



REGULATORY PLAN OF PLZEŇ, 1893. THE PLAN ALREADY INDICATES THE REGULATION OF THE MŽE AND RADBUZA RIVERS AND SHOWS THE SPACE FOR THE FUTURE PARK RING. THE EXISTING RAILWAY TRACKS ARE EXTENDED AND A NEW ROUTE FOR THE KLATOVY LINE IS PROPOSED TO AVOID DISRUPTING THE GROWTH IN THE SOUTH OF THE BUILT-UP AREA (NEVER REALISED). THE ŠKODA COMPLEX IS CONSIDERABLY SMALLER EXTENT THAN IT BECAME IN THE FOLLOWING DECADES.

REGULAČNÍ PLÁN PLZEŇ 1893. PLÁN UŽ NAZNAČUJE REGULACI ŘEK MŽE A RADBUZY A ZOBRAZUJE PROSTOR PRO BUDOUCÍ SADOVÝ OKRUH. STÁVAJÍCÍ ŽELEZNIČNÍ TRATĚ JSOU ROZŠÍŘENY A NAVRHUJE SE NOVÁ TRASA KLATOVSKÉ TRATI, ABY NEBRÁNILA JIŽNÍMU RŮSTU ZASTAVĚNÉ OBLASTI (PŘELOŽKA NEBYLA REALIZOVÁNA). AREÁL ŠKODOVKY JE VYMEZEN PODSTATNĚ SKROMNĚJI, NEŽ SE TOMU VE SKUTEČNOSTI V DALŠÍCH DESETILETÍCH STALO.

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Planning of Bohemian Regional Centres in the Period of their Industrialisation and Modernisation: Plzeň and Hradec Králové 1860 – 1938

Plánování českých regionálních center
v období industrializace a modernizace:
Plzeň a Hradec Králové 1860 – 1938

Karel Maier

Na rozdíl od velkoměst, jejichž transformace na průmyslová centra je předmětem zájmu řady prací, transformace a modernizace regionálních center je zpracovávána nanejvýše z hlediska jednotlivých staveb. Pro transformaci menších měst je typické, že její průběh a výsledky byly poznamenány výraznými jednotlivci, kteří formulovali vizi budoucnosti svého města a jejímu uskutečnění věnovali zpravidla celý svůj život.

V prvním, „zakladatelském“ období se města rozvíjela spontánně a často chaoticky, s důsledky v podobě dramatického zhoršení životních podmínek. Teprve později se správy měst začaly zabývat plánováním jejich rozvoje. Nástup plánování průmyslových měst byl procesem učení, někdy spojeným s chybami a omyly a vedoucím do slepých uliček, ale jeho konečné výsledky vytvořily solidní základ pro rozvoj moderních měst v následujícím 20. století.

Na příkladu dvou českých měst střední velikosti se ukazuje, jak se vyvíjely instituce a nástroje plánování, za jakých okolností plánovaly a s jakými výzvami se potýkaly. Odkaz plánování těchto měst za monarchie a první republiky se zachoval v jejich uspořádání, významných budovách a prostorech, ale také v postojích k rozvoji města, které často překvapivě navazují na vize představitelů měst a představy urbanistů v 19. století.

Plzeň

Pro Plzeň v období industrializace je typický kladný postoj městských elit k novým technologiím jako prostředku k dosažení prosperity a růstu. Klíčovým impulzem pro rozvoj bylo napojení města na železniční síť v šedesátých letech 19. století. V následujícím období město plánovalo nové čtvrti co nejušporněji, formou uniformního rastru bloků přerušovaného jen areály továren. Ubytování dělníků se nejprve situovalo úplně mimo město do kolonií u továren, později vznikly dělnické činžákové čtvrti v odlehlých polohách, například za bariérou tratí. Po krizi na počátku sedmdesátých let se do popředí dostávají jako rozhodující průmyslový podnik Škodovy závody, následované pivovary a železničními dílnami.

S nástupem purkmistra Petáka v posledním desetiletí 19. století dochází k zásadnímu obratu: z „černé“ Plzně se má stát moderní město se vzdělanými a kvalifikovanými obyvateli. Pomocí systematického plánování, jehož záběr brzy překračuje historické vymezení města, se historické jádro radikálně přestavuje na moderní centrum a z bývalého opevnění se po vídeňském vzoru stává sadový okruh obklopený řadou veřejných budov.

Nové obytné čtvrti jsou vybavovány bohatě dimenzovanými ulicemi a náměstími se zelení. Město buduje, popřípadě přebírá do svého vlastnictví všechny technické infrastruktury a zřizuje rozsáhlou síť elektrické tramvaje.

Za první republiky se Plzeň stává městem se socialisty ovládanou radnicí, ale i nadále pokračuje úzká spolupráce města s velkými průmyslovými podniky, především Škodovkou. Podařilo se vytvořit správní útvar Velké Plzně, propojující město s aglomerovanými předměstími. Pro takto vymezené území město pořizuje sadu plánů, které se více než předešlé věnují regulaci nové výstavby.

Hradec Králové

Hradec Králové vstupoval do průmyslové éry jako tradiční centrum církevní a vzdělávací. Jeho územní rozvoj byl drasticky omezen opevněním z dob, kdy bylo město pevností. Železnice, vybudovaná už v roce 1850, byla vedena daleko od opevněného města a konzervativní elity, v nichž vedle církve zaujímal hlavní mocenskou pozici rakouský vojenský erár, nepřály novotám, které by zřejmě přišly ve spojení s průmyslem.

Představitelé města si těchto překážek byli vědomi, ale díky dlouholetému úsilí vizionářského radního Pospíšila, který bojoval za „osvobození města z pout hradebních“, se nakonec roku 1893 městu podařilo vykoupit od rakouského eráru fortifikace a celé nezastavitelné území tzv. glacis obklopující město. K demolici opevnění si město zřídilo Pevnostní odbor a pro rozvoj na uvolněných plochách Městskou technickou kancelář. Kancelář vypisovala veřejné urbanistické soutěže, na jejichž základě pak připravovala regulační plány s detailními zastavovacími podmínkami, které se následně stávaly součástí smluv se stavebníky o prodeji pozemků pro výstavbu. Vše probíhalo za silné politické podpory starosty Ulricha, jenž vládl městu od roku 1849 až do konce dvacátých let 20. století a který dokázal do Hradce Králové přivést řadu významných českých architektů této doby.

Soustavná péče o kvalitu rozvoje města se zúročila za první republiky, kdy se plně rozvinula předtím postupně dozrávající urbanistická koncepce města utvářeného zelenými klíny s průhledy na dominanty historického jádra a radiálně okružním systémem ulic a tříd. Město označované jako urbanistický salón republiky plně využilo rozvinutého systému plánovacích institucí a také svého postavení monopolního vlastníka stavebních pozemků.

Background

Many authors have analysed the transformation process of European historical towns in modern industrial centres. Contemporary observers, such as Friedrich Engels,¹ were mostly concerned with the dramatic deterioration of the urban environment through industrial pollution, housing congestion, and increasing social conflicts. This criticism in the end contributed to the movements of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries like Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*,² which even insisted that the improvement of urban environment provided the greatest and most effective instrument for social reform.

Similarly, the historically subsequent modernist movement in urbanism started from criticism of the congested, appalling living conditions in industrial cities. The institution of town planning emerged as the tool for making cities healthy: hygienic, airy and light.

The importance and scope of town planning extended to aiming to offer a remedy for almost all problems of modern cities in the first half of the 20th century. Later, the outcomes of the rational, Fordist town planning fell into disregard in the eyes of theoreticians like Jane Jacobs in the 1960s. Christopher Alexander even distinguished, in his seminal article "A City Is Not a Tree",³ organically grown cities from planned ones, labelling the latter as non-liveable. Seeing from the perspective of Central Europe north from the Danube, this may sound ridiculous: almost all the cities and towns in this region were deliberately planned and laid out in the Middle Ages, either on greenfields or by demolishing and replacing previous rural settlements. The resulting network of these medieval market towns remained without any significant spatial changes until the industrial revolution redefined some of them from marketplaces to manufacturing centres.

More recently, Peter Hall in his book *Cities in Civilization*⁴ analysed several cases of cities during the times of their industrialisation: from Manchester as the first industrial city at the break of the 18th and 19th centuries, to the industrialization of information in Californian cities in the second half of the 20th century. Manchester, Glasgow and Berlin were his representatives for the era of the 19th century industrialization, but he did not pay much attention to the contribution of planning to the shaping of these cities in this period. Instead, he attributed planning to "cities of urban order" like Paris and Stockholm, noting that "bigness brings the complexity" (p. 611) that needs to be ordered.

Within this context, scholars affirm that the negative impacts of industrialization eventually caused the birth of modern urban planning aimed at making industrial agglomerations liveable. Mehdi-pour & Rashdi,⁵ mention the "deep influences of industrialization on physical changes of cities. [...] In meeting the needs of expanding cities and their populations (especially earlier generations), unprecedented steps should have been taken so that new urban functions and land uses created which were formerly in low priorities."

In analysing the interaction between industrialization of cities and planning as an instrument to cope with urban growth induced by the industrialization, the interest of scholars revolves mostly around big cities. Nonetheless, the process of industrialization affected medium-sized cities and small towns too, exposing them to similar problems: maybe of smaller scale but also with fewer resources available to manage them. Here the interest of scholars is obviously scarce. Whenever urban monographs address the history of medium-sized and even small cities and towns, they usually focus on the architectural, social and economic history of these cities, and only marginally on their planning. For Czech towns, the edition "Historie – kultura – lidé" [History – Culture – People] of monographs has been issued since the 2000s, which particularly in the volume devoted to Hradec Králové⁶ also deals with how the city was planned. Apart from that, Karel Kuča's eight huge volumes on Czech, Moravian and (Czech) Silesian towns and townships⁷ is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and reliable resource. The same author wrote a specific monography devoted to Brno⁸ with a part describing the industrialisation of this city.

This article attempts to fill, if partially, this gap in the planning history of medium-sized Czech cities. It draws on the data concerning municipal finances and overviews of the urban economy from the present author's book dealing with the management and development of Czech cities in the second half of the 19th and first four decades of the 20th century.⁹ Against this background, the planning and development policies were studied on the sample of two medium Czech cities.

Introduction

The transformation of cities at the time of industrialization from small market centres to industrial and urban agglomerations was not straightforward. More frequently, the early stage of industrialization in the Habsburg monarchy affected rural domains in the highlands where the aristocracy provided jobs for peasants who could not find their living in agriculture. Subsequent industrialization concentrated on ore and coal mining regions, leaving most extant cities and towns untouched. It was only later that railway construction made towns along the rail lines attractive for manufacturing industries.

In many cases, what we rightly admire in the cities as a legacy of this time – their historical cores enriched by cultural facilities, and new neighbourhoods; arteries, squares, parks, schools, theatres, bridges and railway stations, public transport, waterworks, sewerage, etc. – arose after the negative impacts of earlier spontaneous “Gründerzeit”¹⁰ development had been recognized. It often took time to accumulate capacity and resources for modernisation, to build what we now take for granted as part of these cities. Viewed from the perspective of small local elite groups in these cities, modernization often depended on a single individual, a leader who had to be a visionary and a strong manager simultaneously.

The cases of Plzeň and Hradec Králové, now two important regional centres of Bohemia, will exemplify the role of planning during this transformation and how planning as part of city management managed their growth.

Both Plzeň and Hradec Králové were laid out in the 13th century as royal towns. Both were situated at the confluence of rivers, using water as an element of their protection against enemies. However, the starting position for their industrialisation, and consequently transformation, was different. While Plzeň was dominated by the emerging industrial bourgeoisie and the first manufacturing plants in its suburbs were recorded as early as in the 1850s, the garrison fortress of Hradec Králové, being controlled by the army and clergy, was bypassed by the Gründerzeit phase of industrialisation. Whereas Plzeň was eager to jump in the era of liberal capitalism, the coalition of conservative hierarchies in Hradec Králové long resisted industrial development. These diverging power constellations influenced not only economic development but also effects of planning on the spatial development of the two cities and, in fact, shaped their urban environment visible today.

Plzeň

The connection of the historic burgher elites with individual personalities of business, usually newcomers, was crucial for the development of Plzeň in the Gründerzeit. Unlike other cities, the Plzeň leaders were well aware of the importance of the new technologies and industry for both their own wealth and city-wide prosperity. They were able to embrace and tolerate intense Jewish migration mostly from the eastern part of the monarchy, with their venturesome business intentions. Likewise, the business-oriented elite moderated the ethnic tension that had been affecting other regional centres for decades.

Coal mining in the Plzeň region dated as far back as the end of the 18th century. The accessibility of coal laid the grounds for industrialization when steam engines started to dominate industry, but poor transportation limited the expansion of business. Industrial entrepreneurs, who were well represented in the city council, had been lobbying for construction of railways already since the 1830s, but they succeeded only in the 1860s.

The advent of railways promised to trigger the conversion of Plzeň into an industrial hub. Local entrepreneurs made every effort to bring the railway station close to the historical core, near the Mže river, but the railway companies decided to keep away from the flooded area. Finally, the railway with the station was situated across the Radbuza river, in a location quite difficult to reach from the city of that time. The railway to Prague and Bavaria opened in 1862 and was soon followed by another line from Vienna to Saxony via Cheb / Eger (1868). The new railways changed the distribution pattern of industrial precincts in the Plzeň area. While the earlier factories were located quite haphazardly, new industrial developments after the railways had become available sought an immediate connection to them. Following this pattern, the two largest industrial areas started to grow: heavy industry along the westwards lines, and breweries and the railway repair workshop connected to the eastward rail corridors. The improved accessibility of customers via railways made local businesses boom: in the case of the city's breweries, the railways helped them to increase the pool of their customers all over the monarchy and even beyond.

The stock market crash in 1873 formed another milestone, clearing out the business environment and driving the last primitive manufacturing out of business, and setting the stage for growth of the most powerful companies that survived the collapse. Emil Škoda was the ultimate winner, making perfect use of the increasing demand for armaments among the European powers. Starting in the 1890s, the Škoda Works arose to become an economic empire of European importance. Thanks to its wealth, the city could afford an extensive policy of growth and refurbishment, though at the same time forced to match their aims to the priorities and decisions of this industrial giant.

Two periods can be distinguished in the history of planning the modern, industrial Plzeň.

In the first period, plans were made in the simplest way, with economizing as the main goal. The first such plans for new development sites date back to the end of the 1850s, when an extension of the mediaeval urban area was proposed running southward towards the railway that was then under construction. The planned streets of the new development simply extended the grid of the historical core, with only the buffer area of the dilapidated fortification walls and moats excluded, as it was difficult to convert them into building plots. The same concept was followed in the regulation plans elaborated by the Building Office after it had been established in 1874. This uniform, almost monotonous grid of north-south and east-west streets gradually surrounded the historical core not only to the south and west where the rivers did not obstruct immediate connection but even across the gap of floodplain of the Mže river to the north. The early plans did not consider any public space except streets of a uniform, economizing width; only the belt of the original fortification was left as an open space connected to the Klatovská artery with luxury apartment houses along it.¹¹ To the East, across the Radbuza river, another grid was planned, influenced by the directions of the existing road to Nepomuk and the railways.

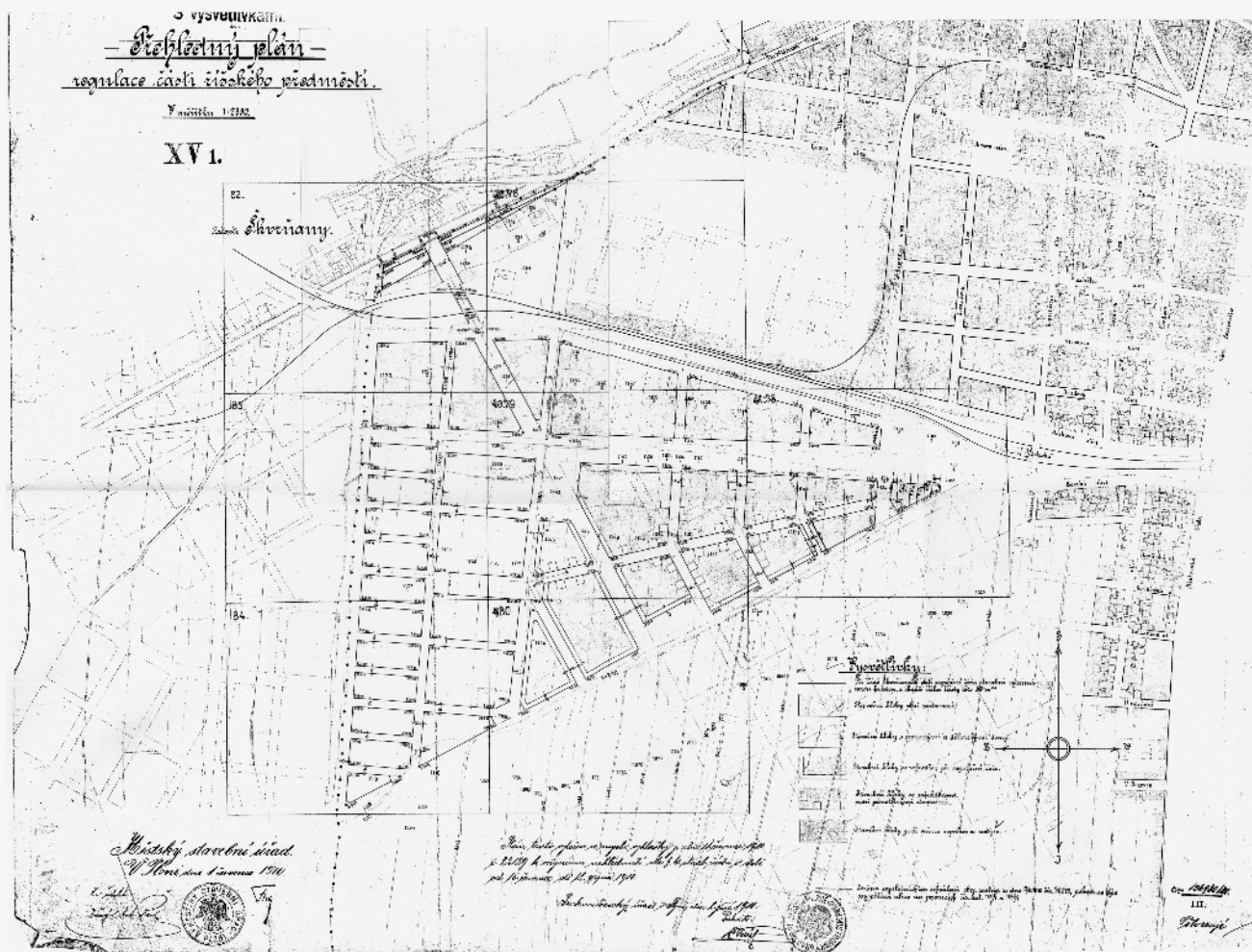
The omnipresent planned grid of perimeter residential blocks was blocked where industrial plants were situated. In this way a new huge piece of land was occupied by the Škoda Works on the western fringe of the then built-up area. The factory complex polluted all of Plzeň with its fumes and obviously contributed to the nickname of "Black Plzeň".

As for the plans, they contained only the minimum regulations set by law: lot lines, building lines and the type of built-up in individual blocks. In a few cases, there were also so-called explanatory notes which accompanied some plans, to serve as guidance for the decision-making on individual projects. This practice made the activity of the Building Office at least as important as the plans, since the particular regulations were created ad-hoc by decisions of the authority. Besides, the Building Office was itself an executive investor of building activity of the municipality.

During the same period, masses of poor people were migrating from the countryside to find a job in Plzeň's factories. They had a severe need for accommodation, but this was not considered a matter of town planning for a long time. Instead, private entrepreneurs built workers' colonies with humble dwellings wherever the cheapest land was available, usually segregated from the urban area but also removed from the surrounding rural villages, because the farmers clung to the agriculture land in the immediate vicinity of the villages and felt reluctant to allow the industrial proletariat become their neighbours. Later, as the number of incoming people increased steadily, working class housing blocks were erected in the planned extensions, but again separated from the centre by the railway (Petrohrad) or industrial areas (Skvrňany).

Another period for planning emerged with the advent of Mayor Václav Peták in 1892. Unlike his predecessors who did not care much for urban quality and the natural environment,¹² Peták promised his constituents the chance to convert the famed Black Plzeň of unqualified labourers into a School City of skilled employees. Under his term in office, the city began conscientiously to take care to supply new neighbourhoods with public facilities, especially schools, but also with green public spaces and technical infrastructure. The new Building Act enacted for major Bohemian cities came into force for Plzeň in 1886, which made it possible to strengthen the planning capacity and powers of the Municipal Building Office. With this change, the era of remaking plans by the planning officers of the municipality started.¹³

The first planning achievement connected with Peták's era was the elaboration of an overall plan for the inner city and the southern suburbs in 1892, at a scale of 1:2880. The plan fixed the medieval layout in the historical core, thus definitely relieving the threat of its large-scale clearance, as happened, for example, in some historical parts of Prague or Brno. Outside the core, the plan better respected the course of existing roads by softening the previous ubiquitous uniformity of the checkerboard pattern. In the planned development sites where the construction had not yet started,



REGULATORY PLAN FOR THE WESTERNMOST PART OF THE ŘÍŠSKÉ PŘEDMĚSTÍ (NOW JIŽNÍ PŘEDMĚSTÍ / SOUTHERN SUBURB) IN PLZEŇ, 1910. THE PLAN REACTS TO THE NEED FOR WORKERS' HOUSING ADJACENT TO THE ŠKODA FACTORY AND EXTENSION OF THE GARDEN HOUSING DISTRICT. AN ATTEMPT FOR A TANGENTIAL STREET TO CONNECT SKVRŇANY AND THE SOUTHERN TIP OF THE CURRENT URBAN AREA AT BORY IS ALSO VISIBLE.

REGULAČNÍ PLÁN PRO NEJZÁPADNĚJŠÍ ČÁST ŘÍŠSKÉHO PŘEDMĚSTÍ (DNES JIŽNÍ PŘEDMĚSTÍ) V PLZNI 1910. PLÁN REAGUJE NA POTŘEBU DÉLNICKÉHO BYDLENÍ SOUSEDÍCÍHO S ROZŠÍŘENÍM TOVÁRNÝ ŠKODA A ZAHRADNÍHO SÍDLIŠTĚ. POKUS O TANGENCIÁLNÍ ULICI SPOJUJÍCÍ SKVRŇANY A JIŽNÍ ŠPIČKU SOUČASNÉ MĚSTSKÉ OBLASTI BORY.

Source Zdroj: Archive of the City of Plzeň

the street pattern was redesigned. Though the plans had to accept the new site of Škoda Works occupying the western fringe of the city after the early 1890s, the future extent of its expansion as it actually happened after 1900 was obviously still beyond the planners' imagination.

Toward the end of the 19th century, the municipality provided cohesive and organised support to the feverish boom of industrial and housing construction through providing utilities and transport infrastructures. New waterworks, an electric plant, a network of electric tram lines, a hospital for infectious diseases, the central cemetery, as well as sewage and slaughterhouses were built within the single decade between 1895 and 1905. The city bought and then improved the local gasworks, allowing the use of coal gas for street lightning as well as for cooking and even household heating.

The same decade witnessed the formation of the "Plzeň Ringstrasse"¹⁴ along the former city fortification. The open space was landscaped into a green park belt with significant public buildings along its course. The building effort started at the beginning of the 1890s on the western side (General Post Office, trade union centre, schools, synagogue). Around the turn of the century, it proceeded to the southern side with major cultural facilities (the Greater Theatre, the "Beseda" cultural centre, the regional museum). To the east, further development required the filling of the Mill Ditch, which was delayed until only after the Great War. Along with its Brno counterpart, the Ringstrasse in Plzeň ranked among the most complete and successful of such ensembles in in Czechia.

Simultaneously with the revitalization along the Ringstrasse, renewal took place in the historic core. The regulation plan from 1892 preserved the medieval grid pattern but straightened the picturesque irregularities in the street network, with the height of buildings was left to individual negotiation. During the following building boom, many historical buildings were demolished and



REGULATORY PLAN FOR THE URBAN EXPANSION OF PLZEŇ IN THE NORTH DIRECTION FROM LOCHOTÍN TO KOŠUTKA AND BOLEVEC / ZAVADILKA, 1914. A NEW GARDEN RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT IS PROPOSED, SEPARATED FROM THE CORE CITY BY THE FLOODPLAIN OF THE MŽE RIVER. ONLY A FRAGMENT OF THE PLAN WAS EXECUTED, THE REST BEING DEVELOPED ONLY IN THE 1970S AND 1980S AS PART OF THE NEW TOWN OF SEVERNÍ MĚSTO WITH LARGE MULTIFAMILY HOUSING AND A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT STREET NETWORK.

REGULAČNÍ PLÁN PRO ÚZEMNÍ RŮST PLZNĚ SEVERNÍM SMĚREM Z LOCHOTÍNA NA KOŠUTKU A BOLEVEC / ZAVADILKA, 1914. NAVRHUJE SE NOVÁ ZAHRADNÍ REZIDENČNÍ ČTVRŤ, ODDĚLENÁ OD JÁDRA NIVOU ŘEKY MŽE. REALIZOVÁN BYL POUZE ZLOMEK PLÁNU, ZBYTEK SE ROZVÍJEL AŽ V SEDMDESÁTÝCH A OSMDESÁTÝCH LETECH 20. STOLETÍ JAKO SOUČÁST NOVÉHO MĚSTA SEVERNÍ MĚSTO S BYDLENÍM V PANELOVÝCH DOMECH A ZCELA ODLIŠNOU ULIČNÍ SÍTÍ.

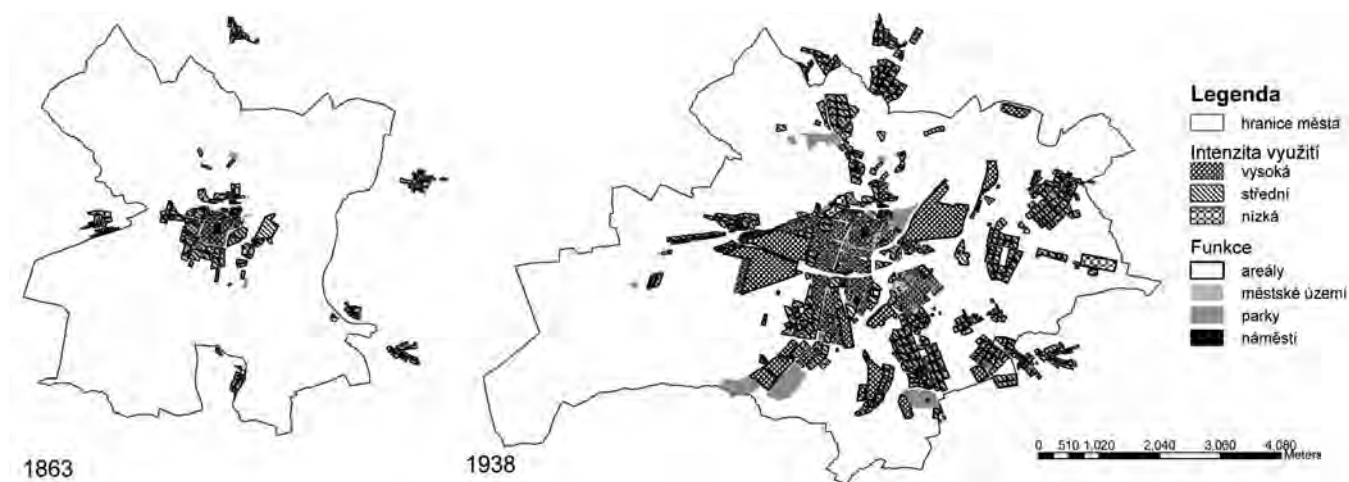
Source Zdroj: Archive of the City of Plzeň

replaced by new, higher ones. Interestingly, at a time still marked by recent, passionate disputes over the clearance and redevelopment of the former Prague Ghetto, no protests were recorded against these demolitions in Plzeň until 1910, when the association 'Friends of Antiquities' was established.

New development areas started to spread beyond the extant city jurisdiction. By 1910, the city procured a coordination plan for the emerging urban agglomeration as a whole, including industrial and working-class suburban townships.

The piecemeal adaptation of former partial detailed plans proceeded until the Great War.¹⁵ In many cases, however, these modifications and additions to the plans were essential in terms of the arrangement of the area, clearly reflecting the efforts of the period to extend the scope of interest of urban planning from technical and engineering issues to the hygienic and aesthetic quality of the environment. The spatial modifications sought a picturesque street pattern, sometimes passing beyond the functional to the ornamental. Where street intersections made the block parcels difficult to use, pocket parks were designated along with larger green squares that were planned in the centres of neighbourhoods. In the newly regulated yet undeveloped areas, significantly wider street profiles were planned than before: usually 18 m, main thoroughways at a street profile width of even 30 m, with tree lines between carriageway and walkways. In this way, plans were reworked for the extension of the Prague Suburb in the East, Lochotín across the Mže river in the North and particularly the garden suburb Bezovka in the south-western tip of the city.

The new residential districts were differentiated in their character according to the social class designated to live there: working-class in multi-family tenements, middle-class terraces with two or



COMPARISON OF THE URBAN AREA OF PLZEŇ IN 1863 AND 1938. THE BUILT-UP AREA INCREASED FROM 140 HA TO 930 HA

POROVNÁNÍ URBANIZOVANÉHO ÚZEMÍ PLZEŇ 1863 A 1938. ZASTAVĚNÉ ÚZEMÍ VZROSTLO ZE 140 HA NA 930 HA.

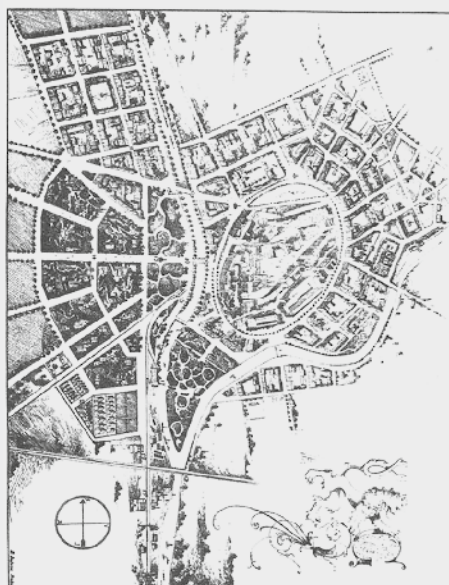
Author Autor: Karel Maier

three flats in a unit, and villas in garden neighbourhoods for higher classes, in walking distance to public green spaces and served by trams. Gradually, with increased employee wages in major Plzeň enterprises, the standard of workers' housing differentiated, allowing better-qualified workers to build their own houses in the suburbs.

The 1914 – 1918 Great War exhausted the municipal economy and many of the enterprises, but Škoda as the leading armaments producer of the monarchy enjoyed great profits. After the war when Czechoslovak Republic was established, Škoda was released from the domain of the defeated German and Austrian capital and found a new anchoring with victorious France. In the post-war municipal elections, the Socialist representatives of the qualified working class won; though themselves Czechs, they treated the economically important German minority fairly.

The historical city boundaries of Plzeň ceased to be relevant for planning and management of city services and utilities even before the Great War. The first attempts to create a larger administration unit date back to the 1890s but it was only in 1922 when the city council approved the official agglomeration proposal directed to the national government, in which Plzeň was to merge with its suburbs. A wave of resistance against the proposal rose from local traders, industrialists and agricultural circles who submitted a series of appeals. Finally, the merger was carried out only to a limited extent: the municipality of Greater Plzeň was finally established in 1924.¹⁶ The main positive consequences of the integration consisted in providing a legal basis for coordination of planning and co-financing public infrastructures for the wider urban agglomeration. Inspired by the State Regulatory Commission operating in Prague and its vicinity since the early 1920s, Plzeň sought for an equivalent. In the end, the Regulatory Advisory Commission was established in 1928, though more similar to the advisory boards operating in the urban agglomerations of Ostrava, Hradec Králové and Turnov.¹⁷ The Regulatory Advisory Commission invited architect Vladimír Zákrevs to elaborate a plan for Greater Plzeň with its outlying settlements.¹⁸ The resulting plan focused primarily on improving communication links within the urban agglomeration following a radially circular pattern but also regulated the floor number of buildings, which was something new in the Plzeň's planning. However, only fragments of the proposed street pattern were realized, with decades of delay. And even when the plan was completed in 1932, it was not approved, though its traces can be found in the layout of streets and character of suburban residential estates.¹⁹

The history of planning policy in Plzeň is typical for historical towns undergoing transformation into industrial centres. Initial laissez-faire liberalism gradually shifted to socially responsible municipal and business management, recognizing urban environmental values as a "production factor". By providing the workers with quality housing and appropriate education, the city helped enterprises to enhance their competitiveness. The demand for quality became the engine spurring improved planning and regulation of development starting the last decades of the monarchy. The city policy of social peace left its imprint in the inter-war era, when the municipality was dominated by socialist reformers who were able to co-exist with local industrial tycoons of the Škoda Works and the breweries. Though this coalition was obviously effective when the city succeeded in



A VISIONARY ENTRY FROM THE URBAN COMPETITION FOR THE FUTURE HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ ORGANISED BY THE MUNICIPALITY IN 1884. THE PLAN ALREADY INDICATES A FUTURE RING ROAD AROUND THE HISTORIC CORE, SHIFTS THE RAILWAY CLOSER TO THE RIVER AND PROPOSES A FACTORY DISTRICT ADJACENT TO IT.

VIZIONÁŘSKÝ NÁVRH Z URBANISTICKÉ SOUTĚŽE NA BUDOUCÍ HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ, POŘÁDANÉ MĚSTEM V ROCE 1884. PLÁN JIŽ NAZNAČUJE BUDOUCÍ OKRUŽNÍ TŘÍDU KOLEM HISTORICKÉHO JÁDRA. TĚSNĚ K ŘECE PŘIVÁDÍ ŽELEZNICI A K NÍ NAVRHUJE TOVÁRNÍ ČTVRŤ.

Source Zdroj: TOMAN, František, 1985. Sto let výstavby a územního plánování města Hradce Králové. Hradec Králové: Krajské muzeum východních Čech.

their effort to create Greater Plzeň, the ambitions of the city to match Prague proved unrealistic and counter-productive when the city tried to implement them on their own, without inviting people from outside the region to bring their ideas and concepts.

The industrial age left deep imprints in the city that remain present today, not only in its physical but also in social structure, as well as in planning policies. The Gründerzeit policy of efficiency and disregard of urban quality was, in a sense, paralleled in the super-grid of automotive arteries ruthlessly imposed on the historical street pattern in the 1980s and later. Following the concept of industry as the engine for city development, Plzeň in the post-1990 transformation recovered from the collapse of Škoda Works by inviting foreign manufacturing investors to the greenfield site adjacent to the 1890s Škoda complex. In turn, the Gründerzeit neighbourhoods now once again accommodate blue-collar migrants, this time often contract workers from Slovakia and Eastern Europe that found jobs in the new industrial plants that replaced the old Škoda.

Hradec Králové

Hradec Králové entered the era of industrialization as an institutionally strong regional centre, a seat of its own bishopric since 1664 and a Jesuit college since 1636, but without the territorial prerequisites for growth, being physically confined to a cliff at the confluence of the rivers of Elbe and Orlice. In the second half of the 18th century, it was surrounded by Vauban fortifications, which created a massive barrier between the town and its hinterlands. In the fortress town, military buildings occupied an enormous share of the built-up area, while a building ban prevented any construction of civilian buildings inside the fortress. Furthermore, for defensive reasons, a glacis where any development was prohibited surrounded the town. These restrictions kept Hradec Králové untouched by the Gründerzeit industrialization.

Even after the fortress status was abolished after the war with Prussia in 1866, urban development remained restricted only to the fortress area, in which building gaps and redevelopment sites provided the sole usable sites.

The poor rail connection was another obstacle for industrial growth. Although the Hradec Králové area was served by the railway from Pardubice to Liberec, with connections to Saxony since the 1850s, the railway was inefficient and unprofitable, while the railway station was situated in a remote location westward from the town, outside the municipality jurisdiction.

Efforts for modernization of the city also faced institutional and political obstacles. As the city was long dominated by conservative clerical and military elites, advancement of liberal capitalism and technology were difficult to implement.



REGULATORY PLAN OF HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ FROM 1890. THE PLAN ENCLOSES THE HISTORICAL CORE ON THE SITE OF THE DEMOLISHED FORTIFICATIONS, FILLING THE ENTIRE RIGHT BANK OF THE ELBE AND MOST OF THE LAND EAST OF THE HISTORIC CORE TOWARDS THE SILESIAN SUBURB. THE NEW DEVELOPMENT CONSISTS OF FOUR DIFFERENT QUARTERS: A COMMERCIAL ONE BETWEEN THE LABE RIVER AND THE PRAGUE SUBURB WITH THE TRIDENT COMPOSITIONAL SCHEME REFERRING TO THE VISIONARY COMPETITION ENTRY FROM 1884; A NORTHERN RESIDENTIAL QUARTER OF FAMILY

HOMES; A FACTORY QUARTER NEAR THE CONFLUENCE OF THE LABE AND ORLICE RIVERS AND ANOTHER TOWARDS THE SILESIAN SUBURB. THE RESIDENTIAL AND COMMERCIAL QUARTERS ARE ENRICHED WITH SQUARES IN THE MIDDLE.

REGULAČNÍ PLÁN HRADCE KRÁLOVÉ Z ROKU 1890. PLÁN OBESTAVUJE HISTORICKÉ JÁDRO NA MÍSTĚ BOURANÝCH OPEVNĚNÍ, VYPLŇUJE ZÁSTAVBOU CELÝ PRAVÝ BŘEH LABE A VĚTŠINU PLOCH NA VÝCHOD OD HISTORICKÉHO JÁDRA SMĚREM NA SLEZSKÉ PŘEDMĚSTÍ. NOVÁ ZÁSTAVBA SE SKLÁDÁ ZE ČTYŘ

RŮZNÝCH ČTVRTÍ: OBCHODNÍ MEZI LABEM A PRAŽSKÝM PŘEDMĚSTÍM NA KOMPOZIČNÍM SCHÉMATU TROJZUBCE PŘEVZATÉM ZE SOUTĚŽNÍHO VIZIONÁŘSKÉHO NÁVRHU Z ROKU 1884; ČTVRTI RODINNÝCH DOMŮ NA SEVERU; TOVÁRNÍ ČTVRTI POBLÍŽ SOUTOKU LABE A ORLICE A DALŠÍ TOVÁRNÍ ČTVRTI SMĚREM KE SLEZSKÉMU PŘEDMĚSTÍ. OBYTNÁ A OBCHODNÍ ČTVRTĚ JSOU OBOHACENY NÁMĚŠTÍMI UMÍSTĚNÝMI UPROSTŘED NICH.

Source Zdroj: Historický atlas měst České republiky

Within these constraints, the negotiations with the army on the transfer of the fortification property started in 1873. In the tedious and complicated process, local personalities striving for the transformation to a modern city emerged and matured. Ladislav Pospíšil was the informal leader who came up with the vision of “liberation from the bondage of the fortifications” as a means for modernization of the city, and dedicated most of his life to make this vision happen. As late as after twenty years of disputes, the municipality was finally allowed to buy the fortifications and army land.

The long period taken with this effort was put to use by the city administration in preparing for the actions to be undertaken after the breaking of the enclosure of the fortifications. So that the municipality could manage the transformation from the fortress to a city, they established two institutions: the Fortress Department (1882) to run the demolition of the walls and the Municipal Technical Office (1884) to organize development on the cleared sites.²⁰

No less necessary for the transformation, a clear vision of the development and its depiction in plans were needed. To collect the ideas of the future, the municipality announced an international competition in 1884. The highest-rated entry by J. Reiter and A. Štěpán²¹ surrounded the historical core on the left bank of the Elbe and across the Orlice rivers with perimeter urban blocks; the right bank, opposite the historical town, was left for a large city park. Behind it, blocks of family houses were planned in the direction of the Prague Suburb, with perimeter blocks of apartment buildings to the north. South of the city park, downstream of the Elbe, a new railway station was proposed to bring the trains closer to the town, with an adjacent industrial district along the Elbe and workers' colonies behind it, which was never realised. In fact, only the oval road survived from this concept, obviously being inspired by the Ringstrasse in Vienna but much smaller, proportional to the size of the town. The other entry used simple grid street patterns and sorted the suburb in business, industrial and residential districts.²²

The Municipal Technical Office used the outcomes of the competition for the first regulatory plan in 1890²³ elaborated by Josef Zámečník, head of the office. The plan covered the entire jurisdiction area of the city. For the left-bank part, the plan encircled the historical core with an oval road in the area of the fortification ring, with two rows of blocks. Towards the Silesian Suburb, a radially circular system of blocks continued, while solitary edifices in greenery were designed north of today's Pospíšil Avenue. Most of the development was situated in the right-bank part across the Elbe. Here the blocks were planned on a grid of streets, with green squares as neighbourhood centres. A classicizing trident intersection (now náměstí Svobody / Liberty Square) faced the bridge designed to connect the area with historical core across the bridge. The left bank of the Orlice was left to remain undeveloped, intended for vegetable gardens.²⁴ While not much from the competition was followed in the regulatory plan, the collecting of ideas from outside experts by competition obviously helped the local technical staff in their compilation.

In 1893, the municipality finally purchased the entire fortress district and glacis for more than 1 million florins, of which 580,000 were deducted for the demolition works to be executed by the Fortress Department at the cost of the municipality. In the same year, the regular yearly income of the municipality budget equalled about 100,000 florins.²⁵

To cover the gap, the city had to secure a loan, to be paid off by selling the subdivided plots on the former glacis outside the fortress. Before 1917, the municipality in this way acquired revenue of 962,000 florins, of which 355,000 was the profit. The subdivisions after the Great War followed till 1932, with the gain of another almost 6 million Czechoslovak crowns.²⁶

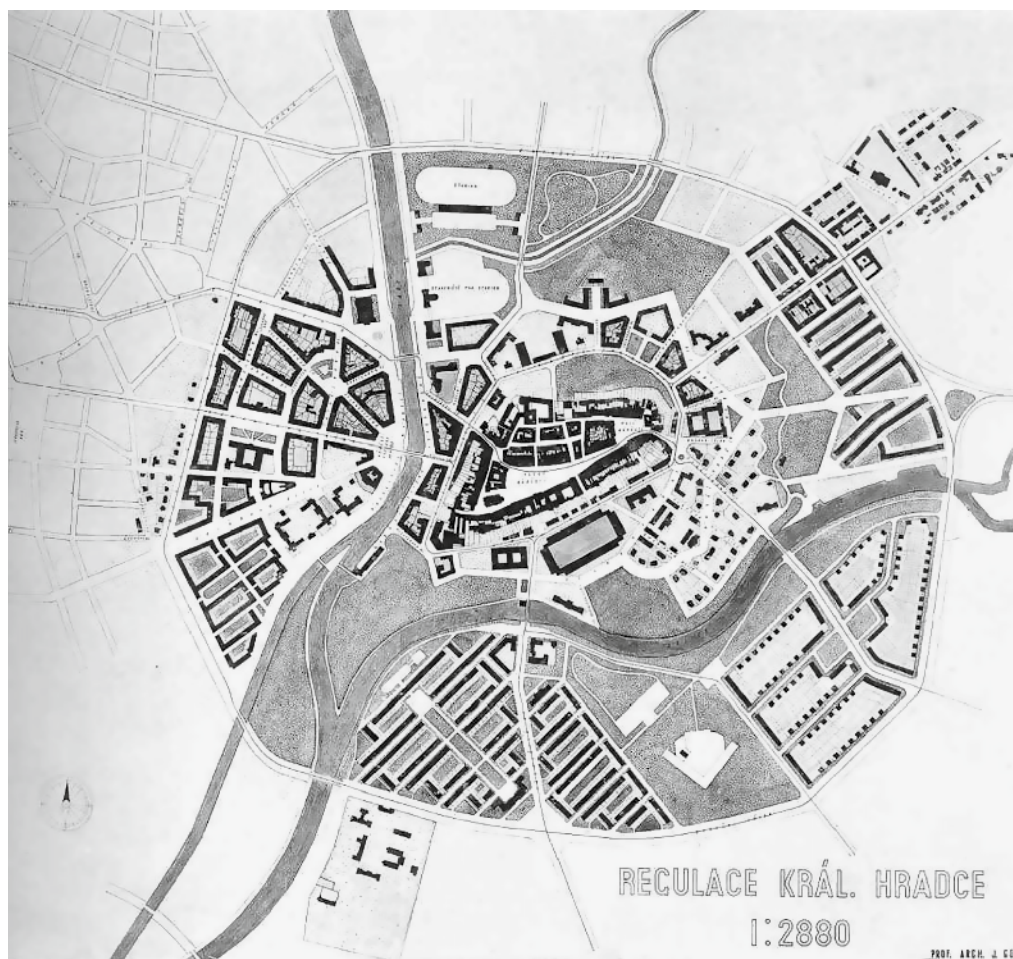
The demolition works proceeded progressively, first with the walls being pulled down towards the Elbe, then access was opened on the other side to the Silesian suburb. Having cleared the most attractive sites, the speed of the demolition works slowed down: even at the beginning of the Great War some parts were not demolished.²⁷

The whole era of planned growth on the former military lands which lasted up to the 1930s was connected with the personality of Mayor František Ulrich, who governed the city from 1894 to 1929. In his great efforts to make the city expansive and prosperous, urban planning played a pivotal role in the development strategy. The municipality was always prepared to provide important, especially state investors, with land for development. Ulrich was able to identify and reach the most important architects and planning experts of the country to bring their ideas while highly qualified local planning officers implemented these ideas in regulations and enforced them in everyday decision-making.

THE HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ REGULATORY PLAN FROM 1928 DRAWN UP BY THE ARCHITECT JOSEF GOČÁR. UNLIKE THE PREVIOUS REGULATION, THE PLAN OPENS THE INTERFACE BETWEEN THE HISTORIC CORE AND THE NEW DEVELOPMENT, CREATING A REAL PARK CIRCUIT WITH PUBLIC BUILDINGS, OBVIOUSLY REFERRING TO THE VIENNA RINGSTRASSE. THE CITY IS FORMED BY A RADIALLY CIRCULAR SYSTEM OF GREEN BELTS ALONG THE WATERCOURSES, INCLUDING THE FORMER ARTIFICIAL INUNDATION THAT SERVED AS PART OF THE FORTIFICATIONS. GREENERY DELIMITS THE INDIVIDUAL SECTORS OF THE CITY WITH A DIFFERENT CHARACTER OF DEVELOPMENT: THE BUSINESS DISTRICT TOWARDS THE PRAGUE SUBURB, THE RESIDENTIAL RENTAL DISTRICT TOWARDS THE SILESIA SUBURB AND ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE ORLICE RIVER, AND THE RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT IN THE SOUTHEAST. THE WHOLE AREA OF THE CITY IS SURROUNDED BY A NEW RING ROAD.

REGULAČNÍ PLÁN HRADCE KRÁLOVÉ VYPRACOVANÝ ARCHITEKTEM GOČÁREM Z ROKU 1928. NA ROZDÍL OD PŘEDCHOZÍ REGULACE PLÁN ROZVOLŇUJE ROZHRANÍ MEZI HISTORICKÝM JÁDREM A NOVOU ZÁSTAVBOU, A VYTVÁŘÍ TAK OPRAVDOVÝ SADOVÝ OKRUH S VEŘEJNÝMI BUDOVAMI PO VZORU VÍDEŇSKÉ RINGSTRASSE. MĚSTO JE UTVÁŘENO RADIÁLNĚ OKRUŽNÍM SYSTÉMEM ZELENÝCH PLOCH PODÉL VODNÍCH TOKŮ VČETNĚ BÝVALÉ UMĚLÉ INUNDACE SLOUŽÍCÍ JAKO SOUČÁST OPEVNĚNÍ. ZELENĚ VYMEZUJE JEDNOTLIVÉ SEKTORY MĚSTA S ODLIŠNÝM CHARAKTEREM ZÁSTAVBY: OBCHODNÍ ČTVRŤ SMĚREM K PRAŽSKÉMU PŘEDMĚSTÍ, OBYTNÉ NÁJEMNÍ ČTVRTI SMĚREM KE SLEZSKÉMU PŘEDMĚSTÍ A NA PRÁVÉM BŘEHU ORLICE A VILOVOU ČTVRŤ NA JIHOVÝCHODĚ. CELÉ ŘEŠENÉ ÚZEMÍ MĚSTA JE OBKLOPENO NOVOU OKRUŽNÍ TRÍDOU.

Source Zdroj: Historický atlas měst České republiky

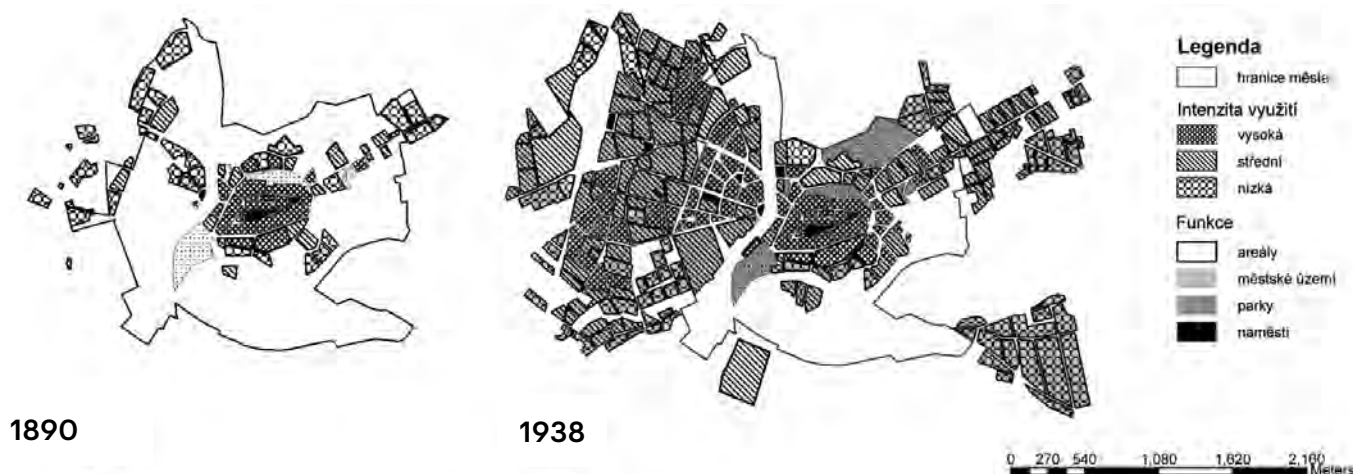


The experience and institutions that arose from the costly, difficult and time-consuming demolition works of the fortifications and the other relics of the previous fortress helped the city to develop its own institutional capacity to undertake a demanding spatial transformation. Construction activity concentrated on the embankment of the newly regulated Elbe in the period before 1910, with important public buildings as the District House and the city museum by Jan Kotěra.

The following regulatory plan from 1909 resulted from another competition and again, the Municipal Technical Office used its results for the General Building Plan 1911 prepared by Oldřich Liska. The plan already envisaged the creation of a Second Ring Road concentrically surrounding the first oval “Ringstrasse” around the historical core. Still unpronounced, the plan provided the prerequisite for the westward shift of the city centre from the historical core across the Elbe river. Along the radial lines extending beyond the Second Ring Road, the plan designed individual neighbourhoods of the growing city.

The purchase of the former military areas by the municipality now revealed an enormous advantage, as the municipality was able to keep full control on development. As the city was the monopolist owner of all developable land, the professionals from the Municipal Technical Office could use their extensive powers for strict regulations that set binding heights of floors, ledges and roof ridges, and restricted courtyard extensions of the new buildings, as well as setting a deadline for completion of construction. All regulations and other requirements related to construction were embodied in the contract for the sale of the building plot.

After the 1914 – 1918 war, coordination of urban planning with the surrounding independent communities became an issue owing to the expansion of the urban area. Planning had to overcome the jurisdiction borders between the city and surrounding villages. Unlike in Plzeň, the effort to establish a Greater Hradec Králové failed in the interwar period, yet nevertheless the plans were prepared for the whole agglomeration, under the orchestration of the core city, which participated



COMPARISON OF THE URBAN AREA OF HRADEC KRÁLOVÉ IN 1890 AND 1938. THE BUILT-UP AREA INCREASED FROM 42 HA TO 397 HA

POROVNÁNÍ URBANIZOVANÉHO ÚZEMÍ HRADCE KRÁLOVÉ 1890 A 1938. ZASTAVĚNÉ ÚZEMÍ VZROSTLO ZE 42 HA NA 397 HA.

Author Autor: Karel Maier

in their implementation even outside the own jurisdiction area. The first plan prepared in 1919 by the Municipal Technical Office anchored the radial-circular pattern of the agglomeration in entirety, and formulated the suburban neighbourhoods on the principle of concentric units, possibly inspired by the plan for the new Australian capital of Canberra from 1912.²⁸

Josef Gočár, one of the era's leading architects, was commissioned in 1925 to draw up the overall regulatory plan for the city. At the same time, another well-known designer, Vladimír Zákrejs, elaborated a plan for the agglomeration of Greater Hradec Králové encompassing all the adjoining townships and villages. The plans were complementary but in fact, these two authors represented two quite different approaches to urban planning: the radical modernism of Gočár and the more conservative stance of Zákrejs.²⁹ The plans further developed the radial-circular concept from the 1919 plan, dividing the neighbourhoods surrounding the old city into five sectors, separated from each other by green strips of parks. Individual sectors differed in the type and form of development. The industry was to be located outside the Second Ring Road and public buildings situated around the "Ringstrasse" and along the Elbe embankment, yet the actual development and the need to accommodate new office buildings and commercial precincts continued shifting the city centre to the newly built areas along the arteries heading westwards for the railway station. Gočár reflected this trend and planned to enrich the new radial street (nowadays Gočár street) with an adjacent large square (nowadays Ulrich square) to provide adequate space for major office buildings. Gočár's plan paid considerable attention to formulating the views framed by the radial avenues servicing the sectors toward the landmarks of the historical core.

Following these general plans, the Municipal Technical Office was commissioned to elaborate detailed regulation plans for the main development areas. In order to maintain the city-wide concept contained in Gočár's regulatory plan and Zákrejs's plan for the agglomeration, collaboration with the authors of the city-wide plans was requested for this work.

On a piecemeal basis, the Municipal Technical Office was opening individual building blocks for development. The gains from the sales of the parcels in one block were used for utilities and paving roads to serve the next block to be developed.

The active participation of leading architects and planning experts, capacity of local technical and office staff, coordination of planning between the city and surrounding municipalities and the consistency and order required in implementation made Hradec Králové in the inter-war period "Urban Salon of the Republic". The success of the urban development in this time was obviously the result of continuous planning, but rather than mechanical adherence to the plans, it was the institutional capacity of management with continuous enforcement of development principles, and the proprietary control of development areas, which resulted in the high-quality urban environment of the city, visible even today.

Comparison of the Two Cities: Similarities, Differences and Path Dependency

Hradec Králové was delayed in its industrialisation owing to physical constraints: not a unique case among Czech towns but a factor allowing the municipal authorities of Hradec Králové to use the chronological delay in clearing the fortification enclosure to develop an institutional base for the incoming transformation. Strong local leadership, a clear vision of the future and the institutional capacity of the city administration made it possible to convert what had long been a severe obstacle into an opportunity to accomplish a high quality of urban development. Even with thoroughly selected managers and planning officers, the city leaders were aware of the limited capacity of local experts and as such, they eagerly imported ideas from outside via open competitions. Unlike Plzeň and most other Czech industrial localities, here the political elite had the capacity and power to control particular economic interests. The resulting high quality was a synthesis of the imported ideas, local expertise and power of the municipality stemming from its ownership of all developable lands.

Similar to Plzeň, Hradec Králové displayed a certain inertia and path dependency in its physical development and planning policies. Planning the shaping of the city was always a matter of prime interest for Hradec Králové's leaders. The emphasis on physical structuring and "Städtebau" planning aimed at a pleasing urban environment has remained present despite all political upheavals that followed the industrialization and modernization era in question. Gočár's and Zákrejs's radial circular concept of urban sectors separated by green belts is still clearly discerned in urban plans up to the present. The distance of industrial plants and railway station from the city centre proved in the end favourable for urban growth, which was not obstructed by industrial zones. However, the persistence of certain features of the plans may be now questioned: it took six decades to complete the Second Ring Road, for its first planning in 1911, but lately the increased traffic loads have changed the city avenue into a traffic channel that devastates the neighbourhoods through which it passes.

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Časopis Architektúra & urbanizmus uverejňuje štúdie z oblasti teórie architektúry a urbanizmu. Zameriava sa na súčasný stav, históriu, filozofiu a kultúru architektúry a urbanizmu, na otázky ich umeleckého charakteru a na teóriu ich technickej stránky. Zaoberá sa vzťahom architektúry a urbanizmu k umeniu, technike a k životnému prostrediu. Publikuje výsledky sociológie a psychológie architektúry a urbanizmu, sociálnej ekológie, výsledky výskumov z oblasti techniky prostredia a z iných disciplín, ktoré prispievajú k rozvoju teoretického poznania v architektúre a urbanizme. Zaoberá sa ďalej metódami hodnotenia a kritiky architektonickej a urbanistickej tvorby a hodnotením význačných architektov, architektonických diel a období. Publikuje príspevky o výučbe architektúry a urbanizmu, recenzie odborných kníh, ako aj informácie a správy o dôležitých vedeckých podujatiach. Časopis Architektúra a urbanizmus vydáva Historický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied v spolupráci s Ústavom dejín umenia Akadémie vied Českej republiky.

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