ARCHITECTURAL PHOTOGRAPHS
AS AGENTS OF TRAVEL AND INFORMATION

Virgil Bierbauer’s travels to circulate visual information in the Architectural Press in interwar Hungary

ÁGNES ANNA SEBESTYÉN
Hungarian Museum of Architecture

[EN]

Abstract
Architectural photographs were circulated extensively in professional networks and the printed press during the interwar period to disseminate the latest news about modern architecture. In addition to contributing to the accumulation of pictorial information about buildings, these images were substitutes for travel while also stimulating the desire to explore.

Tér és Forma (Space and Form), a leading architectural periodical, publicised international modern architecture in interwar Hungary, and was under the editorship of the architect Virgil Bierbauer between 1928 and 1942. Bierbauer established a continuously growing international network of connections that facilitated the distribution of his own works in the international architectural press as well as the acquisition of information about the activities of his contemporaries.

Although he never managed to go overseas, Bierbauer was an avid traveller and his network covered not only Europe but also the United States and Japan. He took study trips in order to visit particular buildings, urban ensembles and exhibitions as well as to participate in congresses. He also took the opportunity to study the built environment during his holidays. Although he was an amateur photographer himself, he preferred to publish images by professional photographers in his journal.

I argue that by facilitating the flow of information, architectural photographs served as substitutes for travel. Thus, I place the notion of travel as an analogy for both the transfer and the reception of modern architecture via photographic images in the magazine Tér és Forma. In addition, I trace Bierbauer’s attitude towards actual travel and the notion of travel with different case studies and how his approach permeated the printed page. I also analyse Bierbauer’s own travels and how his experiences affected his editorial activities in terms of layout and content.
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Resumo
As fotografias de arquitetura circularam extensivamente em redes profissionais e na imprensa durante o período entre guerras para disseminar as últimas notícias sobre a arquitetura moderna. Além de contribuir para o acúmulo de informações pictóricas sobre edifícios, as imagens foram elas próprias substitutos de viagens, estimulando, não obstante, o desejo de explorar.

Tér és Forma (Espaço e Forma), uma publicação cimeira no âmbito da arquitetura, deu a conhecer a arquitetura moderna internacional na Hungria do período entre guerras, estando sob a direção editorial do arquiteto Virgil Bierbauer entre os anos de 1928 e 1942. Bierbauer estabeleceu uma rede internacional de contactos em contínua expansão, que facilitou a divulgação de seus próprios trabalhos na imprensa de arquitetura internacional, bem como a reunião de informações sobre as atividades de seus contemporâneos.

Embora nunca tivesse conseguido ir para o exterior, Bierbauer era um viajante ávido e sua rede abrangia não só a Europa, mas também os Estados Unidos e o Japão. Realizou viagens de estudo com o propósito de visitar edifícios particulares, conjuntos urbanos e exposições, bem como participar em congressos. Soube, ademais, aproveitar a oportunidade para estudar o ambiente construído durante as férias. Embora ele fosse um fotógrafo amador, preferiu publicar imagens de fotógrafos profissionais no seu jornal.

Eu defendo que, facilitando o fluxo de informações, as fotografias de arquitetura serviram como substitutos das viagens. Assim, coloco a noção de viagem como uma analogia tanto para a divulgação quanto para a receção da arquitetura moderna através de imagens fotográficas na revista Tér és Forma. Além disso, investigo a atitude de Bierbauer em relação à viagem real e a noção de viagem a partir de diferentes estudos de caso e como sua abordagem permeou a página impressa. Analiso, por fim, de que modo as próprias viagens de Bierbauer e as suas experiências influenciaram as suas atividades editoriais em termos de layout e conteúdo.

Keywords
Architectural photography, modern architecture, media, interwar period, Hungary, Virgil Bierbauer.

Palavras-chave
Fotografia de arquitetura, arquitetura moderna, media, período entre guerras, Hungria, Virgil Bierbauer.
Introduction

Travelling has always been an essential tool for architects to gain information about historic buildings and the latest developments in architecture. 19th century travellers witnessed the shift from the acquisition of physical objects to the purchase or production of photographs as visual evidence of a journey. With the introduction of lightweight cameras such as the Leica in the 1920s, the production of photographic images increased to an unprecedented extent. In addition to tourists, architects also acknowledged the potential of taking photographs during their travels for professional reasons. In addition to this (or instead of it), they also used and consumed images captured by professional photographers that became both substitutes and reasons for personal encounters. Architecture thus became strongly intertwined with photography, especially during the interwar period when photography turned into the most powerful tool in the mediation of modern architecture.

Powerful agents were magazines with architect editors who were sometimes even photographers themselves. The architect Virgil Bierbauer (also known as Virgil Borbiró, 1893–1956) was among these architect editors/amateur photographers, who led a missionary campaign to promote modern architecture. Between 1928 and 1942, he edited the periodical Tér és Forma (Space and Form), which became the leading architectural journal in interwar Hungary very soon after its inception. Due to Bierbauer’s extensive and continuously growing international network of professional connections, he reported on modern architecture from Europe, the USA and Japan. As the editor and the major content provider, he represented a leading voice passionately popularizing the new architecture and thus became a major reference point for Hungarian and foreign readers.
Destination I — Travelling and Knowledge Production

Several of Bierbauer’s travels related to his profession. He took study tours, participated in international conferences and visited architectural exhibitions. His destinations can be traced in his writings, his correspondence and the memoir of his wife, Adrienne Bierbauer (née Graul). In spite of the memoir’s highly biased narrative, it provides essential information about the destinations, the precise events and the people they met. The information in Bierbauer’s correspondence and his detailed travel reports supplement his wife’s recollections and therefore much can be reconstructed about his journeys. Bierbauer’s experiences shaped his opinion about modern architecture to a great extent and this permeated his editorial activities. Although he was an amateur photographer, he generally used the images of professional photographers as illustrations in his magazine. Relatively long photographic spreads were available that frequently included general views, pictures of specific details and at times some unusual perspectives such as bird’s-eye or worm’s-eye views, aspects which were supported by the new photography that was infiltrating into the realm of architecture (Elwall, 2004: 120–129). The circulation of these definitive images commonly lasted several years and the exact same pictures appeared all over the world. This phenomenon contributed to a common knowledge shared by architects globally. This shared production of visual knowledge about contemporary architecture was enriched by local reception and individual interpretations. Bierbauer was an interpreter in this manner, who introduced this shared visual knowledge with the Hungarian professional scene.

Although not always credited, Bierbauer used the pictures of such notable architectural photographers as Lucia Moholy and Sasha Stone (at that time) from Germany, Leo Herbert Felton, Francis Rowland Yerbury, Sydney W. Newbery and Dell & Wainwright from England, Jan Kamman, Cornelis Albertus Deul, Ernst Marinus van Ojen and Éva Besnyő from the Netherlands, Ferdinando Barsotti, Mario Crimella and the Mazzoletti Fotoarte from Italy as well as the Atelier de Sandalo and Jaroslav Möller from Czechoslovakia. Since Bierbauer was always asked to send the photographs back after publication, this remarkable photographic
material has not survived in his bequest. Nonetheless, Bierbauer’s contacts — as they can be traced in his correspondence — were not these photographers, but instead the architects who maintained control over the dissemination of the visual material representing their oeuvre.

Regarding his travel for professional reasons, the year 1927 marked a turning point when he became seriously involved in international architectural circles. This achievement perfectly prepared him for his editorial work starting in 1928. During these formative years, he was introduced to a variety of trends in contemporary architecture and evaluated buildings based on functional instead of formalist considerations. He insisted on architecture’s dependence upon the inhabitants’ needs and the local environment. He rejected the notion of an “international style”, as he believed in regional solutions rather than the use of predefined uniform elements. In the Netherlands, he was equally impressed by Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud’s hard line modernism represented by his social housing as well as by Willem Marinus Dudok’s Wrightian architecture in Hilversum. The 1927 international congress of the Comité Permanent International des Architectes (CPIA) in the Hague and Amsterdam provided the opportunity for Bierbauer to become personally acquainted with Dudok and to visit some of their buildings. The most noteworthy tours included a visit to the housing estate designed by Oud in Oud-Mathenesse (1922–1923) and then Hilversum, which was at that time distinguished by Dudok’s recent designs of residential houses and schools, e.g. the Geraniumschool (1918), the Fabrikiusschool (1926) and the Julianaschool (1925–1927). Dudok’s town hall (1924–1930) was under construction at that time and Bierbauer had the opportunity to see its designs.

In the following years Bierbauer corresponded with both Oud and Dudok and acquired publication materials on Oud’s Kieboek housing estate in Rotterdam (1925–1930) and Dudok’s town hall in Hilversum, among others. Bierbauer had the opportunity to visit the latter building when he returned to the Netherlands in 1931, with Dudok himself giving him a tour of it. Oud also lent him the photographs taken by Ernst Marinus van Ojen, with whom he usually worked, while Dudok
suggested that Bierbauer contact the photographer Cornelis Albertus Deul to acquire pictures of his town hall. Deul is the only photographer whose name was mentioned in Bierbauer’s correspondence, which clearly signals the secondary status of technical photographers in the contemporary architectural publication system (for more, see Baudin, 2005: 25–28). Credited or not, these photographs became the definitive images that represented the new Dutch architecture in international scenes due to publications such as the Dutch periodical Wendingen, which was one of Bierbauer’s points of reference as documented in his correspondence. (See Figure 1)

The 1927 Dutch trip was memorable for several more reasons that will follow. On his way there and back, Bierbauer stopped in at several cities in Germany and the car drive with his colleagues provided the opportunity to visit many buildings worth seeing. Bierbauer’s detailed travel report that appeared in the journal Magyar Művészettől (Hungarian Art) gives the exact dates and stops of this road trip they took at the end of August and beginning of September 1927 (Bierbauer, 1927). The journey included Wasserburg am Inn, Munich, Stuttgart, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Mühlheim an der Ruhr, Bremen, Hamburg and Berlin. Amongst the many notable stops, the Weissenhofsiedlung in Stuttgart and Fritz Höger’s buildings in Hamburg had the longest lasting influence on Bierbauer. Bierbauer had a great regard for Höger, and they maintained correspondence between 1926 and 1932. In 1927, he had the opportunity to see Höger’s noteworthy buildings in Hamburg alongside the architect himself, including the Chilehaus (1922–1924) and the Cigarette Factory “Haus Neuerburg” (1926–1927). Höger represented a regionalist approach, insisting on the use of brick as a local building material. Opposed to the modernist aesthetic represented by the Dessau Bauhaus and labelled Neue Sachlichkeit, Höger pursued an architecture now usually described as Expressionist. At that time during the late-1920s, Bierbauer understood the relevance in observing brick office and industrial buildings due to his running commission to expand the Kelenföld Power Plant in Budapest (1925–1934), where he adopted the characteristic usage of brickwork.
Figure 1 — Cornelis Albertus Deul (photographer). Town Hall, Hilversum (projected by the architect Willem Marinus Dudok, 1924–1930), on the cover of the July 1931 issue of Tér és Forma.
Even though Bierbauer had great esteem for Höger, he was also an advocate of German progressive modernists such as Walter Gropius, Ernst May and Heinrich Lauterbach. In 1927, the Weissenhofsiedlung opened in Stuttgart as a showcase of modern housing solutions in the context of the exhibition of the Deutsche Werkbund. The experimental housing estate very soon became a pilgrimage site for progressive architects due to the fact that the project intended to demonstrate new materials, the latest construction methods, current spatial solutions and modern household furnishings. Furthermore, the international selection of designers represented the elite of the modern movement, such as Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, J. J. P. Oud and Mart Stam. Bierbauer recorded his impressions immediately in his travel report and candidly criticised some solutions while praising the basic idea behind the estate (Bierbauer, 1927:643–648). He was especially disappointed by the two houses by Le Corbusier, whose theoretical writings he approved of deeply. Despite his criticism, the visit had a lasting effect on Bierbauer’s editorial choices at *Tér és Forma* and the visual material of the magazine. After this formative year of 1927, Bierbauer continued to make study tours in Europe — primarily to Italy — but the framework of this paper does not allow for a comprehensive examination of these travels.

Bierbauer — similar to his contemporaries — was very much occupied with the problems of housing, which became a building type that was profoundly exposed to experimentation. Modern architects were working on both utopian and realistic solutions for accommodating the masses, especially to provide hygienic and liveable dwellings. Nonetheless, a great number of designs remained on paper, as commissions for social housing were limited and most of the clients belonged to the middle-class and the urban intelligentsia. Even though Bierbauer featured numerous building types in *Tér és Forma*, housing became one of his prevailing topics due to its social importance. He became a reliable but fiery commentator on modern housing and he filled the pages of *Tér és Forma* with numerous residential solutions, especially from Budapest where he lived. Housing was a highly photographed subject by architectural photographers for promotional reasons. Contemporary publications including *Tér és Forma* came to be permeated with photographs of
residential buildings as the epitomes of modern living. Architects’ own living spaces became widely distributed as exemplars of their ideas. Bierbauer had the chance to visit some of his colleagues in their homes, including Josef Karel Říha in Prague in 1931, whose villa (1929–1930) he put in his magazine in the same year (Bierbauer, 1931; Anděl, 2006: 188, 193).

![Figure 2 — Jaroslav Möller (photographer): Říha House, Prague-Smíchov (projected by the architect Josef Karel Říha, 1929–1930). Private collection. Reproduced from Anděl, 2006: 193, with the author’s permission.](image)

**Destination II — Travel and Leisure**

Bierbauer’s most frequent travel destination was Italy. His professional ties to this country were profound and steady: he participated in congresses such as the 13th CPIA congress (Rome, 1935) and the Convegno Volta (Rome, 1936), co-organized the Hungarian section twice at the architectural exhibition of the Triennale di Milano (Milan, 1933 and 1936) and also had an extensive professional network there (for more, see Ordasi, 2011: 61–64). Although his German
orientation prevailed, Bierbauer stopped visiting Germany after 1931 except for one trip in 1939. He distanced himself from the architecture of the Nazi era, but followed the work of his colleagues who had emigrated, including Walter Gropius and the Hungarian-born but Bauhaus-trained Marcel Breuer. Regarding Italy, he was impressed by the work of the rationalists, Italian modernism in general and even certain products of Fascist architecture. At the same time, Italy represented a major destination for vacation and leisure, so he travelled there together with his wife in many cases.

In 1924, the couple travelled to Venice, where in addition to visiting some notable historical buildings, Bierbauer bought Le Corbusier's pioneering book entitled *Vers une architecture* (1923), which had a great effect on Bierbauer's theoretical thinking. As was mentioned earlier, Bierbauer adopted the modernist agenda of functional, economic and hygienic buildings that were in accordance with modern living and the local ambience. Unlike the avant-garde, he did not advocate a break with the past, but recognized continuity with the history of local architecture, only rejecting 19th century Historicism. Furthermore, modernist architects were inclined to champion vernacular architecture beyond their shared disdain for Historicism, while searching for an anonymous architecture that they paralleled with the rationalism of modern design (for more, see Sabatino, 2008). The recurring pattern of architecture's local relevance in terms of function and economy represented Bierbauer's evaluation of both modern and vernacular architecture, which he found mutually relevant. His deep interest in the vernacular architecture of rural Hungary led to the dedication of a complete issue of *Tér és Forma* to this topic as early as in 1929.

Visiting Italy, Bierbauer found his tenets justified in the work of some of his Italian colleagues such as Giuseppe Capponi and Giuseppe Pagano. Bierbauer and Capponi corresponded between 1928 and 1936 and maintained a close friendship until Capponi's premature death in 1936. Bierbauer came across Capponi's work during a trip to Rome in 1928, where he saw the architect's Capri houses reproduced at an architectural exhibition. Bierbauer contacted Capponi to ask for publication material in the same year and then they met in person in 1929 at a congress in
Rome. Bierbauer was especially impressed by Capponi’s building activity in Capri, where he pursued modern architectural ideas fuelled by local traditions and the ambience. Bierbauer and his wife spent a few summer holidays with the Capponis in Capri, where he had the opportunity to analyse both Capponi’s modernist and the island’s vernacular architecture closely. He conducted his analysis partly as an amateur photographer capturing the natural landscape, the steep and narrow streets of Anacapri, as well as his host’s own house. He intended to justify both visually and textually that in responding to local needs, both local stonemasons and modern architects reached similar solutions especially in terms of form. Despite the structural differences, Bierbauer argued that the flat roofs, the cubic forms, the plain surfaces, the lack of ornamentation and the external stairs were all related. Both his photographs and his essays testified to his photographic sensitivity in capturing tonal contrasts, sunlit surfaces and the interplay of adjoining masses. Publishing a personal account, Bierbauer provided his own photographs for this article in *Tér és Forma* (Bierbauer, 1932). (See Figure 3)

Bierbauer also interacted with the architect Giuseppe Pagano. As both were magazine editors, they continuously exchanged publication materials and Bierbauer constantly reviewed Pagano’s magazine, *Casabella*. Pagano documented Italian “rural architecture” (“architettura rurale” as he used the term) as an amateur photographer. Pagano’s interest in rural architecture represented a quest for “rationalism” in modern design that can be equated with the function-driven and anonymous building activity of “primitives”. Pagano distanced himself from the romantic and picturesque approaches to the vernacular as well as from “rustic architecture” that he viewed with suspicion equating it with “style architecture” (Sabatino, 2010: 97). Pagano’s concept of “rationalism” can be paralleled with Bierbauer’s tenets of “Sachlichkeit” in terms of the pursuit for architectural forms driven by climate, land, local building materials and economy. According to Bierbauer’s “Sachlichkeit”, the “content” in architecture was constructed from these elements, which he championed over mere forms void of rational values. This is what distinguished the “new architecture” he advocated from “style architecture”.

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Figure 3 — Virgil and Adrienne Bierbauer (photographers). Streets in Anacapri (left) and Giuseppe Capponi’s house in Capri (right), in *Tér és Forma*, 5(10), 338–339.
Bierbauer found similarly local solutions while on a retreat for a few days in Ascona in May 1929. Much like Capri, Ascona represented a verification of Bierbauer’s ideas on the relation between modern and vernacular architecture as he became acquainted with the German-born architect Carl Weidemeyer. Weidemeyer’s building activity by Lake Maggiore during the late 1920s and 1930s embodied modernist architectural solutions while corresponding with its milieu. As Bierbauer wrote in his article in Tér és Forma in 1930:

«A few days later [after visiting Weidemeyer], I somehow arrived in a poor little village, Magadino, where I discovered the exact same [external] stairs [as were used by Weidemeyer] on a simple peasant’s house. It was the simplest and cheapest solution. I showed a picture of this to Weidemeyer. ‘Ecco... it’s not like the stairs of a ship but a local motif. I have never been to Magadino and I didn’t know if it was a folkloristic form.’ Knowing Weidemeyer well, I was quite sure that he was telling me the truth and it was also certain that the stonemason in Magadino did not learn this form from Le Corbusier. The connection between the new architect and folk architecture is different in nature. It is not superficial, but significantly deeper. Weidemeyer and the local stonemason were led by the given ambience and economy in finding a rational solution. This minor case sheds light perfectly on the connection between the primitives and the advocates of the new architecture» (Bierbauer, 1930: 183).

Figure 4 — Villa Chiara, Ascona (projected by the architect Carl Weidemeyer, 1935). Postcard sent by Weidemeyer to Virgil Bierbauer in October 1935. © Virgil Bierbauer archive, Hungarian Museum of Architecture.
In addition to the advancement of his theoretical thinking, Bierbauer’s journeys for leisure contributed to the diversification of *Tér és Forma*’s visual material. Images of crisp white modern houses were complemented by sunlit rural houses that when given the same visual treatment represented an architectural quality related not only in terms of architectural theory but also with regards to photographic composition. Strong tonal contrasts, angle views, big sunlit surfaces, whiteness and attention to details were paralleled in modern and vernacular architecture. Framing and cropping directed the viewer’s gaze in order to visually support the textual material.

Destination III — Media as a Destination

In addition to his travels, Bierbauer very much needed his expanded international network and the vast publication materials that circulated globally in order to cover the new architecture’s international expansion. He also had a few steady contacts who regularly reported on the building activity of certain countries. Even though Bierbauer was an avid traveller, he never managed to go overseas. Nonetheless, he published remarkable materials concerning not only Europe but also the USA and Japan. Especially at the beginning of the 1930s, Bierbauer frequently compiled thematic issues on selected building types, i.e. sanatoriums and hospitals, baths and swimming pools, stadiums and churches. At the same time, however, Bierbauer exploited the advantages of panoramic presentation methods pursued by such notable architects as Alberto Sartoris in his comprehensive publications about contemporary architecture, e.g. the book *Gli elementi dell’architettura funzionale. Sintesi panoramica dell’architettura moderna*, which was published in 1932, 1935 and 1941. The Swiss-Italian architect filled hundreds of pages with an extensive array of selected photographs of modern architecture from all over the world.

In July 1931, Bierbauer published the first and only international issue of *Tér és Forma* with the intention of launching the *Revue Internationale*
d’Architecture. This issue included eleven countries represented solely by images. This journal was initiated at the 1930 CPIA congress held in Budapest, for which Bierbauer was one of the chief organizers. It was intended to be published in four languages (English, German, French and Italian) by the publisher of Tér és Forma at least until 1933. In the editorial, Bierbauer claimed that instead of a manifesto of one particular group, this issue represented the grand scale of contemporary architecture by including the images of selected buildings that exemplified the architecture of a limited time period. In spite of this heated momentum, the initiative came to a halt and a second international issue was never published (Sebestyén, 2016: 186).

![Figure 5 — Fototecnico Crimella (photographer). The architectural exposition of the Triennale di Milano in 1936. © Hungarian Museum of Architecture.](image)

In the following years, however, Bierbauer contributed to some of the great panoramas of modern architecture such as the architectural exhibitions of the Triennale di Milano in 1933 and 1936. Bierbauer was in contact with one of the
main organizers, the architect Agnoldomenico Pica, who assembled a large number of photographs from many different countries, including Hungary.

Even though Bierbauer maintained and continuously extended his professional network, the international content of Tér és Forma decreased along with its overall length from the mid-1930s due to financial problems and the increase in Hungarian content. In 1935, Bierbauer published an important editorial entitled “Revision’s revision”, which presented a concise panorama of the contemporary architecture in Europe, the USA and Japan (Sebestyén, 2016: 186). He used a series of photographic images aimed at providing a summary by looking around the world at a glance from the air, from Prague to Los Angeles and Tokyo, as he commented (Bierbauer, 1935: 158). Using the metaphor of air travel and the bird’s-eye view, he literally linked travel, photography and the networking that fostered the publication of Tér és Forma. While thematic issues provided “travels” to building types in several different locations, panoramic presentations replaced study tours in providing visual information on the latest architecture on a global scale.

Figure 6 — Representations of Tokyo in Virgil Bierbauer’s article “Revision’s revision”, published in Tér és Forma, 8(6), 166.
Conclusion

*Tér és Forma* was a platform for disseminating knowledge, sharing information and generating debate. Photographs became crucial agents as bearers of information and visual evidence of personal encounters. Images thus had the potential to become substitutes for study tours as well as travelling in general. Architects were in the fortunate position during the interwar period, in that they had access to an unprecedented number of architectural images in a remarkably short time. Bierbauer acknowledged the fast flow of information and the rapid circulation of images. He became a driving force transferring this visual material from his own personal recollections to various media sites, which contributed to visual knowledge nourishing the new architecture in Hungary.

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NOTES

1 Virgil Bierbauer’s archive is now kept at the Hungarian Museum of Architecture in Budapest, and includes architectural and family photographs, drawings, personal records, corresponences and selected publications. The archive contains a copy of Adrienne Bierbauer’s unpublished memoir entitled “Bottle Post”, which was written between 1958 and 1972 (Bierbauer, 1958–1972).

2 Tér és Forma was launched as a supplement of the journal Vállalkozók Lapja (Entrepreneurs’ Journal) in 1926, but became an independent monthly periodical in 1928.

3 See the architecture of the American architect Frank Lloyd Wright.


5 Bierbauer returned to Hamburg in 1931, when he had the opportunity to meet Höger again.

References


