



**FRANTIŠEK MARIA ČERNÝ,
RECONSTRUCTION OF THE
CHURCH AT THE EMMAUS
MONASTERY, PRAGUE-NEW
TOWN, 1965 – 1968**

FRANTIŠEK MARIA ČERNÝ,
DOSTAVBA KLÁŠTERNÍHO KOSTELA
V EMAUZÍCH, PRAHA – NOVÉ
MĚSTO, 1965 – 1968

Photo Foto: Rostislav Švácha

The Method of Contrast and Its Decline after 1968

Kontrastní metoda a její pád po roce 1968

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V šedesátých letech 20. století se v československé architektuře i památkové péči prosadilo mínění, že nové stavby v historickém prostředí mají odpovídat stylům soudobé internacionální moderní architektury, a že by tak ke starému prostředí měly přidat novou vrstvu v aktuálních stylech. Podmínky či základnu pro takové stanovisko tvořila takzvaná urbanistická koncepce ochrany starých měst, jejíž analýzu podal historik umění Ivo Hlobil v knize *Teorie městských památkových rezervací* z roku 1985. Jak to Hlobil vysvětlil, stoupenci této koncepce byli přesvědčeni, že staré sídelní celky nejlépe zachováme, zapojíme-li je do celoměstských organismů a přizpůsobíme-li je potřebám současného života. Znamenalo to, že se tak u starých měst i u jednotlivých památek může měnit jejich podoba, pokud si takovou změnu nové životní potřeby vynutí.

Výsledkem těchto úvah o podobě a funkci historického dědictví se v šedesátých letech stala architektura, jejíž projev se zakládal na kontrastu nových forem s historickým prostředím. Metodu, s níž ji doboví architekti tvořili, bychom tedy mohli označit za kontrastní. Užití této metody výtaly poroty veřejných soutěží na novostavby v historickém centru Prahy, například na dostavbu areálu Národního divadla (1962, 1964) nebo na dostavbu Staroměstské radnice (1963). Podporovali ji tehdy i významní teoretici architektury a teoretizující architekti, a to především docent pražské techniky Oldřich Dostál (1926 – 1966) a vynikající představitel meziválečného brněnského funkcionalismu Bohuslav Fuchs (1895 – 1972). Přesné definice, v čem kontrastní metoda spočívá, nám debatě šedesátých let nezanechali. Jistě se však spojila s hledáním nových způsobů, jak novou stavbu napojit na historický kontext a jak se přitom vyhnout postupům neutrální „památkářské architektury“, která podle Dostálových slov „nic neřeší“ a zbavuje zároveň formu nové stavby plnokrevně moderního výrazu. Kontrasty Dostál pokládal za charakteristický znak starého prostředí a zároveň za něco potřebného pro současný život. Ve svých statích o novostavbách v historických městech z let 1964 – 1966 se pak snažil rozlišovat mezi kontrastem a kolizí a promlouval v nich o symbióze nebo o syntéze kontrastů.

K dílům, která tehdy vstupovala do debaty o kontrastnosti, patří v Praze – vedle mnoha neprovedených soutěžních projektů – například nové věže Emauzského kláštera od architekta Františka Marii Černého (1965 – 1968), sousední budovy Sdružených ateliérů od Karla Pragera (1967 – 1974), projekt dostavby

Anežského kláštera, který v roce 1964 vypracovali Karel Kunca a Josef Hlavatý, obchodní dům Kotva od Věry a Vladimíra Machoninových (1970 – 1975), budova Federálního shromáždění, dílo týmu Karel Prager – Jiří Albrecht – Jiří Kadeřábek z let 1967 – 1973, a nedaleký areál Transgasu od Iva Loose, Jindřicha Malátka, Jiřího Eisenreicha a Václava Aulického (1971 – 1976). V Domažlicích šlo o restauraci Dubina, navrženou architektky Stanislavem Sudou, Zdeňkem Vávrou a Václavem Zoubkem (1965 – 1969), v Plzni o hotel Ural/Central od Jaroslavy Gloserové (1968 – 1972), ve Znojmě pak o obchodní dům Dyje od Bohuslava a Kamila Fuchsových (1969 – 1972). Jistě bychom k tomuto souboru mohli připojit i dostavbu Slovenské národní galerie v Bratislavě od Vladimíra Dedečka (1964 – 1969).

Z mnoha důvodů ztratila kontrastní architektura po roce 1968 svou prestiž. S námitkami proti ní už koncem šedesátých let vystoupily některé autority památkové péče. Teorém stoupců kontrastnosti, že by stará města nebo jednotlivé památky mohly měnit svoji podobu, vehementně odmítl historik architektury Dobroslav Líbal (1911 – 2002). Architekt Emanuel Hruška (1906 – 1989) k tomu připojil myšlenku, že s každou změnou historického prostředí ztrácí svou integritu jeho starý řád, a že obohacení starého města i tou nejkvalitněji ztvárněnou novou architekturou proto ve skutečnosti obnáší jeho ochuzení. Předmětem kritiky odpůrců kontrastní metody se tehdy stal především obchodní dům Dyje ve Znojmě od Bohuslava a Kamila Fuchsových. V polemice, kterou svedl s Hlobilovou knihou *Teorie městských památkových rezervací* v letech 1987 a 1988 přední český památkář Josef Štulc (*1944), dokonce nalezneme názor, že je to tento Fuchsův dům, co přináší důkaz, že moderní architektura 20. století je s historickým prostředím „principiálně neslučitelná“. Aby tuto radikální tezi Josef Štulc podpořil, připojil k Fuchsovu znojenskému dílu příklady dalších vstupů moderní architektury do center starých měst – například obchodních domů v Olomouci, v Prostějově nebo v Jihlavě –, u nichž však není jisté, zda s debatou šedesátých let o kontrastnosti nějak souvisely, či spíše nesouvisely.

V každém případě to byly tyto málo podařené intervence nové architektury do historického prostředí z doby politické normalizace, co proti sobě obracelo nejen odbornou, ale také laickou veřejnost a co v ní pak probouzelo nechuť i ke stavbám, jaké se rodily v liberálnějších poměrech šedesátých let a pražského jara 1968 a jaké převyšovaly typickou normalizační produkci

i svou kvalitou. Na odchodu kontrastní metody z architektonicko-památkářské scény se však podílely i jiné důvody. Někteří její vlivní stoupenci v čele s Oldřichem Dostálem a Bohuslavem Fuchsem zemřeli. Jiní – architekti Karel Prager, Vladimír Machonin, Jindřich Malátek a Ivo Loos, památkář Miloš Reichert – byli za normalizace umlčeni, a nemohli proto obhajovat své názory v tisku.

Postavení kontrastní metody však podvracely i události v aktuální světové architektuře. Směry, na nichž se u kontrastní metody zakládalo její tvarosloví – pozdní internacionální styl, brutalismus, skulpturalismus –, vyčerpaly své možnosti a v sedmdesátých letech je začal ze scény vytlačovat postmodernismus, vřele uvítaný v polemických statích Josefa Štulce. Proti experimentální povaze kontrastní architektury se však pravděpodobně začala stavět také převládající společenská mentalita, tolik odlišná od nálady „zlatých šedesátých“ a jejího dychtivého očekávání všeho nového. Šedesátá léta se na změny těšila, kdežto další dekády z nich dostaly strach a uvěřily, že to lepší se už stalo. Této atmosféře „kulturního zoufalství“, jak ji v roce 1982 definoval americký historik kultury Marshall Berman, v památkové péči lépe odpovídala opatrnost a konzervativnost než leckdy odvážné pokusy kontrastní architektury.

Část české památkářské obce vytrvala i po listopadu 1989 na svých antikonstrastních, ne-li antimodernistických pozicích. Tato skutečnost pak u staveb pojatých kontrastní metodou ohrožovala jejich existenci. Ukázalo se to u kauzy budovy Transgasu a její nedávné demolice, s níž souhlasily všechny instituce památkové

péče v Praze včetně ministerstva kultury. Podobná nevěle rozeznávat u kontrastních staveb jejich už zřejmou památkovou hodnotu poznamenala po roce 1989 i jiné případy. V raných devadesátých letech se například vynořila vážně míněná výzva zbourat u kostela v Emauzích jeho skořepinové věže. Pražský primátor Bohuslav Svoboda pak asi před patnácti lety požadoval zdemolovat budovu Federálního shromáždění. Obě díla našťástí takové náměty přežila. Mají totiž statut kulturní památky; druhé z nich od roku 2000. Prohlášení za památku se mezi dalšími stavbami pojatými v duchu kontrastní architektury nedávno dočkal i obchodní dům Kotva od manželů Machoninových.

Tato stať vyjadřuje přesvědčení, že by statut kulturní památky měly získat všechny kvalitní příklady kontrastní architektury. Neměly by přitom být chráněny jen proto, že dostaly od svých autorů výjimečné architektonické řešení, ale i proto, že jsou dokladem určité etapy památkové péče, která byla specifická pro šedesátá léta. Šlo o etapu, která u památek připoústěla další vývoj a která se při výběru tvarosloví novostaveb v historickém prostředí nevyhýbala kontrastnosti. Na jejich výsledcích se kromě toho tehdy nepodíleli jen architekti, nýbrž i vynikající památkáři, což například platí o Aleši Vošahlíkovi nebo o teoretizujícím architektu praktikovi Miloši Reichertovi. Stať se navíc hlásí k víře, že bychom takové kontrastní stavby měli chránit i za předpokladu, že nám památkové myšlení šedesátých let dnes už není blízké, a že bychom proto v některých případech volili jiné typy řešení než ty, které prosazovali účastníci debaty o novostavbách v historickém prostředí v šesté dekádě 20. století.

The history of heritage protection in socialist Czechoslovakia (1948–1989) is a topic that could be analysed from many standpoints. We could, for instance, focus on its institutional and legal framework and pose questions as to how this framework changed after 1948 and what impact it had on actual preservation practice.¹ No less significant, it would seem, is the question of the relationship between historic preservation and the governing political regime, both to its ideology and its ability to safeguard architectural heritage in the economic area. And of course, we should not overlook the matter of the balance of losses, in other words the summary of all that was destroyed in the 1948–1989 period and why it happened. Yet another standpoint could consist of a parallel comparison of changes in heritage work and in contemporary architectural-urbanistic conceptions, since these forces also had an enormous influence on how buildings were (or were not) preserved.²

My contribution takes up the last-mentioned theme. At the same time, it attempts to supplement it with an additional dimension, which could be termed the subjective or the personal. In addition to various determinants of legislative-institutional, political, ideological, or other characters, the form of heritage protection in socialist Czechoslovakia was unquestionably shaped by the views of its active participants, these being primarily professional experts-preservationists, architects, or on occasion historians and theorists of art and architecture. At times, these actors had a clear and specific sense of how care for built heritage should function and tried, within the given conditions, to put this sense into action in a variety of ways. Our interest in the present contribution lies in their presence in the professional press, with a focus in the 1960s and the following decades, focusing on the theme of new buildings in historic settings – in other words, a topic where the interests of heritage preservation intersected with those of modern architecture. The representatives of both professions or fields held a lively debate in the 1960s and worked to formulate convincing arguments for their respective stances.

A Preference for the Contemporary

Among architects, yet also among many preservationists, the opinion prevalent in these years was that new buildings appearing in the historic cores of Czech and Slovak towns should,

metaphorically, speak with a “contemporary voice”, in other words, using means that do not imitate historic architecture but, by contrast, emerge from the varying currents of post-war modernism. It was almost as a necessary given that this “contemporary voice” was invoked by the statements from the juries in the most important Czechoslovak architectural competitions of the era, as well as their commentary in the professional press at the time. Two such competitions, for the new wing of Prague’s Old Town Hall (1963) and for the enlargement of the complex of the National Theatre (1962, 1964), were reviewed by the chief editor of the journal *Architektura ČSSR*, Oldřich Starý, with a gratified paraphrase in both cases of the jurors’ views that the new town hall and theatre buildings “must be contemporary”,³ or more precisely need to start from the needs of a “contemporary expression”.⁴ The historian of modern architecture Vítězslav Procházka, in his discussion of the results of the invited competition for the building of the Dubina restaurant in Domažlice, in turn imposed on this priority for a contemporary architectonic language the form of a universally acknowledged doctrine. “And the one thing on which today we all agree” – Procházka wrote in *Československý architekt* in 1969 – “is the principle that the contemporary work does not simulate the forms of its predecessors, does not passively subordinate itself and adapt to its historic surroundings, but should be an unobscured contemporary, unique manifestation.”⁵

Joining this demand for contemporary character in new buildings in old urban environments in the 1960s were often three further assumptions or beliefs. The first lay in the conviction that it was the right and the obligation of the current era to add its new layer to the previous historical ones. This was the principle invoked by the jury in the competition for the Old Town Hall in 1963.⁶ Even more emotionally fervent rhetoric was forthcoming in 1966 from architect and heritage expert Miloš Reichert, an official of the State Institute for Reconstruction of Heritage Cities and Buildings (*Státní ústav pro rekonstrukci památkových měst a objektů* – SÚRPMO): “Yet it is necessary to stress, firmly and free of all doubt, and to admit that the present has the right, and indeed the obligation, to add to the musical harmonies of historical architecture its own tonality (...).”⁷ For architect Bohuslav Fuchs, whose role in the trajectory of the 1960s will be discussed later, this connection of the new layer to the buildings of the old city matches the logic of history’s course. “Our age has the same right and the same responsibility to leave its developmental phase in a historic city, just as all previous stylistic epochs did”, he wrote in his 1967 essay “Památková péče” [Heritage Protection].⁸

The second such assumption widely shared in the 1960s, not only among architects but also among many preservationists, was the belief that landmark buildings or entire historic settlements could easily change their form because such transformations are part of a centuries-long historic development. Oldřich Dostál and Aleš Vošahlík looked towards the possibilities of continual development for heritage buildings in their commentary on the design for the new towers of the Emmaus Monastery church in Prague by František Maria Černý (1965).⁹ The rejection of this argument by architectural historian Dobroslav Líbal, who even then adhered to the opposite view and placed stress for buildings or even larger groups on their unchangeability, provoked in 1969 the response of architect Ivo Loos, for whom the Líbal’s belief that “a monument is set once and never changes” could no longer suffice today.¹⁰ Perhaps the furthest extreme of the idea of the changeability of architectural heritage was offered by modern architectural historian Josef Pechar. In an essay from 1969, this instructor at the Faculty of Architecture at the Czech Technical University (ČVUT) returned to the view of the right of the present day to its own artistic act, which for him could extend so far as to “totally reshape the extant character of historic groups and objects”.¹¹

Contrast as a Concept

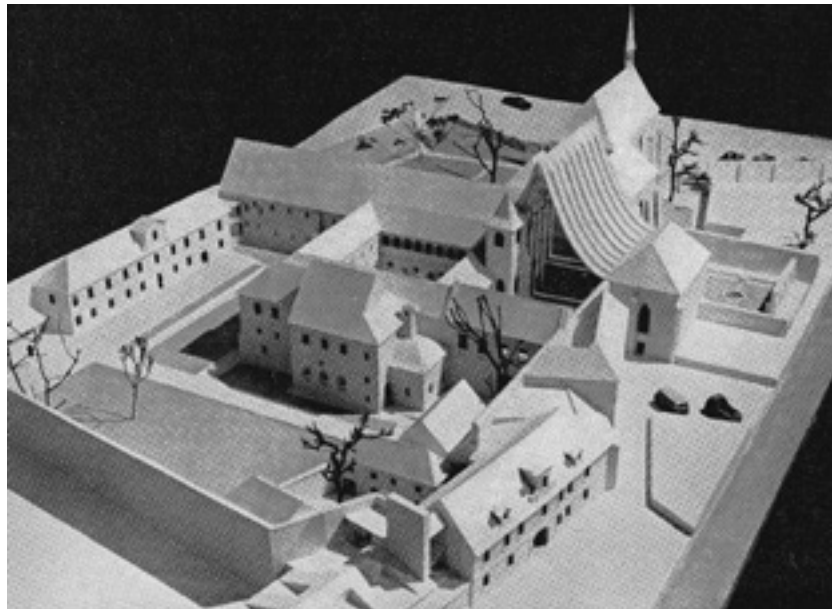
The third assumption accompanying the era’s belief that the entry of new architecture into a historic built environment had the right to a contemporary statement was the stance that this statement should be contrasting, perhaps even strongly so. Such a view was taken even by the jury in the Old Town Hall competition of 1963, even though its members allowed for the possibility of less contrasting solutions to the task. “The level of this contrast is set by the quality of the design”, ran their statement on the competition results; “in the case of a truly excellent architectural achievement, it could be high.”¹² In subsequent years, this view was shared by additional debaters and repeatedly voiced until the end of the Sixties. Oldřich Starý, for instance, pointed out successful instances of the use of the contrast method in the past – among others, Josef Gočár’s cubist “Black Madonna House” from 1912¹³, as well as the present – in the latter case, mentioning the winning entry from the team headed by Bohuslav Fuchs for additions to the National Theatre in 1964.¹⁴ For



BOHUSLAV FUCHS – KAMIL FUCHS – ALENA KORVASOVÁ – MOJMÍR KORVAS, WINNING PROJECT FROM THE COMPETITION FOR THE ADDITION TO THE COMPLEX OF THE NATIONAL THEATRE IN PRAGUE, 1964

BOHUSLAV FUCHS – KAMIL FUCHS – ALENA KORVASOVÁ – MOJMÍR KORVAS, VÍTĚZNÝ PROJEKT ZE SOUTĚŽE NA DOSTAVBU AREÁLU NÁRODNÍHO DIVADLA V PRAZE, 1964

Source Zdroj: KUDĚLKA, Zdeněk, 1966. Bohuslav Fuchs. Praha: Nakladatelství československých výtvarných umělců, p. 118



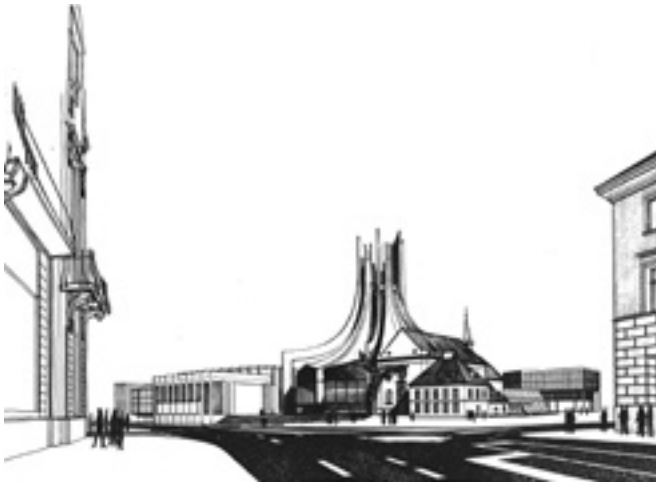
JOSEF HLAVATÝ – KAREL KUNCA, PROJECT FOR THE ST. AGNES MONASTERY, PRAGUE-OLD TOWN, 1964

JOSEF HLAVATÝ – KAREL KUNCA, PROJEKT DOSTAVBY ANEŽSKÉHO KLÁŠTERA V PRAZE – STARÉM MĚSTĚ, 1964

Source Zdroj: Památková péče XXVI, 1966

architect Ivo Loos, the search for contrast was characteristic for the approach in which an architect in a historic setting tried to act creatively, “in an original manner”, and not defensively, or in other words so that his work in such a setting appeared somehow neutral and unassuming (1969).¹⁵

Whether in the texts from the 1960s or in the present consideration, the idea of contrast or the contrast method appeared ambiguous, hence it is not easy to define what it meant more precisely.¹⁶ From the projects and the extremely rare realisations that the discussions of the era termed “contrasting”, though, it is nonetheless possible to infer that these authors experimented with different methods of responding to the historic context than the ones that imitated the forms of the earlier buildings in the immediate vicinity and thus behaved towards their context “passively”, as noted by Procházka in the debate on Domažlice. In addition to the Domažlice restaurant or the rebuilding of the Emmaus church, the completed works ranked among the representatives of the “contrast”



**IVO LOOS – JINDŘICH MALÁTEK,
WINNING COMPETITION PROJECT
FOR A CONCERT HALL ON NÁMĚSTÍ
REPUBLIKY IN PRAGUE, 1968**

IVO LOOS – JINDŘICH MALÁTEK,
VÍTĚZNÝ SOUTĚŽNÍ PROJEKT
KONCERTNÍ SÍNĚ NA NÁMĚSTÍ
REPUBLIKY V PRAZE, 1968

Source Zdroj: The personal archive of
architect Václav Aulický



**BASIL SPENCE, REBUILDING
OF COVENTRY CATHEDRAL,
1956 – 1962**

BASIL SPENCE, DOSTAVBA
KATEDRÁLY V COVENTRY,
1956 – 1962

Source Zdroj: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coventry_Cathedral#/media/File:Coventry_Cathedral_2018.jpg

lineage in Czech architecture of the 1960s are the rebuilding of Prague's St. Agnes Monastery by Josef Hlavatý and Karel Kunca (1964 – 1978), Hotel Ural/Central in Plzeň by Jaroslava Gloserová (1968 – 1972), the buildings of the former "Associated Ateliers" near the Emmaus Monastery by Karel Prager (1967 – 1974), the Prague department store Kotva by Věra and Vladimír Machonin (1969 – 1975) or the Dyje department store in Znojmo by Bohuslav and Kamil Fuchs (1969 – 1972). To these we could justifiably add two others just past the boundary of Prague's urban heritage district, though their authors took the surrounding built fabric and their panoramic value into consideration: the Prager – Albrecht – Kadeřábek design of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (1967 – 1973) and the office building for Transgas by Ivo Loos, Jindřich Malátek, Jiří Eisenreich, and Václav Aulický (1971 – 1976). In Slovakia, as part of the federal Czechoslovak state until 1992, these examples of the use of the contrast method include the addition to the Slovak National Gallery in Bratislava by Vladimír Dedeček (1964 – 1979).¹⁷ This brief list could also be supplemented with several unrealised projects: the competition entries for the additions to the National Theatre and the Old Town Hall, for a modern concert hall on Prague's náměstí Republiky (1965 and 1968) or for international-standard luxury hotels in central Prague (1965, 1969), the result of which was the realised Hotel Intercontinental by Karel Filsak, Karel Bubeníček, and Jaroslav Švec (1968 – 1974).

The popularity of the "contrast method" in the 1960s had multiple origins. Even in the 1985 book *Teorie městských památkových rezervací* (Theory of Urban Heritage Reservations), art historian Ivo Hlobil underlined that these manifestations served as an architectural demonstration of the "urbanistic" concept of protection for built heritage, the supporter of which strove, most vehemently in precisely these years, to create the greatest involvement of past architecture in everyday life and thus were willing to accept modifications that would adapt buildings or entire complexes to their new functions. Undoubtedly, worthwhile models were provided by the experimental adaptation of buildings in the democratic West, such as the rebuilding of the bombed-out Coventry Cathedral by Basil Spence (1956 – 1962)¹⁸ or the new town hall in the historic centre of Bensberg by the future Pritzker Prize winner Gottfried Böhm (1962 – 1969).¹⁹ No less certainly, an appreciation for the experimental "contrast" approach was furthered in its proponents by the dissatisfaction with the results of the neutral "preservationist architecture" of the 1950s,²⁰ as repeatedly discussed in the subsequent decade,²¹ and the unpleasant associations of this traditionalist direction with the architecture of Socialist Realism and the dark backdrop of Stalinism. The architects Ivo Loos and Jindřich Malátek, for instance, pointed to the "U hradeb" building in Prague's Malá Strana (Hudec – Kunca – Stehlík – Trmač, 1958 – 1963) as a self-evident case of the failure of "preservationist architecture".²²

Miloš Reichert placed the dangers of this careful preservation-architectonic approach in the lack of creative tension in its results, turning them into a “dead accessory” to the still-living environment of their historic surroundings.²³

Oldřich Dostál and Bohuslav Fuchs

Along with Oldřich Starý, Miloš Reichert, Vítězslav Procházka or Josef Pechar, one of the most convinced adherents of the contrast-method for new buildings in old settings was Oldřich Dostál, after 1960 the head of the department of history and theory at the ČVUT Faculty of Architecture and after 1962 an associate professor at the institution.²⁴ During the 1950s, Dostál turned his attention to the study of folk architecture and historic urban planning. In the next decade, though, he became an expert on the contemporary architecture of the West and with his colleagues Pechar and Procházka wrote the valuable survey *Moderní architektura v Československu* [Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia], first published in 1967, one year after his premature death. The question of new buildings in historic environments was addressed by him, in cooperation with Eva Konečná and preservationist Aleš Vošahlík, in a series of articles published in 1964 – 1966 in the journals *Architektura ČSSR* and *Památková péče*.

In these publications, he took a foremost role as an opponent of “preservationist architecture”. Indeed, as noted by Martina Mertová,²⁵ this somewhat pejorative term was applied to this form of architecture first by him.²⁶ Dostál regarded it as a type of historicism, which in the 1960s was still universally rejected, further blaming it for having “solved nothing” in reality²⁷ and in its contributions to a historic environment not expressed itself as “full-bloodedly” as quality contemporary work.²⁸ Indeed, the latter form, if assumed by an architect with a sharp sense of aesthetic quality and able to avoid the temptation of thoughtless grandiosity, was for Dostál and Konečná, “fully justified in becoming, undeformed in its principles, the most valuable partner to a refined and aesthetically powerful historical environment”²⁹

Dostál’s faith in the possibilities of such partnership, i.e., the capability of modern works to enrich the historic legacy, matched his deep conviction that both individual buildings and historic ensembles could be shaped by our time and thus also transformed. In his article on the new façade of the Emmaus Monastery church, written with Aleš Vošahlík, he invoked evolutionism, a “dynamic, evolutionary belief” that in his view strongly corresponded to the logic of architectural history. As a telling documentation of how historic buildings could change and allow newer stylistic stages to be inscribed upon them, Dostál and Vošahlík mentioned František Maria Černý’s addition: this design, as the authors wrote in 1965, grew into an act sufficiently valuable and original that it was “the equivalent to all past development of the structure”³⁰

As for contrast as an accompanying factor for these “full-blooded” modern interventions in old urban fabrics, Dostál always tried to find an adjective to make it more precise. His ideas looked toward contrasts that did not collide but instead complement,³¹ more a “symbiosis” or “full synthesis” of old and new³² than discord and disharmony, or the “negation of one by the other”³³ Additionally, for Dostál such contrasts were something that he believed to have existed in historic built environments from time immemorial. Many “beneficial contrasts” were found, for instance, in his 1964 observation of the Prague district Na Františku.³⁴ One year later, he finally voiced the stance that complementarily enriching contrasts were not merely typical but, indeed, necessary for our life today.³⁵

Reinforcement for the position of the contrastive method in the debates of the 1960s was offered by the significant personality of Bohuslav Fuchs. During the 1950s, this outstanding Brno modernist became the target of attacks from local proponents of Stalinism and Socialist Realism, losing his teaching position at the Brno Technical University and (perhaps for this reason) turning towards heritage protection and accepting employment with SÚRPMO.³⁶ Even his major Functionalist works from the 1920s and 1930s showed an ability to resonate with their earlier environment, as certainly applies to the Hotel Avion in Brno, the savings banks in Tišnov or Třebíč, or the Moravian Bank building on Brno’s náměstí Svobody – the last-mentioned work, in Oldřich Dostál’s judgment, an “unobtrusive new element of equivalent character to the other components of the square”³⁷ Fuchs was later able to return to the highest echelons of Czech architecture with the repeated victories of his team in the competitions for the new National Theatre building in 1962 and 1964.

BOHUSLAV FUCHS – JINDŘICH
KUMPOŠT, TOWN SAVINGS BANK
IN TIŠNOV, 1931 – 1932

BOHUSLAV FUCHS – JINDŘICH
KUMPOŠT, MĚSTSKÁ SPOŘITELNA
V TIŠNOVĚ, 1931 – 1932

Photo Foto: Petr Šmídek



In the 1960s, Fuchs emerged as a defender of the urbanistic conception of care for old cities or even old villages, as confirmed by his book *Nové zónování* [New Zoning] from 1967. His belief was that historic settlements would be best protected if they retained their functions as commercial and social centres, yet doing so would be conditional on the addition of new buildings if required by the needs of contemporary life or even the logic of permanent stylistic change. “In today’s historic city, there should appear a new stage of stylistic order that will document and celebrate our new society”, he wrote in 1967.³⁸ Fuchs’s sense of the character of the new “stage of stylistic order” could hardly be further removed from the “preservationist architecture” he admonished for its compromises and its comfortable backwardness.³⁹ As far as I am aware, he never explicitly mentioned the “contrast method”, though the critics of the time classified his projects as belonging to it. Yet, while the 1964 competition for the National Theatre addition saw the contrasting character of Fuchs’s winning design as positive,⁴⁰ in the later debates about his Dyje department store in Znojmo this aspect of Fuchs’s work had already shifted to something far less acceptable.

The First Critiques of Contrast: Dobroslav Líbal and Emanuel Hruška

The conviction that successful inputs of new architecture into a historic context should be linked with an explicitly modern stylistic display, and that the current age has the right to change a historic built environment, was widely shared in Czech professional discourse in the 1960s. Yet even then, an opposing stance began to emerge, growing stronger in later decades and – at least in preservationist circles – becoming almost an official doctrine. The central authority of the opposition to the principle of contrast became the outstanding historian of medieval architecture Dobroslav Líbal, one of the leading figures in SÚRPMO since the 1950s.

As should be clear from his previously mentioned clash of views with architect Ivo Loos in 1969, Líbal was a resolute opponent of the idea that the form of heritage buildings or heritage-protected settlements should continue to develop and change. If any new architectural intervention was to be allowed in an ancient city setting, it should only be such as would unobtrusively increase its cultural and hygienic standards⁴¹ and rectify the “injustices” wrought upon it by the inconsiderate encroachments imposed in the 19th and 20th centuries.⁴² At a round-table discussion held by the journal *Československý architekt* in 1969, Líbal forcefully rejected the view, then defended by architectural historian Václav Mencl, that certain built landmarks could be destroyed if they were to be replaced by buildings of higher artistic value, arguing that otherwise “in another hundred years, we would have no landmarks left at all”.⁴³

“The historic core is no longer developing”, continued Líbal in his contribution to the debate. A more thorough treatment of this belief in the necessity of halting the changes in historic urban centres was presented in his article “Architektonická podstata Prahy a památková péče” [The Architectural Essence of Prague and Heritage Protection], which he wrote in 1969 with art historian Viktor Kotrba. Proponents of the opposite view, in their belief that the city needs to keep developing, in this argument deny the basic purpose of the discipline of monument protection: forgetting that such care “emerged precisely from the need and the necessity to protect and stabilise its preserved state”. To act as a genuinely responsible preservationist, for Líbal and Kotrba, implied the refusal of any significant architectural transformations in historic urban settings.⁴⁴

Líbal’s writings from the end of the 1960s make no direct mention of the method of contrast. Yet in their rejection of any change in built heritage, they stand in clear opposition to one key element of the intellectual apparatus that the “contrast” experiments relied on. A more concrete expression of refusal of “striking contrasts” in favour of formal harmony is found in the report on the competition for the new construction in Prague’s St. Agnes Monastery, which was published in 1965 by Líbal’s close colleague from SÚRPMO, architect Josef Hyzler,⁴⁵ or the review of the competition for the addition to the Old Town Hall from 1967, in which an architect of the oldest generation (and the author of a monograph on Prague landmarks), Alois Kubiček, attacked the contrasting yet award-winning designs of Jan Čejka and Jan Bočan.⁴⁶

Remarkable for its intellectual depth is the contribution of Emanuel Hruška to these first polemics. This former pupil of Josef Gočár, a pioneer of regional planning and a long-serving member of the Czechoslovak national committee of ICOMOS, ranked from the 1950s onward among the supporters of urban planning concepts of protection for heritage built ensembles, while equally admitting that for certain contrast-based interventions in historic contexts it was impossible to deny their architectural value.⁴⁷ In an article published in 1967 in the journal *Památková péče*, Hruška accepted Dostál’s concept of “symbiosis” between old and new, yet he also posed the question of whether this symbiosis might disrupt the old aesthetic order and, in turn, bring about an irreparable loss. The essence of Hruška’s reflections could be summarised as the conclusion that every enrichment of an old city with modern architecture, even if a highly successful example, brings about its impoverishment.⁴⁸

Nine years later, in the volume *Regenerace centrálních částí velkých měst* [Regeneration of Central Sections of Large Cities], Hruška refined his thoughts on the contradictory outcomes of modern input in historic settings. “If the process of cell replacement stagnates, it implies morbidity and death”, he wrote in 1976. “Yet if the process of replacement is hypertrophied, it again leads to destruction and the decay of the organism.”⁴⁹ Hruška’s fears of irreversible changes to historic town organisms were accompanied by a cautious defence of “preservationist architecture”, supported by his contention that interventions of explicit modernism in older wholes had yet to present convincing outcomes.⁵⁰ The method of neutral interventions – Hruška admitted – may limit creative flourishing. Yet it could itself be transformed into a creative element that could satisfy the needs of contemporary life.⁵¹

The Decline of the Method of Contrast

While the voices of the opponents of contrast-based architecture were still quiet and numerically small in the 1960s, the next two decades saw them resound in full force. It was in these years that the contrast method came under assault not only from (primarily) professional heritage experts, but even certain architects, including several who had sympathised with it before 1968.

A harsh critique of Karel Prager’s architectural ateliers beside the Emmaus Monastery and his Federal Assembly building beside the National Museum was published in 1970 by Vladimír Píša. “I believe that Emmaus represents a terrible example of the combination of good theories with practical urban planning and placement of new buildings in historic fabrics”, wrote this Prague preservationist in the Slovak journal *Monumentorum tutela*. As for the Federal Assembly, for Píša it represented the disjointed conjunction of the historic museum building “with a purely contrasting work that in all respects overwhelms the older landmark”.⁵²

Another target of critical ire in the late 1960s was the Hotel Ural (now Central) in Plzeň by Jaroslava Gloserová, which necessitated the demolition in 1967 of a valuable Baroque structure, “U zlatého orla” (At the Golden Eagle) on the city’s main square, to the anger of many professional and lay observers.⁵³ Much condemnation was also directed at Znojmo’s Dyje department store by



KAREL PRAGER, BUILDING OF THE ASSOCIATED ATELIERS STATE DESIGN STUDIO NEAR THE EMMAUS MONASTERY IN PRAGUE, 1967 – 1974

KAREL PRAGER, BUDOVY SDRUŽENÝCH ATELIÉRŮ U KLÁŠTERA EMAUZY V PRAZE, 1967 – 1974

Photo Foto: Rostislav Švácha



JAROSLAVA GLOSEROVÁ, HOTEL URAL/CENTRAL IN PLZEŇ, 1968 – 1972

JAROSLAVA GLOSEROVÁ, HOTEL URAL/CENTRAL V PLZNI, 1968 – 1972

Photo Foto: Rostislav Švácha

Bohuslav and Kamil Fuchs. Emanuel Hruška, an old friend of the senior Fuchs who furthermore had him to thank for much in his post-war career, expressed his doubts in 1977 in the Slovak journal *Architektúra & urbanizmus* toward Fuchs's very conception of the revitalisation of historic cores through the construction of department stores, judging that this process led to problematic designs – and one such dubious outcome, stated Hruška, was Fuchs's new work on the lower square in Znojmo. “The architecture of Mr Fuchs is indisputable impressive”, wrote Hruška, “yet the question remains whether massive commercial buildings with significant servicing needs belong in a historical setting of a special scale.”⁵⁴

Fuchs's Znojmo store evidently became a key touchstone for the debate, as indicated by the even harsher judgment by Josef Štulc, issued a decade after Hruška's critique. Regarded even today as an outstanding figure in heritage protection on both the domestic and international level, Štulc published in 1987 and 1988 an extensive review of Ivo Hlobil's *Teorie městských památkových rezervací*.⁵⁵ In it, he summed up the views prevalent in the 1980s on the matter of modern architectural interventions in historic contexts, both among professionals and the lay public. And in Štulc's text, the method of contrast received an unqualified rejection. All the same, there was a problematic aspect to Štulc's critique, in that he disproportionally and anachronistically expanded his list of instances of contrast-based architecture. Hence his register contained even buildings that, in relation to the debates of the 1960s on contrast and symbiosis, occupied a disputable or unclear position, which clearly applies to many department stores from the 1970s and 1980s addressed in the criticism of Hruška. Moreover, there was little in common between the ideas of the proponents of experimental interventions by worthwhile modern architecture and the unjustifiable (then as now) interruptions of prefabricated apartment blocks in historic town centres, yet even these examples were linked to the contrast-method in Štulc's review.



**BOHUSLAV FUCHS – KAMIL FUCHS,
DYJE DEPARTMENT STORE IN
ZNOJMO, 1969 – 1972**

BOHUSLAV FUCHS – KAMIL FUCHS,
OBCHODNÍ DŮM DYJE VE ZNOJMĚ,
1969 – 1972

Photo Foto: Rostislav Švácha



**BOHUSLAV FUCHS – KAMIL FUCHS,
DYJE DEPARTMENT STORE IN
ZNOJMO, SIDE FAÇADE, 1969 – 1972**

BOHUSLAV FUCHS – KAMIL FUCHS,
OBCHODNÍ DŮM DYJE VE ZNOJMĚ,
BOČNÍ PRŮČELÍ, 1969 – 1972

Photo Foto: Rostislav Švácha

Against the views of Hlobil, who supported the “urbanistic” concept of heritage and allowed old cities the chance for future development, the text of Štulc took its position firmly on the side of Líbal’s unchangeability. Fuchs’s Znojmo department store was, from this standpoint, condemned as a blatant example of the harmfulness of the urbanistic conception. What, though, was new and probably excessive in Štulc’s review was his belief that modern architecture, in its very essence, could never coexist alongside a historic environment. And for him, this contention held true not only for the buildings from the 1960s conceived in the contrasting method, but for the many buildings raised in town centres in the interwar years in Functionalist style. The formal vocabulary of earlier epochs and Modernist works were, for Štulc, “incompatible in principle”. This radical doctrine, diametrically opposed to Dostál’s ideas of a “partnership” between old and new, was formulated in this critique of Hlobil’s book directly from the example of the condemnation of Fuchs’s work in Znojmo. “Though the original authorial project was significantly deformed by later alterations and unsuccessful construction”, noted Štulc below a photograph of the Dyje building, “this view indicates the incompatibility in principle of modernistic and traditional architectural form in the environment of a heritage district.”⁵⁶

The Causes of the Decline

The aversion of preservationists and the wider public toward the method of contrast was doubtless the outcome of a range of reasons. Those who appreciated historic towns found it hard to bear the loss of valuable older buildings to new construction, as happened in 1967–1968 for the previously mentioned construction of Hotel Ural (Central) in Plzeň or later during the construction of department stores in the state chain Prior in Olomouc, Prostějov, and most notably Jihlava. With these examples in mind, the public could hardly discern whether or not these new buildings (and with the exception of the first example, not particularly successful ones) had any relation to the debate on stylistic contrast from the 1960s, any more than the erudite Josef Štulc did in his review. More likely, both lay and expert views were linked by an unspoken shared belief that all these buildings testified to the incompetence and philistinism of the ruling Communist regime, and this sentiment gradually spread to cover even the valuable architectural achievements of the 1960s. Yet the question of what role politics played in the decline of the method of contrast is one to be discussed further on.

No less unequivocally, the waning prestige of contrast-based architecture in the 1970s and 1980s was also spurred by changes in the international architectural scene. It was already growing clear that the stylistic vocabulary deployed by proponents of the contrast method – whether late International Style, Brutalism, or Sculpturalism – had already exhausted its possibilities and in its place arrived, first internationally but eventually even within socialist Czechoslovakia, various

VÁCLAV KRÁLÍČEK, PROJECT OF
THE "GOOSE ON A STRING" (HUSA
NA PROVÁZKU) THEATRE IN BRNO,
1985

VÁCLAV KRÁLÍČEK, PROJEKT
DIVADLA HUSA NA PROVÁZKU
V BRNĚ, 1985

Source Zdroj: The personal archive of
Václav Králíček



branches of Postmodernism, or else European Neorationalism.⁵⁷ Indeed, Postmodernism as a movement that had liberated itself from doctrinaire Modernism, rehabilitated historicism and itself worked with a historical vocabulary was welcomed even in the previously discussed article by Josef Štulc.⁵⁸ What had seemed fresh and new in the products of the contrast method in the 1960s appeared, twenty years later, outdated and stale, in the process continually repeating through the history of recent architectural production and, in the end, also sealing the fate of the postmodernist turn itself. Personally, I can remember well how gladly I welcomed in 1985 the postmodernist project for Brno's "Divadlo Husa na provázku" (Theatre of the Goose on a String) by Václav Králíček and what contempt I felt in the same moment for Karel Prager's recently completed New Stage addition to the National Theatre in Prague, in other words, a building that despite its late date of completion still revealed its genetic link to the method of contrast of the 1960s. Today, however, I am no longer sure if I would mark these buildings with the same evaluations as I did thirty-six years ago.

And finally, further causes behind the decline of the contrast-method after 1968 lay on the personal level, as indicated at the start of the present contribution. Two of the leading figures who promoted the method of contrast in the 1960s or worked in its spirit – architectural historian Oldřich Dostál and architect Bohuslav Fuchs, were no longer alive: Dostál having died in 1966, Fuchs six years later. With their departure, the architecture of contrast lost its two most active defenders. Except for a scant (and daring) few – the SÚRPMO architect Karel Fírbas⁵⁹ or later Ivo Hlobil in his 1985 book on heritage reservations – almost no one any longer defended it in the professional press.

Other participants in the debate on contrast and symbiosis from the 1960s had been silenced by state power following the rise of Gustav Husák's policies of "normalisation" after the Soviet invasion of 1968. Purges of architects who had been active in the Prague Spring and could thus be marked as "right-wing opportunists" by the new guard affected, among others, Karel Prager, Vladimír Machonin, theorist Vítězslav Procházka, or SÚRPMO expert Miloš Reichert.⁶⁰ And even such architects as the winners of the (eventually thwarted) competition for the concert hall on Prague's náměstí Republiky, Jindřich Malátek and Ivo Loos (best known as the later co-authors of the demolished Transgas building), found it impossible to publish their opinions in architectural journals or defend their work to the public. I would say that the opponents of the architecture of contrast within preservationist circles likely were unaware of this situation, yet it was they who were allowed to publish in the journals, and not the enumerated architects.

Yet, in my view, there was yet another aspect in which the political events in the wake of 1968 held sway over the decline of the method of contrast, though fully admitting that this part of my explanation lies on a strongly hypothetical and possibly intuitive level. It is my belief that the experimental character of the contrast-based designs and buildings aptly fitted with the wider cultural and social climate of the "golden Sixties", which in many other areas welcomed change and sympathised with creative experiments. This trust in change is perhaps the main theme that addresses us today in the writings of Oldřich Dostál. With the enforcement of "normalisation", though, Czechoslovak society shifted more to a fear that changes would only prove for the worse, and this mentality of "cultural despair", as defined in 1982 by the American cultural historian Marshall Berman,⁶¹ understandably favoured careful, conservative, and traditionalist approaches.

Conclusion

Even after the Velvet Revolution of 1989, a section of the preservationist community continued to adhere to its anti-modernist positions. Yet this circumstance has proven to be a direct existential threat to buildings conceived through the contrast method. This danger became evident in the case of the Transgas building, the demolition of which was approved by the Prague office of the National Heritage Institute and the landmarks board of the Prague Municipal Government, while even the Ministry of Culture held back from the possibility of declaring the building a national landmark.⁶² A telling epitaph for the fate of this building was provided by Patrik Líbal in an internet debate on the site *archiweb.cz*. When this grandson of Dobroslav Líbal was asked by the other participants why he wrote an evaluation of Transgas for the developer recommending its destruction, he answered: "I got rid of something that our entire family hated."⁶³ The leader of Prague's interwar avant-garde, Karel Teige, once described such situations as architectural criticism "not only by means of words, but also of pickaxes"⁶⁴

A similar lack of willingness to admit the evident heritage value of contrast-based buildings can be found in other examples after 1989. I personally recall in the early 1990s a seriously intended proposal to demolish the concrete-shell towers by František Maria Černý at the Emmaus Monastery church.⁶⁵ Around fifteen years ago, the then Prague mayor Bohuslav Svoboda called for the demolition of Prager's Federal Assembly, with the aim of re-uncovering the beauty of the "wonderful building" from the 1930s by Jaroslav Rössler,⁶⁶ the neo-Classical hall of which had been cleverly surrounded by Prager's team with the new structure.

Fortunately, both works managed to survive such proposals. They hold the status of cultural landmarks, the second as far back as 2000. More recently, another building conceived in the spirit of contrasting architecture received official protection: the Kotva department store by the Machonins. It is my belief that we should protect these buildings, and not only because their authors achieved exceptional architectural results, but equally because they document a specific stage of historic preservation unique to the 1960s: a stage that assumed further development of built heritage and did not shy away from strong visual contrast. Hence these results are not only the work of their architects but also of genuine talents among preservationists, a category that definitively includes Aleš Vošahlík or the practitioner-theorist Miloš Reichert at SÚRP MO. And I am equally convinced that we should protect these buildings even with the admission that the heritage-protection philosophy of the 1960s is no longer close to ours and that we would, in certain instances, have chosen different solutions to those promoted by the participants in the debate on new buildings in historic environments in this period.

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1 In this respect, see esp. the unpublished PhD dissertation NOVOTNÝ, Michal, 2020. *Česká památková péče mezi ideály a realitou: O přípravě památkových zákonů ve 20. století*, PhD thesis, ÚDU AVČR, Praha and FF UP, Olomouc.

2 In this area, the basic work remains HLOBIL, Ivo, 1985. *Teorie městských památkových rezervací*. Praha: Academia; HLOBIL, Ivo, 2005. *Městské památkové rezervace v padesátých letech*. In: Platovská, M. and Švácha, R. (eds.). *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění V, 1939 – 1958*. Praha: Academia, pp. 329 – 339.

3 STARÝ, Oldřich, 1964. Soutěž na ideové a architektonické řešení prostoru Staroměstského náměstí v Praze. *Architektura ČSSR* 23, pp. 475 – 477; The jury for the competition was composed of Jiří Gočár, Oldřich Starý, Václav Vilém Štech, Jiří Voženilek, František

Cubr, Dušan Kuzma, with Jan Šrámek as a alternate.

4 STARÝ, Oldřich, 1965. K soutěžím na řešení okolí Národního divadla v Praze. *Architektura ČSSR* 24, pp. 299 – 214; This jury included, among others, Jaroslav Fragner, František Cubr and again Oldřich Starý.

5 PROCHÁZKA, Vítězslav, 1969. Soulad v podstatném. *Československý architekt* 15(16), pp. 1 – 2; Comp. JEHLÍKOVÁ JANEČKOVÁ, Michaela, 2018. Soulad v podstatném. *Art & Antiques*. September, pp. 52 – 57.

6 Stanovisko poroty soutěže Svazu architektů ČSSR k otázce Staroměstského náměstí, 1964. *Architektura ČSSR* 23, pp. 516 – 519.

7 REICHERT, Miloš, 1966. Úprava portálů v Karlově ulici v Praze. *Architektura ČSSR* 25, p. 265.

8 FUCHS, Bohuslav, 1967. Památková péče. *Architektura ČSSR* 26, pp. 204 – 212.

9 DOSTÁL, Oldřich and VOŠAHLÍK, Aleš, 1965. Obnova západního průčelí bývalého Emauzského kostela v Praze. *Architektura ČSSR* 24, pp. 581 – 590.

10 UHRÍNOVÁ, Marta, 1969. Architekt pokračuje... Diskuse o koncepci moderní památkové péče. *Československý architekt* 15(4 – 5), pp. 1, 2, 6; Líbal's response was: "Don't be angry, this is a typical attack on preservationists. It's not my concern that the city as a whole is no longer developing."

11 PECHAR, Josef, 1969. Problémy hodnocení nové architektury v historickém prostředí. *Architektura ČSSR* 27, pp. 285 – 288.

12 Stanovisko poroty soutěže Svazu architektů ČSSR k otázce Staroměstského náměstí, 1964, p. 518.

13 Starý, O., 1964, p. 476.

14 Starý, O., 1965, p. 306.

15 Uhrínová, M., 1969, p. 6.

16 It is clear that further attention needs to be paid to the history of the concepts "method of contrast", "contrasting", or simply "contrast" in the context of heritage protection. The conditions for its enunciation were doubtless laid by the demands of Georg Dehio and Alois Riegl in the early 20th century for the non-mimetic reworking of old built monuments. As far as I am aware, the first conjunction of "harmonious contrast" was used by architectural historian Josef August Lux around 1910, in the debate on modern additions to the historic

- centre of Vienna. See SCARROCCIA, Sandro, 2012. II. Baustellen der Erhaltung und Restaurierung: Wien, Split, Krakau, Prag, Trient und Aquileia. In: Dvořák, M., 2012. *Schriften zur Denkmalpflege*. Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau, pp. 43–122.
- 17** SZALAY, Peter, 2005. Architekt Vladimír Dedeček. *Architektúra e-urbanizmus*. **39**(3–4), pp. 127–148; MITÁŠOVÁ, Monika (ed.), 2017. *Vladimír Dedeček: Interpretácie architektonického diela*. Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, pp. 88–108; MITÁŠOVÁ, Monika (ed.), 2017. *Vladimír Dedeček: Stávanie sa architektom*. Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria; PAŇÁK, Pavol, 2013. Reconstruction and Addition of Slovak National Gallery Complex. *Architektúra e-urbanizmus*. **47**(3–4), pp. 267–279; Regarding the preservation of Slovakia's post-war architecture see also MORAVČÍKOVÁ, Henrieta and SZALAY, Peter, 2021. The Trade Union House / Istropolis: The Birth and Liquidation of an Innovative Generator of Social Life, Culture, and Education. *Architektúra e-urbanizmus*. **55**(3–4), pp. 123–145.
- 18** Spence's rebuilding of the Coventry Cathedral was praised by DOSTÁL, Oldřich, 1964. Otevřený otázky obnovy kláštera a oblasti Na Františku v Praze. *Architektura ČSSR*. **23**, pp. 308–318 (312).
- 19** A citation of the town hall in Bensberg as a positive example of a new building in a historic setting was made by Pechar, J., 1969, pp. 285–286.
- 20** See MERTOŤOVÁ, Martina, 2011. O polovičitosti památkářské architektury. *Zprávy památkové péče*. **71**, pp. 155–160.
- 21** Between 1965 and 1969, many objections to "preservationist architecture" were voiced by Oldřich Dostál, Aleš Vošahlík, Eva Konečná, Miloš Reichert, Bohuslav Fuchs, Jaroslav Langr, Milan Pavlík, Jindřich Malátek and Ivo Loos.
- 22** LOOS, Ivo and MALÁTEK, Jindřich, 1965. Nad výstavou 'Praha ve výstavbě – 1965'. *Architektura ČSSR*. **24**, pp. 697–700.
- 23** Reichert, M., 1966, p. 265.
- 24** PROCHÁZKA, Vítězslav, 1966. Za Oldřichem Dostálem. *Československý architekt*. **12**(20–21), p. 1; LÍBAL, Dobroslav, 1966. Zemřel Oldřich Dostál. *Památková péče*. **26**, pp. 257–258; STARÝ, Oldřich, 1967. Oldřich Dostál 1926–1966. *Architektura ČSSR*. **26**, pp. 44–45.
- 25** Mertová, M., 2011, pp. 155–160.
- 26** DOSTÁL, Oldřich and KONEČNÁ, Eva, 1965. Česká architektura 20. století a historické prostředí (I. 1900–1920). *Architektura ČSSR*. **24**, pp. 638–648.
- 27** DOSTÁL, Oldřich and KONEČNÁ, Eva, 1966. Česká architektura 20. století a historické prostředí (II. 1920–1945). *Architektura ČSSR*. **25**, pp. 385–392; Dostál brought this judgment against the building at the corner of Uhelny trh and Perlová ulice in Prague's Old Town (Karel Kotas, 1938–1940), i.e., a work that was highly praised in the 1940s by heritage-protection theorist Václav Wagner. Comp. WAGNER, Václav, 1946. *Umělecké dílo minulosti a jeho ochrana*. Praha: V. Žikeš.
- 28** DOSTÁL, Oldřich, 1966. Historický odkaz a dnešek. *Architektura ČSSR*. **25**, pp. 5–15.
- 29** Dostál, O. and Konečná, E., 1966, p. 391.
- 30** Dostál, O. and Vošahlík, A., 1965, p. 589.
- 31** Dostál, O. and Konečná, E., 1965, p. 638.
- 32** Dostál, O. and Konečná, E., 1965, p. 638, 648.
- 33** Dostál, O. and Konečná, E., 1966, p. 388.
- 34** Dostál, O., 1964, p. 308.
- 35** DOSTÁL, Oldřich, 1965. Potřeba tvůrčí kontinuity. *Architektura ČSSR*. **24**, pp. 288–292.
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- 38** Fuchs, B., 1967, pp. 212, 229.
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- 40** Starý, O., 1965, p. 306.
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- 58** Štulc, J., 1988, pp. 75–76.
- 59** FIRBAS, Karel, 1974. Novostavba v historickém prostředí. *Architektura ČSR*. **33**, pp. 230–236; The point of Firbas's article lay in the search for a compromise between Dostál's evolutionism and Líbal's position of unchangeability.
- 60** Comp. Analýza činnosti Svazu architektů ČSSR a Svazu architektů ČR [1971], 1990. *Architekt*. **36**(4), pp. 1–4, 5.
- 61** "Cultural despair": comp. BERMAN, Marshall, 1982. *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. New York: Penguin Books.
- 62** See ŠVÁCHA, Rostislav, 2017. Debata o památkové péči v 60. letech 20. století. Ivo Loos, Jindřich Malátek a Transgas. *Zprávy památkové péče*. **77**, pp. 361–372.
- 63** LÍBAL, Patrik, 2020. Transgas nikdy více! archiweb.cz [online] 2020 [Accessed 10 Jun. 2022]. Available at: <https://www.archiweb.cz/n/domaci/reakce-emila-prikryla-k-ukoncene-mu-konkurzu-v-lounske-galerii?cid=1445320c=show>
- 64** TEIGE, Karel and KROHA, Jiří, 1969. *Avantgardní architektura* (ed. ČÍSAROVSKÝ, Josef). Praha: Československý spisovatel, p. 74.
- 65** The value of F. M. Černý's design was again questioned in 2000 by graphic designer Václav Sokol, whose father, architect Jan Sokol, was another participant in the competition for the new church façade in 1965: "In their time, the new towers were surprising: they looked 'international' yet also fulfilled everything that lay within the era's cultural policy – proclaimed restoration of heritage linked to a negative stance of its religious content. (...) Hypšman's grandiose concept is crowned with an insufficiently weighty, awkwardly connected and showy outline, for which the historic background is increasingly incomprehensible." Comp. SOKOL, Václav, 2000. Vzpomínka. *Architekt*. **46**(2), p. 74.
- 66** Comp. ŠVÁCHA, Rostislav, 2011. Ochrana památek poválečné architektury v České republice. *Architektúra e-urbanizmus*. **45**(1–2), pp. 66–75; Comp. BRŮHOVÁ, Klára, 2020. The Parliament for Prague – Proposals, Competitions and Debates on its Location and Architecture. *Architektúra e-urbanizmus*. **54**(1–2), pp. 89–105.