

# PhotoResearcher

ESHPh European Society for the History of Photography



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abb. 120 wohnungen der bauhausmeister  
schrank für plättbrett und plättleisen bei einzelehaus gropius  
die kombinierte aufnahme zeigt gleichzeitig das heraus- und hereingelegte plättbrett.

# Editorial – On Mediality and Architectural Photography

*The photo is a motionless silent surface,  
waiting patiently to be reproduced  
and distributed.<sup>1</sup>*

The title of this special issue possibly sounds simple but the subject itself is anything but that. The concepts of mediality and architectural photography are neither clearly distinguished nor unambiguously defined. For the purposes of this edition of our journal, mediality was considered to be the transition of photographic images into a medial context and there were

several reasons for interpreting architectural photography *senso latu* as we believe that there is not *one single* but *many* forms of the genre. This is because not only photos taken by architectural photographers are to be included in this category, but also all those images by various authors who have focused on the subjects of architecture and urban design in their work.

The still-life and architecture showed themselves to be the most popular photographic subjects at the start of the photographic documentation of our world. Its immanently static character invested architecture with a special status for the creative photographer from the very beginning.<sup>2</sup> At an early stage, architects commissioned photographs of their work to show their buildings in the appropriate light. This devel-

opment, together with the emergence of technical reproducibility, made it possible for a new actor to enter the scene of the photographic world: As a result of the specialisation of modern times, starting in the 1920s, architectural photographers regarded giving visual expression to the specific aspects, the character and quality of modern architectural work, as their most important responsibility.<sup>3</sup> This task has remained one of the core competences of every architectural photographer to this day.

In the present case, *Mediality of Architectural Photography* recounts several chapters in the story of the various ways we use, implement and exploit the photographic images of our man-made environment. This special issue is concerned with the use and function, as well as the manifold metamorphoses, of photographs with an architectural content.

## A prologue

Seeing that the transfer of photographs into other media (items specially prepared for collectors, photographic postcards, magazines, books, journals, the internet etc.) being dealt with in this special issue covers the period from 1900 to the present day, we feel it necessary to



Figure 1  
Hippolit (Ippolito) Lafranchini, *Fürst Metternich's Palais am Rennweg in Wien* (Prince Metternich palace on the Rennweg in Vienna), undated (early-1850s), salted paper print on cardboard, 28,3 x 41,3 cm photo only.  
Wien Museum Karlsplatz, I. N. 32446.

1. Vilém Flusser, *Für eine Philosophie der Fotografie*, Göttingen: European Photography 1999, 45.

2. From the outset, both men and women were active in the field of photography. Although the number of male photographers was larger up to the First World War, the contribution made by female photographers should not be overlooked.

3. For example, Heinrich Ferstel had the k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei make a photographic documentation of the building progress of the Votive Church in Vienna (1857-61).



start by giving a brief overview of the situation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the aim of providing a better understanding of some of the strategies, concepts and methods within medial activities and of making it easier to recognise continuities.

In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, photographs became just as indispensable as prints, engravings, drawings and paintings for collectors of vedute. The first salt-paper photographs were mounted on cardboard for them, trimmed, given a title and, in special cases, published as a series of views. (Fig. 1)



From the mid-1840s, publications were issued with original photographs for purely illustrative purposes. Although Henry Fox Talbot is considered to be the first to have had original architectural photographs glued into his book *The Pencil of Nature*,<sup>4</sup> we would like to draw the reader's attention to an illustrated volume on the Mainz Cathedral<sup>5</sup> that, even more than Talbot's book, shows *pars pro toto* that the production of illustrated books after 1850 up to the souvenir vedute books of the 1880s was rather substantial. (Fig. 2) These books made it possible to transfer knowledge even more quickly and this was taken advantage of in all its facets. However, the

Figure 2  
The Cathedral of Mainz, plate 5,  
Hermann Emden, salted paper print, 23 x  
16,4 cm on one page; in: *Der Dom zu Mainz und  
seine bedeutendsten Denkmäler*, Verlag: Victor  
von Zabern, Mainz 1858. Austrian National  
Library Neu Mag 44808-D.

high costs involved meant that these visual delights remained a luxury for the well-off. Although experiments on the possibilities of printing photographic images and their inexpensive reproduction had been made everywhere from an early stage, it did not become feasible to really satisfy the interested public's thirst for photographs until the 1890s.

To illustrate this, we would like to deal with a Viennese case study that shows the paths photographs could follow to attract the attention of the masses.

In 1858, the k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei (Austro-Hungarian Court and State Printers) undertook a photographic campaign to capture the city walls of Vienna that were destined to be demolished. Quite a few of the 55 photos of gates (fig. 3), sections of the city wall, and small views of the city went through a medial metamorphosis before being technically

4. Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*, London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans 1844. Eleven of the 24 original illustrations in the book are pictures of architecture or cities.

5. *Der Dom zu Mainz und seine bedeutendsten Denkmäler*, Victor von Zabern: Mainz 1858.







Figure 5  
Hans Blaha, *Das alte Kärnthnerthor* (The Old Kärnthner-city gate), 1913, water colour on paper, 16,0 x 23,2 cm, Wien Museum Karlsplatz, I. N. 76615/291.



reproduced as historical documents in magazines. Starting in the 1870s, when the city walls had become a thing of the past, a feeling of nostalgia started to spread though the large construction site that Vienna<sup>6</sup> had become and the potency of the pictures was consciously employed to oppose the modernisation measures taking place in the city and increase the feeling of loss. To achieve this, it was necessary to find a way to circulate large numbers of the few existing photographs and pictures of “Old Vienna”. In 1872, when the final remnants of the wall had been done away with, the *Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt* started a series with cover pictures of “Old Vienna”; one of the first was a photographic illustration of the “Alte Kärnthnerthor” (Old Carinthian Gate). Seeing that it was not possible to print this, a woodcut of the picture had to be made to put it on the cover of the newspaper.<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 4)

The vedute collectors increased their search for, and collection of, motifs of “Old Vienna” in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – to satisfy the feeling of nostalgia for the good old days – and these activities reached their peak with the beginning of the First World War. Artists produced drawings and watercolours of a city that no longer existed from the pictures that were stored in various collections. There are considerable differences in the quality, as well as the methods used by the artists and the spectrum of clients, of these pictures. One of them, Hans Blaha, painted a watercolour based on the image mentioned above but expanded it to include two carriages and several persons.<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 5)

When the festivities celebrating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph I were being planned, the C. Ledermann publishing house took advantage of the opportunity to produce a series of postcards after old photographs in the wake of the nostalgia for “Old Vienna”.<sup>9</sup> Number 7 in this series of

6. In addition to the construction of the Ringstraße, extensive regulatory work was carried out in the city, the Danube controlled and major urban expansion areas built according to plans.

7. Twenty years later, the same newspaper once again had a woodcut of the “Old Kärnthnerthor” based on the 1858 photograph on its front page. As the older printing plate no longer existed, a new one – with other figures – had to be produced.

8. While Blaha altered the format, Johann Wilhelm Frey, who also made a watercolour of this motif, kept that of the original photograph and copied it on a scale of 1:1.

9. Harald R. Stühlinger, *Die Fotografien der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei von der Stadtmauer von Wien*, unpublished thesis, Universität Wien, Vienna 2003.



Figure 8  
Double page with images of the newly constructed steets (*Via dell'Impero*, *Via del Circo Massimo*, *Via del Mare*) within the Roman urban fabric, in: *Ansichten des kaiserlichen Roms* (views of the imperial Rome), Pizzi & Pizio, Milano, Roma 1937, s. p. Private collection.

32 motifs was the first flawless reproduction of the photo taken in 1858 and was subsequently distributed as a picture postcard. (Fig. 6) Two years later, the same subject made its way into a semi-scientific publication – also devoted to the subject of “Old Vienna” – where the medial history of this photograph reached its end; at least, for the time being. (Fig. 7)

This condensed medial history of a single photograph shows that all possibilities were exhausted in order to bring pictures into circulation for commercial and socio-political purposes.

### Case studies and other general developments

Against this media-historical background, this special number on the mediality of architectural photography presents six authors who have a connection – some closer than others – with this history. In her study on postcards as well as prints and their use in Paris in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, **Joke de Wolf** describes how the visual experience and effect was reflected on in various media.

When it became increasingly less difficult to make prints in the years between the wars, people began using photographs – especially those with a specifically architectural content – for political propaganda and agitation. Seeing that there was a widespread understanding of just how powerful the visual was, it was not only taken advantage of by democratic systems but also totalitarian regimes. One pamphlet, showing a prestigious urban construction project in Fascist Italy, has been chosen from the countless examples. (Fig. 8) These show so-called *sventramenti*,<sup>10</sup> the demolition of Mediaeval sections of cities to create space for new streets and open spaces. In the example shown, the ancient Imperial Forums

10. *sventramento*: evisceration. This is part of a strategy in urban design in which the demolition of historical architectural fabric is justified with slogans such as bringing “fresh air and light” into the crowded city centre.

« Figure 6  
Verlag C. Ledermann jun., Picture-postcard from the series *Alt-Wien*, Nr. 7, *Kärnthnerthor von innen* (the inner facade of the Kärnthner-city gate), 9,2 x 14,0 cm. Private collection. Ch. Scolik is mentioned as the photographer, which is wrong, as the postcard was made after the image of Figure 3.

« Figure 7  
*Kärnthnerthor von innen* (the inner facade of the Kärnthnerthor city gate), in: *Alt Wien*, Monatsschrift von Leopold Stiebock, vol. IX, no. 1 (January-March 1900), Vienna 1900, page 17. Vienna City Library in the City Hall, B-25228.





Figure 9  
Unknown photographer, *Construction site of the Austrian pavilion at the Brussels World Exhibition 1935*, gelatine silver print 13,0 x 18,0 cm. Estate Oswald Haerdtl, Architekturzentrum Vienna.

were excavated and partially obliterated to make way for a new majestic axis, the *Via dell'Impero*, to be built on top of it and used for parades. In addition, the *Via del Mare* und *Via del Circo* were also laid out expressly as a demonstration of the efficiency of the Fascist desire for transformation.

In the period when modern art was propagating *New Vision*, the automobile not already made a lasting impact on architecture but also changed the way photographs were made. In his essay, **Matthias Noell**, gives a panoramic portray of this interplay and exemplifies it with travelling views and photographers in motion.

This regime of the gaze formed by the urban environment and mobility also made itself felt in those artistic works that increasingly dealt with the chaos

of the big city, the exploding metropolises. The speed of traffic in large towns, as well as the fragmentary perception brought about by the new and more rapid means of transport, provided the inspiration for countless collages and montages. Martino Stierli's contribution focuses on the production of space in those images and presents his thoughts on the manipulative character of pictures used for architectural and urban-development projects.

There was also a tremendous surge of development in the possibilities for making photographic enlargements in the years between the wars. (Architectural) photography became able to occupy large areas and achieved unforeseen publicity. **Martino Stierli** draws attention to László Moholy Nagy's epoch-making stage set (fig. 6 on page 37) by demonstrating the function of these reproductions to limit and constitute space on an ephemeral level. This is shown in the illustration of the Austrian Pavilion in Brussels (fig. 9) in which the construction beneath the ephemeral building, which only bears the photographic foil, can be seen. **Harald R. Stühlinger** explores five case studies to track down this medial phenomenon and investigates the interaction between architecture and the architectural photography applied to it.

After the Second World War, colour photography became widespread in magazines and journals and books with an architectural content illustrated with colour photos started to be produced without letting the era of black-and-white-photography come to an end. While the borderline between artistic and architectural photography in this immense area is not clearly defined, the volumes dealt with in **Rolf Sachsse**'s essay come solely from the artistic

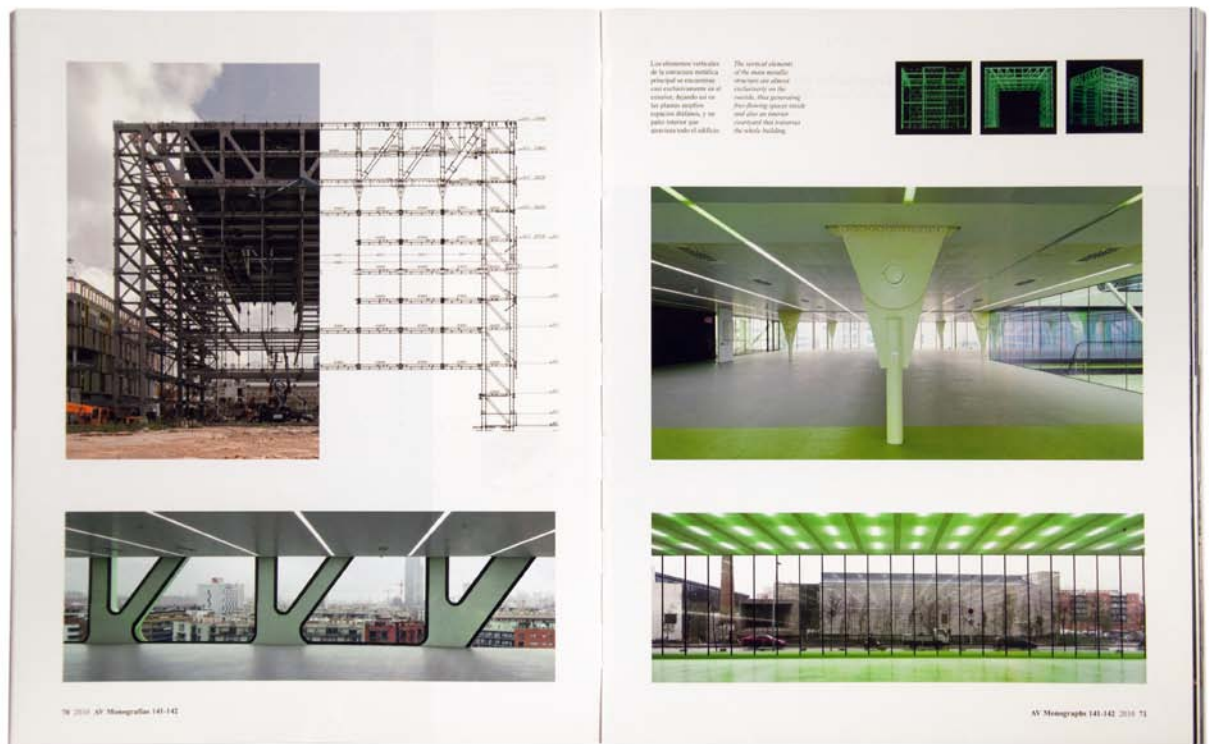


Figure 10  
Double page from AV (Arquitectura Viva)  
Monografías/Monographs, 141-142 (2010),  
España Spain 2010 yearbook, pages 70-71.

sphere. The number of international journals specialising in architecture using illustrations made exclusively by architectural photographers, is just as immense.<sup>11</sup> In these cases, the use of photography no longer merely serves the purpose of explaining a building but also of presenting details and constructional solutions. The contribution in this special issue creates a fascinating picture puzzle through the juxtaposition of photography and design drawings. (Fig. 10)

In recent years, pictures of architecture have conquered the internet and now conventional photography and its printed derivatives are faced with great challenges. **Nicole E. Stöcklmayr** closes the spectrum with her contribution on the Austrian pavilion at the 2009 World Exhibition in Shanghai. She shows how the visual haptics of architectural rendering and built architecture converge and how photographic strategies in regard of ephemeral buildings are being carried on. Independent of the medium, images have continued to remain attractive although the “classical” image bearers have now been joined by digital data carriers and transmitters and have drastically altered traditional ways of seeing an image. Capillary investigations were made at turning points, and considerations at high points, in media history in order to depict those medial and artistic transformations of photographic models that are continuously employed and pursued<sup>12</sup> to show this in a broader context.

We are very pleased to have won Harald R. Stühlinger of the ETH Zurich as guest editor of this special issue on the *Mediality of Architectural Photography*. We wish our readers thought-provoking and stimulating reading and hope that our magazine will spark many new discussions on the subject of photography.

Harald R. Stühlinger, Ulla Fischer-Westhauser, Uwe Schögl  
Vienna, October 2012

11. In this connection, cf.: Axel Hausberg and Anton Simons, *Handbuch und Planungshilfe Architekturfotografie*, Berlin: DOM Publishers, 2012 [expanded licensed edition].

12. Certain continuities are not only apparent in the artistic sphere, single architects and groups (Archizoom, Superstudio, Hans Hollein, and others) have taken advantage of artistic montages and, for their part, written architectural and media history.

# Exchanging Views on an Empty Street On Urban Settings and the Traffic in Charles Marville's Photographs

Joke de Wolf

Cutting the street

Readers of the conservative Parisian magazine *l'illustration* might have been amused on 27 February 1875. In their weekly window on the events in their city and the rest of the world, an engraving signed by A. Normand (fig. 1) shows, as the title indicates, '*Le vieux Paris*': old Paris, the city as it had been. In the center of the page, an old church can be seen – the 'Abside de l'église Saint-Germain-des-Prés' – with eight street views of medieval Paris around it. The caption reads: 'views of houses that were to be demolished to make way for the continuation of the Boulevard Saint-Germain'.<sup>1</sup> So far, no surprises: since the middle of the 1860s, the magazine had shown these kinds of scenes: dark, narrow streets, without any traffic, and without people in fashionable clothes; streets that had to make way for the modern capital Haussmann was creating.<sup>2</sup> But this time, as in a *trompe l'oeil*, the engraver had actually suggested that the images were eight separate pieces of paper pinned on a wall. Some of the corners are torn, and only the central, monumental piece – the church – seems to have some more solidity, as if it was a painting. As if it would be the only image to survive.

To us, the image also shows how views of streets without any remarkable monuments or architecture, streets of no representational importance, were circulating among the upper class. In the following, one of the most famous and largest series of 19th century street views will be traced in their circulation. Around 1865, Charles Marville,<sup>3</sup> 'Photographer of the City of Paris and of the Imperial Louvre Museum', as he had called himself since 1862, was commissioned by the City of Paris to photograph the medieval streets that were about to be demolished. The series of 425 photographs later became known as the *Album du Vieux Paris*, but initially, other, less melancholic, intentions fueled the commission: they served as topographic documents.<sup>4</sup> They had to record the appearance of the outer walls of the buildings of the medieval city that were about to be demolished and had not been documented in ancient maps.<sup>5</sup>

After a short interlude following the destruction of the Town Hall by the Paris Commune, the photographs were stored in the city archives and only taken out on the occasion of World Exhibitions.<sup>6</sup> However, some of the images were used otherwise. The most famous reflection on Marville's street views can certainly be seen in the work of Eugène Atget. Between 1899 and 1927, this photographer sold albums of 'the entire Vieux Paris' to a series of Parisian institutions. Some of them show striking resemblances with Marville's street views. However, as will

1. 'Maisons destinées à être prochainement démolies pour donner passage au boulevard Saint-Germain prolongé', in: *L'illustration*, 27 February 1875, No. 1670, 145.

2. During his active years as 'prefect' of Paris from 1852 until 1870, Georges-Eugène Haussmann was commissioned by Emperor Napoléon III to design boulevards cutting through the medieval city centre. Entire neighborhoods were demolished between 1862 and 1930 following Haussmann's designs.

3. Recent research carried out by Daniel Catan in preparation for the monographic exhibition by the National Gallery in Washington has shown that Charles Marville was the pseudonym of Charles Bossu (1813-1879). However, since Bossu worked under the name of Marville during his entire career this will be used to describe his work. Only one short monograph has been dedicated to the work of Marville: Marie de Thézy, *Marville Paris*, Paris: Hazan 1994.

4. This series only shows streets that were planned to be destroyed by Haussmann and does not include the other famous photographs of modern street furniture and construction works in the Opéra area.

5. See Joke de Wolf, 'Preserve before demolition', in: *Depth of Field*, vol. 2, no. 1, June 2012, <http://journal.depthoffield.eu/vol02/nr01/a04/en>.

6. After the supposed vanishing of the first series of photographs in the fire in the Town Hall in June 1871, Marville, who had kept the negatives at home, printed a new series. See the letter kept in the Marville/Guérinet dossier, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, and Françoise Reynaud, 'Eine Reise durch die fotografischen Sammlungen von Paris', in: Hartwig Fischer, Françoise Cachin, Françoise Reynaud (eds.), *Bilder einer Metropole. Die Impressionisten in Paris* Exhibition Catalogue Museum Folkwang, Göttingen: Steidl 2011, 157-169.





Figure 1  
Adolphe Normand, 'Maisons destinées à être prochainement démolies pour donner passage au boulevard Saint-Germain prolongé', from *L'illustration*, 27 February 1875, No. 1670, 145.

which this essay focuses. As a third example, engravings in the weekly magazine *L'illustration* will be presented.

Although Marville is also known to have made photographs for architects, the photographs of empty streets cannot be considered architectural photographs.<sup>9</sup> The documentation of buildings, known from the so-called *Mission Héliographique* and the albums of Blanquart-Evrard – to

be made clear in the following, Marville's views had already been transported into other media before Atget started his project.

### Traffic jam

'How can we work towards an active, critical understanding of the conventions of representation, particularly those surrounding photography?' This question, asked by Allan Sekula in 1981, is still relevant and useful in relation to this 'second history' of Marville's street photographs – not the history of their origin or of their maker, but of their circulation. As, according to Sekula's essay, photography is not a universal language, but depends on larger discursive conditions, what are the languages of the photographs in this urban history? Is it possible to distinguish a specific understanding of the streets in different contexts – the environment of the engraving, the postcard and the bourgeois magazine? Does the circulation of 'traffic' in Marville's images have an influence on the way the streets and urban structures are being transferred towards the masses? And which views or perspectives are being exchanged? In the following, Marville's street views will remain the only point of departure; a comparison with the rich melancholic iconography of 'Le Vieux Paris' existing will not be made.<sup>8</sup> In the limited space of this essay, the questions asked above will be answered in the context of three examples. First, the similarities in contemporary engravings by Adolphe Martial Potémont will be discussed. Representations of the street à la Marville in picture postcards, which circulated from around 1895 onwards, will be the second aspect on

7. Allan Sekula, 'The Traffic in Photographs', in: *Art Journal*, vol. 41, 1981, 15–25.

8. Cf. Guillaume Le Gall, 'Apparition du vieux Paris', in: Sylvie Aubenas, Guillaume Le Gall, *Atget une rétrospective*, Paris: Hazan, 2007, 12–25; Laure Beaumont-Maillet, 'Atget, suiveur ou novateur?', idem, 26–33; Ruth Fiori, *L'invention du Vieux Paris: Naissance d'une conscience patrimoniale dans la capitale*, Wavre: Editions Mardaga, 2012.

9. Architects such as Charles Garnier, Eugène Viollet-Le-Duc, and Théodore Ballu, to mention only a few. See *Opéra. Bâtiments Civils*. Ministère des

Travaux Publics. Album, 1873. Collection Ecole Nationale des Ponts, PH 127-21A; *Photographies/Collection Eugène Viollet-le-Duc*, Auction Catalogue Drouot-Richelieu, 19 March 2002, De Thézy 1994 (reference 3), 14–21. Despite his remark that the photographs of the Opéra area were not made in the same context, Michel Frizot describes Marville as 'working for national heritage', Michel Frizot, 'Verkehr - Die Stadt und ihre fließenden Elemente', in: Fischer et al. (eds.) 2011 (reference 6), 174.





Figure 2  
Adolphe Martial Potémont, 'Rue Tirechape',  
1866/1870, engraving in *Ancien Paris*.  
Service des collections de l'Ecole Nationale  
Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris/Institut  
National de l'Histoire de l'Art, cote 26939.90.

which Marville contributed many views as well – originated from the idea making an inventory of national property, of creating an archive of the monuments of a specific region or of France in general, and of keeping track of the reconstruction process.<sup>10</sup> The buildings were the subjects of those photographs, often because restoration was intended, whereas the appearance of the outer walls of the houses on the streets had priority in Marville's street views – the buildings were demolished immediately thereafter. Hardly any monuments can be seen and, if so, only by accident. In the original context of Marville's commission, the views were a measurement tool in its purest sense: they were topographic documents.<sup>11</sup>

Until now, research on Marville's street views has been limited to a, usually poetic, description of the images and the streets they show, generally without references to the context in which the photographs were used.<sup>12</sup> Apart from the popular comparison with the work of Atget,<sup>13</sup> Marville's photographs were only seriously compared to other street views twice. In his 1997 dissertation on Marville's album of the Bois de Boulogne, Peter Barberie makes an extensive comparison between the engravings of Charles Méryon (1821-1868) and 'the other Charles M.' without discussing the street views.<sup>14</sup> Despite his interest in topographical exactitude, Méryon rarely confronts us as directly with the street as Marville did: the street is a stage. In 1981, Dennis Paul Costanzo also compared Méryon's almost psychedelic drawings to Marville's photographs, as well as to the engravings by Adolphe Martial Potémont (1827-1883), without giving any concrete examples.<sup>15</sup>

10. On the *Mission Héliographique*: Christine Boyer, 'La Mission Héliographique: architectural photography, collective memory and the patrimony of France, 1851', in: Joan M. Schwarz, James R. Ryan (eds.) *Picturing Place. Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2003, 21-54. On Blanquart-Evrard, see Jean-Claude Gautrand and Alain Buisine, *Blanquart-Evrard*, Lille: Centre Régional de la Photographie Nord Pas-de-Calais 1999.

11. From the 1850s onwards, the French Army carried out experiments to develop a method to draw maps after photographs. Colonel Laussedat constructed the first map based on photographs in 1861 and published repeatedly on the topic in the 1850s and '60s. The commission and initial application of Marville's photographs can be understood in this context. See Teodor J. Blachut, 'Die Frühzeit der Photogrammetrie bis zur Erfindung des Flugzeuges', in: *Geschichte der Photogrammetrie, Band I*, Nachrichten aus dem Karten- und Vermessungswesen, Sonderheft. Frankfurt am Main 1988, 17-64; see also Jan von Brevér, *Blicke von Nirgendwo. Geologie in Bildern bei Ruskin, Viollet-le-Duc und Civiale*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2012, 29-61 and Jan von Brevér, 'Fototopografia: The "Futures Past" of Surveying', in: *Inter-médialités: histoire et théorie des arts, des lettres et des techniques*, vol. 17, 2011, 53-67: 57.

12. De Thézy, 1994 (reference 3), 28-36; Shelly Rice, *Parisian Views*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997, 84-117; Clive Scott, *Street photography. From Atget to Cartier-Bresson*, London: Tauris 2007, 165-181. David Harvey, *Paris:*

*Capital of Modernity*, New York: Routledge, 2003; Dennis Paul Costanzo, *Cityscape and the Transformation of Paris during the Second Empire*, University of Michigan, 1981; David Theodore Van Zanten, *Building Paris: Architectural Institutions and the Transformation of the French Capital, 1830-1870*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994.

13. The work of Eugène Atget, who constituted a huge visual archive of the streets of Paris, can be seen as a continuation of Marville's photographs. However, as most scholars on Atget agree, both his approach and his photographs differ in important aspects from Marville's street photographs. In his 'documents pour artistes', Atget only focused on the remaining old corners of Paris. Although some of his street views show parallel viewpoints to Marville's, the majority of his photographs show close ups of corners, passages or shop windows. However, it is certainly possible that he made his photographs after indications that these kind of photographs had already been made: from 1900 onwards, his photographs were collected by the library where Marville's negatives were stored – the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris. A comparison between Atget and Marville as street photographers has been made most recently by Le Gall, 2007 (reference 5), 24, see also Colin Westerbeck, Joel Meyerowitz, *Bystander: A History of Street Photography*, London: Thames & Hudson 1994, 106-114.

14. Peter Barberie, *Conventional pictures: Charles Marville in the Bois de Boulogne*, dissertation, Princeton 1997, 217.

15. Costanzo 1981 (reference 12), 68.

Figure 3  
Charles Marville, *Rue Tirechape, de la rue Rivoli*, ca. 1865, albumen print, 31 x 27,5 cm.  
Bibliothèque de l'Hôtel de Ville, Paris.  
© Charles Marville / BHDV / Roger-Viollet.



#### A. (Martial) - (Potémont)

From 1862 on, Martial (as he signed his engravings), who had started as a painter, became successful with his etchings of streets and houses 'of which', as he writes in the introduction, 'the names have remained, but of which the form and sight only can be seen here' that were published as *Paris ancien* (1866-1870).<sup>16</sup> They were sold in installments of 50 prints: etchings 'after' drawings or photographs.<sup>17</sup> Martial even cites the authors of the originals occasionally; sometimes authoring himself with his last name. At least five etchings were direct copies from the album of old Paris by Le Secq. Martial signed these with the remark 'd'après l'original appt. à la ville': he had been consulting the archives where Marville's photographs were stored.<sup>18</sup>

Consequently, it is not surprising that a comparison between the two series shows that Martial used Marville's photographs as

models to base his drawings on in at least six cases – and probably many more.<sup>19</sup> Martial copied the photographs probably only a few months after Marville had delivered the street views

16. He also published titles such as *Paris Intime* (1874), *Les Boulevards de Paris* (1877) and *L'Exposition Universelle de Paris en 1878. Lettre illustrée* (1878).

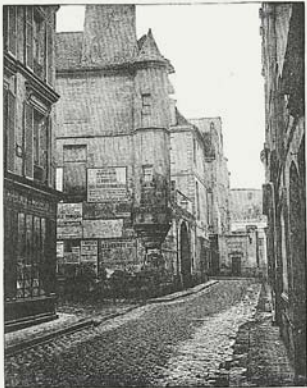
17. On the front page, Martial writes: 'These papers are part of the drawings and engravings in the archives of the city. With some words added to their captions, they will become a summary of the history of Paris. [...] Although the names have remained in our memories, the form and the idea of these streets will be preserved only in this series'. Marcel Poëte, in his 1926 *Album* that comes with his trilogy *Une vie de cité*, writes: 'L'état de Paris, voilà en effet ce que fournit cette suite précieuse: on n'y trouve point de scènes animées, mais le rendu fidèle des rues et des maisons. C'est, en tant que valeur documentaire, ce qui peut le plus se rapprocher de la photographie. Ne constate-t-on pas, au surplus, grâce à des photographies de ce temps parvenues jusqu'à nous, que Martial s'est borné à reproduire, par la gravure, telle ou telle d'entre elles?', in: Marcel Poëte, *Une vie de cité, Album*, Paris: Auguste Picard 1925, xviii.

18. Costanzo 1981 (reference 12), 158, note 45.

19. Surprisingly enough, despite Costanzo's remarks on Martial's and Mar-

ville's similar approach in perspective and in representing the cityscape, he does not go into detail in comparing engravings and photographs. Costanzo 1981 (reference 12), 145. The most surprising aspect is that this comparison, as far as I know, has never been made before. For this essay, comparison has been limited to the album 'Paris Ancien' and Marville's street photographs. Striking similarities can be seen between Martials 'Paris ancien' album, as conserved at the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts cote 26959 (<http://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/collection/7119-vues-de-l-ancien-paris/>) [PA] and Charles Marville's 'Photographies des rues pendant le Second Empire', (as consulted on the website of the Bibliothèque Spécialisées de la Ville de Paris) [RSE]: PA Rue Tirechape - RSE Rue Tirechape de la Rue Rivoli: BAVP Réserve cote [2453 (8)/9]; PA Rue de la Tonnellerie - RSE Rue de la Tonnellerie (de la rue de la Poterie): BAVP Réserve cote [2453 (8) 10]; PA page 224, 'Rue du Dragon' - RSE Passage du Dragon (de la rue de l'Egout) BAVP Réserve cote 2453 (2)/49; PA page 226, Rue Sainte Croix - RSE Rue Sainte-Croix de la rue de Constantine, BAVP Réserve cote 2452 (7) /36; and PA page 227 Rue Pirouette - RSE Rue Pirouette de la rue Rambuteau BAVP Réserve cote 2452 (6)/13.

RUE PIERRE-SARRAZIN. 535  
même de ces deux voies : si elle n'y avait pas une porte, elle y possédait au moins une tourelle qui subsiste encore, et qui contribue à donner un aspect archaïque à cette partie de la rue. Nous engageons le lecteur à rapprocher cette tourelle de celles des rues Hautefeuille et des Cordeliers, ainsi que des vues restituées par M. Albert Lenoir, pour la *Statistique monumentale*.



Tourelle à l'angle des rues Hautefeuille et Pierre-Sarrazin.  
d'après une photographie.

#### RUE DES POITEVINS.

Il faut répéter, à propos de cette voie, ce que nous avons déjà dit des petites rues voisines : ancien sentier, ou chemin de desserte, pratiqué à travers le clos

Figure 4  
Charles Marville, 'Tourelle à l'angle des rues Hautefeuille et Pierre-Sarrazin, d'après une photographie', from: Adolphe Berté and H. Legrand, continued by H. Legrand, and L.-M. Tisserand, *Topographie historique du Vieux Paris*, Vol. 5, Région occidentale de l'Université, Paris, 1887, page 535.

to the archive. But the streets had been demolished. Obviously, Marville had chosen the same viewpoint because they were the only point on the street from where an overview would be possible. Even when Martial noted 'd'après dessin A. Potémont', such as with the engraving of the Rue Tirechape (fig. 2), the similarities with Marville's photograph (fig. 3) are more than just coincidental.<sup>20</sup> Not only the standpoint of the observer is similar, the details such as the receding carriage are also identical in the two images. There are other differences, such as the fonts of the commercial messages and in the size of the building at the back, and there is an important difference in 'style' and context. Martial turned the views that Marville had made for topographic purposes into picturesque, nostalgic views. He transferred the street views from topography to melancholy. And made them circulate among a much larger audience.

'Menschenleer', 'emptied of people' like crime scenes, is how Walter Benjamin described the photographs by Atget.<sup>21</sup> This emptiness is also a recurrent aspect when observing Marville's photographs; however, Marville's photographs should initially be judged innocent. Remarks in superficial writings on Marville's project, where the photographer is said to have provided us with empty streets because the technique of photography at that time was unable to capture human presence on them and he actually wanted to show social injustice, are fortunately denied very often too.<sup>22</sup> One carriage at the end of the road seems to have been the maximum of any kind of traffic Marville allowed in his photographs. Traffic that was reanimated when the streets started recirculating in Martial's engravings. The streets were filled up by Martial with passers-by and carriages without a specific time code, rendering these spaces doomed to vanish in Haussmann's urban modernization even more nostalgic.

One of the neglected aspects in discussing 19th century street photography is its visibility. The traffic in photography cannot be discussed when the photographs have remained invisible from the audience, and the visibility of Marville's street photographs seems very limited. Marville made his views for the City, where they were stored in the archives. At the World Exhibition of 1878, his views were presented in the 'Plan de Paris' (Paris Mapping Department) section of the Pavilion of the City of Paris. The negatives were transferred to the city archives after Marville's death, inaccessible for commercial exploitation. It was not until 1887 that the photographs were printed with texts, by the City itself, in the fifth volume of the *Topographie Historique du Vieux Paris* as an indication of what a certain street looked like

20. Interestingly enough, Laure Beaumont-Maillet refers to Martial's albums as a possible example for Eugène Atget instead of Marville. Beaumont-Maillet 2007 (reference 5), 30.

21. Walter Benjamin, 'Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit', in: *Gesammelte Schriften*, vols. 1.2, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp 1982, 445.

22. If Haussmann's main ambition when hiring Marville would have been showing the insalubrity of the old streets and bad housing conditions, commissioning 425 high-quality systematic photographs seems very unrealistic. Compare 'L'absence de vie dans ces photographies s'explique, rappelons-le,

très simplement: les prises de vues étaient effectuées le plus souvent aux aurores et la technique utilisée par Marville exigeait des temps de pose importants, [...]'. Philippe Mellot, *Le nouveau Paris sens dessus dessous. Marville - Photographies 1864-1877*. Paris, 1995, n.p.; also: Colin Westerbeck, Joel Meyerowitz, 1994 (reference 9), 107, to Graham Robb, *Parisians: An Adventure History of Paris*, London: Picador, 2010, 150-153; Barrie M. Ratcliffe, 'Lieux en images - lieux imaginés à Paris au milieu du XIXe siècle: déconstruction de photographies anciennes de la Montagne Sainte-Genève; reconstruction d'espaces vécus', in *Revue d'Histoire du XIXe siècle*, [En ligne], No. 26-27, 2003, put online 19 February 2008, consulted 12 march 2009.





Figure 5

Paris - La rue Soufflot et le Panthéon, postcard, 14 x 9 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.



Figure 6

208. 'Restes de l'Ancien Cimetière St-Marguerite où fut enterré le Dauphin Louis XVII, rue St. Bernard': *Vieux Paris pittoresque et artistique*, postcard, 14 x 9 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

in the Middle Ages – and afterwards (fig. 4). In the first volume, published in 1866, its editor Adolphe Berté explicitly told his readers that any narrating element had been excluded from the book, since it would be purely hypothetical.<sup>23</sup> This approach changed slowly after Berté's death in 1867. In 1887, printing techniques finally made it possible for photographs to be printed next to the text. And only then, did a subtle level of melancholy concerning the vanishing of the old city make itself felt in the accompanying text. A melancholy that would change dramatically in the other medium into which the streets would wander: the picture postcard.

### Vieux Paris artistique et pittoresque

The first official postcard was printed in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1869. From 1895 onwards, the city photograph would be the most printed theme and, at the same time, the picture postcard developed into a means of communication and collection item for the masses in the entire western world.<sup>24</sup> The World Fairs would play an important role in the popularization of the postcard and its close relationship to the image of Paris. In 1889, the first postcards could be written from the Eiffel Tower with its image printed on it; the postcard had its first heyday at the World Fair of 1900. And, whether by coincidence or not, the biggest attraction of the 1900 fair was a large reconstructed area of 'Le Vieux Paris'.

Although views of major monuments were the subjects of choice for the postcards, street views were also popular. The archive of postcards in the Musée Carnavalet – the museum for the history of Paris – has a large collection of these views of 'ordinary streets', categorized by street name.<sup>25</sup> In this archive, 'Le Vieux Paris' or 'Vieux Paris pittoresque et artistique' is represented as frequently as contemporary themes such as 'Tout Paris' or 'En flânant'. Photography's property of being able to represent urban visions of the past with seemingly objective precision could have resulted in the production of cards made of old photographs, and Marville's street views might have been very suitable for them, since they showed streets that no longer existed. There were two main reasons why this practice did not occur. In the first

23. 'L'anecdote a été bannie de cet ouvrage; ce serait, du reste, un souhait stérile que celui d'une histoire anecdotique et récréative des habitations du Vieux Paris, il n'y a presque rien à recueillir sur cette matière.' Adolphe Berté, *Topographie Historique du Vieux Paris, Histoire Générale de Paris*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale 1866, xviii.

24. Karin Walter, 'Die Ansichtskarte als Visuelles Massenmedium', in: Kaspar Maase and Wolfgang Kaschuba (eds.), *Schund und Schönheit: Populäre Kultur um 1900*, Cologne: Böhlau, 2001, 46–61, 52. 52. On postcards and photography: see Karin Walter, *Postkarte und Fotografie. Studien zur Massenbild-Produktion*. Würzburg, 1995. On postcards of Paris: Naomi Schor, "Cartes

Postales": Representing Paris 1900', in: *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1992, 188–244. On the mediativity of the postcard: Annett Holzheid, *Das Medium Postkarte. Eine sprachwissenschaftliche und mediengeschichtliche Studie*, Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2011. Until the turn of the century, the entire back of the card was reserved for the address, which meant that the message had to be written on the side with the image – which, consequently, rarely would take up the entire space. In France, this changed in 1903.

25. Unfortunately no clear indications are given on the year of production. Because of the use of the full front for the image, this would be after 1903 and, because of the quality of the reproductions, before 1915.





Figure 7  
Paris - La Tour du petit Châtelet,  
postcard, 14 x 9 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

Figure 8  
Charles Marville, *Ancien Hôtel-Dieu. Paris*  
(14<sup>ème</sup> arr.), 1865-1868, 36 x 27,5 cm, albumen  
print. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.



place, the editing enterprises had hired photographers to take photographs especially for the purpose of the postcards – they were employees of Neurdein or Lévy, and finding and using older photographs that would suit the purpose was complicated: practically, technically and legally.<sup>26</sup> Added to this, as we will see, buyers and collectors expected to receive contemporary views even when the series focused on Old Paris.

Most of the time, the historic building that was the reason for the view – and which was mentioned in the caption – would be visible on the photograph (fig. 5), but this was not an absolute condition. With the caption ‘Restes de l’Ancien Cimetière St-Marguerite où fut enteriné le Dauphin Louis XVII, rue St. Bernard’, number 208 of the series ‘Vieux Paris pittoresque et artistique’ (fig. 6), the viewer was confronted with a photograph that shows nothing more than an empty wall and some slums, remains of the cemetery are very difficult to distinguish. Here, photography’s faculty to reproduce a view of the place ‘as it is now’ was crucial to the decision for the choice of the editor to transform this view into a postcard. The message being sent is a message of the street as it is ‘now’. Since it also provides knowledge about what ‘has been’, as a *lieu de mémoire*, the postcard becomes an object to preserve.<sup>27</sup>

A different position was chosen with the postcard ‘Paris – La tour du petit Châtelet’ – a tower which, as the caption tells us, burnt down in 1718 (fig. 7). Not only is the image – probably a contemporary drawing – the representation of a monument that no longer existed, the card itself has been designed with torn edges and printed on yellow color paper to make it look older. Drawings were much more considered to be a technique of the past. Marville took

26. Schor, 1992 (reference 24).

27. An estimation makes clear that in Germany around 1900, 50 % of postcards were not sent away but kept by collectors. Holzheid 2011 (reference 24), 251.



Figure 9  
Pl. XXXIV Carrefour Pirouette. Coll. du Vieux  
Paris artistique et pittoresque,  
postcard, 14 x 9 cm.  
Musée Carnavalet, Paris.



Figure 10  
Charles Marville,  
Rue Pirouette (de la rue Rambuteau),  
ca. 1865, albumen print, 29,5 x 27 cm.  
Musée Carnavalet, Paris.



Figure 11  
Adolphe Martial Potémont, 'Rue Pirouette',  
1866/1870, engraving in *Ancien Paris*.  
Service des collections de l'Ecole Nationale  
Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris/Institut  
National de l'Histoire de l'Art, cote 26939.237.

a photograph from exactly the same position – but he arrived 150 years after the demolition had taken place (fig. 8).

The photographers who were working for the postcard editors might not have known Marville's photographs because of their limited accessibility. It is however very likely that, in their search for historical Parisian places, they had come across Martial Potémont's *Ancien Paris*. A series in which Marville's street views, as we have seen, circulated like in a reflection. The Carrefour Pirouette (figs. 9, 10, 11) is one of the few postcards where both the photographer and Martial take the same viewpoint. As the postcard, which is also from the series of 'Vieux Paris pittoresque et artistique', tells us, it is a historic site: on the right, the house of the 'célèbre' Regnard can be seen and the 'Auberge du Haume' on the right.<sup>28</sup> The overlapping of the views appears to be a coincidence: Marville took the photograph because the street was going to be altered; the view for the early 20th century postcard lover was made because it was a historic site.

One other aspect requires our attention. Although Marville's streets are generally empty, in the early picture postcards, no measures were taken to keep the people away from the scene – on the contrary. We see curious passers-by, children, dogs and their owners, and even shop keepers looking straight into the camera (fig. 12). As Schor puts it, the postcards

28. 'Pl. XXXIV. Carrefour Pirouette, existait en 1241 sous Philippe Auguste sous le nom de Pirouette en Théroouenne. Le pilori des Halles s'y trouvait et le patient y faisant la pirouette a donné à son nom à la rue. A droite emplacement de la maison natale du célèbre Regnard. A gauche ancienne auberge du Haume (xive siècle).'

show ‘a Paris proud of its glorious past but enamored of the present.’<sup>29</sup> Because of this, they are the opposite of the views of ‘Le vieux Paris’ that are known through publications and in magazines such as *l’Illustration*.



Figure 12  
346. Rue Piat (XXe arrt). Collection P. Fleury,  
post card, 14 x 9 cm. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

### Carriages and crinolines

Although the weekly magazine *L’Illustration* claimed that it would ‘represent the things themselves’ since its start in 1843, it took until 1891 before a photograph could be printed without the intervention of an engraver. However, engravings had already been made ‘d’après photographie’ from 1848 onwards: photographs, mainly of an ‘architectural’ nature, were copied as exactly as possible into a woodcut engraving.<sup>30</sup> In the 1840s, Marville had worked for the magazine as an illustrator. Despite the fact that some photographs ‘après la photographie de M. Marville’ were reproduced in engravings in the 1870s,<sup>31</sup> the street views did not show Marville as their author. However, on several occasions, Marville’s views – or rather Martial’s copies of them – seem to have provided the image the draughtsman was unable to produce.

The first representation of ‘Le vieux Paris’ in the magazine can be found on 26 May 1866, under the title ‘Le vieux Paris: les Piliers des Halles’. It gives a nostalgic view of the square and

29. Schor, 1992 (reference 24), 225.

30. On the use of photography in *L’Illustration*: Thierry Gervais, *L’Illustration photographique. Naissance du spectacle de l’information (1843-1914)*, Thèse de doctorat d’histoire de civilisations, Paris 2007.

31. The M. in M. Marville stands for *monsieur*. During the dramatic events in the spring of 1871, which was the end of the Paris Commune, the Town Hall

was set on fire. This fire destroyed Marville’s own work: the prints of the street views – and many other papers concerning the history of the city. And exactly on this occasion, Marville’s name was mentioned as being the maker of a photograph that was used: views of the ruined Hôtel de Ville, accompanied by a text written by Jules Claretie. Prints of these photographs are kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and show how faithfully the engraver, a certain A. Deroy, copied the photograph. See also reference 6.





Figure 13  
Charles Marville, *Rue de la Tonnellerie, aux Halles (de la rue de la Poterie)*, 1865, albumen print. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

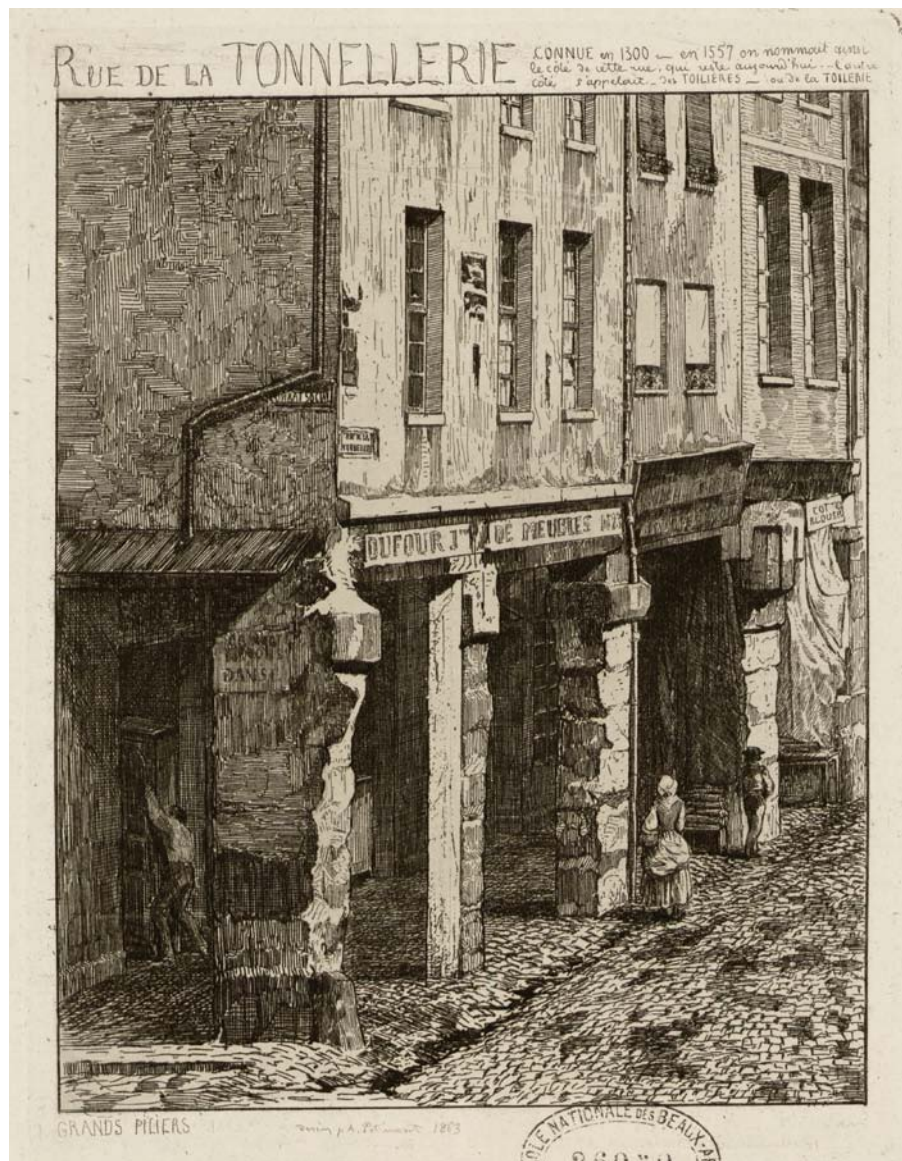


Figure 14  
Adolphe Martial Potémont, 'Rue de la Tonnellerie', 1866/1870, engraving in *Ancien Paris*. Service des collections de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris/Institut National de l'Histoire de l'Art.



its ancient passages. The perspective is slightly different from Marville's photograph (fig. 13) and it seems that Martial used a close-up of the view by Marville for his engraving (fig. 14). However, as with the engraving in the magazine, Marville gives a complete view, whereas Martial focuses on one detail. In that sense, the engraver of the magazine is more likely to have had Marville's photograph at hand, than to have actually made a drawing on the spot as claimed. Traffic wise, there are some important changes. *l'illustration* provides us with a historic view: no 19th century carriages can be seen, nor are women dressed in crinolines. This is a medieval view, a perspective before modernity and poverty took charge of the streets. In the accompanying text, Henri Cozic allows his readers one last view on the historic site. Nostalgia is not allowed: as in New York, St. Petersburg and Marseille, architects will continue to produce streets that lead our way to a prosperous modern future.<sup>32</sup>

A few weeks earlier, Jules Claretie wrote about the Paris that was disappearing ('*Paris qui s'en va*') but, more importantly, he also talks about the inability of contemporaries to represent the historical site. 'I like to make fun of those architectural pastiches', he writes, 'since they are so anachronistic.'<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, he prefers to focus on the future, on 'Paris nouveau'. A special edition of the magazine, edited between 1866 and 1872, under the title of 'Paris nouveau', shows a modern city. Often drawn after photographs, the magazine shows the new boulevards and municipal buildings. The streets are crowded with contemporary people, carriages and crinolines.

Nine years later, this perspective had changed. Although Paul Laurencin understands that the Boulevard Saint-Germain will have to be finished, he is truly sorry that such a historic neighborhood has to be pierced. Corners, such as the Rue de Jardinets, give us an impression of what the street was like just after the Revolution. In the engraving (fig. 1), the draughtsman gives a perspective on the narrow street that, again, looks rather medieval. The engraver is Alfred Normand (1822-1909); his son Charles was to edit several books on Old Paris twenty years later.<sup>34</sup>

And then, there is something else. In the short text, Paul Laurencin describes the regrets he feels when he thinks of all the famous history that had taken place in the houses that were to be demolished: the body of the assassinated Marat was put on view in the hall of the Cordeliers, Danton lived there, and the Comédie Française was situated in that neighborhood in its early days. But most of all, the *hôtel* situated on Rue Mignon, where, as the Parisian was reading his magazine, the printing offices of *L'illustration* were housed. The collage of vulnerable little prints, like the picture postcard of the drawing would appear thirty years later, showing – amongst other – the street where the magazine that was publishing these views was printed, was a self-reference ad infinitum.

32. Henri Cozic, 'Le vieux Paris. Les pilliers des Halles', in: *l'illustration*, 26 May 1866, 331.

33. 'Ce sont les pastiches architecturaux que je raille volontiers. Quant aux curiosités du passé, je les respecte, et je voudrais qu'on les respectât. Hélas!'. Jules Claretie, 'Courrier de Paris', in: *L'illustration*, April 7 1866, 24th year, vol. XLVII, no. 1206, 210-212, 211.

34. Charles Normand, *Nouvel itinéraire-guide artistique et archéologique de Paris*. Paris: A. Lahure, 1889; Charles Normand and Gustave Pessard. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique de Paris*, Paris: Eugène Rey 1904.

### (Ex-)changing views

Let's zoom out. As this short analysis on the traffic in and on Marville's street views has shown, different discursive contexts have been attached to the photographs producing different views on Paris. Whereas the *trafficless* topographic photographs by Marville were intended to provide information on the course of the streets and initially remained immobile in the city archives, already in 1866, the contemporary engravings by Martial Potémont filled the street views with people and transferred them into the mobile discourse of melancholy. The views of the old streets of Paris that were exchanged after 1900 as the picture postcards series *Paris ancien pittoresque et artistique* represented the same places as those shown by Martial and Marville and were probably based on the same original images. However, by using a contemporary photograph, often without the actual building it was referring to, the historic streets would be filled up with modern activity: the medium of the street would tell a modern story. In 1875, after many old streets had disappeared, *L'illustration* used the empty streets to fill them up with melancholy. The paper images, like Marville's photographs, changed into empty *souvenirs* of the streets that had gone forever.

# Photographed Buildings on Buildings When Architectural Photography Conquered Architecture

Harald R. Stühlinger

A new medial phenomenon emerged during the 1920s; its golden age lasted until the Second World War and had – and still has – a lasting influence on viewing habits in public spaces. We are talking about large-format photographs<sup>1</sup> and even entire inner walls that were covered with photographs to become an integral component of the architecture.<sup>2</sup> Their direct precursors came from the areas of film and interior decoration where images of landscapes, architecture and spaces were created with limited means.<sup>3</sup> It is precisely their eminently public character – which could also be interpreted as a democratisation gesture made by the medium of photography – that invests these photographs, photomontages and photographic panoramas with a social, and consequently political, component.<sup>4</sup> After the First World War, technically advanced enlargement apparatuses made it possible to produce large-format photographs and use architecture as their image bearing medium. These new visual compositions, which became increasingly common in the early 1930s, received recognition in an exhibition held in the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The show, which ran from 3 to 31 March 1931, presented a large section with wall paintings as well as a smaller one with photo-murals, the latter curated by the art dealer and collector Julien Levy. He invited twelve photographers – including Berenice Abbott, Edward Steichen and Charles Sheeler – to create 7x12ft (2.10x3.6m) photographs within three weeks.<sup>5</sup>

The five case studies which follow will investigate the function of photographs and their interaction with the other medium (i.e. architecture).

## An avant-garde installation: a gigantic photomontage in the Berlin Pavilion at the 1929 Berlin Advertising Exhibition

The Exhibition, Fair and Tourist Office of the City of Berlin presented the “Advertising Media of the City of Berlin” in a pavilion designed especially for the occasion by the architect von der Weyden at the exhibition held from 10 August to 8 September 1929. It included a large photomontage created by the photographer Albert Vennemann<sup>6</sup> who had already produced many similar works for several of the Tourist Office’s publications.<sup>7</sup> This groundwork was reflected in the organisation of the “Gigantic Photographic Banner” at the advertising exhibition. He made a collage of motifs of the Brandenburg Gate, Radio Tower, Red Town Hall and traffic light on Potsdamer Platz which he had previously used and expanded these to include the subjects of public transportation, industry, entertainment, the historical city, as well as leisure-time activities. In order to create an impression of the modern metropolis in a compact form, he grouped the hectic traffic activity with busses, trams and the underground

1. These photomurals were not solely photographs with a connection to architecture although such subjects were frequently chosen.

2. For conservational reasons, the photographs were usually shown in halls and rooms accessible to the public; they did not function a priori as “art in architecture” although there could be this kind of overlapping.

3. Julien Levy, ‘Photo-Murals’, in: *Murals by American Painters and Photographers*, exhibition catalogue, New York 1932 (reprint Arno Press 1969), 12. “This facility was extensively employed by movie directors in Hollywood as an economy to replace the painted backdrop, and by interior decorators to enlarge drawings, old engravings, etc.”

4. The largest photomural up to the time; which was shown at the Grand Central Station in New York to promote the USA’s entry into the war in 1941, is an eloquent example of this. The new interpretation of the photographs at the train station in Florence, as well as the alterations to the panorama in Budaörs during the Soviet occupation, also gave proof of their immanently political character.

5. Levy 1932 (reference 3), 11f.

6. There are only records of Albert Vennemann being in Berlin in the 1920s and until 1932 (exhibition participation).

7. The sheet music for the march “Jeder einmal in Berlin” and a travel pamphlet are two of the preserved publications.





Figure 1  
Unknown photographer, Gigantic  
photomontage in the Berlin Pavilion at the  
1929 Berlin Advertising Exhibition, 1929,  
reproduced from: *Das neue Berlin*, 11/1929,  
page 213.



Figure 2  
Unknown photographer, Gigantic  
photomontage in the Berlin Pavilion at the  
1929 Berlin Advertising Exhibition, 1929,  
reproduced from: *Gebrauchsgraphik*, August  
1929, page 6.

around the centrally-placed traffic light. The picture was mounted on 45 (9x5) individual square elements constructed as an exedra that, in connection with a membrane, created a visual installation that probably formed the end of the pavilion (figs. 1 and 2).<sup>8</sup> The Office had used the slogan “Jeder einmal in Berlin” (Berlin, Once in your Life) as its logo in the form of the Brandenburg Gate, to widely promote the city since 1927 and this was also visible on the membrane.<sup>9</sup> A trade journal reported that a dynamic game of deception took place when visitors walked past: “Here, a gigantic photomontage with changing light characterises the tempo of Berlin in an almost cinematic way with the well-known slogan and logo of the city “Jeder einmal in Berlin” appearing above it.”<sup>10</sup>

With this early realisation and its size, multi-layered arrangement and lighting system, Vennemann and von der Weyden intensified the means of expression to an extent that gave the exhibition an avant-garde exhibition character that later found followers in a toned-down form.

#### Decoration or advertising: four image strips in the Santa Maria Novella Train Station in Florence 1935/36

Initially, four, variously sized, strips of images of many sights in Italy were displayed in three rooms of the Santa Maria Novella Train Station in Florence. There were two strips in the departure hall (*galleria di testa*) (fig. 3), one in the first-class waiting room and the fourth in the third-class restaurant (fig. 4). The latter two have disappeared in the course of time, but today, there is an additional strip above the eastern side exit of the *galleria di testa* in addition to the two original ones that have been preserved *in situ*, albeit with many changes.<sup>11</sup> The project that won the competition for the new train station came from the *gruppo toscano* comprising the architects G. Michelucci, I. Gamberini, N. Baroni, P.N. Berardi, S. Guaneri and L. Lusanna. Three of them – Gamberini, Baroni and Berardi – were also active in the field of photography. This resulted in a great deal of attention being paid to photography in the decoration of the station. The new construction was not only a functional building but also a construction representing the fascist desire for innovation and the image strips were permeated with a politically-charged visual language. The pictorial programme mainly included monuments from

8. Within the framework of research for this article, it was only possible to find two photos of this photomontage that, however, did not give any indication of how it was included in the architecture or of its actual size. A comparison of the two photographs makes it clear that the photomontage and bearer of the logo were not on the same plane.

9. This logo took advantage of the recognition factor of the Brandenburg Gate

so that the letters BERLIN formed the six columns of the gate with the rest of the slogan in the entablature with the Quadriga recognisable above this.

10. *Gebrauchsgraphik*, August 1929, 9.

11. As changes were made to the large picture strip in the *galleria di testa* in the 1950s, it can be assumed that this was mounted at that time.



Figure 3  
Ferdinando Barsotti, *galleria di testa* in the Florence train station Santa Maria Novella, November 1935, reproduced from: Vittorio Savi, *De auctore*, Firenze: EDIFIR 1985, s. p.

ancient Roman times as they represented important references for fascist legitimization. The originals for the contemporary pictures in the *galleria di testa* came from the long-standing Florentine Alinari company;<sup>12</sup> those in the waiting room were the work of one of the building's architects Nello Baroni. The negatives were enlarged to 150x100cm – in the *galleria di testa* 23 prints were shown as individual images, 33 as two-part views – laths separated the individual pictures from each other and the strips were surrounded by metal frames. The strips were positioned high up making them difficult to see in the two smaller rooms; however they were easily able to attract attention in the *galleria di testa*. The rigid, linear framing and well-ordered presentation invited passengers to linger and take in the images while the incessant activity of the train station swirled around them.

Later changes and incomplete documentation make it impossible to reconstruct the original appearance of the four strips. Since the restructuring of the station in the 1950s<sup>13</sup> – when the explicitly political visual programme gave way to one devoted to tourism – the two original strips in the *galleria di testa* have shown scenes from all over Italy while the shorter strip above the eastern side exit is devoted entirely to Florentine motifs to give those arriving a first taste of the city and its sights.<sup>14</sup> The photographs of the destinations representing

12. The most recent scientific study and restoration was also carried out by Alinari. See: 'Santa Maria Novella, Il restauro e le nuove architetture della stazione ferroviaria', Florence: Alinari 1990.

13. Photos from the 1950s were placed over the 56 images from the 1930s. (reference 12), 59.

14. Cf. Motifs above the entrance at the airport in Budaörs.



Figure 4  
Ferdinando Barsotti, The restaurant of the  
3<sup>rd</sup> class in the Florence train station Santa  
Maria Novella, November 1935, reproduced  
from: Vittorio Savi, *De auctore*,  
Firenze: EDIFIR 1985, s. p.

the products of the travel and transport enterprise – the railroad – were aimed at passengers arriving (*galleria di testa*) or waiting to depart (waiting room, restaurant) as potential clients but under different social and political circumstances than in the time of its first implementation.

#### The sensation of air travel: the panorama at Budaörs Airport 1937

There are still the remains of an original photographic work in the first Budapest Airport at Budaörs that was only in operation for a short time.<sup>15</sup> The central, round construction of the terminal building, designed by Virgil Bierbauer<sup>16</sup> and opened on 21 June 1937, impressed with a series of low, dimly lit rooms and a high hall flooded with light with a panoramic picture around the continuous balustrade of the first floor. A clock was given a prominent position in the central axis as a permanent reminder of the factor of time that is so important for an enterprise that relies on schedules. The panorama was made up of enlargements on cardboard, was 44m long and 1.05m high, and had a chrome frame at the upper and lower edge. The fact that the architectural objects and cities shown had been photographed from airplanes and that the viewers had to look upwards to see the panorama created a parallax that invested the

15. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Csengel-Plank Ibolya (Hungarian Office for the Protection of Historical Monuments, Budapest) and Ritoók Pál (Hungarian Museum of Architecture, Budapest) for their exceedingly helpful information on literature concerning the Budaörs Airport that only exists in Hungarian. Ms. Csengel-Plank is currently investigating the panorama within the framework of her doctoral thesis (translated title: The Budaörs Airport and the decoration of the terminal from 1937).

16. Virgil Bierbauer (1893-1956) hungaricised his name and also found his place in Hungarian architectural history as Borbíró Virgil (the surname is always mentioned first in Hungarian).



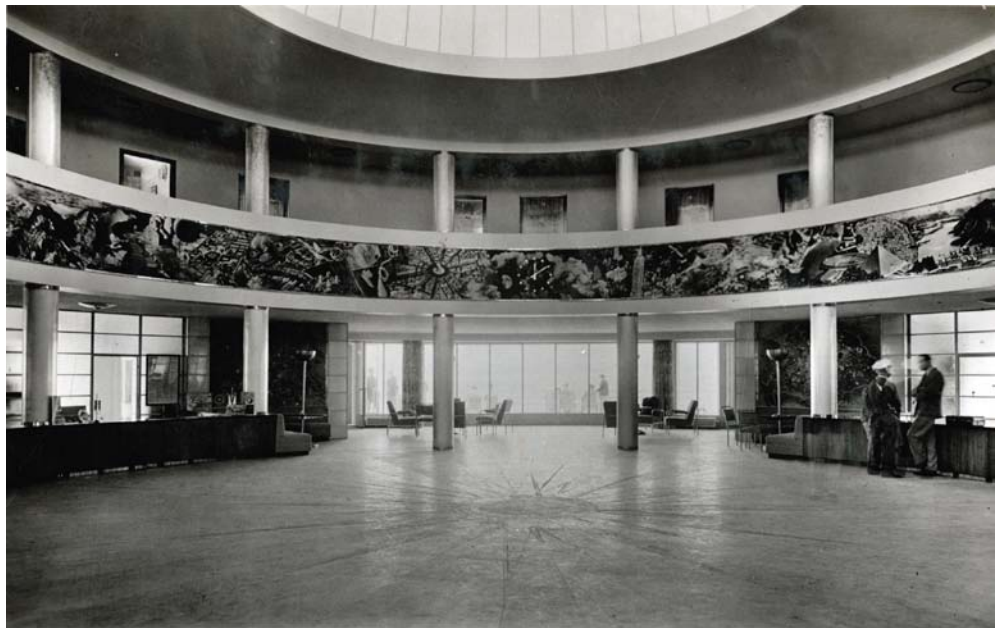


Figure 5  
Virgil Bierbauer, Central hall at the Budaörs  
Airport (1937/38), reproduced from a photo  
album in the estate of Virgil Bierbauer.  
Collection of the Museum of Architecture,  
Hungarian Museum of Architecture of the  
National Office of Cultural Heritage.

– already complexly mounted – panorama with even greater complexity. The aerial photographs were chosen by the architect himself from Hungarian and international enterprises<sup>17</sup> as well as his own collection.<sup>18</sup> The composition, as well as the technical implementation, was in the hands of the photographic artist Ada Marsovszky (Marsovszky Elemérné) who gave the work the title “A repülés élménye” (The Sensation of Flight). Marsovszky did not follow conventional narrative patterns but focused on the recently increased sensation of time and space where the high speed of flying drew cities closer together both in terms of distance and time. Marsovszky often arranged the close-ups of starts and landings, as well as the expansive views taken at cruising altitude, of what was at the time something only well-off social classes could actually see for themselves, in an unsettlingly abrupt manner.

Departing passengers looked axially at the clock, scenes of the Place de l’Etoile in

Paris and New York’s Empire State Building with towering clouds opening up a view of a third-quarter moon (fig. 5). Similar to the third strip of images in the *galleria di testa* in Florence, this directionality was celebrated as far as the exit to prepare arriving passengers for their destination with a view of the Budapest Castle and an aerial photograph of Hungary’s capital city (fig. 6). In addition to the already mentioned vedute of Manhattan and Paris, historic and modern urban ensembles – the Inner City of Vienna, the Vatican and Rome, and the Mercatorplein in Amsterdam – were complemented with individual ancient and contemporary buildings: Cheops Pyramid, a sphinx, Cologne Cathedral and the Olympic Stadium in Berlin. Aerial photographs of, mainly Hungarian, towns and villages<sup>19</sup> and cloud formations were positioned between them to act as separating – and also

transitional – motifs. While some angled views remind one of postcard and advertising motifs of cities, additional ornamental patterns derived from orthophotographs of Hungarian



Figure 6  
Virgil Bierbauer, Central hall at the Budaörs  
Airport (1937/38), reproduced from a photo  
album in the estate of Virgil Bierbauer.  
Collection of Museum of Architecture,  
Hungarian Museum of Architecture of the  
National Office of Cultural Heritage.

17. The Königlich-kartographisches Institut in Budapest, Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij van Nederlande (most of the photographs were taken by Dr. Heim), the Ente Nazionale Industria Turistica, Roma, Österreichischen Luftfahrts AG, Vienna, the Reichsbahnzentrale für den Deutschen Reichsverkehr, Berlin as well as the Zeppelinwerke G.m.b.H., Frankfurt. After: K. H. ‘A budapesti repülőtér forgalmi épülete’, *Tér és Forma* 1937 8. számából (8/1937). This is a special number devoted to the airport under the title of: A budapesti új közforgalmi repülőtér.

18. In 1937, he included a selection in his publication on aerial views of Hungary, Virgil Bierbauer, *Magyarország Repülőgépről*, Budapest: Officina 1937; an English translation appeared in the same year. Virgil Bierbauer, *Hungary from the air*, Budapest: Officina 1937.

19. The photographs in Bierbauer’s publication make it possible to identify the towns, villages and landscapes. They include: River Hernád (twice), the village Tófü, the Diósgyőr castle ruins, the bathing complex in Hévíz, the city of Szeged, Hajduböszörmény village, a settlement near Nyíregyháza and the Balaton with the Tihany Peninsula.

towns. The selection of the various locations can therefore be interpreted in the following manner: On the one level, the international destinations act as advertising for the airplane as a means of travel while, on the other, the local destinations were intended to attract tourists.

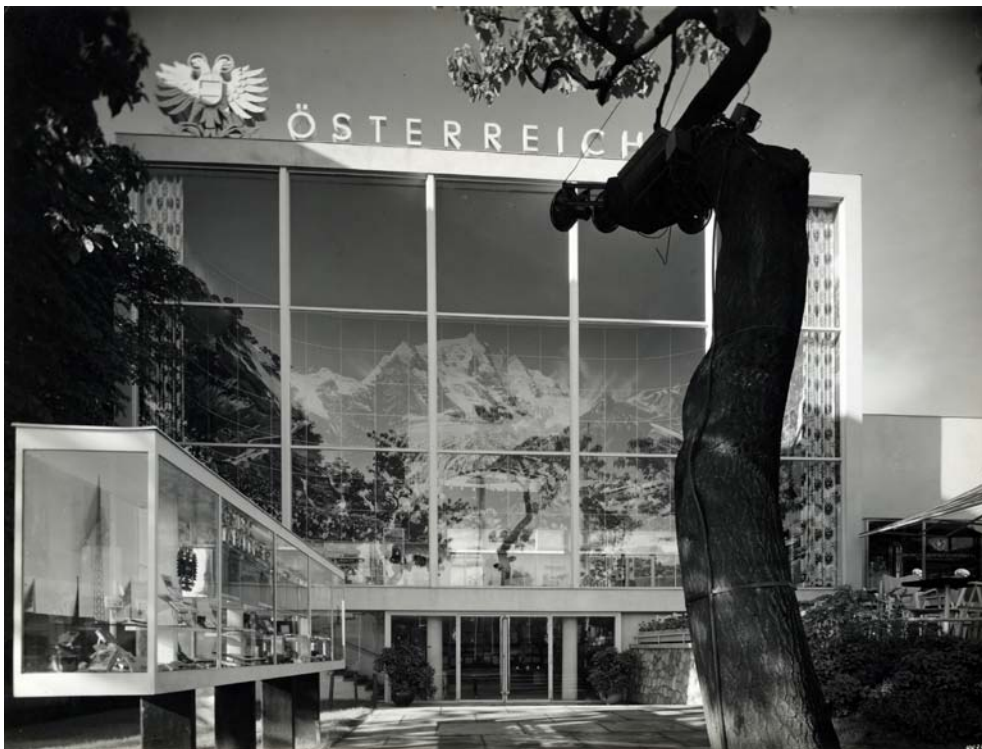
Passenger planes and airships, which were not only the most modern means of transport but also simultaneously the actors, the subjects, of the panorama, were shown along with the vedute. This makes Marsovszky's work not simply an interpretation of the adventure of flying; it is just as much an apotheosis of technology in the form of a machine created by man: the airplane.

#### **Salon hanging and a monumental showcase: the mounted Alps in the Austrian Pavilion at the 1937 World Exposition in Paris**

Figure 7  
Julius Scherb, Austrian Pavilion at the Paris World Exhibition, 1937, gelatin silver print. University for applied arts, Vienna, art collection and archives, 11.447/FW/13.

Austria was represented at the 1937 World Exposition in Paris with a pavilion planned by the architect and designer Oswald Haerdtl. This exhibition building took over the concept of a large-scale glass façade that Haerdtl had already realised for the Austrian pavilion at the Brussels World Exposition two years before in 1935 but this time he was able to instru-

mentalise it more spectacularly. The topography of the site made it necessary for him to operate with a base where the main entrance was positioned and which was reached over a short path from the Esplanade de Trocadéro (fig. 7). As one approached the pavilion, one looked up towards a monumental glass façade with a gigantic exedra-like picture – as had been the case in Berlin in 1929 – behind it. While the lower section of the hall was devoted to industry, this showcase functioned as a monumental eye-catcher for the set-back pavilion. Starting from a height of around 2 metres, the photomontage reached the ceiling and consisted of 24x7, 1x1 metre large, black-and-white photograph panels showing three



newly constructed Austrian alpine roads and their architecture: the Pack and Gesäuse Roads, as well as the Großglockner High Alpine Road. The photographs were provided by the official Austrian photo service (Österreichische Lichtbildstelle)<sup>20</sup> and mounted by Robert Haas<sup>21</sup> and Günther Baszel using enlargements made in the studio of F. Leutner. While the arrange-



Figure 8  
Julius Scherb, Austrian Pavilion, apartment of a pilot, 1937, gelatin silver print. University for applied arts Vienna, art collection and archives, 11.447/FW/38.



Figure 9  
Julius Scherb, Austrian Pavilion, tourist information booth and picture wall, 1937, gelatin silver print. University for applied arts, Vienna, art collection and archives, 11.447/FW/30.

ment of the photo walls conceived as the ends of the rooms in the Brussels pavilion was in a rigid grid, the overall installation in Paris was based on a design intent on creating a scenic and spatial feeling. If one considers the experience of the visitors, it seems certain that the pictures of the Alps hundreds of kilometres away could not have failed to make an effect on those passing by on the Esplanade or as they approached the pavilion. As one walked up the stairs from the Hall of Honour in the base, one looked at the first short side of the panorama. A change of direction at the intermediate landing made the visitors turn their eyes as they finally went up the second flight of stairs with a view of the other short side. The dynamic visual experience came to an end in the Hall of Industry; seeing that the panorama did not reach the floor, the visitors' attention was focused on the exhibits of Austrian industry in the numerous showcases or out of the window onto the terrace of the coffeehouse.

The visitors passed other photographic interventions on their fixed course through the exhibition. A photomontage by Günther Baszel hung in the "Corner in a Pilot's Home" that Hans Bichler had set up on the upper floor (fig. 8). The temporal proximity and the identical subject – aerial views of the Inner City of Vienna, aircraft flying in formation and on the ground – make one suspect that this was inspired by the airport panorama in Budaörs and proves that there had been a lively exchange of ideas in this period. Before visiting a Viennese

20. This collection is now in the Picture Archives and Graphics Department of the Austrian National Library.

21. Robert Haas (1898-1997) first studied at the University of Technology in Vienna and then typesetting and printing at the Arts and Crafts College and photography under Trude Fleischmann (1930-32). According to his own curriculum vitae, he carried out the photomontage for Paris after winning a competition. However, no proof of this was found while making this research (University of Applied Arts Vienna, Collection and Archive).





Figure 10  
Julius Scherb, Austrian Pavilion  
at the Paris World Exhibition at night, 1937,  
gelatin silver print. University for applied  
arts Vienna, art collection and archives,  
11.447/FW/12b.

coffee house, the visitors were led past a curved photo wall to the tourist information. This wall comprised 5x3 large-format rectangular architecture and landscape photographs and reached from the floor to ceiling – a *remake* of the decoration of the Brussels pavilion (fig. 9).<sup>22</sup> Even if the photomontages of the Alps and mountain roads had not impressed as a result of the technique – non-experts would have hardly been aware of this – their sheer size would have. The way the commodity of “The Alps” was displayed was certainly spectacular. They were presented in a show case that was dramatically illuminated at night (fig. 10) as the trademark of the country – garnished with the legend “Österreich” and the national emblem on the pavilion.

#### Frozen film: 28 strips in the Studio 4 cinema in Zürich 1949

The Studio 4 cinema in Zurich,<sup>23</sup> designed by Roman Clemens and built by Werner Frey, was opened in March 1949. Today, it still houses the visual decoration based on photographs in its original form. There is a mezzanine floor on the side at the rear of the cinema in which the house technology and projector room are hidden. In order to cover up this spatial rupture, Clemens conceived an undulating photo wall to eliminate the boundaries of the room. The strip is framed by the ceiling at the top and a narrow moulding at the bottom in which the

22. A comparison with the decoration of the pavilion at the 1935 World Exposition in Brussels, and the measurements and subjects, makes one suspect that the photographs had been shown before; however, there is no unequivocal proof of this.

23. The cinema was carefully renovated and slightly adapted in 2003 and now operates under the name of “Filmpodium”.

Figure 11  
 Roman Clemens, Preliminary design for the  
 cinema interior, s. d. (1948), gouache and  
 collage on paper. gta-Archive, ETH Zurich,  
 partial estate of Roman Clemens, 113-01-4.

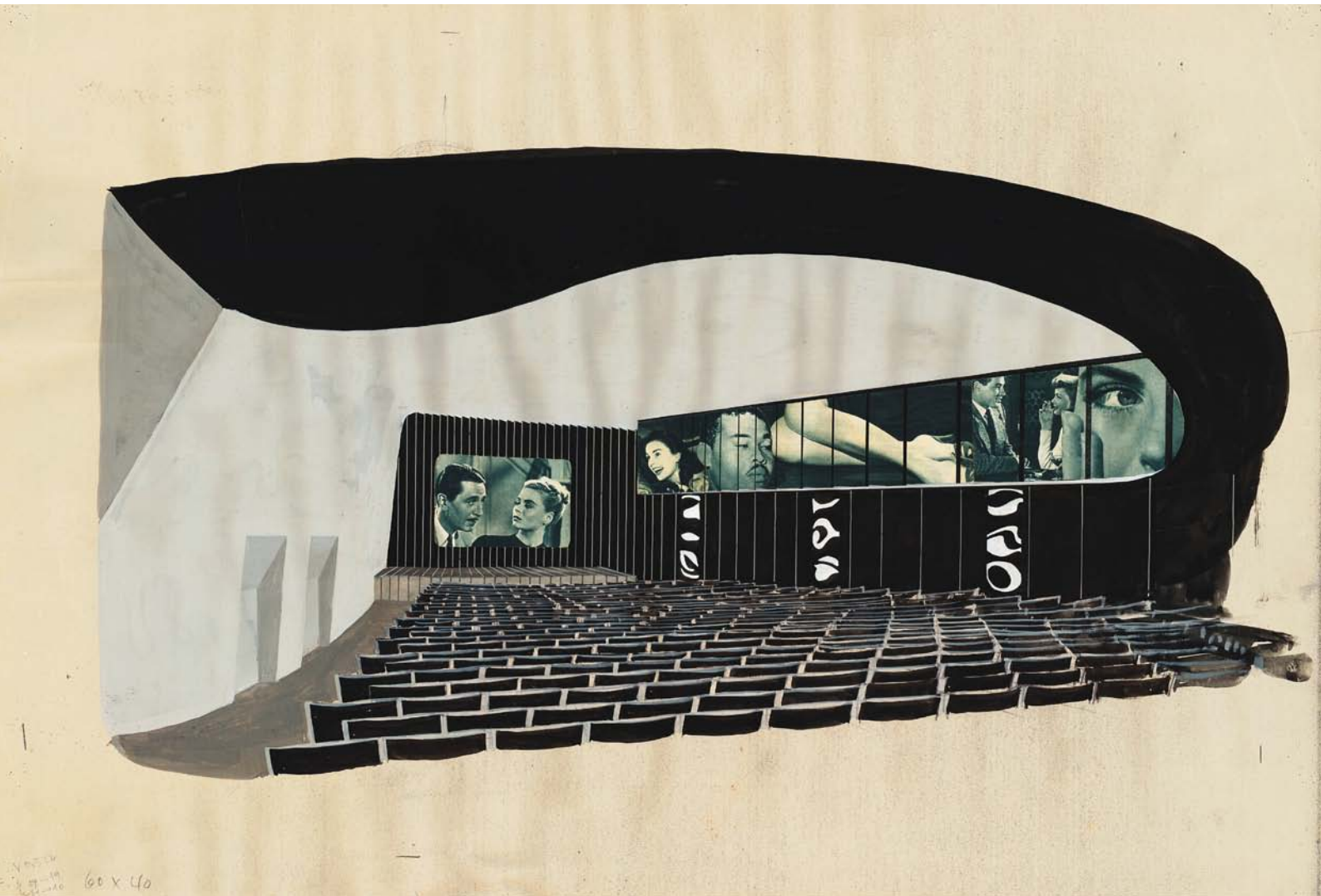


Figure 12  
 Michael Wolgensinger, model photograph of  
 a preliminary design for the cinema interior,  
 1948, gelatin silver print. gta-Archive, ETH  
 Zurich, partial estate of Roman Clemens,  
 113-01-M-1-F-2.

Figure 13  
Unknown photographer, View of the cinema  
interior towards the projection booth,  
s.d (1949), gelatin silver print. gta-Archiv,  
ETH Zurich, partial estate of Roman Clemens,  
113-01-F-12.



indirect lighting for the pictures has been integrated. The strip is made of eight photographic specimens, distributed on 28 strips that are each two metres high and have a total length of almost 31 metres. In a preliminary plan the wall was covered with a decorative pattern but the idea of furnishing it with photographs gradually prevailed. Initially, Clemens used an unknown number of black-and-white photos cut into strips that immediately remind one of *film stills* (fig. 11). A realised model version of the project shows the originally desired, but not executed, photographic dramaturgy with nine photos, including six pictures from *Life* magazine (fig. 12).<sup>24</sup> Two transverse rectangular images on top of each other – a building and human legs standing in water – that do not appear in the completed project are especially noteworthy. In the penultimate version, he replaced these two with the interior view of a drilling derrick and put a scene of Texan fields in the place of the formation of marching soldiers previously conceived. Finally, there was an additional change when he substituted the two portraits on the long side – one originally looking at the cinema screen and the other towards the ceiling – with two others looking directly into the auditorium (fig. 13 and 14). The four rhythmicising portraits took on the main role in the photo strip while the city – together with the landscape, technology and society – provided the foils in front of which human action and interaction took place. The eight images point towards the influence of a culture dominated by the USA for which the cinema played a not insignificant role. Attention has already been drawn to mass and pop culture in this connection, however, especially when considering these case studies, it is important to stress this once again.<sup>25</sup> In contrast to the previous cases, in this instance, icons of mass culture are more reverted to than photographs – although they were not primarily examples from the world of photography<sup>26</sup> but illustrations from the most pio-

24. Already on 27 January 1949, Werner Bischof wrote to Blackstar to request the following negatives (cited after: gta Archiv, ETH-Zürich, Nachlass Roman Clemens, 113-01-K.): "February 17, 1947 page 42-43 The Bushmen continued, Foto von: N. R. Farbman", "April 14, 1947 page 45 New York Harbor and City Foto von: Andreas Feininger", "May 12, 1947 page 15 Jackie Robinson Foto von: Loomis Dean", "May 12, 1947 page 61 Pretty Girl Foto von: Peter Stackpole", "June 23, 1947 page 53 Negresse Congo Foto von: N. R. Farbman",

"February 16, 1948 page Life's Cover Foto von: Richard Avedon". These are the publication dates of the International Edition of Life Magazine, which Roman Clemens used. In contrast to the weekly American edition, this was only published every fortnight. For our research, we resorted to the former (available in its entirety at <http://books.google.com>).

25. Christoph Bignens, *Kinos Architektur als Marketing*, Zurich: Rohr 1988, 64f.





Figure 14  
Unknown photographer, View of the cinema  
interior towards the photo wall, s. d. (1949),  
gelatin silver print on cardbord. gta-Archive,  
ETH Zurich, partial estate of Roman Clemens,  
113-S-2-F-1.

neering popular magazine (fig. 15) of the period – and, in this way, Clemens anticipated some of the main features of Pop Art.

#### On symbiosis and semantics

When an investigation of photographs in an architectural context is made, it is essential that the architecture itself not be ignored. Although the photographs can function independently, they only develop their full effect in the intentional symbiosis with the carrier medium: the architectural object. Seeing that architecture is always a spatial phenomenon that can be experienced dynamically, the result, the sensation of integrated imagery will also be spatial and dynamic.

The five examples in this essay have illustrated the spectrum of possibilities under which var-

26. Werner Bischof, a famous Swiss photographer who worked for Life himself, took care of enlarging the negatives.



Figure 15  
Richard Avedon, cover for Life Magazine,  
International Edition January 26th 1948.

became the tool of turning newly erected buildings into modern buildings; this makes it understandable why this phenomenon rapidly came to an end soon after the Second World War. However, in addition to decorating and the iconographic upgrading of buildings, the application of photomurals created a level of complementary visual communication that stressed the semantics of the architectural language through an additional means of expression by apostrophising “I am an airport”, “I am advertising space”, “I am a cinema”.

ious modes and regimes of viewing can show drastic differences naturally as a result of the kind of photographs (individual views or photomontages<sup>27</sup>) and their formal use (strips, panoramic images, walls). While the topos of the “scene from a window” applies to paintings, the – often monumental – wall photographs created an expanded view that caused the boundaries of the room to disappear. The most impressive demonstration of this is given in the case of the two exhibitions when prospects were used. While the panoramic sensations opened up a continuous pictorial space in Budaörs, the strip of the framed individual pictures in Florence operated in the way of a traditional form of building decoration, as a frieze.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, the cinema in Zurich represents a special case where the orchestrated appearing and disappearing of the photo-work due to the lighting regime created a fragmented cinematic experience during the visit of the movie-theatre.

Photomurals never aimed at having a purely ornamental character but served to pin new buildings in time and space, hence the pictorial paraphernalia

27. Levy [reference 3], 12. Julien Levy recommended photomontages as a possible solution for photomurals. “One solution may be the use of what is called “montage” ... the cutting out and reassembling of parts from separate pictures.”

28. Here, one must consider the photo strips in union with the bundles of sticks – the *fascies* – and dating on the main façade where the decoration was more appropriate for political representation than a functional building.

# Photomontage in/as Spatial Representation

**Martino Stierli** The relationship between modern architecture and photography has often been described as an elective affinity. For the emerging and still technically imperfect medium of photography, the static nature of buildings proved a patient and forgiving subject. Nothing perhaps illustrates this more clearly than what is supposedly the first photograph ever taken, a view from a window onto a nondescript set of buildings taken by Joseph Niépce in 1826. Conversely, modern architects soon became aware of photography's potential not only for visualizing their ideas on form, light, and space more precisely and closer to their conceptual ideal than a building ever could, but also for making these ideas available to a much broader audience. With the advent of photography, architecture entered the age of technical reproducibility. The new medium opened up entirely new and exciting possibilities for the representation of space and for the circulation of architectural ideas.

With regard to the problem of representation, photography was celebrated from its inception as an instrument for a new “mechanical objectivity” that seemingly allowed replacing the draftsman's subjective view of reality by the (allegedly) distanced and objective take of an incorruptible technical apparatus. While 19<sup>th</sup> century positivist science hailed photography as a great invention towards scientific truth and truthfulness to reality, this belief was increasingly questioned by a critique of the methodology. In the 1930s, the French philosopher of science Gaston Bachelard coined the notion of “phenomenotechnique”<sup>1</sup> and—in opposition to the positivist concept of science of his time—argued that apparently “natural” phenomena, as observed by scientists were actually highly artificial and construed in the process of their observation, and that scientific theories and assumptions thus generated their own reality. According to this perspective, the scientist is not a neutral observer who describes, classifies, and identifies natural phenomena, but rather an active causer of these phenomena. This applies in particular to photography as well: It is by no means a “transparent” medium that simply reports “reality” truthfully. It is not an “index” that simply points at this reality, but rather an apparatus that produces and constructs a visual reality by means of framing and *cadrage* in the first place.

Indeed, photographers anticipated the critique of the episteme of positivist science as early as the mid-1850s. One of their most powerful rhetorical tools in order to disrupt the claim that photography's task was to truthfully represent reality was the invention of photomontage, or, on more general terms, of diverse strategies for manipulating photographs. Inevitably, such manipulations occurred from photography's very beginnings—the process of producing a print from framing of an image to the chemical steps in the lab up to the final product allowing for a variety of levels of creative intervention and manipulation. However,

1. Cf. Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, ‘Gaston Bachelard und der Begriff der “Phänomenotechnik”’, in: Marc Schalenberg, Peter T. Walther (eds.), ‘... immer im Forschen bleiben’. Rüdiger vom Bruch zum 60. Geburtstag, Stuttgart: Steiner 2004, 297-310.





Figure 1  
Henry Peach Robinson, *Fading Away*, 1858,  
combination print. George Eastman House,  
Rochester NY.

highly allegorical depiction of death and transcendence (fig. 1). Capturing the actual moment of death would hardly have been possible (nor desirable) in reality, nor would the strongly symmetrical and symbolically charged nature of the image. Robinson's picture may be seen as an important step towards photography's emancipation as an autonomous form of art.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Robinson's image—as well as photomontage on a more general level—violates the Aristotelian unities of place and time that are normally given in photography: They are transgressed through the integration of a number of different vantage points and levels of time and reality into a single depiction.<sup>3</sup> The aim is to induce a kind of 'reality effect' in the observer, to borrow Barthes' term. But appearances can be deceptive: with photomontage, the idea of even mechanical representation seems to have come to an end, for what it offers is truly virtual.

### On the Representation of Space

What consequences did the invention of photomontage exert on the discourse and depiction of architecture? It was certainly not long before photomontage practices were introduced into architectural discourse and the representation of space as well. In fact, the use of photomontage techniques in architectural representation may be traced back to traditional painting genres such as the architectural capriccio, Canaletto's painting *Capriccio of Palladio's Design for the Bridge of Rialto, with Buildings from Vicenza* (c. 1759) being a particularly illustrative case

2. Cf. Gottfried Jäger, 'Bildsystem Fotografie', in: Klaus Sachs-Hombach (ed.), *Bildwissenschaft. Disziplinen, Themen, Methoden*, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 2005, 349-364; 354.

3. Cf. W T J Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1994, 163.



Figure 2  
Giovanni Antonio Canal (Canaletto),  
*Capriccio of Palladio's Design for the Bridge of  
Rialto, with Buildings from Vicenza, c. 1759.*  
National Gallery, Parma.

in point (fig. 2). As its title suggests, the painting depicts an imaginary, ideal cityscape by assembling unexecuted projects as well as buildings from other places into a unified spatial configuration. While the laws of perspective are respected, the depiction does not reference a real place and time, a characteristic that typically can be found in photomontage as well. Similarly, architectural fantasies, such as Joseph Michael Gandy's *Comparative Architecture* (1836), may be counted in the same category, where (imaginary) architectural orders from different places and times are integrated into an (imaginary) structure (fig. 3). Gandy's depiction is a brainchild of historicist thought and its positivist underpinnings; it is directly related to the inception of architectural collections and the artful arrangement of casts of architectural fragments such as in John Soane's house at Lincoln's Inn Fields in London, the residence of Gandy's long-time creative partner and draftsman. Romanticism and historicism thus seem to share more with the technique of (photo-) montage, which is usually associated with avant-garde practices, than is generally acknowledged. Photomontage, in the sense of a reassembly of preexisting images or their parts, did not provide architecture with an altogether new means of spatial representation, but it established a new, more easily available technique of reproducibility.

In order to understand photomontage's specific contribution to the problem of spatial representation, it may be helpful to distinguish it from other forms of architectural representations developed throughout history. Vitruvius discerns three types of architectural drawings: ground plan, elevation, and (perspectival) view. Contrary to received conceptions, perspective and the dominant scopic regime of perspectivism are not inherently architectural. Alberti for example sees perspective as solely a tool for painters, leaving architects with plan and elevation. Raphael's letter from 1519 to Pope Leo X is somewhat more permissive by granting perspective views the status of an aid for convincing prospective clients—an (often criticized) function that is nowadays associated with digital rendering techniques.<sup>4</sup> Thus, in representing his spatial conceptions, Michelangelo generally refrained from producing perspectival projections based on a fixed monocular gaze. Instead, by sketching views of specific aspects of his buildings that combine into a unified – montaged – image only in the mind of the beholder, he stressed the importance of the mobility of human body in the perception of architecture.<sup>5</sup> On more general terms, the age of perspectivism in Western art may in fact be seen as an exceptional chapter in the history of human representation. Thus, as the German art historian Werner Hofmann has argued, art—and, it could be maintained, spatial representation in particular—were polyfocal throughout the Middle Ages and again became so in modernity, i.e. they allowed a great variety of modes of presentation, points of view, media, styles, and levels of reality.<sup>6</sup> The spectator of such a polyfocal spatial representation is not

4. For the history of architectural representation, cf. Yve-Alain Bois, 'Metamorphosis of Axonometry', in: *Daidalos* 1, 1981, 47–50; Albero Pérez-Gómez, Louise Pelletier, 'Architectural Representation beyond Perspectivism', in: *Perspecta* 27, 1992, 20–39; Alberto Pérez-Gómez and Louise Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge*, Cambridge, Mass./London: MIT Press 1997.

5. Cf. Pérez-Gómez/Pelletier 1992 [reference 4], 27.

6. Cf. Werner Hofmann, *Die Moderne im Rückspiegel. Hauptwege der Kunstgeschichte*, Munich: Beck 1998.

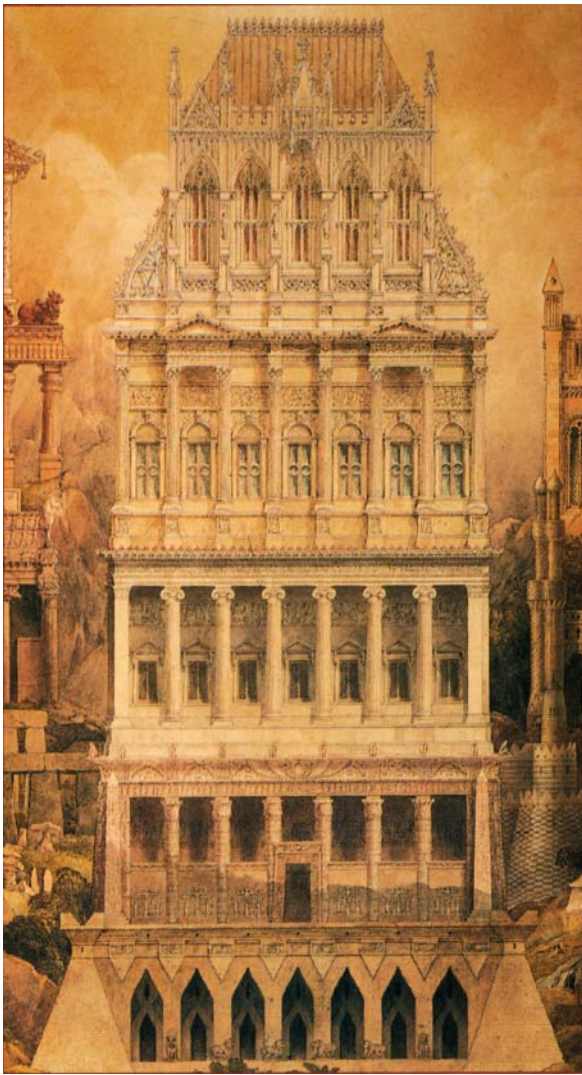


Figure 3  
Joseph Michael Gandy,  
*Comparative Architecture*, 1836.  
Sir John Soane's Museum, London,  
by courtesy of Oliver Domeisen, London.

fixed to a monocular static gaze as in perspectivism, but embodied and mobile. It should be pointed out however that the Renaissance tradition may not have been as strictly monofocal as Hofmann's model of art history suggests. Thus, the Renaissance culture of architectural models evidences the fact that architectural representation in this epoch strove to avoid the monocular fixation of perspective: Inherently three-dimensional, the model calls for a multi-perspectival, shifting point of view of a viewer in motion. The Baroque, whose architecture is often seen as exploiting the visual effects of perspective, equally favored perspective's representational counterpart, anamorphosis, whose optical distortions made clear that perspective was in fact not a truthful representation of reality, but a special case of the ability to modify it by representing it.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, if anamorphosis demonstrates that the two-dimensional representation of a spatial dispositive is necessarily distortive, linear perspective was all too readily adopted as the seemingly natural tool for architectural representation. This consequence was not questioned, but—quite the contrary—actually enforced by architectural photography. Against this background and the problem of spatial representation, architectural photomontage appears not as the logical consequence of architectural photography, but as its radical critique.

According to canonical art history, perspectivism's hegemony was only seriously contested with artistic experiments around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century which sought to break up the picture plane into a multi-faceted representation as perceived by an observer who takes on not one, but a variety of points of view. It is interesting to note that photomontage became a popular mode for architectural representation at roughly the same time as axonometry. Countering perspectivism's determinism with regard to the location of the spectator, both techniques are characterized by their perceptual ambiguity or even indeterminability, and both tend to leave the observer in the dark as to his concrete position in space. The deceptive stability of representation in perspective is questioned and destabilized, confronting the perceptive apparatus with an irresolvable visual challenge. While Yve-Alain Bois has credited the De Stijl artists and architects with the re-invention of modern axonometry and dated it with the year 1923,<sup>8</sup> photomontage also reaches a first climax in architectural discourse in this period. The epistemological rift that ensued—the production of visual meaning through juxtaposition of elements—is usually associated with Mies van der Rohe's photomontages and occurred only after the Dadaists had developed montage as a new visual grammar that radically

7. Cf. Pérez-Gómez/Pelletier 1992 [reference 4], 31.

8. Cf. Bois 1981 [reference 4], 56. Bois does make clear that axonometry and isometry were taught widely in engineering schools from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, so the „re-invention“ in avant-garde circles around 1920 may need to be seen more as a re-interpretation of an established tool for specific epistemic purposes.





Figure 4  
Mies van der Rohe, *S. Adam Department Store*  
Project, Berlin-Mitte, 1928-29, photomontage.  
Private collection. © Pro Litteris Zurich 2012.

broke with the idea of homogenous pre-modern spatiality (fig. 4).<sup>9</sup> Architectural photomontage now became a major instrument for the representation of the fragmented space of the modern metropolis, which is evidenced most notably in works by artists such as Paul Citroen or László Moholy-Nagy (figs. 5, 6). They suggest that the modern metropolis cannot be grasped from a stable point of view any longer, but that it calls for a mobile spectator who accepts the breaks and ruptures as essential visual and conceptual qualities of the city. Interestingly, in their images, neither Citroen nor Moholy-Nagy referenced the architectural experiments by contemporary avant-garde architects, but rather used images of existing buildings that dominated the appearance of the cities of their time (however, they did depict modern means

9. Cf. Martino Stierli, 'Mies Montage', in: *AA Files* 61 (2010), 54-72.



Figure 5  
Paul Citroën, *Metropolis*, 1923, photomontage.  
Rijksuniversiteit Leiden.  
© Pro Litteris Zurich 2012.

Figure 6  
László Moholy-Nagy, photomontage for  
the play 'The Merchant of Berlin', 1929,  
reproduced in: *Dreamlands*,  
exhibition catalogue Centre Pompidou,  
Paris 2010, page 98. © Pro Litteris Zurich 2012.

of transportation as well as other paraphernalia associated with the modern metropolis). Thus, the iconography of Citroën's *Metropolis* not only includes skyscrapers and streetscapes of American cities, but also boulevards, arcades, and a representation of the Eiffel tower, all of which stood symbolically for Paris, the capital of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>10</sup> Such images may not only be seen as a visual critique of the tenets of central perspective, but also of conventional architectural photography, which tended to enhance perspectivism's scopic regime. If the modern city had produced a new spatiality that called for a changed perception, photomontage sought to provide a representational technique adequate for this new spatiality.



That said, it is necessary to make some clear distinctions between Citroën's piece on the one hand and Moholy-Nagy's later montage on the other. Citroën had been an apprentice at the Bauhaus in Weimar, where he was strongly influenced by Johannes Itten and his art pedagogics in the legendary "Vorkurs".<sup>11</sup> If Itten had stood for a romanticist and expressionist individualism, Citroën's increasing fascination with modernist obsessions such as speed, progress, America as the ultimate scene of modernization, and the modern metropolis must be seen more as a result of his exposure to the works and thinking of Dadaist artists such as George Grosz or John Heartfield, who had jointly produced the photomontage *Leben und Treiben in Universal City um 12 Uhr 5 mittags* in 1919, in which these

10. Cf. Walter Benjamin, 'Paris – Capital of the Nineteenth Century', in: *New Left Review* 48, 1968, 77-88. [German edition: Walter Benjamin, 'Paris, die Hauptstadt des XIX. Jahrhunderts', in: Walter Benjamin, *Illuminationen*, Ausgewählte Schriften 1, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1974, 170-184].

11. Cf. Herbert van Rheeden, Monique Feenstra, Bettina Rijkschroeff, *Paul Citroën. Künstler, Lehrer, Sammler*, Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers 1994, 38-41.





Figure 7  
Monumentalization by isolation:  
Project for Pariser Platz, Berlin,  
by E. von Ihne, 1908, photomontage,  
reproduced in: *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, vol. 42,  
25 April 1908, page 225.

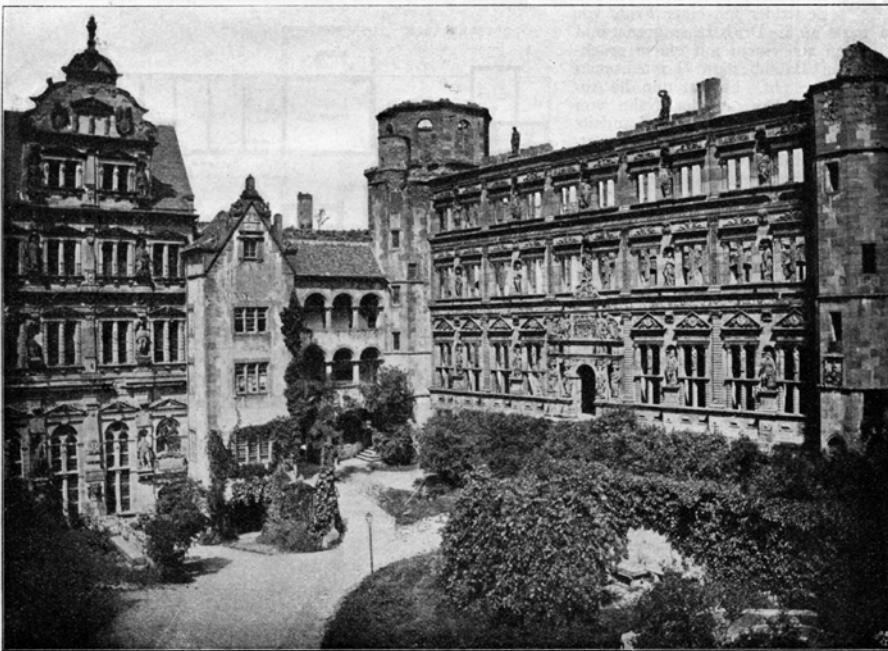
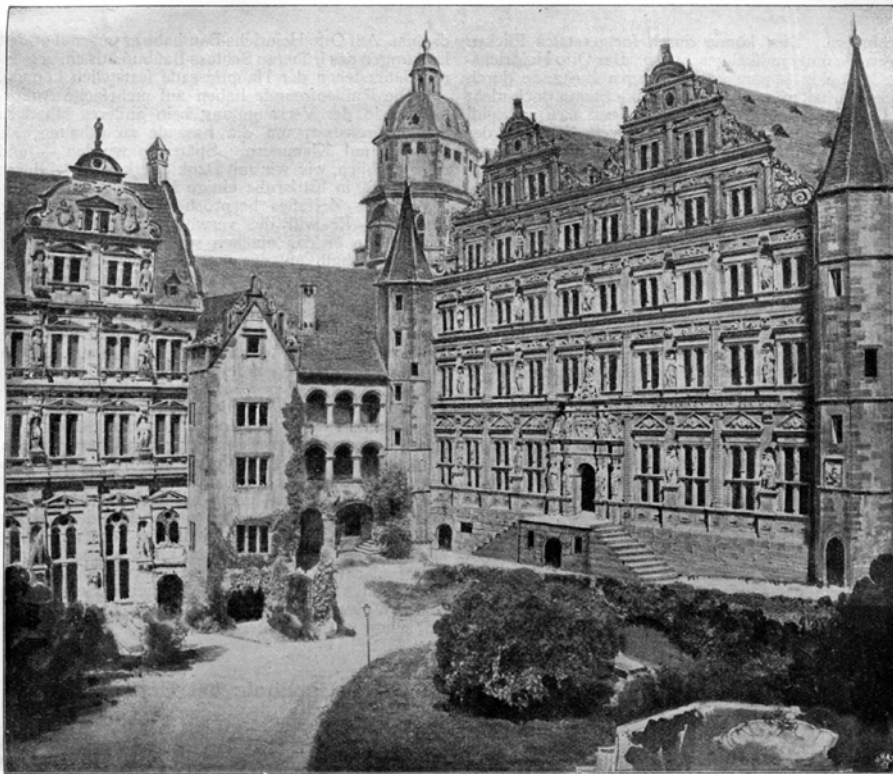
very same preoccupations were visualized. Contrary to the more informal configuration of most Dadaist montages however, Citroen's vision of the metropolis is structured by axes that run through the image both horizontally and vertically, lending it a tectonic, almost architectural grid. Moreover, unlike the Dadaist images with their characteristically open spaces, his montage is entirely covered with representations of buildings and urban streetscapes he had cut out from reproductions on postcards and in magazines.<sup>12</sup> With regard to the question of spatial representation, one of the most interesting features of his *Metropolis* is that it opens up to the sky along the top edge of the picture, indicating that Citroen was attempting to integrate a multiperspectival vision of the city with a naturalist representation. Such remnants of a more traditionalist understanding of the image seem to be confirmed by Citroen's apparent disinterest in contemporary theoretical debates on issues such as spatial representation and simultaneity.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, his picture featured prominently in the First Bauhaus Exhibition in Weimar in 1923, and it seems evident that Moholy-Nagy, who came as a teacher to the Bauhaus that same year and who was to become one of the protagonists of the new space-time conception, was strongly impressed by Citroen's urban visualization. In his seminal 1927 Bauhaus book *Painting, Photography, Film*, he included *Metropolis* and commented on it: "The experience of the sea of stones is here boosted into the gigantic."<sup>14</sup> By using the metaphor of the "sea of stones" ("Steinmeer"), Moholy-Nagy seems to reference an Expressionist register in order to describe Citroen's picture. Indeed, in his own later urban photomontage of 1929, Moholy-Nagy enforced the aspects of dynamism and the entropic while breaking up the impression of the metropolis as a solid entity. Nevertheless, Citroen had given the avant-garde a strong example for representing modern urban space.

12. Cf. van Rheeden/Feenstra/Rijkschroeff 1994 (reference 11), 45.

13. Cf. van Rheeden/Feenstra/Rijkschroeff 1994 (reference 11), 45.

14. "Das Erlebnis des Steinmeeres wird hier ins Gigantische gesteigert." László Moholy-Nagy, *Malerei, Fotografie, Film* (1927), Mainz: Kupferberg 1967, 105.





Der Hof des Heidelberger Schlosses im gegenwärtigen Zustand und nach dem Wiederherstellungsversuch von Fr. Seitz in Heidelberg.  
4. Januar 1902.

However, it would be inadequate to reduce architectural photomontage to such instances of avant-garde usage of the technique. Architectural photomontage in the sense of retouches or cut photographs dates back to well before that and was in fact widely used in architectural publications from the 1890s onwards. As has been pointed out, so-called ‘machine retouch’ (*Maschinenretouche*) was frequently employed to isolate photographed objects from distracting backgrounds or nearby buildings.<sup>15</sup> Many examples of such strategies of isolation of individual existing buildings or projects can be found in contemporary architectural publications (fig. 7). They are reminiscent of a widespread common strategy in the nineteenth-century conservation practice of isolating monuments from their apparently unworthy surroundings in the sense of what has been called “constructive destruction”.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the champions of historic preservation regularly made use of graphically manipulated photographs, as in the instance of the castle of Heidelberg, in order to promote far-reaching “reconstruction” projects that would go far beyond simple conservation and maintenance measures (fig. 8). This strategy of monumentalization by

Figure 8  
Reconstruction proposal for the castle at Heidelberg by Fr. Seitz, 1902, photomontage, reproduced in: *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, vol. 36, 4 January 1902, page 5.

15. Cf. Rolf Sachsse, ‘Mies und die Fotografen II: Medium und Moderne als Enigma’, in: Helmut Reuter, Birgit Schulte (eds.), *Mies und das neue Wohnen: Räume, Möbel, Fotografie*, Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz 2008, 254–263; 255.

16. Françoise Choay, *L’Allégorie du patrimoine*, Paris: Seuil 1992, 13.



Figure 9a and b  
Proposal for the expansion of the city of  
Stuttgart with a project for  
a monumental church on the Rheinsburg hill,  
photomontage,  
reproduced in: *Deutsche Bauzeitung*,  
vol. 36, 22 February 1902, page 101.

building on the existing cityscape or landscape, in particular in those cases where projects were of a monumental scale or affected historically or artistically significant buildings. An illustrative early German example is the proposal for the expansion of the city of Stuttgart published on the pages of the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* in February 1902. Among other things, the

isolation came full circle in modernist large-scale urban schemes, from Le Corbusier's unexecuted *Plan Voisin* for Paris, in which the most outstanding historical monuments were saved, isolated, and idealized by clearing away the surrounding urban tissue, to Mussolini's *sventramenti* in Rome, whose main purpose lay in elevating the architectural remnants of antiquity to free-standing monuments that should speak of the glory of the nation's past. While practices of manipulating photographs in such ways are not to be held accountable for the worst effects of purist ideology that were based on highly questionable historical (re-) constructions, retouching certainly helped prepare the ground by spreading and popularizing the purist aesthetics associated with it. In this manner, manipulated photography became a powerful political and propaganda tool—a capacity the Dadaists were later to re-interpret in an entirely different way.

Moreover, manipulated photographs were frequently used to illustrate the impact of a projected





Figure 10  
Paul Schultze-Naumburg, double page  
from *Kulturarbeiten* with „good“ and „bad“  
examples of a street, in: *Kulturarbeiten*,  
vol. 4: *Der Städtebau*, 2nd ed., Munich 1909,  
pages 56–57.

project suggested to build up the so-far undeveloped hills of the city that were characteristic of its topography. One of the published illustrations, a photograph of the then present situation of the Reinsburg Hill (fig. 9a) is compared to a photomontage showing the same hill with a monumental church as its “architectural crown” (fig. 9b). This juxtaposition of two images was frequently used in the German architectural discourse of the time. While it may be traced



Figure 11  
El Lissitzky, *Wolkenbügel*, 1923/25,  
photomontage.  
Russian State Archive of Literature and Art,  
Moscow.

back to Pugin’s *Contrasts*, it reached its apotheosis in Friedrich Schultze-Naumburg’s widely read and popular multi-volume *Kulturarbeiten* (fig. 10). In contrast to these polemical outlooks on modern culture, the Stuttgart project uses photomontage and the comparative method to emphasize the benefits of the addition of monumental landmarks to the existing urban fabric. In this way, photomontage became an instrument in the promotion of grandiose, even utopian, projects. Not only was this tradition readily taken up by avant-garde artists such as El Lissitzky in his *Wolkenbügel* from the early 1920s (fig. 11), or by neo-avant-garde architect collaboratives such as Archigram and Superstudio – now often with an ironic, or even dystopian, undertone – it also anticipated present-day digital rendering



techniques. At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the usefulness of photographic techniques was a frequent topic in contemporary architectural journalism. In 1906, the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* printed an extensive article on the use of the photogrammetric method, one of a substantial number of articles on photography and its use for architecture and historic preservation of the time. Its author explicitly encouraged the use of photomontage (or, more precisely, the manipulation of photographs) for the purpose of advocating an architectural project:



*“In order to judge the later impact of a yet to be built monumental work, the mock-up of an object may be photographed from an adequate distance using the photogrammetric method, in fact even be copied into the already existing, later context, and possible changes may be effectuated accordingly.”<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 12)*

Needless to say, photomontage was used simultaneously for the opposite effect, namely to warn against the unfavorable impact of a proposed architectural project, as in the case of a roadway bridge in the city of Passau that was to replace the existing footbridge over the river (fig. 13). In both cases, the technique presented a powerful political tool for shaping of public opinion.

Photomontage and manipulated photography came into architectural discourse not only through its exploration by Cubist, Dadaist, and Surrealist artists in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but were present almost from the inception of the new medium of photography. Architects soon realized the potential of photography and its manipulation for the presentation and diffusion of their architectural visions unhampered by pragmatic considerations of functionality, technology, or economy. If photomontage may be considered the precursor of

Figure 12  
Photogrammetry campaign,  
reproduced in: A. Nothnagel,  
'Meßbildverfahren und Denkmäler-Archive',  
in: *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, vol. 40,  
10 November 1906, page 615.

17. "Auch läßt sich, um die spätere Wirkung eines auszuführenden monumentalen Werkes zu beurteilen, das Modell des Gegenstandes im Meßbildverfahren in gehörigem Abstand photographieren, ja sogar in die bereits

vorhandene spätere Umgebung richtig hineinkopieren und es lassen sich etwaige Aenderungen danach treffen." A. Nothnagel, 'Meßbildverfahren und Denkmäler-Archive', in: *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, vol. 40, 1906, 615.

Figure 13  
'An imminent disfigurement of the city of  
Passau', from: *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, vol. 38,  
29 June 1904, page 321.



digital rendering techniques as widely used in architectural practice today, it should be kept in mind that the images and imaginations put forward in these artifacts have served—for better or worse—as a repository for powerful architectural visions throughout modernity, visions that continue to haunt our architectural and spatial unconscious to the present day.

# Bioscopic and Kinematic Books Studies on the Visualisation of Motion and Time in the Architectural Book ca. 1900–1935

Matthias Noell

## I. “Cinematic, moment-like composition”

In the year 1923, El Lissitzky created the book anew. In *Topography of Typography*, the Russian artist propagated the “continuous page sequence” and opened up the concept of the “bioscopic book” to discussion.<sup>1</sup> The use of the term “bioscopic” – the Skladanowsky Brothers named the film projector they used for the first time in Berlin in 1895 a “Bioscope” – is an indication of the new interaction between the medial communication of information, optics and movement that the graphic design of the book was intended to implement.

Even though the linear construction of the book, and the subsequent narrative structure that connects time while the book is being read or a series of illustrations looked at, makes it fundamentally better suited to explore the subject of movement than a single image, coherent series of pictures are comparatively rare in the history of the illustrated book. This discursive and narrative approach appears *en passant*, without being invested with any particular significance, in one of the most artistically demanding architecture books of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century by John Sell Cotman and Dawson Turner.<sup>2</sup> It was not until the discovery and dissemination of chronophotography by Étienne-Jules Marey and Eadweard Muybridge, as well as through cinematography itself, that art also became interested in the serial depiction of moving objects without however initially including something as fundamentally motionless as architecture.<sup>3</sup> Triggered by the automobile among other things, as well as by the possibilities provided by changes in printing techniques that made it an unproblematic matter to include photographs, the full extent of the resulting possibilities was also recognised and used for book design.

The following will investigate the subject of movement – or, more concretely: the visual depiction of movement processes in the architectural space – in book design in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Two genres of the illustrated book played a major role here as their topics basically dealt with the movement of the person in space and time: the travel book, as well as the architectural book. While travel and the motorised movement of the individual played a significant role in the development of a new perception of the world in which we live and finally became the subject of a great number of books, novel graphic concepts were sought for communicating the newly-acquired individual speed in architectural books. In addition, the typographer Jan Tschichold ascertained in 1927 that “the speed and terseness of the film” had “influenced literature in the direction of a cinematic, moment-like composition”.<sup>4</sup>

1. El Lissitzky, ‘Topographie der Typographie’, in: *Merz*, 4, 1923, reprinted in: *El Lissitzky. Maler, Architekt, Typograf, Fotograf. Erinnerungen, Briefe, Schriften*, presented by Sophie Lissitzky-Küppers, Dresden: Verlag der Kunst 1967, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1980, 360.

2. On *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* by John Sell Cotman and Dawson Turner, cf. Matthias Noell, ‘“Standards of taste” – Augustus Charles Pugin and the specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy’, in: Bernd Carqué, Daniela Mondini and Matthias Noell (eds.), *Visualisierung und Imagination. Mittelalterliche Artefakte in bildlichen Darstellungen der Neuzeit und Moderne*, 2 vols., Göttingen: Wallstein 2006 [= Göttinger Gespräche zur Geschichtswissenschaft 25], vol. 2, 417–464, and elsewhere.

3. Cf. Matthias Noell, ‘Bewegung in Zeit und Raum. Zum erweiterten Architekturbegriff im frühen 20. Jahrhundert’, in: Frank Hofmann, Stavros Lazaris and Jens Emil Sennewald (eds.), *Raum-Dynamik. Beiträge zu einer*

*Diskussion des Raums*, Bielefeld: transcript 2004, 301–314, and others.

4. Jan Tschichold, ‘Zeitgemässe Buchgestaltung’, in: *Die Form. Zeitschrift für gestaltende Arbeit*, 2, 1927, no. 4, 116–123, here 116. On book design, cf. Michael Nungesser, ‘Skizze zur publizistischen Situation der modernen Architektur’, in: *Europäische Moderne. Buch und Graphik aus Berliner Kunstverlagen 1890 – 1933*, Berlin, exh. cat. (Kunstabibliothek Berlin), Berlin: Reimer 1989, 163–189. Elisabetta Bresciani (ed.), *Modern. Architekturbücher aus der Sammlung Marzona*, Vienna: Schlebrügge 2003. Matthias Noell, ‘Nicht mehr Lesen! Sehen!’ – Le livre d’architecture de langue allemande dans les années vingt, in: Jean-Michel Leniaud and Béatrice Bouvier (eds.), *Le livre d’architecture. XVe–XXe siècle. Edition, représentation et bibliothèques*, Paris: Ecole des Chartes 2002 [= Etudes et rencontres de l’Ecole des Chartes 11], 143–156. Idem, *Das Haus und sein Buch. Moderne Buchgestaltung im Dienst der Architekturvermittlung*, Basel: Standpunkte 2009.



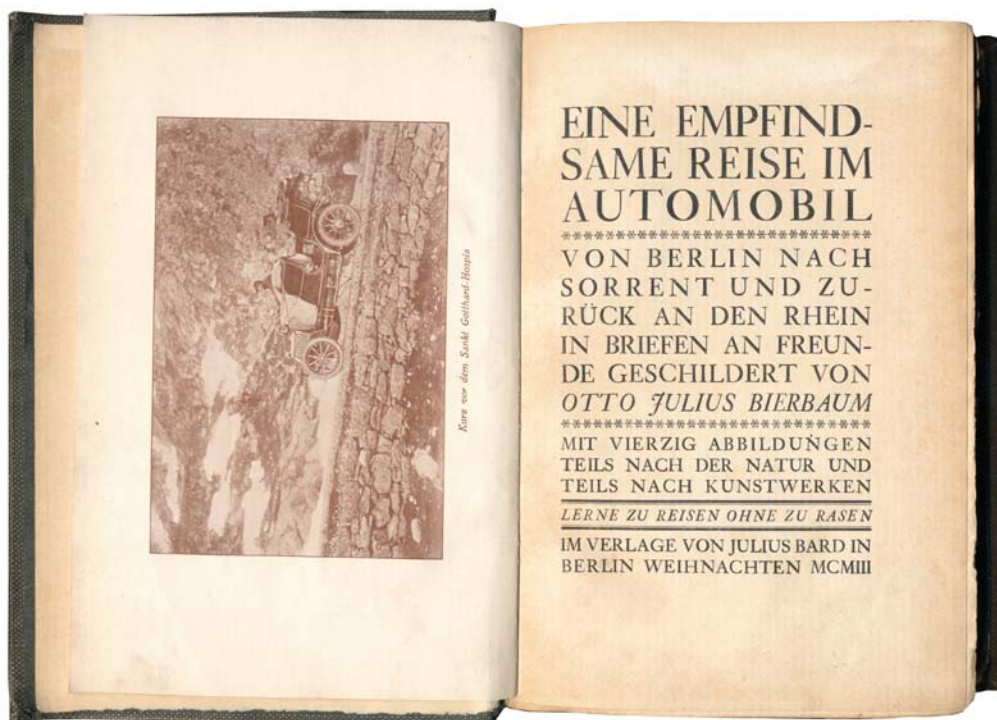


Figure 1  
Travelling as sentimental journey.  
'Near Sankt Gotthard Hospiz', Frontispiece of  
Otto Julius Bierbaum, *Eine empfindsame Reise  
im Automobil von Berlin nach Sorrent und zurück  
an den Rhein in Briefen an Freunde geschildert*,  
Berlin: Julius Bard 1903.

the Rhine"; Felix Moeschlin on the other hand started his journey in New York and crossed the United States of America. While Bierbaum was able to boast that "trips of this kind are still rare", Moeschlin saw the spectacular and novel aspect of his journey in the fact that he had chosen the USA as his destination, that the New World had taken the place of Italy in the heyday of Americanism. The two tourists were not interested in breaking any speed records but devoting themselves to the "art of travel".<sup>6</sup> Bierbaum's travel philosophy of "learn how to travel without racing"<sup>7</sup> was in complete contrast to the general sport and speed cult of the "cinematic age" that Gaston Rageot had proclaimed in *L'Homme standard* in 1928 when he determined that the need to travel had introduced the change of location as a constant factor of life.<sup>8</sup> Bierbaum was much more concerned with a changed perception of the landscape that, in contrast to all other forms of travel, the "freedom of movement" of travel by car made possible.<sup>9</sup>

In the eyes of the writer Bierbaum, who had obviously modelled his travel report on Laurence Sterne's novel *Yorick's Sentimental Journey through France and Italy*, his "Adler" automobile was "an entire building on wheels"; for Moeschlin, it was "both a house and a home", "a ship" in a manner of speaking, where everything that was needed to live an independent life was stowed away.<sup>10</sup> Faced with the metaphor of the automobile as a house or a ship, Le Corbusier's reverse image does not seem so far away: "A house like a car, designed and constructed like an omnibus or ship's cabin."<sup>11</sup>

Those in favour of the new means of transport were unanimous in feeling that the automobile would reinstate the individual freedom that travellers had lost to a certain extent with the introduction of the railway.<sup>12</sup> "We ourselves will be able to decide on how slow or fast

## II. Movement in the automobile

In 1903 and 1930 two books founded on a common basic concept were published in Berlin, and Zurich and Leipzig respectively: *Eine empfindsame Reise im Automobil* by Otto Julius Bierbaum and *Amerika vom Auto aus* by Felix Moeschlin.<sup>5</sup> Both books provide a travel report of a three-month tourist trip by car; two motorised, modern *grand tours*. Otto Julius Bierbaum began his "sentimental journey" in Berlin, drove to Sorrento and then "back to

5. Otto Julius Bierbaum, *Eine empfindsame Reise im Automobil von Berlin nach Sorrent und zurück an den Rhein in Briefen an Freunde geschildert*, Berlin: Julius Bard 1903. Felix Moeschlin, *Amerika vom Auto aus. 20000 km USA*. Erlenbach-Zurich and Leipzig: Eugen Rentsch 1930. I have to thank Sibylle Hoimann and her velocipede tour from Hegibachstraße to the Brockenhäuser in Zurich and back in 2008 for the discovery of *Amerika vom Auto aus*.

6. Bierbaum (reference 5), VIII.

7. Bierbaum (reference 5), 9.

8. Gaston Rageot: *L'Homme standard*, Paris: Plon 1928, 52 and 113. Cf. also

Paul Virilio, *Ästhetik des Verschwindens* [1980], Berlin: Merve 1986.

9. Bierbaum (reference 5), 8.

10. Moeschlin (reference 5), 178.

11. Le Corbusier: 'Maisons en série', in: idem, *Vers une Architecture*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Paris: Crès et Cie 1928, 200: 'Une maison comme une auto, conçue et agencée comme une omnibus ou une cabine de navire.'

12. Cf. Marcel Proust, 'Zum Gedenken an die gemordeten Kirchen', in: idem, *Nachgeahmtes und Vermischtes, Werke I*, vol. 2, edited by Lucius Keller, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1989, 93.



Figure 2  
Road photography: velocity.  
Felix Moeschlin,

*Amerika vom Auto aus. 20000 km USA*, Erlenbach-  
Zurich and Leipzig: Eugen Rentsch 1930,  
photograph by Dr. Kurt Richter, 139.

we travel, where we stay and spend some time and where we simply pass through.”<sup>13</sup> The car, with its inherent speed and manoeuvrability, could also make new patterns of perception possible and even cause them: “In a railway carriage, one actually only travels past a landscape; in a motor car, one really moves through its midst.”<sup>14</sup> The consequences of any form of perception that had been changed in such a manner could not fail to influence architectural design. At an early stage, Hendrik Petrus Berlage argued in favour of a simplification of architectural form, for architecture without any time-consuming details in its creation or observation.<sup>15</sup> In 1910, Peter Behrens, the recipient of one of Bierbaum’s reports on the individual stages of his trip, summed it up succinctly: “When we race through the streets of our cities in a high-speed vehicle, we can no longer make out the details of the buildings.”<sup>16</sup> The German Werkbund adopted this idea; its 1914 yearbook was devoted to transport and discussed the practice of technical movement in the urban development.<sup>17</sup> The strategies developed here shaped the architectural concepts of the 1920s and, with them, the illustrated architecture book.

In addition to Bierbaum’s unusual – for the time – choice of means of transport, there was another novel aspect to his journey. He not only had his wife and chauffeur Louis Riegel on board, but also a camera to provide documentary images of the trip. It seems that not only he but also his wife operated the apparatus – at first with a kind of amateurish enthusiasm but later with increasing competence (fig. 1).<sup>18</sup> This makes his sentimental journey not simply (probably) the first German-language report of travel by car but also an early example of a book illustrated with photographs taken by the author. Numerous “automobile diaries” – including those by Wolf Strache and Paul Wolff in the 1930s – followed in the footsteps of the genre of book fathered by Bierbaum; however, with a nationalist slant.<sup>19</sup>

13. Bierbaum (reference 5), 8.

14. Bierbaum (reference 5), 76.

15. Hendrik Petrus Berlage, ‘Bouwkunst en impressionisme’ [1894], German translation in Hendrik Petrus Berlage, *Über Architektur und Stil. Aufsätze und Vorträge 1894-1928*, edited by Bernhard Kohlenbach, Basel: Birkhäuser 1991, 18-38, here 28.

16. Peter Behrens, ‘Kunst und Technik’, in: *Elektrotechnische Zeitschrift*, vol. 22, 2 June 1910, 552-555, here 554.

17. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes*, Jena: E. Diederichs, 1914.

18. Bierbaum (reference 5), 95.

19. Wolf Strache, *Kleine Liebe zu Columbus. Ein Autotagebuch mit vielen Bildern*, Berlin: Bong n.d. [1936]. Paul Wolff, *Groß-Bild oder Klein-Bild? Ergebnisse einer Fotofahrt durch Franken an die Donau*, Frankfurt a. M.: H. Bechold 1938. Cf. also Andrea Wetterauer, *Lust an der Distanz. Die Kunst der Autoreise in der ‘Frankfurter Zeitung’*, Tübingen: Tübinger Verein für Volkskunde 2007.

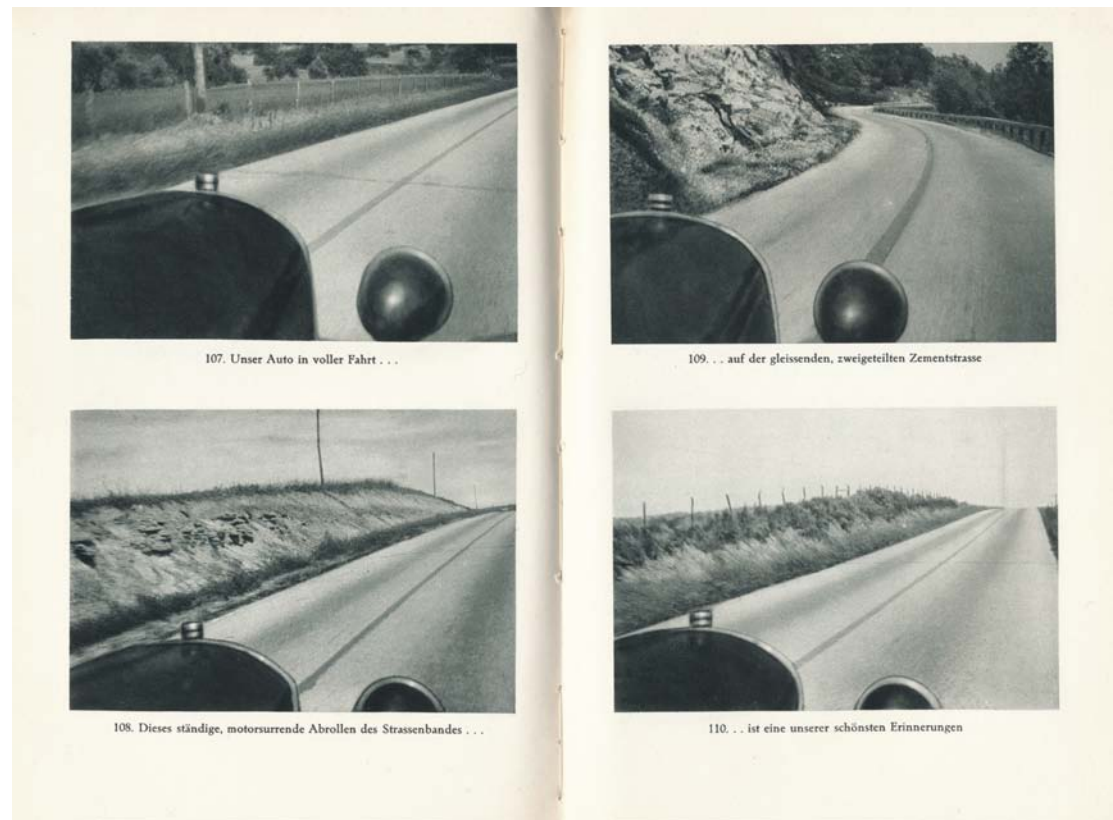


Figure 3  
Road photography: rhythm  
Felix Moeschlin,  
*Amerika vom Auto aus. 20000 km USA*,  
Erlenbach-Zurich and Leipzig:  
Eugen Rentsch 1930,  
photographs by Dr. Kurt Richter, 107–110.

Felix Moeschlin also modelled his work on Bierbaum and even took his own photographer, Dr Kurt Richter, with him on his journey. If one makes a comparison of the pictures in the two books, one notices a clear change in the photographic view. While Bierbaum's photos always document the automobile from the outside and in this way take the position of the observer and not the driver or traveller, Moeschlin not only programmatically called his book *Amerika vom Auto aus* but had Kurt Richter even stage some pictures from this perspective. Seen from the front passenger seat, the view is focussed directly on the road over the bonnet (fig. 2). The blurred asphalt makes the speed of the moving car visible. A considerable number of Richter's photographs give proof of his intimate knowledge of contemporary photography, so-called "New Vision". In particular, it seems likely that the two America travellers were aware of Erich Mendelsohn's travel book *Amerika. Bilderbuch eines Architekten*, which was issued by Mosse Publishers in Berlin in 1926 and, immediately after it had been published, received great international recognition on account of its numerous, extraordinary photographs.<sup>20</sup>

### III. Image sequences

The book also creates a suggestion of the motion of being driven forwards on the road through a cinematic sequence of four images of the road spread over a double page connected with the fitting caption: "Our auto going at full speed...on the glaring, two-lane cement road. The permanent hum of the motor as the ribbon of the road rolls past...is one of our most treasured memories."<sup>21</sup> "In Moeschlin's words: "Our hearts and the motor beat without rest" (fig. 3).<sup>22</sup>

Several books that made the "cinematographic strip of images" the basis for their design and depiction of movements were published in 1925. The book *Wunder des Schneeschuhs*

20. Erich Mendelsohn, *Amerika. Bilderbuch eines Architekten*, Berlin: Mosse 1926.  
21. Moeschlin (reference 5), captions ill. 107–110.  
22. Moeschlin (reference 5), 129.



was intended as a skiing manual and was still oriented on chronological movement studies to a large degree but integrated the images in vertical, perforated film strips. The pictures came from the series of films *Wunder des Schneeschuhs* that the director Arnold Fanck had been making with the ski pioneer and actor Hannes Schneider since 1920.<sup>23</sup>

In *Malerei, Fotografie, Film*, published in the same year, László Moholy-Nagy reproduced two strips from Franck's book and brought together a series of possibilities for integrating movements in optical compositions for the first time.<sup>24</sup> These also included photographs that captured the movement of luminous squares from abstract films and time exposures of street scenes illuminated at night showing moving automobiles and trams. Within the framework

of architecture, attention must also be drawn to the two double-page images of a flock of cranes in flight and a squadron of airplanes over the Atlantic. The two photographs not only show the process of movement of the individual object in flight, but also the concurrence of similar movements at various stages; "mass limbs" or "fractions of a figure" was the formulation Siegfried Kracauer used in *Das Ornament der Masse*.<sup>25</sup> This variation of the same and standardised, which Gropius called "variability", was also focused on by Alfred Arndt in his coloured axonometry of the master houses revolving in space in 1926.<sup>26</sup>

In Colin Ross' *Fahrten- und Abenteuerbuch*, published in 1925, Jan Tschichold arranged a series of three sequential photographs taken by the war reporter and travel-book author on a double page (fig. 4). They show a battle scene from the First World War with the captions: "Battery moves into position", "Battery firing" and "Storm" and give an impression

of the progress of an attack. Tschichold underlined the speed of the cinematic sequence by giving the three photos a single illustration number.<sup>27</sup> Ross himself had come into contact with the subject of movement sequences when he translated Frank Bunker Gilbreth's book *Bewegungsstudien. Vorschläge zur Steigerung der Leistungsfähigkeit des Arbeiters*, which was illus-

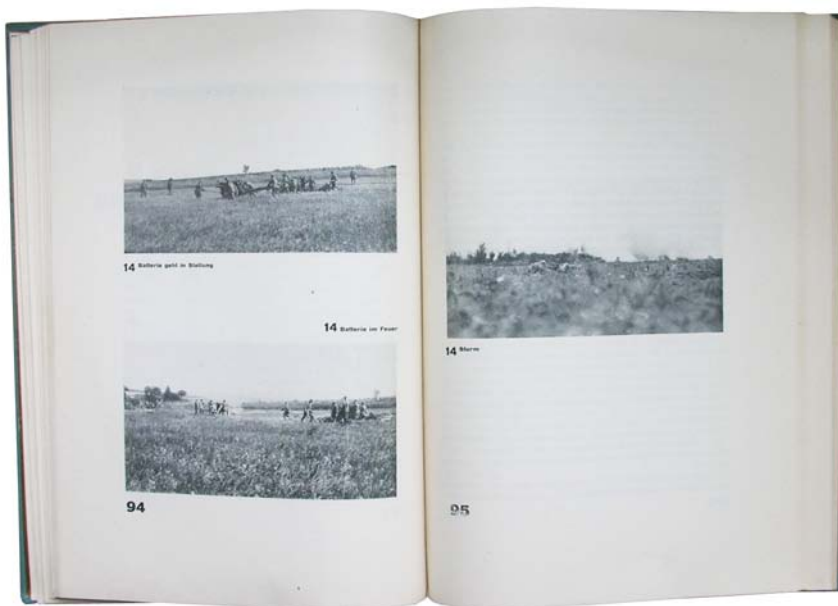


Figure 4

War photography: velocity and violence. "Battery moves into position", "Battery firing", "Storm", reproduced from: idem, *Fahrten- und Abenteuerbuch*, Leipzig: Büchergilde Gutenberg 1925, photographs by Colin Ross, designed by Jan Tschichold, pages 94–95.

23. Arnold Fanck and Hannes Schneider, *Wunder des Schneeschuhs. Ein System des richtigen Skilaufens und seine Anwendung im alpinen Geländelauf*. Mit 242 Einzelbildern und 1100 kinematographischen Reihenbildern, Hamburg: Enoch 1925. Leni Riefenstahl played a main role in the third part, *Der weiße Rausch*, in 1931. For information on Enoch and Fanck, cf. the article by Roland Jaeger et al.: "Kurt Enoch (1895–1982) und der Gebrüder Enoch Verlag (1913–38)", in: *Aus dem Antiquariat*, 2000, no. 5, A288–A300, 290–291. Sequences from Paul Wolff's films were also used in Joseph Dahinden's publication *Die Ski-Schule* without being as tightly integrated into the design. Josef [Joseph] Dahinden, *Die Ski-Schule*, Zürich: Fretz 1924. For information on Dahinden, cf. Marcel Just, "Modernes Piktogramm. Das Strichmännchen der Skischule Arosa von 1933", in: Marcel Just, Christof Kübler, Matthias Noell and Renzo Semadeni (eds.), *Arosa. Die Moderne in den Bergen*, Zürich: gta 2007, 236–239.

24. László Moholy-Nagy, *Malerei, Photographie, Film*, Munich: Albert Langen

1925 [= Bauhausbücher 8]. Second adapted edition under the title of: *Malerei, Fotografie, Film*, Munich: Albert Langen 1927, 50/51, 63, 84/85, 118. Cf. Ute Brüning (ed.), *Das A und O des Bauhauses. Bauhauswerbung, Schriftbilder, Drucksachen, Ausstellungsdesign*, exh. cat. (Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin), Leipzig: Bauhaus-Archiv, Edition Leipzig 1995.

25. Siegfried Kracauer, "Das Ornament der Masse" [1928], in: idem, *Der verbottene Blick. Beobachtungen, Analysen, Kritiken*, Leipzig: Reclam 1992, 171–185, here 173.

26. Illustration caption in: *Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar 1919–1923* [published by Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar and Karl Nierendorf], exh. cat. (Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar), Weimar and Munich: Bauhausverlag 1923, 167, ill. 109. Cf. also: Walter Gropius, "der große baukasten", in: *Das Neue Frankfurt* 1/1926–27, 25–30.

27. Colin Ross, *Fahrten- und Abenteuerbuch*, Leipzig: Büchergilde Gutenberg 1925, 94–95.

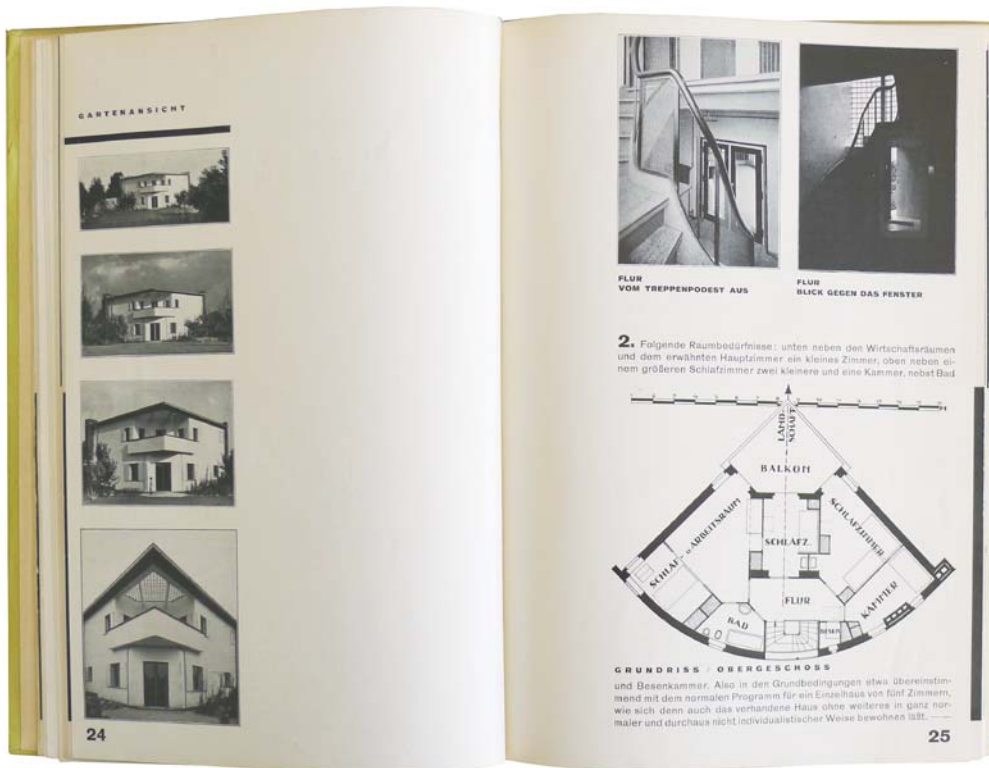


Figure 5  
Approach.

Double page from: Bruno Taut, *Ein Wohnhaus. Mit 104 Fotos und 72 Zeichnungen, einer Farbaufnahme und einer Farbzusammenstellung*, Stuttgart: Franck'sche Verlagshandlung W. Keller & Co. 1927, photographs by Arthur Köster, designed by Johannes Molzahn, pages 24-25.

approached the St Etienne Church in Caen: "For a long time, they [the towers of St Etienne] had been out of the reach of the efforts made by our motor that, with spinning wheels, always appeared to remain at the same distance away, so that only now, in the last seconds, the speed of the entire passage of time became perceptible."<sup>29</sup>

The view from the automobile, the change perception in – and through – movement remained a significant theme in art and architectural theory in the following decades. Dennis Hopper's 1961 photograph *Double standard*, Jeff Wall's first photographic diaries from the 1960s, the two books Muriel Cooper designed for MIT Press *A View from the Road* by Kevin Lynch and *Learning from Las Vegas* by Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour, as well as the *Diary of a Passenger's View of Movement in a Car* by Alison and Peter Smithson, who captured this with an "eye on the road", must suffice as proof at this moment.<sup>30</sup>

In 1927, Johannes Molzahn adapted Mendelsohn's book design for Bruno Taut's *Ein Wohnhaus* and made a name for himself for the first time with the book concept which he would shortly thereafter call "book cinema" (fig. 5).<sup>31</sup> The novel design with photographic sequences was intended to make it possible for the reader to come as close as possible to the

trated with photographs of work sequences, into German in 1921. In it, Gilbreth and his wife, both former co-workers of Frederick Winslow Taylor, used film to support their classification of elements of movement. Erich Mendelsohn also inserted a sequence of photographs to demonstrate movement in his book *Amerika* that was issued shortly thereafter. He created an image of a passenger ship entering the port of New York using three photographs arranged alongside each other as a kind of time-lapse film. The dramatic accompanying text described the passengers rapidly approaching their final destination.<sup>28</sup> Marcel Proust had already depicted a similar kind of enthusiasm many years before when he ap-

28. Mendelsohn [reference 20], 21.

29. Proust [reference 12], 88.

30. Theodora Vischer and Heidi Naef (eds.), *Jeff Wall. Catalogue raisonné 1978-2004*, exh. cat. (Schaulager Basel), Göttingen: Steidl 2005. Alison Smithson, *AS in DS. An Eye on the Road*, Delft: Delft University Press 1983, 15. Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*, Cambridge (Massachusetts)/London: The MIT Press 1972, 31 and 40-41.

31. Bruno Taut, *Ein Wohnhaus. Mit 104 Fotos und 72 Zeichnungen, einer Farbaufnahme und einer Farbzusammenstellung*, Stuttgart, Franck'sche Verlagshandlung W. Keller & Co. 1927. Cf. Roland Jaeger, 'Bau und Buch, „Ein Wohnhaus“ von Bruno Taut', in: Bruno Taut, *Ein Wohnhaus*, reprint Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1995, 119-147. Johannes Molzahn, 'Nicht mehr Lesen! Sehen!', in: *Das Kunstblatt*, Berlin, 12, 1928, 78-82. Roland Jaeger, 'Johannes Molzahn (1892-1956) als Gebrauchsgraphiker und Buchgestalter', in: *Aus dem Anti-quariat*, 1992, no. 6, A225-A234.

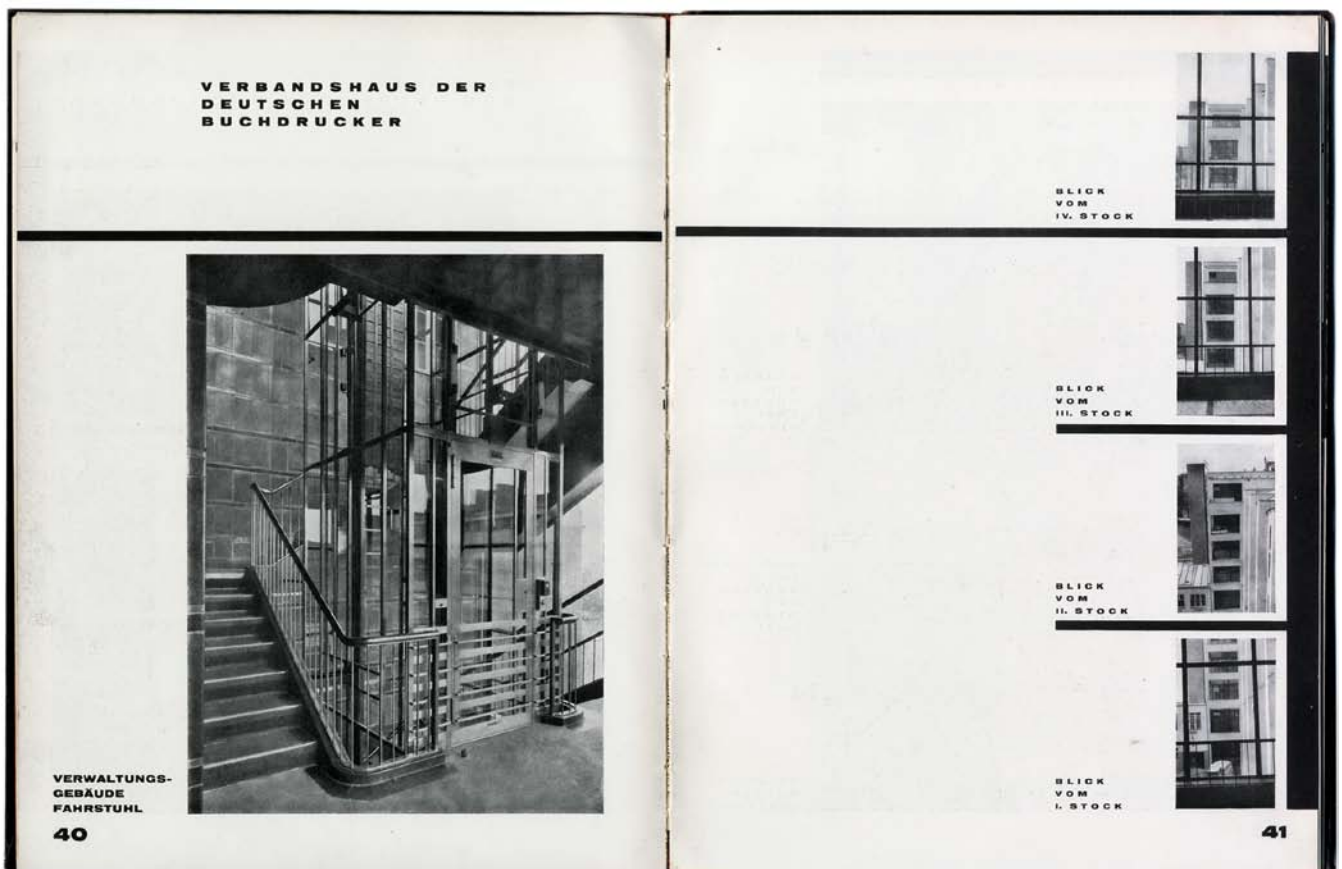


Figure 6  
Elevator to the meeting room.  
German Book Printers' Union Headquarters,  
reproduced in: Max Taut, *Bauten und Pläne. Mit  
einer Einleitung von Adolf Behne*, Berlin, Leipzig,  
Vienna, Chicago: Friedrich Ernst Hübsch 1927,  
photographs by Arthur Köster, designed by  
Johannes Molzahn, pages 40–41.

movements of people in real architecture through the means of typography. Photography was “the pacemaker for the tempo of the age and development”.<sup>32</sup> The book-printing establishment founded by Max Taut gave Molzahn the possibility of defining his ideas more precisely in the same year.<sup>33</sup> The reader was to be taken by the hand and first of all led visually through the construction process before finally making a “book-kinematic” stroll through the Book Printers’ Union Headquarters that included a trip in a lift up to their meeting room (fig. 6). Molzahn used the beams that were characteristic of the new style of typography to introduce new sequences, to end them, or in general to set the direction or speed of reading; in this respect, they resembled a system of musical notation.<sup>34</sup> Molzahn’s conclusion that the modern person was dominated by optical perception corresponded with Gaston Rageot’s: “le public est devenu presque exclusivement visuel”.<sup>35</sup> Erich Mendelsohn followed with a book about his own home *Neues Haus – Neue Welt* in 1932. Although the concept of the visual “tour du

32. Molzahn [reference 31], 79. Cf. also W.L. [Wilhelm Lotz], ‘Architekturfotos’, in: *Die Form*, 4, 1929, no. 3, 69–70.

33. Max Taut, *Bauten und Pläne. Mit einer Einleitung von Adolf Behne*, Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna, Chicago: Friedrich Ernst Hübsch 1927.

34. Cf. Molzahn [reference 31], 78.

35. Rageot [reference 8], 69.



Figure 7  
To iron – Not to iron (“combined shot”),  
reproduced in: Walter Gropius, *bauhausbauten  
dessau*, Munich: Albert Langen 1930  
(= Bauhaus-Bücher 12),  
photograph by Lucia Moholy,  
designed by László Moholy-Nagy, page 130.



propriétaire” from the entrance to the wine cellar had been in use since the first house monographs were published at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in no other book was it implemented so calculatedly and uncompromisingly as in this trailblazing architecture book.<sup>36</sup>

#### IV. Demonstrative movement

Architecture started to be communicated in films as well as in other media in the 1920s. Films were made that documented and gave an impression of modern architecture such as those of the Frankfurt House Factory and from Dessau. Sections of the 17-minute film *Neues Wohnen* – a coproduction between Walter Gropius, the director Ernst Jahn and the Berlin Humboldt film production company – were subsequently integrated into the twelfth volume of the Bauhaus books *bauhaus bauten dessau* published in 1930. These, as well as the film stills arranged as strips of film complete with perforated edges in other Bauhaus publications, followed the concept of book cinema in their suggestions of movement. In the Gropius house, the maid was shown going about her work at the cupboards, serving hatches and other furnishings to demonstrate the practicality of the movement of

36. Erich Mendelsohn, *Neues Haus Neue Welt*, prefaces by Amédée Ozefant and Edwin Redslob, Berlin: Mosse 1931. For information on the ‘tour du propriétaire’ and the Wohnhaus books, cf. Matthias Noell, *Das Haus und sein Buch. Moderne Buchgestaltung im Dienst der Architekturvermittlung*, Basel: Standpunkte 2009. The term “tour du propriétaire” was taken from Kuno Graf von Hardenberg: ‘Das Haus von Alexander Koch’, in: Alexander Koch,

*Das Haus eines Kunstfreundes. Haus Alexander Koch*, Darmstadt: Alexander Koch 1926, 6. For information on Mendelsohn, cf. Simone Förster, *Masse braucht Licht. Arthur Kösters Fotografien der Bauten von Erich Mendelsohn. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Architekturfotografie der 1920er Jahre*, Berlin: dissertation.de, 2006, 200, and elsewhere.

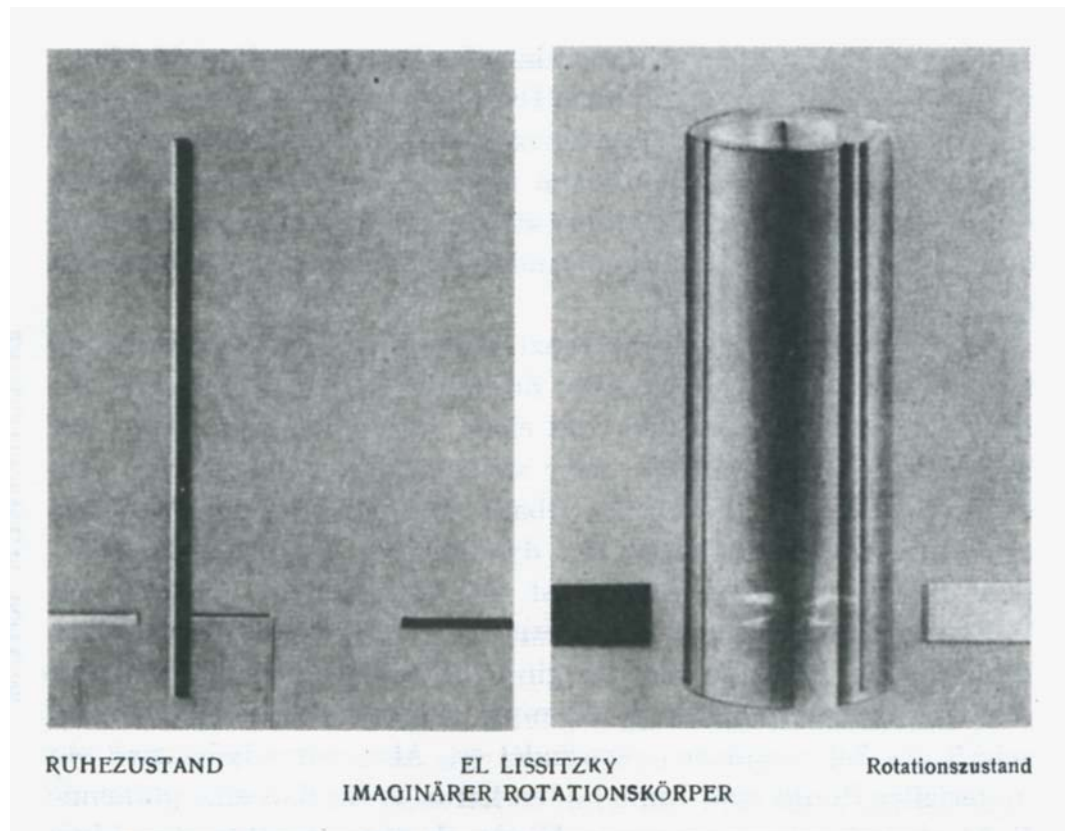


Figure 8  
'Imaginary space'.  
'Imaginary body of rotation, left: state of  
rest, right: state of rotation',  
illustration reproduced in: El Lissitzky,  
'K. und Pangeometrie', in: Carl Einstein  
and Paul Westheim (eds.), *Europa-Almanach*,  
Potsdam: Kiepenheuer 1925, page 110.

the objects. Gropius' wife Ise, on the other hand, could be seen sliding wardrobe doors and opening and closing a folding sofa in two photographs. It is noteworthy that the accompanying text concentrated on the movability of new architecture and its furnishings.

The dual movability of the objects as well as the residents is most clearly shown in the case of a built-in Junkers fan. Turned off and then switched on, the propeller blades slowly starting to move and their acceleration, are perfectly illustrated in a series of images on a double page. This demonstrative movement in the use of the technical equipment in the house inspired the photographer Lucia Moholy, the book designer László Moholy-Nagy and the publisher Walter Gropius to another form of legerdemain. The movements of an ironing board that could be folded down out of a cupboard were merged in a simultaneous exposure (in the book, it is called a "combined shot") to create a single photograph showing it once folded away and once set up, ready to be ironed on (fig. 7).<sup>37</sup> Superficially, we are only confronted with a rational, space-saving form of modern interior architecture, but the concept of con-

37. Walter Gropius, *bauhausbauten Dessau*, Munich: Albert Langen 1930 [= Bauhausbücher 12], 130.



Figure 9  
Armchair movement, advertisement of  
the Dutch Metz department store in the  
magazine *De 8 en opbouw*, vol. 6, 1935, no. 12.

The concept of showing construction processes in cinematic series of so-called “building pictures”, as described by Max Taut in his publication on the Book Printers’ House, was simple and could be convincingly put into a book. However, this strategy could hardly be used for a large number of publications without becoming monotonous for the reader. The technical achievements of series of pictures exploring specific activities, the creation of a building through the application of reinforced concrete and crane systems, lost their power to attract and became old hat very quickly.

structing space through time and movement, which El Lissitzky described as the construction of an “imaginary space” in 1925 (fig. 8),<sup>38</sup> stands behind the cross-fade.

Only a short time later, at the beginning of the 1930s, cinematically arranged sequences of images started appearing in manufacturers’ catalogues to demonstrate the flexibility of modern furnishings. This eventually led to the technique of multiple exposures being used to expand the spatio-temporal effect of the photographic image as can be seen in an advertisement published in 1934 in the Dutch *De 8 en opbouw* magazine showing light, moveable standardised furniture designed by Gerrit Rietveld available from the traditional department store Metz & Co (fig. 9).<sup>39</sup>

A photograph in Bruno Taut’s book *Ein Wohnhaus* shows a somewhat different example. The maid’s short “way from the stove to the dining table” is also demonstrated in the form of a simultaneous image. But in this case, the double exposure makes it possible to follow the functional layout and show the diagrams of the steps taken in the photographic image in the manner of Christine Frederick (figs. 10, 11).

#### V. On the patient quest – design as evolution

38. El Lissitzky, ‘K. und die Pangeometrie’, in: Carl Einstein and Paul Westheim (eds.), *Europa-Almanach*, Potsdam: Kiepenheuer 1925, 103-113, here 112.

39. *De 8 en opbouw*, 6, 1935, no. 12, advertisement section.



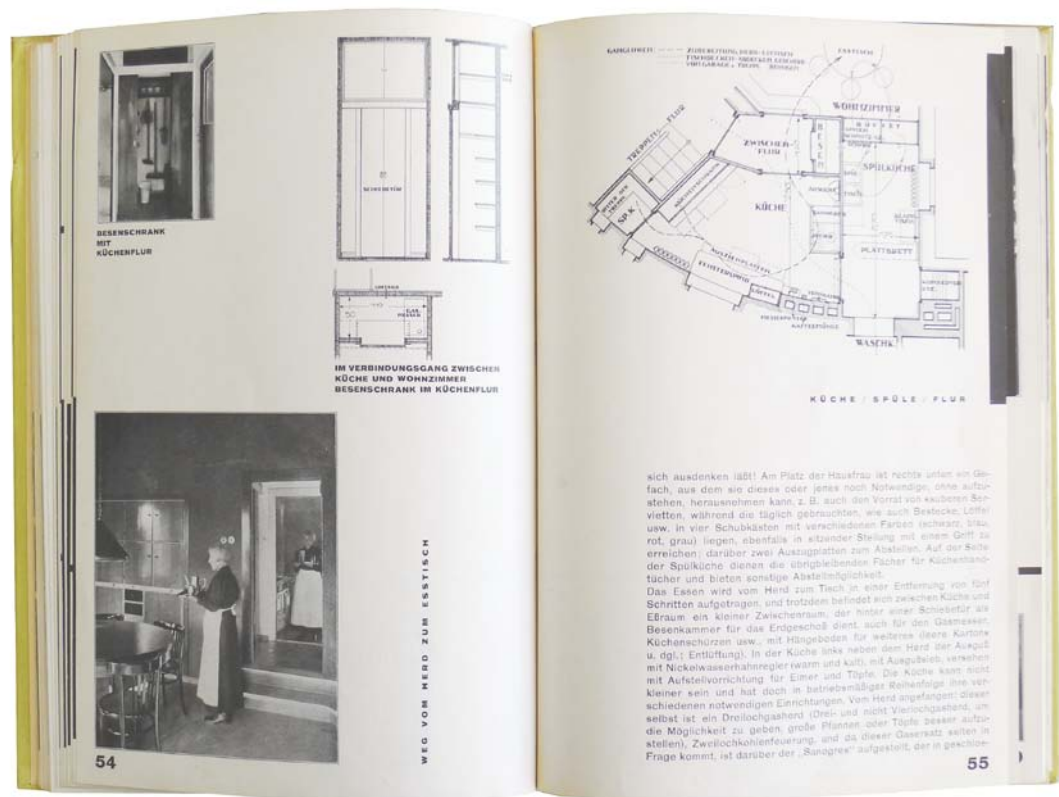


Figure 10  
Circulation.

Double page from: Bruno Taut, *Ein Wohnhaus*.  
Mit 104 Fotos und 72 Zeichnungen, einer  
Farbaufnahme und einer Farbzusammenstellung,  
Stuttgart, Franck'sche Verlagshandlung  
W. Keller & Co. 1927,  
photographs by Arthur Köster,  
designed by Johannes Molzahn, pages 54-55.

The structure that Adolf Meyer chose for the third volume of the Bauhaus books was therefore ultimately more capable of development. "Ein Versuchshaus" (A Prototype House) uses numerous photographs, as well as technical information, to describe the construction process of the prototype house of the Weimar Bauhaus in the four chapters: carcass work, completion, installation work, interior furnishing.<sup>40</sup> The arrangement was intended to document the unity of planning, modern production and the way in which they were communicated. Fritz Helmut Ehmcke, one of the most distinguished typographers at the time, immediately recognised the innovative aspect of this book: "Volume 3 shows the various phases of the work on the prototype house of the Bauhaus near Weimar, built in 1923, and simultaneously fulfils the purpose of an exhibition catalogue by providing individual information on the participating firms and their new construction methods."<sup>41</sup>

Although intended as a modern "mass-produced house", as the prototypical realisation of variable basic type produced in series, the building was a unique specimen from the technical point of view and its serial production purely utopian.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, the book was organised with a theoretical superstructure in the form of an article by Gropius on his design concept for modular architecture, illustrated with system drawings, placed before the photographic documentation. As a result, the reader had a clear understanding of the mutual conditionality of the unique case and general "residential building industry". The house itself is merely an almost-coincidentally realised link in the chain of the Bauhaus director's lengthier design activity. In this way, the book smoothed over the problem that Georg Muche's plan asserted itself against Gropius' own design in the Bauhaus.

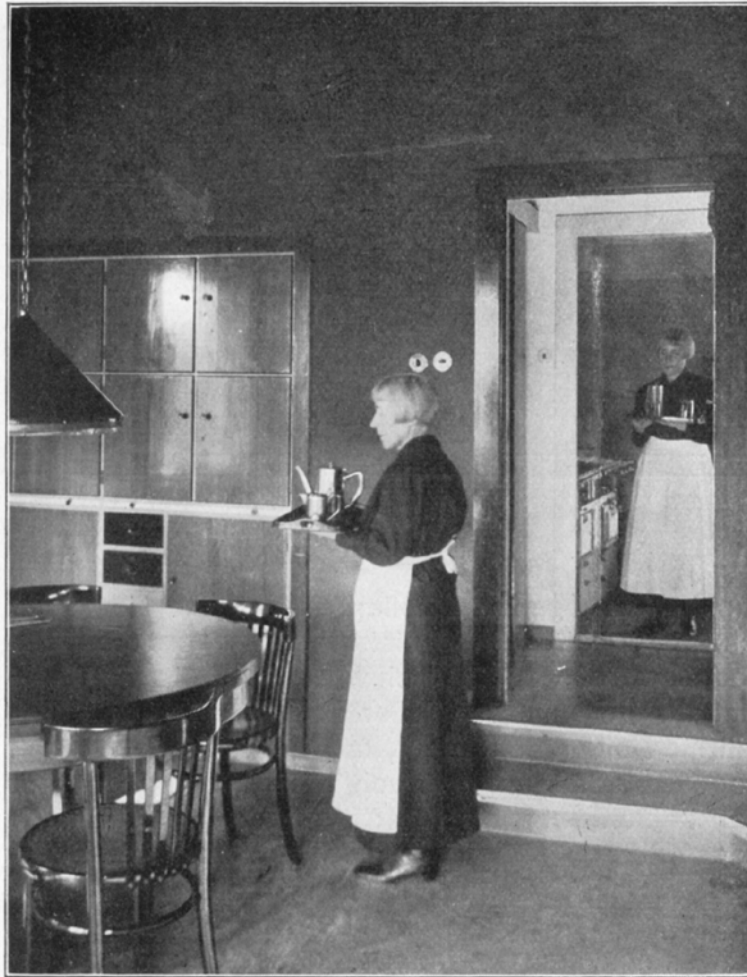
This concept of the interlinking of theoretical considerations and "many years of practical experience at building sites" became even clearer in the publication on Le Corbusier's

40. Adolf Meyer, *Ein Versuchshaus des Bauhauses in Weimar*, Munich: Albert Langen 1925 (= Bauhausbücher 3).

41. Fritz Helmut Ehmcke, 'Architekturbücher', in: idem, *Persönliches und Sachliches. Gesammelte Aufsätze und Arbeiten aus fünfundsiebenzig Jahren*.

Zu seinem fünfzigsten Geburtstag herausgegeben, Berlin: Hermann Reckendorf 1928, 148-159, 153.

42. Walter Gropius, 'Wohnhaus-Industrie', in: Meyer (reference 40), 5-14, 5.



WEG VOM HERD ZUM ESSTISCH

54

Figure 11  
Doubled housemaid.  
'Way from the stove to the dining table',  
reproduced in: Bruno Taut, *Ein Wohnhaus. Mit  
104 Fotos und 72 Zeichnungen, einer Farbaufnahme  
und einer Farbzusammenstellung*, Stuttgart:  
Franck'sche Verlagshandlung W. Keller & Co.  
1927, photograph by Arthur Köster,  
designed by Johannes Molzahn, page 54.

houses in Stuttgart.<sup>43</sup> In this case as well, a connection between the text ("Five Points towards a New Architecture") and the realised architecture to form an architectural manifesto is at the core of the concept of the book. Le Corbusier and his "book assistants" Alfred Roth and Willi Baumeister were neither concerned with a building-site documentation nor with a photographic tour in their book – the two elements were seemingly scattered at random over the pages in numerous sketches – they were much more interested in "the motoric aspects of our time" as it is described in the book.<sup>44</sup> This means the proximity of architecture to functionally determined industrial work, as well as the progressive planning activities of modern architects. It is exemplary that, after his articles in *Esprit nouveau*, Le Corbusier no longer visualised architectural evolution through a series of successive pictures but through juxtapositions. In his eyes, temples, automobiles and residential buildings were all products of an applied process of selection – "un produit de selection appliqué à un standart établi".<sup>45</sup> In place of contrasting comparisons using examples – as a counterexample to a Paul Schultze-Naumburg – Le Corbusier focused on evolution and progress in his books.<sup>46</sup>

43. Alfred Roth, *Zwei Wohnhäuser von Le Corbusier und Pierre Jeanneret. Fünf Punkte zu einer neuen Architektur von Le Corbusier und Pierre Jeanneret*. Preface by Prof. Dr. Hans Hildebrandt, Stuttgart: F. Wedekind 1927, citation page 6.

44. Roth [reference 42], 25.

45. Le Corbusier, *Vers une Architecture*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Paris: Crès et Cie 1928, 106.

46. Le Corbusier [reference 45], 107.

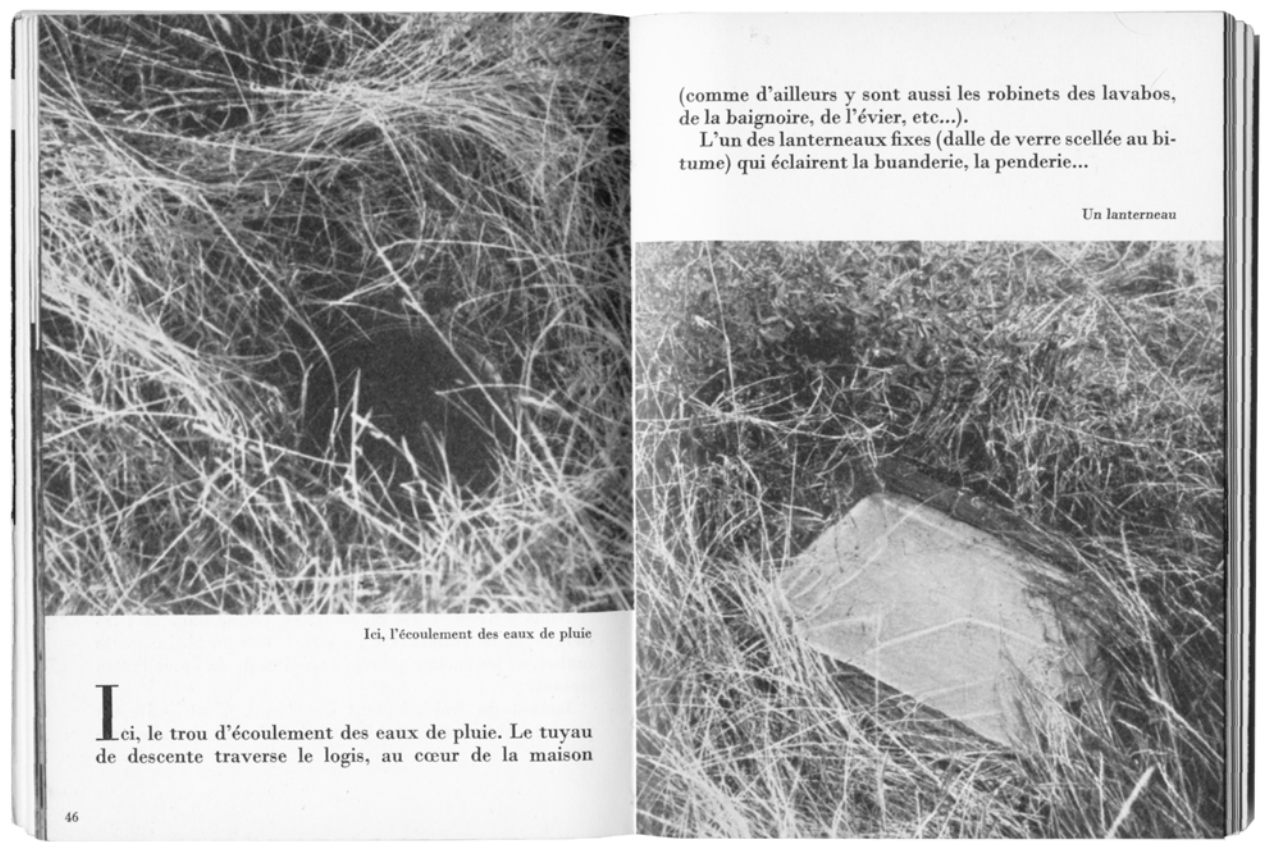


Figure 12  
Nature and techniques on the roof.  
'Rain water outlet', 'skylight', reproduced in:  
Le Corbusier, *Une petite maison* 1923, Zurich:  
Girsberger 1954 (= Les carnets de la recherche  
patiente 1), photographs by Claudine Peter,  
designed by Le Corbusier, pages 46–47.

The emphasis on years of planning work with its evolutionary orientation continued unchanged in the series of books *Carnets de la recherche patiente*. The first of these work reports, *Une petite maison*, was published in 1954 after a series of lectures and was followed three years later, by *Ronchamp*.<sup>47</sup> The small house in Vevey represents the origins of the “promenade architecturale” that was further developed in the ramps of the Villa La Roche in Paris and Villa Savoye in Poissy – the latter was allusively visualised as a visit with the architect for the first time in the *Oeuvre complete*. In *Une petite maison*, le Corbusier expressly took up the subject of the tour of the house and garden with the help of pictures and even included the movement in his accompanying text (fig. 12). However, the organisation of *Une petite maison* also reveals an additional level. First of all, the architect’s design concept from the year 1922 is dealt with, followed by the realised house that had since been lived in for decades in photographs from 1953–54, and finally a series of new sketches with a “rhetorical-paranoid” epilogue from 1954.<sup>48</sup> It is the temporal dimension that makes this small book stand out from similar products. On the tour of the house and garden, it documents and comments on the changes made after its construction by its occupants, Le Corbusier’s parents and their dog, as well as those renovations made by the architect himself.<sup>49</sup>

Claudine Peter made the photographs in Vevey on the instructions of – and following sketches by – Le Corbusier but most of the photographs in *Ronchamp* were taken by Lucien

47. Le Corbusier, *Une petite maison* 1923, Zurich: Girsberger 1954 (= Les carnets de la recherche patiente 1). Le Corbusier, *Ronchamp*, Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje 1957 (= Les carnets de la recherche patiente 2).

48. Catherine de Smet, *Vers une architecture du livre. Le Corbusier: édition et mise en pages 1912–1965*, Baden: Lars Müller 2007, 132.

49. Pierre Zoelly took up this idea in *Anybody home?* when he revisited seven houses he had built. Pierre Zoelly, *Anybody home? Architectural notes*. Photographs by Christoph Schütz, Basel: Birkhäuser 1995.



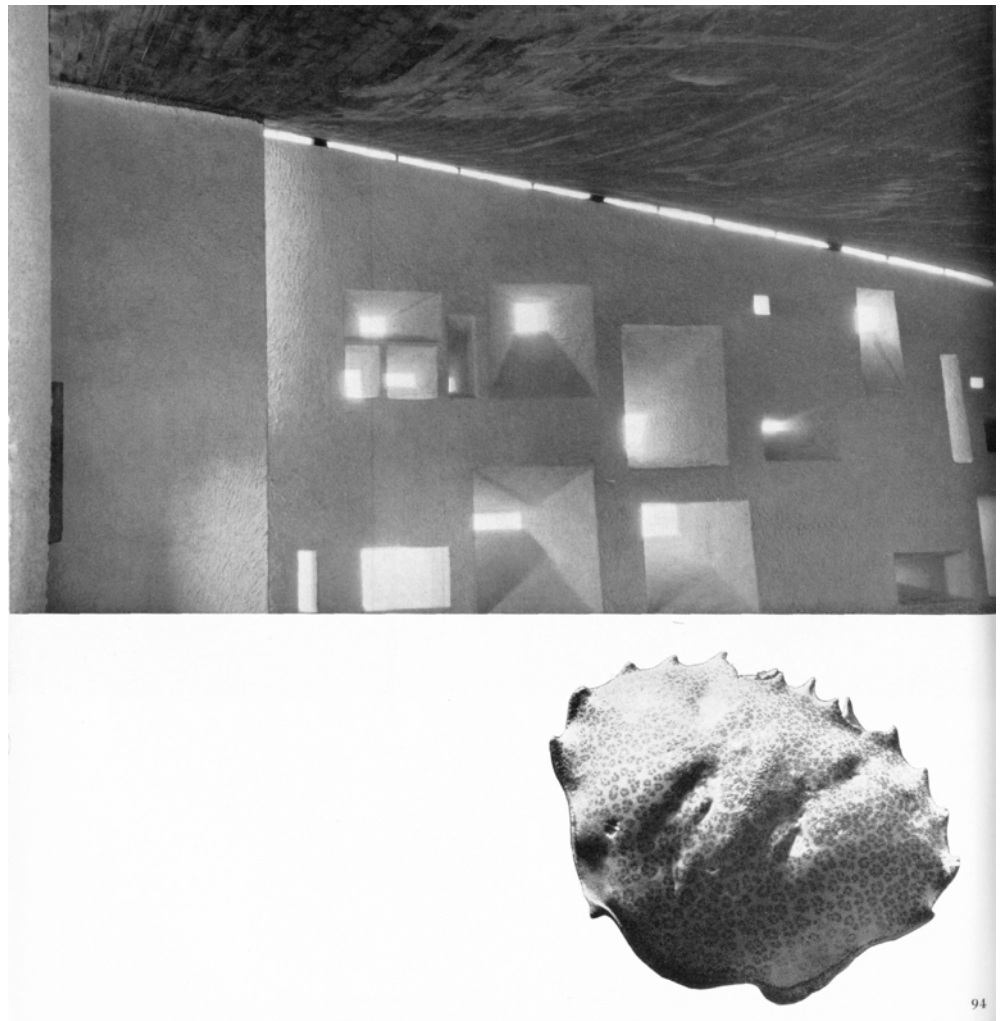


Figure 13  
Designed and found objects.  
Detail of the interior of the chapel of  
Ronchamp and crabshell,  
reproduced in: Le Corbusier, *Ronchamp*,  
Stuttgart: Hatje 1957  
(= Les carnets de la recherche patiente 2),  
photographs by Lucien Hervé,  
designed by Le Corbusier, page 94.

Hervé complemented by works by eight other photographers, most notably Franz Hubmann who shows the chapel with the faithful on a day of pilgrimage. In contrast to the house of his parents, *Ronchamp* does not document the process of change as much as the “patient search”, “allowing a work to mature and develop”. In the third chapter of the book, Le Corbusier reports on that magical moment when an idea emerges out of the location and the sketches continuing to the development of the form out of the material and the source of inspiration – in this case, a crab shell (fig. 13). And finally, an “appendix”, a short final remark: Le Corbusier was not satisfied with the Cross behind the main altar: “the problem did not leave me in peace and today, after two years, I have started designing”.<sup>50</sup>

In the third volume, *Kinder der strahlenden Stadt* (fig. 14), which was published three years after Le Corbusier’s death, the architect writes that he had “devoted his life to the search for a binding architectural form that makes it possible to fill a mechanized world with wellbeing.” Le Corbusier’s “fifty year search for worthy housing” ended with the “Unités

50. Le Corbusier, *Ronchamp* [reference 47], 130.

# Le Corbusier

## Kinder der Strahlenden Stadt



Figure 14  
'Humanisme total'.  
Cover of the German edition of Le Corbusier,  
*Kinder der Strahlenden Stadt*,  
Stuttgart: Hatje 1968  
(= Les carnets de la recherche patiente 3),  
photographs by Lucien Hervé and Louis  
Sciarli, designed by Le Corbusier / Jean Petit.

When the reader crosses the Alps or drives across America in the company of the author and photographer, when he approaches a house and passes through it, moves ironing boards and chairs around, where the mobility of architecture and furnishings are demonstrated in images and the book, and when maids flit across the scene, even when the artistic search of the designing genius appears, it is ultimately all only a matter of liberating what has been described and photographed from its fixed location. According to Victor Hugo, the mobility of books made it possible for thoughts to free themselves from the location and become mobile: 'sous la forme imprimerie, la pensée [...] est volatile [...] Elle se mêle à l'air [...] et occupe à la fois tous les points de l'air et de l'espace'<sup>54</sup>; and one could add, the same applies to architecture.

d'habitation" – his almost testamentary book condenses this period using a childlike daily routine.<sup>51</sup> More than thirty years after his book *La Ville radieuse* was published, the architect and the children take us on a 24-hour tour through the apartments ("This is our dining room"), buildings and kindergarten on the roof of the Unité photographed by Louis Sciarli and, once again, Lucien Hervé.<sup>52</sup> When dealing with his high-rise residential buildings, this visual tour does not introduce us to the technical function of the plan, although this is explained in passing when describing how a lift works: "The specialists and real insiders, the fanatics, those who really understand, they are...the children."<sup>53</sup> The book much more shows us the fulfilment of the architect's social vision – motion in architecture evokes emotion through architecture.

51. Le Corbusier, *Kinder der Strahlenden Stadt*, Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje 1968 (= Les carnets de la recherche patiente 3), 5, 9. Cf. de Smet (reference 48), 226–229.

52. Le Corbusier (reference 51), 29.

53. Le Corbusier (reference 51), 39.

54. Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris*. Chapter 5/2, Paris 1832, cited here from the edition in the Paris Librairie Générale Française 1972, 234.

# Artists' Books on Architecture

## A Fast Growing and Endangered Species

**Rolf Sachsse** Art is what the artist makes – and as, according to Joseph Beuys and Andy Warhol, anybody can be an artist, any book can be an artist's book. That does not make things easy in defining the subject of this article but it might give a clue to varying fashions of collecting art: Bibliophilia rides again, surely in contrast to the growing importance of digital media in the distribution of knowledge. And, as collecting art has become more and more a fashion of entrepreneurship and its representation in contemporary society – being an art collector is far more respected than being a playboy, for example –, collecting books has developed out of the same need as had the collection of photographs in the 1990s: Having pieces of material information and precise knowledge around you when you are acting in a world of digital, virtual, and elusive working processes.

Photography's relation to the book has always been tight. Starting with the illustrative capacity of photography in the books of Anna Atkins and alike,<sup>1</sup> moving over to the heroic periods of magazine journalism when a photograph did not exist unless it was printed,<sup>2</sup> up to 1970s' conceptual art with its double use of photography and the book as both a form of the ready-made.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the trilogy of street books by Ed Ruscha – *26 gasoline stations*, *Every building on the Sunset Strip*, *34 Parking Lots in Los Angeles* – may not even be considered a work on architecture but *with* architecture. Like any good Pop Artist, Ruscha simply wanted to double the world with his imagery; the only difference being either the scale or the medium of transformation, as had been prepared in the art trajectory by Marcel Duchamp. And although no list of artists' books on architecture misses the *Anonyme Skulpturen* by Hilla and Bernd Becher, the authors precisely defined their photographic subjects as sculptures, not as architecture.<sup>4</sup>

An artist's book is a book made by an artist. An easy definition for all the cases where the book is produced by the artist himself, like the books by Dieter Roth, Emmett Williams and other Fluxus artists which were handcrafted as artists' books had been for four centuries.<sup>5</sup> Small issue printing is a different case: The 1970s saw hundreds of books cheaply produced by offset printing, in small formats, and with only one or two dozen photographs in them. There were works by Duane Michals – who might have taken the idea of micro-offerings from his visits to René Magritte<sup>6</sup> –, Les Krims, Paul Armand Gette, Marcel Broodthaers, André Thomkins, and many, many others mainly considered by art history to be conceptual artists combining at least two media, e.g., literature and photography. The German artists Hans-Peter Feldmann and Joachim Schmid produced a large number of books with found photographs, both of them integrating the production of tiny magazines into their concept of vernacular imagery.<sup>7</sup> Among all of these publications, you will be able to find some that deal with architectural

1. Geoffrey Batchen, 'Photogenics', in: id., *Each Wild Idea. Writing Photography History*, Cambridge MA, London: MIT Press 2001, 146-163.

2. Paul Hill, Thomas Cooper, 'Interview with W. Eugene Smith (1977)', in: Vicky Goldberg (ed.), *Photography in Print. Writings from 1816 to the Present*, New York: Touchstone 1981, 432-441.

3. Cf. Ann Rorimer, 'Photography – Language – Context: Prelude to the 1980s', in: Catherine Gudis, Ann Goldstein, Mary Jane Jacob (eds.), exh.cat. *A Forest of Signs, Art in the Crisis of Representation*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press 1989, 129-154. On Ruscha's relation to architecture, cf. Hilar Stadler, Martino Stierli, Peter Fischli (eds.), *Las Vegas Studio. Bilder aus dem Archiv von Robert Venturi und Denise Scott Brown*, Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess 2008.

4. Hans Dickel, *Künstlerbücher mit Photographie seit 1960*, Hamburg: Maximilian Gesellschaft 2008, 77-83. For Becher's own definition of sculpture, cf.

Rolf Sachsse, *Hilla and Bernhard Becher, Silo für Kokskohle, Zeche Hannibal, Bochum-Hofstede, 1967. Das Anonyme und das Plastische der Industriephoto-graphie*, Frankfurt am Main: Piper 1999, 13-21.

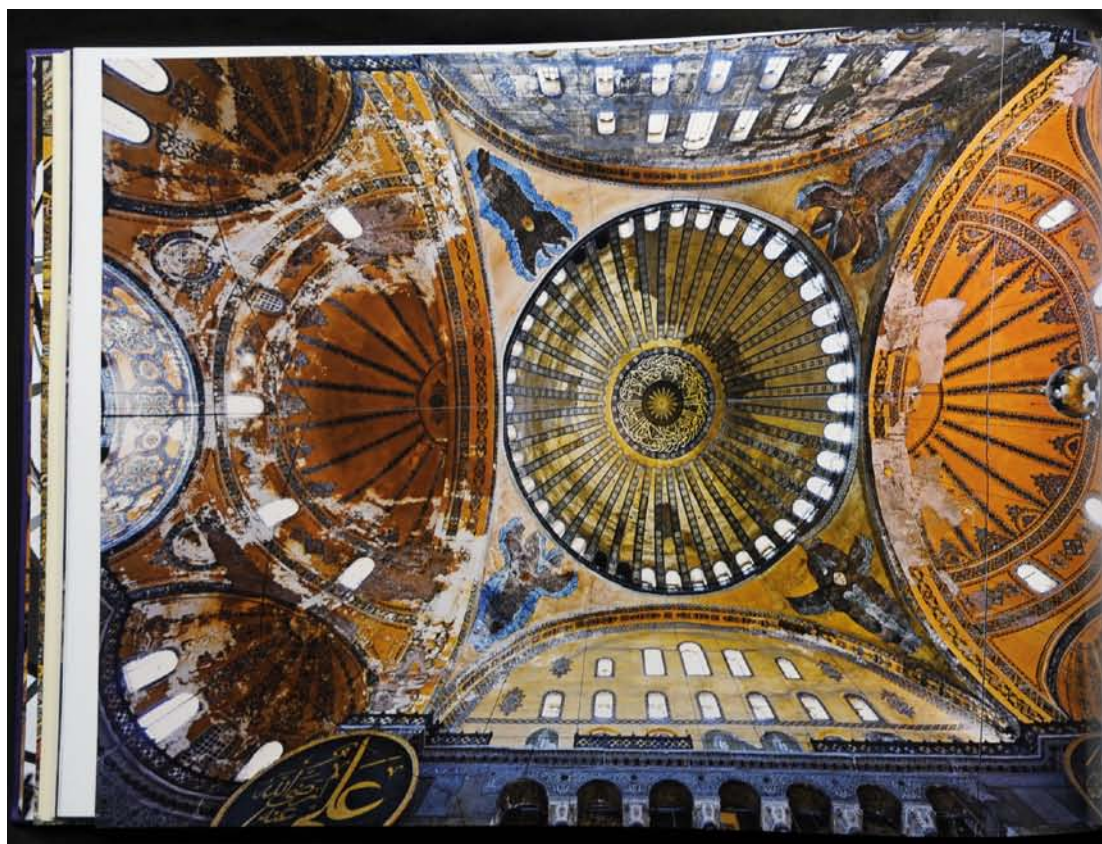
5. Cf. Wilfried Dörstel, Reiner Steinberg, Robert von Steinberg (eds.), exh.cat. *Fluxus Virus, 1962-1992*, Cologne: Galerie Schüppenhauer 1992.

6. Louis Scutenaire, *la fidélité des images – René Magritte: Cinématograph et photographie*, Brussels: Editions Lebeer Hossmann 1976.

7. Reinhard Braun (ed.), Hans-Peter Feldmann, 'Already, The Head Is a Machine', in: *Camera Austria International*, vol.16 1995, no.51/52, 46-59. Joachim Schmid, '"Hohe" und "niedere" Fotografie (1992)', in: Hubertus von Amelunxen (ed.), *Theorie der Fotografie IV 1980-1995*, Munich: Schirmer/Mosel 2000, 182-188.



Figure 1  
Hagia Sophia, Istanbul,  
double page from: Ahmet Ertug, *Domes*,  
[Istanbul]: Ertuğ & Kocabiyik, 2011,  
plate 16 and 17.



motifs, e.g. Feldmann's book on *Essen* made in 1977. But considering them to be artists' books on architecture would be over-emphasizing their inherent disinterest in any iconography.

On the other hand, a growing number of publications since the 1970s and 1980s follow the concept of a deliberate narrative in photographic series or sequences, even when these books were printed and distributed by major publishing houses. Choosing a number of samples from any type of list – and there are a large number of lists available, mostly in photographic books on photographic books<sup>8</sup> – bears the risk of subjectivity, both in a structural view (on the quality of a given concept) as in a historical perspective (comparing aesthetic qualities). Although you might consider *Die Welt ist schön* by Albert Renger-Patzsch to be as grossly over-estimated as László Moholy-Nagy's *The Street Markets of London* is under-estimated, you will be on much riskier territory weighing more recent publications such as the books on libraries by Candida Höfer and Ahmet Ertuğ, released in 2006 and 2009.<sup>9</sup> The two deal with large interiors, both are driven by a formally pre-conceived vision of and on these rooms, and

8. Horacio Fernández (ed.), Exh.cat. *Fotografía Pública, Photography in Print 1919-1939*, Madrid: Aldeasa 1999; Martin Parr, Gerry Badger, *The Photobook: A History*, volumes I & II, London New York: Phaidon 2006; Sheila J. Foster, Manfred Heiting, Rachel Stuhlman (eds.), *Imagining Paradise, The Richard and Ronay Menschel Library at George Eastman House, Rochester*, Göttingen: Steidl 2007; Manfred Heiting (ed.), Thomas Wiegand, *Deutschland im Fotobuch, 287 Fotobücher zum Thema Deutschland aus der Zeit von 1915*

*bis 2009*, Göttingen: Steidl 2011; Manfred Heiting, Roland Jäger, *Autopsie. Deutschsprachige Fotobücher 1918 bis 1945*, vol. 1, Göttingen: Steidl 2012.

9. Candida Höfer, *Bibliotheken*, Munich: Schirmer/Mosel 2005. Ahmet Ertuğ, *Temples of Knowledge. Historical Libraries of the Western World*, Istanbul: Ertuğ and Kocabiyik 2009.



in both cases the choice of subjects had been made by the artists themselves. Both have chosen to have the images accompanied by concise essays on the architecture and use of libraries – but both artists have made books that could be more clearly categorized within the field of artists' books: Candida Höfer's *Douze* gives a very strict conceptual account of the twelve casts of Auguste Rodin's *Burghers of Calais* while Ahmet Ertuğ's *Domes* gathers a typical architectural form as the base of projecting the world into images (fig. 1).<sup>10</sup> Again, the defining line between what an artist's book might be and what a simple illustrated essay on a certain subject is, seems to be extremely thin. And, this is to be fixed not only with these two artists but with dozens of others as

well including the likes of Lewis Baltz, Gabriele Basilico, Gerrit Engel, Stefan Koppelkamm, Reinhard Matz, Tomas Riehle, Cervin Robinson, and, of course, Stephen Shore.<sup>11</sup>

Another definition runs along the difference between architecture and town planning: Is a book on cities or on a certain city already a book on architecture; and, if one artist chooses the subject of one city, how far do we have to trace under what commissions, assumptions, or conditions the work has been executed? Again, there seems to be a thin line dividing the genres which can be shown in the work of Michael Schmidt: When he started to record Berlin districts such as *Wedding* or *Kreuzberg*, his accounts were dry and gray descriptions of the buildings and their inhabitants, the latter mostly among their furniture and everyday accessories; both books resulted from commissions by the district governments.<sup>12</sup> With these works, he was considered to rank high among the documentarist movement in Germany but with *Waffenruhe* and the later *EIN-HEIT* he left the track of simply recording the city's built second nature in favour of a return to strict subjectivity in his views – the photographs are

10. Candida Höfer, *Douze / Twelve*, Munich: Schirmer/Mosel 2001. Ahmet Ertuğ, *Domes*, Istanbul: Ertuğ and Kocabiyik 2012.

11. This is not the place for a full bibliography of the subject but the author feels the need to apologize in advance for some inconsistencies in his lists which, of course, resemble his own interests in the history of German photography and its European counterparts.

12. Michael Schmidt, *Berlin-Wedding Stadtbilder*, Berlin: publica 1978; Michael Schmidt, *Berlin-Kreuzberg Stadtbilder*, Berlin: publica 1984.





Figure 2  
Double page from: Thomas Weski (ed.),  
Michael Schmidt, *EIN-HEIT*,  
Zurich: Scalco, 1996, s. p.

still full of architecture but again nobody would recognize these works as architectural photography (fig. 2).<sup>13</sup> Some years later, in his book *Irgendwo*, he quite happily turned towards documentary photography again and, up to the newest works, he has seemed to stick to his earlier views on to the world.<sup>14</sup> The essay for Schmidt's book *Waffenruhe* was written by the playwright and director Einar Schleef who, just a few years before, had published one hundred photographs of his home town Sangershausen under the title of *Zuhause* (At Home) – an equally strict record of the buildings in the small city but presented with an enormous amount of subjectivity too.<sup>15</sup>

Many conceptualist artists of the 1970s used photography as a part of sociological field research, in much the same way as sociologists like Pierre Bourdieu did.<sup>16</sup> Artistic prac-

13. Michael Schmidt, Einar Schleef, *Waffenruhe*, Berlin: Dirk Nishen 1987; Michael Schmidt, *EIN-HEIT*, Zurich: Parkett 1996.

14. Michael Schmidt, *Irgendwo*, Cologne: Snoek 1997.

15. Einar Schleef, *Zuhause*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1981.

16. Franz Schultheis, 'Objectification as a Profession: Pierre Bourdieu's Photographic Testimonies of Algeria in the Sixties', in: *Camera Austria International*, vol. 22, 2001, no.75, 3-14.



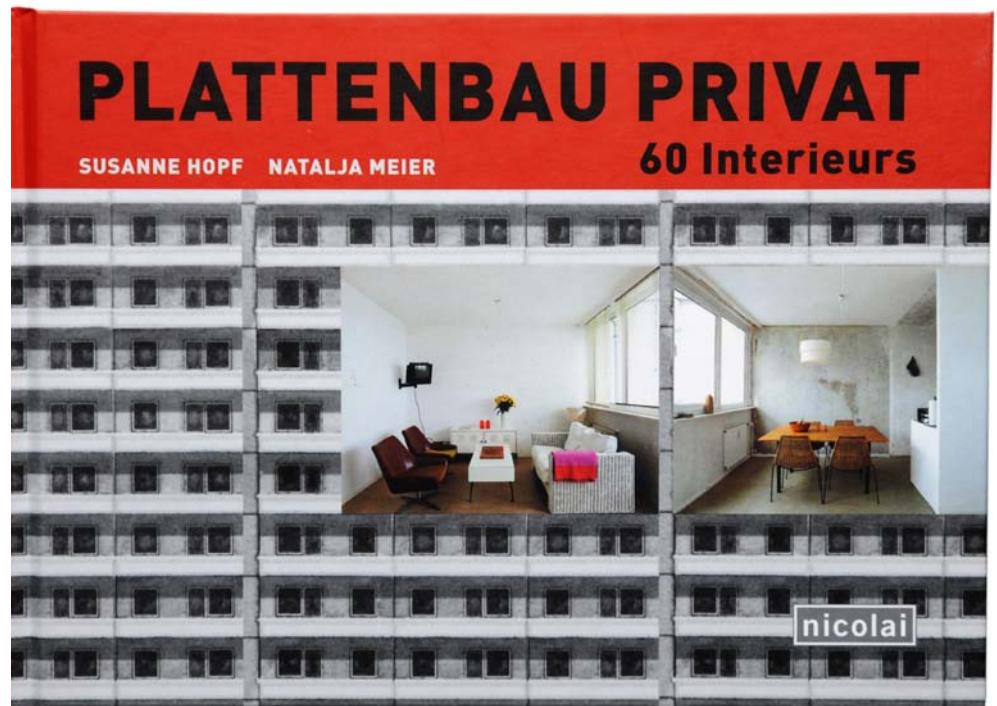


Figure 3  
Cover of: Susanne Hopf and Natalja Meier,  
*Plattenbau privat: 60 Interieurs*,  
Berlin: Nicolai, 2004.

tices near the realm of human sciences – as exemplified, e.g., by the British Artist Placement Group – included booklets, posters, and small books of documentary photographs alongside texts stressing the role of the artist in a rapidly changing society.<sup>17</sup> Probably the best known works in this area are Stephen Willats' *Art and Social Functions: Three Projects* and John Stezaker's *The Bridge*, the latter based on his work from the 1970s.<sup>18</sup> Along with a number of books by architects – are these artists or not? – these books establish the importance of the “ugly” specimen in architecture as part of artistic practices within photography as the – presumably – most forgotten book in this area may represent: Oswald Mathias Ungers' *Morphologie City Metaphors* which is meant as an answer to Robert Venturi's *Learning from Las Vegas* but uses all forms established for conceptual photography books of the 1970s.<sup>19</sup> The cooperation between Susanne Hopf and Natalja Meier in their looks at the interiors of a Berlin housing block, *Plattenbau privat: 60 Interieurs*, released in 2004 is a very late follower in this line, well concerned with social affairs but also proposing a humorous view on architectural ideas (fig. 3).<sup>20</sup> And, if you were looking for a position in between – both in regard to time and the realms of photographic compositions – you could be recommended to take a closer look at Sol LeWitt's *PhotoGrids* which relate to his formal principles – by constructing everything from the square to the cube – as well as to vernacular architecture.<sup>21</sup> Another example of a similar approach

17. Josephine Berry, Pauline van Mourik Broekman, 'Countdown to Zero, Count up to now', in: *mute. Culture and Politics after the Net*, London vol. 9 2003, no.25, 80-91. Cf. Antony Hudek, Athanasios Velios (eds.), *The Portable John Latham*, London: Occasional Papers 2010.

18. Stephen Willats, *Art and Social Functions: Three Projects*, London: Latimer New Dimensions 1976; John Stezaker, *The Bridge*, Paris: Christophe Daviet-Thery 2010.

19. Oswald Mathias Ungers, *Morphologie City Metaphors*, Cologne: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König 1982.

20. Susanne Hopf, Natalja Meier, *Plattenbau privat: 60 Interieurs*, Berlin: Nicolai 2004.

21. Sol LeWitt, *Photogrids*, New York 1977. Cf. Dickel 2008 [reference 4], 99-105.



Figure 4  
Double page from: Marcus Steinweg  
and Thomas Hirschhorn, *Bataille Machine*,  
Berlin: Merve Verlag, 2003, pages 100-101.

to the relationship between a sculptural work and its photographic documentation can be found in Thomas Hirschhorn's *Bataille Machine* which refers to his own temporary monument in Kassel but plays a typical post-Beuys-like game with the expectations of the recipients in the completeness of showing what might have happened at the time when the recording was taking place (fig. 4).<sup>22</sup>

Beyond conceptualism (and the many conceptualisms that followed the conceptual art of the 1970s), there is a somewhat delicate relation to recognize when looking at book works by artists whose oeuvre reaches far beyond photography. It might be typical for the *wild* painters of the 1980s that they used the media coverage of their own approach to art by creating fanzines, magazines, and even smaller books, mostly consisting of photomontages,

22. Thomas Hirschhorn, *Bataille Machine*, Berlin: Merve 2003. Cf. Dickel 2008 (reference 4), 235-241.

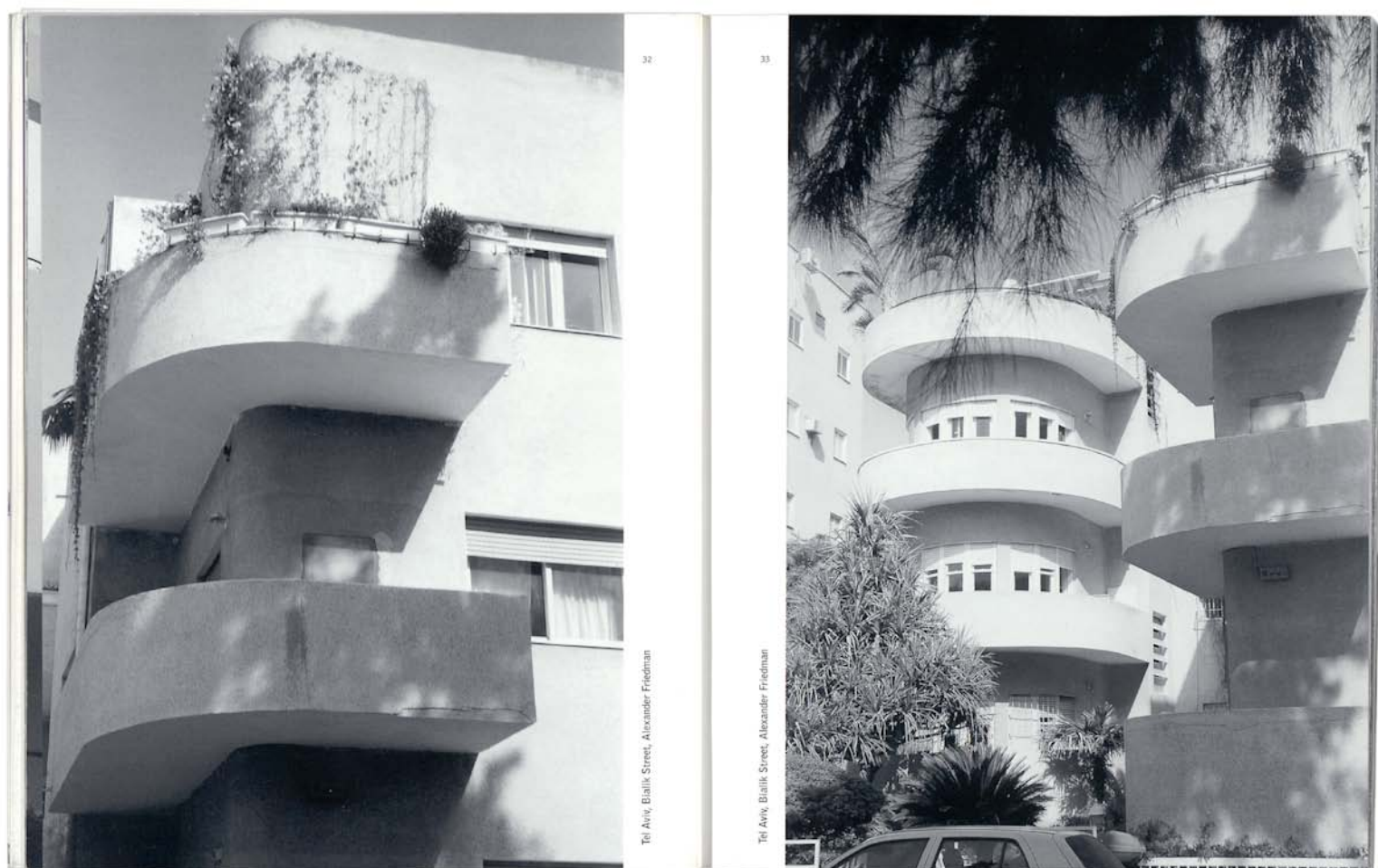


Figure 5  
'Tel Aviv, Bilalik Street',  
architect Alexander Friedman,  
double page from: Politischer Club Colonia  
(PCC, ed.) *Günther Förg – photographs: Bauhaus  
Tel Aviv – Jerusalem*,  
Ostfildern-Ruit: Hantje Cantz, 2002,  
pages 140-141.

collages, and other forms of mixed media in print.<sup>23</sup> Unlike their teachers, such as Gerhard Richter who took found and vernacular photographs as a source of inspiration in his *Atlas* project, these artists even stepped out of the conceptual premise of framing a different communication system of their (same) ideas of art but simply took the medium as just another basic form of expression. A good example for this attitude is the photographic work of Günther Förg, whose abstract and colourful paintings stand apart from his photographic records of Soviet, Fascist, and modern architecture in Moscow, Italy and Israel (fig. 5).<sup>24</sup> Except for his lavishly illustrated colour work on the Viennese Secession building,<sup>25</sup> Förg's photographs tend to be rough field recordings of his visits to places that are important, impressive and powerful at the same time – a power that he might transform into his own acts of painting without

23. Martin Kippenberger, *Abschied vom Jugendbonus! Vom Einfachsten nach Hause*, Munich: Dany Keller Galerie 1983. Cf. Dickel 2008 (reference 4), 123-129.

24. Günther Förg, *Photographs: Bauhaus Tel Aviv – Jerusalem*, Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz 2002. Förg's architectural photography is currently the subject of a doctoral thesis by Katharina Bosch, Karlsruhe, which will contain a full bibliography of all books by Förg; I am grateful that she shared her knowledge with me.

25. Günther Förg, *Wiener Secession*, Vienna: Secession 1990.



Figure 6  
Double page from: Constanze Ruhm ...time and  
not the end of desire... eine projection im Kinosaal.  
Exhibition catalogue, Museum Moderner  
Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien, Vienna 1998,  
pages 26-27.



giving the spectator any clue to the relation of a motif and its relevance for the iconography of the painting.

The relationship between painting and photography in its representation in book form refers to a contrasting genre named *book art*. And, of course, there are a great number of artists who have contributed to beautiful, astonishing, unpredictable, large and small, books that had been produced as a distinguished form of art per se; and these have a history of their own although most of them are not illustrated with photographs.<sup>26</sup> Basically, this genre counts among those requiring much traditional craftsmanship and thus less modernizing areas of both art and book making – but here as well one can find examples of what is possible for the development of putting art into books and books into art. The Viennese artist Sonja Gangl has just recently completed a two-volume publication consisting of drawings, film stills, photographs, and reproductions from magazines.<sup>27</sup> But, in this imagery, architecture just happens to be in the picture, either as a framework of the narrative or as the background of the moment depicted. Taking the drawing into account, the whole genre of book art moved – at least partially – into the region of the graphic novel, and there we can return to depicting architecture by looking at André Juillard's wonderful *36 Views of the Eiffel Tower* which fulfills all the needs of an artist's book on architecture, except for being photographed.<sup>28</sup>

The end of this short – and by no means comprehensive – overview is marked by the digitalization of all media which completely changes the three attitudes collected here: art

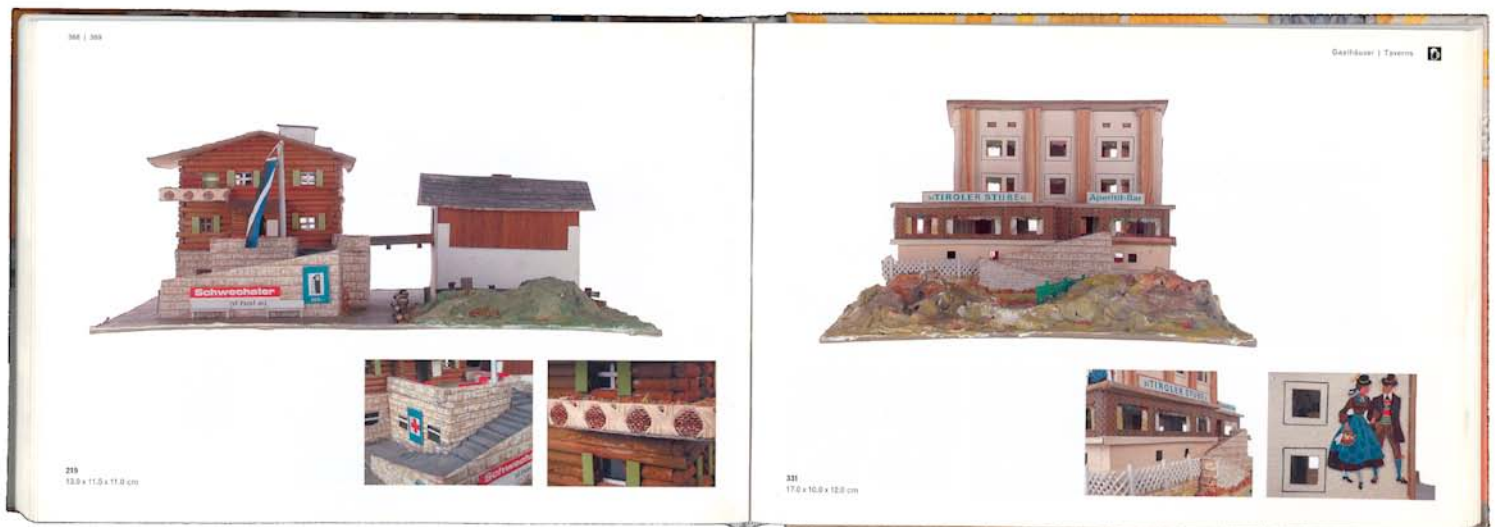
26. Cf. Manfred Schneckenburger (ed.), exh.cat. *documenta 8*, vol. III, Artists' books, Kassel: documenta 1987. Cf. Beatrice Hernad, Karin von Maur (eds.), exh.cat. *Papiergesänge. Buchkunst im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert. Künstlerbücher, Malerbücher und Pressendrucke aus den Sammlungen der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, Munich: Prestel 1992. Cf. Stefan Soltek (ed.), *13 x Künstlerbücher*, Mainz: Schmidt 2000.

27. Sonja Gangl, *CAPTURED / COVERED*, 2 vols., Berlin: Revolver 2012.

28. André Juillard, *Trente-six vues de la Tour Eiffel*, Paris: Christian Desbois 2002.

has to be re-defined under the auspices of *copy and paste*; architecture has been altered in its basic assumptions by new forms of CAD construction and materials, as well as by its economic foundations in new financial products; and if digital imagery should be named photography might still be in question. Thus, the last three examples of so-called artists' books with architectural photography mark frontiers that could even threaten the whole genre. When the constructivist video artist Constanze Ruhm works with animated 3D constructions, her oeuvre cannot clearly be defined among the areas discussed here: Are video stills photographs? Are her virtual rooms architectural constructions?<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 6) The same could be asked when one looks at the work of Thomas Demand; the objects he exhibits are photographs but he considers himself a sculptor reconstructing well known images in new forms, only being reproduced by – meanwhile: digital – photography. At least, two of his publications could be named artists' books in the same sense as discussed here with the work of Candida Höfer and Ahmet Ertuğ; the first is a cooperation with the painter/photographer Klaus von Gaffron, the second a very well defined collection set by himself.<sup>30</sup> And the very last aspect of this collection even can set up a debate on the artist: Oliver Croy and Oliver Elser had put together the collection of model houses – or house models – in both an exhibition and a catalogue that fulfills all the requirements of an artist's book, only that the artist had died a decade before not knowing that he was going to be recognized as such (fig. 7).<sup>31</sup> So, this modest book may close the circle to one of the earliest examples mentioned in this overview: Bernd and Hilla

Figure 7  
'Gasthäuser / Taverns', double page from:  
Oliver Croy et al., *Sondermodelle, die 387 Häuser  
des Peter Fritz, Versicherungsbeamter aus Wien*,  
Exhibition catalogue (vol. 77)  
by Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde,  
Vienna, Ostfildern-Ruit: Hantje Cantz, 2001,  
pages 368-369.



29. Constanze Ruhm, *... time and not the end of desire ...*, Vienna: Museum Moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien 1998.

30. Thomas Demand, Klaus von Gaffron, *Bilder zeigen*, Munich : Ladengalerie Lothringerstr. 13 1990. Thomas Demand, *Phototropy*, Munich: Schirmer/Mosel 2004.

31. Oliver Croy, Oliver Elser (eds.), *Sondermodelle. Die 387 Häuser des Peter Fritz*, Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz 2001.

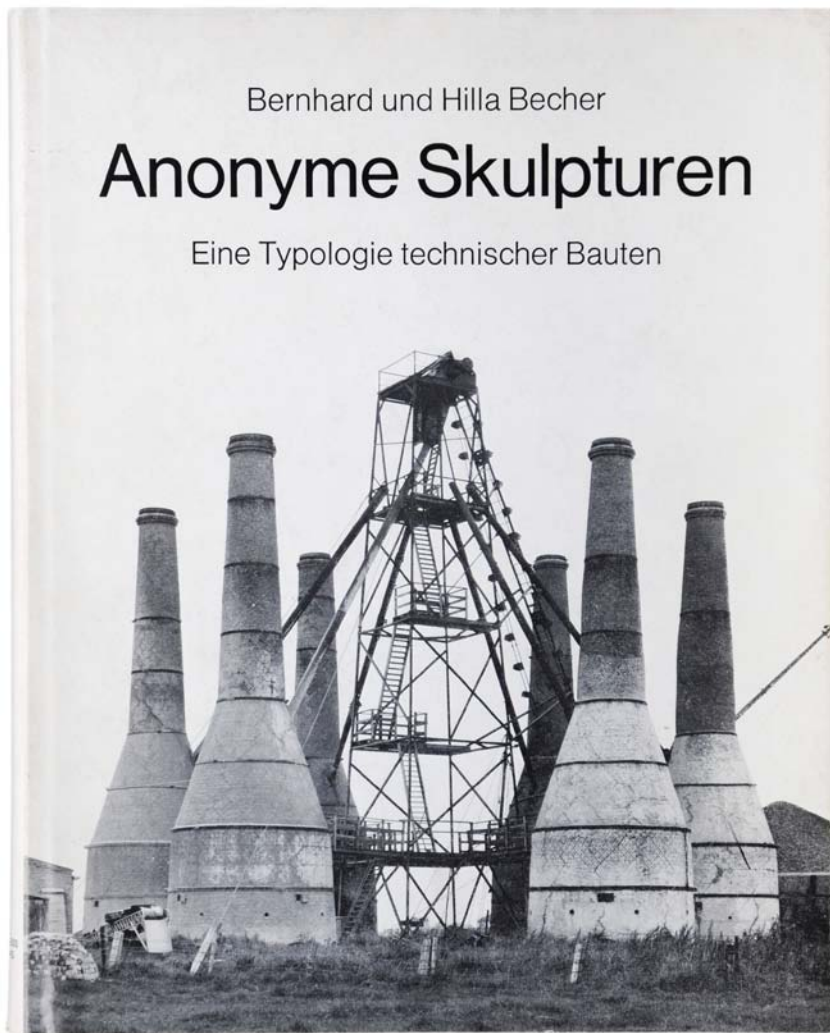


Figure 8  
Cover of: Bernhard and Hilla Becher,  
*Anonyme Skulpturen, eine Typologie technischer  
Bauten*, Düsseldorf: Art-Press-Verlag, 1970.

Becher's *Anonymous Sculptures* do not regard the subject as architecture but as machinery (fig. 8), and at the time of the making of their book they did not consider themselves as conceptualists in the same line with Ed Ruscha or others but as realistic recorders of a surrealistically declining world of industry. There is good reason to regard this view as the basic assumption for looking at artists' books with architectural photography – they are a small endangered species. Maybe a very last hint on how to help this species survive is given by the artist Katharina Gaenssler: She photographs places of collections like the studio of the late artist Hanne Darboven, has all of her photographs copied on sheets in standard sizes, and glues them onto museum walls in huge installations.<sup>32</sup> The work on Darboven, named *Turn HD*, consists of 4483 prints and, as well as being mounted on the museum's wall, the artist has packed them all into twelve books, the set being a unique piece – a real artist's book on architecture.

32. Susanne Schimpf, Ilka Voermann (eds.), exh.cat. *Rasterfahndung*, Stuttgart: Kunstmuseum, 2012, 40–41.



# Constructions and Reconstructions

## The Architectural Image between Rendering and Photography

**Nicole E. Stöcklmayr** In order to analyze and describe an architectural project today one has – in the best case – several media available: floor plans, sections, elevations, detail drawings, perspectives, models, digital models, renderings, diagrams, texts, reports and interviews with architects, photographs and a building; if it actually exists.

One of the most famous examples of a “canonical interpretation”<sup>1</sup> of a non-existent building, which took place several decades ago, is certainly that of Mies van der Rohe’s German Pavilion for the 1929 International Exposition in Barcelona. And, as Juan Pablo Bonta pointed out, the critics were almost exclusively relying on a few photographs of what is considered today as one of the icons of modern architecture.



Figure 1  
MMA 1437, *Berliner Bild-Bericht*,  
Mies van der Rohe’s German Pavilion for the  
International Exposition in Barcelona 1929,  
gelatine silver print, 22.5 x 16.4 cm.  
© The Bauhaus Dessau Foundation,  
reproduced from: George Dodds, *Building  
Desire: On the Barcelona Pavilion*,  
Abingdon, New York: Routledge 2005, plate 3.

The photographs of the building that only stood for six months even achieved an iconic status themselves. It took more than seventy years before George Dodds became the first to publish a comprehensive study reevaluating the historiography of the sixteen so-called *Berliner Bild-Bericht* master prints. He illustrated how the pavilion can be considered »as much the image of a building as it is the building of an image«.<sup>2</sup> And that Mies’ participation in its ‘image direction’ [Bildregie] was essential. Dodds convincingly elaborates that Mies’ main intention was to preserve the photographs as images of the building and not the building itself which was

1. Juan Pablo Bonta, *Architecture and Its Interpretation: A Study of Expressive Systems in Architecture*, New York: Rizzoli 1979.

2. George Dodds, *Building Desire: On the Barcelona Pavilion*, Abingdon, New York: Routledge 2005, 88.

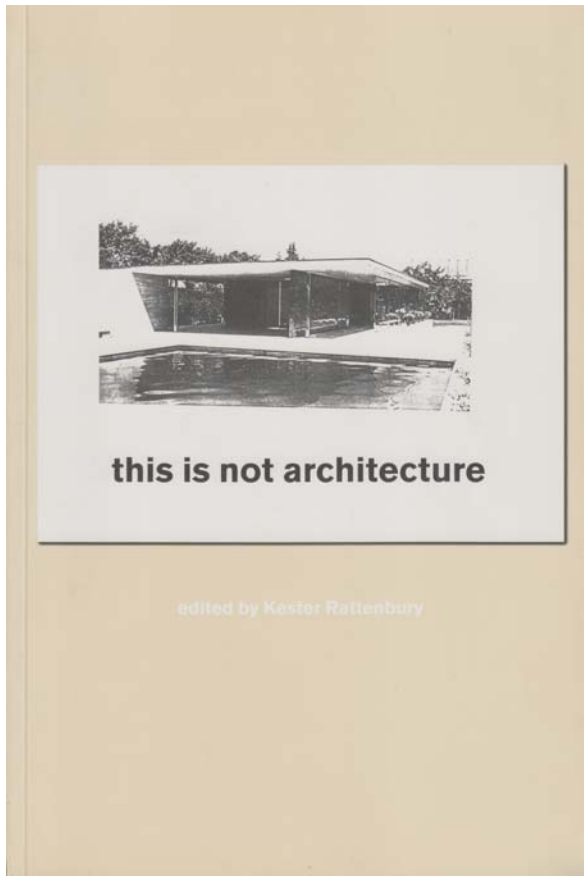


Figure 2  
Mies van der Rohe's German Pavilion for the International Exposition in Barcelona 1929 on the cover of Kester Rattenbury (ed.), *This Is Not Architecture: Media constructions*, London, New York: Routledge 2002.

designed and constructed to be temporary from the very beginning.<sup>3</sup>

The photographs that are so famous today are part of Mies' estate and depict several exterior and interior views of the pavilion. There are variations in proportion and in format in some prints and three of them are airbrushed.<sup>4</sup> Amongst them, is a view from the great water basin in the direction of the pavilion (fig. 1). In its painted and cropped versions, it later became *the* iconic image<sup>5</sup> of the pavilion's exterior and can be found in numerous publications on Mies van der Rohe and modern architecture in general. But, without the spire in the background, which was carefully retouched.

The canonical images of Mies' pavilion are still circulating today and have even appeared on the covers of more recently published books such as the one edited by Kester Rattenbury with the programmatic title *This is Not Architecture: Media constructions*.<sup>6</sup> The quality of the printed cover image (fig. 2) resembles that of a photo-copied version of the exterior view of the 1929 pavilion and it bluntly illustrates the modes of architectural representations still existing. The photographs of Mies' pavilion represent the building in – and as – an image and the carefully orchestrated image constructions not only participated in, but also evoked, the pavilion's becoming a media phenomenon.

In 1986, more than 50 years after its dismantling, the pavilion was reconstructed<sup>7</sup> and reopened on the site where it had been originally built. With its reconstruction as a permanent building, Mies' design not only lost its original intended purpose as a temporal building but also its

former name. The German Pavilion for the 1929 International Exposition in Barcelona became the Barcelona Pavilion. George Dodds asserts that "the canonical photographs and both Barcelona Pavilions (1929 and 1986) are separate and discrete works, all of which have their own unique claim to authenticity". But, in the same argument, he insists on the distinction between a picture and a picture of a building.<sup>8</sup>

Shortly after its reconstruction, Robin Evans visited the pavilion and in his analysis, later published as *Mies van der Rohe's Paradoxical Symmetries*, began with: "Buildings are not always better than pictures show them to be, nor are they necessarily more significant than the theories that spring around them. It all depends."<sup>9</sup> What at first seems to be a provocative statement in line with some of the disappointed critics at that time, who claimed that the building was a bad substitute for what was envisioned in the formidable photographs, is in the end a manifest for photography as an instrument for an enhanced perception of the building.

3. Dodds 2005 (reference 2), 82.

4. Dodds 2005 (reference 2), 8.

5. Jonathan Hill, 'Mies van der Rohe: Photos of the original Barcelona Pavilion', in Kester Rattenbury (ed.), *This Is not Architecture: Media Constructions*, London, New York: Routledge 2002, 88.

6. Rattenbury (ed.), *This Is Not Architecture: Media constructions*, London, New York: Routledge 2002.

7. For the design process of the reconstruction see especially Ignasi de Solà-Morales, Cristian Cirici, Fernando Ramos, *Mies van der Rohe: Barcelona Pavilion*, Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili 1993.

8. Dodds 2005 (reference 2), 122.

9. Robin Evans, 'Mies van der Rohe's Paradoxical Symmetries' (1990), in: Robin Evans, *Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays*, London: Architectural Association Publications 1997.

Figure 3  
MMA 298, *Berliner Bild-Bericht*, Interior of  
Mies van der Rohe's German Pavilion for the  
International Exposition in Barcelona 1929,  
gelatin silver print, 22.7 x 15.9 cm.  
© The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by  
SCALA / Art Resources, New York,  
reproduced from: George Dodds, *Building  
Desire: On the Barcelona Pavilion*, Abingdon,  
New York: Routledge 2005, plate 11.



Evans was especially intrigued by the interaction of light with the different materials of the building such as glass, polished metal and marble in which several reflections seem to create several modes of visibility. This visual effect is already highlighted in one of the *Berliner Bild-Bericht* prints of the 1929 Pavilion (fig. 3). But in Evans' understanding, the reflections on the different surfaces produce a "virtual" symmetrical arrangement of planes<sup>10</sup> of an asymmetrical building. Robin Evans illustrated the visual ambiguity triggered by the reflections with a photograph of the 1986 pavilion in which the author is literally inscribed as a reflection while taking the actual picture. This very photograph was later chosen for the front cover of another book entitled *Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays*<sup>11</sup> (fig. 4) which was published after Evans' death.

On both book covers, Rattenbury's and Evans', a photograph of the Barcelona Pavilion functions as a visual argument. In Rattenbury's book it stands for media constructions and in Evans' book for media translations.

A pavilion for an exposition is per se a building typology with a unique purpose. As a result of his analysis of Mies' pavilion, Juan Pablo Bonta urged for an additional category of 'unbuilt' architecture of which Mies' pavilion would be 'a paradigmatic example'<sup>12</sup> of those "buildings built but shortly thereafter demolished".<sup>13</sup>

10. Evans 1997 (reference 9), 263.

11. Robin Evans, *Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays*, London: Architectural Association Publications 1997.

12. Bonta 1979 (reference 1), 171.

13. Bonta 1979 (reference 1), 171.



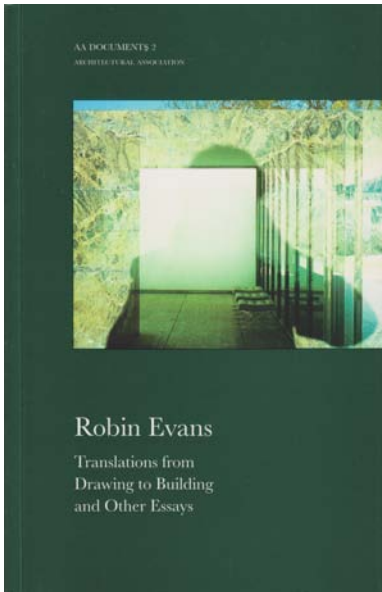


Figure 4

Robin Evans, *Barcelona Pavilion* by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, (reconstruction), 1986, reproduced on the cover of: Robin Evans, *Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays*, London: Architectural Association Publications 1997.

This is the starting point for the following analysis of the architectural image between rendering and photography. If a building exists only temporarily, how is it conceived in today's media conventions and what have the computer and internet actually changed? And, if we visually construct an image of architecture, the question arises of what comes first, the building, the photograph or the rendering? Which is a visual construction and which a visual reconstruction? The following description of the Austrian Pavilion is intended to provide an analysis by characterizing and comparing different types of pictures in order to construct and/or reconstruct an image of its architecture. As the building no longer exists, the focus can only rely on what is left.

A contemporary example of a 'built but shortly thereafter demolished' building is the Austrian Pavilion at the 2010 Expo in Shanghai. The Vienna-based architectural office SPAN won the competition for the Austrian Pavilion in collaboration with Zeytinoglu Architects. Matias del Campo and Sandra Manninger of SPAN generated the pavilion's topological surface using several software applications and algorithms. The controllable parameters defined by the architects, such as sunlight, wind and acoustics, had a constitutive impact on the form-generating process<sup>14</sup> in which the pavilion's form derived from a prismatic volume and led to a seamless and curvilinear variation of a 'white cube' specific for the local environmental conditions of the site. The homogeneous facade and roof cladding consisted of a mosaic of red and white hexagonal porcelain tiles to increase the smooth topological surface of the pavilion. In this way, SPAN's choice of colors not only referred visually to Austria's red-white-red flag, they were also able to link Austria (with Europe's second oldest porcelain culture) with the Expo's host country China (with the world's oldest porcelain culture) by choosing porcelain as a cladding material.

The pavilion was built almost in the middle of Zone C in which all the European pavilions were situated. In the six months between May 1<sup>st</sup> and October 31<sup>st</sup> 2010, the Austrian Pavilion was visited by more than three million people – mostly from China<sup>15</sup> – before being dismantled. The artifacts which were left include a virtual pavilion,<sup>16</sup> which was launched simultaneously with the opening of the physical pavilion, and the images rendered by the architects, as well as photographs. Before the opening of the Expo, SPAN commissioned Maria Ziegelböck to take the official press pictures of the building precisely because she is a fashion, portrait and commercial photographer and not one with a particular focus on architectural photography.<sup>17</sup>

The official high resolution press images of the Austrian Pavilion can still be downloaded online<sup>18</sup> and the following comparison and analysis is based on these images which allowed a 'blow-up' approach to find details which cannot always be seen clearly in smaller versions.

14. Matias del Campo, 'Österreichischer Pavillon der Expo 2010 in Schanghai', *Detail. Zeitschrift für Architektur + Baudetail*, vol 5, 2010.

15. <[http://www.expoaustria.at/fileadmin/content/Presse/Presseinformationen/Finale\\_Austria\\_EXPO\\_Shanghai.pdf](http://www.expoaustria.at/fileadmin/content/Presse/Presseinformationen/Finale_Austria_EXPO_Shanghai.pdf)> [26 June 2012].

16. <<http://www.expoaustria.at/virtuellerpavillon>> [26 June 2012].

17. Matias del Campo and Sandra Manninger, personal communication, March 2012.

18. <[http://www.juicypool.com/gallery/expo\\_architecture/](http://www.juicypool.com/gallery/expo_architecture/)> [26 June 2012].

Figure 5  
Maria Ziegelböck, *South view*,  
Austrian Pavilion at the Expo in Shanghai,  
17 April 2010, 4c digital print.  
© Maria Ziegelböck.

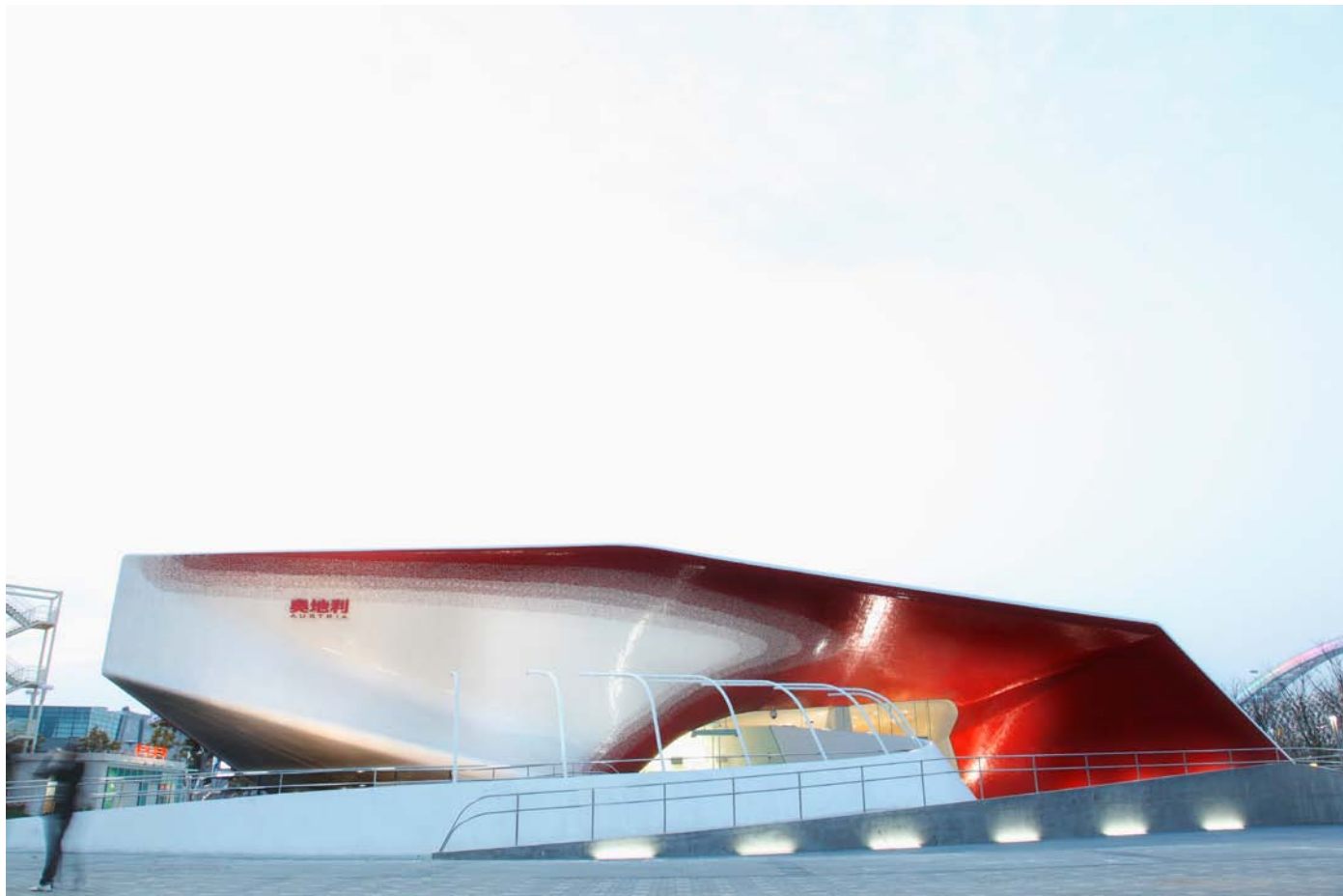


Figure 6  
SPAN del Campo Manninger & Zeytinoglu,  
*Rendering Exterior*, Austrian Pavilion at the  
Expo in Shanghai, 15 March 2010, rendering.  
© SPAN del Campo Manninger & Zeytinoglu.

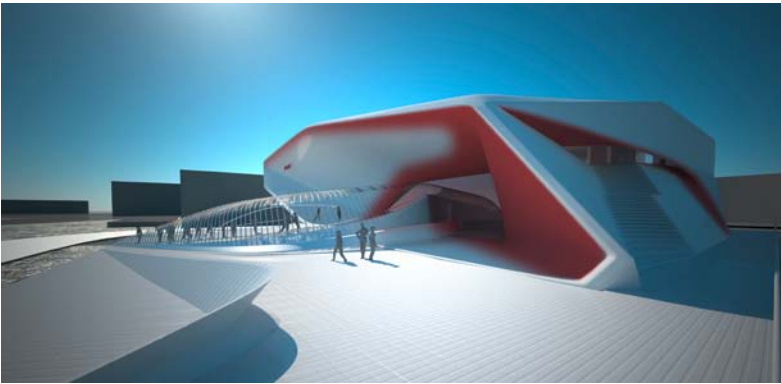


Figure 7  
SPAN del Campo Manninger & Zeytinoglu,  
*Rendering Exterior Southeast,*  
Austrian Pavilion at the 2010 Expo in  
Shanghai, 15 March 2010, rendering.  
© SPAN del Campo Manninger & Zeytinoglu.

One of the most published photographs depicts the pavilion's south view in front of an almost white sky (fig. 5). The building's cantilever above the water basin on the left side is shown slightly from below and the distinctive porcelain facade shimmers with its red-and-white color gradient. A pedestrian ramp leads from the left to the Pavilion's entrance which is illuminated from inside the building. On the left side of the picture's front, a blurred person can be seen taking a photograph of the neighboring Romanian Pavilion of which the stairs are in the picture's left background. On the right side, hidden behind some trees, are parts of the French Pavilion and the arch of the Lupu Bridge, spanning the Huangpu River, much further away.

A similar version of this viewpoint can be seen in a rendering (fig. 6) of the pavilion's design phase where it is shown much more in the centre of the picture and appears more longish than in the photograph (fig. 5). The incised facade is much clearer and visually amplified by the shadows. The cantilever's soffit is not very clearly visible but, from this angle, the water basin under the cantilever appears. The ramp's interwoven sunscreen casts an ornamental shadow on the ground and the glazing of the entrance is only recognizable as a very dark area due to the simulated sunlight. The facade is not glossy but is mapped with a faint pattern. The same mapped material pattern was also used in the areaway and water basin to the left, the latter with a slightly distinctive glossy glint. The same mapped materials and colors create a fluid transition between the ground and the pavilion and the color gradient, beginning with red on the right base changing to the white on the top left, strengthens the dynamics of the form. There are some grey surfaces on the left side of the picture and a few trees rise up on the right.

In the rendering of the south-east view (fig. 7), one can identify a similar composition but here the neighboring buildings are simulated as dark grey boxes and some three-dimensional people are denoted. Two things are striking in this picture. First, the picture shows the neighboring pavilions abstracted as boxes because they were all built at around the same time and did not actually exist in the design phase. And second, the pavilion's rendering appears photorealistic whilst the three-dimensional figures suggest that the rendering is a photograph of an actual physical model.

The architects render the restaurant (fig. 8) with an extreme wide angle providing more sight of the back area and the lights on the ceiling to induce different reflections on the glossy white furniture. This picture conforms with the definition of what, today, is more com-



monly referred to as a photorealistic rendering in the sense of what Lev Manovich described as computer graphics' achievement of generating "not realism, but rather only *photorealism* – the ability to fake not our perceptual and bodily experience of reality but only its photographic image."<sup>19</sup>

One image which does not exist as a photograph but only as a rendering is the bird's eye view of the pavilion (fig. 9) that not only provides a view of almost the entire roof but also of the roof garden which was not visible from the street view. This is only made possible by the software's ability to generate a perspective projection of a digital model. When there is a digital 3D model, it is possible to generate numerous renderings from different viewpoints, with different mapped materials, different transparencies, with different image resolutions and so on.<sup>20</sup> But – even in sophisticated software applications – some conventions still exist in addition to the technological impact and the ability to model and generate complex geometries. And these conventions go back to the common geometrical rules of projection which still define how architecture is conceived and seen in the traditional sense as a three-dimensional object.<sup>21</sup> To illustrate this, one only has to look at the graphical user interface of modeling software such as McNeel's *Rhinoceros*. The standard four-viewport-layout is set on to *Top*, *Perspective*, *Right* and *Front*. All four of them refer to a projection: *Top*, *Right* and *Front* are parallel projections where straight lines are displayed as being parallel, while the *Perspective* viewport displays straight lines as perspective lines. This viewport can easily be changed as can several other settings. In a screenshot of a detail of the digital 3D model of the Austrian Pavilion (fig. 10), the outer facade and roof from the south can be seen in the *Perspective* viewport in which the architects modeled the color gradients. The properties of this viewport are displayed in the second right window which is divided into four parts. In the first part, 'viewport', there are four tabs indicating the title and size of the viewport, and the mode of projection. If the mode tab is set to 'parallel projection' it displays the 3D model in an axonometric viewport. In the second part, 'camera', the settings are on a standard



Figure 8

SPAN del Campo Manninger & Zeytinoglu,  
*Rendering Restaurant*, Austrian Pavilion at the  
Expo in Shanghai, 15 March 2010, rendering.  
© SPAN del Campo Manninger & Zeytinoglu.

19. Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media*, Cambridge (Mass.), London: MIT Press 2001, 200.

20. For a description of rendering processes see especially William J. Mitchell, *The Reconfigured Eye. Visual Truth in the Post-photographic Era*, Cambridge (Mass.), London: MIT Press 1992 and for a more general approach and with a particular focus on architectural renderings see Fabio Schillaci (ed.), *Architectural Renderings: Construction and Design Manual*, Chichester: Wiley 2010.

21. On architecture and the image see especially Robin Evans, 'Architectural Projection', in: Eve Blau, Edward Kaufman (ed.), *Architecture and Its Image. Four Centuries of Architectural Representation. Works from the Collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture*, Cambridge (Mass.), London 1989; Robin Evans, 'Translations from Drawing to Building' (1986), in: Evans 1997 (reference 9); Robin Evans, *The Projective Cast: Architecture and Its Three Geometries*, Cambridge (Mass.), London: MIT Press 1995.



Figure 9  
SPAN del Campo Manninger & Zeytinoglu,  
Bird's eye view of the Austrian Pavilion  
at the Expo in Shanghai, rendering.  
© SPAN del Campo Manninger & Zeytinoglu.

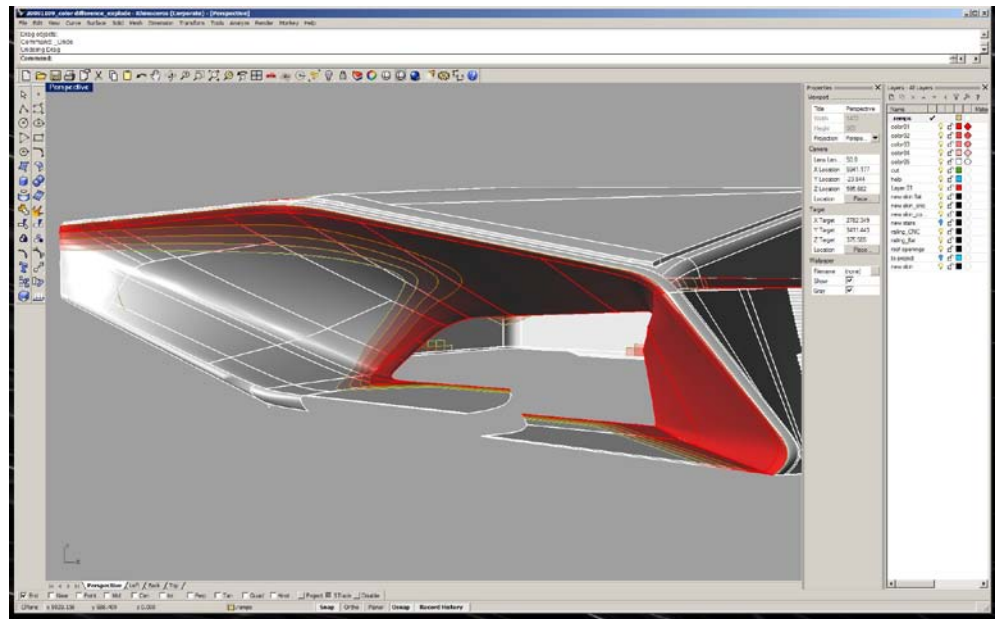


Figure 10  
SPAN del Campo Manninger,  
*Determining the colour of the facade* (McNeel  
Rhino), Austrian Pavilion at the Expo  
in Shanghai 2010, screenshot.  
© SPAN del Campo Manninger.

'lens length' of 50 and the 3D coordinates of the camera's location. This camera is virtual of course, but the technique of projection is the same. A photograph is a perspective just as this rendering is a perspective. Even if the projection is generated by an algorithm, the view of an object is perceived in parallel or perspective projection. The object is a constructed model in a constructed viewport as well as a photograph has always been a "constructed view".<sup>22</sup>

This can also be observed in Maria Ziegelböck's photographs of characteristic details of the built pavilion as shown in figures 11 and 12. They fulfill what Bart Lootsma would define as "unrestricted architectural photography".<sup>23</sup> Figure 11 is a photograph of the exterior staircase, while figure 12 focuses on the porcelain façade the workers were cleaning a few days before the grand opening of the building.

Two correlating features can be found in all the images of the Austrian Pavilion: they are all projections and each and every one of them has color shades of white, red, grey and black, sometimes accompanied by shades of blue and green. They are media constructions,

22. As seen for example in Joseph Rosa, *A Constructed View: The Architectural Photography of Julius Shulman*, New York: Rizzoli 1994.

23. Bart Lootsma, 'Das Bild und das Visuelle – ein Plädoyer für eine freie Architekturfotografie / The Image and the Visual – a Plea for Unrestricted Architectural Photography', in: *Daidalos* vol. 66, December 1997.

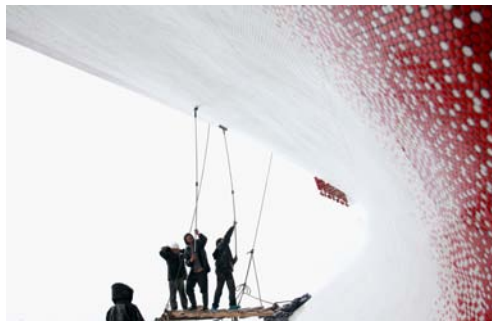


Figure 11  
Maria Ziegelböck, *Stairs*,  
Austrian Pavilion at the Expo in Shanghai,  
15 April 2010, 4c digital print.  
© Maria Ziegelböck.

Figure 12  
Maria Ziegelböck, *Facade*,  
Austrian Pavilion at the Expo in Shanghai,  
11 April 2010, 4c digital print.  
© Maria Ziegelböck.

facade in which the porcelain tiles look like pixels – picture elements – in a digital image. And the pavilion’s architects themselves assert that the renderings seem like photographs and the photographs like renderings”.<sup>25</sup>

That does not diminish the significance of a building and does not imply that a building is less relevant as a medium of architecture or that images and buildings are equal. The difference can be found in the distinctive types and practices of images operating as media: because images are used in architecture to translate, to simulate, to communicate, to abstract and to construct. It was Robin Evans who demonstrated extensively in his writings how “architecture begins and ends in pictures”.<sup>26</sup> And he pointed out what Mies van der Rohe probably must have been aware of when he chose the photographs over the building: that pictures can be circulated to a greater extent than buildings.<sup>27</sup>

Every image brings in a different layer of information, extending, modifying and altering the perception of architecture. In this definition of media, renderings and photographs are both aesthetic and epistemic instruments. And in this constellation, there simply is no reconstruction.

without making them more or less visually constructed than any other image or any other media. Beatriz Colomina convincingly pictured that “the building should be understood in the same terms as drawings, photographs, writing, films, and advertisements; not only because these are the media in which more often we encounter it, but because the building is a mechanism of representation in its own right. The building is, after all, a ‘construction’, in all senses of the word.”<sup>24</sup>

The question to ask would then be: what kind of different constructions can be found in the case of the Austrian Pavilion? Because the pavilion existed as a digital model before it was built as a physical object and still exists as a virtual one. Some of the photographs of the built pavilion bear a striking resemblance to the renderings of the digital model. These images form a topology of media constructions in which actual, digital and virtual cannot be distinguished semantically. Both the photographs and renderings are representations and both are media in which architecture is constructed. This is especially increased by the (actual)

24. Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity. Modern Architecture as Mass Media*, Cambridge (Mass.), London: MIT Press 1994, 13 – 14.

25. Matias del Campo, *Österreichischer Pavillon Expo 2010*, public lecture, ORF RadioKulturhaus, 12 March 2011.

26. Evans 1995 (reference 21), 359.

27. Evans 1995 (reference 21), 359.