

## Zagreb Brewery: the genesis of construction from its founding in 1892 to the present day

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**Abstract:** The Zagreb Brewery was founded in 1892 in Gornja Ilica (today Ilica No. 224) as the Zagreb Joint Stock Brewery and Malt Factory JSC. It is one of the rare industrial plants that has operated on the same location since its foundation. It was planned as a production complex of 11 buildings that were built and expanded until the First World War, namely: 1892–1897 according to the designs of Kuno Waidmann, then 1897–1912 according to the designs of Martin Pilar, and immediately before the First World War according to the designs of the construction company "Pollak, Albert and Bornstein" (after the First World War "Pollak and Bornstein"). As a representative production complex built in the historicist (neo-Renaissance) style, it marked the western part of Ilica, introducing the first public (entertainment) content to the former periphery. After privatization in 1994, the first and most valuable building layer was devastated beyond recognition by additions, and the devastation began to a lesser extent after the Second World War. Today, the Zagreb Brewery is a protected cultural property, but there are no plans yet for its restoration.

**Key words:** Zagreb Brewery, Ilica, Kuno Waidmann, Janko Nikola Grahor, Franjo Klein, Martin Pilar, Pollak, Albert and Bornstein, Pollak and Bornstein

## Zagrebačka pivovara: geneza izgradnje od utemeljenja 1892. godine do danas

**Sažetak:** Zagrebačka pivovara utemeljena je 1892. godine u Gornjoj Ilici (danas Ilica br. 224) kao Zagrebačka dionička pivovara i tvornica slada d.d. To je jedan od rijetkih industrijskih pogona koji od osnutka do danas djeluje na istoj lokaciji. Bila je planirana kao proizvodni sklop od 11 zgrada koje se grade i dograđuju do Prvoga svjetskog rata, i to: 1892. – 1897. prema projektima Kune Waidmanna, potom 1897. – 1912. prema projektima Martina Pilara te neposredno prije Prvoga svjetskog rata prema projektima građevnog poduzetništva »Pollak, Albert i Bornstein« (nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata »Pollak i Bornstein«). Kao reprezentativni proizvodni sklop izgrađen u historicističkom (neorenesansnom) stilu, markirala je zapadni dio Ilice, unoseći prvi javni (zabavni) sadržaj u nekadašnju periferiju. Nakon privatizacije 1994. godine sklop prvoga i najvrjednijeg graditeljskog sloja devastiran je dogradnjama do neprepoznatljivosti, a devastacije su u manjoj mjeri započele već nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata. Danas je Zagrebačka pivovara zaštićeno kulturno dobro, ali još nema planova za njezinu obnovu.

**Ključne riječi:** Zagrebačka pivovara; Ilica; Kuno Waidmann; Janko Nikola Grahor, Franjo Klein; Martin Pilar; Pollak, Albert i Bornstein; Pollak i Bornstein

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Zagreb Brewery, founded in 1892 as the Zagreb Joint Stock Brewery and Malt Factory JSC, is one of the rare production complexes that has been operating in the same location since its foundation. It was located at Gornja Ilica No. 222 and 224 (today Ilica No. 224) between the existing houses of A. and J. Rubin, J. Hollešek and M. Topuh and the Kuniščak road that ran on the north side, east to the area where the Home Guard Barracks would be built at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and west to the Eisenstädter estate. Most of the buildings were built between 1892 and 1894 according to designs by Kuna Waidmann (Tigerfeld, 8 March 1845 – Graz, 4 October 1921) [1]. The contractor of this first and largest stage in terms of scope of work was Janko Nikola Grahor (Petrinja, 6 December 1827 – Zagreb, 22 November 1906), or rather the construction company "Grahor and Klein", in which Grahor's partner from the beginning was Franjo Klein (Vienna, 17 October 1828 – Zagreb, 26 August 1889), one of the leading architects of Zagreb's early (Romantic) historicism and the designer of the Synagogue in Marije Valerije Street in Zagreb (1867 – 1941), today's Praška Street.

The Zagreb Brewery was founded on 19 May 1892, when the director of the Croatian Discount Bank Franjo Šverljuga convened the Founding Assembly of the new joint-stock company, based on the decision of the Court Table of 4 May, by which the future factory was entered into the register of public companies. After the payment of the principal, a board of directors was established with the following members: Gustav Pongratz, Milan Nossan, Franjo Šverljuga and Baron Dragan Petar Turković, and some time later Baron Milan Turković joined them [2]. On 26 May, just a week after the founding assembly was held, at the first following assembly, one of the founders of the company, Baron Dragan Petar Turković, announced that Kuna Waidmann's designs "in terms of the building permit", dated April of that year, had been approved [3]. The construction of the new complex in Gornja Ilica was announced by Official Gazette on 27 November 1890, as follows: "The street front of the main building, which will stand on the corner, will be 100 meters long in both streets, (...) Next to the large building, where beer will be served, there will be a large garden that will be able to accommodate up to 1500 guests, and this garden will be expanded for large celebrations, concerts and parties so that up to 5000 people will be able to find place. (...) In the closest vicinity of the large icehouses, a pond, approximately one acre in size, will be developed, from which the brewery will get the necessary ice, and which will also be possible to use as a skating rink." [4].

City advertisement No. 11078 of 3 May 1892, announces that "Mr. Turković and his friends asked the trade authorities to issue a trade permit for the construction of a brewery and a malt and ice factory on cadastral plots no. 972/3, 972/4, 973/1 and 978/1", at the future house numbers 222 and 224 in Gornja Ilica, and invited the public to a discussion scheduled for 16 May, at which "not only close and distant neighbors, but anyone who wishes to object to the granting of the requested permit, may submit their objection in writing or orally at that discussion". Until the date of the discussion, everyone could publicly view the plans for the new production complex. Later, during the discussion, no objections were recorded [5].

After the first stage of design and construction (Kuno Waidmann; "Grahor and Klein"), designs were further developed and extensions were carried out by Martin Pilar and "Pilar, Mally and Bauda", and then the construction company "Pollak, Albert and Bornstein", which between the two world wars continued to develop designs and carry out extensions as "Pollak and Bornstein". After the Second World War, there were no significant author's realizations, primarily due to the rapid modernization and mass production as a result of the connection with other breweries and food companies in the country and in the Basic Organization of Joint Labor (OOUR) as the basic business entity in socialist Yugoslavia. This was the period when typical production halls and warehouses, which no longer had a city-forming role, were being built.

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Although devastated by inappropriate extensions and alterations on several occasions after the Second World War (especially after privatization in 1994), the Zagreb Brewery was entered in the Register of Cultural Properties of the Republic of Croatia in 2003 [6]. Since then, all interventions were subject to legal restrictions and measures for the protection and preservation of immovable cultural property, which are defined by the Conservation Documentation developed for the Master Plan of Urban Development (MPUD) [7].

This paper presents the genesis of the construction of the Zagreb Brewery from its founding in 1892 until the end of 1960, when the last design submitted to the State Archives in Zagreb dates. It brings the attribution, dating and overview of individual designs and construction stages, and evaluates the first design and construction layer from the period from 1892 to 1897 as the most valuable layer, when the designs for the Zagreb Brewery were developed by Kuno Waidmann, and all construction was carried out by "Grahor and Klein". It presents a review of recent devastation and its outcome – the removal of part of the historical complex in the period after the transformation and privatization.

## **2. FROM FOUNDATION TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

The layout plan of Kuno Waidmann from 1882 for the first 11 buildings with planned extensions shows the major part of the future complex (Figure 1). First, two main and also the largest buildings of the complex were built in 1892. The central and largest building is a multi-story fermentation facility for brewing beer with a fresh water well (Kuniščak stream) located in front of the building. The western and higher wing of the fermentation facility was built for a threshing floor (grain threshing floor) and contains grain storage rooms on the upper floors. The eastern, lower wing contains the machine room with a steam machine for artificial cooling and a space for steam boilers and an ice storage, as can be seen in Figures 2 and 3.

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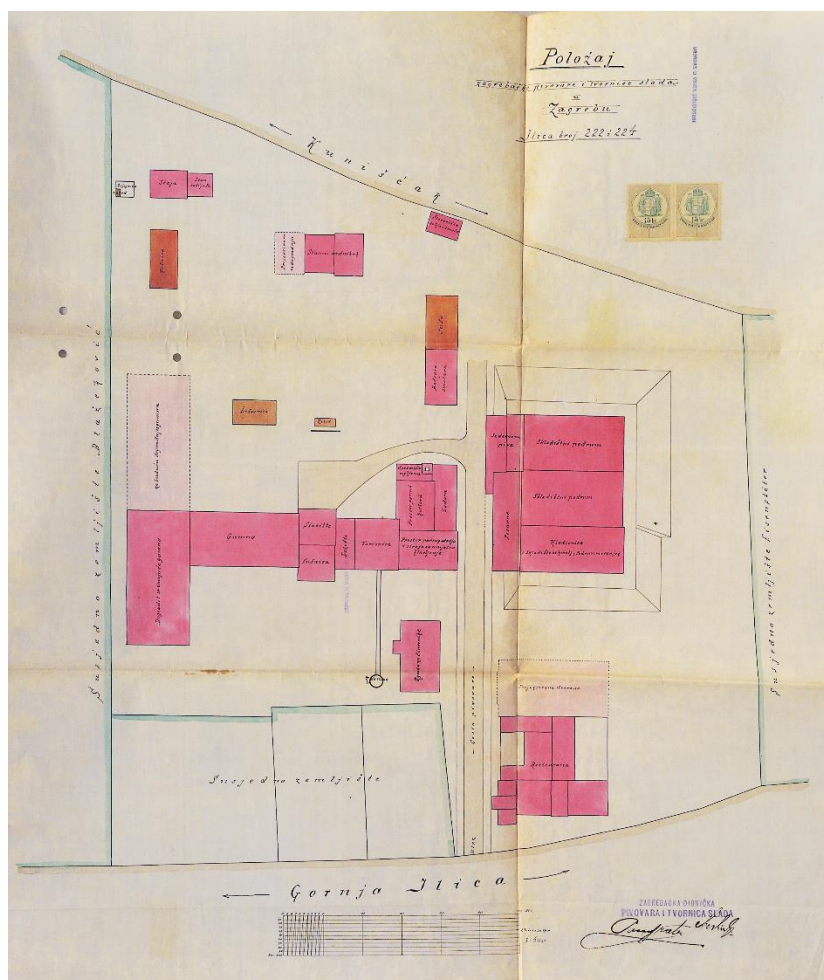
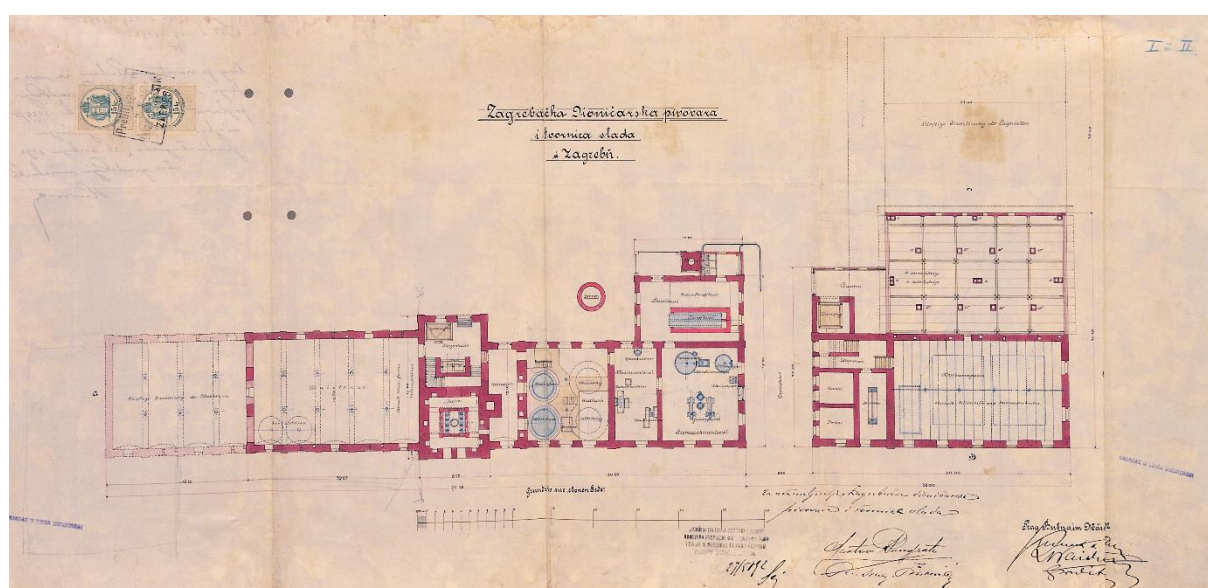
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Figure 1. Kuno Waldmann: layout plan of the Zagreb Joint Stock Brewery and Malting Factory, JSC, 1892 (Source: HR-DAZ-1122, ZGD, sig. 1584)





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Figure 2. Kuno Waidmann: ground plan of the fermentation building, 1892. (Source: HR-DAZ-1122, ZGD, sig. 1584)

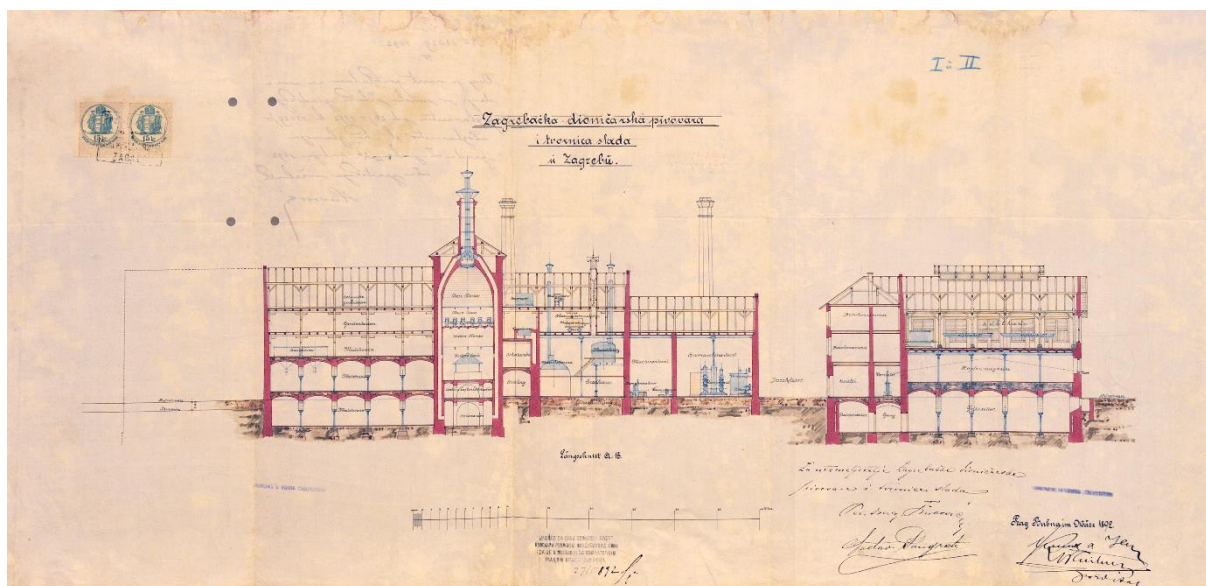


Figure 3. Kuno Waidmann: section through the fermentation building, 1892 (Source: HR-DAZ-1122, ZGD, sig. 1584)

The central building of the brewery, the fermentation facility, has a staircase tower with a lantern in the central part, and to the east, next to the machine room, two tall chimneys were built – one of the steam machine located between the fermenting space and the staircase, and the other of the steam production boiler in the easternmost part of the building. The high western wing of the threshing floor and grain storage, two chimneys and the central lantern of the staircase have since marked the western part of Ilica. The fermentation facility would be expanded in 1893 on the west side with two new multi-story wings of storage (Figure 1; left side of the layout plan), bordering the future Home Guard Barracks. A cooling facility with a hop storage and rooms for aging and fermenting beer – the "Lagerkeller" and the "Gärkeller" – were built on the east side (Figure 4). In the first half of 1893, a music pavilion was built on the previously arranged garden terrace intended for two thousand visitors, and an oil and resin storage. A water tower was built on the site of the well some time later.

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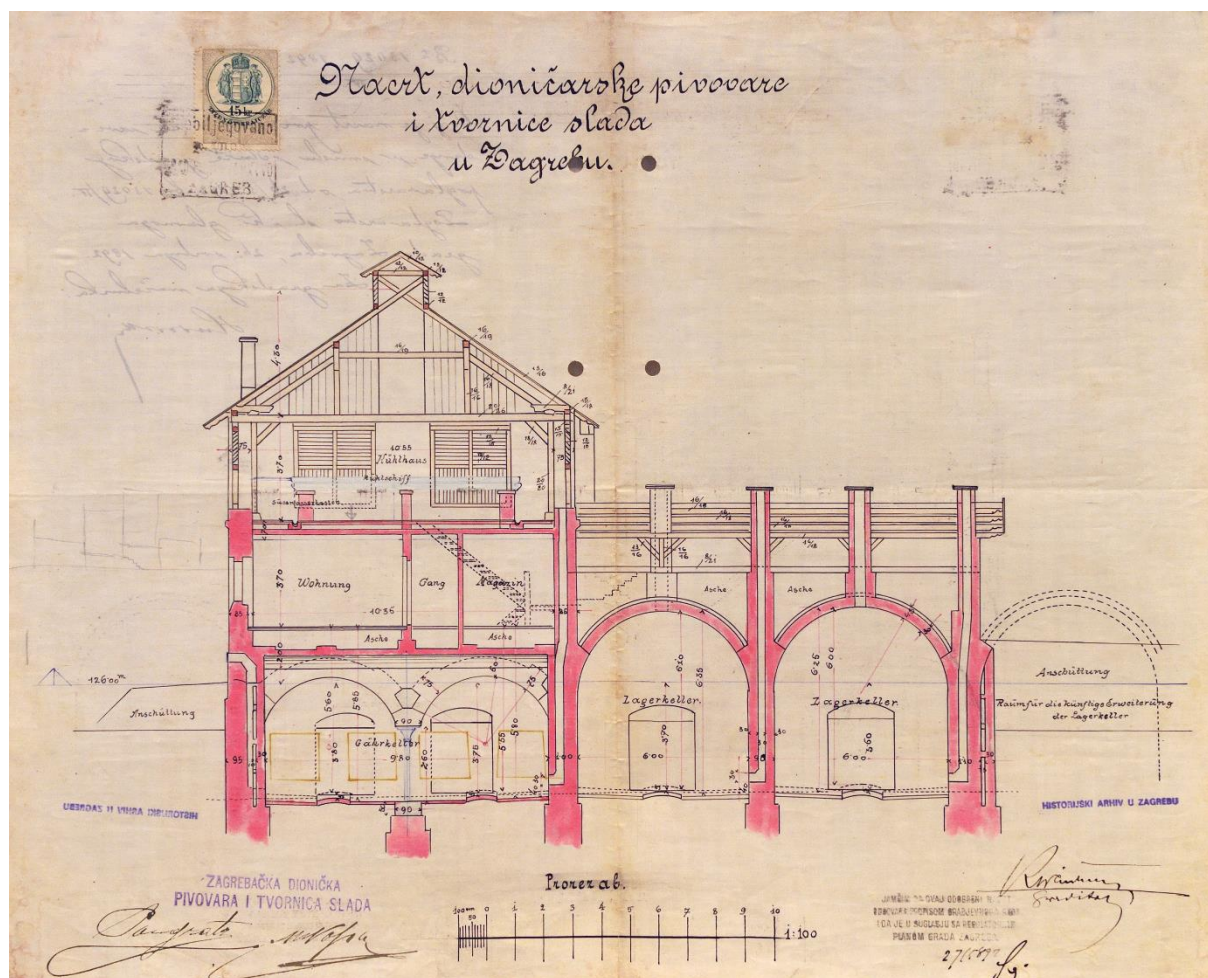
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Figure 4. Kuno Waidmann: section through the cooling facility with rooms for aging and fermenting beer, 1892 (Source: HR-DAZ-1122, ZGD, sig. 1584)

The mentioned buildings, designed and built in the historicist, neo-Renaissance style, represent the first and oldest part of the brewery, built until the summer of 1893, or until the factory was put into operation [8]. The opening ceremony was held on 12 July 1893, and the surprise was the electric lighting of 12 lamps, powered by a 110-volt dynamo [9]. The day after the opening, an article entitled "Opening of the Brewery" was published in *Obzor*, stating: "Yesterday afternoon, the new brewery was ceremoniously opened. Throughout the afternoon and especially in the evening, countless trams took the community to the new brewery. The spacious garden, one of the largest in Zagreb, was crowded with citizens from all walks of life in the capital. In the evening, there was such a rush of residents that it took a lot of effort so that you could get a glass of beer, because the thick crowds surrounded the places where the beer was poured." [10]. The complex of the factory and the restaurant's meeting place, the garden terrace and the music pavilion became a popular resort for the people of Zagreb that was reachable by tram (Figure 5).

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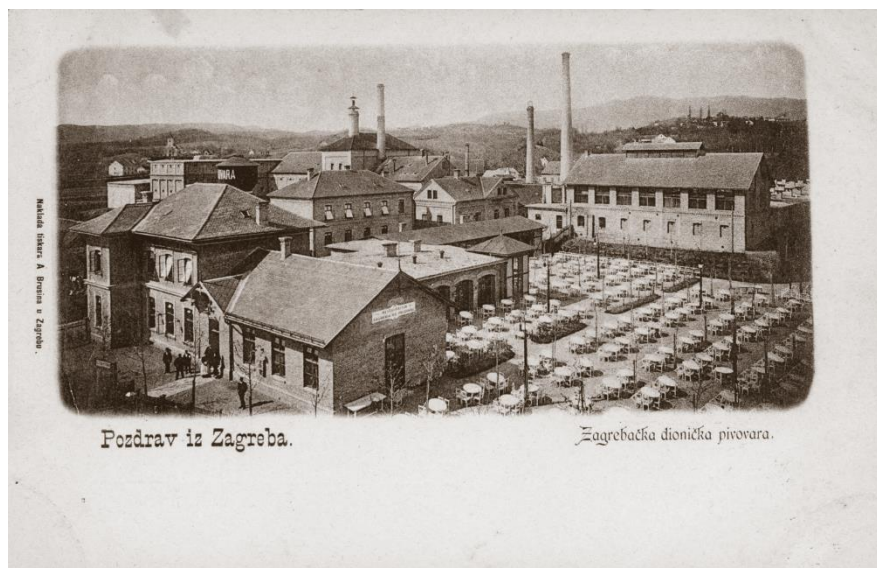


Figure 5. Zagreb Joint Stock Brewery and Malt Factory JSC on a postcard from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Source: Zagreb City Museum - Muzej grada Zagreba / MGZ, Photo Library, sig. 15562)

In 1894, the icehouse was extended, and by the end of the century, minor alterations and additions were made, such as the reconstruction of the drying room, stable and tool shed. In the Memorial Document presented to Emperor Franz Joseph I on the occasion of his visit to Zagreb on 14 October 1895, it is stated that the brewery has three steam machines and boilers of the Hebermann type [11]. By then, Kuno Waidmann had completely ended his design engagement for the Zagreb Brewery, and so had the contractor "Grahor and Klein". From 1897, the designs were signed by Martin Pilar, and the construction was carried out by the "Construction Enterprise Architect, Engineer and Constructor: Pilar, Mally and Bauda", in which Martin Pilar (Brod na Savi, today Slavonski Brod, 16 November 1861 – Zagreb, 22 April 1942) worked as an architect.

The layout plan by the "Pilar, Mally and Bauda" office from 1897 shows all the planned extensions (Figure 6).

In the next several years, a new ground-floor restaurant hall on Ilica and a new building for washing barrels were added, and then also a building for housing the boiler, water purifier and resination of barrels [12].

By the First World War, the ownership was reconstructed and in 1912 a member of the supervisory board and the board of directors of the Croatian Discount Bank, one of the leading industrialists in Croatia, Samuel David Aleksander, became the principal shareholder [13]. Then a new machine room (1912) and two large drying rooms, one closed and one open wooden drying room, were added (1913), and with the new majority owner came new designers and constructors: the construction company "Pollak, Albert and Bornstein", in which Milan Pollak (Zagreb, 1883 – Jasenovac camp, 1944), Jaroslav Albert and Julio Bornstein (Lupoglav near Dugo Selo, 22 May 1883 – Jasenovac camp, 1942) were the partners.



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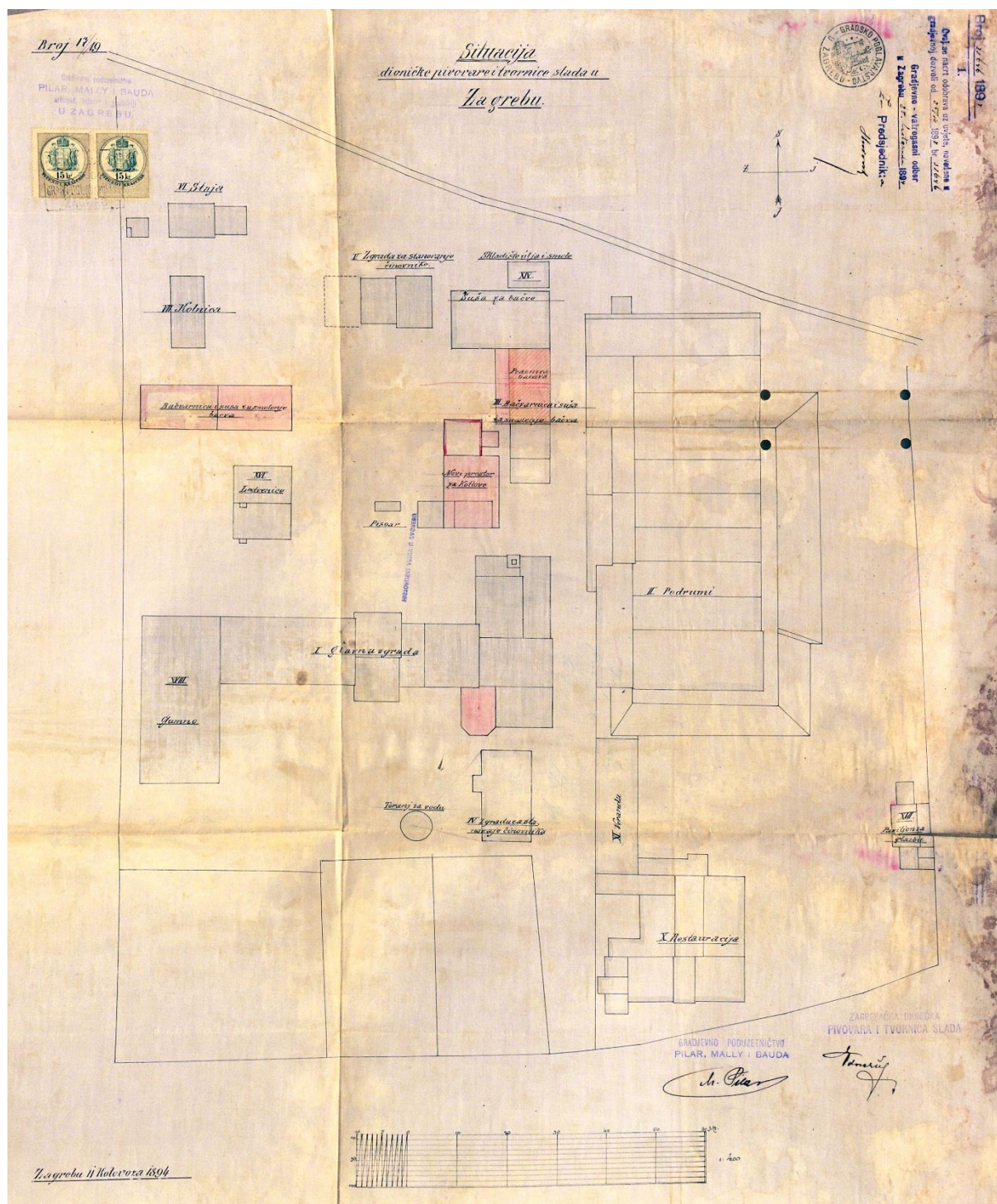


Figure 6. Martin Pilar: layout plan of the Zagreb Joint Stock Brewery and Malting Factory, JSC 1897 (Source: HR-DAZ-1122, ZGD, sig. 1584)

Since 1912, the Zagreb Brewery was experiencing a decline in production due to excessive taxes and surtaxes and because it was exposed to competition not only from Croatian, but also from Hungarian, Austrian, Czech and German breweries. The extensions designed and constructed by the construction company "Pollak, Albert and Bornstein" were therefore reduced to what was strictly necessary to keep up with the competition and ensure



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the storage of unsold goods. They were made possible by the new capital that came at the beginning of 1912, after the merger of the Zagreb, Nova Gradiška and Sisak breweries, when the share capital was increased, and the entire previous principal was written off to the creditor Croatian Discount Bank. From then on, the board of directors consisted of Samuel David Aleksander, Šandor Aleksander, Miroslav Lobe, Rikard Lobe, Artur Deutsch, Bela Deutsch, Stanko Šverljuga and Vjekoslav Heinzel Sr., architect and president of the Chamber of Commerce and Crafts. The Aleksander family bought the largest number of shares, and in 1909, due to Gustav Pongratz's illness, Samuel David Aleksander became vice-president of the National Association of Croatian-Slavonian Industrialists [14]. The secured funds were first invested in the construction of their own track from the South Station in mid-1912 (which crosses the western part of the Franck factory area), and then in the necessary modernization of the plant and the construction of a new bottle warehouse between the restaurant and the multi-part cooling facility complex with cellars for aging and fermenting beer at the end of the same year. Near the end of 1913, a long single-story carriage house and farriery were built along Kuniščak Street [15]. The buildings designed and constructed by the office "Pollak, Albert and Bornstein" fit in with the earlier Waidmann's and Martin Pilar's buildings.

The war began immediately after the completion of the modernization of production at the Zagreb Brewery. At that time, the railway transport for beer was suspended because the railway was used for the war. The barley needed for the production of malt was now used to feed military horses, so its supply was significantly more difficult. During the war, the Zagreb Brewery owed its profit exclusively to the increase in the price of beer and other food and alcohol products (inflation), primarily wine, which became too expensive. By the end of the war, the ownership structure of the brewery remained only slightly changed compared to 1912 - the Aleksander, Deutsch and Lobe families and the Croatian Discount Bank were the main shareholders during the upheaval at the end of 1918 and the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes [16].

### **3. BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS**

After the First World War, the company "Pollak and Bornstein" continued to develop all the designs and carry out extensions for the Zagreb Brewery (Jaroslav Albert was then working as an independent licensed builder). In 1923, a new carriage house and a forge were built in the central part of the perimeter. The layout plan from 1924 shows the state of development in that year and a plan of all extensions by the "Pollak and Bornstein" office (Figure 7). First, a new fermentation facility was built that year, located behind the old, Waidmann's one.

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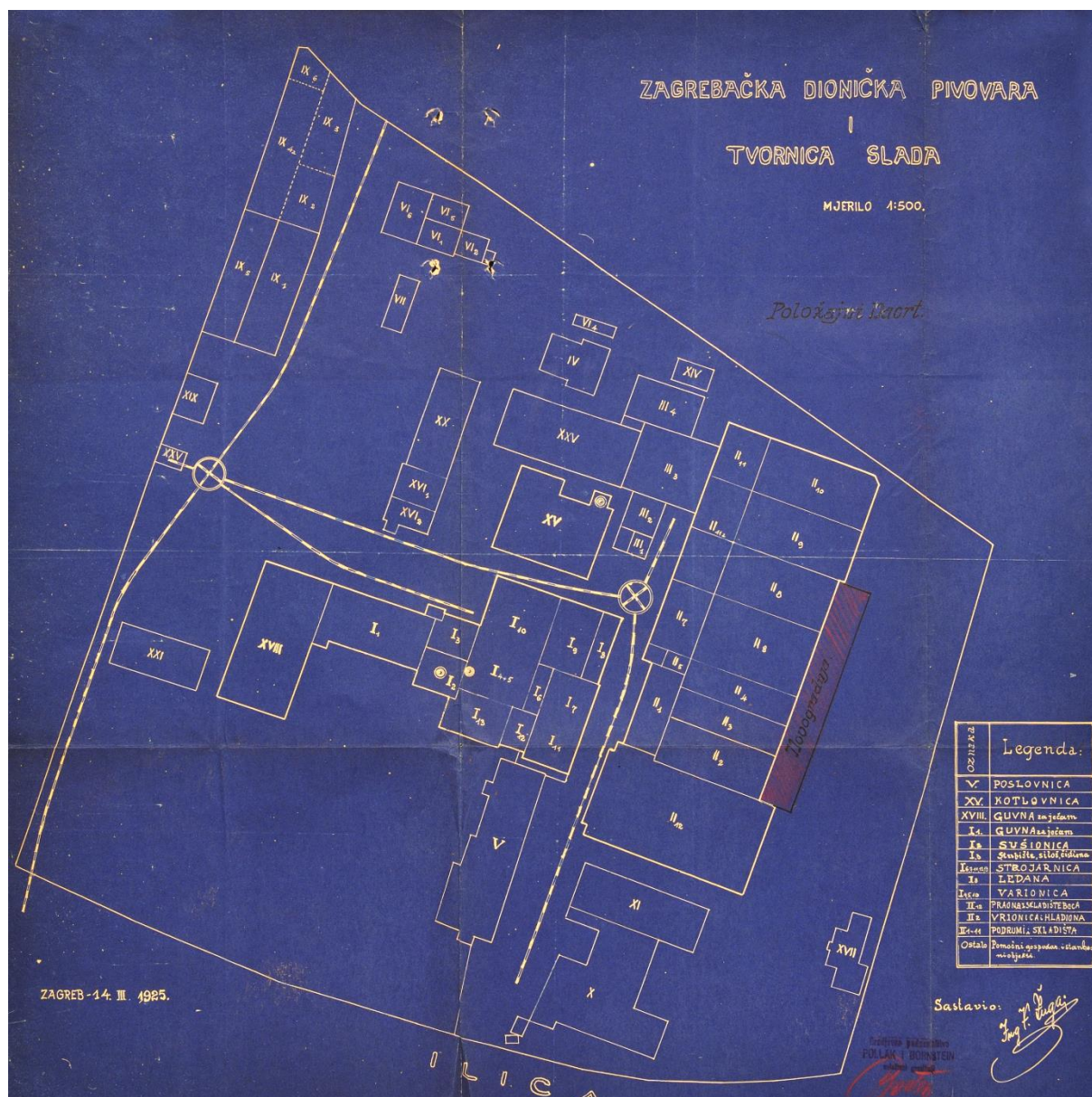
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Figure 7. "Pollak and Bornstein": layout plan, 1924 (Source: HR-DAZ-1122, ZGD, sig. 1585)

The layout plan shows, among other things, the position of the planned addition of the ground-floor warehouse on the eastern boundary in the extension of the existing cellars for aging and fermenting beer, which is constructed in three levels because of the slope of the newly designed route of part of Kuniščak Street (the connecting part to Ilica). In 1927, "Pollak and Bornstein" designed and built a gatehouse on Ilica (Figure 8).



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Figure 8. "Pollak and Bornstein": gatehouse, 1927 (Source: HR-DAZ-1122, ZGD, sig. 1585)

The interwar construction phase of the Zagreb Brewery was ended by the construction of the gatehouse [17]. All additions of the "Pollak and Bornstein" office, as well as those made before the First World War, were incorporated into Kuna Waidmann's concept from the first phase of construction, carried out from 1892 to 1897, and together with it formed a stylistically complete and harmonious whole of the production complex.

The 1920s in the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia brought an increase in production due to expansion to a new market, which was much less competitive than the market of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the German Empire, and sales successes continued throughout the 1930s. In 1940, with the adoption of a decree by the Government of the Banovina of Croatia that Jews were not allowed to engage in the production and sale of food, the Aleksander and Deutsch families were disempowered. Of the Lobe family, which had previously been known as the owners of breweries in Požega and Nova Gradiška, Miroslav, who ran the business in the Zagreb Brewery, died a year earlier. The Croatian Discount Bank, or since 1929 the Yugoslav United Bank, was committed to cooperation with Germany since 1934, as was the entire economy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Following these events and the disempowerment of the Aleksander and Deutsch families in 1940, Povlašteno hrvatsko industrijsko-trgovačko dioničko društvo (Privileged Croatian Industrial Trading Joint-Stock Company), which also operated in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) [18], became the owner of the Zagreb Brewery.

## 4. AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR TO THE PRESENT DAY

After the Second World War, the confiscated Zagreb Brewery was administered by the State Administration of National Properties (Zemaljska uprava narodnih dobara, ZUND). Production continued, and sales reached record levels over the next ten years. In 1955, a storage facility for methane cylinders was added according to a design by Peroslav Ilijić (Architectural Design Bureau – APB "Ilijić"). Production continued to grow steadily until the end of the 1950s, so in



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1959 the first phase of reconstruction began with the aim of increasing production capacity many times over. A new and, by then, largest beer fermentation cellar with additional beer storage tanks was built (APB "Ilijić") in that year. From the following year, the design work for a number of smaller additions, which were carried out as part of the continued modernization of production, was taken over by the Design Office "Karlovac" [19].

At the end of the 1960s, parts of the companies Agroprodukt Bjelovar, Izbor Koprivnica, Slavonka Našice and Vinopromet Labin were merged with the Zagreb Brewery. The Otočac Brewery was merged with the Zagreb Brewery in 1971, and later that year the Daruvar Brewery and the Karlovac Brewery were merged with the Zagreb Brewery. The new company consisted of six *OOURLs*: Karlovac, Daruvar, Zagreb and Otočac breweries, as well as facilities in Županja and Labin. In 1977, due to an unresolved joint appearance on the market, the company was separated and the Zagreb Brewery operated independently again. Two years later, the *OOURLs* were abolished and from then on the Zagreb Brewery was a formally unified work organization [20]. All the additions from that period essentially disrupted the harmony of the earlier epochs, but the buildings and complexes built according to the designs of Kuna Waidmann, Martin Pilar and "Pollak and Bornstein" were still preserved, and are still recognized as a representative historicist architectural ensemble of the western part of the city (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Aerophotogrammetric image of the area around the Zagreb Brewery in 1968  
(Source: State Geodetic Administration / SGA)

The unlimited public company Zagreb Brewery was registered with the District Commercial Court in Zagreb at the end of 1989. The decision on the transformation was made by the Workers' Council at a session held on 25 June 1992, after which the change in the form

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of organization from a public company to a joint-stock company was entered in the court register. In December 1994, the increase in the share capital of the company was entered in the Register of the Commercial Court in Zagreb based on the investment of the Belgian "Interbrew", since which time the privatized brewery has had a new majority owner [21]. After privatization, due to the needs for modernization and the absence of a relocation plan, the extensions bore the characteristics of devastation. Traffic problems become particularly intensified along Vukasovićeve Street, where a double driveway for delivery and shipping functions in the place of the former western wings of the malting building and the barn with the carriage house. Along Kuniščak Street, where in 1892/1893 a building for workers' apartments and storage rooms for barrels and beer aging was built, new warehouses and tanks are built, and Kuna Waidmann's fermentation facility is still partially preserved. Together with the restaurant and the building for clerks to the west of it, and the music pavilion and water tower added slightly later on the site of the well, it is integrated into the modern production facility. Modern additions to the production plant, warehouses and tanks, as well as the commercial extension on the north side of the complex, have completely degraded the architectural features of earlier periods and the city-forming role that the brewery played in the urbanization process from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the Second World War.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The Zagreb Brewery was built in the period 1892–1897 according to the design of Kuna Waidmann, and the construction was undertaken by the construction company "Grahor and Klein". This was the first stage of construction, in the middle of which the brewery was ceremonially opened (1893) as the largest resort in Gornja Ilica (today Ilica 224), which at that time had the character of a suburb. It was expanded on several occasions. Until the First World War, the first extension designs were signed by Martin Pilar, or the construction company "Pillar, Mally and Bauda", which carried out the extensions (1897–1913), then the construction company "Pollak, Albert and Bornstein" (1913–1914). Shortly after the First World War, Jaroslav Albert founded his own office as a licensed builder, and "Pollak, Albert and Bornstein" became "Pollak and Bornstein" and carried out all extensions to the Zagreb Brewery until the Second World War. The extensions designed and carried out by "Pillar, Mally and Bauda" and "Pollak, Albert and Bornstein" until the First World War, as well as those designed and carried out by "Pollak and Bornstein" between the two world wars, did not disrupt the harmony of the first and most valuable complex, which was built by the construction company "Grahor and Klein" according to the design of Kuna Waidmann. These extensions were qualitatively equivalent to those of Waidmann.

Devastation caused by extensions for the purpose of modernization and mass production began after the Second World War, when the Zagreb Brewery was connected to other breweries and companies.

Today, the realizations of Kuna Waidmann and Martin Pilar from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century are still integrated into the modern production complex in varying degrees of preservation, and those of the interwar designers and builders "Pollak and Bornstein" only to a lesser and still undetermined extent. According to a preliminary analysis of the current state, parts of the first Waidmann fermentation facility, the restaurant and the building for clerks to the west of it, and a little later added music pavilion and water tower, have been preserved. It is assumed to be possible that parts of the newer fermentation facility, designed and constructed in the mid-1920s by the construction company "Pollak and Bornstein", have also been integrated into the modern production facility, and the gatehouse building, also designed and constructed in the late 1920s by "Pollak and Bornstein", has also been preserved.

The devastation took hold after the transformation and privatization in the 1990s, or after the sale of the Zagreb Brewery to the new majority owner "Interbrew" in 1994. Then, instead of relocating production and restoring the historical architectural layers, the largest additions

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were constructed, which equally disrupted the integrity of the historical complex and the identity of the first modern industrial and military zone, planned and constructed from the opening of the South (today West) Station in 1862 until the First World War.

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11. Kolar-Dimitrijević, M. (1992), A cross-section through the work of Zagreb Brewery JSC until 1945, in: "Časopis za suvremenu povijest", 24 (2), Zagreb, 153.
12. HR-DAZ-1122, ZGD, sig. 1584.
13. Kolar-Dimitrijević, M. (1992), A cross-section through the work of Zagreb Brewery JSC until 1945, in: "Časopis za suvremenu povijest", 24 (2), Zagreb, 155. Samuel David Aleksander (Zagreb, 13 July 1862 – Zagreb, 8 March 1943) was a Croatian industrialist and city councilor in Sisak, a philanthropist and member of the prominent Zagreb Jewish Aleksander family. In addition to becoming the majority shareholder of the Zagreb Brewery, Aleksander was a co-founder of the "Section for Goods and Values", the predecessor of



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the Zagreb Stock Exchange, and the Zagreb Rally, the predecessor of the Zagreb Fair. In 1919, he was elected president of the "National Union of Industrialists". He was a member of the board of directors of the "Croatian Chamber of Commerce and Crafts". In the "National Union of Industrialists", he promoted and protected Croatian industry from Hungary. Under his leadership, all the industry of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia was united in the "National Union of Industrialists". During the Second World War and the Holocaust, with his wife he took refuge in a sanatorium in Klaićeva Street, and then in the sanatorium of Dr. Đuro Vranešić, where he died in 1943. To save themselves from the Ustashes and Nazis, many members of the Aleksander family scattered around the world. Many died during the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) and the Holocaust. For more details, see: Kraus, O. (1998), *Two Centuries of History and Culture of Jews in Zagreb and Croatia*. Jewish Community Zagreb, Zagreb, 134; Goldstein, I. (2005), *Jews in Zagreb 1918-1941*. Novi Liber. Zagreb, 268-269; Knežević S., Laslo, A. (2011), *Jewish Zagreb*. AGM, Jewish Community Zagreb. Zagreb, 48

14. Ibid., 156.

15. HR-DAZ-1122, ZGD, sig. 1584.

16. Kolar-Dimitrijević, M. (1992), A cross-section through the work of Zagreb Brewery JSC until 1945, in: "Časopis za suvremenu povijest", 24 (2), Zagreb, 159.

17. HR-DAZ-1122, ZGD, sig. 1585.

18. The company was founded with its registered office in Zagreb on 20 October 1940, based on an Order with the force of law signed by the Ban of the Banovina of Croatia Ivan Šubašić. The Company's jurisdiction was broad – it founded, purchased and sold industrial and commercial enterprises and their securities, and carried out all other monetary and commercial transactions related to the financing of these enterprises. Through the Office for Nationalized Property, the company purchased the Aryanized shares of the Zagreb Joint Stock Brewery and Malt Factory JSC. For more details on the political and economic circumstances of the creation of the Banovina of Croatia and the dependence of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on German capital and the Third Reich, see: Kolar-Dimitrijević, M. (1990), *Foreign Capital and the Banovina of Croatia 1939-1941*, in: "Historical Contributions", 9 (9), Zagreb, 165-194.

19. HR-DAZ-1122, ZGD, sig. 1586.

20. Croatian Technical Encyclopedia; <https://tehnika.lzmk.hr/zagrebacka-pivovara-d-d/>

21. Decision number Fi-3574/89-2 of 11 December 1989 State Audit Office of the Republic of Croatia, Report on the Audit of Transformation and Privatization, April 2003; Zagreb Brewery, Zagreb: 2-3; Decision of the District Commercial Court in Zagreb of 27 April 1993.