



**VIEW OF THE FUTURE
KOMENSKÉHO STREET FROM
THE NORTH. IN FRONT IS THE
REFORMATORY, BEHIND IT THE
MILITARY SCHOOL AND THE
TOBACCO COMPANY. TO THE
RIGHT IS THE AGRICULTURAL
ACADEMY. PUBLISHED BY
NYULÁSZI, KOŠICE, 1906**

POHĽAD NA ÚZEMIE BUDÚCEJ
KOMENSKÉHO ULICE OD
SEVERU, VPRÉDU POLEPŠOVŇA,
ZA ŇOU VOJENSKÁ ŠKOLA
A TABAKOVÁ TOVÁREŇ. VPRAVO
POLNOHOSPODÁRSKA AKADÉMIA.
PUBLIKOVANÉ NYULÁSZIM, KOŠICE,
1906

Source Zdroj: Collection of L. Kočík



**SOUTHERN END OF KOMENSKÉHO
STREET - BURGHER'S HOUSES AND
THE TECHNICAL SCHOOL**

JUŽNÉ UKONČENIE KOMENSKÉHO
ULICE – MEŠTIANSKE DOMY
A TECHNICKÁ PRIEMYSLOVKA

Photo Foto: Ján Sekan, 2020



**SCHOOLS AND GARDENS –
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR
GIRLS**

ŠKOLY A ZÁHRADY – ŽENSKÁ
HOSPODÁRSKA ŠKOLA

Source Zdroj: NĚMEC, Zdeněk, et al.:
Košice 1780 – 1918, Pergamen Sečovce,
1994

The Urban Planning of Košice and the Development of a 20th Century Avenue

Mestské plánovanie v Košiciach a vývoj mestskej triedy 20. storočia

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Regulačné plány Košíc v podobe, v akej ich poznáme dnes, po nedotiahnutých pokusoch v 19. storočí, vznikali až od konca prvej svetovej vojny. Vznik jednotlivých plánov sa viaže k významným politickým udalostiam, ako boli prechod mesta z jedného štátneho útvaru do druhého, povojnová obnova, prechod z kapitalizmu do socializmu a násilná industrializácia, rôzne podoby socializmu a ich pád. Nové regulačné plány sa vždy viazali na novú politickú situáciu a často negovali predchádzajúci plán. Obdobie 20. storočia bolo natoľko turbulentné, že väčšina pripravovaných celomestských koncepcií rozvoja mesta sa nedočkala ani svojho schválenia. Prvý nedotiahnutý regulačný plán, odzrkadľujúci ešte ducha monarchie, vzniká v začiatkoch 1. ČSR. Ďalším v rade je funkcionalistický plán, ktorého dokončeniu zabránil rozpad ČSR. Príprava progresívneho plánu tesne po vojne bola zmarená nástupom novej socialistickej estetiky a ďalší plán, pripravený tentoraz v duchu socialistickeho realizmu, nebol dokončený práve vďaka jeho pádu a návratu moderného urbanizmu. Až šesťdesiate roky priniesli stabilitu a akceptovanými plánmi riadený rozvoj. Napriek nedokončeniu jednotlivých plánov sa tieto pri výstavbe používali a paralelne sa improvizovalo alebo sa aplikovali už niektoré prvky ďalšieho, ešte len pripravovaného plánu.

Severná časť mesta, Komenského ulica a jej okolie, je jedným z mála území mesta, kde vedľa seba vidíme väčšinu vývojových etáp 20. storočia. Urbanizácia bývalej Čermeľskej cesty, jej premena z neregulovanej neporiadnej ulice na mestskú triedu sa začala výstavbou reprezentačného námestia na severnom glacis, výstavbou meštianskych domov v jej južnej časti a najmä výstavbou veľkých školských a výchovných inštitúcií s parkmi na rozľahlých pozemkoch. Práve pozemky v tejto oblasti v čase

1. ČSR prilákali aj výstavbu bytových domov – nového stavebného typu, ktorý vytváral uličné bloky jednotného vzhľadu na pravouhlom rastru. V päťdesiatych rokoch došlo k zjednoteniu dovtedy nesúrodého vzhľadu ulice. Architekti vytvorili ulicu s použitím monumentálnej kompozície, s vežami, bránami a sochami. Výsledkom prerušovaného vývoja je mozaika poskladaná z poväčšine nedokončených koncepcií, ktoré sa napriek svojej torzovitosti dokázali spojiť v harmonický celok v zmysle estetiky päťdesiatych rokov. Je paradoxom, že vtedajšia tvorba, ktorá sa ostro dištancovala od minulosti, dokázala splynúť v harmonický celok s tvorbou období, s ktorými chcela skončiť a odlíšiť sa od nich. Štúdiá skúma vývoj Komenského ulice a príslušného územia chronologicky podľa celomestských regulačných plánov, dokumentuje vývoj urbanistického myslenia, typológie stavieb a štýlových znakov architektúry až do posledných desaťročí storočia, keď sa územie zastavalo. Porovnáva aj vývoj spôsobu investovania od individuálneho investovania jednotlivcov v liberálnej atmosfére monarchie, poprevratové investície 1. ČSR do kolektívneho bývania, kde sa začína uplatňovať úloha sociálneho štátu, a napokon socialistické investovanie s absolútnou dominanciou štátu. Sleduje vplyv týchto tendencií na typológiu, estetiku či mierku zástavby. Konštatuje, že napriek tomu, že jednotlivé regulačné plány boli pripravené na základe diametrálne odlišných estetických aj ideologických kritérií, a napriek striedaniu politických systémov sa vo výstavbe zachovala profesijná kontinuita. Aj keď existovali vplyvy, ktoré sa klenuli cez viaceré periódy rozvoja (napr. plán B. Fuchsa), nemôžeme hovoriť o vplyve nejakej viacgeneračnej architektonickej školy, výsledný stav vyplynul viac z daností urbanistickej štruktúry na začiatku vývoja územia.

Introduction

Košice is a well-known historical city with a sizeable urban heritage zone, displaying a well-preserved medieval plan and many individual buildings in varied historical styles. Nonetheless, this often invoked image of the city is not entirely accurate: it represents only one aspect of many. It was the turbulent course of the 20th century that left the biggest mark on the city, since the largest built-up areas developed during this period.

The development of modern Košice was influenced by several important events such as the gradual demolition of the city walls and the subsequent construction development of large areas inside the city – the former glacis - and later, after the Compromise of 1867, significant economic growth and the birth of civil society. Later, the establishment of the First Czechoslovak Republic

brought its own economic and cultural change, followed finally by the intensive (and forced) industrialisation during the socialist period.

Consequently, in the case of Košice we can clearly see three cities – the historic burgher incarnation during the Habsburg era, the period of the city's transformation into a modern one in the interwar period and then the socialist industrial city. As of 1910, the historical city had only 50 000 inhabitants, and even though it was an important cultural centre, we cannot claim it as one of the most dynamic cities in the country. For the Košice that we know today, the groundwork started to form in the decades following World War II. With the construction of the ironworks, its population reached 80 000 in 1960, more than doubling to 235 000 in 1990.¹

This paper is based on the research of the authors.² The historical data is derived partly from lexicographic publications about Košice³ and from the contemporary press and original archival documents, most of which were provided by the Košice City Archives, the Archives of the Chief Architect of Košice as well from private collections of local architects. Knowledge about the contribution of Czech architects is provided from many years of research by co-author Adriana Priatková at the NTM Archive of Architecture and Civil Engineering in Prague and the Brno City Museum.

Our aim is to present the research results of the historical course of Košice's urban planning based on the example of one street and its surroundings, and to show the example of its application and planning of urban areas, changing with the political conditions prevalent in the 20th century. In an era marked by ideas of urban and economic planning, the turbulent shifts of political regimes paradoxically prevented even one of the planned and developmental concepts to be fulfilled. This trend is most noticeable in the northern part of the city – Komenského (Komenský Street) and its immediate surroundings. All development phases of the 20th century have left a mark here, creating a mosaic of unfinished concepts.

Commencement of Town Planning at the Turn of the Century – Schools and Burgher's Houses

Košice had always had two faces throughout the centuries a compact centre tightly enclosed in the city walls and the outskirts with a typical rural style. Between these two sharply differing forms lay a vast undeveloped area – the glacis, or the fore-field of the historic fortress which started to be demolished at the end of the 18th century. The plan for development of the western glacis was created as part of the city map prepared by the engineer Joseph Ott (approx. 1844)⁴, which proposed a grand urban avenue with representative public buildings, the presentday Moyzesova street, a realised fragment of the intended circular road round the old town. Later (1868), right after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, the initiative created another document, defining the development needs of the city, which should have been the base for the more complex city regulation. Despite this, only the Construction Status of the city was approved (1874).⁵

At the turn of the century, the time was ripe for launching the development of the northern city area, in which Komenského street played an important part in the overall picture of the city forming a continuation of Hlavná Street. Hence it became transformed from a messy, unregulated street into an important road connecting the city with the uptown suburb in the hills of Čermel', the spa in Bankov and picnic spots in the nearby forest. Also dating from this period is the group of oldest building stock at the point where the street commences in the south, consisting of a well-conceived square (now Námestie Maratónu mieru) with the prominent landmarks of the Military Headquarters building (J. Kauszer, 1908), the Upper-Hungarian Museum (Jakab, Répászky, 1903, now the Museum of Eastern Slovakia) and many other buildings of state, industrial or military use along the street and its surroundings. But the street acquired a significant number of schools and educational institutes, mostly with freestanding buildings including parks. The street ends with the clerical district of Košice's Credit Bank where a tramline enabled the comfortable connection between the city and the Čermel' valley. Due to historical circumstances and the outbreak of war, they were able to build only a few houses.

In addition to the prominent buildings, we can also discern a notable activity by individual citizens, a type of construction that can be described as a tradition in which the house represented the social status, personality or taste of its builder.⁶ As such, the overall picture of the street in fact presented a mosaic of small individual inputs and larger investments from the state like the schools and other institutions. The latter had a character of enclosed, inward-facing complexes surrounded by large parks.



PRELIMINARY REGULATORY PLAN OF KOŠICE (LÁSZLÓ WARGA AND JENŐ LECHNER, 1921)

PREDBEŽNÝ REGULAČNÝ PLÁN KOŠÍC (LÁSZLÓ WARGA A JENŐ LECHNER, 1921)

Source Zdroj: Exhibition Parallel histories Košice – Budapest, 2014

Photo Foto: Ján Sekan



AERIAL VIEW OF KOMENSKÉHO STREET – EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, PARKS, AND GARDENS, FROM THE EARLY 1920s. LEFT: THE AGRICULTURAL ACADEMY, CENTRE: THE MILITARY SCHOOL, TOP: THE REFORMATORY.

LETECKÝ POHĽAD NA KOMENSKÉHO ULICU – EDUKAČNÉ ZARIADENIA, PARKY A ZÁHRADY, RANÉ DVADSIATE ROKY, VĽAVO POLNOHOSPODÁRSKA AKADÉMIA, V STREDE VOJENSKÁ ŠKOLA, HORE POLEPŠOVŇA

Source Zdroj: Courtesy of the East Slovakian Museum, Košice

This intensive development in the final Habsburg years sorely needed guidance by a regulatory plan and the city needed a development vision, yet the architectural competition for the regulatory plan was held only towards the war's end, in anticipation of the long-yearned peace and consecutive development. The winners of the very first urbanistic tender in Hungary, László Warga and Jenő Lechner, were entrusted with preparation of the regulatory plan and the city did not receive its initial preparatory version until 1921, making this Hungarian-authored plan in fact the first regulatory plan of the city's Czechoslovak era. The plan was purpose-made according to the principles of Camillo Sitte, offering a visionary proposal for a beautiful city with picturesque public areas, plenty of greenery, circular ring-roads but also considerable industrial complexes, public institutions, a elevated railway or even a river port on the Hornád. Within this plan, the vicinity of Komenského Street was addressed in three zones beginning with a dense, compact built-up area, transitioning to a semi-compact form followed by freely standing buildings leading out of the city with greenery and parks. Passing into each successive zone, there is a square or a wide street junction. The composition is closed by the New University. This form is similar to the composition of Andrassy Avenue in Budapest, then the primary symbol of the Hungarian capitol, which itself is characteristically divided by 3 sections of different style and density and given a clearly identifiable dominant ending, in this case the Millennium Memorial.⁷

The Picture of the Street during the First Republic

The establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic meant not only a new political and national order, but specifically a change in the way of development of Košice's public areas. The post-war situation created a housing crisis in many cities, the outcome of the long construction stagnation during the war, the return of soldiers from combat and massive movements of civilians caused by the shifting regional importance of cities after a new state establishment. Significant investments from Prague were planned to help with the economic life in Košice, mostly in the area of new housing construction to alleviate the lack of apartments. The state attempted to solve this situation with the



**A NEW TYPOLOGY OF HOUSING:
BELOW: THE MASARYK COLONY,
ABOVE: LITTLE PRAQUE, LEFT:
GIRLS' EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE,
RIGHT: AGRICULTURAL ACADEMY**

NOVÁ TYPOLÓGIA BYTOVÝCH
STAVIEB. DOLE MASARYKOVA
KOLÓNIA, HORE MALÁ
PRAHA, VĽAVO ŽENSKÁ
HOSPODÁRSKA ŠKOLA, VPRAVO
POLNOHOSPODÁRSKA AKADÉMIA

Source Zdroj: Courtesy of the East
Slovakian Museum, Košice

**JESUIT EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTE, 1938**

JEZUITSKÝ
VÝCHOVNÝ ÚSTAV, 1938

Source Zdroj: Collection of J. Kočík



new accommodation act on construction activity, no. 281, which was in force from 1919.⁸ Moreover, investment methods changed with the birth of republic. The state was given an important role along with joint communal investment supported by the state. No longer did the building facade represent the owner, but instead the building mirrored the idea of the state from now on. In fact, even private investment was now much less individualized: mostly carried out through an organisation and consequently expanding the building scale to that of entire enclosed blocks defined by streets. The housing complex called Malá Praha (J. Zikmund, 1920 – 1931) contains an indoor yard of 100 x 60 metres, a dimension exceeding even the biggest public buildings in Košice at that time. The buildings on Komenského Street had already acquired a campus-like character when the enclosed apartments for the new state clerks were added, creating a district where individuality was not present in the public areas; it was the power of the state idea representing Czechoslovakia as a social, welfare state. No less, the state idea was present in these buildings' appearance, often show signs of the official style of the first Czechoslovak republic, stemming from Rondocubism but in an extremely reduced form.

The character of the area rendered it suitable for this type of investment. During the Habsburg era, there were monarchical institutions that owned vast properties suitable for the later complexes of apartment blocks, which turned a solid wall toward the street as in the pre-war times but in their large inner courts provided semi-private spaces similar to the well-known Hofes in Vienna. Individual blocks were occupied by members of a specific profession: after the railway workers' settlement of Malá Praha, other complexes emerged such as the apartment block for officers and sergeants (R. Brebta and V. Šebor, 1925 – 1927) or the functionalist Masaryk Colony for Bank Officials (J. Polášek, 1930 – 1931). Yet not only dwelling houses were constructed. The modern Northern Public School and Nursery were built for the children living in these housing premises, along with another educational institution, the Jesuit Educational Institute (A. Klein, 1936 – 1937), standing opposite to the House of the Czechoslovak Red Cross (R. Brebta, 1930).⁹

Construction of Komenského Street formed a part of a wider street and road scheme respecting the current construction fund, and the same attitude was taken towards Wargha's preliminary regulatory plan. Wargha's visionary design was too ambitious even for the economically strong state of Czechoslovakia, and we can clearly see it being abandoned in the thirties when the campus of the Technical University (TUKE)¹⁰ was situated along one side of Komenského Street instead of the originally proposed plan making it a dominant feature of the city. Moreover, as its first buildings the campus of today's TUKE uses structures originally raised as exhibition pavilions for The Jubilee Exhibition of Eastern Czechoslovakia (concept of M. Kopřiva, et al. 1938).¹¹

Košice's construction during the 1st Czechoslovak Republic left an enormous architectonic legacy that is hard to capture in full, spanning both residential and public buildings. Yet it was rather ironic that in the era of the First Czechoslovak Republic, the city was not able to obtain a new regulatory plan, Wargha's plan was still considered as an excellent design, but slightly shifted from the reality of the city. In the twenties, Josef Chochol was commissioned to develop a new general extension plan.

For a variety of reasons, he managed to deliver the preliminary plan only one day after the First Vienna Award of November 1938, which ceded Košice to Hungary. In ironic similarity to Wargha's plan, Chochol delivered his plan to the city only once it lay inside a different country and held a very different position and importance, all in all rendering it outdated upon the date of delivery. Chochol's was a plan of different era – abandoning the ideals of Sitte's aesthetics, his drawings revealed no picturesque streets or squares. Instead, he designed the individual areas according to their functions, connecting them to a modern transport scheme. The streets were adapted to car transport: instead of Wargha's circular boulevard he proposed a ring road for cars, bus terminals at radial points integrated with terminal tram stops; instead of Wargha's river port he designed an airport. His development envisioned the city growing linearly along the river, in contrary to Wargha's vision of the city expanding concentrically; street profiles were narrowed in the interest of economy. It was not a visionary plan anymore, it was a tough, realistic plan looking towards the horizon of 50 years ahead, in other words to 1988 with a population of only 120 000 inhabitants against Wargha's 500 000 in an undefined time horizon. (The real number in 1988 was approximately 240 000, so both authors erred in the same proportion).

With Camillo Sitte's "beautiful city" concept replaced by a functionalistic approach, compared to Wargha's design, Chochol's composition gives Komenského less prominence. In his designs, the street is merely a connector between the city centre and the traffic circuit, and at its end is diverted to the "military city" and the village of Ťahanovce. On the other hand, Wargha's plan is an important axis terminated by the striking building of the new university and leading outward toward the natural environment of the Bankov spa.

Ceding Košice to Hungary in 1938 resulted in massive emigration of the Czechoslovak population, a radical decrease in the population in total, changes in economic relations and war-related stagnation. Under these circumstances, the city was no longer interested in completing the plan and terminated its cooperation with Chochol.¹²

The war-time era, during which Košice was a part of the Hungarian Kingdom, brought it under the jurisdiction of Hungary's First Construction Act (Act Nr. VI/1937 on Urban and Building Affairs), according to which every Hungarian city was obliged to obtain its regulatory plan by 1943. Like Hungary's other cities, Košice was not able to fulfil this obligation. During this period, the construction activities were not very remarkable and did not leave any trace on Komenského Street.

The Socialist Street

In the first couple of years after the war, the economy concentrated on reconstructing war damages. Košice was quite lucky when it came to damage to its building stock; recovery was more necessary in the field of the city's economy and infrastructure. Emphasis was placed on rapid housing construction, so on the corner of Komenského and Bocatiova Street state apartment blocks were constructed according to standard projects (1947 – 1948).

Economic recovery took a different turn, as after the war the Slovak metallurgic industry was practically destroyed¹³ and Košice became the solution to this problem. By the end of the 1940s Bohuslav Fuchs in his regional study placed the region's new ironworks near Košice.¹⁴



**PRELIMINARY REGULATORY PLAN
OF KOŠICE (JOSEF CHOCHOL,
1938)**

PREDBEŽNÝ REGULAČNÝ PLÁN
KOŠÍC (JOSEF CHOCHOL, 1938)

Source Zdroj: NTM Archive
of Architecture and Civil
Engineering in Prague



**MODEL OF THE REGULATORY PLAN
OF KOŠICE (BOHUSLAV FUCHS,
1951)**

MODEL SMERNÉHO PLÁNU KOŠÍC
(BOHUSLAV FUCHS, 1951)

Source Zdroj: Collection of P. Merjavý



**REGULATORY PLAN OF KOŠICE
(FRANTIŠEK KOČÍ, 1952)**
REGULAČNÝ PLÁN KOŠÍC
(FRANTIŠEK KOČÍ, 1952)
Source Zdroj: Collection of D. Hudec



**SEVER HOUSING ESTATE
INCORPORATING INTERWAR
HOUSES FOR ARMY OFFICERS**

SÍDLISKO SEVER INTEGRUJÚCE
MEDZIVOJNOVÉ DOMY
ARMÁDNYCH DÔSTOJNÍKOV

Photo Foto: Ján Sekan, 2020

Bohuslav Fuchs was also at work on a new general extension plan from 1948, though after the Communist seizure of power in February of that year, a sharp change occurred in state cultural politics, with a new mandatory style of socialist realism prevailing. Fuchs represented the pre-war generation, not an official regime, so he was forced out from professional activities and his general extension plan could only be finished as a study. A different team took over the general extension plan; although Fuchs's outstanding plan was not accepted, many buildings were located according to his plan and his concept had a comeback in the 1960s, when his ideas returned in a new general city plan. In Fuchs's plan we can clearly recognise the new city in Košice – the housing estate Terasa, the system of transport, the eastern industrial area, botanical garden, Technical University and some other public buildings placed in the same (or very close) locations as indicated on his plan.

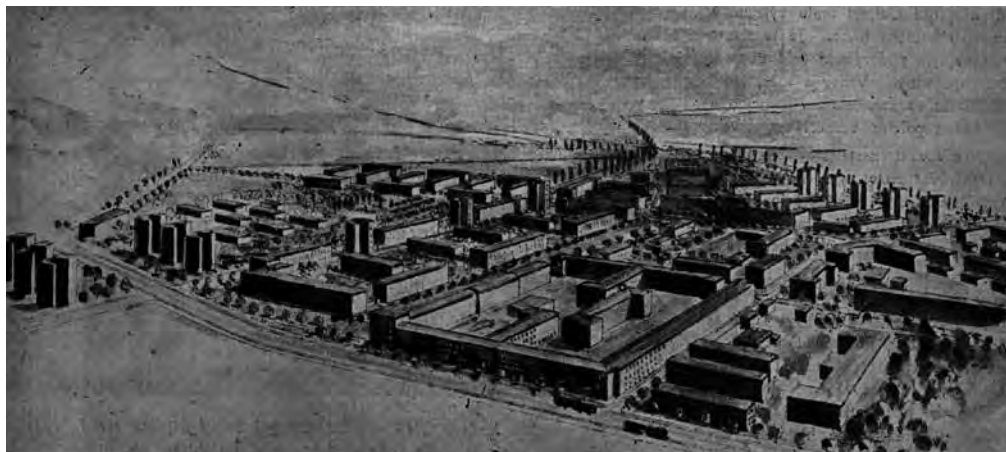
Fuchs' design contains an asymmetrical composition at the upper half of Komenského street: the eastern side is indicated as built-up, with a complex of university buildings scattered in a large area of greenery on the western side. The street is ended with a sports stadium and continues into the natural environment.

In 1951 it was decided to start the grand project of socialism – the HUKO ironworks,¹⁵ which was meant to be one of the investments into heavy industry, ensuring a massive amount of worker migration to the city. The rapid growth of the city changed its face in a qualitative way: a city with limited industry based on small-scale manufacturing, government and military administration was going to be a showcase of the working-class city.¹⁶ Such a vision of the city was drafted in the new general extension plan by the architects F. Kočí and J. Hruža – members of a "brigade studio", established for that very purpose and occupied mostly by architects from Brno and Prague. Many recent architecture graduates in this studio felt it to be their chance for self-fulfilment, in contrast to the pre-war generation adapting themselves to create in this bizarre style.¹⁷ While they used an alteration of Fuchs's transport plan, otherwise the plan was fully matched to the contemporary Socialist Realist ideology. Instead of Fuchs's sensitive approach towards the medieval centre, they proposed extensive demolition along Hlavná Street with the aim of creating a square around the Cathedral; instead of respecting the street network of the outer suburbs, they proposed a monumental axis culminating in high-rise landmarks, so that the New City in Terasa became a the university campus with buildings overlooking the city, resembling a miniature version of Moscow University. Before the plan was approval, the construction of HUKO was stopped together with the idea of socialist realism. Nonetheless, the plan was kept in use until the new one was made, ensuring enough time for reshaping the northern part of the city together with Komenského Street. The biggest part of development was meant to be in Šaca (F. Zounek, Z. Chlup a kol., 1952), which at that time was not

PLAN OF THE STREET'S NORTHERN PART – NEW PROPOSED HOUSING FORECASTING THE DEATH OF THE STREET

NÁVRH SEVERNEJ ČASTI ULICE – NOVONAVRHOVANÁ VÝSTAVBA BYTOV NAZNAČUJÚCA ZÁNIK ULICE

Source Zdroj: Projekt. Časopis Štátnych projektových ústavov pre výstavbu miest a dedín na Slovensku. 1957, 3(11), pp. 6 – 7



a part of Košice, so the new housing estate Košice I was constructed south of the city (J. Gabríny), along with the plan for the Neoclassical reconstruction of Lajos Kozma's Neolog synagogue into the Palace of Art (L. Czíhal). Otherwise the construction took place in the north.

In the area of Komenského Street, Kočí's plan proposed a complex reconstruction of the whole northern part, where the main axis was to remain Komenského Street and the current street network remains up to this day. Komenského Street started city betterment with enlarging the square, Námestie Maratónu mieru (Peace Marathon Square) and on all street crossings the squares were proposed.

Further large-scale additions included the housing estate Košice II (J. Mansbarth a kol., 1954, later J. Gabríny, I. Bánayai and T. Risztvey, 1960), partially the housing estate Košice III, and also the whole of Komenského Street, to the south the housing estate Komenského and further to the north the housing estate Sever (J. Schwartz, 1958 – 1960). Urbanism of this time soon revealed itself as too schematic in appearance; several templates were used to construct apartment blocks from type houses and public areas consisted of traditional streets and squares. Paradoxically, an ideology that was meant to erase historical recollection was continually invoking references to constructions from the past. The apartment houses in the housing estate Košice II continued in the built-up area and connecting it to the earlier complexes of Malá Praha and the Masaryk Colony. Likewise, the estate's planners were also able to incorporate the Educational Institute for Girls, or even complete apartment blocks that were not finished during the first CSR and enclose them into the blocks. We can clearly see that the housing estate Košice II began slightly to shift away from the facade ornaments used in socialist realism and after a while disappearing completely. Kočí's temporary plan was accepted with some reservations. As confirmation, we can see the placement of TUKE¹⁸ Campus in the location proposed during the Eastern Construction CSR program, in 1938 which was also reflected in Chochol's and Fuchs's plans. Kočí's idea about placing the University on Terasa, which was mentioned for the first time in Warga's plan, was not put in use and the new dormitories for TUKE were placed in Božena Němcová Street at the beginning of the 1950s as per Fuchs. Similarly, placing the Botanical Garden at its current position is derived from the Fuchs plan. The tradition of Komenského Street as a school street continued when the Electrotechnical Vocational School together with its dormitory were built (J. Houdek, 1957).

The contribution of the 1950s to the final image of Komenského street is very important. In these years, the empty parcels were built up and the appearance of the street was unified through monumental compositions.

Kočí's increasingly outmoded plan was replaced in 1958 by a study of the new general extension plan (J. Gabríny, L. Greč, 1958). The proposal mostly concentrated on new development areas and appropriate transport structures, lacking the grandeur of Stalinist design and from our point of view, rather surprising. Bohuslav Fuchs's idea of Terasa was recuperated and we can notice for the first time massive construction east of the river Hornád – the housing estate Furča (today's housing estate Dargovských hrdinov). At this time, it is noticeable that the end of the classic street is visible in three housing estates Solovjevova (L. Greč, 1962), Mlynský náhon (L. Greč, J. Kurča, 1958 – 1961) and Mier (L. Greč, 1958 – 1961), but the concept of the street is not completely rejected. By proposing



SCHEME OF THE REGULATORY PLAN OF KOŠICE, (M. HLADKÝ, J. KURČA, I. BÁNYAI, 1961)

SCHÉMA REGULAČNÉHO PLÁNU KOŠÍC (M. HLADKÝ, J. KURČA, I. BÁNYAI, 1961)

Source Zdroj: GAŠPARÍK, F. and MALINOVSKÝ, V. 1967. 20 rokov investičnej výstavby vo Východoslovenskom kraji. 1. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo

the row-alignment of houses vertically on the street, they interrupt the previously used method of complete enclosure of the street area. The innovation comes with the separation of pedestrian and motorised transport into two independent lanes and proposals for private car transport, which were not thought of during socialism of the 1950s. These housing estates create the background for Komenského Street.

The Comeback of Modern Architecture

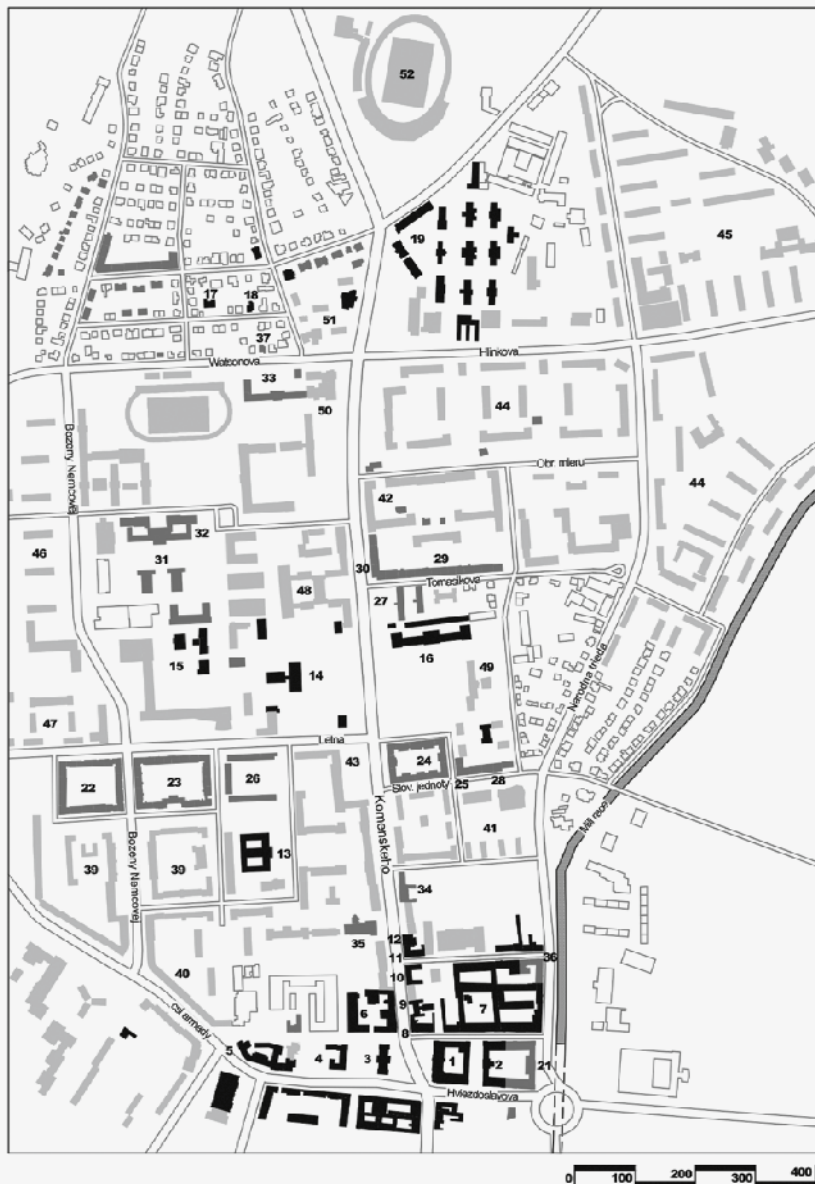
The beginning of the 1960s brought important dynamism into the further development of Košice. The regime did not give up on the idea of a steel plant and after a long consideration about locations it returned to Košice; with the name of VSŽ – East Slovakian Ironworks. The new general extension plan (M. Hladký, J. Kurča, I. Bányai, 1961) planned to double the city's inhabitants, substantially increase its administrative area, and based on the area plan, subject the outskirts of Košice to remarkable change. The similarity of the new plan with Fuchs's one is obvious. The Terasa proposal made its return in the way Fuchs designed it, with overlapping Moldavská road, eastern industrial area, evenly placed relieving facility centres and the Technical University. In times when

the city was developing according to Hladký's plan, most of the area to the north was already built up, so that development focused on construction of the Technical University and public facilities. In this way, the Health Care Centre Sever was built (F. Gašparík, 1965) in the park in front of the Military School, along with the main building of TUKE on Letná Street and the northern end of Komenského street was closed with the stadium Lokomotiva (L. Greč, 1962) and three prefab blocks of flats (A. Sáblik, 1965).

According to Hladký's plan, the development of Komenského Street was completed, and the plan did not bring any more changes to this area. Construction concentrated on the VSŽ complex, finishing the work begun in Šaca and mostly on completion of Terasa. The architects were now free from socialist realism in this era, but they soon realised the confines of the new dictatorship of mandatory unification: a dictatorship imposed by technologically limited suppliers, restricted budgets and absurd rationalism.¹⁹ Some opinions appeared and found positive aspects in the urbanism of the 1950s, even its despised schematics and ornamentation. While according to Kočí's plan the city consisted of streets, parks and other traditional features, Hladký's plan, in accordance with Athens Charter, brought the street to its extinction. The main boulevard and the through streets of New City are not city avenues and streets anymore, the social life from the beginning of the century vanished, it is only a transport corridor without any urbanistic composition lacking a clear centre or architecturally accented initial points. The space is not clearly defined by building's facade; it flows freely among buildings, which from the pedestrian's point of view are placed randomly. Connected to the uniformity of the architecture and the ever-increasing scale of the buildings, a spontaneous reaction from citizens ensued, who subconsciously did not consider it a city but began to differentiate between "the city and the housing estate".²⁰ Hence, while all previous general extension plans had been affected by political setbacks or war, this general extension plan was the first one that was approved by all legislative means and also legally adopted.

The most recent era of the city development connected to the General Extension Plan of HSA Košice (the general extension plan of the economic and residential agglomeration in Košice, V. Michalcová, 1974) left no trace on Komenského Street. This general extension plan is still valid to this day and starting from implementation in the beginning of the 1970s delivered a massive area increase of Košice by occupying new areas for building sites and connecting nearby villages into the wider agglomeration. A sharp new increase in the number of inhabitants was planned, up to 300 000. Instead of existing housing estates more or less connected to the city structure, so as not to be perceived as new formation anymore, new housing estates were built at the edges of the city, separated by terrain obstacles and the railway, some of them on risky unstable ground (Dargovských hrdinův, P. Merjavý, A. Běl, K. Lokša). Others absorbed old villages (the Ťahanovce estate, M. Baník, M. Motýl, J. Koban) or the never-realised housing estates of Kopa Girbeš (D. Hudec) and Košická Nová Ves (P. Merjavý, P. Simko, J. Sekan). The controversial and racially segregated housing estate Luník IX was constructed, isolated and distant from other housing areas, and although the city was developing in the west (housing estate KVP, M. Motýl), the biggest development was planned in the east. Known as the Eastern City, placed in the valley of the river Torysa and kept separate from the city by a forested hill, was intended to accommodate 100,000 citizens with plenty of facilities, schools, institutions with regional and national importance, yet was never realised. Creating an adequate centre for the city of such scale was another challenge, which was meant to develop through widening the existing traditional city centre towards the south and toward the centre of Terasa. The proposal was too harsh and assumed the demolition of many historical buildings of great aesthetic value, which were not protected at that time. And the intentions of the general extension plan could not be fulfilled as the Eastern City part was never built, implying a bitter fiasco for this megalomaniac plan. During the 1980s, there were various proposals to realise the Eastern city by looking for available areas near Košice but also within some built-up areas of Košice; some of which lay inside historical town reserve. Fortunately, this disaster was prevented by the fall of the Communist regime in 1989.

Older general extension plans always favoured the compact city, as can be found in Kočí's plan in the 1950s. During the 1960s, when the development was under the guidance of Hladký's plan, the traditional compact construction came to an end, while the city centre still remained a compact entity. From the 1970s, Michalcová's plan could not keep the concept of the compact city at all. Košice became an agglomeration of loosely interconnected, disintegrated housing areas united by a single city administration. It was in this decade that the three faces of the city were created: the compact



**MAP OF KOMENSKÉHO STREET
AND SURROUNDING AREA AND
LIST OF BUILDINGS**

LEGEND

**BLACK : AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN
MONARCHY, BEFORE 1920
DEEP GREY: 1-ST CZECHOSLOVAK
REPUBLIC, 1919 – 1938**

**LIGHT GREY: AFTERWAR AND
COMMUNIST PERIOD, FROM 1945**

MAPA KOMENSKÉHO ULICE
A OKOLIA A ZOZNAM STAVIEB

LEGENDA

**ČIERNÁ: RAKÚSKO-UHORSKÁ
MONARCHIA, PRED 1920**

**TMAVO ŠEDÁ: PRVÁ
ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ REPUBLIKA,
1919 – 1938**

**SVETLO ŠEDÁ: POVOJNOVÉ
OBDOBIE A OBDOBIE KOMUNIZMU,
OD 1945**

Author Autor: Ján Sekan, 2020

NUMBER ČÍSLO	BUILDING STAVBA	ARCHITECT OR CONTRACTOR ARCHITEKT ALEBO STAVITEĽ	CONSTRUCTION VÝSTAVBA
1	Military Headquarters building Budova vojenského veliteľstva	József Kausser	1908
2	Head Office of Kosice-Bohumin Railway Riaditeľstvo Košicko-bohumínskej železnice	József Hubert	1913 – 1915
3	Upper-Hungarian Museum Hornouhorské múzeum	Árpád and Géza Jakab	1898 – 1801
4	Civic Public School Mestská ľudová škola	K. Bayer and Michal Répászky	1879
5	Notary school Budova notárskeho náukobehu	György Kopeczek	1914
6	Secondary Technical School Stredná technická škola	Peter Jakab	1885
7	Košice Tobacco Company Tabaková továreň	Peter, Árpád and Géza Jakab	1850 – 1866

8	Freudenfeld House Freudenfeldov dom	József Bellágh	1865
9	Ahlers House Ahlersov dom	János Kozák	1912
10	Istványi House Istványiho dom	Ludwig Schmidt	about okolo 1910
11	Krompaszky House Krompaszkého dom	Géza Kontuly	1911
12	Klimkovics House Klimkovicsov dom	István Forgách	about okolo 1910
13	Educational Institute for Girls Ženská hospodárska škola	István Forgách	1905
14	Royal Hungarian Agricultural Academy Uhorská kráľovská poľnohospodárska akadémia	Peter Jakab	1875
15	Ancillary Buildings of the Agricultural Academy Pomocné budovy akadémie	Unknown neznámy	about okolo 1875
16	Junior Military School Nižšia vojenská škola	József Bellágh	1856
17	Semi detached house in the Kassa Credit Banks Clerical Quarter Dvojdom v úradníckej štvrti Košickej hypotekárnej banky	Dénes Györgyi	1912
18	Standalone house in the Kassa Credit Banks Clerical Quarter Samostatne stojaci dom v úradníckej štvrti Košickej hypotekárnej banky	Béla Martoncsik	1912
19	Royal Hungarian Reformatory Uhorská kráľovská polepšovňa	Gyula Wagner	1900
21	Czechoslovak State Railways Directorate Riaditeľstvo Československých štátnych dráh	Julius Zikmund	1926
22	„Small Prague“ – railway officials' housing, block B „Malá Praha“ – bytový dom železničných zamestnancov, blok B	Julius Zikmund, Bohumil Jelínek	1920 – 1931
23	„Small Prague“ – railway officials' housing, block A „Malá Praha“ – bytový dom železničných zamestnancov, blok A	Julius Zikmund, Bohumil Jelínek	1920 – 1931
24	Apartment Block for officers and sergeants Bytový dom dôstojníkov a strážmajstrov	Rudolf Brebta	1925 – 1927
25	Apartment Block for Army officers Bytový dom dôstojníkov	Josef Marek	1930
26	“Masaryk Colony” for Bank Officials Masarykova kolónia bankových úradníkov	Josef Polášek	1930 – 1931
27	Tenement communal house post officials Mestský nájomný dom pre poštových zamestnancov	Emil Gottesmann	1931 – 1932
28	Apartment Block for Army officers Bytový dom armádných dôstojníkov	František Komárek	1924 – 1925
29	State, Post, Railway and Police Officials' Co-op Housing Družstevný dom štátnych, poštových, železničných a policajných zamestnancov	Josef Štěpán	1927 – 1928
30	State and Railway Employees' Housing Bytový dom štátnych železničných zamestnancov	Josef Marek	1927 – 1929
31	The Jubilee Exhibition 1938 area Areál Jubilejnej výstavy 1938	Miloslav Koptíva	1937 – 1938
32	The Jubilee Exhibition 1938 Central Pavilion Ústredný pavilón Jubilejnej výstavy 1938	Rudolf Brebta	1937 – 1938
33	Northern Primary School and Children's Nursery Severná základná škola a opatrovna	Rudolf Brebta	1936 – 1937
34	House of Czechoslovak Red Cross Dom Československého červeného kríža	Rudolf Brebta	1929 – 1930
35	Jesuit Educational Institute Jezuitský výchovný ústav	Alexander Klein	1937
36	Tobacco Company Officials' and Employees' Housing Bytový dom Tabakovej továrne	Rudolf Brebta	1928 – 1931
37	Single family villa Rodinná vila	Ludovít Oelschläger	1936
38	Settlement of postal workers Sídliisko poštových zamestnancov	Hugo Kabos	1921 – 1925
39	Kosice II Housing Estate – 1-st phase Sídliisko Košice II – 1. etapa	Jan Mannsbarth	1954

40	Kosice II Housing Estate – 2-nd phase Sídliisko Košice II – 2. etapa	Jan Gabriny, Ivan Bányai, Tibor Ristvey	1960
41	Kosice III Housing Estate Sídliisko Košice III	architect Zlámal	about okolo 1954
42	Kosice – Sever Housing Estate Sídliisko Košice – Sever	Jan Schwartz	1958 – 1960
43	Komenskeho Housing Estate Sídliisko Komenského	Ladislav Gabriny	1960
44	Mlynsky Nahon Housing Estate Sídliisko Mlynský náhon	Ladislav Greč, Ján Kurča	1958 – 1961
45	Mier Housing Estate Sídliisko Mier	Ladislav Greč	1958 – 1961
46	Solovjevova Housing Estate Sídliisko Solovjevova	Ladislav Greč	1959 – 1962
47	Stavoprojekt (regional architectural company) premises Areál Stavoprojektu	Viktor Malinovský	1959
48	Electrotechnical Vocational School and Dormitory Stredná priemyselná škola elektrotechnická	Václav Houdek	1957
49	Health Care Centre Sever Zdravotné stredisko Sever	František Gašparík	1964
50	KERKO (Ceramics factory head office), later regional government offices Riaditeľstvo Keramických závodov (KERKO), neskôr KNV	Robert Ujetz	about okolo 1970
51	Panel Housing Panelový obytný dom	Aleš Sáblik	1961
52	Lokomotiva Sports Stadium Štadión Lokomotivy	Ladislav Greč	1962

core with the traditional city structure; the areas occupied by housing estates following Athens Charter principles with a loose structure and finally the administratively annexed villages with the persisting rural character.

Conclusion

Komenského Street is an urbanistic and aesthetic ensemble created by three consecutive political regimes, each of which negated the basic ideological principles of its predecessor. As a result, it is surprising how unified the street appears. One of the reasons is that the street was created not by a process of demolition but by the filling up of spaces left from the previous era. Despite the changes in political systems, the professional continuity prevailed. And even though there were some influences present which remained throughout couple of generations (e.g. Fuchs's regulation plan), instead of the influence of a possible multi-generation architectonic school on the street's development, we can clearly perceive the influence of the older urbanistic structure. Old, spacious gardens allowed for development of huge, mostly state, clerical and later communal investments of regional importance, which fulfilled a utilitarian and very important representative function. In the last years of the Monarchy, along Komenského Street a locality for schools, education and leisure time was being created together with the buildings of wealthy businessmen and also later a middle-class neighbourhood of clerks and petty officials. During the interwar era, another picture of the street was formed: a residential street with housing for newly arrived clerks, soldiers and civil servants. After the war, the socialist system continued the construction through the further development of the block structure, and it is this particular era that the street can thank for its unified appearance. The robust urbanistic blocks from the Habsburg era implied an identical starting point for the Socialist Realist architecture of the 1950s as for the housing blocks in the 1920s and 1930s. The first dominant landmarks, such as the Educational Institute for Girls or the Military Academy, were integrated into the monumental urbanism as target points of viewing axis, while the apartment blocks from the inter-war period filled in the denser urban fabric. Up to the beginning of the 1960s, or we could say the beginning of prefabrication as the dominant praxis, the street was nearly finished, with the only addition provided by three prefabricated blocks of flats at the north end. Thanks to

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**PREFAB HOUSES AS LANDMARKS
AT THE END OF THE STREET, 1967**

PANELÁKY AKO LANDMARKY
V ZÁVERE ULICE, 1967

Source Zdroj: Fortepan/Album 004,
Nr. 93813



the absence of the prefab apartment blocks prevalent in so many other localities, the street possesses up to this day almost a slight historical patina.

In the end we have to ask ourselves a question: “What was the influence of various periods on the street as a public space?” Except for several short sections, Komenského is not a historical street where individual investors built their houses on small lots. From the sociological perspective, we cannot consider Komenského Street to be a continuation of Hlavná. On the other hand, the general built-up structure of the blocks is a continuation of late 19th century town planning. The houses are oriented toward the street line, they follow the parcel system and the scale and proportion of them is similar to the late 19th century architecture. In essence, the street is the result of modernising efforts of the 20th century; not built by the effort of individuals, but by the state and institutions. First of all came the political will which transformed itself into the project, while the inhabitants played a secondary role, arriving as new settlers, partly even from other parts of the country. This process can be considered non-democratic and authoritarian, yet it is clear that this approach offered a solution to the problems of 19th-century cities, such as the lack of affordable flats, narrow yards and overcrowding. Today, the street represents a pleasant neighbourhood with large areas of greenery. The Komenského Street is a good example of a hybrid urban space in which traces of the early modern town planning of the 19th century can be discovered (like the structure of parcels and dominance of the street facades) as well as the efforts of the revolutionary town planning methods of the 20th century.

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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 vyučbe 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 umění Akademie věd České republiky.

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The journal Architektúra & urbanizmus provides a forum for the publication of papers on theory of architecture and town-planning. The attention is mostly concentrated on the recent state, history, philosophy and culture of architecture and town-planning, as well as on the problems of their art nature and on the theory of their technical aspects. The published papers deal with the relation of architecture and town-planning to art, technology and environment. They also present research results of architecture and town-planning sociology and psychology, social ecology, environment technology and of other theoretical disciplines which contribute to the development of the theoretical knowledge in architecture and town-planning. The papers further deal with methods of appreciation and criticism of architectural and town-planning activities, as with appreciation of outstanding architects, architectonic works and periods. Papers on architecture and town-planning education, book reviews and information on scientific meetings are involved. The quarterly is published by the Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the Art History Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Czech Republic.

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