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28-41 **DARKO KAHLE**

ARCHITECT **ZLATKO NEUMANN**

BUILDINGS AND PROJECTS  
BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER  
UDC 72.036 Z. NEUMANN (497.5, ZAGREB)"19"

ARHITEKT **ZLATKO NEUMANN**

REALIZACIJE I PROJEKTI  
IZMEĐU DVA SVJETSKA RATA

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI ČLANAK  
UDK 72.036 Z. NEUMANN (497.5, ZAGREB)"19"



Af





FIG. 1. COMBINED MAP OF A) EUROPE, B) CROATIA AND C) ZAGREB DISPLAYING REALIZATIONS OF ARCHITECT ŽLATKO NEUMANN IN THE PERIOD FROM 1927 TO 1941. CAPITAL LETTERS CORRESPOND WITH THOSE QUOTED IN APPENDIX.

SL. 1. SLOŽENA KARTA EUROPE (A), HRVATSKE (B) I ZAGREBA (C) SA UNESENIM REALIZACIJAMA ARHITEKTA ŽLATKA NEUMANN U RAZDOBLJU OD 1927. DO 1941. GODINE. BROJEVI ODGOVARAJU ONIMA KOJI SU NAVEDENI U DODATKU.

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## ARCHITECT ZLATKO NEUMANN

### BUILDINGS AND PROJECTS BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

## ARHITEKT ZLATKO NEUMANN

### REALIZACIJE I PROJEKTI IZMEĐU DVA SVJETSKA RATA

INTERNATIONAL STYLE (MODERN ARCHITECTURE)  
JEWS  
LOOS, ADOLF  
NEUMANN, ZLATKO  
ZAGREB (AGRAM)

INTERNACIONALNI STIL (MODERNA ARHITEKTURA)  
ŽIDOVİ  
LOOS, ADOLF  
NEUMANN, ZLATKO  
ZAGREB (AGRAM)

The importance of Architect Zlatko Neumann's work between the World Wars is established in his apprenticeship by Architect Adolf Loos, then in transplanting Loos' ideas in significant parts of Croatian society and finally in overgrowing his late master work by setting new standards in residential architecture, interior design and to a paradigm which paved the way to schoolhouses, community centers and industrial facilities after the Second World War.

Važnost djela arhitekta Zlatka Neumanna između dva svjetska rata temelji se na činjenici da je bio učenikom, a poslije i suradnikom arhitekta Adolfa Loosa, zatim u presađivanju značajnih dijelova Loosovih ideja u hrvatsko društvo, kako bi konačno prerastao svoga učitelja postavljajući nove standarde u stambenoj arhitekturi i dizajnu interijera koji će nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata rezultirati paradigmom školskih zgrada, društvenih centara i industrijskih postrojenja.

## INTRODUCTION

### UVOD

In spite of many published articles in Croatian and several other languages, there exists no definitive monograph on Zlatko Neumann.<sup>1</sup> His importance as a pupil and a collaborator of Adolf Loos, later in Yugoslavia<sup>2</sup> as a licensed architect, and at last after the Second World War in many leading architectural roles in Yugoslav socialist society is surely worth publication in English. Hence a thorough examination of his work was intended in three steps: first was made here regarding timespan between the World Wars, the second article may cover his work from capturing in German-Yugoslav War in April 1941 until his retirement in 1963, where the final article may provide a full in-depth analysis on his complete work.

The Architect pertained to influential proponents of Modern Architecture in architectural community of Zagreb and elsewhere in Croatia at its peak between the year 1927 and 1933. Others were Architect Vladimir Šterk as a mutual leader of an interdisciplinary architectural office (with followers Dr. Petar Krajinović, Dr. Marko Vidaković, Jovan Korka, Đorđe Krekić, Georg Kiveroff, Milan Deleonardo etc.), Professor Drago Ibler as a founder and dean of an avant-garde design school (with its pupil-followers Stjepan Planić, Lavoslav Horvat, Prof. Drago Galic, Aleksandar Freudenreich, Mladen Kauzlarić, Gustav Bohutinsky etc.), and finally Architect Ernest Weissmann as an advocate of radical design

methods based on credence to social welfare solutions; not to mention Architects Bela Auer, Dr. Pavao Deutsch, Milovan Kovačević, Vjekoslav Muršec or Ivan Zemljak.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY & LITERATURE

### BIBLIOGRAFIJA I LITERATURA

**Bibliography** – It is known so far that Zlatko Neumann published eight articles and one interview about architectural design from 1927 until the end of the Second World War, in German and Croatian languages.<sup>3</sup> Due to his relationship with Adolf Loos he was in position to publish his principal article as a feature in Herwarth Walden's *"Der Sturm"*, where he advocated Loos' principles of the *Raumplan*<sup>4</sup> exemplified by his own project of small house.<sup>5</sup>

After his abrupt return from Paris to Yugoslavia in 1927 he became an ardent propagator of Loos in Zagreb and elsewhere in Croatia. At the peak of the struggle for Modern Architecture in 1930, he publicized his most recent realization in an interview<sup>6</sup> and gave refined views on Loos' work in an article<sup>7</sup> in Zagreb's newspaper *"Novosti"* (News). More profound advocacy was shown three years later in eulogies to Adolf Loos in newspapers<sup>8</sup> and

1 Firstly I would like to thank to reviewers of this article and to other editorial staff for their meticulous work to improve the article and make it more pleasant to the reader. Secondly I wish to thank to Prof. Zlatko Juric, PhD and to Prof. Zlatko Karac, PhD for their generous help in progress of the research on Architect Zlatko Neumann. Finally I am thankful to all members of the City Archives of Zagreb, headed by former Chairman Prof. Darko Rubčić and current Chairwoman Assistant Professor Živana Hedbeli, PhD.

2 Hereafter the name of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918-1929), later Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929-1945), much later Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1963) and at last Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (1963-1992) will be written Yugoslavia for brevity reasons.

3 The official language in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was called mostly Serbo-Croatian, rarely Yugoslav, Serbo-Croato-Slovenian and occasionally Croato-Serbian. Hereafter the language written and spoken in Croatian lands and their capital city Zagreb (unofficial between 1921 and 1939) will be called Croatian.

4 The *Raumplan* or 'plan of volumes' may be referred to as a split-level organization of a space inside the white unembellished cube-converged box, where single rooms or spaces with greater area usually have greater height. [LOOS, 1931: 248, 249; FRAMPTON, 2007<sup>4</sup>: 93]

5 NEUMANN, 1927: 1-4

6 SMOLCIC, 1930: 5

7 NEUMANN, 1930: 21

8 NEUMANN, 1933a: 22

9 NEUMANN, et.al., 1933: 171, 177-179

10 NEUMANN, 1933b: 179-181

11 NEUMANN, 1939: 135-137

12 PAVLOVIC, 1969: 64-66

13 GALLOTTI, 1927: 40, 46

14 KULKA, 1931: 43

15 \*\*\* 1939: 144, 210; POTOČNJAK, 1939a: 49-55; POTOČNJAK, 1939b: 59-77; POTOČNJAK, 1939c: 78-79



particularly in the special issue of professional journal "Arhitektura" dedicated to Loos<sup>9</sup> where Zlatko Neumann examined Loos' recent work.<sup>10</sup>

At the peak of his architectural activities, on the eve of the Second World War Zlatko Neumann wrote a compelling discussion explaining the principles of the "Raumplan" and its consequences, entitled "O problemu prostora u arhitekturi" (On the Problem of Space in Architecture) and coalesced with plans and illustrations of his most influential realizations (Fig. 2, 3).<sup>11</sup> Probably consecutively he wrote a Curriculum Vitae in German, known today from its translation to Croatian.<sup>12</sup>

Being a prisoner of war in various German POW camps during the Second World War, Zlatko Neumann wrote a manuscript under the title "Kuda ide arhitektura?" (Where is the Architecture going?), of unknown fate.

**Contemporary Literature** – Two projects of Architect Zlatko Neumann were published within the frame of the article about Adolf Loos in Paris edition of Vogue in 1927.<sup>13</sup> Four years later Heinrich Kulka, another Loos' apprentice mentioned Zlatko Neumann in the first contemporary monograph on Adolf Loos between the World Wars.<sup>14</sup> After Loos' death

Neumann was mentioned only in contemporary Yugoslav architecture magazines and periodicals, mostly during the exhibition "Pola vijeka hrvatske umjetnosti" (A half Century of Croatian Art).<sup>15</sup>

**Eulogies & Encyclopedic** – Immediately after the death of Architect Zlatko Neumann, Željka Čorak<sup>16</sup> and Boro Pavlović<sup>17</sup> published two eulogies in Croatian cultural and professional periodicals. The later one is more important due to publishing of two documents: A Letter of Recommendation for Zlatko Neumann from Adolf Loos' Office, dated March 1928, translated into Croatian and then transcribed & Zlatko Neumann's Curriculum Vitae, written in German, translated into Croatian. Both may be counted into primary sources, despite their translated and possibly transposed content. Late Architect & Architectural Historian Aleksander Laslo wrote most comprehensive articles<sup>18</sup> in Yugoslav, later Croatian Visual Arts Encyclopedias about Zlatko Neumann, which may serve as a secondary source.

**Recent Literature in Dutch, English, German or Slovenian** – First standard accurate monograph on Adolf Loos in German<sup>19</sup> mentioned Zlatko Neumann several times and delivered many unknown details from their relationship, although it did not entirely clear every Loos' projects where Zlatko Neumann contributed, according to the Letter of Recommendation from 1928.<sup>20</sup> A year later, Worbs partially cited Loos' letter to Zlatko Neumann from 1928<sup>21</sup> when summarizing Loos School in German. In 1987 Plaisier devoted several pages to Zlatko Neumann<sup>22</sup> when reinvestigating works of Loos' pupils in Dutch and Risselada in turn made an inspiring objection that Zlatko Neumann's Small House, contemporary published in "Der Sturm" was submitted for the *Weissenhofsiedlung* exhibition (Fig. 3).<sup>23</sup> Thereafter, Aleksander Laslo, in the first article about the subject in English, made first of his several attempts to analyze Neumann's contribution to implanting the *Raumplan* into Croatian Modern Architecture.<sup>24</sup>

In 1989 Laslo summarized his views on impacts of the *Raumplan* onto the Croatian Modern Architecture as a whole in German<sup>25</sup> and expanded the material two years later in English and Slovenian.<sup>26</sup> His contribution to the subject in year 2001 in German may be viewed as a conclusion.<sup>27</sup> Recently, Radović Mahečić<sup>28</sup>, Zlopaša<sup>29</sup> and Körbler<sup>30</sup> have made summarized views on several houses designed and built by Zlatko Neumann in the monograph about Modern Architecture on today's Croatian territory, in English and Croatian.<sup>31</sup>

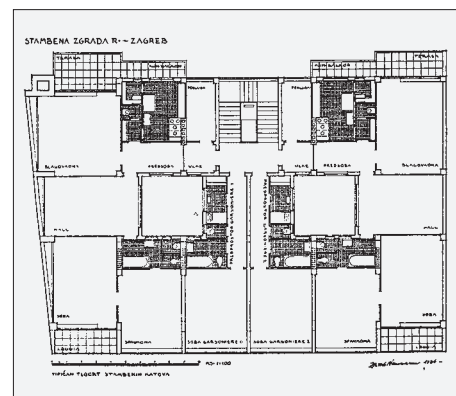
**Recent literature in Croatian** – Articles based completely<sup>32</sup> or partially<sup>33</sup> on Zlatko Neumann started to thrive with the first attempt to



FIG. 2. SIX-STORY ATTACHED APARTMENT HOUSE WITH SHOPS ROSINGER, 69 VLASKA STREET, ZAGREB, HR, 1936-1937, BUILT BY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LCE ŠPILLER&ŠURINA

SL. 2. ČETVEROKATNA UGRADENA NAJAMNA STAMBENA I TRGOVAČKA KUĆA SA POMAKNUTIM PETIM KATOM ROSINGER, VLASKA 69 U ZAGREBU, HR, 1936.-1937., SAGRADILLO GRAĐEVNO PODUZEĆE GRAD.INZ. ŠPILLER I ŠURINA

FIG. 3. ATTACHED APARTMENT HOUSE WITH SHOPS ROSINGER, TYPICAL FLOOR PLAN OF RESIDENTIAL FLOORS  
SL. 3. UGRADENA NAJAMNA STAMBENA I TRGOVAČKA KUĆA ROSINGER, TIPIČNI TLOCRT STAMBENIH KATOVA



16 ČORAK, 1969: 19

17 PAVLOVIĆ, 1969: 61-68

18 LASLO, 1987c: 458-459; LASLO, 1996: 628-629

19 RUKSCHCIO, SCHACHEL, 1982: 239, 263, 273, 286, 293, 307, 318, 323f., 327ff., 331, 337, 355, 360, 364, 545, 629, Pictures: 317, 319, 326

20 E.g. in the Vogue article from 1927 Gallotti signed the project of Stalls for Count Sanguszko in Poland (APP: A.3.6.) to Loos, a year later in his Letter of Recommendation to Zlatko Neumann Loos mentioned the same project as of Zlatko Neumann, where in their monograph on Loos Ruckschio and Schachel moved the same project back to Loos and placed it in France in year 1924, however with suspicion to exact dating.

21 WORBS, 1983: 31, 32

22 PLAISIER, 1987: 83-85

23 RISSELADA, 1987, 2008: 114-117

24 LASLO, 1987b: 35-40

25 LASLO, 1989: 307-327

26 LASLO, 1991: 52-80

27 LASLO, 2001: 24-37. From author's communication with late Architect Aleksander Laslo at work in City Institute for Conservation and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Nature in Zagreb between 1996 and 2006 the author strongly believes that Laslo had in mind writing and publishing an overwhelming monograph on Zlatko Neumann. It is not known if any manuscripts, or unfinished writings exist. With writings about Architect Zlatko Neumann the author feels obliged to make a contribution to both of them.

28 RADOVIĆ MAHEČIĆ, KÖRBLER, 2007: 85-88

29 LONJAK ZLOPAŠA, RADOVIĆ MAHEČIĆ, 2007: 345-350

30 KÖRBLER, 2007a: 231-234; KÖRBLER, 2007b: 235-238

31 RADOVIĆ MAHEČIĆ, ed. 2007: 1

32 PREMERL, 1976: 41-54

33 PREMERL, 1976: 12-40; VENTURINI, 1976: 85-95

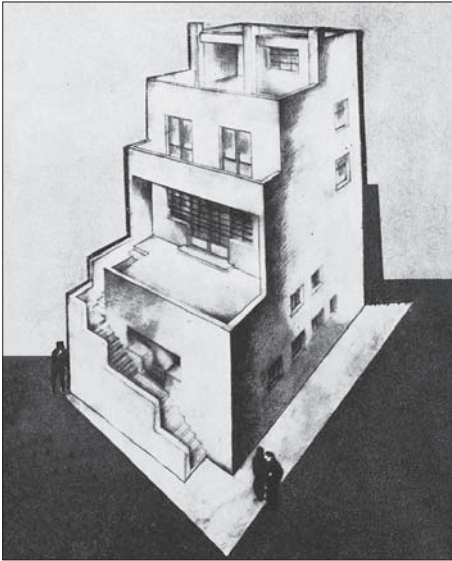


FIG. 4. FIVE-STORY DETACHED HOUSE S. IN PARIS, FR, 1926, PROJECT, SUBMITTED BUT UNACCEPTED FOR THE WERKBUND EXPOSITION WEISSENHOF SIEDLUNG, STUTTGART, DE, 1927  
SL. 4. ČETVEROKATNA KUĆA S. U PARIZU, FR, 1926., PROJEKT, PREDAN ALI NEPRIHVACEN ZA IZLOŽBU WERKBUNDA WEISSENHOF SIEDLUNG U STUTTGARTU, DE, 1927.

FIG. 5. FOUR-STORY ATTACHED APARTMENT HOUSE DEUTSCH, 5 VUKOTINOVICEVA STREET, ZAGREB, HR, 1929-1931, BUILT BY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LCE LEO NEUBERGER

SL. 5. TROKATNA UGRADENA NAJAMNA STAMBENA KUĆA DEUTSCH, VUKOTINOVICEVA 5 U ZAGREBU, HR, 1929.-1931., SAGRAĐILO GRAĐEVNO PODUZEĆE GRAĐ.INŽ. LEO NEUBERGER



make a monograph on Croatian Modern Architecture between the World Wars<sup>34</sup> in professional periodical literature in 1976. Similar articles still continued to emerge<sup>35</sup> until 1989, when Tomislav Premerl published a book based on this famous and longtime sold-out monograph under the same title.<sup>36</sup> A year later, in 1990 Aleksander Laslo directed an exhibition about Zlatko Neumann's work in Zagreb under the title "Zlatko Neumann & seven lamps of the New Objectivity" from which a short catalogue was made.<sup>37</sup> Architect & Architectural Historian Darko Kahle made some attributions of unknown edifices to Zlatko Neumann in his articles about attached and corner houses in Zagreb between 1928 and 1945.<sup>38</sup> At the scientific conference held in November 2007<sup>39</sup> young Art Historians Limani and Žanko slightly disputed authorships of specific Neumann's Houses, particularly of Corner House Pordes.<sup>40</sup> From the internet sources, it is worth to mentioning a blog entitled "Panopticon: Interiors of Architect Zlatko Neumann", unfortunately not bilingual in English, with several quality reproductions of interiors of Architect Zlatko Neumann.<sup>41</sup>

## A SHORT BIOGRAPHY

### KRATKI ŽIVOTOPIS

Architect Zlatko Neumann was born on March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1900 in the city of Pakrac<sup>42</sup>, where he finished the primary school in 1906-1910. He attended the High School for Natural Sciences Zagreb<sup>43</sup> in 1910-1918. On June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1918 he made his High School exit exam. Later that year he went to Vienna to enroll himself to the study of architecture at the Vienna Institute of Technology, where he met Peter Altenberg, who in turn recommended him to Adolf Loos. Late Architect Aleksander Laslo succeeded to catch the lyrics of this seminal moment:

*"Zlatko Neumann arrived in Vienna in the autumn of 1918 with the intention of enrolling in the department of architecture at the Polytechnic. [Within] the short period of time until the dissolution of the Monarchy in December, when he was deported to Zagreb, Neumann was able to get acquainted with Loos' work, about which he probably knew something even before arriving in Vienna. However, it was Peter Altenberg who referred him to Loos when they met by chance in the Viennese Stadtpark. The prospective student of architecture naively expressed his amazement at the poet's sandals and then tried to get out of the embarrassing situation by complimenting him on his beautiful feet; the great poet simply sent him to Loos."*<sup>44</sup>

Eventually he was enrolled to Vienna Institute of Technology next year, where he grad-

uated in 1925 with the Second State Exam.<sup>45</sup> Thereafter he was enrolled into the Loos School (Loos-Bauschule) from 1920 to 1922. In the same year he was employed in the Baukanzlei of Adolf Loos, where from the end of 1923 to summer 1925 he was architect-in-charge.<sup>46</sup> From summer 1925 to spring 1926 he served in the Military of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in the engineering branch and was dismissed as a NCO in reserve. From May 1926 to June 1927 he was Loos' associate in Paris. From summer to autumn 1927 he served a second part of his military service and was finally discharged as an engineering lieutenant in reserve. The time from the winter 1927 to winter 1930 or summer 1931 he spent as an associate in the Project office of the Construction Company LCE Leo Neuberger. From the early 1931<sup>47</sup> to April 1941 he was a licensed civil architect, later licensed architectural engineer in Zagreb and held his own architectural office.<sup>48</sup> In April 1941 he was mobilized by Royal Yugoslav Military as a military engineering captain, soon captivated by German Wehrmacht and confined in Military Prisoner Camps in Germany and Netherlands. In the spring 1945 he was freed from a prison camp and went back to Yugoslavia, where he was an Architect in Zagreb at various positions until 1963: the first Architect in the Department of Building of People's Republic of Croatia in 1945-1946, later Chief Architect of group at the State Design and Construction Bureau from 1946 to 1954, and at last he was a Head of the Architectural office "Neuman" (sic!), from 1954-1963, when he was retired. He died in Zagreb on January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1969.

## FROM THE MATURA TO THE CONCLUSION OF RELATIONSHIP WITH LOOS (1918-1928)

### OD MATURE DO ZAKLJUČENJA VEZE S ADOLFOM LOOSOM (1918.-1928.)

When Zlatko Neumann arrived in Vienna and soon after when he was introduced to Adolf

34 PREMERL, ed. 1976: 1

35 PREMERL, 1983: 26-27; LASLO, 1984: 120-133; LASLO, 1987a: 97-112

36 PREMERL, 1989: 1

37 LASLO, 1990: 1

38 KAHLE, 2003: 33-43; KAHLE, 2004: 77-85

39 PREMERL, ed. 2009: 1

40 LIMANI, ŽANKO, 2009: 111-123

41 GALOVIC, 2013: blog (retrieved: February 6<sup>th</sup>, 2015) <http://kgalovic.blogspot.com/2013/06/interijeri-arhitekta-zlatka-neumanna.html>

42 Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, Austria-Hungary; today: Croatia, EU.

43 DE: *Realgymnasium*, HR: *Kr. Realna Gimnazija*.

44 LASLO, 1991: 65, 67

45 DE: *Staatsprüfungs-Zeugnis: Zweite Staatsprüfung*. [PAVLOVIC, 1969: 65; RUKSCHCIO, SCHACHEL, 1982: 307]

46 DE: *Leiter der Baukanzlei*.



Loos to eventually become his pupil, there was a lot of activity in planning housing estates for new Social-Democrat City government. The first Neumann's work for Loos were drafting of plans for housing estates "Friedensstadt" (A.1.1.) and "Rosenhügel" (A.1.2.). His first opportunity to study the Raumplan was Rufer House in Vienna (A.1.3.) where he probably assisted to Heinrich Kulka and The Chicago Tribune Column project for Chicago (A.1.4.). When he eventually became Architect-in-chief in lieu for Loos, who went to Paris, his design obligations were broader. From 1923 to 1925 he worked on several projects: Terraced house in housing estate "Vinarskyhof" project for Vienna (A.1.5.)<sup>47</sup>, Grand hotel Babylon project for Nice (A.1.6.), Moissi House at Lido for Venice (A.1.7.), Spanner Country House in Gumpoldskirchen, where Architect-in-charge was Leopold Fischer (A.1.8.) and Dr. Arpad Plesch House project for Croissy-sur-Seine (A.2.1.).

After his arrival to Loos in Paris, Zlatko Neumann was Architect-in-charge in execution of famous attached town house Tristan Tzara in Paris in 1926. (A.2.2.). He made for Loos a complete project for Hans und Anny Moller House in Wien (A.2.3.), one of first Loos' so called *Würfelhäuser*, and finally projects for Knize Fashion Shop in Paris (A.2.4.). Zlatko Neumann belonged there to the inner circle of Adolf Loos, who recommended him and his work to exposition directors and publishers. An early project exposed at Salon d'Automne in 1926 was the Pantheon project for Belgrade (A.3.1.), where Neumann superimposed four Doric colonnades to a four-axed cubic composition. The next one, exposed at Perret's Palais du Bois, was an over imposed cubic composition for the People Museum for Zagreb (A.3.2.). Both projects were published in *Vogue* in 1927 besides Loos' work. Another important project was a five-story house S. in Paris, which was published in "Les chroniques du jour" & "Der Sturm", to be submitted but unaccepted for the Werkbund exposi-

tion Weissenhofsiedlung in Stuttgart (A.3.5., Fig. 4).<sup>50</sup> In LOR to Zlatko Neumann Loos mentioned several other projects which Neumann made during their relationship in Paris, e.g. two houses for Oxford (A.3.3.; A.3.4.)<sup>51</sup>, Count Sanguszko's stalls for Tarnow (A.3.6.)<sup>52</sup>, and housing estate "Siedlerschule" in Worpsswede (A.3.8.)

### INTERNSHIP IN THE ARCHITECTURAL OFFICE OF THE CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LCE LEO NEUBERGER (1927-1932)

#### RAD U ARHITEKTONSKOJ POSLOVNICI GRAĐEVNOG PODUZEĆA ING. LEO NEUBERGER (1927.-1932.)

After being promoted to a reserve officer of military engineering in spring or autumn 1927, he started internship in the architectural office of the Construction Company LCE Leo Neuberger sometime in the second half of year 1927. His relationship with Leo Neuberger was not entirely clear, because all the documentation was probably destroyed immediately after the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia in April 1941. Regarding the sources from State Archives of Zagreb, Zlatko Neumann signed neither drawings submitted for building permit [BP] nor correctional drawings submitted for change approval [CA] or occupational permit [OP]. All these drawings were officially signed by LCE Leo Neuberger as CEO. As far as official correspondence with the authorities, sometime it was conducted by Vilim Bukšeg, LMB, later by Architect Vladimir Feller or Architect Vjekoslav Viličić in lieu of Leo Neuberger and sometime by Leo Neuberger himself. It appears that Zlatko Neumann was unofficially employed only as a Design Architect, later Senior Design Architect; it is uncertain if he was ever employed as an Architect-in-charge at the building site for the Leo Neuberger's company.<sup>53</sup> However, Zlatko Neumann was in charge for the architectural design of the company all the time from 1927 as long as to the mid-1932, last year-and-half overlapped with his own practice for yet undiscovered reasons. It is possible that he was in some financial obligations towards Leo Neuberger or towards his brother Dr. Pavao Neuberger, in whose house he lived from the completion of the house in 6 Haulikova Street in 1927, until his home relocation to the apartment in Ulrich house at 25 Mesnička Street probably after 1935 and/or his office relocation to the Rosinger house at 69 Vlaška Street probably before 1938.

First projects for the Neuberger's company were adaptations in 15A Kačićeva Street (B.1.1.) and in the yard of 82 Draškovičeva Street (B.1.3.), probably execution drawings for house Neuberger, 6 Haulikova Street



FIG. 6. INTERIOR OF APARTMENT KÖNIG-FUCHS, 1928, WHICH WAS PREVIOUSLY ADAPTED IN 1926 BY ARCHITECT BELA AUER FOR ARCHITECTURAL OFFICE IGNJAT FISCHER, IN: SECOND FLOOR OF FOUR-STORY ATTACHED APARTMENT HOUSE ŠOJAT, 18-20 PALMOTICEVA STREET, ZAGREB, HR, 1910-1911., DESIGNED BY ARCHITECT VLADIMIR ALADAR BARANYAI AND BUILT BY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LCE BENEDIK&BARANYAI

SL. 6. INTERIJER STANA KÖNIG-FUCHS, 1928., KOJI JE BIO PRETHODNO ADAPTIRAN 1926. PREMA PROJEKTU ARHITEKTA BELE AUERA ZA ARHITEKTONSKU POSLOVNICU IGNJAT FISCHER, A NALAZI[O] SE NA PRVOM KATU TROKATNE UGRADENE NAJAMNE STAMBENE KUĆE ŠOJAT, PALMOTICEVA 18 I 20 U ZAGREBU, HR, 1910.-1911., KOJU JE PROJEKTIRAO ARHITEKT ALADAR BARANYAI, A SAGRADILO GRAĐEVNO PODUZEĆE GRAD.INZ. BENEDIK&BARANYAI

FIG. 7. FOUR-STORY CORNER ATTACHED APARTMENT HOUSE PORDES, 10 HRVOJEVA STREET, ZAGREB, HR, 1929-1931, BUILT BY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LCE LEO NEUBERGER

SL. 7. TROKATNA UGLOVNA UGRADENA NAJAMNA STAMBENA KUĆA PORDES, HRVOJEVA 10 U ZAGREBU, HR, 1929.-1931., SAGRADILO GRAĐEVNO PODUZEĆE GRAD.INZ. LEO NEUBERGER



47 Laslo claims that he was on his own from the year 1930. The documentation of his official promotion to the licensed architect was not yet found. In his taxation statement from the year 1931 Zlatko Neumann claimed that he had only one project in 1931 (first drawing set for the Armut house).

48 One of the employees was Architect Hinko Bauer, who later worked together with Architect Marijan Haberle.

49 In Loos' LOR to Neumann this project was stated as Stromstrasse. Laslo referred it as Terraced house Heuberg. [BLAU, 1999: 298]

50 Kirsch only mentioned Loos' famous explanation of the Würfelhaus. [KIRSCH, 1987: 100, 102]

51 There is a remote possibility that Loos had counted one house as two.

52 See footnote 19.

53 It is significant that at one of his first independent project for two-story detached house Klaić (APP: C.3.) the Architect-in-charge was Dr.-Ing. Pavao Deutsch.



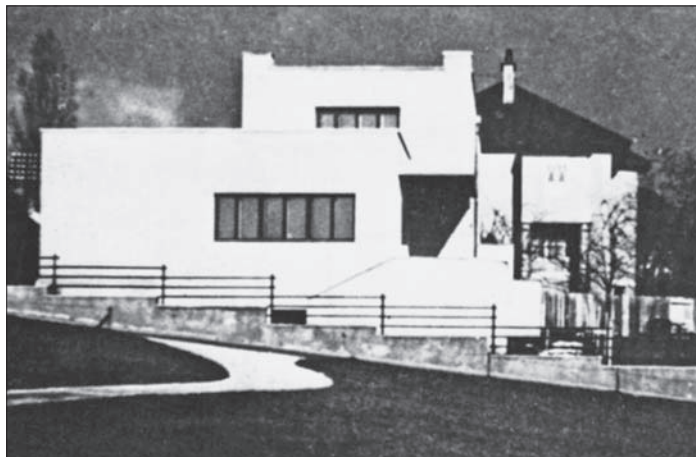
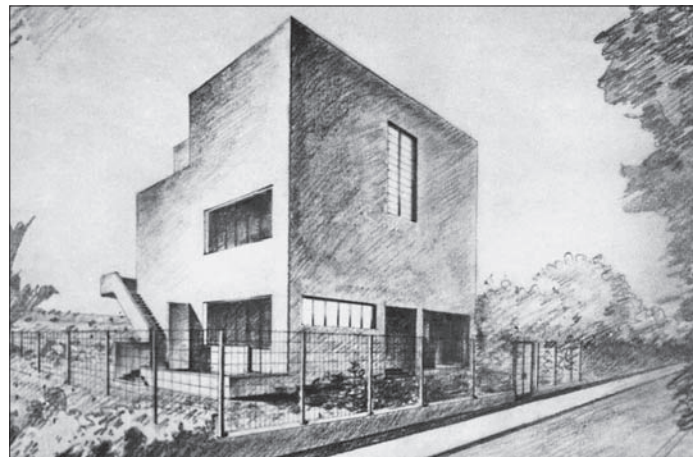
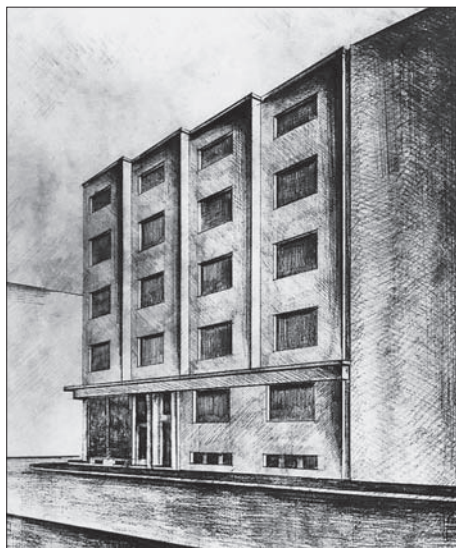


FIG. 8. TWO-STORY DETACHED HOUSE KLAIC, 76 HERCEGOVAČKA STREET, ZAGREB, HR, 1932, ARCHITECT-IN-CHARGE DR.-ING. PAVAO DEUTSCH, BUILT BY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY FREUDENREICH&DEUTSCH LMB AND ARCHITECT SL. 8. JEDNOKATNA KUĆA KLAIC, HERCEGOVAČKA 76 U ZAGREBU, HR, 1932., VODITELJ GRADNJE ARHITEKT DR.-ING. PAVAO DEUTSCH, SAGRADILLO GRADEVNO PODUZEĆE FREUDENREICH&DEUTSCH OVLAŠTENI GRADITELJ I ARHITEKT

FIG. 9. THREE-STORY DETACHED HOUSE DR. SCHWARZ, 7 TORBAROVA STREET, ZAGREB, HR, 1933-1934, BUILT BY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LCE CERNJAK&NEUMANN SL. 9. DVOKATNA KUĆA DR. SCHWARZ, TORBAROVA 7 U ZAGREBU, HR, 1933.-1934., SAGRADILLO GRADEVNO PODUZEĆE GRAD.INZ. CERNJAK&NEUMANN

FIG. 10. FOUR-STORY CORNER ATTACHED APARTMENT HOUSE WITH SHOPS ARMUTH, 1 CANKAROVA STREET, ZAGREB, HR, 1931-1932, BUILT BY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LCE CERNJAK&NEUMANN

SL. 10. TROKATNA UGLOVNA UGRADENA NAJAMNA STAMBENA I TRGOVAČKA KUĆA ARMUTH, CANKAROVA 1 U ZAGREBU, HR, 1931.-1932., SAGRADILLO GRADEVNO PODUZEĆE GRAD.INZ. CERNJAK&NEUMANN



(B.1.2.). A consequent project where his design skills can be seen on the whole, although influenced by Loos, was house Zipser-Kardos, 103A Pantovčak Street from early 1929 (B.1.4.), a reminiscence to house Moissi, unfortunately relinquished by the landlord. The project for house Deutsch, 5 Vukotinovičeva Street was finally executed, nevertheless the building authorities changed the front from cubic pattern of perpendicular beams to the bare stripped surface, which he accentuated with famous windows from the Looshaus at Michaelerplatz in Vienna (B.1.5., Fig. 5). The next one, corner house Pordes at 10 Hrvojeva Street was executed completely according to his intentions and published in the interview in 1930 (B.1.6., Fig. 7).<sup>54</sup>

Another batch of project and realizations was found during the research in State Archives of Zagreb.<sup>55</sup> Adaptation of an apartment to the printing office was mentioned in his CV (B.1.7.), but there were several projects and realizations which have to be attributed to him, due to the paradigms of floor plan or front design. In house Kosak, 52 Mlinarska Street (B.1.8.) he put a central light well onto which halls and bathrooms were oriented, which later became his standard floor plan (Fig. 2). On house Wurm Falls Schapira, 12 Horvatovac Street (B.1.9.) he simply derived floor plans from the apartment house Deutsch.

In the eve of his formal departure from Neuberger and beginning on his own, he made a famous adaptation of shops in the first story of building Freund, 1 Bana Josipa Jelačića Square (B.1.11.), where he removed the old brick walls and put instead slender steel-framed columns, covered with plaster. A wide beam which separated the transparent first floor from higher, brick-made floors with window holes is recognizable even today.

After Architect Zlatko Neumann went to his own office, he designed some parallel projects for Construction Company LCE Leo Neu-

berger: three-story house Panian, 10 Bosanska Street, executed later slightly changed (B.1.12.), double apartment house Auspitz-Heisler & R.Neuberger-M.Neuberger, 5&7 Vrbaničeva Street, executed later in 1933 as two separate apartment houses (B.1.13.) and probably concept drawings for corner house Kern, 29 Bauerova Street (B.1.14.).

During his relationship with Leo Neuberger he made several projects and executions outside Zagreb, possibly on his own, especially for Pakrac, Lipik, Nova Gradiška, Čakovec, Zagreb, Rijeka and Prague (B.2.1.-9.).

#### THE OFFICE OF THE LICENSED ARCHITECT ZLATKO NEUMANN UNTIL THE CAPTURING DURING THE WAR BETWEEN THE THIRD REICH AND YUGOSLAVIA AND CONFINEMENT IN GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS (1931 TO 1941)

##### URED OVLAŠTENOG ARHITEKTA ZLATKA NEUMANNA DO ZAROBLJAVANJA U TRAVANJSKOM RATU I INTERNACIJE U NJEMAČKOJ I NIZOZEMSKOJ (1931.-1941.)

Architect Zlatko Neumann started to practice architectural design in his own architectural office somewhere at the beginning or in the first half of the year 1931. Initially, the office

<sup>54</sup> SMOLČIĆ, 1930: 5

<sup>55</sup> It is almost certain that the edifices first mentioned by Zeljka Corak (1969) and others later for the Zagreb Paper Mill at Zavrtnica 17 was never designed by him, first drawings signed by LCE Leo Neuberger were from the year 1935.

<sup>56</sup> As can be seen from his official demand to the City Construction Office, dated June 16<sup>th</sup>, 1932. [HR-DAZG-1122-ZGD, Sign. 337/339: Cankarova 1]

<sup>57</sup> Filled form of BP for adaptation of this store, dated September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1935. [HR-DAZG-1122-ZGD, Sign. 1510 [new]: Illica 8]

<sup>58</sup> As can be seen from his official application submitted to the City Construction Office, dated October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1938. [HR-DAZG-1122-ZGD, Sign. 3231/2: Vlaska 69]

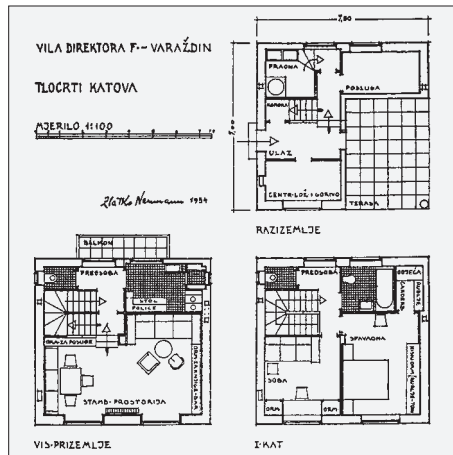


FIG. 11. THREE-STORY DETACHED HOUSE FRIEDLÄNDER, FLOOR PLANS

SL. 11. DVOKATNA KUĆA FRIEDLÄNDER, TLOCRTI ETAŽA

FIG. 12. THREE-STORY DETACHED HOUSES OBLATH, 34 SLAVENSKA STREET, 1933-1934, AND FRIEDLÄNDER, 34 MASARYKOVA STREET, 1934, VARAZDIN, HR, BUILDERS TEMPORARILY UNKNOWN

SL. 12. DVOKATNE KUĆE OBLATH, SLAVENSKA 34, 1933.-1934., I FRIEDLÄNDER, MASARYKOVA 34, 1934., U VARAZDINU, HR, GRADITELJI PRIVREMENO NEPOZNATI

was located in his rented apartment at the fourth story of apartment house Dr. Neuberg-er, 6 Haulikova Street.<sup>56</sup> In 1935, he still lived at the same address.<sup>57</sup> It is interesting that in 1938 he announced his official address in (probably) one of the rental apartments of the apartment house Rosinger, 69 Vlaska Street.<sup>58</sup> Therefore it is possible that the rented apartment in Ulrich house, 25 Mesnicka Street, was either a place to live in only, or he moved there with his office after 1938.

First recognizable, but obviously uncredited task was a concierge duplex apartment in house Kikinis, 4 Krajska Street (C.1.), ordered by Construction Company Pollak & Bornstein in lieu of his future general contractor, Construction Company LCE Cernjak & Neumann. So far it is obvious that Zlatko Neumann was not closely related to LCE Josip Neumann, one of the firm's principals and a brother-in-law to Architect Vladimir Šterk. Yet, they altogether had apparently certain professional design and business connections, because the articulator of the so-called floor plan where halls and bathrooms of apartments were oriented to the central light well was Architect Vladimir Šterk.<sup>59</sup>

His first executed edifice was corner house Armuth, 1 Cankarova Street (C.2., Fig. 10), where he repeated massive separator beam from building Freund, to intertwine a mixed

commercial and residential first story zone from unfolded zone of higher stories in Cankarova Street. Subsequently, every room in residential stories have all four right angles, in spite the fact that the angle between Ilica and Cankarova Streets is slightly acute.

His next move was to develop the Raumplan from early stages of the Small House (Fig. 3) to the final, cube-like or cube-like-extruded-with-one-parallelepiped body, between 1932 and 1935 in six houses: house Klaić, 76 Hercegovacka Street, (C.3., Fig. 8), house Freund, Crikvenica (C.4.), house Dr. Schwarz,<sup>60</sup> 7 Torbarova Street (C.5., Fig. 9), house Oblath, 34 Slavenska Street (C.6., Fig. 12) and Friedländer, 34 Masarykova Street, in Varazdin (C.7, Fig. 11&12) and house Margetić, 186 Petrova Street (C.8., Fig. 14). Consecutively he designed four apartment houses with central light well, of which two were built: the famous house Rosinger (C.13., Fig. 1, 2) as a paradigm of his views on architectural design, the house "VIS" (Varazdin' Silk Industry), 14B Marticeva Street (C.14., Fig. 15) with surfaced front and metal-sheathed pitched roof, also a project for house Stoeger, 11 Draskoviceva Street (C.16., Fig. 16) with loggias on front, and finally a project for apartment building with shops in Belgrade (C.20.). Besides, he designed several, mostly office and industrial buildings.

FIG. 13. INTERIOR OF APARTMENT JUNGWIRTH, 1932., IN: FIVE-STORY CORNER ATTACHED APARTMENT HOUSE WITH SHOPS ROSINGER-JUNGWIRTH, 30 DRASKOVICEVA STREET, ZAGREB, HR, 1930-1931, DESIGNED BY ARCHITECT VLADIMIR ŠTERK AND BUILT BY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LCE IVANČIĆ&WOLKENFELD

SL. 13. INTERIJER STANA JUNGWIRTH, 1932., KOJI SE NALAZI[O] U ČETVEROKATNOJ UGLOVNOJ UGRADENOJ NAJAMNOJ STAMBENOJ I TRGOVAČKOJ KUĆI ROSINGER-JUNGWIRTH, DRASKOVICEVA 30 U ZAGREBU, HR, 1930.-1931., KOJU JE PROJEKTIRAO ARHITEKT VLADIMIR ŠTERK, A SAGRADILO GRAĐEVNO PODUZEĆE GRAD.INŽ. IVANČIĆ&WOLKENFELD



<sup>59</sup> This type was introduced at the apartment house Omega d.d. in 1923-1924, designed by Architect Vladimir Šterk. Others who employed this scheme beyond Šterk (9 edifices) were: LMB, later Architect Stjepan Planic, an early associate of Architect Šterk between 1923-1927 (3 edifices), Architect Milan Delenardo, an associate of Architect Šterk between 1928-1932 (4 edifices with Šterk and 1 independently), and finally Architects Kauzlaric&Gomboš on only one occasion (Apartment house Kohn, 12 Kneza Borne Street, Zagreb, 1933-1934). Zlatko Neumann used it at 6 edifices. [ISSEL, 1910: pages 98-99, fig. 304 b. solutions h, n; examples: pages 140-141, fig. 389, 391]

<sup>60</sup> According to the legal documentation, the name of the landlord was Dr. Schwarz (not Gavrin).

## INTERIORS (1925-1941)

### INTERIJERI (1925.-1941.)

Within the quoted period he made somewhere between 70 and 80 interior designs. Unfortunately, these projects did not need any official approval, unless construction elements or parts of front (windows, balconies, etc.) were changed or removed, resulting in non-existence of every evidence in legal documentation. Therefore, it is practically impos-





FIG. 14. TWO-STORY DETACHED HOUSE MARGETIC, 184 PETROVA STREET, ZAGREB, HR, 1934-1935, BUILT BY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LCE CERNJAK&NEUMANN  
SL. 14. JEDNOKATNA KUĆA MARGETIC, PETROVA 184 U ZAGREBU, HR, 1934.-1935., SAGRADILO GRADEVNO PODUZEĆE GRAD.INZ. CERNJAK&NEUMANN



FIG. 15. SIX-STORY ATTACHED APARTMENT HOUSE WITH SHOPS "VIS" (VARAŽDIN' SILK INDUSTRY), 14B MARTICEVA STREET, ZAGREB, HR, 1936-1937, BUILT BY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LCE CERNJAK&NEUMANN  
SL. 15. ČETVEROKATNA UGRAĐENA NAJAMNA STAMBENA I TRGOVAČKA KUĆA SA POMAKNUTIM PETIM KATOM „VIS“ [VARAŽDINSKA INDUSTRIJA SVILE], MARTICEVA 14B U ZAGREBU, HR, 1936.-1937., SAGRADILO GRADEVNO PODUZEĆE GRAD.INZ. CERNJAK&NEUMANN

FIG. 16. SEVEN-STORY ATTACHED APARTMENT HOUSE WITH SHOPS STOEGER, 11 DRASKOVIĆEVA STREET, ZAGREB, HR, 1937, PROJECT  
SL. 16. ČETVEROKATNA UGRAĐENA NAJAMNA STAMBENA I TRGOVAČKA KUĆA SA POLUKATOM I POMAKNUTIM PETIM KATOM STOEGER, DRASKOVIĆEVA 11 U ZAGREBU, HR, 1937., PROJEKT



sible to make the whole list of interiors made by him.<sup>61</sup> From these mentioned or published in sources or literature can be concluded that he started designing interiors with Loos in his mind to simplify the design through the time showing or magnifying chosen important construction elements (Fig. 6, 13).

An aftermath of this period which is also a connection to the second part of his life and work may be presented again with words of late Architect Aleksander Laslo:

*"The World War II brought Neuman[n]'s work to a sudden stop – he was captured in the "April War" in 1941 and deported to Germany. He survived the war years in [POW] camps from Poland to the Dutch border. Almost all members of his family were killed by the quisling regime in Croatia. Yet, even in such hard times he had the strength to write (in Osnabrück–Eversheide) in 1941 the study entitled "Where is Architecture Going", in which he explains the logic of an eminently modernist architecture – from the aesthetic of clothing, over rules of furniture manufacturing, to the principles of organization of the growing residential unit and the definition of the terraced apartment block, the specific type of collective residential building, as an effective unit of the urban residential development."*<sup>62</sup>

## CONCLUSION

### ZAKLJUČAK

The architectural work of Architect Zlatko Neumann was interesting not only to scholars, but to the broad scope of professional public in Croatia and elsewhere, mostly due to the fact that he was one of the pupils and later associates of Adolf Loos through whom the old master emplaced his hopes for the

future. Until today, many articles were published on Architect Zlatko Neumann, a few of them in English, but unfortunately none with a comprehensive view on his career between the World Wars.

It is quintessential for that period to be divided into three, partially overlapping sub-parts: the first one, from 1919-1928 under the patronage of Adolf Loos; the second one, from 1927-1932 under the supervision of Leo Neuberger and the third one, from 1931-1941 when he was completely on his own, having a reliable contractor company who practically could erect every project he designed.

Adolf Loos was not only a good patron or beloved teacher, he was quite a friend who supported his young protégé whenever or wherever he could. Therefore, it is obvious that Zlatko Neumann's project from that time owed so much to his patron: from the four flanked Doric colonnades applied as entrances in cardinal axes for the Pantheon project for Belgrade to the stepped stories of Small House in Paris, unfortunately not enough anti-Loosian to be approved for exhibiting at the Weissenhofsiedlung. Loos once stated that after him only Zlatko Neumann (and one other student) was able to resolve the Raumplan in a satisfactory manner.

Working in Zagreb for Leo Neuberger's construction company, he tried to implement the paradigm which Loos gave him, but with mixed success. A landlord relinquished to execute his first villa project slightly based on the project for Moissi villa, and further building authorities changed the front design of his first apartment house, whose drawings Zlatko Neumann proudly sent to Loos. Only the corner apartment house Pordes was built accordingly to his design. Interestingly, this is an isolated example where he designed curvilinear forms: rounded angles of the balconies placed at the corner of this building.

Being on his own at last, he made an eponymous solution for a corner building where streets intersected on a slightly acute angle. Later he consecutively designed six villas in standardized two or three stories high box houses which may be extruded by smaller boxes usually at last level. Finally, he made projects for three or four apartment houses with regularized central light well plans and alternated fronts.

[Proofread by GORDANA ČALIĆ, prof.]

<sup>61</sup> In Appendix the author made a short list of only those interiors mentioned or published in literature or connected with legal adaptations. However, it is always possible that the inheritance documentation of late Zlatko Neumann in some form comes to light.

<sup>62</sup> LASLO, 1991: 77

<sup>63</sup> For the most comprehensive up-to-date list of projects and realizations in the period from 1945 until 1963 see: LASLO, 1996: 628-629, unfortunately in Croatian.



**APPENDIX: A COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF REALIZATIONS AND PROJECTS OF ARCHITECT ZLATKO NEUMANN (1900-1969) BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS (1919-1941)<sup>63</sup>**

**DODATAK: ISCRPAN POPIS REALIZACIJA I PROJEKATA ARHITEKTA ZLATKA NEUMANNA (1900.-1969.) IZMEĐU DVA SVJETSKA RATA (1919.-1941.)**

**A.1. WORK ON LOOS' PROJECTS AS A PUPIL-DRAFTSMAN, ASSOCIATE DESIGNER AND ARCHITECT-IN-CHARGE OF ADOLF LOOS' BUREAU IN VIENNA (1919-1925) /8/**

A.1. RAD NA PROJEKTIMA ADOLFA LOOSA U SVOJSTVU UČENIKA-CRTAČA, ARHITEKTA SURADNIKA I VODITELJA POSLOVNIČE U BEČU (1919.-1925.) /8/

A.1.1. Housing estate "*Friedensstadt*", Wien XIII, Lainzer Tiergarten, 1921 (partially executed, Draftsman) [Fig. 1a: B]

A.1.2. Housing estate "*Rosenhügel*", Wien XIII, AT, 1921 (project, Draftsman)

A.1.3. House Rufer, Wien XIII, Schliessmannngasse 11, AT, 1922 (executed, Draftsman, Architect-in-charge: Heinrich Kulka) [Fig. 1a: B]

A.1.4. The Chicago Tribune Column, Michigan Avenue – Austin Avenue – St. Clair Street, Chicago, IL, 1922 (project, Draftsman)

A.1.5. Terraced block of flats in housing estate "*Vinarskyhof*", today "*Otto-Haas Hof*", Wien XX, Stromstrasse, AT, 1923 (project, Associate Designer)

A.1.6. Grand hotel Babylon, Nice, Promenade des Anglais, FR, 1923 (project, Associate Designer)

A.1.7. House Moissi, Lido, Venice, IT, 1923 (project, Associate Designer)

A.1.8. Country House Spanner, Gumpoldskirchen 270, Rotes Mäuerl, NO, AT, 1924 (executed, Draftsman or Associate Designer, Architect-in-charge: Leopold Fischer) [Fig. 1a: B]

**A.2. WORK ON LOOS' PROJECTS AS AN ASSOCIATE DESIGNER AND ARCHITECT-IN-CHARGE OF ADOLF LOOS IN PARIS ([1924,] 1926-1927) /4/**

A.2. RAD NA PROJEKTIMA ADOLFA LOOSA U SVOJSTVU ARHITEKTA SURADNIKA I VODITELJA POSLOVNIČE U PARIZU ([1924.,] 1926.-1927.) /4/

A.2.1. House Dr. Plesch, Croissy-sur-Seine, 12, Berges de la Prairie, FR, 1924 (project, Associate Designer)

A.2.2. Attached town house Tzara, Paris XVIII, 15, Avenue Junot, FR, 1925 project, 1926 execution (Architect-in-charge) [Fig. 1a: C]

A.2.3. House Möller, Wien XVIII, Starkfriedgasse 19, AT, Spring 1927 project, October 1927 beginning of execution (Associate Designer, Architect-in-charge: Jacques Groag) [Fig. 1a: B]

A.2.4. Fashion Shop Knize, Paris VIII, 146, Avenue des Champs-Élysées, FR, 1927 project, opening Spring 1928 (Associate Designer, Architect-in-charge temporarily unknown) [Fig. 1a: C]

**A.3. OWN WORK DURING THE RELATIONSHIP WITH ADOLF LOOS (1925-1927) /8/**

A.3. RAD NA VLASTITIM PROJEKTIMA ZA VRIJEME DRUŽENJA SA ADOLFOM LOOSOM /8/

A.3.1. Pantheon, Belgrade, SR, 1926, competition project (exposed at the 19ieme Salon d'Automne, Paris, FR, 1926)

A.3.2. People Museum, Zagreb, HR, 1926 project (exposed at Perret's Palais du Bois, Paris, FR, 1927)

A.3.3. House I, Oxford, UK, 1926, project  
A.3.4. House II, Oxford, UK, 1926, project [?]

A.3.5. Five-story house S. in Paris, FR, 1926, project (published in: Les chroniques du jour & Der Sturm, submitted but unaccepted for the Werkbund exposition Weissenhofsiedlung, Stuttgart, DE, 1927) [Fig. 4]

A.3.6. Stalls for Count Sanguszko, Tarnow, PL, 1926, project [?]

A.3.7. Terraced block of flats, Zagreb, HR, 1927, project

A.3.8. Housing estate "*Siedlerschule*" in Worp-swede, DE, 1927, project

**B.1. WORK AS INTERN, LATER AS SENIOR DESIGNER AND ARCHITECT-IN-CHARGE IN ARCHITECTURAL OFFICE OF THE CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LCE LEO NEUBERGER (1927-1932) /14/**

B.1. RAD U ARHITEKTONSKOJ POSLOVNIČE GRADEVNOG PODUZEČA ING. LEO NEUBERGER U SVOJSTVU PRIPRAVNIKA, KASNIJE ARHITEKTA I VODITELJA POSLOVNIČE (1927.-1932.) /14/

B.1.1. Erection of third floor on and adaptation of: two-story attached house Dr. Čepulic; 15A Kacičeva Street, Zagreb, HR; 1927, 18<sup>th</sup> July, drawings submittal for BP (Intern, probably Senior Designer) [Fig. 1c: A]

B.1.2. Five-story attached house Dr. Neuberger; 6 Haulikova Street, Zagreb, HR; 1928, 17<sup>th</sup> January, execution drawings (Intern, Designer & Architect-in-charge: Architect Otto Strgar) [Fig. 1c: B]

B.1.3. Adaptation of three-story apartment house "*Braunov Paromlin*" (Braun's Steam Mill); 82-yard Draskovićeva Street, Zagreb, HR; 1929, 16<sup>th</sup> May, drawings submittal for BP (Senior Designer) [Fig. 1c: C]

B.1.4. Two-story house Zipser-Kardos; 103A Pantovčak Street, Zagreb, HR; 1929, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, drawings submittal for BP, project (Senior Designer)

B.1.5. Four-story attached apartment house Deutsch, 5 Vukotinovičeva Street, Zagreb, HR; 1929, 17<sup>th</sup> August, drawings submittal for BP (Senior Designer & Architect-in-charge) [Fig. 1c: E, Fig. 5]

B.1.6. Four-story corner attached apartment house Pordes, 10 Hrvojeva Street, Zagreb, HR; 1929, 19<sup>th</sup> December, drawings submittal for BP (Senior Designer & Architect-in-charge) [Fig. 1c: F, Fig. 7]

B.1.7. Adaptation of an apartment to the printing office; 1930, 11<sup>th</sup> April, drawings submittal for BP (Senior Designer & Architect-in-charge), in: four-story corner attached apartment house Rosenbaum-Zvijezdic, 15 Krizaniceva Street, Zagreb, HR, 1928-1929, designed by Architect Vladimir Aladar Baranyai and built by Construction Company LCE Benedik & Baranyai [Fig. 1c: G]

B.1.8. Two-story duplex semidetached house Kosak, 52 Mlinarska Street, Zagreb, HR; 1930, 10<sup>th</sup> June, drawings submittal for BP (Senior Designer, Architect-in-charge: probably LMB Vilim Bukseg) [Fig. 1c: H]

B.1.9. Three-story detached apartment house Wurm Falls Schapira, 12 Horvatovac Street, Zagreb, HR; 1930, 20<sup>th</sup> September, drawings submittal for BP (Senior Designer Architect-in-charge: probably LMB Vilim Bukseg, later Architect Vladimir Feller) [Fig. 1c: I]

B.1.10. Garage Deutsch, 5-yard Vukotinovičeva St, Zagreb, HR1931, 4<sup>th</sup> May, drawings submittal for BP (Senior Designer & Architect-in-charge) [Fig. 1c: E]

B.1.11. Adaptation of first story into shops; 1931, 25<sup>th</sup> June, drawings submittal for BP (Senior Designer & Architect-in-charge), in: four-story corner attached office and apartment building with shops Freund, 1 Bana Josipa Jelacica Square, Zagreb, HR [Fig. 1c: K]

B.1.12. Three-story apartment house Panian, 10 Bosanska Street, Zagreb, HR; 1932, 13<sup>th</sup> April, drawings submittal for BP (Senior Designer, Architect-in-charge: Architect Vladimir Feller, executed as two-story house) [Fig. 1c: L]

B.1.13. Five-story attached double apartment house Auspitz-Heisler & R. Neuberger-M. Neuberger, 5&7 Vrbaničeva Street, Zagreb, HR, project; 1932, 9<sup>th</sup> July, drawings submittal for BP (Senior Designer, executed later in 1933 as two separate five-story attached apartment houses) [Fig. 1c: M]

B.1.14. Six-story corner attached apartment house with shops Kern, 29 Bauerova Street, Zagreb, HR; 1932, concept drawings (Senior Designer, executed later in 1933 by Ervin Weiss, LMB) [Fig. 1c: N]

## B.2. OWN PROJECTS AND REALIZATIONS DURING RELATIONSHIP IN ARCHITECTURAL OFFICE OF THE CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LCE LEO NEUBERGER (1928-1931) /9/

### B.2. VLASTITI PROJEKTI I REALIZACIJE ZA VRIJEME RADA U ARHITEKTONSKOJ POSLOVNICI GRAĐEVNOG PODUZEĆA ING. LEO NEUBERGER (1928.-1931.) /9/

B.2.1. Two-story detached house Thurn und Taxis, Susak, today Rijeka, HR, 1928, project

B.2.2. Two-story detached house Wiener, Praha, CZ, 1928, project

B.2.3. Five-story corner attached apartment house with shops Kern, 11 Zvonimirova Street, Zagreb, HR, 1929, project

B.2.4. Children surgery pavilion in the TBC hospital, Lipik, HR, 1929, project

B.2.5. Chirurgical surgery pavilion in the "Banovinska bolnica" (Banate hospital), Nova Gradiska, HR, 1929, executed [Fig. 1b: A]

B.2.6. Reconstruction of the "Umobolnica" (Mental hospital), Pakrac, HR, 1929, executed [Fig. 1b: B]

B.2.7. Economy pavilion in the "Banovinska bolnica" (Banate hospital), Nova Gradiska, HR, 1930, executed [Fig. 1b: A]

B.2.8. Infectious diseases pavilion in the "Banovinska bolnica" (Banate hospital), Pakrac, HR, 1930, project

B.2.9. Housing estate, Čakovec, HR, 1931, project

## C. THE OFFICE OF THE LICENSED ARCHITECT ZLATKO NEUMANN (1931-1941) /20/

### C. URED OVLAŠTENOG ARHITEKTA ZLATKA NEUMANN (1931.-1941.) /20/

C.1. Concierge duplex apartment, 1931, 25<sup>th</sup> February, dated execution drawings (unsigned; Construction Company Pollak&Bornstein, LMB), in: five-story attached apartment house Kikinis, 4 Krajiška Street, Zagreb, HR, 1930-1931, designed by Architect Vladimir Sterk, Design Associate: Architect Milan Delenardo for Construction Company LCE Cernjak&Neumann [Fig. 1c: O]

C.2. Four-story corner attached apartment house with shops Armut, 1 Cankarova Street, Zagreb, HR; 1931, 24<sup>th</sup> November, drawings submittal for BP; contractor: Construction Company LCE Cernjak&Neumann [Fig. 1c: P, Fig. 10]

C.3. Two-story detached house Klaić, 76 Hercegovačka Street, Zagreb, HR; 1932, 9<sup>th</sup> May, drawings submittal for BP; Architect-in-charge: Dr.-Ing. Pavao Deutsch, contractor: Construction Company Freudenreich&Deutsch LMB and Architect [Fig. 1c: Q, Fig. 8]

C.4. Three-story detached house Freund, Crikvenica, HR, 1932, executed [Fig. 1b: C]

C.5. Three-story detached house Dr. Schwarz, 7 Torbarova Street, Zagreb, HR; 1933, 9<sup>th</sup> September, drawings submittal for BP; Architect-in-charge: Dr.-Ing. Pavao Deutsch, contractor: Construction Company LCE Cernjak&Neumann [Fig. 1c: R, Fig. 9]

C.6. Three-story detached house Oblath, 34 Slavenska Street, Varaždin, HR, 1933-1934 [Fig. 1b: D, Fig. 12]

C.7. Three-story detached house Friedländer, 34 Masarykova Street, Varaždin, HR, 1934 [Fig. 1b: D, Fig. 11, Fig. 12]

C.8. Two-story detached house Margetić, 186 Petrova Street, Zagreb, HR 1934, 19<sup>th</sup> December, drawings submittal for BP, contractor: Construction Company LCE Cernjak&Neumann [Fig. 1c: S, Fig. 14]

C.9. Pavillion I, "VIS" (Varaždin Silk Industry), Varaždin, HR, 1934-1935, executed [Fig. 1b: D]

C.10. Pavillion II, "VIS" (Varaždin Silk Industry), Varaždin, HR, 1934-1935, executed [Fig. 1b: D]

C.11. Two-story semidetached apartment house Z. Szöke, 23-25 Ksaverska Street, Zagreb, HR; 1935, 12<sup>th</sup> July, drawings submittal for BP, unsigned, contractor: LCE Desider Szöke for the landlord [Fig. 1c: T]

C.12. Adaptation of "Union" chocolate industry shop, 8 Ilica Street, Zagreb, HR; 1935, 20<sup>th</sup> August, drawings submittal for BP, contractor: Construction Company LCE Cernjak&Neumann [Fig. 1c: U]

C.13. Six-story attached apartment house with shops Rosinger, 69 Vlaska Street, Zagreb, HR; 1936, 4<sup>th</sup> May, drawings submittal for BP, Architect-in-charge: Architect Gjuro Kastl, contractor: Construction Company LCE Spiller&Šurina [Fig. 1c: V, Fig. 2, Fig. 3]

C.14. Six-story attached apartment house with shops "VIS" (Varaždin Silk Industry), 14B Martičeva Street, Zagreb, HR; 1936, 9<sup>th</sup> September, drawings submittal for BP, contractor: Construction Company LCE Cernjak&Neumann [Fig. 1c: W, Fig. 15]

C.15. Garage Klaić, 76-yard Hercegovačka St, Zagreb, HR; 1937, 17<sup>th</sup> March, drawings submittal for BP, contractor: LMB Vilko Ebert [Fig. 1c: Q]

C.16. Seven-story attached apartment house with shops Stoeger, 11 Draskovičeva Street, Zagreb, HR; 1937, 23<sup>rd</sup> April, drawings submittal for BP, project [Fig. 16]

C.17. Three-story office building Stoeger, 11-yard Draskovičeva Street, Zagreb, HR; 1937, 23<sup>rd</sup> April, drawings submittal for BP, project

C.18. Theater and office building with shops "Hrvatski dom" (Croatian House), Pakrac, HR, 1937, executed [Fig. 1b: B]

C.19. Social standard pavilion, "TIVAR" (Textile Industry Varaždin, today: Varteks), Varaždin, HR, 1938-1941, executed [Fig. 1b: D]

C.20. Attached apartment building with shops, Belgrade, SR, 1941, project

## D. INTERIOR DESIGNS (1925-1941) (CIRCA 75, ONLY THOSE MENTIONED IN THE LITERATURE ARE LISTED BELOW, IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

### D. UREĐENJA INTERIJERA (1925.-1941.)

(OKO 75, ISPOD SU NAVEDENI SAMO ONI KOJI SU SPOMENUTI U LITERATURI, PO KRONOLOŠKOM REDOSLIJEDU)

D.1. Apartment Haas, interior design, Zagreb, HR, 1925 (location temporarily unknown)

D.2. Apartment König-Fuchs, interior design, 1928, which was previously adapted in 1926 by Architect Bela Auer for Architectural Office Ignjat Fischer, in: second floor of Four-story attached apartment house Šojat, 18-20 Palmotičeva Street, Zagreb, HR, 1910-1911, designed by Architect Vladimir Aladar Baranyai and built by Construction Company LCE Benedik&Baranyai [Fig. 6]

D.3. Printing office, interior design, 1930, in: four-story corner attached apartment house Rosenbaum-Zvijezdic, 15 Krizaničeva Street, Zagreb, HR, see: B.1.7.

D.4. Interior design, Zagreb, HR, circa 1930 (landlord and location temporarily unknown)

D.5. Interior design, Zagreb, HR, circa 1931 (landlord and location temporarily unknown)

D.6. Concierge duplex apartment, interior design, 1931, in: five-story attached apartment house Kikinis, 4 Krajiška Street, Zagreb, HR, see: C.1.

D.7. Apartment Jungwirth, interior design, 1932, in: five-story corner attached apartment house with shops Rosinger-Jungwirth, 30 Draskovičeva Street, Zagreb, HR, 1930-1931, designed by Architect Vladimir Sterk and built by Construction Company LCE Ivancić&Wolkenfeld [Fig. 13]

D.8. Apartment Herzog, interior design, 1932, in: four-story apartment building Mayer, 10 Dežmanova Street, Zagreb, HR, 1929-1930, designed by: Architect Rudolf Lubynski, Designer-in-charge: Architect Bogdan Petrović

D.9. Apartment Freund, interior design, 1933, in: factory "Zagrebacka tvornica papira" (Zagreb Paper Mill), 17 Zavrtnica Street, Zagreb, HR

D.10. Three-story detached house Friedländer, interior design, circa 1934, 34 Masarykova Street, Varaždin, HR

D.11. "Union" chocolate industry shop, interior design, 1935, in: 8 Ilica Street, Zagreb, HR, see: C.12.

D.12. Apartment Neumann (own home), interior design, 1935, in: four-story house Ulrich, 25 Mesnička Street, Zagreb, HR

D.13. "VIS" (Varaždin Silk Industry) shop, interior design, circa 1937, in: Six-story attached apartment house etc., 14B Martičeva Street, Zagreb, HR, see: C.14.

D.14. Permanent exhibition of products of "VIS" (Varaždin' Silk Industry), interior design, circa 1937, in: Loft at 6<sup>th</sup> floor of six-story attached apartment house etc., 14B Martičeva Street, Zagreb, HR, see: C.14.

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- Sign. 825: Haulikova 6
- Sign. 863: Hercegovačka 76
- Sign. 891: Horvatovac 12
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- Sign. 1510 [new]: Ilica 8
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- Sign. 1328: Krajiška 4
- Sign. 1445: Krizaniće-va 15
- Sign. 2123/1 [new]: Ksaverska cesta 23 i 25
- Sign. 1779: Martičeva 14B
- Sign. 1904/1: Mlinarska 52
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- Sign. 3231/2: Vlaška 69
- Sign. 3311: Vrbaniće-va 5
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- Sign. 3145/2: Vukotinoviće-va 5
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## SOURCES OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

## KRATICE I SIMBOLI

AT	Austria
BP	Building permit
LCE	Licensed Civil Engineer
CA	Change Approval
CH	Switzerland
CZ	Czech Republic
DAZG	City Archives in Zagreb
DE	German, Germany
EN	English
EU	European Union
FGD	Photographs of Building Documentation
FR	French, France
HR	Croatia
IL	Illinois
LMB	Licensed Master Builder
LOR	Letter of Recommendation
NL	Netherlands
MA	Massachusetts
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
NO	Lower Austria
NY	New York (state)
NYC	New York City
OP	Occupancy permit
PL	Poland
POW	Prisoner(s) of War
SR	Serbia
TBC	Tuberculosis
UK	United Kingdom
YU	Yugoslavia (former)
ZF	Collection of Photographs
ZGD	Collection of Legal Documents regarding Building Activity

## SUMMARY

## SAŽETAK

## ARHITEKT ZLATKO NEUMANN

## REALIZACIJE I PROJEKTI IZMEĐU DVA SVJETSKA RATA

Životno djelo arhitekta Zlatka Neumanna – bilo da je riječ o arhitektonskim projektima ili realizacijama, bilo o teoretskim clancima, raspravama ili intervjuima – zavrjeđuje obuhvatnu znanstvenu valorizaciju iz najmanje dva razloga. Prvo, on je bio jedan od najekspoziranijih učenika, a poslije suradnik i član uzega kruga jednog od utemeljitelja moderne arhitekture (Novoga građenja) arhitekta Adolfa Loosa, uz arhitekta Heinricha Kulku i ostale Loosove učenike. Drugo, on je bio jedan od pobornika moderne arhitekture u Zagrebu i na tadašnjemu hrvatskom prostoru u vrhu zbivanja između 1927. i 1933. godine, uz arhitekta Vladimira Šterka (i sljedbenike dr. Petra Krajčinovića, dr. Marka Vidakovića, Jovana Korku, Dorda Krekica, Georga Kiveroffa, Milana Delenarda i druge) kao zajedničkog vođe velikoga multidisciplinarnog arhitektonskog ureda, zatim profesora Dragu Iblera (i dake-sljedbenike Stjepana Planica, Lavoslava Horvata, Dragu Galica, Aleksandra Freudenreicha, Mladena Kauzlarica, Gustava Bohutinskog i ostale) kao osnivača i dekana avangardne škole arhitekture pri Akademiji likovnih umjetnosti i – ne na kraju – arhitekta Ernesta Weissmanna kao ne samo učenika Le Corbusiera i pristaše CIAM-a već i kao advokata radikalnog poimanja metoda arhitektonskog projektiranja temeljenog na metodama socijalnog blagostanja, te arhitekta Belu Auera, dr. Pavla Deutscha, Milovana Kovačevića, Vjekoslava Mursca i Ivana Zemljaka.

Ovaj članak pokriva razdoblje rada i stvaranja arhitekta Zlatka Neumanna od njegova odlaska u Beč potkraj Prvoga svjetskog rata 1918. godine pa sve do zarobljavanja u Travanjskom ratu 1941. godine i internacije u logorima za zarobljene časnike neprijateljskih vojski u Njemačkoj i Nizozemskoj. Prvi, međusobno preklapajući dio toga razdoblja (1919.-1928.) jest vrijeme provedeno u interakciji s arhitektom Adolfom Loosom. Drugi je dio toga razdoblja (1927.-1932.) vrijeme provedeno odnosno vezano za Arhitektonsku poslovnicu građevnog poduzeca ing. Leo Neuberger u svojstvu pripravnika, poslije odgovornog arhitekta. U posljednjem je dijelu toga razdoblja (1931.-1941.) radio u vlastitom uredu kao ovlašten arhitekt. Tijekom cijeloga navedenog razdoblja arhitekt Zlatko Neumann sudjelovao je u projektiranju, odnosno bio projektant

ili odgovorni projektant za 63 projekta odnosno realizacije (potpuni popis u Dodatku), da bi u istom razdoblju izradio i oko 75 realizacija interijera (djelomičan popis od 14 dosad pronađenih interijera u Dodatku). Intenzivno detaljno istraživanje dostupnih zagrebačkih arhivskih izvora izvršeno je u Državnom arhivu u Zagrebu od veljače 2006. do siječnja 2015. godine, dok je za ostale lokacije provedeno iscrpno istraživanje i usporedba cjelokupne literature. Razdoblje stvaranja nakon svršetka Drugoga svjetskog rata predviđa se obraditi posebnim znanstvenim člankom, gdje bi bila prikazana i možebitna naknadna otkrića vezana za razdoblje koje obuhvaća ovaj članak.

Odlaskom na studij arhitekture na Tehničkoj visokoj školi u Beču (danas: TU Wien) Zlatko Neumann nastojao je postati ovlašten arhitekt. Svojim talentom uspio je uz redoviti studij zaradivati za život i kao crtač u Loosovu uredu, zatim kao polaznik Loosove škole građenja, da bi na kraju postao voditelj njegove poslovнице; prvo u Beču, a poslije prekida uzrokovanog sluzenjem vojnoga roka u inženjerskim jedinicama vojske Kraljevstva SHS i u Parizu. Nije dokraja jasno je li uzrok njegova odlaska iz Pariza sredinom 1927. godine bila bolest, odlazak na vojnu vježbu nakon koje je promoviran u rezervnoga inženjerskog časnika ili nešto treće. U svakom slučaju, rastao se s Loosom vrlo srdačno. Prvi projekti na kojima je Zlatko Neumann bio nešto više od crtača bili su neizvedena terasasta višestambena zgrada za „Vinarskyhof“, odnosno villa Rufer, gdje je prvi put Loos primijenio zametak Raumplana, koji označava prostornu organizaciju vertikalno pomaknutih katova unutar oplošja bijele kutije bez ornamenta koja konvergira kocki, gdje pojedine sobe odnosno prostori veće površine obično imaju veću visinu. Najvažniji projektni odnosno izvedbeni izazov za Zlatka Neumanna svakako je bila ugrađena višekatna obiteljska kuća Tristana Tzare u Parizu, koja se može uzeti kao paradigmatski prethodnik male kuće S. u Parizu, ekstenzivno objavljene u časopisu „Der Sturm“, a koja je zatim bila ponudena za izgradnju za izložbu Werkbunda u naselju Weissenhof u Stuttgartu, ali nije prihvaćena, i to vjerojatno zbog odioznosti jednoga dijela organizatora te izložbe prema Adolfu Loosu. U pariskom časopisu Vogue

projekti Zlatka Neumanna bili su objavljeni *au-pair* s Loosovim projektima.

Poslije povratka s vojne vježbe u Zagreb zaposlio se kao vanjski suradnik u Arhitektonskoj poslovnicu građevnog poduzeca ovl. inž. Lea Neubergera, koji je tada upravo završavao ugrađenu najamnu stambenu zgradu za svoga brata, odvjetnika dr. Pavla Neubergera u Haulikovoj 6. Na trećem katu te zgrade bit će njegov prvi stan (nije poznato je li napravio projekt interijera i za taj stan) sve do preseljenja u stan u zgradi koja je bila vlasništvo oca arhitekta Antuna Ulriha u Mesničkoj 25, a Poslovnica od početka 1931. godine pa sve do selidbe u kucu Rosinger u Vlasčkoj 69. Njegov rad u Zagrebu bio je težak i uvjetovan skućenim pogledima na arhitekturu i umjetnost velike većine zagrebačke srednje klase toga doba. Prva njegova intervencija uopće bila je terasa na prvome katu adaptirane kuće dr. Čepulic u Kacicevoj ulici. Prva sagrađena ugrađena najamna kuća bila je kuća Deutsch u Vukotinovićevoj 5, gdje je, analogno Loosu, građevna vlast 'obrijala' pročelje. Prva prava zgrada kojom je Zlatko Neumann bio zadovoljan bila je uglovnica Pordes na uglu Hrvojeve 10 i Trga kralja Petra Kresimira IV., koju je on publicirao prilikom objave intervjua u „Novostima“ 1930. godine. Nije dan od projekata iz ove etape nije potpisan njegovim imenom, ali se može tvrditi prema paradigmatičnom autorskom arhitektonskom rukopisu da su popisani projekti njegovo autorsko djelo.

Prvi njegov potpuni projekt jest uglovnica Armuth na uglu Illice i Cankarove ulice, gdje je blago ostar kut sučeljavanja dviju ulica riješio okomitom naboranim pročeljem stambenih katova u Cankarovoju ulici, dobivši time pravokutan oblik svake od prostorija u karakterističnom tlocrtu. Horizontalna masivna greda-vijenac razdvaja prizemlje od gornjih katova. U razdoblju od 1932. do 1935. godine sukcesivno je na šest obiteljskih kuća u Zagrebu, Crikvenici i Varaždinu standardizirao jedno- ili dvokatne kuće oblića kvadra, iz kojeg mogu biti istisnuti manji kvadri u visini posljednjega kata. Nakon završetka Drugoga svjetskog rata i povratka iz zarobljenstva arhitekt Zlatko Neumann vratio se projektiranju: do 1954. u sklopu državnih projektnih zavoda, a od 1954. do 1963. kao direktor Arhitektonskoga projektne biroa „Neumann“.

**DARKO KAHLE**

## BIOGRAPHY

## BIOGRAFIJA

**DARKO KAHLE**, PhD, Architect (ARB, United Kingdom), Licensed Architect (HKA, Croatia), Research Fellow (Croatia); 1989 Master of Architecture, 2002 MSc in Architecture and Urban Planning, 2007 PhD in Architecture and Urban Planning (University of Zagreb, School of Architecture, Graduate School of Built Heritage Split). From 2002 onwards: nine published scientific articles, four executed renovation and restoration projects and two competition projects.

Dr.sc. **DARKO KAHLE**, arhitekt (ARB, Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo), ovlašten arhitekt (HKA, Hrvatska), znanstveni suradnik (Hrvatska); 1989. diplomirani inženjer arhitekture, 2002. magistar tehničkih znanosti, 2007. doktor tehničkih znanosti (Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Arhitektonski fakultet, Mediteranski centar za graditeljsko naslijeđe Split). Od 2002. godine objavio je devet znanstvenih radova, četiri izvedena projekta obnove i dva natječajna projekta.



