



DISTRICT HEALTH INSURANCE
OFFICE IN TRNAVA, AROUND 1950

OKRESNÁ NEMOCENSKÁ
POISŤOVŇA V TRNAVE, OKOLO
ROKU 1950

Source zdroj: KAZIMÍR, Milan and
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Who Formed the Architectural Appearance of Trnava in the Years 1918 – 1945?

Kto formoval architektonickú
podobu Trnavy v rokoch
1918 – 1945?

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Vznik Československej republiky (ČSR) v roku 1918 významne ovplyvnil nielen politickú situáciu na Slovensku, ale mal aj priaznivý vplyv na zlepšenie života obyvateľov štátu, predovšetkým v oblasti zdravotnej starostlivosti, školského vzdelávania a komfortu bývania. Tieto dôležité súčasti života obyvateľov krajiny považoval nový štátny aparát za podstatné oblasti, ktoré chcel zveľaďovať a vylepšovať. Tak vznikli sociálne prospešné zdravotnícke zariadenia, nemocnice, kúpele, školy, úrady a byty, pričom mnohé z nich mali navyše aj architektonickú kvalitu európskeho formátu.

Mesto Trnava malo jeden z prvých regulačných plánov na Slovensku po roku 1918. Mesto zvolilo služby brnianskeho odborníka Iva Beneša, ktorý v roku 1921 vypracoval generálny plán rozvoja mesta na 50 rokov. Do plánu zapracoval očakávaný rast obyvateľov Trnavy na 70 000. Počítal s rozdelením mesta na štyri štvrti, zaoberal sa osobnou, nákladnou i hromadnou dopravou, zachovaním zelene v centre mesta, priemyselnou zónou na južnom okraji mesta. Po vzniku ČSR vznikli v Trnave nové úrady a školy, narastala priemyselná produkcia, logicky sa zvyšovala nutnosť bytovej výstavby.

Nárast obyvateľov mesta spôsobil, že Trnava potrebovala zrekonštruovať alebo postaviť nové budovy slúžiace zdravotníckemu sektoru. Medzi najdôležitejšie zdravotnícke zariadenia v Trnave

patrili nemocnica, nemocenská poisťovňa a k zvýšenému hygienickému štandardu mali dopomôcť mestské kúpele.

Druhú dôležitú verejnoprospešnú oblasť predstavoval školský rezort. V roku 1918 sa školstvo v Trnave nachádzalo v nepriaznivom stave, v podstate ani jedna z budov, v ktorých sídlili školy, neboli postavené na školské účely. Po vzniku ČSR však situácia v trnavskom školstve postupne zaznamenala zlepšenie zo stránky kvalitatívnej i kvantitatívnej.

Najzložitejšiu situáciu možno pozorovať v tretej verejnoprospešnej oblasti, vo výstavbe bytov. Štát pripravil množstvo zákonov na uľahčenie výstavby obytných domov, poskytol úvery, zákony však musel prispôbovať finančným možnostiam obyvateľov, keďže spočiatku plánované veľko-rozmerné, a tým pádom finančne náročné bývanie si nižšie vrstvy nemohli dovoliť. Preto postupne prichádzali zmeny zákonov, ktoré brali do úvahy túto situáciu a architekti reagovali projektmi bytových domov s menšími bytmi.

Tváť modernej Trnavy formovali významní českí, moravskí i slovenskí architekti. Budova Okresnej nemocenskej poisťovne je národnou kultúrnou pamiatkou, nachádza sa v registri DOCO-MOMO a viaceré budovy, postavené v Trnave v rokoch 1918 – 1945, by si status národnej kultúrnej pamiatky zaslúžili. Dokladom toho je kvalita návrhov architektov, ktorí v Trnave budovy projektovали a mnohé ich návrhy realizované v iných mestách na Slovensku patria medzi národné kultúrne pamiatky. Prvotriednu prácu odvedli aj stavitelia a ich zamestnanci, dokladajú to kolaudačné zápisnice i užívatelia týchto budov. Veľkú zásluhu na vzniku kvalitných verejne prospešných budov mali aktívni riaditelia na čele zdravotníckych zariadení, škôl, úradov, zriaďovatelia týchto organizácií, nadriadené štátne úrady, ktoré rozhodovali aj o štátnej pomoci pri výstavbe takýchto budov. Štát napomáhal tomuto rozvoju prijatím zákonov o stavebnom ruchu a finančnými podporami. Archívne dokumenty dokazujú obrovské úsilie niektorých riaditeľov i úradníkov, ktorí sa snažili zlepšiť zdravotnú starostlivosť, stav školstva i bývanie v meste. Usilovali sa dodržiavať zákonom stanovené termíny, stavať architektonicky i technicky kvalitné novostavby, z ktorých väčšina slúži pôvodnému verejnoprospešnému účelu dodnes.

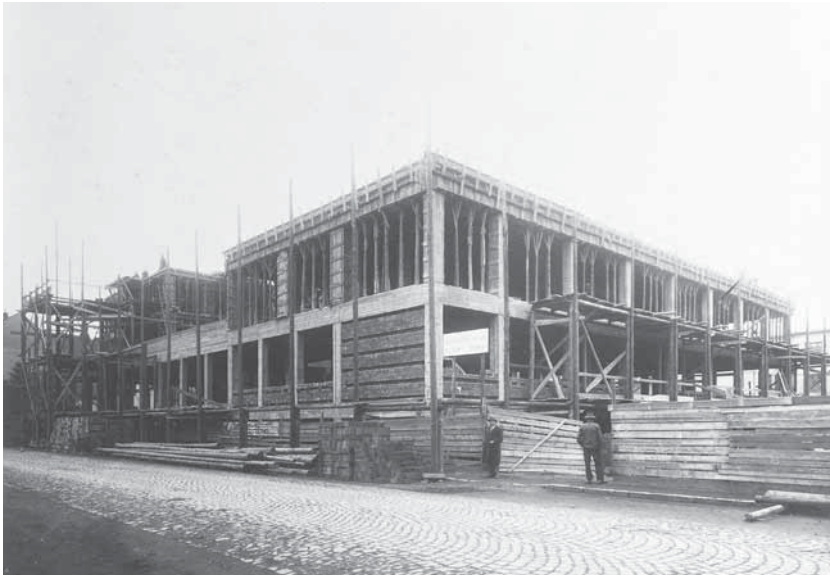
The founding of the Czechoslovak Republic (ČSR) in 1918 not only significantly shaped the political situation in Slovakia, but it equally had a positive influence in the improvement of the living standards of the state's inhabitants, primarily in the areas of health care, education, and housing comfort. These important parts of daily life were viewed by the new state apparatus as significant areas for growth and improvement. As a result, the interwar years saw the construction of many socially beneficial buildings – medical facilities, hospitals, public baths, schools, state offices, or flats – of which many were of significant architectural quality even measured on the European scale.

As of 1918, the small Slovak city of Trnava held approximately 15,000 residents. A preliminary census taken in 1919 registered a growth in population of just under 600, thus making Trnava the eighth largest municipality in Slovakia. The full-scale census completed in 1921 evidenced that Trnava by then had a population numbering nearly 17,500, a figure placing the city in fourth place among Slovakia's largest. The next census, from 1930, counted nearly 24,000 inhabitants for Trnava, and with this number the status of Slovakia's third-largest city. While the decade between 1920 and 1930 saw the town increase in size by a full 8,000 residents, the broader period of 70 years (1869 – 1938) witnessed Trnava literally quadrupling in population.¹ Independence from the Habsburg Empire saw the growth of business opportunities and with them new jobs, drawing to Trnava new citizens from the surrounding villages and shifting the national and social composition of the city. And understandably, construction intensified, and the city's form underwent much change.

At first, the authorities of Trnava assigned the creation of an urban masterplan for land-use and regulation to their own employee Ján Dundačka. Not long after, though, they summoned the services of an expert from Brno, Ivo Beneš, who in 1921 drew up a general plan for the city's development over the next 50 years. In the plan, based on an expected population growth for the timeframe of 70,000 inhabitants, Beneš assumed the division of the city into four districts, as well as addressing questions of personal, freight, and public transport; preservation of green areas in the urban centre; and creation of an industrial zone on the southern edge. With the founding of independent Czechoslovakia, Trnava also received new government buildings and schools; industrial production grew further and, logically, the necessity for new housing construction proportionally increased.

New Buildings for Medical Care

Population growth implied that Trnava soon felt the need for the reconstruction or new building of structures serving the health sector. Among the most significant health-care facilities in Trnava were the hospital, the health-insurance office, and (for increased public hygiene) the city baths. For the district health insurance offices, the need for a new building came onto the public agenda in 1925; its first architectural plans were drawn up in Bratislava in March 1927, and the Trnava city authorities received them in July of the same year.² Already by August 1927, the Trnava district office issued permission for the construction of the new District Health Insurance building in the street then



**CONSTRUCTION OF THE DISTRICT
HEALTH INSURANCE OFFICE, 1932**

VÝSTAVBA OKRESNEJ
NEMOCENSKEJ POISŤOVNE

Source Zdroj: private collection of
author, the estate of František Osyka

**THE TERMINATION OF THE
CENTRAL STAIRCASE AT SECOND
FLOOR OF THE DISTRICT HEALTH
INSURANCE OFFICE, 1932**

UKONČENIE ÚSTREDNÉHO
SCHODISKA NA DRUHÉ
NADZEMNÉ PODLAŽIE, OKRESNEJ
NEMOCENSKEJ POISŤOVNE, 1932

Source Zdroj: private collection of
author, the estate of František Osyka



known as Slničná (now Rázusova). “Per the approved design (fig. 1), the structure had to be adapted to the surrounding urban fabric; of brick masonry with three fully usable three-storey masses on an H-shaped floor outline. The two parallel wings (volumes) were to have gently sloping roofs (without any intended use) above simply planned façades articulated with individually framed windows. This harmonisation with the surroundings, however, was deliberately disrupted by the differing plan for the third central mass between the two parallel side wings. Unlike the side wings, it was relatively wide, already displaying certain key traits of the emerging new Functionalist style, specifically the extreme simplicity of the mass with a flat roof, intended for use as an accessible terrace, and grouped windows with a single joint framing, creating a kind of horizontal fenestration strip. At the same time, the connecting block was accentuated at the central axis of symmetry with the mass of the staircase, where the main entrance was situated. In front of this conjoining element, the main façade turned towards Kollárova ulica, there was

to have been a kind of open frontage with two small gardens, enclosed for the entire street line behind a fence.”³

Nonetheless, the construction of the new District Health Insurance offices in Trnava did not begin in 1927. A possible reason for the delay was the creation of a new regional governance system for Czechoslovakia. The original districts (*župa*) in Slovakia and Ruthenia were abolished, along with the “Office of the Minister with Portfolio for Slovakia”, and the entire Czechoslovak state was divided into four large regions (*krajina / země*): Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, Slovakia, and Subcarpathian Ruthenia. It is likely that this administrative change shifted the authority for creating the new office building into the newly concentrated regional offices. A similar situation is known to have occurred with the construction of the internal medicine pavilion of the Trnava district hospital, where construction was slated for 1927 but, with the new national administration taking effect as of 1 July 1928, the political authority moved from the District Office to the Regional Office, so that the approval for



TYPICAL CORRIDOR OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE PART OF THE DISTRICT HEALTH INSURANCE OFFICE, 1932

TYPICKÁ CHODBA
ADMINISTRATÍVNEJ ČASTI
OKRESNEJ NEMOCENSKEJ
POISŤOVNE, 1932

Source Zdroj: private collection of author, the estate of František Osyka

the new hospital pavilion in Trnava was issued by the Regional Office only in 1933. Another factor involved could have been the change in leadership at the “Regional Office for Worker Insurance” in Bratislava. In 1927, the year of the first attempt at building the new headquarters, the director was Ferdinand Benda while in 1931, the year when work began on the office building from a different architectural design, the institution was headed by Adolf Pakosta.

In September 1930, a scheduled board meeting for the District Health Insurance of Trnava was held, with its main point of discussion being the construction of the agency’s office building. As the activities of the insurer grew, there was an acute need to hire new employees, with several of them having to occupy provisional offices in the current building’s corridors. As for the archive of 40,000 registration cards, it was kept in a temporary structure in the courtyard of the original building, a historic residence at the corner of the present street Haulíkova and Námestie Sv. Mikuláša. In the minutes, the present board members described the state of the office building at terrible, and that of the consulting rooms as catastrophic.⁴

Construction of the new headquarters started in 1931, as noted from a different architectural design. The Regional Office for Worker Insurance applied to the Trnava district authorities for a construction permit in July 1931, and hired for the building’s construction the firm of Rudolf Stern from Malacky.⁵ Building work on the insurance office commenced on 10 September 1931 and ended 10 September 1933 – two years to the very day. Its final inspection took place in January 1934. Representing the city of Trnava were deputy mayor Jozef Bayer and municipal health commissioner Dr Daniel Belluš (brother of architect Emil Belluš), in the presence of the agency director, Adolf Pakosta, and, representing the Rudolf Stern company, construction supervisor František Osyka to conduct the transfer.⁶ The inspection commission examined the offices in detail, confirming that the building had been completed precisely to match the plans approved in the submission to the Trnava district office.⁷

“The plans submitted for the construction permit were found to match almost completely with the current architectural design. During construction, though, certain small built alterations were made within the layout, for instance the change in the orientation of the street entrances and the shifting of the entire main entrance into the depth of the structure away from the street line; added to the rooms of the two general practitioners and the supervising physician at the ground level were separate changing rooms. Several subtle architectural changes occurred within certain details of the façade design; for example, facing the watercourse of the Trnávka, the original segmented ends of the dormers emerging from the building’s mass were replaced by rectangular ones. All these changes, nonetheless, were integrated into the new plans to match the actual construction and presented to the inspection committee, whereby the documentation of which is the record of the inspection dated 30 January 1934.”⁸

The headquarters of the District Health Insurance consists of a two-storey entrance section, a four-storey western wing and a three-storey wing to the east intended for medical treatment, with consulting premises for general practitioners alongside specialised surgeries for nearly all the fields of medicine then being practiced. In the effort to ensure patients helpful and effective treatment, the agency spared no expense in the technical standard of the medical facilities and provided all necessary equipment and fittings. At the time, the agency had 44 physicians in employment, with 16 of them seeing patients daily in the Trnava offices.⁹

The new District Health Insurance building was received positively by the experts of the era. Among them was the academically trained painter Juraj (Jiří, Jura) Mandel, who was employed as a teacher at the Ján Hollý Czechoslovak State Lyceum in Trnava. He described the new insurance building as modern architecture, the most modern building in the city. Its essence, he added, was function: the architects rationally placed the offices in the higher left wing and the physicians in the lower

right one. Using a reinforced-concrete frame with infill masonry of hollow bricks, it even had its linoleum or wall and floor tiles selected from the best materials to hold up well under extensive use. The most interesting section, in Mandel's view, was the glass staircase tower, allowing ample quantities of sunlight into the building's interior. He also listed as the building's designers the architects Jaroslav Linhart and František Faulhammer, with the construction managed by František Osyka.¹⁰

Though Mandel, stated in his 1938 publication, issued by the city to mark the anniversary of 700 years since Trnava received royal town privileges, that the authors were Jaroslav Linhart¹¹ and František Faulhammer¹², many later scholarly writings give as the author the first-named architect's more famous namesake, Evžen Linhart.¹³ Evidently, the attribution arose from the stylistic similarities to other works by Evžen Linhart, or possibly his engagement with designs for socially beneficial structures. Even the log kept from inspections during construction, now preserved in the state archive in Trnava, contains several differing first names for the architect Linhart: on some occasions, the documents list him as Jaroslav Linhart, elsewhere as Jozef Linhart, or in some places without any first name given. "Jaroslav Linhart (in Slovak scholarly practice regularly confused by authors with Evžen Linhart and in its Czech counterpart, apparently, entirely forgotten) was the author among other works of the buildings for the district health insurance offices in Trnava (1931) and Martin (1934 – 1935), which also provided a series of medical services. He headed the design institute of the Regional Office for Worker Insurance until his death. This leading position was then assumed by his close collaborator František Faulhammer, who – independently or as co-author – designed a wide range of medical facilities, but most notably the buildings for district health insurance offices in Slovakia and Ruthenia (Komárno, Ružomberok, Lučenec, Košice, Nitra, Užhorod, Trenčín, Trnava, Martin)".¹⁴

The authors of the Register of Modern Architecture in Slovakia, from the department of architecture at the Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAV), describe the building as follows: "The former district health insurance office ranks among the best works of the modern movement in the city. It stands at the edge of the historic centre occupying a corner lot. The symmetrical ground plan, of U-shape, is laid out with two rows of rooms off a central corridor; both wings are linked by the glass-sided walkway above the two-storey entrance wing. The massing concept reflects the original internal division into medical and administrative functions. From the entrance space, two sections of staircase lead to the central hall, from which the two corridors led to the doctors' examining rooms and the offices for settling insurance claims."¹⁵

Architect Štefan Šlachta also praised the building's architectural design and the quality of the materials used: "Linhart planned the design as a symmetrical 'U'. Each of the three simple rectangles has a different height. The two-storey, street-facing entrance section is the connecting element between the three-storey eastern wing and the four-storey one to the west. Inserted between the two is the glass prism of the central corridor, giving the design lightness and transparency. The entrance is decorated with travertine panelling and, at ground level, with

red ceramic tiling. The west wing was the seat of the office, with medical facilities in the eastern wing. Also of exceptionally high quality were the original interiors, where it is possible to find marble and travertine wall panelling, cast terrazzo on the floors, fine woodwork, and a range of metal elements."¹⁶

For 70 years, the building served for medical purposes, though altering function from an insurance office to a clinic; for a few years after 1989, it contained once more both independent medical practices and health insurers. Purchased in 2000 by the University of Trnava, and now the seat of its law faculty, the building was awarded the status of a national cultural monument in 2002, thanks to the dean of the Trnava University law faculty, Peter Blaha, and independent expert adviser to the Regional Heritage Office in Trnava, architect Eva Šabíková. The Trnava law faculty building is also inscribed in the register of important buildings by the international organisation DOCOMOMO.¹⁷

For the residents of Trnava and its surroundings, the greatest part of health care was provided by the district (later regional) hospital. In the wake of World War I, the Trnava hospital was in a terrible state, essentially looted with many instruments missing, and significant weakness visible in the buildings, facilities, or even finances. In 1918, the hospital had just under 300 beds and consisted of a surgery pavilion, one for internal diseases, a pavilion for venereal and dermatological ailments, a small infectious-disease pavilion, another small utility building, and the director's residence. It was, in fact, the new hospital director, Karol Krčméry,¹⁸ who deserves the greatest credit for the addition of new pavilions, enlargement of extant hospital sections, housing for medical staff, and improvement of the hospital environment through planting trees and ornamental vegetation. During his tenure as hospital director in 1920 – 1934, essentially each year saw the completion, renovation, or reconstruction of one of more hospital buildings. Krčméry, appointed director and chief physician of the Trnava hospital in March 1920, also served as head of the surgery division.¹⁹

In 1929, the utility building received an upper level, with the technical facilities improved and two family-sized flats created for hospital employees. One year later, a lodge and porter's residence were added at the main entrance gate. The porter's house and the utility buildings were realised by the company "Engineer Novák and Brothers" from Žilina – the brothers Ervín and Pavel Novák, who built one truly exceptional work, the Reformed (Neolog) synagogue in Žilina, designed by the German architect Peter Behrens.²⁰ In 1931, the hospital arranged the construction of another 12 employee residences and the start of the one-storey infectious-diseases pavilion with 40 beds. In 1932, the hospital bought new land and a building that it rebuilt as more staff housing; the director now had a residence in a single-family house. In August 1933, construction began on the internal medicine pavilion, organised in two stages. In parallel, an administrative block was constructed by the hospital's main entrance, which came into use in 1934. The first stage of construction of the internal pavilion ended in 1934 and the second in January 1936. This building contained 250 beds, a special X-ray section, electrotherapy, laboratories, and other modern facilities. The pavilion contained the head physician

**INTERNAL PAVILION OF THE
TRNAVA REGIONAL HOSPITAL**

INTERNÝ PAVILÓN KRAJINSKEJ
NEMOCNICE V TRNAVE

Source Zdroj: private collection of
author, the estate of František Osyka



and the specialists from the paediatric division, along with 45 beds – the first such children’s department in Slovakia. Starting in January 1937, a new department opened for nose, ear, and throat ailments. The hospital had its own water system, with all buildings given their own central heating, hot and cold water, and other facilities that were hardly common in this era – not even the city of Trnava itself could offer these advantages.²¹

The construction committee in charge of building the internal medicine pavilion for the Trnava hospital first met in May 1927 at the District Office, *myslí sa ešte starý Župný úrad, nie Krajský úrad* Office in Bratislava. The regional technical referent, Anton Fürbeck, proposed that a competition be held, based on the construction program drawn up by the hospital administration, for an ideal plan for the overall expansion of the hospital to allow for the best placement of the internal-medicine pavilion. However, the present members of the committee were unable to agree on the pavilion’s plan to make the best use of the site and the orientation toward sunlight. The hospital director, Karol Krčméry, proposed an L-shape, while committee member Jozef Pavlát preferred a rectangle.²² The second meeting of the committee for constructing the new internal medicine pavilion was held in June 1927, again at the same office in Bratislava. Fürbeck presented his own concept of the ideal plan, containing the general conditions for the realisation competition. The committee agreed with the concept, though it insisted on certain small changes and reduced the amount of prize money; hospital director Karol Krčméry also relinquished his honorarium for serving on the jury. The committee approved the proposed jury membership for evaluating the ideal plans, inviting the architects proposed by the “Club of Architects in Slovakia”, except for Jiří Grossmann, who as a member of the regional technical commission was not allowed to take part. In his place, the committee further proposed invitations to four more architects: František Florians, František Krupka, Friedrich Weinwurm, and Artur Szalatnay.²³

Construction of the new internal medicine pavilion was scheduled to start in 1928 on a new site on the opposite bank of the Trnávka, yet on 1 July 1928 the regional administration came into being and its own experts forbid the construction of such a large building in the site, halting and eventually cancelling the building.²⁴ Now under the status of regional hospital, the institution returned to the project only in 1933, by which time it applied to the Trnava district office for three simultaneous permits: the internal pavilion, a new administrative building, and the rebuilding of the surgical pavilion, all of which were granted in August 1933. Patronage for the construction was provided by the Regional Office, with the regional government arranging for construction, though supervised by staff from the national level.²⁵ From the application that hospital director Krčméry submitted for the construction permits for the internal and surgical pavilions in July 1933, there were a total of 12 architectural plans. The first was a full-scale ground plan of the Trnava hospital, prepared in Bratislava in January 1933. It was followed by 9 blueprints from architect Rudolf Stockar,²⁶ completed in Prague in August 1931, and 2 unauthorised designs by an unsigned Slovak designer.²⁷

Juraj Mandel, the previously quoted academic painter and teacher, described the internal-medicine pavilion, completed under the construction supervision of master builders Žigmund Pick²⁸ (representative of the Trnava Regional Hospital) and František Osyka (from the Rudolf Stern firm from Malacky), as a spatially excellent design, with Stockar’s architectural plans making use of the directions of sunlight in the best interest of the patients. Particularly noteworthy was the open terrace on the roof, with a covered section for patients to recline, along with the corner sun-balconies, the monumental broad staircase, and the side corridors.²⁹

The final inspection of the hospital’s administration block was held in August 1934, now directed after Karol Krčméry’s tragic death by his successor, Alojz Pecháň. A viewing



MUNICIPAL STEAM BATHS

MESTSKÉ PARNÉ KÚPELE

Source zdroj: Archive of 20th-Century Architecture, Department of Architecture, SAS Institute of History

of the object confirmed that the new administrative building had been built precisely to the plans and the construction permit from the district office, hence the commission proposed to issue the building its permission for use.³⁰ In March 1936, the district office issued its permissions for use to the new additions to the Trnava hospital complex: the administrative building completed in June 1934 and the new internal pavilion, completed alongside the adaptations to the surgery pavilion in December 1935.³¹

Another project for improving the health and hygiene of its citizens by the city of Trnava was the construction of public steam baths. Most of the city flats at the time lacked their own baths, and indeed the city still had not completed its water and sewage system, hence leading to justified fears of infectious disease. The old Jewish ritual bath (*mikva*) and the Šlapan-ský bathhouse no longer sufficed for stricter modern hygiene requirements. In response, the mayor and chief notary issued a request to the Trnava district office for the construction of city baths in August 1929. The technical division of the district office then received plans for the baths and a draft construction budget, the result of a public competition in which the winner was architect František Florians.³² The head of the district office then approved, in March 1930, the plan for commissioning a new city bath as legally valid.³³

It was the same architect, František Florians,³⁴ who prepared both the budget and the plans for the city baths, which were then approved by the municipal construction office and a smaller construction commission. One condition was that the plans would be prepared without including the plumbing system, for which the city arranged a separate competition. Though Florians did not regard the city's insistence as correct, he not only prepared the plans and budget without any accounting for the plumbing work, but even adhered to the requirement that the boiler room be situated outside the main building. As a result, the plans omit both of the two boiler rooms, the coal store, the reinforcing wall along the Trnávka, and the various shafts and channels later built. And, in consequence, when the

plumbing system was finally commissioned a year later, including the placement of the boilers directly inside the building and not outside, it was no longer possible to use the original architectural blueprints, which had to be reworked. Per the plans for the plumbing, the boiler room, along with the water piping, pumping equipment, and the boilers, were all to be placed on the same floor. As for the interior fittings, they greatly augmented the sums for the more exclusive components of the interior: fully furnished baths, luxurious glazing work for the entrance doors, colourful tiling for the pools, the reinforcing wall along the brook, etc. By law, though, the final prices, if not stated beforehand, were up to the decision of the client, in this case the city.³⁵ Originally, the construction costs were approved with the estimated sum of 2,300,000 Czechoslovak crowns; the inspection report of František Florians, though, contains the definitively approved construction cost amounting to 3,600,000 crowns.³⁶ In May of 1934, the municipality of Trnava requested an approval for use for the city steam bath, standing in the street Kollárova.³⁷

New Schools in Trnava

A second crucial area of public amenities was the education sector. As of 1918, the situation in Trnava's school system was far from ideal; essentially not one of the buildings where the schools were located had been constructed specifically for pedagogic use. With the establishment of independent Czechoslovakia, though, the situation for Trnava's schools witnessed a notable improvement in quality as well as quantity. In 1927, the municipal authorities constructed a new primary school in Slnčná ulica (now Rázusova), though the identity of its architect and contractor are now unknown.

The supervising governmental entity, the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment branch in Bratislava, gave its approval in February 1929 for an addition to the school building below the City Tower, in the present-day street of Štefánikova, considering that the financial conditions of the city government prevented them from addressing the situation

THE EVANGELICAL HOUSE

EVANJELICKÝ DOM

Source Zdroj: Archive of 20th-Century Architecture, Department of Architecture, SAS Institute of History



through purchasing a larger plot and constructing a new building. The addition to the Catholic school “under the Tower” was completed from the design of Trnava architect and master builder Jozefa Bilka.³⁸

A state subsidy for the city of Trnava to build a new school was provided somewhat later when, in May 1931, it submitted a request for a construction permit for a new state primary school on the former military training ground.³⁹ The Trnava district office approved the construction of the eight-classroom school, in Špačinská ulica; in turn, the mayor of Trnava requested the district office to grant the right to operate the school under the name of the current Czechoslovak president, T. G. Masaryk, under the assumption that construction would be completed by January 1932. The inspection of the finished school was conducted, with the approval of the district office, at the start of February in the same year.⁴⁰ Construction of the school was the work of the Žilina firm *Engineer Novák Brothers* [Bratia Ing. Novák] from a design by architect Šmerda.⁴¹

Construction of a new building was also the longstanding aim of the administration of the public commercial school in Trnava. Its architectural plans were approved by the regional office in July 1935, bearing the signature of the current mayor, Juraj Vyskočil⁴² and the representative of the Rudolf Stern construction firm, František Osyka, who served as supervisor. The city of Trnava and the commercial school then submitted their request to the Trnava district office for a construction permit in March 1936; work began already midway through the same month and the school was completed by mid-January 1937. The city of Trnava made its request to the district office for the issuing of the school’s permit for use right on the day that construction ended, 15 January 1937. The inspection took place in March 1937, with the commission approving the construction and not citing any objections to any aspect of the new building.⁴³ It is clear that the public bodies, the contractor, and the school administration worked together to ensure that the school was standing as quickly as possible while adhering closely to legal

requirements, as confirmed by the inspection documents. Much credit for the school’s completion is due to its headmaster, Václav Pilous, who followed its construction closely in the part of the city known as “Špíglsál”, in Hodžova ulica (now Študentská). The design was the work of an architect from Hradec Králové, Jiří Žalman.⁴⁴

Another secondary school was completed just a few years later. In August 1938, the Regional Office in Bratislava requested a construction permit for a new state agricultural school in Trnava.⁴⁵ Designed by the Czech architect Karel Caivas,⁴⁶ it was, however, only realised somewhat later. As of January 1939, the Regional Advisory Committee for Agriculture for Trnava sent the district office its proposal for constructing an agricultural academy in Trnava, with a plan for construction submitted as well to the Agriculture Ministry of the regional government for Slovakia. Trnava already had the funds available for the construction of a new building, while the land was already arranged both for the building site and the fields for practical agricultural training.⁴⁷ Even under the notably different political conditions of the independent Slovak state in the spring of 1939, the initiative towards building the school continued: the Regional Advisory Committee for Agriculture presented its own proposal in September 1939, citing the new economic conditions as a vital reason for the creation of an agricultural academy in Trnava. As it happened, teaching began in the new building by 1 September 1942.

The Housing Question in Trnava

Undoubtedly, the most complicated situation for Trnava’s civic amenities lay in the third publicly beneficial category, the construction of housing. The national government prepared a broad series of laws for supporting the construction of apartment buildings and providing loans, yet the laws themselves had to be adapted to the citizens’ financial possibilities, bearing in mind that the initial plans for capacious (and thus more costly) residential units turned out to be unavailable for those with lower incomes. In response, the laws were gradually altered to reflect



FARMERS' MUTUAL TREASURY

ROLNÍCKA VZÁJOMNÁ
POKLADNICA

Source Zdroj: Archive of 20th-Century Architecture, Department of Architecture, SAS Institute of History

the real-life situation, and architects responded by creating designs of apartment blocks with much smaller flats.

During the interwar years, Trnava emerged as the economic, agricultural, and commercial metropolis for western Slovakia. Employment in Trnava's industry increased, with new factories built and earlier ones modernised; similarly, the number of employees swelled, not only in manufacturing but also in various trades, retail services, or transportation. And of course, the employees of all these factories and enterprises, along with civil servants, teachers, tradespeople, or even agricultural workers needed a place to live.

The first rental apartment building in Trnava's municipal ownership went up in 1924 in Emmerova ulica (now Andreja Žarnova), though we have currently no record of its architect or builder. The largest such apartment project in the entire period under investigation (1918 – 1945) was commissioned by the Trnava assembly of the Slovak Lutheran Church, where leading church dignitaries invested in the construction of this extensive residential block with retail facilities, known as the *Evangelical House* [Evanjelický dom]. Built along Hlavná ulica, it was originally to have been built by the construction firm Pittel & Brausewetter⁴⁸, as stated in the register of construction and use permits issued by the Trnava municipality, yet eventually its realisation took place only in 1928 by the local firm of master builder Jozef Bilka, from the design of architect Juraj Chorvát.⁴⁹

"The Evangelical Church Assembly in Trnava purchased in 1910 a plot of land outside the old city walls, close to the original Lower Gate, demolished to create space for new urban growth, including the construction on this site of the well-known Hotel Polnitzký. The main reason behind the Lutherans' purchase of the land was to build their own church, a plan that the assembly managed to realise with the completion of the Evangelical Church in 1924, designed by architect Josef Marek. It was at this time that the assembly began to consider further economic use of the land. They decided to have the hotel demolished and build

on its site a multipurpose urban block. An ambitious project for the time, it was designed by architect Juraj Chorvát. Together with the church, his design creates an ensemble of modern Functionalist architecture that acts as a still-living organism in the urban structure of the city. *Evangelical House* was the working title during construction and upon its completion became so popular that it remains in use today. The result was, for its time, the most modern multipurpose building in Trnava with eighteen retail spaces, twelve rental flats, and twenty offices. Whether residential or not, the interior spaces were generously planned, spacious and comfortably appointed"⁵⁰ – to cite the report on the *Evangelical House* by architect Ľuboš Vagala, currently assisting in the reconstruction of the building itself.

The building has its floor outline in a U-shape; the western wing has three floors above ground level and the other two wings only two. For the ground floor, the architect planned commercial premises with residential units on the floors above. The building's corners, like those of its balconies, are rounded, as are the three staircase volumes situated towards the courtyard. Close by the *Evangelical House* is the Lutheran church, designed by Josef Marek, active in Trnava between 1922 and 1925.⁵¹ "In 1921, he left for around two years for Trnava, where he also worked in parallel with heritage protection until 1922. It was there that he completed his first independent work – the *Evangelical church* with its unique central layout, which brought him attention even in Bratislava. In Trnava, free of the competition he faced in Bratislava, he was able to start his own atelier."⁵² It was in 1923 that he took part in the competition for the design for the church, which he won.

In 1930, Trnava saw the construction of a new headquarters building for the district office, the largest building so far intended for public administration. Its architectural design was the work of František Florians, who was also the master builder in charge of construction. The year of 1937 was the date of completion for another significant office building, the "Farmers' Mutual

Treasury" (*Rolnícka vzájomná pokladnica*), designed by Milan Michal Harminc and standing at the corner of the streets Hlavná and Vajanského.⁵³ The shortage of flats was, in turn, addressed by the municipal provision of land for their construction and the founding of the first construction cooperatives: *Môj domov* [My Home] for the district Za hradbami (then also known as Špíglšál) and *Únia* [Union] for the district Hurbanov, lying next to the district Vozovka. The city also divided up the former military training grounds in the neighbourhood of Kopánka as plots for the construction of single-family houses, a practice followed in the additional suburban districts of Vozovka and Tulipán. As for the major urban infrastructure plans, these included the regulation of the Trnávka brook and the construction of a water and sewage network.⁵⁴

Many of these apartment buildings were scheduled for completion during the years of the First Czechoslovak Republic, but for various reasons, primarily financial, their realisation was delayed until the turn of the 1930s and 1940s in the independent Slovak state. This situation applied to several buildings that arose in Trnava's centre along Hlavná ulica, in the form of residential blocks with retail spaces – construction financed primarily from private resources. The Functionalist residential block with three floors of flats above the ground-level shop, standing at the corner of Hlavná and Trhová, was commissioned by a private entrepreneur, the glass manufacturer Hajach.⁵⁵ Further along Hlavná, in the building with the shoe store, another modernist apartment house with a ground-floor shop was completed in the 1930s, commissioned by another entrepreneur, Jozef Fischmann.⁵⁶ Its neighbour, with four floors of apartments and (currently) a bank at street level, evidently dates from the same period. Another apartment block with retail facilities can be dated to around the year 1940, at the corner of the streets Štefánikova and Divadelná, also occupied at the time of writing by a bank.⁵⁷ A similar apartment block, designed by architect Artur Szalatnai⁵⁸, was commissioned at the corner of Paulínska ulica at the end of the 1930s by fabric merchant Viliam Mathé. Construction was ensured by master builder František Osyka. At the end of the 1930s, yet another modern apartment block with retail space was completed in Dolnopočtná ulica, designed by Ferdinand Silberstein⁵⁹ and constructed once more by František Osyka. This structure, however, was demolished for the construction of the House of Culture toward the end of the 1970s.

During his years of architectural practice in Trnava, Josef Marek also designed a villa for the physician Dr Václav Bašus in Dlhá ulica (now at the corner of Andreja Hlinku and Ferka Urbánka), constructed in 1927.⁶⁰ Artur Szalatnai designed the single-storey Reisz Villa in then Hodžova ulica (now Študentská, the current Hodžova ulica is one of its side streets), completed by master builder František Vitamvás. Along the same street, an apartment block was designed by Jozef Bayer and built by contractor František Osyka. Its neighbour, also constructed by Osyka, is a further villa, in this case of two storeys, for the Reisz family, here designed by a Nitra architect named Farkaš. At the end of the 1930s, a further villa rose in ul. Hodžova (now Študentská) for a factory director named Damovský, designed by Franz Wimmer and Endre Szönyi.⁶¹ Nearby in Kollárova ulica,

an apartment block was designed by one of the Novák brothers from Žilina – the same company that built the city's famous synagogue by Peter Behrens. In the same street is the combined residence and medical practice Dr. Daniel Belluš, designed by his brother, architect Emil Belluš.⁶² With its own surgery, waiting room, and terrace, it brought together its owner's private and professional spheres in one.⁶³

As early as 1937 the Union construction cooperative requested a construction permit for an apartment block, with the Trnava contract Štefan Hušt as the builder.⁶⁴ The city of Trnava planned the construction of further apartment blocks; in 1940 – 1941, plans were made for five such blocks in Bratislavská ulica, with construction supervised by the local master builder Mikuláša Bilka. Another cooperative, the "General Construction Cooperative" headquartered in Bratislava launched in 1941 the construction of apartment blocks for impoverished families along Seredská cesta in the suburb of Modranka. Construction was intended for local builder Štefan Hušt, with a total of 36 units.⁶⁵

In 1940, the municipal authorities provided building plots in the outer district of Kopánka for villagers displaced by the planned Orava reservoir; a colony of single-family houses was constructed and before 1944 the new streets of Ustianska and Oravská were established.⁶⁶ Construction was undertaken from the designs of architect Michal Milan Harminc: "In 1943, twenty-six family houses were built in Kopánka, housing the people moved from the village of Ústie nad Oravou, flooded by the Orava reservoir. The project for Ústianska ulica was prepared by architect Michal Milan Harminc."⁶⁷ Of these houses, 21 were realised by contractor Jozef Doležal and 5 by the Trnava architect and master builder Jozef Zaoral.⁶⁸

At the same time, a number of apartment blocks were commissioned by industrial enterprises in Trnava for their employees. The *Vozovka* works, a workshop for repairing rail vehicles and carriages, was founded by the state rail company ČSD in 1925. The *Vozovka* apartment blocks, constructed by the company in 1922 – 1924, are noteworthy for their Rondocubist style. However, neither the architects nor the contractors are known, and moreover only two buildings of the original residential settlement have survived. With these residential buildings and several social structures, the rail company created the second largest industrial complex in Trnava.

Among the most significant manufacturing enterprises in Trnava was the firm Coburg. In 1924, it was subsumed under the Swiss corporation Mannesmann, then after 1927 belonged to the Mining and Metallurgy Company (*Banská a hutnícka spoločnosť*) headquartered in Prague. In 1926, it employed just under 300 workers, yet by 1930 the figure had increased to over 700 and by 1938 to nearly 1200.⁶⁹ With an obligation to take care of its employees, Coburg thus submitted in 1920 a request for permission to construct its own apartment buildings, and in the following year had completed the project. Construction of the housing complex for the Coburg works was guided by architect Josef Marek.

Indeed, Coburg was the Trnava company that most likely built the greatest quantity of housing for its employees. As of 1927, when the company was already being managed from

Prague, it commissioned the creation of architectural blueprints for the villa for the company director.⁷⁰ Then, in August 1929, it requested the Trnava construction office for permission to build apartment blocks on its own premises. The plan for this building contained 4 separate flats in a single structure and was prepared by a company bearing the name of the *Steel House Company* [Ocelový dom úč. spol.], owned by the building contractor Josef Pollák, headquartered in Bratislava.⁷¹ The result was the completed construction of six two-storey apartment blocks, for which the archival records confirm one to have been built by Pittel & Brausewetter in 1941, with another four starting their construction in 1942.⁷²

Among the local firms that managed to retain their standing even in the new market of Czechoslovakia was the *Karol Stummer Sugar Refinery* [Cukrovar Karola Stummera], the largest such enterprise in the nation. Reconstructed and modernised in 1922 – 1923, the refinery employed on average 150 permanent workers and 1,500 seasonal hirings.⁷³ Two villas for the administrative employees of the refinery were commissioned in 1921, in today's Hospodárska ulica. The reason for their construction was the necessitated relocation of the company headquarters to Trnava from Budapest, since under Czechoslovak law the company had to have its seat in the country where it operated. In 1940 the Karol Stummer Refinery requested the city for a construction permit for 8 flats in Cukrovárska ulica.⁷⁴ According to the records in the Register of Construction and Use Permits, both buildings were completed by Pittel & Brausewetter in 1941.⁷⁵ In 1942, the company again applied for a permit for another residential building in the same street, for which construction would have been undertaken by a local builder and architect, Mikuláš Hušt.⁷⁶ As late as 1943, the sugar refinery was planning construction of worker housing in Kamenná ulica, to be completed once more by Pittel & Brausewetter.⁷⁷

Figaro, a leading producer of chocolate and candies, then employed around 400 production workers and 30 office workers. Production, though stagnant for a long period, began to increase toward the end of the interwar years, hence the company only started to launch new construction as late as 1940, completing its garage for delivery vans, and then in 1942 with an apartment building for its workforce in Kollárova ulica, constructed by master builder Martin Plačko.⁷⁸

The appearance of modern Trnava is the joint work of many important Czech, Moravian, and Slovak architects. The building of the District Health Insurance office is a national heritage monument also listed in the DOCOMOMO register, and there are many more buildings constructed in Trnava in the 1918 – 1945 period that deserve national heritage status. Proof for this contention is the quality of the designs from the architects then active in Trnava, many of whom are credited with realisations in other Slovak towns that are already under national heritage protection. No less impressive were the achievements of contractors and their workers, as confirmed by the inspection reports and indeed the users of the buildings. However, a major share of the credit for the completion of this exceptional array of publicly beneficial buildings should be assigned to the activities of the management in the era's medical facilities, schools, public offices, organisational supervisors, national governmental bodies, and others who made the decisions and allotted state aid for construction. And in turn, the state itself assisted this development through the passing of various laws on construction and financial support. The archival documents confirm enormous efforts by certain institutional heads and public officials who worked hard to improve health care, schooling, and housing in the city. These efforts extended to the adherence to legally set construction deadlines, and to the creation of buildings of undeniable architectural and technical quality, many of which serve their original function even today.

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1 POLAKOVIČ, Jaroslav. 1988. Trnava v období kapitalizmu. In: Šimončíč, J., Watzka, J. (eds.). *Dejiny Trnavy*. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Obzor, p. 147.

2 Fund "District Office in Trnava", carton no. 204, reg. no. 12969/1927. State Archive in Trnava.

3 ŠABÍKOVÁ, Eva. 2020. Budova právnickej fakulty – významná funkcionalistická pamiatka. In: Žažová, H. (ed.). *Sapientia Aedificavit Sibi Domum. Budovy Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave*. Trnava: Trnava University, Institute for the History of Trnava University, p. 95.

4 Fund "District Office in Trnava, Administrative Documents", carton no. 4, 1930. State Archive in Trnava.

5 The company of Rudolf Stern, which realised the construction of the District Health Insurance office in Trnava, was among the most suc-

cessful in Malacky. Until 1918, Rudolf Stern operated in partnership with Leo Glaser, then with his brother-in-law Ján Blaško. Both had architectural training, yet also owned a construction firm employing several dozen workers. The company was active from the start of the 20th century until the end of the 1930s; it was dissolved in 1941 during the liquidation of Jewish-owned enterprises in the 1941 – 1942 period.

6 František Osyka (1896, Žádovice – 1974, Trnava), a Moravian-born master builder, spent most of his life in Trnava. In addition to the completion of the District Health Insurance building, he also oversaw the construction of the internal medicine pavilion of the Trnava Hospital and the construction of the Commercial School. His other works include many smaller industrial buildings for the Trnava enterprises of Figaro and Sessler, along with many villas and houses in the

city. The author of the present text is Osyka's granddaughter.

7 Fund "District Office in Trnava", carton no. 269, reg. no. 2400/934. State Archive in Trnava.

8 Šabíková, E., 2020, p. 96.

9 ROTH-TRNAVČAN, Eugen. 1938. Vývoj soc.-zdravot. činnosti v Trnave. In: *Trnava 1238 – 1938*. Trnava: Rada mesta Trnavy, pp. 423 – 424.

10 MANDEL, Juraj. 1938. Umenie po prevrate. In: *Trnava 1238 – 1938*. Trnava: Rada mesta Trnavy, pp. 313 – 314.

11 Jaroslav Linhart (1875 – 1936, Bratislava), a Czech architect practicing in Slovakia, was the director of the building office of the Regional Directorate of Health Insurance in Bratislava.

12 František Faulhammer (1897, Bystrice nad Hostýnom – 1985, Senica)

was a Czech architect practicing in Slovakia and an employee of the Government Commission for Heritage Protection in Slovakia. Among his most important publicly beneficial realisations are, in addition to the District Health Insurance office in Trnava, the building for the same institution in Nitra, the children's tuberculosis sanatorium in Lučivná, and the District Health Insurance buildings in Uzhhorod and Ružomberok.

13 Evžen Linhart (1898, Kouřim – 1949, Praha), a Czech architect and designer, was a leading representative of Functionalism and Purism. A graduate of the Czech Technical University in Prague, he was a member of the “Purist Four”, a group of young architects along with Jaroslav Frágner, Karel Honzík, and Vít Obrtel, as well as one of the representatives of architecture in the group Devěsíl (a Czech left-wing artistic association active from 1920 to 1930). In addition to his creative practice, he held a position at the National Construction Office. Among his social facilities are his apartment block in Prague 10 – Hostivař, the block of rental flats in Prague – Žižkov, or the Dr. Edvard Beneš Lyceum (now Gymnasium Evropská), Prague 6 – Dejvice.

14 MRŇA, Lubomír. 2019. Českí architekti na Slovensku. In: Dulla, M. (ed.). *Zapomenutá generace. Čeští architekti na Slovensku*, Praha: Česká technika – nakladatelství ČVUT, p. 53.

15 Register of Modern Architecture in Slovakia. 2023. *Regional Health Insurance Company in Trnava* [online]. Available at: <https://www.register-architektury.sk/objekt/200-okresna-nemocenska-poistovna> (Accessed: 20 May 2023).

16 ŠLACHTA, Štefan. 2009. *Okresná nemocenská poisťovňa v Trnave*. Available at: <https://www.asb.sk/architektura/historicke-stavby/okresna-nemocenska-poistovna-vtrnave> (Accessed: 20 May 2023).

17 Register of Modern Architecture in Slovakia. 2023. *Do.co, mo.mo* [online]. Available at: <https://www.register-architektury.sk/projekty/docomomo> (Accessed: 20 May 2023).

18 Karol Krčméry (1887, Erzsébetváros, now Dumbrăveni, Romania – 1933, Trnava) studied at the medical faculty in Kolozsvár (Cluj, Romania) and volunteered for medical service in the Austro-Hungarian army before working at the university surgery clinic in Cluj. In 1919, he settled in Slovakia and in March 1920 was appointed director of the Trnava hospital.

19 JUDÍNYOVÁ, Jana. 2015. V ceľoživotnej službe pacientovi – riaditeľ nemocnice v Trnave Karol Krčméry [online]. Available at: <http://nzs.trnava.sk/?q=node/1671> (Accessed: 19 December 2019).

20 Nová Synagóga Žilina. 2023. *Bratia Novákovci – stavitelia neologickej synagógy v Žiline* [online]. Available at: <https://old.novasyntagoga.sk/bratia-novakovci/> (Accessed: 20 May 2023)

21 Roth-Trnavčan, E., 1938, pp. 426 – 430.

22 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 215, reg. no. 15739/1927. State Archive in Trnava

23 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 215, reg. no. 15739/1927. State Archive in Trnava.

24 Roth-Trnavčan, E., 1938, p. 426.

25 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 298, reg. no. 7246/36. State Archive in Trnava.

26 Rudolf Stockar (1886, Doloplatzy – 1957, Praha), a Czech architect and descendant of the ancient Austro-Swiss noble lineage of Stockar-Bernkopf. After graduation from the Czech Technical University in Prague, he worked in the city’s construction office before founding his own design studio and small construction firm. His younger brother Jaroslav was also an architect. In the construction office, he made friends with several architects associated with the Cubist style – Josef Chochol, Vlastislav Hofman, and Ludvík Kysela. Stockar later became director of the Artěl cooperative, which produced Cubist furniture and handcraft items; in this area, he cooperated with other major architects, e.g., Jan Kotěra. During the First Republic, he designed several publicly beneficial buildings in Slovakia, mostly for medical or educational use: e.g., the Palace mineral baths in Sliach, the regulatory plan for the Sliach spa, or hospital buildings in Trnava, Trenčín, and Levoča.

27 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 298, reg. no. 7246/36. State Archive in Trnava.

28 Žigmund Pick, master builder, lost his business in 1941 during the liquidation of Jewish-owned enterprises in the Slovak state (1941 – 1942). Source: ÚPN. 2023. *Likvidácie podnikov Židov (1941 – 1942)* [online]. Available at: <https://www.upn.gov.sk/projekty/likvidacie/podrobne-informacie/?id=4630> (Accessed: 20 May 2023).

29 Mandel, J., 1938, p. 314.

30 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 298, reg. no. 7246/36. State Archive in Trnava.

31 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 298, reg. no. 7246/36. State Archive in Trnava.

32 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 251, reg. no. 1353/32. State Archive in Trnava.

33 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 251, reg. no. 1353/32. State Archive in Trnava.

34 František Florians (1894, Zavar pri Trnave – 1978, Bratislava) designed in the interwar years many significant socially beneficial buildings, including the Jesuit secondary school in Kaličiaková ulica in Bratislava or the Charitas Residence for Single Women (with Gabriel Schreiber (1892 – 1953)), at the intersection of Heydukova and Hollého in Bratislava. Charitas, a Bratislava cooperative for cheap housing construction, created this residence as a boarding house for unmarried women. Many joint works by Florians and Schreiber, e.g., the District House in Nové Zámky, the District House and cinema in Hlohovec, the sanatorium in ul. Fraňa Kráľa in Bratislava or the Svoradov student dormitory in Palisády, rank among the best Functionalist works of the interwar or later period, along with the Trnava Jesuit school, designed by Florians independently.

35 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 251, reg. no. 1353/32. State Archive in Trnava.

36 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 251, reg. no. 1353/32. State Archive in Trnava.

37 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 251, reg. no. 1353/32. State Archive in Trnava.

38 Mandel, J., 1938, pp. 314 – 315. Jozef Bilka was a Trnava master builder who completed, alongside the “Evangelical House”, the Apollo cinema at the corner of Štefánikova and Horná Bašta, or the enlargement of the primary school (now Children’s Art School) beside the city tower.

39 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 245, reg. no. 15644/31. State Archive in Trnava.

40 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 245, reg. no. 15644/31. State Archive in Trnava.

41 HOLOUBEK, Václav. 1938. *Poprevratové dejiny mesta Trnavy*. In: *Trnava 1238 – 1938*. Trnava: Rada mesta Trnavy, p. 228.

42 Juraj Vyskočil (1881, Vienna – 1951, Trnava), a Slovak businessman and politician, owned a brewery and soda-bottling works in Trnava along with other businesses. Serving for many years as Trnava’s mayor, he was a member of the Entrepreneurs’ Party in interwar Czechoslovakia, and became senator to the National Assembly in 1938.

43 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 310, reg. no. 2408/1937. State Archive in Trnava.

44 Mandel, J., 1938, pp. 314 – 315.

45 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 329, reg. no. 2384/38. State Archive in Trnava.

46 Karel Caivas (1897, Lanškroun – 1977, Praha) studied architecture and construction at the Czech Technical University in Prague. The greater part of his architectural designs involved agricultural buildings, along with schools and residential blocks. He worked on the reconstruction of many practice farms for agricultural schools in Slovakia and completed over 55 agricultural designs: barns for the Czernin manor farm in Petrohrad near Podbořany, stables in Otruby u Slaného, the university farm in Nitra. In 1925 he and architect Vladimír Weiss won a competition for model typologies of apartment blocks with minimal-sized flats; between 1927 and 1935, the two architects built many residential structures in various parts of Prague (Dejvice, Bubeneč, Královské Vinohrady and Hlubočepy). Viz.: *Biografický slovník Historického ústavu AV ČR*. 2019. *Caivas Karel* [online]. Available at: http://biography.hiu.cas.cz/Personal/index.php/CAIVAS_Karel_25.8.1897-10.3.1977 (Accessed: 20 May 2023).

47 Fund “District Office in Trnava”, carton no. 343, reg. no. 1358/1939. State Archive in Trnava.

48 Construction and Use Permits, Index 1924 – 1938, no. 19132/1926, no. 21563/1928. State Archive in Trnava; The firm of Pittel & Brausewetter ranked among the three largest construction firms active in Slovakia in the 1918 – 1945 period. A multinational Central European company with its main headquarters in Vienna, it had a separate branch within Slovakia with several branch offices, including one in Trnava. Throughout Slovakia, it built a wide range of buildings, specialising in technologically complex industrial structures but also including churches, schools, hospitals, office buildings, apartment blocks or single-family houses (e.g., the City Savings bank in Bratislava, the Manderla commercial-residential block in Bratislava, the Colonnade Bridge in Piešťany).

49 Juraj Chorvát (1895, Veličná – 1955, Bratislava) studied at the Department of Architecture and Construction at the Czech Technical University in Prague. A major part of his oeuvre consists of public buildings, along with schools, offices, or apartment blocks. He designed a series of Functionalist school buildings with innovative floor layouts, which in the 1930s formed the model for public primary schools in Slovakia. In addition to the Evangelical House, he designed several apartment blocks in Bratislava. His most notable works are the Dr. Déřer primary school in Malacký, the state primary school in Brezová pod Bradlom, the District Health Insur-

ance office in Levice, or the Farmers' Mutual Treasury in Modra.

50 VAGALA, Ľuboš. 2021. *Evanjelický dom očami architekta* [online]. Available at: <http://ecavtrnava.sk/evanjelicky-dom-ocami-architekta/> (Accessed: 20. 5. 2023).

51 Josef Marek (1889, Petrovice – 1965, Brno) studied in Prague under the major Czech architect Jan Kotěra, and settled in Slovakia at the suggestion of Dušan Jurkovič, with whom he did his first internship. In 1919, he was hired by the Ministry with Portfolio for Slovakia to the national commission for heritage protection, headed by Jurkovič. Later, he served at the Public Works Directorate. Starting in 1925, he had his own atelier in Bratislava. From his winning competition designs, he created several apartment buildings for civil servants for the Ministry of Public works, e.g., the apartment block in Malacky. Among his major achievements are the Lutheran Church in Trnava, the District Health Insurance office in Rožňava, the Post and Telegraph Office in Nitra, or the Avion residential block in Bratislava. Viz.: HABERLANDOVÁ, Katarína. 2017. The New Bratislava of Josef Marek. In: *Architektúra a urbanizmus*, 51(3 – 4), pp. 162 – 175; HABERLANDOVÁ, Katarína. 2022. Housing Cooperatives in Slovakia 1918 – 1969: The Case of Avion. In: *Architektúra a urbanizmus*, 56(3 – 4), pp. 174 – 185.

52 HABERLANDOVÁ, Katarína and VOĽANSKÁ, Ľubica. 2021. *Avion*. Bratislava: Ústav etnológie a sociálnej antropológie SAV, p. 20. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.31577/2021.978809737285> (Accessed 20 May 2023).

53 Milan Michal Harminc (1869, Kulpin/ Kőlpény, Serbia – 1964, Bratislava) settled in Slovakia in 1914 in the town of Liptovský Mikuláš, where from 1916 to 1918 he owned an architectural and construction firm. In 1920, he became a member of the Central Association of Construction Corporations and from 1921 to 1923 served as chair of the Organisational Union of Builders in Slovakia. In 1922, he moved to Bratislava where he worked as an independent architect. Of his publicly beneficial realisations, it is worth mentioning the Palace Sanatorium for Dr. Szontágh in Nový Smokovec, the Agricultural Museum (now the Slovak National Museum) in Bratislava, the infectious-disease pavilion in Žilina, the new National Museum building in Martin, the maternity ward in Martin, the mineral baths in Lúčky, the old-age home in Holíč, the Farmers' Mutual Treasury in Trnava, the orphanage in Holíč, the Hospital of the Brethren of Mercy in Skalica, the tuberculosis sanatorium in Nová Polianka, and a series of school in the 1930s.

54 Polakovič, J., 1988, p. 307.

55 JURČOVÁ, Simonne. 2014. *Trnavská hlavná ulica (1)* [online]. Available at: <https://simonnejurcova.blog.sme.sk/c/353398/Trnavska-hlavna-ulica-1.html> (Accessed: 20 May 2023).

56 JURČOVÁ, Simonne. 2014. *Trnavská hlavná ulica (1)* [online]. Available at: <https://simonnejurcova.blog.sme.sk/c/353398/Trnavska-hlavna-ulica-1.html> (Accessed: 20 May 2023).

57 JURČOVÁ, Simonne. 2015. *Trnava – na Štefánikovej ulici* [online]. Available at: <https://simonnejurcova.blog.sme.sk/c/377695/trnava-na-stefanikovej-ulici.html> (Accessed: 20 May 2023).

58 Artúr Szalatnai-Slatinský (1891, Slatina nad Bebravou – 1962, Bratislava), b. Artur Schlesinger, a Slovak architect and urban planner, created many noteworthy realisations: the Orthodox Synagogue in Bratislava (Heydukova ul.), the Caritas Sanatorium in Bratislava, the Rozner sanatorium and the hotels International, Vila Astoria, and Pavla in Piešťany, the Sina mineral baths and Esplanade treatment centre in Trenčianske Teplice. He also prepared masterplans for the towns of Piešťany, Skalica, Krompachy, Prievidza, Poprad, and Zvolen.

59 Ferdinand Silberstein Silvan (1902, Sered' – 1982, Sydney, Australia), worked in the studio of architect and construction entrepreneur M. M. Harminc before starting his own practice; he designed among other works the Dr. Milan Hodža Commercial Academy and the Town Savings Bank in Trenčín.

60 HABERLANDOVÁ, Katarína. 2016. *Život a dielo architekta Josefa Mareka (1889 – 1966)*. PhD thesis. Faculty of Architecture, Slovak University of Technology, Bratislava, p. 29.

61 Franz Wimmer (1885, Bratislava – 1953, Munich), a Slovak architect of German background, studied architecture at the Technical University in Munich. Endre (Andreas, Andrej) Szönyi (b. Zapletal) (1885 Jászberény – 1968 Bratislava) studied architecture in Switzerland and after 1918 had an independent architecture practice in Bratislava. From 1931 to 1938, he published and edited the artistic journal *Forum*; after World War II, he worked in researching historical architecture. Together, Wimmer and Szönyi designed the Central Arcade in Bratislava, the Eva swimming complex in Piešťany, an apartment block in Ferienčikova ulica in Bratislava, Villa Anna and the villa of Janko Alexy in Piešťany.

62 Emil Belluš (1899, Slovenská Lupča – 1979, Bratislava), a Slovak architect, first studied at the Technical University in Budapest before switching to the Czech Technical University in Prague. His oeuvre contains many significant works, e.g., the National House in Banská Bystrica, the Slovak Rowing Club in Bratislava, the Colonnade

Bridge in Piešťany, the Post and Telegraph Office in the same town, the NUPOD automatic gristmill in Trnava, the cooperative apartments on Námestie SNP in Bratislava, the Slovak National Bank (now the General Prosecutor's Office) in Bratislava, the waterworks in Trnava, etc.

63 Mandel, J., 1938, p. 319.

64 Construction and Use Permits, Index 1924 – 1938, no. 9086/1937, no. 12319/1937, no. 19275/1937. State Archive in Trnava.

65 Construction and Use Permits, Index 1939 – 1945, no. 12238/1941. State Archive in Trnava.

66 Polakovič, J., 1988, pp. 156 – 157.

67 JURČOVÁ, Simonne. 2016. *Trnava – na hornom predmestí* [online]. Available at: <https://simonnejurcova.blog.sme.sk/c/402569/trnava-na-hornom-predmesti.html> (Accessed: 20 May 2023). Viz e.g.: POHANIČOVÁ, Jana and DULLA, Matúš. 2014. *Michal Milan Harminc. Architekt dvoch storočí / Architect of two centuries (1869 – 1964)*. Bratislava: Trio Publishing, 184 p.

68 Construction and Use Permits, Index 1939 – 1946. State Archive in Trnava. The architect-contractor Jozef Zaoral lost his firm to Communist nationalisation in 1948, viz.: EPRAVO. 2023. *Vyhľadávka ze dne 15.7.1948 o znárodnení podniků podle zákona č. 121/1948 Sb.* [online]. Available at: <https://www.epravo.cz/vyhledavani-aspi/?Id=18690e-Section=1e-IdPara=1e-ParaC=2> (Accessed: 20 May 2023).

69 Polakovič, J., 1988, pp. 148 – 151.

70 Fund "District Office in Trnava", carton no. 204, reg. no. 11614/27. State Archive in Trnava.

71 Fund "District Office in Trnava", carton no. 229, reg. no. 300/30. State Archive in Trnava.

72 Index of Construction and Use Permits 1939 – 1946. State Archive in Trnava.

73 Polakovič, J., 1988, pp. 148 – 151.

74 Construction and Use Permits, Index 1939 – 1945, no. 18487/1940, no. 23306/1940. State Archive in Trnava.

75 Construction and Use Permits, Index 1939 – 1945, no. 15943/1941, no. 15944/1941. State Archive in Trnava.

76 Mikuláš Hušt, a Trnava architect and contractor, lost his firm to nationalisation on 15 July 1948, viz.: ASPI. 2023. *1493/1948 Ú.l.I o znárodnení podniků podle zákona č. 121/1948 Sb.* [online]. Available at: <https://www.aspi.sk/products/lawText/1/18690/1/2/vyhlasaka-c-1493-1948-uli-o-znarodneni-podniku-podle-zakona-c-121-1948-sb> (Accessed: 20 May 2023).

77 Construction and Use Permits, Index 1939 – 1945, no. 87/1943. State Archive in Trnava.

78 Construction and Use Permits, Index 1939 – 1945, not numbered, occurred between 24 July 1941 and 22 December 1941. State Archive in Trnava; Martin Plačko, officially licenced master builder with headquarters in Bratislava, lost his firm to nationalisation in 15 July 1948, viz.: ASPI. 2023. *1493/1948 Ú.l.I o znárodnení podniků podle zákona č. 121/1948 Sb.* [online]. Available at: <https://www.aspi.sk/products/lawText/1/18690/1/2/vyhlasaka-c-1493-1948-uli-o-znarodneni-podniku-podle-zakona-c-121-1948-sb> (Accessed: 20 May 2023).