



"Celková budova nachádza sa v stave desolátnom, ohrozuje vážne obyvateľov domu a verejnú bezpečnosť."

" Cieľom výstavby je poskytovať maximum služieb spotrebiteľom, organizovať racionálny a dobre vybavený distribučný systém a zabezpečiť kultúrnosť predaja pohodlný nákup a veľký výber tovaru v najširšom sortimente."

KAMENNÉ NÁMESTIE, BRATISLAVA, VISUAL NARRATIVE OF THE LAST 100 YEARS HISTORY

KAMENNÉ NÁMESTIE, BRATISLAVA, VIZUÁLNE ROZPRÁVANIE O OSTATNOM STOROČÍ JEHO HISTÓRIE

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# Bratislava the (Un)Planned City: the Impact of 20th Century Urban Planning on the Urban Structure of the Slovak Capital

Bratislava (ne)plánované mesto:  
vplyv urbanizmu 20. storočia na mestskú štruktúru  
hlavného mesta Slovenska

Henrieta Moravčíková

Bratislava je mestom, ktoré zásadne formovali idey 20. storočia. Viac ako dve tretiny súčasnej plochy mesta vybudovali v priebehu ostatného storočia v zmysle princípov modernej architektúry a urbanizmu. Tieto koncepcie sa však do podoby mesta premietli len obmedzene, alebo dokonca inak, ako to predpokladali ich autori. Dôvodom bol najmä stav nestability, ktorý bol pre Bratislavu realitou takmer celé storočie. Nasledujúci text stručne približuje históriu plánovania mesta od prvého regulačného plánu z roku 1774 cez prvé moderné regulácie až po krízu urbanistického plánovania na sklonku minulého storočia. Predstavuje metodologické pozadie aktuálneho výskumu, čo sa zameriava na identifikáciu miest, ktoré reprezentujú určité typy priestorových problémov a súčasne ilustrujú javy a procesy plánovania mesta v ostatnom storočí. Vývojové trajektórie týchto miest pritom neznázorňujú len premenu mesta, ale aj vývoj názorov na jeho plánovanie a výstavbu. V rámci urbanistickej štruktúry Bratislavy bolo identifikovaných jedenásť takých typov územia. Ako nástroj na charakteristiku jednotlivých typov územia výskum využíva päť kultúrnych kategórií, ktoré v roku 1996 predstavil Ignasi de Solà-Morales. Fungovanie tejto výskumnej a interpretačnej metódy sprostredkuje v texte príklad troch vybraných typov územia: premena lineárnej uličnej štruktúry na mnohosmernú zložitú mestskú štruktúru na príklade Obchodnej ulice, cesta od periferie k modernému centru na príklade Kamenného námestia a vývoj od továrenského dvora k downtownu na príklade najstaršej industriálnej štvrte v meste, Zóne Chalúpkova. Všetky uvedené príklady pritom ukazujú, že rozhodujúci vplyv na vývoj urbanistickej štruktúry mala takmer vždy hospodárska súťaž a jej aktéri, ktorí inšpirovali alebo priamo ovplyvňovali plánovací proces. Cieľom prezentovaného výskumu je zabezpečiť dostatok poznatkov o histórii plánovania a výstavbe mesta, ktoré pomôžu verejnosti a reprezentácii mesta čeliť týmto spontánnym procesom.

Bratislava is a characteristic example of a city decisively shaped by the ideas of the 20th century. Over two-thirds of its current area was built in the spirit of the principles of modern architecture and urban planning across the 20th century. Yet these town planning or architectonic conceptions, paradoxically, largely formulated the urban structure of Bratislava not within the sense of, but sometimes directly against the idea of the planned aims. The reason for this contradiction between the ideal and the realised was largely the result of sharp discrepancies in social development under various political orders, yet also through competition between local ideas of the creation of the city and the plans of official representatives towards the form of a national (or regional) capital.

In history, only one relatively long period is known in which Bratislava had the status of the first city of a state. It was the period from 1536 to 1783, when it was the capital of the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy as a result of the Turkish occupation. Despite intensive construction activities, Bratislava, then respectively Pressburg / Pozsony / Prešporok in its three main languages, did not manage to grow from a provincial town into a real metropolis. It still remained the proverbial

“second city”, and this designation was not only associated with negative connotations of its provincial character, but was intended to express the unusual position of the city in the context of the occupied Hungarian Kingdom. The ambivalent position of the city in the attribute “second” accompanied the subsequent Bratislava throughout the 19th and 20th centuries and to some extent affected its construction development.

A key factor that influenced the image of the city has been also the “state of instability with an uncertain outcome (...), which was the norm for most of the 20th century in Central European countries”.<sup>1</sup> It was precisely during the instable 20th century when Bratislava recorded its greatest construction growth. The physical appearance of the city was thus decisively influenced by intense territorial and population growth in the second half of the 20th century, two waves of rapid modernization before and after World War II, changes in state formations or of the status of the city itself and the associated changes - natural but also violent - in the ethnic and social composition of the population.

In parallel with these changes, the ideas about the city, its position in the state, its physical form, its identity or the vision



**ELEVEN SITES REPRESENTING THE ELEVEN TYPES OF URBAN SITUATIONS WITHIN THE URBAN STRUCTURE OF BRATISLAVA**

JEDENÁŠŤ MIEST REPREZENTUJÚCICH JEDENÁŠŤ TYPOV URBANISTICKÝCH SITUÁCIÍ V MESTSKEJ ŠTRUKTÚRE BRATISLAVY

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of its future have also altered. Bratislava was transformed from a multi-ethnic German-Hungarian-Slovak city first to a Czechoslovak city and later to a Slovak city. The city of merchants was to become the city of the proletariat. The small town on the outskirts of Hungarian Kingdom was to be the capital of Slovak Republic. In the sense of changing social demands, the city representatives tried to change the physical form of the city throughout the whole 20th century. Consequently, the architects and urban planners were continually drawing up great plans that however were rarely put into realization, and if so, then only in reduced form. Against the background of these great intentions, one can observe not only the effort to erase, or at least overlay, the image of the previous historical period, but also the efforts to cope with a certain sense of inferiority that the inhabitants of Bratislava have always felt in relation to the surrounding metropolises.

For a complete understanding of the phenomenon of planning and building Bratislava in the last century, it is useful to recall the events that preceded it. The development of the city in the 20th century was, namely, determined by the plans from the earlier historical periods.

### Planning Bratislava

Bratislava was not founded on the basis of a plan, but evolved from the original settlement determined by natural conditions: the Lesser Carpathian Mountains and the Danube River, but mainly the ancient trade routes: the Amber Route connecting the Adriatic and Baltic Sea and the Danube Route along the Danube River. It was the intersection point of these two routes that formed the basis of the first settlement. The topography of Bratislava is characterized by the origination of virtually all urban radials from this historical intersection, leading in the direction of the original historical routes.<sup>2</sup>

The first conceptual interventions into the urban development which we could call planning took place at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, when the course of the city fortification was set out and de facto defined the location and perimeter of the city. Further regulation of the construction of the town took place only in 1774, when the empress Maria Theresa ordered the demolition of the inner city walls and the infilling of the city moat.

The head of the Vienna court building office, architect Franz Anton Hillebrandt (1719 – 1797), subsequently drafted the first regulatory plan of the city.<sup>3</sup> The aim was to unite the inner city with its suburbs and to outline new streets and building lines in these outer areas.

The next attempt to regulate construction in the city was sparked by the dynamic growth of the city in the second half of the 19th century, caused mainly by the development of local industry and the construction of the railway network. The first comprehensive document which we can call the city's regulatory plan was elaborated in 1898 by the city's technical department.<sup>4</sup>

However, the city council did not approve the conservative rationalist plan that interfered very little with the existing structure and proposed new districts strictly in the sense of a



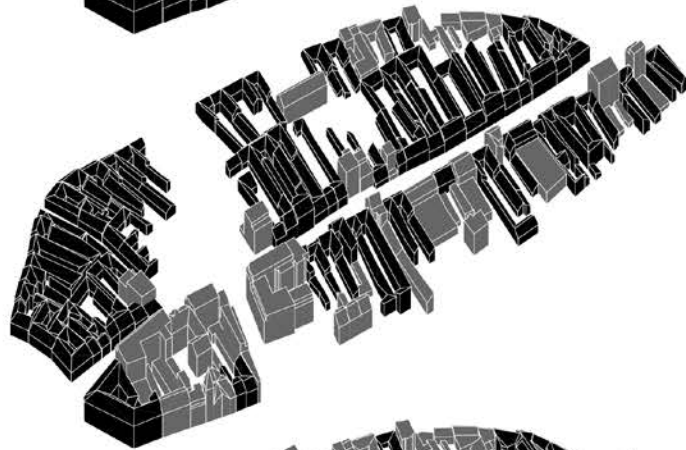
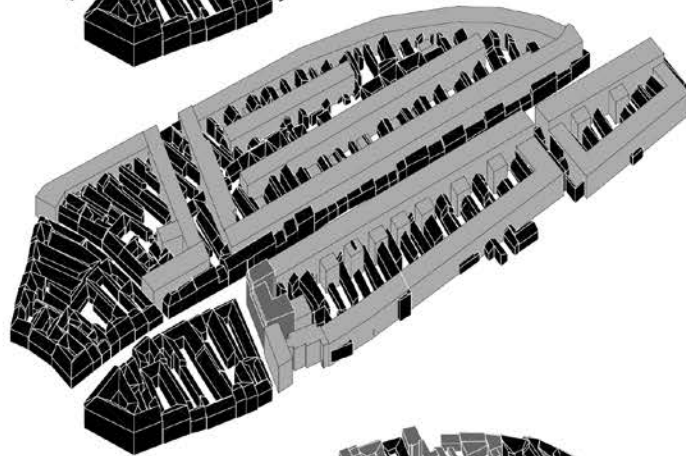
**THREE SITES REPRESENTING THREE SELECTED TYPES OF URBAN SITUATIONS: TRANSFORMATION OF A CITY RADIAL INTO A MULTIDIRECTIONAL COMPLEX URBAN STRUCTURE (OBCHODNÁ ULICA), FROM PERIPHERY TO NEW CITY CENTRE (KAMENNÉ NÁMESTIE) AND FROM FACTORY YARD TO DOWNTOWN (CHALÚPKOVA ZONE)**

TRI MIESTA REPREZENTUJÚCE TRI VYBRANÉ URBANISTICKÉ SITUÁCIE: PREMENA MESTSKEJ RADIÁLY NA MNOHOSMERNÝ ZLOŽITÝ MESTSKÝ PRIESTOR (OBCHODNÁ ULICA), OD PERIFÉRIE K NOVÉMU CENTRU MESTA (KAMENNÉ NÁMESTIE) A OD TOVÁRENSKÉHO DVORA K DOWNTOWNU (ZÓNA CHALÚPKOVA)

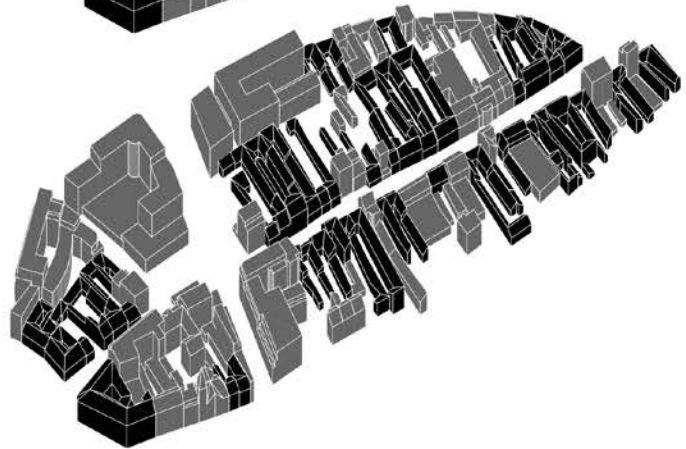
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1900



1940



2000

**TRANSFORMATION OF A CITY  
RADIAL INTO A MULTIDIRECTIONAL  
COMPLEX URBAN STRUCTURE  
(OBCHODNÁ ULICA) –  
DEVELOPMENT OF THE URBAN  
STRUCTURE IN THE LAST CENTURY**

PREMENA MESTSKEJ RADIÁLY NA  
MNOHOSMERNÝ ZLOŽITÝ MESTSKÝ  
PRIESTOR (OBCHODNÁ ULICA) –  
VÝVOJ MESTSKEJ ŠTRUKTÚRY  
V UPLYNULOM STOROČÍ

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**BUILDING REGULATIONS  
FROM 1929 – 1934**

REGULAČNÉ A ZASTAVOVACIE  
ÚPRAVY Z ROKOV 1929 – 1934

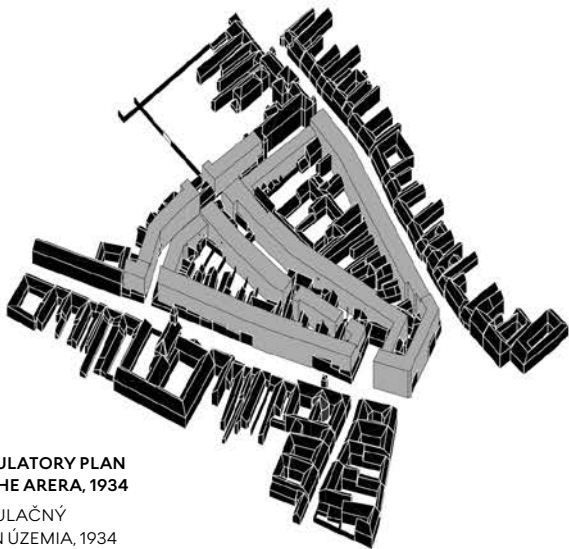


1900

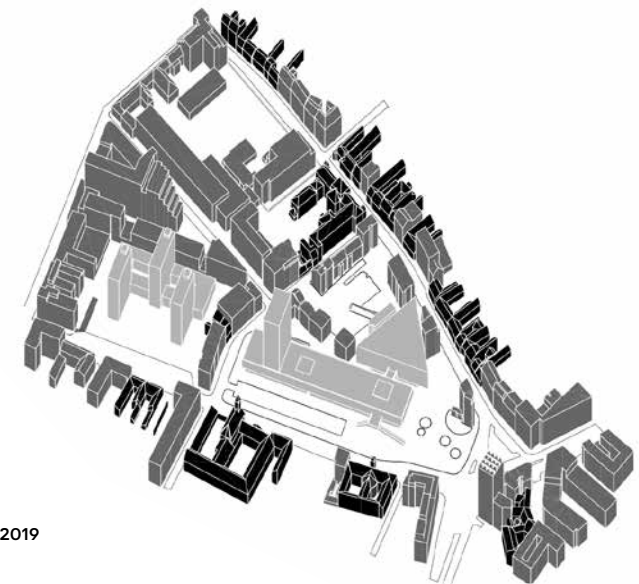


**VISION OF KAMENNÉ NÁMESTIE  
ACCORDING TO IVAN MATUŠÍK,  
1965**

VÍZIA PRE KAMENNÉ NÁMESTIE  
A JEHO OKOLIE OD IVANA  
MATUŠÍKA, 1965



**REGULATORY PLAN  
OF THE ARERA, 1934**  
REGULAČNÝ  
PLÁN ÚZEMIA, 1934



2019



**INFLUENCE OF  
REGULATION ON NEW  
CONSTRUCTION, 1950**

VPLYV REGULÁCIE NA NOVÚ  
VÝSTAVBU, 1950

**FROM PERIPHERY TO NEW CITY  
CENTRE (KAMENNÉ NÁMESTIE)  
– DEVELOPMENT OF THE URBAN  
STRUCTURE IN THE LAST CENTURY**

OD PERIFÉRIE K NOVÉMU CENTRU  
MESTA (KAMENNÉ NÁMESTIE) –  
VÝVOJ MESTSKEJ ŠTRUKTÚRY  
V UPLYNULOM STOROČÍ

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rectangular street network. Discussions around the plan continued until 1906, when the city commissioned the development of the plan to a prominent Budapest urbanist, Professor Antal Palóczy. He presented the first version of the plan in 1907 and continued to work on the plan until 1917. However, due to the radical change in the social situation in the city after the First World War, the plan was never approved. The final version of the Palóczy Plan can be summarized in a few basic principles. First of all, it stressed the removal of a part of the railway lines from the inner city or their rebuilding to the grade-separated level. An inner and outer traffic circuit were also planned. In connection with the transport and future development of the city on the right bank of the river, Palóczy counted on the construction of three bridges across the Danube.

An interesting picture is provided by a comparison of the current form of the city with the then intentions and visions. All current Bratislava bridges are located in places proposed by Antal Palóczy in the city's regulatory plan. The plans for the city circuits have been realised as well. Likewise, the routing of railway lines, the positioning of railway stations and their categorization are themselves a direct consequence of the ideas outlined in the Palóczy Plan. It is noteworthy that later processors of the regulatory plans of the city never referred to the original drawing documentation or texts by Antal Palóczy - even in those cases when they worked in the same intentions. Ignoring historical materials was characteristic of modern city planning after the Second World War and was intended to create the impression of brand-new original solutions.

The fact that these creators have finally come to the same solutions as their predecessors at the beginning of the 20th century shows some unintentional continuity.<sup>5</sup>

The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the establishment of Czechoslovakia led to the reorganisation of the Technical Department and disrupted the continuity of city planning. The problems faced by Bratislava at that time were universal and also addressed in other cities. In addition to functional zoning and regulation of the new development, they mainly involved the layout of the entire transport system. The solution of these problems was to be brought by an international competition for the regulatory plan of the city of Bratislava, which was launched by the city council in 1929. The winning design largely repeated the ideas contained in the Palóczy Plan: developing the city in the north-eastern direction, developing the communications framework as a radially circular, rectangular street network, railroad reform and concentration of industry on the eastern outskirts of the city. However, even this plan was not approved and construction in the city was managed only by partial regulations.

After the massive nationalization in 1948 and the introduction of the planned economy in Czechoslovakia, town planning began to be regarded as an integral part of the planned economy and, in this respect, a direct tool for management of the society. The planning process itself underwent changes as well. The preparation of the general plan of the town was expected to correspond to the "requirement of a scientific and professional approach to urban planning issues". This scientific character was

manifested mainly through research, analysis and classification of existing city fabric, consideration of the housing requirements, and critical assessment of the potential monuments and estimation of future development areas. A new important object of consideration and planning was also individual car transport. Based on these evaluations, the team of authors then drew up a plan that defined the transport system, determined the functional use of the areas and the future development directions of the city. The decisive factors were "good operational relations between the basic functions of the city – housing, work, services and recreation". The prevailing urban concept assumed the reduction of the density of the built space and the construction of residential complexes on the outskirts of the city. During the 1970s, the planning and construction of the city was characterized mainly by huge territorial growth. The then chief architect of Prague who commented on this development called "this not quite usual process" an urban explosion.<sup>6</sup>

However, significant changes were also planned in the city centre, which was to be definitively changed from provincial to metropolitan. In practice, this meant the construction of a new transport infrastructure connecting the centre with the new urban satellites and modern construction in the city centre accompanied by extensive demolition.

However, the scale and ambition of the general plan far exceeded the economic resources of socialist Czechoslovakia. In the 1980s, this situation led to an increasing gap between the abstract plan and the construction development in Bratislava.

After 1989, there were dramatic changes in the area of town planning, determined by the change in social conditions but also by a paradigm change in the framework of town planning. Practically throughout Czechoslovakia, this change meant the thoroughgoing rejection of modernist town planning practice. Czech historian Petr Roubal called this phenomenon, "which strived for the most radical and quick break with state socialist heritage", town planning anti-communism.<sup>7</sup>

## **Analysing the Urban Structure of Bratislava**

In our research, we followed the planning and construction of the city over a period of one century, noting the urban plans and architectural interventions, while trying to capture the phenomena and processes that are characteristic of Bratislava and still determine its urban structure and spatial relations. We assume as our hypothesis that the city is the result of the implementation of large plans as well as the realization of spontaneous investments. Our intention was to confront these two processes in the period from the last decade of the 19th century, when the regulatory plan was first applied in Bratislava, until the end of the 20th century, when planning was confronted with crisis.

Urban planning and construction are extremely complex processes. The effort to grasp and describe them comprehensively often leads to a reduced schematic picture – precisely what we wanted to avoid. We have therefore decided to approach this issue analytically. In the urban structure of Bratislava, we have identified places that represent certain types of spatial problems and at the same time illustrate the characteristic phenomena and processes of city planning and construction during the

last 100 years The development trajectories of these situations illustrate not only the transformation of the city but also the evolution of opinions in the area of town planning and city construction.

We used the five cultural, or more accurately urban categories to specify and characterize selected sites, introduced by the Catalan architect and urbanist Ignasi de Solà-Morales in 1996 as a tool for understanding the relationships between architecture and the city.<sup>8</sup>

While Solà-Morales created this tool to explain the current situation as the basis for future interventions, we have also applied it to explain the historical development of the current situation. These categories are:

1. The form of change – Mutation. For Solà-Morales, mutation is a form of transformation that does not correspond to the gradual evolutionary transformation or the rationalist logic of transformation from plan to construction. It is a transformation suddenly caused by marginal interventions not anticipated by the logic of evolution or the plan.
2. The form of motion – Flows. By the term Flows, Solà-Morales means movement in terms of motion rather than movement in terms of transfer. He draws attention to the difference between the concept of motion in the sense of the Athens Charter and the nature of many motions in today's city and architecture. We apply the concept of flows to sites that have been determined by a network of flows of various kinds, from transport through the flow of goods, services or data.
3. The form of residence – Habitations. For Solà-Morales, habitation is the paradigm of urban life.
4. The form of exchange – Containers. In this category, Solà-Morales refers to places where the ritual of consumption takes place. These are not entirely public but not entirely private and yet closed places, separated from reality. They can be museums, amusement parks or shopping centres.
5. The form of absence – Terrain Vague. By this ambiguous term, Solà-Morales refers to abandoned, residual, undefined places that have lost their original function, yet are places of identity, places where present and past meet.

Within the urban structure of the city of Bratislava we specified ten situations that illustrate 11 types of problems.

1. Transformation of a city radial into a multidirectional complex urban structure / Urban Mutation / (Obchodná ulica)
2. From a periphery to a new city centre / Terrain vague and/or Container (Kamenné námestie)
3. From the unique to the generic / Terrain vague (Under the Castle – Podhradie)
4. Waterfront as a type of problem / Flows (left bank of the Danube River)
5. Fragments of big conceptions / Terrain vague (governmental quarter, transverse axis)
6. Urban modernity / product of rationalistic town-planning (Grössling)

7. From sports to commerce / Container (commercialisation and privatisation of public sport facilities)
8. Ambiguous ring / Flows (city ring)
9. A crossroad is not a square / Flows, Terrain vague, Container (intersection of the outer city ring and the city radials – Trnavské mýto)
10. From factory yard to Downtown / Terrain vague, Container (Chalúpkova zone)
11. Decisive mass housing / Habitation
12. In the following text, we will now focus on three of them.

### **Transformation of a Linear Street Structure into a Multidirectional Complex Urban Structure / Urban Mutation (Obchodná ulica)**

The street is a typical city radial linking the city centre with a former north-eastern suburb. The originally traditionally suburban environment was characterized by a linear development of one- or two-storey buildings with long narrow courtyard wings extending deep into narrow sites, used mainly by craftsmen. This form of street began to change at the beginning of the 20th century under the influence of modernization, when not only the methods of production, sale or transport changed, but also the general idea of the city's form and functioning. Already the first two regulatory plans in 1906 and 1917 proposed the extension and partial straightening of the street. However, neither of these visions directly influenced the form of the territory or the street itself. The shape of the street was fundamentally influenced only by the regulation from 1933, which responded to the requests of several clients regarding the new parcelling, respectively the construction of new larger and differently functioning buildings in the area.<sup>9</sup> A number of building permits from that period show that the form of a multi-storey building with retail space on the ground floor and apartments on the remaining floors then became the most desirable type, filling the entire depth of the long plot. It was precisely the requirement of the then investors to change the typology and the form of development that caused the mutation of the structure. The regulatory commission confirmed this prevailing idea. It set the maximum height of the street front at 21 m, defined the form and height of the courtyard wings, set the width of the street at 21 m and set out routes and form of new streets. In this way, it defined a radical transformation of the earlier one- or two- two-storey street development with low courtyard wings into a permeable comb-like block structure. Permeability was also to have been increased through passages that were part of each newly regulated city block. Although regulation was applied only partially, it had a major impact on street morphology and typology and still determines the form of the area.

In the 1970s, several proposals were made that planned a radical change of the urban structure around Obchodná Street, involving the almost complete removal of the original development.<sup>10</sup> The existing street network was to be replaced by abstract freestanding compositions creating multifunctional megastructures. The original development of Obchodná Street was considered worthless in terms of heritage protection. The

street was supposed to be transformed into a wide pedestrian promenade framed by long horizontal shopping malls and high-rise office buildings, along with a below-ground level to accommodate two thousand cars and a traffic corridor. However, no radical reconstruction of the street took place. The postmodern paradigm shift in city planning in the 1980s brought new views on Obchodná Street. These analyses did not reject the whole development as worthless, but in the sense of a pluralistic and inclusive view of the history of the street, they perceived its appearance as the basis for the future of formally and typologically diverse development. The postmodern view of the city, which considered all historical building layers as equal and counted on the gradual reconstruction of the street in terms of the existing structure, thus respecting its character of urban mutations, similarly influenced the regulatory plan prepared in the early 1990s.<sup>11</sup>

### **From a Periphery to a Modern Centre / Terrain Vague or Container (Kamenné námestie)**

The area, which today bears the name Kamenné námestie [Stone Square] was part of the eastern suburbs of Bratislava. First mentioned at the beginning of the 18th century, the square is marked on the city map from 1765 as a rectangular area of approximately 400 m<sup>2</sup>. It was defined on three sides by two- to four-storey houses of stonemasons, whose workshops gave the place its name. After the demolition of the city walls and the unification of the suburbs with the inner city, the territory around the square began to acquire a new meaning. While its function gradually changed, with craftsmen individually replaced by traders, the two- to four-storey build structure of the whole area remained unchanged. The development of the eastern suburbs started after 1918, due to the need to expand the city centre outside the historic core. In the early thirties, increasing pressure on construction in the area resulted in the elaboration of a regulatory study.

The 1933 regulation only partially respected the square, breaking up its eastern front with a new street, which was to cross the entire city block. This new street was to be lined with a 15-meter-high development, which in the square grew to 21 meters.<sup>12</sup> After approval of the regulation, the block began to change radically, with extensive demolition and new construction in the area. During the 1930s, modern architecture with a new scale, form and typology reached the site. This trend was stopped only by the Second World War and left the area “under construction”. Partially preserved remains of low-rise buildings from the 19th century were supplemented by modern six-storey buildings set in the area in accordance with the new regulation. In the northern part, the foundation of the new street has already been formed. The peripheral mix of production, warehouses and rental apartment buildings with outdoor staircase galleries was confronted with new modern sale, office and residential premises corresponding to the intention to create a new city centre. This part of the city maintained such an ambiguous “terrain vague”, a place “in the centre and yet on the outskirts” up until the 1960s.

A radical change of opinion on this site occurred at the end of the 1950s. It was the result of the post-war reconstruction of

European cities, where the approach of comprehensive redevelopment and the ambitious construction of modern solitaires was applied, but also of the social situation where nationalized ownership and authoritarian political power allowed such procedures to be implemented without public objections. Starting in 1958, architects and urban planners considered the area around the Stone Square a “sanitation area”,<sup>13</sup> where the original development from the 19th and 20th centuries on an area of almost 60,000 m<sup>2</sup> was to be demolished. The town-planning and architectural competition for the solution of a new shopping and social centre in Kamenné námestie was launched in 1960 by the Ministry of Commerce of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The imposing planned complex was a materialization of contemporary ideas about the modern rebuilding of the city in accordance with the principles of the Athens Charter and was related to the plans to rebuild the wider centre of Bratislava. First place in the competition was awarded to the architect Ivan Matušík, who inserted into the triangular area a solitary volume responding to the basic shape of the site. The idea of creating a new centre was quickly realized. In addition to the original investment plan, another administrative complex of ministries was added, thus allowing Matušík could develop the competition concept into the space of the neighbouring city block. After the demolition of the buildings defining the original Stone Square and its actual elimination, the area in front of the new department store given the same name. At the time of completion (1968, 1973), the department store and hotel were among the most striking manifestations of Slovak architecture. Combining business, catering and hotel services into one complex and its location in immediate contact with the historic core was a manifestation of social innovation and the advent of a modern consumption- and leisure-oriented way of life in Slovakia. With regard to the functional program determined by consumption, the controlled public-non-public interior space and the indifferent relationship to the surrounding area, the complex represents a characteristic example of the implementation of the cultural category Container into the urban structure.

The whole complex is now part of the monument protected zone of the Central City Area and as such is in fact subject to heritage protection. However, the particular buildings are not listed. The valid regulation plan of the zone envisages the gradual development of the territory into a compact city block. Despite several efforts to change the plan and several proposals for radical reconstruction of the area, the complex still exists and its commercial part even now serves its original purpose. Over the past 10 years, however, society’s views have changed in relation to this location. On the one hand, it is increasingly becoming the object of radical redevelopment proposals. On the other hand, it is perceived in particular by the younger generation as an important part of the city’s identity, as an important historical layer, as one of the few sites that still resists the radical modernization and privatization of public space in the city centre. Once again, the container is gradually becoming a terrain vague.



## From Factory Yard to Downtown / Terrain Vague, Container (Chalúpkova Zone)

The oldest industrial district of the city is located on its eastern edge in immediate contact with the outer city ring road. The spontaneous development of the industrial structure took place from the mid-19th century around the oldest street, Fabrikgasse / Gyári út. The regulatory plan from 1906 was the first to regulate the construction in the territory, with the area intended for the construction of production halls. However, already in the second general plan from 1917 the area was intended to become part of



1960



ZÓNA CHALÚPKOVA ACCORDING TO THE REGULATION PLAN BY P. BAUER, M. KUSÝ, P. PAŇÁK, E. ŠUTEK, 1989

ZÓNA CHALÚPKOVA PODĽA REGULAČNÉHO PLÁNU P. BAUERA, M. KUSÉHO, P. PAŇÁKA, E. ŠUTEKA, 1989

the wider city centre. A new boulevard, housing for workers and a new city park were planned in this part of the town. Nevertheless, this intention was never realized and the area developed more or less in terms of the existing street network until the outbreak of World War II. In 1945, part of the neighbourhood was destroyed by Allied bombing. After the war, however, industrial production resumed.

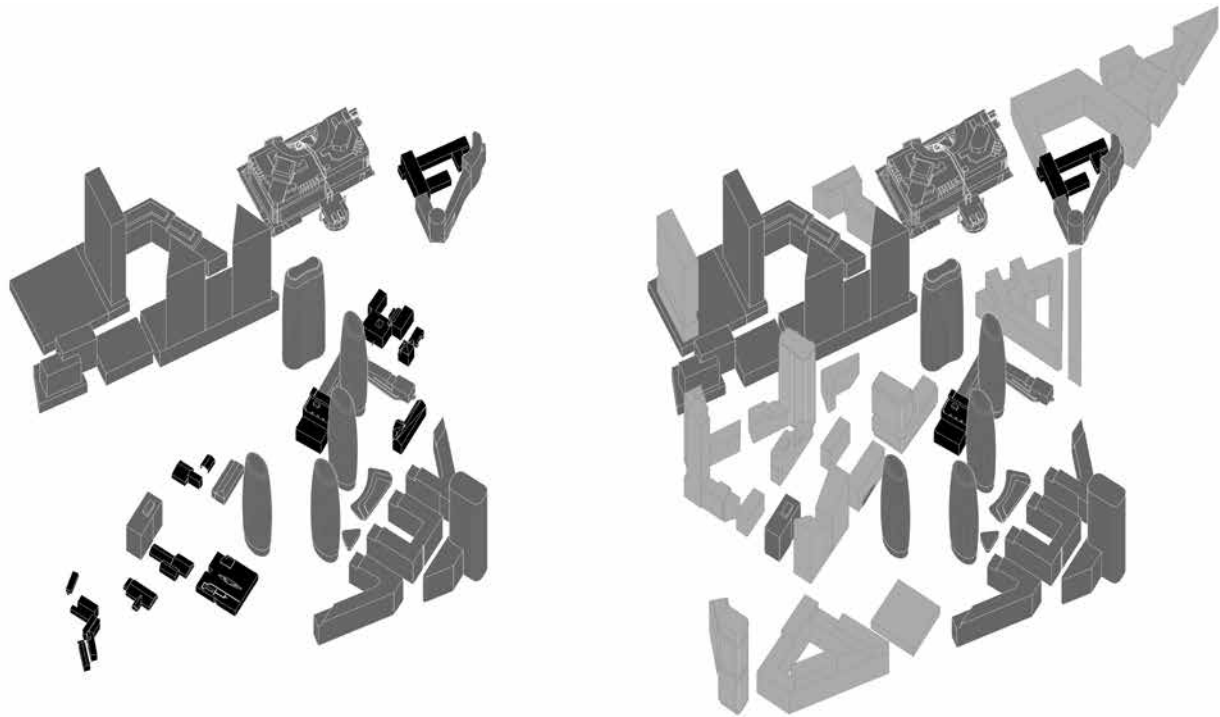
In the 1950s, town-planners and architects still perceived this area located near to the historical city centre and the Danube River as an ideal place for a new cultural centre. This idea was also integrated into the general plan of Bratislava in 1963. In 1967, the city announced an architectural competition for the cultural and social centre of the city, which was to be created in this area. The buildings of the central Slovak governmental authorities, a multipurpose hall, the Slovak National Theatre, the Slovak Technical Library and the Museum of the Workers' Movement, along with a hotel and shops, an indoor swimming pool and a press-centre were supposed to be placed there.<sup>14</sup>

However, on the basis of the winning design, a single building was built and the rest of the quarter remained unchanged.

The idea of rebuilding this quarter became more important in the 1980s. At that time, the quality of the environment and the related need to eliminate industrial production in the city emerged as a key topic of discussion. In this context, the first regulation plan of this zone was created. Its authors (Bauer, Kusý, Paňák, 1982 – 1989) responded to the postmodern principles of rehabilitation of a compact city and designed the area as a structure of city blocks, in which they also integrated the ex-

**FROM FACTORY YARD TO  
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– DEVELOPMENT OF THE URBAN  
STRUCTURE IN THE LAST CENTURY**

OD TOVÁRENSKÉHO DVORA  
K DOWNTOWNU (ZÓNA  
CHALÚPKOVA) – VÝVOJ MESTSKEJ  
ŠTRUKTÚRY V UPLYNULOM STOROČÍ



2019

**ZÓNA CHALÚPKOVA AFTER THE  
REALIZATION OF THE PLANNED  
DEVELOPMENT**

ZÓNA CHALÚPKOVA PO REALIZÁCII  
PLÁNOVANEJ VÝSTAVBY

isting constructions in the area.<sup>19</sup> This plan served as a basis for construction in the area until the beginning of the 21st century.

After 1989, the production premises were gradually privatized and production stopped. The whole territory ended up in the hands of three development groups, which subsequently exerted pressure to change the regulatory plan. At the beginning of the 21st century, three parallel processes were in progress: the effort to preserve and protect the industrial heritage in the area, the preparation of the new zone regulatory plan, which practically ignored the existing constructions, and the designing of the new developments that de facto determined the form of the new zone regulatory plan. The form of the place has thus radically changed over the course of a decade, and factory yards have been replaced by skyscrapers. The original ideas of a new city centre have finally come to realisation, yet the planned cultural and social facilities have been replaced by offices, apartments and retail.

## Conclusion

Bratislava seems to be a city of unfinished plans, unrealized projects and random solutions. Recent research, however, has detected a mechanism of persistence of key ideas, which we have described as a phenomenon of unintentional continuity. It is an unconscious or undeclared continuation of the visions and intentions of previous periods, the achievement of a certain mass of knowledge which has become part of the awareness of the city and together with its natural conditions and morphology, “subconsciously” influence the thinking of architects, urbanists and investors. As an example, we could mention the first regulatory plan of Bratislava from 1917 and the application of its ideas in later planning and construction. However, some unintentional continuity can also be identified in the situations that we have introduced in this text. The analysis of the radical urban visions of late modernism and their fragmentary realization, in turn, showed that such fragile fragments generate repetitive new beginnings in urban space. At the same time, it has been shown that even fragments of regulation plans have the potential to be the stabilizing elements in urban space, bridging the gap resulting from the discontinuity of town planning. Furthermore, our research into the planning and construction process of Bratislava has shown that politically or ideologically determined decisions have affected the form of the city only to a limited extent. More often, the key role was played by competing free market actors, which either directly influenced the design of the general plans, or at least provoked the need to create them, or even formed an antithesis of these plans in the form of initiating of new plans.

The market actors, developers and entrepreneurs have always been and still are well prepared to shape the future form of the town. It is obvious that the only way to help the city representatives and the public to oppose their ideas is to deliver them the right knowledge regarding urban form and especially the planning and building history of the city. This intent is also the motivating ambition behind our research.<sup>16</sup>

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