



Photography, Modern Architecture and Design

The Alberto Sartoris Collection | Objects from the Vitra Design Museum

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From Collection to Encyclopedia: Issues and Milestones of an Exemplary Undertaking

From Collection to Encyclopedia: Issues and Milestones of an Exemplary Undertaking

Antoine Baudin

The Italian-Swiss architect Alberto Sartoris owes a large share of his fame to his intensive activities as a propagandist and cultural activist. From 1932 to 1957, with Milan publisher Ulrico Hoepli, he published six major works which have become legendary: the three editions, each one larger than the previous, of *Gli elementi dell'architettura funzionale: Sintesi panoramica dell'architettura moderna* (1932; 1935; 1941: 1135 illustrations); then, using the same principle of a visual panorama, the three volumes of *L'Encyclopédie de l'architecture nouvelle* (1948–1957, in French), which contained 2230 images, mostly photographs. These publishing undertakings, unmatched in scope and duration, were a major contribution to the establishment of a definitive reference corpus of the international Modern Movement.

The collection of photographs of modern architecture that Sartoris assembled during those 25 years was specifically for his publishing endeavors. Of this collection, over 8000 original prints remain, dating from the 1920s to the 1950s, not to mention the hundreds of photographs of Sartoris's own architectural works and the many other later examples of iconography. Three quarters of the prints are views of completed projects; the rest are of maquettes and of many other types of graphic representation. The collection's documentary significance is exceptional, despite some imbalance in representation depending on the country (one third of the collection deals with Italy alone); it illustrates the founding period of the Modern Movement and its different phases of development, right up to its definitive institutionalization in the field of architecture. Almost 2000 works of architecture are included, for the most part designed prior to 1940, by some 650 architects from every continent. It encompasses most of the emblematic constructions of international modernism (in other words, primarily Western European), and many peripheral and/or "forgotten" examples.

Beyond the collection's documentary value, its general interpretation poses multiple problems, requiring consideration of the architectural parameters appropriate to the works represented and to their creators, the distinctive qualities of the photographic images and the vantage point of the photographers, as well as the collection methods of the compiler, Sartoris, his motivation in terms of photography, and the selective use he made of this material over a quarter century, under changing historical conditions. Different prisms are thus superimposed, resulting in variable and sometimes incompatible perceptions, starting of course with the differing viewpoints of architecture and photography, each with its specific values and standards of interpretation.

We will not linger at this point over the architectural dimension of the collection: it is intertwined with the now classic or canonical history of the international Modern Movement, some parts of which, it should be said, remain obscure to this day. The collection is a mirror that of necessity reflects only a partial image; the brief description offered in the second part of this book documents the movement's structure and geography.

Instead we will first concentrate on the photographic component, which remains to a great extent to be discovered. The lack of

knowledge about architectural photography is proportional to the ambivalence with which it has always been burdened, a sort of constant identity crisis. Architectural photography has traditionally been structured around three functions with loosely defined boundaries. As Eric de Maré, one of its first theoreticians, formulated these functions around 1960, they are "Record" (the raw document), "Illustration" (having additional aesthetic value), and "Picture" (autonomous image, independent of any architectural qualities)¹. Photography's original documentary mission and its conditions of production implied an absolute subordination to the purpose for which it was commissioned. It is hard to find a place for the Sartoris collection in a history of modern photography, which was characterized by a quest for autonomy particularly during the 1930s, the period that mainly interests us, marked as it was by the expression of the most extreme values of the two movements involved, *Neues Bauen* and *Neues Sehen*, in other words, the two poles of the avant-garde's overarching mission during the 1920s.

For architects, the importance of photography grew at the same rate as the accelerated international spread of their work. The intervention of the photographer could have irremediable consequences, since it often established the definitive image of the subjects photographed: most of the major achievements of the Modern Movement were publicized, and are known even today, through a single sequence, made at a specific moment in time—in principle, between the end of construction and the arrival of the users, who could only interfere with the image of the architecture.

The Sartoris collection provides high-quality raw material for these different points of view; it should prompt many individual studies and provide fodder for discussion of the generic and functional relations between modern photography and modern architecture. We will limit ourselves here to indicating the most obvious elements as they appear in the corpus and are revealed in the uses to which they were put by the compiler or his competitors. As its second task, this introductory sketch will provide an account of the major milestones of Sartoris's undertakings in publishing.

I. Photographing Modern Architecture: Reconstruction of its History.

The first indication of the precariousness of the architectural photograph is how belatedly its historiography began to be constituted (in the 1980s) and how sparse and fragmentary it remains. General accounts of architectural photography, based on a limited number of canonical situations, logically stress the era of the 19th century pioneers, who are frequently the pioneers of photography in general². These accounts tend to be studies of a particular sector or archival collection, and occasionally of particularly fertile national traditions³. The first attempt at a historical synthesis has appeared only recently, as has the first study targeting the relations between photography and the Modern Movement⁴. Similar targeting characterizes the "theme" issues of magazines—mainly architectural—which are sporadically devoted to it: with the galloping inflation typical of the media, they

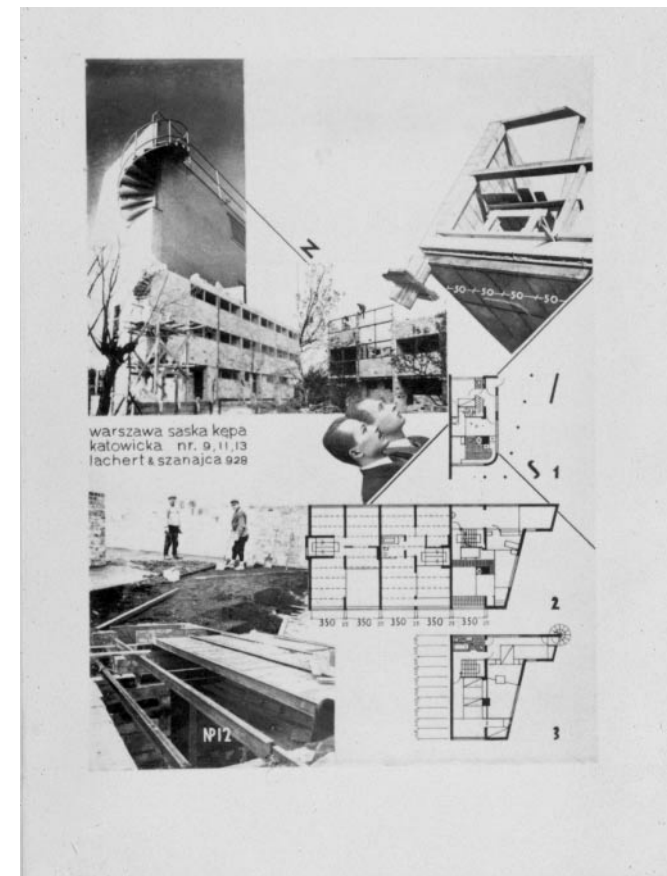
Hendrik Petrus Berlage. Stock Exchange, Amsterdam, 1898–1904. Photograph by A. Frequin, 22 x 17 cm.



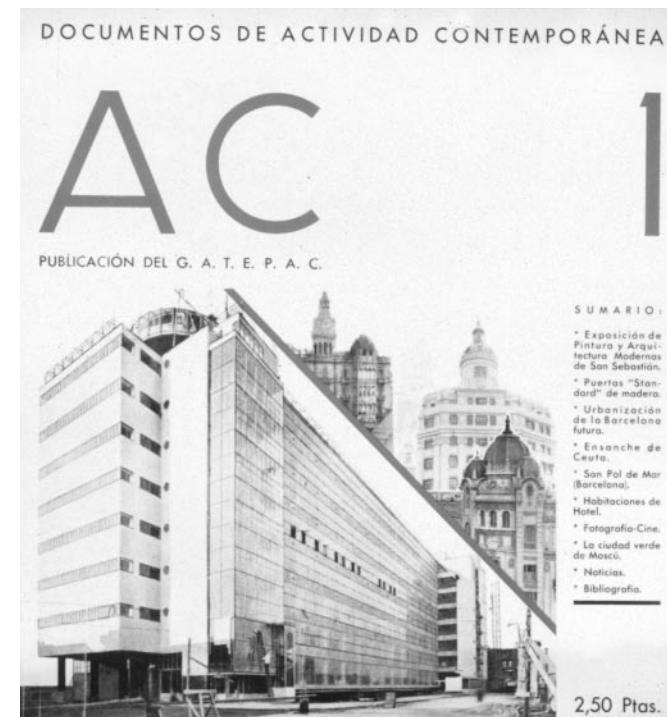
Adolf Loos. Steiner House, Vienna, 1910. Unsigned photograph, 12 x 16 cm.



Page from the magazine *Præsens* (Warsaw), no. 2, 1930.



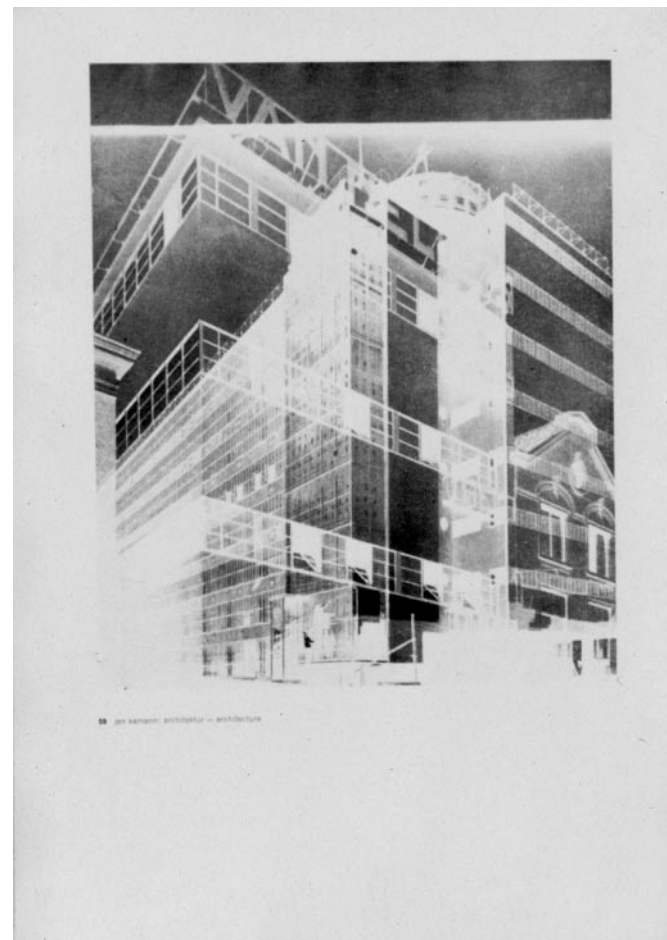
Cover of the magazine *AC* (Barcelona–Madrid), no. 1, 1931[?].



Title page of the magazine *Casabella* (Milan), no. 109, January 1937. Photograph by László Moholy-Nagy.



Page from Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold, *foto-auge, 76 fotos der zeit*, reprint, Tübingen, Wasmuth, 1973. Archives de la construction moderne.



tend to stress questions related to the representation of current architecture, to the detriment of a historical perspective⁵. As for monographs on architectural photographers *identified as such*, they are mainly concerned with the generation that was active after 1945. They indicate a process of dated evolution that also remains to be studied, in which the relationship between architects and photographers changed, and which continued until the first signs of the role reversal illustrated in recent years in the United States by the spectacular careers of photographers such as Ezra Stoller and particularly Julius Shulman, who has been promoted as the co-author or even the unique creator of Californian architectural modernity⁶. For the past few years, these changes, along with the growing legitimacy of architecture as a subject in various areas of contemporary photography (starting with Bernd and Hilda Becher, then the Düsseldorf School), has produced, particularly in Germany, a retrospective re-evaluation of once ignored “documentary” practices, which are now being re-examined with reference to the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (Werner Mantz, Max Baur, Hugo and Karl-Hugo Schmölz, Ruth Lauterbach-Baenisch, etc.).

Generally speaking, a historiographic outline common to the two disciplines can serve to describe the progress of architectural photography, given that the beginnings of photography are closely connected with the subject of architecture and with classical methods of representing it, particularly with regard to perspective. In this area, photography rapidly assumed important heritage functions (the inventory of monuments), which stimulated the historicist movement in 19th century architecture and provided it with models. Photography was also used to illustrate the most external manifestations of this movement, while providing no real competition to the graphic or pictorial rendering that was the exclusive province of architects from the Beaux-Arts tradition. But in the opposing camp of the “engineers,” it also became a very effective tool for representing the industrial culture and thus promoting its visual, material and spatial values. All of these explicitly instrumental roles would orient and permanently set the technical procedures and characteristic codes of architectural photography, as it became a profession⁷. Until about 1925, the pictorialist trend, which had the emancipation of photography as its goal, generally ignored modern architecture (in its rationalist definition) as a motif, so it was up to the youthful tradition of technical and commercial photography to envisage its simple architectonic virtues and new spatial concepts, at the very time photographs were beginning to replace drawings and picturesque renderings in rapidly expanding publications (albums, collections, magazines) that disseminated architectural images.

Neues Bauen and Neues Sehen, an Ambiguous Relationship.

To continue in the same vein, a schism occurred within the international avant-garde in the 1920s, when architects and photographers were working for the first time within a common framework, governed, at least in theory, by relations of equality. In their effort to revitalize experimentation with perception and

depiction in the medium of photography (the various modes of visual manipulation originating in Dadaism and Constructivism, as well as certain processes of the *Neue Sachlichkeit*), the promoters of the New Vision (*Neues Sehen*) were supposedly acting in line with the postulates of the New Architecture (*Neues Bauen*). Their revelation and visual absolutization of the most insignificant material and of the components of the urban context are well known; László Moholy-Nagy provided a synthesis of this work in his 1929 essay *Von Material zu Architektur*⁸. But above all, the avant-garde sought to remedy a shortcoming inherent in photography, that is, the absence of the factor of time, by constructing the image so as to suggest, by dynamic tension and movement, the spatiotemporal continuum that gave substance to architectural objects in the real world. According to Andreas Haus, who was writing about the Bauhaus, this culminated in “a new, artistically productive synthesis between architecture and photography,” which caused the viewer to experience spatial organization in all its immediacy, beyond any verbal interpretation. Raised to the rank of the “proper and ideal medium for the existence and presentation of architecture,” the New Photography henceforth would present the structure of its subject at the expense of its materiality and uses, asserting its subjective nature, its existence independent of matter and time⁹.

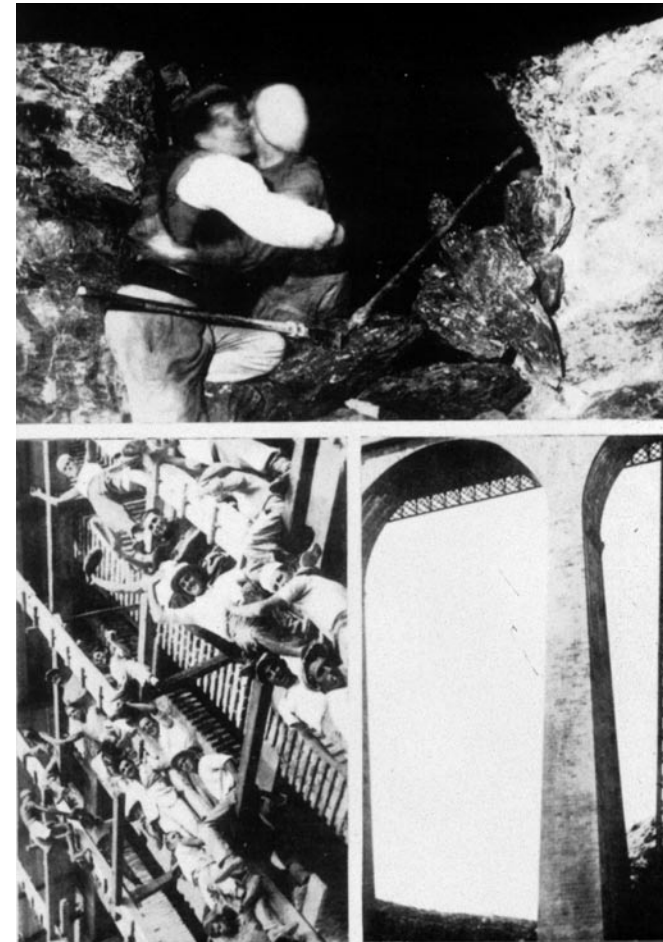
Despite the convergence of ideas about perception linking avant-garde architects and photographers, and the relative parallelism of their approaches, such an interpretation goes back to the experimental program of the New Vision (*Neues Sehen*) much more than to the actual practices of architectural photography at that time and place. It nonetheless underlies most of the historical literature, which provides only fragmentary, random or abstract images, without much evidentiary value¹⁰, to illustrate the presumed homology between the two disciplines.

Now it should be emphasized that the exploratory approach of the New Photographers (if such a diverse group can be considered a single entity) was applied only rarely to the real-world material provided by contemporary architecture. This approach was used to an even lesser degree for the works constructed by their New Architecture partners (built objects which had their own manifest technical and aesthetic values), except, of course, in montages or collages, which in any case used “conventional” photographic images. This phenomenon is confirmed by examining the principal avant-garde journals and magazines of the 1920s, across all disciplines: in them, the visual experimentation of the *Neues Sehen* is clearly distinguished from “photography of modern architecture,” which appears almost exclusively in its documentary or professional form. Thus, after the “historical” models *de Stijl* and *L'Esprit nouveau*, there were *Gestaltung* in Berlin, *Má* in Vienna, *Pásmo* and later *ReD* in Prague, and *i 10* in Amsterdam. The same observations are valid to a lesser extent with respect to the “transitional” publications, henceforth dominated by architects but attentive to photographic experimentation, which included *Das neue Frankfurt*, *Praesens* in Warsaw, *8 de Opbouw* in Amsterdam, *Opbouwen* in Bruges and finally *AC* in Barcelona, in which

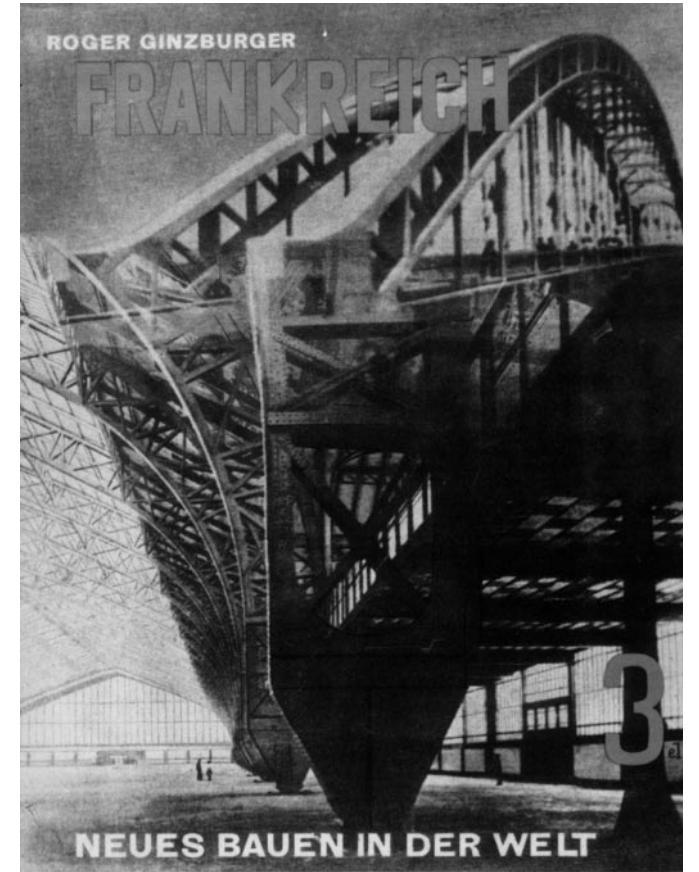
Johannes A. Brinkman, Leendet C. Van der Vlugt. Van Nelle Factory, Rotterdam, 1928–1931. Photograph by Jan Kamman, 17 x 23 cm.

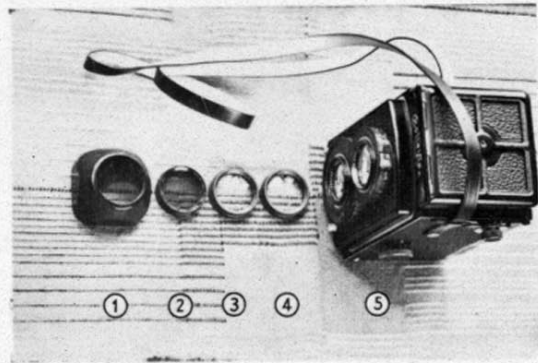


Page from Pietro Maria Bardi, *Belvedere dell'architettura italiana d'oggi*, Milan, Edizioni Quadrante, 1933.



El Lissitzky. Cover of Roger Ginzburger, *Neues Bauen in der Welt*. Frankreich, Vienna, Anton Schroll, 1930.





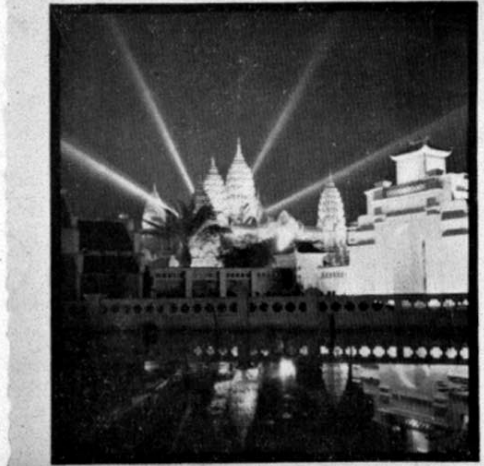
ARCHITECTES : PRENEZ VOUS-MÊMES D'EXCELLENTE PHOTOGRAPHIES DE VOS CHANTIERS ET DE VOS CONSTRUCTIONS EN VOUS SERVANT D'UN ROLLEIFLEX

Sans vouloir médire des photographes professionnels, les architectes ont tous plus ou moins constaté qu'ils leur était difficile d'obtenir certaines vues particulièrement intéressantes de leurs constructions. Pourquoi n'opèrent-ils pas eux-mêmes avec un appareil aussi souple, aussi lumineux et aussi pratique que le Rolleiflex?

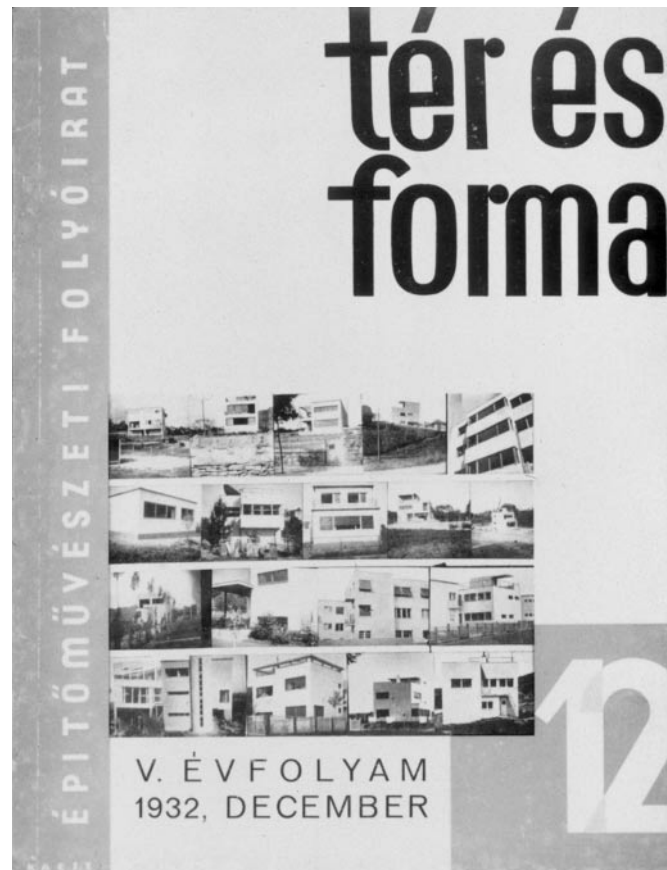
Claire, nette, de format réel, telle apparaît l'image dans le viseur du Rolleiflex. En même temps, on juge de sa netteté et, tout en la délimitant dans le viseur, en suivant les mouvements du sujet pour ne pas manquer l'instant propice au déclenchement, on peut mettre au point très exactement. Cela se fait si rapidement qu'on peut dire, sans exagérer que le Rolleiflex est, sans autre, toujours prêt. Pas d'évaluations de distances longues et compliquées à l'aide d'un instrument spécial. La netteté se met au point directement sur le verre dépoli, donc avec toute la garantie d'exactitude possible, sans la moindre perte de temps, sans détourner le regard du viseur. De cette façon, les erreurs de mise au point sont impossibles, et les images doivent être nettes.

Ce dispositif unique de mise au point permet au Rolleiflex d'utiliser en plein les plus fortes luminosités. Dans cet appareil, l'optique la plus lumineuse n'est pas un luxe, toute augmentation de la luminosité étend singulièrement son rayon d'action par un temps sombre ou couvert, donc le rend plus indépendant de l'éclairage. Dans le Rolleiflex, la luminosité n'excède jamais le point où, à pleine ouverture la profondeur de champ et la netteté de l'image jusque dans ses bords sont encore impeccables.

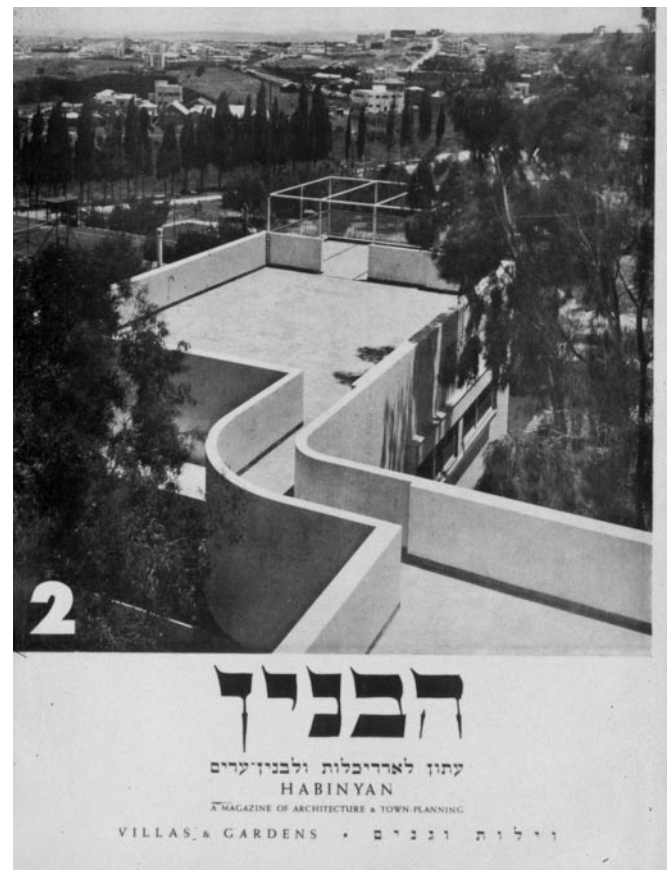
Le Rolleiflex fournit des clichés clairs et nets par tous les temps et avec tous les éclairages.



Cover of the magazine *Tér és forma*
(Budapest), no. 12, 1932.



Cover of the magazine *Habinyan*
(Tel Aviv), no. 2, November 1937.



experimental practices were limited to the extra-architectural domain and to advertisements¹¹. The phenomenon can be verified at another level in the copious visual material disseminated in connection with the international exhibition *Film und Foto* (FiFo) in Stuttgart in 1929, at the height of the *Neues Sehen* movement: the use of contemporary architecture as a theme or pretext was extremely rare in the exhibition and in the influential publications that accompanied it, for example, *Foto-auge* and *Es kommt der neue Fotograf!*¹²

The “anti-Formalist” reaction and the reassessment of photography as documentation, which later developed in the international modernist milieu, did not have any fundamental effect on this attitude. During the 1930s, although the leaders of the *Neues Sehen* did not renounce their program, most of them (from Man Ray to Germaine Krull, Maurice Tabard and André Kertész, considering only the situation in Paris) practiced an informative type of photography for private and public purposes, including commissions. Historiography would deliberately relegate this type of practice to obscurity. But not many of their works in this register are familiar, including photographs of structures of the *Neues Bauen* type, which would seem an excellent forum for their visual and spatial experimentation. The most emblematic example would again be Moholy-Nagy, in particular during his stay in Great Britain in about 1935; he created “mixed” works (documentary and experimental), published primarily in *The Architectural Review*, without claiming that they had any “creative” character¹³. This dual mode of operation is also illustrated by the more discreet example of the Dutchman Jan Kamman, whose most widely disseminated “transgressive” image¹⁴ superimposes two canonical photos of built works by Brinkman and Van der Vlugt, who happened to be the photographer’s principal clients in a promotional practice that was mainly documentary in nature. As for the position of avowed representatives of *Neue Sachlichkeit* such as Renger-Patzsch and August Sander, who would be rallying points for the “documentarist” orientation of independent photography, it does not seem to have led to any rapprochement with the themes of the New Architecture¹⁵ except in the work of photographers like Hans Finsler who had close ties to the architectural milieu.

As a final symptom of its indeterminacy, the very notion of architectural photography was never the subject of discourse or discussion, insofar as we know, among the avant-garde of the 1920s and 1930s, either among photographers and their critics¹⁶ or in architectural circles. From this standpoint, it would be of interest to study the attitude of the numerous modernist architects who practiced photography in one way or another, from Erich Mendelsohn¹⁷ to Carlo Mollino, including the Basque José Manuel Aizpúrua, the Brazilian Gregori Warchavchik, the Moravian Bohuslav Fuchs, the Dane Arne Jacobsen, Richard Neutra and Giuseppe Pagano, to name only a few distinguished pioneers. In most cases, we know very little about their photographic production, which was at times intensive and inventive but seemed to bypass the architectural motifs of the Modern Movement, and even their own constructions¹⁸. In addition, the most combative

promoters on both fronts refrained from any statements about photography, for example, the central secretary of CIAM, Sigfried Giedion, who took many photographs himself and illustrated his articles with them¹⁹, and Pier Maria Bardi in Milan, who was known for the montages and snapshots published in his journal *Quadrante*. The exception that proves the rule was their colleague Philip Morton Shand, a London critic and organizer of cultural events, who in 1934 would make an argument for a conjoining of *Neues Sehen* and *Neues Bauen* in order to appeal to the subjective creativity of photographers, referring to the theories and images (very few “architectural,” in the event) of Moholy-Nagy; of course this was just at the time that Shand, who was a great collector of images, was supplying his friend Sartoris with “objective” photographic documents²⁰. The only recorded contribution by a quasi-official representative of the Modern Movement, the influential organ of the German Werkbund, *Die Form*, tended in contrast to warn against any arbitrariness by photographers in their representation of architecture—this on the very eve of the FiFo exhibition organized by the Werkbund to promote the *Neues Sehen*²¹.

Communication or Instrumentalization? A parallel development, as if in answer to the warning issued by *Die Form*, was the sparing use architects made of photographs of their own works that ultimately fell within the ambit of the *Neues Sehen*. The prototypical example, the Bauhaus in Dessau, which was photographed in 1926 by Lucia Moholy in a large series considered today to be one of the exemplary achievements of the New Photography applied to the New Architecture, enables us to judge the ambiguity of the phenomenon. Walter Gropius, who commissioned the photographs, always refused to publish the image that came to be the most in demand because of its transgressive nature: the view of the glass façade of the workshops from below, all in diagonals and verticals that never seem to stand up straight, which is also the only photo of its kind. For all the dynamic nature of their construction (linear tension, angles, contrasts), the other views in the series, taken with a box camera on 18 x 24 cm plates and sometimes retouched as well as reframed at the time of printing, obey the conventions and procedures established by technical and scientific photography²². Given the personality and career path of their creator, the series later came to be viewed as exemplifying a highly professionalized practice that was nonetheless inspired by the experiments of the New Photography; it showed a process of contamination or assimilation that in varying degrees would mark the activities of many of her colleagues.

But this case also illustrates, even within the Bauhaus, which was the center of the institutional meeting of the two disciplines, the well-differentiated uses that devolved on the one hand upon the presentation of architecture simply as built objects, and on the other upon arbitrary visual interpretations of it: the former could emphasize certain architectural details but were to be used mainly for cultural propaganda (for example, the views from below of the



balconies of the student housing by Lux Feininger or Irene Bayer, published more than once by Gropius to illustrate “the Bauhaus spirit,” or in another area, the monumental montage by Herbert Bayer at the German Werkbund exhibition in Paris in 1930). The attitude of the Bauhaus founder seems to have been unfailingly supportive, and this attitude was probably shared by most of his colleagues in the Modern Movement as it crystallized during the second half of the 1920s and was about to enter a phase of international achievements. We know that this process was sanctioned in particular by the founding of CIAM, the Congrès internationaux d’architecture moderne, which would claim to offer a partnership with groups and nations. Among other consequences, this new situation changed relations with the Plasticists and other experimenters of the *Neues Sehen* everywhere within the old avant-garde community, heralding the breakdown of groups and the international network, with the effects of the economic crisis being the final blow. As for architectural photography, the situation could only encourage architects in their desire to disseminate an image that illustrated the implementation of their spatial, technical, aesthetic and social designs, a promotional image with “evidentiary value,” of necessity under its designer’s control.

And it was exactly in that form that photography documented the first accounts celebrating the existence and tangible international progress of the New Architecture, a fact that will come up again in relation to Sartoris’s publishing endeavors. The most visually spectacular examples, in the series *Neues Bauen in der Welt* in 1930, accentuated the distance between the most arbitrary processes of the *Neues Sehen* (the cover montages and to a lesser extent the graphic layouts of El Lissitzky) and the conventional nature of the photographs used²³. The same was true of the process of visual modernization that, starting in 1930, marked the specialized institutional press all over the world and disseminated the essential elements of the Modern Movement’s achievements. With more or less eclectic content, rarely activist, these journals and magazines would make an increasingly exclusive and ostentatious use of photography, supported by a dynamic graphic concept based on a popularized version of avant-garde processes²⁴. But the informative/documentary vision was still absolutely dominant, with occasional deviations such as fragmentation, spatial distortion, and bird’s-eye and worm’s-eye views, which might be incorporated into a sequence according to what they added aesthetically, or more exceptionally, designated as independent “photographic studies”: *The Architectural Review*, which, along with Pagano’s *Casabella*, developed the most dynamic policy in Europe in regard to the photographic image, offered an extensive array of them. This process could only accelerate the technical and aesthetic development of professional architectural photography. The Sartoris collection provides sufficient evidence of this all by itself: the quality of the prints, which had often been mediocre during the heroic phase of the Modern Movement, improved steadily over the years, in every national context.

The Tomb of the Unknown Photographer. Alberto Sartoris never thought to credit the photographs whose prints he copied, whether they were signed or not (any signatures visible on the right side were eliminated by retouching). A blatant illustration of the relative power of architects and photographers, this attitude was, in fact, common until late in the 20th century, a function of various poorly understood historical parameters, starting of course with the process of professional recognition of photography in general. Until the 1950s, practices appear to have been inconsistent, even in the case of specialized publishers in the countries that were the most advanced in copyright protection, such as Germany, Great Britain and Switzerland: in the institutional journals mentioned above, on average only a third of the images were credited. In the case of the photographers who were credited, it was clearly because of their privileged status, whether for contractual reasons or because of their relative fame, which such acknowledgement could only reinforce. Surveys conducted in a score of other journals and magazines with a similar profile (in Scandinavia, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Greece, Eastern Europe and Argentina) indicate much lower proportions. In all cases and in all national contexts observed, only a very limited number of photographers received credit²⁵.

Very few of them, moreover, promoted their services in the advertising sections for the building trades, which was in fact one of the first industries to make use of modernist graphic processes. Modest announcements appeared here and there in the German, Belgian, Hungarian and Scandinavian press, and were on rare occasions illustrated in some organs particularly involved in propagandizing for photography, such as *The Architectural Review* (no surprise) and *Tér és forma* in Budapest. The self-promotional montage by Zoltán Seidner, one of the main providers of images for the latter magazine, which was also the house organ of the Hungarian section of CIAM²⁶, displayed a characteristic tension between the social respectability of the technical photographer (as he, like most of his colleagues, termed himself, thereby demonstrating compatibility with the figure of the New Architect), the role of the material and the non-transgressive dynamic of the image. Other indications show that advertising from the photographic industry (Rolleiflex) could further weaken the position of professionals by encouraging architects to be responsible for documenting their work themselves. The effects of this potential competition were probably minimal; for example, architectural photography was almost entirely absent from the annual international contests organized and publicized by Rolleiflex.

The policies of architects on this issue can be summed up as an almost systematic obscuring of it, even when they were arguing for their own photographs in organizations of the *Werkbund* type, which were in principle devoted to the recognition of their rights. Their silence would contribute to relegating most of the photographers of their works to total anonymity, even when they had created unique images or series that were definitively identified with the paradigmatic subjects they documented. And the trend was accentuated by the fact that historians clearly held

to the same principle, which continued to govern the great majority of studies on the Modern Movement, including the principal monographs of its main protagonists.

In retrospect, the authoritarian but relatively transparent attitude of Gropius, whose photographers are in principle known, was in stark contrast to the impenetrability preferred by Le Corbusier, at least before his collaboration with Lucien Hervé in the late 1940s. In any event, this concealment was in accordance with Le Corbusier’s concept of what constituted a photographic commission, as baldly stated for a demanding practitioner: “When I ask you for two, four, ten or thirty photographs of my works (and not of yours), I require of you only a service of an industrial nature.”²⁷ But this position appears to be in strong contradiction to the architect’s interest in the actual practice of photography (at least during his training years) and particularly to the intensive use he made of it throughout his career. The literature has more than once emphasized and analyzed his interest, without, however, discussing the creators or the conditions of production of these images²⁸ except in a few individual situations²⁹. The initial research into this question, which is very recent, shows the difficulty of historical reconstruction: attribution of the prints, even in an architect’s own archives, often remain problematic, and the position of Le Corbusier’s successive photographers from 1925 to 1945 (Charles Gérard, Georges Thiriet, Marius Gravot, Boissonnas, René Lévy, Albin Salaün) is difficult to pinpoint, as is the nature of their relationship with the architect³⁰. All were experienced professionals, very active in the artistic and architectural press in Paris. No technical or aesthetic criterion provides a conclusive reason for their collaboration or their eventual rupture with Le Corbusier.

Study of the Sartoris collection enables us—within specific limits—to lift the anonymity in which the profession in general has laboured. Two thirds of the original prints in it (about 6000 works) are signed—with a good deal of variation depending on the period and national situation—by 402 different photographers (or agencies). But the great majority of the items in the collection were produced by fewer than a hundred of them. The technical quality and the average format of the prints (18 x 24 cm), usually contact prints, indicate the “traditional” materials and procedures used (whole-plate camera, rectifier/enlarger), while their physical state, and in some cases a publisher’s copyright on the back, indicate their primary and nearly exclusive purpose: as copies for use by the press. In many cases, the presumed original state, the raw photo, has been modified by retouching the print (possibly after a touch-up brush was used on the negative), and indications of reframing may also be visible.

Besides the questionable objectivity of photographic documents in general, these data make the photographer’s control of the process a relative matter at all stages of the process, and there is no possibility of specifically attributing responsibility for the successive corrections to the printer, compiler, photo-engraver ...or even the architect, for these prints reveal nothing about the amount of interference by the architect, or his decision-making

power, either before or after the photograph was actually taken. The documentation that accompanies the collection shows that Sartoris acquired its components essentially from his fellow architects (who controlled the choice of prints but were not necessarily the initiators of the commission, which might have been the press), sometimes from another compiler³¹ or possibly from a publisher. No requests seem to have been addressed specifically to photographers, however; their names and the quality of their work are scarcely ever mentioned in the surviving correspondence.

The brief descriptions of the collection in the “national” sections provide further evidence of the very diverse conditions and methods of Sartoris’s undertaking, temporally and geographically. They include the principal data about the nature of the documents and what distinguishes them technically and aesthetically, as well as the photographers who have been identified, and their positions. The limits of the available information, and in some cases its total absence, will be evident. Ideally, research on each of the locations would provide welcome information.

Most of the photographers are identified by their names alone. Only rarely can these names be recognized as belonging to the general history of photography, in its different hierarchical levels, national and international: they include only a few great names connected with various trends in New Photography, such as Man Ray, Renger-Patsch, André Kertész, Germaine Krull, and, more peripherally, John Havinden in London, Willy Kessels in Brussels, Heinrich Iffland in Helsinki and Ralph Steiner in New York, alongside isolated works of lesser visual power. The more substantial contributions of such photographers as Hans Finsler and Jan Kamman are evidence of a method of rigorous functionalization directly derived from the *Neue Sachlichkeit* in terms of material and spatial definition and construction of the image. But analogous characteristics generally apply to the work of many other professionals who emerged from the technical and commercial tradition and conducted their business under that banner. This also applies to the photographers who are well represented in the collection, who are also the most active in the different regional contexts (beyond which, prior to the 1950s, their area of activity rarely extended) and the most widely recognized (although scarcely ever to the point of justifying the interest of historiographers): Marc Vaux and Albin Salaün in Paris, Max Krajewsky and especially Arthur Köster in Berlin³², Heinrich Klette in Breslau, Martin Gerlach in Vienna, Rudolf de Sandalo in Czechoslovakia, Zoltán Seidner in Budapest, the Crimella agency in Milan, Vasari in Rome, Ferdinando Barsotti in Florence and Mazzeletti in Como, Evert M. Van Ojen in the Hague, Mark O. Dell and H.L. Wainwright, Herbert Felton and Sidney Newbery in London, Rading in Copenhagen, Carl Gustav Rosenberg in Stockholm, Anders B. Wilse in Oslo, Gustaf Welin in Turku, and in the Americas, Arthur Luckhaus in Los Angeles, Hedrich & Blessing in Chicago, and Ugo Zanella in São Paulo. The 1940s would see the emergence of some particularly noteworthy figures, such as Guillermo Zamora and, soon after, Armando Salas

Portugal in Mexico, while in Europe, the younger generation would diversify and personalize its visual and technical approach, as shown by Peter Pitt in London, Heinrich Heidersberger in Braunschweig, Aage Strüwing in Copenhagen, Hans Finsler’s students in Switzerland (Michael Wolgensinger, Bernhard Moosbrugger) and particularly Lucien Hervé in France and Francisco Català Roca in Catalonia. And the postwar context would show, nearly everywhere, the unifying effects of an “American model” embodied by Robert Damora, Ezra Stoller and Julius Shulman, who gave the genre its first extra-architectural legitimacy.

Beyond certain dominant conventions at various levels of interpretation (shooting angles, lighting, contrasts; decontextualization, defunctionalization, intemporality), the eventual shared languages used by these photographers remain to be defined, as well as their variants and the individual departures from them, without forgetting their specific interrelations with the architecture represented. But it is important to mention the photographers’ remarkable willingness to create images of objects of very diverse natures and purposes, sometimes decidedly “incorrect” from a Modernist standpoint. This is demonstrated, independently of those Germans who placed their vision at the service of the Third Reich (including Köster and Krajewsky), by the photographers chosen by Le Corbusier in the 1930s. For example, Marius Gravot, the most notable of them in particular for the lyrical dimension of his work, produced the canonical sequences of the Pavillon Suisse at the Cité Universitaire and especially of the Villa Savoye, but was also a prolific illustrator of the modernized Beaux-Arts tradition and Art Deco for the specialized press. The same eclecticism characterized his most active colleagues in Paris, such as Marc Vaux (the works of André Lurçat and Mallet-Stevens), Georges Thiriet (Guévrékian, Chareau, maquettes by Le Corbusier) and the veteran Albin Salaün (Michel Roux-Spitz, Lurçat and Mallet-Stevens), as well as Boissonnas in Geneva and Paris and the Chevojon studio, successor to the legendary Durandelle workshop in 1886 and a reservoir of industrial photography. Despite a half-hearted technical modernization dictated mainly by the stock market crash, none of these veritable institutions of Parisian photography could be identified with the New Vision³³.

II. Context of the Elementi dell’architettura funzionale. The collecting and dissemination efforts in which Alberto Sartoris was involved come fully within the context sketched above, and his position with respect to the photographic image and its uses reveals the ambivalence that marked many other aspects of his career as an architect and cultural activist. This career path is far from having been studied exhaustively³⁴, in particular those parts of it having to do with Sartoris’s publishing undertakings, from their origins to the reception they received. This work will indicate the principal milestones in that career.

Origins. Various factors came together to turn the young architect, who trained in Geneva and then in Turin from 1922 to

1926, toward a career as a cultural intermediary and propagandist, which extended far beyond the field of architecture. These factors included the continual uncertainty of his “trans-national” situation, which he would transform into an interface between Italy and Switzerland, and more broadly, between French and German cultures. There was also the primacy generally given to architectural drawings and images, which were considered to be independent works in the face of a practice deemed *a priori* to be disappointing. His first articles for the Zurich monthly *Das Werk* date from 1926 and his activity as an organizer of exhibitions (artistic and architectural) from 1927; these were the first milestones in a network of relationships that he would continue to develop in the international modernist milieu.

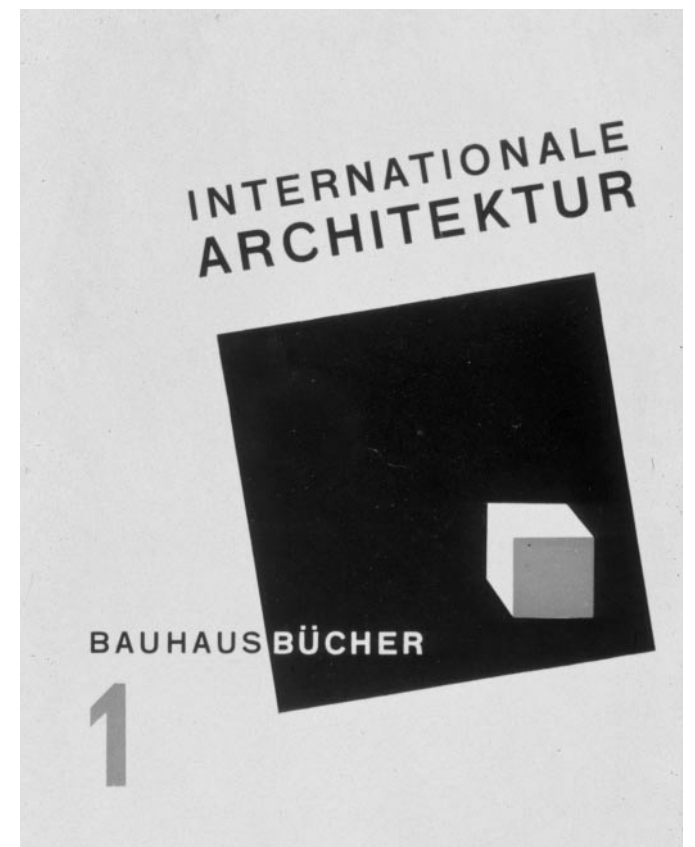
Historiography generally dates the origin of the *Elementi* to the founding meeting of CIAM (Congrès internationaux d’architecture moderne) at La Sarraz in June 1928. To all intents and purposes, this meeting was of crucial importance to Sartoris, who was the junior member of the group and whose participation was due primarily to his relations with Hélène de Mandrot, who initiated and hosted CIAM. First, it represented a chance to join, on an equal footing, a coterie that presented itself as the supranational elite of architectural modernity, and to take part in an event that confirmed the official emergence of the Modern Movement. The only authorized representative of Italy in the absence of Carlo Rava, the leader of Gruppo 7, the newcomer Sartoris spoke up only once, to propose the free publication by an Italian publisher of a “book that should conclude the conference.” In the confusion that characterized CIAM’s information policy, the suggestion was not followed up, but Sartoris did become the interim delegate to the CIAM executive committee on construction (CIRPAC)³⁵.

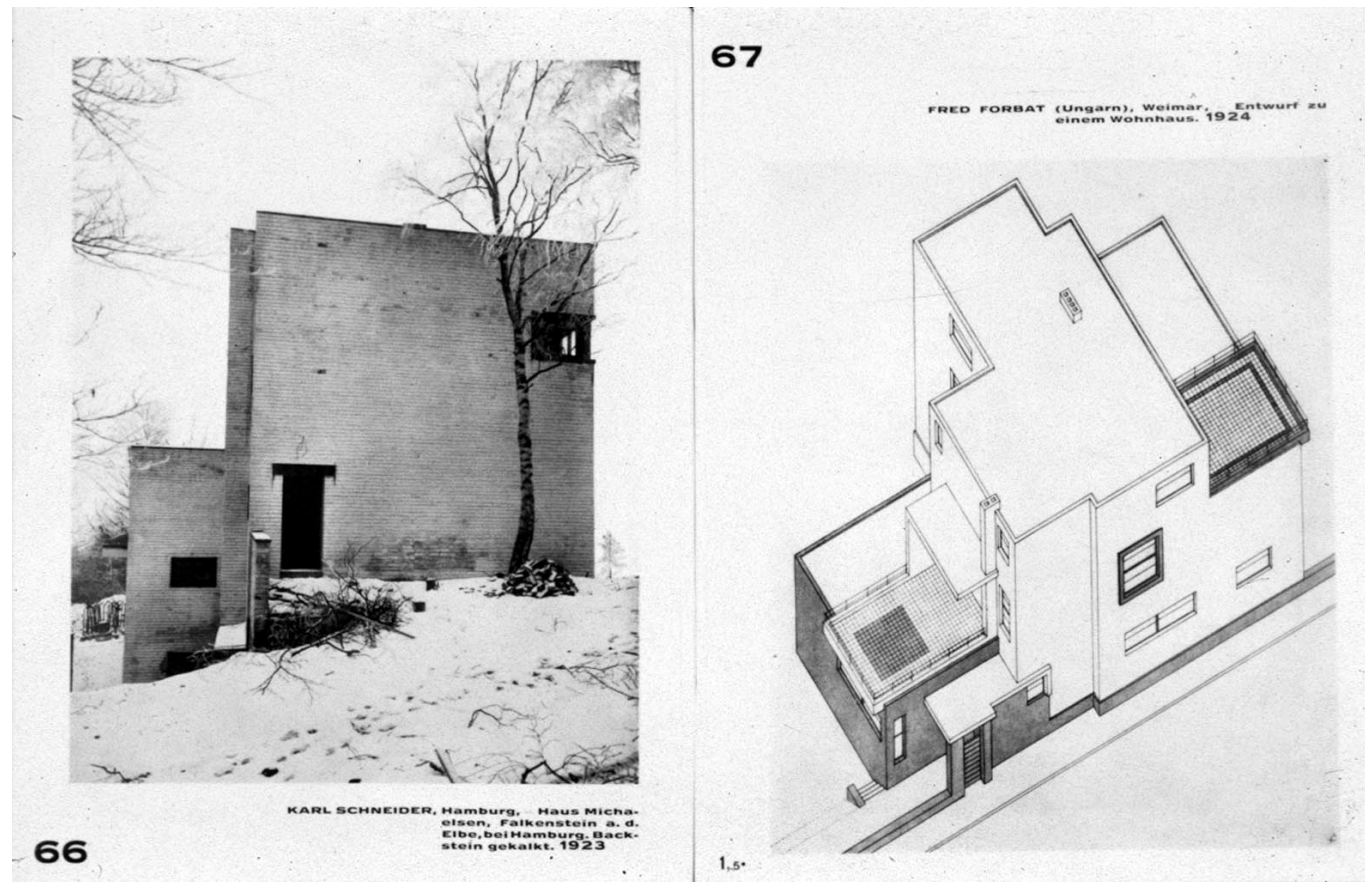
Sartoris’s proposal for a publication was actually an addition to a plan formulated even before the La Sarraz meeting, in particular in letters to the Brussels architect Victor Bourgeois, from whom Sartoris requested photos for a “book on urban planning”; in July, an equally “urgent” request was addressed to Le Corbusier with respect to “a volume on European architecture” to be published in Turin under Edoardo Persico, who had also been suggested as the publisher of the CIAM book³⁶. These are the first indications of a project and a documentary quest that would primarily involve the members of CIAM whom Sartoris had met at La Sarraz and then at the Frankfurt Congress in 1929: this circumstance would determine the profile—and the primary legitimacy as incontrovertibly modern—of the collection and its use, which would symbolically end three decades later with the undermining of CIAM as an institution, as we will see.

The project proceeded more generally from a group dynamic of bringing together the achievements of the Modern Movement, and disseminating them internationally, which had already manifested itself in various ways, starting in 1925 with the failed launch of an international modernist association (AMI) initiated by the activist Victor Bourgeois, with the exhibition in Nancy by the Comité Paris–Nancy in 1926, and with the establishment of the significant and enduring *Weissenhofsiedlung* the following year in

Gli Elementi dell’architettura funzionale, 1932, book jacket.

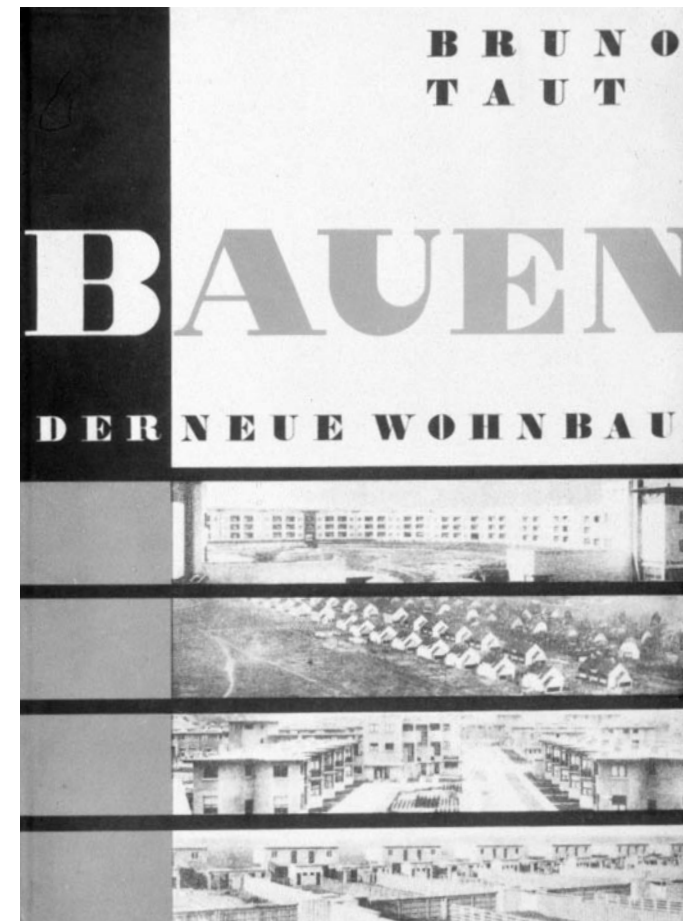
Walter Gropius. *Internationale Architektur*, Munich, 1925. Book jacket by Farkas Molnár.





Stuttgart. The first CIAM itself was supposed to be accompanied by a large exhibition of photographs, "L'habitation nouvelle," in Lausanne, which its initiator, Swiss writer and critic Paul Budry, had to abandon for lack of cooperation and—tacitly—of *ad hoc* documents from the architects he approached³⁷.

References. This context was also marked by the proliferation, starting in Germany, of illustrated inventories of international modernism, which would be used by Sartoris as reference models. Whatever the level of compliance with the graphic principles of the *Neues Sehen* and the relatively conventional nature of the photographic documents used (and very exceptionally credited), they had as a common denominator the primacy of the visual over the verbal³⁸. The principal examples of these inventories have remained in Sartoris's library, starting with *Internationale Architektur* by Gropius in 1925, a *Bilderbuch* that initiated and remained emblematic of the *Bauhausbücher* series, designed by Moholy-Nagy in a format that was dynamic but not particularly transgressive, as were the exterior shots which exclusively comprise the work and which the author, moreover, described in his brief introduction as insufficient³⁹. In the same panoramic style are Adolf Behne's *Der moderne Zweckbau* (Munich, 1926, in a more traditional format); Bruno Taut's *Bauen. Der neue Wohnbau* (Berlin, 1927, designed to be a didactic work, with an inventive photographic layout by Johannes Molzahn); Ludwig Hilberseimer's panorama of visual popularization *Internationale Baukunst* (1927, in the very widely disseminated series of *Baubücher* from publisher Julius Hoffmann in Stuttgart, which would include a dozen publications); and, also mainly consisting of photographs, *Bauen in Frankreich* by Roger Ginsburger and El Lissitzky, in the *Neues Bauen in der Welt* series mentioned above, published in 1930 in Vienna by Anton Schroll under the direction of Joseph Gantner. Sartoris's library also contained volumes of a more subtle kind, such as M.S.A. (*Mezinárodní soudobá architektura/L'architecture internationale d'aujourd'hui*) by Karel Teige, published in Prague in the spring of 1929, the only "supra-national" work in an ambitious quadrilingual series with a systematically described mission, in which the division by countries was complemented by analytical texts, while the role of the photography, which in rare cases was experimental, was less crucial because of the detailed graphic information. There was also the second edition of the most monumental of these works, *Die Baukunst der neuesten Zeit* by Gustav Adolf Platz, issued by the academic publishing house Propyläen in Berlin (1930, first edition in 1927), with an *ad hoc* profile and presentation: 200 pages of historical analysis preceded 500 plates, sometimes prepared by the gravure process, some in color, illustrating a wide spectrum of contemporary production and its sources. In addition, there were the traditional typological collections consisting of gravure plates, henceforth to be devoted to promoting modernist achievements, for example, the major series *L'art international d'aujourd'hui* by the publisher Charles Moreau in Paris in 1929, which claimed to be warranted because of its new contributors (including Le Corbusier, Lurçat



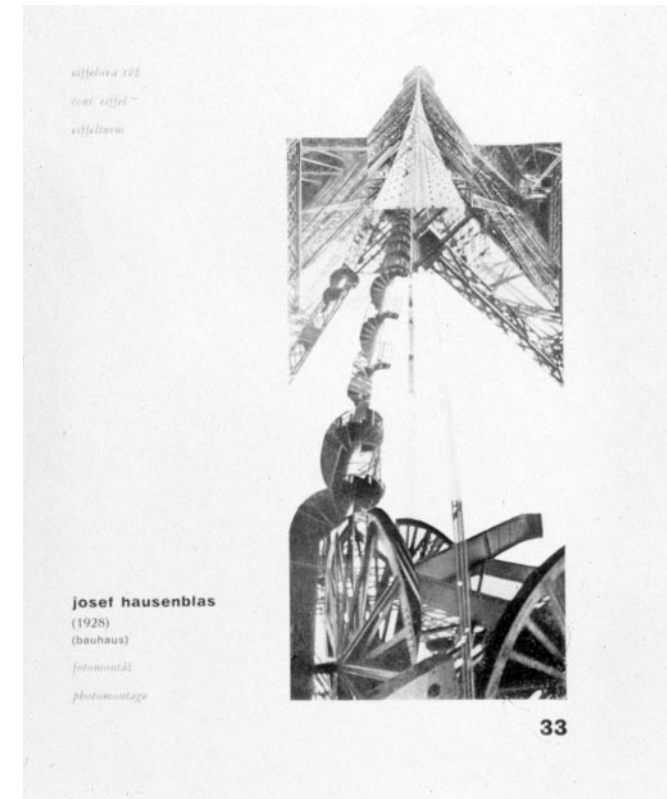


and Chareau). Less spectacularly, the formula of the international visual inventory also marked the theoretical works of certain leaders of the Modern Movement such as André Lurçat (*Architecture*, Paris, 1929) and Huib Hoste (*Van Wonen en Bouwen*, Bruges, 1930); the copies of these works in Sartoris's collection contain personal dedications.

The trend in publishing was logically limited to the places in which the Modern Movement was most active. An initial inventory of pioneers, arguments and references was thus established, and would become historic. The trend also reached a saturation point, which the young critic Philip Johnson⁴⁰ noticed in Germany as early as 1930 while he and Henry Russel Hitchcock were preparing the first inventory of this type for use in the United States: the exhibition "Modern Architecture" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1932, provided with an exemplary catalogue (also in the Sartoris archives) and accompanied by the soon-to-be-legendary work *The International Style*. The exhibition and its ancillary publications coincided exactly with the first edition of the *Elementi* and were a preferred source for comparison with Sartoris's work, less for the relatively sparing and equally classical use of images than for the definition of the nature and objectives of the Modern Movement, which in New York were essentially reduced to their formal dimension.

Fruition. Sartoris's anthology may seem a latecomer in the international context, but it is less so if we consider the relatively peripheral conditions, the obstacle-ridden emergence of the Modern Movement and the conflicts at work in the architectural milieu in Italy. Whatever the internal (Italian) issues, all of Sartoris's publishing and documentary collection activities were based in Switzerland. The collection grew rapidly and was used to illustrate various articles in the Italian and then the international press. It may also have suggested to Sartoris a gigantic project for an international exhibition of modern architecture—to be a world premiere—which he proposed in 1930 to his future preface-writer Pier Maria Bardi, at that time director of the Galleria di Roma: it was to include the work of 300 architects from 27 countries, presented in six sections in the form of photographic enlargements, and would have required no less than 3000 running metres of space! Implementation of this utopian project would quickly be declared premature⁴¹.

As for the publication of the anthology, it was announced on several occasions as "imminent," usually under the title *Antologia della nuova architettura europea*, as early as April 1929, in the magazine *Città futurista*, co-edited by Sartoris and his Plastician friend Fillia. In fact it was the latter who produced the first work of this type in Italy, *La Nuova Architettura* (Turin, UTET, 1931), "the first book that presents the new construction forms according to their aesthetic value and their functional importance," to echo the indulgent description by Sartoris, who contributed two texts and 100 photographs, but later declared (in private) "rather poor because of the discordant choice of the documents"⁴². The collaboration of the two men continued in 1935 with *Gli Ambienti della Nuova Architettura*, devoted to interiors⁴³.



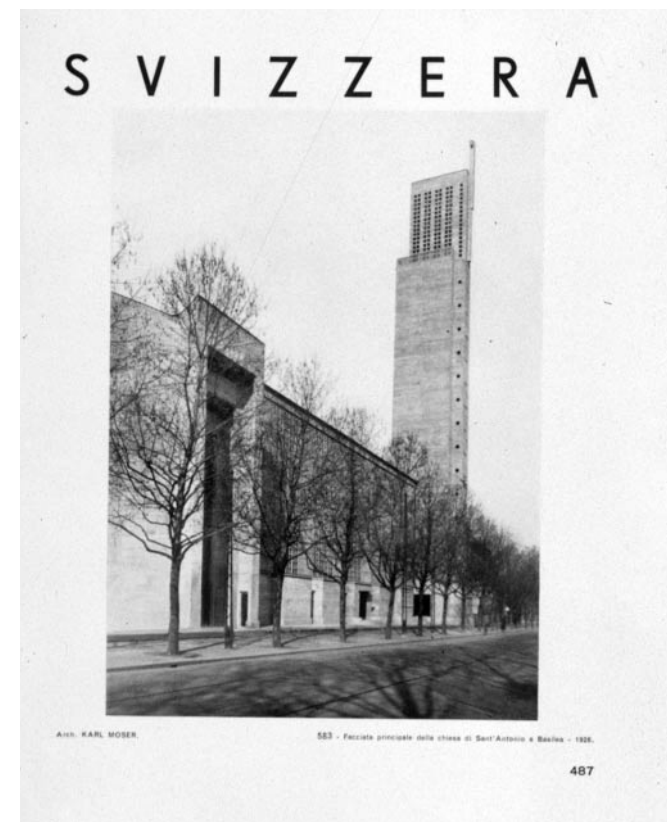


Fillia's first album was intended as an artist's book, with a refined graphic layout—at first glance, not very consistent with the Futurist aesthetic the author espoused—that notably experimented with varied positioning and scale for the images, which in some cases were spectacular and were reproduced by gravure printing. Consisting in part of the same photographs, *Elementi* differs from it in the much larger volume of iconographic material, in its more orthodox selection of subjects, and in its more classical and above all systematic presentation. The formula seemed to fit both Sartoris's aspirations and the tradition of the Milan publishing house Ulrico Hoepli, founded in 1870, generalist but with a mainly scientific and technical orientation. In 1932, the catalogue of Hoepli's general technical section included more than 800 titles, including about a hundred in the category "Science of construction and architecture": these are essentially technical manuals and treatises. The circumstances that led Sartoris to the Hoepli publishing house in 1931 are not known. Polemical, ideologically and aesthetically weighty, his work would at first glance seem incongruous in that setting, even if the publisher stressed its practical aspect, useful for "any builder." The only other representative of the Modern Movement in Italy on the Hoepli list was Enrico Griffini, with a work that was in fact technical in nature, *Costruzione razionale della casa*, published the same year. Sartoris was able to exploit, in form and subject, the tension between activism and encyclopedic ambitions. However, in 1933, Ulrico Hoepli rejected another project by the young architect, entitled *Pittura e scultura moderna*, because, for one thing, it implied a critical approach deemed to be dangerous, rather than a scientific type of collection. But the Hoepli publishing house, particularly after the death of its founder Ulrico Hoepli and his replacement in 1935 by his son Carlo, would continue until the war to publish numerous other promotional works devoted to "modern architecture," partly in connection with the Milan Triennale, often similar in presentation and written by authors with their origins in the same milieu: in 1941, when the third edition of *Elementi* was published, there would be some 15 such works, including three volumes by Agnoldomenico Pica (*Nuova architettura italiana* in 1937, *Nuova architettura nel mondo* in 1938, *Architettura moderna in Italia* in 1941) and various generic or typological inventories by such authors as Roberto Aloï, Mario Labò Piero Bottoni and Giuseppe Pagano.

Structure. Physically, *Elementi* stood out from all its international predecessors because of its generous quarto format and volume and the quality of the paper, linen binding, simple typography and printing (by the Milan printer Stucchi). These indications of good manufacture and visual comfort were also evident in the iconographic component, and therefore in the photographs, as in the care shown in the photogravure reproductions (by Zincografica Monzani) and in the ample format (up to 22 x 16 cm), enhanced by a layout that usually presented a single image per page. The work consisted first of a sporadically illustrated text (56 pages out of the 540 in the first edition), then the "panoramic synthesis of modern architecture" that was the centerpiece of the work. The

"300 illustrations" mentioned to Le Corbusier in June 1931⁴⁴ would grow to 676 within a few months. The same structure was maintained in the three editions, each larger than the last only because of the additional images (1135 in the 950-page 1941 edition). As well as a dedication, successively to Annibale Rigotti (Sartoris's first teacher in Turin) and to the writer Paul Budry, the volumes contain a preface by Le Corbusier in the form of a letter dated 10 June 1931. It is as ambiguous as it is brief. Asked to give his imprimatur, Le Corbusier preferred to question the pertinence of the terms in the title of the work: "rational" architecture, as it was then called, then "functional" (while "elements" referred to the Dutch tradition of Mondrian and Van Doesburg). In light of the infinite aesthetic and social mission Le Corbusier envisaged for architecture, he deplored the restrictive definition. This preface would be used as late as 1948—in this last case in its original French version—in the first volume of the *Encyclopédie de l'architecture nouvelle*. In the 1932 edition, it was followed by a general presentation of the issues of modern architecture by an Italian journalist from Geneva, Carlo Ciucci, which was replaced in 1935 by a more polemical and personalized text by Pietro Maria Bardi. To these was added an unequivocal paean of praise (collaudo) by academy member Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, who placed Sartoris's undertaking within the great tradition of Futurism. As for the author's general introduction, which is found in all three editions, it consists of eight chapters that present the context ("the mechanical civilization"), the arguments, the theoretical justifications, the systems (in particular originating in the movements of the artistic avant-garde), the methods and materials, and finally the "formulas" of an architecture alternatively termed "modern," "rational" and "functional." Divided between an immanent concept of architecture and the primarily technical and social issues contingent on recent changes to it, the arguments, in which intentionally rhetorical generalization predominates over the use of examples, recapitulate a broad range of international debates from the preceding decade. Its ambivalent nature has frequently been described, as has its strategic dimension (given Sartoris's extra-territorial position, as it were, in the context of Fascist Italy), based as it was on the tension between the affirmation of national or more broadly "Latin" primacy and the new architecture's aspiration to universality⁴⁵.

The "panoramic synthesis" in images offered a completely different version of the same raw material. Presented in "national" sections, necessarily of unequal weight but classified in alphabetical order to provide a semblance of objectivity, it suggested the triumphant internationalization of modernist models. From this standpoint, the panorama seemed much more extensive than all those that preceded it on the same terrain (such as the volumes by Platz, Hilberseimer and Teige): 25 countries (and 140 architects) were represented in 1932, and they would increase to 57 countries (and 190 architects) in 1941, a figure that was certainly boosted by a world situation in which geopolitical divisions were proliferating, but that also fit the cumulative rationale of the author. This rationale quickly re-established a dual hierarchy: between





and within geographical locations. The resulting recognition of various national and personal achievements would evolve over the course of the decade. It reflected the decline of the German movement, which had logically been favored in 1932 and then reduced to its historical dimension after the advent of the Nazis, and the stagnation of its French opposite number, as well as the emergence of new centers of reference such as Great Britain, to all intents and purposes absent in 1932, and particularly Italy, of course, which was already over-represented. On a personal level, only a limited number of protagonists would see their position confirmed or established, starting with such founding figures as Gropius, Le Corbusier and Oud, and later including Aalto, Neutra and Terragni, not to mention Sartoris himself.

These considerations of status were evidence of a clear hierarchy of authority that continues to be an organizing factor in our image of the Modern Movement today. They take on additional significance in regard to the various national situations analyzed later in the description of the collection, which contain, case by case, basic information that is useful for an understanding of the system of selecting subjects and images and of their continuance or replacement in successive editions; also useful are the texts describing or justifying Sartoris's choices. Of course, these data are also relevant to the partially common corpus in the volumes of the post-war *Encyclopédie*, which was constructed according to the same model as *Elementi* despite some replacement of an activist stance by a historical or even historiographic interpretation, as the change in title forcibly suggests.

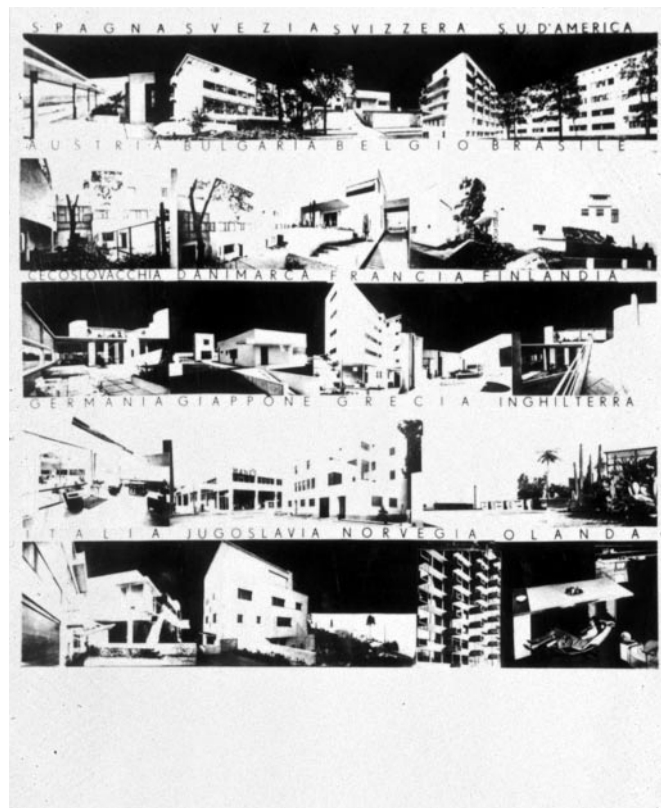
In all the volumes, the presentation of the images was organized according to the principle of accumulation and within the same homogeneous framework (with undifferentiated formats and layouts). While graphic representations were still numerous in the first edition of *Elementi*, starting in 1935 photographs would predominate in a proportion of 80%, irregularly interspersed with drawings and plans. Independently of their selection by the compiler, who eventually published about a third of the prints in his collection, these photos reflected the qualitative characteristics of the collection which have already been discussed. Their primary effectiveness stemmed from their quantity, their generous size (which was used in its full width, with horizontal prints being reproduced on their sides) and even their apparent repetitiveness. In fact, just as the number of constructions deemed worthy of dissemination tended to increase from one edition to the next, so did the number of photos documenting each subject, culminating in the *Encyclopédie*. Rare or very limited in the German panoramas of the 1920s described above, these extended sequences were another distinctive feature of Sartoris's anthologies which demonstrated an intent to show as many aspects of a building as possible, no matter whether this produced an effect of redundancy reinforced by the regularity of the format and the central placement⁴⁶. It was as though, beyond the "evidentiary value" inherent in photography, this cumulative principle, already tried and tested extensively and in many forms by Modernism and especially Futurism, was being used in an attempt to strengthen

photography's authority and force as evidence still further. When the book was launched at the Galleria del Milione in Milan, a particularly dynamic synthesis of it was provided by the publicity montages by Gino Ghiringhelli and Luigi Figini; thousands of copies of them were distributed in the form of tracts.

Dissemination and Reception. The first edition of *Elementi* was published in the spring of 1932, and the original printing of 1400 copies was quickly sold out. A year later, a second edition was already under consideration and Ulrico Hoepli was making suggestions about it: limiting the number of reproductions to under 600, eliminating works without value, replacing planned works by photos of completed projects, adding plans and cross-sections that the intended audience ("builders") would find useful, reducing the disproportionate amount of space devoted to Italy and particularly to the author. From Hoepli's standpoint, these were the preconditions for the work becoming a "classic of the genre"⁴⁷. Sartoris complied, more or less, at least in the second edition-; in the event, the volume would practically double in size in 1941 and the Italian representation would increase even more. There was also discussion (with no practical consequences) of a French version, then a British one; the latter question would be raised again in 1934 via Raymond McGrath, on the basis of the second Italian edition then in preparation⁴⁸. The 1350 copies of that second edition, published in the spring of 1935, sold at a slower rate, and its sales did not justify the ultimate monumental version until 1941, after the war was under way. In October 1942, the major part of the printing of 1800 copies escaped the destruction of the Hoepli inventory in a bombing raid by the Allies, but most of the printing plates were destroyed and had to be redone for later editions.

Sales of the book were more than honorable, given the state of crisis and then war that marked Italy during the decade, but it does not seem to have received the enthusiastic reception the author expected. Despite its launch with great fanfare at the Galleria del Milione, the center of activity of the Milan avant-garde, Sartoris complained to his confidant Bardi in particular about the indifference of the regional milieu, which practically amounted to a boycott. It is true that accounts of the first edition were fairly sparse in Italy as elsewhere, and the situation was repeated even more strikingly in 1935⁴⁹. Bardi brought up the claim of a conspiracy of silence in his introduction to this second edition (pp. 3-5), to stress even more forcefully the fate of the *Elementi* internationally, and its multiple role of revealing (particularly in Italy), confirming, and providing a reference for "contemporary principles." There are similar descriptions in certain letters, for example from Sartoris's future competitor in Zurich, Alfred Roth⁵⁰, and in most of the accounts that have been found, usually from peripheral locations⁵¹. In Paris, however, the editor of *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* gave a summary execution to "this book about which people have been talking so much" (a way of confirming its renown): "an uninteresting sequence of photographs, almost all of which have been known for a long time, without any logical order, without comments,

Luigi Figini and Gino Ghiringelli.
Photomontage for the launch of *Gli Elementi*, 1932.



Gli Elementi dell'architettura funzionale, third edition, 1941.
Book jacket by Marcello Nizzoli.



without plans. A monotonous, wearisome parade." The structure, classification method, selection of subjects and "confused, prolix"⁵² theoretical statements were all discredited. From the standpoint of the opulent Paris magazine, the argument that it had all been seen before was not irrelevant: during its first two years of activity, *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* had in effect published practically all the recent constructions reproduced by Sartoris—and many others besides, given the magazine's eclectic profile—with in general the same photographs but with more complete sequences and a more varied layout. But that argument blurs the distinction between the theoretical functions of periodicals, which are supposed to disseminate current events, and works of synthesis, which are dedicated to the canonization of models. The impact and the reference function of *Elementi* and the *Encyclopédie* still call for analysis from that last perspective. It was difficult to come to a unanimous conclusion about the anthologies during the 1930s, when despite a resurgence of traditionalism that was supposed to disqualify the modernist paradigms, their growing institutionalization went hand in hand with their popularization and diversification. The Italian anthologies published by Hoepli (and other publishers) at the time provide evidence of this, as do those designed by Sartoris's friends and colleagues in London, including Raymond McGrath (*Twentieth Century House*, 1934) and particularly Francis R. S. Yorke, the author of three shorter profiles for the publisher The Architectural Press: *The Modern House* (devoted to single-family dwellings, with three successively larger editions from 1934 to 1937), *The Modern Flat* (multiple-unit housing, 1937, with Frederick Gibberd) and *The Modern House in England* (1937).

These publications, which attested to a strong market demand even at that date, also showed certain analogies in structure (division by country) and similarities in details (even the typography) to the model of the *Elementi*, not to mention the photographs that Sartoris and Yorke frequently exchanged. However, the approach adopted by the Londoner is analytic rather than cumulative, despite the large number of architects and subjects represented (between 50 and 100, depending on the work, for the limited period from 1924 or 1927 to 1937), as is the method of presentation of the constructions and their images, which is systematic and visually diversified, and includes comments. This approach prefigured a type of international inventory that would soon make its mark as an alternative model; an example is Alfred Roth's trilingual *Die Neue Architektur*, published in 1940 and based on a detailed analysis of 20 subjects exemplifying the past decade, according to a list of factors: functional organization, technical achievement, economic factors, and aesthetic synthesis⁵³.

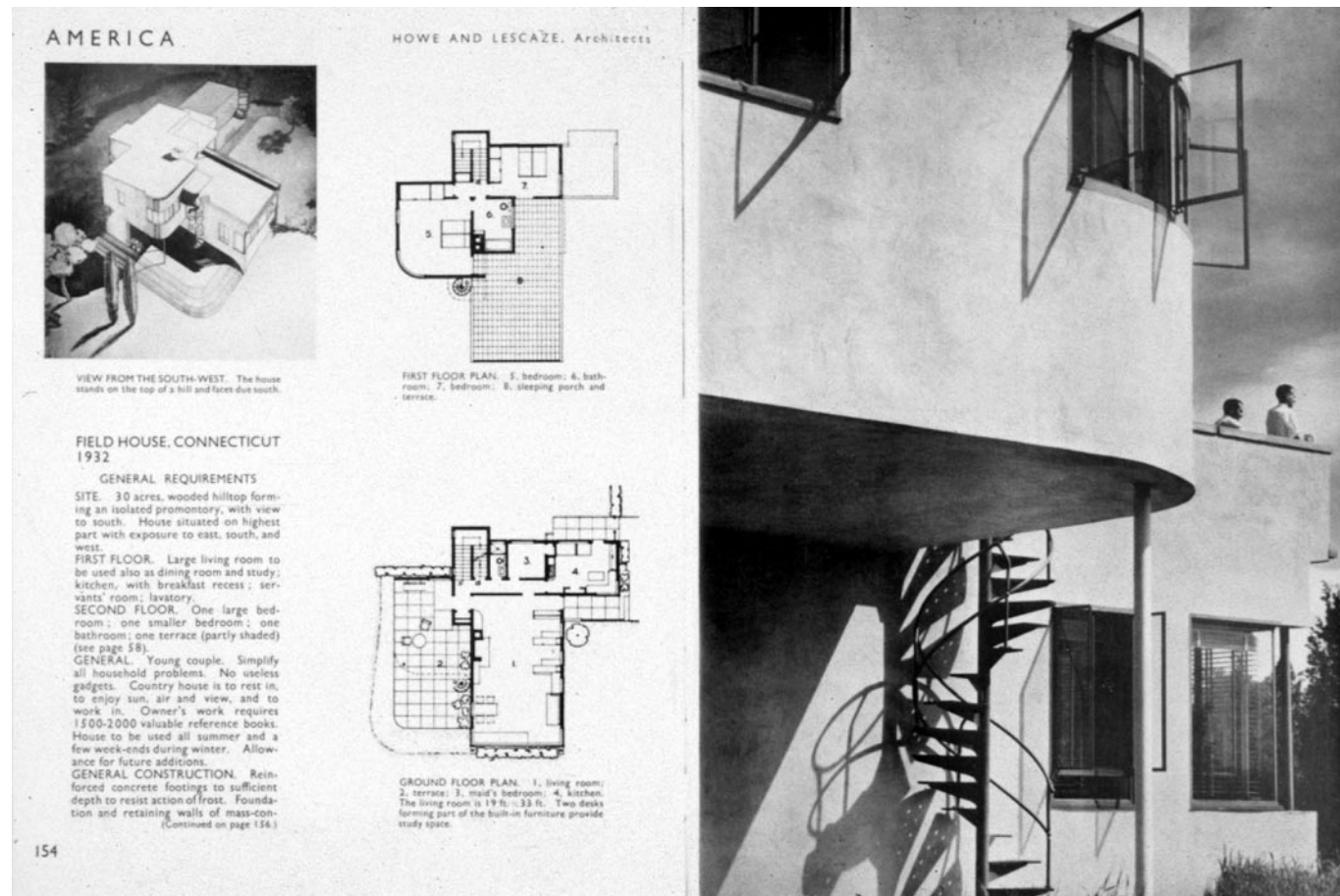
Reorientation and Continuity. It seemed that this development would undermine the value of the formula used by the *Elementi*. Sartoris himself responded to the new situation with a work that was entirely different in nature, *Introduzione alla architettura moderna*, published in 1943, again by Hoepli (the manuscript was ready for printing by the summer of 1942), which would have two

subsequent editions, the last in 1949. These were thick, small-format volumes, mainly discursive, in which the author, in a dozen chapters, developed the different topics he had first discussed in his works in the 1930s. The photographic illustrations, usually from the *Elementi* and therefore from the collection, were still copious (151 plates out of 363 pages in the 1943 and 1944 editions; 190 out of 575 pages in 1949), and often in the form of a full page facing the text. Photographs were also used for the covers of each edition, with emblematic views of Scharoun's Schminke House, then Terragni's Frigerio House, and finally the photographer Ben Schnall's view from below—of course not credited—of the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building by Howe and Lescaze.

Sartoris did not consider abandoning his "panoramic" undertaking in the new post-war context. In 1945, he resumed his quest for documents in the international community; he had in mind a fourth edition of the *Elementi*, which continued to be so named in documents until 1946. We do not know the specific circumstances that led him, once again with Carlo Hoepli, to reorient the project toward the formula of the *Encyclopédie*, in French, in which the presumed universality of the new architecture would be divided into broad geocultural zones described in terms of "order" and "spirit." Its precise history remains to be established and interpreted, in the light of new conditions in the publishing market and the field of architecture, but also in respect to Sartoris's personal situation and the development of his ideas.

With 520 pages and 510 illustrations, the first volume, subtitled "Ordre et esprit méditerranéens," was published in 1948 in 4000 copies, still with the original preface by Le Corbusier and an introduction by the French-Swiss poet Edmond Humeau, who presented the work as complementing the *Elementi*. Only nine countries are represented (very unevenly), including Switzerland, Austria and Hungary, with Italy having a crushing advantage with half of the images and almost all the new documentation of the decade. This fact makes it easier to understand the need for a second, much larger edition (683 pages), which appeared only in 1957; the new iconographic material was, however, again essentially to the advantage of Italy, as well as the flourishing new architecture of Catalonia. Completion of the subsequent volumes, which were announced immediately, would take over a decade. "Ordre et climat américains" (over 800 illustrations) would appear in 1954, before the "Nordic" volume, with 740 illustrations, published in 1957. The jackets of the four works show a classically placed photograph of a work characteristic of Le Corbusier in its design, or, in the case of the Nordic volume, referring to the tradition of Mies van der Rohe.

All the volumes had the same organization, with a partially illustrated introduction of 130 to 150 pages, then an unbroken flood of images, without a breath taken between the individual parts of the illustrated national series and no headers to indicate their identity, as was already true of the *Elementi*. The effort to render the photographs homogeneous, probably intended to emphasize their unity within a shared "trans-national" order,

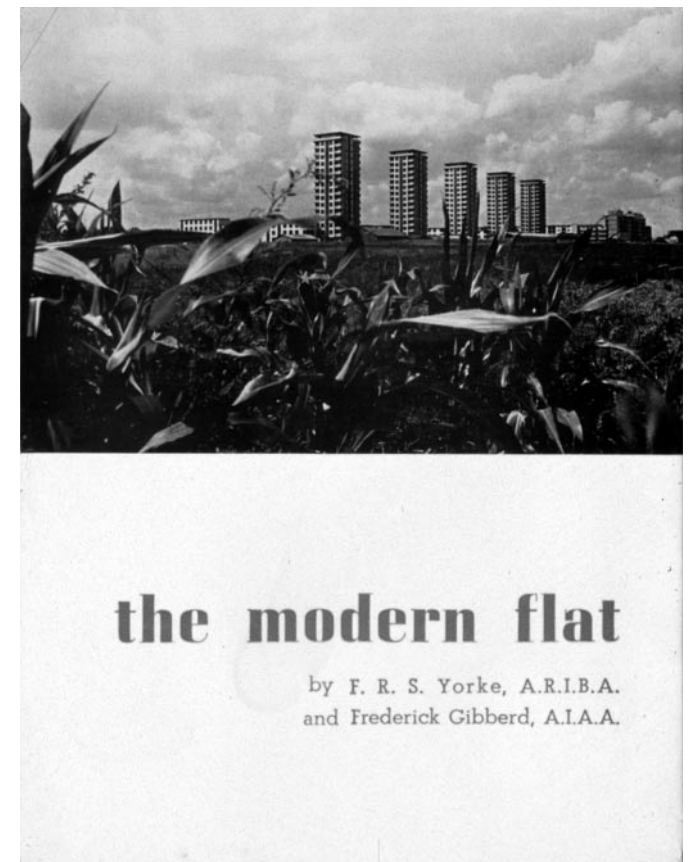


reached such a peak that it left the reader with a hazy picture of the evolution of the architectural qualities of the works photographed, which were sometimes separated by a half century, and blurred the technical and aesthetic changes in the photographs themselves, as manifested during the 1940s and 1950s in the United States, Mexico and Catalonia especially. Whether deliberate or not, this approach was consistent with the introductory remarks of the *Encyclopédie*, which were above all intended to demonstrate the principle of continuity that connected authentically new architecture with the classical (Latin) sources of rationalism. The critical fate of the *Encyclopédie*, even more than that of the *Elementi*, is not well known, but the book seems to have elicited a mixture of indulgent approval in general, along with acerbic criticism of its ideological positions⁵⁴. We must remember that the last three volumes appeared in a context of crisis and challenge to the postulates of the Modern Movement, as evidenced in particular by the decline and death throes of CIAM, so closely associated with the genesis of the *Elementi* project; CIAM would be officially disbanded in 1959. It was logical that this state of affairs would also mark the end of Sartoris's "historical" collection and its dissemination. He would continue the latter activity on a lesser scale until 1960 in the Swiss annual *Architecture-Formes-Fonctions*. From then on, his great anthologies would function as a vast inventory of high-quality images, drawn upon by many researchers, just at the time the historiography of the Modern Movement as a well-defined phenomenon was being established: one of its first proponents, Leonardo Benevolo, is said to have made ample use of these works in his *History of Modern Architecture*⁵⁵, resulting in rapid worldwide dissemination of the images through the many translations of his book.

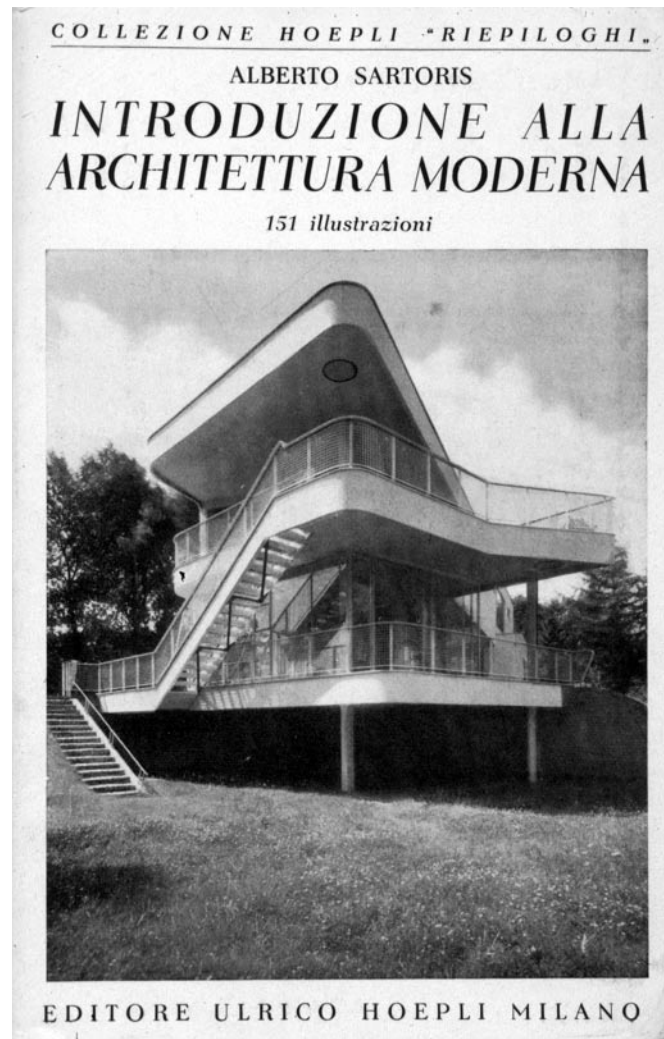
It was natural that historical distance, added to the increasing rarity of these books on the market, would subsequently amplify the significance of the *Elementi*—and particularly of the first edition—as a specifically paradigmatic work, instead of as the comprehensive survey the *Encyclopédie* was intended to be. This status would receive final confirmation in the late 1980s, with Sartoris's several abortive attempts at republication with various international publishing houses. These efforts would conclude with Taschen's publishing a volume that, significantly, combined the *Elementi* (for the images) with another work of the same period, *The International Style* by Hitchcock and Johnson (for its stylistic interpretation of the Modern Movement). The original qualities of the photographs, reproduced from photogravures published for the most part by Sartoris, were effaced in order to create a pure effigy, fetishized and disembodied. Despite a suit brought by Sartoris, this new work, *Functional Architecture: The International Style, 1925-1940*, would become in its turn the internationally accepted inventory of reference⁵⁶.

Epilogue: Sartoris and Photography, Paradox or Inevitability?

None of the available accounts of Sartoris's publications, and no other personal documents by or addressed to him, report any kind of attention—other than documentary—to the quality of the



Introduzione alla architettura moderna, Milan, 1933, book jacket (Hans Scharoun, Schminke, Löbau, 1933, photograph by Kerling).



thousands of photographs he collected, compiled, conserved and published. Sartoris, who at times took souvenir photos, entrusted the photographing of his own architecture to good local photographers (Emile Gos and Jechiel Feldstein in Lausanne, Oscar Darbellay in Martigny), who were occasionally motivated by a desire to experiment (for example, Grete Hubacher, connected with the *Neues Bauen* and *Neues Sehen* movements in Zurich, in the case of the Cercle de l'Ermitage in Epesses). Sartoris published only a very limited number of views—never transgressive—out of these several hundred photographs, mostly unfamiliar and to date never studied.

In a more general sense, there is no evidence, either in his many writings or in his own behavior, that he had any real interest in photography as a medium. On various occasions, however, he had a close relationship with some outstanding practitioners of visual experimentation. His collection, undertaken at the time of the first CIAM in 1928, was built at the apogee of the *Neues Sehen*. In 1929, moreover, he himself participated, without much motivation, in one of its landmark manifestations, the Congrès international du Cinéma indépendant (International Congress of Independent Filmmakers), along with such eminent filmmakers as Sergei Eisenstein and Hans Richter. At the Maison des artistes at La Sarraz, he rubbed shoulders with other emblematic activists, starting with Laszlo Moholy-Nagy in 1930⁵⁷. The next influences on Sartoris were the Milanese environment of the Galleria del Milione, the remarkable visual inventiveness of Persico and Pagano—the latter a genuine adversary of Sartoris on a personal level—as heads of *Casabella*, and then the equal inventiveness shown by his confidant Bardi in *Quadrante*, not to mention the “paraphotographic” works of Luigi Veronesi of the Como group. All of these activities were documented in Sartoris’s library (in the absence of any work specifically devoted to the New Photography other than the *Bauhausbuch* by Moholy-Nagy entitled *Malerei, Fotografie, Film*) by publications or magazines such as *Campo grafico* which were at the leading edge of European graphic design. They seem to have had no effect on his grasp or use of the photographic image, either in relation to architecture or otherwise.

Nor did photography have a place in the “contemporary museum” whose ideal organization he described for the preparatory congress organized on this topic in La Sarraz in 1931, except under the specialized heading of “filmism” or in the very general category of the “new viewpoint”⁵⁸. But the major evidence of his indifference is his publishing activity, including his anthologies: the medium of photography never attained the status of the “modern art” whose organic communication with architecture he emphasized and illustrated constantly. To him, modern art consisted of painting (Cubism, Futurism, “constructive” abstraction originating in Neo-Plasticism and Suprematism, and eventually *Pittura Metafisica*), occasionally sculpture, and even various forms of para-architectural spatial environments which could marginally use photographic material, such as the work of his friend Marcello Nizzoli.

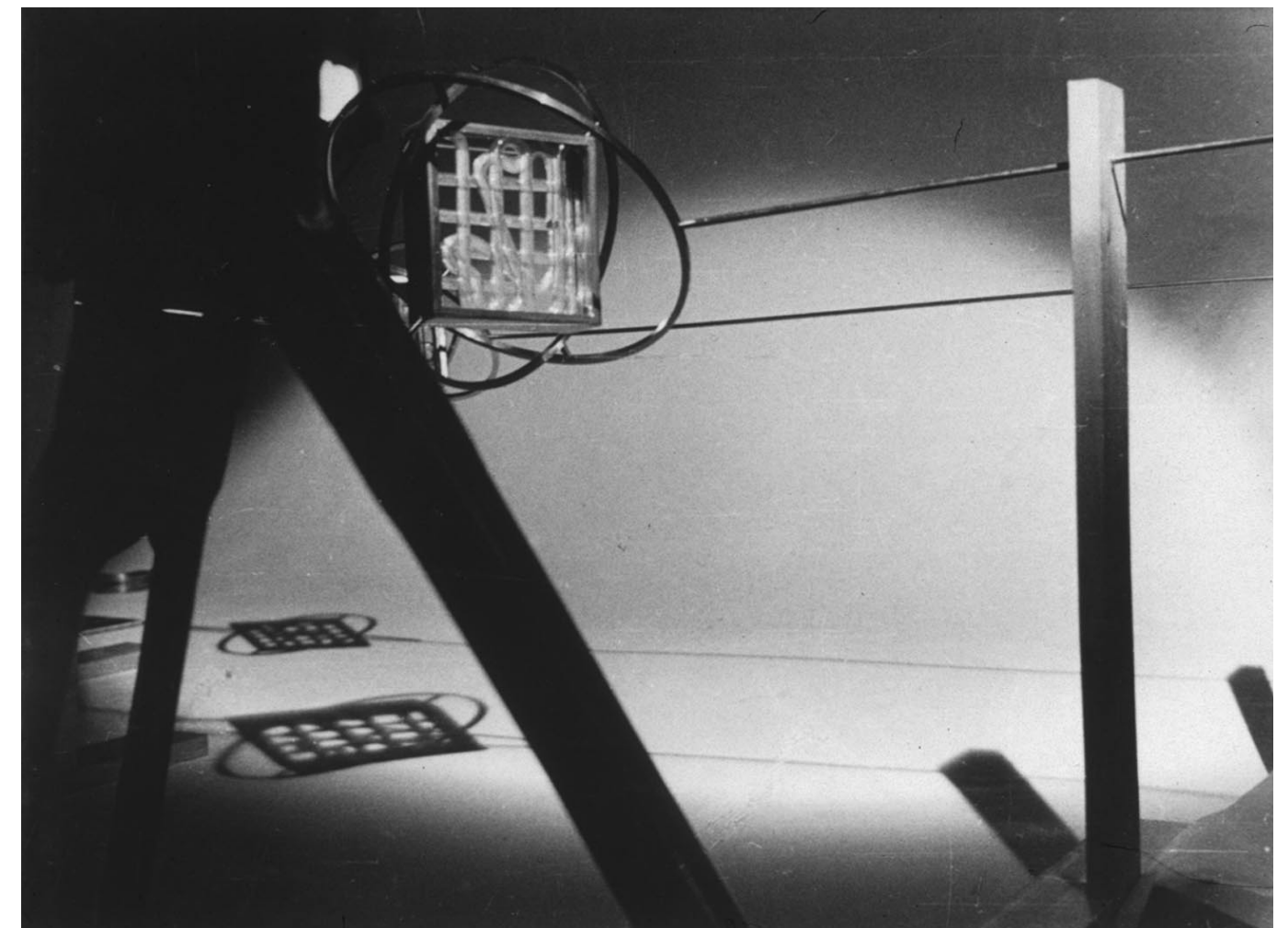
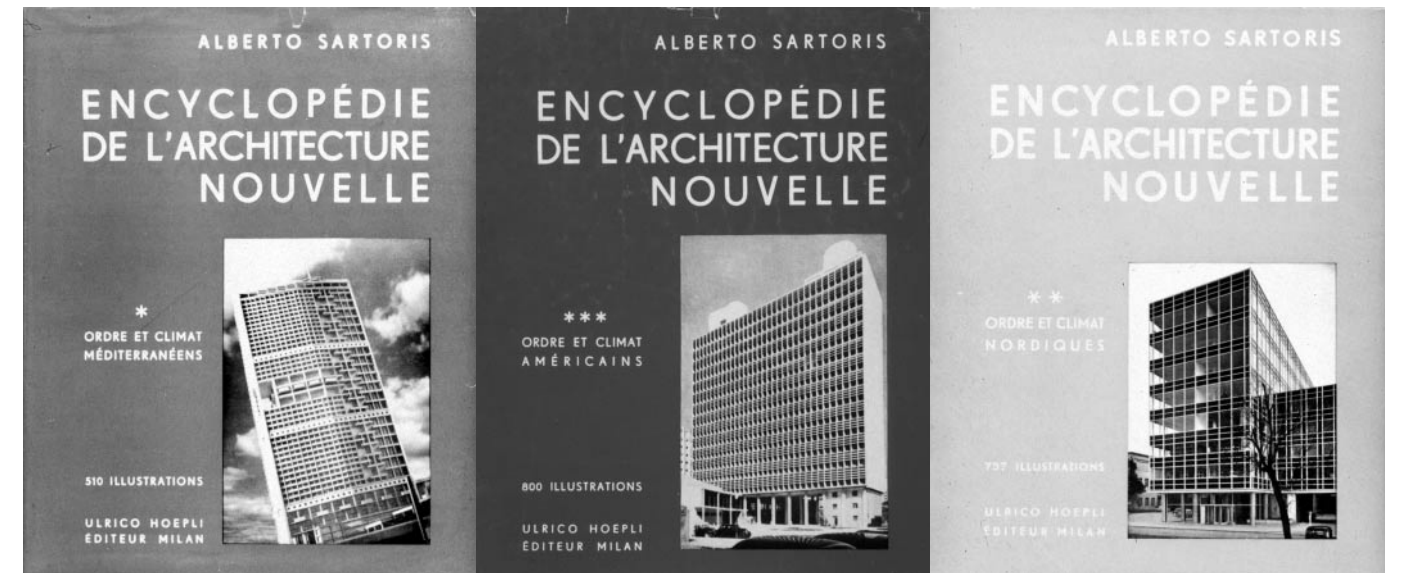
The case of the eleven prints that Moholy-Nagy sent Sartoris in 1936 for publication in the *Elementi* shows the situation in a

Encyclopédie de l'architecture nouvelle. I. Ordre et climat méditerranéens, Milan, 1948 (first edition), book jacket.

Encyclopédie de l'architecture nouvelle. III. Ordre et climat américains, Milan, 1954, book jacket.

Encyclopédie de l'architecture nouvelle. II. Ordre et climat nordiques, Milan, 1957, book jacket.

László Moholy-Nagy. Photographic construction, 1935, 30 x 40 cm.



nutshell. They include a close-up of the Space-Light Modulator, two photograms, two views of stage sets and an abstract photographic “*Construction*” dating from 1935, material that is exemplary of the development of his “photo-spatial” work and was chosen for that reason by this most consistent *Neues Sehen* experimenter, to be used in a *Neues Bauen* anthology. Relegated to the back of a cupboard, they were neither published nor included in the collection of architectural photographs⁵⁹.

Was Sartoris’s attitude, like that of many of his colleagues when faced with photography’s potential for spatial expression, in stark contrast to his massive use of it as a tool in his work as a propagandist? There is yet another factor to trouble the waters: as interested as he was in the graphic representation of space, Sartoris owed the second aspect of his international reputation to his intensive practice of axonometry, according to a system that crystallized at the same time as his undertaking to propagandize by means of photographic images. He used his emblematic axonometric drawing of the Notre-Dame du Phare cathedral as the stamp on the binding of the three editions of the *Elementi*. In his works, moreover, Sartoris gave an important place to this type of representation, which the avant-garde perceived as ideal because it was exhaustive, synthesizing and abstract and therefore elevated to the rank of an independent work of art. This brings up a new problematic area to explore: is the relationship between axonometry and photography one of compatibility, complementarity, or competition⁶⁰?

1 DE MARE, Eric, *Photography and Architecture*, London, The Architectural Press, 1961, pp. 25–26.

2 PARE, Richard, *Photography and Architecture 1839–1939*, Montreal, Canadian Center for Architecture, 1982; ROBINSON, Cervin, HERSCHMANN, Joel, *Architecture Transformed. A History of the Photography of Buildings from 1839 to the Present*, New York, Architectural League/Cambridge, MIT Press, 1987. 3 SACHSSE, Rolf, Photographie als Medium der Architekturinterpretation. Studien zur Geschichte der deutschen Architekturphotographie im 20. Jahrhundert, Munich, Saur, 1984; ELWALL, Robert, *Photography Takes Command. The Camera and British Architecture 1890–1939*, London, RIBA/Heinz Gallery, 1994 4 ELWALL, Robert, *Building with Light. The International History of Architectural Photography*, London, Merrel/RIBA, 2004; PLANK, Ibolya Cs. et al., *Fény és forma/Light and Form. Modern építészet és foto/Modern Architecture and Photography 1927–1950*, Budapest, Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal, 2003. 5 For example, *Rassegna*, no. 20, 1984; *Archithèse*, 1994, no. 4; *Daidalos*, no. 66, 1997; *History of Photography*, 1998, no. 2.

6 SHULMAN, Julius, *Architecture and its Photography*, Cologne, Taschen, 1998; SERRAINO, Pierluigi, SHULMAN, Julius, *Modernism Rediscovered*, Cologne, Taschen, 2000; SAUNDERS, William, *Modern Architecture. Photographs by Ezra Stoller*, New York, Abrams, 1990.

7 See in particular SACHSSE, Rolf, Bild und Bau. *Zur Nutzung technischer Medien beim Entwerfen von Architektur*, Braunschweig/Wiesbaden, Vieweg, 1997.

8 MOHOLY-NAGY, László, *Von Material zu Architektur*, Bauhausbücher 14, Munich, Albert Langen, 1929.

9 HAUS, Andreas, “Fotogene Architektur/Photogenic Architecture”, *Daidalos*, no. 66, 1997, pp. 85–91.

10 For a recent example, see *Vues d’architecture*, exhibition catalogue, Musée de Grenoble, 2002.

11 Later (1931–1937), the case of AC, organ of GATEPAC, structured on the model of *Das neue Frankfurt*, also shows the increasing lack of interest of its architect-editors in regard to the New Vision, which initially was the subject of a regular column that disappeared as early as 1932.

12 ROH, Franz, TSCHICHOLD, Jan, *foto-auge. 76 fotos der zeit*, reprint, Tübingen, Wasmuth, 1973; GRÄFF, Werner, *Es kommt des neue Fotogra!*, reprint, Cologne, Walther König, 1978. It should be noted that in the latter case, the technical and compositional transgressions promoted by Werner Gräff were purposely illustrated by images of traditional architecture attributable to “semi-amateur” photographers as committed to the *Neues Bauen* as Sigfried Giedion and especially the engineer-architect Carl Hubacher, in Zurich.

13 See, for example, the in-depth study “Leisure at the Seaside”, *The Architectural Review*, 1936, no. 7, pp. 7–28, in which the visual inventiveness was to be found mainly in the layout. Some works were also in the form of full-page inserts, presented as photographic studies, and were disseminated internationally (e.g. Casabella, no. 109, January 1937, frontispiece).

14 Thus, in 1929, at FiFo, then in the Roh/Tschichold and Moholy collections cited.

15 See LUGON, Olivier, *Le style documentaire*. D’August Sander à Walker Evans 1920–1945. Paris, Macula, 2001.

16 See, for example, BAQUE, Dominique, *Les documents de la modernité. Anthologie de textes sur la photographie de 1919 à 1939*. Nîmes, Jacqueline Chambon, 1993; LUGON, Olivier, *La photographie en Allemagne. Anthologie de textes, 1919–1939*, Nîmes, Jacqueline Chambon, 1997.

17 The “spontaneous” vision given by Mendelsohn in 1926 in his spectacular collection *Amerika. Bilderbuch eines Architekten*, does not seem to have given rise to a debate from this point of view, even if it meant strengthening the positions of the photographic avant-garde, particularly in the USSR (El Lissitzky, Rodchenko). Voir COHEN, Jean-Louis, postscript to the French edition, *Amerika. Livre d’images d’un architecte*, Paris, Editions du Demi-Cercle, 1992, pp. 225–241.

18 See DE SETA, Cesare (ed.), *Giuseppe Pagano fotografo*, Milan, Electa, 1979.

19 See in particular GEORGIADIS, Sokratis, “Übungen im Neuen Sehen. Ein Kunsthistoriker als Architekturfotograf”, in *Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz*, 2000, no. 4, pp. 15–21.

20 SHAND, Philip Morton, “New Eyes for Old”, in *The Architectural Review*, 1934, no. 1, pp. 11–13.

21 W.L. [LOTZ, Wilhelm], “Architekturfotos”, in *Die Form*, IV, no. 3, 1929, pp. 69–70.

22 SACHSSE, Rolf, *Lucia Moholy. Bauhaus-Fotografin*, Berlin, Bauhaus-Archiv, 1995. On Gropius’s attitude toward the series on Bauhaus buildings, see IDEM, *Photographie als Medium der Architekturinterpretation*, op. cit. in note 4, pp. 50–51.

23 LISSITZKY, El, *Russland*; GINZBURGER, Roger, *Frankreich*; NEUTRA, Richard, *Amerika*, Vienna, Anton Schroll, 1930.

24 See JANNIERE, Hélène, *Politiques éditoriales et architecture “moderne”. L’émergence de nouvelles revues en France et en Italie (1923–1939)*, Paris, Arguments, 2001, in particular pp. 90–103.

25 On this problem, specifically regarding conditions in Germany, see LUGON, Olivier, “Maisons signées, images anonymes”, in BAUDIN, Antoine (ed.), *Photographie et architecture moderne*, [La collection Alberto Sartoris, Lausanne, PPUR], 2003, pp. 43–51; *idem*, “La question de l’auteur”, in *Tracés*, 2004, no. 1–2 (Photographie et architecture), pp. 10–13.

26 On *Tér és Forma* and the Hungarian milieu, see PLANK, Ibolya Cs. et al., *Fény és forma/Light and Form* [op. cit. note 4].

27 Cited without the date (“in the 1950s”) or the names of the recipients by HOCHART, Daisy, in *Architecture. Photographie*, Actes du colloque de Lille, Lille, Ecole d’architecture, 1999, p.15, and subsequently reused by other authors.

28 See in particular COLOMINA, Beatriz, *Privacy and Publicity. Modern Architecture as Mass Media*, Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press, 1994.

29 See in particular RÜEGG, Arthur, “Couleur, meubles et photographies”, in *Le Corbusier. La construction de l’immeuble Clarté*, exhibition catalogue, Mendrisio, Accademia di architettura, 1999, pp. 51–59.

30 MAZZA, Barbara, *Le Corbusier e la fotografia. La vérité blanche*, Florence, Firenze University Press, 2002.

31 Thus, in the latter half of the 1930s, the British architects Raymond McGrath and Francis R.S. Yorke, both authors of international anthologies, and especially the critic Philip Morton Shand, who would even provide him with photographs of Swiss architecture!

32 See STÖNEBERG, Michael, “Das Bild von Neuen Bauen in Berlin. Arbeiten des Berliner Architekturfotografen Arthur Köster (1926–1933)”, in *Daidalos*, no. 66, 1997, pp. 92–99.

33 A relative open-mindedness is as perceptible in Boissonnas in Geneva (publicity photo) as in Chevojon, who in 1930, for example, hired the young François Kollar, but quickly stopped working with him because of aesthetic incompatibility. See *Le studio Chevojon. Une dynastie de photographes parisiens*, Paris, Créaphis, 1994, p. 22.

34 For a recent factual report—although containing some guesswork—on the various aspects of his activity, see NAVARRO, María Isabel, *Alberto Sartoris. La concepción poética de la arquitectura*, exhibition catalogue, Valencia, IVAM, 2000. The period spanning the 1920s and the early 1930s has been analyzed in GUBLER, Jacques and ABRIANI, Alberto, *Alberto Sartoris. Dall’autobiografia alla critica*, Milan, Electa, 1990. See also the critical bibliography by SOMMELLA GROSSI, Marina, in ABRIANI, Alberto, GUBLER, Jacques (eds.), *Alberto Sartoris. Novanta Gioielli*, Turin, Mazzotta, 1992, pp. 233–244.

35 See particularly GUBLER and ABRIANI, op. cit. 1990, pp. 88–99.

36 IDEM, pp. 96 and 136. See also the 6 December 1928 letter to Sartoris from Le Corbusier, who sent him 17 photos to be returned after use.

37 See in particular BAUDIN, Antoine, *Hélène de Mandrot et la Maison des Artistes de La Sarraz*, Lausanne, Payot, 1998, pp. 56–70.

38 For a description of this process, see, among others, MAGNAGO LAMPUGNANI, Vittorio, “Die Geschichte der Geschichte der ‘Moderner Bewegung’ in der Architektur 1925–1941: eine kritische Übersicht”, in MAGNAGO LAMPUGNANI, Vittorio, SCHNEIDER, Romana (Hrsg.), *Moderne Architektur in Deutschland, 1900 bis 1950. Expressionismus und Neue Sachlichkeit*, Stuttgart, Hatje, 1994, pp. 273–296.

39 Gropius, Walter, *Internationale Architektur*, Munich, Albert Langen, 1925. In his introduction, the author announced the publication (which never actually took place) of a second volume which would include plans and interior views (p. 5).

40 “No one wants another book on modern architecture here in Germany,” wrote Philip Johnson to his mother on 21 July 1930. Cited by RILEY, Terence, *The International Style. Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art*, New York, Rizzoli/cba, 1992, p. 14.

41 Letters from Sartoris to P.M. Bardi on 25 August (with the exhibition program) and 5 September 1930, Bardi Archives; copy in Sartoris’s archives.

42 SARTORIS, Alberto, “La nuova architettura”, in *La Città Nuova*, 6 February 1932; letter to H.R. Von der Mühl, 11 May 1932, Fonds Von der Mühl, Acm/EPFL (Fillia reproduced, in particular, the full-page photos of constructions by Michel Roux-Spitz and other architects declared to be “parasites” of legitimate Modernism).

43 See SOMMELLA GROSSI, Marina, “Sartoris e Fillia. Un architetto razionalista, un pittore futurista e la nuova architettura”, in *Alberto Sartoris e il “900”*, Rome, Gangemi, 1990, pp. 57–74.

44 Letter from Sartoris to Le Corbusier, 3 June 1931, requesting an already promised preface and supplementary iconographic material, Paris, Fondation Le Corbusier.

45 In particular GUBLER, Jacques, *Nationalisme et internationalisme dans l’architecture moderne de la Suisse*, Lausanne, L’Age d’homme, pp. 215–216; GUBLER, Jacques, ABRIANI, Alberto, *Alberto Sartoris. Dall’autobiografia alla critica*, Milan, Electa, 1990, pp. 118–128 (“Il libro dei foto-modelli”); GRESLERI, Giuliano, “La costruzione degli *Elementi dell’architettura funzionale* e l’italianità della modernità”, in ABRIANI, Alberto, GUBLER, Jacques (eds.), Alberto Sartoris. Novanta Gioielli, Turin, Mazzotta, 1992, pp. 74–84; FERRARI, Enrico M., PASTORE, Daniela, “Gli Elementi dell’architettura funzionale”, in *Alberto Sartoris e il “900”*, Rome, Gangemi, 1990, pp. 279–285; SOMMELLA GROSSI, Marina, “L’immagine di architettura come manifesto razionalista”, in IDEM (ed.), *Alberto Sartoris. L’immagine razionalista*, exhibition catalogue, Galleria Civica, Como, 1998, pp. 10–20.

46 See REICHLIN, Bruno, “Axonométrie et photographie chez Alberto Sartoris”, in Antoine Baudin (ed.), *Photographie et architecture moderne*, op. cit. 2003, pp. 33–41.

47 Letter from Ulrico Hoepli to Sartoris, 4 April 1933.

48 Letter from an unidentified correspondent to Sartoris, London, 20 June 1934.

49 For a relatively complete bibliographical inventory, see ABRIANI, Alberto, “Repertorio bibliografico ragionato”, in *Alberto Sartoris*, exhibition catalogue, Turin, Galleria Martano, 1972.

50 Letter from Alfred Roth, who had looked over the work at Giedion’s, to Sartoris, 11 May 1932.

51 *Dom, Osiedle, Mieszkanie* in Warsaw, 1932, no. 3–4, p. 29 (Helena and Szymon Syrkus, who stress the conceptual and literary qualities of the work); *Volné smery* in Prague, 1933, no. 7–8, p. 169 (Václav Spala); *Tér és forma* in Budapest, 1937, no. 1, p. 28 (Virgil Bierbauer); *The Architectural Review*, no. 464, 1935, pp. 28–29 (Philip Morton Shand); *The Architects’ Journal*, August 1935, p. 165 (J.M. Richards).

52 VAGO, Pierre, “Gli Elementi dell’architettura funzionale”, in *L’Architecture d’aujourd’hui*, December 1932, p. 114.

53 Roth, Alfred, *Die Neue Architektur*, Zurich, Girsberger, 1940. Page makeup by Max Bill.

54 See, for example, RAGON, Michel, *Histoire de l’architecture et de l’urbanisme modernes*, vol. 1, Paris, 1971, p. 26.

55 BENEVOLO, Leonardo, *Storia dell’architettura moderna*, Bari, Laterza, 1960.

56 *Functional Architecture. The International Style*, 1925–1940, Cologne, Taschen, 1990. A lawsuit brought by Sartoris would conclude in 1992 with the album’s dissemination being forbidden in Switzerland. But the question of the quality of the photographs does not seem to have ever been at issue (documentation in Sartoris’s archives).

57 See BAUDIN, Antoine, *Hélène de Mandrot et la Maison des Artistes de la Sarraz*, op. cit.

58 SARTORIS, Alberto, *Congrès du musée contemporain. Réponse au questionnaire*, typescript, July 1931, published in BAUDIN, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 290–291.

59 Sent with letter from László Moholy-Nagy to Sartoris, 22 October 1936.

60 See on this topic REICHLIN, Bruno, “Axonométrie et photographie chez Alberto Sartoris”, art. cit.