that "in places with suitable location and high financial value" there could be permission granted for "buildings much higher, particularly for commercial purposes, even a kind of skyscraper".<sup>6</sup> Similar ideas were also presented by the authors of the winning designs in the competition for a city regulatory plan in 1929.

Growing pressure for construction in the vicinity eventually led by the start of the 1930s to the preparation of regulatory studies in several variants. The regulation advisory committee, in this task, used as their basis Palóczi's regulation plans and the previous rulings from 1929 and 1931. The regulatory and construction guideline for the vicinity from 1932 retained the open space of Kamenné námestie, but discussed the possible raising of construction height to 21 m. In the transverse and lengthwise direction, the block would have been traversed by two new streets, with the new construction only "on the edge, without any courtyard wings".<sup>7</sup> As such, the regulated area was planned for "the construction of residential apartment blocks, or commercial or office structures, or even other public buildings to be built contiguously".<sup>8</sup> The following proposal from 1933, in turn, only respected the space of the square partially: its eastern front was broken with a new street

---

6            *ibid.*

7            Minutes from the meeting of the City Aldermen's Council as of 25 and 28. 4. 1932, no. 204/52638/stav. II. 1932. 'Regulačný a zastavovací predpis územia ohraničeného Špitálskou, Lazaretskou, Dunajskou a Námestím republiky'. Archive of the City of Bratislava, document no. 124.

8            *ibid.*

that would have crossed the block lengthwise. In the inside of the former square and along the new street, the construction would have been 18 m high. And by 1934, the same opinion was finally established: the block would be split through by a single new street, 12 m wide, leading from Rajska ulica through the block's centre up to Kamenné námestie, where it would end in its eastern section. The new street in the inner block would be lined with maximally 15-m-high construction, though in the direction towards Špitálska ulica it would gradually rise to up to 21 m.<sup>9</sup>

After defining the regulation, the block began to change radically, with massive demolition and construction in the entire vicinity. During the 1930s, modern architecture arrived within the square, bringing a new scale, form and typology. This trend, lasting up into the first years of World War II, came to a definitive end only with the Allied air-raids against the Bratislava oil refinery Apollo, in which one of the bombs struck the south front of Kamenné námestie. Since the regulatory changes had intervened quite radically in the original urban topography, it was no surprise that after the war the block between Námestie SNP, Špitálska, Dunajská and Rajska found itself in a state of "incompletion". Partially preserved remnants of low-rise 19<sup>th</sup>-century construction were matched with modern six-storey blocks constructed to follow the new planned regulation. To the north section, the start of the new street through the block was already being formed. The peripheral mixture of small factories, warehouses, workshops and open-staircase tenements was confronted with new retail, office and apartment structures fully

---

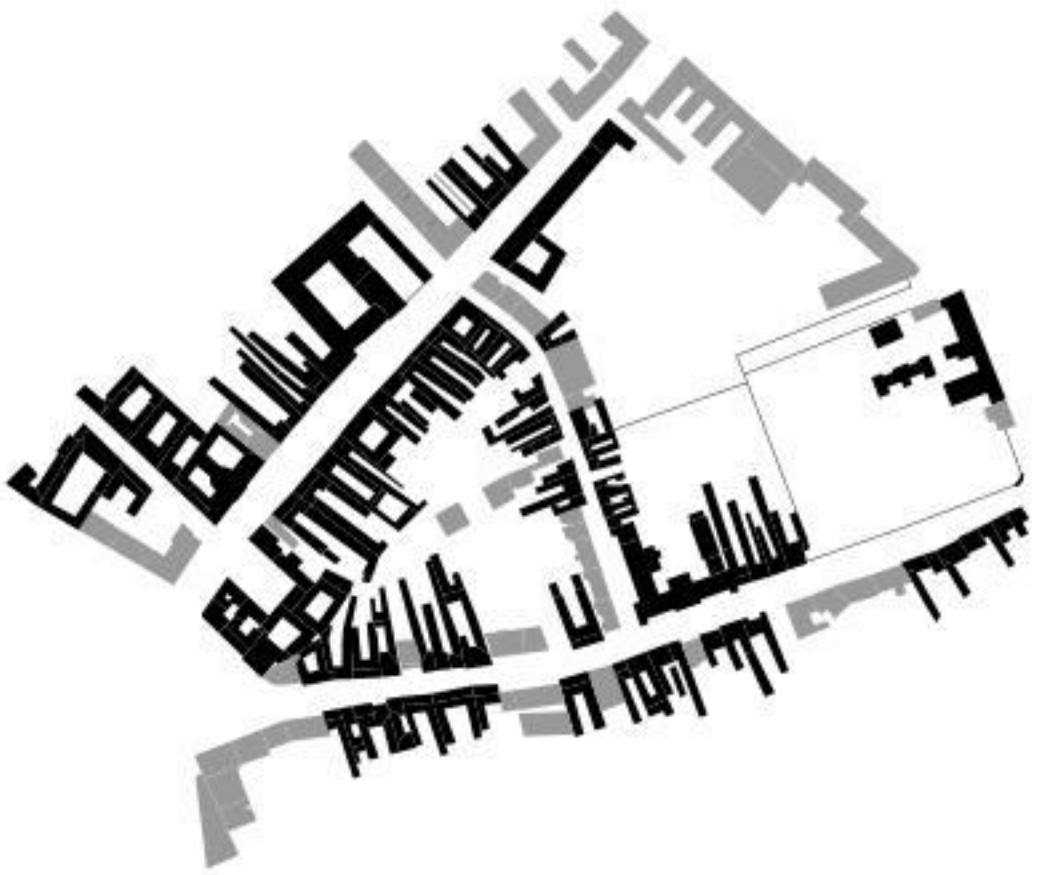
9            'Doplnenie a čiastočné pozmenenie regulačnej a zastavovacej úpravy blokov medzi ul. Špitálskou, Lazaretskou, Dunajskou a Nám. Republiky vo smysle výnosu Krajského úradu č. 269636/12-1933', approved by the Bratislava city council 26. 2. 1934, no. 93/13641/stav. II. 1934. Archive of the City of Bratislava.



1900



Regulation and Construction Guidelines, 1934



The impact of regulation on new construction



Proposal for commercial-social centre on Kamenné námestie and administrative complex on Špitálská, I. Matusík, 1969



2019

The evolution of the urban structure around Kamenné námestie and the plans for its transformation in the past century



Southeastern margin of Námestie SNP, 1950  
Source: Archive TASR



The residue of the original Kamenné námestie, 1955  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



in line with the ambitious plans to create a new city centre. Such a disharmonious form of a city “in the centre yet on the edge” remained prevalent up until the 1960s.

Influenced by post-1945 rebuilding plans for European cities, which relied in principles of massive demolition clearance and extensive raising of freestanding modern tower forms, though reinforced by the social situation of socialist Czechoslovakia, where state property ownership and an authoritarian political system allowed for such efforts to be realised without interference from the public, a radical change in the stance towards this area came about at the end of the 1950s. “When architecture and urban design project their desires onto a vacant space, a terrain vague, they seem incapable of doing anything other than violent transformations... and striving at all costs to dissolve the uncontaminated magic of the obsolete into the realism of efficacy”.<sup>10</sup>

From Terrain Vague to Container

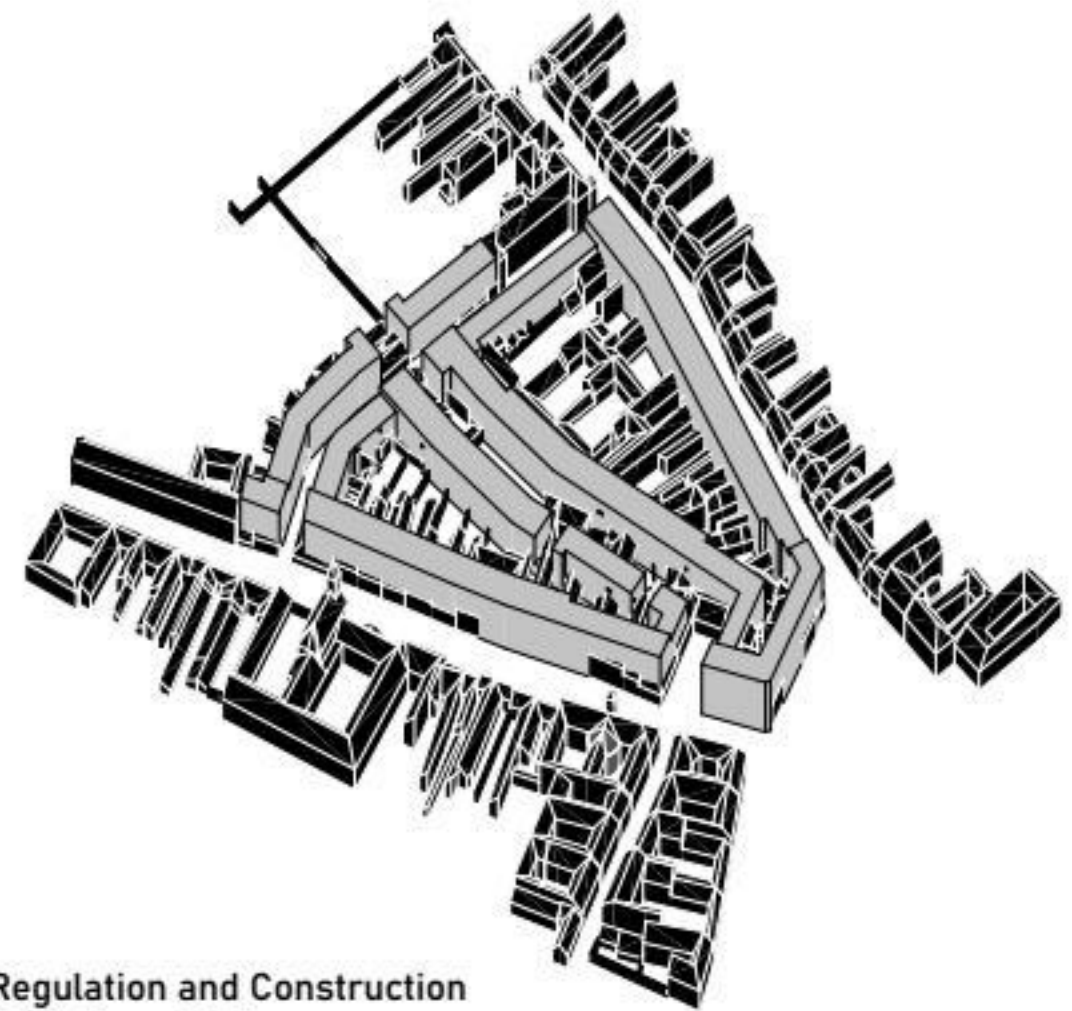
As quickly as the basic principles for the construction of new residential quarters were specified in Bratislava’s postwar development, there also emerged reflections on the thorough rebuilding of the city centre. In 1957, the first competition was held for an urban design for Kamenné námestie, which along with the Castle base (Podhradie), Mierové námestie and the area south of Gottwaldovo námestie (now Námestie slobody) was classified as an area of the city where the need for “improvement of structural-technical and hygienic conditions, resolution of the requirements for safe transport and equally... the construction of services of additional public facilities” was most urgent.<sup>11</sup> In 1958, planner Peter Beňuška

10 de Solà-Morales, Ignasi: Terrain Vague. In: Anyplace. Ed. C. C. Davidson. Anyone Corporation, New York, Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press, 1995, p. 118 – 123.

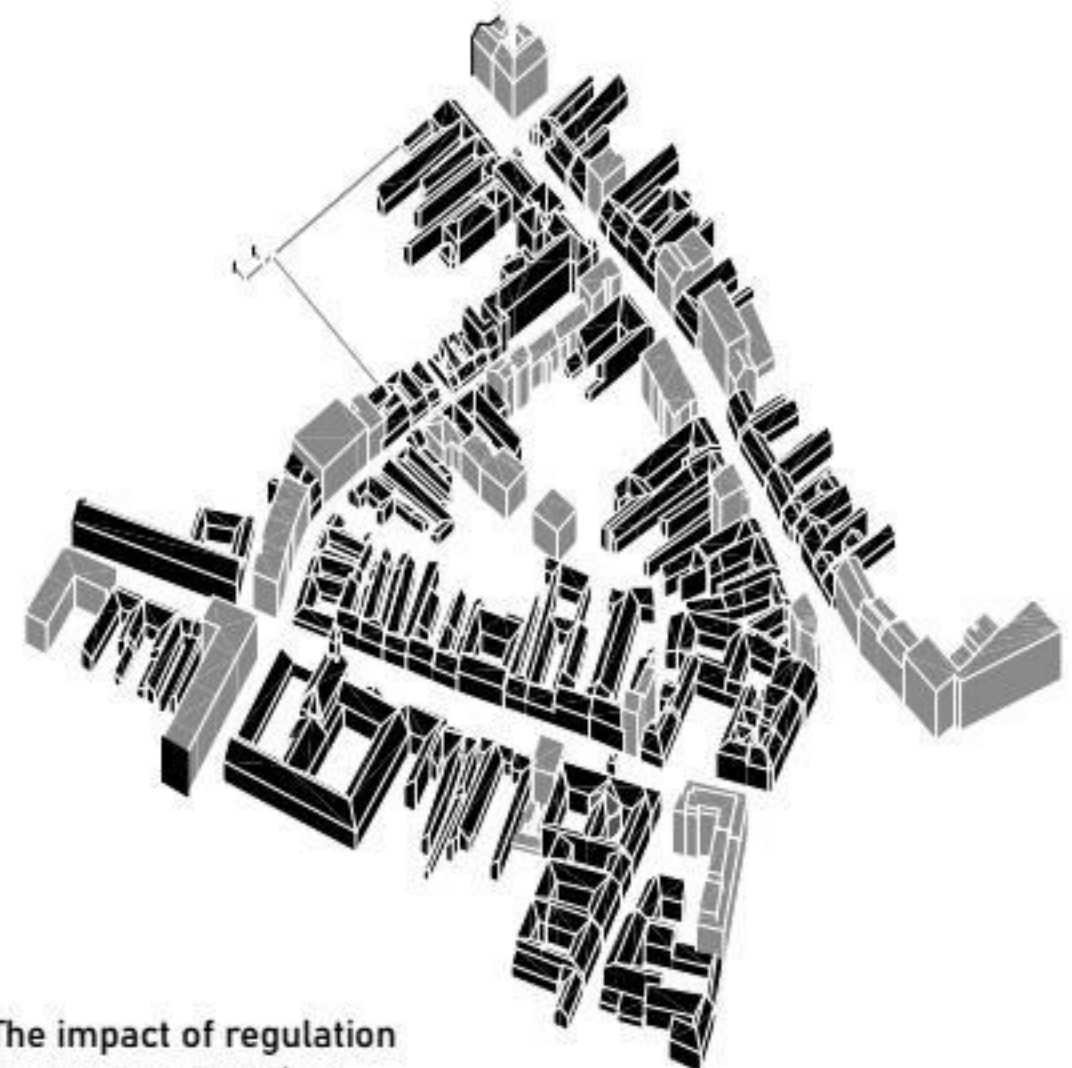
11 Chorvát, Miloš: K súťaži na Kamenné námestie. Projekt, 20, 1961, no. 4, p. 219.



1900



Regulation and Construction Guidelines, 1934



The impact of regulation on new construction

The evolution of the urban structure around Kamenné námestie in the first half of the 20th century

marked off the block of buildings on the north side of Kamenné námestie as a "clearance site".<sup>12</sup> The directive plan for Bratislava, prepared by the State Design Institute (ŠPÚ) under Milan Hladký, proposed using this area of the city for high-rise construction.<sup>13</sup> Much as in the democratic First Republic, the Communist authorities at the end of the 1950s saw this space as a counterpart to the historic core, forming a future new city centre. Yet while in the 1930s the centre was planned to serve a city of 120,000 residents, the plans in the late 1950s already assumed the expansion of Bratislava to 250,000. In this, they assumed the demolition of the original construction, both of 19th- and 20th-century date, across an area of nearly 60,000 m<sup>2</sup>.

The public anonymous competition for the planning of a new social-commercial centre on Kamenné námestie was organised in 1960 by the Czechoslovak Ministry of Trade, which held the role of investor for the project. Conditions in the competition required "a solution for construction that would have allowed for construction requiring the smallest extent of necessary demolition".<sup>14</sup> While the clearance explicitly excluded "new high-quality residential buildings" from destruction, the jury also suggested "taking into account their obsolescence or gradual replacement".<sup>15</sup> Still, the plan for the monofunctional use of the land for public facilities of city-wide importance was not only determined by the investor or by state socialist planning, but was strongly influenced by the idea of functional segregation that formed part of the international Modernist

urban paradigm. In December 1960, the jury evaluated the competition entries and awarded prizes. A total of 11 designs had been submitted, though one design, by the renowned professor Emanuel Hruška, was submitted outside of the competition.

Most of the designs treated the site in accordance with the spirit of Modernist urban planning. Only three design collectives showed a reaction to the existing context. The team of Kukelka, Németh and Bystrický respected the outlines of the original city block, though the built frontage along Špitálska ulica was shifted back from the original street line to widen the corridor of the street for parking. Moreover, they included in their design the extant apartment blocks from the first half of the 20th century. A similar approach was used by the design team of Lacko, Antal, Kušnir, Slameň. While they also followed the trace of the original block, the new construction transformed the space with greater inventiveness. Similarly, the extant apartment buildings in the southeast section were retained, though built into an enclosed block which was then connected to a newly planned complex of a hotel and services facilities. All other construction in the vicinity was to be demolished, with the newly opened space to be used for the freestanding volume of a department store. However, it was precisely this "petrification of the extant residential structures, their extension and structural link to the hotel complex" that the jury regarded as the "greatest mistake in the design".<sup>16</sup> As for the third of the collectives, the team of Marcinka, Marcinková, Švantner, Švantnerová, the original construction in the southeast part was also preserved, but not connected in any way to new buildings. In most of the designs, the volume of the hotel had around 10 floors.

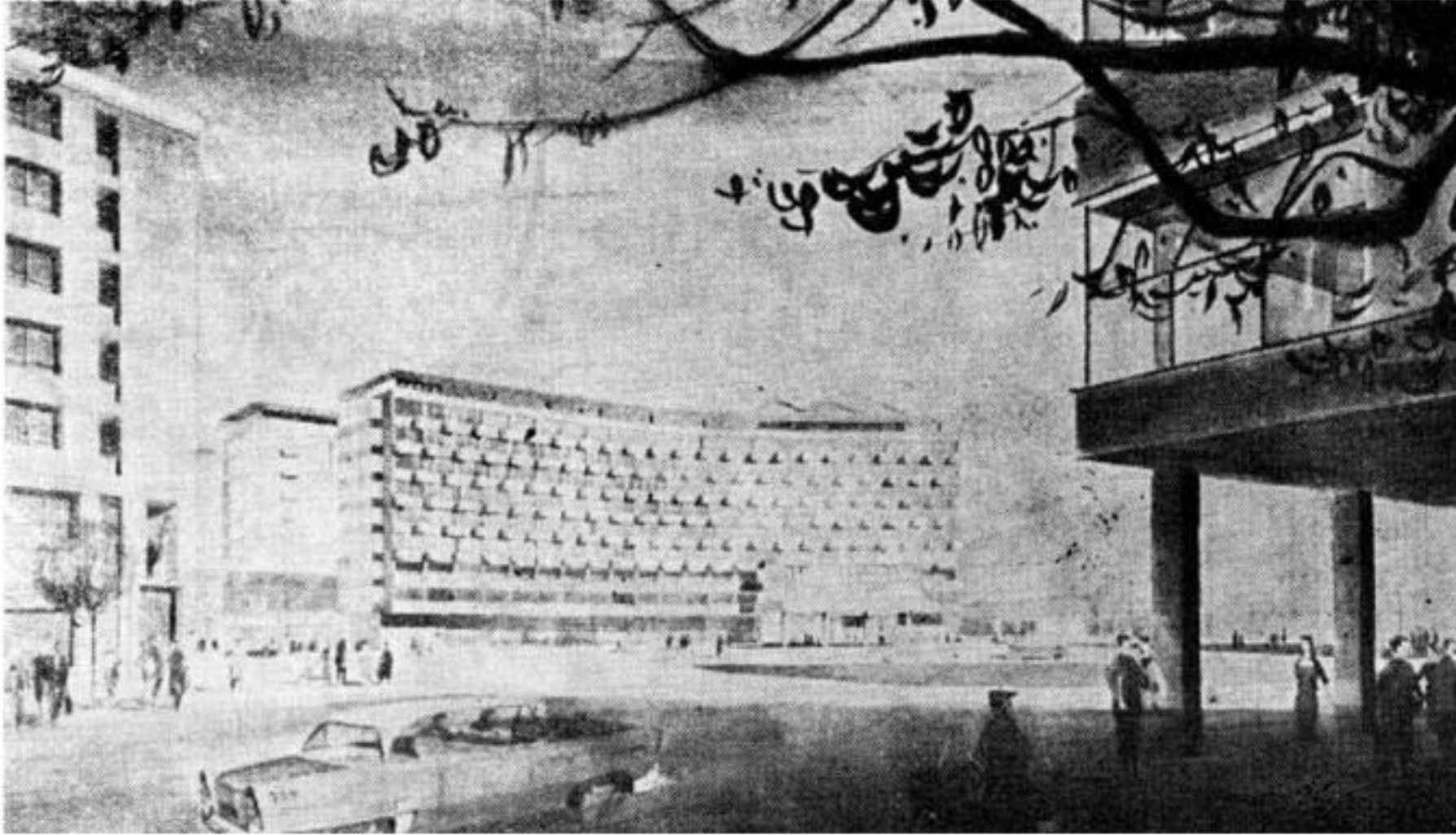
12 Beňuška, Milan: Bratislava, hlavné mesto Slovenska. Architektura ČSR, 1958, no. 1, p. 19.

13 Ibid, p. 25

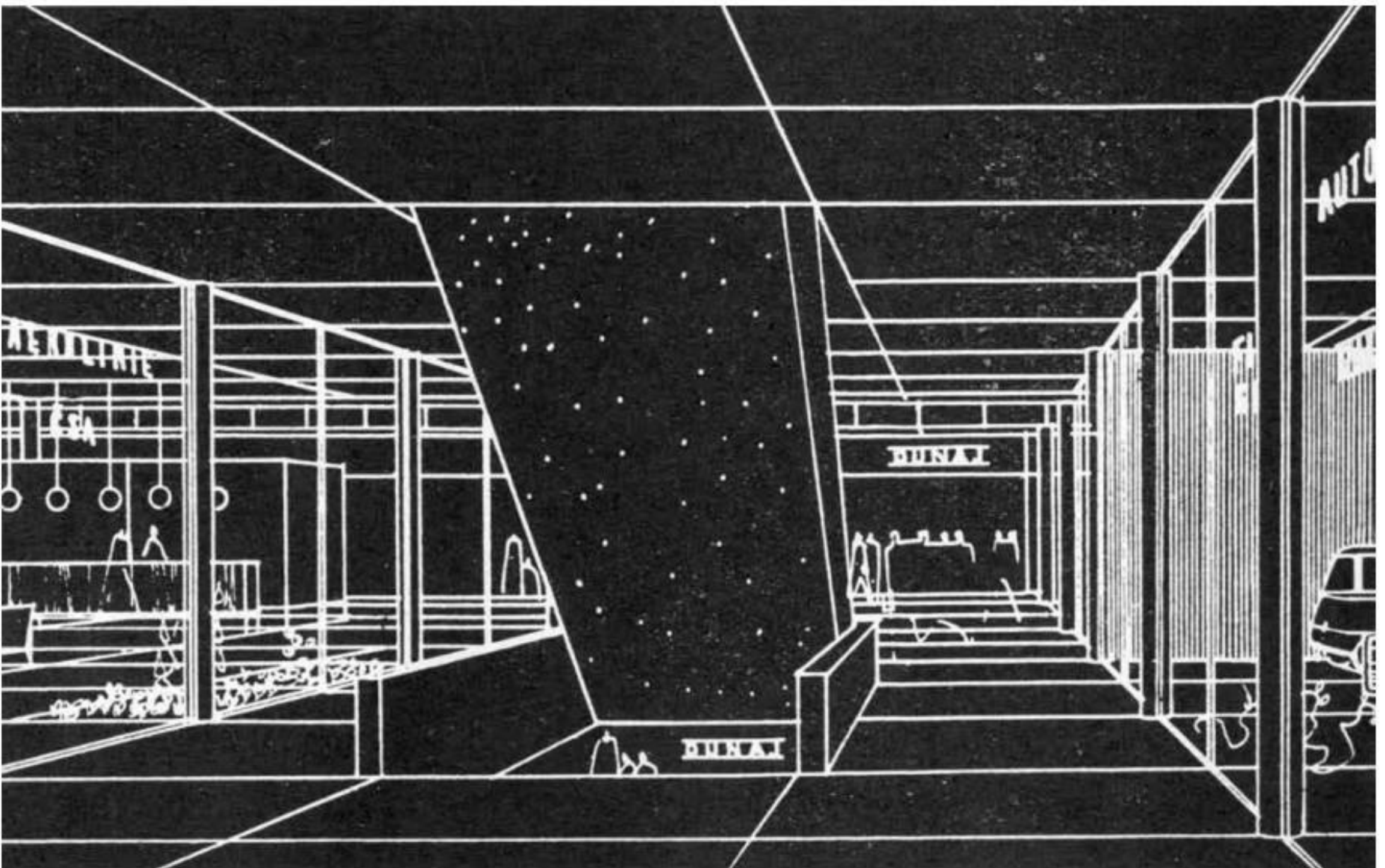
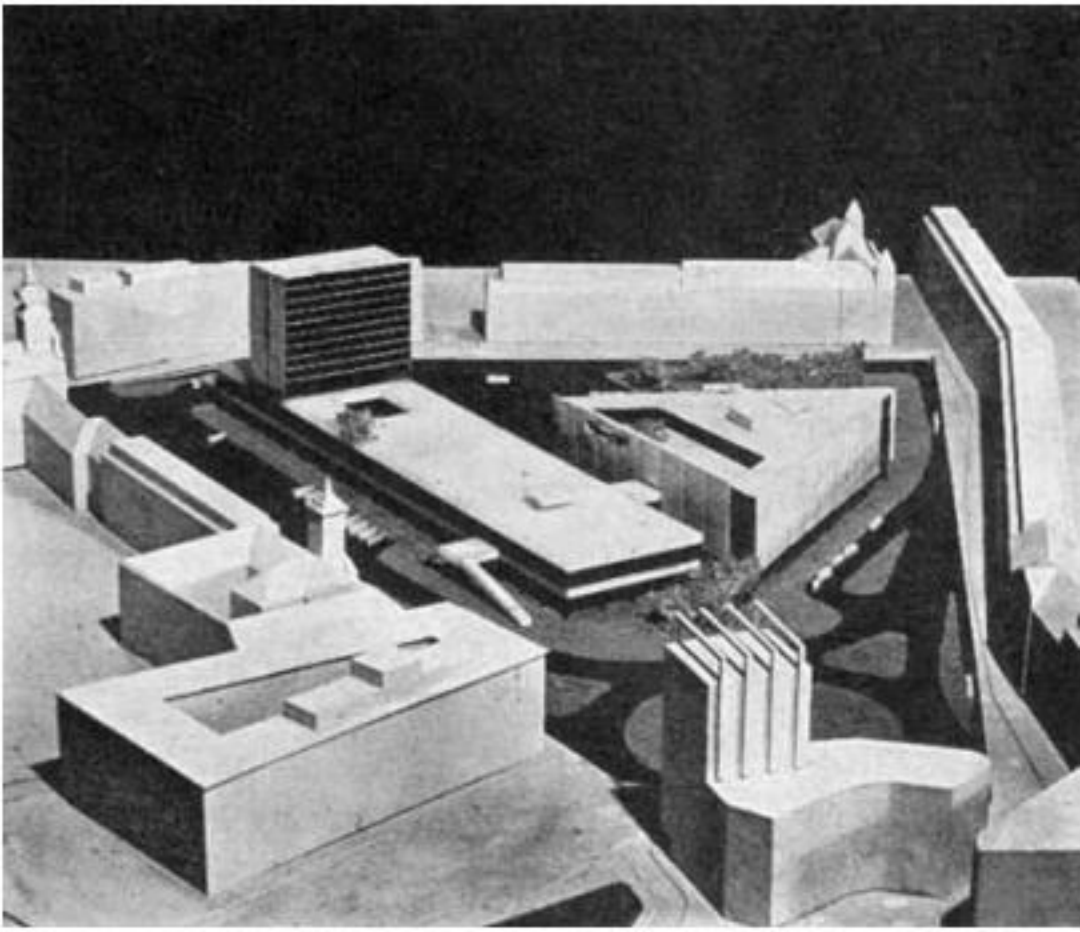
14 Chorvát, M., 1961, p. 220.

15 Ibid.

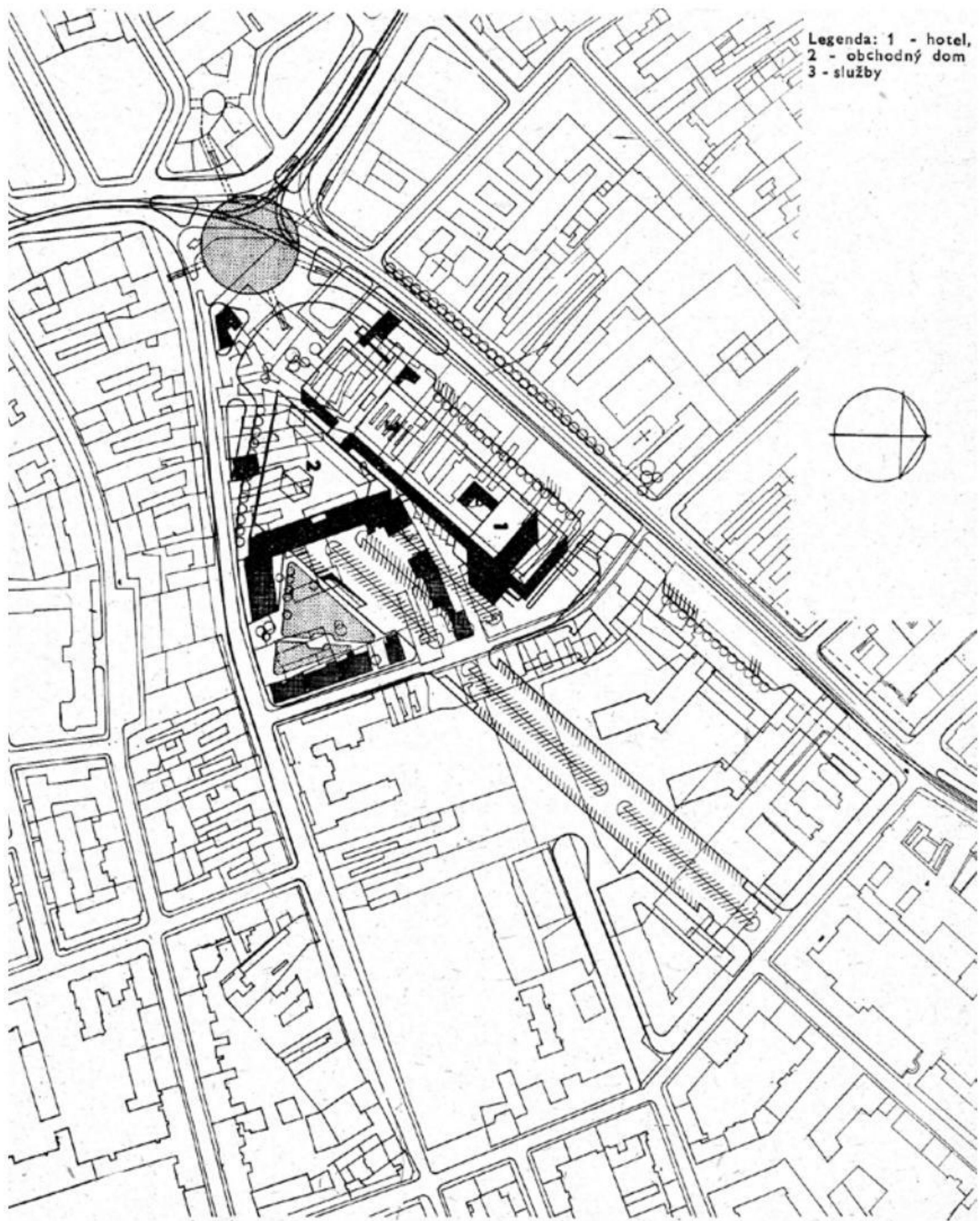
16 Ibid, p. 223.



Competition proposal for a new social-commercial centre on Kamenné námestie,  
J. Lacko, J. Antal, L. Kušník, I. Slameň, 1957  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



Winning proposal for a new commercial-social centre on Kamenné námestie, I. Matušík, 1960  
Source: Projekt, 1961



Winning proposal for a new commercial-social centre on Kamenné námestie, I. Matušík, 1960  
Source: Projekt, 1961

Two designs, though, conceived it as a high-rise landmark, but positioned in two very different locations – one immediately beside the square and the other at the opposite edge of the area, towards Rajská ulica. And in the case of the first-mentioned design by Kukelka et al., the planned hotel would not have risen any higher than the other eight-storey structures in its vicinity.

From the jury evaluation, it should be clear that the members, all well-established architects, were thoroughly convinced of the correctness of their approach regarding the replacement of the original structure with a new one. In their commentaries, they at best allowed the possibility of “allowing for the obsolescence” of apartment buildings built only in the 1930s. Moreover, the “openness” of the space was seen as a correction to the “dense compact building in the city’s central region”.<sup>17</sup> The intersection between Námestie SNP and Kamenné námestie was still, at that time, regarded as a “major transport nexus”, which as a consequence would have benefited from less dense construction in its vicinity.<sup>18</sup> Winning first place in the competition was the design of architect Ivan Matušík. He inserted into a triangular space, outlined by the streets Dunajská, Rajská and Špitálska, a relatively compact structure of volumes that together created a figure that clearly and “wittily” reacted to the basic shape of the parcel.<sup>19</sup> The jury regarded it as the best method of addressing such an exposed urban space as well as having the most architecturally interesting individual buildings, and recommended treating the winning design as the starting point for further

17 Ibid, p. 220.

18 Ibid.

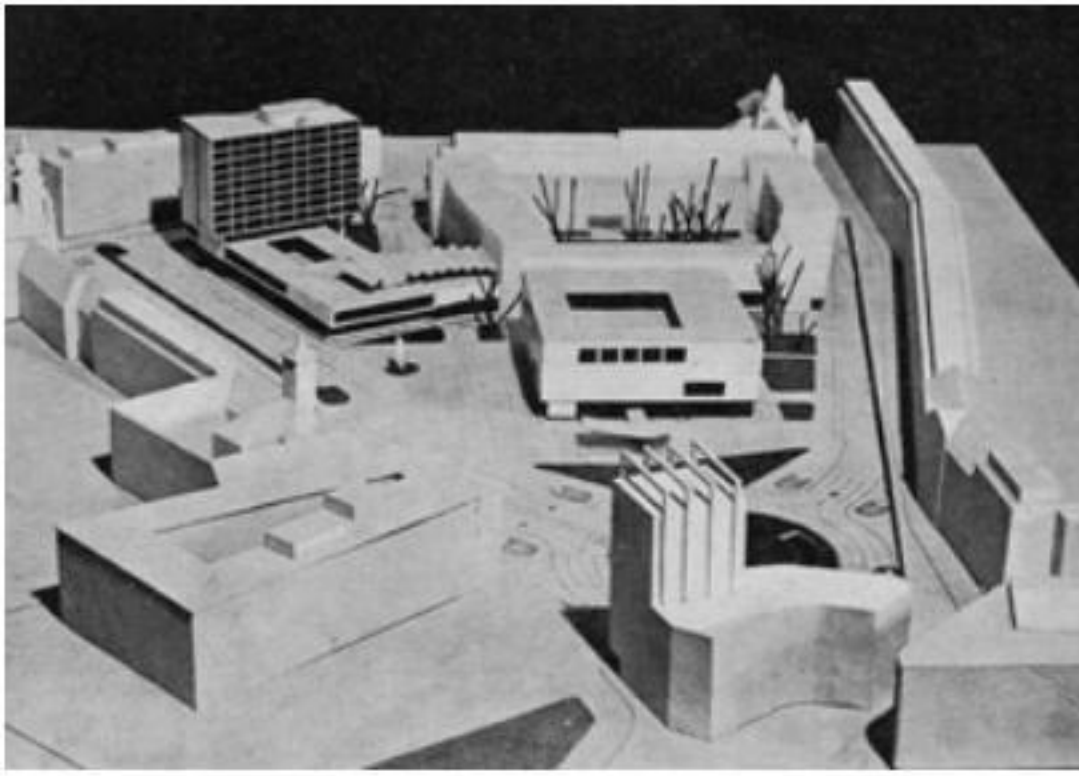
19 Karfík, Vladimír: Kamenné námestie v Bratislave riešila súťaž. Projekt, 3, 1961, no. 2, p. 40.

project preparation. The ambitious planned complex would be an embodiment of the mid-20<sup>th</sup>-century views of the modern rebuilding of the city in accordance with the Athens Charter principles and was connected to the plans for wider rebuilding of the wider centre of Bratislava. Rebuilding of the wider centre was also a theme of Vladimír Karfík, who in his evaluation of the competition entries stressed that the “chosen locality is very suitable for creating the social and commercial centre of the city”, though noting that “it would be necessary to clear [i.e. demolish] successively for this end further areas even beyond Rajská ulica”.<sup>20</sup>

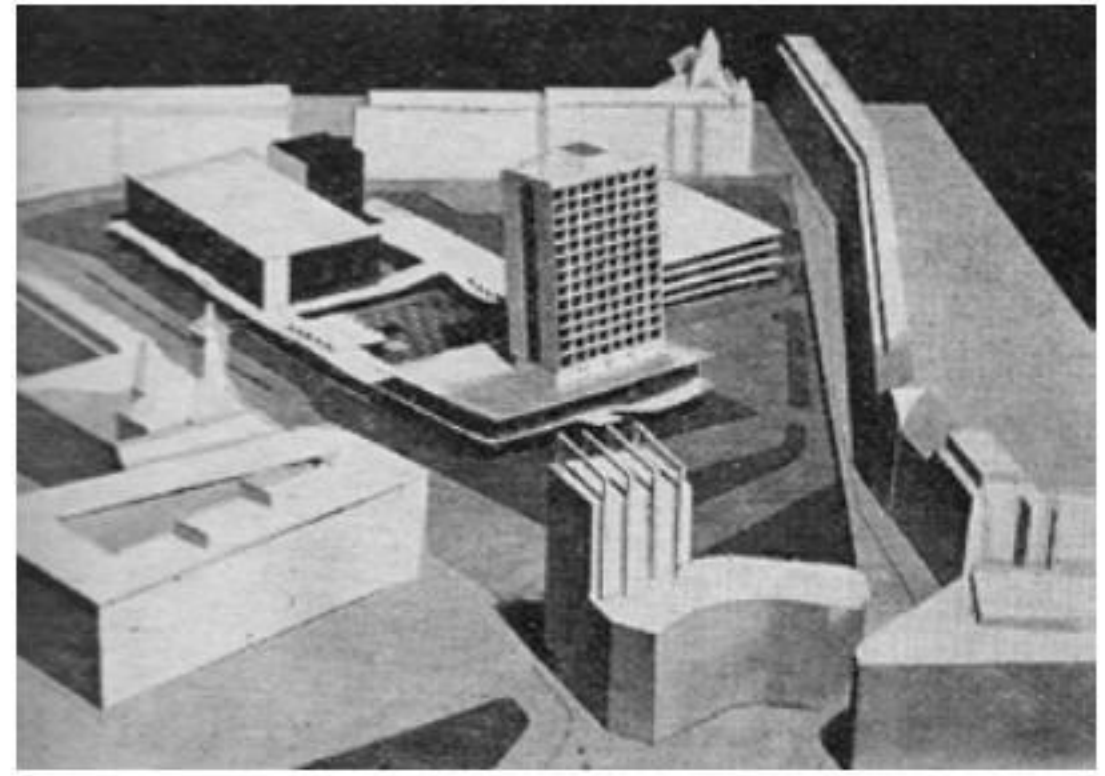
Karfík’s views of the locality began in fact to be realised surprisingly quickly after the competition evaluation. Another administrative complex of Czechoslovak ministries joined the original investment plan, allowing Ivan Matušík to expand his competition design as far as the space of the next city block. As a kind of continuation of the structure of the buildings on Kamenné námestie, he proposed a group of three high-rise office buildings in Špitálska ulica, which would be arranged to provide a rhythm to match the motif of the solitary bulk of the high-rise hotel. The wider plan for the vicinity assumed more demolition in Rajská and Špitálska ulica. And in the end, this design, which strictly followed the era’s ideas of a “complex functional, organisational, mass- and-space-based and operational restructuring of the historic urban base”,<sup>21</sup> was finally realised, with the exception of the demolition of the north frontage along Rajská ulica. Once the buildings surrounding the original Kamenné

20 Karfík, Vladimír: Kamenné námestie v Bratislave riešila súťaž. Projekt, 3, 1961, no. 2, p. 42.

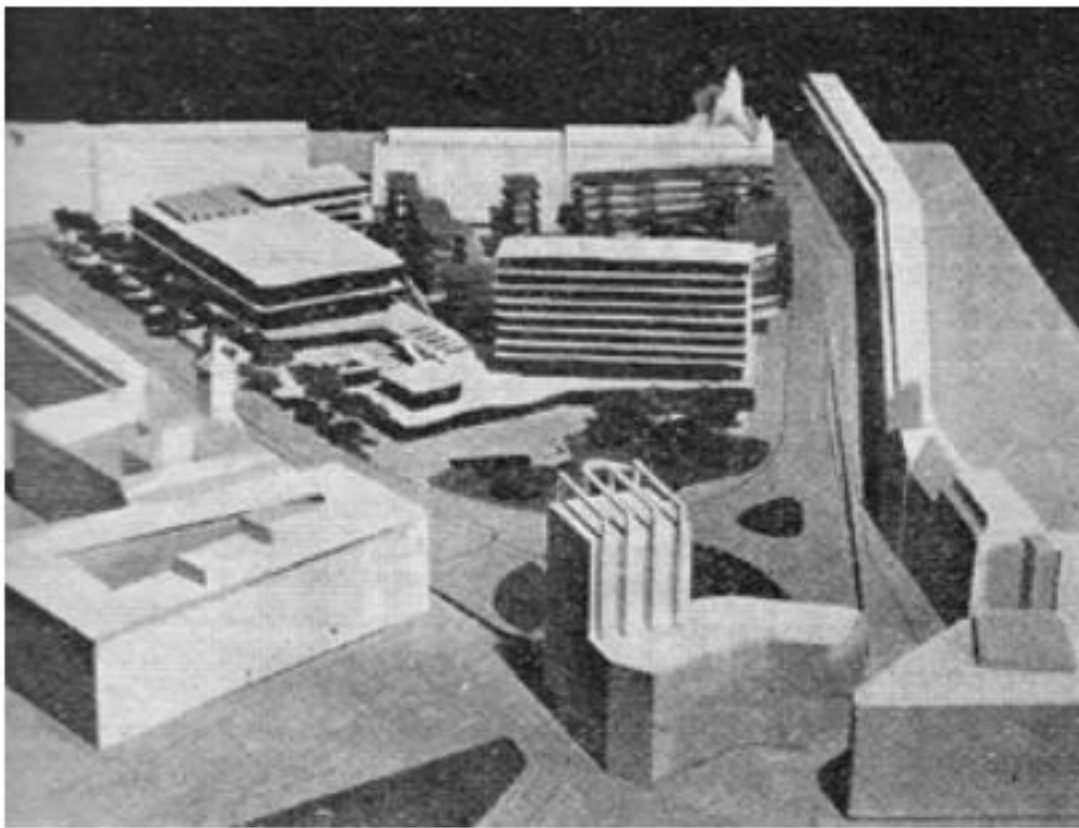
21 Alexy, Tibor: Zo starého mesta sa rodí centrum. O funkčnej reštrukturalizácii historickej mestskej podstaty. Projekt, 15, 1973, no. 10, p. 18.



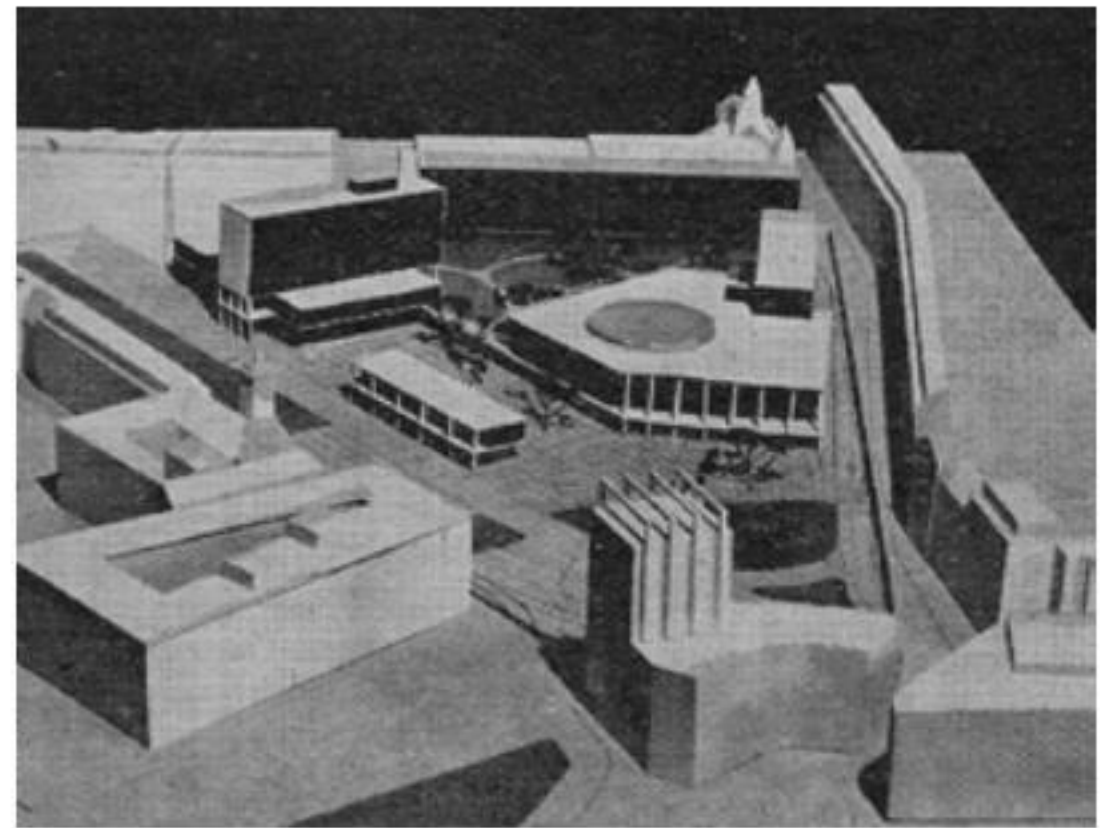
J. Lacko, J. Antal, L. Kušnír, I. Slameň  
(II. prize)



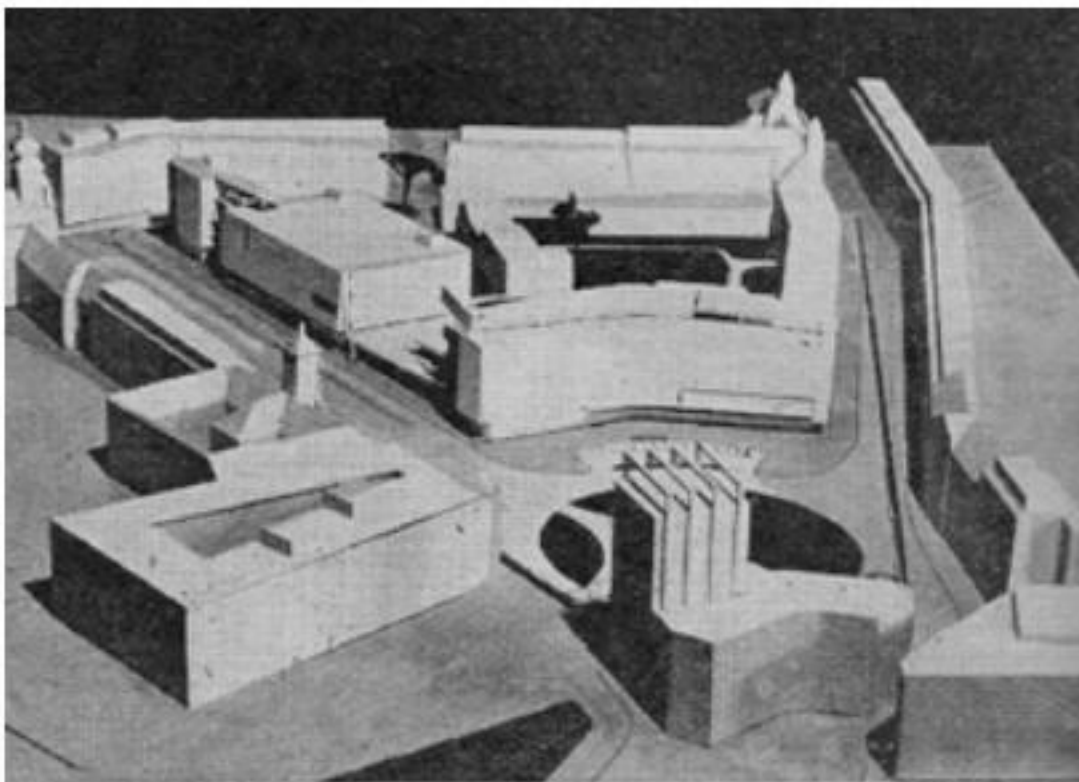
J. Barta, J. Šteller  
(I. mention)



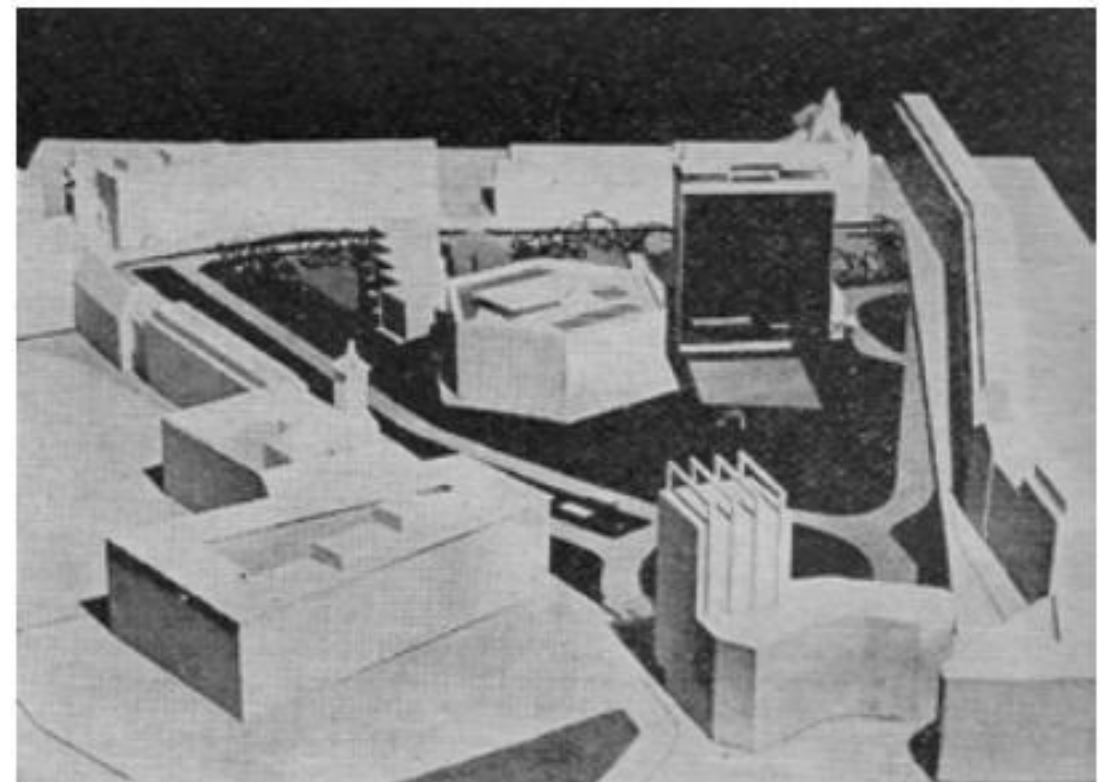
M. Marcinka, M. Marcinková, L. Švantner, R. Švantnerová  
(II. mention)



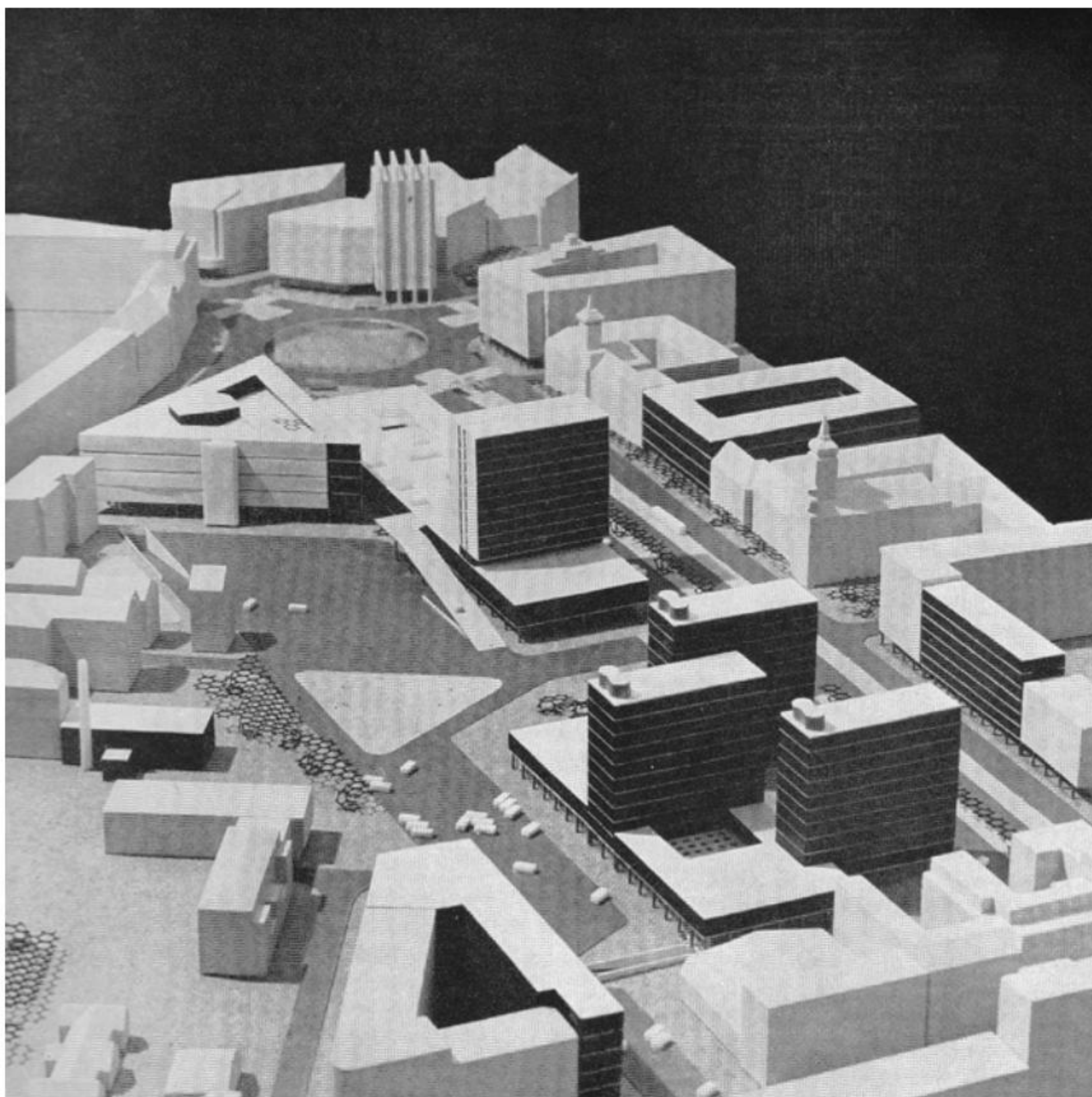
A. Auer, J. Slíž, T. Braun  
(III. mention)



M. Kukulka, A. Németh, D. Bystrický  
(IV. mention)



T. Gebauer, D. Kedro, L. Pinkavský, M. Šavlík, K. Štrba  
(V. mention)

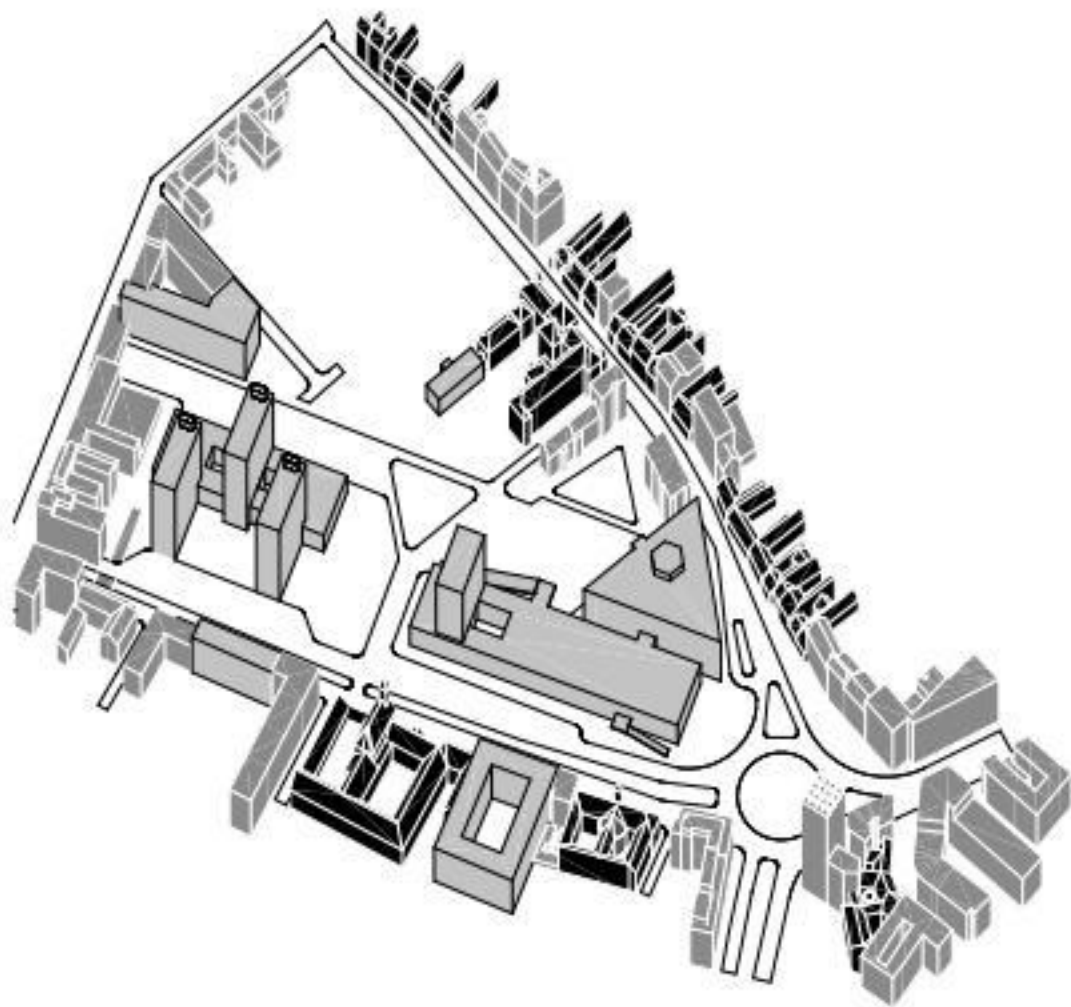


Proposal for solution of commercial-social centre on Kamenné námestie and administrative complex on Špitálská, I. Matušík, 1969  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS

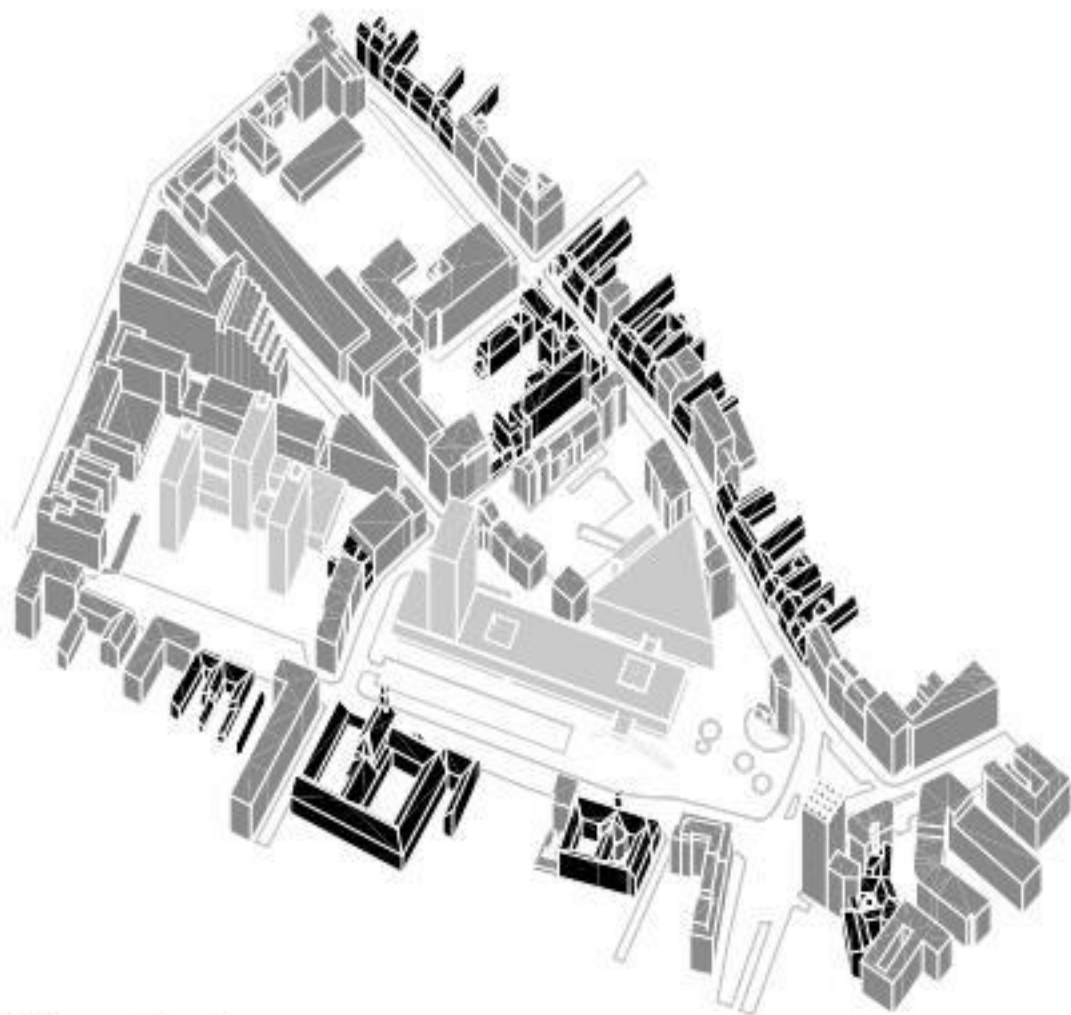




Demolition of the original structure on Špitálska ulica after the completion of II. stage of construction of the commercial-social centre, 1973  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



Proposal for commercial-social centre on Kamenné námestie and administrative complex on Špitálská, I. Matušík, 1969



Urban structure around Kamenné námestie in 2019

The evolution of the urban structure around Kamenné námestie in the second half of the 20th century

námestie were demolished, essentially meaning the disappearance of the square as such, the open space in front of the new department store was assigned the same designation. Somewhat later, in 1977, Kamenné námestie was named after Bratislava's sister city in the USSR, i.e. Kyjevské námestie; the original name was restored after 1989.

The department store and hotel built from Ivan Matušík's winning competition design ranked at the time of construction (respectively 1968 and 1973) among the most significant achievements in Slovak architecture, making clearly evident a return to the principles of international Modernism after the forced imposition of Socialist Realism and in parallel reacting to the most up-to-date opinions on city construction. Combining retail, dining and hotel facilities into a single complex, and then positioning it in immediate contact with a historic European city core, formed a manifestation of true social innovation, and the emergence of a modern society oriented to consumption and leisure even in a planned economy. Both professional circles and the general public regarded the commercial-social complex positively. Even when the building was under construction, in 1965, Matušík was awarded a medal for his services to the construction of the city. The architect Emil Belluš praised the wider urban conception of the complex in which "everywhere in the area, there are richly dimensioned spaces for pedestrians, safe walkways partially covered..., overhangs, fountains... and landscaped vegetation".<sup>22</sup> The jury that awarded first prize in both the Slovak and the federal rounds of the architectural prize for the period 1971 – 1973 for the hotel building described it as a "significant architectural work that will have

<sup>22</sup> Belluš, Emil: Sľubný zárodok nového spoločenského centra. Projekt, 16, 1974, no. 9, p. 10.

a positive influence on the further development of our architecture, and could be an example for addressing the relationships between new architectural works in the central area of the city".<sup>23</sup> After completing the third stage of construction, when the commercial-social centre "first appeared... as a coherent, harmonic yet strikingly dynamic composition that directs and organises its space", evaluations could finally focus on the complex as a whole and its impact on the city. Reviewers spoke positively of the "high legibility of the architecture at each visual distance", praised the "intriguing ornament" that the complex formed within the "city framework", the "wealth of unexpected, ever-changing views" or even the "atmosphere of an urban alleyway" formed in the connection between the department store and the hotel plinth, and which "aided in differentiated orientation of individual directions in the link to the urban backdrop".<sup>24</sup> A few dissenting voices, though, noted that the "change in the function of Kamenná ulička" implied that the three large volumes failed to communicate sufficiently with their surroundings.<sup>25</sup> Other reservations also emerged in connection to the transport plan for the area: critics accused the builder as well as the city government for not managed to secure, in parallel with the construction of the entire complex, the widening of road links in the vicinity and the increasing of parking spaces for visitors. Neither the planned movement of part of the motor traffic underground nor the proposed parking garage in Cintorínska were ever realised.<sup>26</sup>

23 Jankovich, Imrich: Kyjevské námestie v Bratislave, obchodný dom Prior a hotel „A“. *Československý architekt*, 25, 1980, no. 6, p. 3.

24 Jankovich, I., 1980, p. 3.

25 Šlachta, Štefan: Areál Kyjevského námestia v Bratislave. *Projekt*, 22, 1980, no. 7, p. 40.

26 For more about the project and realisation of the department store/hotel complex viz. Moravčíková, Henrieta: *Moderná*

A key component of the era's public response to the complex of buildings on Kamenné námestie lay in its evaluation as a "new significant city-forming element", which architectural critics found a "promising forerunner for the social centre of New Bratislava", or even as a "path towards the gradual rebuilding of what was only recently a provincial town into a metropolis".<sup>27</sup> Along with the three nearby office blocks, the department store/hotel complex was ranked among the three "most significant architectonic ensembles" built in the city after World War II.<sup>28</sup>

Bearing in mind the functional program determined by consumerism, the controlled public/non-public operational methods and the indifference to the surrounding environment, the complex presents a characteristic instance of the implementation of the urban category of the Container into the city structure. Yet it is of course characteristic that this act of transforming a terrain vague into a container occurred precisely at the moment of the emergence of a consumer society in the former Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in the 1960s. Until this point, the square and its surroundings were a typically complex urban structure where indeed commercial exchanges were a key factor but not the exclusive function, nor was commerce enclosed but instead fully integrated into a spontaneously developed structure.

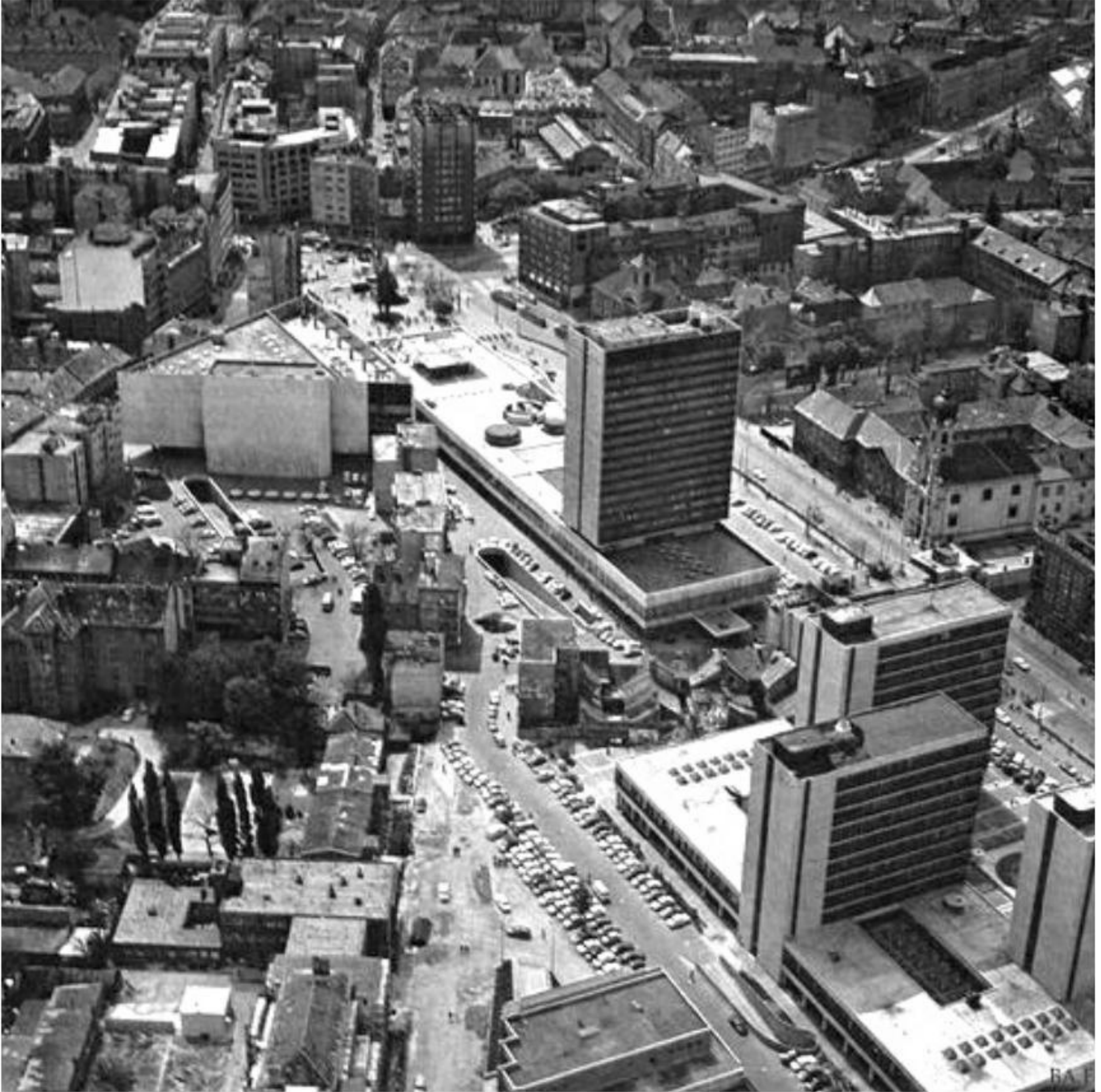
architektúra v čase a predpoklady jej udržateľnosti: Hotel Kyjev a bývalý obchodný dom Prior, 1960 - 2008. *Architektúra & Urbanizmus*, 42, 2008, no. 3 - 4, p. 181 - 196.

27 Belluš, E., 1974, p. 8 and 11.

28 Chovanec, Jozef: Hotel Kyjev na Rajskej ulici v Bratislave. *Projekt*, 15, 1973, no. 6, p. 356.



Construction of Hotel Kiev, around 1971  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



Commercial-social centre and administrative complex shortly after completion, 1980  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS





Commercial-social centre on Kamenné námestie shortly after completion  
Photo: Rajmund Müller

### From Container to Terrain Vague

In 1992, the locality was included in the protected Bratislava Heritage Zone – Central City Region. Yet its incomplete construction regularly provoked from the 1980s onward various attempts at urban completion. The first plans for completing the structure following the original historic traces were influenced by postmodernist urban design, proposing the addition of a traditional solid street frontage along all the streets framing the department store/hotel complex. During the 1990s, several changes in the ownership of the land and buildings on the site occurred, as well as shifts in their functional use. This process led to the creation of many deserted or dead spaces (the rooftop terrace of the department store and the hotel, the restaurants in the parterre) and the unregulated occupation of the public space with temporary structures in the form of various awnings and advertising stands. The first major initiative towards changing this state was the architectural-urbanistic competition for the revitalisation of Námestie SNP, which the city held in 1998. Yet the designs that appeared in its course were, to a large extent, conditional on an ambitious below-ground transport solution for which the realisation would have been far beyond the possibilities of the organiser. A wider overview of the area near Kamenné námestie was provided in the zoning and land-use plan approved in 2005.<sup>29</sup> This plan assumed the retention of the extant structures in the area but with the completion of street frontages along Špitálska, Dunajská and Rajska ulica along with the structural enclosure of the original space of Kamenné námestie as envisioned by the regulations from the 1920s. Simultaneously, it preserved the main public

spaces and pedestrian routes as they emerged in the course of the century-long development of the area. The plan entered into effect in 2008. Slovakia's heritage efforts have been somewhat reserved in relation to the department store and hotel, as attested by their negative stance towards several attempts to have the complex registered as national heritage.<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless, the entire group lies within the heritage zone of the Central City Region, and as such is in fact under legal protection. The primary argumentation of the heritage authorities relies on "at what cost and in what way"<sup>31</sup> the architecture of the department store and hotel was created, considering that its construction was made possible by the demolition of historic structures without any general social consensus. If the department store/hotel complex can be seen as destroying a "previous layer"<sup>32</sup> of the city, both for heritage authorities and other participants, it represents a "modernist destructive intervention"<sup>33</sup> not worthy of heritage protection. In another instance, heritage protection was denied for the structure's solitary form, which in the view of critics in the heritage field has the result that the complex "remained towards the remainder of its environment uncommunicative, inconsistent and continually problematic".<sup>34</sup> Despite many attempts to make a change in the zoning and land-use plan and several proposals for a radical reconfiguring of the block between

<sup>29</sup> Peržel, Oliver et al: ÚPN-Z Bratislava – Dunajská, 2005. Viz e.g. Peržel, Oliver: Zóna Dunajská. ARCH, 12, 2007, no. 3, p. 34 – 35.

<sup>30</sup> Experts from DOCOMOMO Slovakia submitted between 2005 and 2019 three unsuccessful applications for registering the complex of buildings on Kamenné námestie in the National Register of Cultural Heritage.

<sup>31</sup> Tahy, Alexander: Metropola verzus provincia? ARCH, 12, 2007, no. 1, p. 57.

<sup>32</sup> Šlachta, Štefan: Kauza Kyjev. ARCH, 12, 2007, no. 1, p. 55.

<sup>33</sup> Gregorová, Jana: Moderné v tradičnom. Projekt, 49, 2007, no. 1, p. 20 – 27.

<sup>34</sup> Tahy, A., 2007, p. 57.



Námestie SNP, Špitálska, Rajska and Dunajska, the complex still stands, and the retail component even still functions as originally intended. Over the past ten years, though, a greater change has occurred in the stance of the general public to the site. While on one hand it still forms the subject of radical rebuilding plans, on the other there is a growing body of public opinion that appreciates its architecture.<sup>35</sup> In the arguments for the preservation of the department store and hotel, emphasis is frequently assigned to its task in relation to the city's identity, the importance of protecting a major historic layer, yet equally its significance as one of the few places which has remained resistant to the radical modernisation and privatisation of public space in the city centre. From a container, it is gradually becoming once more a terrain vague.

---

<sup>35</sup> We should note at least the planning study from 2013, resp. the competition for the rebuilding of Hotel Kyjev from 2018, initiated by the owner of a part of the buildings on Kamenné námestie, the corporation Lordship.





### LEGENDA

	HRANICA RIEŠENÉHO ÚZEMIA
<b>17/3</b>	ČÍSLO BLOKU
	PLOCHY ZMIEŠANÝCH FUNKCIÍ OBČIANSKEJ VYBAV. A BÝVANIA
	PLOCHY BÝVANIA S OV VIAZANOU NA BÝVAJÚCICH OBYV.
	PLOCHY BÝVANIA
	PLOCHY PRECHODNÉHO BÝVANIA
	PLOCHY OBČIANSKEJ VYBAVENOSTI
	PLOCHY ADMINISTRATÍVY
	PLOCHY ZDRAVOTNÍCTVA
	PLOCHY ŠKOLSTVA, VEDY A VÝSKUMU
	PLOCHY CIRKVI
	PLOCHY ŠPORTU A TELOVÝCHOVY
	PLOCHY VEREJNEJ ZELENÉ
	PLOCHY VNÚTROBLOKOVEJ ZELENÉ
	PLOCHY PREDZÁHRADIEK, STROMORADIÍ
	PLOCHY ROZVOJOVÉHO POTENCIÁLU
	NEHNUTEČNÁ KULTÚRNA PAMIATKA
	HLAVNÉ PEŠIE TRASY A PRIESTRANSTVÁ
	PASÁŽE
	ZÁKLADNÝ KOMUNIKAČNÝ SYSTÉM
	KOMINIKÁCIA B2
	KOMUNIKÁCIA C1
	HLAVNÉ CYKLISTICKÉ TRASY
	HROMADNÁ PARKOVACIA GARÁŽ
	TRASA NOSNÉHO SYSTÉMU MHD SO STANICAMI
	ELEKTRICOVÁ TRASA

ÚZEMNÝ PLÁN ZÓNY zmeny a doplnky 2005

KOMPLEXNÝ URBANISTICKÝ NÁVRH  
FUNKČNÁ REGULÁCIA ÚZEMIA

objednávateľ:  
hlavné mesto SR Bratislava

zhotoviteľ:  
ing.arch. Oliver Peržel, ing.arch. Miroslav Frecer a kol.

mierka m 1:2000

dátum 12.2007

číslo výkresu 3





Kamenné námestie gradually becomes terrain vague again, 2019  
Photo: Olja Triaška Stefanovič

**DANUBE**

**EMBANKMENTS**



**a typology of urban situations**

embankments  
as a problem

<b>Type:</b>	flows and terrain vague; a space formulated by the flow of the river, the flow of traffic and commodities, an area for public representation, but also sports and recreation, a place in the city centre yet nonetheless on its edge
<b>Case studies/Localities:</b>	The left bank of the Danube – Dvořákovo nábrežie, Rázusovo nábrežie, Fajnorovo nábrežie, Vajanského nábrežie, Pribinova, the Bratislava winter port
<b>Other occurrences:</b>	The right bank of the Danube – Tyršovo nábrežie
<b>Key formative plans:</b>	Regulation of the Danube (Lanfranconi, 1880 – 1881 and 1894 – 1895), City Regulatory Plan (1906), Plan for Regulation and Expansion of the City (A. Palóczi, 1907 – 1917), zoning plan of the Technical Department of the city (1934), competition for the Danube Trade Fairs building (1940), City Land-Use Plan (K. Gross, 1949), competition for the promenade in front of the 'Park of Culture and Recreation' (PKO, 1953), urban-planning competition for the housing estate Podhradie (1955), competition for the ideal architectonic and urban plan for a cultural-social centre in Bratislava (1967), urbanist-architectonic competition for the design of the new Slovak National Theatre (1979), Multipurpose Exhibition Area - Incheba (V. Dedeček, 1979) land-use plan for the Martanovičova Zone (P. Bauer, M. Kusý, P. Paňák, 1982), urban-planning study for the Bratislava embankments (2002), land-use plan for the Podhradie Zone (BKU, 2006)
<b>Key non-formative plans:</b>	Regulatory Study for Greater Bratislava (A. Balán, J. Grossmann, 1926), competition for the building of the Museum of Agriculture (1924), competition for the city regulatory plan (1929 – 1930), competition for the regulatory plan of the University City in Mlynská dolina (1933), regulation of the right bank of the Danube and Petržalka (J. Marek, 1935) competition for the University City in the Castle and below (1941), competition for the ideal urbanist-architectonic, structural-construction and transport solution for bridging the Danube (1964) competition for the personal port (1964) Right bank - congress and cultural social center (Skoček - Konček - Titl, 1966)





**Flows** – In the case of the embankment, we can understand this category as a complex of multiple flows: “the continuous movement of people, goods, services and data”.<sup>1</sup> First of all we have the movement associated with the river itself, the movement of traffic including both shipping traffic as well as motor traffic along or across the river, movement connected with trade including flows of commodities, movement related to attacking/defending the city in wartime or equally to tourism, culture or sports. The embankment concentrates and links all of these types of movement into a complex network of flows with an irregular structuring of junctions. Yet at the same time, the Danube embankments in Bratislava match, to a certain extent, another of Morales’s categories: *Terrain Vague*. Until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the river banks formed a territory outside the city, past the city walls. Their territorial and symbolic marginality in relation to the city were never surmounted even after the ramparts were demolished. Practically throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and even the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a wide range of urban and architectonic conceptions were tested on the Danube’s left bank with the aim of integrating this area into the urban structure, yet not a single one was able to achieve full realisation. Quite the opposite: the fragmentary interventions meant that the territory was left neglected. Hence, up until the end of the past century, the Danube banks remained a “privileged space of identity, the encounter of the present and the past” yet also one of the last urban “fortresses where it is possible to realise the freedom of an individual or a small group”.<sup>2</sup>

1 de Solà-Morales, Ignasi: Present and Futures. Architecture in Cities. In: *Present and Futures. Architecture in Cities*. Exhibition catalogue. Eds.: I. de Solà-Morales – X. Costa. Barcelona, Actar, 1996, p. 15.

2 Ibid., p. 23.

The Danube is one of the most important landscape elements that conditioned Bratislava’s founding and development. On the one hand, the river promised a natural protection, yet equally a potential danger. For this reason as well, Bratislava kept its distance from it up until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. To the west of the city lies the river corridor enclosed by the ‘Danube Gate’, formed on the Slovak side by the Devínske bralo outcropping and on the Austrian side by the Braunsberg.<sup>1</sup> Yet as the river continues downstream, the gorge only continues to widen. Along this section, the Danube originally split into meanders and branching arms. Hence, primarily for defensive and safety reasons, the city developed for many years entirely upon the eastern bank, below the solid bulk of the Carpathians. Nonetheless, the Danube has always played an essential role in Bratislava’s planning and forms a key part of its identity.

#### The Watercourse

A key role in the process of forming the Danube embankment into its current form is held by the regulation of the river, changing its course. Originally, the Danube near Bratislava had the form of an inland delta with many islands and branches, of which the largest, the ‘New Chateau’ (Novozámocké rameno) and the ‘Mill’ (Mlynské rameno), lay on the left side.<sup>2</sup> As a result, the city was liable to regular flooding.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, the embankment for centuries formed a crucial space for trade and transport. During the later 18<sup>th</sup> century, these

1 Horváth, Vladimír: Bratislavský topografický lexikón. Tatran, Bratislava, 1990, p. 90.

2 Pišút, Peter: Využitie historických krajinomalieb na rekonštrukciu regulačných prác v koryte rieky – príklad Dunaja v Bratislave. *Geographia Cassoviensis*, 12, 2018, no. 2, p. 175 – 176.

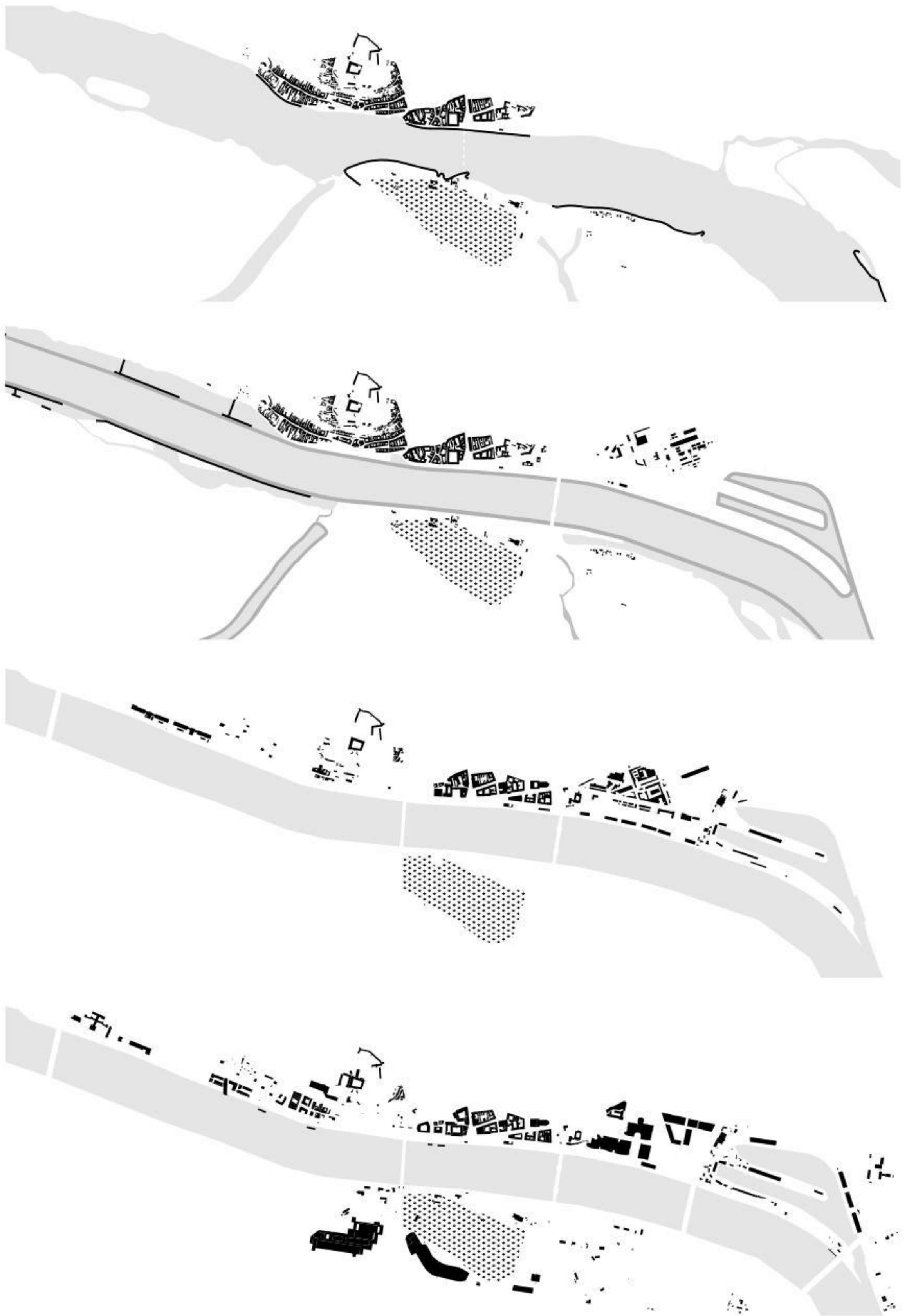
3 The ‘Bratislava Topographical Lexicon’ lists a total of 58 islands and 35 arms. Viz. Horváth, V., 1990, p. 95 – 97.



Danube around Bratislava, 17th century  
Source: Slovakiana.sk



Right bank of the Danube, around 1900  
Source: Bratislavské rožky.sk



Transformations of the Danube embankment in Bratislava between the 19th and the 21st century

important functions were joined by those of a social and public character.

After demolition of the southern section of the city fortifications in 1775 – 1778, the city opened outwards towards the river, spurring the need for river-management alterations to the Danube in the form of building anti-flood levees. Still, despite several partial interventions to the banks and arms of the Danube in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we can only speak of a thorough river regulation in reference to the activities of the Italian engineer Eneo Graziosa Lanfranconi, who was the author of the regulation design and additionally the supervisor of its construction.<sup>4</sup> During the course of the river's regulation in 1880 – 1881 a full 40 km of banks were reinforced along the section of the river from Devín to Komárno.<sup>5</sup> The next major stage in the regulation of the river from Lanfranconi's plans was completed in 1896. The river's course, now confined into stone-reinforced banks, had definitively changed. Only a few backwaters were preserved, the remnants of the filled-in branches, and even these gradually vanished over the next decades. One such instance was the river-bay near the fish market – Rybné námestie, which originally served as an access point to the section where the Danube could be crossed in winter over the ice as well as the port for the boats composing the pontoon bridge for the warmer months, which was last put into use in the spring of 1890; this temporary bridge lost its function after the completion of the first permanent bridge, the Franz Josef Bridge (Most Františka Jozefa, replaced by the present 'Old Bridge', Starý most) in 1890-1891. The bay near Rybné námestie met its definitive end when the riverbank nearby

4 Dvořák, Pavel: Piata kniha o Bratislave. Vydavateľstvo Rak, Budmerice, 2012, p. 55 and following.

5 Chmelár, Vladimír: Dunaj historický a dnešný. ELECTA, Žilina, 1994, p. 21.

was straightened in 1902 and the space behind the dam was turned into a small park.

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the 'Mill Arm' (Mlynské rameno) was filled in, which had diverged from the main river course to the south of today's Šafárikovo námestie. With this change, the city was now placed at a distance from the river, while also creating an area for the building of a modern river port. Indeed, this site was used for the basin of the winter port. Regulation of the river through reinforcing its banks continued in the area of the port even after 1918. Much development in the port occurred precisely during the interwar years, connected to the growing importance of the Danube as a shipping route and the overall economic prosperity of the Czechoslovak state. During these years, the banks were reinforced as well along the section of embankment between today's Štúrovo námestie and the Castle, continuing up to the Lanfranconi boarding school, intended to be transformed in the future into a public promenade.

Views on the proportions of the embankment with the perspective of its later gradual integration into the urban structure remained consistent practically throughout the entire interwar years. At the end of the 1930s, the process of filling in land and reinforcing the riverbank-edges slowed down, while in 1939 it was entirely halted. The reason was not merely the lack of funds but also the lack of available stone, since the Devín quarry was now territorially part of the Third Reich. Reinforcement of the banks was only resumed in 1943 in connection with the building of the tunnel under the Castle, allowing for the use of stone extracted during the excavation.<sup>6</sup>

6 Szalay, Peter – Bogár, Michal – Haberlandová, Katarína – Bartošová, Nina – Krišteková, Laura: Vojnová Bratislava. Marenčin PT, Bratislava, 2019, p. 160.



Temporary bridge over the Danube, around 1880  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



Bay near Rybné námestie before river regulation, around 1880  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



The oldest part of the promenade with a balustrade near today's Námestie Ľ. Štúra, 1910  
 Source: Bratislava City Museum



Promenade near the water barracks, 1895  
 Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



A similarly convoluted course was assumed by the river regulation of the opposite bank. Though the first attempts at managing the Danube's flow on the western side were made during the reign of Maria Theresia, the most significant intervention only arrived in the early 1950s, when the largest arm, the 'Chorvátske' (Croatian) was separated entirely from the main watercourse. The new retaining wall prevented the river from flowing into the area of Petržalka, which caused the riparian forests to dry up. In response, the idea was suggested in the directive land-use plan from 1963 to include an inflow canal that would have run along the southeast border of Petržalka. A similar idea was reflected even in the conditions in the international planning competition for the Petržalka housing estate 1967, though nothing of the sort was ever realised.<sup>7</sup>

### The Promenade

#### Transport and Social Flows

Already in 1775, Empress Maria Theresia issued an order for the construction of a new coronation mount on the river bank, to replace the earlier mount which had stood further from the river and was demolished for construction of the new city granary (F. Hillebrandt, 1773). This new mount was situated on the axis connecting the former 'Fishermen's Gate' (Rybárska brána) to the head of the 'flying' (i.e. pontoon) bridge across the Danube. Indeed, the commissioning of the coronation mount could be regarded as a true breakthrough in the relationship to the new public role of the embankment. And it should be no surprise that its removal, arranged in 1870 by the then mayor Heinrich Justi, led to considerable disagreement. Nonetheless, Justi had serious

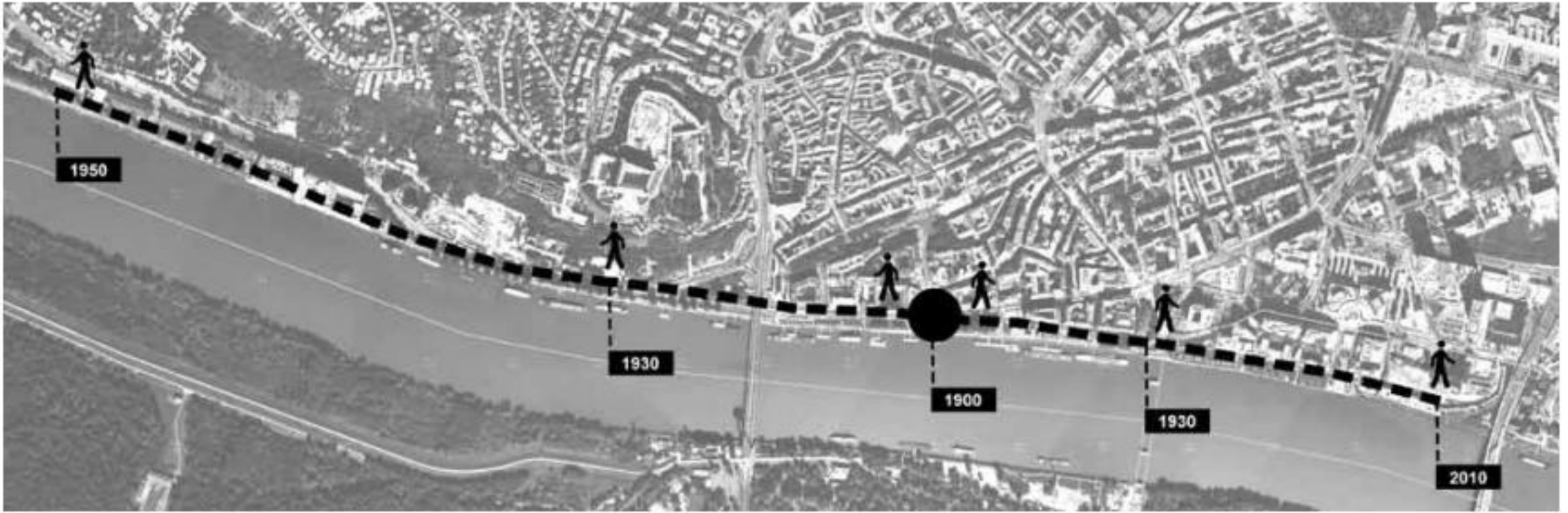
<sup>7</sup> Vodrážka, Peter: Urbanistické súťaže na Slovensku. *Urbanita*, 26, 2014, no. 1 – 2, p. 57.

reasons behind this decision: the need to reinforce and straighten the banks.<sup>8</sup> Removal of the mount and the following regulation of the Danube implied a clear shift in the function of this area of the city. On the site of the original transport link between the city gate and the pontoon bridge, there began to emerge a chain of urban spaces running from today's Hviezdoslavovo námestie via Mostová ulica and Námestie Ľ. Štúra as far as the river. The place of its bridgehead could be regarded as the crucial point on the left bank, important not only for its access to the Danube but equally as a focal point for social life. Lanfranconi's regulation of the river in the 1880s, in turn, contributed to an enrichment of the extant range of flows that determined the functioning of the embankment – anchoring and unloading ships, anti-flood barrier – with new flows related to social life, making it possible for the phenomenon of a riverside promenade to emerge.

The earliest section of the promenade, which consisted of the section then known as Jeseninovo nábrežie, can be discerned even on the cadastral map from 1894. The promenade ended in a viewing terrace with a balustrade, commissioned for the second Agricultural Exposition by Count Miklós (Mikuláš) Esterházy.<sup>9</sup> Installed on the terrace was a stone column with a lantern at the top, known informally as the 'lighthouse'. Further to the west, the promenade was continued only as part of the further river regulation in the 1940s and the relocating of the Danube Trade Fairs exposition site. Still, the final architectonic form of this section of the

<sup>8</sup> Moravčíková, Henrieta: Bratislava. In: *Capital Cities in the Aftermath of Empires. Planning in Eastern and Southeastern Europe*. Eds. E. G. Makas – T. Damjanovic Conley, Routledge, London, 2009, p. 177.

<sup>9</sup> Dvořák, Pavel: Bratislava – Podhradie. *Svedectvo pohľadníc*. Vydavateľstvo Rak, Budmerice, 1992.



Development of the left bank promenade from the 19th to the 21st century





Waterfront promenade near today's Námestie Ľ. Štúra,  
around 1900

Source: Department of Architecture archive,  
Institute of History, SAS

promenade was only finalised after World War II and the competition for its plan, held in 1953. In this project, the promenade was envisioned as connecting the historic city centre with the new 'Park of Culture and Recreation'. The winners in the competition, Ivan Matušík and Ivan Szalay, proposed supplementing the high banks of the regulated Danube with a low wall, perforated but notably thick. Physically as well as visually solid, this barrier was lightened through the insertion of semi-circular spaces for viewing terraces with transparent metal railings.<sup>10</sup> For many decades, this treatment of the space, running along the entire length of today's Rázusovo and Dvořákovo nábrežie, remained the only intervention in the pedestrian zone on the eastern riverbank. Later changes, affecting not only the form of contact with the river but equally the width of the promenade, came about only at the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In this case, as part of anti-flood protection, the low perforated walls in the section between the Old Bridge (Starý most) and the retail-social-residential complex Riverpark were replaced with a solid concrete barrier. Though its height and form can protect the city from a thousand-year flood, they nonetheless prevent any close contact of walkers on the promenade with the river itself. Another major change dating from the same period affected the eastern section of the promenade, from the Old Bridge to Námestie M. R. Štefánika. This section of the embankment is now the only section on the eastern side that allows the general public the chance for immediate contact with the Danube in an urban setting. With its generously sized promenade, its park landscaping and the absence of a fixed anti-flood barrier, it fully meets the ideas of connecting the city to the river that urban planners and architects repeatedly discussed

<sup>10</sup> Moravčíková, Henrieta: Dunajská promenáda. Arch, roč. , 2009, no. 3, p. 36.

from the later 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Contributing to the adequate growth of pedestrian traffic along the promenade was the addition from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards of an expanded range of other transport flows. In 1895, the electrified tramline was constructed as the first transit link between the embankment and the northern part of the city (one of its stops was located roughly on the site of the present SNP Bridge, the second on what is now Hodžovo námestie). Another form of transport with added social value was also emerging at this time: in 1891, entrepreneur Heinrich Hörnes started the operation of three small steamships from the eastern bank ferrying passengers from side to side. By 1901, they were replaced by a large new steamship, the 'Pozsony', known locally as the 'propeller'. For this ferry service, two ports were constructed, one on today's Námestie Ľ. Štúra and the other on the opposite bank, with attractive Functionalist buildings designed by Emil Belluš, which have continued (with occasional interruptions) to serve their purpose up to today.<sup>11</sup>

The organisation of flows on the left bank was also addressed by the city regulatory plan, started by the Technical Department as of 1896. In relation to the formation of the left bank, we can view as the most crucial achievement the proposal to expand the embankment roadway and insert new streets leading through the 'Water Barracks' to link the riverbank to Hviezdoslavovo námestie. The idea of building an industrial canal connected to the Danube along the north edge of the basins of the

<sup>11</sup> The ferry connection between the two banks was halted during World War II, when the Danube formed the border between the Slovak State and Nazi Germany. The operation of the 'propeller', now with a ferry named the Dunaj, was renewed as of 2 August 1947, in a ceremony attended by Bratislava's mayor Jozef Kyselý. The Dunaj plied the route until 1952, when it was re-named the Devín, remaining in operation until 1968. The catamaran Kamzík was historically the last 'propeller' on the ferry run, operating from 1978 to 2003.

winter port would, in turn, have led to a loss of commercial importance, including the demolition of the warehouses lying to the west of the Franz Josef Bridge and the landscaping of this section of the embankment for representative purposes. Similar views regarding this part of the city were also proposed by the author of the alternative regulatory plan, Viktor Bernárdt. In addition to the building of an industrial canal, he similarly planned to widen the embankment road to make it part of the inner ring boulevard. Still, the most imposing concept for addressing both banks of the river was offered by Antal Palóczi in his draft city regulatory plan, completed in 1917. His idea was to expand the space of the left bank, demolish the barracks as well as the city brewery on Rybné námestie, and shift the routing of the street so that the roadway along the riverbank could contain not only four traffic lanes but also four-metre sidewalks for pedestrians. Though this regulatory conception would have faced difficulty from the many separate owners of the land involved, the parliament approved this visionary plan. As such, it could be regarded as one of the first decisions matching the sense of the new regulatory plan, which influenced the form of the city for many decades to come. However, Palóczi's vision was achieved only in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, along with the realisation of his additional plan for constructing a bridge in the line parallel to the street then known as Schlossgrundgasse (now Židovská ulica).<sup>12</sup> Palóczi's idea for the placement of a new bridge was followed by architect Josef Marek in his plan for regulation of the Danube's right bank in 1935.<sup>13</sup>

12 Moravčíková, Henrieta – Lovra, Éva – Pastoreková, Laura: Červený alebo modrý? Začiatky moderného plánovania Bratislavy. *Architektúra & Urbanizmus*, 51, 2017, no. 1 – 2, p. 41.

13 Haberlandová, Katarína: Nová Bratislava Josefa Mareka. *Architektúra & urbanizmus*, 51, no. 3 – 4, p. 172 – 173.

Hence Palóczi's concept, if not immediately brought into being, for several decades shaped the embankment as a transport corridor.

### Commodity Flows

The creation of the Bratislava of today was shaped by commerce, and commercial interests determined the shape of the city even in subsequent centuries. In this area, the Danube and its embankments played a crucial role. At the outset, it was commerce that directly influenced specifically the method and intensity for using the left bank. One such result was the river port, which was enlarged at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to include the two basins of the winter port. During the 1930s, when Bratislava's river trade was at its height, the idea emerged of its further expansion into a new system of docking basins, which would have been constructed to the east of the extant winter port.<sup>14</sup> However, this plan was only realised in the mid-1970s in the reduced form of the Pálenisko port. Starting in 1921, the embankment near the port annually hosted the international 'Oriental Market' (Orientálny trh), intended to support Czechoslovak trade with lands to the East. This commercial and exhibition event, which in the words of its initiator and president Kornel Stodola aimed to "preserve the old marketing region for our industry and gain new markets... yet also to inform our public about what our energy in the republic can produce"<sup>15</sup>, which in 1923 was renamed the Danube Trade Fair (Dunajský veľtrh). Under this name, it operated in the vicinity of today's Pribinova ulica up until 1942.

14 Kňazovič, Milan: Budujeme bratislavský prístav. *Slovenský staviteľ*, 8, 1938, no. , p. 252 – 254.

15 Orientálny trh v Bratislave. *Youngstownské Slovenské noviny* = *Youngstown Slovak news*. (Youngstown, Ohio) 1910 – 1940, March 25, 1921, p. 2.



Aerial view of harbor pools around 1918  
Source: Slovenský staviteľ



Danube river port around 1930  
Source: The Monument Board of the Slovak republic archives

However, already by the end of the 1930s the port complex had already begun to be regarded, for purposes of organising major international events, as insufficiently large and furthermore lacking in terms of security. Architect Kamil Gross published in 1940 a series of articles in the journal *Slovenský staviteľ* addressing the problem of trade fairs. Drawing on examples from several European cities, including Leipzig, Berlin, Paris or Milan, he analysed the location of the fairgrounds in the wider urban context, the layout of pavilions, as well as the transport connection between the exposition complex and the city. This analysis was supplemented with situation drawings of the current as well as planned new complex for the Danube Trade Fair in Bratislava.<sup>16</sup> The extant exposition complex, in Gross's view, was unsuitable both in the urban plan and in its transit connections, "squeezed into a narrow strip of land between Prístavna cesta and the port rail depot... The surroundings are hardly attractive. On one side is a very busy rail station with endless moving, while on the other side runs Prístavna cesta with a row of mostly abandoned and unmaintained factory buildings, without any refreshing greenery anywhere nearby".<sup>17</sup> This criticism was clearly directed towards defending the new choice of a site in the western part of the left bank. For Gross, this "area gained through infill was already decided for the exhibition site in a decision by the City Council back in 1931".<sup>18</sup> Moving the fairgrounds would, on one hand, free the original site beside the port for expanding industrial and transport

space, while also allowing for the creation of larger and more attractive exhibition areas in the new location, thus increasing the event's international reputation. As such, the form of the embankment would directly reflect the growth in Slovakia's economy.

The competition for the new complex of the Danube Trade Fair was held in 1940, with the winner being the team of Ján Štefanec, Pavol Andriák and Kamil Gross. Attesting to the importance of the competition for Bratislava, as well as the role of the exposition in presenting the economic vitality and viability of the newly created independent Slovak state were the extensive articles on the theme in the magazine *Elán* in 1941 from Emil Belluš and Ján Štefanec. The grounds for the Danube Trade Fair were composed in the winning design as a line of elongated halls one after another, running parallel to the river; the entrance structure consisted of a pavilion with a striking vertical tower and the rounded volume of a restaurant suspended above the surface of the Danube. Architecturally, the exposition complex had a Functionalist appearance very similar to the exposition grounds in nearby Brno, though influenced by the current political and social tendencies favouring a shift to more Classicist forms, its appearance was changed in the course of construction. Several structures, among them the entrance building with the tower, were never even built. Moreover, with the Communist seizure of power in 1948, the nationalisation of private enterprise and the implementation of a planned economy the very idea of trade fairs in the original sense lost its meaning. Support for free-market competition gave way to the idea of a social state, and commercial activity was replaced with a focus on culture and sports accessible to the broad public. When the complex was completed in the mid-1950s, it now bore the title of the 'Park of Culture and

16 Gross, Kamil: Projekt úpravy nového dunajského nábrežia v Bratislave. *Slovenský staviteľ*, 11, 1940, č. 1 - 2, s. 5 - 11. Gross, Kamil: Projekt nového dunajského nábrežia v Bratislave. *Slovenský staviteľ*, 11, 1940, č. 4, s. 43 - 46. Gross, Kamil: Projekt nového dunajského nábrežia v Bratislave. *Slovenský staviteľ*, 11, 1940, č. 6, s. 92 - 96.

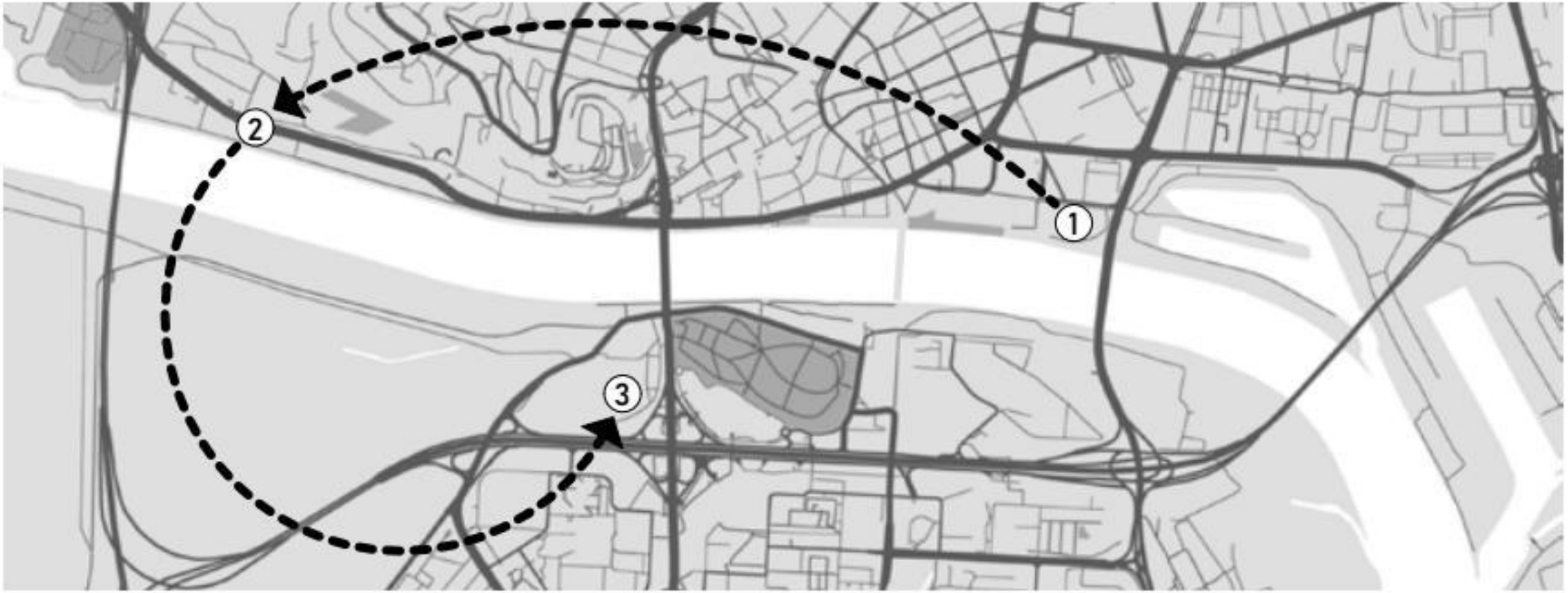
17 *Ibid.*, no. 1 - 2, p. 11.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

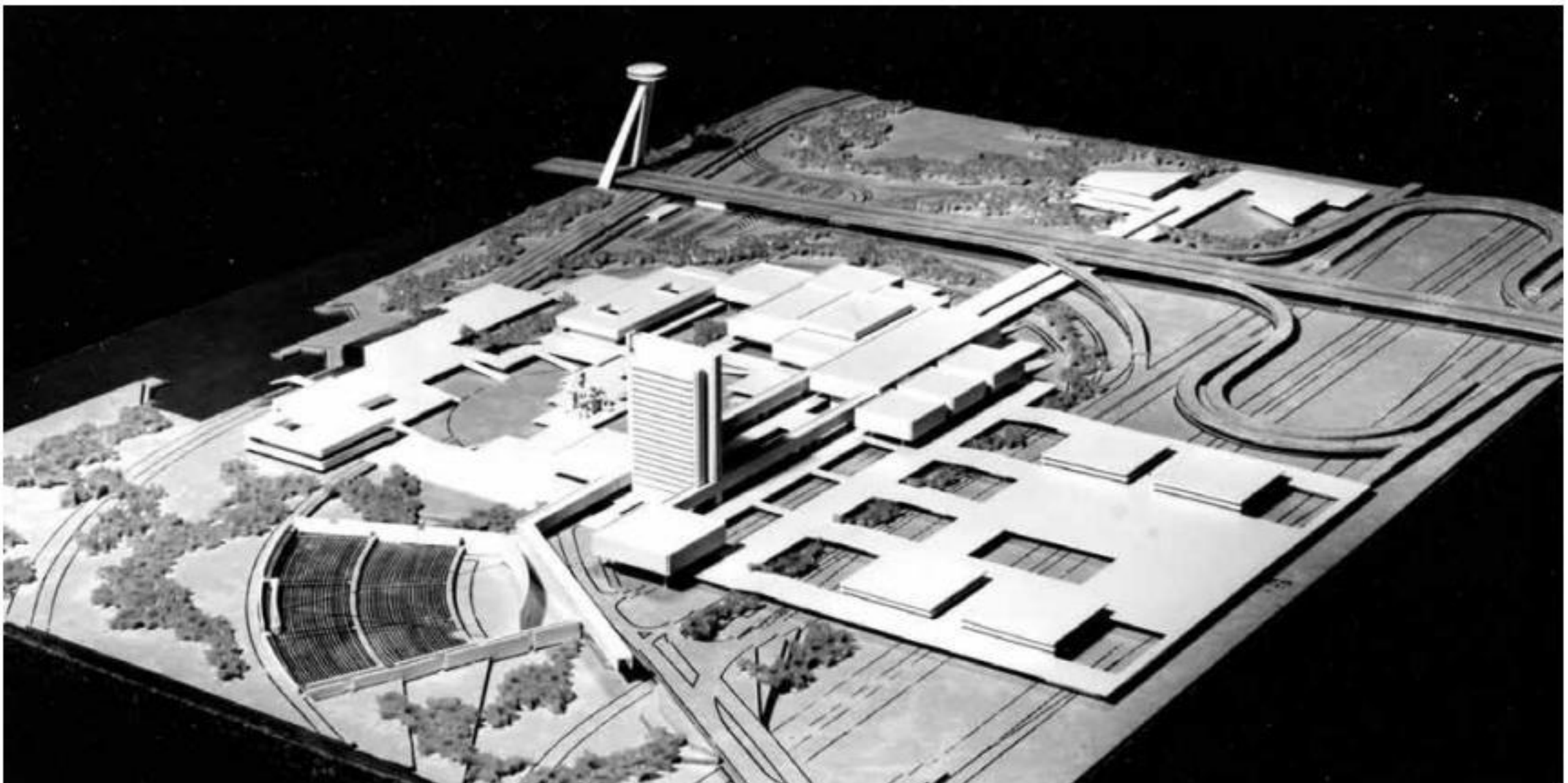




Danube Fair, around 1925  
Source: Prague Regional Archive



Three sites where the exhibition grounds were located from 1921 to 2019



Multipurpose exhibition area, V. Dedeček, 1974 - 1979  
Source: Slovak National Gallery

Recreation' (Park kultúry a oddychu).<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, even by the next decade the idea of trade and product exhibition returned to the area of the former trade fairs. The international chemical exhibition Incheba started in 1967 with the aim of confronting the products of the local chemical industry with international ones, as a reaction to the reforming tendencies in Czechoslovakia at the time. Moreover, it actively claimed a link to the previous Danube Trade Fair, thus naturally occupying its original site on the Danube embankment. In 1975, new pavilions were added to the site, designed as light steel-framed structures by Ferdinand Milučký, which partially obscured the form of the original complex.

In parallel with the new construction on the original exposition grounds, a competing idea began to be prepared for shifting the exposition complex to the opposite bank of the Danube. This idea was partially stimulated by the insufficient spatial capacity of the 'Park of Culture and Recreation', yet even more significantly by the plans for a new major construction project on the right bank, sparked by the political thaw of the 1960s. An international competition for the urban plan of Petržalka was held in 1967. Even before this date, in 1966, a special congress centre was planned for the site of the original Aucafé, a design representing the results of a long-term research project involving the architects Ferdinand Konček, Il'ja Skoček and Ľubomír Titl. However, their design was never realised, since the congress hall would have stood in a highly flood-prone area, which would have significantly complicated its operation.<sup>20</sup> In turn, these three architects specified as their

preferred site for trade expositions the area between the 'Chapter Forest' (Kapitulský les) and the SNP Bridge. The urban-architectural competition for the plan of the exposition complex was held in 1972, yet the jury did not recommend a single one of the competition designs for realisation.<sup>21</sup> Among the reasons was the problematic positioning of the complex in relationship to the nearby water sources. In the end, in 1973 the Ministry of Construction and Technology entrusted architect Vladimír Dedeček with the preparation of a new study for the exhibition grounds, now situated closer to the SNP Bridge.<sup>22</sup> Dedeček planned the assignment as a complex of various buildings with predominantly cultural, sports and administrative-commercial functions, which would also be linked to river transport with the construction of a passenger dock. "The extensive area was composed of 3 zones of the exposition grounds, developed alongside the main course of the river and its branches. These sections were planned for construction in three chronological stages, of which only the first was realised incompletely".<sup>23</sup> Neither the second nor the third stage were even attempted. The current grounds of Incheba Expo Bratislava consist of a first section, consisting of the exhibition pavilions, outdoor exhibition spaces and the congress hall, and the second section, including the high-rise administration and sales building and the production-assembly centre. As such, the exposition complex had little formative influence on this section of the right bank. Moreover, it is separated from the river by a major roadway, Viedenská cesta, while the planned passenger dock and surrounding promenade that would have connected

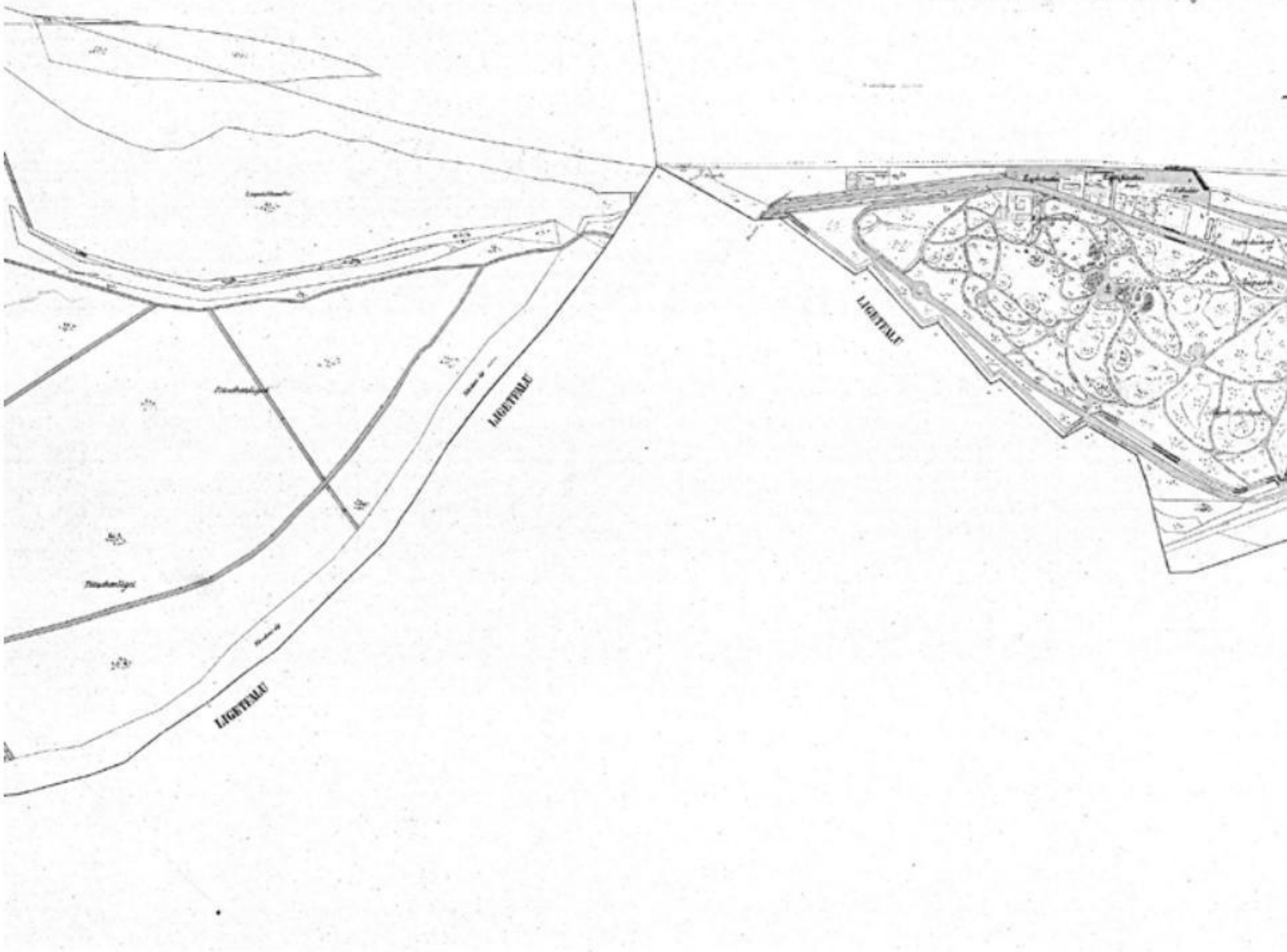
19 Budujeme park kultúry a oddychu, TVAR, Bratislava, 1955.

20 Andrášiová, Katarína - Bartošová, Nina (eds.): Konček - Skoček - Titl. Katalóg výstavy. STU, Bratislava, 2013, p. 22.

21 Bodcký, Vladimír: Syntéza alebo kompromis? Projekt, 14, 1972, no. 3, p. 38 - 39.

22 Mitášová, Monika (ed.): Vladimír Dedeček. Interpretácie architektonického diela. SNG, Bratislava, 2017, p. 434.

23 Ibid, p. 426 - 429.





Territory of the city around Danube, cadastral map of Bratislava, 1898  
Source: Bratislava City Archive



Aucafé on the right bank of Danube, around 1920  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



Design of the Makkabea sports club on the right bank of Danube, F. Weinwurm, around 1930  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



Bratislava Rowing Association, around 1900  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



Park of Culture and Recreation on the left embankment, around 1960  
Source: TASR

the fairgrounds to the river and the central city were never realised.

### Flows of Sports and Recreation

As far back as the 1770s, the area along the Danube bank was connected to sport and recreation. The river-regulation projects dating from the reign of Maria Theresia were connected to plans by the empress to create a park along the right bank. The 'Sternallee' (now Sad Janka Kráľa), created from 1774 to 1776, was not merely the first public park created in the Habsburg domains, but for many years significantly determined the character of this bank of the river, as a kind of counterweight to the promenade opposite. This park, as well as the other attractions that flourished in the immediate vicinity, such as the wooden summer theatre, the Au-Café (1826 – 1960), the horse races regularly held from 1826, or the summer bathing grounds (Lido), became a favoured destination for the city's residents primarily in summer months. And at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with sports and leisure activities increasingly forming a major part of the middle-class lifestyle, the importance of the locality grew further.<sup>24</sup> The area gained the rowing club Dunajčik (1924) as well as a football pitch. During the next decades, two more rowing-club buildings were constructed on the riverbank (the Slovak Rowing Club, Emil Belluš, 1930 and the German Rowing Association, Josef Konrad, 1931). In 1933, another sports association was founded, the Dunajklub Kamzík, and plans were also made for enlarging the area of the Jewish sports association Makkabe (F. Weinwurm, 1931). A decline in sports development in Petržalka was imposed during World War II, when the entire

section across the Danube was seized directly by the Third Reich and all other Bratislava sports activity had to shift to the east. For this reason, already by 1940 Kamil Gross had assumed the creation of new sports facilities and recreational areas near the new complex of the Danube Trade Fairs, where already another boating club, Tatran, was in operation (E. Mikulík, 1935). To this end, he argued in favour of the integration of sport and recreational functions with public exhibitions, as had already been proven in other European cities. Directly beside the Danube Trade Fairs grounds, he planned the creation of new rowing clubs and even a new swimming area.<sup>25</sup> These plans were partially reflected in the realisation taking place after the war, when the Trade Fairs complex was transformed into the Park of Culture and Recreation. Now indoor sports halls were added to the mixture, along with the then popular game of miniature golf. Unrealised further plans from this era included the development of recreational and sports amenities further up the flow of the Danube tributary Vydrica, as far as the 'Iron Well' (Železná studnička).<sup>26</sup>

After 1945, the construction of sports complexes also returned to the Petržalka side of the river, with the building of the terraced football stadium for FC Petržalka and the amusement complex 'Lunapark'. However, considering the location close to the border with Austria, the range of activities was kept limited, and several parts of the embankment, most notably the rowing clubs, were shot down and began to decay. After 1989, sports remained along the embankment only to a limited extent. Most of the rowing clubs vanished, along with all of the football pitches, being

24 Moravčíková, Henrieta: Premeny obrazu mesta. Storočie plánovania a výstavby Bratislavy. In: Medzi provinciou a metropolou. Ed. G. Dudeková, Bratislava, Historický ústav SAV, 2012, p. 133.

25 Gross, K., 1940, p. 96.

26 Viz. Budujeme park kultúry a oddychu, TVAR 1955, Bratislava.





The left bank of Danube with the Park of Culture and Recreation in the foreground, around 1966  
Source: Bratislava City Museum

replaced with shopping centres, office blocks and exclusive apartment complexes. Recent investment plans for the vicinity only confirm the continuation of this trend.

Similar developments faced sports activities on the left bank as well. After the destruction of the former Park of Culture and Recreation and its replacement with new commercial construction, sports facilities largely retreated to the area of the Karlova Ves bay (Karloveská zátoka), where the original shipyard continues to operate, supplemented with a new building (M. Hörmann, R. Kastel, P. Kopecký, 2019). With the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the flow of sports along the Danube predominantly consists of the running and cycling paths positioned immediately at the water's edge along both sides of the river.

#### The Embankment Panorama

An important component in analysing the problem of the Bratislava embankment is the course of changes to its panorama, or more precisely the image of the riverbank street frontage. We can take as the historical focal point of social life in this part of the city the square now known as Námestie Ľudovíta Štúra. Using it as an example, it is possible to illustrate how individual city governments displayed their political stances and made their contributions to the panorama through constructing, demolishing or removing various monuments. The first monument, to Empress Maria Theresia, installed on the square at the urging of the City Council in 1897, was pulled down in 1921 by veterans of the Czechoslovak Legions, expressing their disagreement with the city's previous elites hoping to restore the monarchy. In 1938, on practically the exact same site, a pylon was erected to commemorate the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic,

atop which was a figure of a lion along with a statue of Milan Rastislav Štefánik. Yet once Petržalka and the entire opposite bank of the river were seized by Nazi Germany, it was decided the symbol of the state should not be turned to face the territory of another one; thus the figure of the lion was re-installed in the opposite direction, facing eastward to the Slovak National Museum. Shortly afterward, with the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1939 and creation of an independent Slovak state, the 'Czechoslovak' lion became highly undesirable, and both the pylon and lion were removed. The figure of Štefánik, though, remained in its place up until 1954, when the entire monument was removed. Later, a new monument was raised to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century patriot Ľudovít Štúr, when the square itself received its present name (T. Bártfay, I. Szalay, 1972). Then, shortly before the end of Communist rule, the pylon and lion returned to the embankment in 1988, when the commemoration of the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Czechoslovakia's founding included their installation in front of the building of the Slovak National Museum. The latest, and so far the final, movement of the monument occurred in 2004 to the newly created Námestie M. R. Štefánika, right beside the Danube bank. In this way, the monument formed part of the most radical changes to the embankment panorama to be enacted on the site of the former river port. Yet in the most recent years, the former area of single-storey warehouses, with the most prominent structure formed by the three-storey Warehouse no. 7, in just under two decades the built environment was transformed into an urban block structure, containing a theatre, a shopping complex and residential housing with height levels rising to between eight and ten floors.

Nonetheless, the physical representation of various political orders was also realised in the panorama of the embankment by means of

significant achievements in architecture. At the outset, it was again on the site of today's Námestie Ľ. Štúra that there first emerged true urban spaces at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the construction of two imposing residences, the Dessewffy and Lanfranconi palaces, in which these construction undertakings were directly related – in the case of the latter, personally as well – to the regulatory processes on the riverbank.

During the later years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the Danube backwater was filled in, the 'coronation mount' levelled and the bankside straightened, conditions were thus created for further construction in the wider area of the current streets Vajanského/Fajnorovo nábrežie and Dostojevského rad. Several worthwhile buildings were built close to the river in this vicinity, such as the Military High Command (Fajnorovo nábrežie 1 - Gondova 3, Josef Rittner, 1913), or the School of Metalworking (Fajnorovo nábrežie 5, Gyula Kolbenheyer, 1904). In the interwar years, the idea of creating a unified built frontage along the riverbank was taken up by the architects Alois Balán and Jiří Grossmann. In several of their regulatory studies from the early 1920s, they devoted special attention to the area of the left Danube bank.<sup>27</sup> Their primary idea for the embankment was its transformation along the entire length into a metropolitan promenade and boulevard, thus indirectly matching the idea of Antal Palóczi from the Bratislava regulatory plan of 1917.<sup>28</sup> Facing the river, there would have been a series of solid urban blocks constructed in the neoclassical 'official style' of the new Republic, thus

27 Viz. Štěpánová, Soňa: Veľká Bratislava architektov Aloisa Balána a Jiřího Grossmanna. *Architektúra & urbanizmus*, 53, 2019, no. 1 – 2. p. 88 – 102.

28 Balán, Alois – Grossmann, Jiří: Štúdia bratislavského nábrežia. *Časopis čsl. architektů*, 25, 1926, no. 1, p. 51.

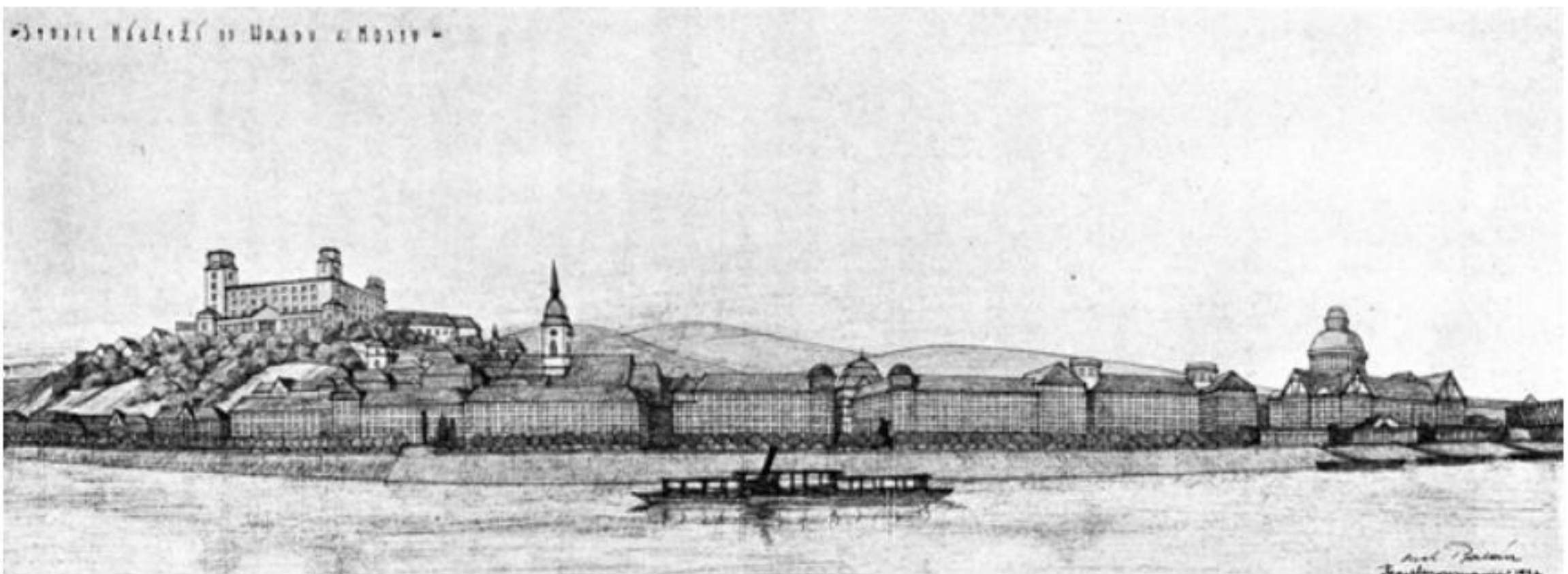
adding to the urban silhouette viewed from the river a new, highly visible layer making clear reference to Czechoslovak statehood. As for the embankment below the Castle Hill, the areas known as 'Vydrice' and 'Zuckermanl', Balán and Grossmann recommended significantly lower-rise construction, matching the original pattern of building plots and not disturbing the historical 'veduta' of the Castle and the structures below.

A separate chapter in the process of planning and building the embankment in the interwar period is presented by the architectural competition for the building of the Agricultural Museum (now the Slovak National Museum), held in 1927. Although the winning design selected in the competition was by the Prague architect Pavel Janák, the building eventually realised on Vajanského nábrežie was the work of the Bratislava architect Michal M. Harminc,<sup>29</sup> an imposing Classicist structure that aptly completes the river frontage begun with the construction of the Military High Command and the Metalworking School. Constructed at the same time towards the western end of the embankment, towards the Karlova Ves end, was the extensive Functionalist complex of the Lafranconi student dormitories (Klement Šilinger, 1933) – a location that, to a certain extent, can be seen as a reaction to Palóczi's alternative designs for the never realised Empress Elisabeth University from the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as well as to the competition for the University City planned for this locality in the early 1930s. Though located several hundred metres apart from one another, the buildings of the museum and the Lafranconi dormitories now provide in the embankment silhouette the most striking architectural monuments of the interwar period. Yet no

29 Dulla, Matúš – Moravčíková, Henrieta: *Architektúra Slovenska v 20. storočí*. Slovart, Bratislava, 2002, p. 61-62.



A view of the left embankment in the Old Town part, around 1900  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



Design of the left embankment development in the Old Town part, A. Balán, J. Grossmann, 1924  
Source: Časopis čsl. architektů, 1926



Image of Zuckermanel around 1925  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



Left embankment in the part of today's Námestie Ľ. Štúra with monument of General Štefánik  
and pylon of Czechoslovak statehood, 1938  
Source: Bratislava City Museum

less strongly, they recall the failure of the enormous efforts expended during the same era at creating a unified public built ensemble to bring this area visually and functionally together.

A major theme of the urban-planning and architectonic discussions analysed in detail in its own chapter was the question of Bratislava Castle and the construction below it, starting from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Whether to preserve or demolish the original built fabric of these localities immediately concerned the embankment running in front of them, which along with the river, the Castle outcropping and the outline of the Castle itself formed a single unified composition. Yet with respect to the embankment itself, it is necessary to stress above all else that while the question of preserving or replacing the Castle as the visual and historical icon of the city was marked by far-ranging disagreements, a broad consensus prevailed that the area below it, primarily closer to the river, should be demolished and replaced with new structures, particularly after the fire in 1913. For instance, the architect Friedrich Weinwurm immediately after the fire called for the complete rebuilding of this section of the city to match the principles of modern architecture.<sup>30</sup> A similar view as taken in 1938 by Josef Gočár in his plan for the treatment of the Castle Hill and its foot for the use of the Slovak Regional Government offices. For the embankment, he proposed a solid fabric of three-storey buildings with flat (or only slightly sloping) roofs and horizontally articulated facades, to form practically a single street frontage.<sup>31</sup>

30 Weinwurm, Fritz: Zu Bebauung des abgebrannten Teiles in Pozsony. Pressburger Presse, 16, 30. 6. 1913, no. 805, p. 2.

31 Gondová, Anna: Bratislavský hrad a hradný kopec: (ne) prepojené osudy – mapovanie spoločenskej diskusie o zachovaní ruiny Bratislavského hradu v kontexte hradného kopca. Architektúra & urbanizmus, 52, no. 1 – 2, p. 8 – 9.

The outbreak of World War II placed this discussion on hold, yet the representatives of Slovakia's authoritarian new regime were quick to recognise the importance of this locality in the city's image and decided to use it for manifesting their political power and state ideology. An international, i.e. Axis-dominated urban-architectural competition for the rebuilding of the Castle Hill for university purposes, organised in 1941, brought the riverbank into play as well. The authors of the competition designs treated the embankment, with only a few exceptions, in terms of various projects for demolition of the extant structures and their replacement with new architecture. Nonetheless, the individual proposals differed markedly in their formulation of the new structures, with both traditional urban blocks and open Modernist plans proposed. In correspondence, the designs proposed similarly varied concepts for the architectonic form and overall appearance of the embankment panorama. The design awarded first prize, by the Italian team of Ernesto A Attilio La Padula, assumed a Modernist approach to the embankment in the form of the comb-shaped arrangement of the buildings of the Slovak Technical University, while the Berlin authors of the second design, Hans Wolfgang Draesel and Willi Kreuer, conceived the river frontage as two strips of traditional enclosed urban blocks, moving apart below the Castle to create a square separated from the river by a balustrade, from which a serpentine staircase led upwards to the Castle.<sup>32</sup> What connected the majority of competition projects was, nonetheless, the idea of a significant rebuilding of the embankment and the creation of a new central urban space in the form of a traditional square, either separated from the river by an embankment boulevard or opening

32 Pojtek, Vladimír: Budúce univerzitné mesto v Bratislave. Elán, 12, 1942, no. 9, p. 4 – 8.

outward towards it. In turn, the square would have become the point where the linear communication links between the Old Town and Karlova Ves would be transformed into a public space with a state representative function.<sup>33</sup> None of these ideas, though, ever made any imprint on the physical form of the embankment. The section of the embankment below the Castle Hill, however, began to be addressed not long after the end of World War II. First to be realised was the imposing form of the Hotel Devín (Emil Belluš, 1948 – 1954), influencing both the material and aesthetic shaping of the promenade. Not far from Hotel Devín, the former Water Barracks were later adapted for exhibition purposes. A competition for the urban-architectonic plan for the rebuilding of the Slovak National Gallery held in 1963 led to the selection as winning entry of the design by Vladimír Dedeček: within the complex transformation of the barracks into gallery spaces, the most significant contribution to the embankment space was clearly the addition of the new south wing, using a formally and proportionally daring steel bridge-construction of striking red and white colours, which the architect elevated 10 m above ground level to preserve the view into the courtyard of the historic section.

Political liberalisation in the 1960s brought with it a revival of international tourism, which in Bratislava was significantly linked to the Danube itself. In 1965, the young architect Valéria Triznová prepared a project for a port for passenger transport, planned in the close vicinity of the Slovak National Museum, using the site where a transport dock had been proposed even in the interwar years (design for a passenger river port, Klement Šilinger, 1930). Triznová designed the port

<sup>33</sup> Szalay, P. – Haberlandová, K. – Bartošová, N. – Krišteková, L. – Bogár, M., 2019, p. 162 – 163.

building as a single-storey volume sixty metres long, in visual reaction to the horizontality of the riverbank itself. Shifting the volume in the direction of the river, furthermore, created a sufficient distance from the museum building. Nonetheless, in 1966 – 1967 the government decided that the passenger port would be designed as well as realised by a Hungarian state construction firm, UVATERV, as part of the fulfilment of an agreement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary as part of compensation provided by COMECON member states to rebuild the damage from the Hungarian revolution of 1956. The location of the port was planned to remain unchanged, even though the most recent land-use plan had proposed its relocation to the west of the end of Košická ulica. As it happened, the designers of the port, János Dianóczky and László Prohászka, conceived their building in forms very similar to Triznová. However, the building's volume was increased in all dimensions, which the authors strove to modulate by inserting an open atrium on the eastern side of the building and a transparent façade towards the Danube. Additionally, the passenger port was the first building that came into direct contact with the river through its position past the embankment balustrade.<sup>34</sup>

Other changes to the form of the embankment and its urban outline were influenced by changes in the practice of architectural heritage protection. In 1954, an urban heritage reservation was declared in central Bratislava, while a decision was also made to start the reconstruction of the Castle. In parallel with this process, further plans were discussed concerning the radical rebuilding of the area below the Castle. In 1955, architects Alois Daříček, Ferdinand

<sup>34</sup> László, Július: Projekt osobného prístavu v Bratislave. Projekt, 7, 1965, no. 8, p. 176 – 177.

Konček and Il'ja Skoček started work on their design for a housing estate at the hill's foot, 'Sídliisko Podhradie', which would have almost entirely destroyed the extant construction and significantly influenced the appearance of the riverbank.<sup>35</sup> In their plan, the chief roles in the panorama would have been assumed by the sizeable freestanding volumes of the Philharmonic Hall, the Academy of Arts, and the Slovak national parliament. Only a small fragment of this ambitious proposal was, however, brought into realisation in the form of the three high-rise apartment blocks beside the tunnel. Their visual dominance in the outline of the embankment is partially obscured by their position behind the roadway, below the Castle outcropping, while on the area of the demolished neighbourhoods of Zuckerman dl and Vydrice, where originally the 'Podhradie' estate was planned, there remained only a small group of historic structures around the Church of the Holy Trinity. Above all, the significance of this realisation for the embankment has been almost entirely obliterated by the construction of the gigantic SNP Bridge, where the intervention into the panorama has been so forceful not only in the wider outline but no less in the demolition of the historic structures required for constructing the bankside frontage of the bridge.

As a reaction to this dramatic intervention in the urban structure, after 1989 various plans were voiced for building up the area of Vydrice and Zuckerman dl with historicist-postmodern architecture that would have followed the original structures. Similar ideas also appeared in the international competition EUROPAN 4, held in 1996.<sup>36</sup> Here,

35           Andrášiová, K. – Bartošová, N., 2013, p. 20.

36           Bogár, Michal: Medzinárodná súťaž EUROPAN 4 a bratislavská Vydrice. *Architektúra & urbanizmus*, 31, 1997, no. 2 – 3, p. 77 – 91.

though, the predominant designs reacted to the site using modernist architectonic means. Though none of the competition designs was realised, the competition played a significant role in initiating broad public discussion about this part of the city. Over the next decades, another competition was held (first place: I. Matušík – S. Nagy, 2002), then in 2005 the city ordered the 'Urban Plan for the Zone Podhradie' (M. Bogár, Ľ. Králik, Ľ. Urban, Ľ. Klaučo, 2006). This document set down the street layout, the structure and height of construction, yet equally confirmed the current form of the embankment roadway and the pedestrian promenade.

A radical transformation of the panorama of the westernmost section of the left bank started almost chronologically in parallel in 2001, when a private investor opened a competition for a new development on the site of the former Park of Culture and Recreation.<sup>37</sup> The results of the competition determined the urban-planning study 'Bratislava Embankments' and eventually the architectural design of the complex Riverpark (Eric van Egeraat, 2005). As planned, Riverpark would have had the form of a very dense block structure with height levels of 10 to 12 floors, making maximum use of the building site and through their compact form clearly outlining the transport corridor to the north and the pedestrian promenade to the south. And the eventually realised project (J. Almássy, P. Bouda, R. Čečetka, I. Masár, 2010 – 2011) reinforced all these qualities still further. In terms of the visual panorama, they created a solid mass, in height matching the earlier tower-blocks beside the tunnel, but with greater compositional dominance through their positioning directly on the riverside promenade. This trend toward building solid

37           Stoličná, Elena: Bratislavská nábrežná promenáda – stručná história pokusov a omylov. *ARCH*, roč. , 2001, no. 11, p. 34 – 35.



urban blocks was confirmed by later construction at the edge of the Castle Hill, where in 2017 construction was completed on the first stage of the new Zuckerman (J. Almásy, P. Bouda, R. Čečetka, I. Masár). A similar urban-planning approach, at least in terms of the land-use planning of the zone, is now underway in the current construction of the new Vydrice (Compass Architekti, planned completion 2025).

### Summary

The Danube embankment presents one of the most complex problems in Bratislava's entire history of urban planning and construction through the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Though the planning of construction in the vicinity of both riverbanks, as well as the forming of the image of the riverbank panorama, has been regarded as one of the chief priorities for planners in each historical period, it has never proven possible to bring any of the proposed ideas to full realisation. At first, this process was largely dependent on the regulation of the river and reinforcement of its banks, allowing for the emergence of new building land along the river's course. For this reason, the river has always been understood as a primary flow that determines all other flows in the immediate surroundings, whether flows of traffic, social life, sports, or commerce. All these flows, nonetheless, individually or in mutual interaction influenced, and still influence, the visual form and day-to-day function of the embankment. As such their dynamics were immediately linked both to the immediate social situation or political regime, as well to the various paradigm shifts in the professions of architecture and urban planning. Yet still, the widening of the social 'flow' in the form of the embankment promenade can be regarded as a relatively smooth process both chronologically and territorially. In its physical form, the promenade emerged out of

Námestie Ľ. Štúra, first toward the east and then towards the west. Historically, it can be dated from 1775 up to the present. In parallel with the development of the promenade, the flow of traffic also developed continuously in the form of a linear riverbank roadway, eventually including a tramline, automotive traffic, and river shipping. Flows connected with sports or commerce, though, have a non-linear reflection in both spatiality and historical time: they take place either on the eastern or western section of the left bank, sometimes on the left or right bank, thus reacting to shifts in the geopolitical order or the national political regime. Here, their fluctuating traces in the site led to discontinuities in both planning and construction regarding the buildings and urban structures they required. With regard to our imagining of the outline of the embankment panorama, we can regard as the key factor the entire broad course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when this locality was repeatedly the site of major architectural and planning competitions. Yet the real, physical image of the embankment has been most strongly formulated by the private building projects that began to arise at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. These investment activities document the currently surging tendencies of the dynamics of nearly all types of flows on the territory of the embankment. Judging from the construction underway as well as planned, we can currently assume that the left Danube embankment will, in the upcoming decade, definitively lose the character of 'terrain vague' that it had somehow been able to retain across the entire previous century. Yet it is no less characteristic for Bratislava that this process has transpired without any previous unifying vision of the entire locality, more or less spontaneously, in reaction to localised investment plans.





Promenade on the left bank of Danube in the Old Town part, 2019  
Photo: Olja Triaška Stefanovič

**G O V E R N M E N T  
D I S T R I C T  
A N D T H E  
T R A N S V E R S E  
A X I S**

**I V**

**a typology of urban situations**

fragments  
of concepts

<b>Type:</b>	terrain vague
<b>Case studies/Localities:</b>	Štefanovičova (Hunyady János út until 1920), Námestie slobody (Eszterházy tér/platz until 1920, Kniežacie námestie until 1933, Námestie slobody until 1950, Gottwaldovo námestie until 1990), Americké námestie (Endlicherova ulica, Marhavásár tér, Kadlecovo námestie)
<b>Other occurrences:</b>	Regulation Plan for Mýtna ulica (1914), Regulation and Construction Guidelines for Endlicherova, Dobytčie tržišťe, Prayova, Sasinková and Poľná (1928), Regulation and Construction Guidelines for Námestie slobody and Vicinity (1929), Regulation and Construction Guidelines for the blocks between Námestie slobody, Škovránkova, Mýtna and Pöllnská ulica (1928 – 1935), Determination of the Clearance Area of Bratislava (1940), Detailed Regulatory Plan for Mýtna, Kollárovo námestie, Radlinská, Dunstová (1941), Regulation and Construction Guidelines for Námestie slobody and Vicinity for Creation of a Governmental District (1942), Expanded Clearance Area around Námestie slobody (1946), Detailed Regulation and Construction Plan for Námestie Klementa Gottwalda (1947),
<b>Key non-formative plans:</b>	Competition for the Empress Elizabeth University (F. Korb, 1912), Study for the Construction Plan of the Empress Elizabeth University (Róbert K. Kertész and Gyula Sváb, Antal Palóczy 1914), Study for the Construction of Eszterháziho námestie – Location of Governmental Offices (R. Kříženecký, 1919), Study of Greater Bratislava (A. Balán, J. Grossmann, 1926), Search Competition for the Location of the Palace of Justice (1927), Competition for the Regional Office (1929), Competition for the Apartment Cooperative Avion (1929), Regulation of Námestie slobody (E. Bárta 1939), Competition for the Government District (1943), Competition for the Construction of the Economic Planning Bureau (1950), Competition for the Completion of Gottwaldovo námestie (1954), Search Planning Competition for the Czechoslovak Radio Building (1962), Competition for the Lenin Monument on Gottwaldovo námestie, Architectural Competition for the Czechoslovak Radio Building (1963), Competition for the New Bratislava City Hall (1994), Competition for the Central Office of the Slovak National Bank (1996) Competition for the revitalisation of Námestie slobody (2017)



*Terrain vague* – an urban category of ambiguous, or respectively uncertain character. We use it in the sense defined by Ignasi de Solà-Morales: “on the one hand, vague in the sense of vacant, empty, inactive, unproductive and in many cases obsolete; on the other, vague in the sense of imprecise, undefined, vague, with no specific limits, without a future horizon.” It could be an area that has lost its original function, is in decay or is excluded from the context of the extant urban tissue. In our case, we view it as a place where the architectonic or urban qualities have been repeatedly cast into doubt, a place where architects have repeatedly planned radical reconstruction, a place which has been repeatedly integrated into a developing urban structure and then left to decay yet nonetheless is now a “privileged place of identity, the confrontation of present and past” while also one of the last urban “fortresses where it is possible to realise the freedom of an individual or a small group”.

#### The Gardens of the Northern Suburbs

The northern suburbs of Bratislava were first described by the 18th-century scholar and author Matej Bel<sup>1</sup> as the area past the city fortifications spreading from the eastern slopes of the Castle Hill and opening into the plain to the south and east in the direction of the Danube lowlands, enclosed from the northeast by the protective line of fortifying ramparts. Starting in the 16th century, this locality was formulated primarily through the agency of the high nobility and clergy, who used it for their summer residences and gardens.<sup>2</sup> The

1 Bel, Matej et al.: Bratislava Mateja Bela výber z diela Notitia Hungariae novae historico-geographica 1. 2. zv., vyd. roku 1735 – 1736 vo Viedni. Bratislava, Obzor, 1984, p. 119.

2 The series of deliberately landscaped sections began from the site of today's Hodžovo námestí, continuing through the terraced gardens of the Erdődy estate rising westward to the slopes of the Lesser Carpathians (in the direction of the present street Palisády) and

Archbishops' Palace (now the Cabinet Office on Námestie slobody) not only embodied the garden-landscape of Bratislava's northern suburbs, but in fact formed its crowning work. Even the garden itself, in Bel's eyes, “represented in astonishing miniature the one in Versailles”<sup>3</sup> and furthermore the palace itself was the chief glory of historic ‘Prešporok’.

Yet as the 18th century came to an end, with Bratislava's decline in political importance once the Hungarian court returned to Buda as well as the gradual weakening of the aristocracy, the northern suburbs assumed the indecisive character of a periphery. The locality lost nearly all its “irritating picturesqueness”, in the characterisation of Jarmila Bencová.<sup>4</sup> Gardens and palaces changed ownership, many of them coming into the administration of the Habsburg military. Even the Archbishops' Palace with its exceptional garden was transferred to army use as a lazaret in 1849 and the grassy lawn in front of the palace, with its ‘Alley of the Princes’ (Fürstenallee) was used as a military training ground, which by the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries had informally assumed the name of ‘Sahara’.

The open areas that originally served as the agrarian and service parts of aristocratic estates were built up spontaneously. Over time, the characteristic single-storey fabric

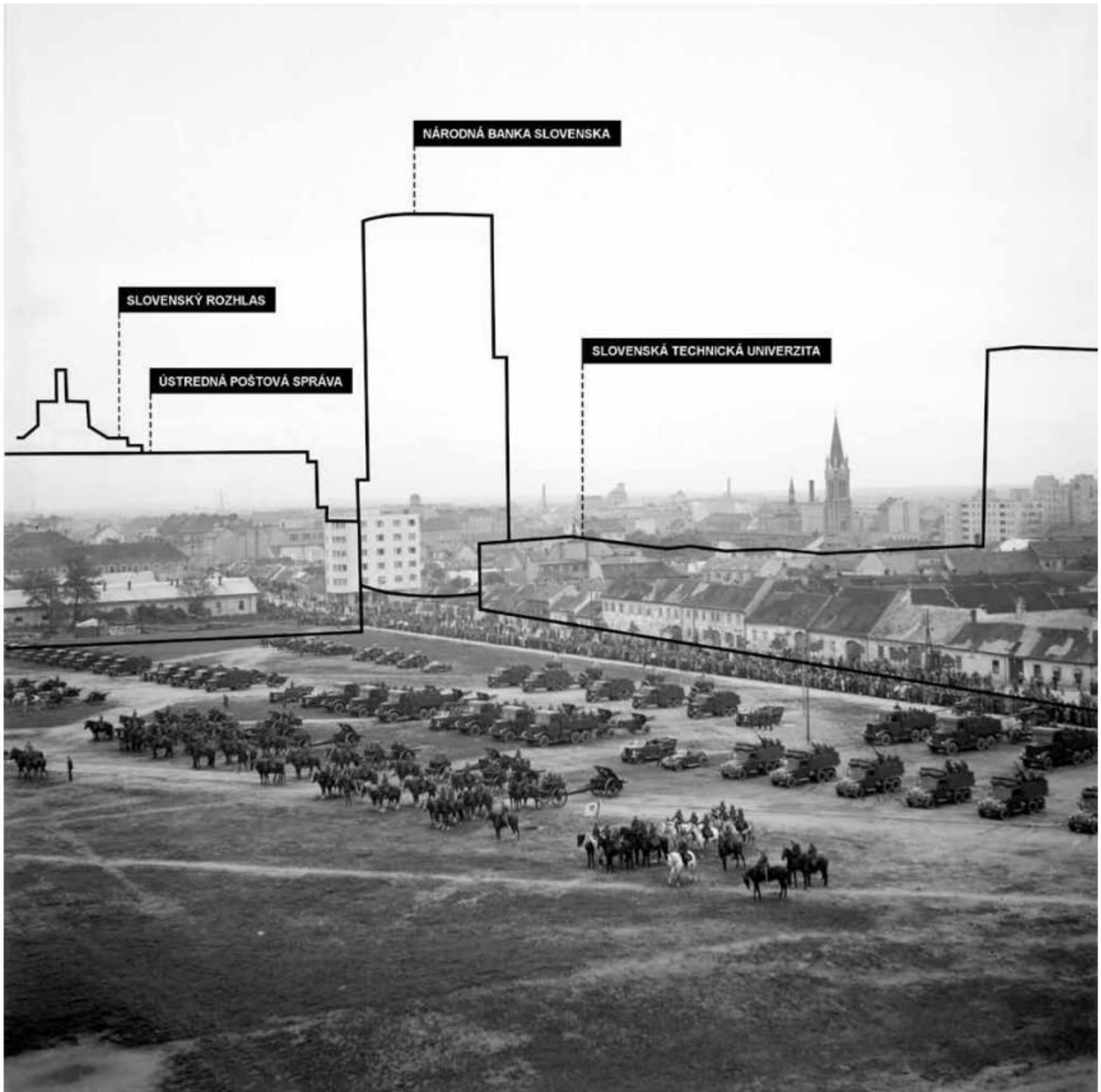
---

the botanical garden of Karol Reyger on the site of the present square; adjoining it further on was the Illesházy garden and summer palace, which in the later 18th century Count Grassalkovich combined into a single large garden, which completing the ensemble to the north was the Archbishops' Palace and garden. For more detail of the morphology of historic gardens and summer residences in Bratislava see Reháčková, Tamara: Historické záhrady a parky Bratislavy. Bratislava, Trio publishing, 2012, 111 pp.

3 Bel, Matej et al., 1984, p. 124.

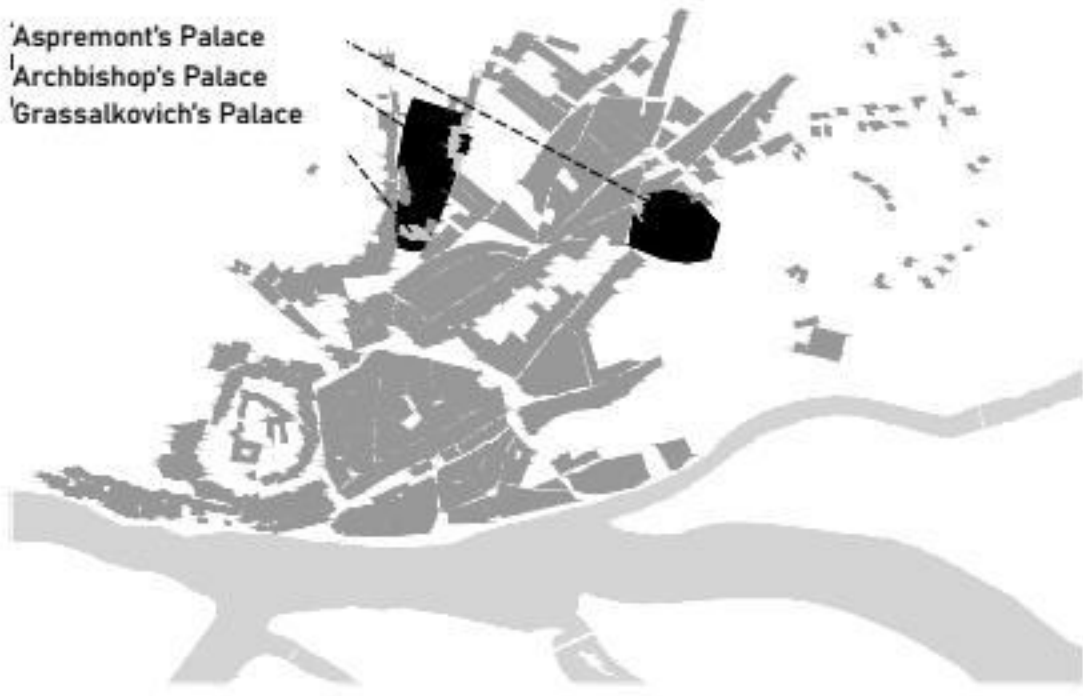
4 Bencová, Jarmila: Belluš Barokizujúci? Paláce severného predmestia. Architektúra & urbanizmus, 33, 1999, no. 1 – 2, p. 37.





Northeast of the central city in 1940 with outlines of monumental construction realized in the second half of the 20th century  
Source of background photo: Slovak National Archive, STK Fund

Aspremont's Palace  
 Archbishop's Palace  
 Grassalkovich's Palace



1780



1850



1900

Evolution of the northern suburbs of Bratislava  
 until the beginning of the 20th century

of small houses, farmsteads and workshops became supplemented with small manufacturing complexes, then actual factories and increasing urban infrastructure.<sup>5</sup> The setting of planned land-use for aristocratic summer palaces amid gardens thus found itself significantly divided into ever-smaller units through the 19th century, gaining more and more layers into the form of an uncertain, ambiguous *Terrain vague*.

After the completion of a rail station to the north of the investigated locality, its position in the context of the city began to change around the midpoint of the 19th century: once an outer suburb, it was now part of Bratislava's wider city centre, with new development potential. In the following century, in consequence, the northern suburbs repeatedly served as the testing ground for ambitious visions of a functionally unified district for political governance, education or even a new social and commercial centre. Several of these plans did not remain confined to paper, but were at least partially brought to realisation. These fragments of great visions now embody a layer of successive plans and programs that encounter and clash with one another in the vicinity, thus further formulating its ambiguity. From their investigation and analysis, we have identified three key principles behind the organisation of the initial layer of gardens and palaces, which we regard as formulating the underlying structuring of the space: the *functional and planning unification* of the palace complexes, the *axial composition* of the gardens, and finally the open spaces for the temporary or permanent *spectacularity and dominance* of aristocratic residences. It is these three principles that, through the entire course of the 20th century, were reflected in the

<sup>5</sup> E.g. a bottling works, a brush factory, the City Gasworks and the Municipal Facilities Court.

plans and fragmentary realisations in the investigated area, overlapping and competing with the traditional urban-block construction of the city, even today generating the uncertainty, the 'vagueness of the terrain' of the northern suburb of Bratislava.

### THE FUNCTIONALLY UNIFIED COMPLEX

The Mannerist and Baroque palaces of the northern suburbs formed one of the first instances of functionally unified and deliberately composed built complexes within the city itself. Indeed, this historical primacy likely influenced the later course of events, in which the idea of a functionally (yet equally formally) unified building complex or an entire district was repeatedly tested in this area during the 20th century, and partially even attempted. The character of a terrain vague in the investigated locality is hence not merely provided by the physical remnants of imposing yet incomplete complexes, but even by the never-realised plans that form a memory-trace within the city.

#### The Empress Elizabeth University: the first modern definition in the area

The founding of the Hungarian-language 'Empress Elizabeth University' (Erzsébet Tudományegyetem / Alžbetínska univerzita) in still-Habsburg Bratislava in 1912 was intended as an important stimulus to the development of the city, both intellectually and in its urban form. Immediately in the year of the institution's founding, the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs for the Hungarian half of the empire entrusted the experienced Budapest architect Flóris Korb with the task of preparing an analysis for the location of the university complex within the city. As one of the most suitable localities for construction, the ministry selected the

northern suburbs, concretely the Archbishops' Palace on the present-day Námesťie slobody and the area of the Schiffbeck Garden (now the 'Medical Garden' - Medická záhrada) containing the Aspremont Palace and the extant hospital complex.<sup>6</sup> However, because of disputes with the owner of most of the land (the Ministry of War), the competition for the urban plan of the university complex was delayed until 1916.<sup>7</sup> Thanks to positive responses in the newspapers of the era, we know at least of the design by Róbert K. Kertész and Gyula Sváb<sup>8</sup>, as well as the design by Antal Plóczy<sup>9</sup>. Resembling the earlier plan by Korb, these designs are characterised by a pavilion plan for constructing the university complex, in which the architects favoured a three-wing building plan forming a variation on the outline of the surviving Baroque palaces. Individual faculties were organised, following the principles of turn-of-the-century modernist planning, as row construction amid greenery.

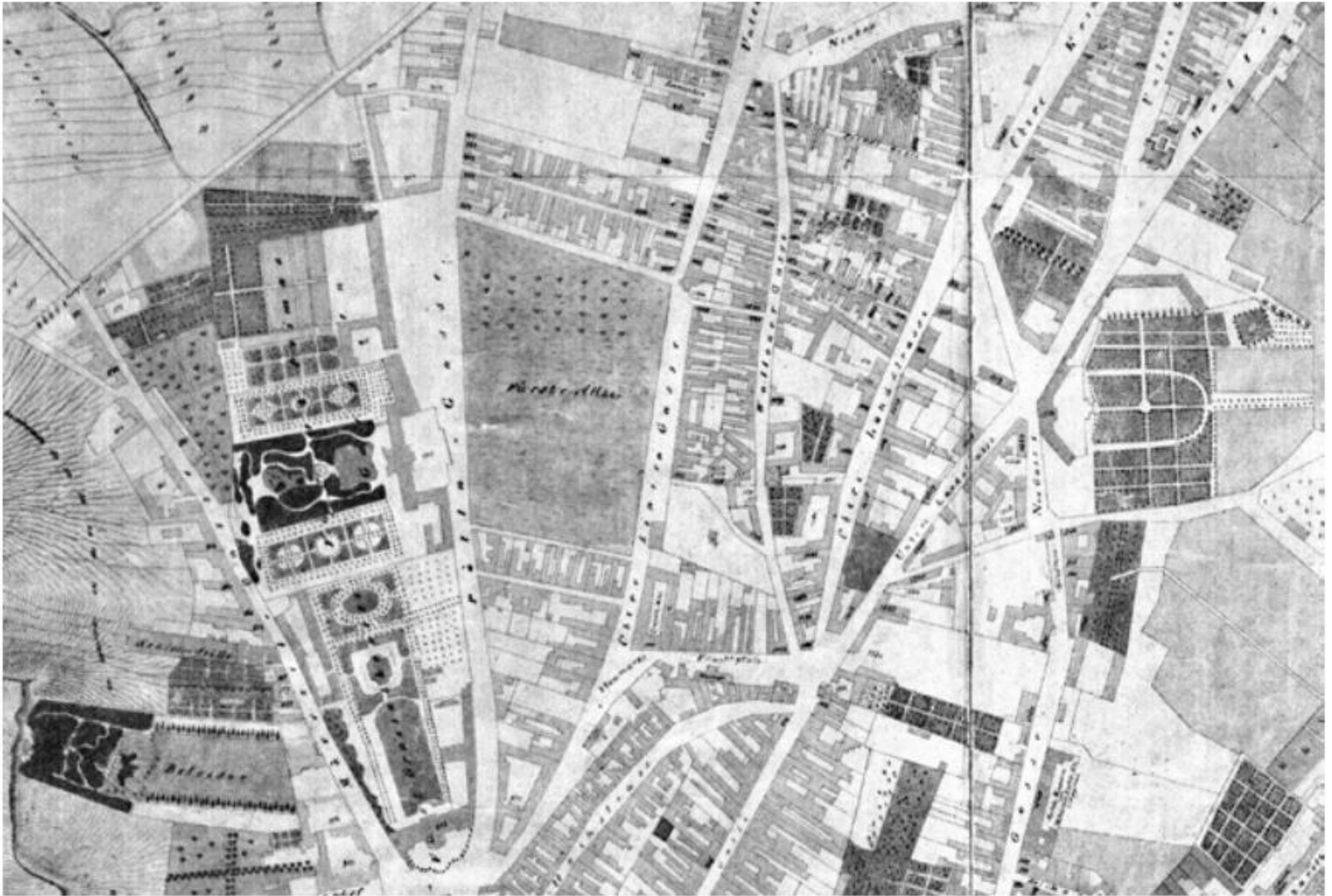
Most significantly, these two competition designs presented ideas that continued to resonate in the area even later. Kertész and Sváb situated the core of the university complex, with the administrative offices and the central landmark of the university library,

<sup>6</sup> For more detail see: Mandelló, Gyula - Tóth, Lajos: A Pozsonyi egyetem elhelyezése. A vallás-és közoktatásügyi m. kir. minisztérium IV. (főiskolai) ügyosztályának jelentése Gróf Zichy János ... miniszter úr önmagyméltóságának. Budapest, M. kir. tudományegyetemi nyomda, 1913, p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Invited participants in the competition were, as noted, Flóris Korb, Jenő Lechner, László Wurga, Antal Plóczy and Károly Róbert Kertész in cooperation with Gyula Sváb. Viz. Goll, Elemér: A Pozsonyi Magyar Királyi Tudományegyetem elhelyezése. Magyar mérnök és Építész Közlönye. 26. 12. 1916, p. 294.

<sup>8</sup> Károly Róbert Kertész and Gyula Sváb both taught at the Budapest Polytechnic as well as working for the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education, the institution that invited them to take part. Goll, E., 1916, p. 295.

<sup>9</sup> In addition to Goll, E., 1916, p. 254 - 256, note also Lovra, Éva: The Forgotten Urbanist - Antal Plóczy. *Architektúra & urbanizmus*, 53, 2019, no. 3 - 4, p. 212 - 223.



Section from Neyder's map from 1820 showing the area of the Northern suburbs of Bratislava  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



Summer Archbishop's Palace and Námestie slobody around 1920  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



at the axis of the Archbishops' Palace. Using a colonnade, they linked the freestanding pavilions to create a semi-enclosed courtyard on the square, indeed an even more imposing counterpart to the *cour d'honneur* of the Baroque palace. The same principle can equally be discerned in the later design for the complex of the Slovak Technical University, as well as the plan to change the dimensions of the square, now one of Bratislava's largest, through additional construction, reducing it to a linear space – precisely as was proposed in the competition design by Antal Palóczy.

#### The Government District: From the Traditional Urban Block to the Freestanding Unit

Even after the dissolution of the Habsburg empire, the plans of locating a functionally unified complex in the area of the northern suburbs was not allowed to slip into obscurity. Indeed, quite the opposite: the creation of Czechoslovakia and Bratislava's elevation from provincial town to the capital of the Slovak part of the republic provided new challenges in the form of creating office and residential structures for the new governmental agencies. Attesting to the urgency of these demands is the speed with which the planning process was launched. Already by January 1920, the construction councillor for the Bratislava Department of Public Works, engineer Straka, presented a conception for a governmental district on the present *Námestie slobody*.<sup>10</sup> In March of the same year, the central Ministry of Public Works in Prague presented a competing design by architect Rudolf Kříženecký, a professor at the Czech Technical University in Prague, who was then working in parallel on the adaptation of Prague's Rudolfinum concert hall

<sup>10</sup> Archive of the Heritage Institute of Slovakia, 'Pamiatkové orgány na Slovensku 1919 – 1951 Bratislava', Bratislava *Námestie slobody*, sign. 181/I, box 15.

for the Czechoslovak Parliament.<sup>11</sup>

The spatial needs for state administration arising shortly after the founding of the new state were likewise reflected by the pragmatic decision to insert into the area not only office structures but also apartment blocks for the officials themselves.<sup>12</sup> In the sense of this program, both Straka and Kříženecký filled the space of the square with eight volumes formed into fully or partially enclosed blocks, all with the same six-storey height and mansard roofs. Standing at the focal point for the discussions over the two competing projects was primarily the relation of the new structure to the Archbishops' Palace, which was laid down as a condition by Bratislava's Commission for Monument Protection.<sup>13</sup> For the heritage commission, neither design sufficiently reflected the importance of the Archbishops' Palace, though regarding the Bratislava project as preferable for its axial orientation perpendicular to the palace courtyard, which itself formed a smaller-scale variation on Palóczy's design for the university complex. However, the authorities in Prague disagreed

<sup>11</sup> Along with Václav Roštlapil, Kříženecký had been working on projects for the Czechoslovak Parliament since 1919. Project documentation for the Bratislava plan is preserved in the archive of the National Technical Museum in Prague. In: *Národní technické muzeum v Praze, Muzeum architektury a stavitelství, Archiv architektury a stavitelství, fond Kříženecký, Zastavení Eszterházyho náměstí v Bratislavě, 24, 20090218/03.*

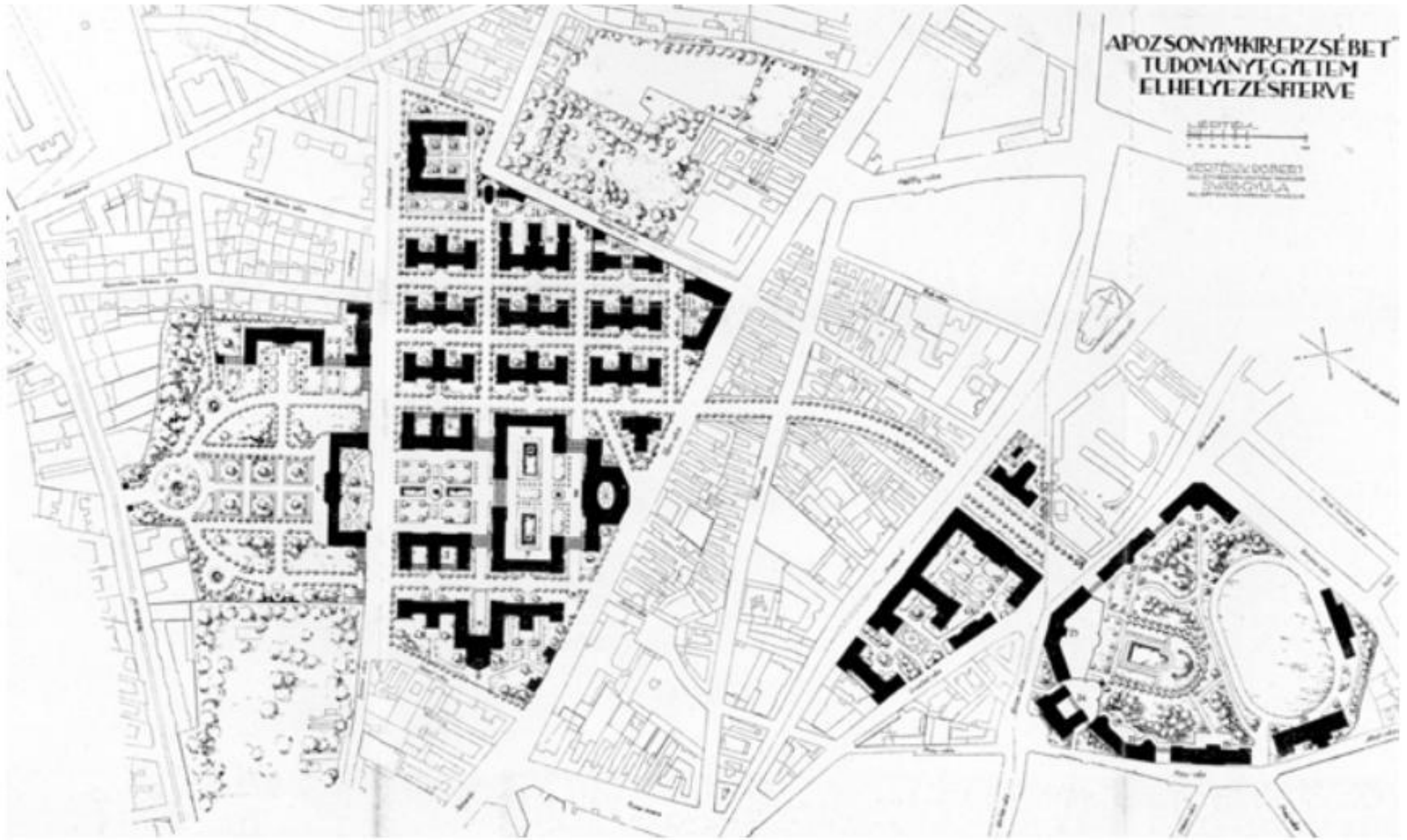
<sup>12</sup> The program assumed the construction of office buildings for the Ministry for Administration of Slovakia, the Directorate of the Railways, the Military High Command, a building for the Ministry of Public Works and two apartment blocks for government employees. See: *Archív Pamiatkového úradu SR, Pamiatkové orgány na Slovensku 1919 – 1951 Bratislava, Bratislava Námestie slobody, sign. 181/I, box no. 15.*

<sup>13</sup> The commission, then still headed by Dušan Jurkovič, recommended that "all future ground-plan and elevation configurations would be adapted to it [the palace]" while also proposing that the new buildings themselves "form blocks as regular and simple as possible". Letter from the Commission for Monument Protection of the Ministry of Public Works, 23. 8. 1920. In: *Archív Pamiatkového úradu SR, Pamiatkové orgány na Slovensku 1919 – 1951 Bratislava, Bratislava Námestie slobody, sign. 181/I, box 15.*



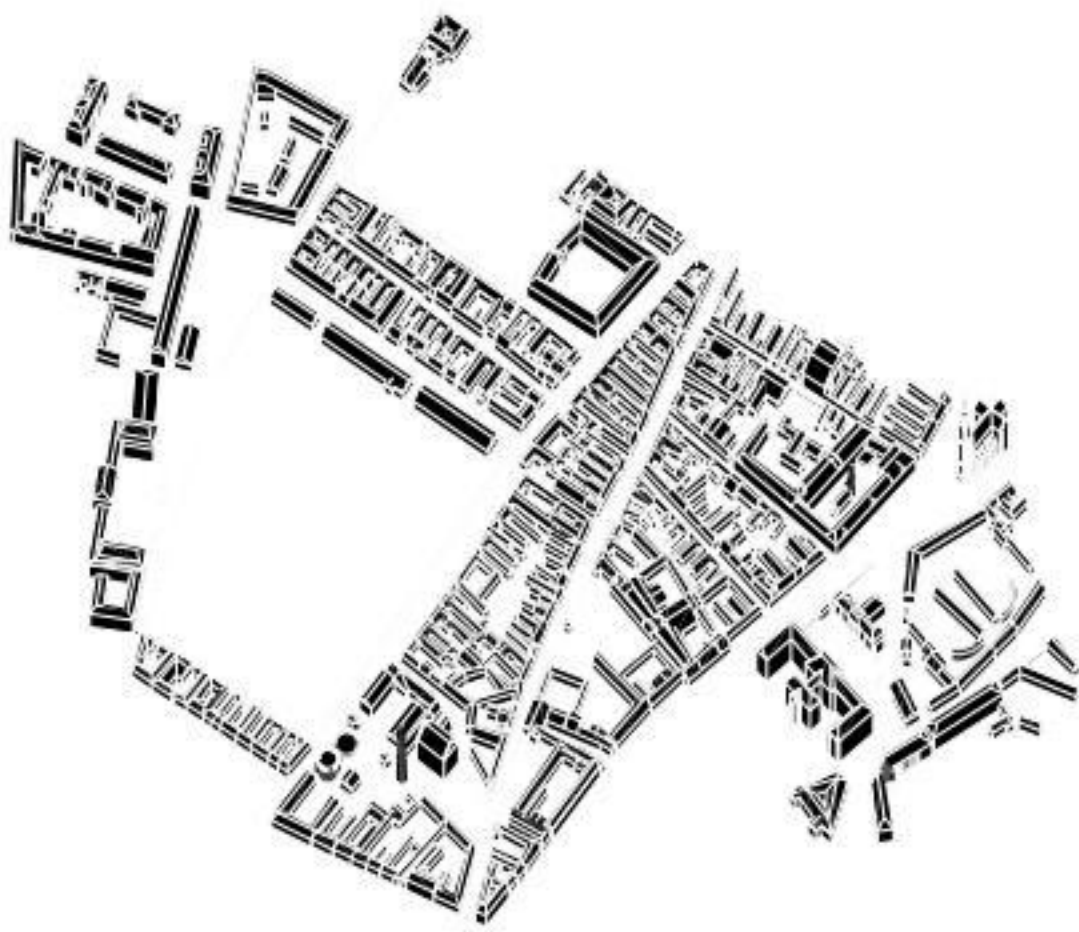
Two alternatives for Empress Elizabeth University complex, Antal Palóczy, 1916  
 Source: Goll, Elemér. A Pozsonyi Magyar Királyi Tudományegyetem elhelyezése.  
 Magyar mérnök és Építész Közlönye. 26 December 1916, p. 294



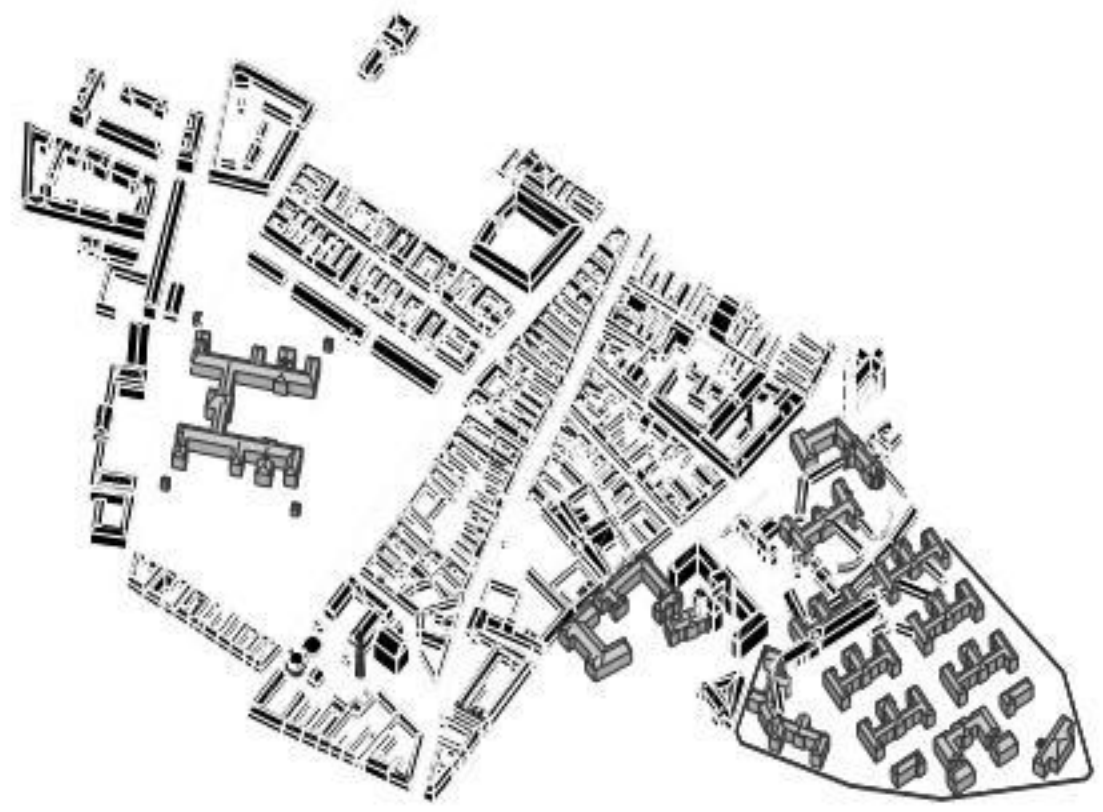


The overall situation and view of the proposed complex of Empress Elizabeth University on today's Námestie slobody, Károly Robert Kertész, Gyula Sváb, 1916

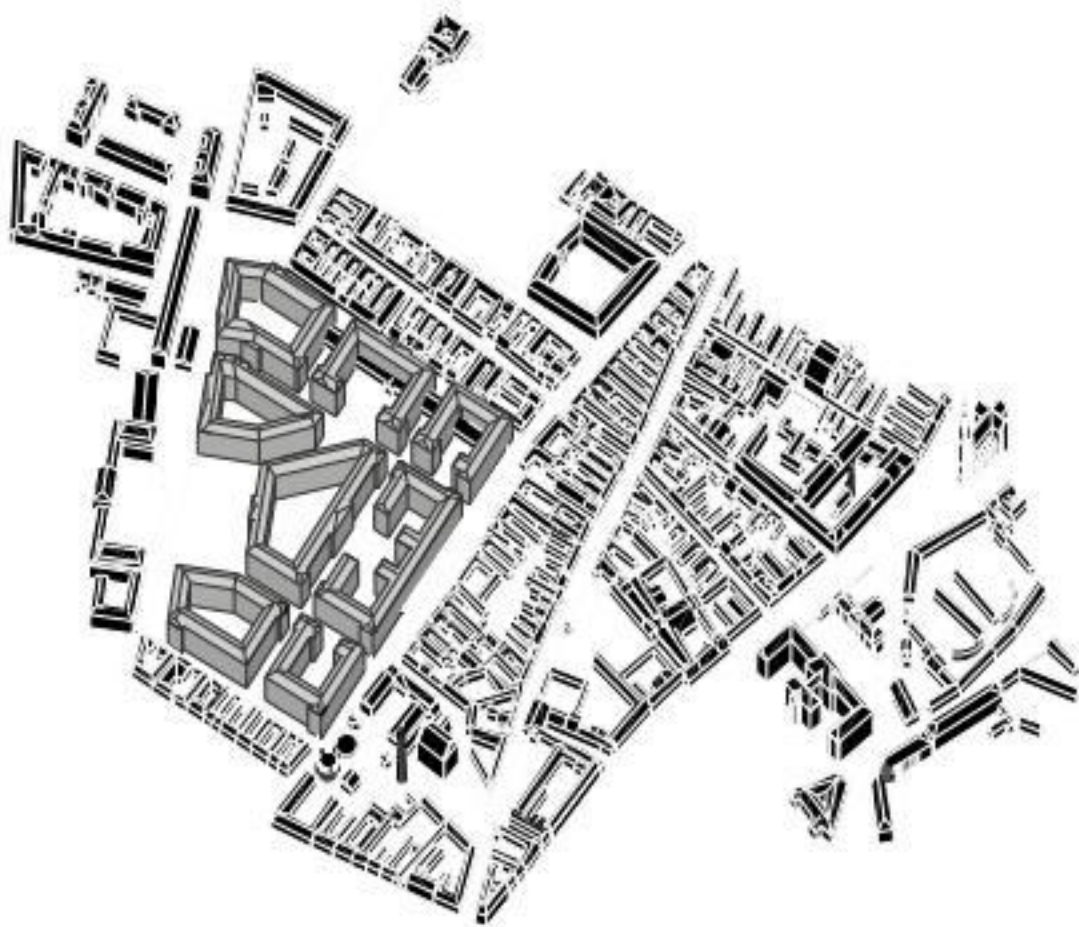
Source: Goll, Elemér. A Pozsonyi Magyar Királyi Tudományegyetem elhelyezése. Magyar mérnök és Építész Közlönye. 26. 12. 1916, p. 296



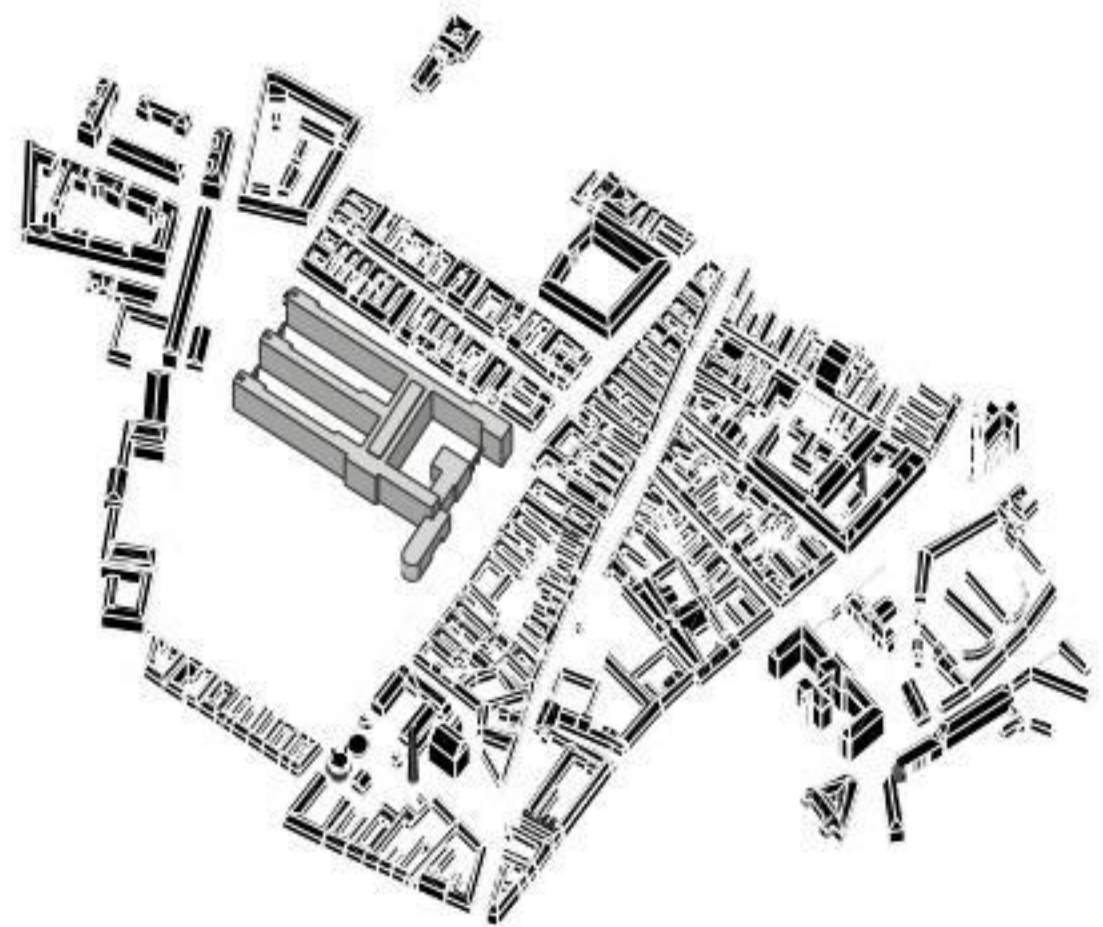
1910



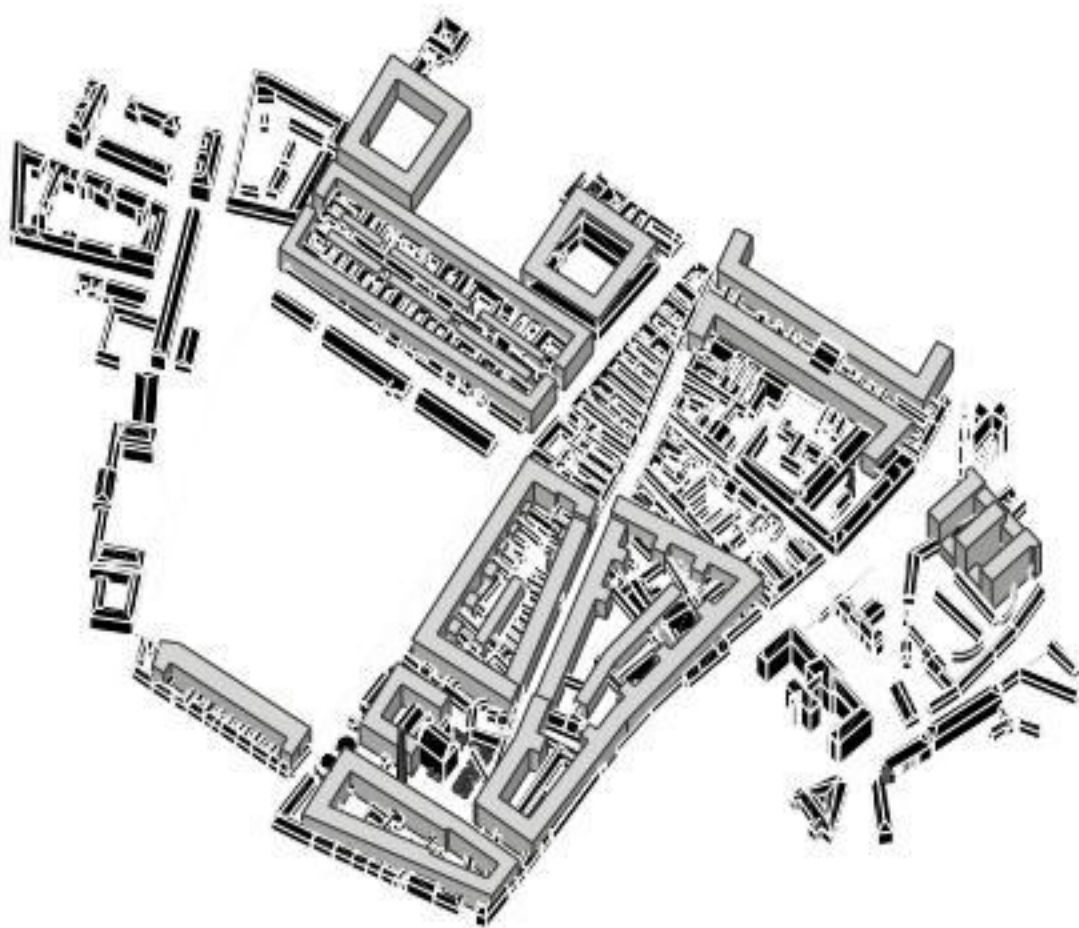
Competition design for Empress Elizabeth University,  
Flóris Korb, 1913



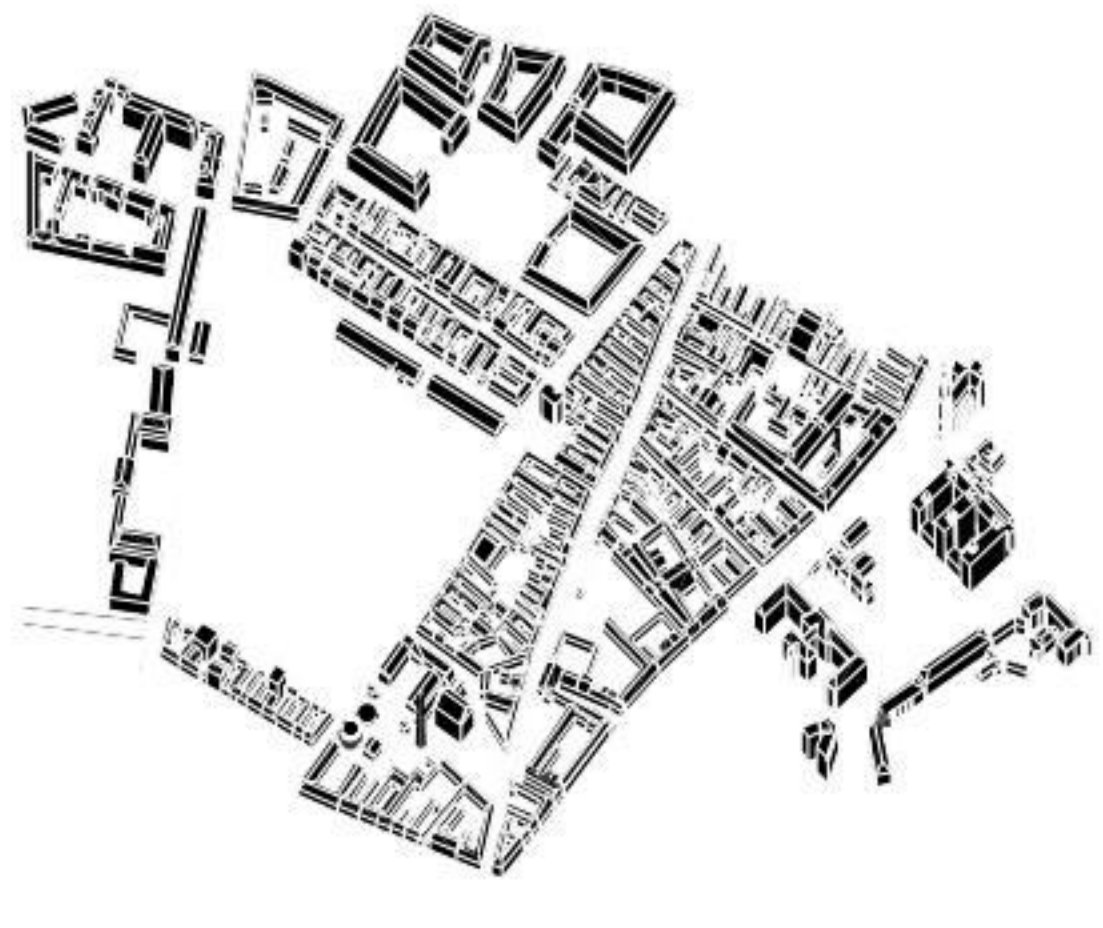
Master plan for the government district on Námestie slobody,  
R. Kříženecký, 1920



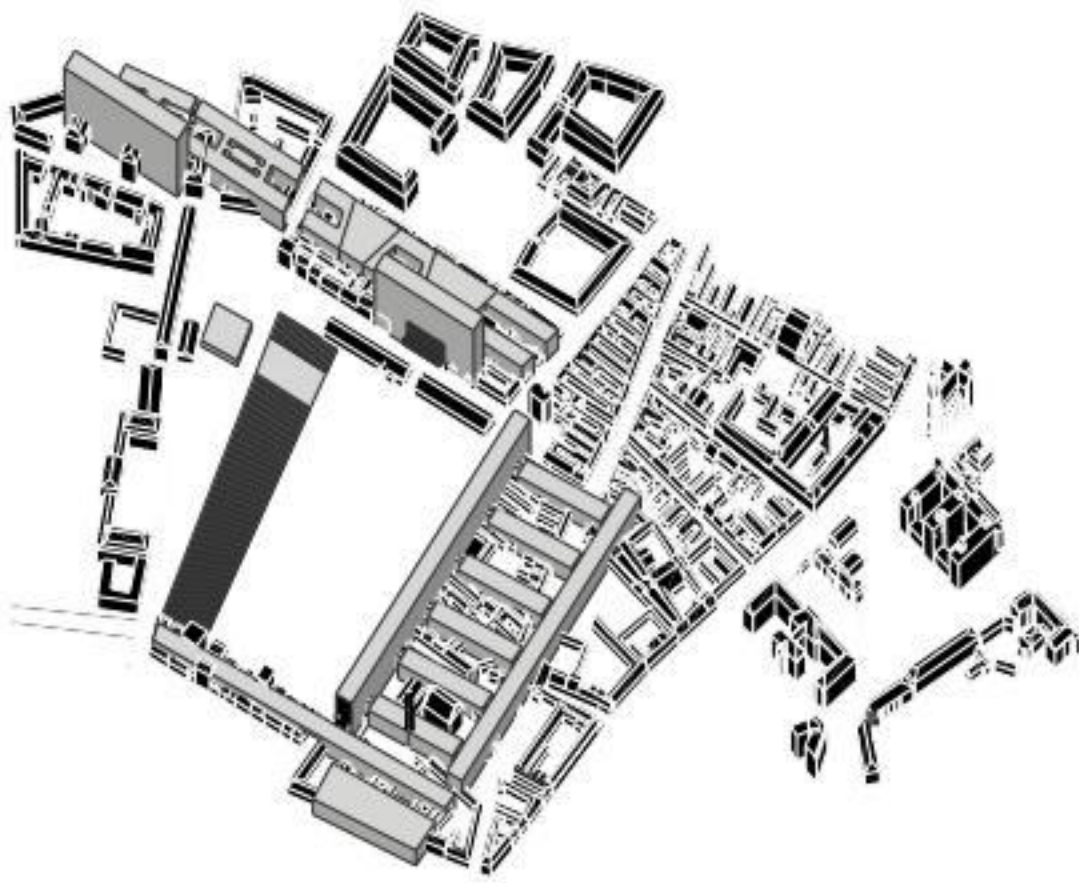
Competition design for the Regional Office in Bratislava,  
F. Balcárek, K. Kopp, V. Richter, 1929



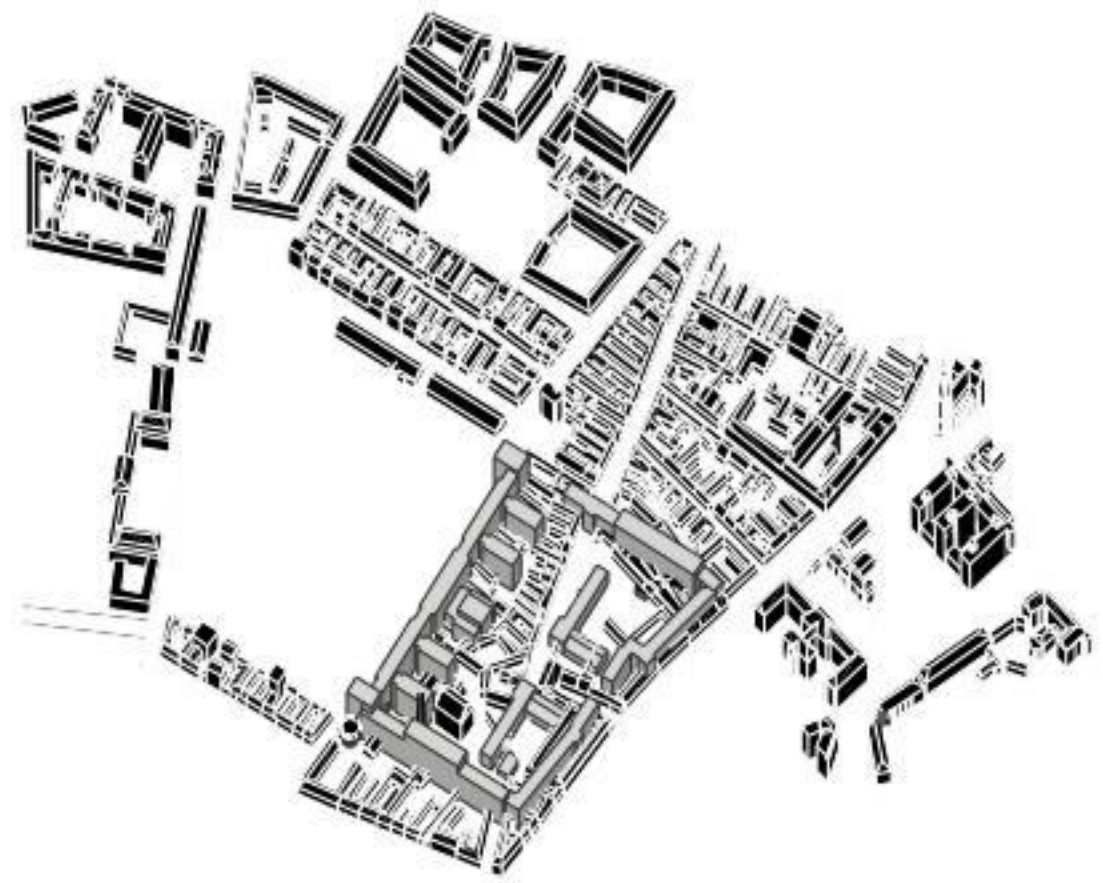
Regulation and Construction Guidelines from years 1926 - 1941



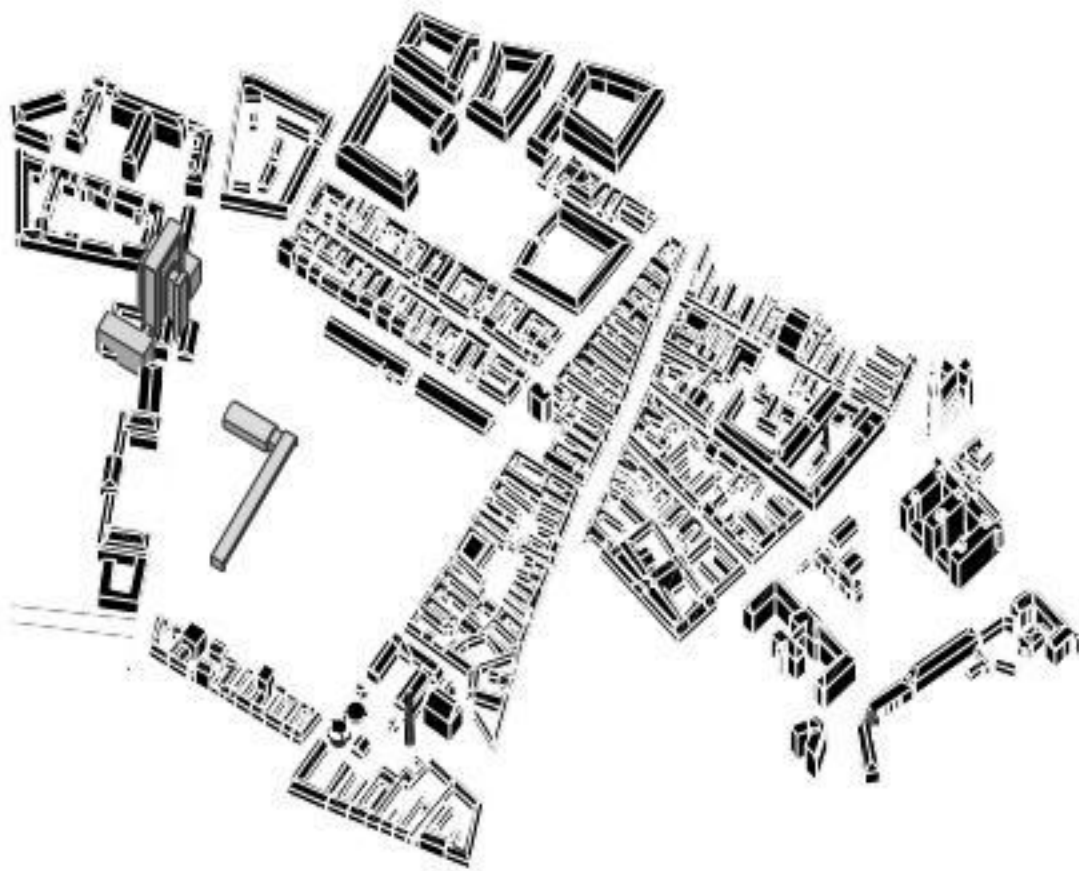
1940



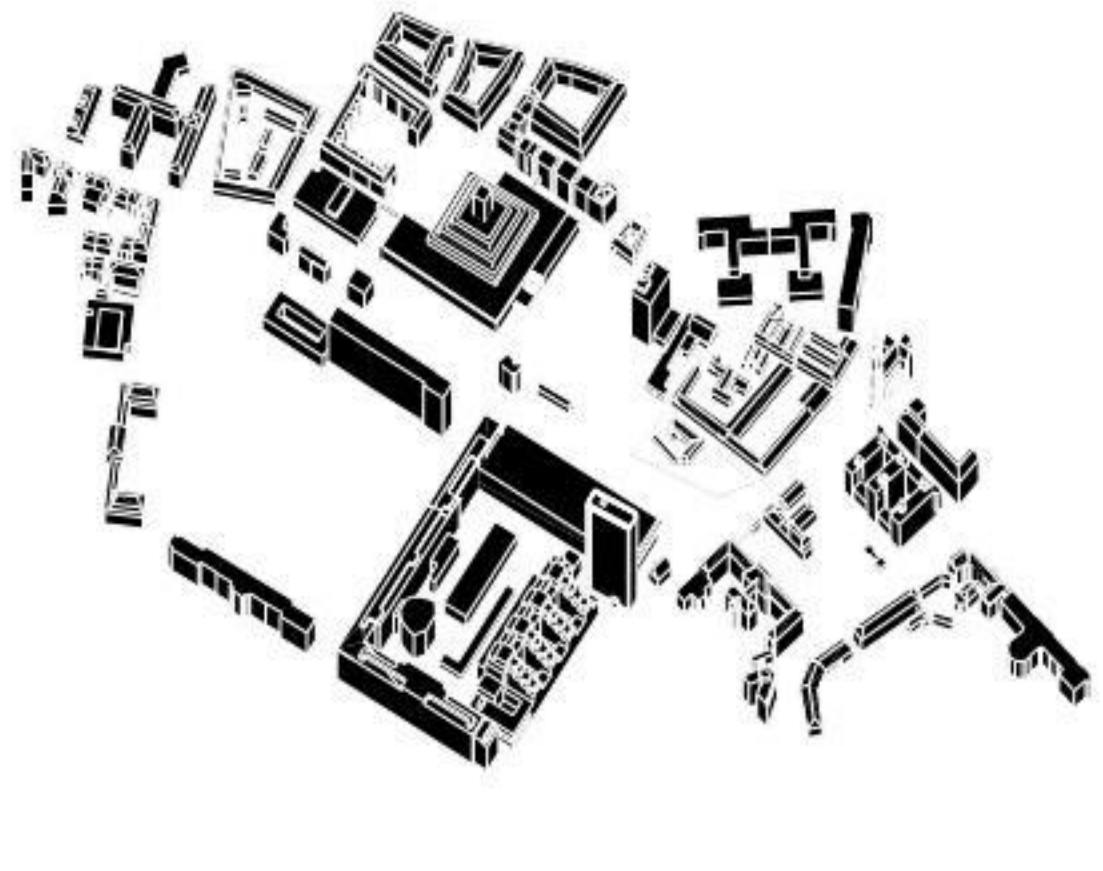
Competition proposal for the government district in Bratislava, A. Libera, E. Lapadula, 1943



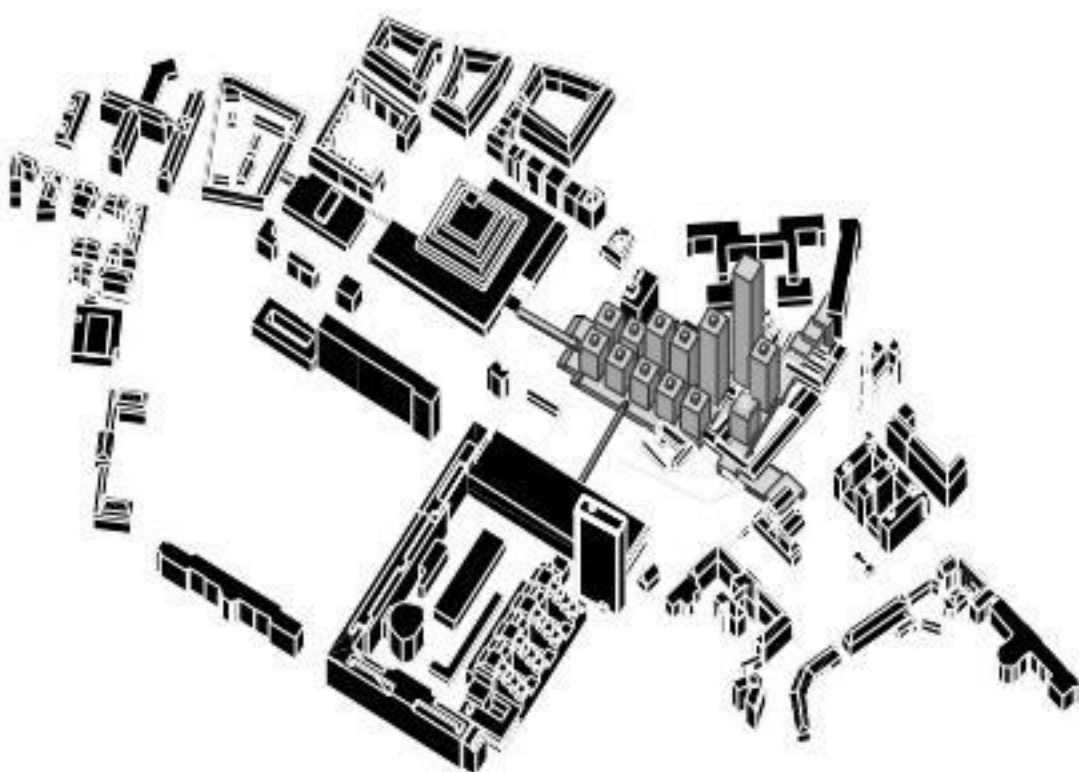
Master plan for Slovak Technical University (SVŠT), E. Belluš, 1948



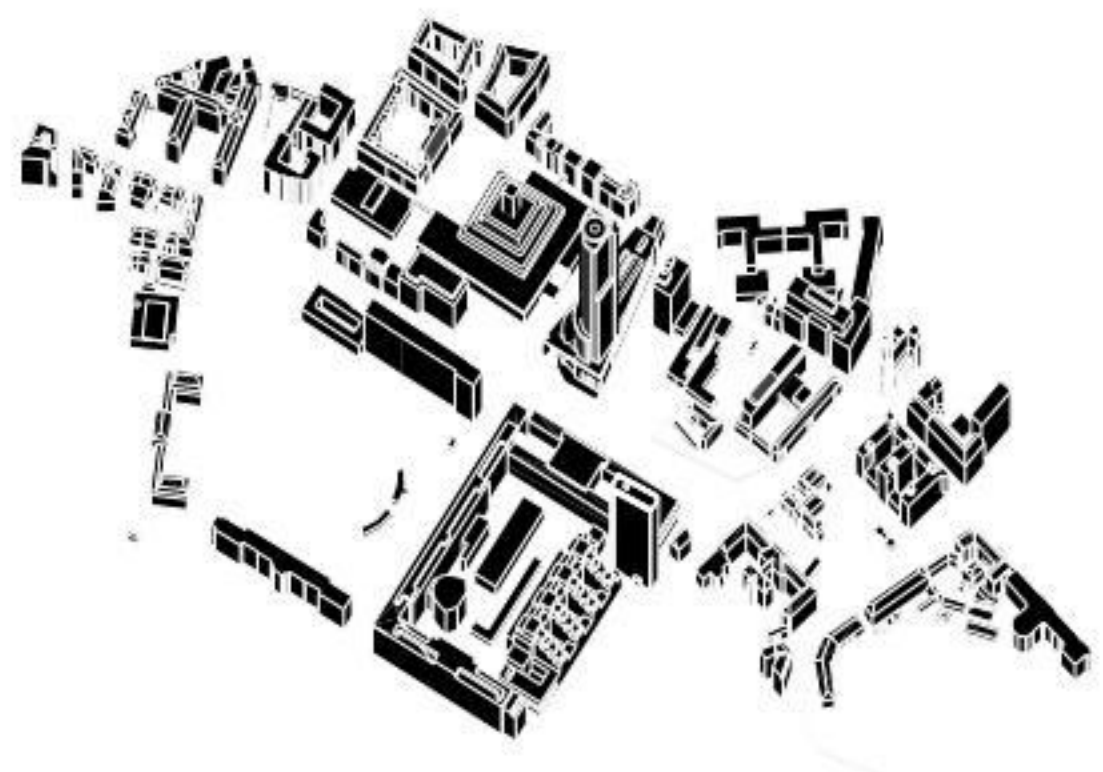
Competition proposal for the Building of Planning Office, J. Havlíček, K. Filsak, 1950



1980



Masshousing Starohorská project, Š. Svetko, B. Džadoň, 1982



2019

The planned and the actual transformation of the north-eastern urban structure during the 20th century

with the reservations expressed by the Bratislava heritage experts, choosing instead Kříženecký's design, which opened an elongated rectangular open space in the square in front of the palace, with views towards this landmark oriented from the diagonally routed streets. The disagreements between the various public authorities over this project lasted until the first half of 1921, when "after long campaigns and endless commissions, this plan too met its end".<sup>14</sup>

Both designs for the governmental district are marked by the absence of a comprehensive view of the wider area. The dense street network planned for the area of the square did not match the existing structure, nor even the possibility of inserting new streets into the surrounding urban fabric. Yet nonetheless, the designs fully matched the prevalent trend in Bratislava's urban construction at the end of the 19th and start of the 20th centuries, marked by enclosed blocks with front gardens or blocks with semi-open courtyards. Such a building pattern was most fully realised in the area of Grössling, respectively the 'Danube District' (Dunajská štvrť) but can also be found in the adjoining section between the present-day streets Žilinská, Mýtna and Šancova.<sup>15</sup>

Just under a decade later, the question of the government district returned to prominence once more, when the reform of national administration required expansion of the office in charge of Slovakia.<sup>16</sup> Yet the preparation

14 Marek, Josef: *Stavební ruch v Bratislavě*. *Styl*, 7, 1921, p. 110.

15 In 1926, the city council approved a regulatory and construction plan for this zone that was followed in principle up until the next series of construction in the 1950s. Archive of the City of Bratislava, Fond ÚHA, Regulácie mesta Bratislavy, box 850.

16 In the summer of 1927, a new reform of the governing administration of Czechoslovakia was approved, the 'Regional Authorities', intended to promote greater decentralisation among the

of the architectural competition for the Regional Office met with a particularly mixed reception in the city. Originally, it was planned to open in 1929, shortly after the planned competition for the general regulatory plan of the city. Experts from Bratislava's regulatory department, though, objected to the pressures from Prague for such a rapid plan for the condition, assuming that the approved regulatory plan would give the square its form and thus definitively confirm the localisation of the government district. In turn, though, the city officials themselves expected that the answer to the question would only be provided during the competition for the city regulatory plan.

In the end, the competition was held even without an approved regulatory plan for the square. The jury gave priority to the projects that formulated the Regional Office as functionally and operationally differentiated yet forming a compact freestanding volume.<sup>17</sup> A solitary object, the office would, through its new scale and positioning at the edge of the area, draw upon its urban planning and architectonic language to define *Námestie slobody* as a genuine public space, not a vague open area and potential future construction site.

Yet once again, the results of this competition

---

state's regions. Slovakia was made one of the four constituent regions of the Republic, with its own regional president and regional office to ensure greater self-governing autonomy. For more detail, see e.g. Šuchová, Xénia: *Problémy organizácie politickej správy Slovenska v predmníchovskej republike*. In: *Slovensko v československu (1918 - 1939)*. Ed. M. Zemko - V. Bystrický, Bratislava, Veda, 2004, p. 109 - 117.

17 The competition eventually had no unambiguous winner: the jury assigned four designs the same reduced price, with the alleged justification for this decision being that at the time of the competition's opening it was not certain where the rail station would be located, and whether this would change the importance of transit routes in the zone. For more on this discussion see Brzotický, Adolf: *Budova Zemského úřadu v Bratislavě*. *Poznámky k veřejné soutěži a náčrtu*. *Architekt SIA*, 29, 1930, no. 1, p. 54.

never bore fruit, and the entire initiative from today's perspective seems more an example of political efforts to increase the importance of Bratislava as the capital of the Slovak people. And it was in an atmosphere of surging Slovak nationalism that, in 1939, yet one final attempt was made to situation the administrative centre of Slovakia as a region in this locality. The building of the Regional Office was designed, at the urging of deputy premier Milan Hodža, by architect Josef Gočár, one of the authors receiving a prize in the competition ten years previously. Gočár's project confirmed the vision of a compact freestanding volume bringing a new scale into its environment and accentuating the open space of the square.

#### The Modernist Monumentality of the Government District

Shortly before the outbreak of World War II, when Slovakia was established as a sovereign state with Bratislava as its capital, the necessity to build even greater quantities of office space for independent ministries and other public bodies grew still more urgent. At the very start of the wartime republic, two historic palaces of the northern suburbs were adapted to house the new state institutions.<sup>18</sup> The chair of the city regulatory commission, Eugen Bárta, prepared in 1939 at the urging of the Ministry of Transport and Public Works the construction of several other ministerial buildings in the locality, as well as the headquarters for the nationalist Hlinka Party. Bárta placed the government buildings as separate volumes amid landscaped parks. Architecturally, he envisioned three-

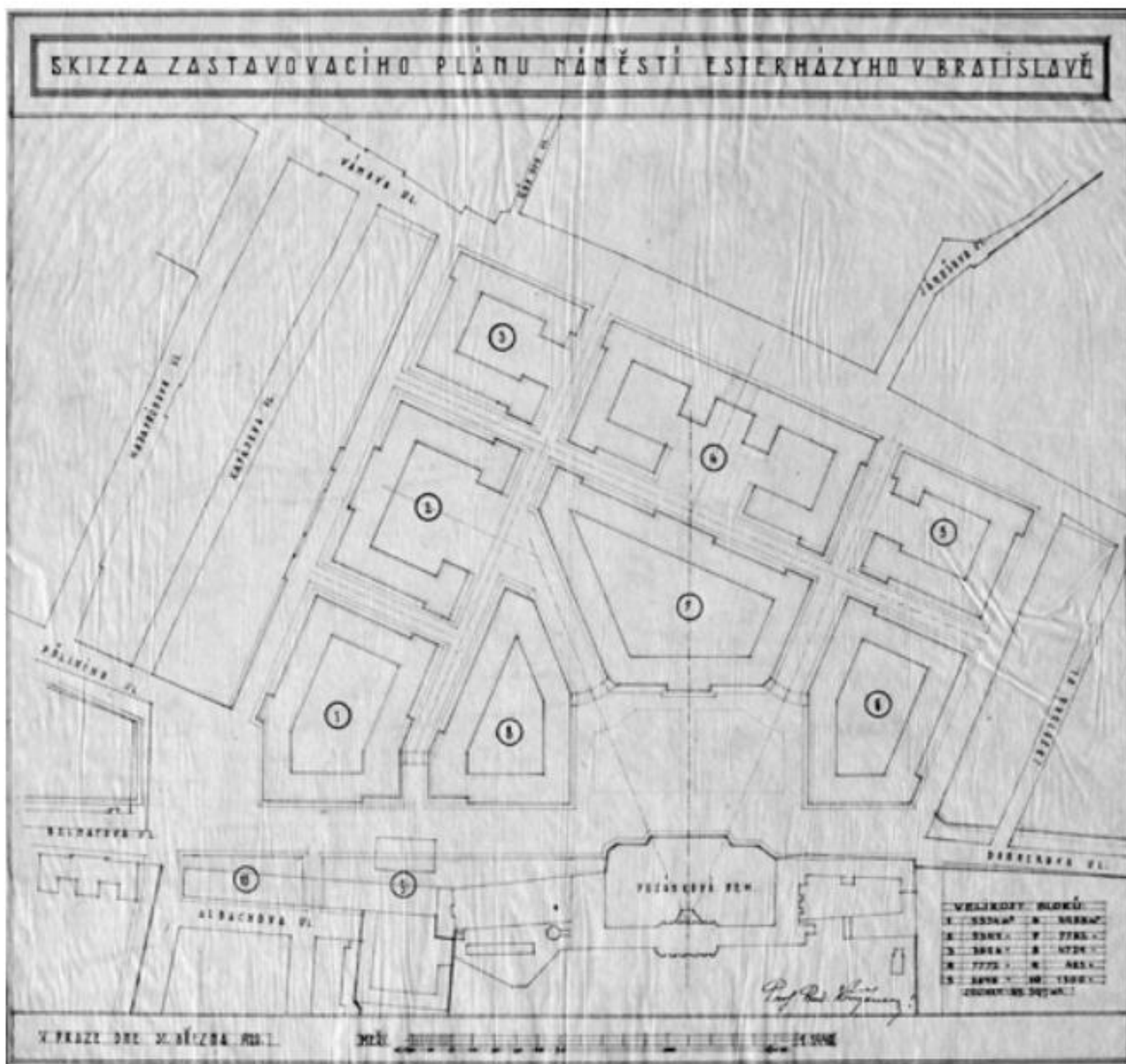
<sup>18</sup> The Grassalkovich Palace was adapted as the president's headquarters already by 1939, and the Archbishops' Palace for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1941. Note Dulla, Matúš: *Architekt Emil Belluš*. Bratislava, Slovart, 2010, p. 217 – 220; or Bencová, J., 1999, p. 35 – 46.

wing symmetrical layouts, intellectually drawing upon the original summer palaces much as in the case of the earlier plan for the Empress Elizabeth University. At the centre of the design was an open area arranged for public rallies, with seating and a stage set amphitheatre-like into the slightly rising slope at the square's southwest. As such, Bárta's plan returned the locality to its original appearance of a Baroque garden suburb. Yet such an approach evidently fell far short of how the Slovak People's Party imagined an imposing governmental district, since already by 1942 they opened an international competition for the same theme. And this speculation was eventually confirmed by the evaluators: in the final statement, the competition jury stated that "the architecture of the governmental district must be created as imposing and monumental, to give the area a representative and dignified appearance".<sup>19</sup>

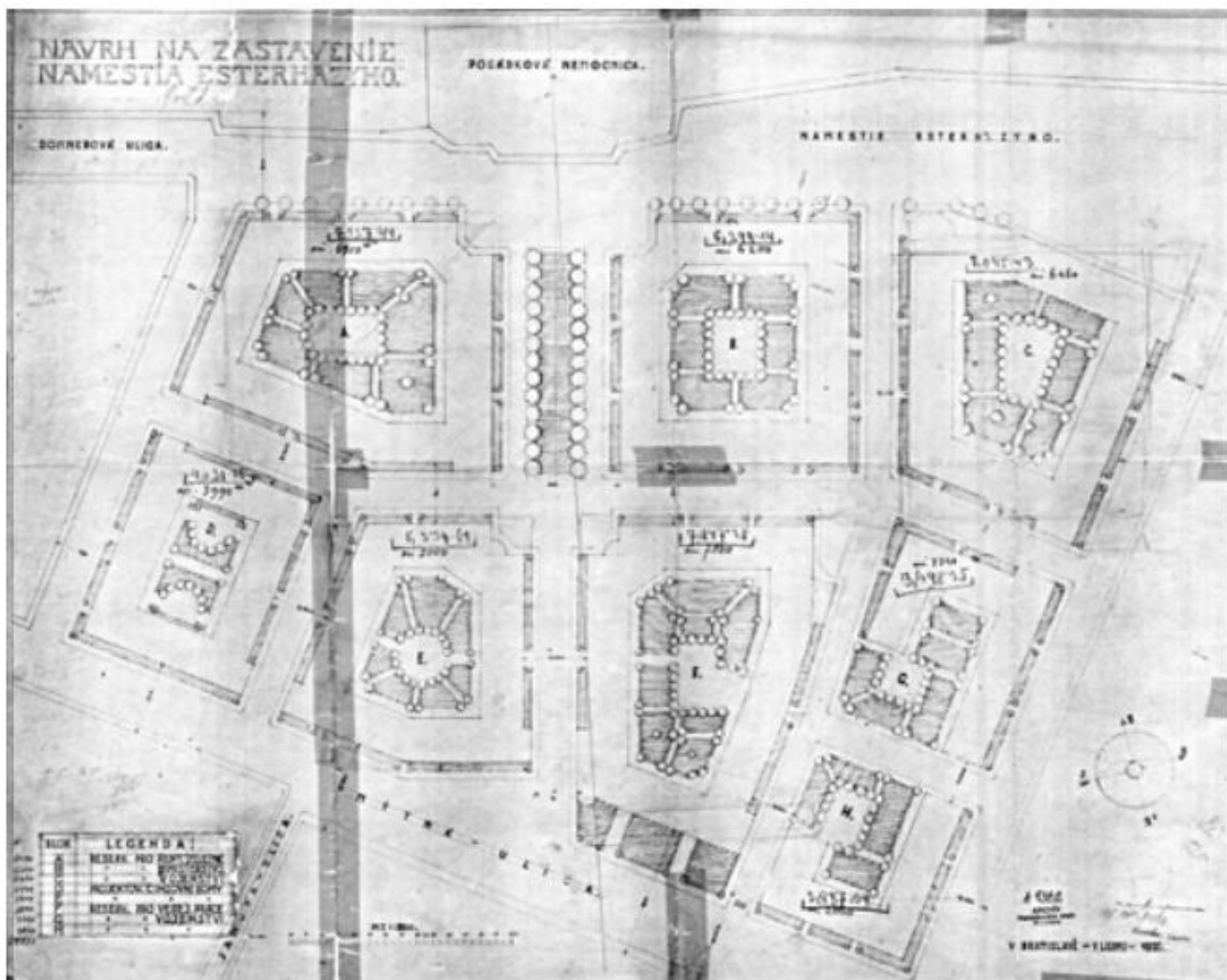
The idea of massive freestanding volumes contrasting with large open areas was set down even in the competition conditions. Architect Vladimír Pojtek, then chief councillor for the Ministry of Transport and Public Works, stated right in the introduction that "in resolving the overall plan, it should be a basic condition that the proportion of unbuilt areas to built-up ones be as large as possible".<sup>20</sup> The jury, though, gave preference to a more pragmatic approach: of the four submitted competition designs, they chose as the winning project the one by Josef Gočár,

<sup>19</sup> *Súťažné návrhy 'Vládnej štvrti' v Bratislave*. *Technický obzor Slovenský*, 7, 1943, no. 10, p. 150.

<sup>20</sup> The public official most influential in the architecture of the wartime republic, Pojtek urged the most open possible composition for the government district, expressed in the proportion 1:1, i.e., that the distance between the buildings would equal their height, thus implying particularly generous spaces between them. *Podmienky súťaže na vytvorenie vládnej štvrti v Bratislave*. 17. 7. 1942, *Ministerstvo dopravy a verejných prác SR*, Ing. Vladimír Pojtek, s. 6. SNA, fund *Ministerstvo dopravy a verejných prác SR*, unclassified.



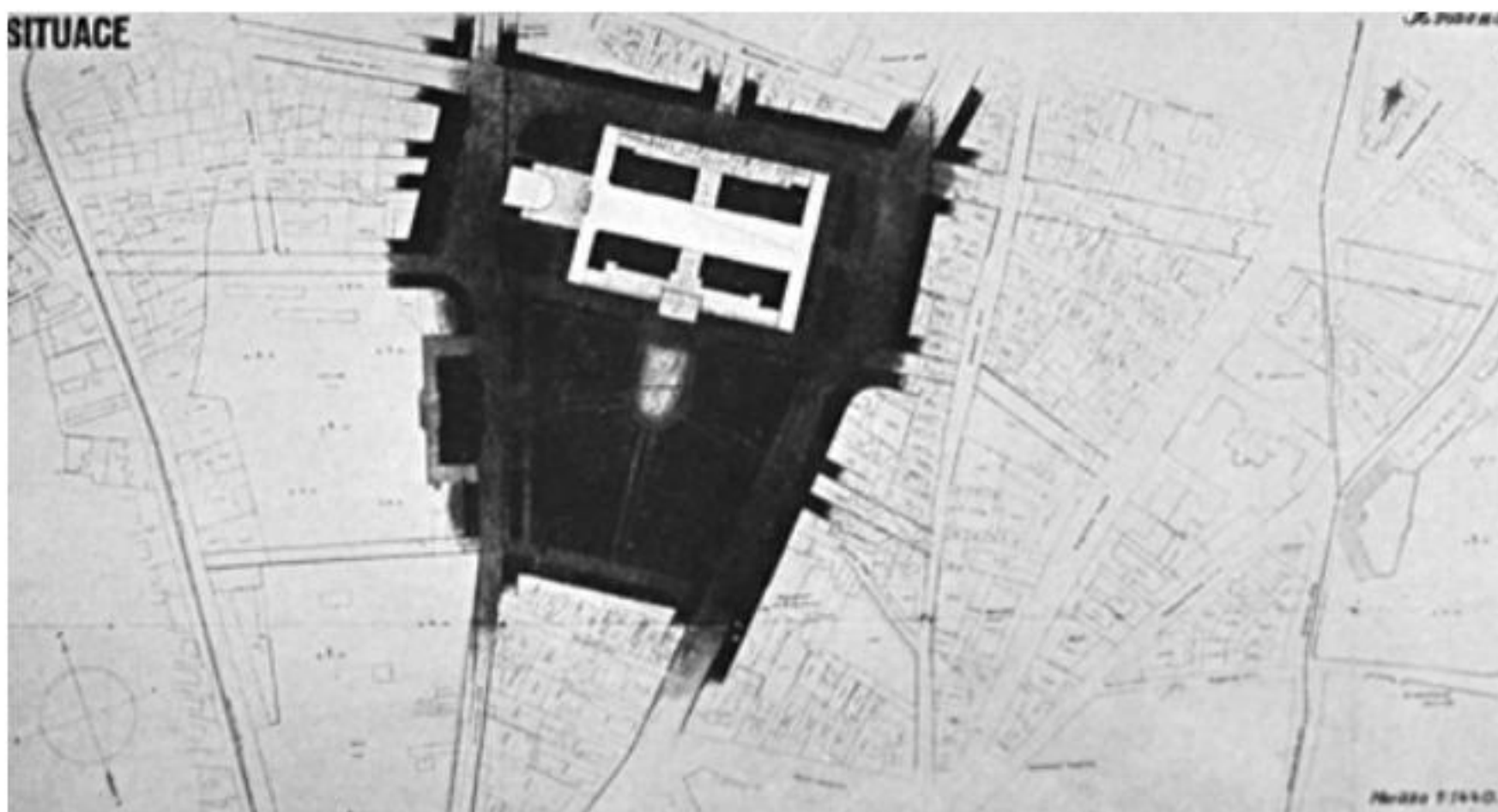
Master plan for the government district on Námestie slobody, Rudolf Kříženecký, 1920  
Source: National Technical Museum archives in Prague



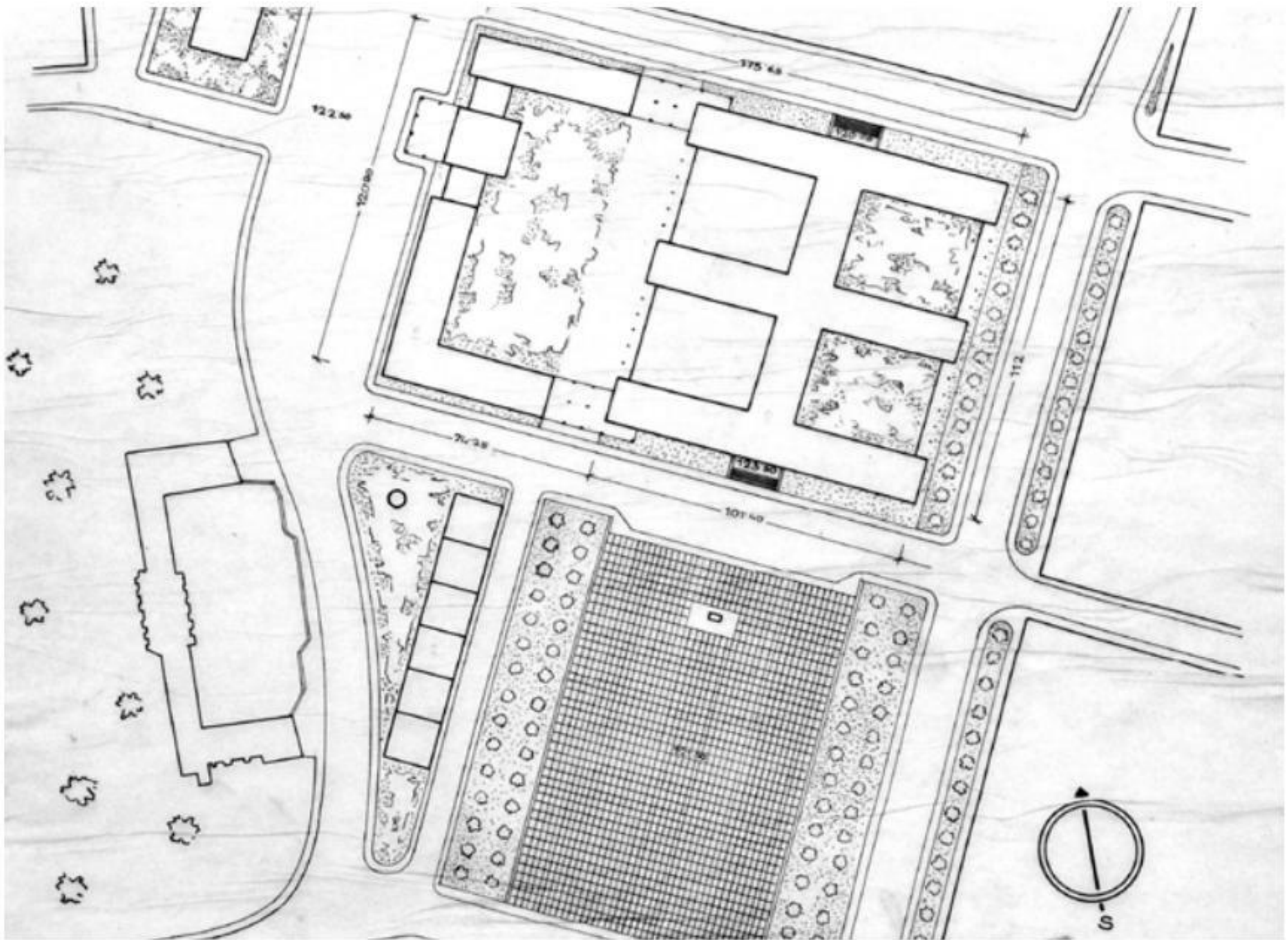
Master plan for the government district on Námestie slobody, Bratislavský referát verejných prác, 1920  
Source: The Monument Board of the Slovak republic archives



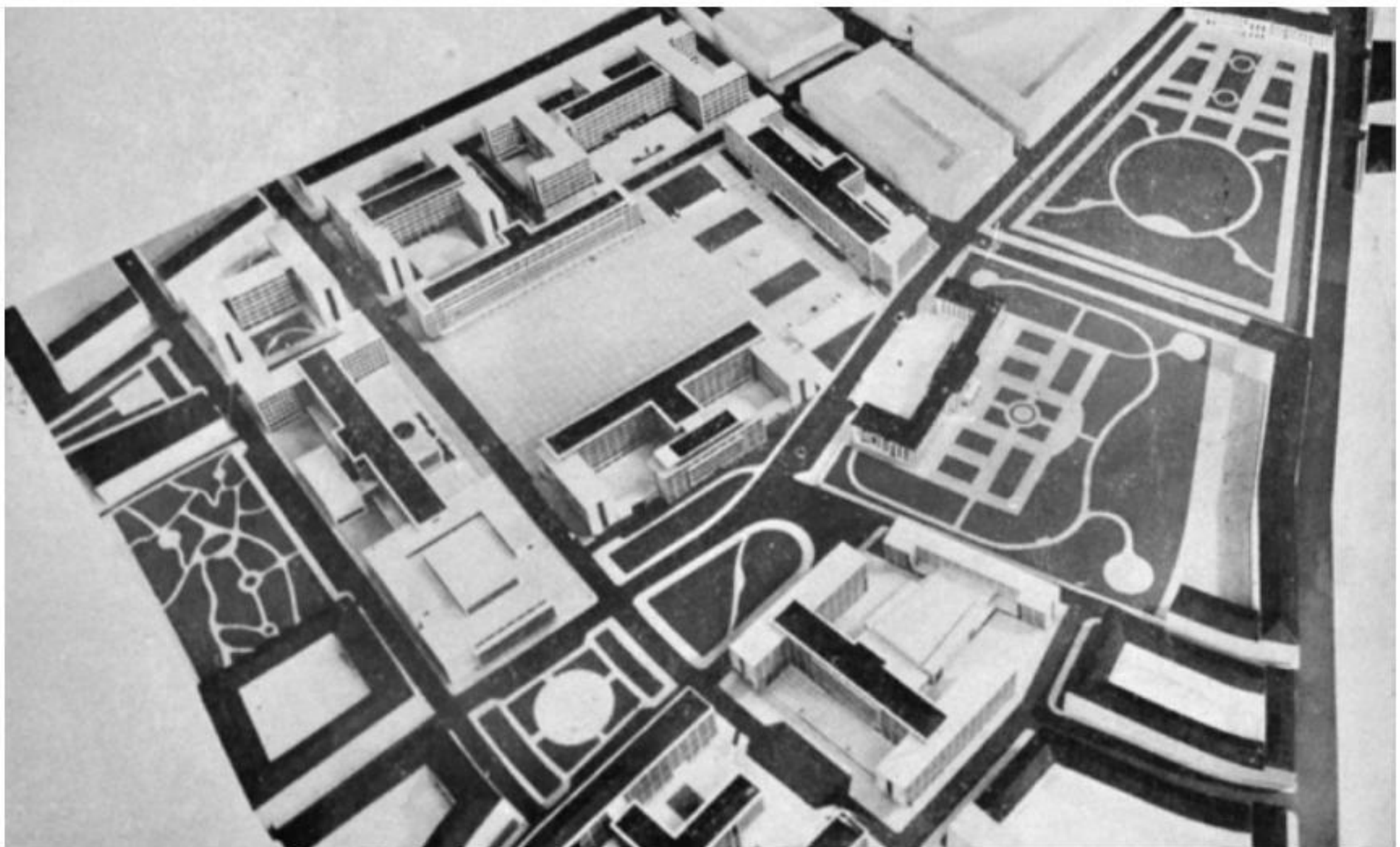
One of the two highest awarded designs in the competition for the Regional Office in Bratislava, František Balcárek, Karel Kopp, Václav Richter, 1929  
Source: Architekt SIA, 1929



Design for the Regional Office in Bratislava, Emil Belluš, Emanuel Hruška, Mikuláš Šesták, 1929  
Source: Stavba 1930



Proposal for locating the Regional Office on Námestie slobody, Josef Gočár, 1938  
 Source: National Technical Museum archives in Prague



The winning competition proposal for the solution of the government district in Bratislava, Josef Gočár, 1943  
 Source: Technický obzor Slovenský, 1943



which paid less attention to monumentality than to the economic usage of the land.<sup>21</sup> Individual offices and ministries, which he conceived as Functionalist right-angled blocks, were concentrated at the centre of the square, both reducing the need for demolition of nearby buildings and simultaneously allowing for the chronological staging of the entire realisation project.<sup>22</sup> Contrasting with his pre-war plan for the Regional Office, Gočár reduced the amount of open space in the square, using the composition of the blocks for its visual unification and closure. As such, he reduced the grandiose effect of the square's sweeping open space, while his composition of equally scaled Functionalist volumes give the area a more restrained appearance.

Indeed, this aesthetic restraint of Gočár's design evidently ensured that contemporary commentators viewed it less favourably than the design awarded second place. Here, the Italian architects Adalberto Libera and Ernesto La Padula precisely captured the yearning of Slovakia's political and even cultural elites for visual grandeur alongside modern progressiveness. The force of their work emerged from the conception of the government buildings as expansive rectangular volumes composed around the edge of the empty interior of the square. A dense structure of vertical windows reinforced the perspectival course of this line of "rational cubes"<sup>23</sup> given by

21 Participants in the competition included Sigfried Theis, Hans Jaksch and Georg Theis, Adalberto Libera and Ernesto La Padula, Josef Gočár and eventually Eugen Kramár and Štefana Lukačovič; Milan Michal Harminc was also invited but never submitted a design. For more on the competition viz. Hrdina, Miroslav: Niekoľko poznámok o postavení architektúry v rámci prvej Slovenskej republiky (1939 – 1945). *Architektúra & urbanizmus*, 44, 2010, no. 1 – 2, p. 81 – 97.

22 Potočár, Marian: Námestie slobody in Bratislava: Continuities and Changes in Architectonic Strategies. In: Moravčíková, Henrieta – Szalay, Peter – Dulla, Matúš – Topolčanská, Maria – Potočár, Marián – Haberlandová, Katarína: *Modern and/or Totalitarian in 20th Century Architecture in Slovakia*. Bratislava, Slovart, 2013, p. 158.

23 *Ibid*, p. 158.

the individual structures, and with almost theatrical illusion stressed the expanse of the open square as well as the monumentality of the hierarchically most important institution in the pro-fascist Slovak State: the central offices of the Slovak People's Party.

Like its predecessors, this competition was fated to remain unrealised, yet strangely the project of the Italian architects anticipated, or more accurately directly influenced, certain later phases of the locality's development. Evaluated in 1943, the competition had been promoted from the outset as preparation for the construction expected at war's end. And as it happened, the first realisations began to give shape to the area of Námestie slobody only after World War II. Already in 1946, a competition was held for the first and still most crucial focal point of the square's architecture, the 'Postal Palace', i.e. the headquarters of the Central Postal Administration. The winners were architects Eugen Kramár and Štefan Lukačovič,<sup>24</sup> who had in fact participated in the wartime competition for the government district. In this case, they did not revise their own earlier competition entry, but transformed, in a kind of paraphrase, the design for the Slovak People's Party headquarters by Libera and La Padula as the underlying element in their composition of the entire complex. This strict Cartesian cubic volume for the postal authority, placed at the square's eastern edge, embodied the new scale of construction in the locality, "allowing for the creation of a square of unexpected dimensions and more open conceptions", in the architects' own words.<sup>25</sup>

24 Their design was selected in a competition held immediately after the war in 1946. -r-: Súťaž na poštovú budovu v Bratislave. *Stavebný obzor*, 1, 1946, no. 5 – 6, p. 4 – 5.

25 Kramár, Eugen – Lukačovič, Štefan: Úprava námestí svobody v Bratislavě. *Architekt SIA*, 46, 1948, p. 60.

### The Return of the University Complex and the Palaces

In the same year as the competition for the Postal Palace, Emil Belluš, then a professor at the newly created architectural faculty at the Slovak Technical University (SVŠT), was appointed as “chief planner for the situation placement of university buildings” for the SVŠT in the locality of Námestie slobody.<sup>26</sup> Belluš assumed that following the ideas of modern functional separation, the area containing the square but also the considerably more “problematic” (densely built with fragmented land ownership) area between Námestie slobody and the State Hospital should be set aside entirely for the university campus, created following a unified plan. Approval for the construction of the postal building, in consequence, he viewed as an “irreversible planning (as well as cultural) error”, if the eastern section of the square would be occupied with the “tower-structure for the post office”, which he viewed as a “misplaced and unrealistic landmark”.<sup>27</sup>

Yet in the end, Belluš decided not to put his efforts into opposing the Postal Palace, but instead integrated it into his composition of the SVŠT campus, while retaining its dominant visual character. In Belluš’s plans, which the university had formulated into a cast-bronze model in 1948, we can see clearly that the architect equally respected the Archbishops’ Palace not only as historic heritage but even more as a reference object for his entire complex.<sup>28</sup> The ensemble of pavilions for the

separate technical facilities was conceived for none of them to exceed the height level of the palace. And, much as in the earlier project by the Hungarian architects Kertész and Sváb, Belluš’s composition also bears traces of the idea of the pavilions paraphrasing a ‘cour d’honneur’ opening towards the Baroque palace. Unlike his precursors, though, Belluš worked in an entirely different scale: his courtyard was outlined as the entire area of Námestie slobody and the main part of the complex was situated into the densely built-up block between the streets Mýtina and Radlinského.

Belluš’s “personal ‘enchantment’ with the freestanding block, derived from the formation of the Baroque palace and its pavilion layout”<sup>29</sup> was analysed previously by Jarmila Bencová primarily in the case of his ‘Pavilion of Theoretical Institutes’ (now the STU Faculty of Architecture). Yet this pavilion remained the architect’s sole realisation on the entire campus: the remaining parts of the Technical University were created piecemeal up until the 1980s by other architects.<sup>30</sup> While they essentially adhered to the outline of the complex and the height level of the pavilions as set by Belluš, his ideas for the internal composition of this expansive city block remained unfollowed. The original plan from 1948 assumed the creation of an inner court with a botanical garden and symmetrically planned smaller pavilions for the laboratories. Entrance into this courtyard would have passed through the wings of the separate faculty

26 Belluš was assigned this task on 3. 12. 1946 by the university’s then rector, Štefan Bella. Cited from Dulla, M., 2010, p. 252.

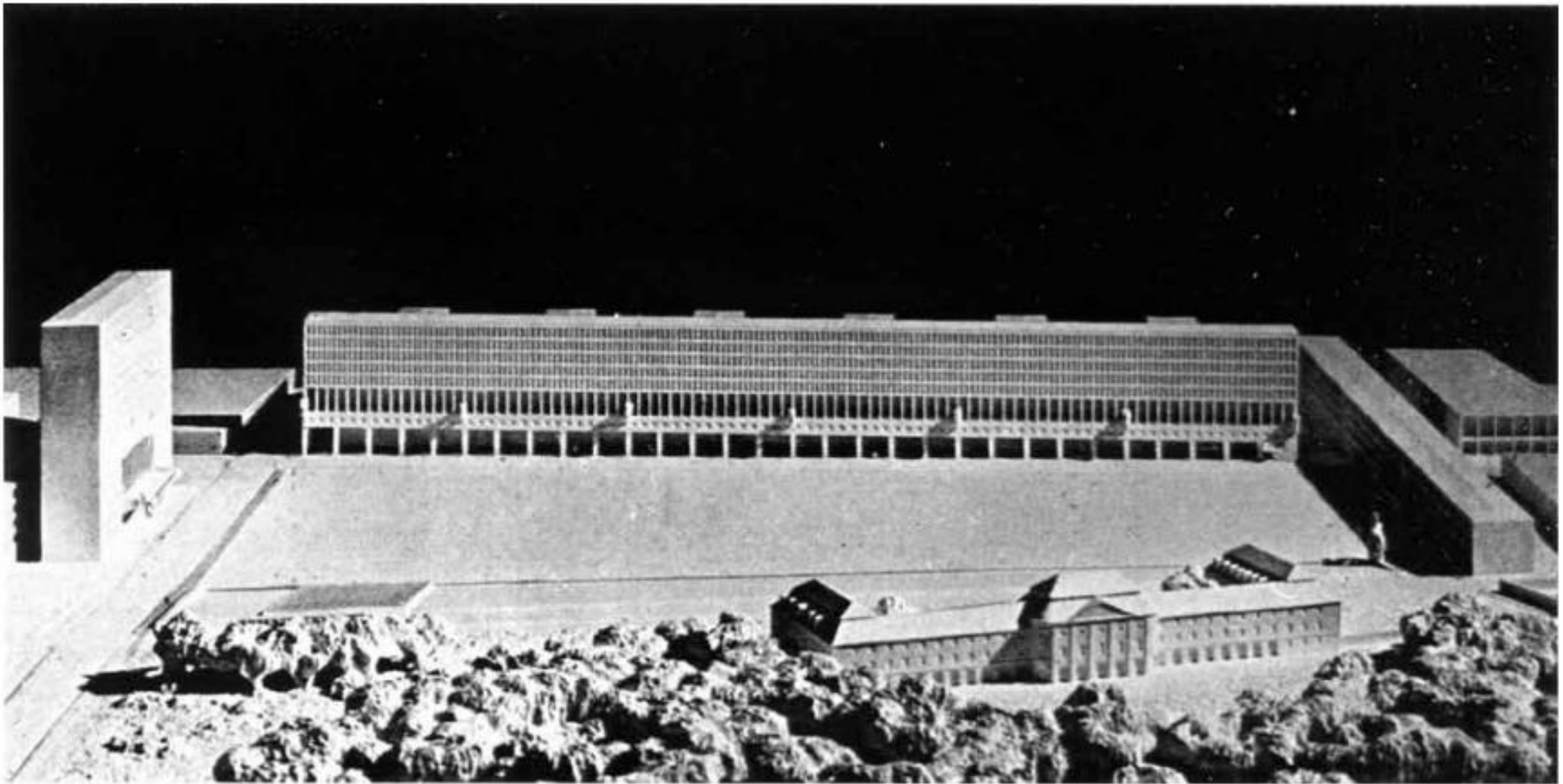
27 Quote from a letter from Emil Belluš to the SVŠT administration from 1950, from Dulla, M., 2010, p. 252.

28 The most detailed history of Belluš’s plan for the SVŠT campus was analysed by Bencová, Jarmila – Zervan, Marian: Belluš

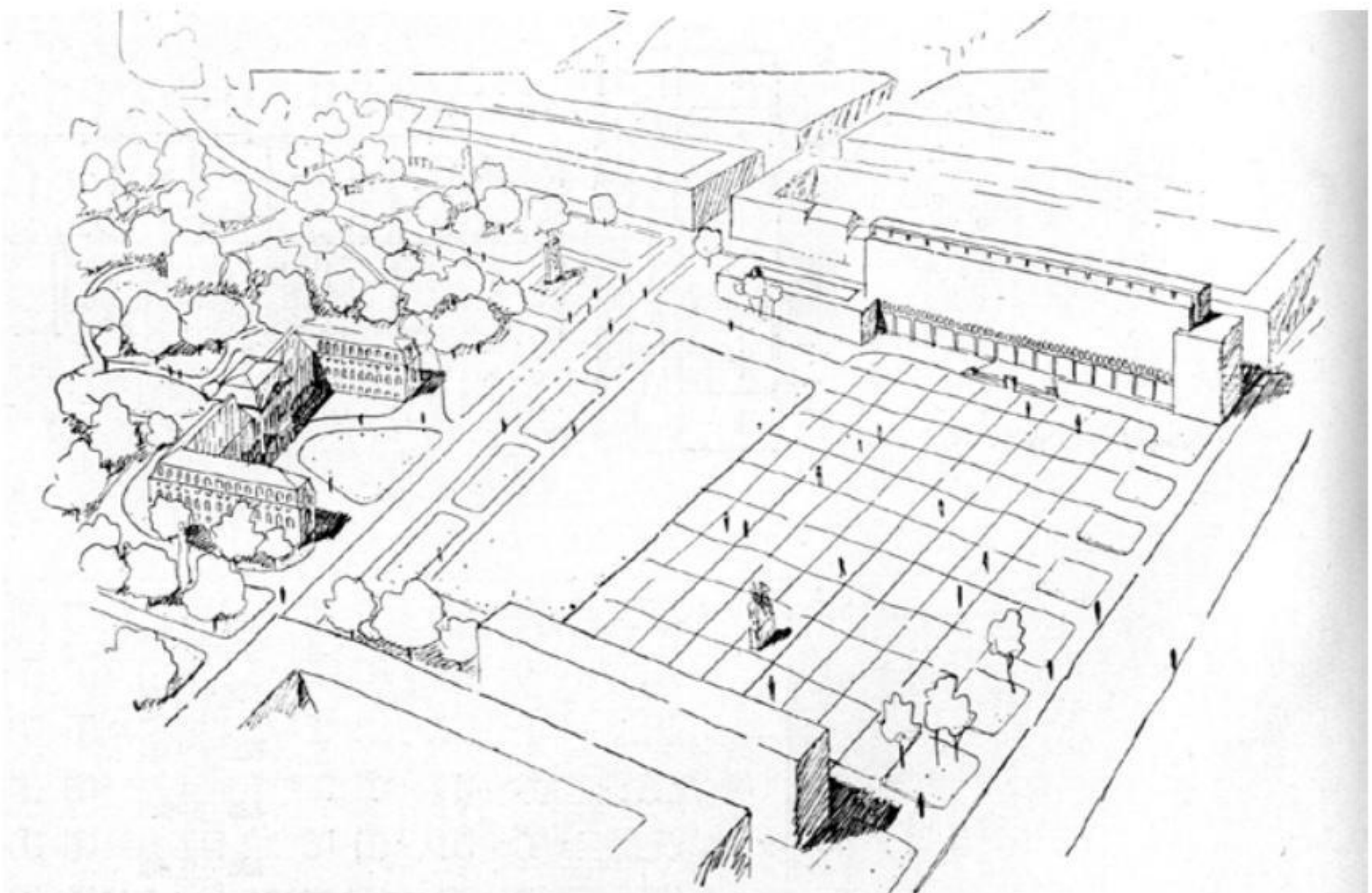
škole a škola Bellušovi. Catalogue to commemorate the centenary of Emil Belluš. Martin, 1999, p. 24 – 25.

29 Bencová, J., 1999, p. 43.

30 Vladimír Karfík: Faculty of Chemical and Food Technology (1947 – 1950), Martin Kusý and collective: Faculty of Mechanical Engineering (1957 – 1963), Otakar Černý and collective: Faculty of Civil Engineering (1974) and finally Igor Diklič, Jozef Liščák and Juraj Lupták: addition to the Faculty of Chemical and Food Technology (1977 – 1983).



Competition proposal for the solution of the government district in Bratislava, 2nd prize, Adalberto Libera, Ernesto Lapadula, 1943  
Source: Technický obzor Slovenský, 1943



Competition proposal for the building of Central Postal Administration, Eugen Kramár, Štefan Lukačovič, 1946  
Source: Architekt ČSR, 1947

buildings, conceived as palace forms with a centrally placed monumental entrance and on the east side a caesura between the wings, leading to Vallónská ulica as the core of the original built structuring of the locality. Thanks to the delays in building the individual faculties, the idea of an imposing palace courtyard with a park and smaller laboratory structures vanished, and the campus was formulated as a city block with an inner court inaccessible to the public, containing more or less temporary structures.

The construction of the Technical University campus (STU instead of SVŠT since 1991) can now, in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, be regarded as finished. Yet the idea of an architecturally unified complex remains incomplete, both in architectural and planning terms. Even the administrative building planned to stand in the campus's centre was never realised: even today, the administrative offices are located in the former School of Applied Arts in Vazovova ulica.<sup>31</sup> Yet if the rendition of the original plans appears fragmentary and vague, these qualities are nonetheless established characteristics of the campus, and even grant it a sense of vitalising incompleteness.

## THE AXIS

The long park axis of a central road articulated by rows of trees, symmetrically composed plantings and garden elements, along with the strict functional separation of individual vegetative types in Baroque landscaping practice, has been interpreted by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter in their book *Collage City* as the era's critique of the chance formulation of pre-modern settlements,

<sup>31</sup> The School of Applied Arts building by Alois Balán and Jiří Grossmann was built in 1928 – 1933, but already by 1939 was occupied by the SVŠT after its re.

and a prefiguration of the engineering rationality of Modernist planning.<sup>32</sup>

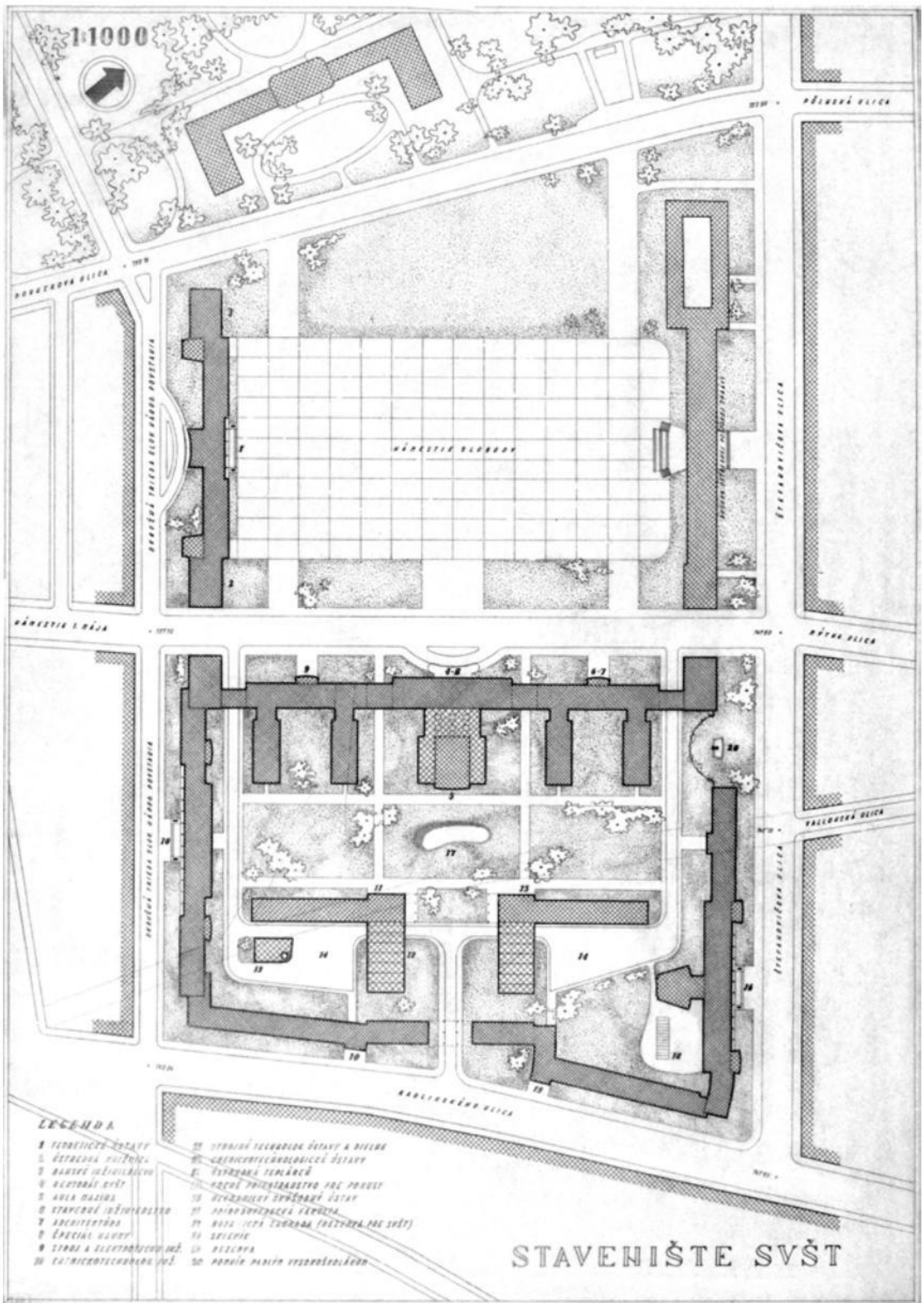
Indeed, the figure of the park-alley formed a characteristic element of the northern 'palace-suburbs' of Bratislava, not restricted to the palace gardens but applied no less in the public spaces. Today's Námestie slobody was articulated with the typically Baroque pattern of forking and branching tree-lined alleys, all converging towards the entrance area before the palace of the Archbishop of Esztergom. Attesting to the deep roots of this element in collective memory is that even a century after the trees were felled, the square was still known as 'Fürstenallee', i.e. the Princely Alley.

The idea of creating or inserting central axes into the urban fabric naturally appeared even in the first regulatory plans for Bratislava at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup> Again, it was the Hungarian planner Antal Palóczi who in 1907 sketched out a vision of "one of the most important main urban boulevards presenting the future of the city", imagined as a "modern straight line" running from Mlynské nivy up to the square in front of the Grassalkovich Palace.<sup>34</sup> And in counterpart, the line of an imposing tree-lined boulevard connecting the Archbishops' Palace with the present 'Medical Garden' provided the central compositional principle in the slightly earlier competition entry for the Empress Elizabeth University complex. A striking use of the motif of an

<sup>32</sup> Rowe, Colin – Koetter, Fred: *Collage City*. Cambridge and London, MIT Press, 1978, p. 87 – 89.

<sup>33</sup> Viz. Moravčíková, Henrieta – Pastoreková, Laura – Lovra, Éva: Červený alebo modrý? Začiatky moderného plánovania Bratislavy. *Architektúra & urbanizmus*, 51, 2017, no. 1 – 2, p. 31 – 42.

<sup>34</sup> Palóczi, Antal: Pozsonyi szabad király város szabályozásáról. In: *Város szabályozási kérdések. Két előadások*, Palóczi Antal tanár és Helmár Ágoston tanár. Pozsony, Angermayer Károly, 1908, 45 pp., p. 17.



Master plan for Slovak Technical University (SVŠT) on Námestie slobody, Emil Belluš, 1948  
 Source: Slovak National gallery



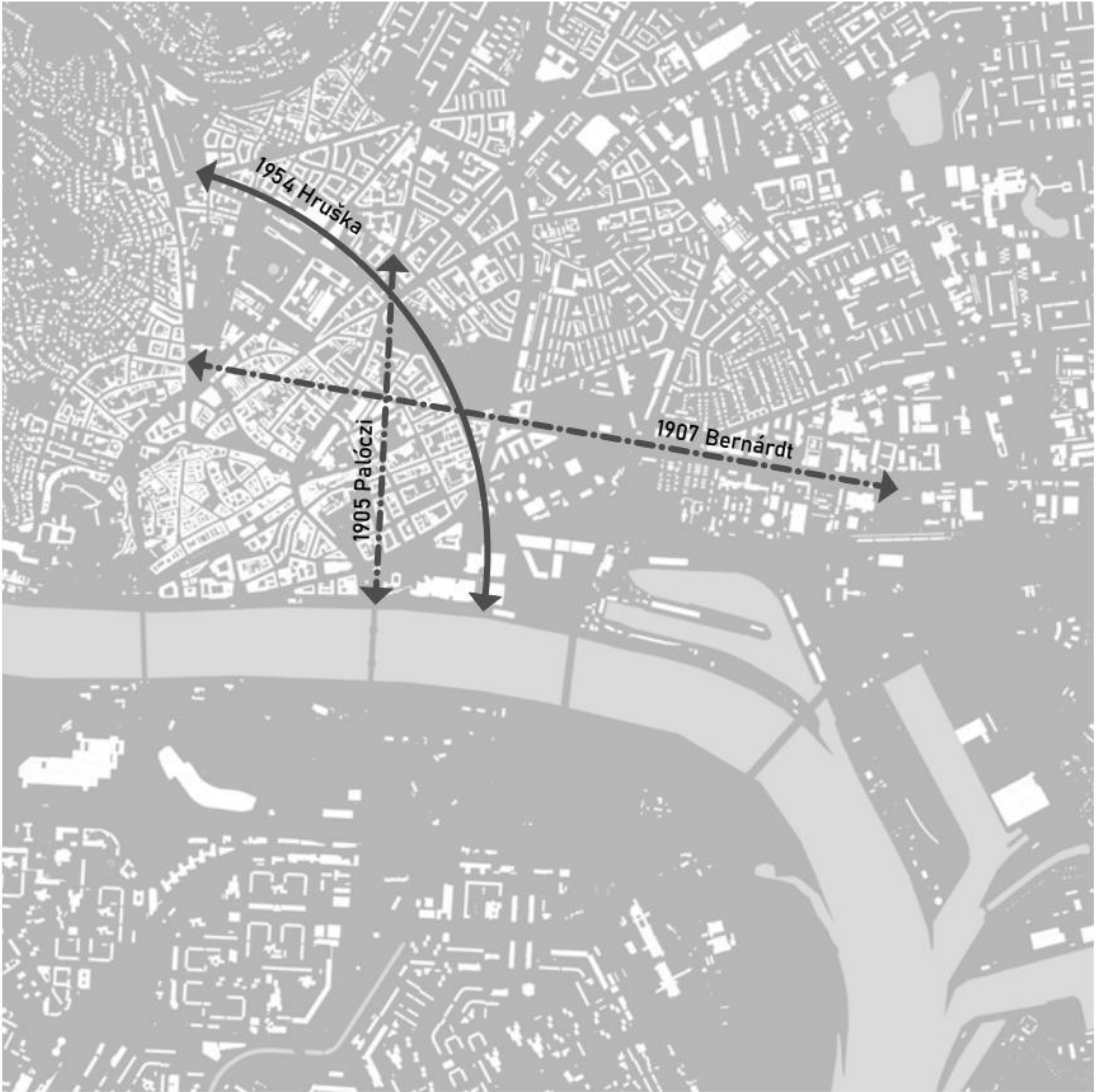
A view of Slovak Technical University (SVŠT) during the construction of the Faculty of Civil Engineering, 1974  
Source: Slovak National Archives, STK Fund



A view of Námestie slobody, around 1970  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



Aerial view of Bratislava with Slavín and Námestie slobody in the background, 1974  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



Three different concepts of situating the transverse compositional axis in the urban structure



axial boulevard connecting the open areas of the gardens of aristocratic summer palaces was used by Palóczy again in his regulatory plan for Bratislava in 1914.

An axis running to the same part of the city was also mooted by Viktor (Győző) Bernárdt in his proposed regulatory plan from 1905, where one of the three new avenues was planned to run from the present 'Old Bridge' (Starý Most) up to the Blumentál Church. Though his plan has not survived, the form of this axis can be deduced at least from comments in the contemporary press.<sup>35</sup> Situating the axis at the centre of a proposed outer ring boulevard and at the intersection of another radial pointing toward the northeast would seem to indicate that the architect assumed the emergence in this area of the central space of a rapidly changing suburb.

#### The New Centre of Greater Bratislava and Its Transverse Links

The need for creating a new modern city centre to the east of the historic core emerged in more definite contours after the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic. Architects Alois Balán and Jiří Grossmann, and later Josef Marek and Kamil Gross proposed this new city centre on the area of today's squares Americké and Odborárske námestie.<sup>36</sup> Located at the imaginary centre between the original city's social-commercial core on the square

<sup>35</sup> The plan has not survived, though Bernárdt's 'memorandum' was published in a local Hungarian-language daily –Nyugatmagyarországi híradó. Bernárdt, Győző: Pozsony város szabályozása. Egy memorandum s az arra vonatkozó hivatalos vélemény. Nyugatmagyarországi Híradó, 17, 23. 9. 1905, no. 216, p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Balán, Alois – Grossmann, Jiří: Regulační studie velké Bratislavy. Časopis čsl. architektů SIA, 25, 1926, no. 3, p. 40; Marek, Josef: Súčasná smernice plánovania miest, vonkova a skutočnosť. Slovenský staviteľ, 6, 1936, no. 5, p. 141; Gross, Kamil: Obchodné mestské štvrte – obchodný dom Bohuslav Brouk v Bratislave. Slovenský staviteľ, 6, 1936, no. 11, p. 325 – 326.

now known as Námestie SNP and the outer border of the historic city outlined by the streets Šancova, Karadžičova and Trnavské mýto, this site was regarded as the most suitable locality for the modern centre primarily in the context of the branching eastern radials. On this site, Balán and Grossmann proposed a new city centre in 1926, where the dominant landmark at the focal point of the branching roadways would have been the imposing volume of the City Hall. Moreover, they regarded as vital to the formulation of Greater Bratislava the creation of transverse connecting roads, which would have connected the extant radials reaching outward from the Danube to the slopes of the Lesser Carpathians. Yet the main connecting point in several variants led, in fact, through the square now named Americké námestie. These connecting routes, though, were never intended to be new urban boulevards broken through extant built fabric but formed the gradual widening and regulation of already extant streets.<sup>37</sup>

One year after publishing a more thoroughgoing vision of Bratislava's regulation from these two Czech-born architects, the tract of land known as the 'Walterskirchen plots' between the current Odborárske námestie and Blumentál was transferred to the 'Cooperative for Residential Housing Construction in Bratislava'. This group initiated a competition for a modern apartment block, leading to the realisation of one of the city's most important Functionalist structures, the Avion apartments. And in preparing for this situation, the city regulatory department prepared a partial renovation of the square as well as the roadways: as part of the creation of a rectangular square in front of the

<sup>37</sup> These connecting routes can be identified in the architects' original plans from 1921 and 1923, as well as their competition entry for the regulatory plan from 1929. Viz. Štěpánová, Soňa: Veľká Bratislava architektov Aloisa Balána a Jiřího Grossmanna. Architektúra & urbanizmus, 53, 2019, no. 1 – 2, p. 88 – 102.

apartment block, they proposed the insertion of a 24-m-wide transverse connection with all parameters of an urban boulevard. This road was planned to run northwards towards Námestie slobody and through it to the rail station. To the south, it would have cut through the Medical Garden and then merged with the present-day Ulica 29. augusta.

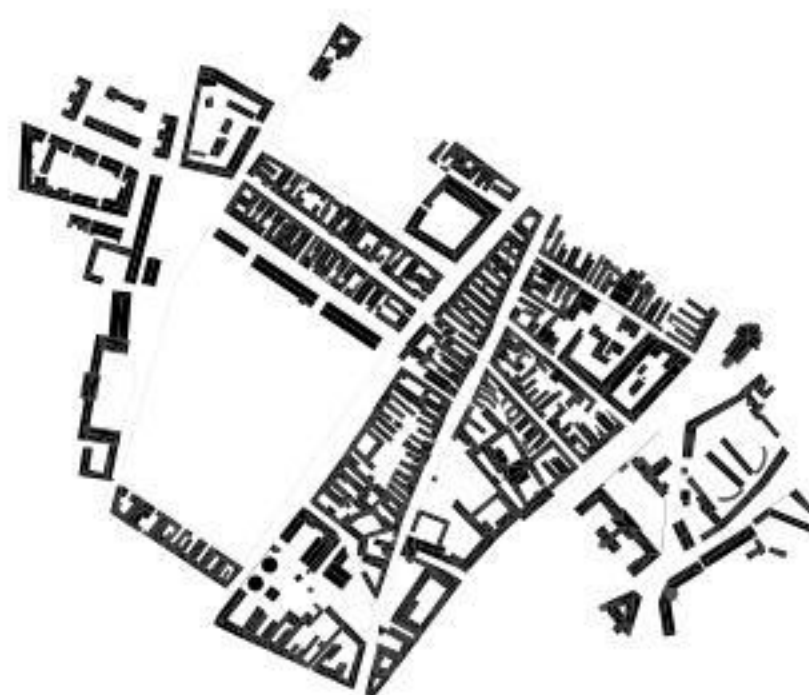
However, neither the unification of Americké námestie through including the grounds of the State Hospital nor the insertion of a new roadway through extant construction as imagined by the regulatory experts ever took place. The transverse road link outlined with frequent interventions by the regulatory department was, for the first time, situated in a position along which, after World War II, one of the most frequently discussed urban-planning proposals of the city was to be developed – the transverse axis.

The Axis as a Compositional Element of the Entire City

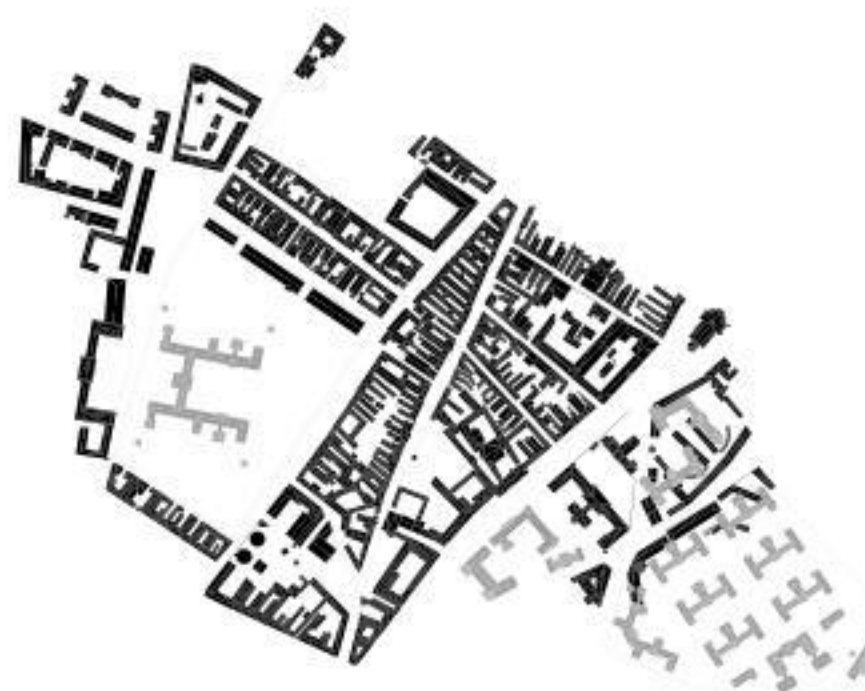
Indeed, after 1945 the transverse axis formed one of the most significant phenomena in Bratislava's urban planning. Though discussed in many texts and even included as part of land-use planning, individual urban designers tended to differ in their views of its delineation and form. The influential urban theorist Emanuel Hruška was allegedly the first to apply the term 'transverse axis' to the discussion on the north-south transport link for the city's central area.<sup>38</sup> In his view, though, the axis was not imagined as the shortest throughway from the rail station to the Danube river-port, but as a 'green compositional axis'<sup>39</sup> that linked the

38 As recalled by planner Milan Hladký. Hladký, Milan: Sedem plánov pre Bratislavu. Projekt, 13, 1971, no. 164, p. 182

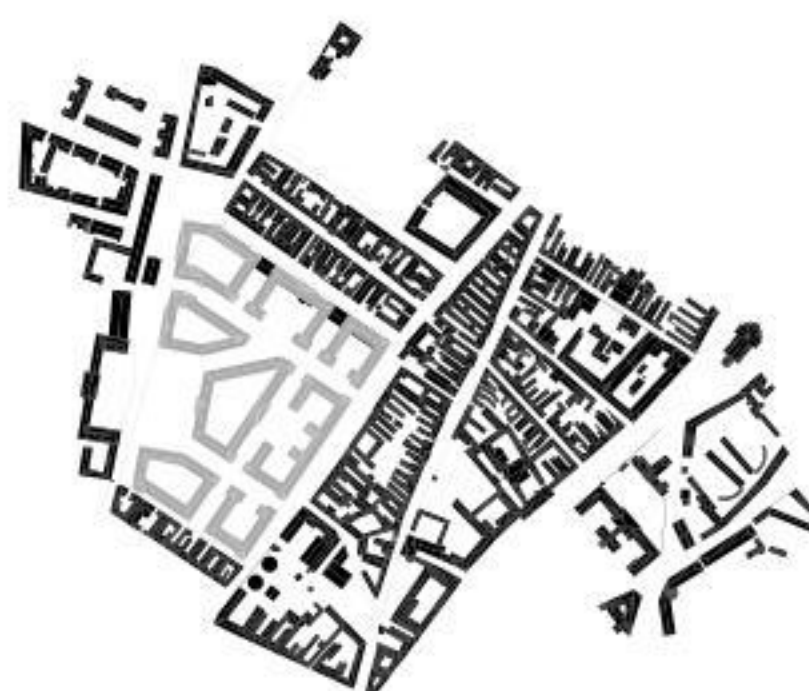
39 Hruška, Emanuel: Problémy súčasného urbanizmu.



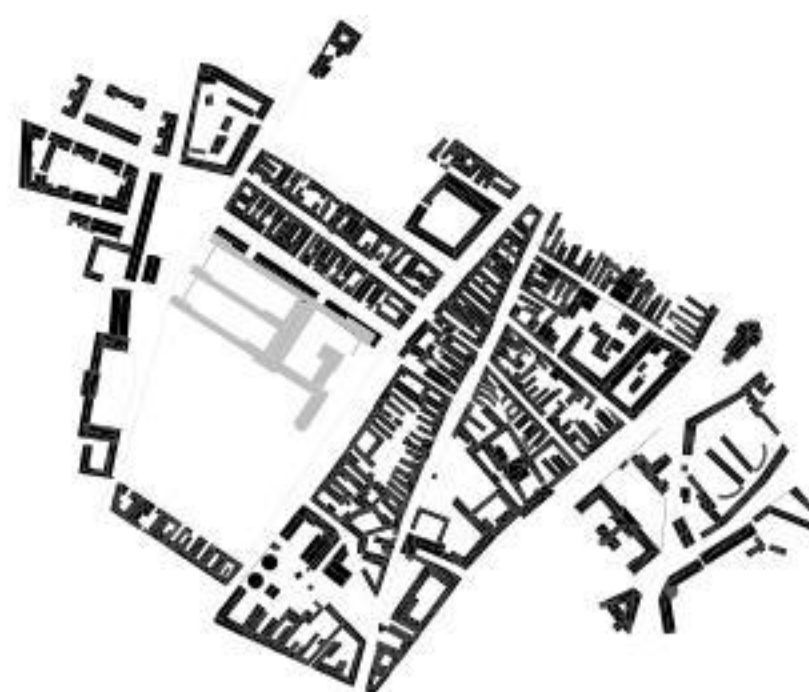
1910



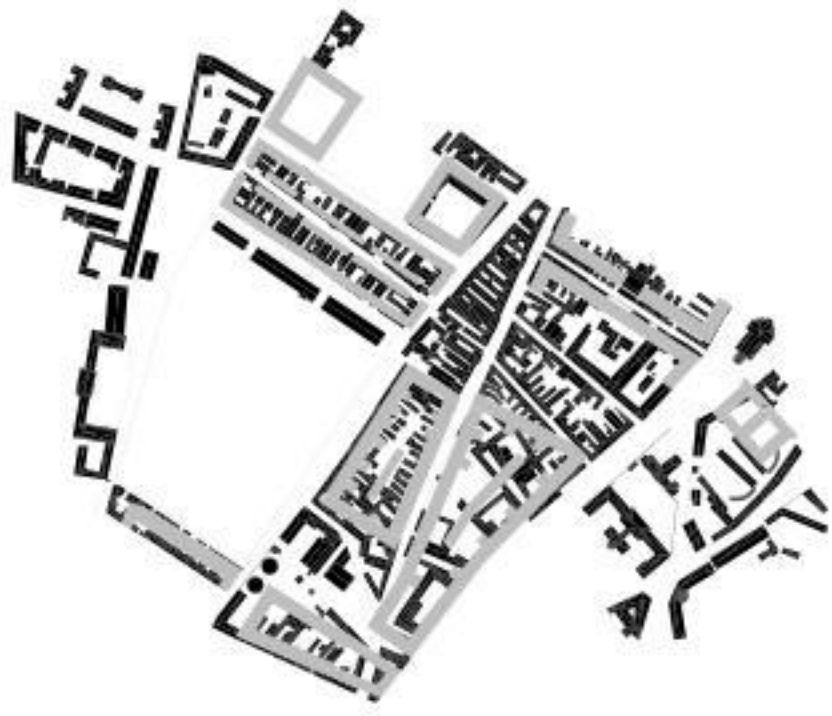
Competition design for Empress Elizabeth University, Flóris Korb, 1913



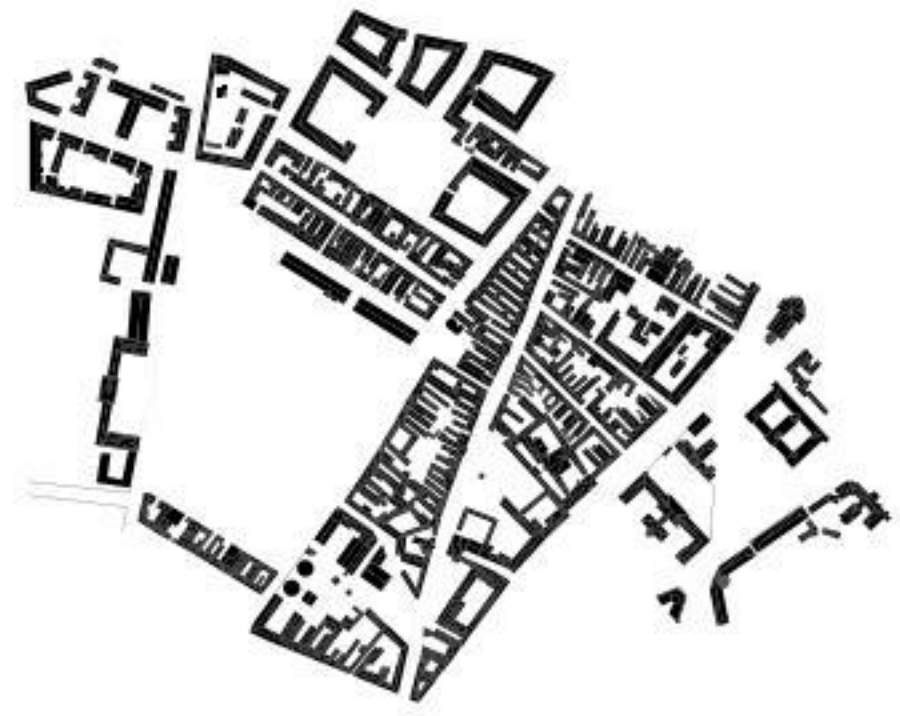
Master plan for the government district on Námestie slobody, R. Kříženecký, 1920



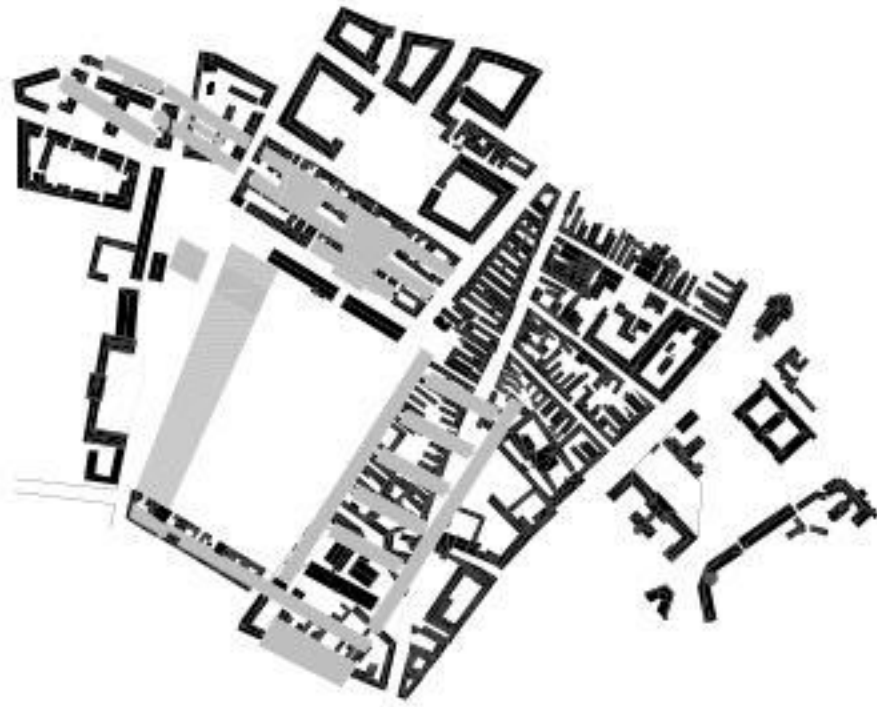
Competition design for the Regional Office in Bratislava, F. Balcárek, K. Kopp, V. Richter, 1929



Regulation and Construction Guidelines from years 1926 - 1941



1940



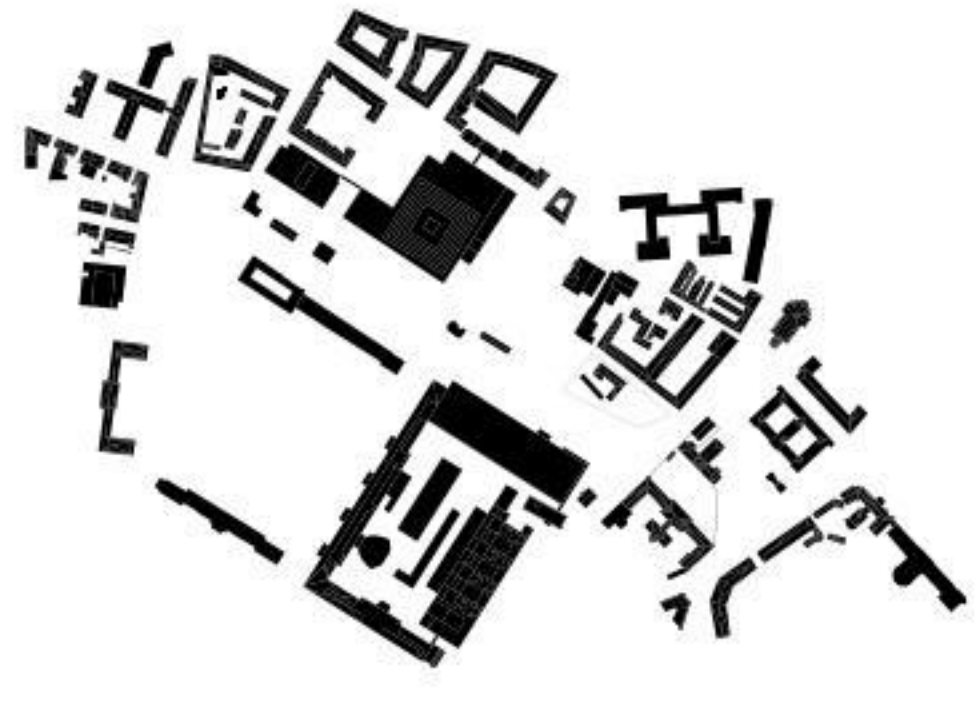
Competition proposal for the government district in Bratislava, A. Libera, E. Lapadula, 1943



Master plan for Slovak Technical University (SVŠT), E. Belluš, 1948



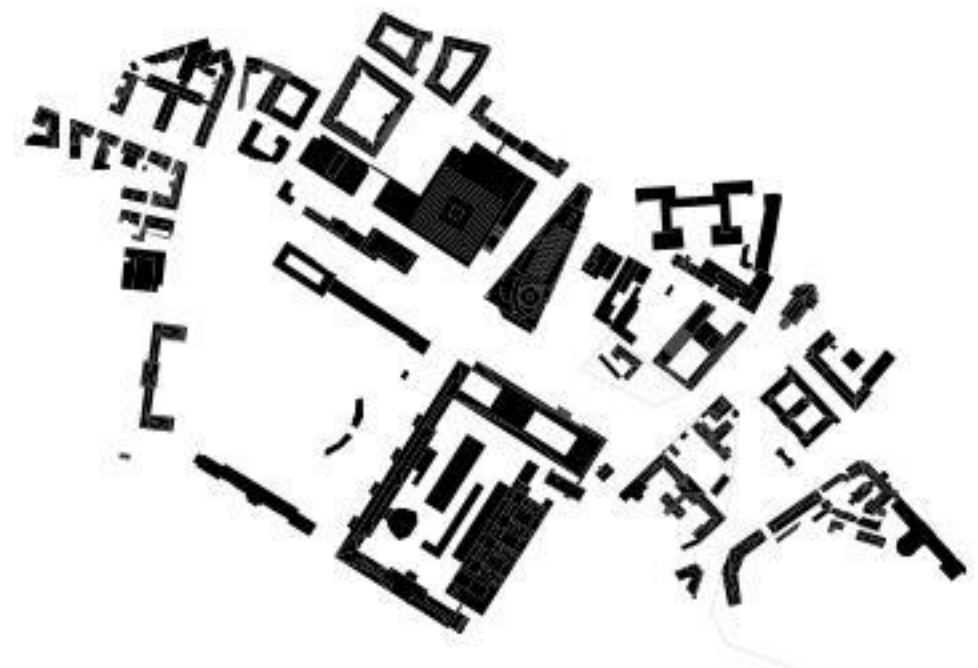
Competition proposal for the Building of Planning Office, J. Havlíček, K. Filsak, 1950



1980

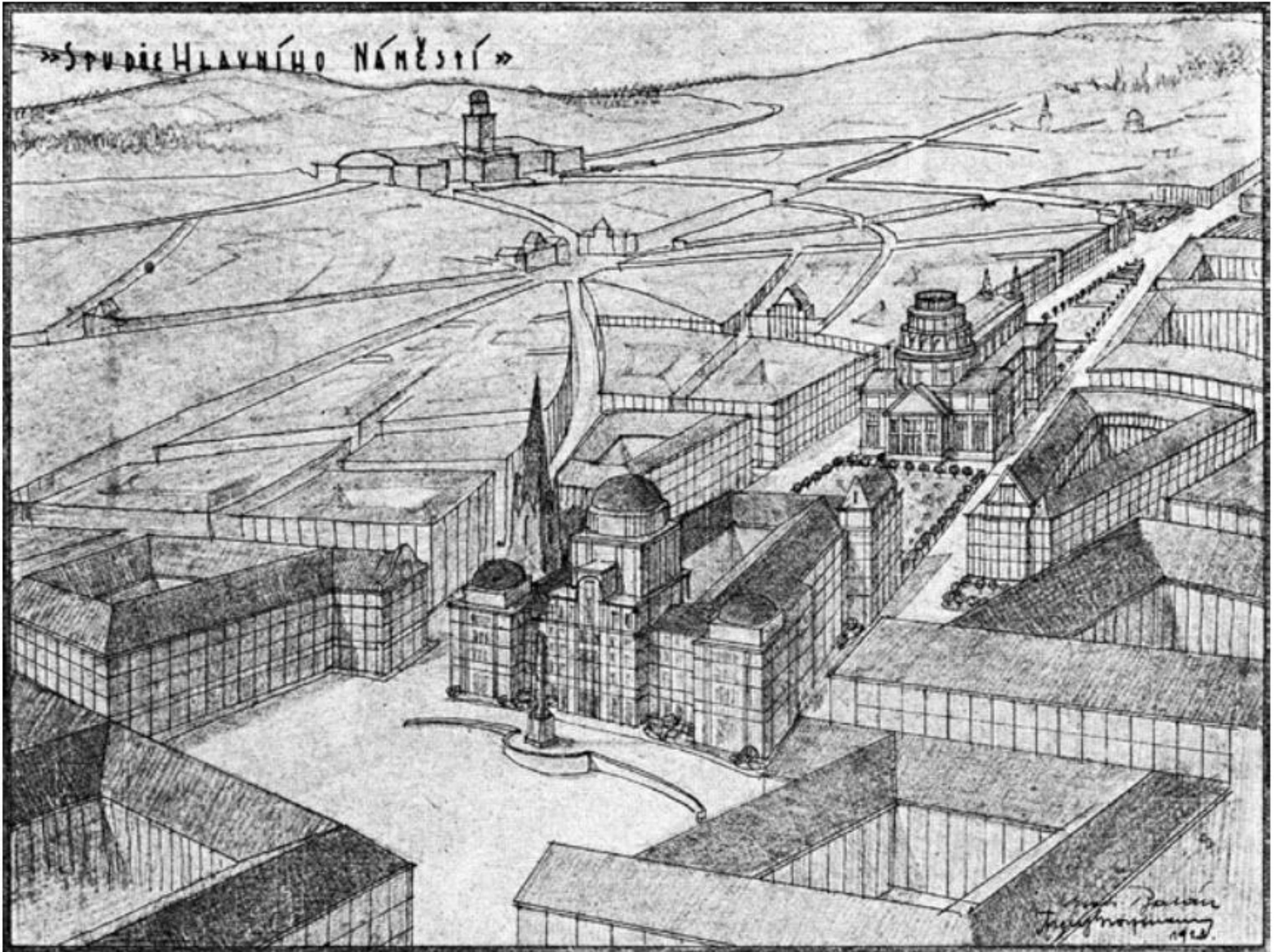


Masshousing Starohorská project, Š. Svetko, B. Džadoň, 1982



2019

The planned and the actual transformation of the north-eastern urban structure during the 20th century



Design for the Bratislavas new main square, Alois Balán, Jiří Grossmann, 1926  
Source: Architekt SIA, 1926



The so-called Walterkirchen yard on today's Americké námestie, 1915  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



Residential block Avion, Josef Marek, around 1932  
Source: Bratislava City Archives

extant parks and public spaces into a tree-lined boulevard leading from the rail station and continuing through the gardens of the Archbishops' and Aspremont Palaces, the St. Andrew's Cemetery (Ondrejský cintorín) up into a new park planned to replace the industrial area between Karadžičova and Košická ulica.

The idea of creating a greenbelt of 'forests and meadows' (Wald- und Wiesengürtel) linking the riverbank to the forests of the Lesser Carpathians was discussed in lectures by Antal Palóczy.<sup>40</sup> Alois Balán and Jiří Grossman had a similar idea in their 1923 plan, forming a boulevard running around the perimeter of the centre to the site where they recommended removing the rail line.<sup>41</sup> Yet it was only Emanuel Hruška who shifted this element, in the spirit of the post-war change in urban-planning paradigms, towards a wider regional or landscape planning sensibility, as a symbolic gesture of inserting a compositional axis that would separate the planning of the modern city centre as well as (in the sense of landscape morphology) bringing together the rising hills of the Lesser Carpathians and the Danube lowlands.

Later, the idea of a transverse axis was taken up by employees of the State Design Institute and later by the Office of the Chief Architect of Bratislava, which formulated the first post-war 'directive land-use plans'.<sup>42</sup> Ján Šteller, one of the team of planners working from the mid-1950s onwards on the

preparation of this document, defined the axis as a "transverse greenbelt with a row of public buildings".<sup>43</sup> According to the directive plan, the composition of which Šteller outlined in the article, the new connecting part of this park strip was to have emerged right in the area between the squares now known as námestie Franza Liszta and Americké námestie. Four years later, in 1963, this site, located quite close to Námestie slobody, was selected by competition as the best site for construction of the radio building. The idea of a park axis or even a modern garden city began gradually to shift to the vision of a hypermodern, multi-layered structure.

#### A Fragment of the Vertical City

"Transport segregation, separation of motor traffic from corridor streets, exclusion of street lines from construction lines, strict differentiation of transport types and restoring rights to pedestrians in the city:"<sup>44</sup> these words set Emanuel Hruška's basic requirements for preventing the city from 'dis-urbanisation'. This vision of a multi-layered urban structure, a 'vertical city' that would spare the streets and squares from the tumult of motor traffic, formed a continuation of the ideas foreshadowed even by Antal Palóczy, when he recommended routing the rail line through Bratislava as an elevated track and making the castle accessible by a cable car. Construction of a megastructure intended as a system of terraces and plateaus to reduce traffic noise would also have allowed for liberation from the immediate architectonic context, indeed a kind of technical replacement for the *tabula rasa* of

---

Bratislava, Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1966, p. 320.

40 Palóczy, A., 1908, p. 15.

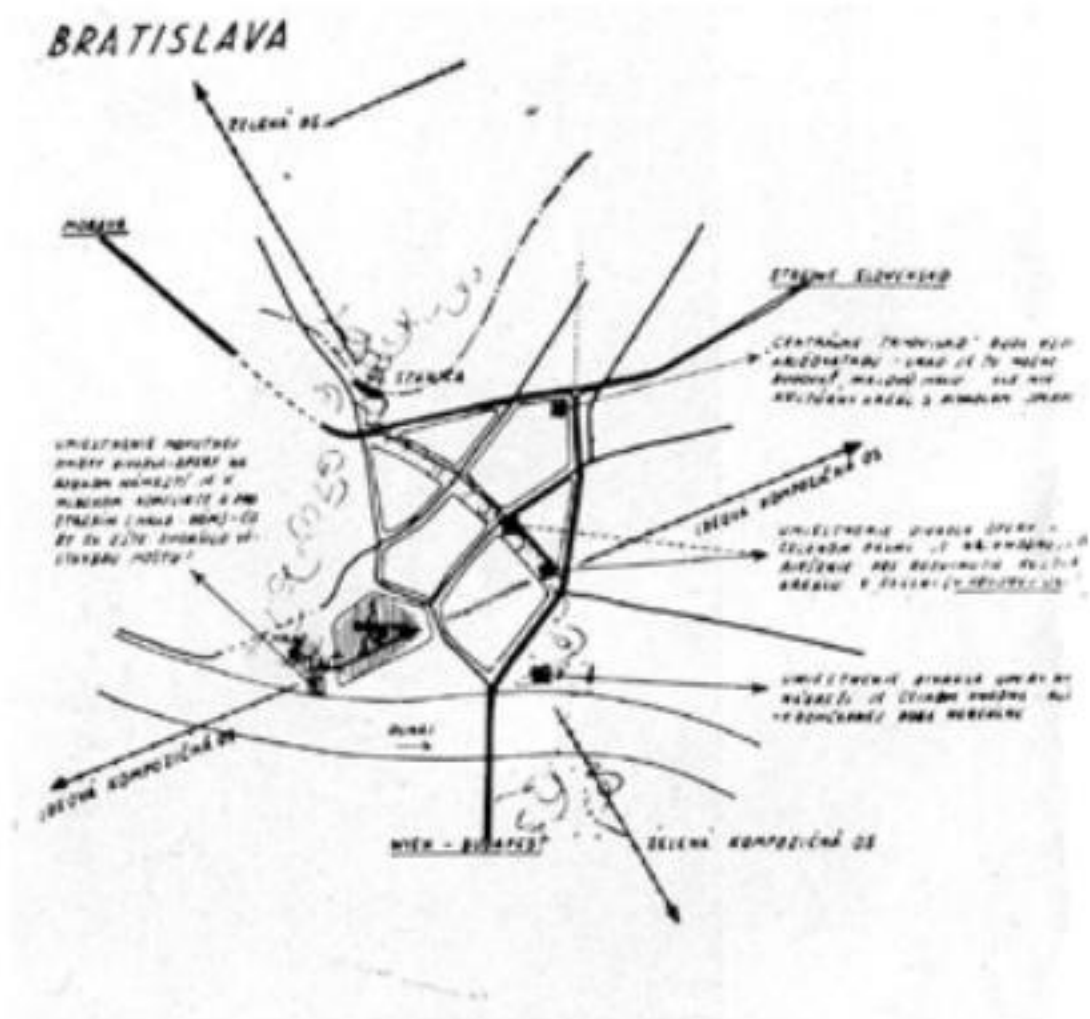
41 Viz. Ščepánová, S., 2019, p. 95.

42 From the first directive plan by Kamil Gross (1949) up to the first officially approved plan created under the guidance of Milan Beňuška at the Office of the Chief Architect in 1963, the creation of a transverse axis was assumed. note Beňuška, Milan: Od priameho plánu po dnes. Projekt, 33, 1992, no. 7 - 8, p. 4 - 18.

---

43 Šteller, Ján: Kompozičné zásady smerného plánu. Architektura ČSR, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 29.

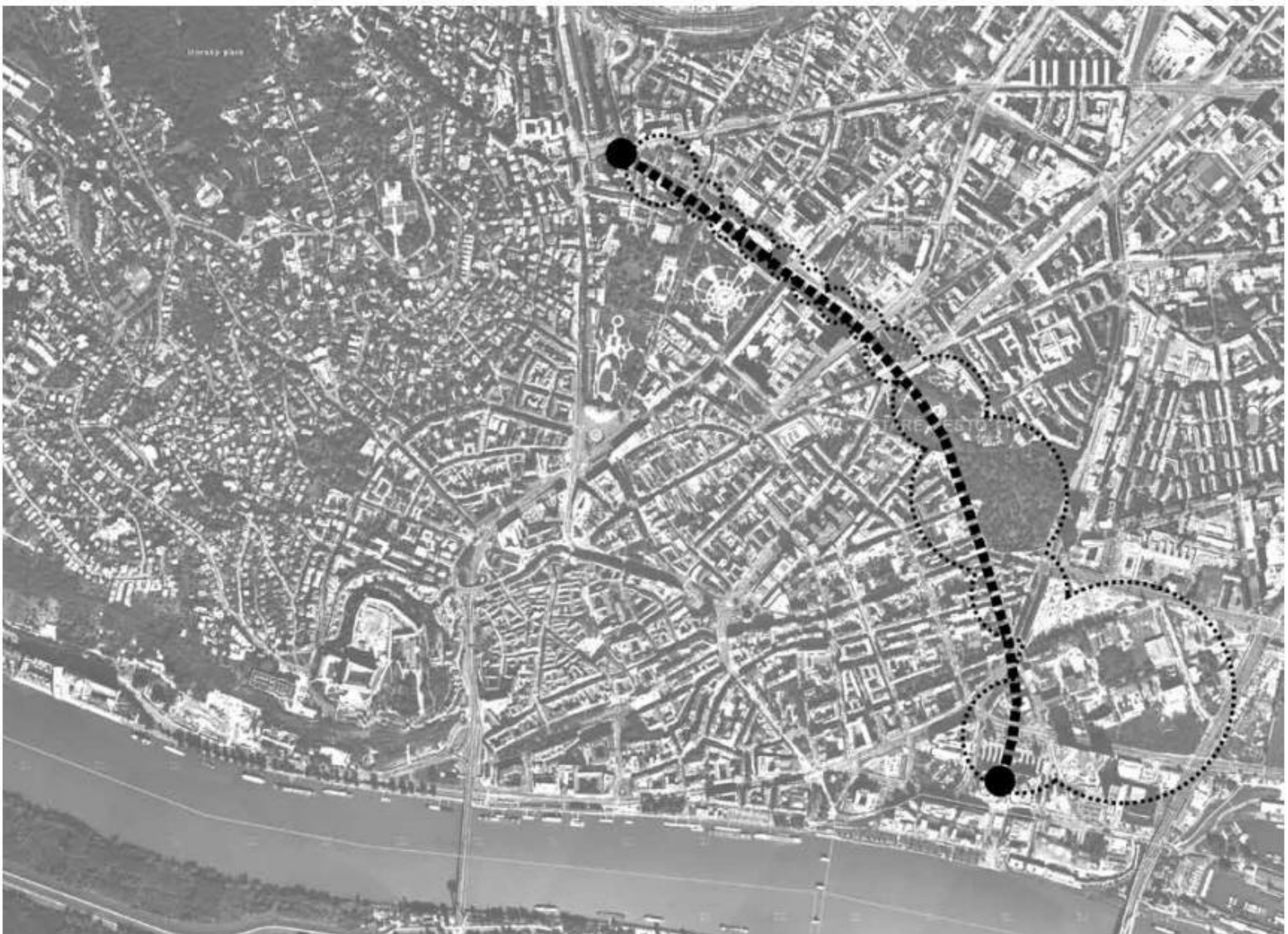
44 Hruška, Emanuel: Poznámky k problémům města. 1963, p. 9, Archive of the Slovak National Gallery, personal funds, Emanuel Hruška, box 15.



Sketch of the basic composition directions of the Bratislava city center, Emanuel Hruška  
Source: Hruška E. 1966, p. 320



Sketch of the planned city communication framework with National Theater location variants, Emanuel Hruška  
Source: Hruška E. 1966, p. 320



A sketch of the green transverse axis according to the concept of Emanuel Hruška marked in the current orthophoto of the city

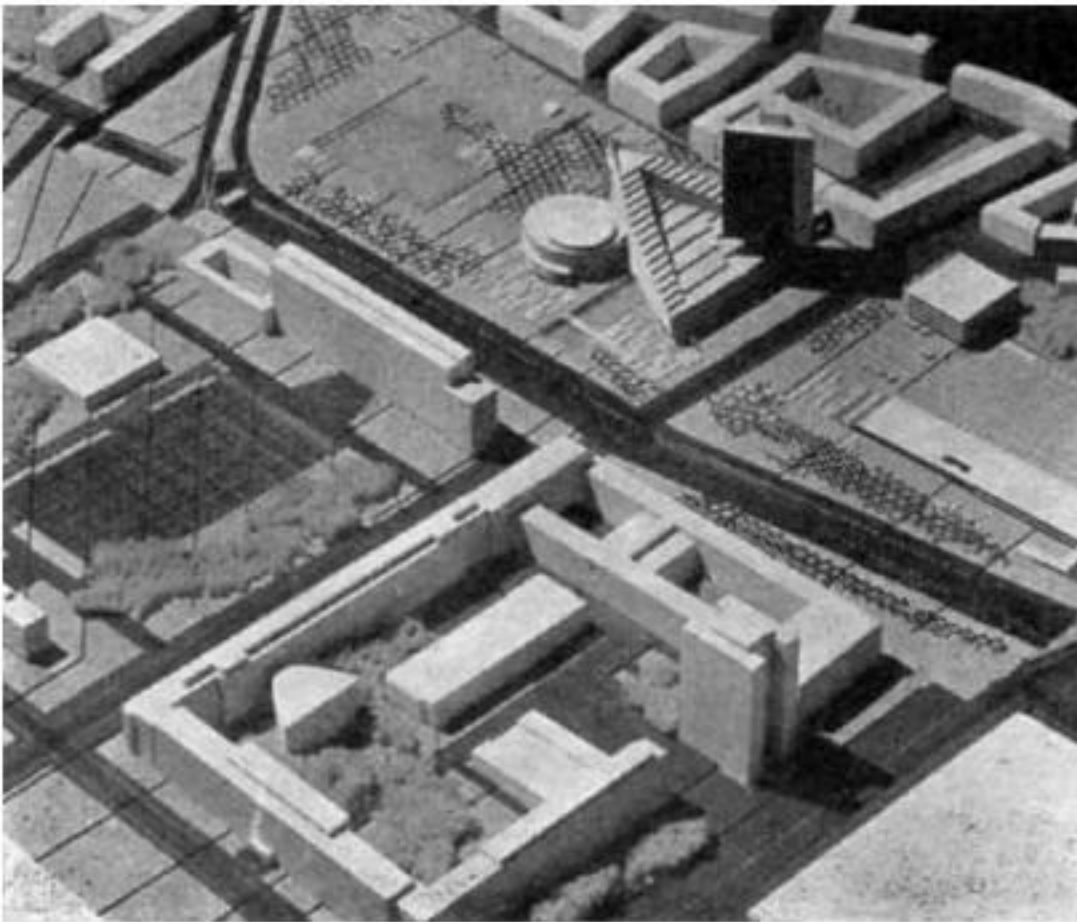


Directive plan for Bratislava, Milan Hladký et al., 1956  
Source: Projekt, 1962

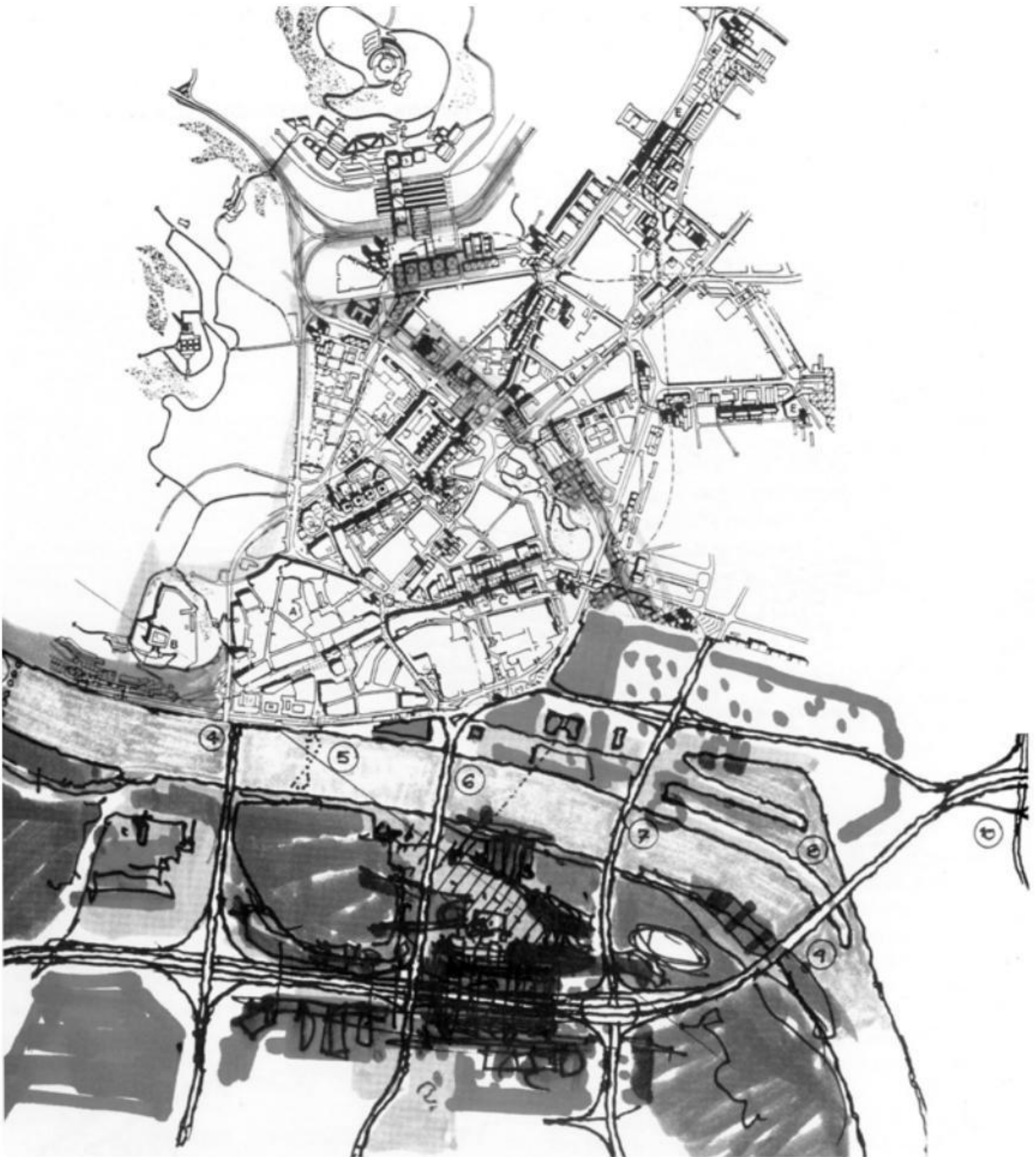




The highest award proposal for the location of Slovak Radio in Bratislava, Juraj Chorvát et al., 1963  
Source: Projekt, 1963



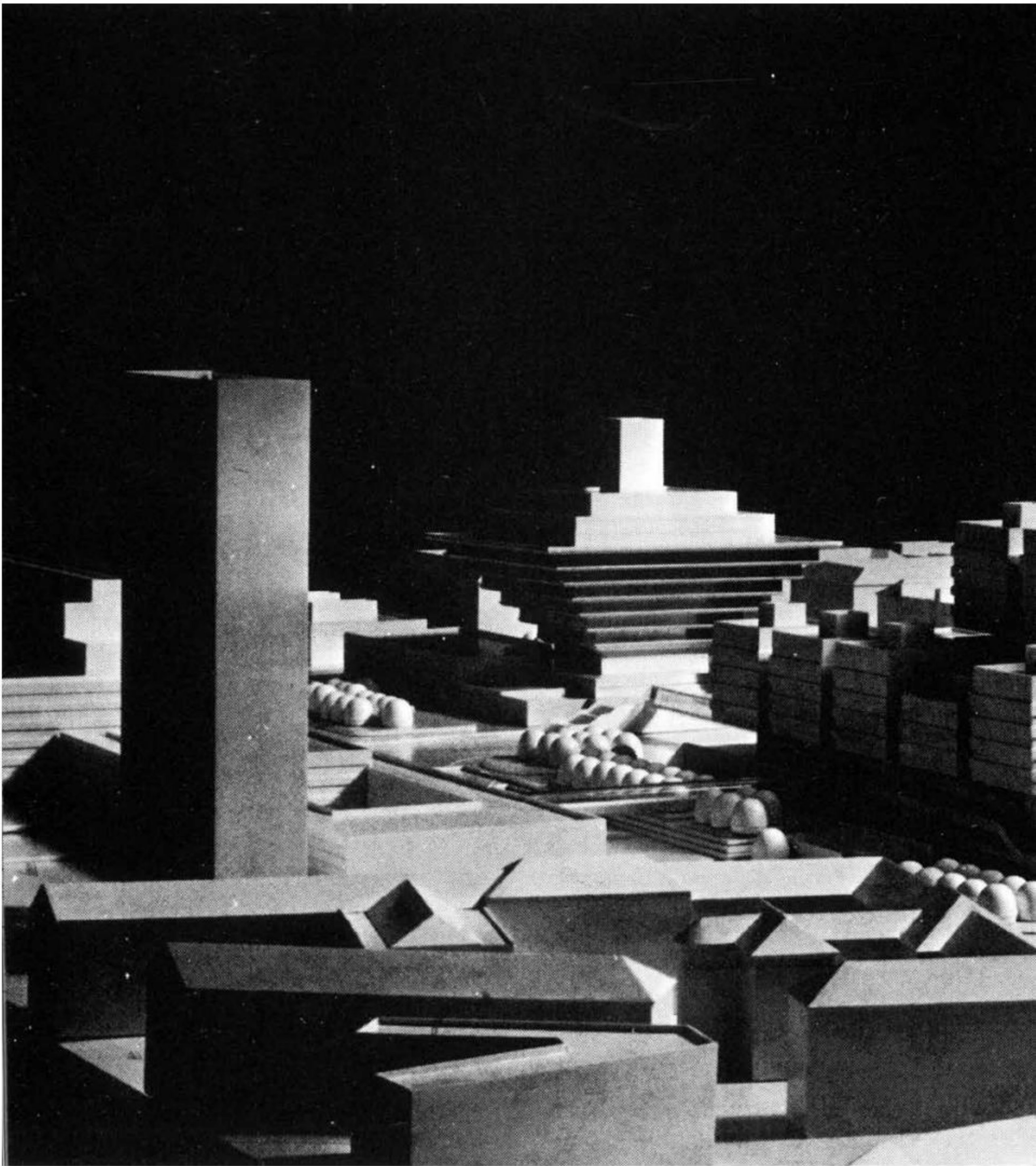
Competition proposal for the location of Slovak Radio building,  
second prize, Štefan Svetko, Stanislav Talaš et al., 1963  
Source: Projekt, 1963

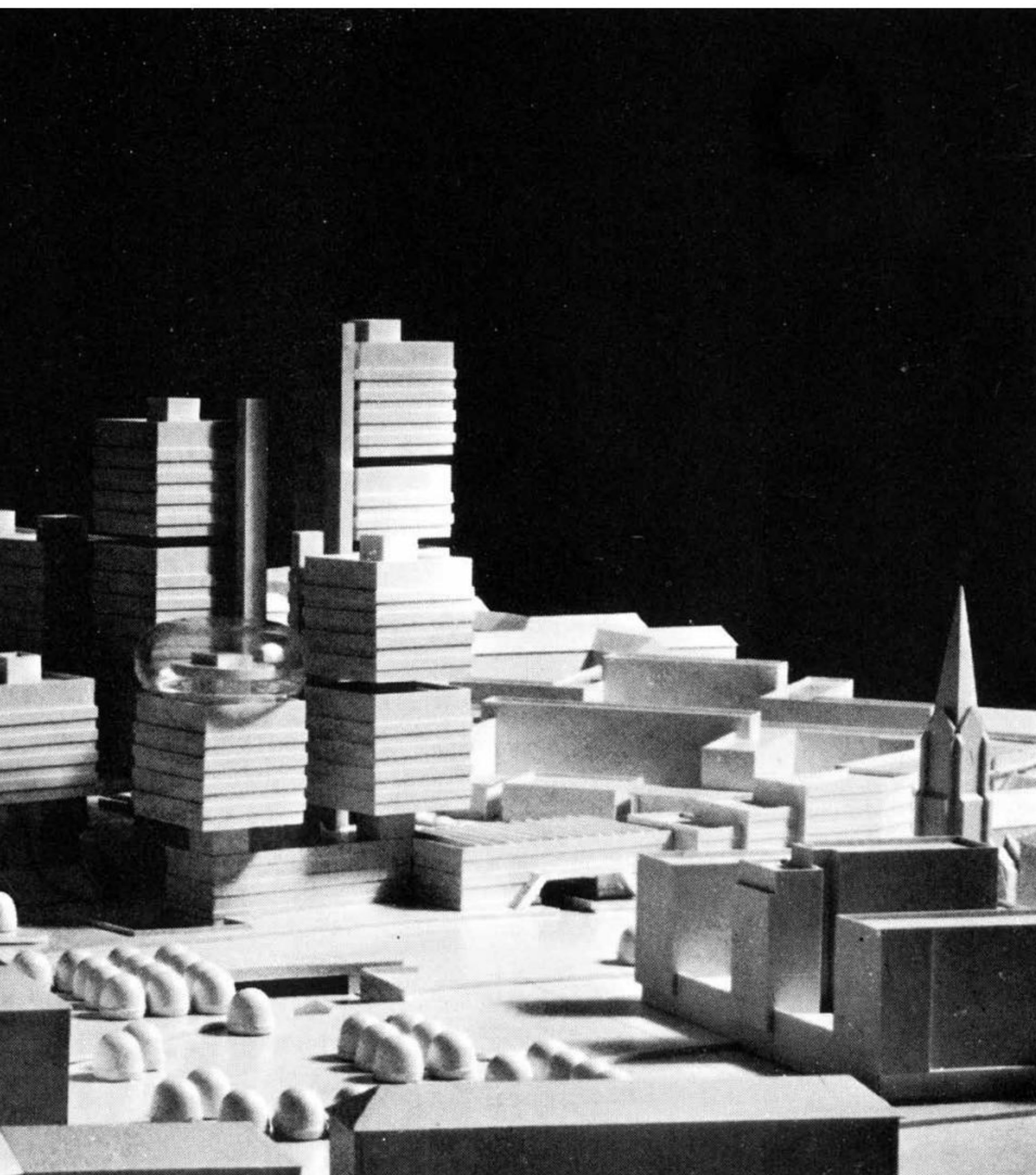


The plan of the transverse axis and the main city radials, Štefan Svetko, sketches completed by the author in the 90s of the 20th century  
Source: Svetko Š. 2009



Construction of Slovak Radio building, 1974  
Source: TASR





Model of Starohorská mass housing, Štefan Svetko, Boris Džadoň, 1979  
Source: Projekt 1982



Starohorská mass housing, Štefan Svetko, Boris Džadoň, modified design using new panel technology, 1982  
Source: Projekt, 1983

demolition to create new streets and avenues. Štefan Svetko and his colleagues, charged in 1965 with the design of the radio complex, viewed this structure as the first stage of building a modern city centre grounded in these technological-optimistic imaginings.

<sup>45</sup> The broadcasting complex was intended, in its urban form, as a vertically layered linear megastructure, expanding into the extant structure of the city and combining the qualities of the open space of the transverse greenbelt axis with the transport corridor of a modern metropolis. Svetko remained faithful to his plan of a 90-m-wide vertical segregated axis even after it became clear that the completion of the radio complex would last longer than assumed. In the 1980s, in turn, he developed the idea further in his design for the experimental housing estate of Starohorská. The terraces of this estate, intended to be constructed from new and more flexible prefabricated systems, would have elevated the pedestrian routes above ground level even starting at Americké námestie and brought them via the terraces of the radio complex up to the rail station.

Witness to the one-time plans for overcoming traditional transport schemata is offered today only by the fragments of the monumental entrance onto the surfaces of the rooftop terraces of the radio complex, indications of the footbridges planned to span the surrounding streets, and the solitary object of the apartment tower-block in Školská ulica, completed as an experiment shortly before the fall of the socialist regime. Realisation of the new National Bank of Slovakia (M. Kusý, P. Paňák, 2002), the outcome of a 1996 competition which included Svetko as a jury member, not

<sup>45</sup> Viz. Bekeš, Štefan: *Prečo pyramída?* Bratislava, Spektrum STU, 2018, 255 s.; Topolčanská, Mária: *Slovenský rozhlas v Bratislave: Medzi technoutópiou a distopiou*. In: Moravčíková, H. – Szalay, P. – Dulla, M. – Topolčanská, M. – Potočár, M. – Haberlandová, K., 2013, p. 207.

only disrupted the original dimensioning of the planning axis, but through giving priority to the conception of the urban radial along the line of Mýtna ulica, practically spelled a return to the original ideas of Antal Palóczy from the start of the 20th century.

An absence of regulatory standards during the post-socialist transformation led to much unplanned construction. Though the plans and construction after 1989 appear at first sight to follow the regulatory lines of the main street routes set down in the 1920s and 1930s, a more detailed observation reveals a clear increase in construction density. Confirmation is given e.g. by the plan for regulation of the block of the former brush works by Martin Kusý and Pavol Paňák from 2002, as well several other realisations in the locality.<sup>46</sup> In general, this construction is marked by the occupation of the remaining open areas between the fragments of realised large-scale projects and incomplete clearances in the northern suburbs.

#### **SPECTACLE AS LANDMARK**

As the final characteristic principle of organisation in the vicinity, we specified the spectacle: spaces and infrastructure intended for the representation of state power and manifestation of its public support (or resistance against it). The spectacle was a salient characteristic in the development of palace gardens in the Mannerist and Baroque eras, with their array of theatrical illusions and attractions. Through the changing political constellations of the 20th century, the use of the spectacle became a marked trait primarily of the space of Námestie slobody, where visions of non-democratic and democratic political

<sup>46</sup> These include the apartment complex between Žilinská and Kičerského ulica or the apartment buildings in the block between Námestie slobody and the Slovak Radio building.

orders were put forward and where political demonstrations and military parades alternated with free leisure activities including balloon launches, kite-flying or temporary encampments of circuses and fairs.<sup>47</sup> Still, the centre of our attention remains primarily the form of the spectacle as an architectonic landmark formulating the panorama of a locality or even the entire city.

#### 'Sculptural Modelling' of the Land

The ideas of verticality and panorama formation in this part of the city made their appearance even in the inter-war years, when Balán and Grossman speculated in 1926 in connection with building a modern centre on "some kind of skyscrapers".<sup>48</sup> However, in their perspectival renderings these two Czech architects presented more of a low-lying historicist form of public structures than the commercial "skyscrapers" of an Americanized downtown. As such, until the end of World War II, the dominant vertical form in the locality was the six-storey Eugen Jelínek apartment block by architect Emil Brüll,<sup>49</sup> exceeded only later by the eleven-storey monumental volume of the Postal Palace. Nonetheless, another high-rise landmark was proposed by 1950 for the area, intended as the headquarters of the Slovak Planning Office.<sup>50</sup> It would have been a typical tower-form of the era, "created as the striking vertical dominant of the surroundings and the entire city."<sup>51</sup> Yet

47 A more detailed discussion of the idea of representation of power is given e.g. in Potočár, M., 2013, p. 156 – 165.

48 Cited from Štěpánová, S., 2019, p. 96.

49 Built in 1937, the building was demolished in 2002, since it stood too close to the entrance to the new Slovak National Bank.

50 Fully matching the collectivist spirit of the age, the authors were three architectural teams: Josef Havlíček and Karel Filsak from Stavoprojekt in Prague, Josef Hrubý and Zdeňek Pokorný from the Prague institute KAS, and Martin Kusý from Stavoprojekt Bratislava.

51 Editorial: Soutěž na Správní budovu Slovenského úřadu

even towards the end of the brief period of Socialist Realism in architecture in the mid-1950s the plan for a high-rise landmark was subjected to severe criticism. Nonetheless, just one decade later new proposals were made for supplementing the built fabric with a vertical element, following the ideas of Emanuel Hruška, who regarded the development of urban design in this period as the "sculptural modelling of the city", in which a "tower-form would reinforce the silhouette of dispersed construction".<sup>52</sup>

A requirement for creating a focal landmark in the locality was likewise declared by the jury of the competition for the central radio building in 1963. As the impulse towards the building of Bratislava's modern centre, the radio building needed to determine the visual silhouette of the locality. Toward this end, the project chosen for realisation was the design from the team of Štefan Svetko, which had been awarded only second place in the competition but presented a far less conventional design.<sup>53</sup> Hence the high-rise object for Slovakia's radio broadcasting and administration assumed the well-known form of an inverted pyramid, given its final shape in 1967 and becoming the iconic image not only for its locality but even on a city-wide scale. Along with the plan to create the previously mentioned transverse axis with a 90-m-wide street that would run along one side of the radio complex, the architects set down the route of further construction of large-scale structures in the vicinity, leading in the direction of today's Americké námestie. Against Belluš's original plan, the Technical

---

plánovacího v Bratislavě. Architekt SIA, 48, 1950, no. 8, p. 207.

52 Hruška, E., 1963, p. 14.

53 The winning project by Miloš Chorvát was based on the more conventional solution of a slab tower placed on a rectangular platform.





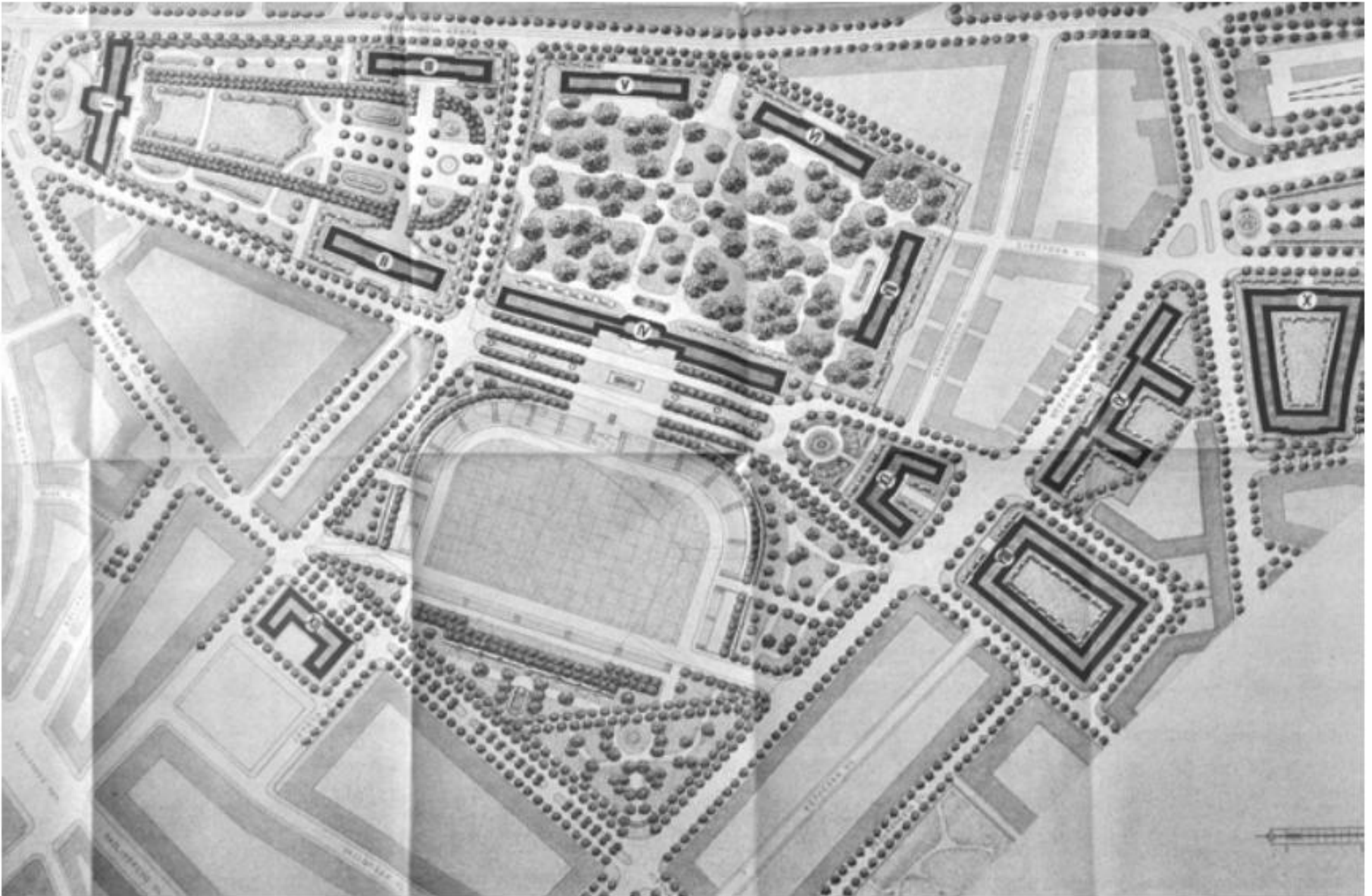
Námestie slobody during a military parade, Eugen Jelinek's house in the background, 1943  
Source: Slovak National Archives, STK Fund



Námestie slobody, 1925  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



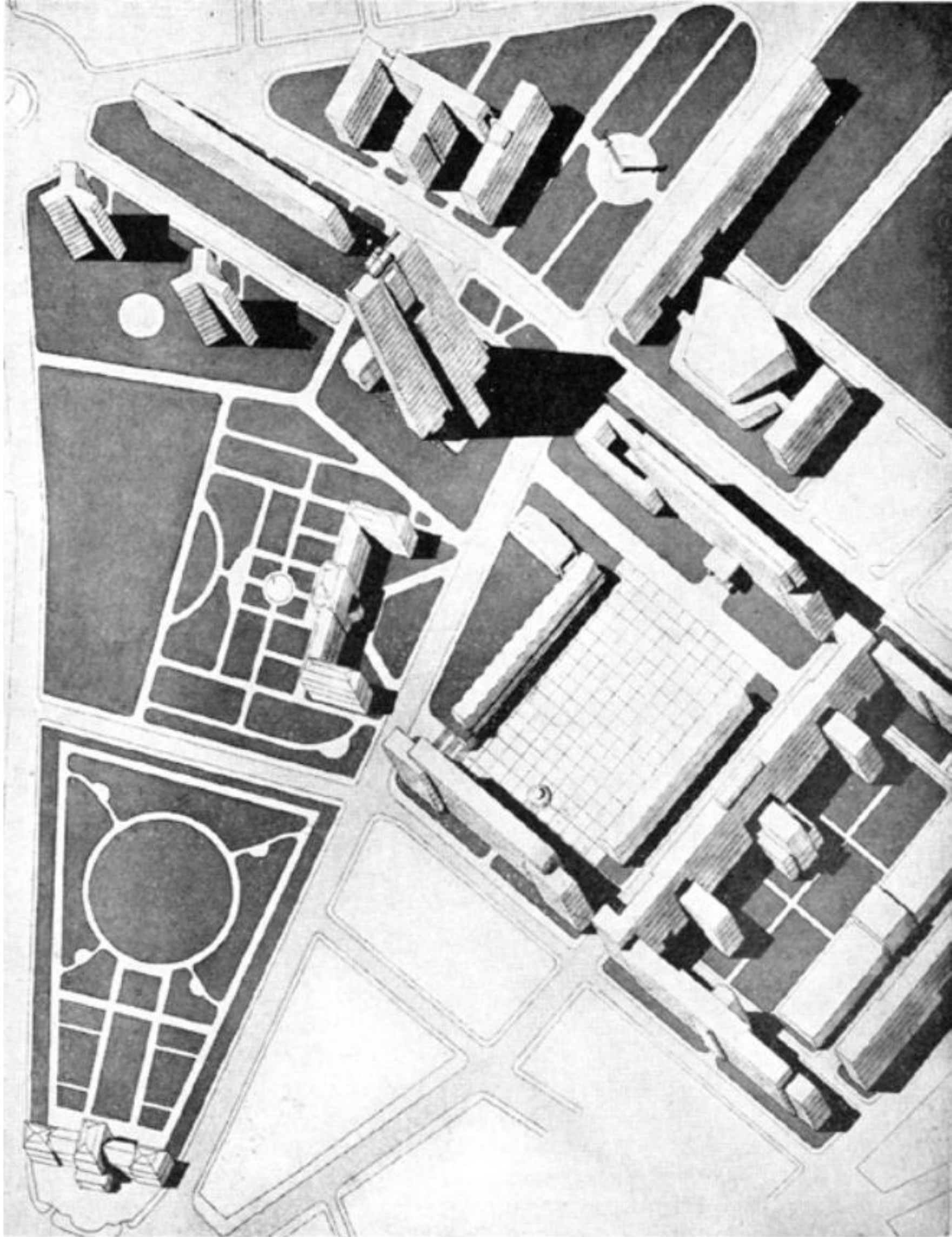
Aerial view of Námestie slobody location with wandering circus, around 1940  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



Proposal for the layout of ministries and for the adjustment of Námestie slobody for public and political manifestations,  
Eugen Bárta, 1939  
Source: Bratislava City Archives



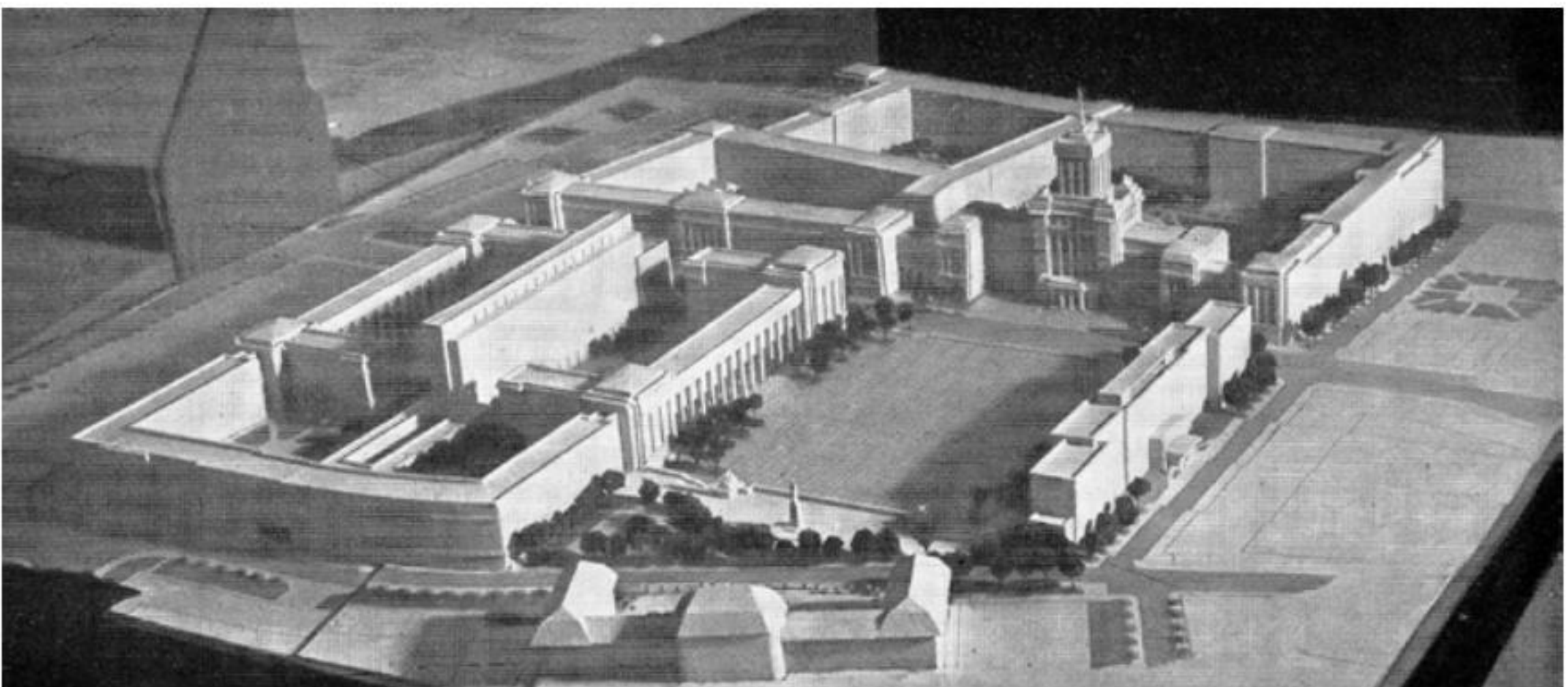
The grandstand in front of the former Archbishop's Palace during the so-called Muster of Hlinka Railway Guards, 1939  
Source: Slovak National Archives, STK Fund



Competition proposal for the tower of the Slovak Planning Office, Martin Kusý, 1950  
Source: Architektura ČSR



Competition proposal for the tower of the Slovak Planning Office, sketched into photography, Martin Kusý, 1950  
Source: Architektura ČSR



The highest award proposal for the solution of Gottwaldovo námestie (today's Námestie slobody) in Bratislava, Miloš Chorvát, 1954  
Source: Architektura ČSR



Building of the National Bank of Slovakia,  
just before the demolition of Eugen Jelinek's house, 2002  
Photo: Lubo Stacho



University complex gained in 1974 in the southwest corner a striking high-rise structure for the Civil Engineering faculty, designed by Oldřich Černý and his collective. Opposite this structure, Svetko planned his own graded megastructure for the Starohorská housing estate in the form of a futuristic double tower. However, all that was realised was the previously mentioned experimental prefabricated tower block in Školská ulica, with its 12 floors nonetheless adding to the silhouette of the area when completed.

### The Highest Landmark

In the end, the area of the northern suburbs is where one of the largest investments by the Slovak state has been realised in the post-socialist era: the central offices of the Slovak National Bank. This major institution of the newly founded republic was intended to bring into the area an unavoidable new landmark representing the era's political and economic changes. The skyscraper built from the winning competition design by Martin Kusý and Pavol Paňák (1996) was, until recently, Slovakia's tallest building. And yet, even during the competition there were discussions on the unsuitable nature of the site for constructing such a prominent building. The vertical of the bank, in such close proximity and visual contrast to the inverted pyramid of Slovak Radio, did not match the traditions of Modernist composition, and could even be regarded as a kind of metaphor for post-socialist transformation in the direction of an unplanned, free-for-all handling of the urban panorama.<sup>54</sup> In a commentary during the

54 Sufficiently open space as the basic requirement for creating a landmark/monument is also stated in one of the manifestos of the modernist movement, *Nine Points on Monumentality*. "Monumental buildings will then be able to stand in space, for, like trees or plants, monumental buildings cannot be crowded in upon any odd lot in any district. Only when this space is achieved can the new urban

competition for the National Bank, this change with a characteristic eye turned towards the future was voiced by one of the jurors, in fact Štefan Svetko himself, as follows: "Deciding on urban plans can only be made in the structure of individual objects... just as we randomly searched for the relationship between Slovak Radio and the National Bank, we will continue to search randomly for the relations between other structures."<sup>55</sup>

### Terrain Vague as Fragments of Contradictory Visions

Efforts for the planned "modelling" of the city silhouette or the routing of streets to provide views of enchanting panoramas were discussed as far back as the first regulatory plans for Bratislava at the start of the past century, as much as the former northern suburbs were regarded as one of the most vital developmental areas for the central city. Witness to this status is the extensive body of plans and conceptions tested in this place and, to a smaller and more fragmentary extent, partially realised. As such, the investigated area remains one of vague terrain, which in its relationship to Bratislava as a whole is aptly described by theorist Jan Tábor as a "collage compiled from scraps of the visions that in places of interaction come into mutual conflict and rivalry".<sup>56</sup>

---

centres come to life."

55 Národná banka cez slová ôsmich účastníkov a účastníčok diskusie s autormi diela Martinom Kusým a Pavlom Paňákom. *Arch*, 6, 2001, no. 12, p. 9.

56 Cited from: Čupka, Milan: *Architekt Stec: Vie Bratislava, akú chce mať identitu?* *Žurnál Pravda* [online] 2016 [cit. 09. 12. 2019], Accessible at: <https://zurnal.pravda.sk/rozhovory/clanok/407923-architekt-stec-vie-bratislava-aku-chce-mat-identitu/>





The space between the radio building and the former Postal Palace as the only realized fragment of the transverse axis vision, 2019  
Photo: Olja Triaška Stefanovič

# DANUBE DISTRICT



a typology of urban situations

city-shaping  
modernity

<b>Type:</b>	transformation of industrial complexes and peripheral built fabric through modern regulation into a stabile street structure with high urban value
<b>Case Study/Locality:</b>	Grösslingová, Bezručova, Dobrovičova, Klemensova, Gajova, Jakubovo námestie
<b>Other occurrences:</b>	Záhradnícka - Karadžičova - Moskovská, Sasinkova; Špitálska - Lazaretská - 29. Augusta - Dunajská
<b>Key formative plans:</b>	Regulatory Plan of the City Technical Department (1906), Regulation Plan of the City (A. Palóczi, 1917), Regulation and construction guidelines for prolongation of Gajova ulica (1929) Regulation and construction study for Grösslingová (1929) Regulation Plan of Bratislava (J. Tvarožek – A. Dryák – M. Chlumecký, 1929), Zoning Plan of the City Technical Committee (1934)
<b>Key non-formative plans:</b>	Regulation Study for Greater Bratislava (A. Balán, J. Grossmann, 1926)



**Implementation of modern city planning – systematic employment of the principles of modern regulation during new construction.** At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, one of the basic regulatory tools was the arrangement of a right-angled street network with precisely defined roadway widths, street frontage lines and building height. Consistent application of this method was particularly successful in non-built-up or at least thinly built-up areas outside of city centres. Though the grid plan became the target of critique from Camillo Sitte, who accused it of insufficient aesthetic picturesqueness, even today the areas where it was used consistently form the most stable part of the urban fabric.

Grösslingová ulica is the still-preserved roadway along the former Grössling gardens, once among the largest in the city. Between 1848 and 1930, the area was known as 'Franz Josef Town' (Mesto Františka Jozefa / Franz-Josefs-Stadt / Ferenc-Józsefváros). Grössling originally stretched outward from Rybné námestie, continued along the south of present-day Hviezdoslavovo námestie and reached deep into Mlynské Nivy.<sup>1</sup> It contained primarily vegetable gardens interspersed with pastures, which through the 19th century, under the influence of industrialisation, were gradually replaced with smaller-scaled factory buildings. A natural component of this area was a meandering arm of the Danube; hence the river's regulation played an important role in the development of Grössling. Here, the main goal among others was gradually to drain and fill in the river meanders, which increasing medical knowledge and modern hygienic requirements found unsuitable for healthy urban life: the river meanders were then used primarily for dumping rubbish, so that when (primarily in

the spring) the level of the river rose, both water and waste filled the streets. The largest meander in Grössling, giving the current street that bears its name its curving outline, was filled in already by 1781, in other words almost a century before the main stage of river regulation as planned by engineer Eneo Grazioso Lanfranconi.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the regulation of the Danube can be regarded as a direct stimulus for the conceived urban construction in the area of Grössling.

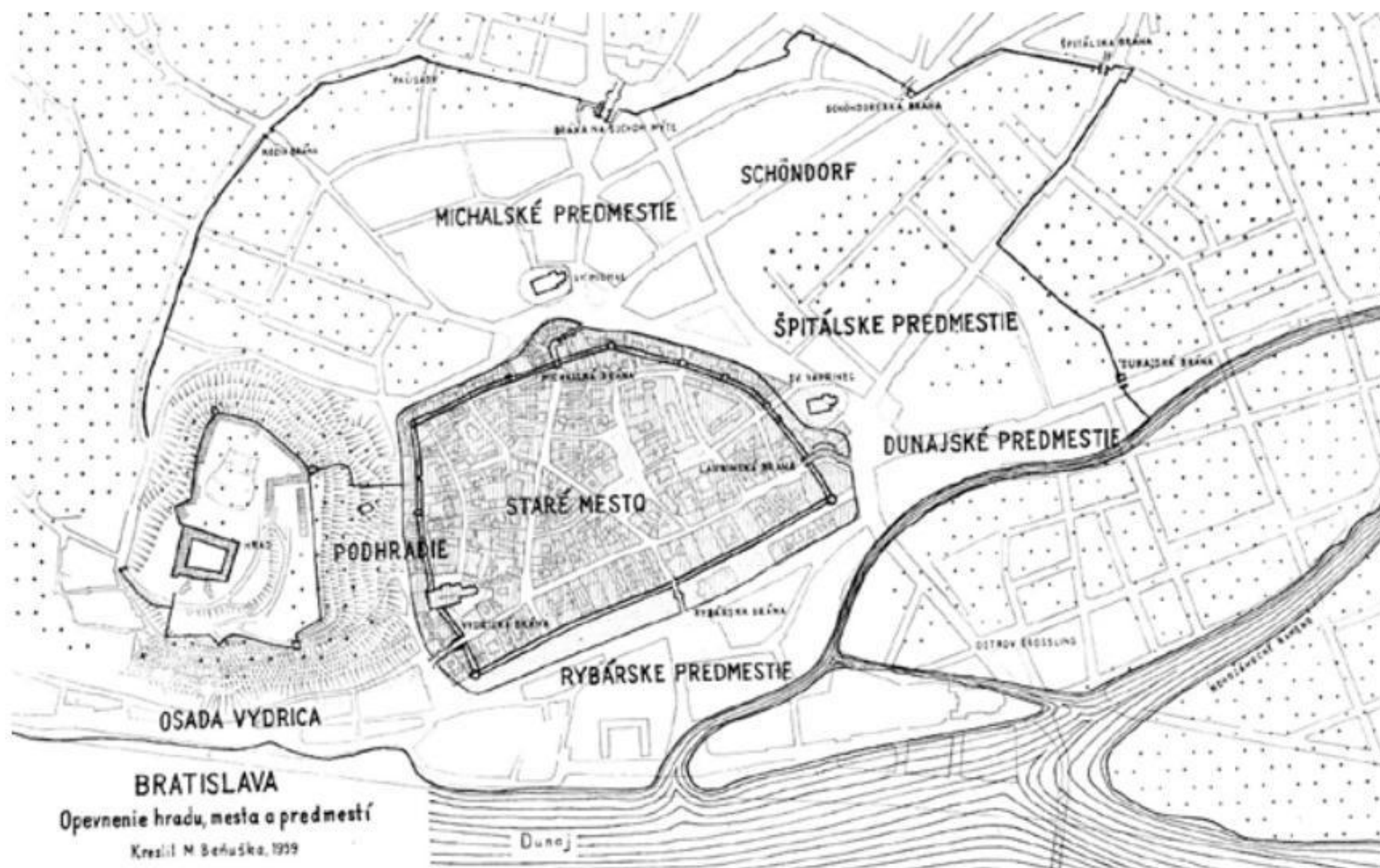
#### The Decisive Role of Štúrova Ulica and the Start of Modern Regulation

The area of the former Grössling farmland is split by Štúrova ulica (in past times also bearing the names of Landererova or Barossova), which was driven through the water-meadows and woodlands at the start of the 19th century. This roadway divided Grössling into two sections, an eastern and western one, differing in the density as well as manner of their construction. In the western part, along Grösslingová ulica, there arose the full urban blocks of an inner suburb. To the east, only the north side saw new construction, i.e. the space facing Dunajská ulica, where the buildings continued up to the very bounds of the outer fortification, the 'Danube Gate' (Dunajská brána). At the end of the 1890s, Štúrova ulica was adapted for cart traffic, becoming an important link between the riverbank and the main square, now Námestie SNP, and via today's Štefánikova ulica, also to the main rail station. The importance of Štúrova ulica grew further after the construction of the Franz Josef Bridge (on the site of the present 'Old Bridge' – Starý most, 1889 – 1891) right at its end. And with the city moat filled in and the ramparts demolished,

<sup>1</sup> Horváth, Vladimír: Topografický lexikón Bratislavy. Bratislava, Tatran, 1990, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Dvořák, Pavel: Zlatá kniha Bratislavy. Bratislava, Slovenský spisovateľ, 1993, p. 452.





Danube and its branches on the left bank before the demolition of city walls  
 Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



Danube district, cadastral map of Bratislava, 1898  
Source: Bratislava City Archives

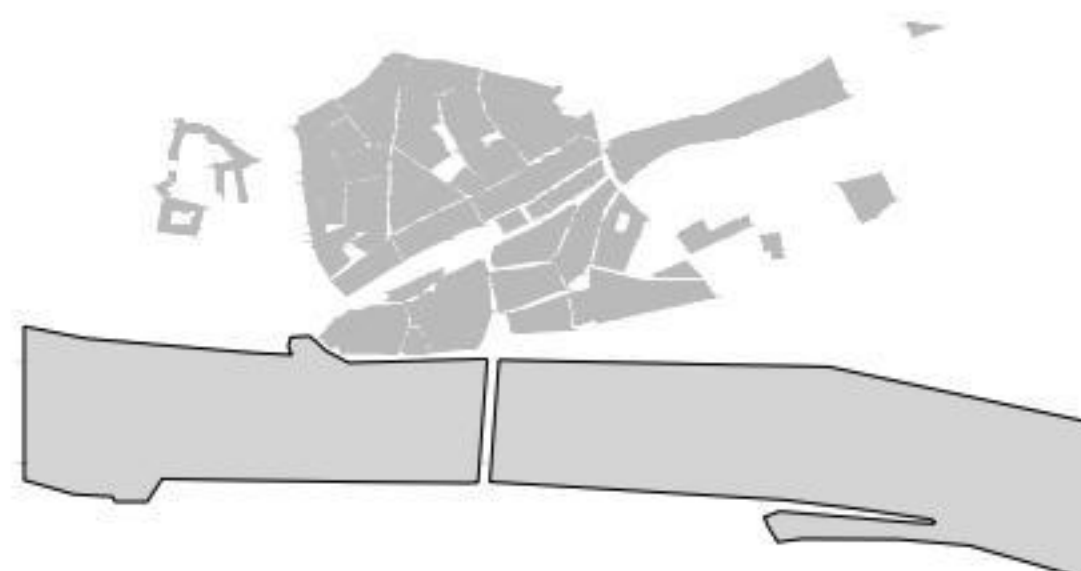
Štúrova ulica could then form part of the inner ring boulevard. Strengthening the transport significance of the street was the construction of a tramline, added shortly after completion of the bridge.

The city regulatory plan put into application in 1906 also began over time to change the form of Grössling, most notably the section eastward from Štúrova ulica. The most significant idea of the plan, determining the further development of construction in the area, was the regular right-angled street grid. As it turned out, the open, unbuilt-upon terrain was the one suitable place for its implementation. Applying a similar blanket regulation of streets inside the historic urban core met with sharp criticism, with opponents accusing it of destroying the city's picturesqueness and intimacy. In Grössling, the plan was to have the streets gradually filled in with smaller detached houses amid gardens, in the sense of the Anglo-German pattern of the 'Cottage-Bauweise'.<sup>3</sup> And it was in this spirit that the area began to be developed. Among the first structures realised in the spirit of the new regulation was the residence of construction entrepreneur Anton Durvay (Klemensova 12, Ludwig Baumann, 1904 – 1905). By 1910, another street had been formulated, Sienkiewiczova ulica (originally Razinova), where the first structure was the 'Palace of the Workers' Insurance Company' (Palác robotníckej poisťovne, Sienkiewiczova 1, 1906), where the small-scale historicist structure with its own garden matched the era's sense of a garden city for a non-residential building.

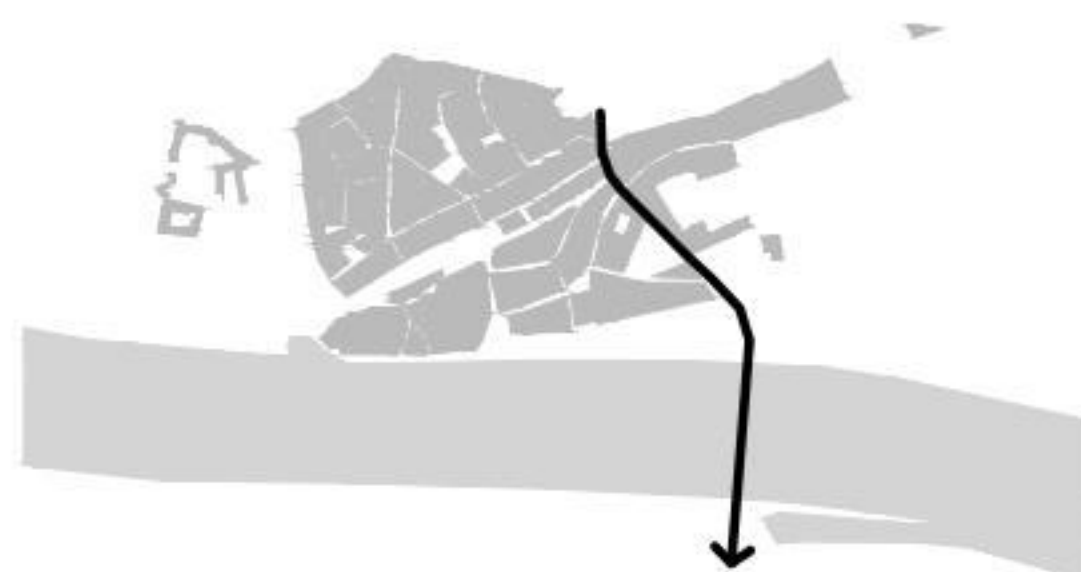
<sup>3</sup> Decisions by the City Council from 1. 3. 1909 and 2. 3. 1909. Bezüglich der Stadtregulierungslinie. Ordentliche Generalversammlung des Munizipal-Ausschusses der k. Freistadt Pozsony. Pressburger Zeitung 6, 2. 3. 1909, 266, p. 2 – 3, Ordentliche Generalversammlung des Munizipal-Ausschusses der k. Freistadt Pozsony. Pressburger Zeitung 6, 2. 3. 1909, 266, p. 1.



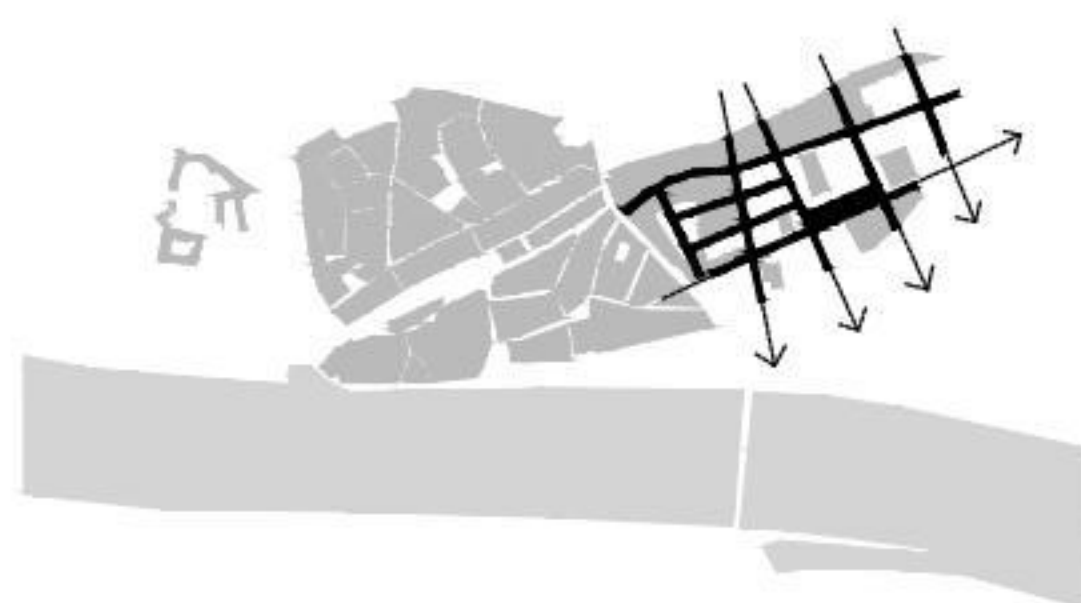
1780



1880



1890



1905

Evolution of Grössling and Danube district from the late 18th to the beginning of the 20th century



View of Šafárikovo námestie with Landerer Palace, around 1910  
Source: Ortvy, T., 2005



Franz Joseph Bridge, around 1930  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



View of Sienkiewiczova ulica before 1918  
Source: Ortvy, T., 2005

### The Interwar Period: The 'Danube District'

After 1920, the section of Grössling lying to the east of Štúrova ulica, between Dunajská ulica and Dostojevského (then Justiho) rad came to be known as the 'Danube District' (Dunajská štvrť). The rectangular street grid was already set in place, but the method of building had undergone a change – instead of the original idea of small houses with gardens, it was to consist of blocks reaching up to 5 – 6 floors. Moreover, the locality was to play host to the representative buildings for the ministries and governmental offices of the new Czechoslovak Republic.

Running along the southern edge of this area until the end of the 19th century was another arm of the Danube. Tivadar Ortvay wrote in 1905 that the drained bed of the river-arm was still visible in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century from the tram stop on Dostojevského rad as well as from the nearby city electrical plant<sup>4</sup> - further evidence confirming the decisive significance of the river regulation in formulating Grössling and later the Dunajská štvrť into its current form.

With the decision to define the 'Danube District' as an area of government offices and apartment buildings arranged as solid urban blocks, the further urban development of Grössling was naturally concentrated precisely into this section. Along the southern side of Grösslingová ulica, though, there still remained certain built remnants recalling the original idea of a garden suburb, such as the neighbouring structures of the secondary school and St. Elizabeth's Church (Ödön Lechner, 1907) along with several of the previously mentioned objects along Sienkiewiczova ulica. At the

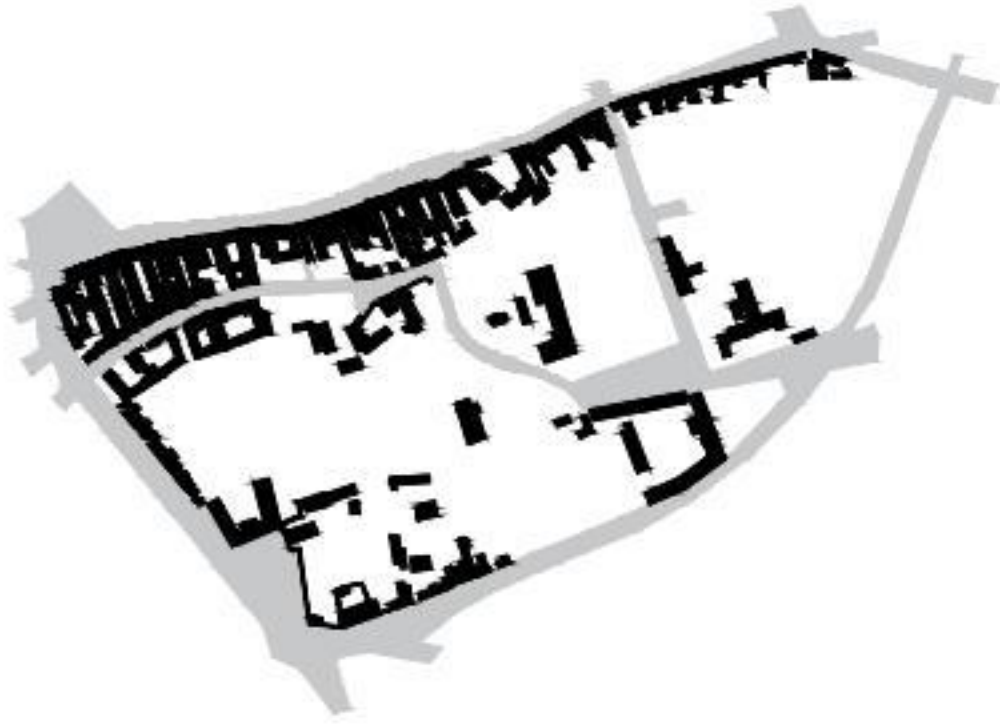
<sup>4</sup> Ortvay, Tivadar: Ulice a námestia Bratislavy. Mesto Františka Jozefa. Bratislava, Marenčin PT, 2005, p. 10.

start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this area still contained various agricultural structures, or large freestanding units in the form of villas or even monasteries (Grösslingová, Jakubovo námestie). Yet these isolated buildings did not represent much of a hindrance for meeting the aims of modern planning. In several locations, such as e.g. Jakubovo námestie, the low-lying groups of residential houses, small industrial structures or the cloister of the Sisters of the Holy Saviour came to serve as the basis for shaping the space of the square itself, which emerged as the central public space of the Danube District.

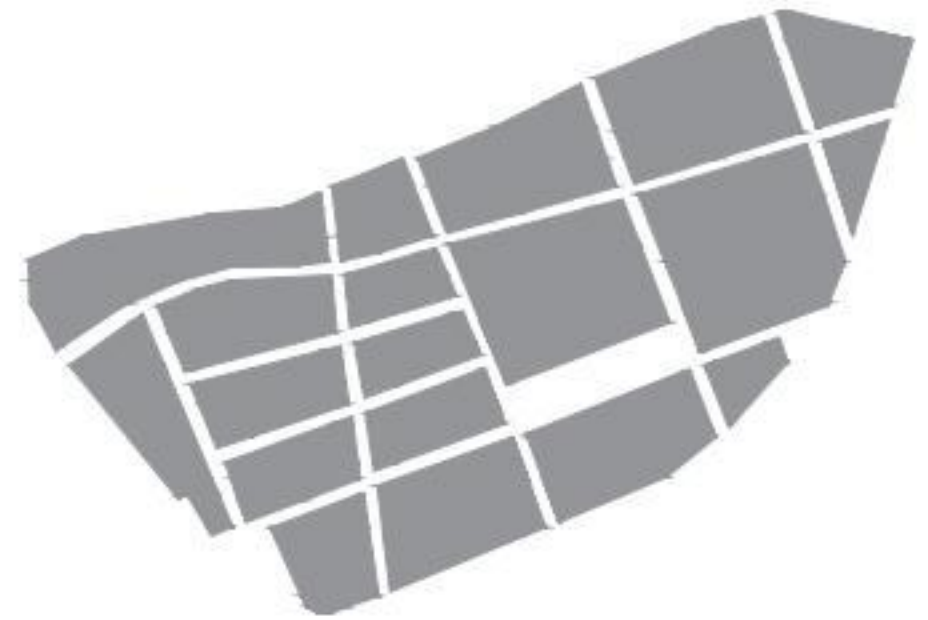
By the last decade of the 19th century, the dynamism of construction in this vicinity had swelled notably. The main communication axis running through the area from west to east, i.e. Grösslingová ulica, and the most important historically situated north-south route, Lazaretská (originally Szechényi) and Klemensova (originally Kempelenova), which were later straightened to match the set grid pattern, were supplemented with new streets, Bezručova (originally Raneysova) and Ulica 29. augusta (originally Prayova).

### The Study for Greater Bratislava and the Danube District: An Unrealised Vision

The architects Alois Balán and Jiří Grossmann published in 1926 a study for the regulation of Greater Bratislava, presenting the results of several years' work on analysing the regulatory questions of the city. In the text, the Danube District was only the subject of a few brief words, though ones confirming the later development in the area: *"The section of the Danube District in the vicinity of Grösslingová will surely remain somewhat unchanged, since even before the war it was intended as a modern dwelling quarter with*



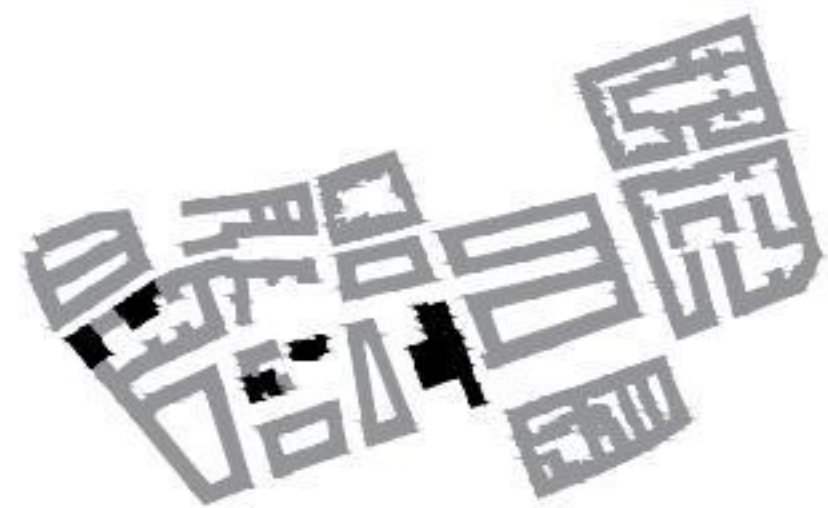
1897



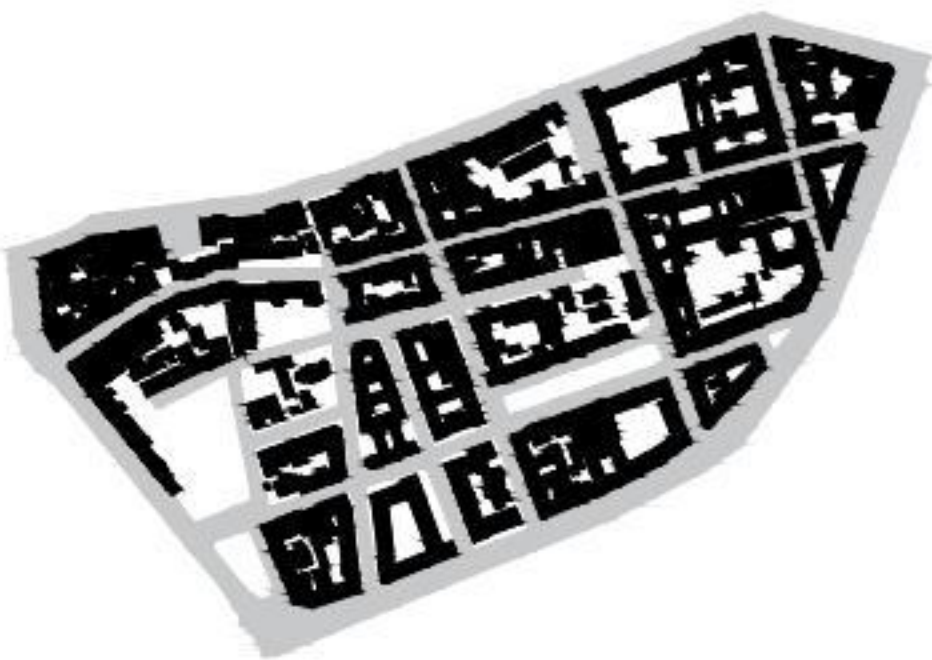
Regulation after 1900



1928



Regulation of the blocks from 1930s

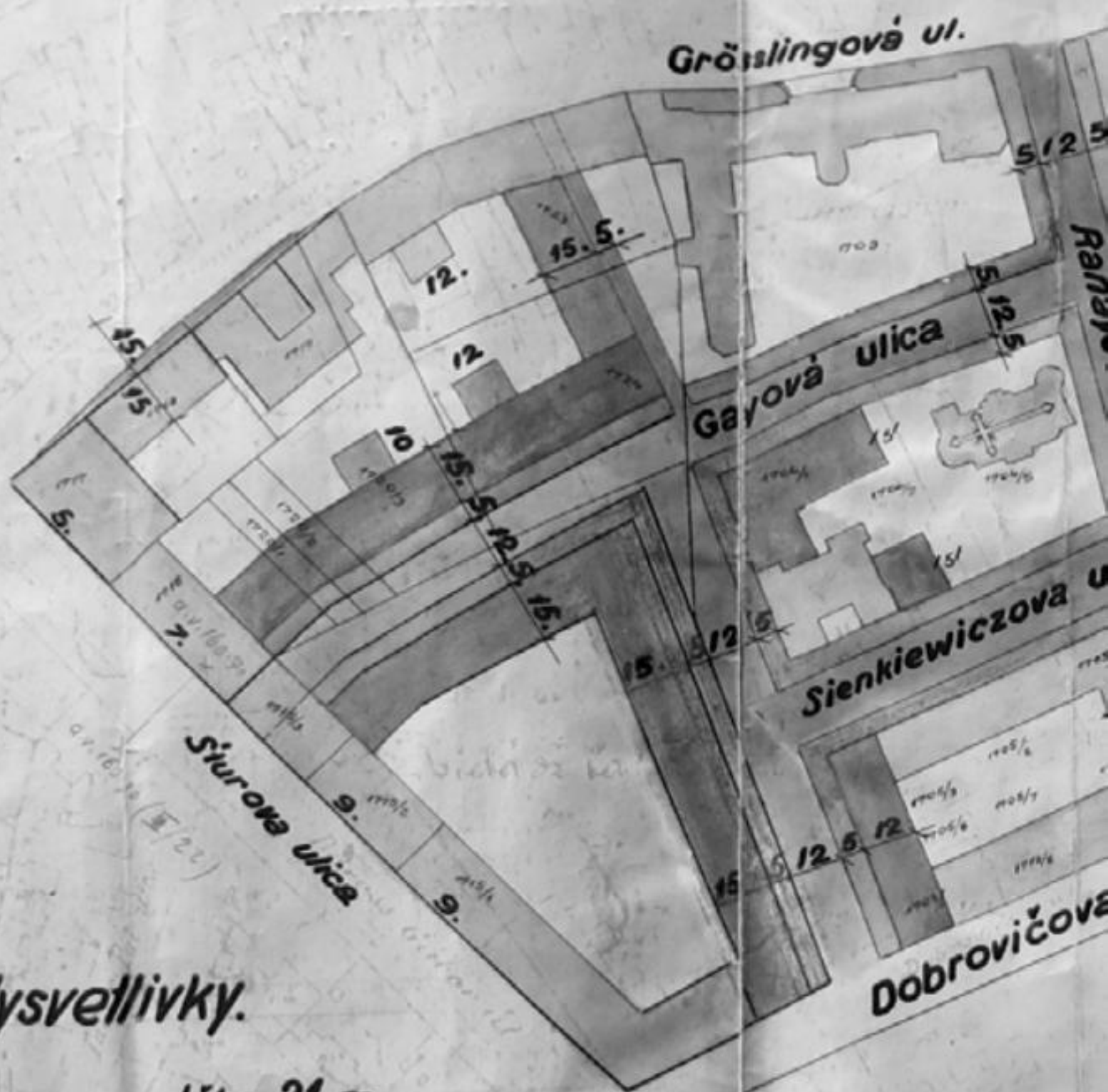


2016

The actual and the planned transformation of the urban structure of the Danube district from the end of the 19th century to the present

# Regulácia a za- predizéria S

M=1:14



## Vysvetlivky.



výška ust. ploš.  
nastavenie.

max. výška 21. m.

max. výška 18. m.

Regulácia a max. výšky už skôr schválené.

Jestrujúce nové a pam. ur. chránené budovy.

Nové a rozšíriť sa majúce ulice.

Predzahradky.





*regular and sufficiently dimensioned streets.”*<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, they proposed several changes that would have significantly altered the appearance of the Danube District. Hoping to relieve the traffic burden on Štúrova ulica, they proposed running a new parallel street all the way from Šafárikovo námestie up to Kamenné námestie. The oval-shaped space between these two streets would then have been built up as city blocks, created through extending the streets Dobrovičova, Sienkiewiczova and Gajova up towards Štúrova. However, Balán and Grossmann through this plan would have discounted their conception of an inner ring boulevard that would have contained Štúrova ulica as one of its sections. Possibly, the team only wished to draw attention to the need for a better connection between this new and modern urban entity and the historic city centre. Yet their idea remained compelling for some time to come, and was even reflected in the decision by the City Council when in 1926 they approved a similar idea for the regulation of construction in the vicinity.<sup>6</sup> By the 1930s, though, the city had abandoned these plans. Most likely, the change in the regulatory requirements was the outcome of applying the zoning plan of the Technical Department after 1934, which was put into place following the competition for the city's regulatory plan in 1929. While Gajova ulica was later extended, there was no longer any plan for joining it with Štúrova.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, after World War II all such plans were entirely cast aside, and despite the demolition during the 1950s of the Landerer Palace (later a military barracks) on Šafárikovo námestie, the mass of which was directly connected to the street-frontage of Štúrova ulica, no

<sup>5</sup> Grossmann, Jiří – Balán, Alois: Regulační studie Velké Bratislavy. Časopis čsl. Architektů SIA, 25, 1926, no. 1, p. 40.

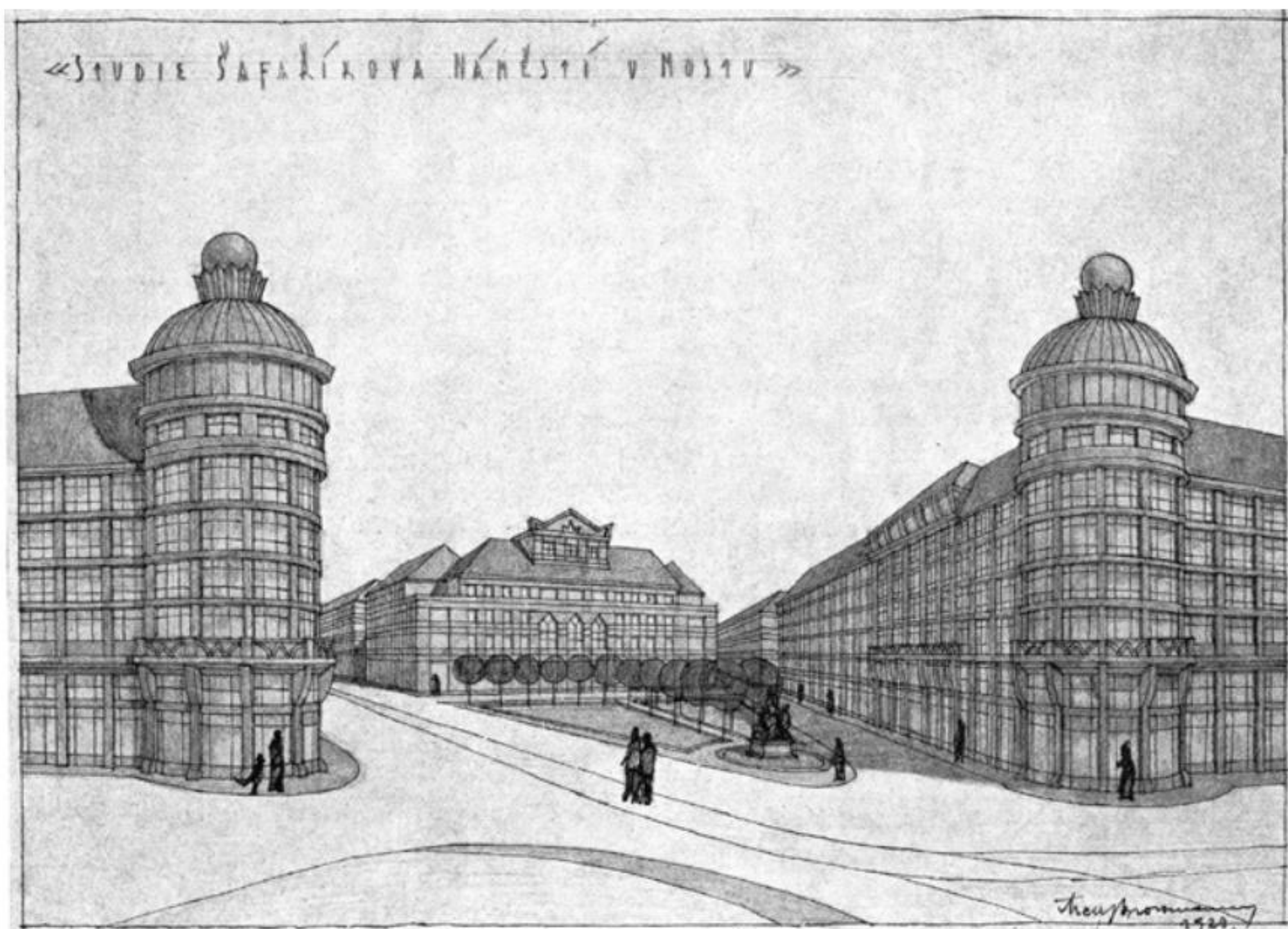
<sup>6</sup> Archive of the City of Bratislava, fund ÚHA, Regulácie III., box no. 842.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

further interventions were made in the historic structure. As such, the Danube District remained to a certain extent separated from the city centre thanks to Štúrova ulica.

### Building the Danube District

Over the course of the 1920s, several buildings were raised in the Danube District that in their volume and form shaped its overall future appearance. Balán and Grossmann managed to realise several designs that formed key works not only in their personal oeuvre but no less for the interwar form of the locality and even the wider city. Their designs included in succession the Directorate of State Railways (Klemensova 8, 1925 – 1927), the District Social and Workers' Insurance Office (Bezručova 3 – 5, 1932 – 1939) and the Radiojournal Palace (Jakubovo námestie 12, 1928 – 1929). While striving to make the most effective use of the building sites, the architects nonetheless took care to lessen the impact of the maximum occupation of individual parcels, thus creating before several of these structures small garden fronts with low fences. Whether consciously or intuitively, this choice can be seen as a reaction to the earlier plan to give the Danube District the character of a garden suburb. Not only was the Danube District the site of crucial administrative structures: it also contained many new apartment blocks. Though the basic principles of regulation had been set as early as 1906, not a few builders and architects tried to have these principles changed. For instance, the House of the Slovak League (M. M. Harminc, Grösslingová 23 – Dunajská 18, 1935) was intended to occupy the area of three original plots running between the streets Dunajská and Grösslingová. However, on one plot there stood three historic buildings. Though these structures were already marked for demolition, between them there ran from Grösslingová to Dunajská a narrow alley



Proposal for the adjustment of Šafárikovo námestie, A. Balán, J. Grossmann, 1924  
Source: Časopis čsl. architektů, 1926



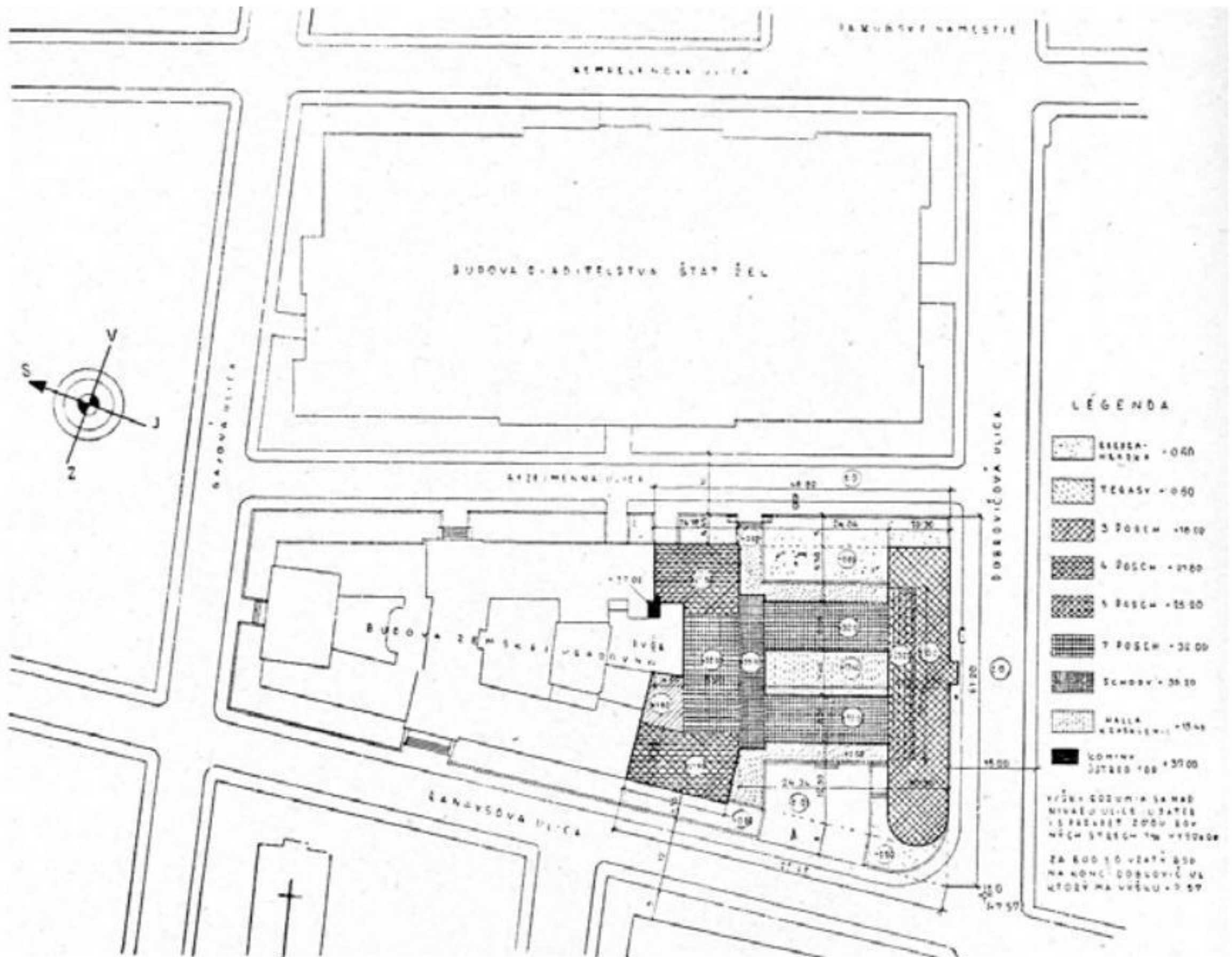
Klemensova ulica in the interwar period  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



View of Jakubovo námestie with the building of the Railway Directorate in the background, around 1930  
Source: Ortavy, T., 2005



Bezručova ulica with the building of the District Social Insurance Company in the foreground,  
around 1950  
Source: <https://bratislavaden.sk/krazy-bratislavy-alebo-ako-hlavne-mesto-vyzeralo-kedysi-cast-11/> cit. 2020-1-23



Master Plan of the District Social Insurance Company on Bezručova ulica, A. Balán, J. Grossmann, 1939  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives

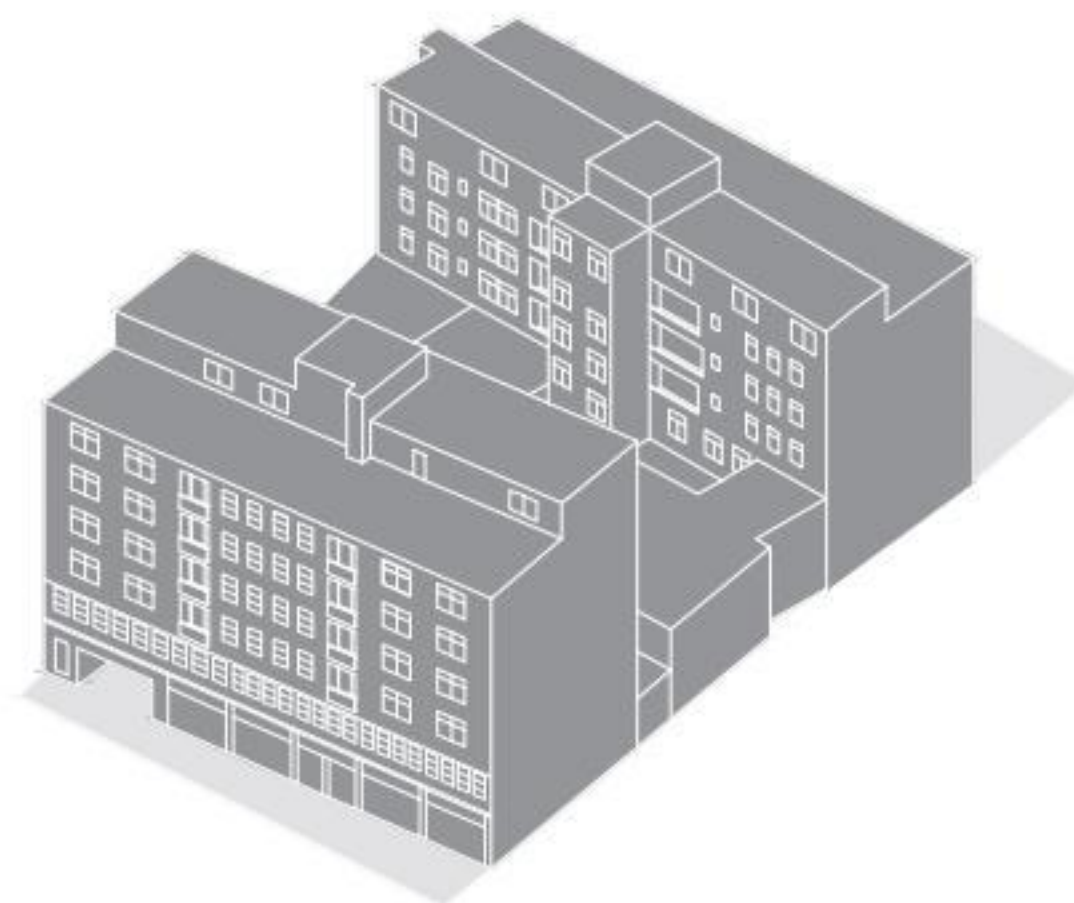
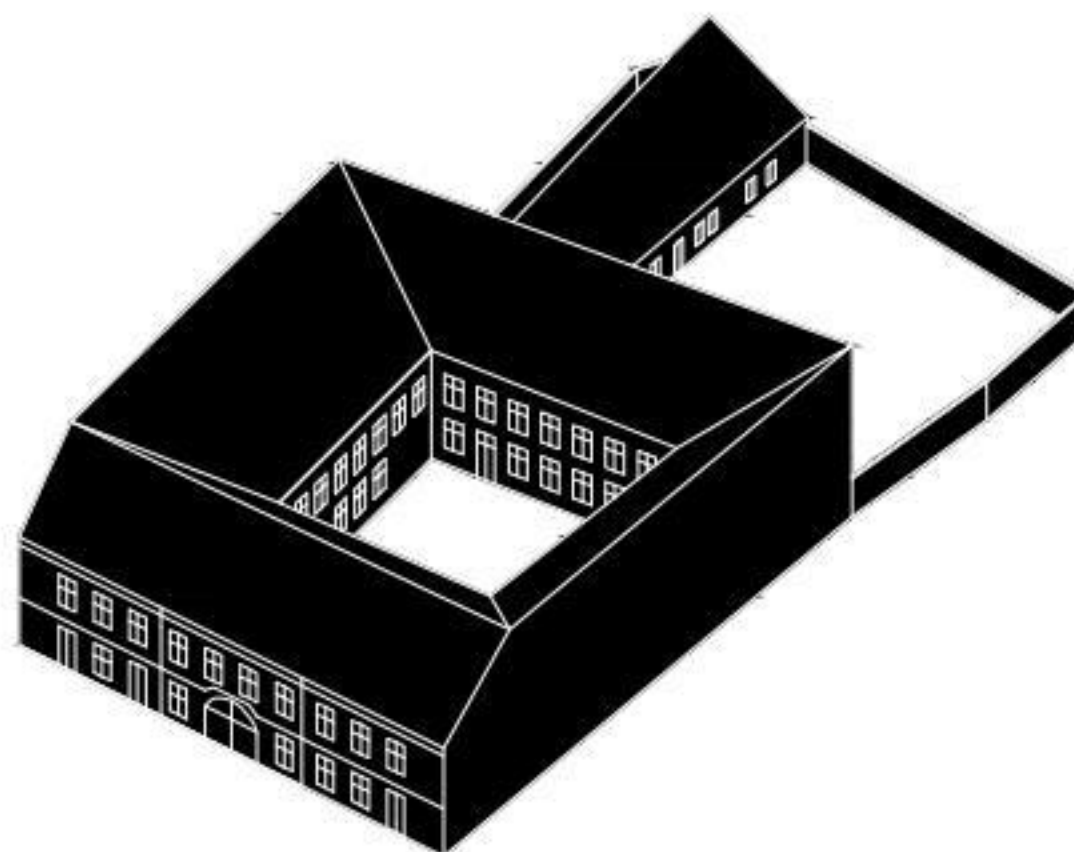


Regulation and Construction Guidelines for Grösslingova ulica in the part of today's House of Slovak League, 1927  
Source: Bratislava City Archives



known as Wiesnerova ulička. Though more of a waste-tip than a safe pedestrian route, it was nonetheless specified in the regulatory plan from 1912 for retention and enlargement. A change in the regulations that reflected the plans to build up modern city blocks in the area was issued by the authorities in 1927, yet the condition of retaining and widening Wiesnerova ulica remained in force. Despite the arguments from the Slovak League that the parterre of their building would contain an arcade linking Grösslingová and Dunajská, thus allowing a modern way of ensuring pedestrian traffic, agreement to the elimination of Wiesnerova was issued by the regulation department only after several years of negotiations. Moreover, the board of the Slovak League and Harminc demanded further changes to the regulation: they planned to shift the regulation line of the street front towards Grösslingová ulica several metres inward into the block, allowing for an open space with trees in front of the building. City authorities, though, were convinced that this design "would not be of use for anyone". In the end, though, they agreed to the client's wish, allowing for adequate air and light for the school even after the six-storey neighbour was completed. Further requests from the Slovak League included the continuation of Bezručova ulica up to Dunajská – which despite repeated applications, the city never approved.

A similarly complicated approval process lay behind many other buildings in the Danube District, even though the newly plotted streets were sufficiently wide (18m) and the low-lying original construction was already approved for replacement with new structures. One instance worth mentioning is the apartment block 'Život' (Life) for the cooperative insurance company Phönix (F. Weinwurm, I. Vécsei, Grosslingová 6, 1929), or equally the apartment block for the cooperative Domus (F. Weinwurm, I. Vécsei,



Two-storey atrium building of the Schultz restaurant was replaced in 1936 by the House of the Slovak League composed of three volumes with different function and expression



House of Slovak League, M. M. Harminc, 1935  
Source: Bratislava City Museum

Grösslingová 10, 1937), which waited a full seven years for its construction permit.<sup>8</sup> The housing cooperative DŽOZ, by contrast, was much more successful in gaining its construction permit: the new structure (J. Nowotný, 1931) rose quickly on the site of a former hunting lodge at the corner of Grösslingová and Bezručova ulica. Towards Grösslingová, it adhered strictly to the regulatory line of the city block, creating an urban parterre with shops at ground level, while towards Bezručova, its front gardens expressed a reflection of the original concept of a garden suburb.

#### The Danube District – an Instance of a Modern Rationally Planned City

The urban structure of the Danube District, defined by the regulations of the Technical Department from the start of the 20th century, was given its current setting in the 1930s, when it was decided to build the area in the form of enclosed city blocks. While after World War II a certain intensification of the structure did take place, with additional residential and administrative structures, these new additions did not significantly alter the underlying form. Indeed, quite the reverse: they all tried to adapt themselves to it and match the Cartesian rational grid of the street network.

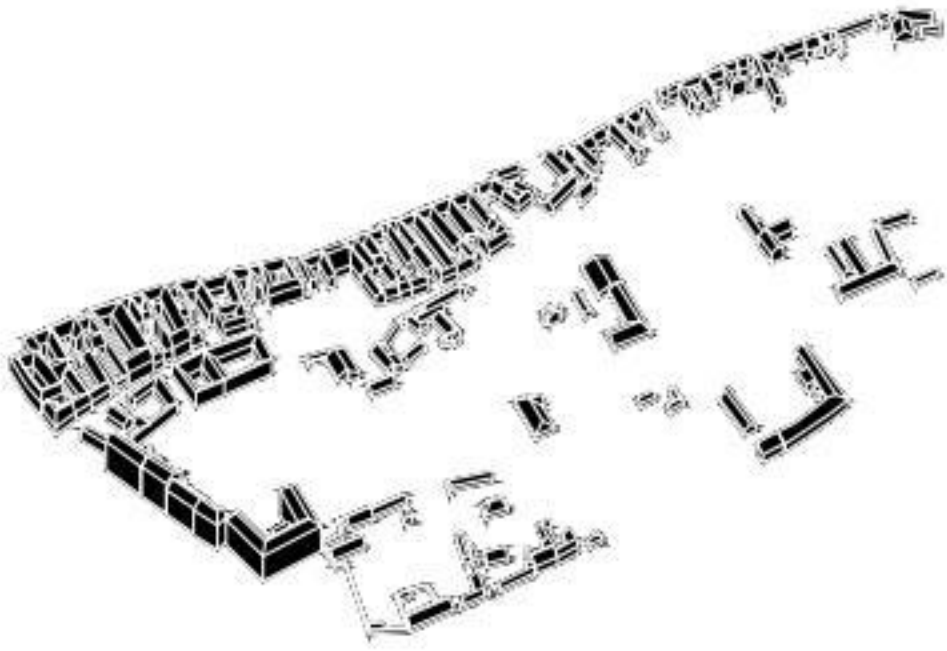
Jakubovo námestie, forming the central public space of the district, is even today the one truly modern square in Bratislava. Its current dimensions reflect the outline of the original, unplanned farmyard of rectangular shape, gradually built up with new structures starting at the end of the 19th century. And then, the one- or two-storey manufacturing objects and industrial complexes that originally lined the

edges of the square were replaced, matching the regulation plan, with multiple-storey blocks, usually apartment buildings. During the interwar years, the central area of the square was landscaped as a park. Moreover, the basic principles of the original regulation were respected by the construction realised on the square's perimeter even after World War II. Though similar practices were employed in the First Republic and shortly after the war in planning and building other sections of Bratislava, the Danube District is, thanks to its position close to the city centre, its connection to the Danube, and no less its architectonic features (area, street width, size of blocks, building heights and above all the architectural quality of individual buildings), a unique and highly stabilised part of the city. At the same time, it is an example of the most consistent and coherent application of the principles of rational Modernist urban planning within Bratislava.

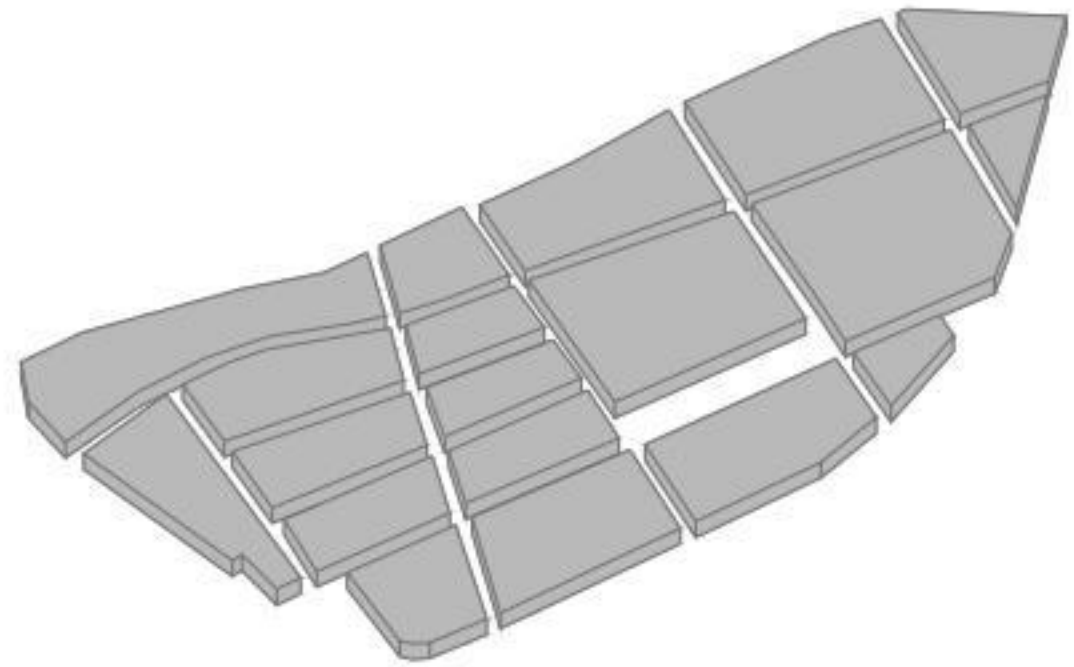
<sup>8</sup> Moravčíková, Henrieta: Architect Friedrich Weinwurm. Bratislava, Slovart, 2014, p. 113 – 116, 286 and 350.



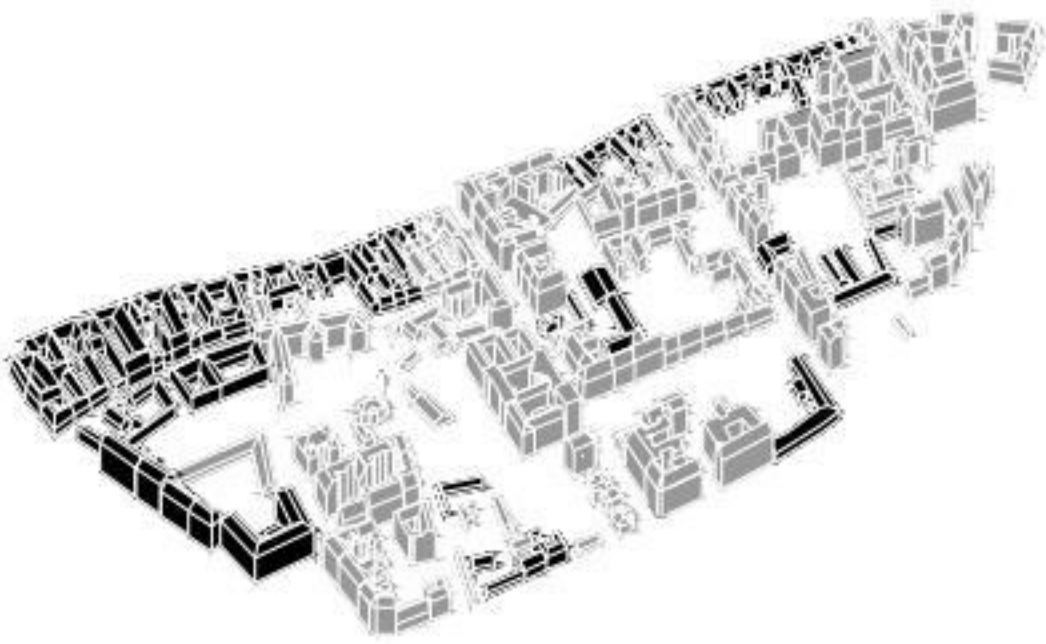
Aerial view of Grössling and Danube district, around 1960  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



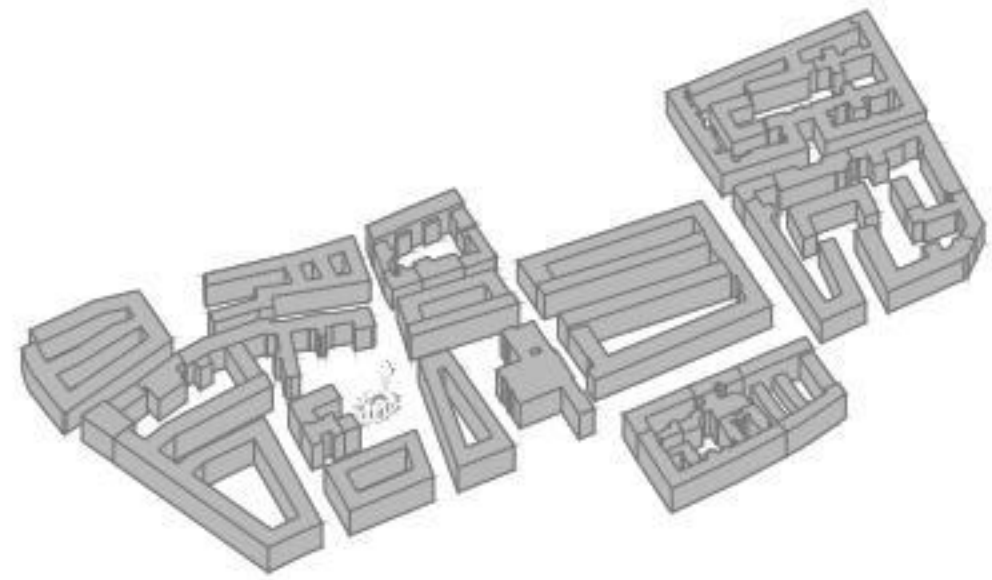
1897



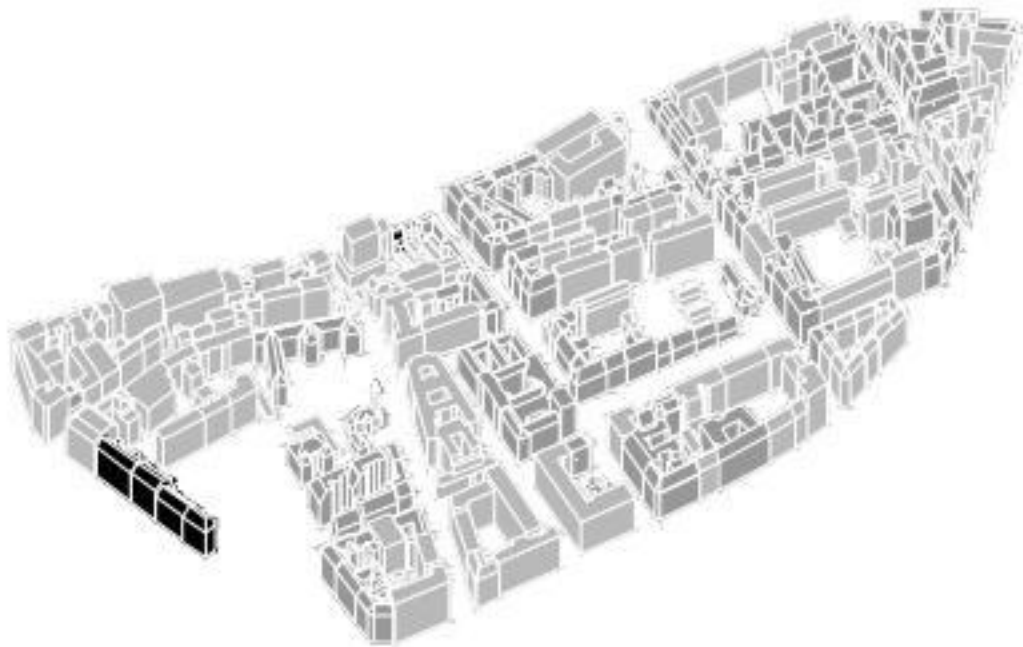
Regulation after 1900



1928



Regulation of the blocks from 1930s



2016

The actual and the planned transformation of the urban structure of the Danube district from the end of the 19th century to the present





Jakubovo námestie, the central public space of the Cartesian structure, 2019  
Photo: Olja Triaška Stefanovič

# **I N N E R   C I T Y** **R I N G**

**V I**

**a typology of urban situations**



the ambiguous  
ring

<b>Type:</b>	flows
<b>Case studies/localities:</b>	Hviezdoslavovo námestie, Staromestská, Kapucínska, Hurbanovo námestie, Námestie SNP, Kamenné námestie, Štúrova, Vajanského nábrežie, Rázusovo nábrežie
<b>Other occurrences:</b>	Štefánikova, Šancová, Legionárska, Karadžičova, Dostojevského rad, Einsteinova
<b>Key formative plans:</b>	Plan for Expansion and Regulation of the City (F. A. Hillebrandt, 1773 – 1775), regulation and expansion plan (city technical department, 1906), Plan for Expansion and Regulation of the City (A. Palóczy, 1907 – 1917), Regulation and building arrangement of the area around the Cathedral of St. Martin and Židovská street (1932), Regulatory and construction guidelines of the area of Župné námestie, Hurbanovo námestie and Námestie republiky (1938), Land-use plan of the City (M. Hladký, 1956), Land-use plan (M. Beňuška, 1963 – 1966), Design of the new bridge over the Danube (J. Lacko, L. Kušnir, I. Slameň, A. Tesár, 1967 – 1972), Land-use plan (J. Hauskrecht, 1976), Supplement to the Land-use plan (D. Kedro, 1982), Land-use Plan of the City of Bratislavy (2007), General Transport Plan of the City of Bratislavy (2015)
<b>Key non-formative plans:</b>	Plan for Expansion and Regulation of the City (V. Bernardt, 1905), Regulation study of the Big Bratislava (J. Grossmann, A. Balán, 1926), competition for a solution to the St. Michael's Gate (1930), competition for a plan for regulatory and construction guidelines for the area near the Cathedral and Židovská ulica (1931), General plan of the City (K. Gross, 1949), General plan of the City (J. Svetlík, 1954), Town-planning competition for central area of Bratislava (1978), Istroport (VAL, 1976)



*Flows – Movement in the past century significantly altered our sense of urban space and architecture. In conceiving the flows, Ignasi de Solà-Morales has in mind movement in the sense of bending, i.e. not merely in the sense of changing places. For him, it is not only about traffic flows but also flows of data or services, and simultaneously about the entire network of connections of all types. Flow as a cultural category additionally draws attention to the need to remove movement from extra-architectonic competences, where it was assigned in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, in our understanding, the category of flows includes all types of movement. In this case, those movements that since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century up to the present have shaped the idea of an inner ring boulevard. Here, we have in mind both movement as transportation and movement brought about by modernisation, economic growth, social changes or paradigm shifts in architectural and urban design.*

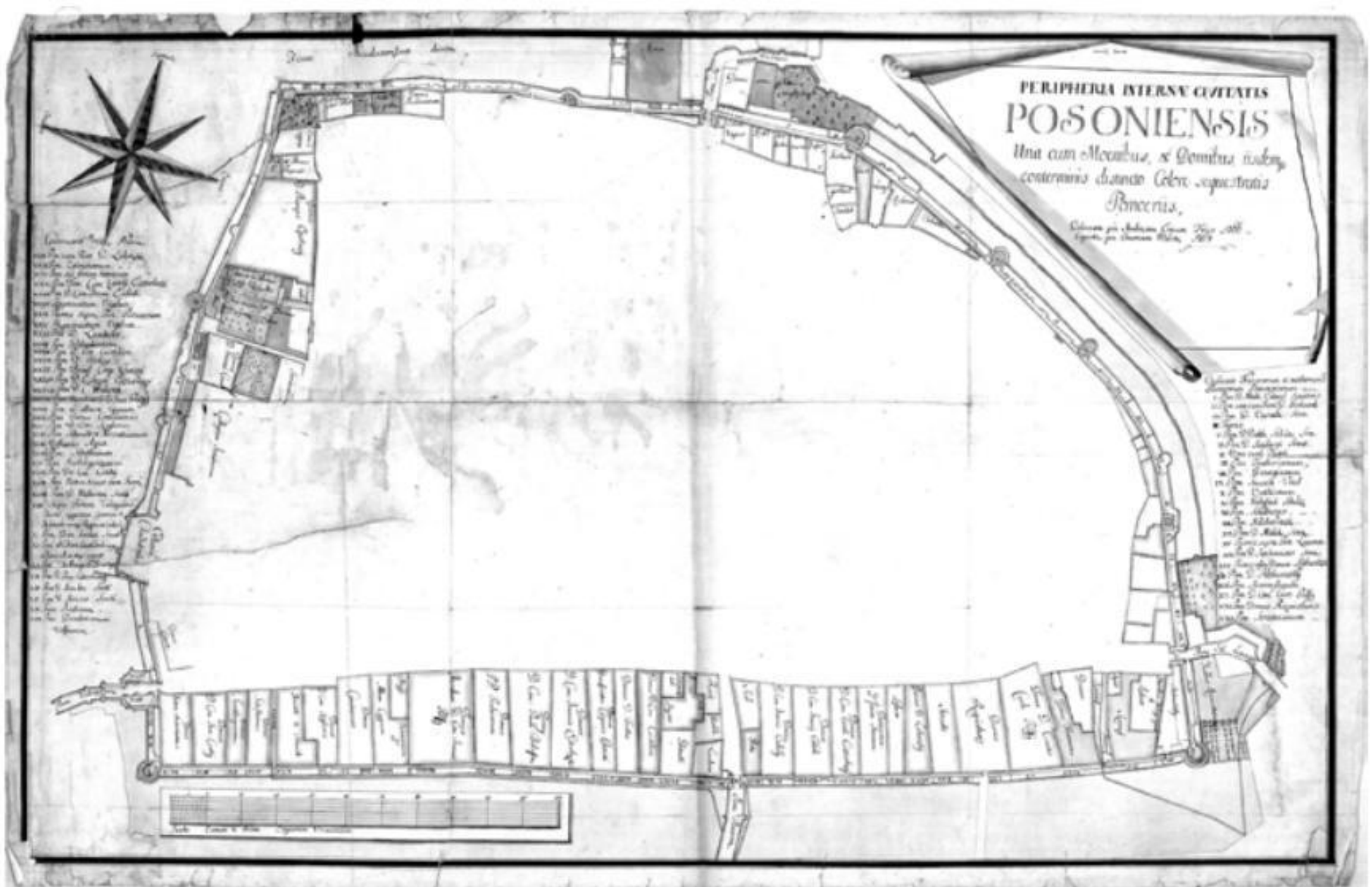
The ring or ring boulevard – Ringstrasse, Körút, Vnútorný mestský okruh – respectively the outer boulevard, is an element of the urban structure that strongly determines the parameter of movements or flows. Movement in this sense can include various types, from pedestrian movement, vehicle movement, or movement in a more indirect sense of commercial and social activities, or even still further removed ideas of flow within infrastructures or the financial sphere. The growth in intensity of multiple movements directed into the city and outward from it formed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the impulse to remove urban defensive walls and fortifications, and hence the first stimulus towards the creation of a spatial framing for the creation of an outer boulevard. The ring boulevard not only allowed for more

rapid flows heading into and out of the city, but also for movement around its edge. The intensity and character of these flows, in turn, simultaneously determined the routing and the appearance of the boulevard. The outer boulevard, or later ring-road, could thus be regarded as a spatial projection of movement, i.e. flow, fully in the sense of Morales's definition of the category 'Flows'. In the case of the Bratislava 'ring', though, we are faced with an ambiguous spatial formation which in the course of history has been changed, depending on the intensity of the various types of flows yet also on which flows were given preference in a specific historical period and how this preference was reflected in regulatory guidelines and construction projects. The form of the Bratislava Ring is not the outcome of the planned realisation of a single aim, but the result of the partial realisation of several diverging plans, permanently challenged with unplanned construction generated through the ad hoc requirements of individual builders. And it is likely that not even the current form of Bratislava's ring-road can be treated as necessarily final.

#### The Start of the Formation of the City Ring

The first condition for the creation of an outer boulevard was the regulation of construction on the site of the city's fortifications in the later part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1774, Empress Maria Theresia ordered the demolition of the inner walls and the filling in of the city's moat. In addition, she charged the head of the court building office in Vienna, the architect Franz Anton Hillebrand (1719 – 1797) with the preparation of the very first

<sup>1</sup> de Solà-Morales, Ignasi, Present and Futures: Architecture in Cities. Thresholds, 1997, no. 14, p. 15.



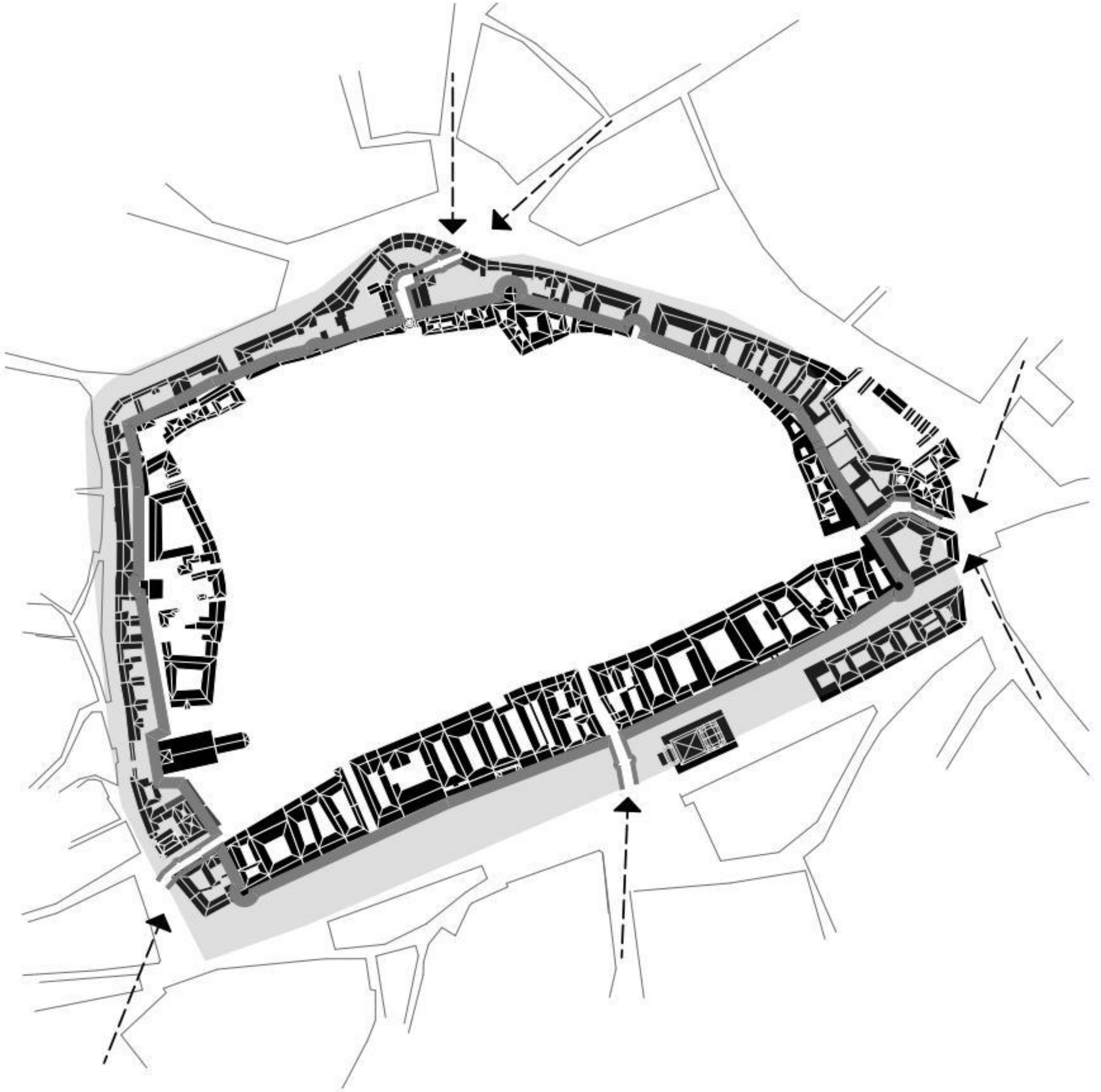
The image of the city walls of today's Bratislava, as of 1766  
 Source: Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic

regulatory plan for the city.<sup>2</sup> The stated goal was to unify the city centre with its suburbs, and to plot new streets and construction trajectories on the site of the former defensive walls and moats. This first regulation plan was prepared in sections starting in 1775 and probably lasting until the end of the same decade.<sup>3</sup> Judging from the surviving sketches, we can state that Hillebrand's design was notably restrained: preserving most of the extant built structures and conceiving all new public spaces with a clear eye towards the original buildings. Hillebrand proposed dividing most of the land originally occupied by defensive structures into separate building lots, with the construction height established from the extant structures, as can be seen e.g. in the plan for parcelling and height regulation for new construction in the area of the northern section of the moat in front of the Capuchin Monastery. And he took a similar approach as well for the eastern part of the fortifications, where the moat was by this time already partially built up. More ambitious was his plan for treatment of the construction in the area near St. Martin's Cathedral and the Vydrlica Gate (Vydrická brána), where Hillebrand proposed a radical widening of the street, Dlhá ulica (now Panská), where the cathedral would also be accessible from this street via

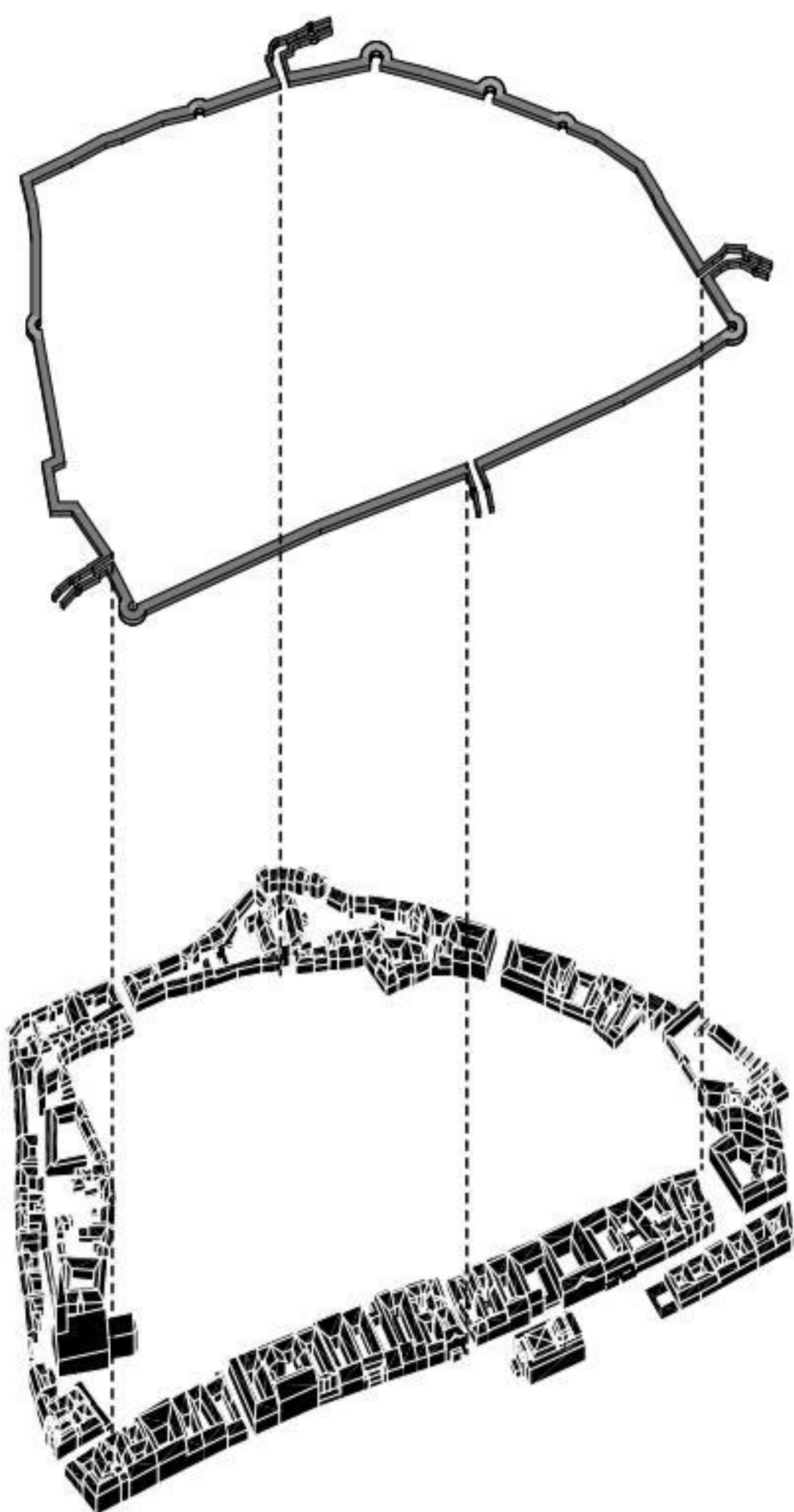
---

2 Franz Anton Hillebrand (occasionally also stated as Hillebrandt) was nominated in 1757 to the post of architect of the Hungarian Court Chamber (ungarische Hofkammer) then located in Bratislava. After 1772, he was the head of the Hofbauamt in Vienna, holding the titles of court architect (Hofarchitekt) and after 1773 imperial councillor. In 1773 - 1775, he worked on the plan for expansion of Bratislava (Planung der Stadterweiterung Preßburg, Ungarn / Pozsony / Bratislava, SK - Abriss der Stadtmauern, Neuordnung des Stadttinneren) <http://www.architektenlexikon.at/de/1108.htm> (documentation in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv [https://www.wien.gv.at/actaproweb2/benutzung/archive.xhtml?id=Akt++++1de8b49b-51d6-4509-88aa-51a24af830e8VERA#Akt\\_\\_\\_\\_1de8b49b-51d6-4509-88aa-51a24af830e8VERA](https://www.wien.gv.at/actaproweb2/benutzung/archive.xhtml?id=Akt++++1de8b49b-51d6-4509-88aa-51a24af830e8VERA#Akt____1de8b49b-51d6-4509-88aa-51a24af830e8VERA))

3 These regulation plans are kept in the Hungarian National Archive in Budapest, but are accessible through <https://maps.hungaricana.hu>



Buildings around the city walls of Bratislava, state from 1900, with the original course of the walls and the moat



Buildings around the city walls of Bratislava, state from 1900, with the original course of the

an imposing formal staircase. Yet the most extensive plans from Hillebrand were reserved for the southern section of fortifications. To the east in the filled-in moat, he proposed two streets, András Gasse and Rosen Gasse (now respectively Gorkého and Jesenského ulica), which outlined the new block for construction. To the west in the former moat, in front of the theatre then under construction (Stavovské divadlo, Matej Walch, 1776), he defined a new square.<sup>4</sup>

Demolition of the inner walls and filling of the moats was undertaken in the period from 1775 to 1778. However, the walls were only removed partially: a long section of the western rampart remained, along with the section around the St. Michael's Gate and tower or even the section of fortifications to the east near the St. Lawrence Gate (Vavrinecká brána).<sup>5</sup> However, as the map of the city from 1820 reveals, Hillebrand's proposals were realised to a surprising extent. As a result, at the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Bratislava already had available the ideal spatial preconditions for creating an imposing urban ring boulevard. The outer circle of land at the edge of the former fortifications could, following the trends of the era, have been used for promenades, tree-lined alleys or public parks, or as in Paris could have been used as a space for realising imposing buildings representing the rising urban commercial classes or forming a site for economic (primarily retail) activity,

<sup>4</sup> Lachmannová, Monika: Tvorba peších zón, peších ťahov a peších prepojení v historickom urbánnom priestore. PhD dissertation, Gregor Mendel University, Brno; Faculty of Gardening in Lednice, Department of Garden and Landscape Architecture, 2014, p. 56 – 81. Viz. also Dvořáková, Viera et al.: Bratislava – pamiatková rezervácia: Zásady ochrany pre vybrané sektory pamiatkovej rezervácie. Bratislava, Pamiatkový úrad Slovenskej republiky, 2012, 81 pp.

<sup>5</sup> The demolition of the ramparts and construction near the Cathedral are mentioned e.g. in Korabinsky, Johann Matthias: Beschreibung der königl. ungarischen Haupt-, Frey- und Krönungsstadt Preßburg. 1784, p. 45, 47 and 50.



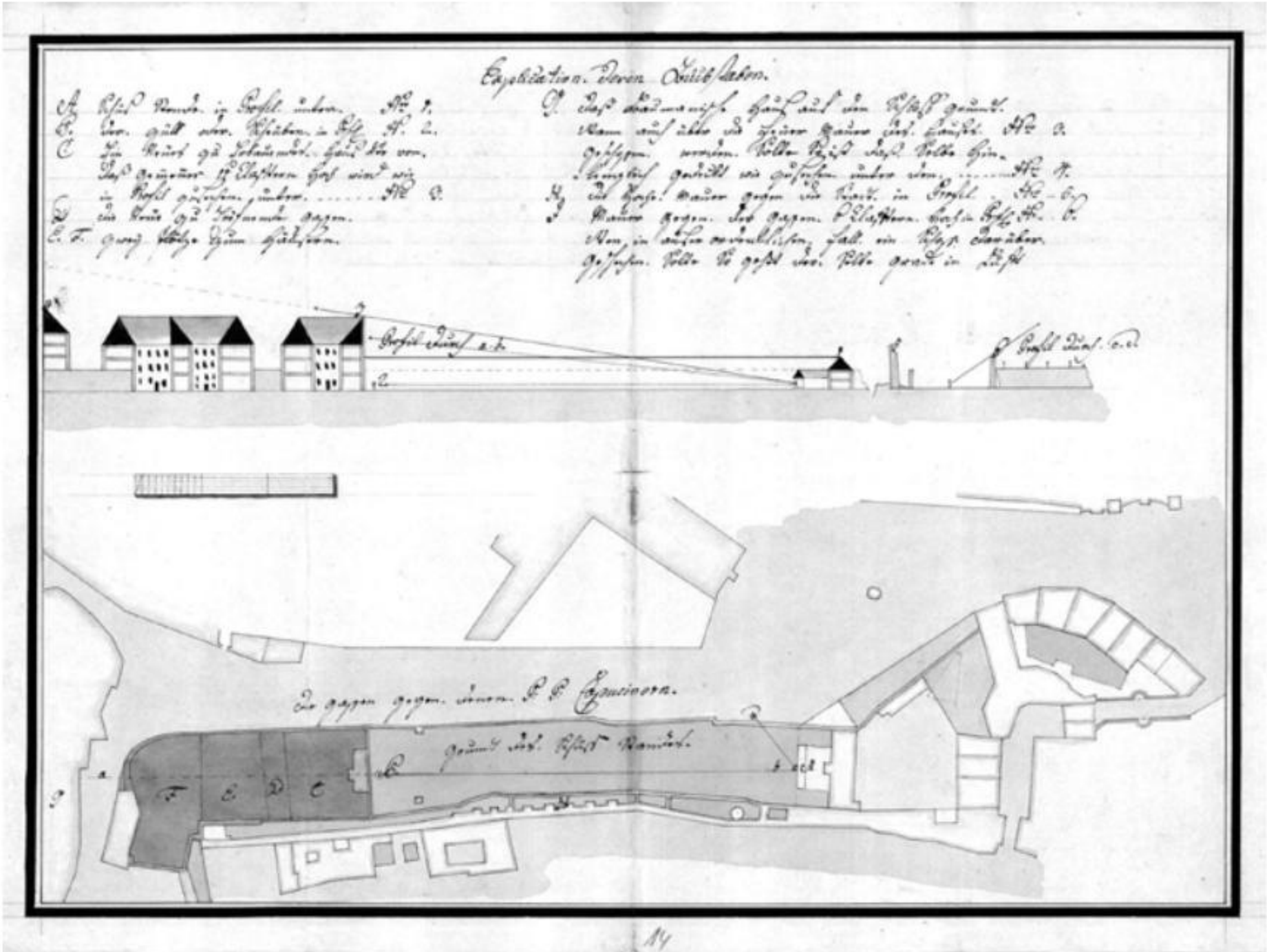
yet in all instances as a space for multi-directional movement. Most notably, this potential made itself clear in the area of the filled-in southern moat, where from the 1770s on a series of large public as well as private structures had been built and (around 1780) an alley of trees had been planted, creating a pleasant place for walking – hence the later name of ‘Spazier Allee’. The decisive function that shaped this part of the city, though, was movement linked to social status: movement between the city centre and the Danube embankment with the suspension bridge, as well as the movement associated with the operation of the horse-drawn railway, which had its final station on the square. These factors were reflected in the later shift of the name of the space, in the city’s various languages, to Promenade Platz, Sétatér, Korso-út, Promenáda or simply the ‘corso’.

Since Hillebrand’s plan did not have the status of a binding legal document, in the next decades construction proceeded on the other spaces of the ring in a more evolutionary way. The result led to the formation of a dense block structure practically around the entire perimeter of the former moat and the narrowing of the space for the potential expansion of roadways. With the growing importance of rail and river transport and the vastly increasing turnover of goods within the city as a result of industrial development in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century, though, the demands for an outer ring road only increased. Construction of rail stations in the north and south suburbs, the building of the first steel bridge, dedicated to Emperor Franz Josef, across the Danube in 1891 and the link between this bridge leading from the outer ring to the historic roadway on the Danube banks all led to a natural widening of the perimeter of the original outer ring. New urban spaces with good transport access, created possibilities for new activities and

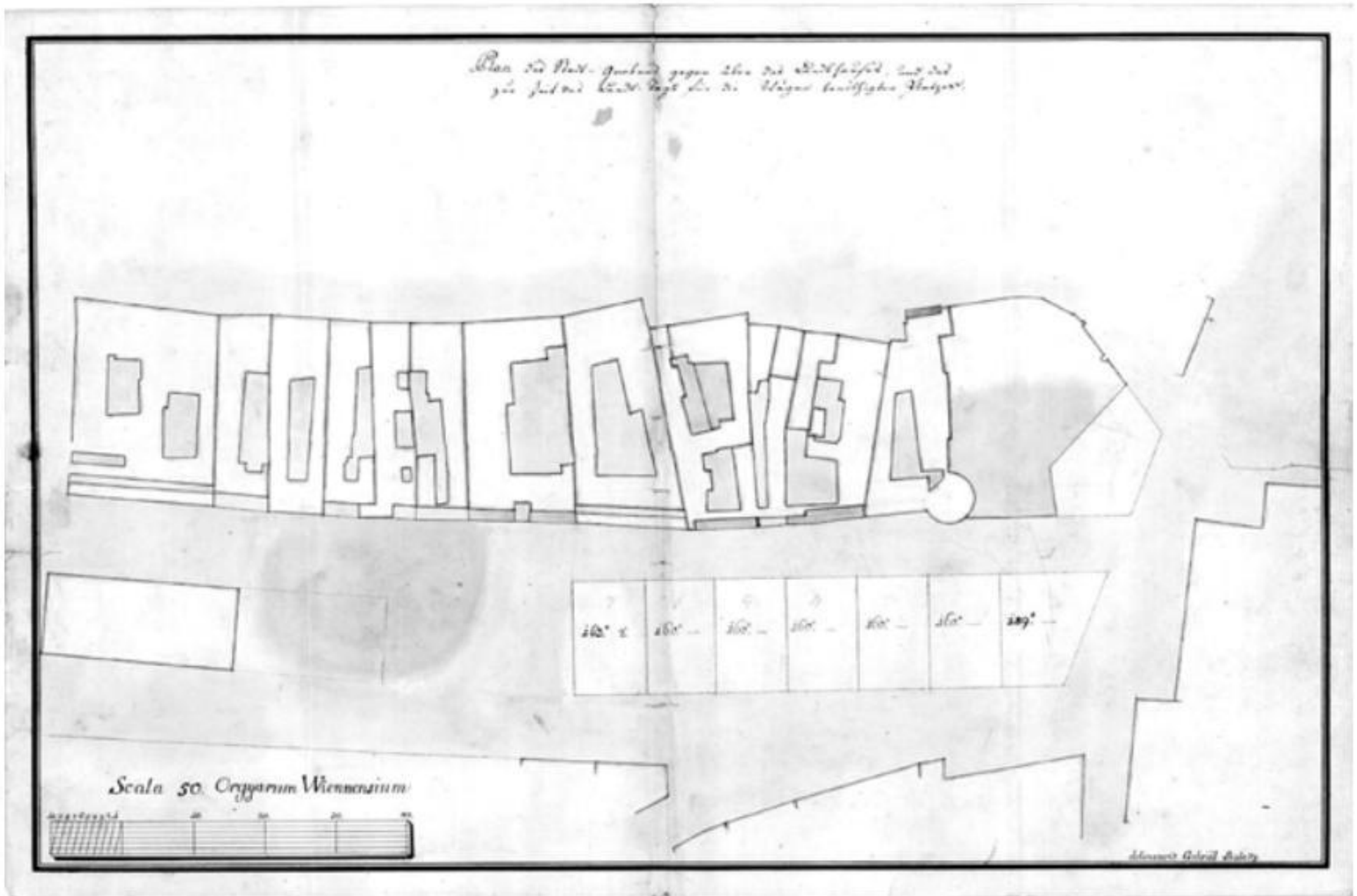
new construction investments. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, therefore, once again the function of social representation began to manifest itself in the Bratislava ring. Imposing privately-owned palaces arose mostly along (today’s) Štúrova ulica and Hviezdoslavovo námestie, where on the site of the earlier theatre a new City Theatre was nearing completion (Ferdinand Fellner, Hermann Helmer, 1886). However, the limited accessibility of Židovská ulica, caused by surviving remnants of the city fortifications that had been used for unplanned construction, ensured that the role of part of this ‘ring’ was assumed in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century by today’s Michalská and Ventúrska ulica. Hence by the century’s end, the inner ring was formed by the roadway on the left bank of the Danube, today’s Štúrova ulica, Námestie SNP and Hurbanovo námestie, where the ring then passed through the St. Michael’s Gate into the historic inner city, continued further along Michalská and Ventúrska and through Rybné námestie (the ‘Fish Market’) once again joined the embankment road. This formation placed enormous pressure on the historic street network, causing endless traffic problems when entering and exiting the historic core. Indeed, this unresolvable transport situation, along with the need to regulate new construction in the suburbs, formed one of the main reasons which led the City Council in 1898 to commission the plan for regulation and enlargement of the city.

#### The First Attempts at a Bratislava Ringstrasse

In the surviving texts accompanying the preparation of the regulatory plan by the City Technical Department from the years between 1898 and 1906, the phrases ‘ring’ or ‘ring-road’ are never explicitly cited. The press of this era speaks exclusively of the transport problems afflicting the historic city centre. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that the



Regulation of development around St. Michael Gate and on the site of the southern part of the fortification, F. A. Hillebrandt, 1775  
 Source: National Archives of Hungary in Budapest, <https://maps.hungaricana.hu>



Regulation of development around St. Michael Gate and on the site of the southern part of the fortification, F. A. Hillebrandt, 1775  
 Source: National Archives of Hungary in Budapest, <https://maps.hungaricana.hu>

authors of the plans discussed the question of a ring road or boulevard. In the plans, it is also possible to identify interventions into the extant urban structure, such as shifts in street lines and roadway widening, which indicate that an inner ring road was conceived leading on the west, north and northeast along the outline of the former city moats, while to the southeast it would follow the new street leading to the Franz Josef Bridge and, to the south, intersect with the embankment road. Concretely, the regulatory plan proposed widening Židovská ulica in the direction of the former ramparts and widening the embankment road along Batthyányho nábrežia (now Rázusovo nábrežie) and Justiho rad (now Vajanského nábrežie). Still more immediately, an idea for an outer boulevard was employed in the rival plan by Viktor Bernárdt.<sup>6</sup> Here, Bernárdt proposed routing the ring-road as a 37-m-wide boulevard along the route of the present-day Štúrova ulica, Námestie SNP, Hurbanovo námestie and Staromestská ulica, where the ring would continue via a bridge (or at least a pedestrian walkway) across the Danube. This road would have been lined with open green spaces, while beside St. Martin's Cathedral, the plan assumed the demolition of the surrounding buildings to create a square.

Antal Palóczi in his regulation plan also considered the planning of ring boulevards. His idea was to widen Batthyányho nábrežie (now Rázusovo nábrežie), demolish the city brewery and the water barracks, and shift the street line so that the embankment road would contain four traffic lanes and generous four-metre sidewalks for pedestrians.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, all streets wider than 22 m would be planted with rows of trees. All that was to be retained

from the brewery was the entrance ramp, to be used as the entranceway to a new bridge across the Danube, linking Batthyányho nábrežie to the river's opposite bank.<sup>8</sup> However, Palóczi did not plan for a Vienna-type Ringstrasse along the route of the old fortifications, but planned it instead as an open circular roadway leading "from the expanded terrain of the main rail station along 13 km back to the rail station". "This circular roadway, similar to the inner streets adapted to it, will be planned following artistic principles, and this conception will not be abandoned even on the large, wide radials leading out from the city or on the connections planned for them", Palóczi stated in his public lecture on the city regulation.<sup>9</sup> The ring-road would also be connected via two new bridges to the western bank of the river; further plans included the possibility of another outer ring-road and yet another new bridge near the winter port.

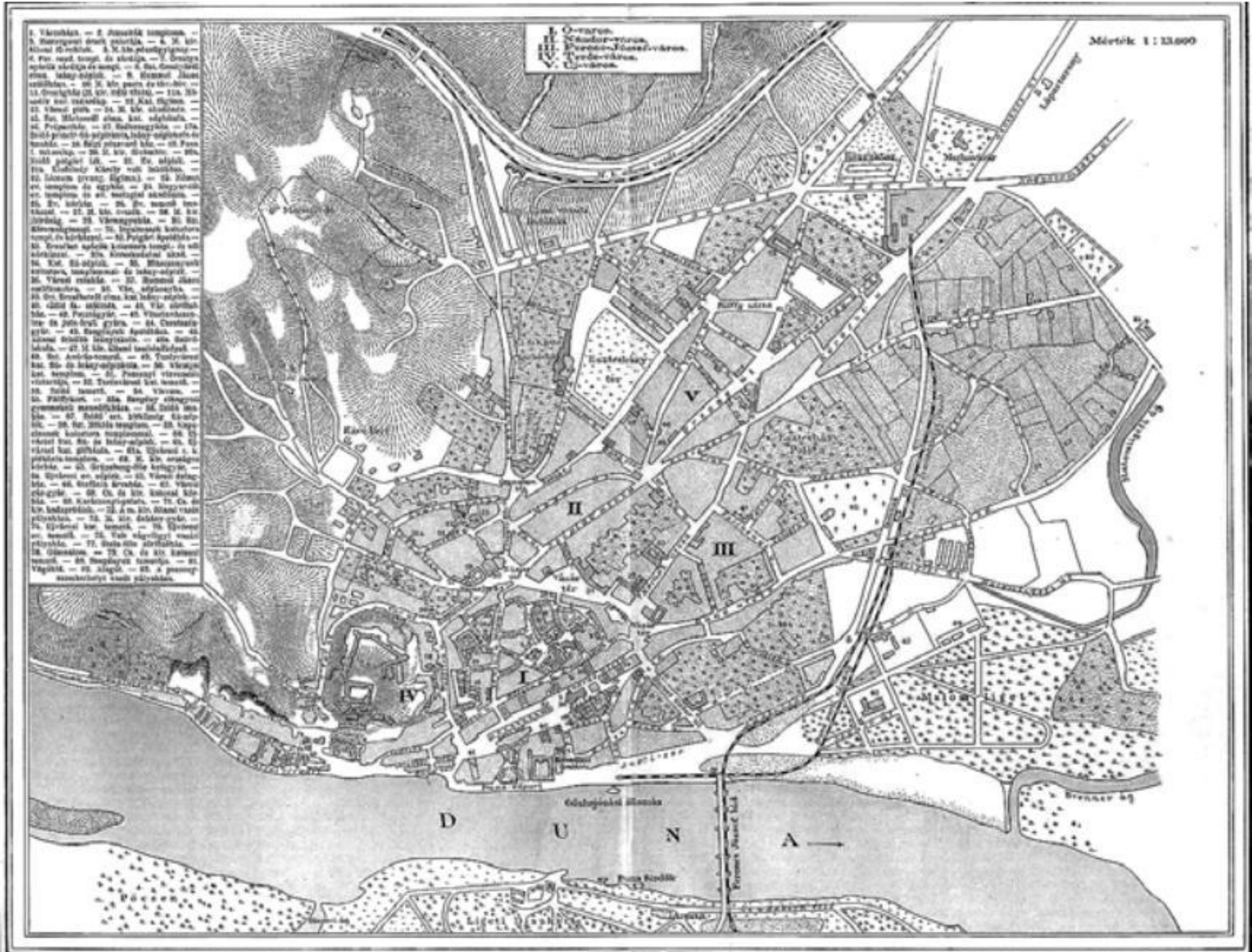
None of these plans was ever approved by the city council. Though Palóczi's idea of an inner ring did influence the regulation of new construction on the Danube embankment, it was never realised as a coherent whole. Above all, the reason was financial, since the city could not afford to purchase all the land necessary for the street-widening. By contrast, the importance of the existing fragments of the outer boulevard, in part thanks to the introduction of an electric tram line along its east and south sections, only continued to increase. In the area between Námestie SNP, Hviezdoslavovo námestie, Štúrova ulica and the Danube bank between the now-vanished landmarks of the Franz Josef Bridge and the

<sup>6</sup> Nyugatmagyarországi Híradó, 17, 23. 9. 1905, no. 216, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Palóczi, Anton: Die neuen Baulinien am Batthyány-Quai. Pressburger Zeitung, 146, 30. 12. 1909, no. 359, p. 1 - 2.

<sup>8</sup> Prof. Palóczi über die Stadtregulierung. Vortrag im Volkswirtschaftlichen Klub. Pressburger Zeitung, 145, 11. 12. 1908, no. 341, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Prof. Palóczi über die Stadtregulierung. Vortrag im Volkswirtschaftlichen Klub. Pressburger Zeitung, 145, 15. 12. 1908, no. 345, p. 2.



Map of Bratislava, 1895  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives

Fishmarket (Rybné námestie) there arose at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century many significant public investments connected with different areas of social life. Public services and trade shaped the 'Market Square' (Trhové námestie, now Námestie SNP), with the construction of the city market hall (Námestie SNP 26, Gyula Laubner, Ferencz Nechyba, Jenő Dobisz, 1910) and the Postal and Telegraph Building (Námestie SNP 35, Gyula Pártos, 1912). In turn, the embankment road was shaped by state administration through the Metalworking Trade School (Fajnorovo nábrežie 5, Gyula Kolbenheyer, 1904) or the Military High Command (Fajnorovo nábrežie 1, Gondova 3, Josef Rittner, 1913).

At this time, the western section of the ring was itself close to realisation. After the fire below the Castle (Podhradie) in 1913, efforts were made to approach the regulation of Židovská ulica precisely following the intentions of Palóczy's plan. The City Council approved this document in July 1914, and in the same year it was also confirmed by the Hungarian Interior Ministry. Yet the realisation of the street widening and the full opening of the inner ring never came to pass.

#### Almost a Metropolitan Boulevard

With the founding of independent Czechoslovakia, the new municipal authorities, architects and members of the regulatory commission took a highly critical stance towards the land-use planning documents of the previous era. Yet nonetheless, the question of a ring road remained on the agenda. Architect Jiří Grossmann viewed the existing "main street arteries on the perimeter" of the historical centre as a good chance for significantly

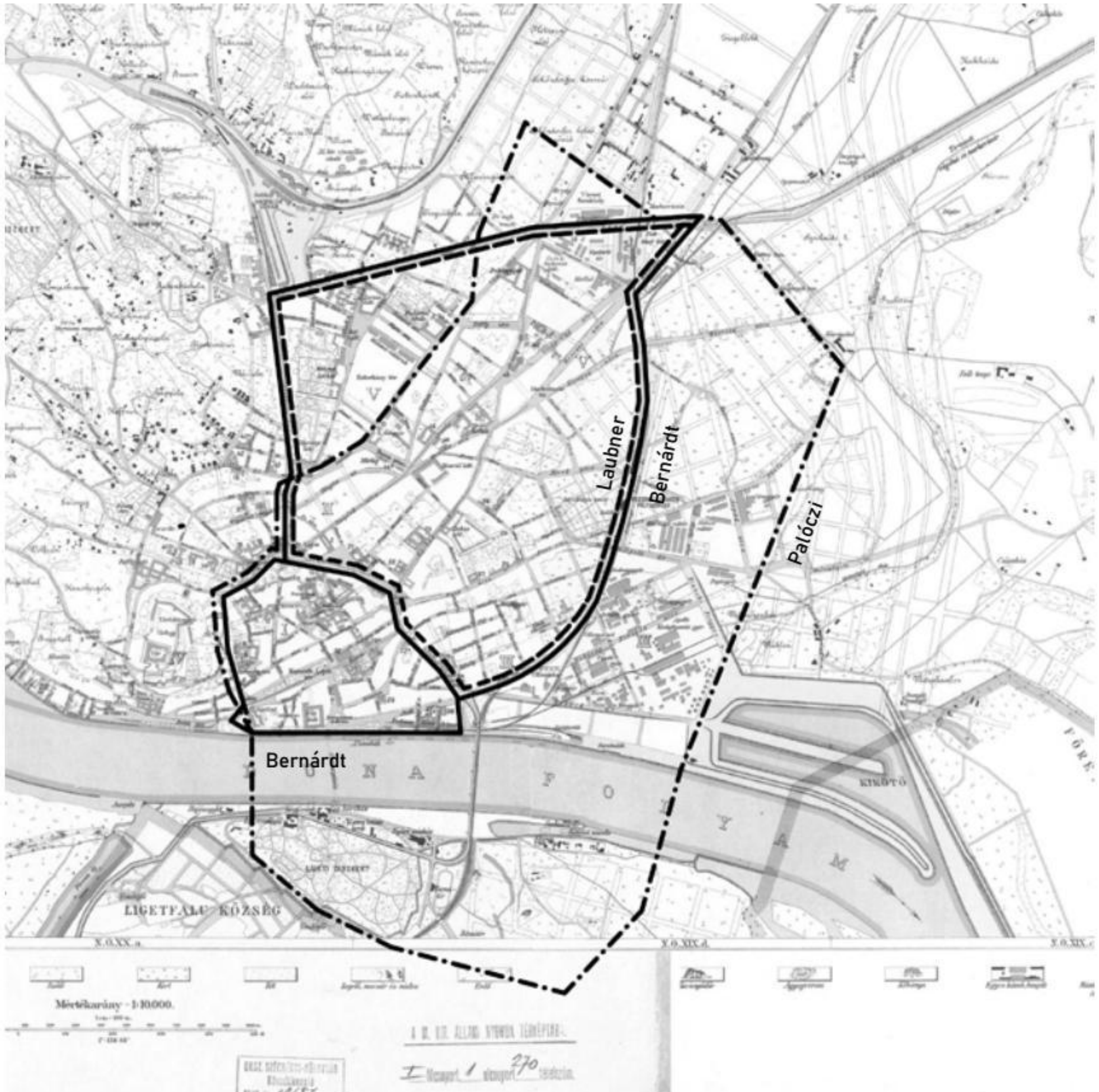
limiting the traffic burden.<sup>10</sup> In the study for the regulation of Greater Bratislava that Grossmann prepared with his partner Alois Balán from 1920 until 1924, the architects considered the preservation of an inner ring following the line of the historic fortifications, even though they admitted that "this ring road does not, however, have much practical significance, since the only lively traffic is to be found in the elongated square of námestie Republiky".<sup>11</sup> From the draft of the regulation that they published in 1926, though, it is evident that they made use of the idea of an inner ring, involving a significant widening of Židovská ulica along with the embankment streets, while proposing for the embankments and Štúrova ulica the planting of tree-rows.<sup>12</sup>

The international competition for the city regulatory plan held in 1929 did not specifically thematise the question of an inner ring: no mention of it was made in the competition conditions, and the winning competition designs all left the built fabric and street network in the historic core without change. At the most, they remarked on the existing yet unclear inner ring as part of the ring-radial road system, which they expanded further and continued in the northeast direction. The inner ring thus continued to be formulated through individual solutions for problematic sections, but never as a whole. Even though the traffic situation near the St. Michael Gate and Hurbanovo námestie, which had been singled out as early as 1909 by Antal Palóczy as one of the neuralgic points of the city, as well as the area near Židovská ulica continued to grow worse, the city only took

10 Grossmann, Jiří: Sanace starého města v Bratislavě. Časopis československých architektů, 22, 1923, no. 9 - 12, p. 219.

11 Grossmann, Jiří - Balán, Alois: Regulační studie velké Bratislavy. Časopis československých architektů, 25, 1926, no. 1, p. 47.

12 Ibid., p. 41.



The course of inner and outer city ring according to the design of V. Bernárdt (1905), Technical Department of the City (1906) and A. Palóczy (1917)



Former Trhové námestie, which was created after the eastern part of the moat was filled up, around 1909  
Source: Bratislava City Museum





Today's Hviezdoslavovo námestie, which was created after the southern part of the moat was filled up, around 1900  
Source: Bratislava City Museum

action towards its rectification at the end of the 1920s, practically in parallel with the opening of the competition for the city regulatory plan. Contributing to the reasons for holding a competition for a solution to the St. Michael's Gate situation in 1929 was the plan by the Baťa shoe company to realise its new department store at the corner of Michalská ulica and Hurbanovo námestie.<sup>13</sup> Baťa had an excellent sense of the potential of a ring boulevard and its various traffic flows, while the competition brought forth a wide range of ideas – yet these plans remained confined to paper, and Baťa realised its investment without regard for them (Baťa House of Services, Hurbanovo námestie 6, Vladimír Karfík, 1930). Almost parallel to the construction of the Baťa department store was the realisation of another prominent building at the opposite end of the square, the City Savings Bank (Námestie SNP 18, Juraj Tvarožek, 1931). Both of these major investments and architectonically daring achievements further strengthened the existing flow of services on the square, while also adding to the representative appearance of the urban boulevard. And the new typologies and architectonic forms that they presented continued to influence the form of construction in the vicinity for several decades into the future.

The position of today's Námestie SNP in the context of the city was clearly known to prominent investors, and during the 1930s still more construction projects were directed to the vicinity, offering the services of many important corporations of the era: the Rudolf Manderla Meat Works, the Brouk and Babka retail network or the 'Alliance of Farmers' Mutual Savings'. Reaction to the rise in investments and the spontaneous construction during the

<sup>13</sup> Porubská, Bronislava: Regulácia mesta Bratislavy v medzivojnovom období. Monument revue, 2, 2013, no. 2, p. 32 – 37.

first half of the decade was forthcoming from the City Regulatory Commission through the proposal for construction regulations in the area of the square, then known as 'Námestie republiky'. Here, the decisive impulse was not only the desire to shape and guide the "new commercial district"<sup>14</sup> but equally to retain as least part of the original land divisions and the generous capacity of the communication spaces. The height level for the southern edge of the square was set at six storeys with an additional recessed floor, thus allowing it to match the already completed new construction, yet at the same time the inner courtyards were to be kept free of construction and no merging of parcels would be allowed. In the section containing Hurbanovo námestie and Kapucínska ulica, the height limit was restricted to five storeys, with regulation also requiring the retention of the land parcelling and preventing construction inside the courtyards.<sup>15</sup> It was in the sense of these rules that construction and the organisation of movement in this section of the ring continued up until the midpoint of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

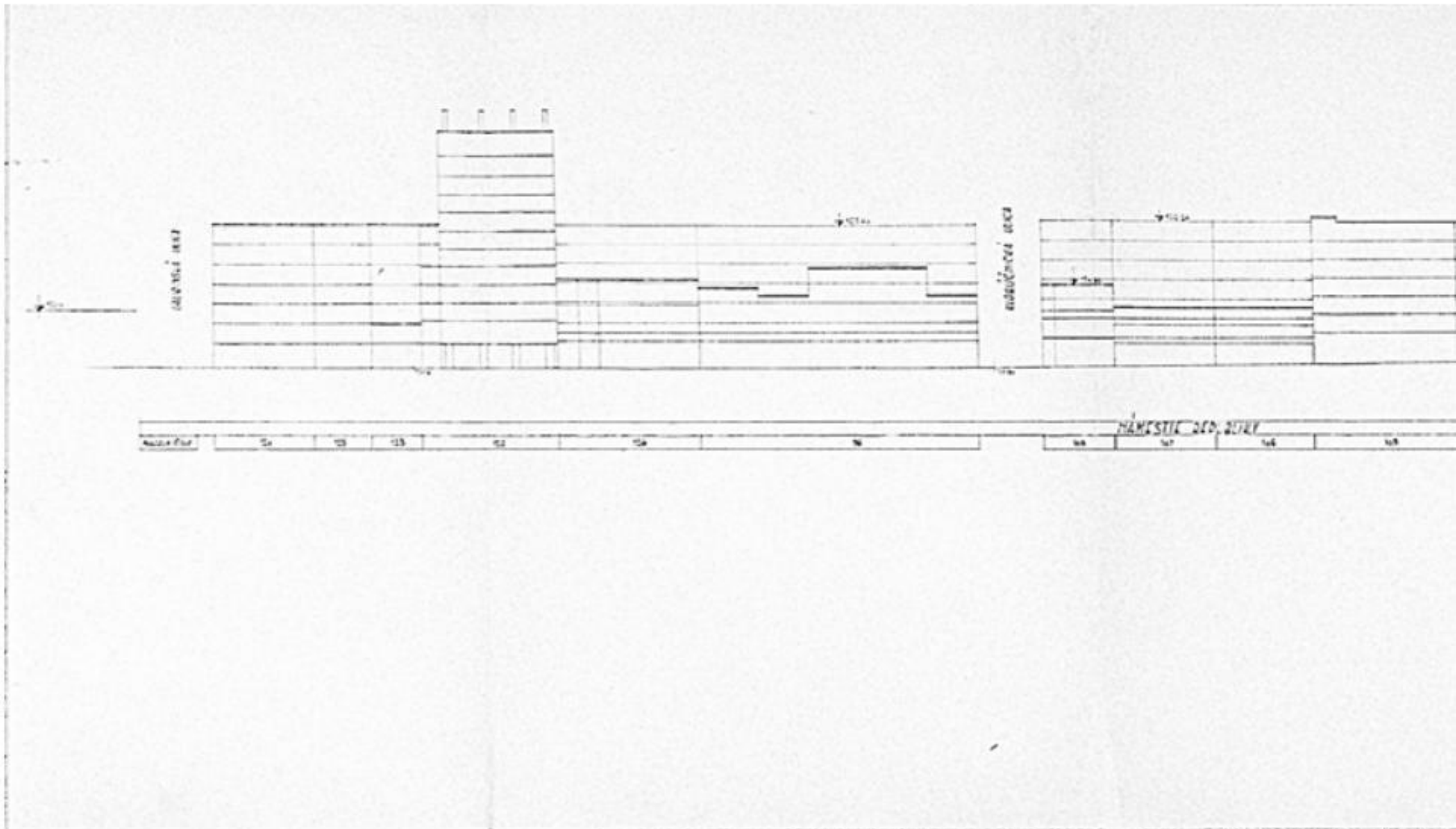
With these regulations and the further construction development in the north, east and south sections, the course of the inner ring boulevard remained stabilised in the interwar period. Still unaddressed, though, was the question of its western part along the line of Židovská ulica. Also here, there was a tension arising from the conflict between the recently institutionalized protection of historical monuments and the growing demand for transport.

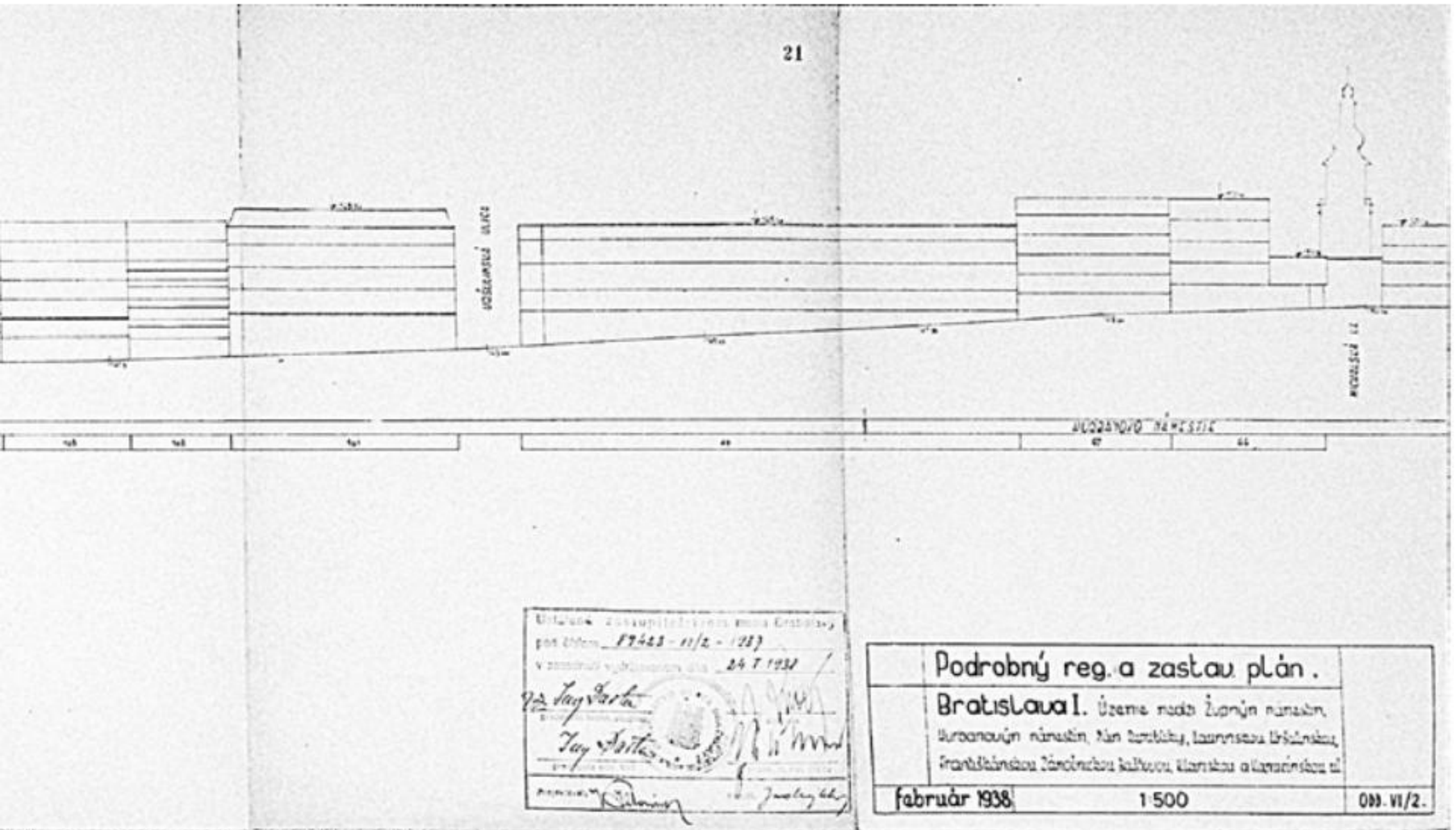
<sup>14</sup> Gross, A.[Kamil]: Obchodné mestské štvrte – Obchodný dom Bohuslav Brouk v Bratislave. Slovenský staviteľ, 6, 1936, no. 11, p. 325.

<sup>15</sup> "Predpisy regulačnej a zastavovacej úpravy v časti I. okresu medzi Župným námestím, Hurbanovým námestím, Námestím Republiky, Laurinskou, Uršulínskou, Františkánskou, Zámočnickou, Baštovou, Klariskou a Kapucínskou ulicou". Guidelines approved by a ruling of the City Council on 24. 1. 1938. Archive of the City of Bratislava, ÚHA, box no. 841.



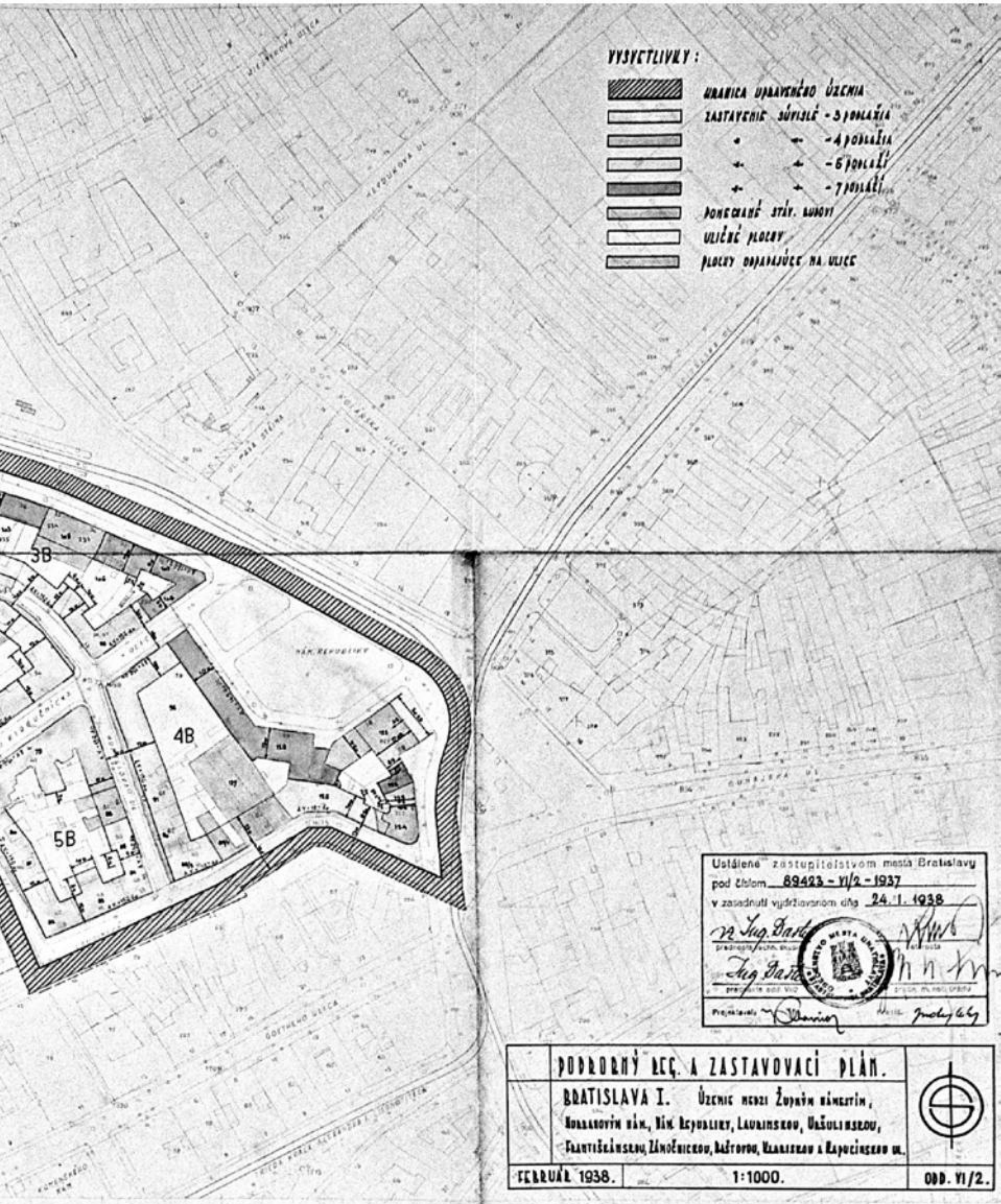
General Plan of Regulation and the Rail Plan for the Territory of Bratislava and Surrounding Settlements, the highest awarded competition design, Alois Dryák, Juraj Tvarožek, Karel Chlumecký, 1928  
Source: Časopis československých architektů, 1929



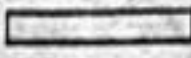

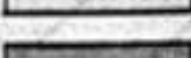




Regulation and Construction Guidelines for the area around today's Námestie SNP, 1938  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives





**ΥΠΟΒΕΛΛΙΜΥ :**

-  **ΜΑΡΚΑ ΟΡΘΟΓΩΝΙΟ ΟΥΣΕΙΑ**
-  **ΖΑΣΤΑΥΣΗΣ ΣΥΡΙΣΤΕ - ΣΥΜΒΛΑΧΙΑ**
-  **• • - 4 ΜΟΒΛΑΧΙΑ**
-  **• • • • - 5 ΜΟΒΛΑΧΙΑ**
-  **• • • • • • - 7 ΜΟΒΛΑΧΙΑ**
-  **ΔΟΜΕΣΙΑΚΕ ΣΤΑΥ. ΚΑΥΟΙ**
-  **ΟΔΟΙΚΕ ΠΛΟΧΥ**
-  **ΠΛΟΧΥ ΟΡΘΟΓΩΝΙΟΚΕ ΠΑ ΟΔΟΙΚΕ**

Ustáleno zastupiteľstvom mesta Bratislavy  
 pod číslom **89423 - VI/2 - 1937**  
 v zasadnutí výborovnom dňa **24. 1. 1938**  
   
 Jozef Darto  
 Predseda mest. výboru  
 Jozef Darto  
 Predseda mest. výboru  
 Prokurator 

<b>ΠΟΡΡΟΡΗΥ ΡΕΓ. Α ΖΑΣΤΑΥΟΝΑΚΙ ΠΛΑΝ.</b> <b>ΒΡΑΤΙΣΛΑΒΑ Ι. ΟΥΣΕΙΑ ΜΕΩΣΙ ΖΟΥΡΗΜ ΝΑΜΕΣΤΙΜ,</b> <b>ΚΟΒΑΚΟΒΙΜ ΝΑΜ, ΝΑΚ ΒΕΡΥΟΛΙΕΥ, ΛΑΟΥΙΝΣΚΟΥ, ΟΥΔΟΛΙΝΣΚΟΥ,</b> <b>ΓΡΑΝΤΙΔΕΛΙΝΣΚΟΥ, ΖΑΝΟΒΙΝΣΚΟΥ, ΒΑΓΕΡΟΥ, ΚΛΑΡΙΣΚΟΥ Α ΒΑΡΟΙΝΣΚΟΥ Ο.</b>		
<b>ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΙ 1938.</b>	<b>1:1000.</b>	

**ΟΘΔ. VI/2.**

Regulation and Construction Guidelines for the area around today's Námestie SNP, 1938  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives



Bata House of Services, Hurbanovo námestie 6, V. Karfík, 1930  
Source: Bratislava City Museum



View of the southern part of today's Námestie SNP, around 1936  
Source: Bratislava City Museum





Lower part of today's Námestie SNP, around 1936, Manderla commercial and residential house in the foreground  
 (Ch. Ludwig, A. Danielis, E. Spitzre, 1935)  
 Source: Bratislava City Museum



Southern edge of today's SNP Square with new buildings of the Municipal Savings Bank (J. Tvarožek, 1931)  
 and Luxor commercial and residential house (J. Víšek, 1930)  
 Source: Bratislava City Museum

State Department for the Protection of Monuments initiated in early 1931 preparation of regulatory and construction guidelines for the area near the Cathedral and Židovská ulica. The city representatives commissioned the City Technical Department and the Roads Department to prepare the basic guidelines for the future regulation, addressing mainly the establishment of regulatory lines and the road level of Židovská ulica. In parallel, in June of the same year, the State Monuments Board announced a competition to regulate the surroundings of the Cathedral of Sts. Martin, in which the conditions on the part of the city should be taken into account. The conditions have been surprisingly radical. They assumed the widening of the street to 16 m from Dlhá ulica (today Panská ulica) up toward Suché Mýto and its potential connection to Hodžovo námestie. Even at its narrowest points, the street would have not had a width less than 10 m. Additionally, the conditions assumed the closure to traffic of the space in front of the western façade of the Cathedral, which would have been reached from Židovská only by a pedestrian arcade.<sup>16</sup> The competition for the arrangement of the area around the Cathedral of St. Martin was finally organised in summer 1931. Subsequently, the Regulatory Department of the city prepared its own plan for the regulation of Židovská ulica, which the city council voted to approve on 6 June 1932 and the regional committee on 29 May 1933. The regulation assumed the construction in this area of large apartment, retail or office buildings, perhaps even public facilities. This was to confirm the importance of the ring road as a multifunctional urban space. This corresponded not only to the functional determination but also to the dimensions of the new Židovská ulica. The eastern edge of the street would

have widened from the northeast corner of the synagogue up to the Cathedral by 4 m, while in the following section (from the Cathedral up to Kapucínska ulica) the straight line of the regulation shifted in an interval from 5 to 6.8 m. As for the western edge of the street, a similarly radical shift was made in the regulatory line in the area of the Castle Steps (Zámocké schody) and Medzierka (6 m), in the section between Zámocké schody and Petófiho (now Beblavého) ulica up to 16 m, yet in the section between Mikulášska and Kapucínska maximally 4 m. It is worth noting that only three buildings were defined as protected landmarks: St. Martin's Cathedral, the 'Good Shepherd House' (U dobrého pastiera, Mikulášska 1) and the 'Blue House' (Beblavého 1). The height of construction along Židovská ulica was set by the plan at 17 m, while in the vicinity of the Cathedral it was kept below 30.8 m. In this, the proposed street profile included the roadway rising from Rybné námestie to Kapucínska ulica, with pedestrian sidewalks along both edges, though the one on the western edge included staircase sections to allow access over the height difference at the opening of Mikulášska and Beblavého. Several buildings were completed within the spirit of this regulation at the corner of Židovská and Skalná ulica (Edl Court, Josef Nowotny, 1930; Apartment block, Skalná 1, Christian Ludwig, 1935, Apartment buildings, Židovská 17 and Židovská 19, Christian Ludwig, 1935).

In parallel with the regulation of Židovská in the section between the Cathedral and Kapucínska ulica, the Regulatory Department also worked on a proposal for its continuation towards Hodžovo námestie. The new, 16-meter-wide street was supposed to be created by extending the then Kőolocsey Street (today Pilárikova ulica) and cutting through the block between the Konventná, Veterná and Župné námestie, and then connecting with the

<sup>16</sup> Minutes 698-71965/stav. II. 1932 from the Council Assembly of the City of Bratislava. AMB, Židovská, box no. 836.

easternmost part of the Konventná ulica at the mouth of Hodžovo námestie. This regulation was approved by the municipal council in August 1932 and subsequently in November 1932 by the Regional Committee in Bratislava.<sup>17</sup> Although no wide-ranging rebuilding of Židovská ulica and its surroundings was ever carried out, they implemented several new buildings in terms of new regulatory guidelines. Let's mention the apartment block on Konventná (Konventná 17, J. Konrad, 1930) and the apartment buildings on Suché mýto (Suché mýto 2, 4, D. Qastler, 1936 – 1937). However, the overall intention of completing the western part of the inner ring road was not realized at that time. Again, the reasons were finances and insufficient legislation: with the absence of an urban clearance act, the city administration had no resources for buying the land necessary for widening the street.

It is likely that the same reason lay behind the gradual withdrawal among planning experts from the idea of completing the inner ring road. This theme was not given any particular stress even in the international competition for a basic regulatory plan and railway routing for Bratislava in 1929. Most of the participants addressed the problem of the inner ring by shifting the city centre, or more accurately creating a new counterpart to the extant centre towards the east on the area of the present-day Americké námestie, Námestie slobody or even further out. Traffic analyses from the first half of the 1930s, in turn, show that within the city core, the greatest traffic burden was assigned to Námestie republiky, the present Hviezdoslavovo námestie and Štúrova ulica. To ensure free traffic flows

17 \*Regulačná a zastavovacia úprava novoprojektovanej ulice medzi ulicou Kozioú a Konventnou na Suché Mýto a príslých blokov medzi ul. Kozioú, Panenskou, Župným námestím a Suchým mýtom.\* Archive of the City of Bratislava, Kozia-Panenská-Konventná-Veterná-Lycejná, box no. 839.

in the uncompleted ring road, the planners proposed resolving the situation in the form of a roundabout intersection in the lower part of Námestie republiky, which was eventually realised.<sup>18</sup> Conflicts between pedestrian and automotive traffic on Hviezdoslavovo námestie were addressed by limiting vehicle access, which thus increased the flows of car traffic on the Danube bank.<sup>19</sup>

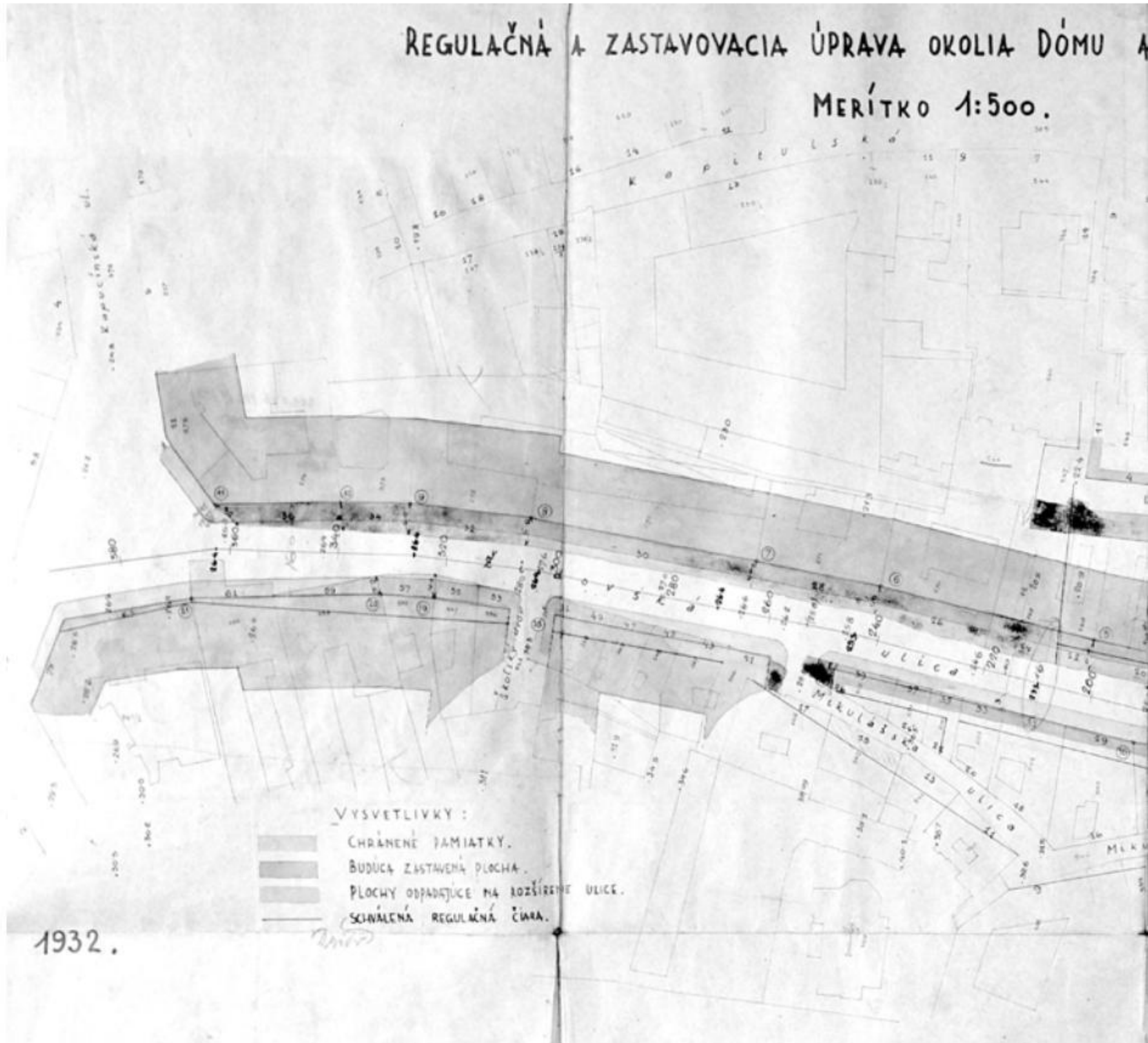
#### Traffic Flow as a Determinant

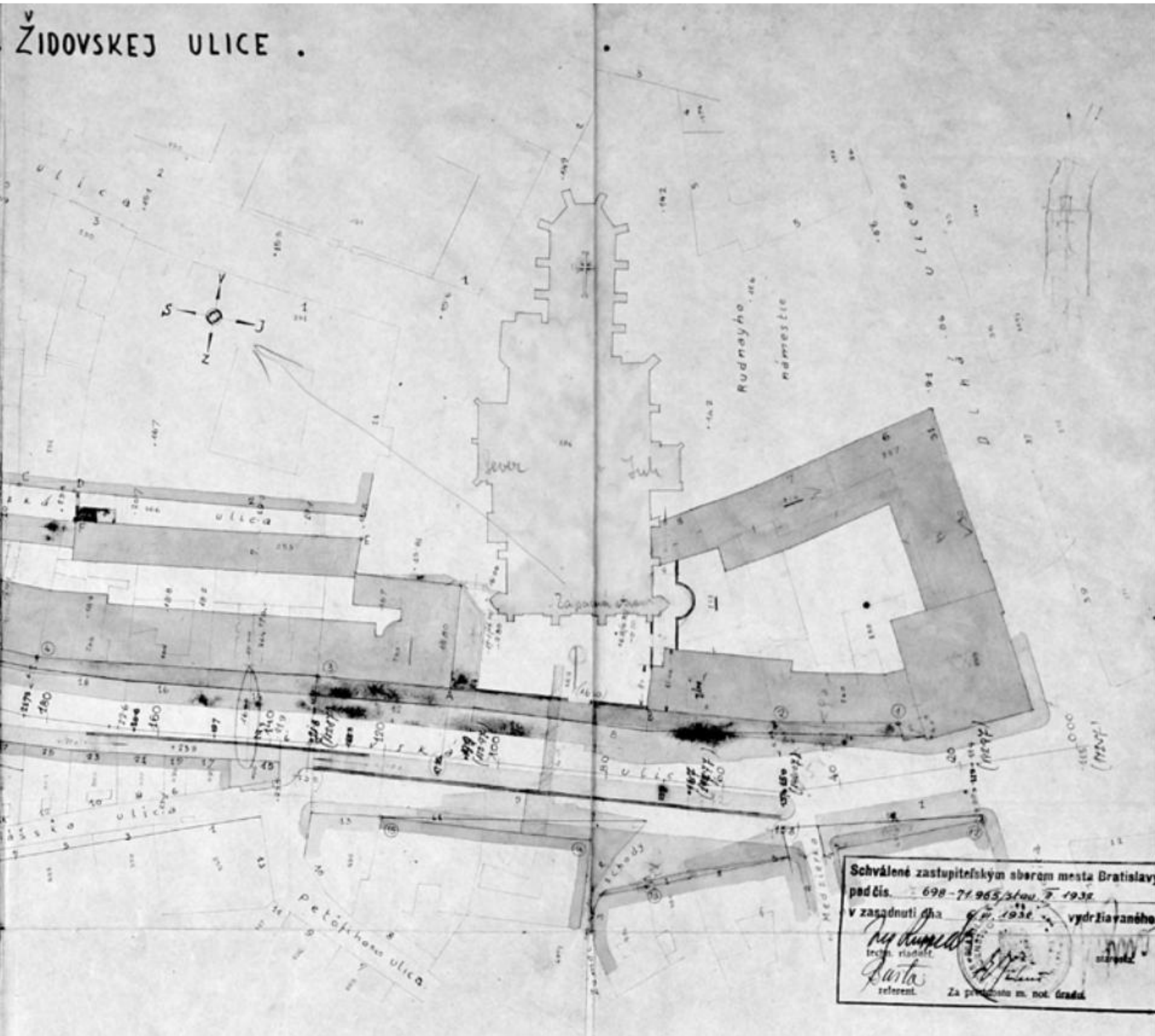
After World War II, the conception of the inner ring road began to be increasingly reduced to its role as a transport corridor. Initially, it was assumed as a use for the land following the traces of the city fortifications. In the draft plan for city construction prepared by the regulatory commission under Kamil Gross in 1949, this inner circle led from the Old Bridge (Starý Most) along Štúrova ulica, passing through Námestie SNP, Hurbanovo námestie and Kapucínska to continue up along Židovská ulica to the Danube and a proposed new bridge, then along the embankment back to the end of the Old Bridge on Šafárikovo námestie. To a considerable extent, Gross was relying on the previous regulations as well as the ideas offered by Viktor Bernárdt and Antal Palóczi for connecting the ring to a new Danube span through an extended Židovská ulica. An inner ring also appeared in the alternative plan by Ján Svetlík from 1954 with an almost identical routing, except that Svetlík did not propose any new Danube bridge. Yet in the analysis of Bratislava's traffic network, compiled as part of the preparations for a new directive plan, the inner ring for automotive transport was de facto non-existent. Its task was met by the new ring to the east of the historic core, running

18 Molinek, Robert: Komunikačné otázky mesta Bratislavy. Slovenský staviteľ, vol. 6, 1936, p. 304.

19 Ibid., p. 304 – 305.

# REGULAČNÁ A ZASTAVOVACIA ÚPRAVA OKOLIA DÓMU A MERÍTKO 1:500.

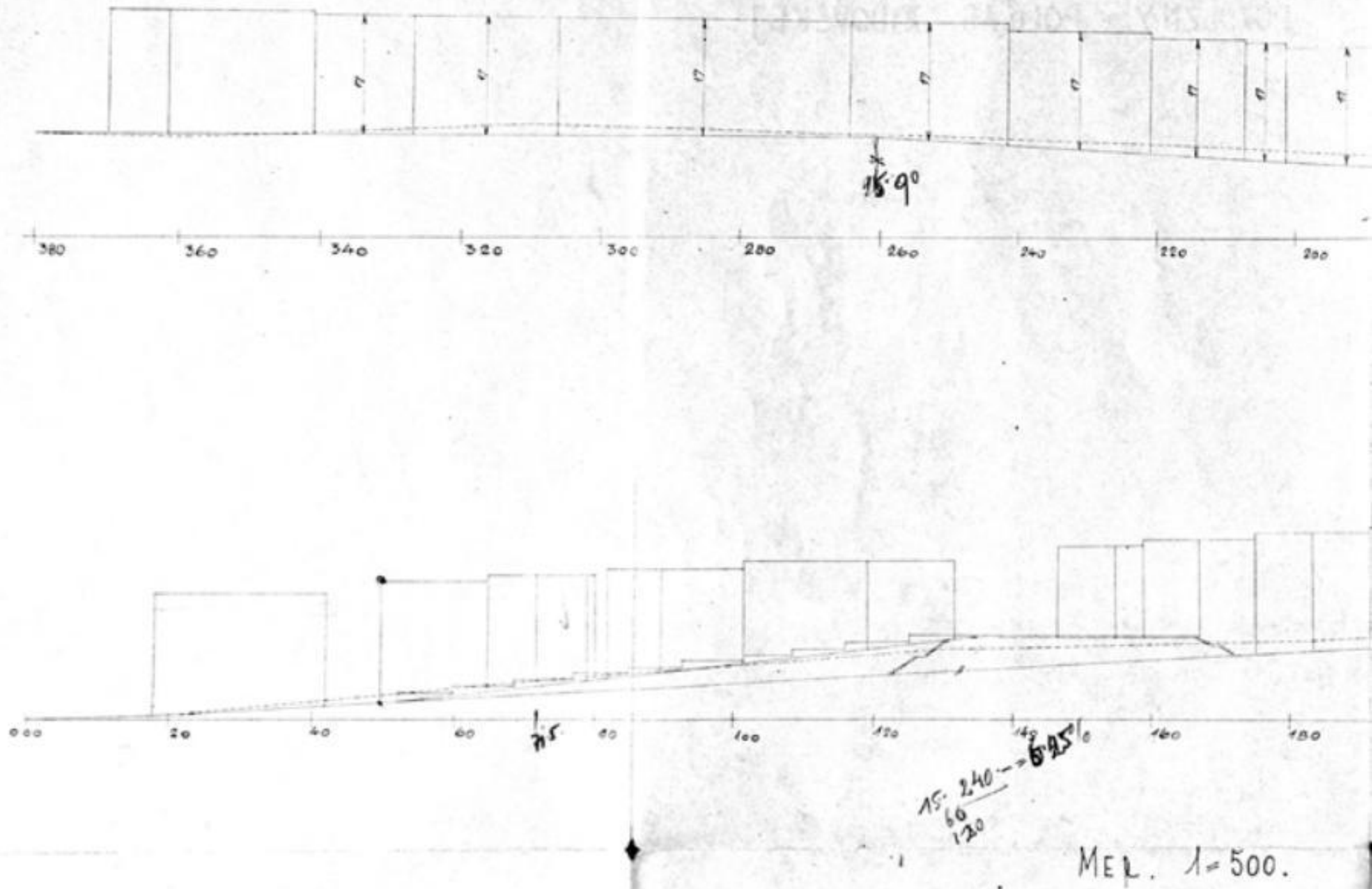


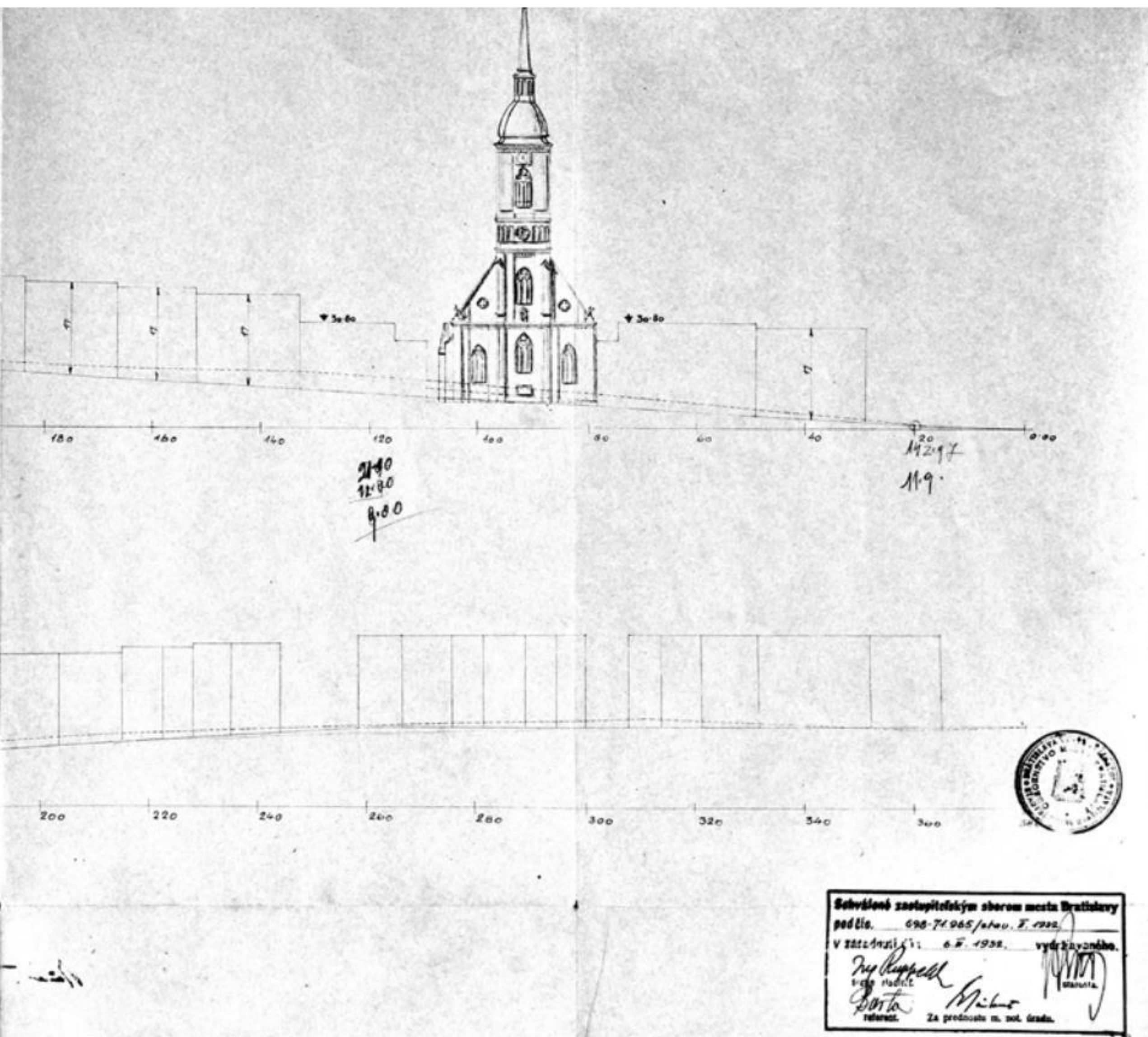


Regulation for Židovská ulica, 1932  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives

# POZDLŽNÝ PROFIL ŽIDOVSKÉJ ULICE,

PRÍLOHA KU ČÍSLU





Schválené zastupiteľským zborom mesta Bratislavy  
 pod čísl. 698-71965/okru. Z. 1932.  
 V Bratislave dňa 6. II. 1932. vydané v zborníku.  
*Ing. Ruppel*  
 1. zástupca  
*Porta*  
 referent. Za prednosta m. zast. úradu.

Regulation for Židovská ulica, 1932  
 Source: Bratislava City Archives



View of Židovská ulica from St. Martin's Cathedral tower, around 1900  
Source: Bratislava City Museum





Aerial view of the southern part of Židovská ulica and Rybné námestie, around 1900  
Source: Bratislava City Museum

from Šafárikovo námestie via Štúrova, Námestie SNP, Štefánikova, Šancová, Račianske mýto, Legionárska, Karadžičova and Dostojevského rad back toward Šafárikovo námestie.

The significant Brno architect and urban planner Bohuslav Fuchs, however, at the same time stressed the importance of creating an inner ring directly around the edge of the historic core. "A basic requirement for the unified composition of a transport and communications plan with respect to the historic city is the formation of an outer strip around the core", he stated, adding that "this solution is confirmed in the examples of Brno and Bratislava", where the ring may "not yet be fully complete" yet even so "has fully protected the historic centre of today".<sup>20</sup> The purpose of such an inner ring was also noted by the Bratislava urban planner Milan Hladký. In the proposal for a directive land-use plan from 1956, drawn up under his supervision, the inner ring was once again shown on the outline of the fortifications, with an alternative link to the new Danube bridge emerging from the extension of Židovská ulica and continuing on the opposite bank through Petržalka up to the Old Bridge. Also leading to these two bridges was an outer ring running from Kapucínske through Suché mýto along Štefánikova, Šancová, Vuka Karadžiča and Dostojevského rad. "Creating a broad circular avenue around the central city area with radial highways attached" was viewed at the end of the 1950s as the most suitable transport solution.<sup>21</sup> Individual sections of the ring, though, were specified even in terms of the prevalent type of flows: Námestie SNP would continue to be formed by the flow of

public services, while Šafárikovo, Rybné or Mierovo námestie would conversely be determined by the flow of traffic.<sup>22</sup> In fact, this same categorisation along with the functional articulation of the city was key for the preparation of detailed construction plans, or in the conception of competition conditions for addressing these areas of the city.

The conception of the ring also assumed extensive demolition of current buildings in the area of Židovská ulica and Rybné námestie, yet equally in the area between Námestie SNP, Špitálska, Rajska and Dunajská, where new modern construction was assumed. This idea was also assumed by the subsequent directive land-use plans approved in 1966 and 1976. As such, the Bratislava ring was determined by an entirely new range of flows, including the strengthening of public services, increased inner-city traffic, linking the historic core to the centre of a new satellite on the opposite bank and thus achieving the realisation of a true "city on the Danube"<sup>23</sup>. These elements were reflected in the increasing perimeter of the ring, along with changes of its route and form. Now, the ring road was intended to be divided equally above the river, though its north section would still be formed from historic street routes while its south part would be created along the section of a new urban boulevard starting at the bridgehead of the Old Bridge on the western bank, passing through the 'Centrum' zone in Petržalka along a high-speed road and ending in the connection to the new bridge – planned in the identical position to the one proposed by Antal Palóczi in 1917.

20 Fuchs, Bohuslav: *Aspekty tvůrčího urbanisty na přestavbu památkových měst.* In: *Rekonstrukcia miest a ich historických jadier.* SAV 1956, p. 81.

21 Alexy, Tibor: *Súčasný smerný plán Bratislavy.* *Architektura ČSR*, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 27.

22 Šteller, Ján: *Kompozičné zásady smerného plánu.* *Architektura ČSR*, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 29.

23 Beňuška, Mila: *Od Priamiho plánu po súčasnosť.* *Projekt*, 33, 1991, no. 7 – 8, p. 9.

The fact that the construction of the bridge was influenced mostly by the need for ensuring fluid traffic flow is illustrated equally by the choice of its design. The winning competition entry of a reinforced-concrete bridge (P. Beňuška, Tomáš Braun, Ivan Hyža, R. Lamprecht), was never realised, but instead the strikingly tensed steel bridge that had been assigned only fourth place (J. Lacko, L. Kušník, I. Slameň, A. Tesár, 1967 – 1972). Not only could this structure be assembled more quickly, but it could fit a far greater traffic level heading outward from the inner ring road along the radials. In connection with the construction of the bridge and its linking to the rest of the city's transport infrastructure, all the buildings on the eastern side of Židovská ulica were demolished. The roadway was widened up to the castle rampart and the very edge of St. Martin's Cathedral; meanwhile, the main synagogue, which had figured as a key reference point in the regulatory plan from the 1930s, was destroyed. Further massive demolition work took place on the street's west side, mostly in the section to the north of Beblavého ulica. Even the level of the roadway was extensively altered: the western part was left at the original level and continued to bear the name Židovská, while the eastern section was deepened and named Staromestská ulica. Originally a ten-meter-wide city street with 3-m sidewalks on each side, it was now a 25-m-wide corridor for through motor traffic routed along two levels. The necessity for this radical change was, in fact, the set parameter of the traffic flow, specifically the requirement of forming the main transport link between the Old Town to the east and its opposite counterpart to the west, Petržalka. As such, this section of the ambiguous ring road was decisively shaped by traffic, as well as the network of city water and energy mains supplying the right bank. After the creation of Staromestská ulica and the multilevel

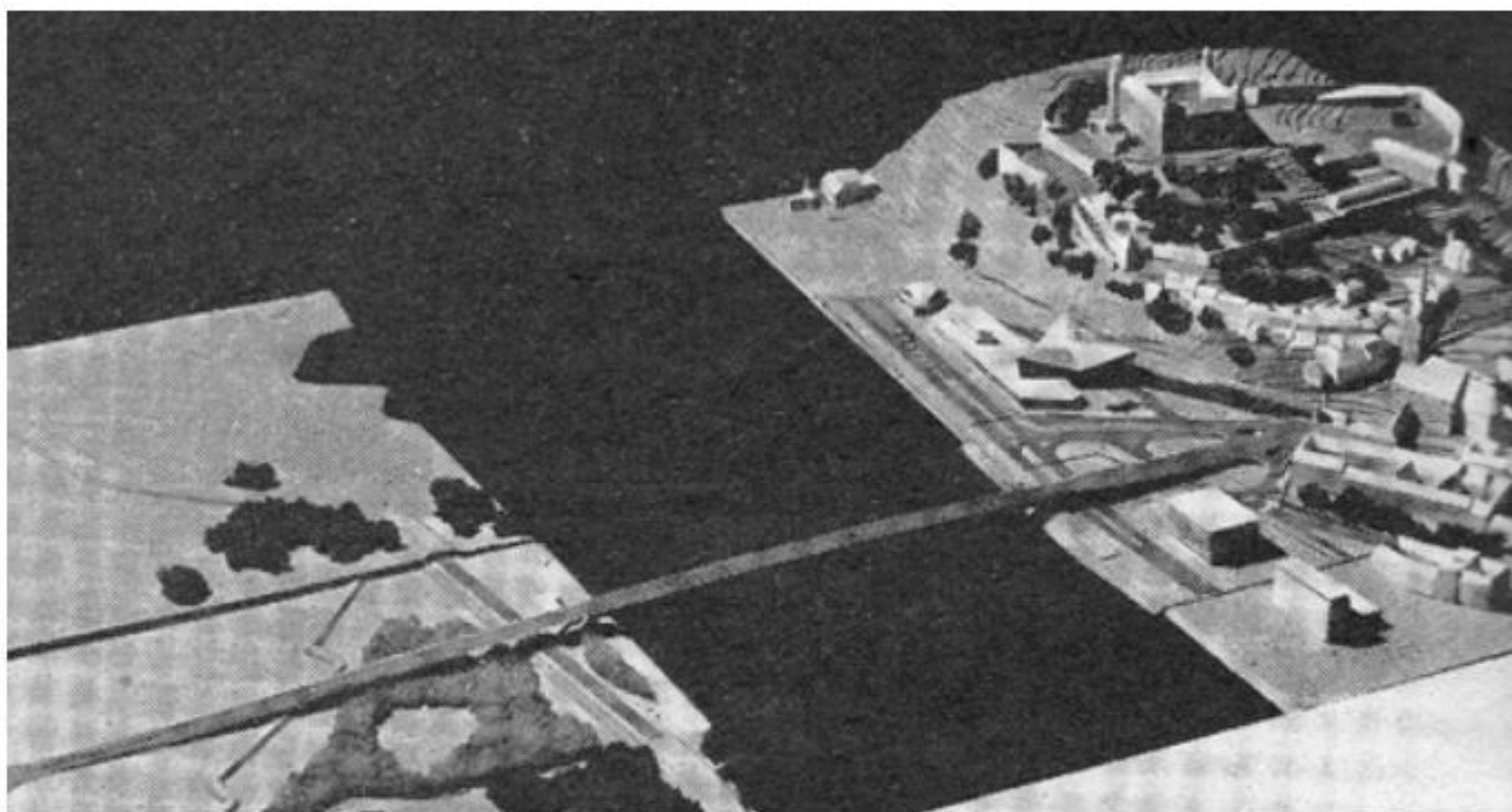
intersection at Hodžovo námestie, the route and perimeter of the inner ring road underwent yet another change. At the same time, though, the idea of the representative social function of the inner ring also came to life again. They planned to build a series of representative public buildings in the block between Staromestská, Suché mýto and Župné námestie. The buildings of the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Justice and the Supreme Court, as well as a new international hotel with a training center, were to be built there. The complex of buildings was to close the city block, which was disrupted by the construction of Staromestská ulica. In the end, however, only the building of the Supreme Court and the Ministry of Justice (Župné námestie 13, V. Dedeček, 1977 – 1989) in the western part of the block was realized.<sup>24</sup> The blending of the block structure and the delineation of the inner ring line then took place gradually over the next decades. As most important in this context should be considered the reconstruction of the northern edge of the block (Suché mýto 2, I. Marko, M. Kropiláková, V. Hrdý, 1985 – 1994), where the principles of regulatory guidelines of 1932 were again respected.<sup>25</sup>

The conception of the inner ring was also addressed by the urban planning competition for the central city area in 1978. In this respect, a plan was offered (though submitted outside of the competition) that sketched in truly modernist planning style the "flow and intensity of central functions" and the spatial displacement of the focal cores along the ring road, by Emanuel Hruška.<sup>26</sup> During the

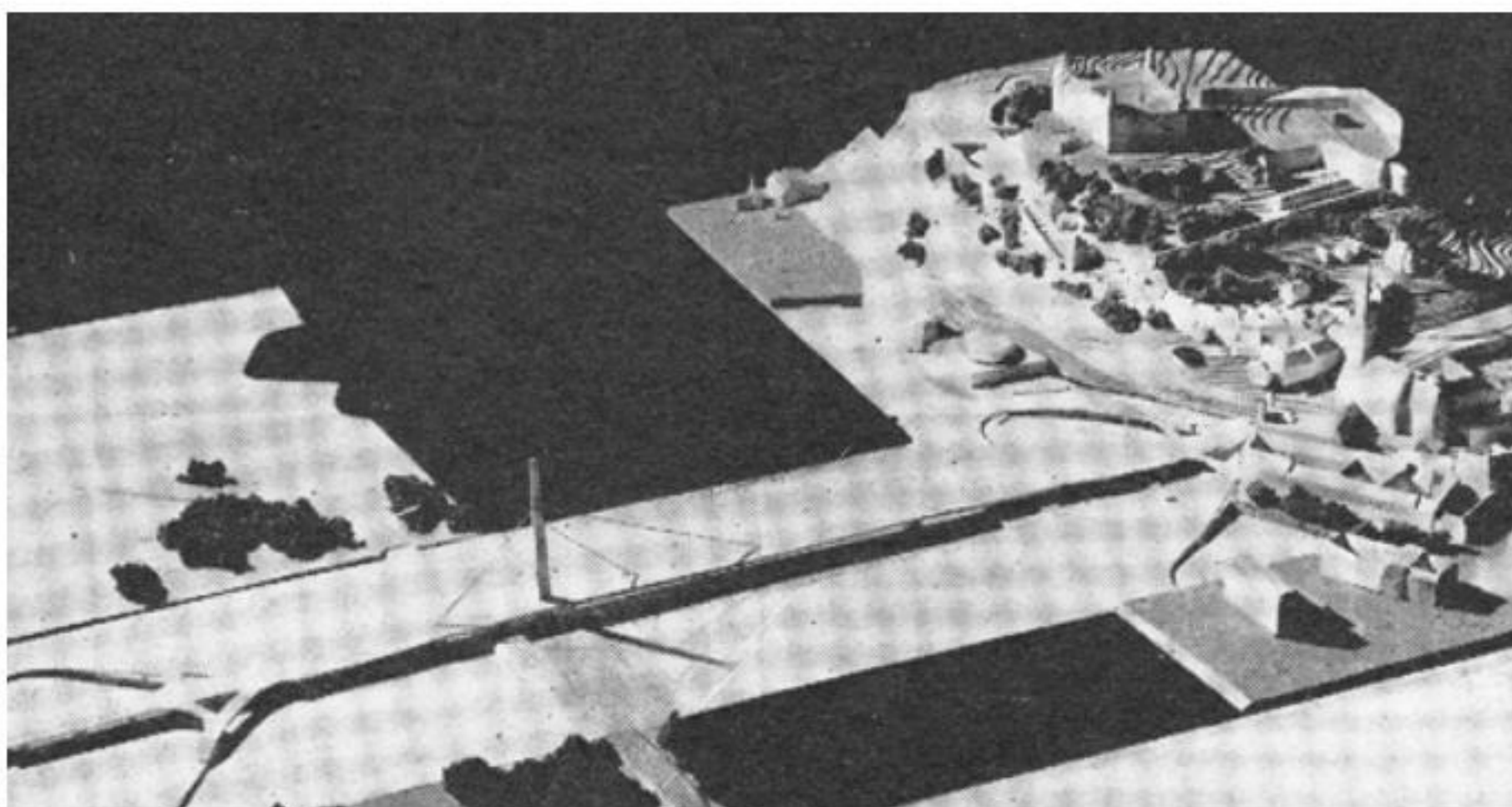
24 Mitašová, Monika: Vladimír Dedeček. Interpretácia architektonického diela. Bratislava, SNG 2017, p. 74 – 87.

25 Dulla, Matúš – Moravčíková, Henrieta: Architektúra 20. Storočia na Slovensku, Bratislava, Slovart 2002, p. 243 – 245.

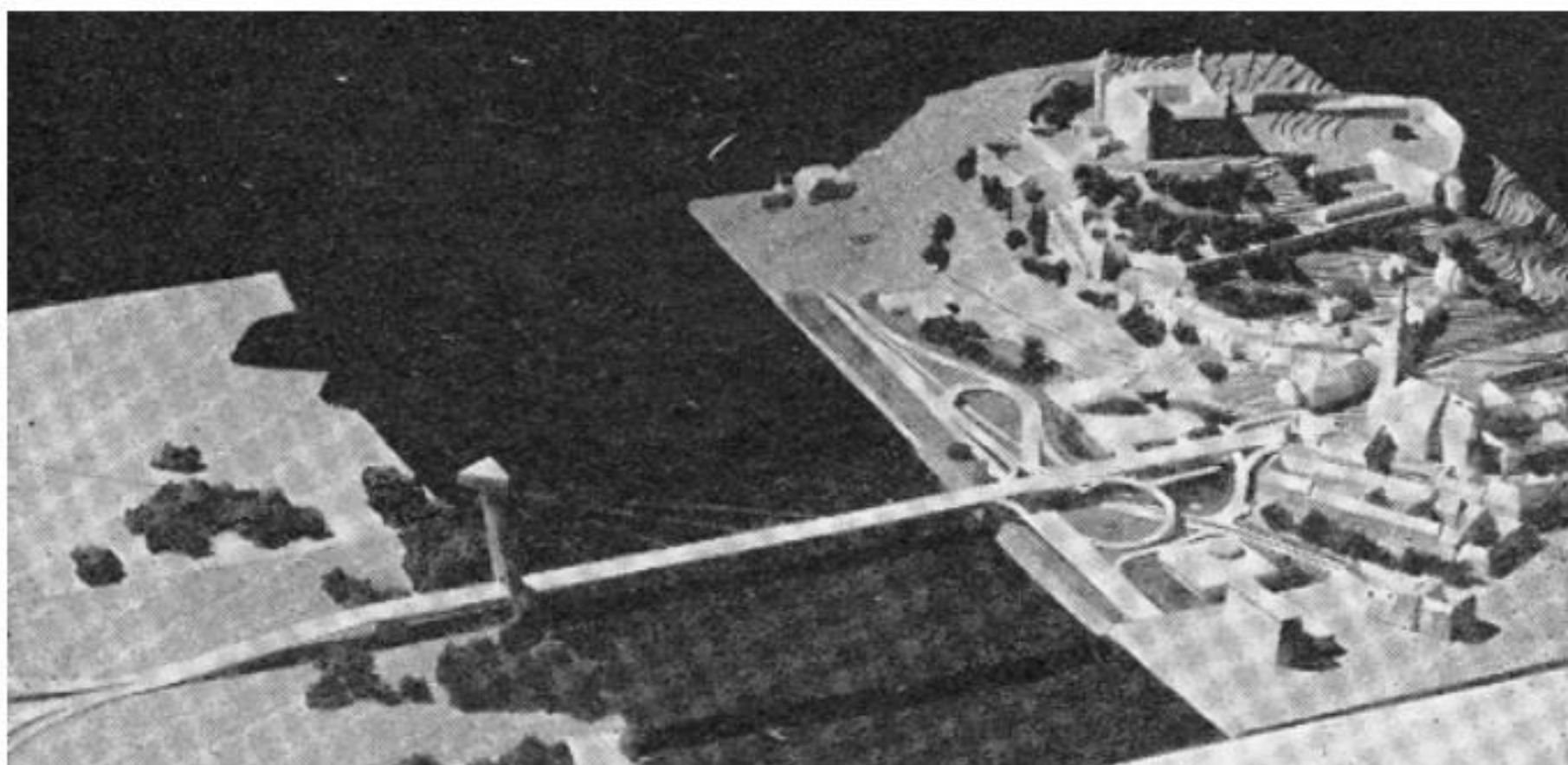
26 Hruška, Emanuel: Centrálna oblasť Bratislavy (Niekoľko poznámok urbanistu). Architektúra ČSSR, 37, 1978, no. 1, p. 9.



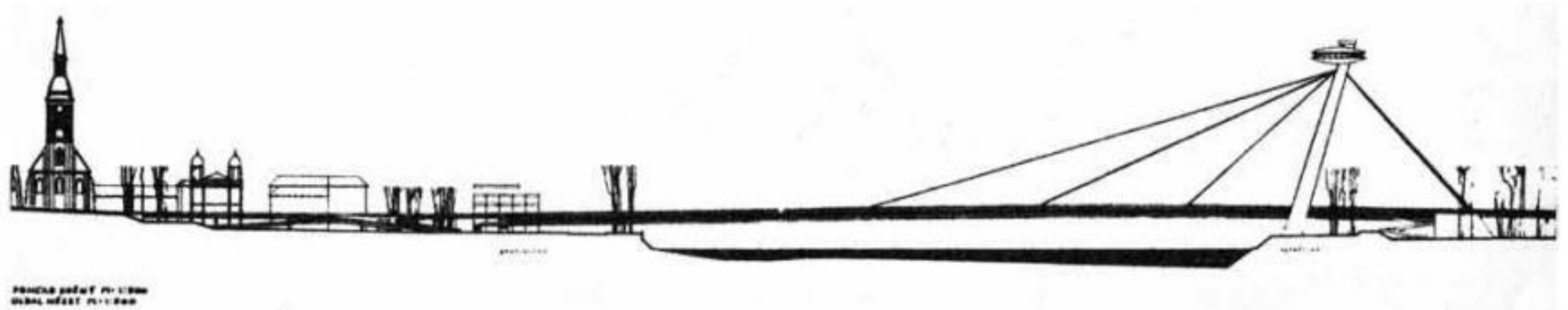
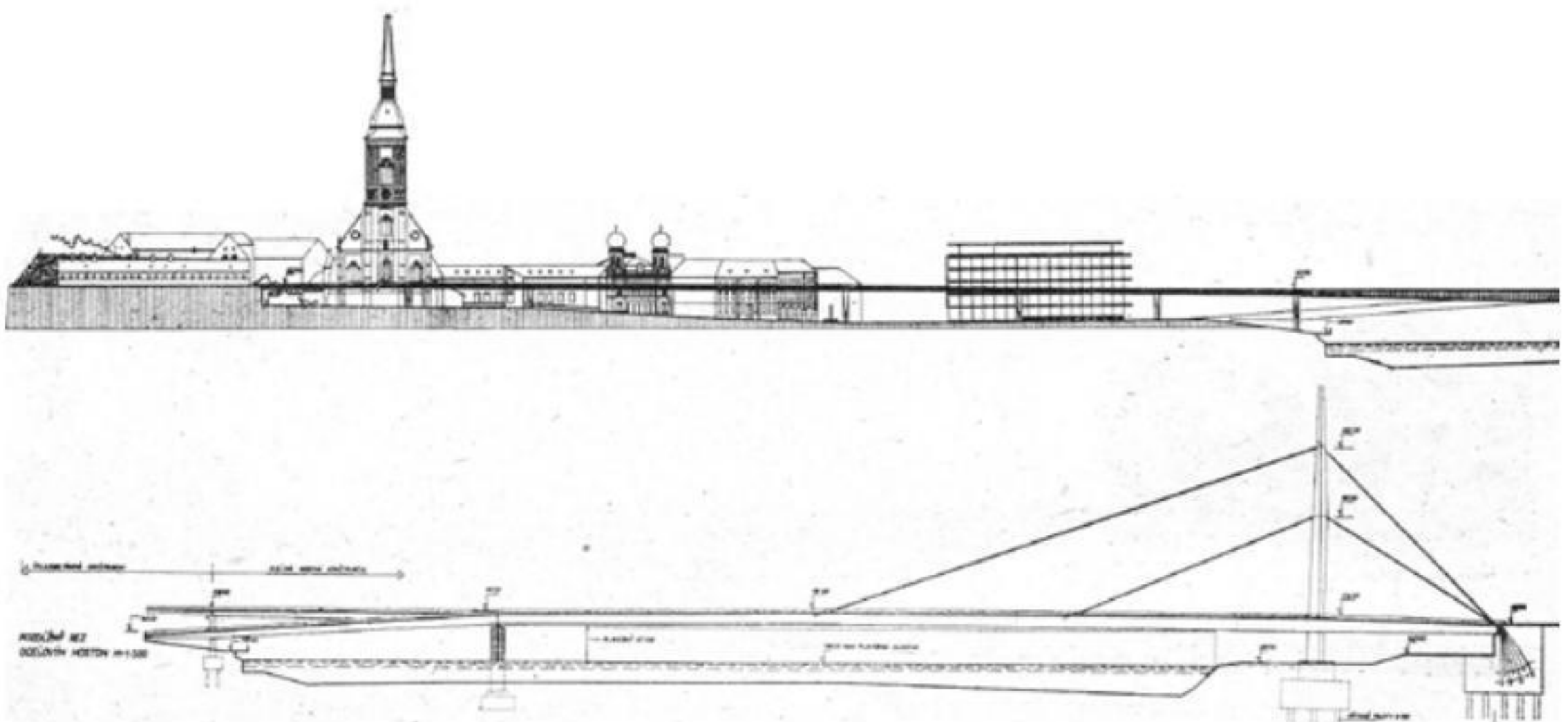
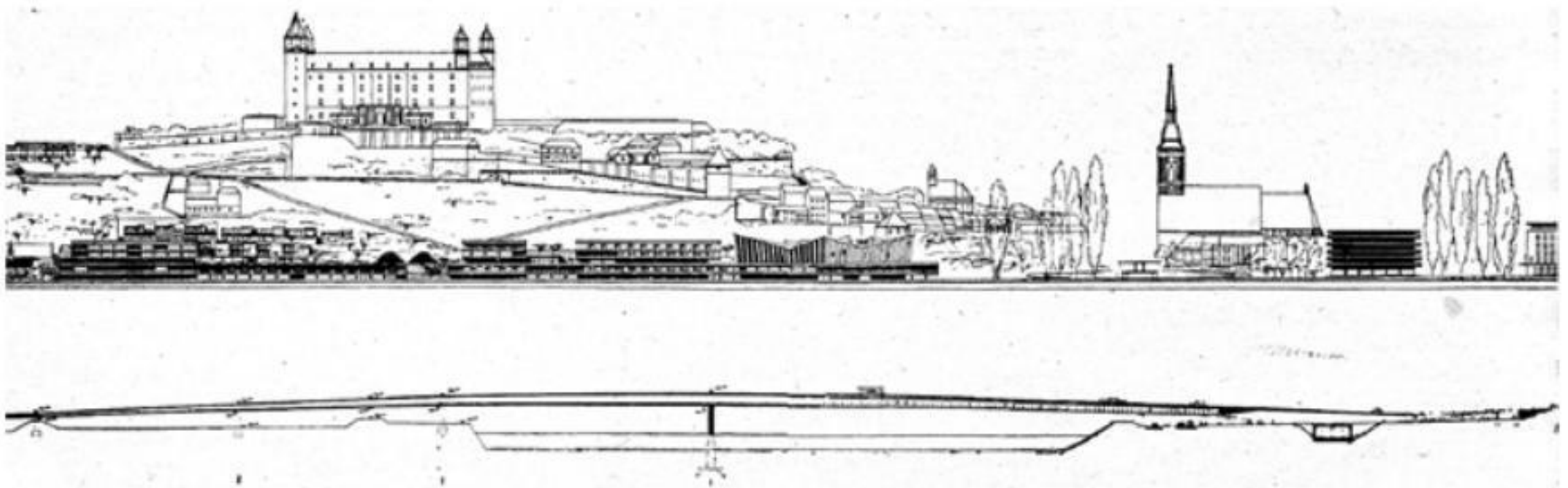
1st prize: M.Beňuška, T.Braun, I.Hyža, R.Lamprecht



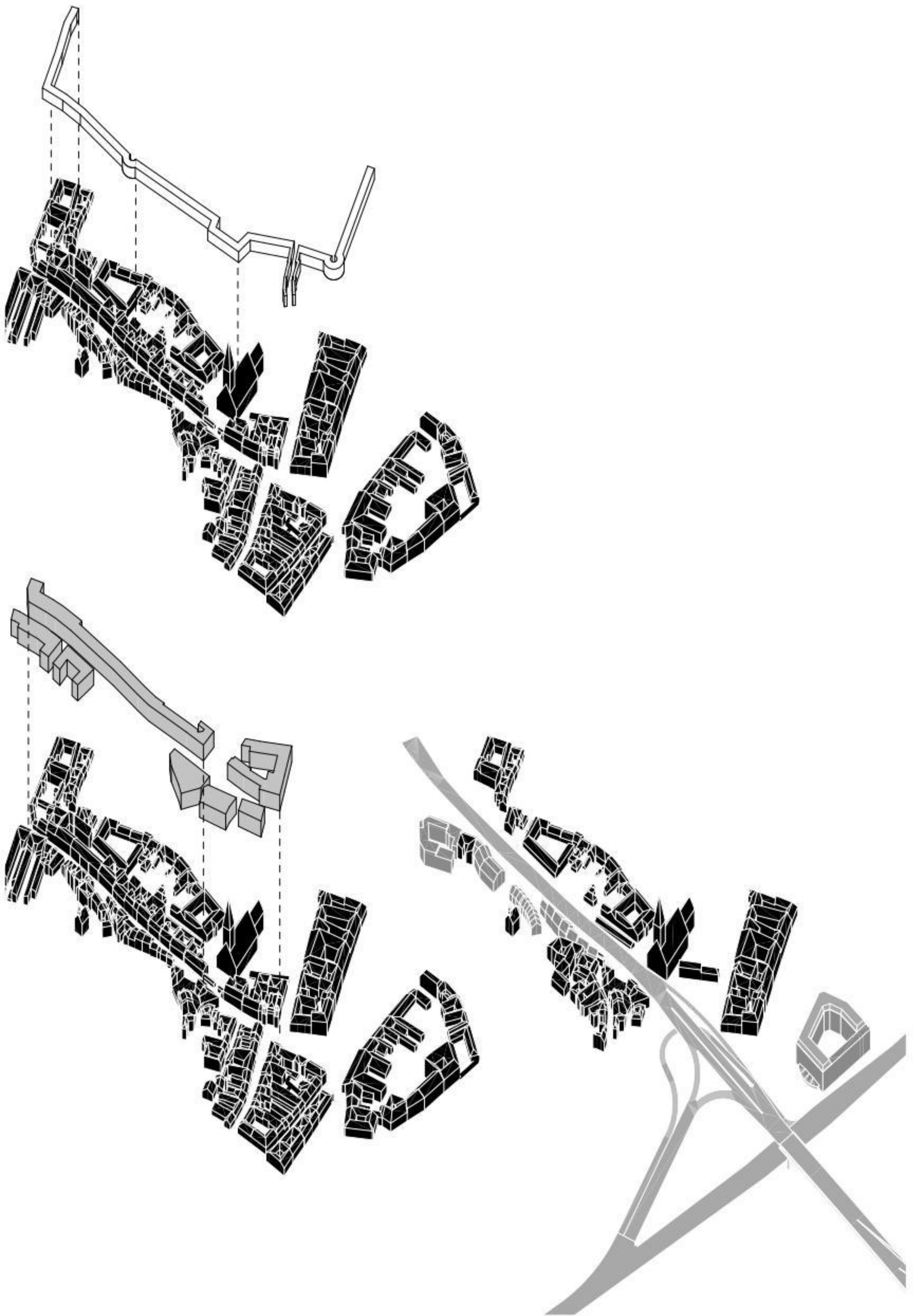
2nd prize: J.Hejnic, V.Hess, I.Kňourek, J.Křížek



Honorary mention: J. Lacko, L. Kušnír, I. Slameň, A. Tesár



Competition for the urban-architectural and transport solution of the bridge over Danube in the area of Rybné námestie in Bratislava  
 Source: Architektura ČSR, 1965



Evolution of urban structure around Židovská ulica in 20th century



View of the construction of SNP Bridge and its connection to the inner city ring, around 1970  
Source: Bratislava City Museum

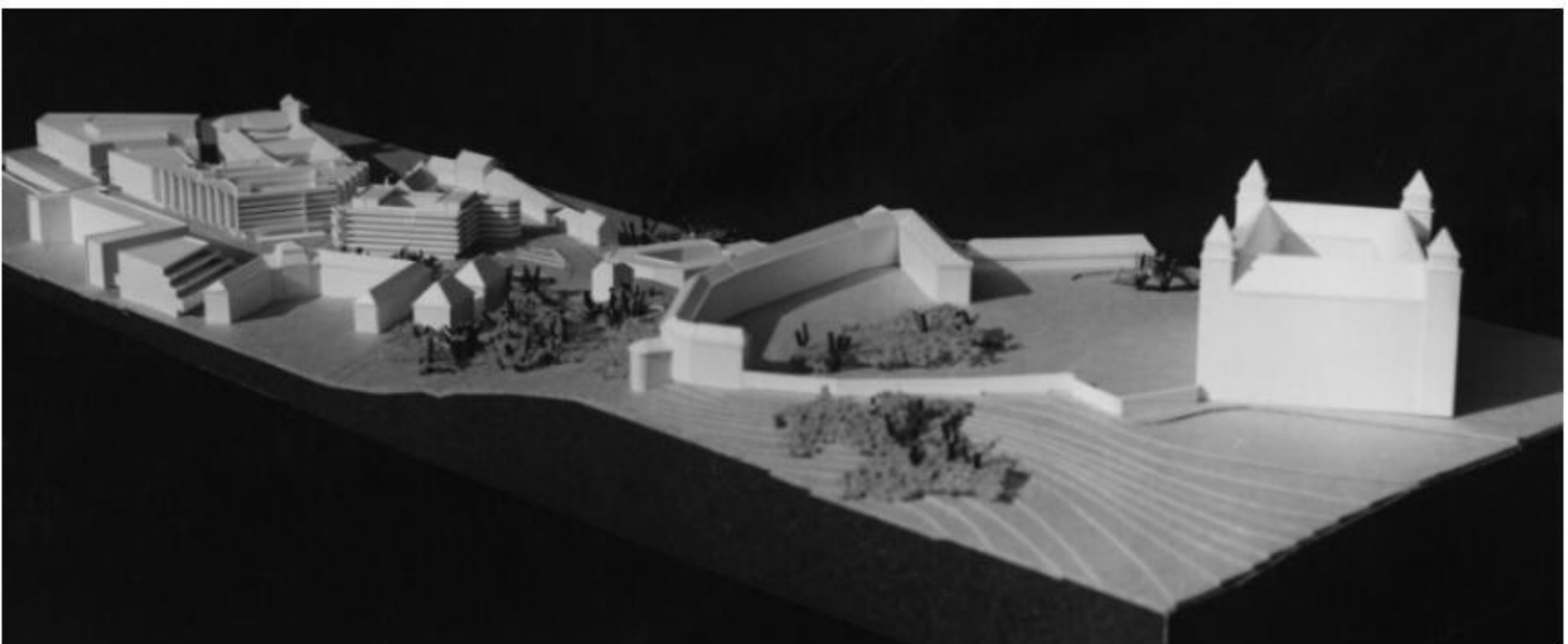


View of the northeastern part of the inner city ring, around 1972  
Source: Neubert Archive



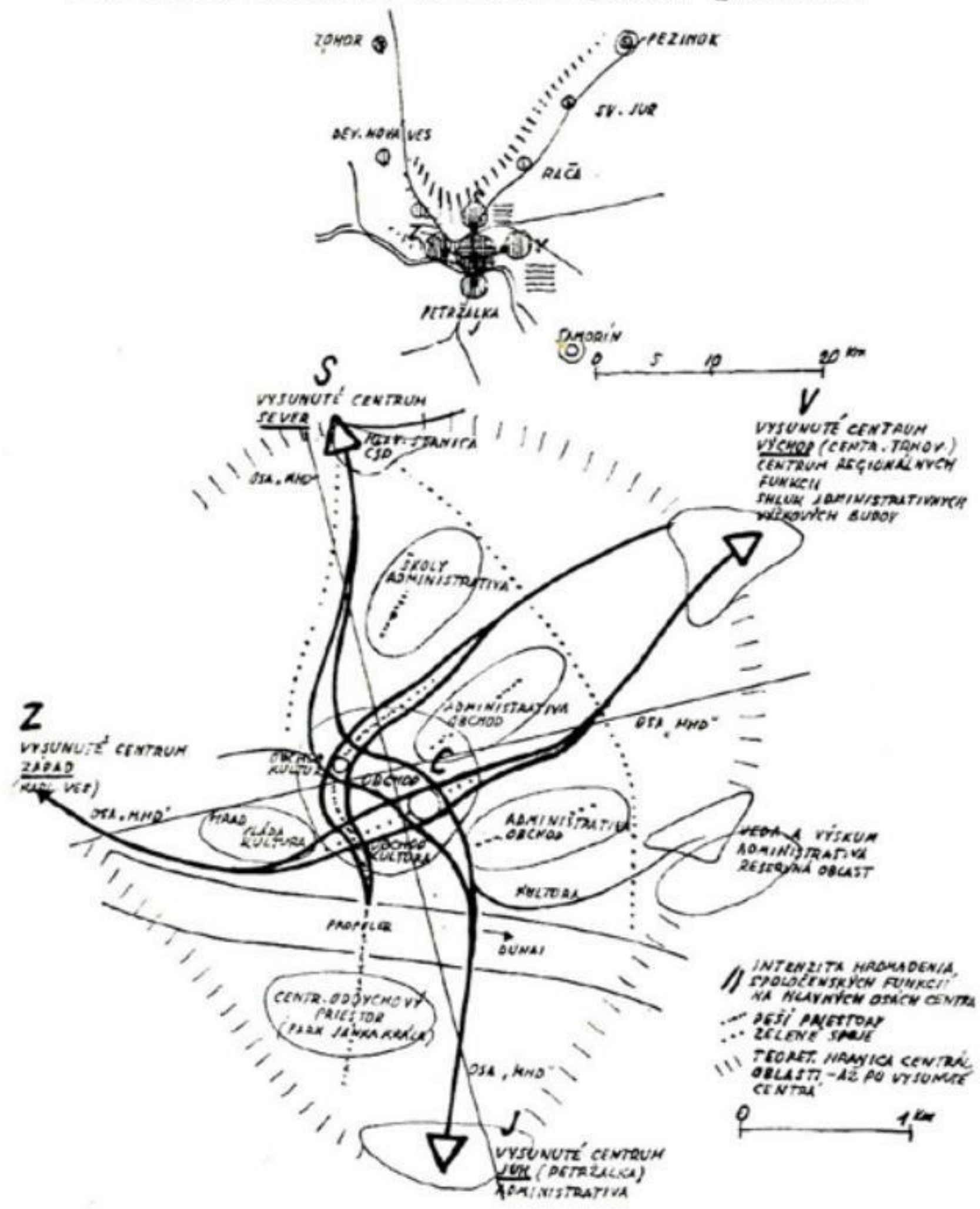


View of the eastern part of the inner city ring, around 1972  
Source: Neubert Archive



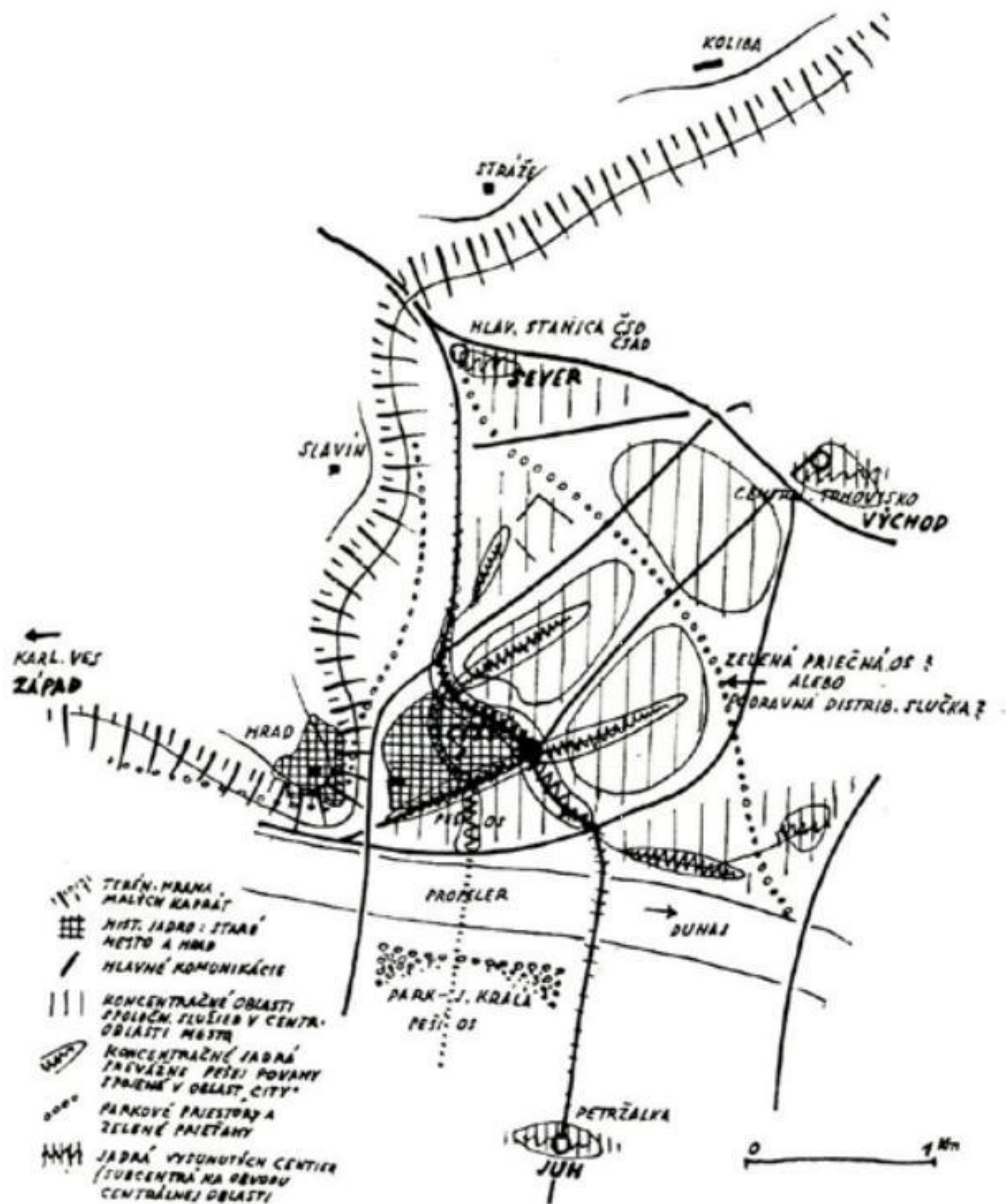
Design for the building of the Supreme Court in Bratislava, model of the building and its surroundings with the castle, V. Dedeček, 1984  
Source: Slovak National Gallery

**CENTRÁLNA OBLASŤ BRATISLAVY:  
TOK-A INTENZITA CENTRALITY, FUNKCII; PRIESTOROVÉ  
ROZLOŽENIE JADIER PO CENTRÁLNEJ OBLASŤI BRATISLAVY**



Central Bratislava Region, Flow and Function Analysis, E. Hruška, 1978  
Source: Projekt 1978

**CENTRÁLNA OBLASŤ BRATISLAVY:  
 FUNKČNÉ A KOMPOZIČNÉ ROZLOŽENIE KONCENTRAČNÝCH  
 JADIER SPOLOČENSKÝCH SLUŽIEB V PRIESTOŘE CENTRÁL-  
 NEJ OBLASŤI A HIST. JÁDRA: AKCENTY A VÝŠK. DOMINANTY**



Central Bratislava Region, Analysis of Service Cores and Height Dominants, E. Hruška, 1978  
 Source: Projekt 1978

same period, a thematization of the functional and spatial hypertrophy of this section of the Bratislava ring was attempted as well by the creative minds in the group VAL. In parallel with the line of the Old Bridge, they imagined a 'superstructure' that would integrate all urban functions into three gigantic "ovoid volumes". This urban utopia, known as Istroport, would be an essentially autonomous city for 120,000 residents, bringing to the ring road a new type and form of flow.<sup>27</sup>

As traffic problems worsened, and concomitantly the influence of transport engineers on urban planning grew, the inner ring road increasingly began to be reduced to a mere corridor for automotive traffic. And correspondingly, they found a similar language to discuss the ring. In the appendix to the city land-use plan from 1982, the basic transport network of Bratislava was said to consist of an "inner ring around the city centre, proposed at functional class B1, the task of which is to route source and target traffic around the centre" as well as a central ring "at functional class A", which "is proposed around the edge of the Central Urban Zone". This second ring was intended to absorb "all through motorway routes and state roadways passing through the city".<sup>28</sup> The internal ring was to have passed along Staromestská ulica, via Štefánikova and Šancová, then continuing along Legionárska, Karadžičova to Dostojevského rad and finally Vajanského nábrežie. As such, the north and east sections had shifted from the original line plotted in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, following the former outer edge of the city, with the perimeter of the 'inner' ring once again expanding.

27 Mecková, Viera: Architektúra, knižná väzba, šperk. Exhibition catalogue for the Emil Belluš Prize. Bratislava, SAS, 2003, p. 39.

28 Hollarek, Tomáš: Doprava v doplnku SÚP '82. Projekt, vol. 25, 1983, no. 4, p. 5.

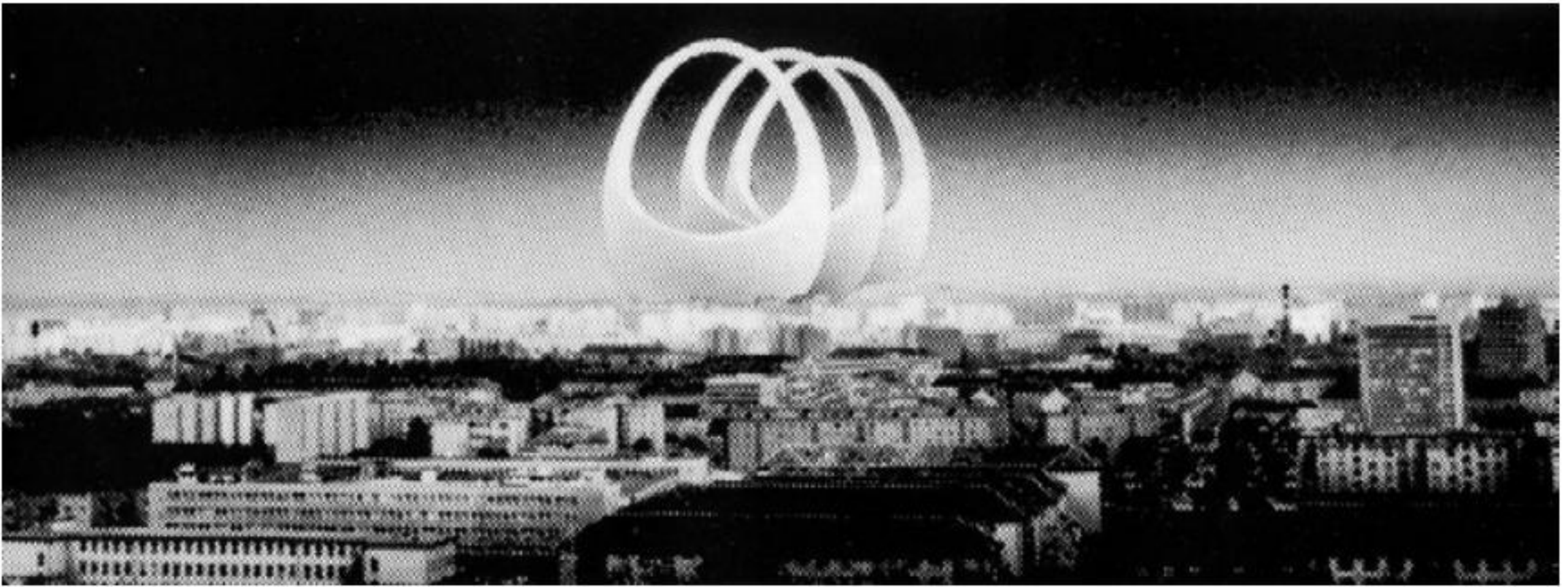
#### A Doubled Ring and Changes of Flows

Starting in the 1970s, under the influence of international discussions, planners and architects in Slovakia also began to address the theme of pedestrian movement and the question of pedestrian zones in historic city cores. In fact, it was once again Emanuel Hruška, who with his students at the Slovak Technical University began to test the possibility of altering transport in Bratislava's historic centre such that Hviezdoslavovo námestie and the embankment section of the inner ring would be entirely freed from automobile traffic. At the same time, this design further expanded the idea of radical rebuilding in this section of the ring, with the extant fragments of the historic structure entirely replaced with new construction.<sup>29</sup> In the appendix to the land-use plan from 1982, this trend was manifested through a division of the inner ring into a "pedestrian" and a "transport" ring, and at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century took the form of the limitation of automotive traffic in several sections of the earliest routing of the inner ring road, such as Hviezdoslavovo námestie, Námestie SNP, Župné námestie, Kapucínska or Štúrova ulica.

The idea of an inner ring for automotive transport with associated junction points for focal transport radials was used to determine the most important urban space in terms of both the planning conception and the currently valid land-use plan.<sup>30</sup> In the plan for the urban conception of spatial arrangements, though, the routing, the form of the new construction, or even the functional determination of the inner ring are never addressed. Mention is only made

29 Hruška, Emanuel: O životnom prostredí v historických sídlach. Architektúra & Urbanizmus, roč. 7, 1973, no. 2, p. 10 - 13.

30 Land-Use Plan of the City of Bratislava, section B, p. 41.



Istroport, VAL, 1976  
Source: V. Mecková archive



Istroport, VAL, 1976  
Source: V. Mecková archive



Classification of the communication network within the General Transport Plan of the City of Bratislava  
 Source: Transport Research Center, 2015

of the focal importance of the compositional axes that form the traffic radials, or respectively the junctures between these radials and the ring road.<sup>31</sup> Yet the urban spaces mentioned in the text, such as Suché mýto, Hodžovo námestie, Námestie SNP, Kamenné námestie, Štúrova ulica, Šafárikovo námestie, Hviezdoslavovo námestie, Vajanského nábrežie or Staromestská ulica, themselves represent the focal points of an ambiguous, indefinite yet nonetheless clearly extant inner urban ring road. In the plan, it is proposed that these “junction spaces” be formulated with public facilities and multifunctional city-forming structures, thus “completing the centre of the greater city into the most socially important and visually representative part of the urban form”.<sup>32</sup>

As in the land-use plan, the General Transport Plan from 2015 confirms the division of the inner ring road into a “pedestrian” ring following the line of the historic city fortifications, reserved for pedestrians, cyclists, and in certain sections a tram line, and an automotive transport-ring running along Staromestská, Štefánikova, Šancová, Legionárska, Karadžičova, Dostojevského rad, Vajanského nábrežie and Rázusovo nábrežie, reserved for motor traffic.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps paradoxically, or perhaps merely as the logical outcome of the uncertainty of where the inner ring lies, this routing does not follow any of the current routes of the city’s public transport network.

It could be assumed that the small perimeter was determined by the historic inner ring, routed along the trace of the originally

medieval fortifications around the edge of the city’s earliest core, restricted to a space for pedestrian movement. In this way, we can speak not only of a change in movement types but also in the speed of their flow. The relatively slow pace of a pedestrian flow can reduce flow volume, or can contrastingly call forth other types of flow that in synergy influence both typologies and forms of urban space and architecture at the edge of Bratislava’s historic core.

---

31            *Ibid.*, p. 48.

32            *Ibid.*

33            General Transport Plan for the City of Bratislava. Centrum dopravného výskumu 2015, p. 25.







The western part of the inner city ring leading to the SNP Bridge, 2019  
Photo: Olja Triaška Stefanovič

**ZONE**

**VII**

**CHALÚPKOVA**

**II**

**a typology of urban situations**

**from factory yards  
to downtown**

**Type:** terrain vague,  
container

**Case study /Locality:** Zone Chalúpkova

**Other occurrences:** Košická, Landererova, Pribinova, Mlynské Nivy

**Key formative plans:** Regulation and Development Plan of the City, 1917;  
Regulation and Construction guidelines, 1927;  
Competition for an Architectural Design  
for a Cultural-Social Centre in Bratislava, 1967;  
General Plan for the Zone Martanovičova, 1982 – 1989;  
General Plan for the Zone Chalúpkova, 2017

**Key non-formative plans:** Regulatory Study for Greater Bratislava, 1925;  
winning entry in the competition for the City Regulatory Plan, 1929



**Terrain vague** – an urban category of ambiguous, or respectively uncertain character. We use it in the sense defined by Ignasi de Solà-Morales: “on the one hand, vague in the sense of vacant, empty, inactive, unproductive and in many cases obsolete; on the other, vague in the sense of imprecise, undefined, vague, with no specific limits, without a future horizon.”<sup>1</sup> It could be an area that has lost its original function, is in decay or is excluded from the context of the extant urban tissue. In our case, we view it as a place where the architectonic or urban qualities have been repeatedly cast into doubt, a place where architects have repeatedly planned radical reconstruction, a place which has been repeatedly integrated into a developing urban structure and then left to decay yet nonetheless is now a “privileged place of identity, the confrontation of present and past” while also one of the last urban “fortresses where it is possible to realise the freedom of an individual or a small group”.<sup>2</sup>

**Container** – This category is used by Solà Morales for those places he terms the “envelopes in which the ritual of consumption takes place”; or places that “are not always public, and not exactly private, where we find the production of exchange, transfer, gift-giving that forms the multiples of consumption in our highly ritualised society”.<sup>3</sup> In this case, we use the category of container specifically to designate the rituals of consumerism associated with sale, consumption and other commercial services.

1 de Solà-Morales, Ignasi: Present and Futures. Architecture in Cities. In: Present and Futures. Architecture in Cities. Exhibition catalogue. Eds: I. de Solà-Morales – X. Costa. Barcelona, Actar, 1996, p. 23.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 20.

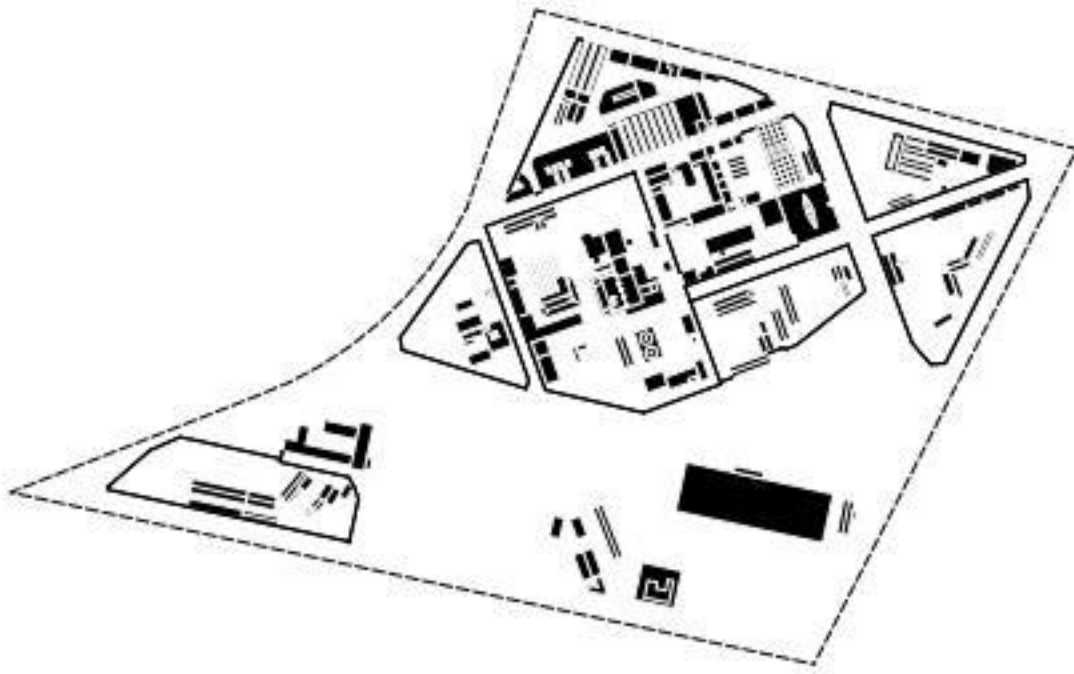
The transformation of the former industrial district in the vicinity of the one-time ‘Factory Street’ - Továrenská ulica – into a new urban centre ranks among the most radical changes to occur in Bratislava’s urban structure in the past three decades. From the *terrain vague* that this area formed just before the start of the new millennium, in just 20 years it has become the area with the highest population density per m<sup>2</sup> as well as the highest proportional (and indeed absolute) construction height. This transformation appears to have occurred without any plan, or more accurately in direct opposition to the original plan for its transformation. In reality, though, it has been significantly determined by various reflections on the creation of a new city centre as generated by urban planners from the very start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### The Oldest Factory District

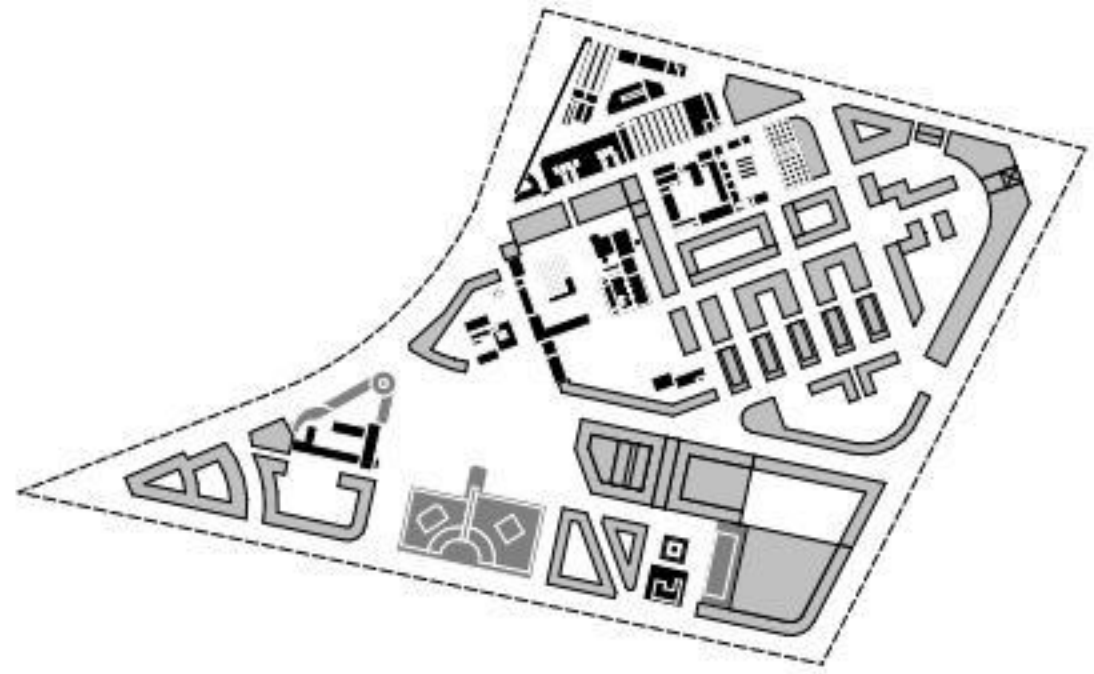
The area outlined by the left bank of the Danube and the streets Košická, Mlynské Nivy, Karadžičova and Dostojevského rad ranks among the earliest localities for industrial manufacturing in Bratislava. From the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, there emerged spontaneously a built environment of factory halls, administrative offices, warehouses, or even complete manufacturing complexes. The first such factory was a paper mill, followed by a coal-coking works, the ‘Kablo’ cable factory, the Klinger Factory, the city electric plant, the Apollo oil refinery (starting in 1895), with a furniture factory created in 1905 later joined by other industrial enterprises or city utilities. The morphology of the area determined the nature of its main roadway, Fabrikgasse / Gyári út, or in Slovak Továrenská ulica, which is also the oldest street in this district. It was here that later regulated streets were added to join it at right angles,



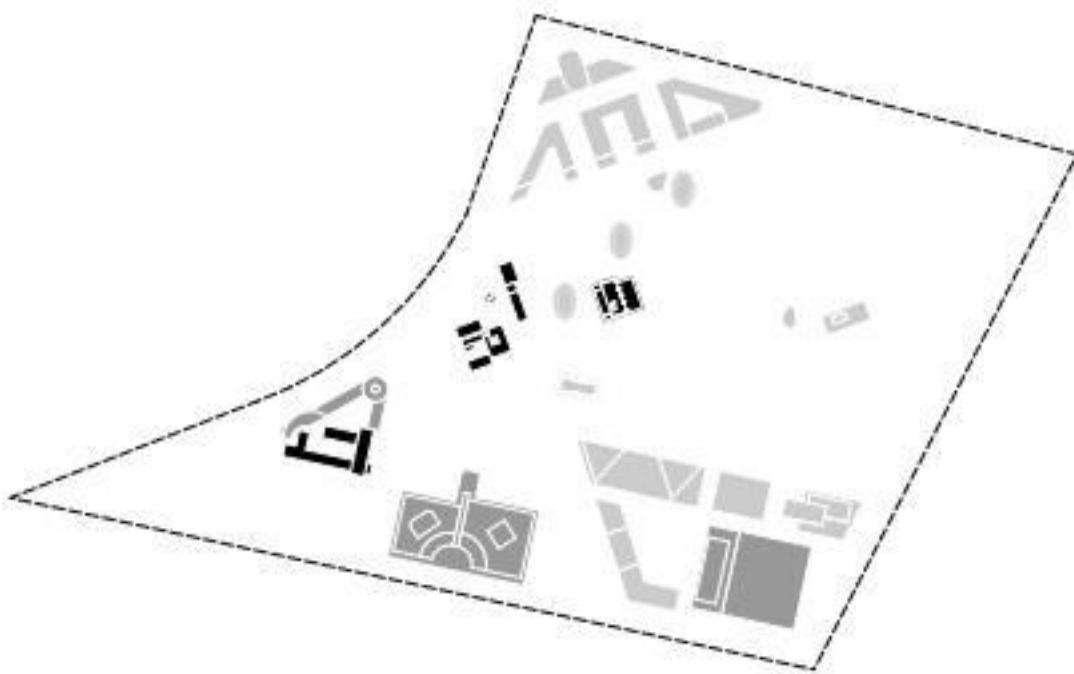
Industrial district around Továrenská ulica, around 1960  
Source: [www.imhd.sk](http://www.imhd.sk)



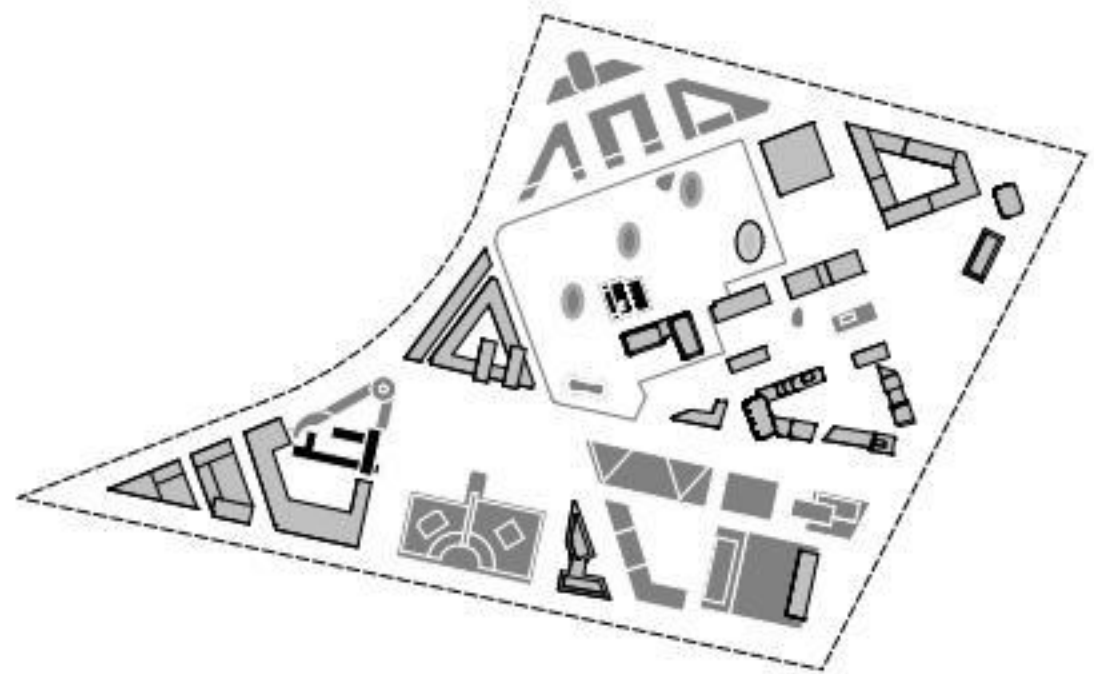
Industrial district around Továrenská in 1930



General Plan for Martanovičova zone,  
col.: P. Bauer, M. Kusý, P. Paňák  
and E. Štutek, 1982 - 1989



Industrial district around Továrenská in 2019



Planned structure according to  
General Plan for Chalúpkova zone

The actual and the planned transformation of the urban structure around Továrenská in 20th century



such as Nádor utca (now Čulenova), Rákoczy Ferencz utca or Segner út, which up until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century defined the basic articulation of the space. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, this industrial zone was the only such area of the city to come into direct contact with new urban construction: the rapidly developing 'Danube District' (Dunajská štvrť), defined by rationalist Modern planning as grid-planned compact city blocks soon presented a direct opposition to the manufacturing complexes. Yet neither the municipal authorities nor even the experts preparing the first city regulatory plan saw any reason to change the functional determination or construction methods for this industrial district. Unquestionably, the major reason was that the city's industrialists had significant representation among the elected authorities: it was in their interest not only to keep manufacturing in this vicinity, with direct links to transport infrastructure, a rail line and a cargo port, but to strengthen it with further public infrastructural development. Indeed, one member of the city council, the prominent industrialist Johann Ludwig, initiated the construction of a shipping canal that would have passed around the edge of the vicinity, connecting the Danube to the Váh. Indeed, towards this end Ludwig even commissioned the preparation of a rival city plan, though his premature death and lack of interest from the national ministries in Budapest eventually allowed this ambitious idea to slip out of sight.<sup>4</sup>

The first plan to consider the partial rebuilding of the industrial district and a change in its functional program was the urban plan prepared between 1907 and 1917 by Antal

<sup>4</sup> Moravčíková, Henrieta – Lovra, Éva – Pastoreková, Laura: Červený alebo modrý? Začiatky moderného plánovania Bratislavy. *Architektúra & Urbanizmus*, 51, 2017, no. 1 – 2, p. 30 – 43.

Palóczy. Even though Palóczy himself supported the idea of a barge canal and expansion of the winter port, he planned for manufacturing facilities and even the rail spur to be moved outwards to the city's southeast edge. The area near Továrenská ulica would, in his view, then become one section of a proposed new boulevard, running from Mlynské Nivy up to the Grassalkovich palace. In this section, there would be new housing for workers and a large public park in Mlynské Nivy, where the new boulevard would end.<sup>5</sup> However, with the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the radical social and economic changes following, these plans were never realised.

With the founding of independent Czechoslovakia, the first changes in this industrial district were addressed by the architects Alois Balán and Jiří Grossmann. In their Regulatory Study of Greater Bratislava, they planned to situate the main rail station at Mlynské Nivy, while also considering the expansion of the winter port's basin so as to create a potential locus for both transport and commerce. The street network in the actual site, though, was left unchanged.<sup>6</sup> Retention of the extant streets was also assumed by the authors of the winning competition entry for a city regulatory plan in 1929, Alois Dryák, Juraj Tvarožek and Karel Chlumecký.<sup>7</sup> In the interwar years, but even up through World War II, construction in the vicinity continued in the sense of the regulations set down in 1927. As a result, the area gained several buildings of particular note, such as the office block

<sup>5</sup> Vortrag Prof. Anton Palóczis über den Stadtregulierungsplan. *Pressburger Zeitung*, 154, 17. 6. 1917, no. 165, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Grossmann, Jiří – Balán, Alois: Regulační studie velké Bratislavy. *Časopis československých architektů*, 25, 1926, no. 1, p. 39 – 52.

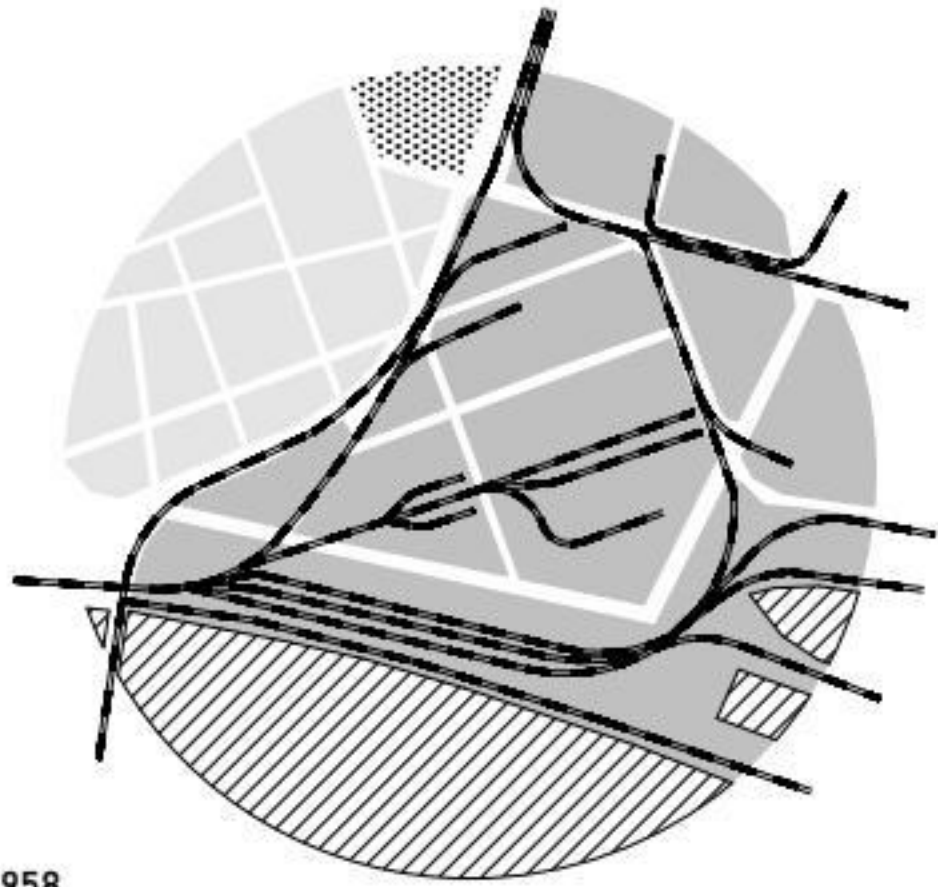
<sup>7</sup> Chochol, Josef: Mezinárodní soutěž na základní regulační plán města Bratislavy. *Stavba*, 9, 1930 – 1931, no. 4, p. 53 – 60.



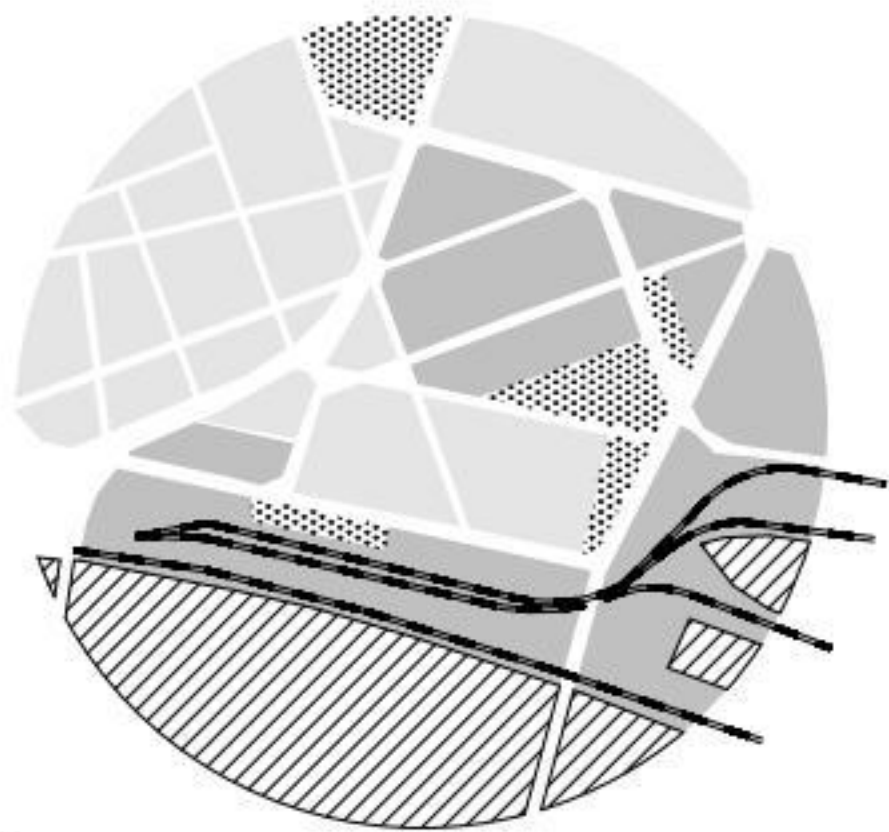
Továrenská ulica in the part of Kablo factory around 1938  
Source: Bratislava City Archive



Former Olejkárska ulica around 1960  
Source: Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic



1958

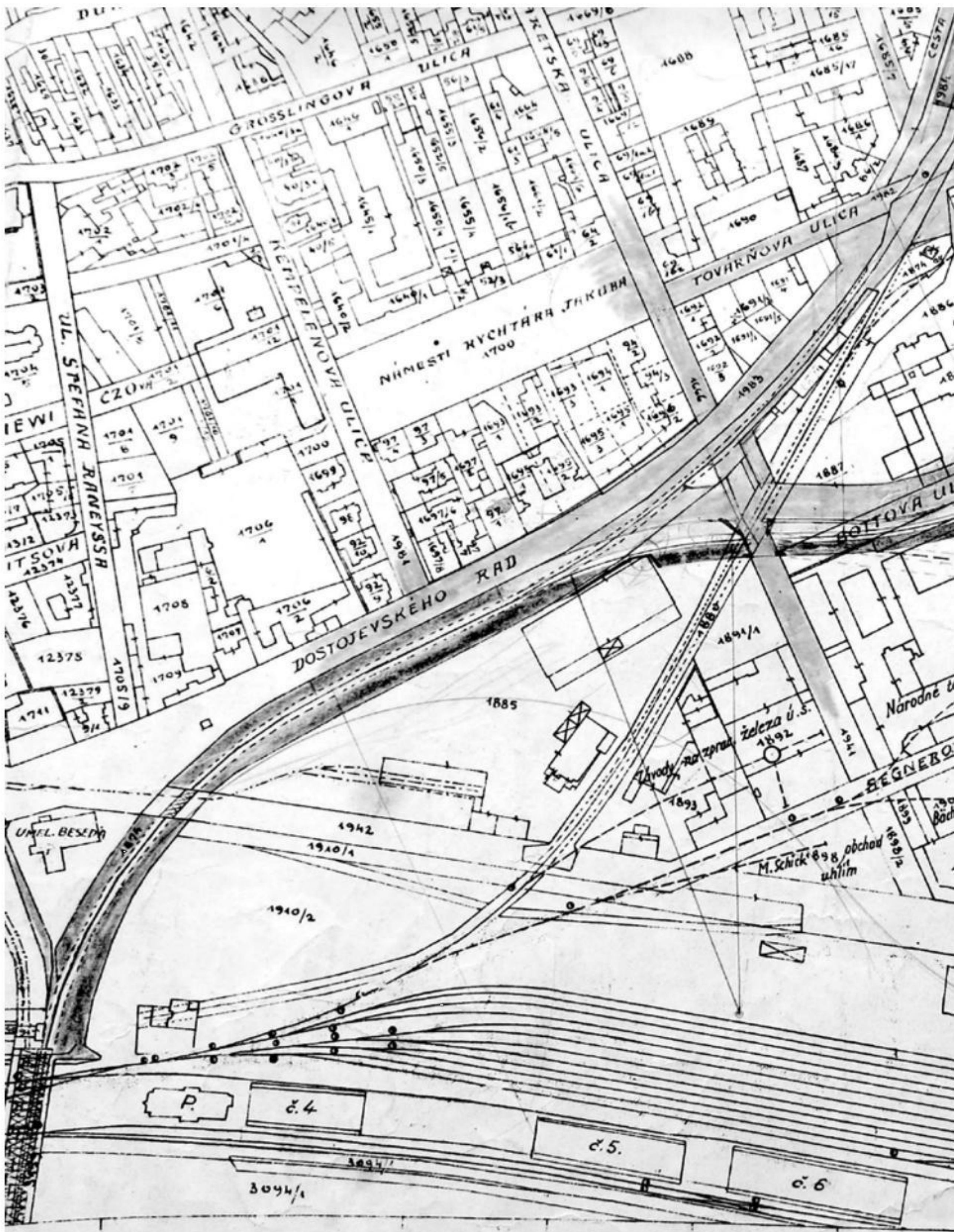


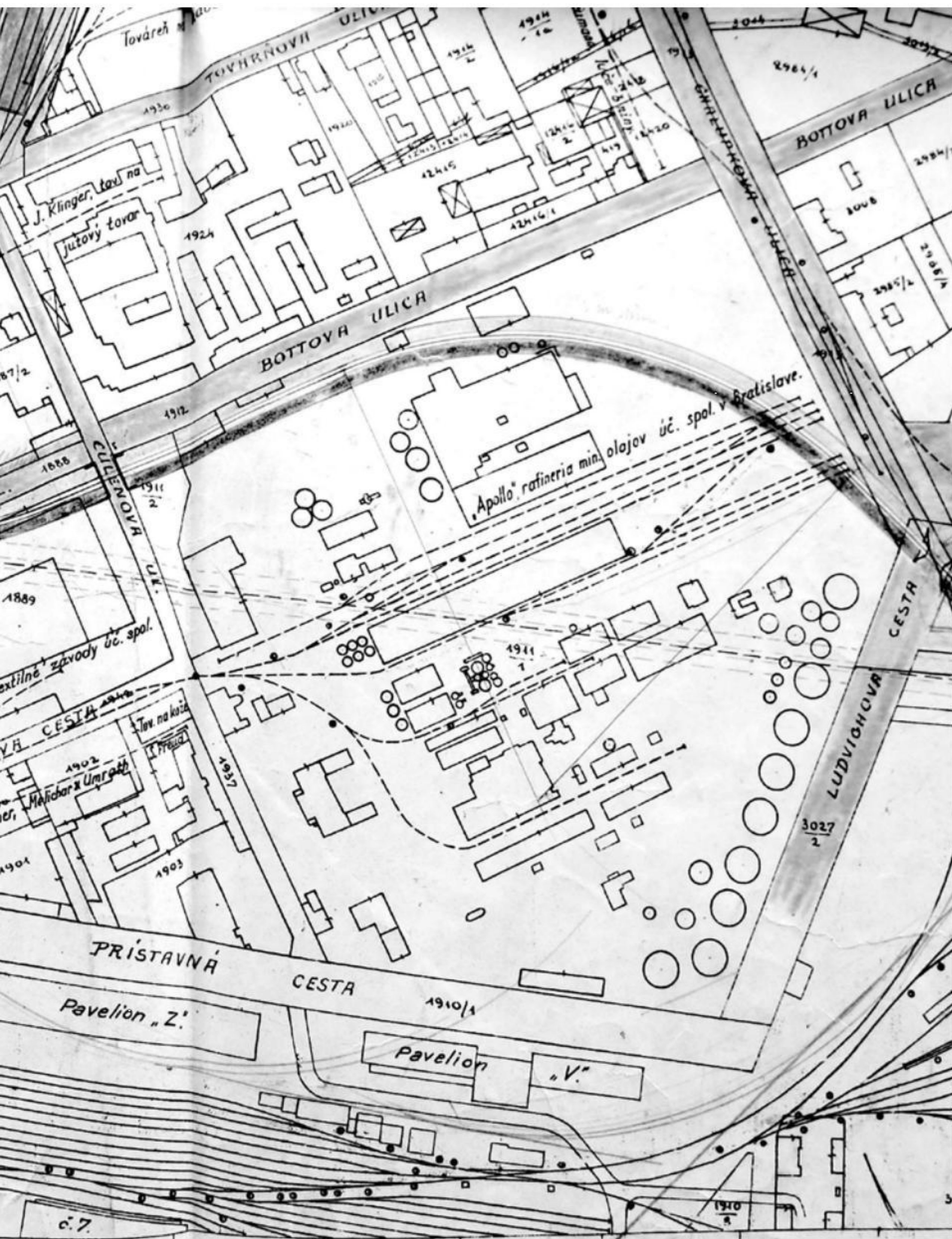
1995



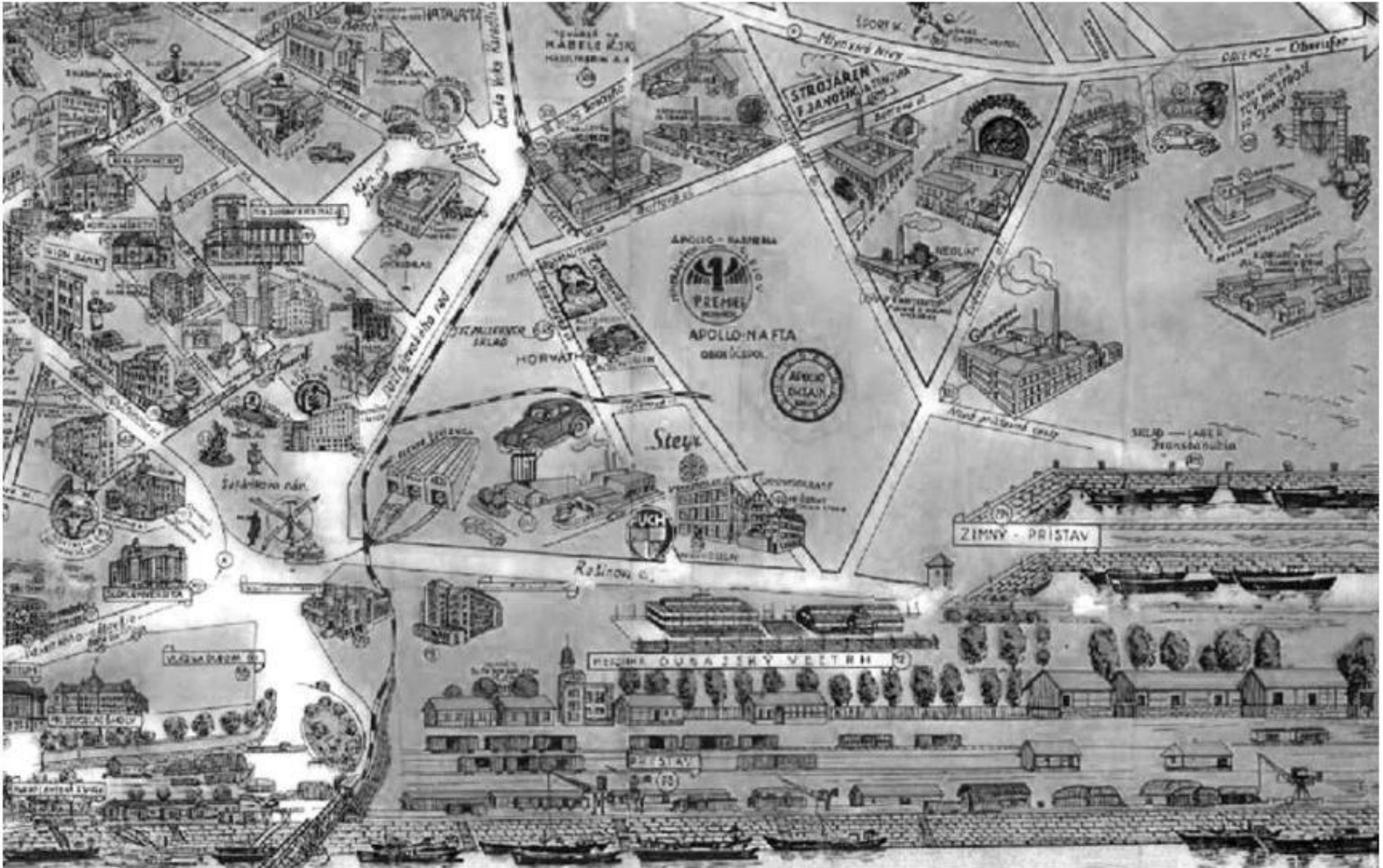
2019

Decline of railway and industry  
from the zone around Továrenská





Regulation and Construction Guidelines for the industrial district from 1927  
Source: Bratislava City Archives



Promotional and orientation map of Bratislava from 1940, published by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Bratislava, Source: Jan Kutman Collection



Industrial district, Čulenova  
Photo: Neubert Archive

for the cable factory in Továrenská ulica (F. Weinwurm, I. Vécsei, 1937 – 1938) or the complex of the heating plant and turbine hall (D. Jurkovič, 1940 – 1941) in Čulenova ulica. Developing in parallel was the complex of the International Danube Exposition on the Danube embankment, where the original temporary structures were gradually supplemented with permanent exhibition pavilions. The life of a prosperous industrial district was disturbed only by the Allied air attacks on the Apollo oil refinery in 1945; yet even shortly after the war's end, production resumed and the area came back to full productive capacity.

#### The New City Centre

Even so, the idea of creating a new urban centre in this locality, as first put forward in the plan by Palóczy, remained surprisingly vivid in the thoughts of Bratislava's planners, architects and urbanists. Moreover, after the nationalisation of industry in 1948, such an intention would no longer find itself blocked by the individual interests of private ownership. No less compelling was the thought of creating a new roadway through the area to connect the main rail station to the Danube port. In several of these plans, this communication axis would have been lined with important public buildings; for others, by contrast, it would have formed the chief urban greenbelt. Urban designer and professor at the Technical University Emanuel Hruška termed the latter plan the 'transverse axis', which he imagined as a linear sequence of urban greenery running from the rail station via Námestie slobody, the 'Medical Garden' and onward to the Danube, where it would culminate in a spacious park replacing the industrial area.<sup>8</sup> Yet the era was

---

<sup>8</sup> The first clearly formulated conception for the transverse axis was prepared as part of the Directive Urban Plan by architect Ján Svetlík in 1954. This concept was also supported by the author of the Directive Land-Use Plan of Bratislava in 1956, Milan Hladký, though



far from welcoming to such ambitious visions: the priority in the 1950s was massive housing construction, and moving industrial production outside the city was hardly a consideration. As late as 1958, urban planner Milan Beňuška noted that "factories are spread almost across the entire city territory".<sup>9</sup>

In the mid-1960s, though, discussion returned to the idea of shifting industrial production out of the first factory district and replacing it with the construction of an entirely new city centre.<sup>10</sup> A competition for the ideal architectonic design of a cultural-social centre for Bratislava was eventually held in 1967, which involved the area of the Apollo refinery, the riverside warehouses, and the then complex of the city public transport garages. The winning team, composed of Jozef Lacko, Ladislav Kušník and Ivan Slameň, designed in the words of the jury a "striking and unconventional" centre with a series of unusually formed freestanding volumes. Among the functions proposed for these structures were buildings for central government bodies, a multipurpose hall, the Slovak National Theatre, the Slovak Technical Library and the 'Museum of the Workers' Movement', along with a hotel, retail facilities and even an indoor swimming pool.<sup>11</sup> Of these plans, the only one ever realised was the office building of the Presscentrum along with its printing works. All the while, the industrial district remained practically unchanged – even though

by the 1970s the attention of city planners had begun to focus, under the influence of the new law for protection of agricultural land, on the city centre once again. Even the continually rising demand for new housing never caused any of the directive urban plans to discuss the termination of manufacturing in the area of today's Chalúpkova ulica and its replacement with a residential area. The first ideas for rebuilding the area came into serious discussion only by the 1980s, with the belated need to address the quality of the natural environment and the related need for eliminating industrial production in urban centres. Moreover, by this period the Apollo refinery had been replaced with the new Slovnaft complex, constructed on the city's southeast periphery, while other manufacturing in the locality was also beginning to decline. Another confirmation of this trend was the competition for the new Slovak National Theatre building, held in 1980, where the site chosen was directly on the edge of the industrial zone in what was then still Martanovičova ulica. Continuing this trend still further was the updating of the Bratislava land-use plan from 1982, in which one of the major themes involved the strengthening of the cultural and public functions of the former factory district between Mlynské Nivy and the Danube embankment. A similar idea was reflected in the draft of the first direct usage plan for this district: the 'Land-Use Plan for the Zone Martanovičova', prepared by the team of Peter Bauer, Martin Kusý, Pavol Paňák and Eduard Šutek from 1982 until 1989. In this design, the authors reacted to postmodernist principles of rehabilitating the compact urban structure, proposing the replacement of the factories and warehouses with a city-block structure naturally following from the adjoining 'Danube District' (Dunajská štvrť). Into this structure they integrated not only the new Slovak National Theatre (P. Bauer, M. Kusý, P. Paňák, E. Šutek, 1980 – 2007),

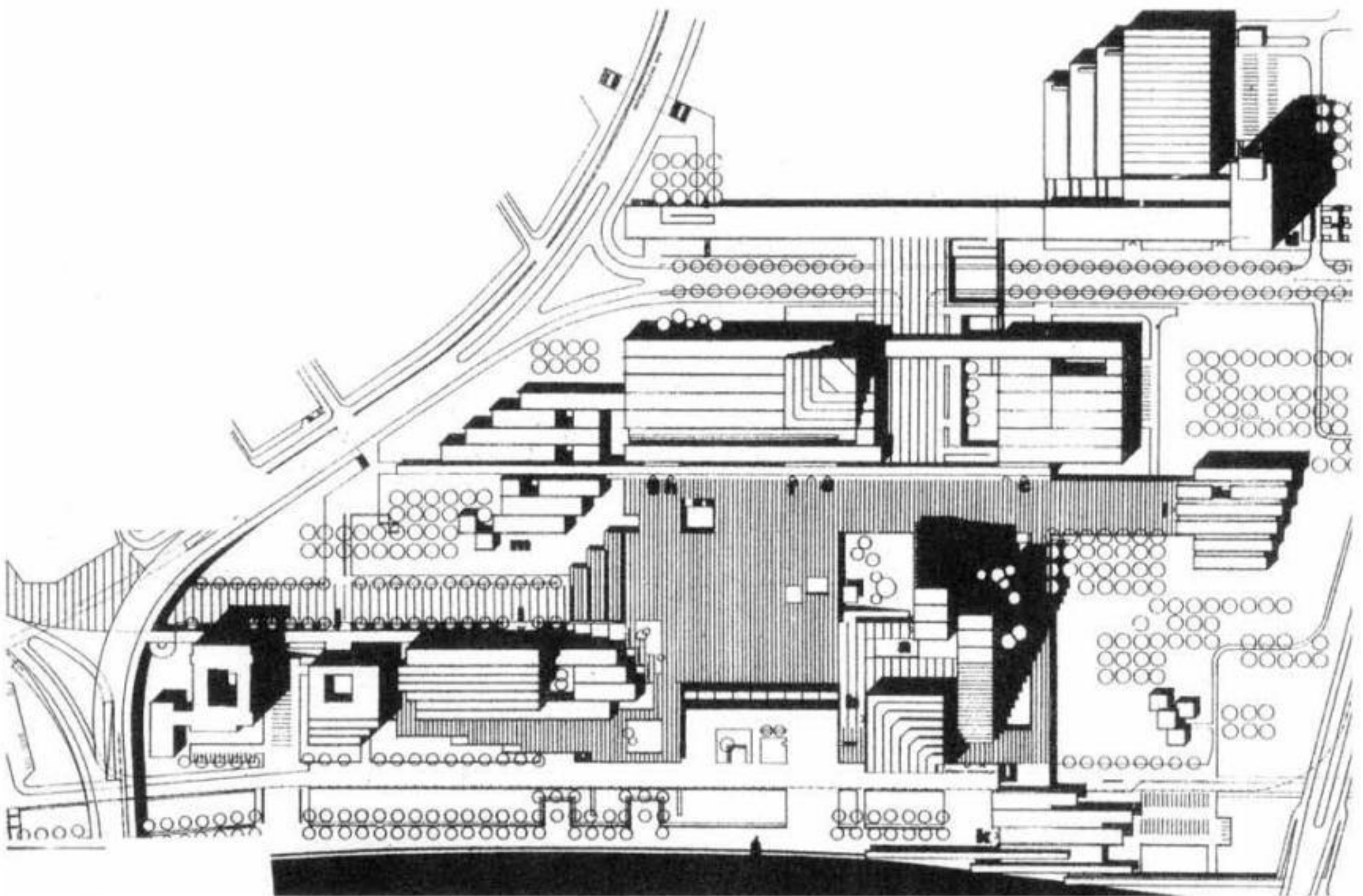
---

he later noted that the idea was essentially derived from the interwar competition for the City Regulatory Plan. Hladký, Milan: Sedem plánov pre Bratislavu. Projekt, 13, 1971, no. 146, p. 182.

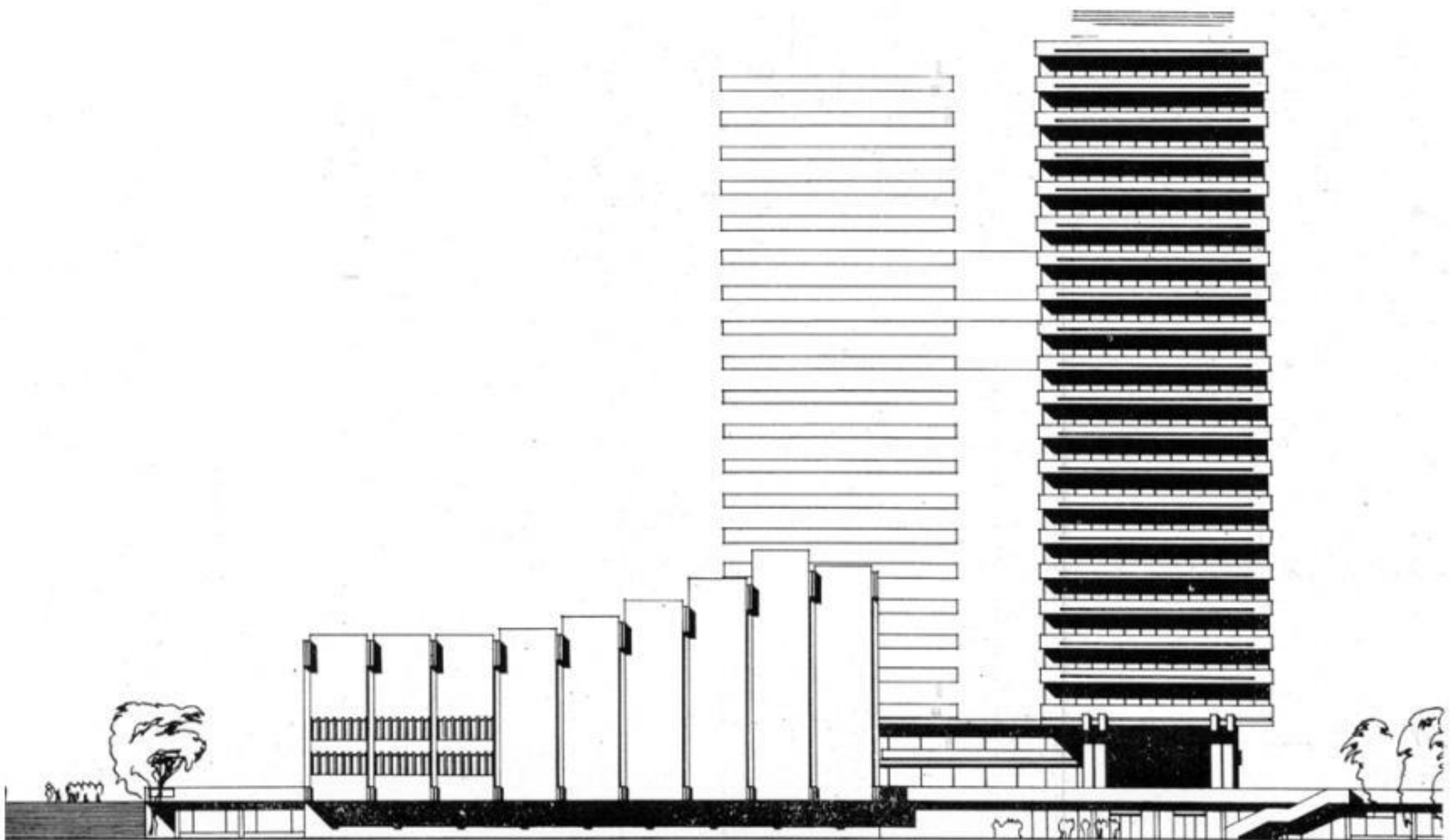
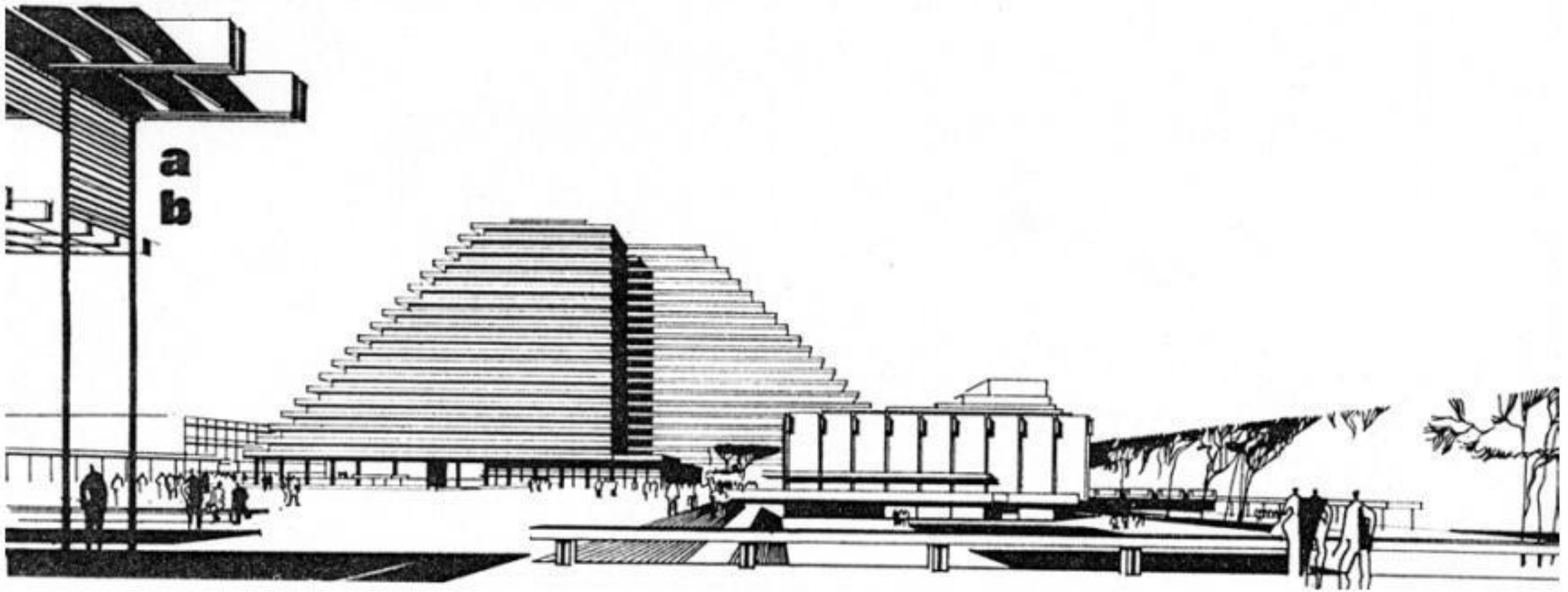
<sup>9</sup> Beňuška, Milan: Bratislava, hlavné mesto Slovenska. Architektura ČSR, 17, 1958, no. 1, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Hladký, Milan: Bratislava potrebuje nové centrum. Projekt, 5, 1963, p. 148 – 153.

<sup>11</sup> Záriš, František: Súťaž na ideové architektonické riešenie kultúrno-spoločenského centra v Bratislave. Architektura ČSR, 27, 1968, no. 6, p. 346 – 352.



The winning design proposal for the architectural and urban solution for the cultural and social center of Bratislava,  
J. Lacko, L. Kušnir, I. Slameň, 1967  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



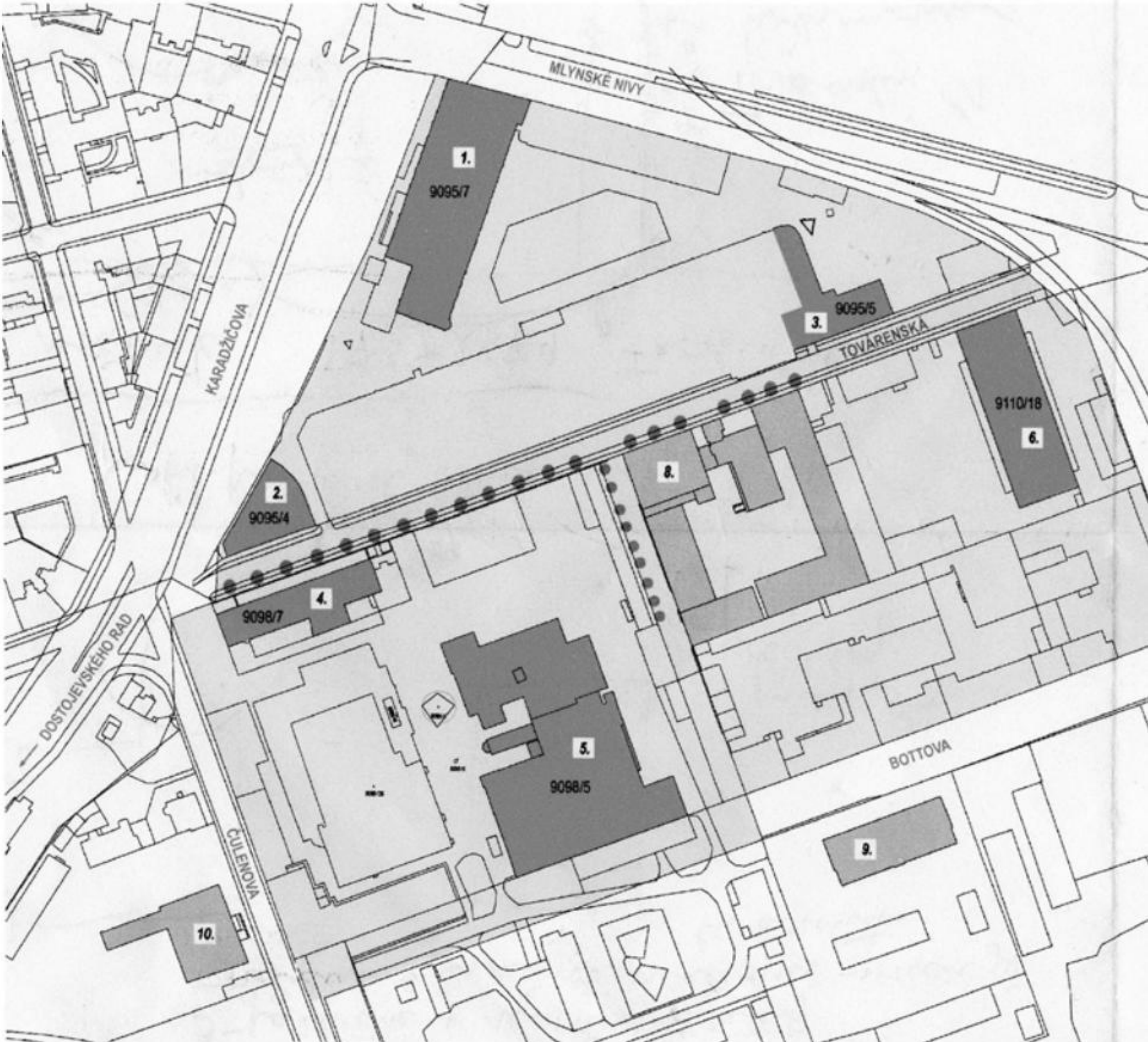
The winning design proposal for the architectural and urban solution for the cultural and social center of Bratislava,  
J. Lacko, L. Kušník, I. Slameň, 1967  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



OBJEKT Č.1 - SEVERNÁ FASÁDA



OBJEKT Č.6 - POHLAD OD SEVEROZÁPADU



TOVÁRENSKÁ ULICA - ALEJA



OBJEKT Č.5 - POHLAD OD SEVERU, Z TOVÁRENSKEJ ULICE



OBJEKT Č.1 - DETAILS JUŽNEJ FASÁDY; CELKOVÝ



but also most of the freestanding volumes of the industrial construction in the area. This plan served as the main tool for regulating construction up until the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, and shaped the creation of the central office building for the insurance company Slovenská poisťovňa (E. Šutek, 1990 – 1995) as well as the residential-retail centre Eurovea (B. Kaliský a spol., 2010).

### Downtown

After the regime change of 1989, the manufacturing complexes were gradually privatised and industrial production wound down. Eventually, the land came into the possession of three development groups, which subsequently began to put pressure on a change in the land-use plan for the zone. As such, by the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century three parallel processes were already underway. First was the effort to protect valuable industrial heritage in the vicinity. Employees of the Slovak Heritage Office investigated the standing buildings, with six recommended for official protection, while Továrenská ulica was described as a historically valuable urban element and three other structures described as successful transformations of original industrial heritage. Their analysis led to the proposal in 2007 for the declaration of the buildings in the 'Zone Chalúpkova' as national heritage structures.<sup>12</sup> The second process was the preparation of a new land-use plan for the zone. Following the axis of the original network, it planned entirely new construction, while extant structures (with the exception of a few buildings such as the heritage-protected Klinger Factory and the heating plant) were planned for removal.<sup>13</sup>

12 Návrh za vyhlásenie vecí za NKP, Peter Andráši, Jana Šulcová and Tomáš Kowalski, Pamiatkový úrad SR, 2007.

13 Územný plán zóny Chalúpkova, Jela Plencerová et al,

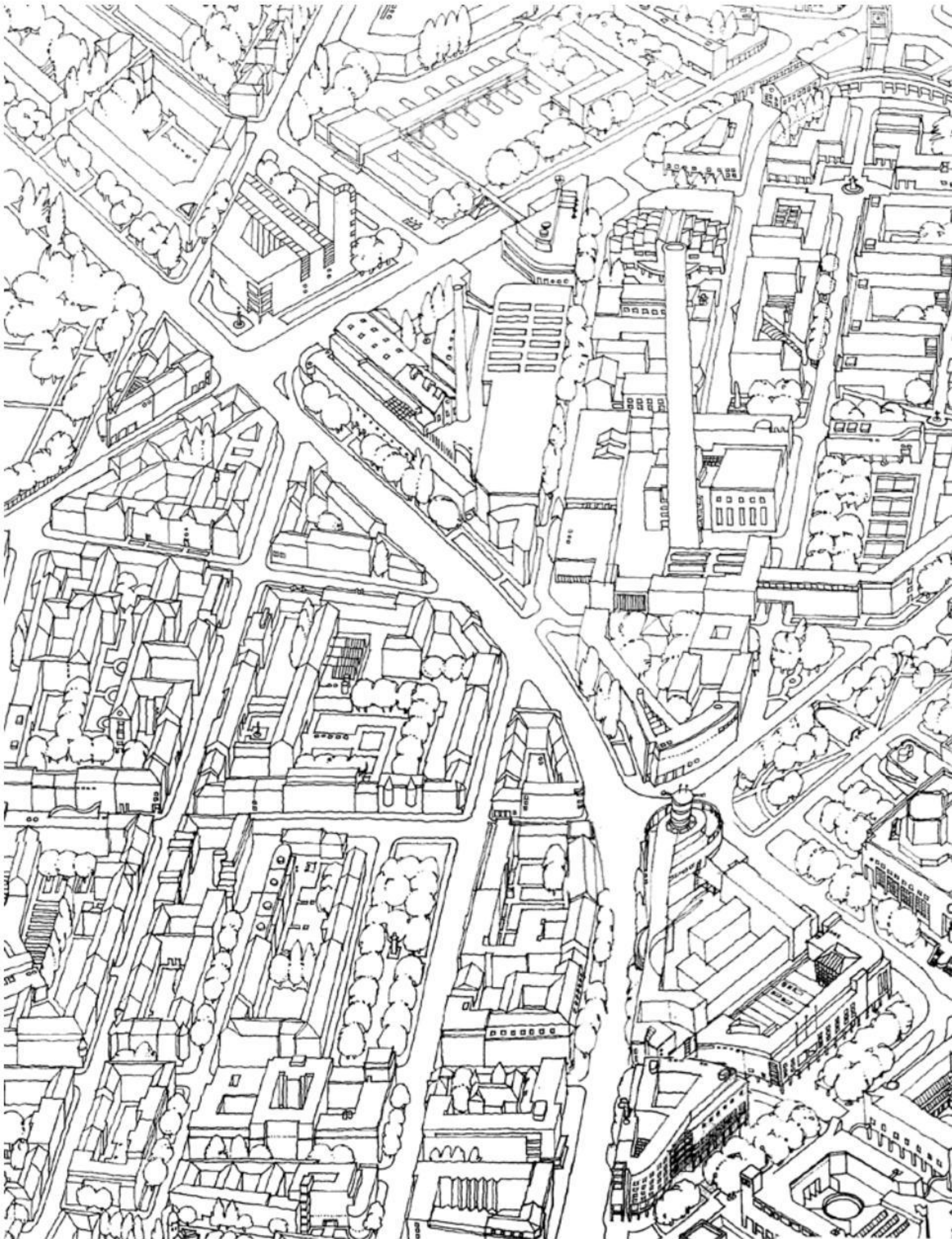
The third parallel process was preparation of project documentation for new construction, created at the urging of the private investors, and it was this planned construction that in the end formed the de facto determining force for the new land-use plan. Successively, the various investment plans were integrated into the official planning document to the extent that it finally was reduced to the organisation of transport routes through the area. As such, the character of the district radically changed in only a single decade, with the factory courtyards replaced by freestanding high-rises. Similarly, the compact urban blocks, streets and squares assumed by the 'postmodernist' land-use plan from the 1980s gave way to variously shaped isolated volumes positioned loosely within the network of a basic transport system. The fragments of construction reflecting the original urban plan for the zone, such as Továrenská and Pribinova ulica or Námestie M. R. Štefánika, now form the most significant urban elements in the area, key moments that articulate and stabilise this part of the urban structure. In the case of the remaining part of the area, the only recollection of the postmodernist aim at rehabilitating traditional urban spaces is found, paradoxically, in the names given to the streets and squares.

No less radical a change took place in the functional program of the zone. The functionally diverse terrain of a historic industrial district was first intended to be supplemented, per the plans from the 1980s, with residential buildings along with public cultural or social buildings. Only the new Slovak National Theatre has any connection to this original intent; the remaining structure realised in the planning of the Zone Chalúpkova

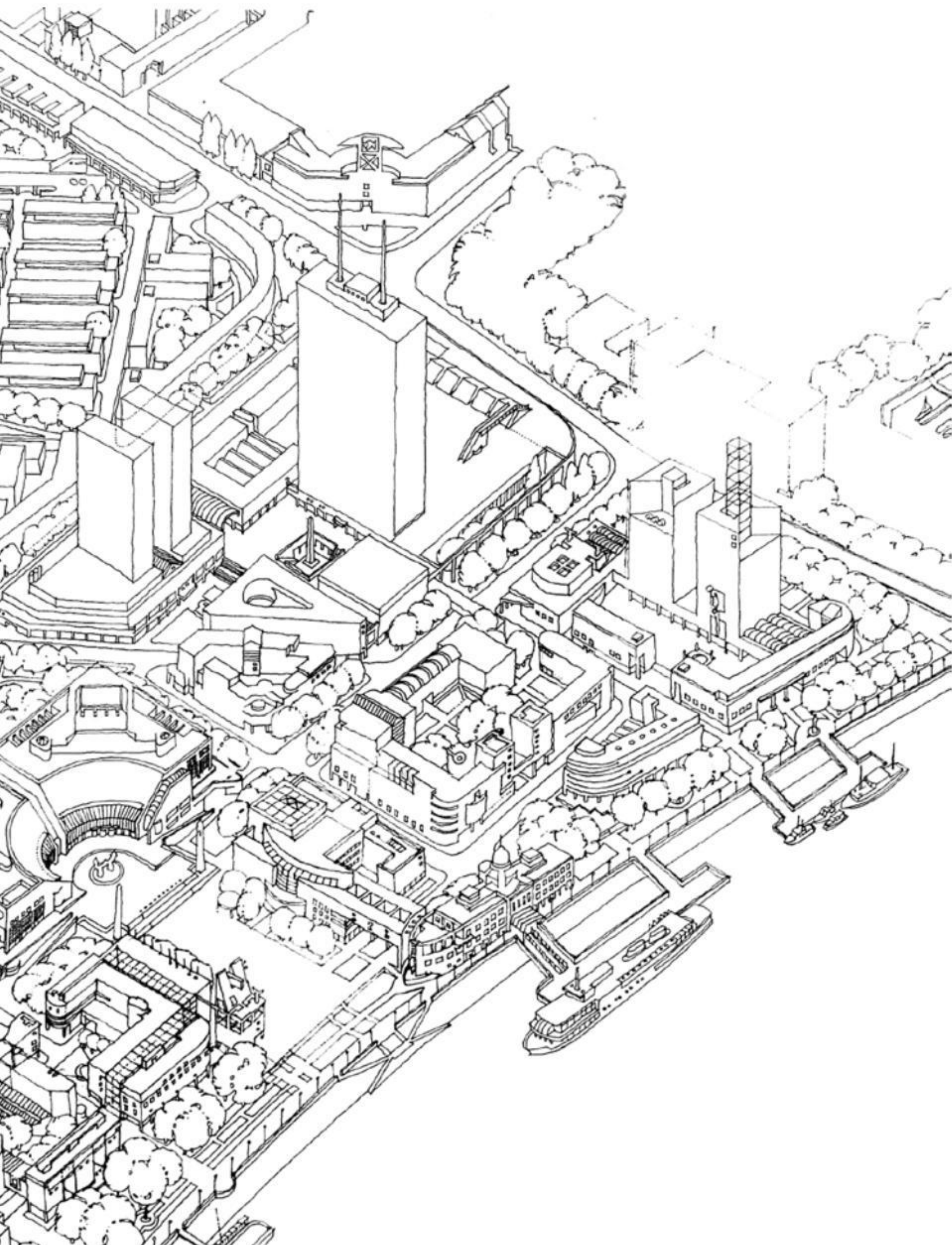
2017. <https://www.staremesto.sk/sk/content/uzemne-planovanie/section:citizen>



Construction of the Slovak National Theater, around 1988  
Source: Department of Architecture archive, Institute of History, SAS



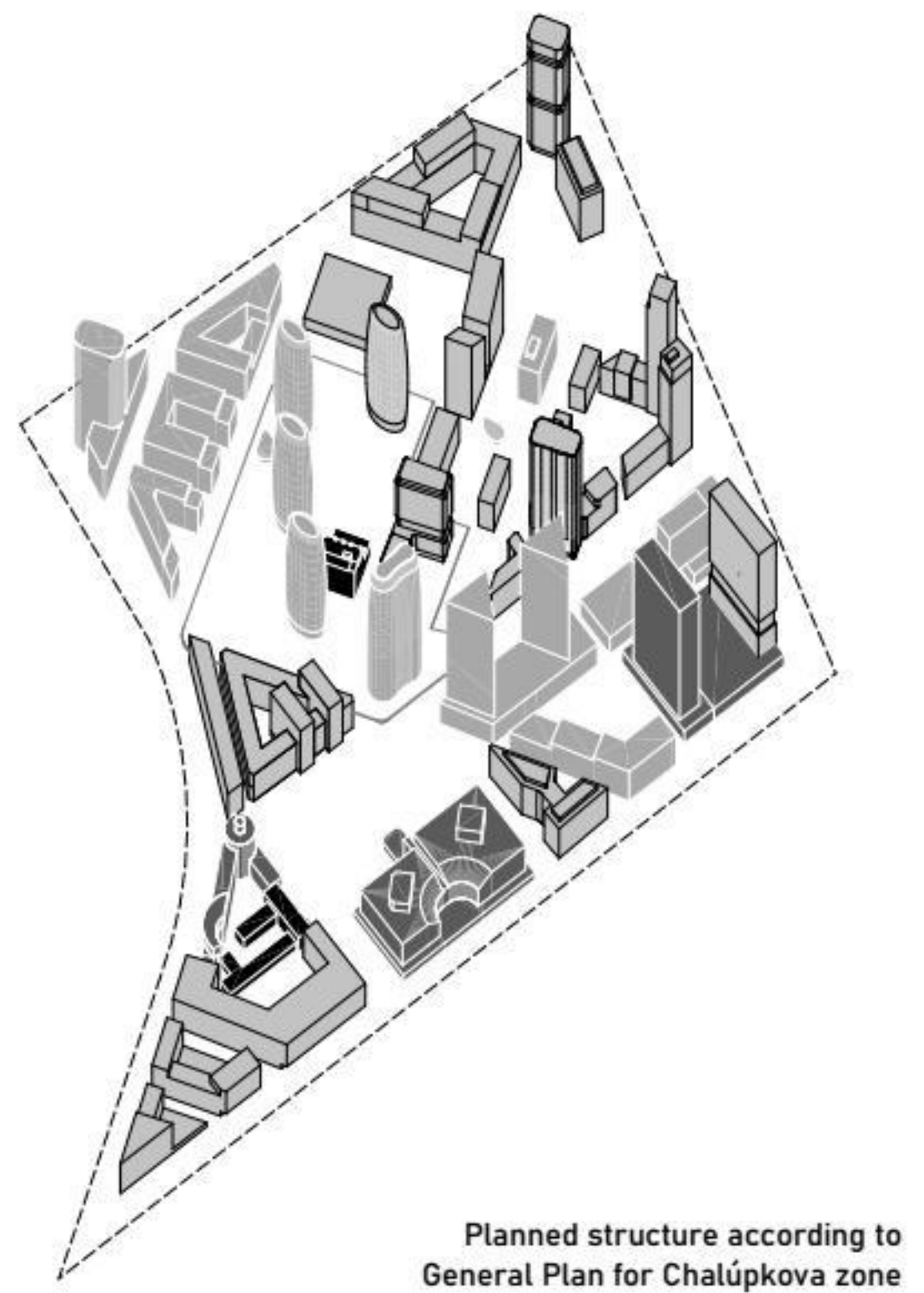
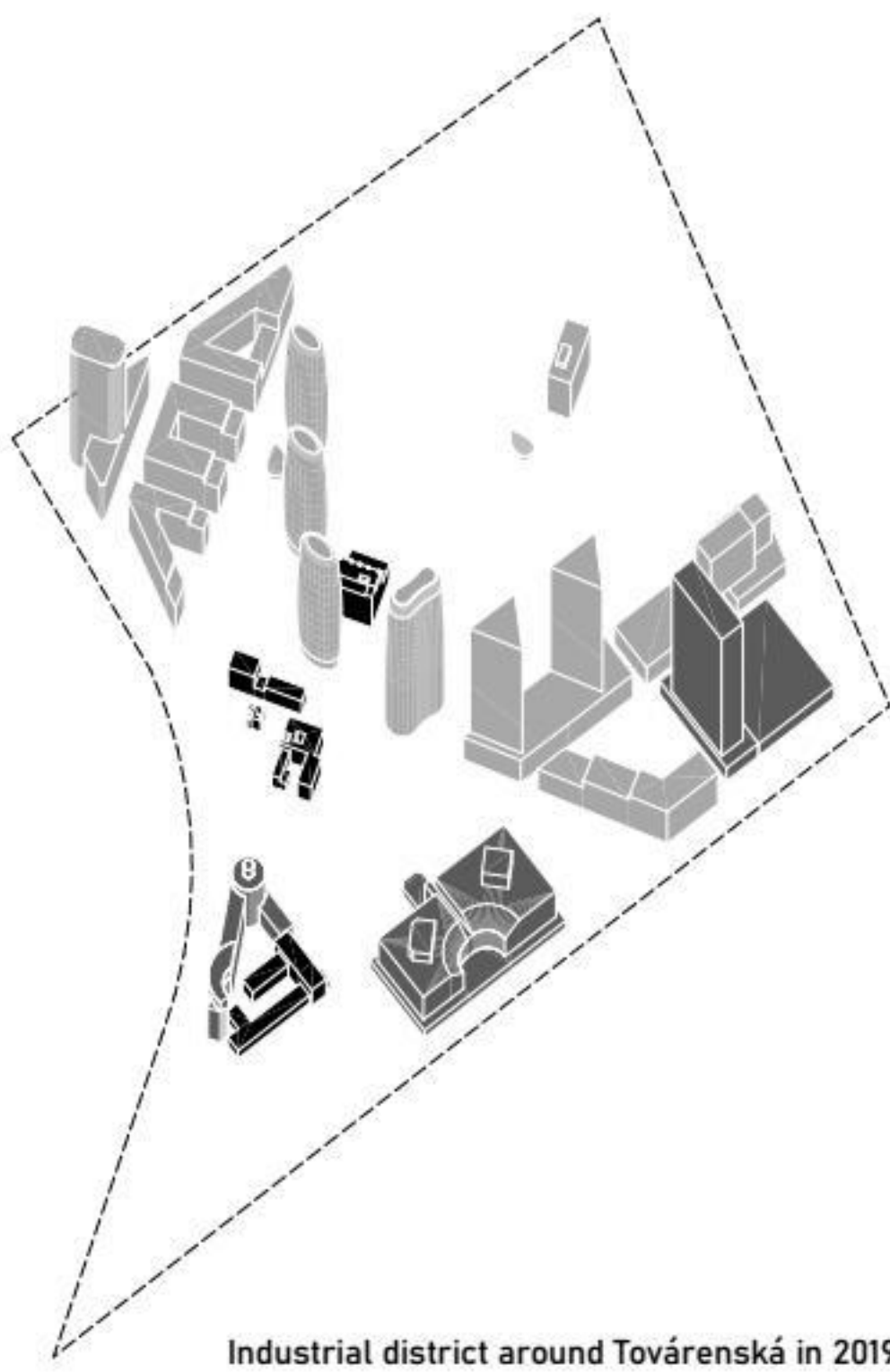
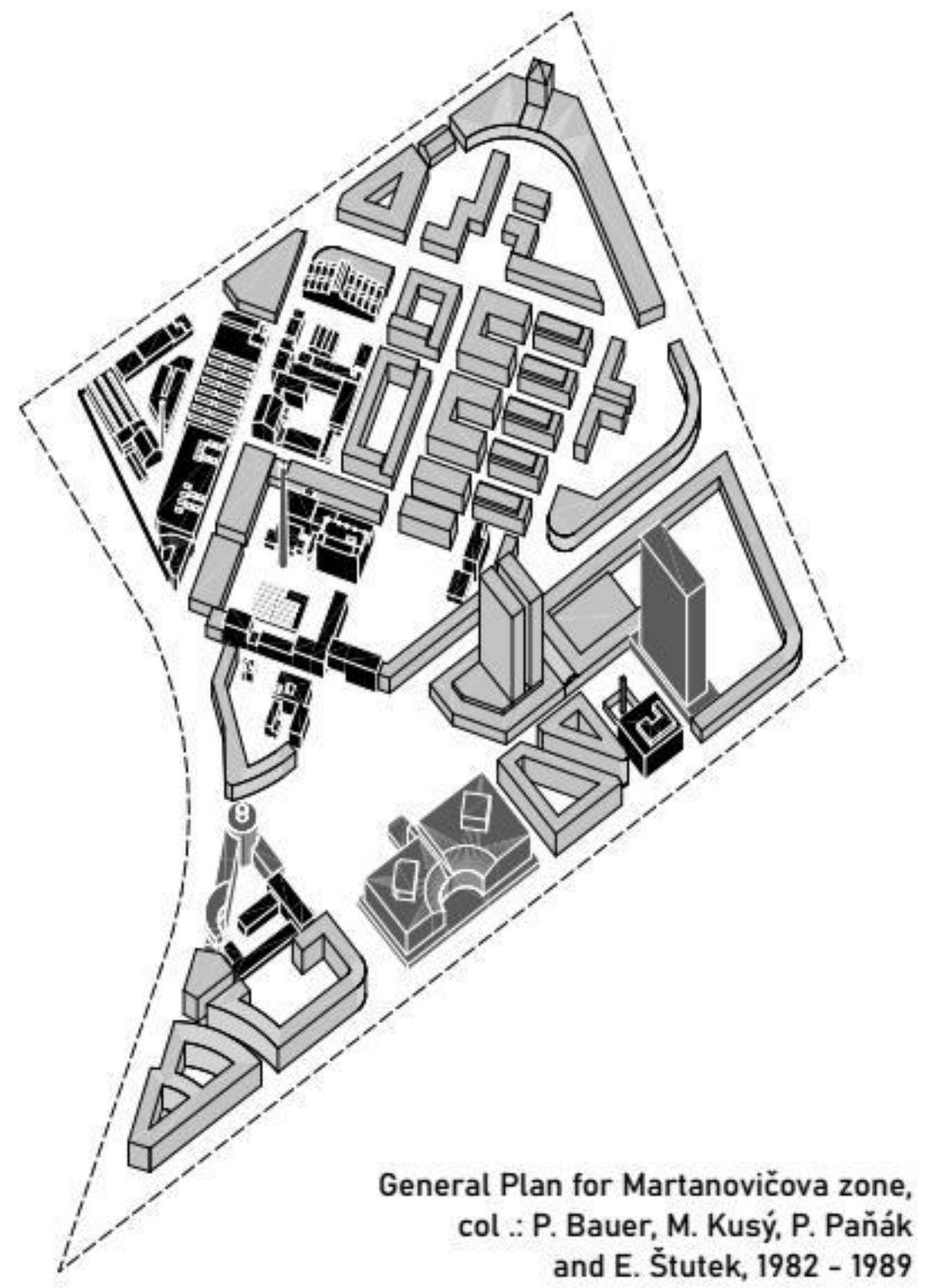
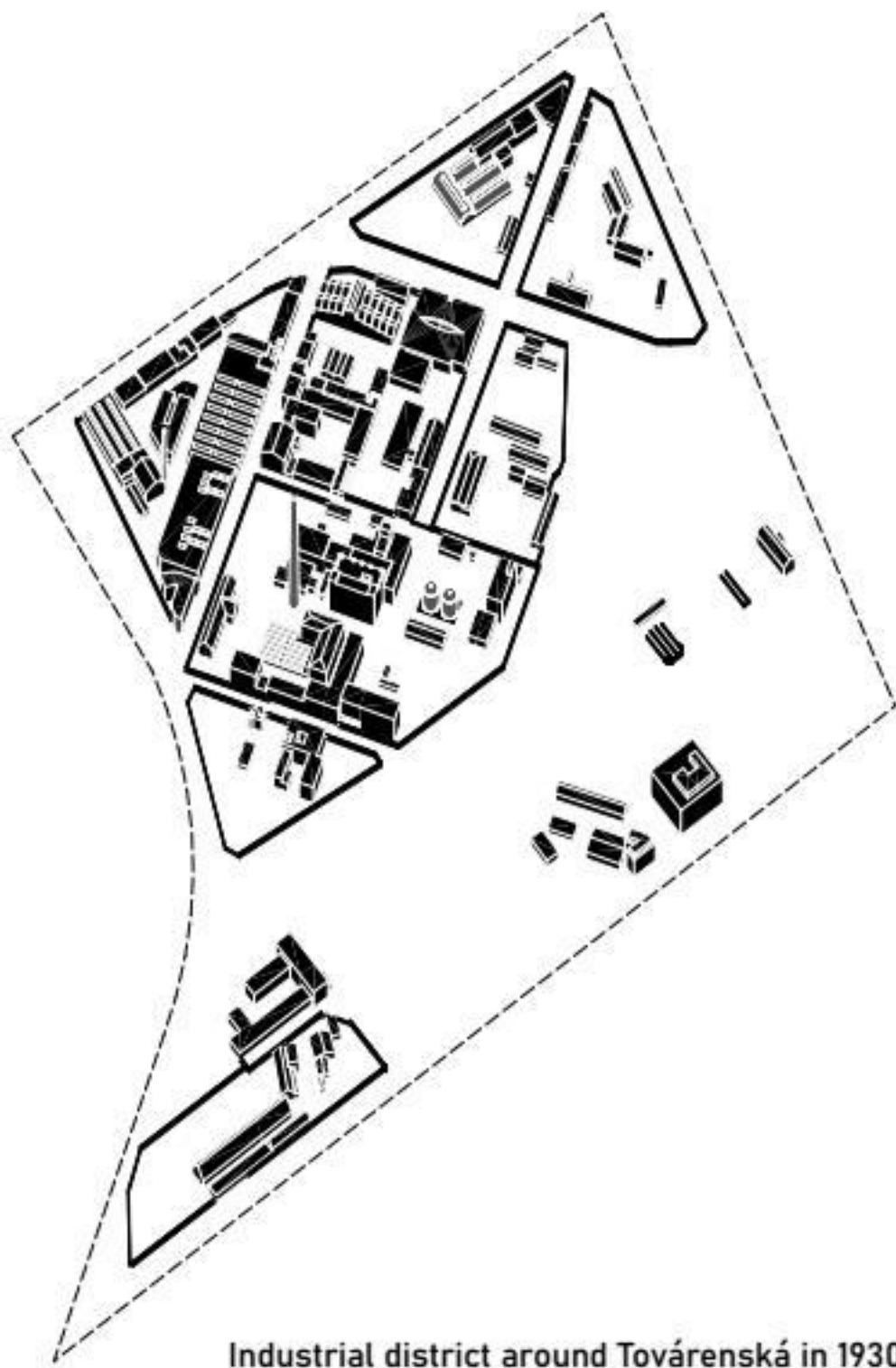




General Plan for Martanovičova zone, col. : Peter Bauer, Martin Kusý, Pavol Paňák and Eduard Štutek, 1982 - 1989  
Source: BKPŠ Archive

is a standard instance of the (more or less) closed blocks of shopping centres, office buildings and exclusive apartment complexes. An inclusive if vague urban space with layers of historic memory has been replaced with the containers of modern consumerism: the public replaced by the private. Nonetheless, it is still evident that the new construction here has nonetheless – to a certain extent – fulfilled the original plan for a new city centre dating back to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, even if in a far different material form and functional purpose.

Bratislava may well appear to be a city of incomplete plans, unrealised projects and chance solutions. Yet as this investigation into one of the key localities of the current city reveals, there is a definite mechanism for preserving key ideas, which we could term the phenomenon of 'unintentional continuity'. In other words, the unintended (or undeclared) continuation of the visions and intentions of previous eras, the result of a certain 'critical mass' of knowledge that forms part of the awareness of the city and, along with the natural conditions and physical morphology, then unwittingly shapes the thinking of architects, urban planners or investors. And it also becomes clear that even the fragments of realised regulatory plans have the potential to serve as a stabilising element in the urban space, forming bridges across the discontinuities in urban planning. Moreover, it should be understood that even the most politically or ideologically conditioned decisions influenced the form of the city only to a limited extent. The key role was played and still is played by actors in free-market competition, who to greater or lesser extents have influenced the preparation of urban plans and thus determined even the size and the function of the realised buildings.

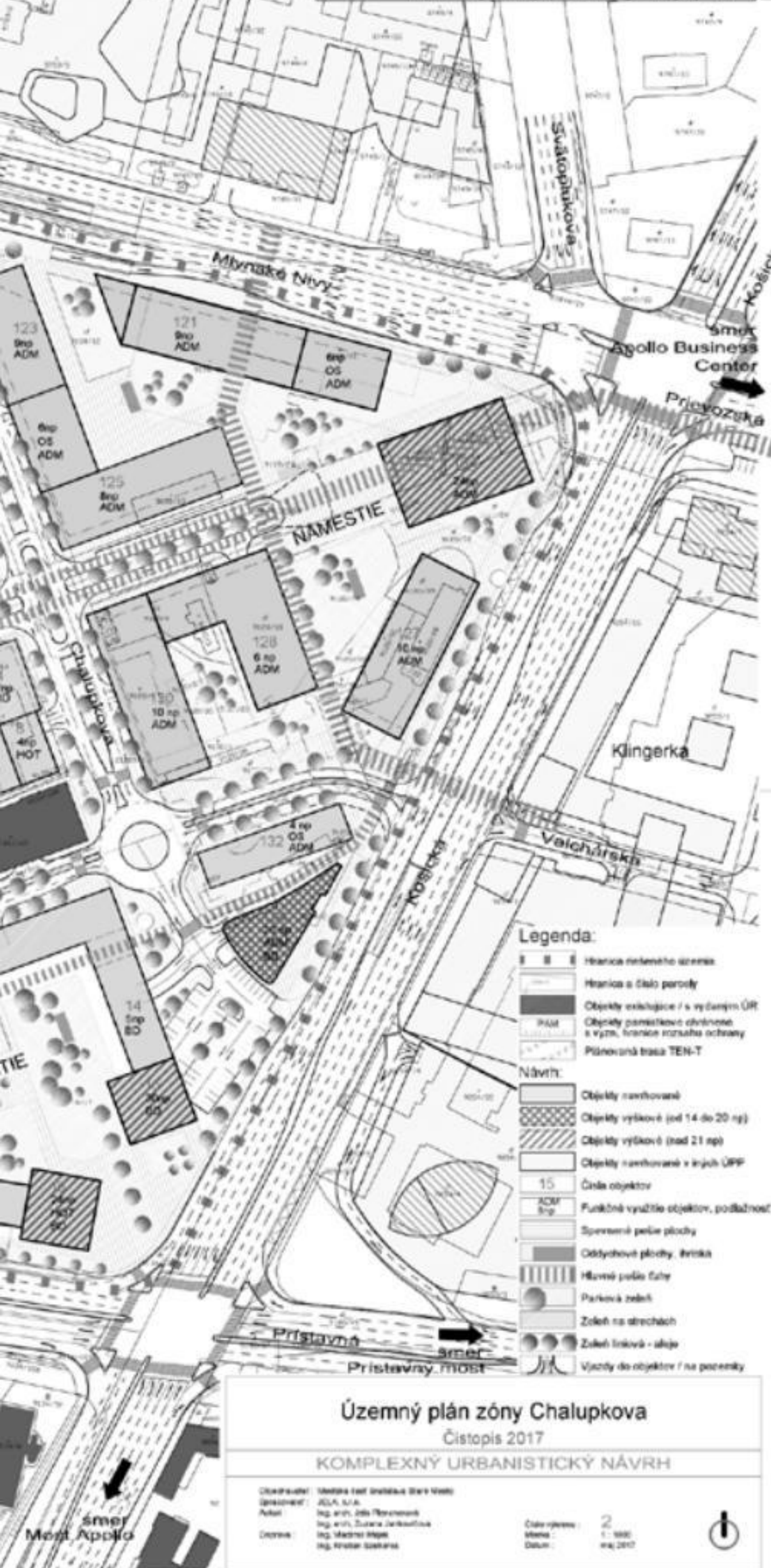


The actual and the planned transformation of the urban structure in 20th century



Funkčné využitie a členenie stavieb

Funkčné využitie	Druh stavby	Skratka
Kvartier	Bytové budovy	BO
	Obchodné centrá	OC
	Obchodné strediská	OS
	Obchodné budovy na bývanie	OB
Obchodná vybavenosť	Reštaurácie	RE
	Restaurácie so občerstvením a alkoholom	REK
	Restaurácie so občerstvením, nápojkami, kaviarňami	REK
	Restaurácie, kaviarňami, kaviarňami	REK
	Restaurácie so občerstvením, kaviarňami a kaviarňami	REK
	Restaurácie so občerstvením, kaviarňami a kaviarňami	REK
	Restaurácie so občerstvením, kaviarňami a kaviarňami	REK
	Restaurácie so občerstvením, kaviarňami a kaviarňami	REK
	Restaurácie so občerstvením, kaviarňami a kaviarňami	REK
	Restaurácie so občerstvením, kaviarňami a kaviarňami	REK
Doprava a technická infraštruktúra	Restaurácie so občerstvením a kaviarňami	REK
	Restaurácie so občerstvením	REK
	Restaurácie so občerstvením, kaviarňami a kaviarňami	REK



- Legenda:**
- Hranica plánovanej zóny
  - Hranica a číslo parcely
  - Objekty existujúce / s vydaným ÚP
  - Objekty čiastočne zrušené a vzhľadom na rozšírenie ochrany
  - Plánovaná trať TEN-T
  - Návrh:**
  - Objekty navrhované
  - Objekty výškové (od 14 do 20 np)
  - Objekty výškové (nad 21 np)
  - Objekty navrhované s inými ÚPP
  - Číslo objektov
  - Funkčné využitie objektov, podlažnosť
  - Sprievádzajúce plochy
  - Oddychové plochy, terasy
  - Hlavné pešie cesty
  - Parkovacie miesta
  - Zeleň na svahoch
  - Zeleň ostrovná - ostrovy
  - Zeleň do objektov / na pozemky

**Územný plán zóny Chalupkova**  
 Čistopis 2017  
**KOMPLEXNÝ URBANISTICKÝ NÁVRH**

Odborník: Ing. arch. Jozef Bermančík  
 Projekt: Ing. arch. Jozef Bermančík  
 Dátum: Ing. arch. Jozef Bermančík

Číslo výkresu: 2  
 Mierka: 1:500  
 Dátum: máj 2017

General Plan for Chalupkova zone, 2017  
 Source: <https://www.stare mesto.sk/sk/content/uzemne-planovanie>





The last residuals of the district's industrial past in the grip of new construction, 2019  
Photo: Olja Triaška Stefanovič

**city and history****urban planning, competitions,  
legislation and major buildings**

<b>1740</b>	- Maria Theresa became the Queen of Hungary	
<b>1774</b>		- Maria Theresa initiated the formation of Sternallee in Petržalka - the first public park in Central Europe (today Sad Janka Kráľa)
<b>1775</b>		- Maria Theresa ordered to demolish the inner fortifications of the town and commissioned Franz Hillebrandt to prepare the city's first regulatory plan
<b>1811</b>	- on 28 May 28 1811 the Bratislava castle burnt down	
<b>1825</b>		
<b>1826</b>		- Aucafé was completed on Petržalka embarkment
<b>1830</b>		
<b>1840</b>		- on 27 September 1840 the first horse-drawn railway station was opened in the town on today's Krížna ulica (track from Bratislava to Svätý Jur)
<b>1848</b>	- Revolution 1848 / On 15 March 1848 Hungarian council held in Bratislava / Franz Joseph I became King of Hungary	- the first steam railway station building on was built on Šancová ulica / the Imperial-Royal Erector ordered to build the military swimming pool in Petržalka
<b>1850</b>		- Miklós Halácsi drew up the city's regulatory plan between 1849 and 1850
<b>1856</b>		
<b>1867</b>	- Austro-Hungarian Compromise	
<b>1872</b>		- the City Building Status was issued and remained valid until 1945
<b>1873</b>		
<b>1876</b>		- Building Act was passed and determined the rules of construction in the city
<b>1881</b>		
<b>1882</b>		- chief city engineer Anton Sendlein made a map of the city
<b>1884</b>		



**city, society and monuments****city, industry and transport****1740****1774***- the first Danube river treatment occurred***1775** - a new coronation hill was created near Danube replacing the original coronation hill, which was demolished due to the construction of the granary**1811****1825***- the pontoon bridge of Karolína Augusta was built near Berlínka café, the bridge operated until 1891 and was a direct predecessor of the first permanent bridge across Danube, Franz Joseph Bridge***1826** - first horse races were held in Petržalka**1830***- regular passenger and freight traffic on Danube has begun***1840****1848***- on 20 August 1848 the first steam train to Vienna began to operate***1850** - 42 238 inhabitants lived in the town, of which almost 75% were Germans, 18% Slovaks and about 8% Hungarians*- Bratislava had regular rail connections to Vienna and Budapest by steam trains***1856***- on 19 March 1856 coal gas production in municipal gasworks started***1867** - Heinrich von Justi was elected mayor of the city*- Justi initiated regulation of Danube and relocation of the winter harbor and shipyard outside the city center, the coronation hill was demolished due to regulatory work***1872***- the Stein brewery was founded on Blumentálská Street***1873***- Alfred Nobel founded an explosive factory called Dynamit - Nobel in the northeastern outskirts of the city***1876****1881***- the first stage of regulation of Danube according to the plans of E.G. Lanfranconi was completed***1882** - a filoxic vine epidemic broke out, over 50% of the vineyards on Hausbergl were destroyed**1884***- the municipal waterworks were founded, the first well on the island of Sihot' was dug, the oldest waterworks building on Karloveská cesta was completed in 1886*

**1890**

**1892**

**1895**

**1896**

*- The City Council entrusted the Technical Department with the elaboration of the city's regulatory plan / a legal article Gesetzartikel 1896 / XXIII on tax relief for new buildings was published / Bratislava rowing club was built according to design of R.Jablinger (demolished in connection with the construction of SNP Bridge in the second half of the 60s)*

**1897**

*- in March, a new building code was submitted to the municipal council for discussion*

**1898**

*- In March, the Technical Department of the Municipality submitted a plan for regulation and expansion of the city*

**1900**

*- Aréna Theater was built in Petržalka (the work of builder E. Tabakovits) and replaced the original wooden theater from 1828*

**1901**

**1904**

**1905**

*- City Regulatory Plan prepared by Viktor Bernhard was presented for discussion to the city council*

**1906**

*- Antal Palóczy reviewed the regulatory plan of the City Technical Department*

**1907**

*- Antal Palóczy was entrusted with the preparation of the Plan of Regulation and Extension of the City*

**1908**

**1909**

**1910**

**1911**

- 1890** - city council decided to change the names of streets and city districts by introducing double German and Hungarian names / 52 441 inhabitants lived in the town, including 31 404 Germans, 10 433 Hungarians and 8 709 Slovaks
- 1892**
- 1895**
- 1896**
- 1897**
- 1898**
- 1900** - as part of the millennium celebrations a statue of a Hungarian warrior was placed at Devín Castle / a memorial to Empress Maria Theresa was placed on the coronation hill
- 1901**
- 1904**
- 1905**
- 1906**
- 1907**
- 1908**
- 1909**
- 1910** - US President Theodore Roosevelt visited Bratislava and attended the gala banquet at the Palugyay Hotel
- 1911** - T.A. Edison visited Bratislava
- the second stage of regulation of the Danube according to Lanfranconi projects took place, lasting until 1896, when Lanfranconi died / the first permanent bridge across the Danube was completed, it was Franz Joseph Bridge made out of steel and it also had a railway track*
- the concept of industrialization of the city is mentioned for the first time / the ferry started to operate across Danube*
- Apollo refinery was founded and constructed / Kablo factory was founded / on 27 August 1895 the first city tram started to operate between Rybné námestie and today's Hodžovo námestie*
- the northern pool of the winter harbor was dug and the city's sewerage network began to be built (completed in 1904)*
- the Municipal Power Plant (Čulenova ulica) was founded and on 30 September 1901 began its trial operation*
- a rubber factory was established in Petržalka (later named Matador)*
- the southern pool of the winter harbor was dug*
- the Danubius factory was built according to the plans of architect Mayereder, the construction was carried out by Pittel and Brausewetter company*
- a trolleybus began to operate between the Palugyay factory on Pražská ulica and Roth's patron factory / a bridge from reinforced concrete was built over the Little Danube in Prievoz*

<b>1913</b>	- fire below the Castle	<i>- architect F. Weinwurm appealed to the reconstruction of the burnt part of the city below the Castle in accordance with the principles of modern architecture / construction of the first urban flats for poor families who lost their shelter in the fire (Mestská ulica)</i>
<b>1914</b>	- the beginning of World War I	
<b>1917</b>		<i>- Antal Palóczy presented the latest version of the Urban Regulatory and Development Plan to Pressburg section of the Hungarian Society of Engineers and Architects</i>
<b>1918</b>	- end of World War I / fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy / Pittsburgh Agreement - the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic on 28 October 1918 / T. G. Masaryk became the president	
<b>1919</b>	- Prešporok (Pressburg) was renamed to Bratislava, the main political and administrative center of Slovakia / on 4 May 1919 General Štefánik died in a plane accident	<i>- Petržalka was attached to Bratislava in August 1919</i>
<b>1920</b>	- Treaty of Trianon signed on 4 June 1920. The Czechoslovak state agreed, inter alia, not to build any military structures in Bratislava on the right bank of Danube	<i>- since 1920, Czech architects settled in Bratislava have worked out studies of several urban areas, such as the embankment or the suburb of Blumenthal, where a new city center was planned</i>
<b>1921</b>		<i>- formation of the Regulatory and Artistic Commission for the City of Bratislava, Petržalka and Karlova Ves</i>
<b>1923</b>		<i>- In December, the City Council approved the Regulatory Commission and it started its activities. It was headed by architect E. Bárta, chief architect of the city / K. Šilinger began work on the design of the first new university building in Bratislava - Anatomical Institute that was completed in 1927</i>
<b>1924</b>		<i>- Regulatory study of the embankment at today's Old Bridge / the Municipal Technical Department announced a closer competition for the architectural design of the "Agricultural Museum" in Bratislava (now Slovak National Museum)</i>
<b>1925</b>		<i>- the building of Slovak Art Forum (UBS) was built on Šafárikovo námestie according to the design of A. Balán and J. Grossmann</i>

**1913**

**1914**

*- on 22 January 1914 the tram between Bratislava and Vienna began to operate*

**1917**

**1918**

**1919** - the Government Commission for Preservation of Monuments in Slovakia was established and led by D. Jurkovič / in June the administrator S. Zoch ordered to rename streets and districts in the city

**1920**

*- K. Skorkovský's company began the construction of warehouse no. 7 in the harbour / Kornel Stodola founded the Oriental Society, which since 1921 organized the Oriental Fair. It was later renamed the Danube Fair and was held annually in the winter harbor until 1942*

**1921** - on 3rd June 1921 the Slovak Art Forum (UBS) was founded in Bratislava / on 19 September 1921 President T. G. Masaryk came to Bratislava for his first official visit / in October 1921 the Czechoslovak legionaries demolished the statue of Maria Theresa on the coronation hill, the memorial of Sándor Petöfi on today's Hviezdoslavovo námestie was dismantled and stored in a deposit / the inhabitants of Czech nationality represented a 40% share of the city population

**1923** - Albert Einstein, Nobel Prize winner, visited Bratislava

*- The Dynamit-Nobel factory lost license for production of explosives and moved the production to Semtín, Czech Republic / on 29 October 1923 the first flight from Prague to Bratislava (the airport in Vajnory) was realised*

**1924** - Lidové noviny and Slovenský denník published a series of articles about Bratislava planning

**1925**

<b>1928</b>		- the building of the Vocational School on Vazovova ulica was built according to the plans of A. Balán and J. Grossmann, later School of Arts and Crafts (ŠUR) / the construction of Lafranconi dormitory has begun
<b>1929</b>	- on 24 October 1929 Wall Street Crash / beginning of the global economic crisis that also affected Czechoslovakia	- International Competition for the General Regulatory Plan and Railway Plan of the City of Bratislava was announced / competition for the University Campus Plan on the Shattlerberg site / competition for the governmental district on Námestie slobody
<b>1930</b>		- the building of the Slovak rowing club was built in Petržalka according to design of E. Belluš
<b>1931</b>		- the headquarters of the Municipal Savings Bank on Kamenné námestie, the work of J. Tvarožek, was completed / the building of the German rowing club was built in Petržalka according to design of J. Konrad
<b>1933</b>	- the recession of the economic crisis	- based on the results of the competition for the City's Regulatory Plan, the city's technical department prepared a so-called Zone Plan/ the building of Lafranconi dormitory was completed
<b>1934</b>		- the zoning plan of the Technical Department of the City started to be applied / a natural swimming pool on Danube (so called Lido) was built
<b>1935</b>		- commercial and residential house Manderla, the first "skyscraper", was built on today's Námestie SNP (Ch. Ludwig, E. Spitzer, A. Danielis)
<b>1936</b>		- architect Josef Marek was commissioned by the town to work on regulation of the right bank of the Danube and Petržalka
<b>1937</b>		- at the instigation of Prime Minister Milan Hodža a competition for the construction of the Regional Office on the castle hill was announced. Architects J. Gočár and J. Tvarožek proposed to demolish the castle's ruin and to replace it with a modern structure, which caused massive resistance of domestic and foreign experts
<b>1938</b>	- On 30 September 1938 Munich Agreement, on 2 November 1938 Vienna Arbitration	- Bratislava lost the territory of Petržalka and Devín

**1928**

**1929** - the book by J.Hofman Building History of the City of Bratislava was published

**1930** - the first edition of the professional magazine Forum was published, which was the first to focus on city regulation and planning / 123 844 inhabitants lived in the town, of which almost 50% were Slovaks

**1931** - the first edition of the professional magazine Slovenský staviteľ (Slovak Builder) was published by the Association of Builders for Slovakia

**1933** - the book by E. Portisch Geschichte der Stadt Pressburg-Bratislava was published

**1934**

**1935**

**1936** - A guide to Slovakia was published in Vienna, highlighting the modern reconstruction of Bratislava. Rochowanski, Leopold Wolfgang: Columbus in der Slowakei. Bratislava, Eosverlag / V. Menci and D. Menciová published the book Bratislava stavebný obraz mesta a hradu

**1937** - on 26 September 1937 a monument of P. O. Hviezdoslav (V. Ihriský) on Hviezdoslavovo Square was unveiled, fifteen years after the monument of Sándor Petőfi was removed

**1938** - in November 1938 Námestie republiky (today's Námestie SNP) was renamed as Námestie Andreja Hlinku / on 28 October 1938 the planned unveiling of the monument of General M. R. Štefánik (the work of B. Kafka) on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of Czechoslovakia did not take place due to political changes resulting from the Munich dictate / A. Hitler arrived on 25 October 1938 to inspect the fortifications in Petržalka

*- the ferry stopped operating*

<b>1939</b>	- beginning of the World War II / Declaration of the Slovak State on 14 March 1939, after the adoption of the Constitution on 21 July 1939 renamed the Slovak Republic / Jozef Tiso became the president	- in October 1939, the Ministry of Economy prepared the outline of the first Arizational Law. Unlike previous acts, the proposed law clearly related to Jewish citizens
<b>1940</b>		- new regulation of construction in the city insisted traditional solutions and severely restricted the construction of modern architecture, pitched roofs became mandatory / announcement of the competition for the Exhibition Center of the Danube Fairs / the Act on Expropriation of Real Estate for Works of Public Interest, Objectives of Construction Industry and the Act on General Building Cooperative came into force / the construction of the ice stadium on Trnavská cesta has begun
<b>1941</b>		- The Ministry of Transport and Public Works of the Slovak Republic announced an international architectural competition for the university campus on the castle hill / construction plan for the Danube Fair - later the Culture and Leisure Park (P. Andriák, J. Štefanec) was created
<b>1942</b>		- the construction of Hlinka's academic home has begun (now Horský park dormitory)
<b>1943</b>		- The Ministry of Public Works announces an international competition for urban and architectural design of the new governmental district on today's Námestie slobody
<b>1944</b>		- constitution of Greater Bratislava, the addition of Rača and Vajnory to Bratislava was initiated by a burgessman Ábel Ravasz
<b>1945</b>	- end of World War II, liberation of Bratislava on 4 March 1945	
<b>1946</b>		- the first competition for the Red Army Memorial in Slavín was announced / the villages of Rača, Vajnory, Devín, Dúbravka, Lamač, Petržalka and Prievoz were attached to Bratislava
<b>1947</b>	- Jozef Tiso, convicted of treason, war crimes and crimes against humanity, was executed on 18 April 1947 in the Palace of Justice	
<b>1948</b>	- government crisis / resignation of President E. Beneš / peak of nationalization of private property, businesses and land / Klement Gottwald became president	- the Horský park dormitory was completed
<b>1949</b>		- a new conception of the General Plan (K. Gross)



- 1939** - today's Hlavné námestie was renamed to Hitlerovo námestie - *The Dynamit-Nobel factory was incorporated into the German IG Farben concern and its production again focused on explosives*
- 1940** - The Government of the Slovak Republic led by V. Tuk decided to remove the lion statue from the pillar of the monument of General Štefánik /in the 1940 census, persons of Czech nationality were for the most part statistically expelled as foreigners, members of the neighboring Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia / Roth's factory facilities were used to accommodate Jews from Slovakia, Austria and Bohemia waiting to move to Palestine
- 1941** - the so-called Jewish Codex was put into effect
- 1942** - the first Jewish girls were gathered in barracks built at the Roth factory site waiting for transport to concentration camps in Poland
- 1943** - renaming of streets: the most important public spaces in the city were named after Slovak national revivalists or important events from the history of Slovaks
- 1944** - 16 June 1944 the first bombing of Bratislava by the Americans occurred. By the beginning of 1945, four more less devastating bombings followed
- 1945** - on 2 April 1945 the retreated Germans blew up Most M.R. Štefánika / the statue of Stalin was placed on today's Námestie SNP - *Apollo refinery that was destroyed in the bombing at the end of the war resumed its operation but only in limited mode / electrification of railways began*
- 1946** - in February 1946 the Red Army handed over the restored Most M.R. Štefánika (today Starý most)
- 1947** - *the operation of the ferry was resumed*
- 1948** - in the academic year 1948/49 the Institute of Planning and Sociology opened at the Slovak Technical University (SVŠT) that was founded in 1947 / on 1 July 1948 The Slovak National Council decided to establish the Slovak National Gallery (SNG)
- 1949** - in the academic year 1949/50 the Institute of Building of Towns and Municipalities led by prof. E. Hruška was established at SVŠT

<b>1950</b>	
<b>1951</b>	- a new conception of the General Plan until 1970 (J. Svetlák)
<b>1953</b>	- the first pavilions of the original Danube Fair were completed and a competition for the Danube Promenade was announced (winners I. Matušík and I. Salay)
<b>1954</b>	
<b>1955</b>	- a new concept of the General Plan was developed at the State Project Institute (ŠPÚ) / the Danube Fair complex opened as Culture and Leisure Park (PKO)
<b>1956</b>	- Nikita Khrushchev condemned the cult of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union - Milan Hladký elaborated the first post-war Directive Plan for Bratislava / competition for the House of Trade Unions, Technology and Culture in Bratislava, completed in 1981 according to plans by F. Konček, I. Skoček and L. Titl
<b>1957</b>	- a proposal for the Podhradie mass housing was created (A. Daríček, F. Konček, I. Skoček and L. Titl) / the ice stadium on Trnavská cesta was completed (K. Gross)
<b>1958</b>	- the construction of the Februárka mass housing on Račianská ulica has began according to the project of a team of architects led by Š. Svetko
<b>1960</b>	- competition for the design of a new shopping and social center in the area of Kamenné námestie / 4th April 1960 unveiled Red Army memorial at Slavín (J. Svetlák)
<b>1961</b>	- the Februárka mass housing was completed
<b>1962</b>	
<b>1963</b>	- competition for the building of Slovak Radio / competition for urban and architectural design of Slovak National Gallery reconstruction (winner V. Dedeček) / a competition for the location of the new cultural and social center of the city
<b>1964</b>	- competition for the design of a passenger port
<b>1965</b>	- project for the construction of the Academy of Performing Arts in Podhradie
<b>1966</b>	schválený územný plán mesta (M. Beňuška)

- 1950** - 95% of the population claimed to be Czech and Slovak because of the liquidation of the Jewish population and the expulsion of Germans
- 1951** - Institute of Monuments was established (the first deputy director was J. Šebek from Prague) - *the Dynamit-Nobel factory was renamed to the Juraj Dimitrov Plant, a national enterprise in Bratislava*
- 1953** - Association of Czechoslovak Architects was established with President J. Frgner / the first research on the castle under the leadership of A. Piffel began
- 1954** - the Bratislava City Conservation Reservation was declared / on 31 March 1954 Corps of Engineers blew up the statue of General Štefánik on today's Námestie Ľudovíta Štúra
- 1955** - it was decided to reconstruct the ruins of the castle into the "Theresian" form, A. Piffel was assisted by the architects M. Baš, J. Lichner and D. Majzlík and also students
- 1956**
- 1957** - Professor Piffel was imprisoned for "defamation of a friendly power" - *the Slovnaft factory was established in Vlčie Hrdlo*
- 1958** - the first edition of magazine Projekt, a review of Slovak architecture / The Monuments Institute was renamed to the Slovak Monuments Care Institute
- 1960**
- 1961** - E.Hruška's book The Development of Urban Buildings was published, the book documented the interest in urbanism of the time
- 1962** - the Chief architect's department (ÚHA) was established and it was given the task of preparing the Land-use Plan / the statue of Stalin was removed from Námestie SNP
- 1963**
- 1964**
- 1965**
- 1966**

<b>1967</b>		- international urban design competition for the city sector Petržalka / national architectural-urban competition for a new cultural and social center in the area of today's Pribinova (winning design by J. Lacko, L. Kušnír, I. Slameň)
<b>1968</b>	- occupation of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact troops / shut down of the Prague Spring democratization processes / 27 August 1968 Moscow protocol - beginning of normalization / the law on the federal organization of the Czechoslovak Republic was adopted	- long-term city development studies were ordered and elaborated / the complex of the Prior department store and the Kiev Hotel on Kamenné námestie was completed and opened
<b>1969</b>		- Petržalka zoning and planning study (J. Chovanec, S. Talaš) / competition for the design of a new Shopping and Social Center in the area of Obchodná ulica
<b>1971</b>		- the government adopted a resolution on the revision of the Land-use Plan / the government approved Principles of the concept of the main directions of urbanization in Slovakia by resolution no. 95 / municipalities of Čunovo, Devínska Nová Ves, Jarovce, Podunajské Biskupice, Rusovce, Vrakuňa and Záhorská Bystrica were attached to Bratislava
<b>1972</b>		- a competition for the design of the building of the Slovak National Council in the area of Podhradie (winners Ľ. Jendreják, V. Husák, L. Kušnír, J. Šilinger)
<b>1974</b>		
<b>1975</b>	- Gustáv Husák became president and remained in office until 1989	- the steel pavilions designed by F. Milučký were added to the Culture and Leisure Park (PKO) / the television broadcasting tower on Kamzík was completed (S. Májek, J. Tomašák, D. Ferenčík, J. Kozák) / the building of Slovak Television in Mlynská dolina was completed (J. Struhař, V. Čurilla)
<b>1976</b>		- Building Act on Land-use and Building Code no. 50/1976 were adopted and remained valid after modifications and amendments until present
<b>1978</b>		- competition for the central urban area of Bratislava
<b>1979</b>		- competition for the new building of the Slovak National Theater (winning design by the BKPSŠ studio)
<b>1980</b>		- on 13 November 1980 Gustáv Husák unveiled the sculptural group with K. Gottwald (T. Bártafay, J. Hovorka and K. Lacko, V. Droppa, J. Hlavica and V. Cveňgrošová) on Gottwaldovo námestie with the Družba Fountain (now Námestie slobody)
<b>1982</b>		- complement of Land-use Plan (D. Kedro)
<b>1983</b>		- the building of the Slovak Radio (Š. Svetko, Š. Ďurkovič, B. Kissling) was completed, the test broadcasting took place in 1984

**1967** - the first edition of the scientific magazine Architecture & Urbanism was published, the magazine was devoted to the issue of urban planning and construction for the next two decades / the demolition of Podhradie began

**1968**

**1969**

**1971**

**1972**

*- on 26 August 1972 The SNP Bridge was opened but the authors J. Lacko, L. Kušník, I. Slameň were unable to attend for political reasons*

**1974** - the SNP memorial was placed na Námestie SNP (D. Kuzma, J. Kulich)

**1975**

**1976**

**1978**

**1979**

**1980**

**1982**

**1983**

*- the railway part of the Most hrdinov Dukly (today Prístavný most) was opened, in 1985 they put the whole bridge into operation*

<b>1985</b>		- the master plan of Martanovičova zone (BKPS studio) / the Department store Ružinov was opened, this building became a symbol of the beginning of postmodernism in Slovak architecture / groundbreaking proposal of urban reconstruction of area between Suché mýto, Staromestská and Veterná into a traditional city block (I. Marko, M. Kropiláková, V. Hrdý), the corner building was completed in 1994
<b>1988</b>		a new Land-use Plan for Bratislava was approved (P. Kováčik) / the architectural-urban competition for Obchodná ulica was announced
<b>1989</b>	- the collapse of the Communist bloc / 9 November 1989 the fall of the Berlin Wall / The Velvet Revolution / Václav Havel became the Czechoslovak president	
<b>1990</b>		
<b>1991</b>		- Incheba Exhibition Center in Petržalka was completed and opened (V. Dedeček) - a torso of the original project of a multi-purpose exhibition facility (first study 1974) / Regulatory Plan for the Zone Obchodná (I. Marko, M. Kropiláková, V. Hrdý, A. Bacová, M. Masek, P. Meleg et al.)
<b>1992</b>		- update of Land-use Plan (P. Kováčik) / opening of Lafranconi Bridge (competition 1976, construction 1985-1991)
<b>1993</b>	- formation of the Slovak Republic / Michal Kováč became the first post-revolutionary president of the Slovak Republic	- update of the Land-use plan for Bratislava (O. Vranková)
<b>1996</b>		- the plan for the development of the Park of Culture and Recreation was prepared by the Bratislava Chief Architect Office / competition for the new building of the National Bank of Slovakia
<b>1997</b>		- scenarios of long-term development of Bratislava (Strapec) / European 4 international competition for the development of Vydrica in Bratislava
<b>1998</b>		- urban competition for the revitalization of Námestie SNP / competition for the new building of the Old Town Hall
<b>2001</b>		- urban study of the development in Podhradie commissioned by the municipality (Zigo-Rusinová) / public ideal urban-architectural competition for the embankment in the area of Culture and Leisure Park (PKO) / the building of the National Bank of Slovakia was completed (BKPS)
<b>2002</b>		- public anonymous urban-architectural competition for Podhradie area
<b>2004</b>	- accession of the Slovak Republic to the European Union	
<b>2005</b>		- the General Plan for the zone Dunajská (O. Peržel et al.) was approved

**1985**

**1988**

**1989** - Slovak Architects Society was established

**1990** - Chief architect's department was abolished

**1991** - a monument of Klement Gottwald on today's Námestie slobody was blew up

**1992** - Slovak Chamber of Architects was established / 442 197 inhabitants lived in the town, of which 91% were Slovaks

**1993**

**1996**

**1997**

**1998**

**2001**

**2002** - The Slovak Institute for the Preservation of Monuments was transformed into the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic and a new Act on the Preservation of the Monuments Fund No. 49/2002 came to practice

**2004**

**2005**

- *Most Apollo (M. Maťaščík) was opened*

<b>2006</b>		- Podhradie zone Master Plan (L. Klaučo + ateliér BKU)
<b>2007</b>		- Land-use Plan (G. Čech a kol) was approved / competition for revitalisation of Vydrica / new building of Slovak National Theater (SND) on Pribinova was completed and opened
<b>2008</b>	- accession of the Slovak Republic to the Eurozone	- amendments to the Land-use Plan
<b>2009</b>		
<b>2010</b>		- the commercial and residential complex Eurovea I was completed (B. Kaliský et al.)
<b>2011</b>		- amendments to Land-use Plan / Riverpark I was completed (J. Almássy, P. Bouda, R. Čečetka, I. Masár)
<b>2013</b>		- urban study for the reconstruction of a complex of buildings on Kamenné námestie (Siebert - Talaš)
<b>2014</b>		- amendments to Land-use Plan
<b>2015</b>		
<b>2016</b>		- amendments to Land-use Plan
<b>2017</b>		- the first stage of the new Zuckermannel was completed (J. Almássy, P. Bouda, R. Čečetka, I. Masár) / General Plan for the Zone Chalúpkova (J. Plencerová)
<b>2018</b>		- Lordship company announced a competition to rebuild the Kiev Hotel
<b>2019</b>		- The Bratislava Metropolitan Institute announced a competition for Námestie SNP and Kamenné námestie in the form of a competitive dialogue / start of construction of the new Vydrica (Compass Architekti, planned completion 2025)



**2006**

**2007**

**2008**

**2009** - Bratislava Chief Architect Office was reestablished / the monument of General Štefánik was placed on Námestie M. R. Štefánik in front of the new Slovak National Theatre (SND)

*- construction of a flood barrier on Danube in Staré Mesto started*

**2010**

**2011** - 411 465 inhabitants lived in the town, of which 91% were Slovaks

**2013**

**2014**

*- the bridge deck of Starý most was dismantled and began to be restored*

**2015**

*- the restored Old Bridge was opened / Transport Research Center in Brno prepared the General Plan of Transport for the City of Bratislava*

**2016**

*- the first stage of the tramway linking Staré Mesto with Petržalka was launched*

**2017**

**2018**

**2019** - Bratislava Metropolitan Institute, a professional organization focused on strategic development and the future image of the city, was established

