THE ROLE OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE TRANSFERS OF ARCHITECTURAL IDEAS IN THE ARCHITECTURAL MAGAZINES OF THE 1950s AND 1960s: FROM DOCUMENTS TO SOCIALLY ENGAGED CRITICISM

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The article examines the role of photography in architectural magazines during the 1950s and 1960s, with special focus on the transfers of architectural ideas. By applying an interdisciplinary method that includes a contextual model of visual studies, art, architecture and design history, the article analyzes selected examples to gain insight into the theoretical and cultural-historical foundations and circumstances of the creation and transformation of the visual language of photography in architectural magazines published in the specified period. Instead of (re)constructing the narrative, the roles of photography in the representation of architectural production are studied as a field of complex relations in the field of cultural production. Special attention is paid to specific ways of establishing visual codes of communicating architectural ideas based on photography, created during the 1950s and 1960s in different political and cultural contexts. The aim of this paper is to contribute to the interpretation of architectural photography, from documenting to socially and politically engaged criticism, as well as relativizing the boundaries between architecture and popular culture in the sphere of visual, aesthetic, spatial and ideological aspects of the representational discourse of architectural magazines.

Keywords: architectural photography, architectural magazines, mediatization of architecture, cultural production, visual culture, criticism, 1950s, 1960s
INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE MEDIA SPACE OF ARCHITECTURE CULTURE OF THE 1950s AND 1960s

The starting point for this article is how architecture ideas were shared in the media space in the 1950s and 1960s. Although the mentioned thematic area has received considerable interest from recent academic historiography (Jannière et al. 2008; Parnell 2012; Patteeuw and Szacka 2018), certain aspects of the space in which architecture culture is created and which it occupies have not yet been fully explored. Institutional frameworks for the exchange of ideas and ideologies, such as educational models, international architecture competitions and exhibitions, in which the networking of architecture culture took place started to disappear from the scene or are radically change during the Cold War era of the 1950s and 1960s. At the same time, new modalities of dialogue are relativizing the borders set by the political divisions between the East and West. Media theorist Marshall McLuhan was one of the first to notice these symptoms and the media’s role in globalization, recognizing the great influence of magazines, film and television, summarized in his definition of the media as a message that is never neutral (McLuhan 1967).

The article examines the role of photography in architectural magazines during the 1950s and 1960s based on the research of architectural periodicals as its primary source. Architectural magazines are analyzed as actors in the institutional framework of the exchange of ideas, establishing dialogue, initiation of discussion, networking and affirmation of new qualities of architecture culture in the transnational context. The starting point for this paper is the definition of an architectural magazine as a specific genre (Colomina et al. 2010; Abrahamson and Prior-Miller 2015). This interpretation of magazines aims to shed light on the complexity of roles, which are an expression and reflection of dynamic relationships in architecture culture. Therefore, the analysis of the mentioned relationships relies on the theoretical framework of the “field” of cultural production (Bourdieu 1993:29–73). Apart from visual art and literature,

1 The article was written as part of the institutional research project Architecture and Urbanism in Croatia: A Critical History in the Global Context with support from the University of Zagreb (2022).
2 Bauhaus holds a paradigmatic meaning, role and influence in a series of experimental educational models in the global sphere, which is the topic of the project Schools of Departure: A digital atlas of Bauhaus pedagogy after 1933 organized by the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation (project initiated in 2021).
3 In line with McLuhan’s theses, the formative role of architecture magazines in the mentioned process is implied.
4 This raises the issue of multiple meanings and the relativization of conventional “genre” divisions based on content; for example, street, portrait, architectural photography.
Bourdieu’s notion of the “field” is widely applicable in interpreting architecture as a practice defined by the institutional framework, as well as by the autonomy of artistic expression (Lipstadt 2005). Bearing this in mind, instead of constructing a historical narrative based on the conventions of one-way influences coming from the center and affecting the “periphery”, this paper examines architecture culture as a field of complex interrelations. The aim of this article is to contribute to the understanding of the role of photography in the creation of cultural values and the interpretation of those parts of architecture culture that have been unjustifiably marginalized and unrecognized until now.

Numerous contributions which redefine the history of modern architecture identify the media space as a field where modern architecture culture is disseminated (Elwall 1994; Rattenbury 2002; Higgott and Wray 2012; Zimmerman 2014). This is evident in the fact that historiography has noted an increasing interest in photography in the format of architectural magazines over the last thirty years. The following methodological trends are evident here: monographic studies of individual authors (Elwall 2000, 2004, 2007), research into the history of individual magazines (Baglione 2008) and research into the architecture culture of a certain region (Maxim 2011). However, the most significant venture into the interdisciplinary research of architectural periodicals are the studies Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media (Colomina 1994) and Clip/Stamp/Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196x to 197x (Colomina et al. 2010).

By applying a method that includes a contextual interpretation of visual studies, art, architecture and design history, examples selected for this paper are analyzed to gain insight into the theoretical and cultural-historical foundations of the visual and semantic language of photography in architectural magazines of the 1950s and 1960s. Thus, the selected examples are not used for (re)constructing a historical “sample” of architectural magazines filtered by time, nationality, or the framework of personal editorial policies. The research presented in this paper focuses on magazines that have been selected due to their characteristic institutional, innovative and critical contributions to the mediatization of architecture. Two categories of magazines are

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5 They consider interpretations based on the influence of the center on the periphery, as well as the influence of global magazines on Croatian magazines, or world architects on Croatian architects, insufficient for understanding the context. The need to move away from the mentioned conventions was clearly explained by Piotr Piotrowski, who advocated for a contextual cultural history (Piotrowski 2011).

6 It was precisely during the 1950s and 1960s that the media space of architecture periodicals experienced a boom on a global scale, which was reflected in the unprecedented number of new magazines, and thus architecture culture becoming more dynamic.
represented. The first category includes magazines which, because of their publishing continuity, represent specific concepts of the production of architecture culture, established in the heroic period of modern architecture culture: Architectural Design (London, established in 1930), Architectural Review (London, established in 1896), L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui (Paris, established in 1930), Domus (Milano, established in 1928), Casabella (Milano, published since 1928, first called La Casa bella), Baumeister (München, established in 1902), Werk⁷ (Bern, established in 1914). The second category refers to so-called little magazines Archigram (London, 1961-1974), Der Bau (Vienna, 1946-1971)⁸ and Utopie (Paris, 1967-1978), formative for the alternative architecture (counter-)culture of the 1960s.⁹ The intensity of networking at the level of concepts, ideas and ideologies make the division into “mainstream” and “counterculture” only conditional, and certain serial publications equal participants in the media space.¹⁰

The intention is to examine, through a comparative analysis of content, concepts and visual codes¹¹ in which photography plays a prominent part, the soundness of the global character of the media space and the adequacy of the transnational approach to the contemporary historiography of architecture (Caramellino et al. 2021). Therefore, this paper will look at two aspects of photography in architectural magazines from the 1950s and 1960s: (1) the contribution of photography to propaganda and affirmation of modern architecture, with an ideological unambiguity equated with progress and democratization of society, with a focus on the 1950s; and (2) the role of photography in the visual turn that followed in the “expanded field”¹² of architecture culture in the 1960s. In this context, a comparative analysis points to different, even opposing

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⁸ The period of Der Bau magazine from 1964 to 1970, when the editor-in-chief was Hans Hollein, is relevant for the subject of this research.
⁹ The influence of individual editors is not the subject of this paper, since changes of editors are connected with changes in editorial policies in certain cases where magazines were continuously published.
¹⁰ Architecture periodicals in the holdings of specialized libraries in higher education institutions, public libraries and museums, as well as the archives left behind by individual architects, indicate that magazines from the first category were more prevalent in the space to which Croatia politically and culturally belonged and gravitated in the 1950s and 1960s. Also, the research of periodicals that preceded this paper showed that the mentioned periodicals contain articles on Croatian and Yugoslav architecture. Moreover, Croatian architects contributed to these magazines (Vjenceslav Richter was a correspondent for L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui). Archigram, Utopie, Der Bau and other alternative magazines are represented locally mostly through secondary sources, with articles in other publications, or through exhibitions, for example Trigon in Graz.
¹¹ The focus is on simultaneous occurrences in different circumstances.
¹² The term “expanded field” has become one of the fundamental theoretical frameworks in visual arts, photography and architecture research in recent decades (Krauss 1979).
strategies. Mainstream magazines cater to the interests of a professionally profiled audience, whose activity, until the end of the 1960s, is associated with a lack of interest in socially engaged practices, and the discourse of presenting architecture demonstrates a critical distance, while the so-called little magazines, due to their non-institutional position, are directed by radical, activist, often subversive models of activity and networking in the expanded field of cultural production.

HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK: FROM PHOTOGRAPHY OF ARCHITECTURE TO ARCHITECTURAL PHOTOGRAPHY

Considering that the representational discourse of architecture in the mass media during the 1950s and 1960s shows tendencies to articulate a universal visual language based on photography, the question of the comprehensibility and effectiveness of this language arises. Does its original meaning change when it is removed from its original context? Are these “manipulated images”, and to what extent? To what extent does the interactivity of photography and text, including graphic design, modify the articulation of the mentioned meanings? For whom are these messages intended, and with what intentions? Following the above, the question of the place and role of the human figure in architectural photography during the 1950s and 1960s is inevitable. Does the presence of people in these images imply an additional dimension of meaning or value? Should we look for the reasons, at least in part, in technological progress which meant that the human figure did not "belong" in modern architecture? Photography focusing on the “objectness” of architecture was undoubtedly influenced by the tradition of visual culture formed in the atmosphere of the New Objectivity of the 1920s. A characteristic example is the photo of the newly built Bauhaus complex

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13 Although the dialogues and processes of networking within the global architecture culture in the media space of magazines during the 1950s and 1960s have not been subject to integral research until now, the analogies of critical and programmatic action and strategies of representing architecture indicate intensive collaboration; from the translation of theoretical texts to the exchange of thematic articles.

14 This is confirmed by the relationship between drawings and plans and photographs among the pictorial contributions to the presentation of architecture and urbanism.

15 Photos of modern architecture from the beginning of the 20th century often contain cars, visual symbols of the highest achievements in techno-aesthetics. The visualization of modern architecture in the 1920s and 1930s shows cars as iconic symbols of industrial aesthetics, complementary to the canonical achievements of modern architecture. During the post-war reconstruction of the 1950s, in socialist systems, contemporary architecture is associated with machines (most often construction machinery), in order to emphasize progress in the modernization of society.
in Dessau by Lucia Moholy (1925-1926), which, after being featured in a wide range of publications, became one of the trademarks of Bauhaus: the perspective reshapes the architecture, turning horizontal forms into diagonals highlighted by halftones and contrasts of light and shadow. This photograph, like photographs of utilitarian objects and interiors, is an iconic sign of the “objectness” of Bauhaus design aesthetics.\textsuperscript{16} This role of photography, prompted by the migrations of the school’s protagonists, would have a considerable impact in constructing the narrative of modern architecture and the continuity of its tradition after the 1930s (fig. 1).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure1.jpg}
\caption{Lucia Moholy, Bauhaus Building, Dessau, 1925/1926, postcard}
\end{figure}

In the architecture culture of the 1950s and 1960s, as well as other segments of the media space,\textsuperscript{17} the visual identity of magazines constituted one of the backbones of language functionality. The continuity of modern visual culture made this language universally understandable. Characteristic examples include articles on the architecture of the new city of Brasilia, or the exhibition architecture of the 1958 Brussels World’s Fair, where photography was used for documenting and interpreting architecture (fig. 2).

\textsuperscript{16} The authorship of this photograph was attributed to Walter Gropius, and Lucia Moholy fought for decades for the return of these negatives. Like many female authors, her contribution to the visual culture of Bauhaus was overshadowed by László Moholy-Nagy until recently (Washton Long 2014: 35–44).

\textsuperscript{17} For an “alternative” cultural-historical paradigm, see: Heller 2003.
Although the complexity of visual identity found in architectural magazines defies classification, it is possible to consider ways of establishing a visual communication standard based on stable categories such as the design of cover pages, typography, relationships between elements at the layout level. Among the visual codes, cover page design is particularly significant, and an increasing presence of hybrid images with a portion of photography was noticeable in the 1960s. The concepts of magazines that present architecture in the context of design and visual culture according to the principle of synthesis of all constituting expressions, such as Domus and L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui, (Gio Ponti was the founder and editor of Domus since it was established in 1928 almost continuously until his death in 1979, André Bloc founded L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui in 1930 and acted as editor for its versions until his death in 1966) or The Architectural Review (edited by James Maude Richards from 1937 to 1971)\textsuperscript{18} significantly differ from periodicals which were primarily concerned with the dissemination of information, including technical instruction and educational activity. The symptoms of the crisis and the need to redefine the self-representational discourse of architecture in the 1960s are evident in the appropriation of popular culture and the relativization of the boundaries between media. The media space of architectural magazines became the “battlefield” (Parnell 2012) of socially engaged

\textsuperscript{18}It is indicative that women were very rarely editors of architecture magazines, one of the exceptions being Monika Pidgeon (1913-2009), editor of Architectural Design from 1946 to 1975, who was also involved in photography.
architecture, leading to drastic changes in the previous conventions of “disinterested”, objectified presentation of architecture.

It is no coincidence that photojournalism became one of the dominant genres in architectural periodicals during the 1960s (Elwall 1994:97–98). Framing, cropping and format, and composing wide shots and details played a key role in the conceptualization of architecture. Nevertheless, the most radical steps forward in the presentation of architecture came from so-called little magazines, which, in a similar vein to artistic practices, actualize neo-avant-garde strategies. A characteristic example is the programmatic anti-magazine *Archigram* which medialized the group’s collective work, comparable to counter-culture and anarcho-liberal phenomena of subverting cultural politics.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH OF ARCHITECTURAL PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE 1950s AND 1960s AND THE CONTEXT OF THE MEDIATIZATION OF ARCHITECTURE IN *ARHITEKTURA* MAGAZINE

Architectural photography in the context of architecture and urbanism magazines in Croatia and the cultural and political space of socialist Yugoslavia, to which it belonged during that period, has not been the subject of comprehensive studies until now. As part of interdisciplinary research of the mentioned period, the role of magazines in presenting architecture and urbanism (Križić Roban 2010, 2012), critical discourse (Galjer 2019), and with regard to visual identity (Žunić and Vukić 2015) was examined. An overview of the chronology of the procedures for shaping the visual identity of *Arhitektura* magazine from 1947 to 1980 (Žunić and Vukić 2015) confirms that the use of photography varied from “secondary” visual information on the issue’s topic, while architectural drawings and hybrid combinations of photography and graphic compositional frameworks took center stage, from photography of architecture used for documenting modern functionalism, to photography that reshapes or interprets topics on the magazine cover pages. This section of the article uses a comparative analysis to examine the role of photography in architectural magazines

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19 Since the last text intends to shed light on the functions and meanings of design elements, where photography occupied one of the most prominent positions, it is unclear why it was omitted. The text is right to highlight the importance of the inventive design solutions created from 1956 to 1960 by Ivan Picelj (1924-2011) and Aleksander Srnec (1924-2010), but the contextualization of this coherently formed whole is missing.
of the 1950s in the context of contemporary roles of photography in the mediatization of architecture. The central question is the role of photography in the propaganda of modern architecture, which is determined by an ideological unambiguity: it is equated with progress and democratization of society. Nevertheless, in comparison with architectural magazines in the socialist countries of the Eastern Bloc,\textsuperscript{20} dominated by the monumental neoclassical idiom of glorifying Stalinist totalitarianism at that time, there is a noticeable tendency towards the modernist visual identity. Accordingly, a significantly wider range of visual expressions and a greater share of photography in \textit{Arhitektura} is evident. In addition to \textit{Arhitektura}, the magazine \textit{Čovjek i prostor} (Man and Space) had been published since 1954, and its format, layout (the rhythm and variability of photographic contributions next to the four-column text), biweekly publishing, representation of visual arts and design correspond to the emphasis on the topicality of information and the contextualization of architecture and urbanism in the wider sphere of social interests.\textsuperscript{21} Photography featured as a tool for promoting socialist realism ideology only in the first few years of publication of \textit{Arhitektura} (1947-1951). The visual identity of the magazine from 1947 to 1951 was characterized by the format of the magazine\textsuperscript{22} and its design based on the exactness of the drawings in presenting content. The more intense interest in defining the role of photography in architectural magazines during the early 1950s is evidenced by the text of the architect Fedor Wenzler\textsuperscript{23} “Basic Principles of Architecture Photography” published in \textit{Arhitektura} in 1951 (Wenzler 1951) (fig. 3).

Starting from the key role of photography in the civilization context of contemporary architecture, Wenzler argues that the aim of his text is to point out the factors at play in the medium of photography (failing at) achieving its basic purpose: a realistic artistic representation of architecture (Wenzler 1951:69). Therefore, analogous to portraits,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20} This distinction is noted because Yugoslavia did not belong to the Eastern Bloc.
\item \textsuperscript{21} \textit{Čovjek i prostor} is extremely significant in the mediatization of architecture locally, it was conceptualized in accordance with the principles of the mediatization of art, architecture, design and visual arts, primarily as a counterpoint to \textit{Arhitektura}, but also an additional dimension of the architecture culture of the 1950s. In accordance with the mentioned concept, the role of photography until the 1970s was documentary, more like photos found in daily newspapers than those from architecture magazines, and for that reason this paper does not deal with it in a separate section. In certain periods, the roles of \textit{Čovjek i prostor} varied between extremely critical departures from institutions to mere recordings of current events, which is not the subject of this article.
\item \textsuperscript{22} \textit{Arhitektura}’s dimensions from 1947 to 1951 were 19.5 x 27.5 cm.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Architect Fedor Wenzler (1925-2008), taught at the Faculty of Civil Engineering and Faculty of Architecture in Zagreb, authored numerous spatial plans and general urban plans in Croatia in the 1960s and 1970s. He and his wife Mira Halambek Wenzler (1929-2008) designed the Jarun Sports and Recreation Center in Zagreb (1961-1987).
\end{itemize}
photography should emphasize the “idea” of architecture.\textsuperscript{24} This makes the selection of images all the more interesting: out of 13 illustrations, only two portray modern and contemporary architecture, and they differ significantly in visual codes, as well as thematically. The first photograph shows the facade of a residential building in what was then Moskovska (Moscow) Street in Zagreb\textsuperscript{25} by architect Neven Šegvić\textsuperscript{26} and is a representative example of the interrelationship between light and shadow, based on a dramatic diagonal that emphasizes the horizontal line of the facade and sculptural balcony protrusions to the point of distortion.\textsuperscript{27} The other example of modern architecture is the mountain lodge on Sljeme by architect Vladimir Antolić,\textsuperscript{28} which also emphasizes the interrelationship between architecture and the natural environment, by superimposing plans, but in this case with a focus on harmony and permeation. Other photographs have a completely different, narrative character, and represent historical layers of urban and

\textsuperscript{24} These comparisons are akin to the rigid positions of art critics advocating socialist realism.

\textsuperscript{25} Today its address is Ulica grada Vukovara 56-60 (Vukovar Street), the building was constructed from 1946 to 1949.

\textsuperscript{26} Architect Neven Šegvić (1917-1992), professor at the Faculty of Architecture in Zagreb.

\textsuperscript{27} There is no information on the authors of the photographs in the imprint. This issue’s editor is Neven Šegvić.

\textsuperscript{28} (1933-1939).
rural architecture heritage from Rovinj, Motovun and Varaždin to Hvar and Dubrovnik. The text consists of the first section which gives practical instructions for photography, starting from light and shadow to individual materials (wood, stone, plaster, concrete and steel). This is followed with thematic sections dedicated to composition and cropping, presenting architecture in the environment. The final section is devoted to the presence of man, which is considered the most difficult task of architectural photography. The author of the article claims that man’s place should be “in the background”, not the “center of attention”, and “stylistically and substantively” in balance with architecture. There are exceptions, such as situations in which a man illustrates the scale of architecture, or specific topics such as a construction site: “a man at work brings life and a certain dynamic into the image of a construction site, and his absence makes the image of a building under construction illogical” (Wenzler 1951:74). These conclusions are illustrative of the beginning of the 1950s and the increase in construction activities in socialist Yugoslavia, while the primary role of photography is documentary and propaganda. The format of Arhitektura is in accordance with this role from 1947 to 1951, similar to photo albums that were given as commemorative gifts for socially relevant topics, intended for political propaganda. During 1951, the visual identity of Arhitektura became less narrative, and photography became more autonomous in relation to drawings and text. Such relations between image and text allow for more flexible positions and hierarchy of pictures, including photographs taking up the entire surface of the page. After the format of Arhitektura changed29 in 1952, the visualization of the content was emphasized even more, and thus the share of photography in presenting content increased. The visual identity of the magazine took on the appearance of a “moderately modernist” design modeled after contemporary magazines in the West. These changes reflect the aims of the new editorial team, led by architect Vladimir Antolić,30 to open the media space of the magazine to criticism and exchange of opinions (conversations, debates, polls), which is directly related to the more prominent role of the magazine in public debates about architecture on the international scene.31 The issue with the topic of collective housing (Arhitektura 1952) in Croatia shows how the status of photography changed compared to previous years of Arhitektura.32 Scenes of children on playgrounds and people on the streets of new residential areas are characteristic for the era: there is no

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29 Arhitektura’s new format was 30 x 24.5 cm. The formats of architectural magazines at that time are approximately the same dimensions.

30 Architect and urban planner Vladimir Antolić (1903-1981) was the editor-in-chief of Arhitektura in 1952-1953.

31 This phenomenon is the result of the transitions of communication codes within the media space; in this case influences from Čovjek i prostor.

32 Thematic issue “Housing”, Arhitektura, vol. 1, 1952. The photographs are attributed to (Franjo) Fuis.
interaction between passers-by that would indicate any social relations. This confirms that this is photography of architecture, with people in a secondary role, like extras. Photographs of Antolić’s family houses have a specific ambient quality; the interiors and gardens in which women sit and read are especially noteworthy. However, in this case, such a visual discourse also implied the continuity of interwar modernism, which can be interpreted as a departure from the dominant depiction of housing at that time, which included exclusively residential areas, but also as a revaluation of the quality of architecture of individualized spaces of everyday life. This "rediscovered" modernism was also promoted by networking in the institutional framework, primarily through CIAM and UIA, and through personal contacts of architects. *Arhitektura* starting to look more in line with the standards of visual design of the Swiss magazine *Werk* of that time can therefore also be interpreted as a symptom of networking on the international scene (Bjažić Klarin 2016; Zupančič 2020:64–65) (fig. 4).

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33 In correspondence with Wenzler’s earlier notions.
34 Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne.
35 Union Internationale des Architectes.
36 The editor-in-chief of Werk magazine from 1943 to 1956 was architect Alfred Roth, one of the key figures in CIAM.
Analogous exchanges of information and participation in architecture competitions also took place in the architectural magazines of the most rigid political systems, such as the 1950s Romanian (*Arhitectura R.P.R.*, 1965-1989), Polish (*Architektura*, 1947-1991)\textsuperscript{37} and Czechoslovak (*Architektura ČSR*, 1945-1989) contexts, where actualities from foreign magazines from the West were regularly published in dedicated sections.\textsuperscript{38}

At the end of the 1950s, the photos published in *Arhitektura* were more frequently accompanied by information about the author. Tošo Dabac, Milan Pavić, Marijan Szabo, Mladen Grčević and Ante Roca regularly published photographs in daily newspapers and serial publications, and collaborated with architects and artists by providing photographs for exhibition catalogues and monographs. A comparison of these authors’ photographs across different media indicates that photography in *Arhitektura* was still primarily narrative and documentary, which is in line with the thematic concept of representing the highest achievements of architectural production and promoting individual architects and urban planners. The layout is also adapted for monographs, with content additionally highlighted by spatial separation, white spaces that introduce a dynamic to the relationship between image and text. (Galjer 2020:243–244). Some examples display a shift from the primary role of photography in the “objective” presentation of architecture: the article about the school in Kumrovec (1955) by architect Neven Šegvić includes a photograph by Ante Roca, where the very wide shot is also an especially convincing commentary on the relationship between architecture and the environment (Mutnjaković 1958). Aerial photography plays a special role in constructing the image of architecture in *Arhitektura* magazine. A characteristic example are the photos by Milan Pavić and Ante Roca accompanying the article “Housing construction in Zagreb,” where the focus is on the area undergoing urbanization (Kolacio 1960:4–10) (fig. 5).

Apart from the aerial view that gives a clear picture of spatial relations, these photographs are a visual hyperbole (Zimmerman 2008) of the new urban identity, and thus of metropolization as a symbol of societal modernization. Both authors subdued their personal photographic expressions in favor of the visualization of this “message.” In this case, photography shapes the perception of a city in expansion, and it is persuasive thanks to the superimposition of spatial relations within the shot. Possible

\textsuperscript{37} Full title: Architektura: wydawnictwo Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Architektów R. P. w Warszawie z zasiłku Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki.

\textsuperscript{38} Architectural magazines in socialist countries of the Eastern Bloc have not been the subject of thematic examinations. The data are given based on the research of reference periodicals by the author of this paper.
analogy can be found in the iconic features of architecture photography of business towers. In the early 1960s, the impressive verticals of skyscrapers taken at their base from close range, often in pairs of day and night images, became signifiers of urban expansion (fig. 6).

Photograph by: Milan Pavić (left), Ante Roca (right)

Figure 6: Pirelli skyscraper, Milan. Architect Gio Ponti, Pierluigi Nervi and associates. Domus, vol. 6, 1961
Unlike the explicit spatial relations of aerial photography, the depiction of the Yugoslav pavilion at the Milan Triennial XIII published in *Arhitektura* in 1961 is based on multiplying the meaning of architectural photography (fig. 7).\(^ {39} \)

![Photo of the Yugoslav pavilion model at the Milan Triennial XIII.](image)

*Fig. 7: Photo of the Yugoslav pavilion model at the Milan Triennial XIII.*

*Arhitektura*, vol. 90, 1965:41. Photograph by: Branko Balić

This photograph has a much more complex role than the previous examples, as it manipulates the meanings of the visual message about the ideology of the socialist self-management society. At the same time, analogies with the aesthetics of kineticism of interventions in urban environments by Yaacov Agam and Jesús Rafael Soto point to the multiple, even subversive coding of these messages (Ekštajn and Šerman 2014) achieved through appropriation. The blurring of the boundary between architecture and photography is further highlighted by the superimposition of the model and the exhibition installation, where photography is both a ready-made and a self-referential medium for representing architecture. Similar changes are also evident in the design of the cover pages: instead of recognizable styles that characterized the cover pages designed by Ivan Picelj (1956 and 1959), Aleksandar Srnec (1957, 1958) and Vjenceslav Richter (1960) during the 1950s, cover pages in the 1960s are no longer uniform.

\(^ {39} \) The text is accompanied by photos taken by Branko Balić and the Publifoto agency, Milan.
From the beginning of the 1960s, instead of the geometric stylization in the manner of posters, *Arhitektura*’s design of the cover pages and presentation is increasingly based on photography. A good example of these tendencies is an article on Richard Neutra published when he visited Zagreb in 1962, lavishly featuring photographs in a monographic presentation of his work in the USA over 20 pages (Albini 1962:21–41). Among the particularly successful design solutions for *Arhitektura*, several issues published from 1963 to 1965 stand out, as their visual identity expresses the innovative concepts of the neo-avant-garde aesthetics of the New Tendencies international art movement⁴⁰ (fig. 8) and contemporary standards of visual communication that rely on photography.⁴¹

![Figure 8: Cover page, Arhitektura, vol. 1, 1963. Design: Andrija Mutnjaković](image)

⁴⁰ A series of exhibitions and accompanying events held in Zagreb (1961-1973), which generated a number of new cultural production forms.

⁴¹ The editor-in-chief of *Arhitektura* at the time, architect Vojtjeh Delfin (1921-1981), advocated a new methodology for interpreting architecture culture in his theoretical work and criticism as well.
THE NEW ROLES OF ARCHITECTURAL PHOTOGRAPHY IN PRESENTING ARCHITECTURE IN THE 1960s

The pluralism of architectural photography in the media space of architecture culture during the 1960s is characterized by models based on structuralist theoretical principles (Barthes 1957, 1964), analyzing the basic concepts of photography. A good example is the series of texts “Architect and Photography” (“Architekt und Fotografie”) published in the German architectural magazine *Baumeister* in 1963-1964⁴² (fig. 9).

![Image of article](image.jpg)

*Figure 9: Article “Architekt und Fotografie”, Baumeister, May 1963:494–495. Photograph by: Mark Strizic*

“Architekt und Fotografie” was envisioned as a series of thematic issues where, like conceptual art, the basic principles and approaches of architectural photography as a language and medium are analyzed. The series is specific due to its innovative concept, based on photographs in the format of visual essays which act as a counterpoint to the analytical discourse of texts in which shots, composition, lighting, clarity, simplicity, etc. are examined.⁴³ The photographs show canonical examples and “anonymous” architecture in equal measure, with an emphasis on expressiveness.

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⁴² The series consists of 13 articles, published from January 1963 to April 1964.
⁴³ The first article is attributed to Strizic, Heidersberger, Lufft, “Architekt und Fotografie”, *Baumeister*, vol. 1, 1963:49–52. The text is authored by Peter Lufft (1911-1997), a German painter and photographer, art and theater critic, and the photographs are attributed to Mark Strizić (1928-2012) and Heinrich Heidersberger (1906-2006), a German photographer, established in industrial and architecture photography.
and diversity of the photographic “gaze”. The significance of photography in the mediatization of architecture is additionally highlighted by the relationships between image and text, based on a layout that evokes the exhibition practice of White Cube.44

The articles are illustrated with photographs by different authors established in architectural photography. For example, Eric de Maré is responsible for affirming the “functionalist tradition” in The Architectural Review in the 1950s, and his architectural photographs are considered more effective than critiques and discussions for the emergence of a new visual discourse. One the most frequent author of photographs is Mark Strižić, the son of architect Zdenko Strižić, whose oeuvre includes a prominent passion and interest in photography.45 Mark Strižić’s interpretation of space is crucial for understanding his photographic view of architecture, which also points to some of the possible reasons for the absence of human figures in architectural photography in the 1950s and early 1960s. The newsletter Cross-section46 played a distinctive role in the implementation of international tendencies of modern architecture in Australia in the 1950s, which regularly featured contributions from Mark Strižić. Thanks to the editorial concept of David Saunders and Neville Querry, the magazine soon became recognizable for its criticism, which was significantly influenced by its interpretations in the medium of photography. This openness to critical dialogue encouraged a wide range of individualized visual expressions, ranging from dramatic to poetic, which are an integral part of reading architecture. The collaboration between photographers, critics and architects, with them often changing roles, intensified not only in Cross-

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44 The intention of this paper is not to reconstruct all sections in chronological order, but rather to use select segments to shed light on the role of photography in the presentation, analysis and interpretation of certain topics, to shed light on the concept and context of the “Architekt und Fotografie” series.

45 Zdenko Strižić (1902-1990) was of Jewish heritage; coming from the Steiner pl. Višnjevački family. His father, Miroslav Strižić, PhD, was a lawyer, a prominent figure in the political life of Bjelovar at the beginning of the 20th century (president of the branch of the Economic Society and deputy mayor), and his mother, Jerka, was active in the local Women’s Charitable Society, which had a significant role in local social life (Kolar-Dimitrijević 2016). Mark was born in Berlin, and Zdenko Strižić, already an internationally renowned architect at that time, and his mother, Henrietta Liedke, left Germany and settled in Zagreb after Hitler came to power in 1933. Snippets of his family circumstances from those times can be found in the interview “Professor’s Wife from Yugoslavia” published in the Australian daily newspaper The Age in 1957. Zdenko Strižić’s interest in architectural photography is evidenced by his photography diaries from trips to Italy, Tunisia, Greece, Denmark, Dubrovnik and other destinations from his legacy, which also contains a 9 millimeter film. This information comes from the data in Zdenko Strižić’s legacy, Sammlung für Architektur und Ingenieurbau der TU Braunschweig (SAIB).

46 The bulletin was published once a month, from 1952 to 1971, by the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Melbourne.
section, but in architectural publications and exhibitions as well. One characteristic example is the collaboration between Mark Strižić and the architect and critic Robin Boyd which led to the book *Living in Australia* (Boyd 1970), where photography constitutes the basis for the conceptualization of architectural ideas about space, housing and lifestyle.

After the introduction to the series “Architekt und Fotografie” with the first installment, the second issue’s theme is the cropping of architectural photographs, defined as the primary element of mediating the image of the object. The text gives special attention to the specific role of photography in architectural magazines, especially with regard to the purpose of the photographed motif. This is a characteristic example of different meanings that are connected with the purposes of architecture through “appropriated” images. A group of students talking exemplifies the school environment, people in conversation or a meeting of passers-by on the street are connected to public urban space, and a facade with its windows closed is interpreted as a signifier of universal features of architecture (proportions, architectonic design). The above is illustrated by the Wolfsburg cultural center48 by Alvar Aalto, where the center of the frame is occupied by a group of people in an inner courtyard and a social life that gives meaning to architectural forms.49 Although this was still not significantly represented in the visual codes of representation in architecture magazines at the time,50 it undoubtedly heralded drastic changes. For this topic, the fifth issue of the series is notable: it was devoted to contrast as one of the foundational principles of composition in photography, which is analyzed with regard to tonalities, shapes, superimposition of scales. The fact that their combinations multiply expressive possibilities was emphasized. The notion that the contrasting of motifs within a media frame is the only appropriate method for representing the sculptural inventory of architecture is convincingly illustrated by a photograph of a caryatid at the Erechtheion, opposite the decoration of the facade of the Shwedagon pagoda in Burma.51 The sixth issue deals with contrast.52 The definition of rhythm includes a comparison with music, where rhythm also refers to a repetition of a phrase, while in painting it denotes repetitions in texture and formal elements

47 “Architekt und Fotografie 2”, *Baumeister*, vol. 2 (February), 1963:149–152.
48 The cultural center in Wolfsburg (Germany) was built from 1959 to 1962.
49 Photo by: Heinrich Heidersberger.
50 The codes of representation are key to structuralist and poststructuralist interpretations of photography (Burgin 1982).
51 The pagoda is located in Yangon, Myanmar. It is considered the oldest pagoda in the world, created in the 14th century BC. “Architekt und Fotografie 5”, *Baumeister*, vol. 5 (May), 1963:493–497. The author of the mentioned photographs on pages 494 and 495 is Mark Strižić. However, the claim seems too reductive to be universally applicable.
52 “Architekt und Fotografie 6”, *Baumeister*, vol. 6 (June), 1963:625–628.
such as curves, rectangular or circular shapes. In the same vein, the mechanical multiplication of motifs leads to the vacuity of architecture photography, in contrast to the expressiveness achieved by modulating compositional and formal elements.\textsuperscript{53} These notions are supported by four visually different examples: the facade of an old mill, its proportions arranged in striking harmony, a view of houses with roof terraces on the Greek island of Skyros, a detail of the facade of a residential building in Boston with semicircular protrusions made of wrought iron, and the Sainte Marie de la Tourette priory\textsuperscript{54} by Le Corbusier. A close-up photo of a detail on the same building (by René Burri, \textit{Magnum photos}) also appears in the section of the text on framing; where it functions as a signifier for the symbolic expressiveness of architecture. In this case, the focus is on the shape-defining properties of the material, highlighting the analogies between raw concrete and texture in painting.\textsuperscript{55} The theme of the eight issue of the series is light effects in relation to the expressive qualities of photography, illustrated by the contrasting interrelationships between lighted and darkened surfaces, which gives almost tactile properties to the photo of the brick walls of an apartment block in Carlton, Victoria\textsuperscript{56} (by Mark Strižić).\textsuperscript{57} The 13th issue of the series examines the relationship between architecture and photography on the example of the interpretation of space, accompanied with images defined as “studies” in the text; these include the construction of the opera house in Sydney\textsuperscript{58} and Wall Street in New York by Mark Strižić.\textsuperscript{59} The last photograph is a particularly striking example of the interpretation of space; the entire left side of the surface is obscured by complete shadow, standing opposite to the plans of the walls-curtains of skyscrapers, and we are no longer sure of the boundaries between the surfaces and their reflections. Considering the thematic framework of \textit{Baumeister} magazine, which was extremely Western-centric at that time, the equal representation of the most diverse historical, cultural and civilizational strata, architecture “signed by” famous authors such as Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier next to anonymous architecture “without architects” consistently and convincingly argues the formative role of photography in the representation of architecture.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{53} Eric de Maré, “Architekt und Fotografie 7”, \textit{Baumeister}, vol. 7 (July), 1963:749–752.
\textsuperscript{54} The complex is located in Éveux. The first drafts were made in 1953, and the complex was under construction from 1956 to 1960.
\textsuperscript{55} “Architekt und Fotografie 5”, \textit{Baumeister}, vol. 5 (May), 1963:493.
\textsuperscript{56} Residential block in Carlton, Victoria (suburbs of Melbourne), built 1870-1880.
\textsuperscript{57} “Architekt und Fotografie 10”, \textit{Baumeister}, vol. 10 (October), 1963:1121–1125.
\textsuperscript{58} The Opera was designed by Jørn Utzon. The tender was announced in 1956, the winning design was selected in early 1957, construction on the building began in 1959 and was completed and opened in 1973.
\textsuperscript{59} “Architekt und Fotografie 13”, \textit{Baumeister}, vol. 4 (April), 1964:391–393.
\textsuperscript{60} A comparison of the series “Architekt und Fotografie” and Wenzler’s text in \textit{Arhitektura} shows
The expansion of communication codes of architecture into the field of critically engaged practice, design and popular culture became one of the constants in the mediatization of architecture in the 1960s. The following examples will try to show that pluralism is one of the most significant (new) qualities established in the media space of 1960s architectural magazines. One of the first indications of a paradigm shift is the theme of the 1961 issue of *Architectural Design* on new housing projects in Sheffield,\(^1\) with photographs by Roger Mayne\(^2\) (fig. 10).

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\(^1\) The editor of the thematic issue (*Architectural Design*, vol. 9, 1961.) was architect Pat (Patrick) Crooke (1928-2018), who greatly contributed to redefining the social role of architects with his lifelong activism, especially in the “Third World.”

\(^2\) British photographer Roger Mayne (1929-2014), known for his series of photographs of urban spaces of London neighborhoods in the 1950s and 1960s.
Instead of empty streets and squares, buildings with closed windows, where drama is highlighted by intense shooting angles, filters which enhance the effects of light and shadow, the presence of “ordinary” people is noticeable everywhere: in images of industrial architecture and impressive scenes of workers’ slums. In contrast to these gloomy environments stands the urban concept of the new urban center Park Hill\(^{63}\), with “streets in the sky” and other public spaces presented as places of intense social life. In this instance, photography goes beyond the scope of documenting the “physical” environment: its perspective is directed at the social role of architecture. The theoretical principles of this photographic view could be related to the concept of “existential space” (Norberg Schulz 1971), with its origins in the anthropology of Dagobert Frey (1949) and the phenomenology of space by Otto Friedrich Bollnow (1963), i.e. human experiences in space that encourage critical reinterpretations in architectural photography.

One of the first explicit examples of introducing a socially engaged critical discourse into the institutional framework of architectural periodicals, thus radically changing the magazine’s identity, are the changes introduced by Kenneth Frampton to *Architectural Design* after becoming editor in 1962. A drastic change in the editorial concept was announced by the cover page in the form of an apocalyptic black-and-white photo of a highway captioned with the words “Philadelphia Plan”\(^{64}\) (fig. 11).

With this visual manifesto, Frampton unequivocally declared the view that the relationship between drawings, photographs, text and layout does not include only the ratio of the elements on the page, but the intersection of metaphorical and even ideological (intentional and literal) meaning as well. This also meant that he opted for architectural photography serving as a vehicle of critical evaluation, which he would consistently apply in his later critical practice (Frampton 1986:41).

The seemingly trivial question “Why does it never rain in Architectural Review?” (Cowlard 2014) reveals the complexity as well as the contradiction of the photographic view. With this title, David Cowlard paraphrased the ironic distancing of John Donat, one of the most significant British representatives of architectural photography, from idealized space as the dominant form of representation of architecture in the 1950s. Donat’s photograph of two men, one of them holding an umbrella (1968),\(^{65}\) exiting a glass building (the extremely influential architectural achievement, D90 West Building,

\(^{63}\) Park Hill (1957-1961) was designed by Jack Lynn (1926-2013) and Ivor Smith (1925-2018).

\(^{64}\) *Architectural Design*, vol. 8, 1962.

\(^{65}\) The photograph is part of the RIBA Library Photographs Collection. For additional explanations of John Donat’s self-referential experiences in architecture and photography, see: [https://www.pidgeondigital.com/talks/architecture-through-the-lens/play/](https://www.pidgeondigital.com/talks/architecture-through-the-lens/play/) (accessed May 10, 2022).
Beeston, Nottinghamshire, constructed in 1968 according to a project by Skidmore, Owings and Merrill) represents a radical change in strategies of the photographic representation of architecture, present in architectural periodicals of that time. This reversal is all the more interesting given that John Donat was one of the leading representatives of architectural photography. The shifting of focus from the role of an “auxiliary” documentary tool to the center of the media space of (re)shaping architecture culture is manifested in this rainy scene and a number of elements, such as the wet surface on which the men walk and the cloudy sky, which relativize the boundaries of spatial plans in the interaction of the surfaces and their reflections. The result is astonishing: the ambient value of a “different” view of architecture, aimed at the interpretation of architecture in context, instead of form in space.

This photograph is not a random exception, as confirmed by a series of eight issues published under the title “Manplan” in The Architectural Review in 1969-1970, which manifestly presents the symptoms of a deep crisis and marks a drastic change from the long-standing “objective” practice of presenting architecture: the term “frustration” refers to the needs (of people) for change (of society) (fig. 12 and 13).
In accordance with the radical social activism and anarcho-liberal sentiment found in the articles which tried to motivate readers to adopt an active attitude, the neutralizing white backgrounds on the pages between the images were replaced by black backdrops, which further highlight the texts in blue, yellow, red print, while the...
photographs take on the visual discourse of a newspaper report, shifting the focus from architectural achievements to criticism and visual essay. Instead of established photographers-contributors of architectural magazines, a different author was invited for each issue of the series, and the authors were renowned representatives of Magnum-style photojournalism, among others, Patrick Ward, Ian Berry and Tim Street-Porter. The articles drastically differ from Architectural Review’s visual identity in terms of graphic design as well, including the redefinition of the relationship between image and text. They are characterized by an approach akin to reports, narrative sequencing, the performativity of photographic images that occupy entire pages, and the insertion of black pages which act as a “frame” for small-format photographs. The fragmenting and rhythmizing of content forms a hybrid, interpellative modes of communicating.67 Messages are conveyed by extremely critically engaged photographs, which show the dark side of urban everyday life without embellishment, and unusually provocative comments for Architectural Review’s “moderate” editorial concept. Similar to photo reports, persuasiveness is achieved by changing perspectives, sharp cuts, close-up frontal shots, and distortions. Transformations like these are also evident in the cover page design of The Architectural Review, whose visual language belongs to alternative pop culture.

Such activist and critically oriented practices of positioning architecture within media culture simultaneously took place in Italy, Austria and France, both in architectural magazines with long traditions, and in the so-called alternative scene of little magazines.68 Casabella and L’architecture d’Aujourd’hui are characteristic examples of institutionalized architectural magazines which opened up to radical architecture culture. Instead of conventional ways of presenting architecture, hybrid forms coming from comics, film, caricature, photomontages, photocollage, animated film, and often graphic design for specific purposes, such as psychedelic rock record covers, were starting to become more dominant. The content presenting the work of the Superstudio and Archizoom groups in Domus were particularly successful examples of the mediatization of architecture, as the space of the magazine was “expanded” into a critical and activist narrative (parts of the articles were accessible only by opening the pages which were folded like a leaflet), appropriating elements of various visual discourses and media, which were equally successful in rock culture and curatorial

66 Another dimension to the reports comes from pages with multiple folds, which can be read and viewed separately, in sequences, and as part of an integral whole.
67 The meaning of interpellative visual communication in this instance is derived from the structuralist approach of Roland Barthes (Barthes 1957:197–198).
68 The question of the mutual influences between certain cultural environments has not been the subject of historiographical research until now.
practices. Thus, the experience of architecture takes on the tactile properties and iconic character of a fanzine, a simultaneous experience of content based on the individual experience of reading and viewing (fig. 14 and 15).

Figure 14 and 15: “Discorsi per Imagini: Superstudio, Archizoom”.

A characteristic example is the “Architektur und Freiheit” exhibition held at Trigon in Graz in 1969.
The most significant transformations in architecture culture took place in so-called little magazines, as they were least dependent on the institutional framework of editorial policy and the financing system, and the proscribed conventions of visual identity (Colomina et al. 2010). During the early 1960s, this media space was marked by the emergence of an eclectic visual language based on photomontage, collage, and other strategies in the neo-dada vein, which influenced the recontextualization of the original meanings of photography, drawings, and documents in new roles. To paraphrase the rhetoric of the visual turn (Mitchell 2005), a question arises: What do these images really want? Comparisons of photomontages in magazines such as Archigram (fig. 16) and Der Bau (fig. 17) show similarities with “appropriated images” that combine items that are seemingly incompatible; Wham! by Roy Lichtenstein and the Egyptian pyramids, clippings from advertisements, quotations from the works of Duchamp, Magritte, Warhol, Actionism, the Theatre of the Absurd and postmodernism combined in an explosive critique of consumerism in Hollein’s manifesto “Everything is Architecture” (Hollein 1968) (fig. 18).

Manipulating scales, dislocation, distortions and other techniques in line with photographic presentation, photomontages “appropriate” and recycle various materials in a ready-made manner. Fragments of newspaper illustrations, charts, advertisements, texts, graffiti and drawings create evocative images by reconfiguring original ideas and
concepts into new meanings. The fact that these structures are critical of globally current topics, from the crisis of urbanism as a symptom of deep social crises that equally affect the First, Second and Third Worlds, to the first voyages to outer space and previously unseen mobilities on Earth, confirms that the critical potential of this kind of projective architecture is universally understandable and current.

Figure 17: Cover page of Der Bau, vol. 1, 1965. Design: Walter Pichler
CONCLUSION

Starting from the specific role of architectural magazines in modern architecture culture, the text aims to shed light on the role of photography in the processes of its mediatization. Despite the differences between the periodicals that make up most of the historical narrative (Domus, Casabella, The Architectural Review, The Architectural Design, Baumeister, Werk), as well as the “alternative,” radical, so-called little magazines, sometimes bordering on anti-magazines (Der Bau, Archigram, Utopie), and visually much less striking examples such as Arhitektura, contextual analysis confirms the key roles of photography in affirming architecture culture. Without a visual language based on the medium of photography, no interpretation of the circumstances of creation, presentation, criticism and reception of architectural discourse is possible. It is also not possible to reconstruct the transfers of architectural ideas and ideologies in the media space of the 1950s and 1960s at the global scene, where multiple institutional and alternative communication codes operate simultaneously. An analysis of characteristic examples of photo-based codes in architectural magazines affirms that the media space is not only analogous to the “reality” of architectural production. Therefore, the effectiveness of this media space can be understood only in the “expanded field of architecture.”

70 The magazine was published by the Croatian Architects’ Association.
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Uloga fotografije u transferima arhitektonskih ideja 1950-ih i 1960-ih na primjeru arhitektonskih časopisa: od dokumenta do društveno angažirane kritike

Jasna Galjer

U tekstu se razmatra ulož bogat fotografije u arhitektonskom časopisu 1950-ih i 1960-ih godina, s posebnim osvrtom na transfere arhitektonskih ideja. Primjenom interdisciplinarne metode koja uključuje kontekstualni model vizualnih studija, povijesti umjetnosti, arhitekture i dizajna, na odabranim primjerima analiziraju se teorijske i kultturnopolisije osnove, okolnosti nastanka i transformacije vizualnog jezika fotografije u arhitektonskim časopisima navedenog razdoblja. Umjesto (re)konstruiranja narativa, uloge fotografije u prikazivanju arhitektonske produkcije proučavaju se kao polje složenih odnosa u području proizvodnje kulture. Stoga se posebna pažnja posvećuje specifičnim načinima uspostavljanja vizualnih i značenjskih kodova komuniciranja arhitektonskih ideja zasnovanih na fotografiji, koje tijekom 1950-ih i 1960-ih nastaju u različitim političkim i kulturnim kontekstima. Cilj je ovog rada pridonijeti tumačenju arhitektonske fotografije, od dokumentiranja, preko društveno i politički angažirane kritike, do relativiziranja granica između arhitekture i popularne kulture u sferi vizualnih, estetskih, prostornih i ideoloških aspekata reprezentacijskog diskursa arhitektonskih časopisa.

Ključne riječi: arhitektonska fotografija, arhitektonski časopisi, medijalizacija arhitekture, kulturna proizvodnja, vizualna kultura, kritika, 1950-e, 1960-e

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