



Bertalan Árkay, Sándor Faragó, József Fischer, Károly Heysa, Pál Ligei, Farkas Molnár, Móric Pogány, Gábor Preisich and Mihály Vadász, Apartment Houses of the National Social Insurance Institute, Budapest, Hungary, 1934–1935. © Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center – HMA, Olga Máté, 1935.

Communicating “space and form”: The history and impact of the journal *Tér és Forma* as the Hungarian pipeline of Modernism

BY PÁL RITOÓK AND ÁGNES ANNA SEBESTYÉN

In the interwar era, architectural journals were at the forefront of professional attention and had the power to disseminate the Modern Movement in architecture globally. The Hungarian journal *Tér és Forma* (1928–1948) took the lead to introduce international modern architecture to the Hungarian public, while continually reporting on the newest building projects in interwar Hungary. Virgil Bierbauer, the periodical’s long-time editor (1928–1942), presented the broad panorama of contemporary architecture and his followers from 1943 intended to continue his legacy even in wartime. The impact of the periodical did not halt at its cessation in 1948 but, directly as well as indirectly, continued to define 20th century architectural historiography in Hungary.

Introduction

The dissemination of the Modern Movement in architecture was primarily fostered by publications as major communication tools of the interwar era. Architectural periodicals were key platforms where modern architecture started to gain recognition and later, predominance. In Hungary, this impact was much needed as though in the early 1910s, the first pre-modern buildings were constructed, these tendencies stopped being continued for many years after the war. Most of the designers drew inspiration from historical styles, while some of them pursued a national style under the late Ödön Lechner’s influence. In pursuit of a national style, a few architects found the source in the so-called crenelated Renaissance characteristic of the north-east of historic Hungary, while others in Eastern cultures, which were thought to be related to the Hungarians. Tendencies of the Arts and Crafts also outlived WWI, but the typical style of the 1920s became Neo-Baroque, which perfectly echoed the conservative political climate of this era. The first examples of Art Deco, however, also emerged in Hungary, preceding Modernism.

In the aftermath of WWI, architectural periodicals in Hungary remained conservative and avant-garde art journals such as Lajos Kassák’s journal entitled *MA* [today] antedated architectural ones. The journals like *Magyar Építőművészet* [Hungarian architecture] (1907–1943) and *Építő Ipar — Építő Művészet* [building industry — architecture] (1914–1922, 1926–1932) represented a conservative approach and the shortcomings of the architectural media created a need for fresh air. The periodical *Vállalkozók Lapja* [contractors’ journal] (1879–1944) regularly listed current architectural projects while also publishing essays. This

journal took an important step in 1926, which proved to be a milestone concerning the distribution of principles of modern architecture in Hungary.

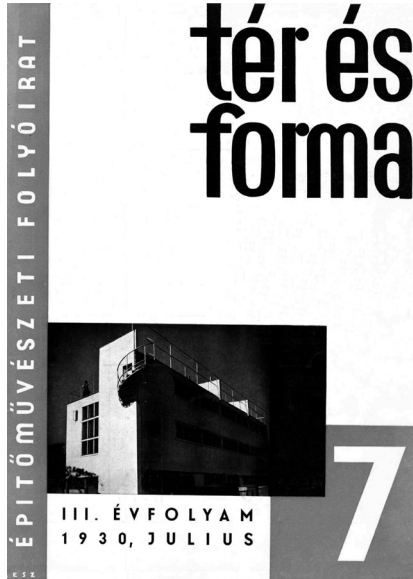
From information to content: Virgil Bierbauer as the editor of *Tér és Forma*

In 1926, the journal *Vállalkozók Lapja* launched an appendix entitled *Tér és Forma* [space and form], which became an independent monthly periodical in May 1928. The publishing company of *Vállalkozók Lapja* appointed the architects Virgil Bierbauer (also known as Virgil Borbíró, 1893–1956) and János Komor (1900–?) as the editors of the newly established journal. As the letter of appointment dated 6 April 1928 stated, the editors would bear full responsibility for the acquisition, the selection and the editing of the publication material¹. As the subsequent years followed, this declared editorial independence truly prevailed as, especially after the resignation of János Komor in 1931, Virgil Bierbauer became the magazine’s principal voice².

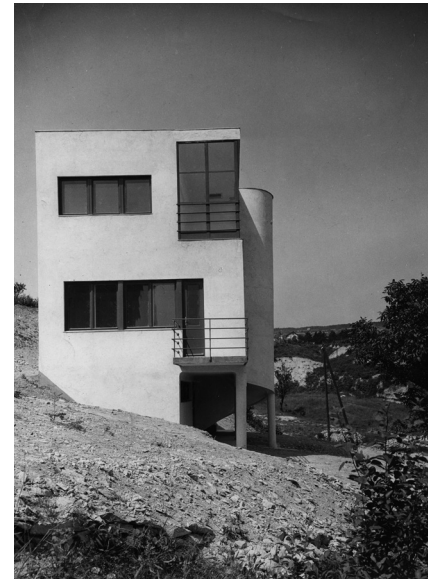
Virgil Bierbauer proved to be an excellent choice for an editor even at the beginning, as by 1928 he had an established career as an architect and writer and he was also well-informed about contemporary architectural production due to his travels and his lively interest in current publications. He was born into a family of architects and engineers. His father, István Bierbauer, was the chief director of engineering at the Royal Hungarian Post, while his maternal grandfather, Gyula Seefehlner, was the head engineer of the building of two major bridges in Budapest at the end of the 19th century. Virgil Bierbauer obtained his architectural diploma at the Technical University of Munich



01 Virgil Bierbauer and his wife, Adrienne Bierbauer (née Graul). © Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center – HMA, József Pécsi, late 1920s.



02 Bohdan Lachert and József Szanajca, Apartment House, Warsaw, Poland, 1928–1929. The cover of *Tér és Forma*, n. 7, 1930.



03 József Fischer, Hoffmann Villa, Budapest, Hungary, 1933–1934. © Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center – HMA, Olga Máté, 1934.

in 1915, where he was oriented towards the humanities while attending art history courses held by Heinrich Wölfflin among other notable scholars at the University of Munich. He began his career as an architect after WWI, obtaining his doctorate in 1920 and, in 1925, he started his long-term and career-defining project for the extension of Kelenföld Power Plant in Budapest (1925–1934). Now it is a listed monument just like Virgil Bierbauer's other major project, Budaörs Airport (1936–1937), which he co-designed with László Králik. In 1927, he participated in the international congress of the *Comité Permanent International des Architectes* (CPIA) in the Hague, Rotterdam and Amsterdam. During his stay, he took the opportunity to visit notable building ensembles in the Netherlands such as the works of Willem Marinus Dudok and Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud³. He also traveled to neighboring Germany where he visited the *Weißenhofsiedlung* in Stuttgart (1927), which was at that time at the forefront of professional attention. Virgil Bierbauer published his experiences extensively in Hungarian art and architectural magazines, while his encounters with both architects and buildings in foreign land proved to be deeply beneficial during his editorship at *Tér és Forma*.

Tér és Forma as an independent architectural journal was established in the pivotal year of 1928, when the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) was founded at the *Chateau de la Sarraz* in Switzerland by a group of European architects including Le Corbusier, André Lurçat, Hannes Meyer, Gerrit Rietveld and Alberto Sartoris, among others. Also in 1928, the founder Walter Gropius left the Bauhaus along with leading artists such as László Moholy-Nagy and Marcel Breuer and started to promote his ideas and works outside of the school⁴. The year 1928 was also hallmarked by the launch of other influential periodicals of the era such as the Italian *Casabella* and *Domus*. Regarding

Hungarian architecture, it is important to point out that the architect Farkas Molnár (1897–1945), who studied at the Bauhaus in Weimar between 1921 and 1925, obtained his architectural diploma in Budapest in 1928. He quickly became one of the major promoters of modern architecture in Hungary as architect, writer and activist. He was initially involved in the production of the magazine *Tér és Forma* as the designer of its cover for the first two years and a contributor writing on topics such as the Bauhaus, social housing and minimal existence. In addition to these definitive momentums, the turbulent years around 1930 created an intellectual arena where there was a lot to explore, communicate and interpret.

In the last issue of 1928, the editors of *Tér és Forma* defined the principal goal of the magazine articulating the necessity of introducing the newest products of contemporary architecture to the Hungarian audience from a global perspective with the intention of promoting modern architecture and eliminating the isolation of Hungarian architecture⁵. This ambition was successfully realized over the years, especially under Virgil Bierbauer's editorship between 1928 and 1942. János Komor acted as the co-editor until the end of 1931 and from the January issue of 1932, Virgil Bierbauer was the sole editor until 1942, when he was called to join the Army. The architect József Fischer (1901–1995) and an editorial board took over the journal, but Virgil Bierbauer's name was still indicated as one of the founders of the magazine and he was even able to publish some of his essays. Soon after, the magazine ceased to be published in 1948.

Virgil Bierbauer eagerly collected an immense amount of information that he – using his editorial filter – transformed into publication material. As the major content provider of the magazine, he collected textual and visual information, made selections, created narratives, developed interpretations and defined messages. In addition to creating a huge

local impact, he also managed to introduce Hungarian architecture to the international architectural community. His status as a cultural mediator was also reinforced by his activities as curator, lecturer and representative in international exhibitions, congresses and other professional events such as the *Triennale di Milano*.

To collect information, Virgil Bierbauer relied on three essential bases: his continuously expanding international network of professional connections, his travels abroad and contemporary publications such as architectural periodicals, books and comprehensive volumes of referential status like Alberto Sartoris' and Agnoldomenico Pica's corpuses⁶. His network can be traced by studying Virgil Bierbauer's remaining correspondence, particularly its segment of approximately 900 letters, which is related to his professional work and now held at the Hungarian Museum of Architecture in the context of the Virgil Bierbauer archive⁷. This remarkable archival material contains letters written by several notable architects of the era such as Marcel Breuer, Walter Gropius, Heinrich Lauterbach, Fritz Höger, Alberto Sartoris, Howard Robertson, Wells Coates, Alvar Aalto, Willem Marinus Dudok, Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Agnoldomenico Pica, Giuseppe Terragni, Bohuslav Fuchs, Josef Havlíček and Karel Honzík among many others. Even though Virgil Bierbauer had never managed to go overseas, his network not only covered Europe but also reached the USA and Japan as his correspondence with Richard Neutra and Masakazu Koyama (the editor of the Japanese architectural periodical *Kokusai Kenchiku*) demonstrates. Virgil Bierbauer was an avid traveler in European countries and he documented some of his journeys in his published travel reports. His trips were also mentioned in the memoir of Virgil Bierbauer's wife, Adrienne Graul (1896–1973) entitled *Bottle Post*⁸. Graul was deeply involved in Virgil Bierbauer's professional life as his secretary and translator managing his correspondence. As Graul once joked after Virgil Bierbauer was elected as Honorary Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1931, "you are the Honorary and I am the Corresponding Member!"⁹. Aside from the memoir's highly biased narrative, it includes crucial information about Virgil Bierbauer's life and work. The publications that he followed are traceable in the reviews that he wrote for *Tér és Forma*, as he constantly reported on the current issues of architectural periodicals from all over the world and published comprehensive introductions to important books. His restless accumulation of information can be compared to Alberto Sartoris' undertakings on a similar scale as they both aspired to create the broad panorama of contemporary architecture. However, due to the limited spread of the issues, Virgil Bierbauer restricted himself to monthly compilations for 15 years that reflected his thoughts, preferences and struggles but also the external factors, which lay beyond Virgil Bierbauer's power.

On the basis of these three ways of acquiring information, Virgil Bierbauer was perfectly aware of the best targets to turn to. Therefore, he managed to collect publication material rather quickly and, if it was required, he was in the position to have them published in a matter of just a few months.

The textual and the visual information were equally significant for his editorial work and he eagerly collected photographic images to illustrate the journal. Unfortunately, however, this remarkable photographic material did not survive in Virgil Bierbauer's archive as he was always asked to send the images back after use. Consequently, lots of crucial information was lost in this process for today's researchers if we take into account the fact that, in many cases, the versos of vintage photographs provide information about the photographer, the route of the image and give an insight into editorial decisions. Even though the layout of *Tér és Forma* changed at times, the importance of the visual material prevailed. Virgil Bierbauer consciously used the photographs to illustrate the texts, emphasize certain aspects and make statements thus creating noteworthy word and image relationships. Furthermore, though he usually used the pictures taken by professional photographers in *Tér és Forma*, he benefited from his own experiences as an amateur photographer in selecting, arranging and editing images¹⁰. In the Hungarian scene, the professional architectural photographers worthy of special attention were Ernő Bánó, Tivadar Kozelka and Zoltán Seidner as well as those photographers who occasionally took on commissions for architectural photographs such as Ferenc Haár, Olga Máté, József Pécsi and Klára Wachter, whose names were regularly credited in the journal.

Although photography served as a globally understandable universal language, Virgil Bierbauer used captions and sometimes even added summaries in English, German, French or Italian. Due to his attention to potential foreign readers and especially because of his expanded international network, *Tér és Forma* gained a referential status for not only the Hungarian, but also for the international architectural community. Thus, it frequently served as a source material for even foreign journal editors, who either transmitted the published material from *Tér és Forma* or reached those architects directly whose work was acknowledged by the magazine.

Between the national and the international: Virgil Bierbauer as the creator of a narrative

Virgil Bierbauer worked with his editorial apparatus professionally and systematically. In addition to editing every single issue, he wrote a significant amount of the articles himself, but he also invited his prominent colleagues to express their thoughts on theoretical issues and the most modern architecture, and he was also willing to engage himself in open debates. Driven by his belief in the power of the written word, he wrote heated polemics, definitive statements, theoretical arguments, simple building descriptions, travel reports as well as book and press reviews. He continually accentuated his deep-rooted ideas about the essence of modern living, economic design solutions and the local relevance of modern architecture.

Concerning the arrangement of the material he collected and produced, Virgil Bierbauer at times compiled thematic issues concentrating on certain building types such as housing, sanatoriums, baths, sport facilities and churches,



04 Virgil Bierbauer, Kelenföld Power Plant, Budapest, Hungary, 1925–1934. Boiler house III, 1931–1932. © Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center – HMA, Tivadar Kozelka, 1934.



05 Farkas Molnár, Molnár's apartment in Delej Villa, Budapest, Hungary, 1929. Tubular steel furniture designed by Marcel Breuer. © Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center – HMA, Ernő Bánó, 1929–1930.

which let us reflect on the abundance of the material and his conscious planning. This explanation chiefly applies to the early 1930s, when each yearly volume had about 400 or 500 numbered pages, while after the mid-1930s, the spread of the magazine started to diminish along with the decrease in the foreign material and the parallel increase in the Hungarian material. In July 1938, Virgil Bierbauer wrote a letter to Richard Neutra, in which he informed him that he could not publish those buildings Richard Neutra proposed for publication in *Tér és Forma* owing to the priority of the Hungarian material and due to the fact that the journal's length was limited because of financial problems¹¹. It is all the more remarkable that the buildings Richard Neutra recommended included such highlights as the Barsha House (1938), the Beard House (1934), the Miller House (1937) and the Landfair Apartments (1937) among his other notable buildings¹².

Virgil Bierbauer's understanding of the modern, the progressive, the international, the national and the vernacular had all specific meanings and places in his narrative that he articulated in *Tér és Forma*. As many of his modernist peers, he referred to life, climate and function as essential starting points of architectural planning with regards to the life of the inhabitants, the local climatic conditions and the function of the building and each room. He used the words progressive and modern based on functional and not formalist considerations. Ironically, he indirectly stimulated formalistic tendencies as a magazine editor since numerous contractors regarded *Tér és Forma* as a source for direct inspiration. Virgil Bierbauer was well aware of this fact and he vehemently commented on readers' letters and other feedback condemning these, so to speak, distortions of his modernist beliefs. Whatever was the exact topic, he expressed such opinions repeatedly, especially in his editorials. One of his editorials was especially targeted at this subject as the title — “Progressive architecture: form or content” — indicated this distinction¹³.

His deep-rooted interest in vernacular architecture closely correlated these ideas as he paralleled the

anonymous architecture of the rural with the rationalism of modern design, both of which – according to Virgil Bierbauer – originated from the local climate, local building materials and function in general. He shared his valorization of vernacular forms in relation to modern architecture with many of his contemporaries such as the Italian Giuseppe Capponi as well as Giuseppe Pagano, the editor of the journal *Casabella*¹⁴. As Pagano expressed in his article “Documenting Rural Architecture”, “The repertory of rural architecture reveals an immense encyclopedia of abstract forms and creative expressions with obvious connections to the land, climate, economy, and technology”¹⁵. This was a focal point for Virgil Bierbauer too, who eagerly observed vernacular architecture during his journeys in the Hungarian countryside as well as, for example, in Capri and around Lago Maggiore in Switzerland.

Virgil Bierbauer's notions about the national and the international originated in his concepts of the modern. Therefore, he objected to the idea of an International Style as he believed in local solutions while aspiring to modern spaces and forms. With regards to the regions and countries incorporated in *Tér és Forma*, the magazine was quite inclusive as, although it basically covered Europe, it still addressed the USA, South America and Japan. It can be argued that the content followed Virgil Bierbauer's journeys as both an actual and an armchair-traveler considering his travels in modern architecture as a travel of the mind pursuing to create content from his readings and via his network. *Tér és Forma* was also inclusive with regards to different tendencies in contemporary architecture, which originated in Virgil Bierbauer's premises about content over form. Therefore, it was a reasonable editorial decision to include in the same volumes such contemporary building ensembles that, although representing the finest contemporary architectural ideas, were formally not based on the same grounds. The Hilversum Town Hall (1924–1930) representing Willem Marinus Dudok's Wrightian architecture featured in 1931, in the same year as the hard-line



06 Group photograph of the 2nd meeting of CIAM-Ost in Brno in May 1937.
© Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center - HMA.

Modernism of J. J. P. Oud's Kiefhoek Housing Estate (1925–1930) and the Van Nelle Factory in Rotterdam (1927–1931). In about 1930, the German content equally comprised the Expressionist architecture of the Hamburg-based Fritz Höger and the *Neue Sachlichkeit* of Walter Gropius. With regards to Sweden, for instance, Ivar Tengbom's Classicism was not overshadowed by Sven Markelius' and Uno Åhrén's Modernism in *Tér és Forma*. This variety also applied to the thematic issues and especially the materials on interior design, which covered a broad range including the Hungarian-born Marcel Breuer's standardized — and supposedly machine-made — tubular steel furniture, exquisite Art Deco interiors and the Hungarian Gyula Kaesz's furniture representing modern solutions rooted in traditional craftsmanship. Beyond Virgil Bierbauer's openness to a great variety of tendencies and regions, his German and Italian orientation prevailed over the years, which originated in his studies, his journeys and especially in the political climate of interwar Hungary. After the Nazis' rise to power, the German content of *Tér és Forma* comprised the works of the German émigrés, while the Italian content remained steady and also incorporated Fascist architecture.

With regards to Hungarian architecture, Virgil Bierbauer systematically covered the newest projects emphasizing the best practices in pursuit of modern solutions. The Modern Movement in Hungary unfolded firstly in the field of housing due to the fact that the major state and ecclesiastical commissions succeeded private ones within a few years. It also meant that villas, family houses and corporate-owned tenement houses preceded and greatly outnumbered social housing. It created an arena of experimentation limited only by the clients' willingness and building regulations. *Tér és Forma* undertook the task of following the changes in the urban fabric, especially in the Hungarian capital, Budapest. The journal featured the new building ensembles such as the housing estate in Napraforgó Street (1931), the ensembles in Újlipótváros as well as the apartment houses of the National Social Insurance

Institute (1934–1935). The importance of the latter lies in the fact that the complex is an early Hungarian example of high-rise, free-standing slabs uniquely constructed at that time and, being beautifully photographed by exploiting the oblique views of the high-rise buildings. In addition to the continuously expanding modernist material from Hungary, the issues solely dedicated to the Hungarian CIAM group (founded in 1929 and including the architects Farkas Molnár, József Fischer, Máté Major, József Körner and others) reasonably stand out regarding the projects' progressiveness and simplicity as well as the occasional radical statements. The above-mentioned Farkas Molnár was the group's leading figure whose Bauhaus training continually inspired his work and defined his professional network during the 1930s. Interestingly, the CIAM issues also reported on the Hungarian émigré, Marcel Breuer's works executed in Germany, Switzerland and Britain reinforcing a sense of community between locals and émigrés.

After Virgil Bierbauer's involvement in CIAM, especially in CIAM-Ost (founded in 1937), he was able to express his views on rural architecture in another institutionalized platform. CIAM-Ost aimed at strengthening the collaboration between Central- and Eastern-European groups based on the idea that these regions had common and, in many ways, different problems than the Western-European chapters. One of these addressed the rural areas as it was emphasized that most people in this region still lived in the countryside rather than in big cities. Virgil Bierbauer acted as one of the major advocates of the question of rural architecture in CIAM-Ost and this regional approach was of course reflected in the Hungarian material of *Tér és Forma*. The issues dedicated to the region of Lake Balaton and the question of the weekend houses surrounding the popular holiday destination exemplify the endeavor to negotiate not only urban but regional problems in the magazine¹⁶.

After Virgil Bierbauer: the final years of *Tér és Forma*

After Virgil Bierbauer joined the army and resigned from his editorial post in 1942, an editorial board took over the magazine headed by József Fischer, who had been an active author for the CIAM issues in the 1930s. The editorial board and the major authors comprised architects engaged with modernist ideas such as Pál Granasztói, Jenő Kismarty-Lechner Jr, Máté Major and János Wetzl. Among them, Máté Major was a devoted Communist who later in 1948–1949, during the years of the emergence of Socialist-Realism as a style, conflicted with his comrades due to his conviction about the compatibility of leftist architecture with Modernism.

After the outbreak of WWII, the number of private building commissions was severely diminished. Due to security reasons, it was prohibited to report on the intense and sometimes high-quality building activities of the military (military hospitals, recreational facilities, educational institutions, hangars and warehouses). Therefore, the articles at many times concerned architectural history, heritage protection and even the applied as well as the fine arts.

Owing to the leftist orientation of the authors, the artists studied in the journal usually belonged to the avant-garde artistic scene. In addition, such topics as war destruction and labor shortage caused by military service were also covered.

After 1945, József Fischer was appointed as the head of the Metropolitan Board of Public Works in Budapest and from this point, *Tér és Forma* was being published by the board. Frequent topics included war destruction, ideas for rebuilding, urban planning and social housing. Some articles even covered international architecture and at that time it was still free from the imminent total commitment to the Soviet Union. As a consequence of the fact that, in 1948, József Fischer as a Social Democrat decidedly opposed the forced unification of the Social Democratic party with the Communist party, he was dismissed from his political position, which led to the dissolution of the Metropolitan Board of Public Works and even the cessation of the journal *Tér és Forma*.

Creating an impact: *Tér és Forma's* role in Hungarian architectural historiography

The contemporary influence of *Tér és Forma* was manifold and well-illustrated by the recollections of an architect, who was a daughter of a contractor based in a village near the city of Győr. Anna Kaiser's (born in 1933) career choice was very much influenced by *Tér és Forma*, which accompanied her childhood as her father subscribed to it for many years¹⁷. She followed attentively the journal because of its abundant illustrations, novel typography and global panorama, with the result that she became attracted to an architectural career. *Tér és Forma* could thus become a source of aspiration in addition to its referential status for contemporary architects.

After the cessation of *Tér és Forma* in 1948, its importance was not completely forgotten, even though Modernism was cast out under the prevalence of Socialist Realism.



07 Virgil Bierbauer, Kelenföld Power Plant, Budapest, Hungary, 1925-1934. The stairs of the switch-house under construction as it was photographed by Virgil Bierbauer. © Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection Documentation Center - HMA, Virgil Bierbauer, ca. 1933.



08 The streets of Anacapri (left) and Giuseppe Capponi's house in Capri (right), in *Tér és Forma*, n. 10, 1932, 338-339, Virgil and Adrienne Bierbauer, 1932.

Thus, just like in the case of modern architecture, it was not at all recommended to refer to *Tér és Forma*, which was considered as the manifestation of modernist ideas. After Stalin's death in 1953, Modernism started to become acceptable again and *Tér és Forma* was included in the definitive narratives on the history of Hungarian architecture written by Jenő Rados (1961) and Ferenc Merényi (1969), respectively¹⁸. Although Merényi studied modern architecture in accordance with the Marxist narrative as it was expected in the Socialist Bloc, he comprehensively and positively analyzed the modern architecture of the interwar period. He even highlighted Virgil Bierbauer as a leading author, who propagated Modernism and supported the ideas of CIAM.

Over the subsequent decades, the historiography of Hungarian architecture followed the narrative originally designated in the early 20th century by the architect Marcell Komor and his colleagues as authors of the journal *Vállalkozók Lapja*, which was edited by Marcell Komor. His son, János Komor, and Virgil Bierbauer appropriated this narrative as editors of *Tér és Forma* and over the interwar years they developed the discourse into a canon, in which they drew the line of Hungarian modern architecture from the architecture of the 1910s represented by the so-called pre-modern architecture of Béla Lajta and Béla Málnai. This narrative became so influential that this theoretical line of progress is even echoed by today's historians. The illustrative material of *Tér és Forma* was no less influential as the

same, now archived photographs appeared over and over again in different publications in the second half of the 20th century. In 2003, the exhibition and the related book entitled *Light and Form: Modern Architecture and Photography 1927–1950*, however, chose an alternative standpoint by putting this archival photographic material into the center of scholarly attention instead of using the images as mere illustrations¹⁹.

We may conclude that *Tér és Forma* did not only gain predominance in the press of interwar Hungary just after its inception, but it also has retained its referential status until today. Its photographic material and textual body continues to inspire today's architects, scholars as well as conservators, who use the journal as a source of inspiration, subject of study and source for reconstructions.

Notes

- 1 Virgil Bierbauer's archive is kept in the Hungarian Museum of Architecture and includes architectural drawings, architectural and family photographs, correspondence, personal records, books and periodicals.
- 2 The two chapters of this article about Virgil Bierbauer's editorial activities are based on Ágnes Anna Sebestyén's research funded by the Hungarian National Cultural Fund (ref. n. 101102/00444).
- 3 For more on Virgil Bierbauer's travels, see: Ágnes Anna Sebestyén, "Architectural Photographs as Agents of Travel and Information: Virgil Bierbauer's Travels to Circulate Visual Information in the Architectural Press in Interwar Hungary", *Revelar*, vol. 2, novembro 2017, 104–122.
- 4 For more, see: Paul Overy, "Visions of the Future and the Immediate Past: The Werkbund Exhibition, Paris 1930", *Journal of Design History*, n. 4, 2004, 337–357.
- 5 See the editors' announcement in *Tér és Forma*, n. 8, 1928, with no page number.
- 6 Agnoldomenico Pica, *Nuova architettura nel mondo: Quaderni della Triennale*, Milano, Ulrico Hoepli, 1938; Alberto Sartoris, *Gli elementi dell'architettura funzionale: Sintesi panoramica dell'architettura moderna*, Milano, Ulrico Hoepli, 1932, 1935, 1941.
- 7 Virgil Bierbauer's correspondence was catalogued by Ágnes Anna Sebestyén in the framework of the research project funded by the Hungarian National Cultural Fund (ref. n. 101102/00444).
- 8 Adrienne Bierbauer (née Graul), *Palackposta* (Bottle Post), unpublished manuscript, Budapest, 1958–1972. Holding of the Virgil Bierbauer archive, Hungarian Museum of Architecture, Budapest
- 9 Adrienne Bierbauer (née Graul), *Palackposta* (Bottle Post), 232.
- 10 For more on Virgil Bierbauer's use of photographic images, see: Ágnes Anna Sebestyén, "Strategy and Agency in Architectural Photographs: Imaging Strategies that Shaped an Architectural Magazine in Interwar Hungary", in Rubén A. Alcolea – Jorge Tarrago Mingo (ed.), *Inter Photo Arch, Congreso Internacional, inter-fotografía y arquitectura: interpretaciones; Inter Photo Arch, International Conference, inter-photography and architecture: interpretations*, Pamplona, Universidad de Navarra, 2016, 178–189.
- 11 Virgil Bierbauer's letter to Richard Neutra, 27 July 1938, N9, Virgil Bierbauer archive, Hungarian Museum of Architecture, Budapest.
- 12 Letter by Richard Neutra's secretary, Geraldine Haas to Virgil Bierbauer, 6 July 1938, N8, Virgil Bierbauer archive, Hungarian Museum of Architecture, Budapest.
- 13 Virgil Bierbauer, "A korszerű építészet: forma vagy tartalom" [progressive architecture: form or content], *Tér és Forma*, n. 1, 1932, 1–27.
- 14 Michelangelo Sabatino is at the forefront of scholarly research arguing about how Italian modernist architects approached vernacular architecture. Michelangelo Sabatino, "Space of Criticism: Exhibitions and the Vernacular in Italian Modernism", *Journal of Architectural Education*, n. 3, 2009, 35–52.
- 15 Giuseppe Pagano, "Documenti di architettura rurale", *Casabella*, n. 95, 1935, 18–25. English translation in Michelangelo Sabatino, "Documenting Rural Architecture, by Giuseppe Pagano", *Journal of*

- Architectural Education*, n. 2, 2010, 92.
- 16 *Tér és Forma*, n. 2, 1931; *Tér és Forma*, n. 5–6, 1932.
 - 17 Anna Kaiser, *Építészgondolatok, interjúkötet* [thoughts of architects, collection of interviews with Hungarian architects], Budapest, 2015, 14.
 - 18 Jenő Rados, *Magyar építészettörténet* [the history of Hungarian architecture], Budapest, Műszaki Könyvkiadó, 1961, 315–328; Ferenc Merényi, *A magyar építészet 1867–1967* [Hungarian architecture 1867–1967], Budapest, Műszaki Könyvkiadó, 1969, 67–99, esp. 81.
 - 19 Ibolya Cs. Plank, Virág Hajdú, Pál Ritoóók, *Fény és Forma: Modern építészet és fotó 1927–1950 / Light and Form: Modern Architecture and Photography 1927–1950*, Budapest, Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal, 2003; 2nd edition, Budapest, Vince Kiadó, 2010.

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