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THE ARCHITECT LARS SONCK
WORKS AND PROJECTS 1900–1910

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PREFACE

Throughout their lives, Lars Sonck and his contemporaries, the "young" generation of Finnish architects of the turn of the century, felt that their professional activity signified an important break with their predecessors. Writing in 1943, Lars Sonck's friend and colleague Bertel Jung observed that "it remains for the future to place this period in broad historical perspective and to pronounce judgement on its leading figures and their works in stone and writing". If this study has in any way fulfilled this prediction, at least some of its aims have then been achieved.

Like most dissertations, the present study involved numerous stages, beginning with the author's earlier academic work and articles and finally resulting in this book. Professor Emeritus Lars Pettersson, who supervised my early studies, originally suggested Lars Sonck's Helsinki Stock Exchange building as the subject of a seminar paper. This ultimately led to my graduate thesis in art history on Sonck's architecture of the period. In 1981, I participated in a working group of the Museum of Finnish Architecture preparing an exhibition and publication on the works of Lars Sonck. In this connection, I had the opportunity to survey the whole of Sonck's architectural production as well as his preserved drawings, sketches and plans.

My licentiate thesis, upon which this dissertation is based, was completed in 1987. Grants for this purpose were provided by the Finnish Cultural Foundation and the Emil Aaltonen Foundation, permitting me to devote myself full-time to collecting material and writing for a few months. Work, study abroad relating to other themes and other studies made it possible to return to this subject only in the winter of 1990, when grants from the Senate of the University of Helsinki and the Finnish Cultural Foundation permitted a period of writing in the early months of the year.

Many individuals and institutions have kindly assisted me in collecting material. I especially wish to thank the staff of the Museum of Finnish Architecture for providing original material and photographs. Professor h.c. Paula Kivinen, who was originally responsible for making Sonck a subject of academic study, has assisted me especially with biographical details. After Professor Pettersson's retirement, my academic work has been supervised by Professor Henrik Lilius, whose criticism and encouragement provided further impetus for completing my dissertation. Docent Riitta Nikula helped me especially in the licentiate-thesis stage by pointing out the virtues of concise and condensed writing. The Department of Art History at the University of Helsinki, my community of study, work and research, has always been a stimulating environment, and many discussions with colleagues have found their way into this study. I have also received useful comments from my friends Markus Hiekkanen, Michael J. Lewis, Peter Kohane and Claudio Sgarbi. This dissertation was translated into English by Mr Jüri Kokkonen, mag.phil. Apart from interpreting my often cryptic pronouncements, he has helped me in clarifying many points that may have been clear in the mind of the author, but not necessarily on the pages of the manuscript.

I have tried to shield my family from the rigours of academic research. Despite my efforts, it seems that I have often dwelt more in my reconstructed realm of turn-of-the-century architecture than among those nearest to me. This book is dedicated to my wife, Eva, and my children, Venla and Lauri.

Pekka Korvenmaa
Helsinki
All Saints' Day 1990

I. INTRODUCTION

This study is on the works and professional activity of the Finnish architect Lars Sonck (1870–1956). To be reviewed in detail will be certain areas of the above and one longer period. The analysed works of architecture are from the years 1900 to 1910. The selection of buildings and projects excludes a large number of other works of the period, such as town plans and Sonck's extensive and varied architecture in wood.

The works selected from Sonck's career of almost sixty years present a series of examples from a stage regarded as central to his lifework as an architect. It is thus assumed that their analysis will illustrate central features of the architect's whole production, and the selected period will also shed light on the preceding and following stages of Sonck's career. The analysed works are regarded as representative of Finnish architecture in general in the period concerned.

Sonck's works as a whole and earlier studies concerning them suggest that the first years of the 20th century marked a synthesis of approaches. In this study, the periodization of his architecture is based on their merging into a renewal of expression. The period chosen, approximately a decade, appeared initially to be a strong period of innovation, developed at a rapid pace and ended in a situation in which certain basic solutions had become established for Sonck's later expression.

The following works were selected for closer analysis: St. John's Church (present Cathedral of Tampere), 1900–1907; the premises of the Helsinki Telephone Association, 1901–1905; a competition entry for an archaeological-ethnographic museum, 1902; the Privatbanken bank (present Jugend Hall of the City of Helsinki), 1903–1904; the Eira hospital, 1904–1905; the Kallio church, 1906–1912; the premises of the Mortgage Association (present Ministry of Communications), 1907–1909; a competition project for Parliament House in Helsinki, 1907; the Helsinki Stock Exchange building, 1910–1912. Except for St. John's Church all of the works were in Helsinki, which was also the location for the competition projects. Because the beginning of the period marked Sonck's rise as the architect of the major buildings of the centre of Helsinki, the above selection also corresponds to Sonck's professional life. One of the aims of this study has been to elucidate Sonck's relationship with his clients. The works fall into the main groups of private commissions of a public nature and large-scale public works, i.e. churches.

The selection of works in this period is determined by criteria of expression as well as function and technology. The former relate to iconography, materials, narrativeness, relation to history and townscape as well as to formal factors such as composition. The latter features involve structures, function and the position of the works in the overall history of the types of architecture concerned.

The main common denominator of the works is their designer, who is discussed in terms of his ability to re-orientate himself in new ways in familiar situations (i.e. church projects), the way in which he produced solutions for tasks that were new to him but already developed on the general level (banks, hospitals), and the creation of means for activities that were new in all respects (telephone exchanges). A standard monograph approach investigating the course and models of action chosen by the individual is combined with a more varied analysis separating the works in question from the personality of the architect. These approaches are applied simultaneously in reviewing for example the numerous solutions developed by Sonck for a standard task such as a church.[1] The double scope of relevance aimed at with the selection of works would thus be the result of linking the vertical course of development of the architect with the overall variables and factors of change in a horizontally defined period.

The selection of subject matter presents a point of departure in which Sonck already had several years of professional experience behind him. The preceding stage of the 1890s, which would require a separate study, is not regarded in any way as a prelude of lesser importance to the period under review. In the present context, this is seen as references to the past, discussed in the chronologically structured narrative of the text. This study does not intend to represent the whole of the architect's production, because Sonck's lifework was so long and so varied in terms of both content and quantity.

The turn of the century, selected as the starting

point of this study, is seen as a time when Sonck's career and production were linked closely to features that were characteristic of Finnish architecture in general. Sonck's clear "entrance"[2] into the field and his rise to become one of the leading architects of the period were connected to the expectations of form and content in the field formed by the recently organized architects and their clients. Uniformity was also caused by a strong and continuous economic boom, which laid the basis for extensive building activity and facilitated the rapid architectural realization of new concepts. This can be seen as the background of the increasing pace of innovation in Sonck's works and in Finland as a whole. In Sonck's career, the period in question was also one of generation change in Finnish architecture. The architects who had entered the field in the 1890s dominated it until the early 1910s.

The above considerations concerning the period and works chosen for review were based on defining the theme of study and its related problems. Why should Lars Sonck's career be explained and understood? Already in his own day, he was regarded as one of Finland's leading architects. This view has not changed in any essential way, as his merits have been repeatedly praised long after the testimony of his contemporaries. This led to focusing on the various periods of this already recognized and valued architectural production, their individual works and the specific features concerned. The works reviewed and analysed in this study provide a key to the production of an individual artist, and the interest generated by them is based to a large degree on subjective considerations. By opening perspectives on more general developments, these works also raise wider issues than those concerning the designer alone.

The available source material varies widely in regard to the chosen works, and the selection is not guided by any uniformity of sources. As the material is not selected according to archival entities, the analysis entails empirical data of a problematic nature. The point of departure is in most cases the object itself. It must be pointed out that one of the underlying starting points of this study is an explicit emphasis on the works of the architect, i.e. as broad and extensive a review as possible of the buildings and projects to provide a basis for analysis and to demonstrate possible common factors. This problem applies more extensively to the use of physically realized history, i.e. material culture, as source material. A building as a work of art is an historical event. The subject of study and its source become intermixed and the resulting interpretation must bear in mind their differences.[3] Although the subject must be referred back to its documentary evidence where possible, the lack of the latter must not prevent it from being analysed in terms of explanatory models based on other criteria.[4]

In addition to the works and their related documentary material, contemporary views and opinions are also available, requiring due source criticism. There are furthermore a number of texts written by Sonck, but the fact that he almost completely ceased to write in the early 1900s limits the potential of this material. Correspondence and notes providing further light on Sonck's own principles or aims have not been found. Thus, the material involves several levels with sources of different age: documentary evidence on the background and inception of works and the works themselves; evaluations and comments presented after realization and the statements of scholars, and also the present situation which allows access to all of the above levels along with the works themselves. This forms a chronologically linear process, anchored in the point in time when the works concerned were realized. This study will adhere to this level and the later history of the works will not be considered. The tensions and spans created by the expressive whole of the above levels are based on the varying degree to which the historical contexts were culturally defined on these levels.[5]

Academic research concerning Lars Sonck's architecture was begun by Paula Kivinen's thorough study of the Tampere Cathedral in 1961.[6] In later years, she has added to this monograph, most recently as an enlarged presentation in 1986.[7] Kivinen has discussed Sonck's early works elsewhere and has collected documentation on his background and studies.[8] Kivinen's research should be read alongside this work, as it was decided not to repeat their empirical data here. A general survey of Sonck's career was published in 1981 by Paula Kivinen, Pekka Korvenmaa and Asko Salokorpi.[9] The incomplete list of works in the above study gives an overall idea of the volume and specific areas of Sonck's lifework. The study can be used as a framework of the career, of which a single stratum is now to be reviewed. The illustrations of the above study are chronologically comprehensive. In foreign studies, Sonck was presented by Marc Treib in 1971 and later in England by Thomas Rory Spence.[10]

Sonck's architecture has been discussed in various connections in specialist studies on the late 19th and early 20th-century architecture of Finland. We may refer to the evaluations of Sonck's wooden architecture by Ritva Tuomi (Wäre) and Riitta Nikula's analysis of his town plans.[11] Research on Sonck is part of an expanding field of study on Finnish architecture in the late 19th century and the early years of the present century. The most useful results of this research from the perspective of the present study are Sixten Ringbom's work Stone, style and truth (1987) on the stone architecture of the turn of

the century, and Ville Lukkarinen's analysis of turn-of-the-century historicism from 1989.[12] Scholarship concerning Sonck or architectural history in the period selected for review has not, however, been a long-term process, nor does it contain conflicting or programmatic views that would require a separate analysis of texts.[13] The present study is intended to form part of the above field of research by opening perspectives on a number of works falling into a definite period of one of its main architects.

Despite the narrow and fragmentary sample of material, the present study is in monograph form. Although this approach permits a review of the development of the artist concerned, e.g. in connection with the creation and application of themes, it is of limited scope as an historical model of reconstruction. The apparent credibility of monographs is, however, increased by the common practice of structuring reality through the activities of a single person. By linking the specific history of the works to the general factors of its time, we may nevertheless arrive at a situation, where "...history has to describe the inside and outside of events simultaneously, to identify with the actors while maintaining an objective stance", as pointed out by William Curtis.[14] In the ideal case, the historical situation could be seen through the development and abilities of the individual, who in turn could be outlined in relation to the conditions and prerequisites of his situation.[15] A monograph is no doubt a limited sample in attempting to "re-search", "re-construct" and finally "re-present" a series of events especially in the history of architecture, where the individual was by necessity only one factor among many.[16] On the other hand, the model is suitable for reviewing the architect's career and innovations, and it permits an analysis of why Sonck was able to remain in the role of a reformer of both his own architecture and of the overall tradition. The perspective chosen in this study has two aims: to investigate and describe the creation of specific works and their art-historical character, and to analyse the inner changes of the architect and his reactions to various situations within a brief time span.

The structure of this study proceeds in a straightforward manner, and the work as a whole is divided into four sections. In the first part, Lars Sonck's career is presented as a chronological narrative, where the main features of the various stages of his lifework are outlined. The aim is to create a framework for the following parts concentrating on specific works of architecture. Also attempted in the first part is an evaluation of Sonck's architectural practice in relation to his own time and the tradition of Finnish architecture.

The next section discusses and analyses the central empirical material, i.e. the works listed at the beginning of this introductory chapter. Historical method is applied to define the genesis of the works. Also discussed are factors related to activity, structures, materials and expression. This somewhat extensive narrative aims at a comprehensive verification of the objects concerned. This "*Befundsicherung*"[17] is limited to the chronological level at which the work was as close as possible to the aims of those who had worked to achieve it. In this connection, closely defined "productive" questions are not posed, which would bring forth only certain features of the works concerned.[18]

In the third section, the chronological review of works is split into different themes, and the material is approached from perspectives encompassing several works at the same time. The aim is to define problems on a general level and to discuss from a starting point, wider than Sonck's production as such, some of the features verified in the preceding section.

The concluding summary returns to the approaches and perspectives discussed in general terms in the introduction and the first section, but with reference to the analyses of the works chosen for review.

The works of architecture are also approached as texts. This requires the use of narrative elements and the identification of texts which were highly implicit even to Sonck's contemporaries: in other words, the verbalization of the visual level of narrative.[19] The varying fates of the buildings concerned have obscured some of the narrative, which is revealed to us only in fragments. Despite the preservation of individual parts, the plot or overriding theme may also be obscured, which requires a reconstruction of the inception of the narrative implied by the work.[20] It was on the basis of these factors that the architect created his expression beyond the bounds of functional requirements. By opening this perspective, an art-historical level is incorporated, aiming to interpret the intentions of the architect to the present reader.

The above requires both intentionality and confidence in the possibilities of interpreting the architect's intentions. The activities of Sonck and his clients were most clearly intentional on two levels. They had conscious aims focusing on both the concrete aspects of construction and the expressive aims of the designer. With respect to the genesis of individual buildings, the situation does not entail problems. It is more difficult, however, to define the architect's aims in expression and the creation of form. The degree to which intentions were realized is impossible to verify completely, as the source material does not reveal the architect's aims or goals in any detail. Principles of planning and design applying to several works are combined through specific analyses. The conscious aims on the narrative and

symbolic level, as presented by the analysis of intention, are ultimately strongly bound to the interpreter. Or, as pointed out by Bonta, "...Interpreters may believe that designers intended to communicate something, but this does not prove that the designer intended to communicate it".[21]

The detailed analyses of specific works are also intended to ensure that the thematic elements do not achieve the status of autonomous and separate fragments. The joint aim of the third and fourth sections of this study is to approach "...the tensions between the ideal vision and the constraining reality"[22] and to outline in the case of Lars Sonck the "ideological gap", as defined by Joan Ockman, where the factors, mainly of production and use, linked to the realization of architectural works were met by the esthetic-expressive means adopted and used by Sonck in the situations concerned.[23]

II. LARS SONCK'S CAREER AND FIELD OF EXPERTISE

II.1. Professional career

Lars Sonck was born in 1870 into a Swedish-speaking rural family of the educated middle classes.[1] His father was a Lutheran clergyman, first at Kälviä in Ostrobothnia and later at Finström in the Åland Islands. He was educated in Turku, the nearest major centre of learning, and he matriculated from the Swedish-language *Reallyceum* of Turku in 1888. The same year he enrolled at the building department of the Turku trade or industrial school (*Industriskolan i Åbo*) to become a master-builder. This background must be kept in mind in connection with Sonck's professional skills and the rapid pace and success of his early career as an architect. He completed his studies in Turku in the spring of 1890 and moved to Helsinki, where he enrolled in the autumn as a student of architecture at the Polytechnical Institute of Finland.[2] In the summer of 1894 Sonck was able to begin work as a newly-graduated architect. Normally, this would have involved the launching of a professional career with all its inherent problems, perhaps an assistant position with a known architect and efforts to become acquainted with leading figures in the building industry. However, Sonck was able to bypass this stage because of the recently established practice of architectural competitions, which in later years became an integral feature of Finnish architecture. He had already embarked upon his career as a student, winning a major competition for a church project and receiving professional recognition. The competition was for a large church in the city of Turku, later known as St. Michael's Church (1894–1905) and entries were due by the spring of 1894. (Figs. 37–43) This competition was the first to be held under the rules laid down in 1893 by the Architects' Club (*Arkitektklubben*) of the Finnish Association for Technology (*Tekniska Föreningen i Finland*). Sonck's winning entry competed with twenty-two other submitted projects. The problems and tasks entailed by this major project, ensuing study trips abroad and the completion of his architectural studies all formed an impressive start to his career. It will be seen in the following how Sonck's successes in significant church design competitions served as milestones in his career and in the forms and appearance of his architecture.

In the years immediately following the competition Sonck was involved in the design and planning of St. Michael's Church, but he also managed to develop a successful professional practice, especially in the design of wooden villas and dwelling houses.[3] Already at this stage, villas and log architecture in general became a permanent and varied feature of Sonck's output. The prototype for Sonck's villa architecture was developed in his design for his own summer villa, *Lasses Villa* (1895). The construction of this building, significant not only for Sonck but

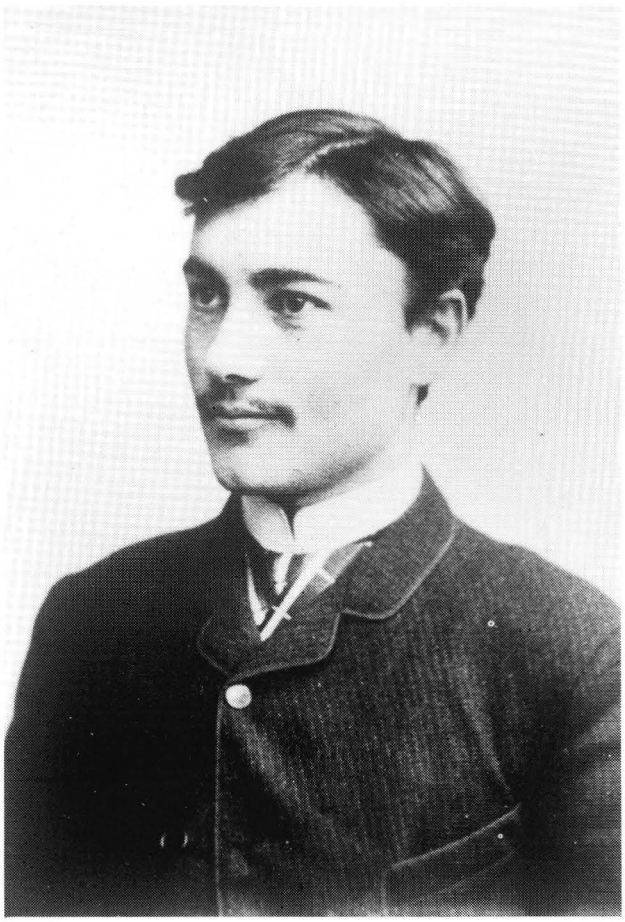

Fig. 1. Lars Sonck in the early 1890s. (Photo estate of Mrs Greta Stengård).

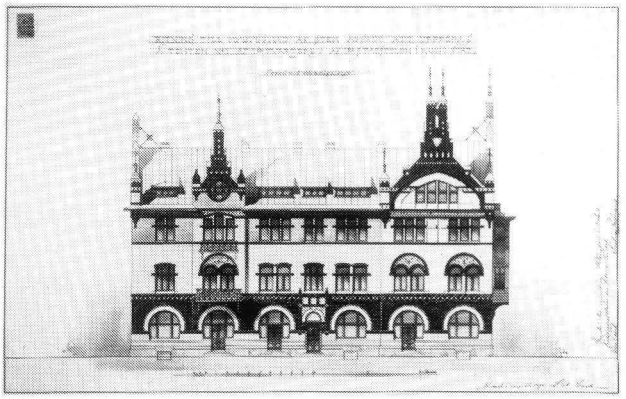

Fig. 2. The Lignell building, Hanko. Final approved design from August 1896. (Hanko City Archives, photo SRM).

also for Finnish wooden architecture of the late 1890s in general, was made possible by the fee received for the winning entry in the church competition, and Sonck was able to capitalize on the successful start of his career. Within a few years, his commissions grew in scale and in 1896–97 a four-storey building of apartments and business premises was built in the town of Hanko. The building, the Lignell House, was the largest private building in the town at the time.

Fig. 3. *Lasses Villa,* Finström, Åland Islands (1895) soon after completion. Sonck on the balcony. (Photo SRM).

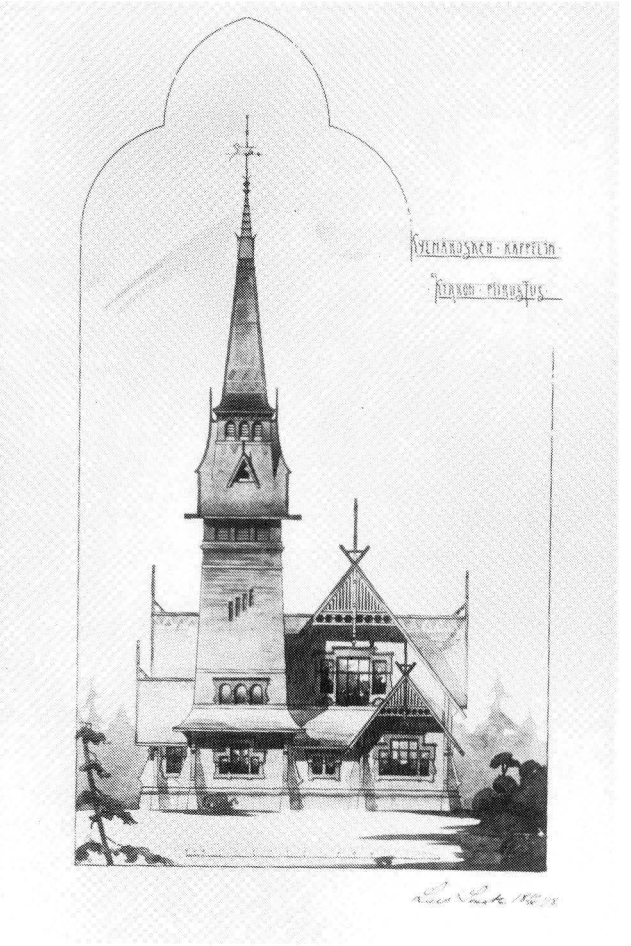

Fig. 4. Design for a church in Kylmäkoski, 1898. Alternative version in wood. (Kylmäkoski Parish Archives, photo SRM).

In the early years of his career Sonck spent much of his time in Turku. As the architect of the planned new church he was in contact with city and church authorities and Turku was familiar to him from his schooldays and student years. On his own initiative, Sonck drew up plans for the site of a planned art museum, and through correspondence with the artist Victor Westerholm he studied the location of the planned city library.[4] Sonck took a strong stand on the restoration of the Cathedral of Turku, the main architectural monument of the city, and prepared an alternative to the official programme of restoration in 1897.[5] Sonck was one of the participants in the architectural competition for the Turku Art Museum which was held in 1900 with invited entries (Fig. 142). Sonck's old ties with Turku, his contacts with its leading figures in civic and cultural life and the proximity of his summer villa and studio in the Åland Islands did not, however, make him a resident of the city. In the overall context of Finnish architecture Turku was on the receiving end of new influences and impulses, while Helsinki, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Finland, was the centre from where new ideas emanated.

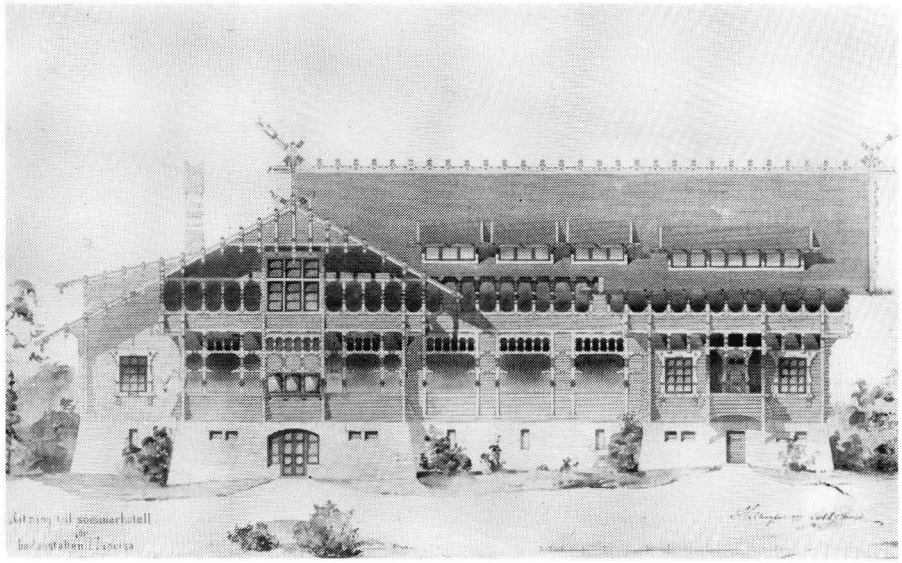

Fig. 5. Design for a summer spa hotel in Loviisa, 1897. Demolished. (ÅM, photo SRM).

After completing his studies, Sonck based himself in Helsinki, where he was officially listed as an architect in records from 1898.[6] The capital provided the important opportunities to introduce this young architect to influential circles. It also offered a community of colleagues providing a forum for official debate, and the no-less important unofficial exchange of ideas concerning topical issues in the field. However, Sonck was not able to establish himself immediately in Helsinki. From 1898 to 1900 he ran a joint architects' office with Birger Federley (1874–1935) with a branch in the town of Tampere. Sonck & Federley designed a well-acclaimed building of apartments and business premises for the merchant Tirkkonen in the centre of Tampere.[7] At this stage Sonck worked either alone or together with other architects, but he did not run his own office. He also collaborated with Onni Törnqvist (later Tarjanne, 1864–1946), his former teacher at the Polytechnical Institute. In the late 1890s two large apartment buildings commissioned by the Suomi insurance company were built in Helsinki with facades designed by Sonck and floor plans by Törnqvist (Uudenmaankatu 25-Fredrikinkatu 35, 1898–1900; Rauhankatu 1-Pohjoisranta 10, 1899–1900).[8]

By the year 1900, Sonck had created for himself an established and recognized position as an architect. His commissions ensured a middle-class standard of living and the publicity and acclaim of his works led to expectations for a successful future. By this stage Sonck had already created a large number of architectural works of varying function, including a large city church still under construction and significant multi-storey buildings in Hanko, Tampere and Helsinki. Sonck approached the Helsinki clientele through successful designs in other parts of the country. The project for the church in Turku was noted widely in the trade press, as also many other works of the late 1890s, such as a spa hotel for Loviisa (1897) and the Tirkkonen building in Tampere. Sonck had created a clearly individual form of expression, which was to be repeated in successive works. This applied to both multi-storey buildings in brick, which in addition to the above also included a four-storey hotel in Hanko (Torikatu 2, 1898–1899), (Fig. 149) and to his wooden and log architecture. This was of significance with respect to increased professional competition in the 1890s and the typically individualistic concept of the artist in this

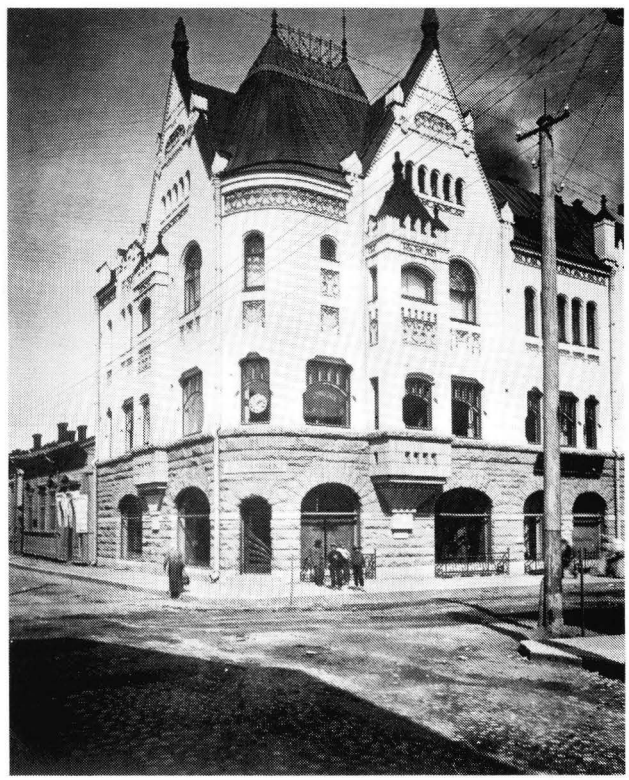

Fig. 6. Tirkkonen building, Kauppakatu 6, Tampere, 1898-1900. Together with Birger Federley. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

Fig. 7. North Esplanade 19 – Unioninkatu 28, Helsinki. The arched entrance to the *Privatbanken* on the North Esplanade side. Sonck's office was on the Unioninkatu side, far to the right in the photograph. (Photo Helsinki City Museum Picture Archives/Erik Sundström).

period. Sonck had now established a permanent base for himself. From 1899 onwards he had his own architects' office and apartment in the *Privatbanken* building on the North Esplanade in Helsinki. In connection with his designs for alterations to the bank between 1903 and 1904, Sonck had an office and an apartment built for himself in a new location in the same building at Unioninkatu 28 B.[9] The location was a very central one, in the heart of the business centre of Helsinki. Sonck had his office there for the following 50 years. From the 1890s onwards he had his summer studio at Lasses Villa, which included a separate studio (*ritsalen*). In Finland Sonck mainly moved between Helsinki and the Åland Islands with extended journeys to Stockholm, where he had close contacts with colleagues. From the very early years of his career he also travelled extensively on the Continent, in Germany, Austria and Italy.[10] The influences and impressions of these trips were especially reflected in his town-planning work.

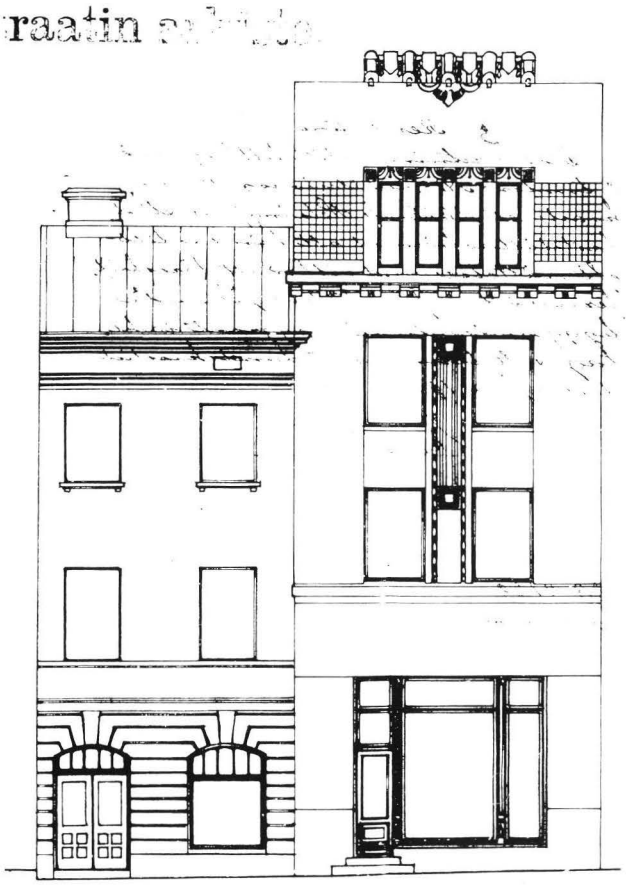

Fig. 8. Sonck's office, Unioninkatu 28 B, Helsinki. Facade alteration and extension drawings from 1909. The studio was in the top storey. (HKRVVA).

Along with the design of houses and buildings, Sonck was active in a number of other fields of architecture in the 1890s. The problems of restoration were already mentioned above. Sonck achieved special fame in town planning, where he can be regarded as a significant reformer. In this field he participated in both competitions and public debate in the press. Sonck's article from 1898 "*Modärn vandalism*" (Modern Vandalism), often referred to in architectural studies, outlined the architects' field of expertise with respect to civil engineering and strove to demonstrate that town planning belonged to the field of urban architecture as practised by architects.[11] The 1899 town-plan competition for the area of Töölö in Helsinki gave Sonck an opportunity to visualize his aims for reform[12] (Fig. 55). Sonck's expressed desire to establish a difference with respect to civil engineering and to regard city planning and works of building as art was a feature common to the professional development of architects throughout late 19th-century Europe. Around this time, in the late 1890s, Sonck placed his architectural designs and plans on show in national art exhibitions.[13]

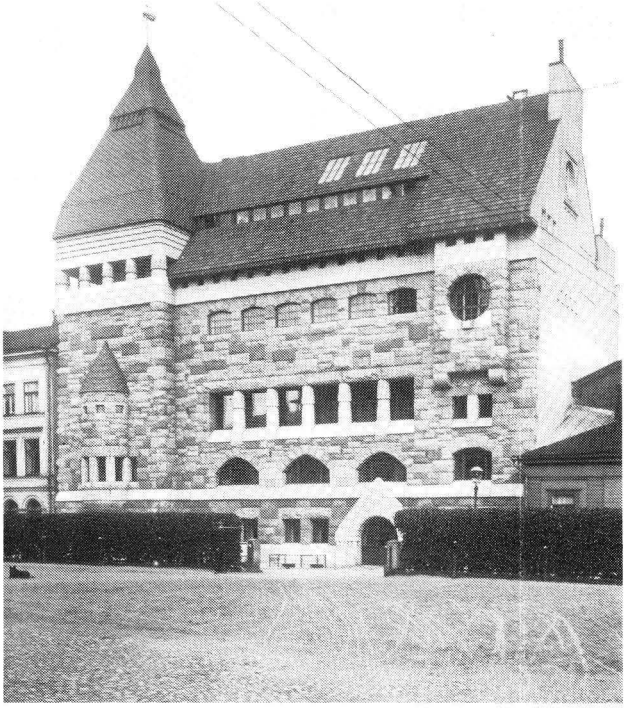

Fig. 9. The Helsinki Telephone Association building, Korkeavuorenkatu 35, Helsinki, 1903-05. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

Fig. 11. The Helsinki Stock Exchange building, Fabianinkatu 14, Helsinki, 1910-12. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

Thus, Sonck's professional image involved the extremes of practical building as part of his training as a master-builder and his role as the proponent of international influences and reforms in the field. His professional activity merged with other areas of the arts and his designs were appreciated as works of art in their own right.

While developing his successful private practice Sonck – in his writings and designs – took upon himself the role of a reformer and a representative of the younger generation of architects. This did not imply age alone, but also the ideology of planning and design. Many contemporary accounts of Finnish architecture of the turn of the century mention

Fig. 10. The Mortgage Association of Finland building, South Esplanade 16, Helsinki, 1907-09. (Photo Helsinki City Museum Picture Archives/Roos).

Fig. 12. Kallio church, Helsinki, 1906-12. (Photo Helsinki City Museum Picture Archives).

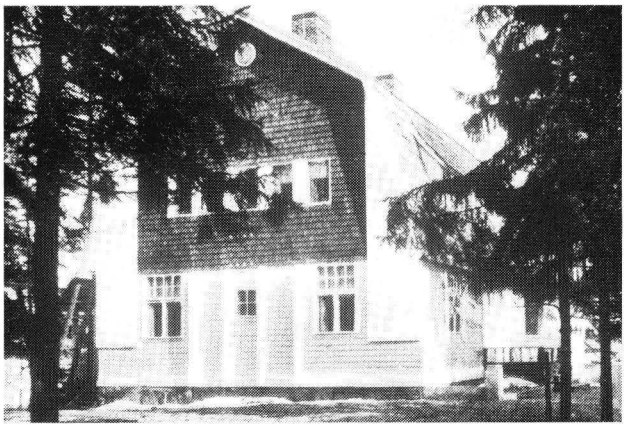

Fig. 13. Villa Sonck, Kulosaari villa community (today part of Helsinki), 1908–09. Demolished. *Brändö Villastad*, p. 14.

Sonck as the central figure of the 1890s in channelling new concepts of architecture.[14] Sonck's activities up to around 1900 can be seen as a typical example of a "young architect" or "promising talent". It involved a fast rise to success with public acclaim, activity and commissions in the main towns and cities of Finland (with the exception of Viipuri). Also involved were breakthrough attempts and finally major commissions in the capital. The situation also called for personal initiative for acquiring work, advertising in newspapers, active debate and polemic in both the trade press and elsewhere, conscious opposition to older architects and the creation of a personal form of expression within an extensive architectural production both regionally and with respect to the nature of commissions. Sonck's professional success and his striving for architectural reform were combined in 1900 when he won the competition for a large church to be built in Tampere. The project known as St. John's Church (present-day Cathedral of Tampere) signified Sonck's final breakthrough and made him one of the foremost architects of Finland (Figs. 44–54). This occurred at the age of thirty after some five years of continuously increasing and expanding professional activity.

The turn of the century marked a new stage in Lars Sonck's career. The years from 1888 to 1894 had been taken up by study, while the final years of the 19th century had seen him setting up a base and establishing a practice and also finding a place in the competitive field and among the various factions of the architectural profession. Sonck's work as an architect was launched at a stage when the previous major period of construction and building activity based on an economic boom had ended in a worldwide economic depression.[15] When building activity picked up towards the end of the 1890s, Sonck was able to link his career to a new upswing of the economy continuing until the outbreak of the First World War. His first prize in the competition for the church in Tampere and the publicity of the project kept Sonck in the public eye. Of equal importance was the fact that from the first years of the 1900s Sonck was given significant commissions in the centre of Helsinki. It was through these projects and his church designs that Sonck achieved a reputation extending beyond the borders of Finland. Although the forms and appearance of his architecture changed in the period from 1900 to 1910, this variation did not coincide with any changes on the professional level. The period up to the outbreak of World War I can be described as uniform, leading to new achievements and increased success. This period saw a succession of commissions of significant cost and of importance for the townscape of Helsinki. Sonck's considerable fees permitted him to develop his personal lifestyle. Between 1908 and 1909 he built for himself a residence in the villa community of Kulosaari near Helsinki and in 1913 he began work on a large villa complex at Brakeudd in Porkkala on the coast of the Gulf of Finland west of Helsinki. The number and extent of Sonck's commissions increased the capacity of his office, where he was assisted by a number of architects, many of whom were to achieve fame in later years, e.g. Bertel and Valter Jung, Oskar Bomansson, Karl Lindahl, Gustaf Strengell and Valter Thomé.[16]

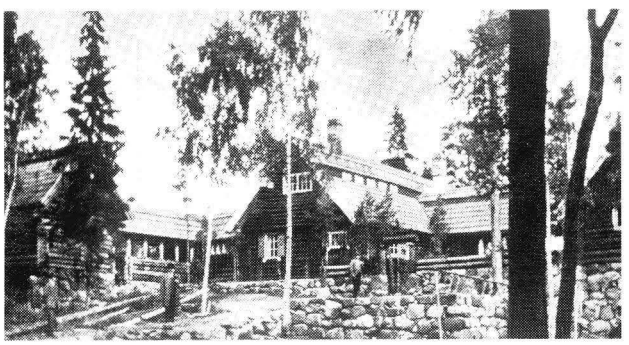

Fig. 14. Villa Brakeudd/Sonck, Hirsala, Porkkala peninsula, Kirkkonummi, 1913-25. Demolished. *Arkitekten* 1945, p. 85.

Fig. 15. Villa Ekblom, Liepaja (Libau), Latvia, USSR, 1913. (Post-card photo SRM).

Fig. 16. Harbour warehouse; Katajanokka, Helsinki, 1911-13, second building stage and completion 1928. (Photo SRM/Kari Hakli).

Sonck's career reached its apex in the early 1910s. This applies to the extent of his production as well as to his status and role in the stylistic development of architecture. At this time, Sonck's professional activity was at its widest scope. The series of public edifices of the past years had been continued in 1912 with the completion of the Kallio church and the Stock Exchange building in Helsinki.[17] Sonck was still regarded as a leading figure of Finnish architecture and as a modernist. By the outbreak of the First World War Sonck had extended his town-planning work to suburbs and especially to so-called garden cities. A new area of professional activity was the foundation of the garden city or villa community of Kulosaari near Helsinki and its plan from 1907.[18] A sea-shore hotel for Kulosaari, built in 1917, marked the end of a period which had begun at the turn of the century and contained works important for Sonck's whole career.

The First World War, Finnish independence in 1917 and the ensuing complex political and economic reforms led to major changes in the financial structures upon which most of Sonck's commissions had depended. The relative importance of the Swedish-speaking upper class diminished, the economy was beset by depression and many of the plans and schemes drawn up in the war years could not be accomplished. By the 1920s Sonck had clearly become an architect of the middle generation. New trends with their stress on markedly classicizing features clearly differed from pre-war concepts of design. Sonck had now arrived at a situation to which Eliel Saarinen, the best-known architect of his generation, had reacted by moving to the United States. In the early 1920s Sonck concentrated mainly on large villas. Soon the number of commissions and their scale grew again, and Sonck's new professional boom lasted until the beginning of the 1930s.[19] Although

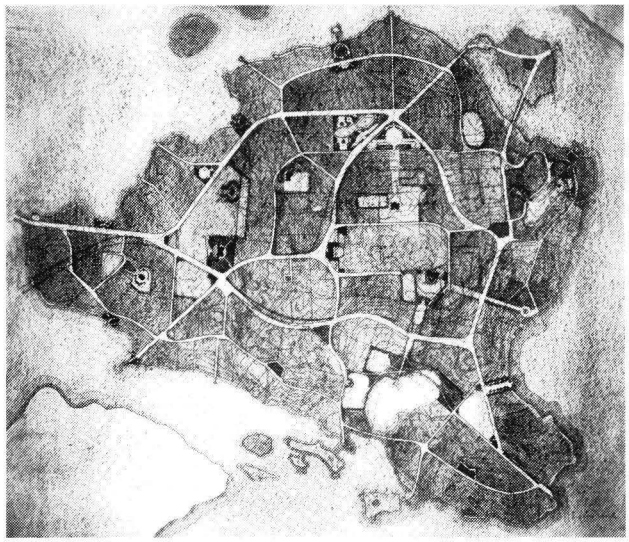

Fig. 17. Plan for the Kulosaari villa community, first version, 1907. (Original and photo SRM).

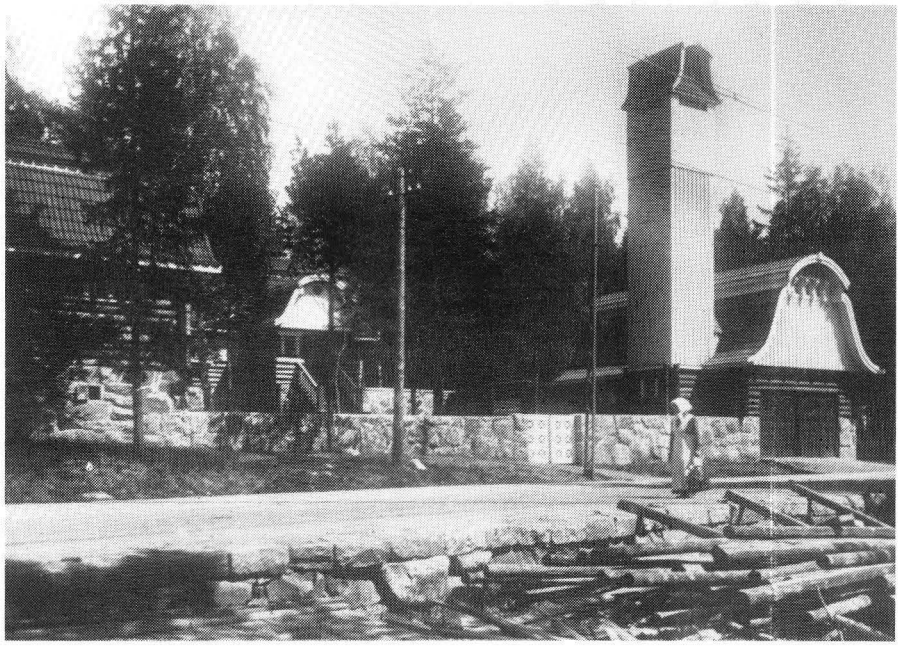

Fig. 18. Fire station and telephone exchange of the Kulosaari villa community, Kulosaarentie 44, 1914-15. The tower has been demolished. (Photo National Board of Antiquities, Pictorial Archives of the Section for History).

Sonck was no longer a central figure of new style in architecture, he still received major commissions. The number of these works was related to the revival of the economy and the building industry which increased towards the end of the decade. In this situation multi-storey apartment buildings formed a specific group, and Sonck was involved with a number of these also as an investor. His earlier contacts with the Helsinki Telephone Association continued to bring him commissions. At the end of the decade Sonck was again producing architectural works on a large scale and with some degree of financial success, approaching the standards of the pre-war period. The turn of the decade led to an economic depression with financial problems in both the private and public sectors of the economy. These, in turn, were linked to distinct stylistic changes in Finnish architecture.

Together with Matti Finell, Sonck designed a large

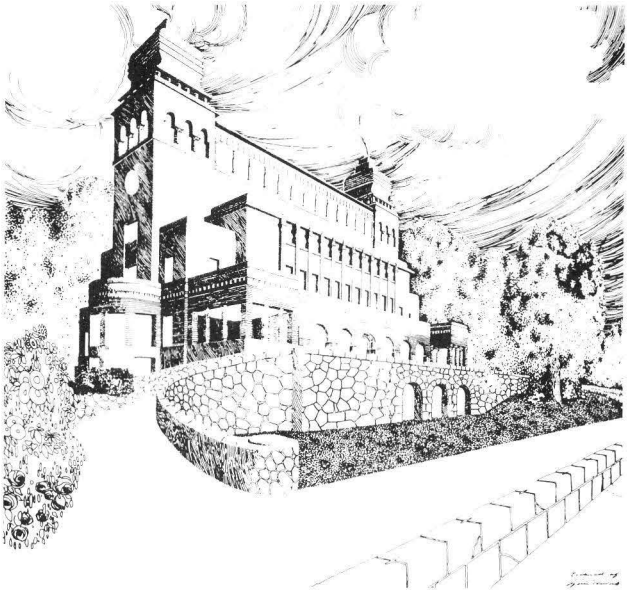

Fig. 19. Design for a hotel, Kulosaari villa community, 1916-17. Drawing by Gösta Kulvik. (Original and photo SRM).

Fig. 20. Lars Sonck in the early 1910s. (Photo SRM).

Fig. 21. Villa Hornborg, Lypertö, Kustavi archipelago, 1922. (Photo SRM/Thomas Rory Spence).

apartment building at Tehtaankatu 11–13 in Helsinki which was completed in 1929. He had also invested his own funds in the project. The building was completed in the middle of the depression and the venture was unsuccessful.[20] Sonck lost his considerable personal means and was forced to sell his villa at Brakeudd, among other property. With the decreased pace and volume of building, conditions were not amenable to successful architectural work.

In the 1920s Sonck succeeded in adapting his forms of expression to prevalent trends, incorporating at the same time the elements of his individual style that had emerged in the 1910s. He still enjoyed a reputation as a prominent architect, especially among his own generation. The marked introduction of the modernist or functionalist concept of architecture in the period from the late 1920s onwards finally removed Sonck from his leading role. In some of his works he managed to apply some of the principles

Fig. 22. The Arena building, Hämeentie 2, Helsinki, 1922-23. (Photo SRM/Fred Runeberg).

Fig. 23. Tehtaankatu 11-13, Helsinki, 1928-29. Together with Matti Finell. (Photo SRM/Simo Rista).

of the new international modernism, such as strip windows and open corners[21] (Fig. 24). His synthesis of old and new elements was not, however, as successful as those presented by his contemporaries Sigurd Frosterus and the brothers Bertel and Valter Jung, all of whom received significant commissions from the business community in the 1930s. Paradoxically enough, functionalism gave Sonck his last significant public work of architecture in Helsinki. The project was for a church in Tehtaanpuisto park, the competition for which was held between 1930 and 1932. The competition was in many respects a borderline of architectural concepts and principles in Finland.[22] In the continued second stage of the competition the proponents of new ideas were rejected and Sonck's project with its traditional features pleasing to the jury was selected. Sonck had been especially invited to participate. In his design for this church (the present-day Mikael Agricola church), completed in 1935, Sonck simplified his array of forms developed in the late 1920s. The grouping of volume was based on the design for the Kallio church some thirty years previously. The sharp criticism voiced by the younger generation in this connection reiterated the conflicts Sonck had known back in the 1890s. Now, it was his turn to be old and

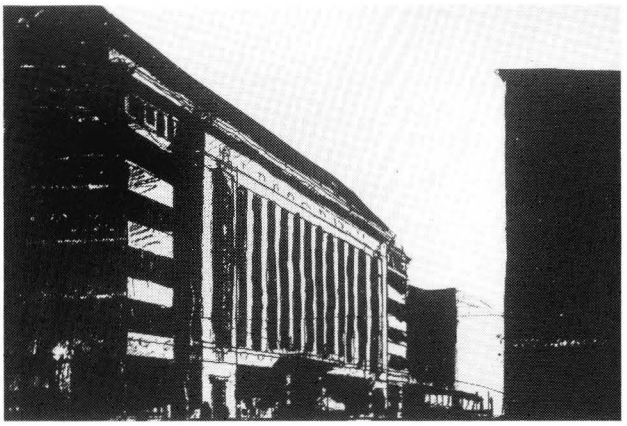

Fig. 24. Competition entry for the headquarters of the Nordic Union Bank, Helsinki, 1929. (SRM, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

Fig. 26. Maarianhamina Town Hall, 1938-39. (Photo SRM/Pekka Korvenmaa).

on the way out. The church was Sonck's last project of national acclaim, and its completion marked the end of a professional period that had begun forty years previously with his success in the competition for St. Michael's Church in Turku.

Sonck had an active office practice throughout the 1930s, but the number of commissions and their significance no longer corresponded to the success of his earlier years. He participated in a number of competitions, especially for church projects, but without success. The major commissions of Sonck's later years were in the Åland Islands, where he designed a large city hall (partly completed), a seafaring institute and a burial chapel in the late 1930s. Sonck continued his work after the Second World War mainly in the design of villas and his last studies and designs are from the early 1950s. His professional career lasted sixty years. The first completed design, alterations for a wooden building in Maarianhamina, was from 1893. Partial paralysis in 1953 marked the final end to Sonck's architectural career and he died three years later.

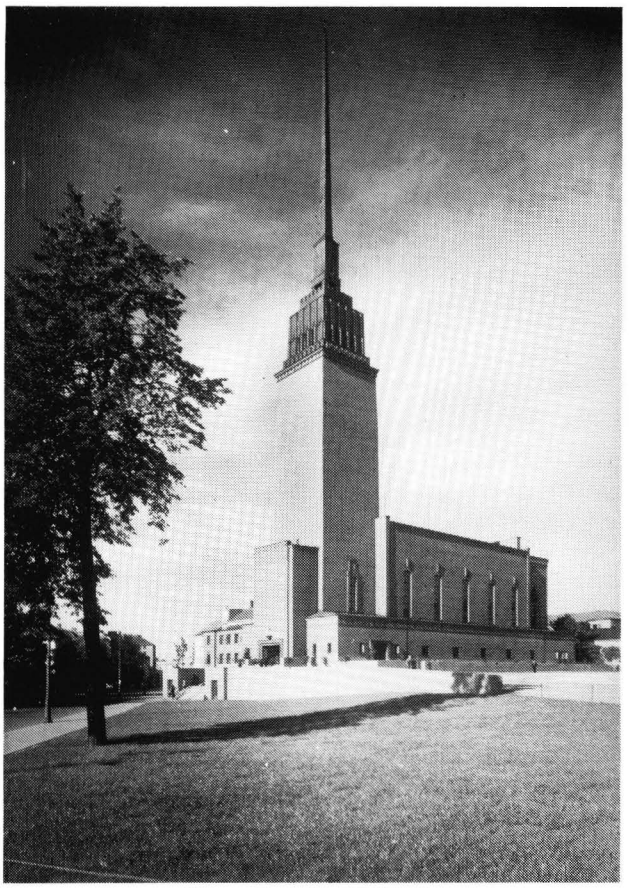

Fig. 25. Mikael Agricola Church, Helsinki, 1932-35. (Photo Helsinki City Museum Picture Archives/Pietinen).

II.2. Features of Sonck's works and professional activity

Lars Sonck's extensive architectural production comprises some 150 buildings as well as numerous alterations, town plans and interior designs. To these works must be added many unrealized plans and designs, many of which were competition entries and proposals.[23] Sonck's buildings entail a few distinct and long-lived lines of approach, related partly to function and partly to composition. Forming a separate group are wooden villas, almost all of which were of exposed logs. This series of works began with Lasses Villa in 1895 and the hipped-roofed square-plan type was still present in Villa Klami from 1945. In the 1910s a different type appeared, of angular design and comprising several parts enclosing a yard. In his designs for villas Sonck created variations of mostly round-log corner-joining technique within a single functional entity. In many cases solutions from his own villas were used.

Sonck's church designs over the decades involved variations of three basic solutions which he had de-

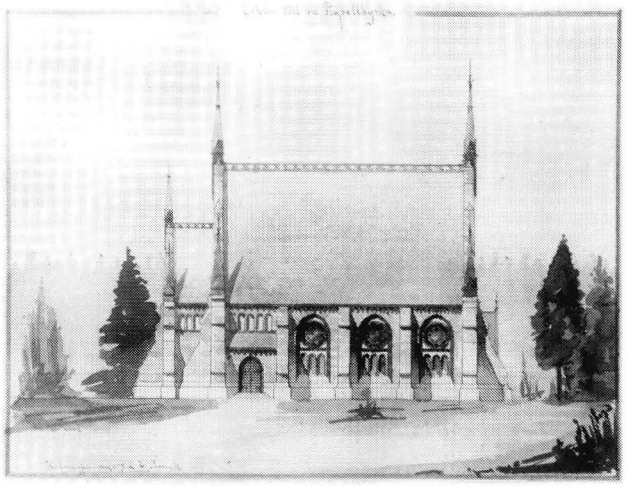

Fig. 27. "Sketch for a Chapel" (Eskiss till en kapellkyrka). Student project, 1894. (Helsinki University of Technology, Institution of Architectural History, photo Ville Lukkarinen).

Fig. 29. Maarianhamina Church, 1927-28. (Photo SRM/Thomas Rory Spence).

veloped in the 1890s. These were: a simple towerless volume with a hipped roof laid on a rectangular plan; a larger and also hipped-roofed volume with an axial tower at one end; and a type where a dispersed volume under several roof parts was linked asymmetrically to one or several towers. The first-mentioned plan appeared in a study from Sonck's student days,[24] and was used in his 1912 project for the chapel of St. James in Paimio. It was carried out in a town church in Maarianhamina in 1928 and was also presented in Sonck's competition entry for the church of Nuijamaa in 1943. The second type was present as an alternative in the competition for the church in Turku in 1894,[25] again in connection with the same church in 1897 and in the winning entry for the Kallio church in 1906. This compositional principle was to dominate Sonck's larger church projects, such as the unrealized designs for the Finnish church of Porvoo from 1914 and the church of Mikael Agricola in Helsinki (1932–35). The third alternative can be found in a training study for a manor church[26] (Fig. 36), a study for a rural church from 1897 (Fig. 60), a project for a wooden church at Kylmäkoski in 1898 (Fig. 4), a project for the church of Nilsiä from 1900 (Fig. 62) and finally in the winning entry for the church of Tampere also from 1900 (Fig. 44). The division of volume was developed later by Sonck into a version where the tower was placed as a separate *campanile*, as in Sonck's entry for the Finnish church of Porvoo in 1937.

The basic solutions repeated in Sonck's designs of villas and churches throughout his career were linked to a non-changing functional type. Sonck also had his specific selection of volume groupings, facade compositions and details which was repeated in his works. The symmetric facade type which he had designed in the early 1910s, freely following the

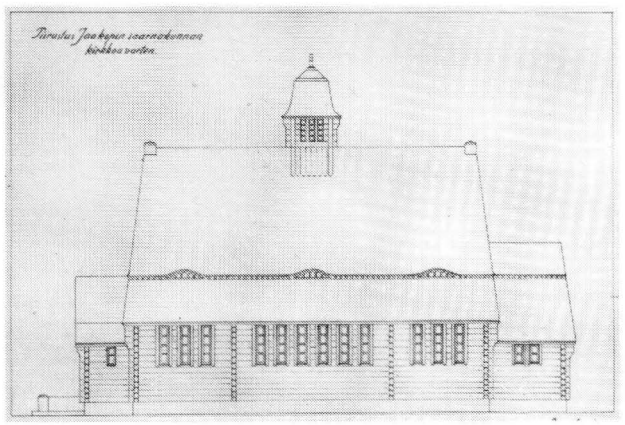

Fig. 28. Design for a small church in Paimio. The 1914 version in timber, otherwise closely resembling the 1912 version. (SRM, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

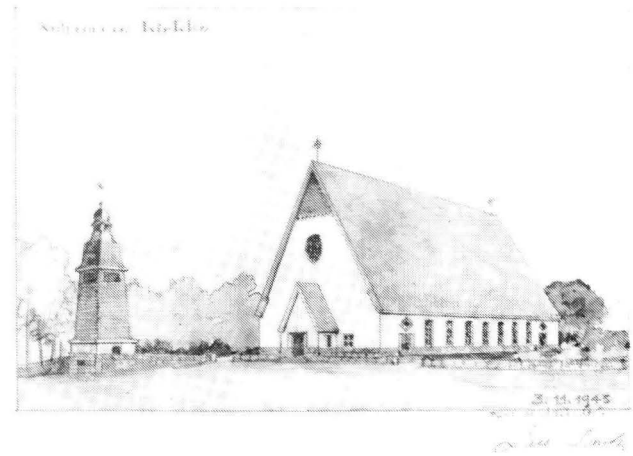

Fig. 30. Design for Nuijamaa Church, 1943. Drawing by Marius af Schultén. (Original and photo SRM).

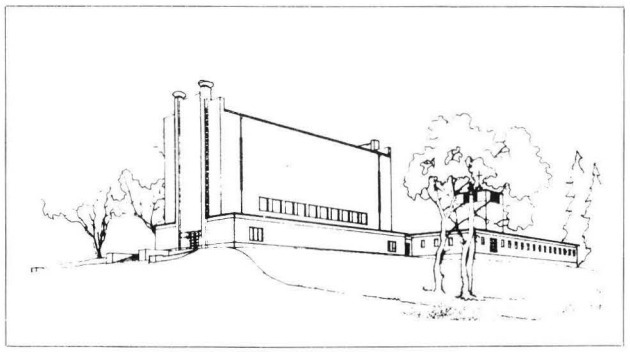

Fig. 31. Competition entry for a funeral chapel in Turku, 1939. (SRM, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

heritage of classicism (e.g. as applied in the Helsinki Stock Exchange building), remained in use for decades. A long-lived variation of the design was a rectangle with a tower-like projection on the central axis. This design feature became common after the competition for the premises of the Suomi insurance company in 1909 and reappeared in the design of the Maarianhamina seafaring institute some thirty years later. Alongside his major themes a number of minor ones were also repeated, e.g. the round window, which was applied in the Lignell building in Hanko in 1896 and remained in use for over four decades.

The long-term use and application of a repertoire developed in the early stages of an architect's career is not in itself exceptional. In Finnish architecture Alvar Aalto (1898–1976) presents a clear example of a similar method. Also Eliel Saarinen made wide use of repeated themes. Over the years his tower themes evolved from the turret to the clock-tower of the Helsinki Railway Station and to the design of skyscrapers. Saarinen, however, avoided the fate of Sonck in the early 1930s, as he was then in the United States and operating in a completely different stylistic frame of reference. In America Saarinen's concepts of architecture achieved wide acclaim and acceptance through the use of means which would probably have been criticized in Finland.

As a whole, Sonck's architectural works display a clearly innovative course of development up to the early years of the 1910s. This was followed by a long period extending to the late 1920s when he was still productive and created variations of the themes of his earlier period. On a smaller scale this process continued to the very end of his career. Although Sonck's architecture over the years displays an increasing degree of repetition, his lack of success in competitions can be seen as having been linked to a change in the overall concept of architecture. For example, his 1939 entry in the competition for a burial chapel in Turku shows a distinct renewal of the dominant conventions of his architecture (Fig. 31). Accordingly, his later years should be not seen solely as a repetition of his standard range of compositions and themes.

Churches were a building type present throughout Sonck's career and the subject of special attention. Apart from the fact that he began his professional career with the design of a significant church, he also concentrated on the design and restoration of churches in the late 1890s to such a degree that he publicly stated that churches were his special field.[27] The large town churches in Tampere and Helsinki are still his best-known works. Along with these he prepared both realized and uncompleted designs for churches in smaller towns.[28] In addition, there were numerous competition entries and proposals. Even without any attempts at deterministic explanation, we should take into account the fact that for the son of a rural clergyman churches were the first and almost the only public buildings which he knew as a child.

Sonck was a private architect in the true sense of the term. He did not hold public office, nor did he teach or take upon himself positions of trust except in the Architects' Club. The majority of his commissions were from the private sector, the only exception being churches. Sonck set upon his career in a situation where architectural training and professional practice had achieved established forms in Finland. Professional organization continued around the turn of the century when a distinct and collegially binding set of norms was laid down for the architectural profession in Finland.[29] The journal *Arkitekten* (The Architect), first issued by the Architects' Club in 1903, became the forum of the rapidly growing profession. The development of printing made it possible to present new buildings with photographs, and the first numbers of the journal devoted a great deal of space to Sonck's works.

In the early stages of his career Sonck was very active in the inner circles of his profession. He participated in the meetings of the Architects' Club and especially in the late 1890s he presented polemic views on restoration and town-planning issues. He was aided in preparing his statements by his friend, the journalist and researcher Gustaf Mattsson.[30] Sonck was among the writers of the pamphlet *Vårt Museum* (Our Museum) drawn up in 1900 and expressing views on the debate concerning the National Museum of Finland.[31] Over the following years he wrote about the planning of small towns in Finland and on building practices in the rural areas.[32] When larger commissions from the early 1900s onwards began to take up more and more of his time, Sonck gradually gave up writing. His professional concepts are expressed in his 1909 article "*Huru det bygges i Helsingfors*" (How Helsinki is being built), which criticizes the designs of master-

builders.[33] Especially in the early years of the 1900s emphasis was laid on the architects' view – dating back to the end of the preceding century – that their profession entailed expertise in the total artistic design and planning of physical reality. This applied at the time also to Sonck, who presented his furniture designs in the trade press, although normally he did not concentrate on interior design.[34]

It was at this time that master-builders achieved increased professional status, not only in carrying out the designs of architects, but also as designers in their own right.[35] Architects reacted strongly to these developments and many articles expressed sharp criticism of the work of master-builders, especially on esthetic grounds. In his above-mentioned article Sonck discussed floor-plans by master-builders and attempted to limit even this area of design to the capabilities of architects. This was to be the last article in which Sonck addressed general problems of architecture. His writings on this subject spanned a period of some ten years. Although he was apparently motivated by a genuine interest in architecture, his early writings also served as a means of marketing and publicity. Sonck also published his articles in general cultural journals such as *Finsk Tidskrift* and *Argus*.

As a private architect Sonck was an entrepreneur working in a market defined in terms of economic liberalism. Thus, his professional activity was guided and dictated by domestic capital as well as factors influencing the international economy. The main stage of Sonck's career coincided with a long economic boom, and he was able to develop his professional practice without any major interruptions by outside factors. In the early stages of the late 1890s he acquired commissions by advertising in the trade press, along with other means, e.g. "L. El. Sonck. Architect, Helsinki. Specializing in churches."[36] Architectural competitions were an especially important channel in this respect, and the early years of the 1900s saw numerous competitions in the field. With the exception of his church projects, Sonck, however, did not receive any major commissions through competitions. He was awarded fifth place in


No 16 SUOMEN TEOLLISUUSLEHTI 1898. 3

Juho Mustosen
Valuri- ja Nikkelöimistehdas Oulussa
Valmistaa *Ajoneuvosolituksia, Rakennustakeita, Rautasänkyjä, Kylpyammeita;* korjaa *Polkupyöriä, Maanviljelys-* ja *Meijerikaluja* y. m.
Hintaluetteloita pyydettäessä vapaasti.
Osote: JUHO MUSTONEN, Oulu.

Olen perustanut . . .
MAALARI-LIIKKEEN
Tampereella

L. El. Sonck
Arkkitehti Helsingissä.
Erityisala kirkkorakennukset.

Urb. Koistinen
Nilsiässä,
valmistaa ja myypi paljottain ja vähittäin kaikellaisia *harjoja* ja maalarin *sivellitmiä*. Paljottain ostajat saavat suuren hinnanalennuksen. Hintaluetteloita lähetetään ilmaiseksi pyydettäessä.
Urb. Koistinen,
Nilsiässä.

Fig. 32. Sonck's advertisement from 1898, mentioning churches as his special field. *Suomen Teollisuuslehti* no. 16 1898, p. 3.

the 1902 competition for the National Museum. He declined to compete in 1904 for the Helsinki Railway Station project, and his entry in the 1907 competition for Parliament House was awarded fourth place.[37] The majority of Sonck's commissions came directly from the private sector, mostly representing the Swedish-speaking capital-owners of Helsinki. Once in contact with these circles, the small group of influential decision-makers continued to provide him with several lucrative commissions.[38] Sonck did not, however, enjoy the patronage of any individual. His professional success raised him to a social level closer to that of his clients. His income increased considerably in the early 1910s, corresponding to that of the upper sections of the bourgeoisie.[39] At this time Sonck's financial, social and cultural stock of capital was at its highest. His social capital was based on his professional status and the network of contacts with commissioners forming the most influential unofficial sector of Finnish society. In cultural terms he was a member of the generation of the 1890s which had achieved a leading role in many sectors of culture. However, Sonck should not be seen as a typical representative of the Swedish-speaking upper bourgeoisie.[40] In his private life, Sonck took deliberate distance from the values and norms of this class.[41] – Presented in the following are a few examples illustrating Sonck's status in the early 1910s.

In 1904 Sonck designed the renovation of the so-called Kiseleff building facing Unioninkatu and owned by the Stockmann trading house. The building is located in the business centre of Helsinki in a block surrounded by Sofiankatu, Aleksanterinkatu, Unioninkatu and the North Esplanade streets.[42] Following this project Karl Stockmann, head of the trading house, commissioned from Sonck a log villa. The building, known as Villa Soldis, was built in 1907 at Ramsinniemi, Kallvik in Vuosaari to the east of Helsinki.[43] The favourable state of the economy increased the wealth of the Stockmann trading house and in 1911–13 a private house was built for Karl Stockmann at Kaivopuisto in one of the most valued areas of Helsinki. The building was originally known as Villa Stockmann (later Villa Baumgartner, demolished). In the same period (1912–13), Stockmann commissioned the building of a new department store at Sofiankatu 4 according to designs by Sonck. The department store was linked to the Kiseleff building on Unioninkatu which had once more been altered by Sonck.[44] Within the space of only a few years one of the most prominent businessmen in Helsinki commissioned from Sonck premises in the centre of Helsinki, his own city home and his summer house. This, however, did not imply patronage, as Stockmann's commissions were for works which were to be built immediately for definite needs.

In 1910 an association known as the Stock Ex-

Fig. 33. Sonck, third from the right, with Scandinavian colleagues. From an excursion during the Scandinavian meeting of architects in Norway, 1912. (Photo SRM).

change Club (Sw. *Börsklubben*) was founded in Helsinki to arrange premises for a stock exchange.[45] Along with prominent figures of the business community, the list of charter members includes the architects Sonck, Bertel Jung, Eliel Saarinen and Sigurd Frosterus. The leading architects of the period were orientated towards the business community not only in the hope of future commissions but also on the social level. This was possible in terms of income because of low income tax. For example, a few years earlier Sonck had been paid considerable fees for the design of the Kallio church and the Mortgage Association building (Fi. *Hypoteekkiyhdistys*).[46] While regarding themselves to a great degree as artists and cultural figures, architects consciously merged with the sector of society from which they received their major commissions. It appears that clients and architects found some degree of mutual interest in the spirit of bourgeois liberalism fanned by the economic boom. Leading businessmen and the architects who carried out their wishes saw themselves as an enlightened avant-garde, discerning the essential course of development of the built environment for which they could ensure both the economic framework as well as the desired physical appearance. Perhaps the most graphic example of such a relationship is the co-operation between Julius Tallberg, a leading businessman, and the architect Eliel Saarinen in connection with the Munkkiniemi-Haaga town plan.[47]

The situation sketched out above changed soon after the First World War and Finnish independence in 1917, but only partly. With his extensive architectural production of the 1920s, Sonck was able to restore his financial standing. On the other hand, he no longer had control over the field of professional expertise and mainly found himself on its margins. Related to this situation were changes in the nature of commissions and their location. Having been before the war one of the architects with the largest number of projects in the centre of the capital, Sonck's major works of the 1920s were concentrated on residential architecture, i.e. multi-storey apartment buildings, many of which were in the northern, working-class sections of Helsinki (Fig. 34). These changes are partly due to the development of the Finnish economy. The leading figures who had provided Sonck with work in the early years of the century were now on their way out. Among other factors, the *Privatbanken* bank, the management of which had aided Sonck's career, ceased operations. At the same time as Sonck's commissions in Helsinki

now moved further and further away from the city centre, he began – as in his early years – to design numerous projects for small towns. With respect to the centre of Helsinki, the crux of Finnish economy and architecture, Sonck's career can be seen as a spiral, first bringing him from the provinces to the centre of events and later leading him to a situation resembling the conditions of his early years.

Contemporary assessments, albeit limited in scope, of Sonck's architectural abilities are provided by comments in the press by Finnish and foreign colleagues. From the very beginning and especially from the turn of the century onwards Sonck's projects received a great deal of publicity and almost all of Sonck's main works were presented in the journal *Arkitekten*, often in series of illustrations on several pages. The editor of the journal, Sigurd Frosterus, wrote positive articles on St. John's Church, the Kallio church, the Mortgage Association building and the Stock Exchange building, among other works by Sonck. He was by no means an artist misunderstood by contemporary critics, nor do his own polemic writings display any degree of professional alienation, underestimation of his works or distance from the structures of power.

Sigurd Frosterus describes Sonck in the following terms: "a genuine architect"; "as an architect in the true sense of the term, there is hardly anyone in Finland who stands on his own ground in the same way as Sonck"; "the singular works of art given us by Sonck." ("...den värkliga arkitekten...",[48]; "...såsom arkitekt i ordets egentliga betydelse, står väl ingen i vårt land så helt på egen grund som Sonck"[49] ;"...de egendomliga konstverk Sonck skänkt oss".[50]) In his 1905 review of the architecture of the preceding twenty-five years Waldemar Wilenius clearly states his view of Sonck as a reformer of church and secular architecture and town planning. Wilenius uses terms such as "trail-blazing" (banbrytande),"bearing an individual stamp" (tryckt sin individuella prägel) and "Sonck's artistic inclination is of the picturesque" (Soncks konstriktning är det pittoreska).[51] Nordic assessments of Sonck's works were voiced in more general terms. August Brunius of Stockholm wrote of Sonck in 1912 as "the man with the heavy and steady hand, no artist of details nor an interior designer of any major importance, but imbued with an elementary strength superior to all others in the Nordic countries" ("...mannen med den tunga, fasta handen, ingen detaljkonstnär ock icke någon interiörformare av större betydelse, men besittande en elementär kraft, varmed ingen i Norden kan mäta sig").[52] In a long article on Finnish architecture Francis Beckett of Denmark wrote of Sonck as a significant artist – "one can recognize the lion's grip in all that he builds" (man kender overalt Løvekloen i hvad han bygger). He also presents the Mortgage

Fig. 34. Block of flats in the working-class district of Vallila, Sturenkatu-Kangasalankatu-Eurantie, Helsinki, 1928. Together with Matti Finell. (Photo SRM).

Association building and the Kallio church as "the two best modern monumental buildings" (...de to bedste moderne monumentalbyggninger").[53] In 1908 the French critic Etienne Avenard published a review of early 20th-century Finnish architecture in the journal *Art et Decoration* with Sonck enjoying a prominent place and described as "un architecte aussi original et actif...".[54] The brief assessments and evaluations present a generalization of Sonck as an artist-architect of individual expression and the ability to concentrate especially on single buildings and the artistic design of their facades. It must be pointed out, however, that positive evaluations of Sonck were mainly presented by members of his own generation. Despite certain differences of opinion, both critic and subject (i.e. Frosterus and Sonck) saw themselves as participants in the process of architectural renewal. From completely different starting points writers such as Jac. Ahrenberg and Waldemar Wilenius arrived at analyses which were much less complimentary.[55]

Fig. 35. From the studio cottage, *ritsalen*, next to *Lasses Villa* in the 1930's. (Photo SRM).

In order to describe in more detail Sonck's specific nature as an architect the following section will present a comparison with two other leading Finnish architects. First to be discussed is Eliel Saarinen, a member of Sonck's own generation. The second figure is Theodor Höijer, a leading architect of the late 19th century and a predecessor to Sonck.

Eliel Saarinen (1873–1950) first worked with the office of Gesellius, Lindgren Saarinen and from 1907 alone as the undisputed leading figure of the Finnish architectural profession as well its best-known representative abroad.[56] Saarinen began his career in the late 1890s, a few years after Sonck. His social and cultural background was almost identical to that of Sonck. Saarinen was the son of a clergyman from near St. Petersburg, the eastern extremity of the sphere of Finnish culture. While Sonck studied to be a builder and trained as a bricklayer, Saarinen considered embarking upon an artist's career. Saarinen received his major commissions through competitions, the most noted one being the Helsinki Railway Station. Around the year 1910, when both architects were at the apex of their careers thus far, their professional lives took on clearly different courses. Sonck's town-planning work first concentrated on areas outside the centre of Helsinki which were in the process of becoming urbanized, such as Töölö and the cape of Helsinki (later known as Eira). Soon after this stage he began to work on small projects separate from the city, such as the villa communities or garden cities of Kulosaari, Alberga and Kauniainen, as well as operating in small towns. Sonck sought out situations where he did not have to take into account the growth and expansion of urban technology with its increased traffic nor the requirements of commercial centres. He avoided the architectural and technical problems of Helsinki, then in the process of rapid growth, at he very stage when Saarinen specifically concentrated on the centre of the capital, its traffic and its architectural and functional organization. Saarinen's work outside the city area led to the extensive Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan for a new twin city with routes reserved for vehicular traffic. Saarinen finally extended his town-planning work abroad and designed individual buildings in Estonia, Latvia and Germany. A log villa was built in the archipelago outside of Stockholm according to Sonck's designs, and large private house in Latvia.[57] Sonck did not, however, harbour any pan-European aims of expanding his work in the same way as Saarinen. On the level of their private milieus the differences of these contemporaneous leading architects can be seen in Finström and Hvitträsk. Sonck's villa and summer office at Finström was on a small scale and one of the main meeting places of Scandinavian culture at the turn of the century. It was also part of Sonck's firm ties with Sweden.[58] Saarinen's Hvitträsk was a large complex with tennis courts and other haute-bourgeois features forming the setting for Saarinen's work and his contacts with the cultural elite of the Continent.[59] Saarinen's cultural capital exceeded the bounds of his own profession and he was one of the leading figures of Finnish culture of the early 20th century in much the same way as the painter Akseli Gallen-Kallela. Sonck's role, on the other hand, was based on the results of his work as an architect. After the First World War Sonck withdrew to an increasing degree from public life, while Saarinen left Finland and took on works of a larger scale in the United States. This formed the basis of a successful professional practice continuing up to the end of the 1930s, while Sonck had to face the difficulties described above.

An earlier analogy for Sonck's career and the conditions under which he operated is provided by the case of Theodor Höijer (1843–1910).[60] Höijer, who mainly designed projects in Helsinki, had been a leading figure of the profession since the late 1870s and especially in the 1880s. As pointed out by Viljo, Höijer – like Sonck – was primarily a private architect, in fact the first in Finland to receive his income solely from private practice. This could be seen as a dependency on the fluctuations of the economy. Höijer's commissions were mainly from the leading sectors of the business community in Helsinki, and he suffered financially from the depression of the 1890s, losing his personal property. With the onset of better times he was faced by the stylistic changes of Finnish architecture, one of the protagonists of which was Sonck. Höijer, however, was younger than Sonck was in the 1930s, when the latter had to contend with the combined problems of reduced income and difficulties in architectural expression.

During Höijer's main professional period architects had not yet become organized or specialized into professionals limited to certain tasks in the same way as in the early years of the 20th century.[61] Their professional activity often contained entrepreneurial features and they often supervised the actual building of their projects. Sonck, on the other hand, received his income solely from design and planning. Although his training would have permitted him to supervise building sites, he did not do so and employed master-builders for the task. Compared with Höijer's period, early 20th-century construction was more strictly divided among the various trades and professional groups. For example the Mortgage Association building (1907–09) was designed by Sonck, his assistant drew up the final plans, the site was supervised by a builder, and an outside expert was called in to design the reinforced-concrete body of the building. Sonck was the personification of the artist-architect, specifically responsible for the ap-

pearance of the building and the composition of its rooms and space. This was made possible by the clearly increased volume of construction and building in Helsinki in comparison with earlier years, the corresponding number of commissions and the generous income provided by the situation. Sonck was able to delegate various tasks to his subordinates, whose share of the work he clearly underlined.[62] In the early years of the 20th century Sonck operated in a situation where the architectural profession had a clear image of its role and an emerging professional identity with respect to civil engineers, master-builders and contractors. Sonck had been personally involved in furthering such a course of development in the Architects' Club. In this respect Finland had now come to the same situation as England and Sweden at more or less the same time.[63] The hierarchy of the architectural profession was outlined in numerous competitions over both public and private projects. The architects, the entrepreneurs of the expanding market of architecture, could thus present their views concerning the same task within the guidelines of a clear set of rules. The numerous competitions, widely discussed in the press, undoubtedly taxed the time and labour of architects, but they also gave younger and less-known architects an opportunity to come to the fore. Sonck's career had been launched through just such a competition. On the other hand, architects already established and acclaimed in their own right had to display their skills in relation to their own generation and the younger members of the profession. Although Sonck was successful in the 1911 competition for a large harbour warehouse in Helsinki, the result led to criticism from the younger generation.[64] The practice of architectural competitions also led to a situation where the same architect would not be commissioned even for two consecutive projects of a similar nature, and a suitable architect was sought through competition each time for the building concerned. Although Sonck had designed new premises for the Stockmann trading house in Helsinki in 1912, the firm decided to move their operations four years later to the new business centre closer to the railway station, and a competition was held for the new department store.[65] The new project involved requirements of a Continental standard for the organizing of sales and the movement of crowds in relation to the nearby streets which differed from Sonck's typical starting points, and he apparently did not even participate in the competition.[66]

III. WORKS AND PROJECTS FROM 1900 TO 1910

III.1. St. John's Church

III.1.1. Points of departure and the result

St. John's Church in Tampere, the present-day Cathedral of Tampere,[1] its stages of construction, acquisition of materials and artistic decoration have been thoroughly discussed by Paula Kivinen in a number of studies.[2] The following discussion will concentrate on the principles of design and the form of expression involved. Presented as a background factor is Sonck's first church project, St. Michael's Church in Turku from 1894–1905.[3] Also involved are some unrealized church projects. St. John's Church was a key project in which Sonck combined a number of his own features of development from the late 1890s as well as more common themes. This led to a series of works in rapid succession, in which Sonck applied the ideas he had developed in the church project.

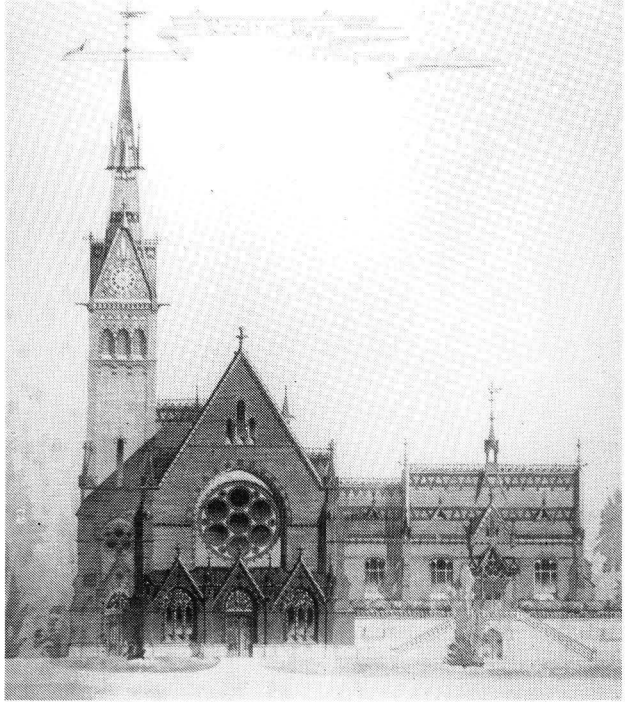

Fig. 36. Design for the church of a larger manor ("Eskiss till en kyrka för en större herresäte"). Student project, early 1890s. (ÅM, photo SRM).

The competition for the church in Tampere was opened in November 1899 and it closed October 1900. Twenty-three entries were submitted, of which Lars Sonck's "Aeternitas" was the winner (Fig. 44). The main designs were finished in 1901 and they were approved in June 1902 (Figs. 45–47). Construction began the same year; roofing was completed in 1904 when work was also begun on the vaults. The church was inaugurated in 1907. In the decoration work Sonck was assisted by the architect Valter Jung. The works of art of the interior are by Hugo Simberg and Magnus Enckell. The construction work was supervised by Birger Federley, Sonck's former associate. The supervising builder was Heikki Kaartinen. The building has a brick-laid bearing structure faced with grey and partly red granite. The vaults are of brick. Within the upper part of the main tower is a supporting structure of iron. The roofs are laid with brick tiles. The present appearance of the church corresponds to its original state.

The programme of design for the new church resembled the problems faced by Sonck a few years previously in Turku. A new and relatively large church was needed by a rapidly growing working-class district of the town. Although the competition for St. Michael's Church was held in 1894, bricklaying was begun only as late as 1902. In Tampere the corresponding stage of work began in 1903. The two churches were under construction simultaneously and the church in Turku was inaugurated only two years before St. John's Church. The finishing details of St. Michael's Church reflected the features of the designing stage of the Tampere project. A similar overlapping of work occurred also with St. John's and the church of Kallio in Helsinki (1906–12). St. John's Church was in the middle of a series in which projects of a single function were under preparation from the early 1890s to the 1910s.

The main drawings for St. Michael's Church from 1895 continued a tradition of Neo-Gothic long churches in unplastered brick which Carl Gustaf Th. Chiewitz[4] had introduced into Finland in the 1850 (Figs. 37–38). Around the end of the 19th century this convention was applied by Theodor Decker and

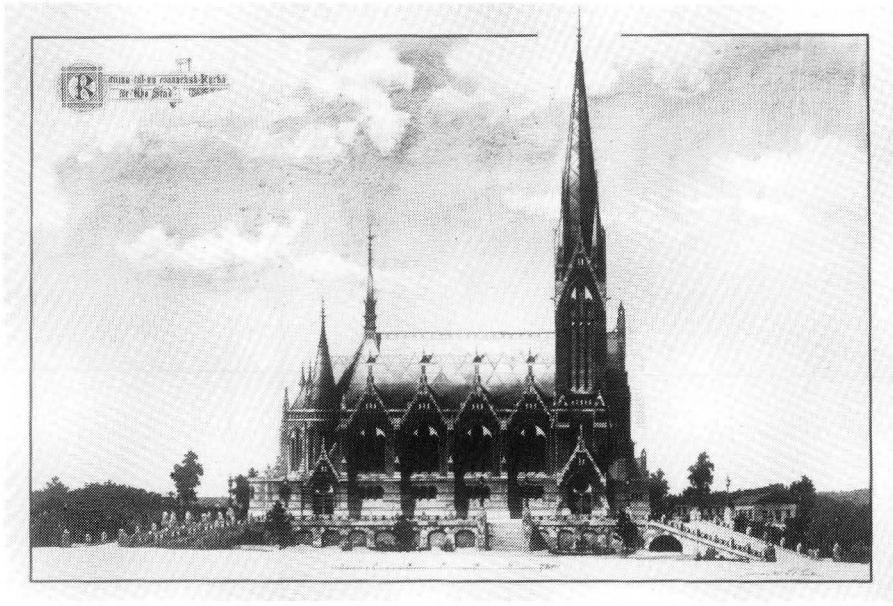

Fig. 37. St. Michael's Church. Turku, 1894-1905. North elevation, main drawings from 1895. (Archives of the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregations, Turku, photo SRM).

Theodor Höijer, among others.[5] Josef Stenbäck worked in this manner up to the end of the 1890s. St. John's Church in Helsinki (1886–1891), designed by the Swedish architect A. E. Melander, was completed a few years before the Turku competition.

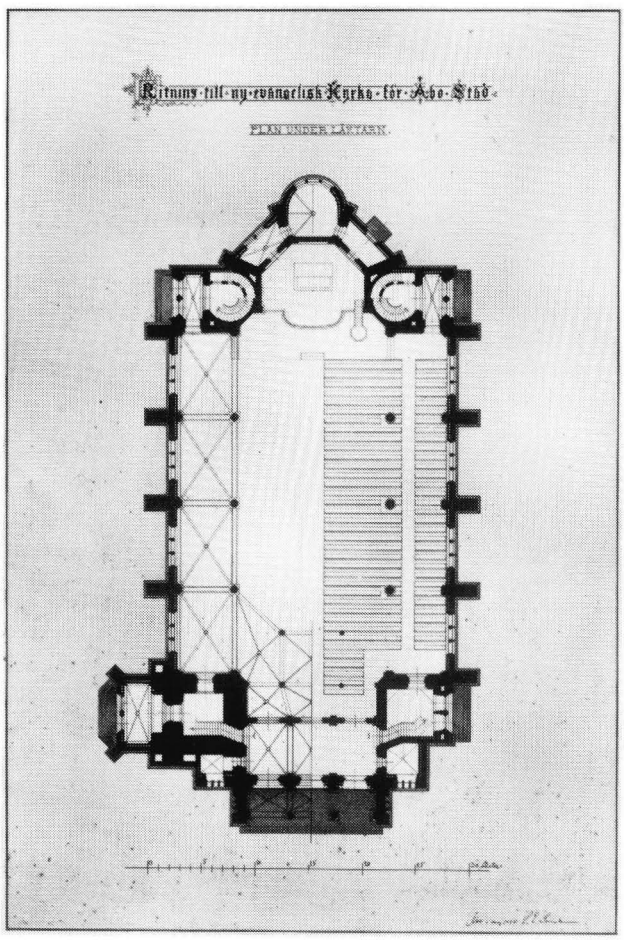

Fig. 38. St. Michael's Church. Floor plan, main drawings from 1895. (Original and photo as Fig. 37).

This grand example of *rohbau* Neo-Gothic architecture with its twin towers and full-basilica division of space was part of the cathedral tradition. St. Michael's Church was designed as a long church without a clerestory, but its starting points were mostly linked to new German architecture, mainly the works of Johannes Otzen.[6]

During the long stage of design and construction the church project acquired features that departed

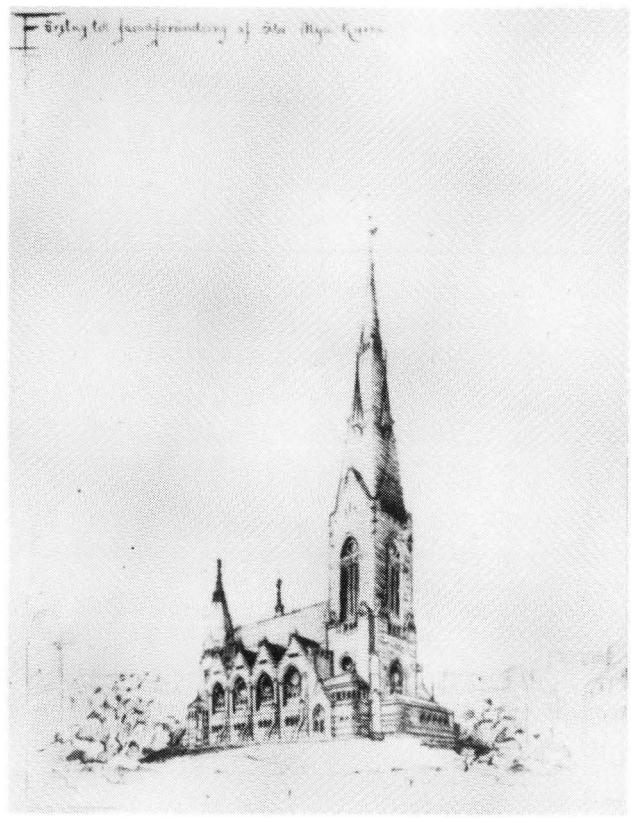

Fig. 39. Sonck's proposal from 1897 for changing the design of St.Michael's Church. The tower would have stood above the chancel. (ÅM, photo SRM/Paula Kivinen).

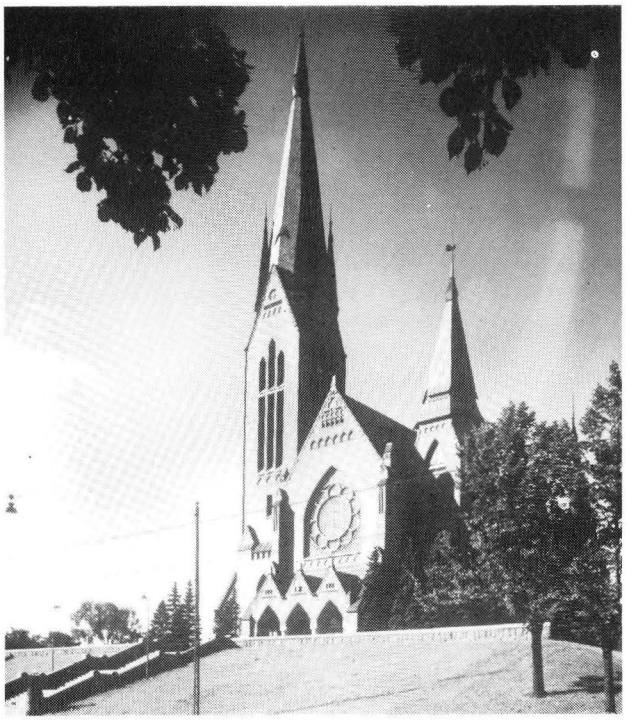

Fig. 40. St. Michael's Church. West facade with main entrance. (Photo SRM/Asko Salokorpi).

from the conventions of brick Neo-Gothic. Gallery columns of stone were included from the very beginning of the project[7], but in the final stage stone was also used in the altar and the pulpit as well as in the facades. The decoration, chiseled in stone and painted on plaster, was finally based on international art-nouveau and themes from nature.

Fig. 41. St. Michael's Church. Northeast view. *Rakentaja* I 1905, plate appendix 1.

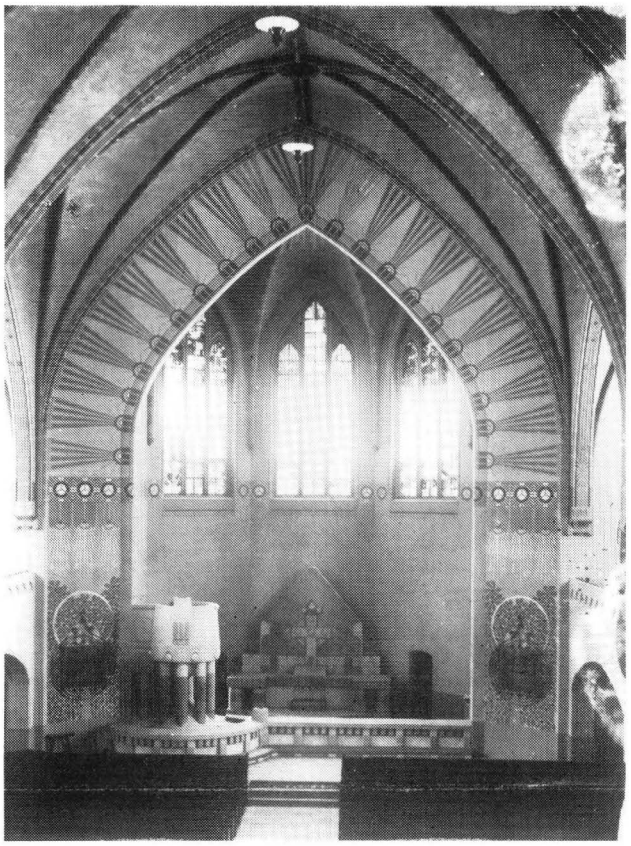

Fig. 42. St. Michael's Church. The chancel in its original state. (Photo SRM/Johannes Schalin).

Despite the novelties incorporated in the spatial solutions and the finishing details of St. Michael's Church, it was nevertheless a compromise, for Sonck was permitted to execute changes only on the level of details.[8] The church contains ideas of different age and of varying origins, involving starting points adopted over the course of several years. During the project Sonck developed from a successful architec-

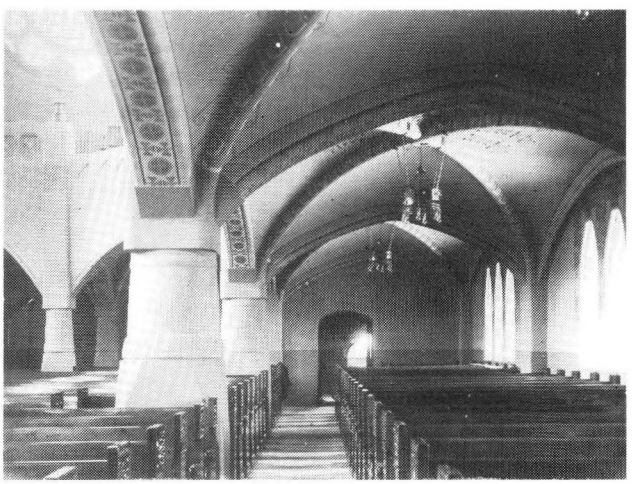

Fig. 43. St. Michael's Church. View towards the west. (Photo SRM/Johannes Schalin).

Fig. 44. Sonck's winning entry under the pseudonym "Aeternitas" from 1900 for the competition for a new evangelical church in Tampere (St. John's Church, present-day Tampere Cathedral), 1900-07. *Rakentaja* I 1901, appendix of plates.

tural student to an experienced professional. Although in later years he moved away from the solutions of form used in the project, the problems he encountered for the first time in this connection, such as his relationship with history and especially the Middle Ages as well as the role of the building in the townscape and the use of natural stone, remained central to him for many years. For example, Sonck's alteration proposal for the Turku project was based on a large tower to be placed at the chancel end of the building. This was presented in the alternative of the competition entry of 1894 and again in 1897, but was rejected (Fig. 39). The idea came to completion in the Kallio church in Helsinki.[9] Sonck's later success in the design of churches was based to a great degree on the problems posed by this project, which marked the beginning of his career.

Many of the features of St. Michael's were transferred and applied to the new church. The main portal, the hall and secondary portals were linked in a similar manner and repeated in the interior were the

Fig. 45. St. John's Church. West elevation, main drawings from 1901. (Archives of the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregations, Tampere, photo SRM).

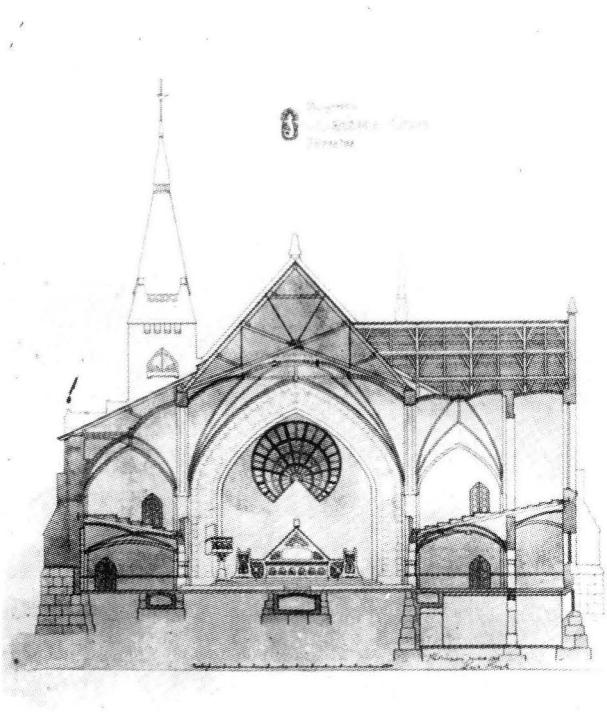

Fig. 46. St. John's Church. Section towards the east, main drawings from 1901. (Original and photo as in Fig. 45).

gently curving vaults and the stone columns supporting the galleries. The design of the main facade involved two towers, symmetrical in relation to the lengthwise axis, but asymmetrical in form, and was based on the Turku design. The same also applies to the way in which the overall volume was limited by

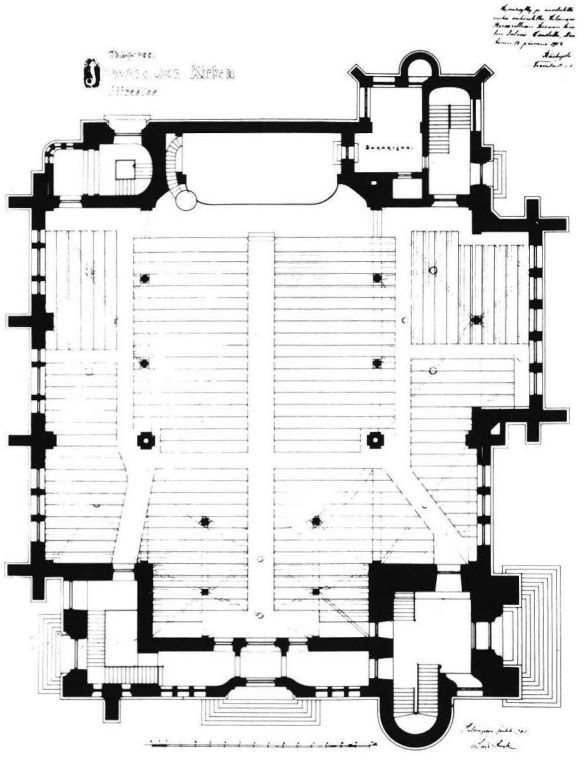

Fig. 47. St. John's Church. Floor plan, main drawings from 1901. (Original and photo as in Fig. 45).

the corner towers. The large round window of the gable, which in the competition entry was still a rose window, also goes back to St. Michael's Church, via it to international Neo-Gothic style and ultimately to Gothic architecture *per se*. St. John's Church was thus connected to the process of design and execution of the preceding church project. However, it did not only vary the themes of the latter, but combined them in a renewed way of applying the themes of Neo-Gothic and Gothic architecture.

The plan of the church, cruciform with extremely short side-arms, was based in contour and through its large central vault on a square form. The plans of the areas adjoining the central part and the vault heights of the galleries differ from each other, which stresses the asymmetry of the sides of the main space. This attempt at variation is also served by the lighting of the church. Highly different window forms and sizes, together with the varied vaults, isolated the individual areas and spaces in the whole. The leading theme of the interior is thus an extensive whole comprehended as uniform with growing individualization towards the sides. The technically demanding vaults of exceptionally gentle curves, made of light brick, present a continuation of Neo-Gothic architecture, however without any definite historical prototypes.[10] The variation of the exterior appearance, based on the plan, is added to by variation in level in the various parts of the volume. The towers, as well as the other parts, outside the main roofed area, are of different height. This feature reflects partly, but not consistently, the interior division of space and its variations of height. The exterior alludes to types of interior space without correspondence and the volume achieves individual features especially through the use of various roof forms. The sacristy with its adjoining stairwell is integrated into the plan, but on the exterior it takes the form of a pyramid-roofed tower. The west wall of this part contains several forms and sizes of windows. The themes of the exterior are thus in correspondence with the interior. The whole was first particularized and the isolated parts were varied with the use of minor themes.

The multidimensional and sculptural form of the church is bound by its uniform, but again varying, stone surface. The stone material is linked to both structures and architectural expression. Used in the building of the church was grey Uusikaupunki granite combined with reddish pieces creating a slightly polychrome result.[11] The variation of the freely interpreted squared-rubble walls is based on four factors: size of stones, differences in grade, varied relief and variations of grey hues with red accents. With the exception of the stone foundation, this material is not a structural feature, but a covering.[12] The aim, however, was to create the im-

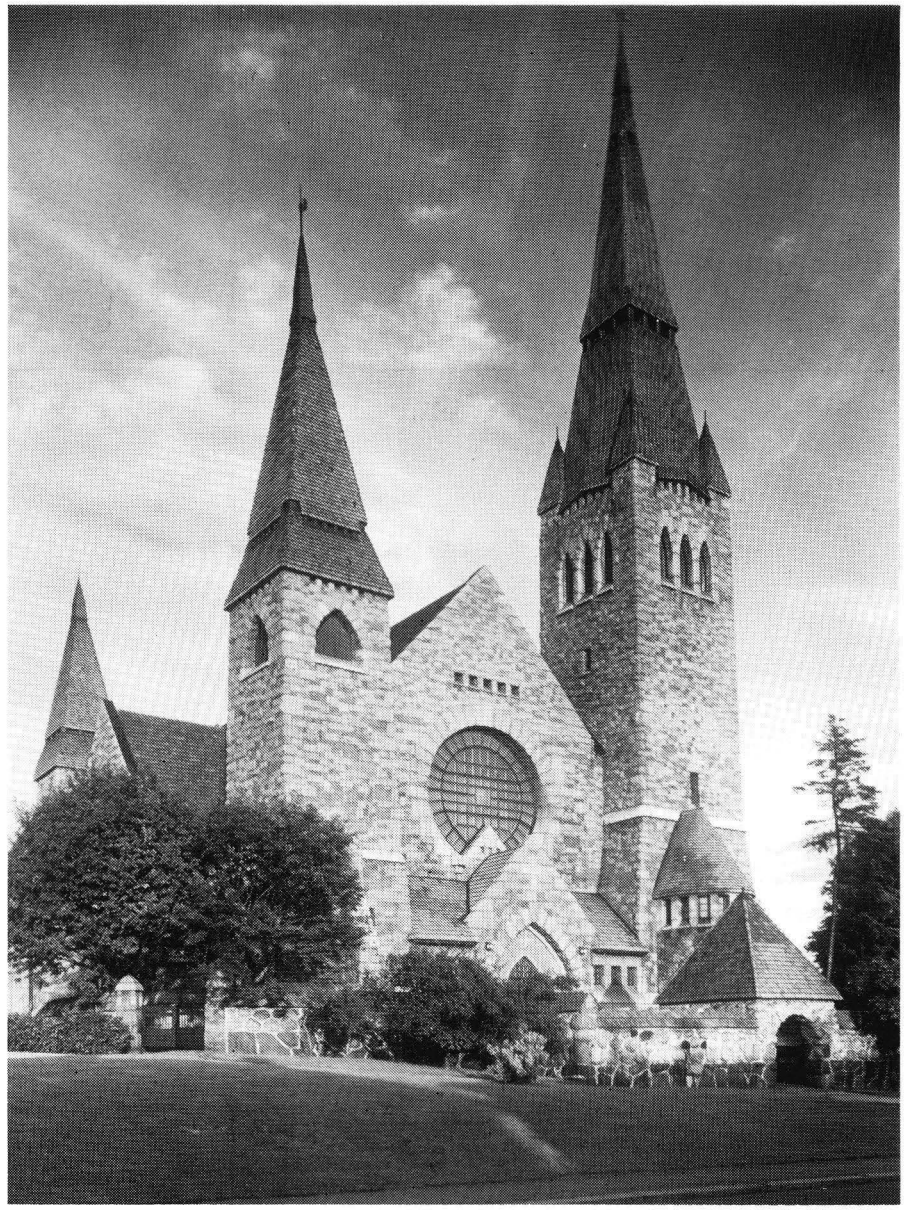

Fig. 48. St. John's Church. Northwest view. (Photo SRM/E.M. Staf).

pression of solid stone architecture, viz. a massive stone wall bearing the weight of the building. Stone is a factor dictating not only the appearance of the building but also its immediate surroundings. In approaching the church the laid stones of the walk rise into a wall, continuing through the stone portal into the courtyard and via the outside walls to the structures of the hall - further on into the upright supports of the interior and culminating in the pulpit and altar. The only polished granite surfaces of the building are in the altar and its railing. Thus, the ways in which the granite was dressed create a variation of texture and a hierarchical division of the whole.

Granite links the exterior and interior range of colours, and the main hue of the plastered interior surfaces is also grey. Contrasts are provided by the frescoes and the stained-glass windows. Corresponding to the uniform stone surface of the exterior is the plaster of the interior. The rough surface of the plas-

Fig. 49. St. John's Church. View from the east. (Photo SRM/ Paula Kivinen).

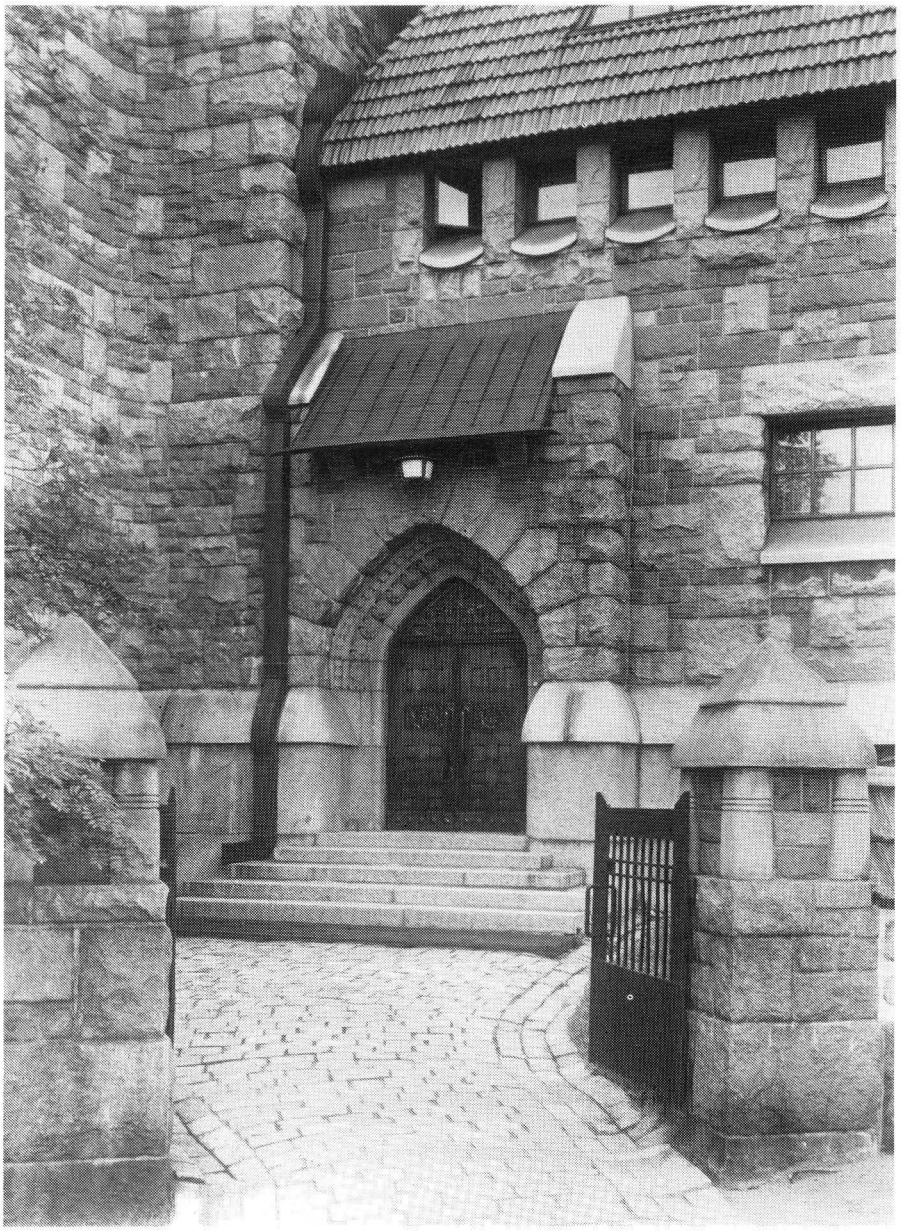

Fig. 50. St. John's Church. Entrance to the sacristy in the southwest corner of the church. (Photo SRM/E.M. Staf).

ter, its subdued colours and rounded forms break the light from the windows gradually and without clear borders. Reflecting surfaces are consistently avoided.

Both outside and inside, a uniform mass of wall provides the starting point with its principle of a contiguous surface following from plastic moulding. The joints of planes and surfaces are rounded both horizontally and vertically and in both inside and outside corners. This feature emphasizes the mass of wall and via it a certain atectonic quality. If the exterior stonework of the church were characterized by ashlar the technique of rounding would have been contrary to the principle of evenly divided blocks. Curved joints, on the other hand, are not in conflict with the idea of a fine-grained, "random" and irregularly laid stone wall.[13] In the larger surfaces the unbroken and fluid stone work covering the varying volume of the church with its different accents disintegrates into fine-grained relief characterized by light. The shadows of individual volumes and projections, such as the buttresses, create larger themes on the surface. The continuous variation of this is linked to the direction and nature of the light. One of the main themes of the church, the continued variation of larger units down to the micro level is also accomplished in this connection.

Variation and asymmetry are also taken into account in the site location of the church, where balance is not based on frontal but diagonal views. This idea was already present in the town-planning proposal for the surroundings of the church from 1902–05, which specifically avoided symmetrical and axial views.[14] The thematic series achieved by the gradation of volume can be seen in the side view (Fig. 48). In the main facade the portico of the fence

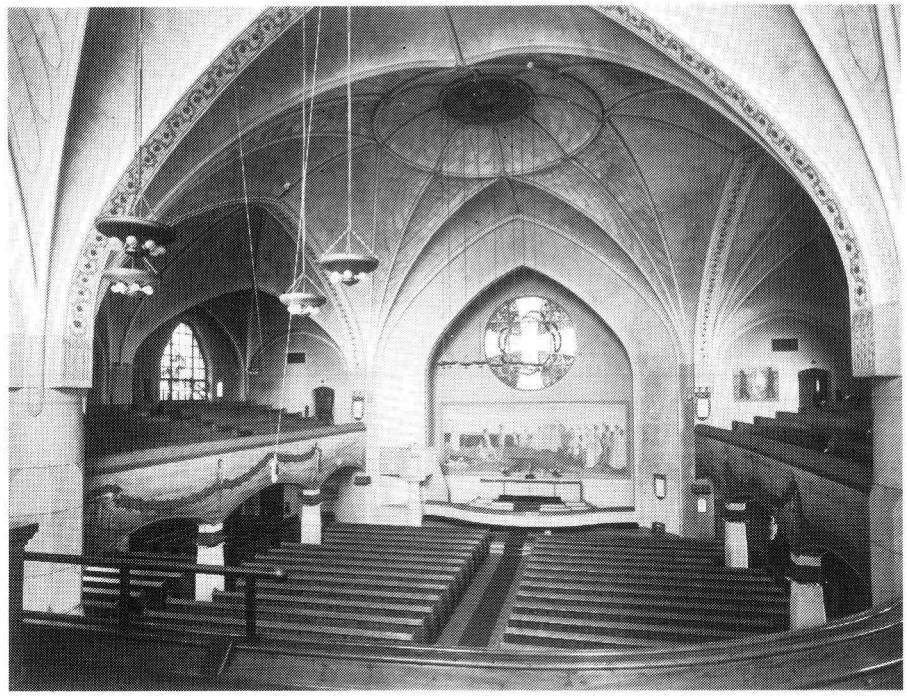

Fig. 51. St. John's Church. The nave towards the east. (Photo SRM/E.M. Staf).

or wall with its pyramid roof, the gable of the main portal, the triangle behind it intersecting the round window and finally the triangle delimiting the whole of the gable, form an expanding triangular theme rising in stages and linking the axis of the church to its surroundings.

Mentioned above were the atectonic character of the exterior and the stone material forming the wall in which even the framing of the openings alludes to vaults built completely of stone. This, as well as the anti-classical design, suits the applied starting points of medieval forms and ideas.[15] Despite this, the building contains in places tectonic and in fact supporting structures of stone.

In the outer walls the stone wall combines supporting structures of stone, partly based on columns and lintels such as the stone colonnettes dividing the row of windows on the south face and the pillars and blocks in the side-openings of the large arched windows on the north side. On the exterior the heaviest column-and-lintel structure is in the extension of the lower part of the main tower where the door recess is framed by two blocks supporting a third one. The massive appearance of the stone material is underlined by a narrowing of the recess. The structure is technically called for, but executed in an exaggerated manner.

The most important supporting structures of the interior are two stone columns built of monoliths and drums, carrying the weight of part of the central vault, the galleries and the vaults of the naves at the sides (Fig. 52). Although Sonck had by this time designed stone columns for St. Michael's Church, the main columns of the present church signified a new relationship with stone. They were introduced at a late stage, and the decision to include them was made after the final plans and designs had been completed.[16] The original idea was to have them made of brick. The monolithic gallery columns suggest a number of explanations. Their classicizing entasis does not for example end at a corresponding

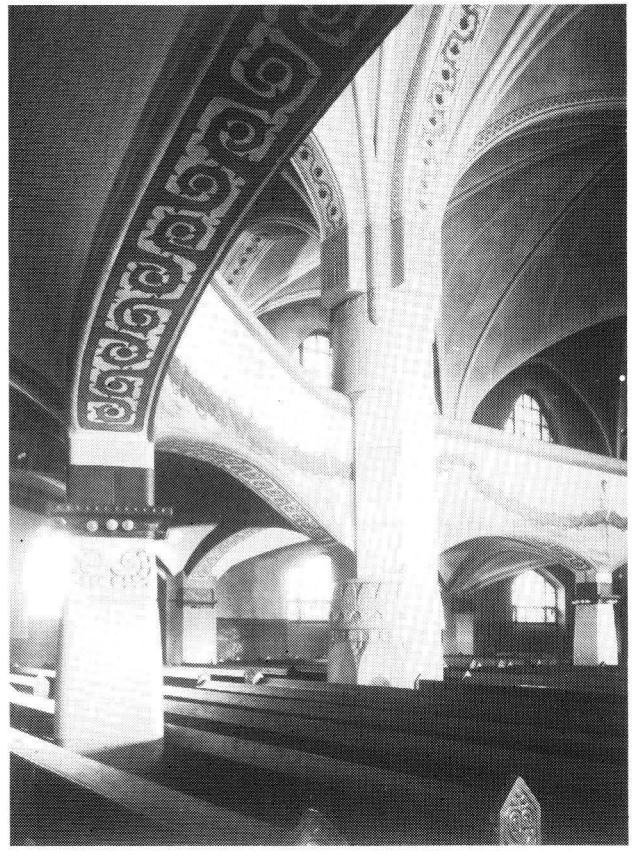

Fig. 52. St. John's Church. View from the main entrance towards the northeast. (Photo SRM/Heikki Havas).

Fig. 53. St. John's Church. View towards the east. Photo taken before the benches were installed. In the photo Hugo Simberg has sketched one of his murals. Kivinen 1986, p. 110.

capital. The use of stone is given an allusion to antiquity by a partly executed Doricist fluting of the column supporting the deep gallery on the south side.

The door openings between the hall and the nave involve a system of upright blocks supporting large beams. This is based on the need for providing support for the large stone-faced end wall at the openings in its lower parts. The normal practice in late 19th-century architecture would have been to classicize this kind of bearing structure, while Sonck made reference to earlier strata in the history of architecture. In its massive and reduced form the stone work refers back to the sources of tectonics or the megalithic monuments of the Stone Age. This is understandable in view of the allusions of the church to the architectural traditions of trans-Alpine Europe. The feature in question is explicitly archaic, involving the use and presentation of elements of exaggerated weight with respect to the structure involved.

The stone, wood and metal ornamentation of the church display links with major architectural themes. However, the original designs did not imply any marked use of artistic decoration, and the ornamentation and artwork were added to the project only after the completion of the main designs and plans in 1903.[17] Although the murals are an integral part of the church, they did not in any way dictate the process of design.

The artisan-type decoration of St. John's Church was apparently designed as a whole by the architect Valter Jung (1879–1946), who worked for Sonck at the time.[18] The decoration, based on stylized themes from nature, is recessed in negative relief, as in the columns of the galleries. The enframing motifs of the portals form a clear exception. The recessed ornaments are partly a natural consequence of the materials used – i.e. stone and wood - which are worked by removing material. This, however, does not suffice as an explanation, for Sonck and Jung applied the same principle to plaster in other works of the period. The ornamental themes are sunk into the unbroken basic surface to stress its continuity. This feature is characterized by anti-classicism. Where the classicizing stylistic apparatus of the 19th century saw ornament as something to be added to the basic level of the wall surface, the reverse situation is true in this case. The unbroken surface dominates and the additions are in a sense subjugated to the basic level. Thus, ornament and decoration combine with the overall aim of creating unbroken fields extending without interruption past the boundaries of surfaces in the building. This concept applied even to the electric lighting fixtures of copper placed in the corners and columns of the nave. Their matte-beaten plates do not break the continuity of the surfaces of plaster and stone.

The iconographic programme of the decoration of the church combined traditional Christian symbols with stylized themes from nature. The choice of motifs was governed by the sacral function of the building with its resulting conventions. Some, such as the birds of the main portal, which can be interpreted either as pelicans or eagles, and the crosses are linked to tradition. Alongside these are freely-chosen and highly stylized botanical themes. The programme of the latter emphasizes organic nature in an unconventional manner. The themes are not ones related to the history of architecture and simplified as decorations, such as rosettes, but tend to stress the more direct presence of nature. Their presentation in the nave on an equal level with Christian iconography can be seen in terms of analogy as implying that nature itself is a great temple created by God. Accordingly, plants take on a higher level of meaning. As a whole, the material conception and themes of the church contain a tiered progression. Inorganic nature is present in stone, while the plants are present in wood, displaying its structure and in the ornaments. The animal kingdom leads on to the human element in the murals – the life, death and resurrection of man, the mythology of the Bible with its angels and finally the presence of God.[19]

The altarpiece of the church must be mentioned here, as it relates to Sonck's attitudes regarding the use of images in his architecture. The competition entry presented a Neo-Gothic altar structure, in which the central part was reserved for a traditional painting or altarpiece.[20] In the main design stage the structure was made lower with features characteristic of Sonck's wooden architecture of the late 1890s.[21] A small space was reserved for the painting. At the same time Sonck was also designing the chancel of St. Michael's Church. This was originally planned to include a large Neo-Gothic triptych piece.[22] The idea was given up and finally the church came to have as

an altarpiece an ascetic steatite slab with a triangular upper part. The piece and the pulpit were designed by Max Frelander (1881–1949). As it was low and grey, it was intended as only a part of the decoration of the chancel and the adjoining walls were to be painted in colourful frescoes.[23] At Tampere, the situation was finally achieved where Sonck could completely give up the idea of an altarpiece structure after the nature of the intended painted decoration for the interior of the church had been established.

The final painting executed in 1906 and 1907 by Magnus Enckell (1870–1925) was rectangular with a strongly emphasized frame. The tone of the work differed from the dominant artistic concepts of the turn of the century. Originally, frescoes, the traditional technique of painted decoration, were connected to the design of surfaces and materials in the church. While an independent image, frescoes were also part of the continuous wall surface – a coloured section. St. John's Church saw a return to the period preceding individual paintings, not isolating the picture as a separate feature. Both esthetic and historical dimensions were present in the integrated design of the surfaces and materials of the buildings as well as in the role of the paintings. Sonck had earlier discussed the use of frescoes in connection with medieval forms in 1897 in the debate concerning the restoration of the Cathedral of Turku.[24]

At the time of its design St. John's Church differed from the traditions of Finnish church architecture. The type of space combined in a new way the centralized and long church types as well as two traditions of architecture: a centralized space usually executed with the means of classicism and vaulting, mainly related to Neo- Gothic long churches. The result served two aims. It fulfilled the desire of the commissioning party for a house of preaching with good visibility, as expressed in the programme of the competition. At the same time, forms derived from the Middle Ages linked the building to the tradition of Christian architecture in a way that had become almost dogma for example in Germany, and which was of importance and influence for Finland.[25]

Sonck was able to execute his designs for St. John's Church in a situation where both general stylistic trends in Finland and the contracting party were favourably inclined towards innovations in relation to tradition. He was allowed to make changes to his original design and when the painted decoration was agreed upon the artists were given free choice of programme. This situation differed completely from the problems Sonck had encountered in trying to change the designs and plans for St. Michael's Church. The project for St. John's Church, on the other hand, could be carried out from start to finish as a singularly intact and fast process.

In this church Sonck combined influences from a variety of historical and geographic sources. In the background was Neo-Gothic church architecture as an international tradition and as standard practice, the applications of this tradition in Finland and Sonck's experiences of St. Michael's Church and of certain unrealized plans.[26] The floor plan of the church is of a type common in late 19th-century reformed architecture in Germany.[27] Kivinen has also referred to Anglo-American prototypes and models, which may have been involved.[28] Germany, however, was the country which mainly provided the Finns with models and where Sonck himself had travelled on many occasions. On the other hand, it is obvious that some of the exterior features of the church are related to the increased influence of Anglo-American architecture in Finland since the late 1800s. The stone masonry of the facades is loosely based – as demonstrated by Sixten Ringbom – on Scottish examples.[29] The United States clearly provided the themes and volumes of its late 19th-century stone architecture. The church thus combines in the form of a synthesis German Neo-Gothic architecture, Scottish-based stone technique, American themes and the Finnish tradition of Neo-Gothic architecture within the bounds of the leading themes defined by the architect. References to the Middle Ages are very common in terms of volume, vaulting and details. Added to the Gothic material are references or allusions to other strata of architectural history. The building is linked to the principles of historicism and eclecticism, but does not display any antiquarian relationship with the tradition of its function. The large ribbed vault of the central space was a new feature in large-scale brick architecture in Finland. There are, however, foreign prototypes and e.g. by the late 19th century certain older centralized churches of Finland had been fitted with Neo-Gothic vaults.[30] Some interior spaces of the Middle Ages, such as the large central vault resting on brick columns in the church of Huittinen, were also in the background. For Sonck, the church signified the transferral of Medieval material from isolated themes to a principle dictating the design of larger entities.

III.1.2. Relationship with the surroundings

In the main plans from 1895 St. Michael's Church was placed on a raised terrace in the middle of a square as a monument fully visible from all directions (Fig. 54). In 1898, prior to the competition for the church in Tampere, Sonck had debated in the press about the town-planning situation in Helsinki. Forming the background in this connection and in

Fig. 54. St. Michael's Church in 1905 immediately after completion. (Photo SRM/Johannes Schalin).

the ensuing town-planning competition for the area of Töölö in Helsinki were the concepts of Camillo Sitte and Sonck's experiences of earlier townscapes gained mainly through travels in the German-speaking countries and in Italy[31] (Figs. 55–56). For his entry in the Tampere competition in 1900 he had presented two buildings in the immediate vicinity of the church. At this stage Sonck operated within a set planning situation. He located the church in its park-like surroundings so that the street leading towards the tower facade would not provide a view to the main entrance, but would have the tower as its background. The church was to rise from its surroundings of lower and irregular buildings in the spirit of its medieval antecedents and the ideas of Sitte. Medieval themes were also extended to the buildings intended to adjoin the church. The perspective drawing of the entry includes the sketch of a semi-medieval building, marked in the site plan as a school.[32] There were two reasons for this. The building formed a continuation of the themes of the church in its immediate vicinity, while it was also related to the church through the traditions of its function. The association with the Middle Ages is that of the so-called cathedral schools. Sonck did not extend his medieval concept to the surrounding town structure, as an apartment building also shown in the drawing is of a different iconographic framework.

The intended combination of church and school in the Tampere entry finds parallels e.g. in Sweden, where restorations of large medieval churches were in progress in the late 19th century, which Sonck no doubt was familiar with. Helgo Zetterwall restored the Cathedral of Skara in the years 1875 and 1886–94. Earlier, in 1865–71, he had designed a Neo-Gothic school building (*Katedralskolan*) next to the church. Both in Skara and at Tampere the Middle Ages were related both to the architectural appearance and the combination of two buildings on the ideational level with historical antecedents.[33]

In the main designs from 1901 a number of other buildings, located densely, were added to the surroundings of the church, and the park was planned in smaller form. Around the same time, Sonck addressed the problems of small-town architecture in Finland in his article "*Våra småstäders gestaltning*" (On the design of our smaller towns).[34] He also presented his ideas concerning urban planning and architecture in 1902 in connection with a town-planning competition held in Tampere. The same year he prepared a town plan for the section of Tampere surrounding the church[35] (Fig. 57). The ideas presented in connection with the church and its lot were transferred to the actual structure of the urban environment.

Sonck's plans were not realized, however, in connection with the surroundings of the church, or even in the case of the urban environment. The diagonal line of Tuomiokirkonkatu street, laid out by Sonck, gives an indication of his desire to open varying views of his church. The townscape vistas sketched for Tampere, with the church as their culmination point, led in 1904 to a plan for the surroundings of St. Michael's Church (Fig. 58). In this plan the volume of the church is contrasted with densely located and lower buildings, also aspiring a medieval image. Only partly revealing vistas of the church – appar-

Fig. 55. Competition entry for the town plan of the Töölö district in Helsinki, 1899. II prize. *Ateneum* 1900, Appendix of plates.

Fig. 56. Sonck's sketch accompanying his Töölö town-plan entry from 1899. *Ateneum* 1900, appendix of plates.

ently random – would have been opened. The plan was not carried out.

The aim of Sonck's urban ideal around 1900 was to create within a single planning process a situation which had come about over the centuries in the towns and cities of Continental Europe, which were regarded as models in this respect. The leading theme was the creation of the atmosphere of medieval urban environments. This applied to the individual building as well as the town as a whole. In the 1895 design of St. Michael's Church medievality was limited to the building alone. The Töölö town-planning competition of 1899 and its appended perspective illustration showed an urban concept where medievality guided the formation of the urban structure. A limited opportunity for achieving such an ideal was provided by the town plan for the sur-

Fig. 57. Town plan for the district around St. John's Church. Initial planning from 1902, completed in 1905 and approved by the city authorities in modified form in 1907. The buildings around the church, marked in black, were not built. Kivinen 1986, p. 58.

roundings of St. John's Church in 1902–07. In 1904, when Sonck wished to link his now broadened concept to complement his first church design, the commissioning party prevented the combination of the beginning and end of the process into a synthesis.

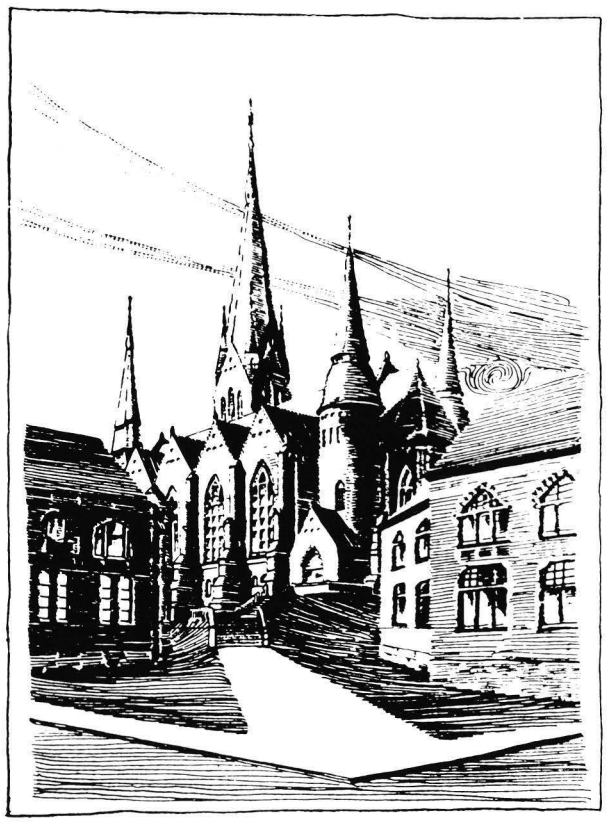

Fig. 58. Plan to rearrange the immediate surroundings of St. Michael's Church, 1904. Not realized. *Arkitekten* II 1904, p. 19.

The principles of the period stressing a total concept of planning involved the building, its details and interior as well as its surroundings as a whole, progressing from without to within and vice versa with a guiding principle which created a uniform sphere of forms on both the macro and micro levels. The guiding principle here involved the ideas and forms of the Middle Ages, or more precisely the late 19th-century interpretations of the surviving physical reality of the Middle Ages. Sonck's knowledge of the Middle Ages was not in itself sufficient for such results. The concept was made possible only when knowledge was cemprehended as an esthetic basis guiding the process of design.

III.1.3. Themes of the past

Sonck's method of applying historical material changed in the course of the project for St. John's Church. The competition entry contained distinct Gothic features, such as arched windows and large rose windows divided in the manner of Central-European cathedrals. In the final designs the arched windows were straightened and the division of panes of the round windows no longer employed medieval prototypes. The spire of the main tower, originally of complex form, became simpler in the executed version. The final form was of a type favoured by both Gothic and Neo-Gothic architecture where the central rising part is adjoined by four corner towers. Ever since the completion of the church this form has been regarded as displaying parallels with the tower of the medieval church of Finström, Sonck's childhood parish.[36] The design would thus have involved a local form of expression, with themes sought not only from the Middle Ages in general, but especially from the historical architecture of Finland. This was no doubt the case, but in a manner involving features more complex than the form of the tower alone.

Sonck's attitude towards medieval architecture can be seen in the polemic and debate of the 1890s concerning the restoration of the Cathedral of Turku. With respect to individual buildings it signified for Sonck a deepening of his medieval themes in the same way that historical towns had been examples for his town-planning work. These courses of development were simultaneous. In the published debate Sonck presented statements concerning the Middle Ages that facilitate the interpretation and explanation of St. John's Church and works that followed it.

The medieval church architecture of Finland was familiar to Sonck from the expeditions of the Finnish Archaeological Society of the early 1890s.[37] In planning the restoration of the Cathedral of Turku, the main monument of this group, Sonck drew up in 1897, on his own initiative, an illustrated counter-proposal to the official programme (Fig. 59). This proposal was published in article form ("*Till frågan om restaurering af Åbo Domkyrka*" – On the restoration of the Cathedral of Turku).[38] Sonck's starting point was the indisputable value of the architectural monuments of the past as documents of both historical change and continuity. Of importance in the exterior of the church are the presence of layers or strata and the co-occurrence of architectural solutions of different age. This, however, applied only to the medieval period, and later changes should be removed. Not all periods were of the same value, especially not the classicizing ones. Accordingly, it was permissible to change the forms and contours of the church to restore the right spirit or atmosphere. Among other solutions, Sonck was prepared to lower the roof of the sacristy, in order to "give the building an appearance resembling the sacristies of our old rural churches". For Sonck, the remains of medieval architecture were material that could be shaped and formed with atmosphere as the primary consideration. Another main feature was the stratification of medieval architecture, presenting itself to the viewer through details. "Details are the spirit of the history of bygone centuries... and details .... have the greatest emotional value (*affektionsvärde*)". Sonck ascribed to details a three-tiered content of values: emotional value (*affektionsvärde*), art-historical value (*konsthistorisk värde*) and es-

Fig. 59. Project for the restoration and remodelling of Turku Cathedral, 1897. *Tekniska Föreningens i Finland Förhandlingar* 1897, 1–2, p. 81.

thetic value (*skönhetsvärde*). Details of emotional value served at the same time as the memory of a building, passing on its story to future generations.

Judging from the article, Sonck's concept of the Middle Ages leaned heavily on a free interpretation with a stress on atmosphere and the richness of details. Applied to St. John's Church, this implied a separation from Gothic forms on a specific level and the use of rich and varied details to achieve a "story". This provides the background elements of the varied nature of the decoration of the church and the different interpretations involved. On the other hand, stone as a durable material was the best way of preserving and recording the story. In his article Sonck wrote of the importance of the "liveliness" (*liflighet*) of facades and was prepared to make additions to the cathedral. Especially "the buttresses enliven the facades to a great degree".[39] In the case of Tampere, Sonck made special use of buttresses providing variation to the exterior and support for the whole structure.

This article provides further light on the main tower and fence of the church. The upper part of the tower resembles Sonck's proposal for the Cathedral of Turku, based on a documented historical phase in the history of the building. Thus, the tower of St. John's Church is linked to the history of Finland's chief medieval monument, and provides the church with a dimension conforming to its status as the largest and most visible church in Tampere. The cathedral analogy can also be linked to the realization of the project. The construction of the church was a markedly communal event also involving a collective of artists. The large degree of stone work carried out at the site achieved features comparable to the construction of medieval cathedrals.[40]

The stone wall surrounding the church came to be included in the main designs. With its roofed portal it has been seen as a reference to similar structures in the medieval rural churches of Finland. In his 1907 review of the building Torsten Stjernschantz regarded the wall as "atavistic" and suited to a small rural church.[41] Sonck was regarded as having introduced into an urban environment a feature of a genre clearly indicating a rural setting. He was, however, aware of the demolished encircling wall of the Cathedral of Turku. The stone fence of St. John's Church was not a simple loan of preserved rural structures, but an allusion to the role of the church as an urban cathedral with the large- scale encircling wall of Finland's main medieval church in the background.

The stone masonry of the facades also involves the level of regional history. Before the Tampere competition Sonck had drawn up several designs for stone-faced churches. His training study from 1894, "*Eskiss till en kapellkyrka*" contains a sketch of a

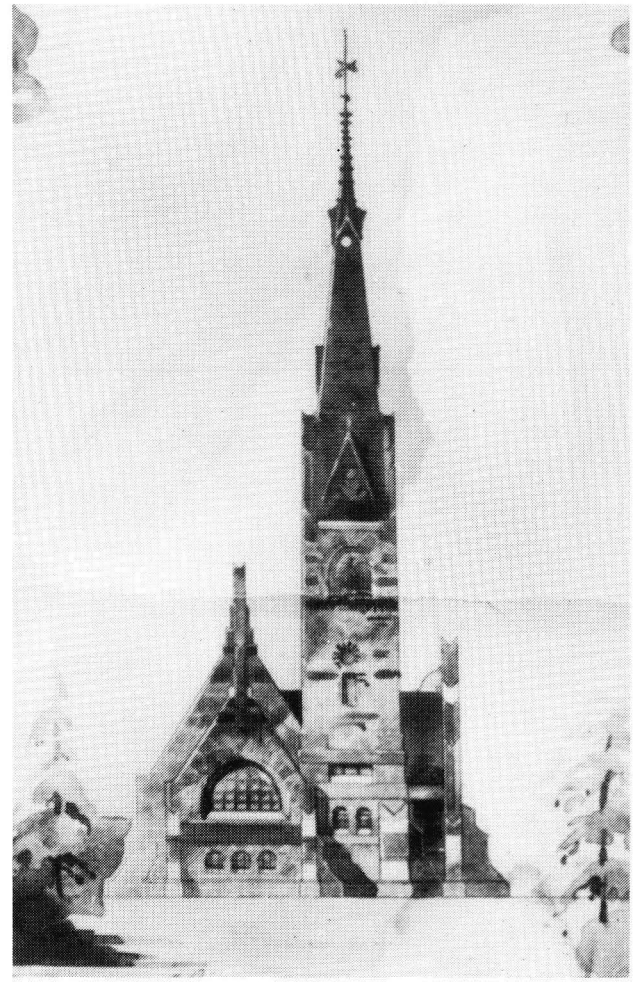

Fig. 60. Design for a rural church ("Eskiss till en landskyrka"), 1897. Detail from a larger drawing showing four elevations. (ÅM, photo SRM).

greystone church (Fig. 27), and in the entry for St. Michael's Church the surface was of ashlar. His 1897 sketch for a rural church also used stone, as did the project for the church of Kylmäkoski the following year (Figs. 60–61). From the same period as the Tampere competition is a project for a church in Nilsiä for which an even ashlar division of blocks was designed[42] (Fig. 62). In the competition entry for St. John's Church the surface differs from the above insofar as the irregular but even-layered stones are surrounded by surfaces of plaster. The impression resembles that of the masonry of certain medieval churches in Finland.[43] In the main designs Sonck adopted the squared-rubble wall which was freely applied in several of his future works.

In St. John's Church Sonck revised the traditional type on several levels. In ideational terms the church was linked to the ideas of the 19th century, its historicism and explicit respect for the history of the nation. In local or geographical terms the building expresses the ideas formulated in the mid-19th century by John Ruskin and others concerning the nature of "northern" architecture. Thus, the work in

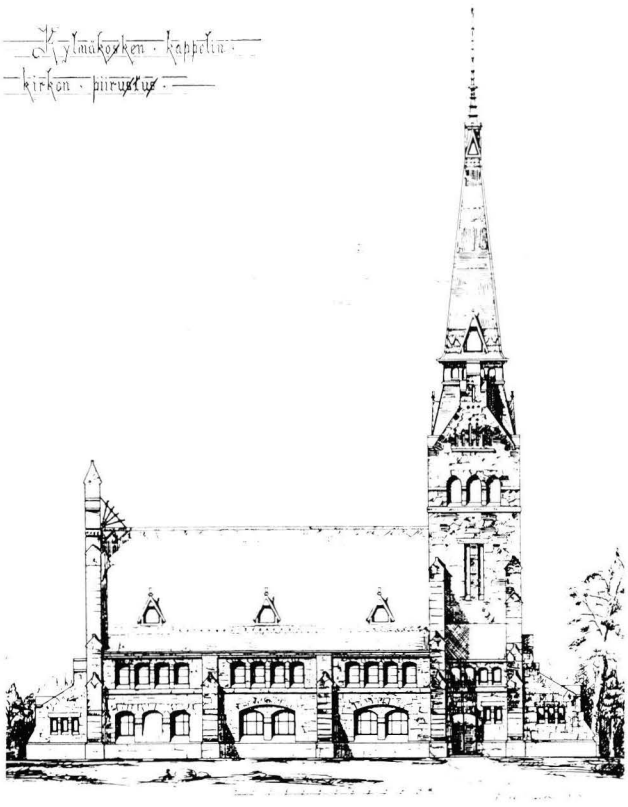

Fig. 61. Design for a stone church in Kylmäkoski, 1898. (Kylmäkoski parish archives, photo SRM).

question served as a continuation of certain long lines of development. At the same time, it signified a conscious distancing from the sequels of the Graeco-Roman tradition of architecture and the following of international Neo-Gothic architecture. For Sonck personally, success in the competition meant a rise in status and a consolidated position. After some years of professional practice, he could now claim to be at the fore of his profession in Finland.

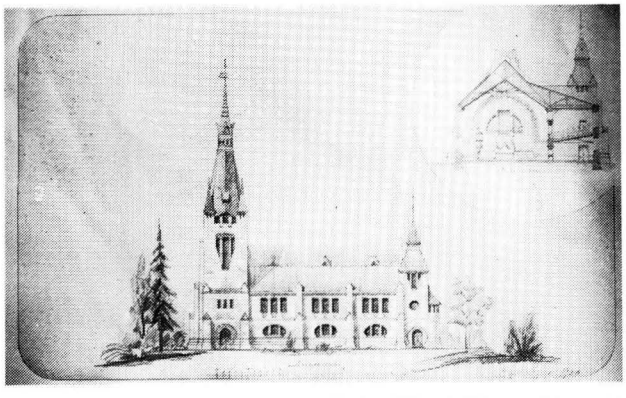

Fig. 62. Design for a church in Nilsiä, 1900. (Nilsiä parish archives, photo Kuopio Museum of Cultural History).

III.2. Competition project for the museum of archaeology, history and ethnography in Helsinki

From March 1901 to May 1902 an architectural competition was held for an archaeological-historical museum which was to be built in Helsinki. The project was for a museum illustrating the history of the nation. The competition involved the presentation of the history of material culture in Finland. In terms of stylistic development in architecture this competition was one of the most important ones in a series of turn-of-the-century architectural competitions for major projects including the Finnish or National Theatre (1899), the church of Tampere (1900), the new railway station of Helsinki (1904), the Kallio church in Helsinki (1906) and finally Parliament House (1907). Sirkka Kopisto has presented a summary of the museum competition, its various phases and the final museum project,[1] and only brief mention will be made of it here. The competition was preceded and partially launched by a debate in the press criticizing the 1899 museum designs and plans of the National Board of Public Building which had been regarded as official and final. The classicizing project was criticized on both functional and stylistic grounds, and it was not regarded as suitable for the correct presentation of the material culture and artefactual history of Finland. Fifteen entries were submitted and first prize went to the architects Gesellius, Lindgren & Saarinen. The museum building designed by them in 1904 was built in the years 1906–1910.[2]

The pamphlet *Vårt museum* (Our Museum), written in 1900 by several architects, including Sonck, to raise a debate over the museum issue, presented aims for the competition.[3] In functional terms, the so-called agglomerate principle was stressed in which the various collections would be housed in separate parts of the complex, each with distinct features of design. The goal was to create a panorama of the national past consisting of different types of rooms. This could be linked to an asymmetrical and dispersed volume, which in turn was one of the main trends of early-20th century architecture in Finland. The architects' pamphlet also stressed the emotional aspects of the joint effect of architecture and the collections. As expressed in the pamphlet, the entries of the writers can be characterized as part of a modern movement with the aim of changing a cultural-historical museum 'from a warehouse, boring for most people, into a shrine of atmosphere where one can experience for fleeting moments images from times long past in the alluring shimmer of the authentic colour of the period' ("Kanske skola följande sidor dock kunna klargöra den modärna rörelse, som sträfvar att förvandla ett kulturhistor-

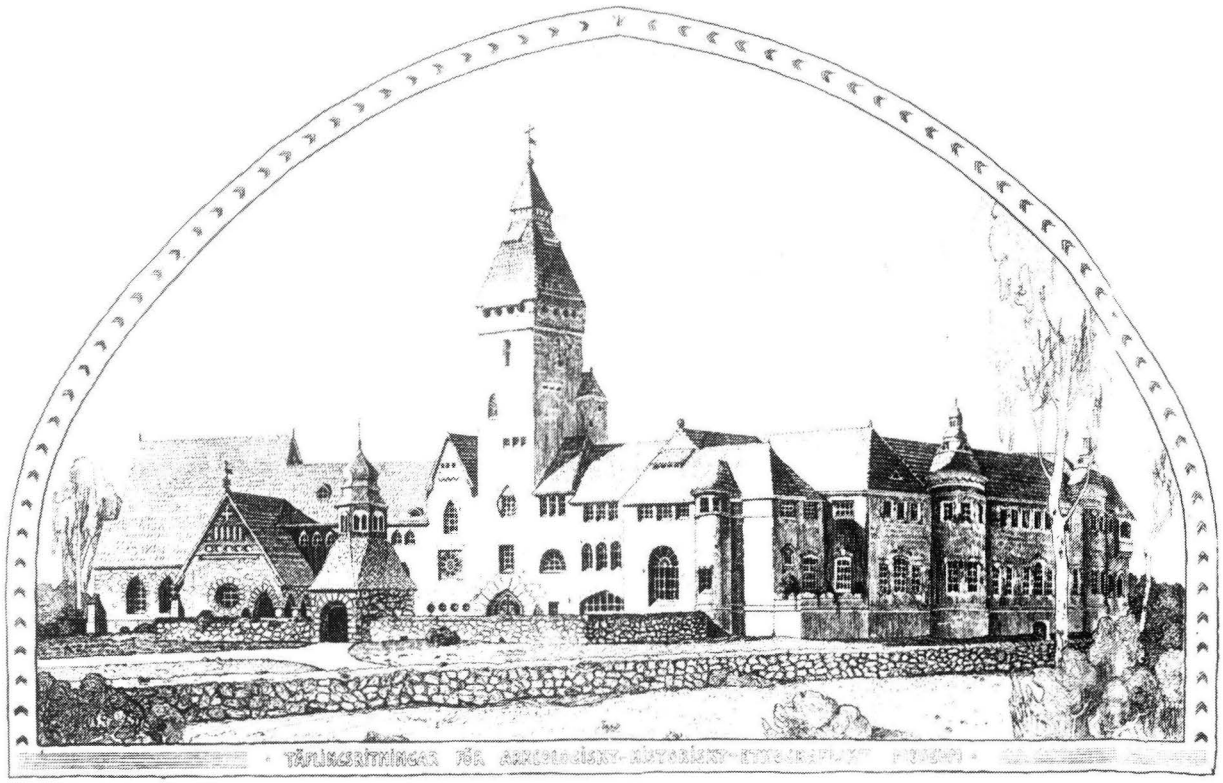

Fig. 63. Entry in the competition for a museum of archaeology, history and ethnography, 1902. V prize. Facades facing south and east. (VA, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

iskt museum från ett varu-upplag, tröttsamt för de mesta, till ett stämningsfull helgedom, där under snabbt flyende stunder bilder från länge sedan gångna tider träda en tillmötes i den äkta tidsfärgens fängslande skimmer.").[4] Sonck's entry "Labuntur Anni" was given fifth place. In their summary of results, the foreign members of the competition jury, Isak G. Clason of Sweden and Martin Nyrop of Denmark, envisioned the desirable future of Finnish architecture. Although most of the entries applied similar means of expression, such as historical stratification and themes from traditional Finnish architecture, the winning entry was seen as best representing "the artistic orientation now emerging in Finland."[5]

The competition came at a time in Sonck's career when he had just completed the main designs and plans for St. John's Church. St. Michael's Church was under construction, and he was preparing the designs for the Helsinki Telephone Association building. The unrealized museum project should be seen as a large-scale testing ground for Sonck's ideas of the period.

"Labuntur Anni" involved a conventional floor plan divided by a long axis beginning at the main entrance with series of rooms on both sides for

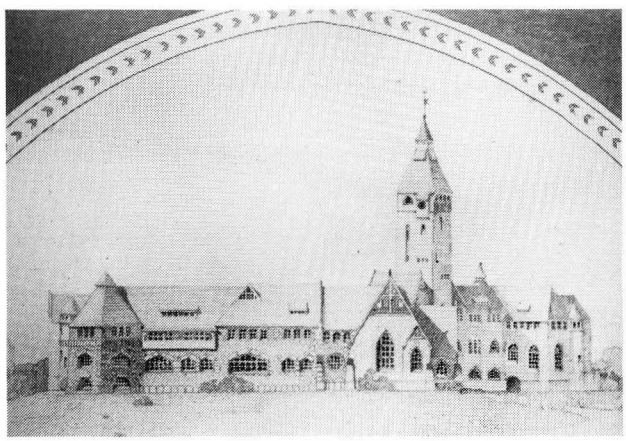

Fig. 64. The museum competition entry. Facade facing southwest. (Original and photo as in Fig. 63).

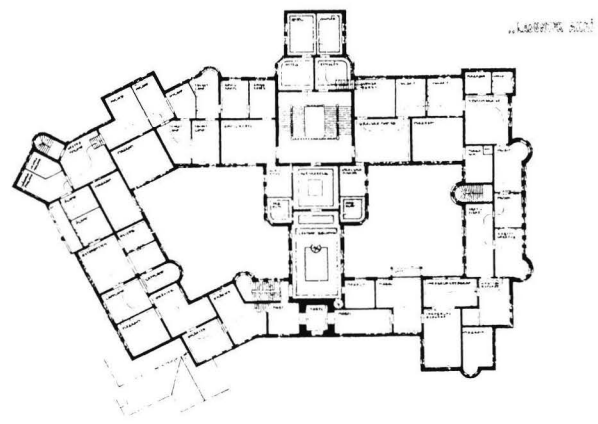

Fig. 65. The museum competition entry. Plan of the first floor. (Original and photo as in Fig. 63).

museum visitors to pass through.[6] The entrance theme with its symmetrical twin staircase in the background was a typical feature of late 19th-century architecture, and was employed in Sebastian Gripenberg's official museum project from 1891, among other works.[7] The most interesting feature of the project is the architectural expression of the historical content of the building.

The themes of Sonck's entry were the architectural illustration of historical periods and the expression of the specific nature of the collections housed in the building. The main atmosphere is of the Middle Ages, emphasized e.g. in the portal and in the adjacent church theme. Sonck's project was in a way related to the late flowering of Neo-Gothic architecture in Finland. The Middle Ages were one of the main themes of contemporary discussion in architecture, appealed to in the search for national features as opposed to the internationality of classicism. The museum competition and Sonck's entry were in opposition to the officially presented project representing cosmopolitan classicism. The aim was to bind the language of form not only to specific periods but also to places. Sonck was able to apply his wide range of first-hand knowledge of both Finnish and European historical architecture.

Sonck's museum project illustrated the various stages of Finland's history and also depicted the forces of society and its different strata. Even in the competition stage, an open-air museum of folk, i.e. peasant and farmer, culture was being planned in the immediate vicinity of the new museum.[8] This aspect, lacking in "Labuntur Anni", would have provided the museum entity with a dimension illustrating vernacular architecture. The above-mentioned pamphlet stressed the affinity of the museum building, the collections and the "log cabins", together forming a "sanctuary of memories".[9]

The northwest part of the building was reserved for the prehistoric collections, and the adjoining west wing was to illustrate on a mythical and hypothetical level the oldest layers of the programme with archaic stone material. Allusions to ancient hillforts were a tower and a half-open passage in the second storey. Large-scale stone architecture, familiar from St. John's Church, was employed in the slabs of the window encasements. The boulder-laid openings referred back to the cyclopic unmortared wall of primitive stone masonry.

The entry as a whole also contains references to folk architecture, but only in the interior parts. For example, the timber-clad rooms of the upper floor with hewn ceilings were based on the materials of the ethnographic collections.

The following level of reference is the medieval period. Folk architecture was not given any specific chronological level, and was mainly seen as an ahistorical phenomenon.[10] The part reserved for religious collections was freely designed with reference to rural churches. Its normatively intact volume opens from the "sacristy" into a loggia in a way that has no antiquarian parallels. The projection at the end of the volume, however, has historical antecedents, for example in the medieval church of Maaria. Related to the church theme is the portico of the fence of the south yard, which was in the form of an 18th-century belfry.

The symmetrical second main facade facing present-day Mannerheimintie is related to the culture of the court and the upper classes with Renaissance associations. The heritage of this historical phase is illustrated by three Palladian windows and an ashlar wall divided into uniform horizontal lines.

The main facade on the south side is more difficult to analyze. If the various parts of the building refer to historical periods, should not the same be expected of the side facing the city, through which the museum visitors would enter the building? This facade makes reference to two items – the multi-layered nature of historical remains and the medieval culture of the towns. The "randomness" of the parts immediately surrounding the tower, the gradation of the volume and its openings imply several stages of construction. The rose window, implying a sacral function, reflects the gradual merging of volumes and functions through time. The composition as a whole refers back to the towns of the Middle Ages. With respect to Finland this is mainly a fabrication, as there are no preserved urban entities of the Middle Ages. Serving as Sonck's starting point were the towns of Central Europe and especially Germany which had preserved their medieval character with their town halls.[11] The main facade introduces the burghers of the towns alongside the ancient chieftains, farmers, clergy, royalty and nobility of the earlier levels.

The historical planes of reference do not employ a classicizing design of surface. Even in the case of the Renaissance the themes are modified and simplified. A selective approach to historical material was due to the programme, with its rejection of the universal language of classicism in favour of regionally and nationally specific expression and its heritage. The stone technique of the entry operates both on the level of these principles and with respect to a general impression of primitiveness. It is at its most unrestrained in the part which was interpreted as a fictional reference to prehistory. In the church theme the surface resembles that of its domestic prototypes, but is less restrained and of sharper relief. The robust stone enframement of the main portal transmits the themes into the interior. The three-naved hall with church-like vaults leads to a platform and stairwell where the first stage is laid with large ashlar

blocks. The same applies to the second stage, which also includes upright supports of boulders. Similar structures are applied in other parts of the interior. These tectonic themes clearly reject both classicism and medieval building practices and are related to Sonck's desire at the time to shape stone structures without explicit historical references.

Like St. John's Church, the museum as a freely standing public edifice needed to be fitted into the surrounding townscape. The lot was part of the Etu-Töölö district of Helsinki, which had been the subject of the above-mentioned town-planning competition of 1899 in which Sonck was awarded second place. When the museum competition entry was under preparation Sonck was also involved with the final town plan of the area, which had been commissioned from him and Gustaf Nyström. Also in this situation, the problems of the townscape were present alongside the creation of large-scale public edifices. Both lines of thought found a basis in ideas sought directly and indirectly in the Middle Ages. The historically multi-layered entity of the museum building was an urban concept present in the scheme for the Töölö district,[12] and in this connection the museum would have reiterated its inherent themes.

Sonck's unsuccessful entry in the museum competition was, however, of importance for his work. It enabled him to transfer on a large scale to the secular level the technical solutions developed in connection with St. John's Church and especially the planes of association where could freely draw on his knowledge of architectural history. Features of the museum proposal were adopted in works that soon followed. "Labuntur Anni" was a continuation of the historicist thinking of the 19th century, but without direct formal references. At the same time Sonck created imaginary themes pre-dating medieval architecture and the material of antiquarian study. The synthesis was achieved by combining the means of stone and timber to an expression proceeding on the level of volumes and individual forms.

III.3. The Helsinki Telephone Association building

III.3.1. Commission and initial planning

One of Sonck's best-known works of secular architecture is the building of the Helsinki Telephone Association, the local telephone company. The premises are at Korkeavuorenkatu 35 and were completed in 1905. The initial planning of the building began in 1901, at the same time as St. John's Church was being designed and built. The project also coincided with Sonck's proposal for the museum building discussed above. When the first sketches for the Telephone Association building were under preparation Sonck was already planning the Privatbanken building and the Eira hospital. A number of common themes came to be applied in projects which differed in function but involved highly similar means of architectural expression.

The commission differed from the normal building projects for business premises or city buildings, and there were no available conventions or starting points either in Finland or elsewhere. Th. Thesleff had already designed separate premises for the Vaasa Telephone Association (completed in 1899),[1] but this did not provide a suitable prototype because of its classicizing exterior and small size. The Helsinki Telephone Association, then operating in rented premises, had not developed any specific milieu of its own. The new lot acquired by the association was close the centre of Helsinki, but located away from the main thoroughfares. Because this successful company no doubt wished to have a visible place in the townscape, narrative factors came to be involved along with architectural means.

Only a few years previously the function of buildings was usually expressed or underlined with allegorical sculptures.[2] However, the use of naturalistic figures embodying the inventions and means of livelihood of the age of industrialism belonged to the concept of architecture which Sonck's works of the early 1900s strove to reject. A different approach was to present the elements of function as such, without the use of metaphor. Among others, Ferdinand Boberg had adopted such an approach in 1894 in the building of the Stockholm Power Company, where the portal was enframed by a naturalistic circle of incandescent lamps.[3] Apart from city building regulations, Sonck's commission was defined by the following factors, among others: premises and structures for modern technical equipment of considerable value; office space for personnel and customers; the need to create an imposing edifice for a successful company; adapting the building to the street in a manner giving the company a visible identity and possibly expressing the function of the building. This situation and the solution developed for it display a clear tension between the given task and the architect's aims of expression at the time, which in turn is reflected in the duality of the result. The composition of the facade does not derive from the division of space or purpose of the building, and must be seen as a separate work of art.

The original premises of the telephone company in the attic of the Grönqvist building on the North Esplanade had become insufficient for the growing telephone network. A new lot was purchased at Kor-

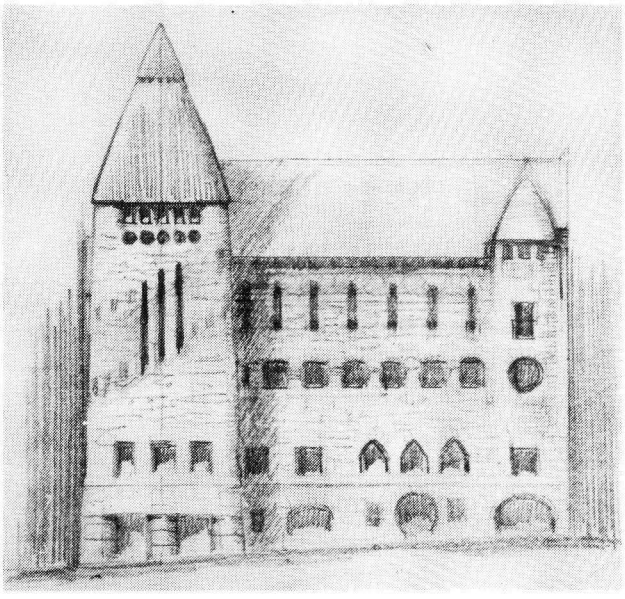

Fig. 66. Sketch, probably from 1903, for the Helsinki Telephone Association building, Korkeavuorenkatu 35, Helsinki, 1903–05. (Carl Eric Sonck, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

keavuorenkatu 35 in early 1901.[4] In late 1901 Sonck was sent abroad to study the construction and interiors of new telephone exchanges.[5] The company also agreed to purchase the sketches and studies produced during the trip.[6] There are no records explaining why the project was given to Sonck. A demanding task was entrusted to a young architect with hitherto few prominent works to his name without any preliminary competition.

In February 1903 Sonck presented his sketches to the board of the telephone company which was satisfied with the results. Now, as later, the board commented upon the functional aspects of the project without any appraisal of the esthetic factors.[7] Sonck went abroad to study details and in April he presented his revised sketches, as a result of which the board commissioned the main plans and designs.[8]

Sonck had not previously worked with the problems of space and construction required by technical equipment, nor did his earlier projects for business premises and offices provide the necessary ability to design a building of such complex requirements. During the course of the planning process the arrangements of space were altered several times, while the basic composition of the facade remained mostly the same. Also retained were the partial use of stone and the three-dimensional shaping of the facade.

The drawings and plans involved in this process consist of a pencil sketch,[9] two series of drawings,[10] alternatives for the facade[11] and the final drawings and plans which were approved.[12] The completed building differed to some degree from the final designs. Of the two alternative sketches presented in the spring of 1903, one was accepted as the basis of further work.[13] In the rejected version the main telephone exchange was located on the fifth floor and partly in the attic and the third floor was reserved for apartments. The office open to the public was in its final location on the second floor. The tower was recessed at street level. The second version mainly corresponded to this one, but was four storeys high and did not include apartments.[14] The smaller number of storeys includes an equipment hall two storeys high. Approved for further design was a tower of rectangular base placed above the sidewalk. The horizontal listels and the base of the tower are marked as stone in the designs, while the other surfaces are of plaster.

In addition to these there are also two other facade proposals developed from the above sketches.[15] In both of these the tower overhangs the sidewalk. One of the designs appears to be based on the four-storey version approved by the board, which was finally rejected[16] (Fig. 67). More closely resembling the final appearance of the building is the five-storey version with skylights in the lowered exchange hall[17] (Fig. 68).

In both designs the facades are asymmetrical both axially and in relief. The dominating tower projects approximately three metres from the surface. Had it been built, it would have been an element dominating both the building and the townscape.[18] Seen from the North and South Esplanades, the tower would have stood at the summit of the hill and the adjoining part would have been dominated by a arch of stone blocks placed over the sidewalk. The form of the main portal derives from a similar feature proposed by Sonck in 1898 for the Tirkkonen building in Tampere. The castle-like form and the tapering arches of the windows display associations with the Middle Ages.

Prominent in the various versions is the use of stone, following the masonry already designed for St. John's Church. Most of the facade is covered with freely worked squared-rubble masonry contrasted with smooth horizontal listels. The bottom floor is laid with large, irregular blocks. Its archaic character and supporting function are underlined by the straight single-block arches, almost two metres wide, of the windows around the portal. On an even grander scale is the foundation wall of the tower, the supporting part of which would have combined the structure and the form of expression. The proposed blocks were up to 1.5 metres high and three metres wide. The block-laid stone supports of the museum project were now made part of the street milieu.

The facades strive towards deep relief and plasticity via the rounding of various parts and seams. In the pencil sketch of the four-storey proposal the deep openings marked in shadow stress the desired effect

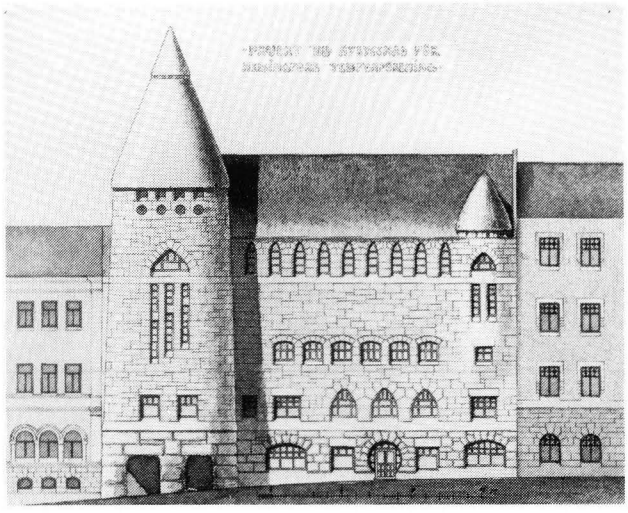

Fig. 67. Preliminary design, 1903, with uniformly grey stone. (HPY, photo SRM).

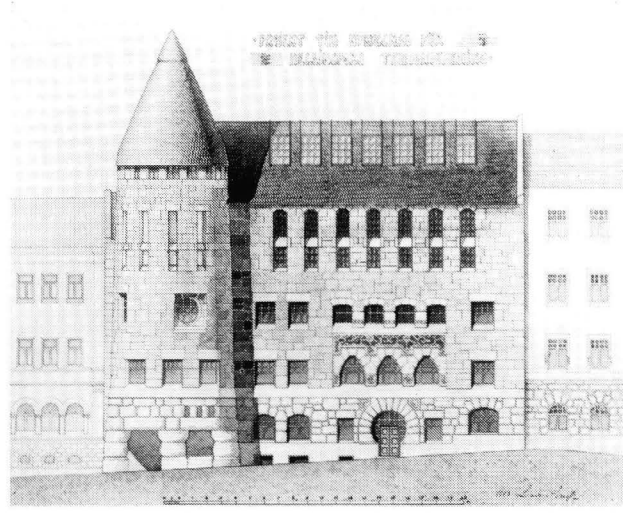

Fig. 68. Preliminary design, 1903, with polychrome stone surface. (HPY, photo SRM).

of a supporting mass of wall. The weight of the wall is in the background of the large-scale masonry of the ground floor.

The four-storey version was rejected possibly because of the bare appearance of the facade and its relationship with the function of the building.[19] None of the themes, ornaments or texts facing the street alludes to the function of the building or its owner, and the facade is mostly without ornamental details. The desired effect is achieved by composition and the use of materials, and stone itself is sufficient for the impression of surface. Barrenness is emphasized by the absolute monochrome appearance of the grey and single-hued granite. This facade design was to remain Sonck's most reduced presentation of the means of expression of Finnish stone.

The five-storey facade version, slightly modified from the above, contains decoration, but for example the themes on green ground of the second storey cannot be deduced directly from the content of the building. In this version ornaments were also cut into stone. The masonry of the bottom floor is even less restrained, with considerable differences in the sizes of the stones. Above all a polychrome effect was achieved in the other storeys, which was to be characteristic of the completed building. Tectonic features are stressed by the monolithic vertical supports of the row of windows of the third storey. Sonck's skilful water-coloured facade drawing presents the variation of colour not only in the masonry but also in the rest of the facade, with the warm red brick of the roof balancing the grey of the wall.

The final designs and plans, dated December 1903, were approved in early 1904 by the board of the Helsinki Telephone Association and the authorities [20] (Fig. 69). In the final version the lower part of the tower is recessed and flush with the rest of the facade and in the upper storeys it projects only about a metre. Why was this central feature with its passage rejected? The matter was not discussed by the board of the telephone company. The tower, an important part of Sonck's design, was even discussed in the press.[21] The question was not solely related to the design of the facade. The projecting tower, had it been built, would have shaped the surrounding townscape to a larger degree. Working within the bounds of the available lot, Sonck tried to move both outwards and upwards. The original design of the tower would have disrupted the street milieu, in turn based on classicism and the late 19th-century town planning of civil engineers, both antithetical to Sonck's aims at the time. The building would thus have demonstrated in fragmentary form Sonck's

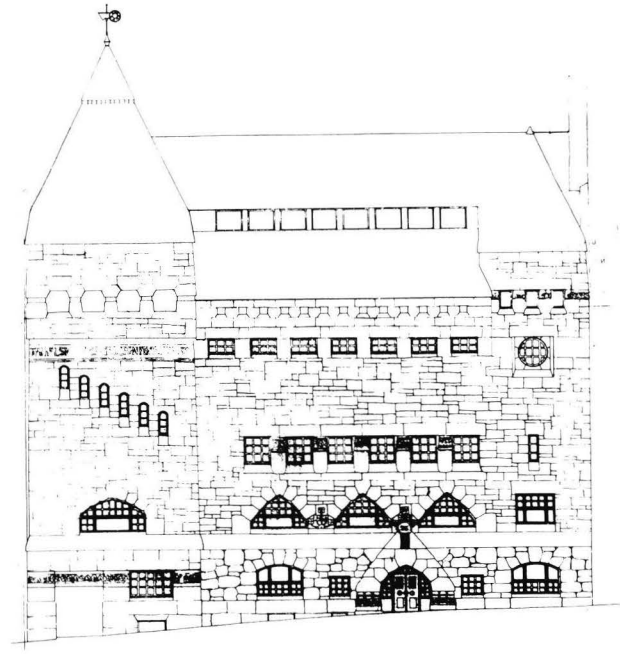

Fig. 69. Final drawings approved by the city authorities for the Telephone Association building. December 1903. (HKRVVA.)

views of urban architecture which he had expressed in earlier contexts. Its mainly medieval and picturesque frame of reference would have extended from the themes of the building itself into the whole of the surrounding townscape. Although horizontally the tower was not built as originally envisioned, Sonck was able to shape it contrary to city building regulations. It was finally built higher than allowed and the whole building is a storey higher than permitted. What was lost in the street milieu was partly recovered in the creation of a dominant feature of the townscape. The authorities approved of the design on the grounds of the special function of the building and the fact that the square of the fire station opposite was a balancing factor.[22]

The approved designs also involved a supporting structure of iron for the equipment hall, which led to a row of windows being opened in the roof instead of the previously planned fifth storey. The main entrance was fitted with a triangular enframement familiar from St. John's Church and the museum project. In the bottom storey the interlocking of the stone blocks was taken to extremes. The seams of the irregular blocks are not straight and they involve diagonal lines. There are empty spaces between the stones and the overall composition corresponds to a wall of unworked stones. The masonry was also freed of restraints in the upper storeys and the stone blocks were lengthened.

The entablatures and structural entities are now more prominent. The marked appearance of the columns and beams of the third storey are explained by the composition of the facade as a whole. Where openings are made in a wall in this manner, their division must support the weight of the upper storeys. The weight is transmitted from the entablature of the third storey to the columns and from them via the tapering arches to the entablature between the second storey and the bottom storey, which divides the weight onto the masonry and the stone foundation. Thus, the visually varied composition of surface also serves as a logical whole in structural terms. It presents the image of a solid stone wall, supporting itself regardless of the brick wall behind it.[23]

The stylized plant ornaments emphasize the vital points of the wall structure, such as the capitals and the divisions of windows. But even in this case, the facade decoration does not allude to the function of the building. Instead, the owner and at the same time the function of the building are presented in an unequivocal way in a band of text, approximately one metre high, encircling the tower, and a weather-vane resembling a phone dial. Sonck limited himself to a simple text and a technical image, without undue reference to metaphors.

Corresponding to the medieval references of the portal is the entrance hall, previously designed as employing a barrelled vault. In this part, the bays leading to the stellar vaults were formed individually.[24] Throughout his career, Sonck had created variations of medieval vault types. In the ceilings of churches they were fitting and suitable parts of the structure. In the Telephone Association building, as in other secular works, they involved expression, hierarchy of space and atmosphere. The vault forms and the pillars along the walls created different types of units in the passage.[25] The exterior and interior of the building were combined into a entity of expression where the historicist mood of the facade was continued into the entrance hall and to the arched windows of the stairwell.

III.3.2. The building as completed

The construction of the Helsinki Telephone Association building proceeded at a lively pace. The foundation was completed by June 1904 and parts of the building were taken into use the following summer.[26] Work was fast considering the amount of masonry work, the special structures required and the exceptional ceiling of the equipment hall. Sonck was himself the supervising architect at the site,[27] and the master-builder was Heikki Kaartinen, who was also employed in the building of St. John's Church.[28] After discussing the question of masonry, which was of importance for the building, the board decided upon a polychrome wall of granite of different hues. The enframements, portal and listels as well as the various ornamental details were of steatite. Both red and grey granite were ordered.[29]

Traditional walls and intermediary floors were not sufficient in this case. First of all, pillar supports required by the personnel and equipment of the fourth and fifth floors would have obstructed the use of space on the lower floors. Secondly, the central hall under the roof required a structure permitting optimal use of the interior, protecting the valuable equipment and separating the space for the needs of work. These problems were solved by the use of reinforced concrete and iron roofing structures.[30]

Planning and execution had thus become more complex, even in comparison with the practices of only a few years previously. The architect's skills alone were not sufficient for the whole of the planning process, and the new and more effective structures required engineering expertise. Thus, the process from design to execution came to involve an intermediary who converted the architect's wishes into the special drawings and plans needed for execution. The contractor could in such a case be the representative of some structural system, in turn employing

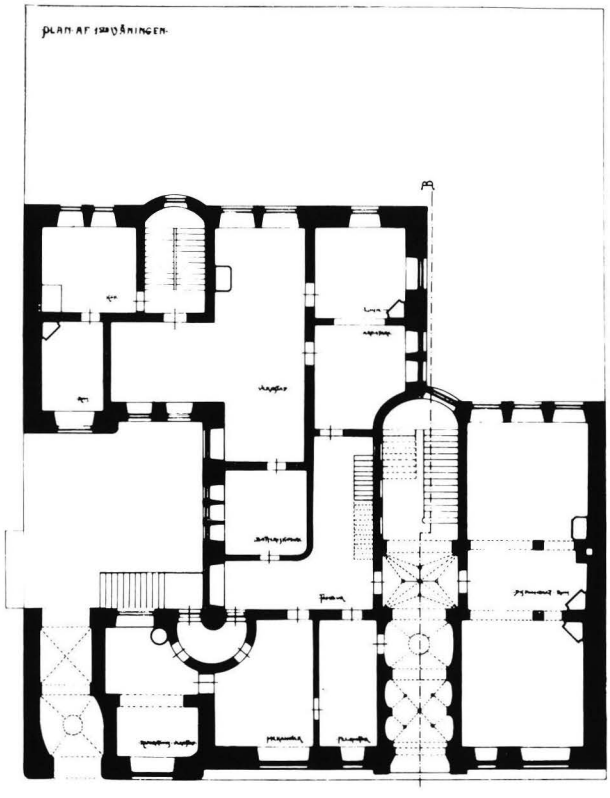

Fig. 70. Final drawings for the Telephone Association building, 1903. First floor plan. The vaulting of the entrance passage was not executed as shown here. (HKRVVA).

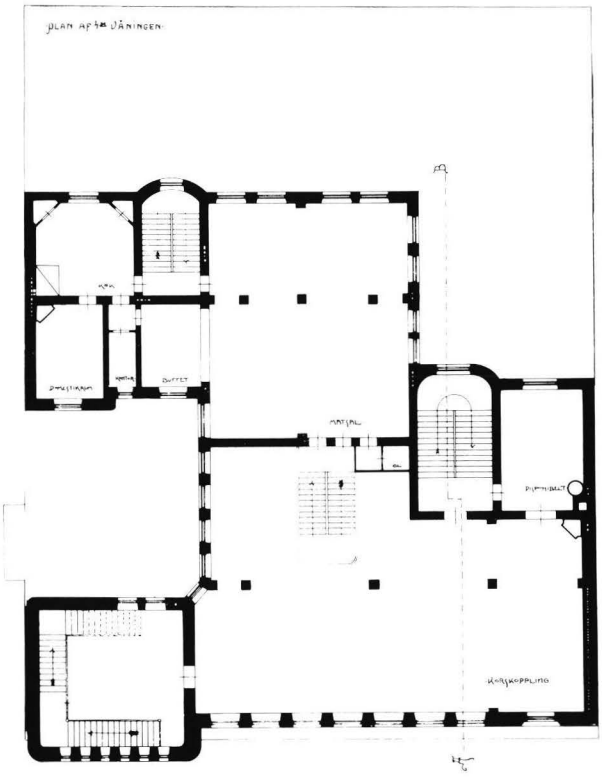

Fig. 71. Final drawings, 1903. Fourth floor plan. The dining hall towards the rear of the lot was finally executed with a single bearing concrete pillar. (HKRVVA).

sub-contractors. Sonck had the advantage of being trained as a master-builder and he was familiar with traditional building techniques. However, from the Telephone Association building project onwards he had to rely on construction engineers in technically more demanding tasks. Now, as in many future works, structural planning was entrusted to the engineer Hjalmar Castrén, Finland's leading and almost only expert on concrete.[31] Modern telephone technology and structures were thus combined behind Sonck's archaic stone creation. Heikki Kaartinen described the structural details as follows: "All of the intermediary floors are built according to the so-called Hennebique system with iron beams placed at intervals of three to five metres. Stressed between the beams are iron bars c. 8 cm in diameter at intervals of 10 cm within the concrete."[32] To ensure safety, iron beams were added to the Hennebique system, even though its main advantage was specifically the combination of vertical and horizontal supports into a single, space-saving structure. Increased space achieved by the use of concrete can be seen in the plans of the third and fourth floors[33] (Fig. 71).

Also in the planning and construction of the ceiling of the exchange hall, presented only summarily in the drawings, outside help was needed. (Fig. 76) Castrén was commissioned to prepare the strength calculations and to supervise installation.[34] The structure was ordered from Germany and the manu-

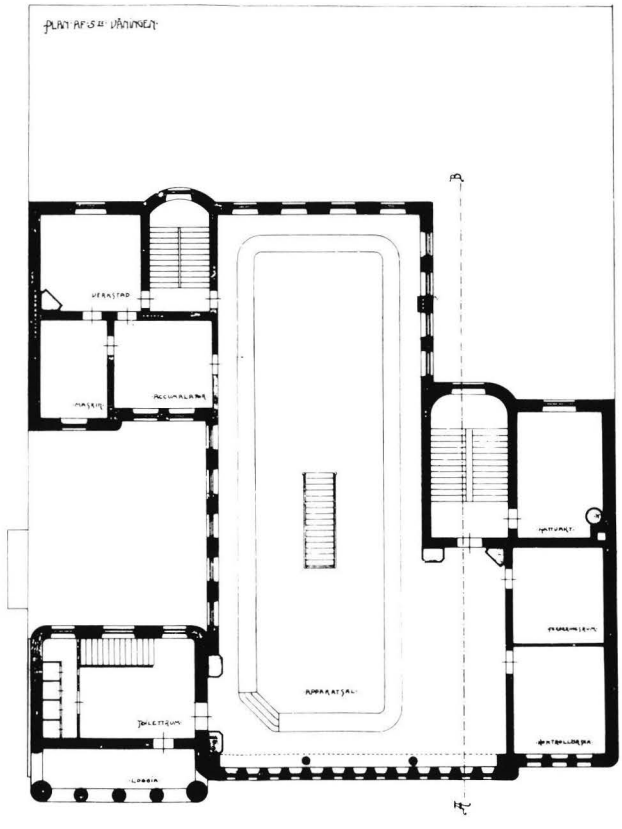

Fig. 72. Final drawings, 1903. Fifth floor plan with the exchange hall. (HKRVVA).

Fig. 73. The polychrome facade of the Telephone Association building as executed, with the exception of the later enlarged window below the projection on the right. See also Fig. 9. (Photo SRM/ Heikki Havas).

facturer undertook the installation.[35] In addition to the central hall, running parallel with the depth of the lot, the structure also covered part of the side facing the street. The hall was c. 27 metres long and 10 metres wide and the diagonal span following the form of the plan was c. 18 metres. The floor space remained completely unobstructed, as the structure in question bore its own weight as well as that of the roof. In relation to its size it was also relatively light, weighing c. 34 tons.[36] As it was prestressed, the inner movements and pressure did not require extra outlets, and the windows between the supports provided even lighting. The structure was insulated by a double shell solution of the roof and the interior vault.[37] Supported by the walls, the structure provided a free ceiling height of c. 8 metres, necessary for the dozens of telephone exchange workers. The expensive iron structure was used only in the essential parts; the spire of the tower, for example, which was related only to the exterior appearance, had timber supports. Sonck then shaped the interior vault in accordance with the overall vocabulary of the building.

The final scheme of space and rooms is presented in a series of floor plans included in Kaartinen's report.[38] A few smaller apartments connected with the running of the building remained on the floors, but otherwise the rooms were for the telephone exchange and for office use. The entrance hall vaults were converted into a straight barrelled vault. The concrete structure provided a space of c. 10 x 10 metres in the dining hall where the upper storeys are supported by a single pillar (Fig. 77).

Sonck was faced with the task of allocating space for the requirements of a large number of workers, communications within the building, dining and hygiene. Prominent features are the stairwells and the dining hall, while the offices are more conventional. The main staircase continuing directly from the entrance hall led to the office open to the public, other offices and the rooms of the board. The exchange workers used a secondary staircase, running parallel,

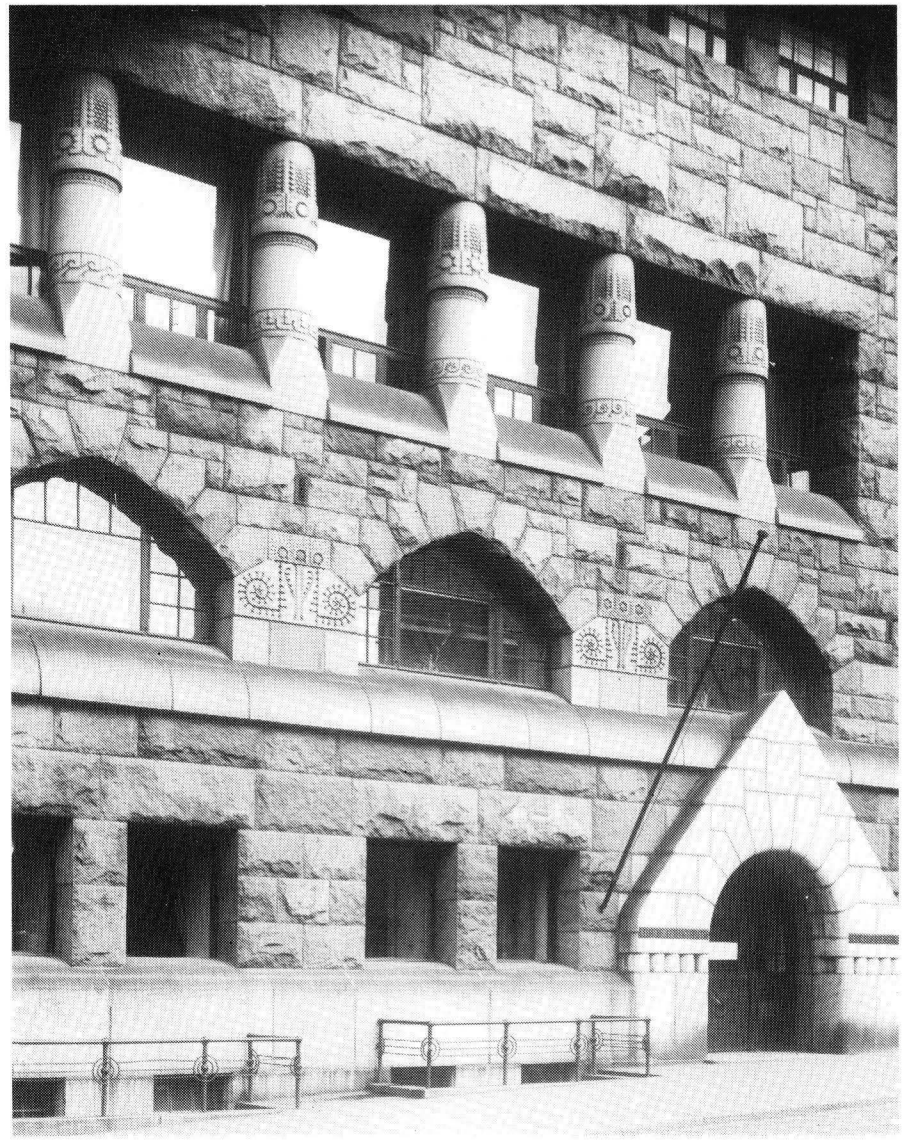

Fig. 74. A part of the facade with the entrance. (Photo SRM/Heikki Havas).

partly lit through the windows of the main staircase. These stairs connected the dressing rooms of the third floor, the equipment hall of the fourth floor and the dining hall with the large central hall on the fifth floor. The open support structure provided good visibility for the supervisor seated in the centre of the hall. Open space combined with standardized and supervised work by a large number of employees brings to mind factory conditions and the increasing degree of rationalization in offices where typists worked under similar conditions. In the Telephone Association building Sonck created a framework bound by function, though not by convention, for a workforce which was large and of a relatively new type in Finnish conditions.[39]

The final appearance of the building differed from the main designs, however without altering its main emphases.[40] A projection added to the tower replaced the loss of volume and does not have any functional grounds, as opposed to the similar theme in St. John's Church. The upper floor of the tower was opened to serve as a lookout balcony for the exchange workers. The turret of the right-hand part of the facade was altered into a rectangular projection and the portal moved to the right.

The multi-coloured appearance of the masonry was defined in the water-colour wash of the facade presented in 1903 (Fig. 68). The polychromy combined various shades of grey with elements of different basic colours. The use of red stone was related to the construction of St. John's Church. In the main drawings of the church the stone is grey throughout, but red stone was added in the building stage.[41] In selecting the stone for the Telephone Association building Sonck was able to evaluate and assess the masonry of the church, where the walls had been under construction since April 1903.[42] The colouring served to underline the structural nature of the facade. The smooth parts of light grey stone, contrasting with the coarse surface of the wall, had a bearing function separate from the logic of the stone-laid wall. The light colours and degree of finish of the

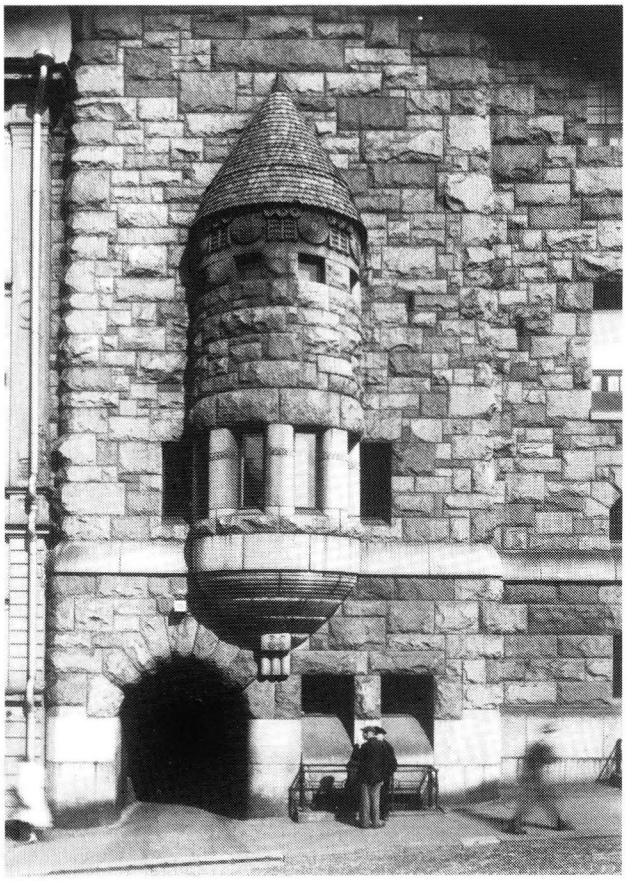

Fig. 75. The base of the tower. Below the conical roof of the projection is a frieze with details from telephone technology. (Photo SRM/Heikki Havas).

portal stress its function and the fact that it differs from the structural ideas of the rest of the facade. It extends past the entablature and even covers the window. In the facade the stones do not interlock as freely as in the main drawings. The bottom floor employs large blocks of even height with close seams. Limestone plaster is applied very thinly.[43] The wall actually appears to bear its weight on its closely interlocked blocks without a binding bed of plaster.[44] The strength of the wall is indicated by the deep recesses of the windows and their undivided panes. The stone of the walls is joined to the brickwork by binding stones and irons.

The structural themes of the facade were stressed even more in the completed building. The board ordered Sonck to enlarge the windows, and accordingly the columns of the third floor were lengthened.[45] The stylized capitals display Egyptian allusions. In this case Egyptianization is not a case of exoticism, but related to the use of stone. While the medieval plane of reference and the "irregular" wall pertain to the oldest strata of trans-Alpine monumental architecture, the Egyptian features relate to the foundations of large-scale Western architecture in stone. Both levels of origin, sought from different cultures and epochs, bypass Graeco-Roman classicism and its derivatives. Egypticism is motivated by the fact that the monolithic columns through their entablature actually bear the weight of the upper storeys. A column-and-lintel system was also used in the upper part of the tower. In places where the wall or the upright supports do not bear the weight, the structural principle is expressed by consoles.

Ornament mainly employs highly stylized plant motifs stressing the main structural parts. The text referring to the owner and commissioning party was left out and decorative motifs were used instead. The form of expression in this connection is minimal and is based on a frieze encircling the projection of the tower near street level in which ornamental details pertaining to telephone technology were cut into the stone. The same theme is repeated at the main entrance by an ornamental band showing

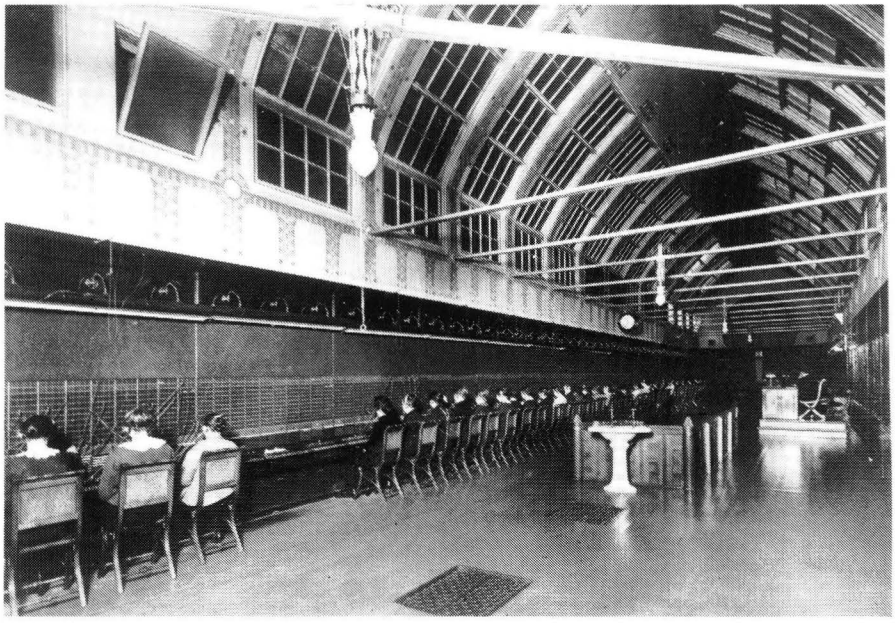

Fig. 76. The exchange hall on the fifth floor. (Photo HPY).

Fig. 77. The dining hall on the fourth floor. (Photo HPY).

cables with insulation. On the level of the townscape the weather-vane, in the shape of a telephone receiver, expressed the character of this new castle belonging to the telephone company.[46]

Although Sonck did not quite achieve his original aims, whereby the inner dynamics of the facade would have been combined with a projecting tower characterizing the whole of the immediate setting, the result is nevertheless highly distinctive. The plasticity and deep relief of the facade are stressed in the longitudinal perspective of the street. Located on a hill rising from the Esplanades, the volume of the tower is exaggerated and the feeling of perspective is enhanced. The nearest major themes of the facade are stressed even more clearly. The spire of the tower, standing out in the townscape, was also a counterbalance to the tower of the fire station opposite. The pyramid roof conformed to the shape of the corner tower of the Pohjola insurance company building built nearby on the same street in 1901.

Sonck varied the functional division of rooms and space by the use of openings, ornament and colour. Originally, the system of vaulting was intended as part of this variation. The main staircase leading from the entrance hall with its barrelled vault became an architectural promenade, varying from one floor to another. Themes and motifs used in this connection included various window sizes and forms and the openings of different shape leading from the main staircase to the adjacent workers' staircase.

The ornaments, sunk into plaster and stucco, are in negative relief.[47] The themes are distant from nature, history or even telephone technology, although in some places they correlate with the various activities of the building. The painted designs of the exchange hall depict stylized features of telephone technology. In the dining hall the themes and motifs are taken from nature and the papyrus motifs repeat the Egypticist features of the facade.

Although Valter Jung was at this time involved in the design of the decoration and furnishings of St. John's Church and the Privatbanken building, the available records state that Sonck designed both the ornaments and furnishings of the Telephone Association building.[48] Thus, the building – with the exception of the above-mentioned structural solutions – can be regarded as Sonck's work in its entirety. He designed it, served as the supervising architect, took responsibility for materials and works, confronted the authorities and finally decorated and furnished the building. This was Sonck's first architectural work of a public nature and major costs in the capital, and the young architect had to demonstrate his skills in a convincing and comprehensive manner.[49]

In the case of St. John's Church Sonck renewed a traditional functional type, but chose from its history a characterization clearly related to the conventions of the Middle Ages. Thus, the form given to the task aided in recognizing its function. Sonck then went on to apply the same forms to a project for which there was no tradition in terms of exterior appearance. Models from contemporary building and construction applied mainly to techniques and the allocation of space. The final facade made hardly any reference to the purpose of the building or even to modern urban architecture in general. This contradiction was seized upon by contemporary critics, although the building was appreciated as a work of art.[50] By its purely architectural qualities however, the building gave the company a strong identity, which was no doubt one of the aims of the project.[51]

The Telephone Association building did not provide any formal starting points for solving similar problems – either to Sonck or on a general level. The formation of a type was prevented by the fact that the exterior of the building did not reflect its content and by its dual role as the technical and administrative headquarters of the company concerned. Sonck received future commissions from the Helsinki Telephone Association on a regular basis, but it was only in the 1910s that he created a clearly distinct identity for the local exchanges. In the stylistic development of Finnish architecture the Telephone Association building was a culmination of a course that had begun in the 1890s in which medievality, local features and archaisms were stressed, often in connection with the expressive use of undressed stone. The building was completed at a time when many of Finland's leading architects were already giving up these principles.[52] For Sonck, this was his deepest foray into the use of Finnish stone materials, and in later works he did not use stone in such a programmatic, plastic or polychrome manner. His future buildings in the centre of Helsinki conformed to the surrounding townscape in a different way.

The Telephone Association building was by no

means the only work of architecture of its period in Helsinki where imitated medievality was combined with the use of natural stone. An example is the Polytechnical Students House, designed by Karl Lindahl and Valter Thomé in 1901 and built in 1903. Sonck's work followed the facade composition of this building.[53] The premises of the Otava publishing company (1905/06–09), also by the same architects, presents a parallel to the Telephone Association building. The recesses of the stone-faced volume, the separate roof parts and an apparent stratification combined with medieval overtones create the impression of an additively composed entity. This is also alluded to by the respectively Romanesque and Gothic designs of the two adjacent portals. The ideational plane of the composition was related to an idealizing of medieval urban structures and their historically developed features. In Finland these strata had to be invented.

In its construction, the Telephone Association building contains several features of different age. In the background was the old practice of brick walls which was to remain in use for a long time. The stone of the facade derived from a building technique which had become common in Finland only a few years previously and was to be rejected in this form before long. The reinforced concrete of the intermediary floors was a new solution in Finland that spread at a fast rate and became a permanent practice. The iron structure of the roof of the central hall on the fifth floor was a large and complex feature in Finnish conditions. It was carried out, however, at a time when structures of this type were being replaced by the use of reinforced concrete. Typical of the peripheral and somewhat backward situation of Finland was the fact that the conditions for the use of such structures on a large scale presented themselves only when they were soon to be outmoded elsewhere and also in Finland. The above-mentioned construction techniques were combined with a facade freely applying the principles of historicism and displaying associations with the Middle Ages, while the building as a whole served the needs of modern communications.

III.4 The *Privatbanken* building

III.4.1. The project

In 1903 Sonck undertook the renovation of the Privatbanken building, located at Pohjoisesplanadi (the North Esplanade) 19 and Unioninkatu 28 in Helsinki (Fig. 7). The work followed plans drawn up earlier the same year.[1] The planning of the bank building coincided with that of the Helsinki Telephone Association building, and at this time Sonck was also involved in altering his design for the interior of St. John's Church in Tampere. The construction and finishing of St. Michael's Church was now in its final stages. The new project resembled the Telephone Association building insofar as it involved the construction of a public edifice by private capital in the centre of Helsinki.

Around the turn of the century the business centre of Helsinki was in an area bounded by Aleksanterinkatu, Sofiankatu and Kluuvinkatu streets and the North Esplanade near the Market Square and the harbour. Since the end of the 19th century, however, it began to shift to the west and the north, closer to the railway station. The head offices of the banks were located on Aleksanterinkatu, but the corner of Unioninkatu and the North Esplanade still remained a central location. The early 19th-century buildings on this lot were renovated in the early 1900s. At this time the lot of the Privatbanken building was one of the most valuable pieces of real estate in Helsinki. The declining importance of Unioninkatu was compensated by the location of the main entrance on the North Esplanade, which was developing rapidly at the time.[2] Development was impaired by the bank building, the Uschakoff merchant house, designed by Pehr Granstedt and dating back to 1816. The decision was made to modernize the building with the aid of Lars Sonck and Valter Jung.

The Privatbanken i Helsingfors AB bank was founded in 1895, and its early success was based on the same economic boom that aided Sonck's career.[3] Since 1899 Sonck had his private apartment and office in the building.[4] In early 1903 when the bank decided to renovate the building,[5] Emil Schybergson was a member of the board.[6] Schybergson also sat on the extended board of the Helsinki Telephone Association which was responsible for supervising its building project.[7] Sonck presented his sketches to Schybergson in the winter of 1903 and was also given the commission for the Privatbanken building. Along with the banking premises he renovated his own apartment and office, whereby the commission extended to his working environment and private life.

The Privatbanken premises were mainly in the

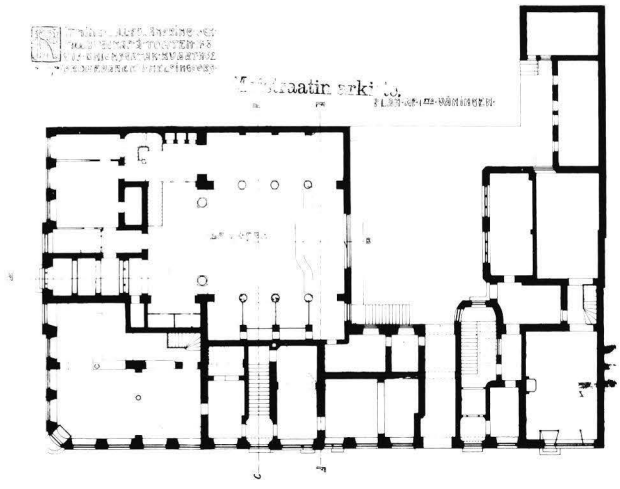

Fig. 78. The building at North Esplanade 19 – Unioninkatu 28, Helsinki, where the premises of the Privatbanken (1903–04) were located. Ground floor plan, 1903. The entrance is on the left, followed by the passage, the entry hall and the banking hall. The secondary Unioninkatu entrance and stairway are below in the drawing. On the exterior, see Fig. 7. (HKRVVA).

wing of the corner building facing the North Esplanade. New construction was required in addition to the use of older parts. The programme for space and rooms was not extensive, as the bank operated locally with only one office.[8] Sonck and Jung were bound by the older building and the special wishes of the bank, together with the established conventions of banking premises and newer practices.

The banking premises consist of an office and customer service hall, rooms for the board and related halls and passageways.[9] A large vault for deposits and stocks was built in the cellar, and offices were located on the second floor with a staircase leading to them. A staircase and hall was also built at Unioninkatu 28 and an entrance hall was opened on the North Esplanade. Three new rooms for the board were placed on the ground floor facing the street in the older part of the building. The entrance of the bank was in the older part, but the actual hall of the bank was built in the former yard. A completely new feature was the cellar vault, built of granite and armoured plate.[10] The staircase leading from the banking hall connected with the hall of the second floor, two accountants' rooms and a tea-room with further access to the staircase on Unioninkatu. The following section concentrates mainly on the street-level rooms and the combination of the second floor and the staircase on Unioninkatu.

The set task required the creation of an environment for the directors, clerks and customers as well as routes taking into account the requirements of functionality, separation of tasks and the hierarchy of users. The grouping and division of rooms is based on these considerations. The entrance passage leading from the street connected directly with the rooms of the board, which in turn opened onto the

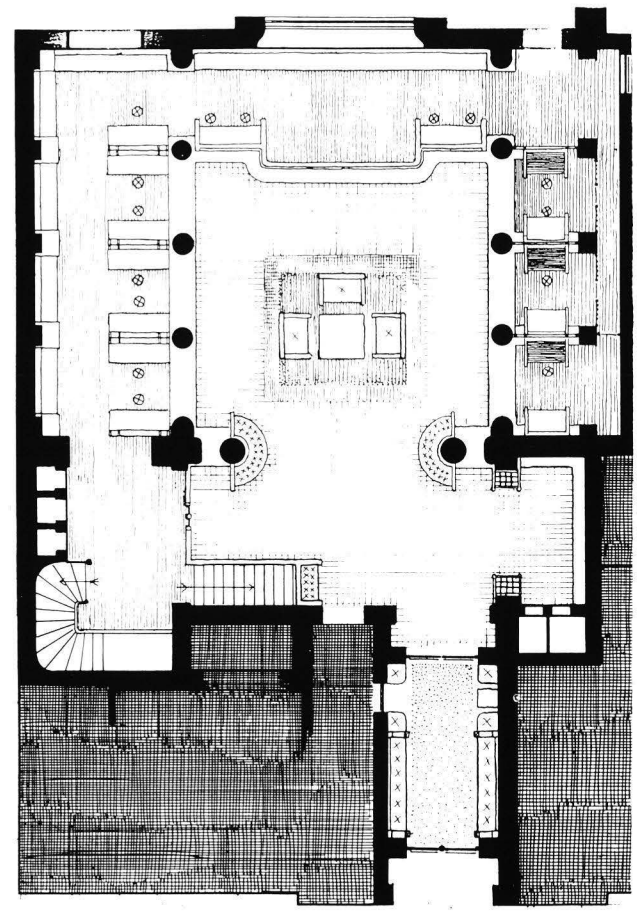

Fig. 79. Valter Jung's drawing for the furniture, 1903. (Original and photo SRM).

banking hall. The passageway also led the customers via the vestibule to the main hall with its service facilities and tellers at the sides. The customers either went out the same way or conducted their business in the rooms of the board. The clerks, in turn, used the stairway leading to the second floor and from there via a hall to Unioninkatu. Upon entering the main hall most of the staff had to go past a U-shaped level, as their route was not intended to coincide

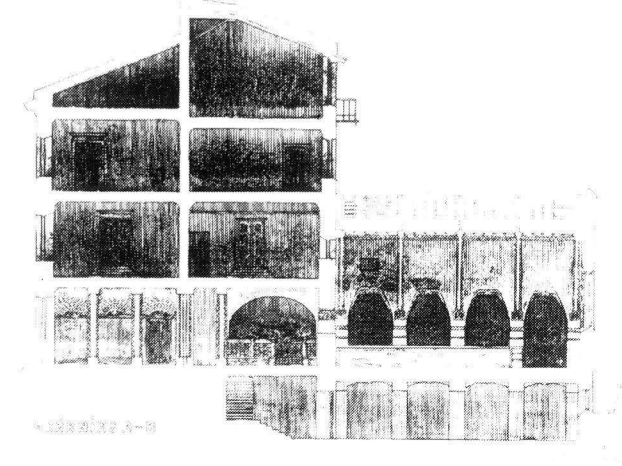

Fig. 80. Main drawings, 1903, longitudinal section towards the west. (Union Bank of Finland Archives, photo SRM).

with the space used by the customers or the board. In the open space of the main hall all of the clerks were in simultaneous view and could be watched by supervisors, colleagues and customers. The allocation of space thus stressed inter-office communication, efficiency and supervision. It was related to changes in office work effected in this period where improved management was combined with new office technology. A direct comparison is found in Sonck's arrangements for the telephone exchange workers.

The location of the hall in the yard made lighting difficult and daylight through normal windows was available only on the sides facing the street. The problem was solved by a skylight in the central part of the hall and in the nave on the left. Of the windows in the hall that faced the yard, the most important one was a large semi-circular stained-glass window in the end wall, which served as the visual focal point of the room.[11] The other windows were of opal glass, cutting off the main hall from the outside. Incandescent lamps were installed without lamp-shades.

III.4.2. New premises

The most important new feature was the three-naved main or banking hall where the side walls curved gently towards a horizontal skylight, above which was a glass roof.[12] The inner skylight was supported by partly wood-faced lattice-work, with allusions to timber construction. Timber was also used in the accentuated beams of the skylight. The wooden finish of the actual material (i.e. iron) is related to a concept of material that excluded industrially worked metal parts.[13] A similar discrepancy of structure and material is present in the ceiling of the left nave.

The naves open onto the central part from between stone columns and pilasters. The structurally essential columns, as well as the consoles supporting the beams in the left nave, are of exaggerated dimensions. In this case a necessary solution was developed into over-sized scale. The wall facing the yard towards Unioninkatu was supported by the pillars of the passage of the right nave which opened onto the square booths for the tellers and clerks. The structural themes of the hall did not require any prominent vertical or horizontal supports in connection with this secondary and almost unnoticeable passage. Because the structure required by stability was not suited to be expressed, Sonck had two large horizontal I-beams walled in out of sight at the level of the dome of the vault.[14] The appearance of the hall was thus based on supports not included in the programme of design as well as on an emphasis of

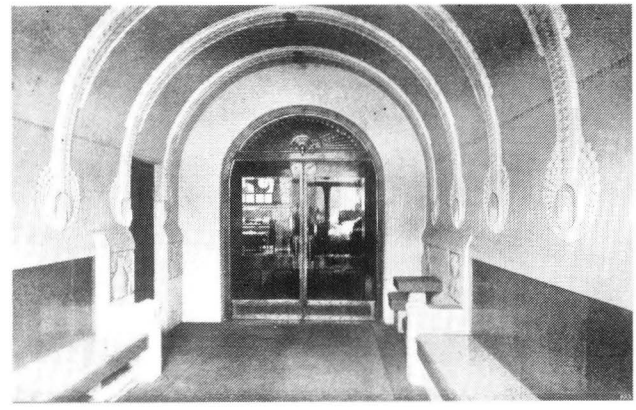

Fig. 81. The entrance passage, view towards the banking hall. Hirn 1906-, p. 51.

supported and bearing parts, albeit with some exaggeration and changes. The plastered rear wall with its arched opening was not articulated, while a tectonic whole was constructed at the end leading to the street.

The opening of the hall towards the street passes through the wall of the upper storeys which faces the yard. This was a suitable place for shaping a bearing theme. The two massive twin pillars of the opening continue the series of columns of the hall, and their L-shaped bases face the row of columns and the centre of the opening. The supports have granite surfaces, but they contain the remains of the bearing brick walls of the older building.[15] The surfaces link them to the supports of the hall, which are completely of stone. The two heavy columns of the opening are necessary both structurally and in terms of expression. The stone-faced wall pillars and the stone columns support the stone beams from which the wall rises. The masonry of the structure, itself based on the requirements of space, is oversized. In the upper part of the wall is an opening linking the rooms of the second floor with the hall. In the drawings, the way in which the opening with its arched vault changes into rectangular form made the cubic stone capitals of the columns accentuate the tension between the straight beam and the columns.

Large vertical supports rising from the wall were also designed in the part of the wall towards the street which opened onto the rectangular hall space. These came to be replaced by a series of interconnected colonnettes. Although in fact decorations of the brick wall, they are also part of the structural language of the hall. On the side of the hall, the flat ceiling is borne by the above-mentioned large stone blocks, matched on the opposite side by colonnettes of the same height. Their bearing role, following a classicistic concept, is stressed by entasis and their location in the corners. The tectonic theme of the colonnettes of even height separates the ceiling from the lower parts of the system, creating a consistent theme brought about by structure and imagery.

Fig. 82. The banking hall of the Privatbanken in its original state. Today in altered condition. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

The two windows of the square room of the directors opened symmetrically onto the street. Because the roofing structures were still serviceable, no structural alterations were needed. A flat ceiling would have required articulation of the walls. Sonck solved the problem by the use of a separate cap with minor supports.[16] (Fig. 85) The purely decorative vault emphasized the character of the directors' room, and the hierarchy of content came to be added to the logic of structures and forms.

Fig. 83. The view from the banking hall towards the entrance. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

Fig. 84. A column at the rear of the banking hall. (Photo SRM/ Nils Wasastjerna).

The rectangular portal of the main drawings was finally changed into a barrel-vaulted space.[17] The arches and wall pilasters originally marked for the barrel vault of the passage were reduced to decorative bands of low relief. They still included console themes, beneath which the wall continues down to the floor in granite, where the language of constructive form is continued by the stone blocks. The granite structure also included benches of stone and a table and two seats.

Proceeding from the street the structural concepts of the various rooms present themselves as a series of separate units, each with its own themes as the basis of their articulation. The themes in question are in turn based on columns and beams, vaulting, consoles and recessed arches. Where several principles are combined, they can be seen as separate. For example, the system of the central part of the main hall supports the vault with its skylight. The beams of the ceiling require separate supports, expressed by the ribs supported by the consoles.

The dimensions of architectural expression in the above programme of rooms and structures were related to the esthetics of materials and historical analogies. Of the various materials stone is most clearly present. Also used were wood, beaten metal, plastered surfaces and glass. The Privatbanken building was Sonck's most richly worked secular work in terms of both themes and materials. The final touch to the whole was provided by Valter Jung's decoration and fixtures. The architect and the commissioning party were able to concentrate only on the interior, which explains the expensive and artisan-like solutions applied.

The masonry of the bank involved an interior use of the experimental granite architecture of the facade of the Helsinki Telephone Association building. Like the columns of the third floor of the Telephone Association building, the stone columns of the hall of the bank signified the expression of actual tectonics in an anti-classical manner, however without any clear allusions to medieval features. In the original drawings the granite columns were to have capitals separated by a band zone, but in the final version they were fitted with large cubic ends. In the texture part of the grey granite is polished while part of it was ground to a coarse, matt finish.[18] Steatite was used for the capitals of the pilasters and columns and in the portal opening onto the street.[19]

In the main hall of the bank the use of stone was related to themes derived from medieval architecture in the division of space as well as in individual forms. The three-part, pseudo-basilical room with its vaults alludes to the Middle Ages on a general level and without specific antecedents, for example in the tradition of Finnish architecture. Sonck medievalized a room type used in banks mainly through the composition of the naves and with the arches between columns. The sacral associations allude to banks as temples of Mammon, and the everyday control of capital and cash was thus given a higher content of meaning. The most colourful work of art in the hall, the stained-glass window, is at the rear in the place of the altarpiece. There are further links with the Middle Ages through the alteration of the originally straight-topped series of arches into parabolic forms approaching a tapering shape.[20]

The atmosphere of the hall is manipulated with stone structures and arched themes. In the use of

Fig. 85. The room of the directors with windows opening towards the North Esplanade. The vaulting has later been demolished. Hirn 1906-, p. 52.

stone, the means employed are the same as in the Telephone Association Building, i.e. oversized dimensions, where the scale creates a close-range impression of structures larger than in reality. The experience of the main hall differs from its actual form. The axes of the vaults and columns are directed towards the rear wall. The actual lengthwise axis of the hall, c. 17.5 metres, is, however, parallel with the North Esplanade, while the visual axis is only c. 12 metres. The impression of spaciousness is further stressed by diagonal views. Seen diagonally to the right from the entrance to the hall, the side nave and the passage beyond form a space interspersed with vault arches, vaults and vertical supports. In the centre of the hall frontality dominates, whereby the slightly asymmetrical whole appears to be formed of identical halves. For example, the recessed arches of the outside wall on the left are matched by similar features on the right. The top of this wall is straight and the field of visual features cannot correspond to the one on the left. The arch nearest the viewer, however, enframes the part repeating the features of the left-hand side. The contradiction is avoided by taking the perspective of the customer as the starting point. Working from the conditions of his commission and the requirements imposed by the older building, Sonck created a series of rooms and space increasing in size and lighting from the entrance onwards. The culmination of this series was the stained-glass window of the hall with its skylight.[21]

Following Valter Jung's designs for the fixtures wood was employed in a manner equal to stone. The placing of wooden features in Sonck's division of space and the additions of wooden parts can be seen in the floor plan for the interior design of the bank.[22] The dark-red mahogany furnishings were a central feature of the range of materials and colours of the various parts of the bank.[23] Added to the structure and hues of the wooden parts were gold-coloured ornamental bands which added to the overall polychrome effect. The fixtures and furnishings were not, however, an addition to the architecture, but a part of the dimensions of the rooms. For example, the counter between the columns was the visual basis for the vertical supports of the arches. In addition to the furnishings, wood was visible in the doorways, in which grey stone, warm-hued wood and bright, beaten metal were used alongside each other.

Metal, mainly used a decorative addition, was subordinate to stone and wood. This applies to the beaten parts, most of which were in the copper embossings of the doors of the entrance passage.[24] Copper was also combined with wood and forged iron in the railing of the staircase leading from the hall to the second floor.[25] The structure of the materials and the handcrafted texture were used as such in decoration. Only a few years earlier, the industrial processing of metal had been a source of pride, but now the architect wished to present the work of the artisan and his tools.

Although the entrance on Unioninkatu was unassuming in appearance, the re-designed stairwell was shaped into a complex entity proceeding from its basic starting point in the same way as the main hall. For example, the angular series of flights leads to a small hall of columns. A series of three tapering arches on both sides serve to open the narrow and dimly lit stairway with views outside (Fig. 88). This applies specifically to diagonal views in the same way as in the vaults of the main hall. The series of openings corresponds to the intended visual symmetry of the hall; a blind wall was located behind the other half. Variation of small spaces with openings and contrasts of lighting continued from the stairway to the entrance hall of the second storey, which opens onto the main hall through an opening with columns.

III.4.3. Decoration and historical features

Valter Jung designed not only the fixtures and furnishings but also the decoration and colouring of the bank.[26] Bound directly to the materials, the decoration of varied forms and themes was to link the various spaces into a thematic series associated with certain historical periods. Thus, it lent support to the associations provided by the architecture and even replaced structural expression by purely visual means.

The main drawings, signed by Sonck but most probably prepared by Jung, presented the chief areas of decoration in sketch-like form. The leading theme was the stylization of the organic world. There were also completely abstract fields of designs resembling the Viennese modernism of the period. In presenting the work, Jung's share was on the same level as Sonck's designs,[27] and it was obviously not just decoration following the ideas of the architect.

The main features were polychromy and imitations of themes from nature. Polychromy was achieved through the joint effect of various materials – wood, stone and metal. Added to these were parts richly decorated with gilding and painting. Some of the plastered surfaces were painted in bright basic colours, such as yellow. A separate multi-coloured accent was provided by the stained-glass window at the rear of the hall. The interior was divided into large and uniform surfaces, such as the red-brown of the mahogany, the light-coloured plaster and the separate and profusely decorated fields. The stairway leading from Unioninkatu employed an especially rich decoration.

Polychromy was not in itself a new feature. In fact, it was one of the main means of expression of late 19th-century architecture. Jung renewed this tradition by his choice of a different scale of colour, materials and themes. Along with the use of large bright-coloured fields, Jung also presented the surface texture of the various materials. The stone surfaces of the bank were of solid stone and were not marbelled with stucco in the late 19th-century manner. The aim was to achieve a naturalism of materials, as opposed to imitative results. The decorative values of Finnish stone were raised to the same level as more valuable materials.

The decoration, involving natural and human-related themes, suggests a number of interpretations. In the following, they are linked to the depiction of the structure of nature and historical associations. Sonck and Jung worked in a situation where the modernism of the day stressed freedom from tradition and the role of subjective innovation in the planning process. The architects wished to reject the heritage of classicism also on the level of ornament, and accordingly the programmatic entities of this tradition could not be used. In order to avoid a complete dispersal of figurative decoration certain thematic starting points had to be developed.

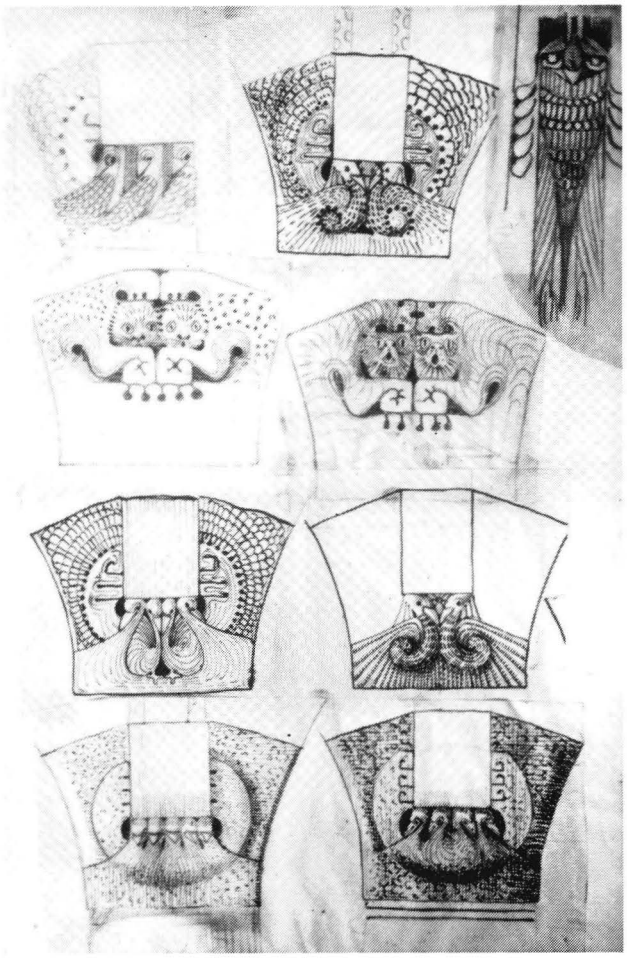

Fig. 86. Valter Jung's drawings from 1903 for the capitals of columns and pilasters in the banking hall. (Mrs Ulrica Eklund, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

Inorganic stone is present in the material and it is followed by the various levels of the organic world: plants, reptiles, birds, mammals and man.

The world of plants is present as leafy themes and trees, located in the recesses of the side walls and the stained-glass window. In the hall the plant ornaments are not related to features of structure, for which their own tectonics were sufficient. On the other hand, the series of colonnettes in the entrance hall resemble firs, i.e. an allusion to growth and the forest, nature's own colonnade.

Of the reptiles, snakes guard the reliefs of money bags on the granite walls of the entrance hall. Snakes are also shown in spiral form in the furniture.

The animal kingdom is mainly represented by stylized birds. These ornaments begin from the portal recess, guarded by the royal figures of eagles. Also in the passage are the owls of the stone benches and the console birds of the arches. The metal-embossed peacock of the door leading to the vestibule appears to anticipate the main hall, where both birds of fantasy and recognizable species, such as ducks, dominate the capitals of the columns. The bird themes culminate in the two peacocks of the stained-glass window.

The next level, mammals, appears in the felines of the steatite capitals of the columns and pilasters (Fig. 86). The humorous depiction of these animals presents a clear difference to the corresponding lion themes of classicism.

Also man has a role in the decoration, although on a lesser scale than the other themes. Human figures were originally designed for the railing of the staircase leading from the hall, but in the final version these themes were concentrated in the stairway on Unioninkatu. Here they appear in the painted decoration and as grotesque figures in the steatite capitals of the miniature colonnade (Fig. 88). In addition to these stylized and fantastic human figures there is also a design of human figures in the passage on the North Esplanade, having to do with material, furnishings and decoration (Fig. 81). Placed above the stone stools around the small granite table are naturalistic reliefs in granite by the sculptor Robert Stigell depicting two men bent over a table.[28] The young man on the left is reading while the old man on the right is hoarding a pile of coins. The design is allegorical, because there are benches nearby and the "furniture" is small. The pair of figures can be interpreted simply as the opposites penniless/unhappy and wealthy/contented, as was suggested by contemporaries.[29] A further level would be the illustration of the contemplative and active aspects of life. The connection of the pair of figures with the activities of the bank remains ambiguous, and the

relief cannot be interpreted as a traditional allegory. Related to the composition are the bags of money shown on the facing wall.

Like the structural entities of the bank, the historical planes of association of the ornamental themes are varied and diffuse. The arches suggest as the medieval frame of reference of the hall the Gothic period, which also applies to the vaulting of the directors' room. However, the ornamental themes and their finish suggest more strongly the Romanesque. This is also apparent in the arches of the portal recess and even more so in the capitals of the hall. The individual capital themes of Romanesque architecture include grotesque depictions from Southern France differing from the "great stories" of the Bible. The capitals of the Privatbanken building are similarly individual features and their themes involve both comic and grotesque presentation. The numerous bird themes can be traced from their popularity in the Romanesque architecture of Scandinavia. The "capricious" variation of the capitals implies a distancing from the noble and universal traits of classicism, and their details stress the comic and the particular. A background feature of Romanesque themes combined with stone can be found in late 19th-century American and in early 20th-century German architecture.

Fig. 88. Vaulted openings with figures in steatite from the second storey of the Unioninkatu stairway. (Photo SRM/Museokuva).

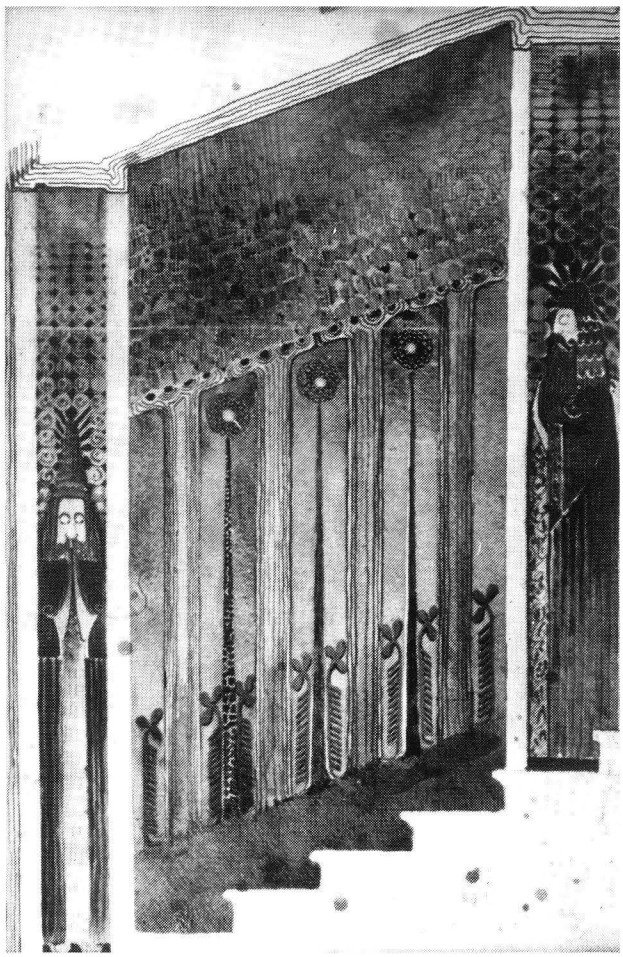

Fig. 87. Jung's drawings for the decoration of the stairway on the Unioninkatu side, 1903. First flight of steps with the guardian figures and trees. (Original and photo as in Fig. 86).

The animal figures of fantasy at the ends of the ribs in the central vault resemble the wooden figureheads of Viking ships. The "ancient Nordic" (*fornnordisk*) style common in Scandinavian wooden architecture in the 1890s was part of Sonck's architectural expression of the previous decade and was by no means unfamiliar to Jung. The localizing allusions to the past in the main hall would thus encompass Scandinavian prehistory as well. The bearing figures and the flat skylight alter the concept of this part of the building, mainly derived from the nave of a medieval church, into a secondary level of reference involving a hypothetical Nordic hall.[30]

In the stairway on Unioninkatu the painted decoration is even more important for the reason that the sparse use of architectural articulation makes the images create a structural logic for the space concerned[31] (Fig. 87). The trees painted on the smooth walls of the stairwell extend to form vaults, blurring the actual architecture. In this small space additional axes are provided by painted figures of guards. For example, the figures of two consecutive arches with allusions to the Middle East of antiquity are first shown frontally and then in profile, and the viewer

ascending the stairs will meet simultaneously the gaze of four guards. As in the main rooms of the bank, the historical allegories operate on several levels, from ancient history to the Gothic period.[32]

The synthesis of the Privatbanken building involves, among other features, the use of authentic materials, a multi-layered eclecticism related to non-classical periods and the use of a programme of decoration suggesting varied interpretations as an essential part of the architecture. Also stressed are craftsmanship and the role of a collective of designers. The architecture of the building continued in veiled form the classicizing trends of late 19th-century architecture as well as Neo-Gothicism. The classicist idea of dividing space into logical entities in a structural manner was carried out by non-classical means. On the one hand, tectonically whole systems were located in connection with conventional brick walls and intermediary floors of wood, while on the other hand the tectonic features are real as in the main hall. Applied in the same manner were medieval forms and room types for both supporting and visual purposes. A new trait was the free shaping of architectural periods and their contrasting combinations in a function related to modern business practices. This synthesis also combined two of the main trends of Sonck's studies, the classicism of secular architecture and the medievality of churches.

III.4.4. The Privatbanken building in the context of contemporary bank architecture

The long sky-lit hall of the bank with its counters around the sides was in accordance with Continental European conventions. The 1902 volume of *Handbuch der Architektur*, devoted to bank buildings, presents the main hall and the rooms of the board as being located at street level.[33] In this sense, the division of space and rooms in the Privatbanken building was according to modern standards. A parallel in terms of function and types of space, though not a prototype, was the customer-service hall of the Postsparkasse in Vienna, designed by Otto Wagner and built in 1903–1906. In this building, the metal-and-glass interior with its technical emphasis was modernistic in relation to the architecture of its region. In Helsinki, modern banking premises involved multi-layered historicism, abundance of forms, natural materials and polychromy. As pointed out by Fredrick Bedoire, Sonck's banking hall closely resembles a number of banks in Stockholm designed by Gustaf Wickmann which were presented in the trade press. This applies especially to the Sundsvallsbanken building from 1900–02.[34] Similar features are the skylight, its vaulting and ribs and the recesses of the walls, but the functional division of this single-part space is different.

Sonck did not have to search for Finnish prototypes any further than the adjacent block on Aleksanterinkatu. The main hall of the Finnish Union Bank, designed by Gustaf Nyström in the late 1890s, was also pseudo-basilical and had a skylight, granite columns and a counter located between them. Sonck reiterated the basic solution of this hall, excluding its classicist apparatus of style. Nyström's banking hall was, however, raised half a storey above the bustle of the adjacent street. Another significant bank building on the same street was the head office of the Kansallis-Osake-Pankki, designed by Onni Törnqvist (Tarjanne) in 1892, which had a side-lit main hall at street level. In the Privatbanken building these two practices were combined.

At the same time that the Privatbanken was being renovated, the new building of the Nordic Joint-Stock Bank was under construction in the same block on Unioninkatu. The first designs for this bank had been signed by Eliel Saarinen in the summer of 1903, six months after the plans and designs for the Privatbanken building.[35] Banks wanted to compete not only with modern premises, but also with a public image that was architecturally presentable. The Privatbanken could only employ its interior for this purpose, while the latter bank was also given a new facade.[36] The contest was won by the Nordic Joint-Stock Bank, which opened its new premises to the public in the autumn of 1904, a month before the renovated Privatbanken. However, Sonck's and Jung's creation was praised by contemporaries.[37] Coinciding and similar projects led to similar divisions of space and rooms, and the basic division of Saarinen's banking hall and its lighting closely resemble the features of the Privatbanken.

The Privatbanken building was publicized extensively in the dailies, journals and the trade press. The latter include the *Arkitekten* journal as well as the German *Moderne Bauformen*, devoted to European modernism.[38] It was also discussed prominently with illustrations in *Art et Decoration*, published in Paris.[39] The bank was seen as embodying a functional combination of the latest trends with an artistically sound modern spirit. The weekly *Veckans krönika* expressed a contemporary reaction to this now partly destroyed work of architecture, which has been altered several times.[40] The main impression was of the abundant polychromy, regarded as especially pure and light. This was based on the burgundy red of the mahogany combined with grey, green, light-cream shades, yellow and white. The critic praised Jung's fantasies of colour and mentioned that the hall differs from other banks in its

markedly artistic appearance. The present viewer can no longer grasp Sonck's and Jung's synthesis which in 1904 was described in the following terms: "Wide and even waves of light descend from the skylight onto the dark-red mahogany of the counter and furnishings, softly contrasting with the light-grey mass of the granite pillars and the green squares of the carpet." ("I breda, jämna vågor faller ljuset genom takfönstret öfver diskens och möblemangets mörkröda mahogny-ytor, hvilka bryta sig mjukt mot granitpelarnas ljusgrå massa och golfmattans gröna kvadrat.")

III.5. The Eira hospital

III.5.1. The commission

In the spring of 1904 Sonck undertook the design and planning of a private hospital for a Helsinki-based firm of physicians. Work on the hospital building, at the corner of Laivurinkatu and Tehtaankatu streets (no. 29 Laivurinkatu), was begun in the early summer of 1904, and the hospital received its first patients in June 1905. This project got under way soon after the designs and plans for the Telephone Association building had been approved, and both were built at the same time. This was again a commission from the private sector involving a building of a public nature. The Telephone Association building represented a new type of office and business architecture. Similarly, the Eira hospital had to differ from the conventions of its functional type. Although Sonck had planned nursing facilities for the spas of Maarianhamina and Hanko, he had no experience of hospitals or their requirements.

Dr Wilhelm Zilliacus, a member of the board of the hospital firm, had been one of the founders of the Fabianinkatu 17 apartment building company (Helsinki) in 1898. The building had been designed by the architects Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen,[1] and was completed in 1901. The markedly modern features of the building signified a definite esthetic standpoint taken by the commissioning party.[2] Axel Ehrnrooth, a member of the board of the Privatbanken, was a partner in the venture. In the spring of 1904, when Zilliacus was looking for an architect for the hospital project, Ehrnrooth was responsible for the funds of the hospital firm and the renovation of his bank.[3] Choosing an architect well known for his reforming spirit was a continuation of the modernizing trends initiated by Zilliacus in his dwelling environment.

Background factors to the Eira project were the rapid development of Finnish hospitals following the health-care act of 1879 and the sharp rise in the number of hospital patients particularly in the early years of the 20th century. Related to this was the founding of private hospitals, especially in Helsinki.[4] The parties involved wished to provide individual care and treatment differing from the modes of operation of public hospitals. Operating on a private basis ensured up-to-date standards for a select clientele of patients. Part of the growing medical profession wished to find alternatives to working in public hospitals and to house-calls. This led to the need to provide hospital services in the private sector. Practical opportunities were found in the formation of joint-stock companies in which the professional skills of each shareholder/physician could be employed in new facilities. In the case of the Eira hospital, the medical profession, then in the process of privatization, commissioned the designs and plans from an entrepreneur in the field of architecture which was also in the process of becoming privatized.

The hospital firm (Läkares enskilda sjukhus) was founded in 1897[5] and was made into a joint-stock company in 1904 (Läkares sjukhusaktiebolag). The first shareholders' meeting was held on 24 April, 1904. In May 1904 the company purchased lots 21, 23 and 25 in block 185 in South Helsinki. The shareholders included twenty of Helsinki's best-known private physicians, whose specialist fields had to be taken into account.

There were no Finnish models or prototypes for the hospital, and in order to prepare for the architect a detailed scheme for a 30–40 bed hospital, the building committee undertook a study trip to Copenhagen, which did not produce any results. The aim was to construct a comfortable environment without long corridors, as the latter easily brought to mind the unpleasant atmosphere of public hospitals.

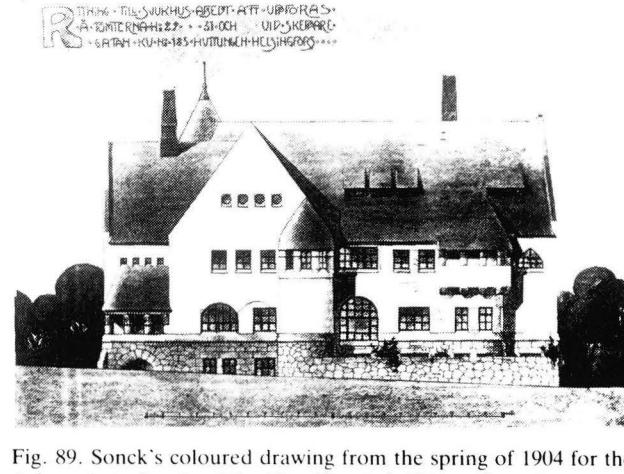

Fig. 89. Sonck's coloured drawing from the spring of 1904 for the Tehtaankatu facade of the Eira Hospital, Tehtaankatu 30 - Laivurinkatu 29, Helsinki, 1904-05. (Eira Hospital, photo SRM).

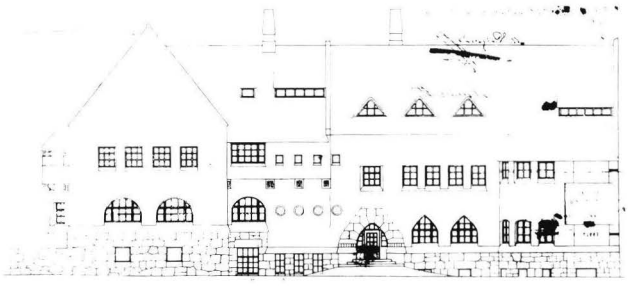

Fig. 90. The Laivurinkatu facade of the Eira hospital, final drawings from 1904. (HKRVVA).

The company had a clear concept of the future hospital in terms of function and psychological ambiance. These wishes, and the lack of standards because of the private nature of the commission, gave the architect a considerable degree of latitude.[6]

Sonck's final drawings were dated May 1904, but he had been involved in the project even before the purchase of the lots.[7] In the construction stage, the exterior and the demanding programme were not changed in any essential way. Available for the project were three adjacent lots, upon which the hospital was located as a freely standing building, partly set apart from the street. In this situation Sonck was not bound by a closed block or a single facade. The Eira project provided an opportunity to achieve a unity of floor plan, rooms and exterior form. As the commissioning party wished to achieve an unconventional and varied organization of rooms and space, Sonck was now able to carry out ideas which he had only been able to experiment with in his other, more limited, secular works of architecture.

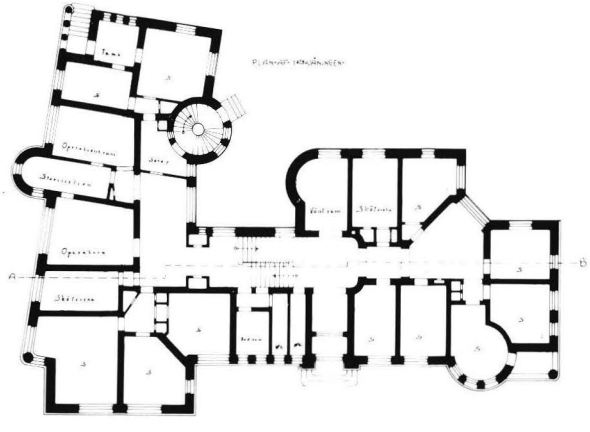

Fig. 91. First-floor plan of the Laivurinkatu side and second-floor plan of the Tehtaankatu side, final drawings from 1904. Patients' rooms on the Laivurinkatu side, operating theatre on the Tehtaankatu side. (HKRVVA).

III.5.2. Interior and function

In order to reserve the third lot for future enlargements, Sonck placed the main weight of the angular body of the building at the corner of the streets. The coordination of the respective wings on Tehtaankatu and Laivurinkatu is incongruous, and the differing lines of the body and the rooms meet in the Tehtaankatu wing. The exterior incongruence is reflected in the interior in a number of rooms of irregular shape (Fig. 91). The differences of the walls of the wings is not caused by the sharp angle of the street corner, as the building is set apart from the street. Sonck appears instead to have applied the requirements of the set town-plan to increase the variation of the exterior surfaces. Thus, the resulting types of rooms are not conditioned by the variation required by the original programme, but by Sonck's esthetic aims in the exterior architecture of the hospital.

According to the original programme long corridors were avoided in the plan. Although the Laivurinkatu wing is dominated by a central corridor, the latter is broken off in the middle part. The stone foundation and roof height of the facade are of uniform dimensions, but towards the south a fourth storey is added. Differences in elevation are bridged by an open stairway, the flights of which lead directly to the various floors. This solution, practical for the transport of patients, was also visually enriching, as the corridor provided views to the other floors. The technical reason for variation in elevation was the sharp drop of the underlying bedrock towards the south, whereby more space could be added to the Laivurinkatu wing without excavation. A uniform concrete bed was also laid.[8]

Inside the hospital the design aimed at interspersing various activities without the use of completely separate units.[9] The patients' rooms were located in different parts of the building, mainly in the Laivurinkatu wing. Separate units on the Tehtaankatu side were the outpatients' ward and bathrooms on the ground floor and the operating theatre and isolation ward on the first floor, both of which had separate entrances. Reasons for locating the patients' rooms in the Laivurinkatu wing were the peaceful setting and the purity of the air. Tehtaankatu was a busy thoroughfare, and the area opening onto the south and the west was still unbuilt. The rooms for the patients and the supervising nurse were grouped around spacious halls into a functionally uniform unit.

In the Eira hospital the allocation of rooms and the functional principle clearly differed from the pavilion system which had become common in the late 19th century. Conspicuous examples of the pavilion system in Helsinki were Kirurginen sairaala ('Surgical hospital'; F.A. Sjöström, built in 1888) and the

extensions to the Maria hospital (Onni Törnqvist/ Tarjanne, completed in 1893). The Eira hospital was built to provide limited and specific medical treatment, differing from the role of public hospitals. The concept involved the services of specialists, operations and a small number of patients. There was no need for separate pavilion wards, as the hospital did not admit patients with contagious diseases.[10] The patients were allowed to spend their time together in the halls adjoining their rooms. The rooms were not numbered, but were marked with flowers painted on the doors. Social reasons can also be found for the rejection of open wards. The open character of wards in public hospitals with their adjacent nurses' rooms ensured efficient control, which was regarded as necessary because of the low social status of the patients and their assumed asocial behaviour.[11] The middle-class background of the Eira patients permitted the use of separate rooms for both patients and nurses.

Within the bounds of the functional division, Sonck created individual rooms and space with the use of vaulting, lighting and ornament. The interior on the whole is characterized by a marked rounding of corners and ceilings. This was related not only to the principles of continuity and plasticity, but also to hygienic considerations. Sharp corners easily collected dirt and the round shapes facilitated cleaning, essential to the upkeep of a hospital. The various vault types linked the rooms into series. On the first floor the vaulting follows from the theme of the tapering arch of the door and the entrance hall. This theme is continued in the windows of the stairway leading to the second floor, the barrel vaults of which are repeated in the round windows of the third floor. On the first and second floors the patients' sitting rooms are set off from the busy corridor by arches built at a considerably lower elevation than the ceiling.

Some of the vaults came to be included only after the main designs were approved. A flat ceiling was originally designed for the halls of the Laivurinkatu wing (Fig. 95). Vaulting led to a situation where this feature of architectural expression could not be logically linked to the bearing wall structure, and what was in fact a rectangular window was fitted with a tapering arch on the inside. In the directors' room of the Privatbanken building this contradiction could be avoided by a different division of vault surfaces. The vault forms were mainly derived from Gothic architecture, and they correspond to the overall historical associations of the building.

In the same way as the vaults, the windows had a functional role as well as a psychological purpose based on variation. The large arched windows facing Tehtaankatu lit the operating theatre, while the series of round windows on Laivurinkatu provided a feeling of privacy for the toilets and washrooms. The differing windows of the main stairway, in turn, enhanced the impression of space.

In addition to architectural features, variation was achieved in the interior by polychromy and ornament. The public areas had basically light-coloured walls and ceilings as well as green and red features, which were also used in the ornaments of negative relief sunk in the walls and vaults. The colour scheme, the plant motifs and the floral symbols of the rooms emphasize nature, life and organic growth. Within this general level of reference, certain rooms were decorated according to their function. For example, the children patients' room had a frieze of animal motifs.[12] Valter Jung, together with Sonck's new assistant David W. Frölander (1874–1947), appears to have had a hand in the finishing of the Eira hospital. At this time Jung was leaving Sonck's employ. Frölander remained with Sonck, and he was prominently involved in later works.[13] The furnishings of the hospital were designed by both assistants. Beaten metal was combined with varnished wood according to the same principles as in the Privatbanken.

The above features of the interior carried out the requirements of the programme with architectural and decorative means. The principles of composition of the formal, chromatic and ornamental entity were both practical and esthetico-psychological in nature. Outside these levels Sonck had to create the necessary conditions for the special functions of the building.

Optimal ventilation and hygiene were among the main concepts of hospital design. The kitchens of the Eira hospital were located on the second floor so that the polluted air could be discharged immediately. The separate patients' rooms could be aired efficiently. Disinfected linen, kept in warmed closets, was not transported through public areas after use, but dropped through chutes to the laundry.[14] The separate entrance to the outpatients' ward and the health baths on Tehtaankatu shielded the patients from contact with other clients or chance visitors. The principle of hygiene also extended to the surface materials. The hard and glossy stucco of the operating theatre was easy to clean and did not collect bacteria. At the time when the hospital was under construction, the importance of hygiene was stressed not only in public facilities but also in the home. For these reasons, Otto Wagner, among others, preferred to use hard and glossy surfaces.[15] Bacteriophobia ("Schmutzphobie") led to the decreased use of textiles, large windows and a preference for painted or varnished wooden surfaces. For example, Wilhelm Zilliacus's ideas of hygiene and the microenvironment guided the design of his home and the Eira hospital. On a further level, this frame of refer-

ence involved a wealth of psychological and sensory features.[16]

III.5.3. The exterior

The exterior of the Eira hospital provided Sonck with an opportunity of expressing architectural aims related to townscape, forms, materials and historical associations in a situation that was less bound to function than normally. The phases of the exterior architecture can be followed in three stages from the drawing of the Tehtaankatu wing to the approved designs and finally to the hospital building as completed.

In the surrounding townscape the hospital was part of a uniformly planned block structure on Tehtaankatu and also part of the villa milieu of Huvilakatu. The plan of the building, freely located on its lots, was in a shape between an L and a T. The building follows the street freely and is linked to the structure of the adjoining block by a stone wall aligned with the pavement. Seen from the open space at the corner of the streets, the hospital forms part of a larger entity of urban architecture. Depending on the angle of view, the volume can be seen either as a single unit or in two parts, appearing to be almost separate.

The varied forms of the building are articulated by hipped roofs with large sides and gables. Both wings are delimited into similar, though not identical, form by the gables. Seen originally along Tehtaankatu towards the street corner or from Laivurinkatu towards the north, the view was dominated by a frontal gable followed by the same feature in lengthwise perspective. However, the gable facing Tehtaankatu does not form a continuation of the ridge of the Laivurinkatu wing, but is a separate feature. Because the Laivurinkatu wing was drawn into the lot and trees were planted in front of it, the Tehtaankatu wing – seen towards the south – presents itself as a separate volume with its own gable. In addition to the two differing street vistas, we must also take into account the open space at the crossing, the corner of which was now filled by the hospital. This area was later developed into a park. It was in this direction that Sonck placed as a combining theme the only symmetrical end wall of the building. The large triangular themes thus served to link the main perspectives of three diagonal approaches.

On the one hand, the Eira hospital recognized its urban setting with themes linked to larger entities, while on the other hand it strove to set itself apart from its milieu, shielded by trees and bushes in the same way as private villas. The requirements of the urban milieu and the public nature of the function of the building were combined with separateness, in turn providing the peace and quiet required by hospital care. The above features find explanations in the town plan, to which the building was accommodated.

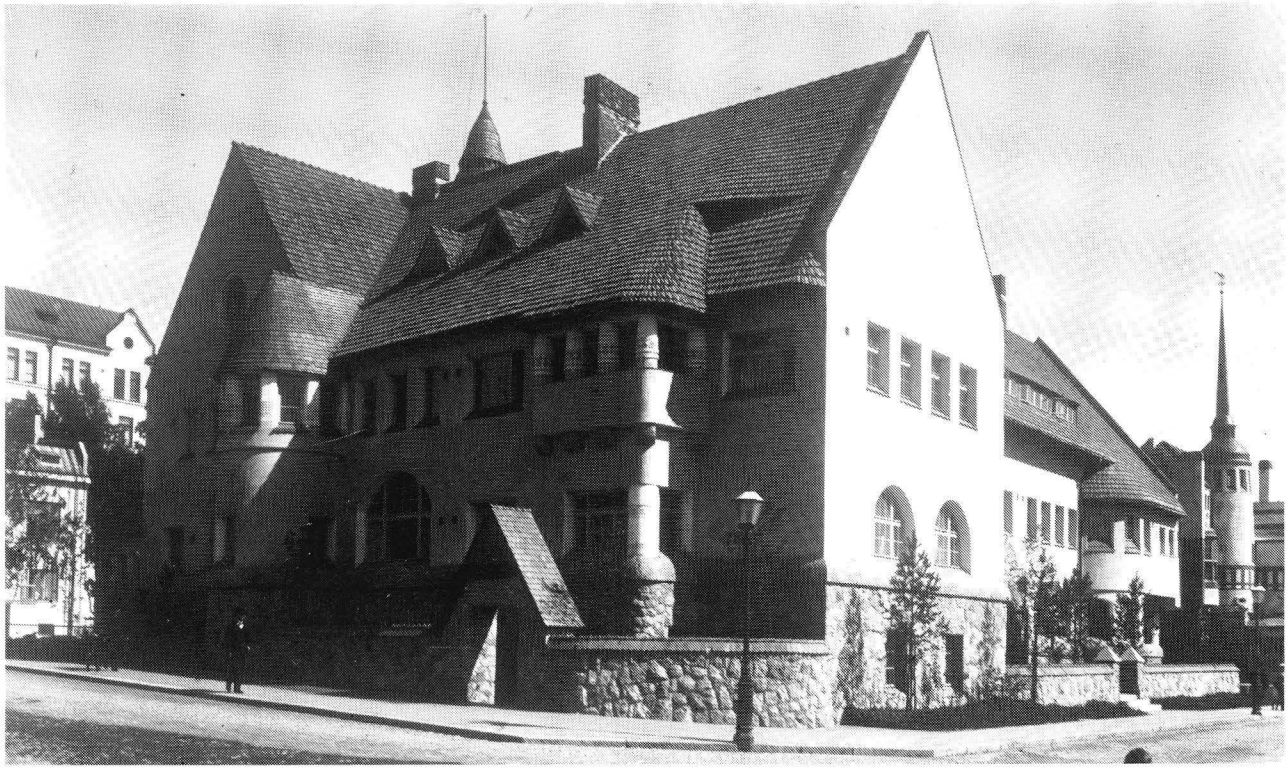

Fig. 92. Eira hospital seen from the corner of Tehtaankatu and Laivurinkatu, towards the southeast. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

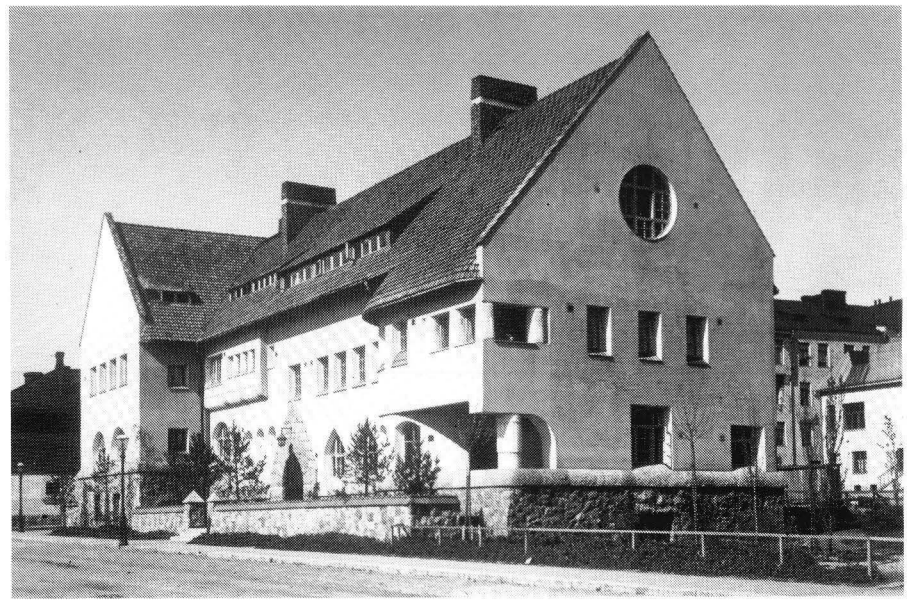

Fig. 93. A view of the hospital along Laivurinkatu towards the north. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

In the town plans of 1887 and 1892 block no. 180, the site of the future hospital, was marked as an industrial area.[17] However, plans soon arose to allocate the unbuilt parts of the promontory of Helsinki for residential purposes. In the 1900 town plan the structure of this area corresponds to the shape of the terrain. In this connection blocks 180 and 183 were designated for small residential lots and were further divided by the laying out of Huvilakatu street through them.[18]

In planning the hospital in 1904, Sonck proceeded from the villa-type housing of the blocks concerned, and the town plan called for small volumes. Also the genre of villa architecture provided a starting point for the picturesque design of the hospital. The situation was well suited to Sonck's stylistic aspirations of the day. Although the surroundings of the hospital were still dominated by industrial plants and workers in 1904, the lot was a good buy, because it was already known that the high-class private hospital was to become part of a trendy middle-class residential area. When the promontory of Helsinki was set apart in 1905 as a villa area, Sonck was involved in the planning[19] (Fig. 96). The changes to blocks 180 and 183 from industrial sites to villa lots, the construction of the hospital and the overall planning of the villa area were all part of an overall process, in which Sonck combined a building with its surroundings into a three-dimensional urban entity.

In addition to the major binding themes, the variety of forms is also bound by a triangular theme. On Tehtaankatu the form of the gable is matched by the roof part of the perimeter wall and on Laivurinkatu by the portal. Further references to the gable theme are the adjacent windows with their tapering arches. The triangles fall into series of forms of different scale, seen in diagonal perspective. The three-dimensional facades do not employ any basic surface to which the other themes and motifs should be related. Especially on the Tehtaankatu side, the array of themes and forms creates a sculptural and plastic whole. The lack of vertical correspondence between the storeys makes their interpretation more complex on the horizontal level as well. Combined with this is the way in which comprehending the facade depends on the point of view, whereby the plastic elements will display new relationships according to changing perspective. The facades should not then be regarded as a graphic image, where the ideal dimensions fall into a set of coordinates defined by a certain point of view. Nor do the projecting parts underline any parts of the building primarily related to function. For example, the rectangular projection of the second storey of the Laivurinkatu wing is placed in front of both the children's ward and the toilets.

The volume of the building was divided into three

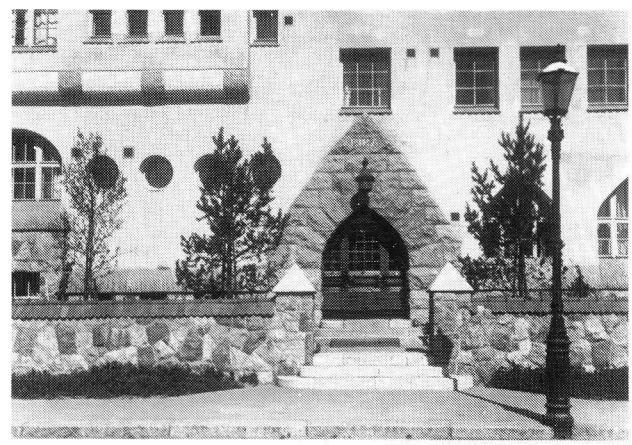

Fig. 94. Main entrance with the engraved name Eira. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

large surfaces of material and colour located above each other. Uppermost is the warm red of the roof, followed by the light yellow of the walls and finally the brown stone in the lower part.[20] The monochrome plaster surface, extending unbroken around the building, links a variety of themes and forms. The building is multi-coloured, but in large zones.

The choice of materials is based on the concepts and initial ideas of the commissioning party, which did not permit an imposing result, such as in the Privatbanken building, contrary to the possible wishes of the architect. The masonry alone of the Telephone Association building amounted to one-tenth of the total costs of the Eira project, including the price of the lot.[21] In this case, the starting point placed limits on the range of expressive means.

The original, very free diagonal bond of the ground floor contained a partial allusion to undressed masonry. In the approved drawings for the part facing Tehtaankatu, there were no longer any attempts at composing the seams of the rounded stones within the relief that emphasized individual stone blocks. The same primitiveness also applies to the vaults shown in the drawings, where the unframed openings are overlaid by unfinished blocks or wedges. In the Laivurinkatu wing the masonry is based on the use of a diagonal wall, and only the portal is laid with stones in a regular manner. The masonry details of the drawings resemble the final designs for the Telephone Association building. The masonry as completed was an inexpensive diagonal bond of irregular surface, and also the portal is of crudely cut blocks. The credibility of the vaulting in the ground floor is necessary in view of the visual emphasis of the upper storeys. Here, as in the Telephone Association building, the visual features of the upper parts are transmitted to the ground floor by a curved, massive stone beam. In other respects the masonry serves as a covering and even in the surrounding wall the brickwork is covered by very thin slabs of stone. In the Eira project, Sonck developed a new variant of stone wall alongside his earlier use of squared rubble and boulder walls. The multi-hued polychromy of St. John's Church and the Telephone Association building was now limited to enhancing the impression of the wall with darker pieces.

The plaster facades of the building express the presence of a solid mass of wall bearing its own weight. Interspersed into this plastically rounded mass are unframed windows with sharp corners, which, however, do not disturb the visual impression of support of the actual wall. The stress of the arched windows is divided into the wall and the small and straight-topped windows do not require tectonic enframing motifs. The overlay of the brick body bearing the weight of the wall expresses only itself, without any imitation of other materials or the use of structural concepts. In the context of architectural thinking stressing the intrinsic value of materials, features such as rustication would have created false associations with stone.

Tectonic entities are located apart from the logic of the wall and mostly in places where the size of the openings exceeds the static strength of the vaults. Sonck had originally designed stone columns, but in the final version stone was used only in some of the consoles. The light shades of the plastered supports expressed the structural differences, achieved in stone in the Telephone Association building. The sparse and originally polychromic ornament of the exterior was on the whole concentrated on emphasizing certain bearing structures. It was partly abstract and partly based on plant motifs.

An example of a logical structure limited to itself is the balcony of the second storey in the Tehtaankatu wing. The floor and railing are borne by stone consoles, and the roof is supported by columns. Beneath the balcony are windows on both sides of the corner. Because the corner has to bear the weight of the balcony and the upper part of the wall, the wall itself is not sufficient for this and the corner is fitted with a thick column.

The most complex combination of structures is at the south end of the Laivurinkatu wing (Fig. 93). Joined at the corner of wing are the two basic structural systems of the hospital building – the selfsupporting wall and the column- and -lintel system. The opening at the balcony on the first storey begins as an arch and goes on to form a straight beam supported by a column. This part is set off from the wall in white. Linked to the visualization of this feature is an actual structure, for the column at the corner bears the weight of a projection on the second storey. The column rising from the bottom storey does not meet the corner of the projection, but is left within it. The beam makes the structure logical and consistent. The rise of the corner begins from the stone wall and moves on via the stone beam at its end to the column. From there it is transmitted by the beam to the colonnade of the loggia and finally to the roof structures. A part operates on a visual level in the same way as the masonry, while part of it is structurally necessary, e.g. the column.

The general historical level of reference of the hospital is medieval. Related to this are triangular themes, the portal, the tapering arches and the surrounding wall with its roofed gate with shingle roofing. In St. John's Church this theme was linked to the history of function. Now it was placed in another connection, still bound to a formal frame of reference deriving from the Middle Ages. The tectonic themes of the building do not employ direct historical prototypes, although the stone consoles and the projections supported by them refer back to tech-

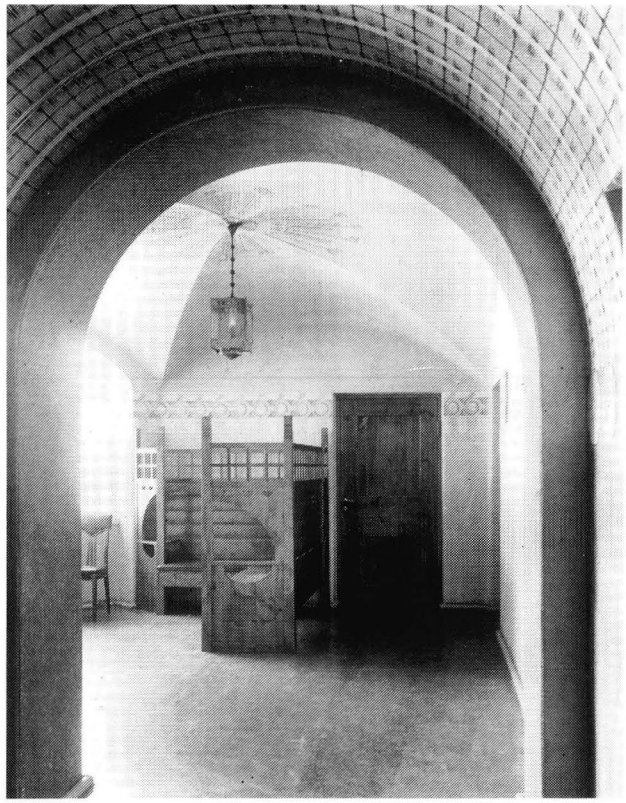

Fig. 95. Recreational area for the patients on the second floor of the Laivurinkatu part. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

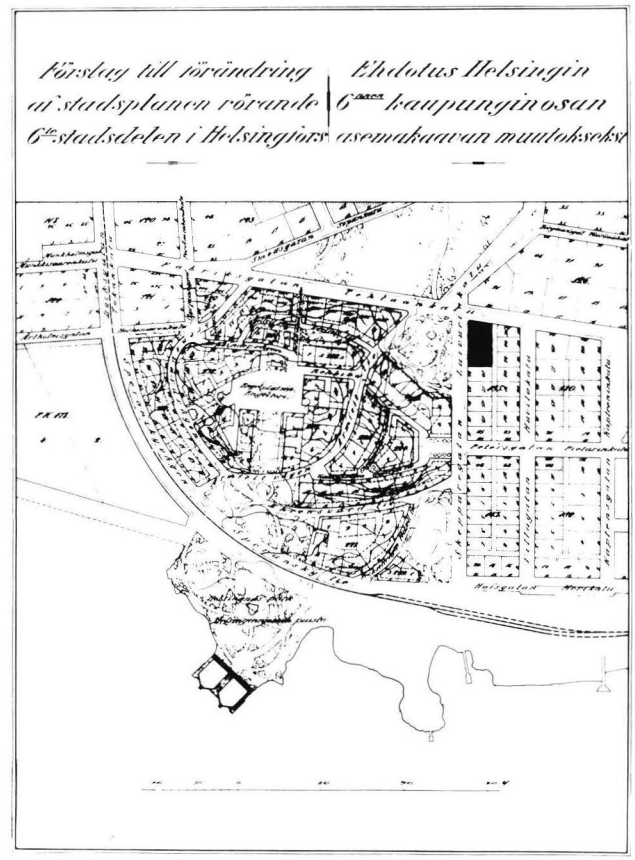

Fig. 96. Town plan for the Eira villa district, originally designed by Sonck in 1905 but approved in 1908 in this altered form. The lots of the hospital, next to the district, are shown in black. (City of Helsinki, photo SRM).

niques typical of the Middle Ages, expecially in urban architecture.

In the Eira project Sonck could not rely on set conventions or even contemporary models. In this sense, the hospital was a trail-blazing work of architecture. The commissioning party had a say in the functional aspects, but the desired psychological atmosphere had to be created by the architect. Did the result then correspond to what was desired in the commission?

When the hospital was inaugurated in the summer of 1905, Professor J. V. Runeberg especially mentioned its cheerful and home-like atmosphere, completely different from previous hospital architecture.[22] But although the commissioning party was satisfied with the result, the atmosphere had to make the desired impression on the clients. According to a contemporary account, the hospital succeeded in doing so, for it ". . . enhanced its surroundings. Built in a pleasing modern castle style, the exterior of the building contains nothing that would suggest a hospital, and when coming through the main entrance . . . one reaches the interior, one is also struck by the total absence of anything resembling the traditional hospital barracks with their gloomy and uniform character and their special hospital atmosphere" (". . .utgör en prydnad för omgifvningen. Uppförd i treflig modern borgstil äger den i sitt yttre ingenting som skulle leda tanken på ett sjukhus och när man genom hufvudentren . . . nått byggnadens inre frapperas man likaså öfver den totala frånvaro af allt, som kunde påminna om våra traditionella gamla sjukhus-kasärner med deras dystra, enformiga sjukhus-prägel och speciella, kännspaka sjukhus- atmosfär.")[23] In accordance with the wishes of the commissioning party, the critic sees a combination of the modern functionality of the building and its clear difference with the traditions of hospital architecture and its negative atmosphere. The exterior is not seen as reflecting the content of the building, but as a simultaneous association with the Middle Ages and modern architectural expression ("modern castle style"). Furthermore, the building is seen as a successful addition to its environment.

Like the Telephone Association building, the Eira hospital did not express its content by the details of the exterior or through individual themes. The only reference in this sense was the name "Eira" sculpted on the portal. In Scandinavian lore Eira corresponded to the Hygeia of antiquity. The name came to apply to the whole of the surrounding section of Helsinki which soon came to be built on the nearby promontory.

III.6. The Kallio church

III.6.1. Initial stages and planning

The Kallio church in Helsinki was Sonck's third city church project in a series beginning with the competition for St. Michael's Church in 1894. Like the latter and St. John's Church, the present project, for a working-class district of Helsinki, was to be a central monument of its area. The commission was received also in this case through a competition. The whole process, from the initial competition plans to completion, lasted from 1906 to 1912. The above projects had already been completed when the planning of the Kallio church was begun; St. Michael's Church had been inaugurated and the finishing touches were being put to St. John's. Also completed at this time were the Telephone Association building, the Privatbanken project and the Eira hospital. Sonck was thus able to draw conclusions from his earlier experiments in completed projects and to concentrate on the two-stage competition and his numerous alternative projects. Success in this significant church competition again led to a renewal of forms and themes, which in turn could be applied in other works. The series of church projects (St. Michael's, St. John's and the Kallio church) falls into the space of only a few years and presents an interesting variation of technical and formal features in identical situations. The stages of the Kallio project from the competition to its completion are evidenced by a large body of documentary material.[1] The available sources provide much more information on the interrelationship of functional requirements, the goals of the architect and the wishes of the client than in the previous commissions, which were of a private nature.

The earliest plans for the Kallio church date back to 1901, when the architect Josef Stenbäck proposed, on his own initiative, the construction of a church for the local parish in the Kallio (Sw. *Berghäll*) area. This church was to be completely of granite from the Sörnäinen district of Helsinki, and not of brick overlaid and faced with stone.[2] The coarse outer surface would have provided savings in the cost of labour. This feature reappeared when Sonck became involved in the project. Stenbäck's project was part of his numerous attempts to create church architecture completely of stone, which have been analysed by Sixten Ringbom.[3] The proposal laid the basis for the final selection of materials for the future church. The concept of a stone church ("kyrka af sten") was present in 1904 when the undivided Swedish and Finnish congregation of Helsinki entrusted the parish council with the task of acquiring a new church for the district of Kallio.[4]

The competition was opened in early 1906 and closed on 30 April, 1906.[5] The original programme called for 1,400 seats. Of special interest were the views of the altar, which could be placed in any orientation desired and could have a pulpit in connection with it. In addition to the actual nave of the church, there was also to be a parish meeting hall for 150 persons which could be joined to the main part with sliding doors. The specific wishes of the programme, differing from traditional church architecture, aimed at functionality in the conducting of services and gave the architect freedom in the planning of the interior.

Wooden interior structures were permitted and the outside walls were to be stone- or brick-faced. The scheme envisioned a normal brick body for the building, where the use of stone would be limited to the surface. This marked a rejection of the alternative of constructing walls completely of stone, as suggested in the programme for St. John's Church. It was also desired that the church would form an impressive point of view for Hämeentie (present-day Siltasaarenkatu), rising towards it. Architectural expression was not defined in any precise terms, apart from the desire that the dominating forms of the unostentatious volume with its bell tower would be of "good effect" ("af god verkan").

The programme of the competition stressed economy. The aim was to acquire a large, possibly stone-faced church, impressively located in the surrounding townscape, with 500,000 marks. The limit of costs included technical equipment and interior decoration. It must be pointed out that the estimate for the body alone of the Telephone Association building was 450,000 marks. The lack of funds explains numerous details that were designed by Sonck but excluded from the final version.

Twenty-four entries were submitted,[6] and Sonck, working under the pseudonym of "Huss", was the winner. Second place was awarded to the office of von Essen, Kallio & Ikäläinen and Gustaf Nyström came third. Because these projects were not regarded as suitable for realization, the jury invited the above architects to participate in a continued stage of the competition. Sonck again was the winner with his entry "Huss-Omarbetning" (Huss reworked) and von Essen, Kallio & Ikäläinen came second. Nyström declined to compete. The main drawings and plans were prepared by Sonck in the summer of 1907, and they were approved in January 1908. Construction was begun in the spring of the same year.[7]

The minutes of the jury criticized the entries as well as setting more general aims of style for the project.[8] At first, outlines and contours were sought for the future church. A long-maintained aim of evangelical church architecture was an emphasis on the sermon, the main feature of the service. Also

stressed was veracity deriving from an uncompromising adherence to the function of the church. In this context, traditions were not allowed to bypass needs and requirements.[9] Liberalism and a preference for new solutions were expounded by the German architect Cornelius Gurlitt in the 1906 volume of the *Handbuch der Architektur*.[10] According to Gurlitt, Gothic or medieval architecture in general could not be the basis of the new, reformed church architecture, mainly because of the links of the above forms with the Catholic Middle Ages. These views, expressed by a leading authority in the field, clearly differed from earlier German praxis and its influences on Finland. The so-called Eisenach regulations (*das Eisenacher Regulativ*), which had guided Protestant church architecture in Germany since 1861, underlined the importance of historical prototypes, and in the 1898 version of the regulations the medieval period came to be the paragon.[11] The jury of the Kallio project, however, based its views on Gurlitt, who had stated that "the only aim of Protestant church architecture is the creation of buildings following their own specific liturgy, regardless of whether they are linked to older styles or not."[12] Gurlitt's views, especially critical of Neo-Gothicism, can be seen in the evaluations of the prize-winning entries.

The minutes of the jury also presented outlines for the role of the church in contemporary Finnish architecture. With reference to the positive aspects of reform, it was pointed out that "first place must be given to sketches independently serving this work [i.e. reform] and developing and refining new forms in simpler and more constructive ways. . .". With respect to the planned church ". . . it would do irrevocable damage to our rising field of architecture, if such importance were given to tradition that the architectural developments of the past decade could not be expressed in this building in a strong and purposeful manner".[13] The jury voiced its support for modernity in architecture in general and especially for its expressions of the past years in Finland. The use of stone was approved, especially with hewn surfaces and without finish. The result could thus be evaluated on the basis of durability, beauty and inexpensiveness. Esthetic evaluations were linked to economy and functionality.

The general remarks of the minutes shed light on the result of the competition and Sonck's final entry. The minutes also gave Sonck permission to alter the drawings and plans independently. The programme and the minutes were drawn up by the secretary of the jury, Bertel Jung – a proponent of architectural reform. Jung had seen at close hand the problems encountered by Sonck in trying to modernize his plans for St. Michael's Church. Not long before the competition, Jung had stressed Sonck's role as a leading figure in the reform movement of Finnish architecture, and he saw many of his own aims accomplished in Sonck's works.[14]

In the prize-winning entries the large central space and its adjoining short cross-arms are placed under a uniform vault or series of vaults.[15] The short chancel part brings the altar close to the assembled congregation. The result was a combination of the long church and the centralized church type, where the ceiling is borne by as few vertical supports as possible. The use of such a solution may have been encouraged by the almost finished interior of St. John's Church in Tampere. It was also preferred in contemporary German church architecture.[16] In addition to reformed church architecture, solutions of the above type were also applied by Otto Wagner in the Catholic Steinhof church from 1905–07.[17] Background factors of the division of space in the entries were related to liturgy as well as to Finnish and international architecture.

The "Ad Astra" entry by von Essen, Kallio & Ikäläinen was given a positive review, especially for its exterior.[18] Nyström's entry, "Aftonsång" (Evensong), was assessed according to the general stylistic criteria of the minutes. In this case, criticism was voiced against the themes continuing the spirit of Neo-Gothicism, but not against the allocation of space or the overall form of the church. The jury wished to see ideas, "which have brought themselves to the fore in the debates of recent architecture". It was also observed that "Finnish architecture has such a limited historical tradition behind it that there is no need to adhere to it strictly; on the other hand there is no reason to oppose the present trends of Finnish architecture, which by now have become almost unassailable".[19] In this connection, a position was taken in favour of a distinct trend of development, which had a clear and "almost unassailable" frame of reference.[20]

Somewhat surprisingly, the jury criticized Sonck's entry ("Huss") for its exterior features, such as the mass of the tower, details, windows and the harmony of dimensions, and desired a number of improvements[21] (Figs. 97–98). Sonck was given first place because of the plan, which was seen as "simple, inexpensive and practical", and the overall volume of the church. By adding rooms behind the chancel and by shaping the exterior apse, Sonck was able to create a building resembling a long church on a plan conforming to a square. The impression was further enhanced by the placing of the tower above the chancel. The idea of a long church with a tower at one end was not new to Sonck, as he had proposed a similar design already in 1894 and again in 1897 as alternatives for St. Michael's Church.[22]

Differing from the longitudinal symmetry of space was the parish hall located in connection with the

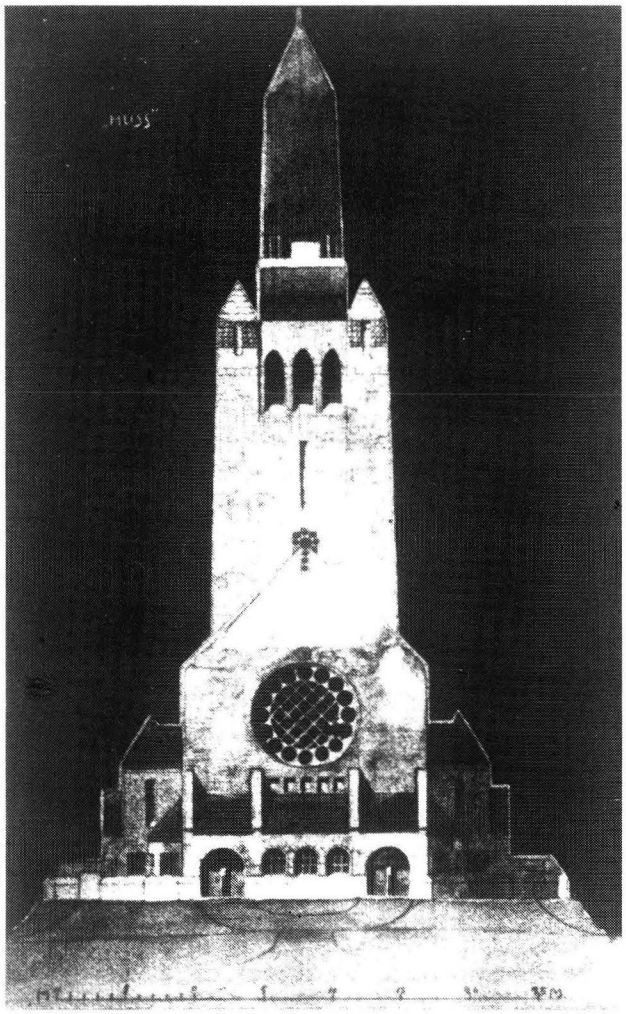

Fig. 97. Sonck's entry for the competition of a new church in Helsinki, the Kallio church, 1906. First competition stage, pseudonym "Huss". Elevation towards the north. (Original and photo SRM).

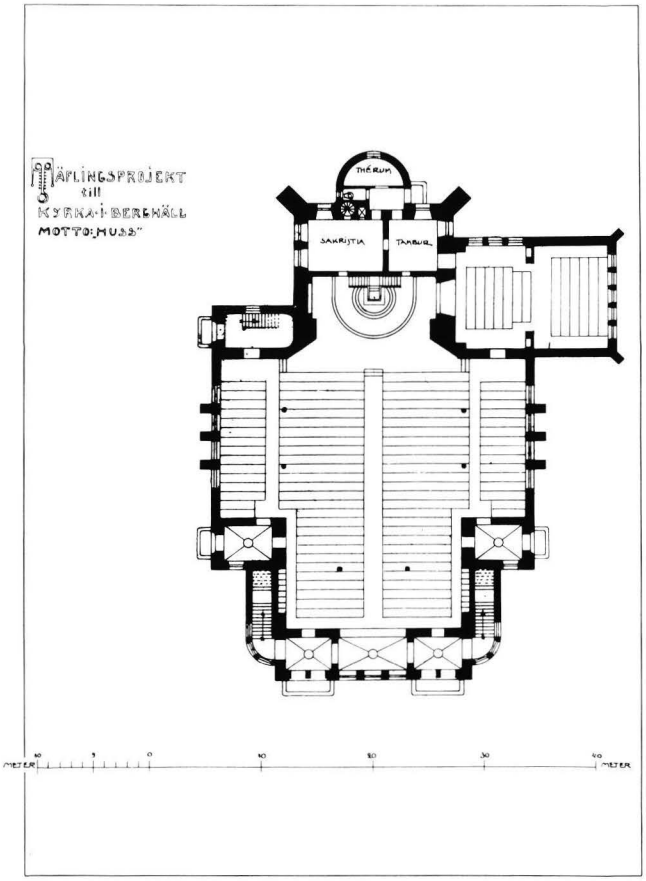

Fig. 98. The "Huss" entry, floor plan. (Original and photo SRM).

chancel. The altar and pulpit were in unobstructed view from the hall. The dimensions of the rooms and spaces were regulated by squares, triangles and circles, from which both horizontal and vertical themes were derived. The basilica system of the interior refers back to medieval architecture and this association is further supported by the ribbed vaulting of the bays and the chancel. The system of the nave was new to Sonck, and the same applies also to the composition of the chancel, where the altar, pulpit and organ wall were placed above each other. This design was hitherto unherd–of in the Finnish architecture of the period, but it had already been presented by Sonck in 1897 for the church of Kylmäkoski, and did not strive towards novelty *per se*.[23] On the central axis, the altar and pulpit, located as close as possible to the congregation, formed a single point of view instead of competing for attention as in traditional church architecture.[24] The impressiveness of the structure was further underlined by the organ wall culminating in a large round window. The combination of an altar and a pulpit with stairs on both sides had been used in Germany for some time. Related to German praxis was also the visual lengthening of the nave with the organ and the choir balcony.[25]

The compact volume of the exterior is gradated towards the dominating tower, the spire of which resembles the main tower of St. John's Church in Tampere. By placing the portals in the north part of the building, Sonck was able to create an unbroken south facade at the end of Helsinki's longest straight street axis. The scale of the apse joins the church to the surrounding architecture, while the tower links it with the overall townscape of Helsinki. The technically conventional project was based on the use of a granite-faced brick wall, brick vaulting and gallery columns of stone.

The exterior architecture of the "Huss" entry referred back to medieval architecture on such a general level that no reservations could be expressed with respect to the history of style.[26] Compared with Sonck's previous church project, historicizing allusions are now fewer and less marked. There are hardly any windows with tapering arches, but buttresses are still used. The jury did not condemn the use of historical material as such, nor did Gurlitt, and the crucial issue was the degree to which it was shaped.

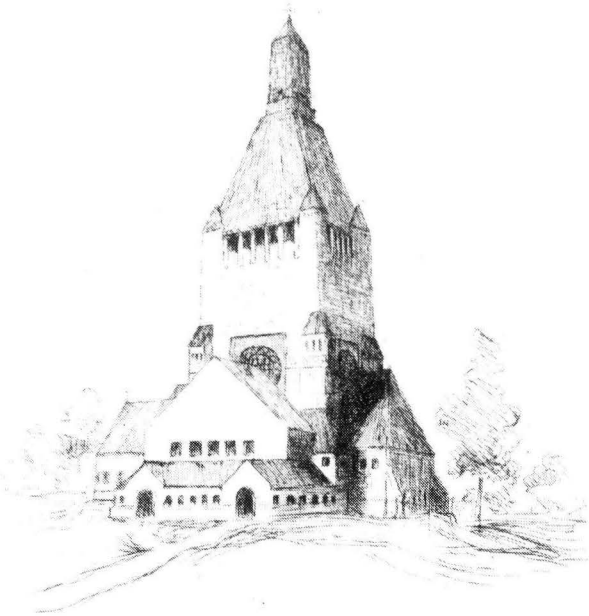

Fig. 99. A sketch from the first competition phase of the Kallio church, resembling Sonck's entry "Till Damaskus". (Original and photo SRM).

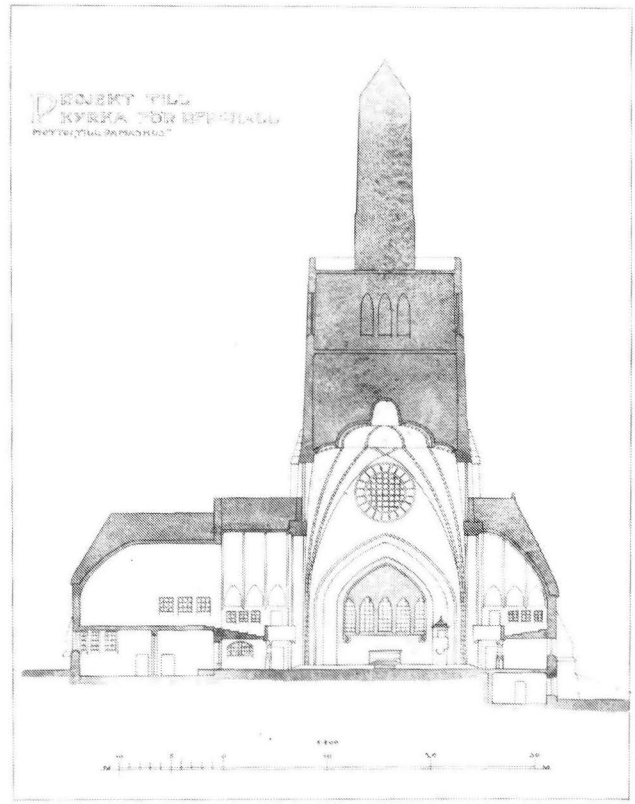

Fig. 100. Sonck's other entry from the first competition stage, pseudonym "Till Damaskus". Section towards the south. (Original and photo SRM).

In the competition for the Kallio church Sonck sounded out the preferences of the jury by submitting two separate entries of almost identical floor plan, but of different character. The other entry, "Till Damaskus" (To Damascus) was placed in the middle range by the jury.[27] (Fig. 100) Also in this case, the floor plan received praise, but the facades were observed as being ". . . too heavy and raw, without any impression of a church". The extremely centralized solution can be seen as centralized also on the exterior. As in St. John's Church, the nave has a large vault, 26 metres high, the form of which permits the placing of windows in the upper parts. The verticality of the space is emphasized by multicoloured ribs extending from the floor to the top. The geometricized floor plan consists of concentric circles and squares. The outer square delimits the volume, and the inner square marks off the central space. The pulpit is in the traditional place next to the altar, but placed on the right-hand side.

The "Huss-Omarbetning" (Huss-reworked) entry for the continued stage of the competition received the following comments from the jury: "The extremely practical and monumental plan and the serene, impressive and dignified facade raise this entry to the level of veritable works of art".[28] Even now, Sonck had not decided upon the best possible solution, and he presented four variants (A,B,C and D).[29] These were uniform with respect to floor plan, volume and vaulting, differing with respect to the dimensions of the exterior, roof forms, the spire and the locations of the parish hall, organ and the altar-pulpit. Because there was only variation in the combinations of elements that themselves remained the same without any alterations to the main principles, the alternatives are not analysed separately here.

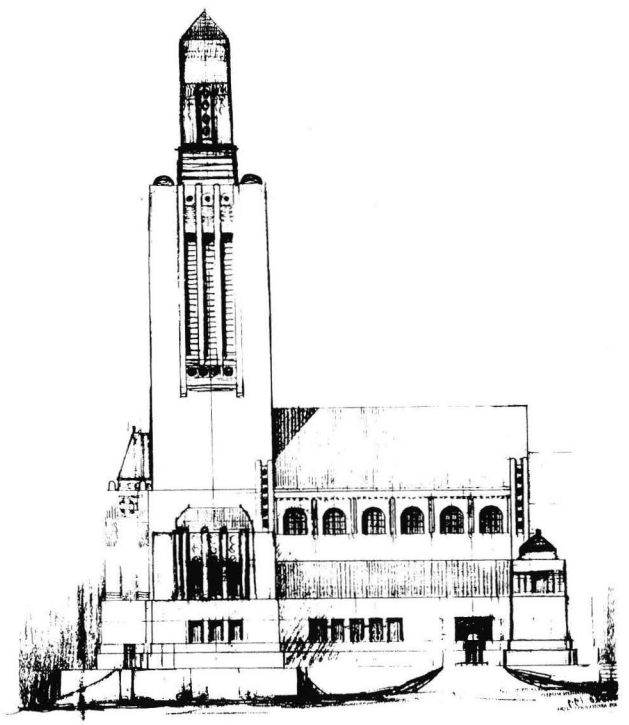

Fig. 101. A sketch from the second stage of the competition, 1906. (Original and photo SRM).

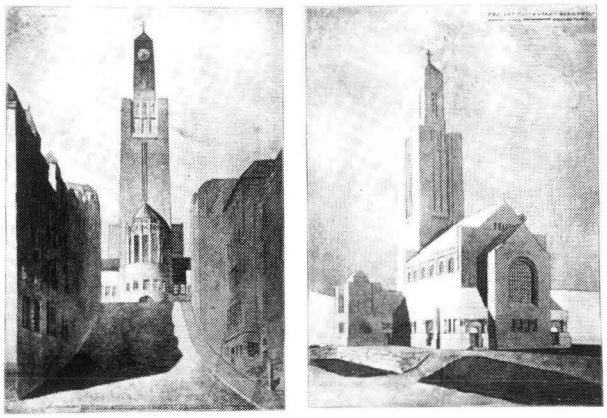

Fig. 102. The entry, pseudonym "Huss – Omarbetning" for the second stage of the competition. Elevation facing south and the view towards the southwest. *Arkitekten* VII 1906, p. 108.

The main changes were in the adoption of complete symmetry, based on the lengthwise axis. In the "Huss" entry the parish hall stressed the west part of the axis. In the continuation stage, a symmetrical matching part was designed for the hall and distinct pavilions were placed on both sides of the tower. This was achieved by several means, including the raising of rooms originally planned for the basement, such as the caretaker's apartment. These rooms were moved upwards as part of the visible volume of the church. At the same time, the mass of the tower was diminished and its end was joined more closely to the body of the building, as desired by the jury. Characteristic of all of the later entries were the same changes to the exterior, geometricity and the use of right angles. The form of expression is abstracted, and medieval allusions, such as the buttresses, were left out and not replaced by other material of a distinct historical character. The shaping of the nave as a basilica and the adjoining tower serve as a link with the traditions of church architecture.

The new designs are composed of distinct parts. Plastic continuity is not aimed at in the volume, nor are the various parts joined by softly curving forms. The basis of the design consists of the nave, the tower, the pavilions and the apse, forming the cross of the exterior volume. This cross, however, does not reflect the short-armed cross of the interior. The entries employ the traditional theme of church architecture, both in floor plan and volume, while the basilica form applies to the nave and the cathedral is part of the surrounding townscape. The surfaces are articulated partly by tectonic themes, and the columns of the portals support a heavy system of beams, while the arched portal remains inside them as a separate theme. The division of form developed in earlier works was now related to symmetry and axes. The array of arches was limited to a uniform series of rounded forms.

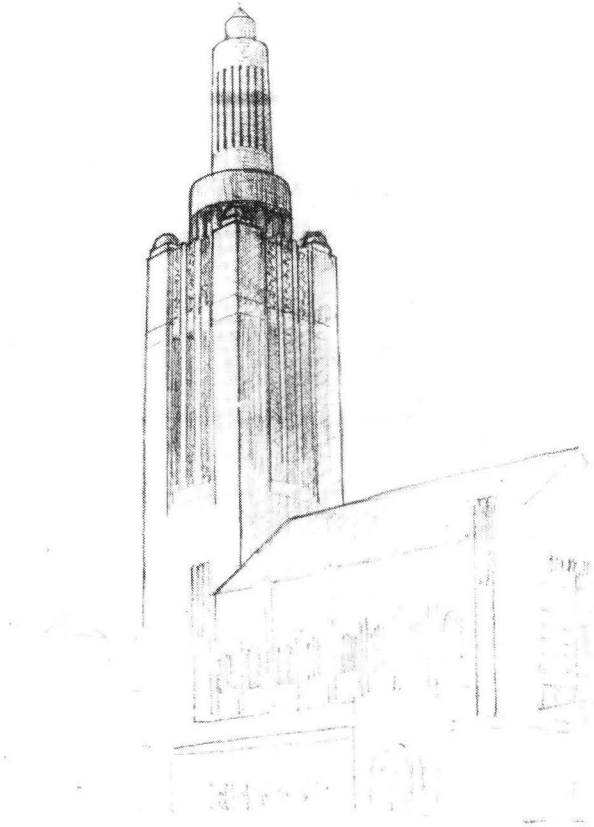

Fig. 103. One of the numerous sketches seeking the form for the spire. (Original and photo SRM).

The round-arch theme gives a specific tone to the interior. For example, the forms of the vaults or series of domes are transmitted to the round arches of the walls and the arched windows. Along the axis, the round-arch theme extends from the window of the north wall to the arches of the main vault and finally to the enframing arch of the chancel. The con-

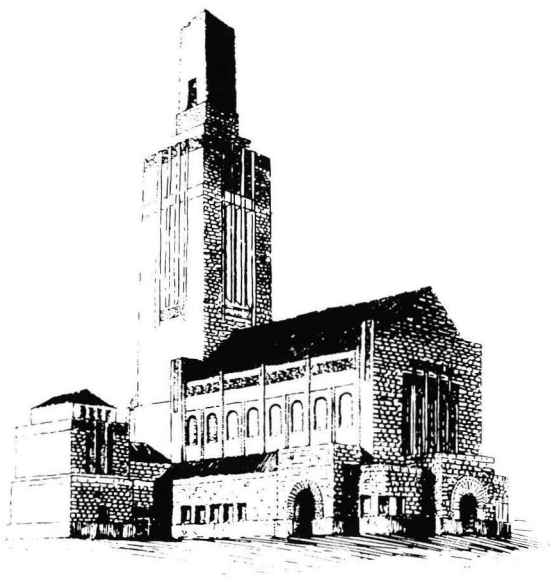

Fig. 104. A sketch for a variant with regularly bonded stone. (Original and photo SRM).

sistent uniformity of this space, already bound by symmetry and its axis, is stressed further, in comparison with the varying vaults and explicit asymmetrical forms of St. John's Church. Sonck proceeded from the particular to the general level – from individual themes to dominating axes and units of scale. The level of historical association is mainly Romanesque, but even this is expressed generally through the overall round-arch theme. Ornaments are either abstract or botanical along with Christian symbolism.

The entries show Sonck's new way of creating volume. The entity as a whole rests upon the axis, and it is not disturbed by changes in the smaller parts. Once a part with the whole had been defined in relation to the whole, it could then be shaped independently, as long as the halves of the axis remained identical. This solution permitted changes to various parts even at a late stage of the work, as in the search for the final form of the apse and the spire. This procedure differed from the St. John's and Eira projects, where themes of different size reiterated the volume and its vertical division through diagonals. In the Kallio church individual changes within the modules did not change the balance of the whole. In a sense, Sonck returned to the classicizing concept that had dominated late 19th-century architecture with its axes and systems of pavilions. The tectonic themes developed in the designs did not conform to any set canon, nor do they constitute a system encompassing the volume.

The perspective illustration of the south end demonstrates Sonck's aims with respect to the surrounding townscape[30] (Fig. 102). The future buildings of the area are presented in multi- storeyed form with facades and roof contours much more subdued than in Sonck's urban visions only a few years previously. These reforms marked an end to picturesque, historicizing urban architecture. The volume and the tower of the church were seen in the setting of uniform, multi-storeyed buildings, which partly explains the height of the tower. Planning and design were not guided in any way by the contrast of the completed church with the low buildings still standing in the area at the time.

The main drawings, dated June 1907, were preceded by a year of planning work, during which the final location of the altar and the pulpit were left open to be decided upon by the architect.[31] The sketches of this period show the difficulties Sonck had in shaping the spire, a feature central to the surrounding townscape (Fig. 103). Around this time Sonck's assistant, D. W. Frölander, came to the fore, and he prepared all the coloured drawings of the final stage.[32] In one of the perspective sketches the stone covering is shown as ashlar of even height[33] (Fig. 104). The choice of squared rubble

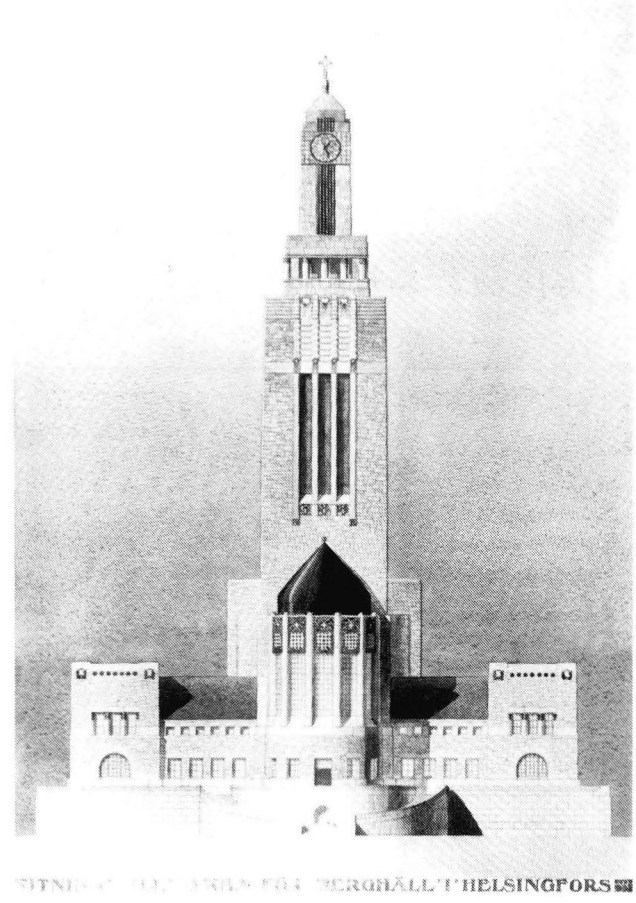

Fig. 105. The south elevation in nearly complete form, only the spire was remodelled for the final version. Drawing by David.W. Frölander, probably from 1907. (Original and photo SRM).

was thus not unequivocal, and the cration of a regular volume corresponded to the nature of the regular stone material.

In both the exterior and the interior, the main designs of the church were a synthesis of the proposals and entries of the preceding stage. The main changes were to the tower, where the walled upper part culminated in a conical roof of copper plate. This material was also used in the roofing of the apse. For Sonck, and other Finnish architects of the period, models for the new material – shiny metal surfaces – were found in new Central European architecture, especially in the works of the Wagner school.[34] The various parts of the volume were now linked by uniform horizontals and verticals, such as the transformation of the apse columns of the south end into the pillars of the tower and the encircling columns of the end.

While the volume and its dimensions remained much the same, major changes were made in the interior except for the floor plan. The vaulting of the central space was converted into a single large barrel vault and three openings for the gallery. The new division of bays corresponded to the increase of windows in the central vault from six to eight. The

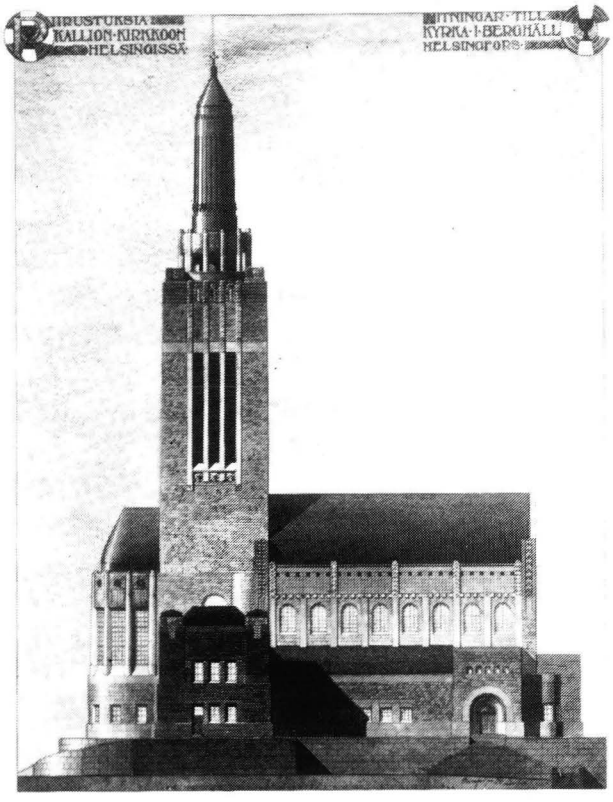

Fig. 106. Final main drawings, 1907. East elevation. (Archives of Helsinki Evangelical-Lutheran Congregations, photo SRM).

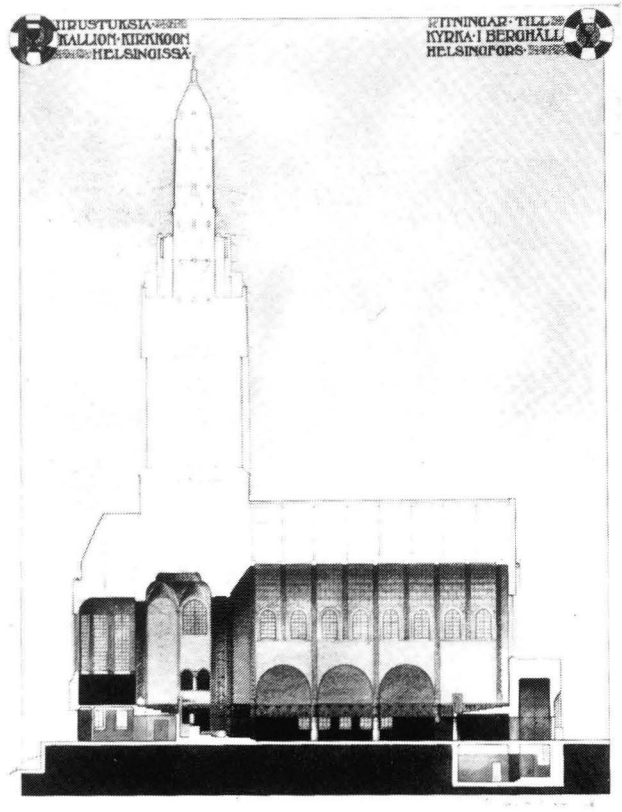

Fig. 108. Main drawings, section towards the west. (Original and photo as in Fig. 106)

changes to the main vault simplified the array of forms in the nave and was linked, as discussed below, to changes in building technique.

The main drawings and plans, prepared in the summer of 1907 and approved in January the following year, were the last ones to present the building as a whole.[35] (Figs. 106, 108) They show how the original rich colour scheme of the interior was reduced to light shades and simplicity because of reductions to the original plans. Changes carried out during the construction stage are referred to only in written sources. After the main drawings were approved, Sonck was given "artistic licence" with respect to changes. The client's liberal attitude was explained as being due to the importance of the project. Work on the foundation was begun in May 1908, after which the final decisions were made concerning the materials and the structures, but changes were made even after this stage.[36] The master-builder F. H. Wäänänen, recently returned from a study trip to the Continent, was appointed supervisor of the demanding construction work.[37]

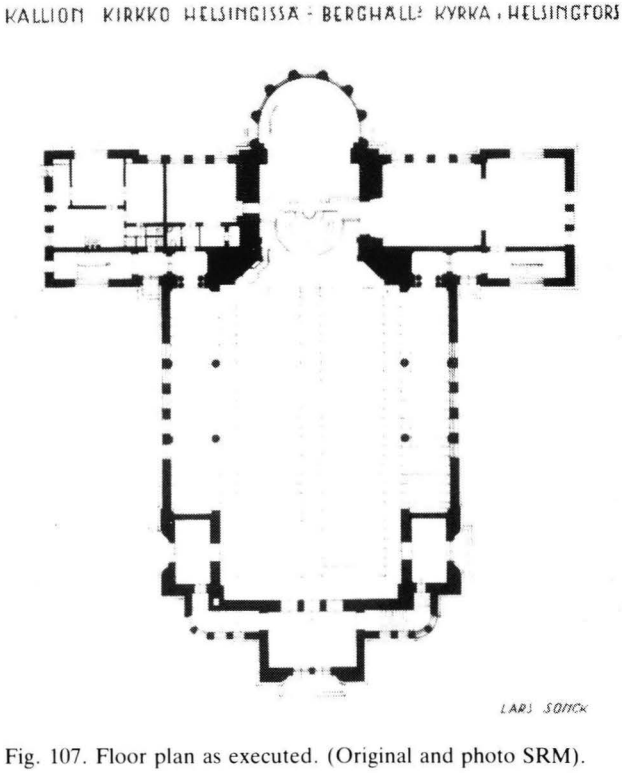

Fig. 107. Floor plan as executed. (Original and photo SRM).

III.6.2. Construction and the final result

The main material of the church, originally even in the structures, was stone. In order to economize, Sonck simplified the stone covering of the exterior.[38] The coarse granite of fractured surface (råkoppig) was eight to twenty centimetres thick with binding stones 30 cm deep located in between. The more

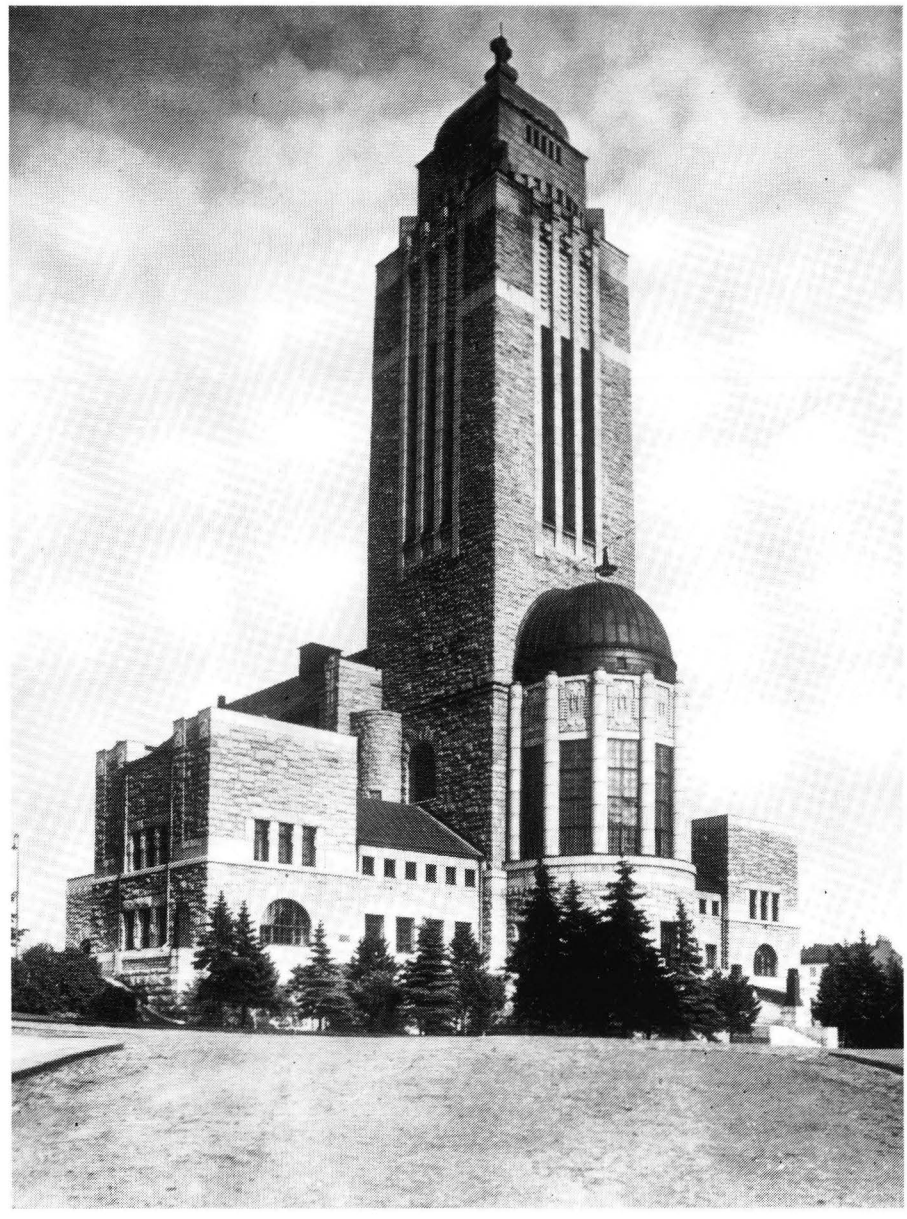

Fig. 109. The Kallio church from the southwest. (Photo SRM/ Roos).

smoothly cut lighter parts stand out from the single-hued surface. The guiding principle was that of completely grey monochromy. Sonck reduced the number of ornamental motifs, and fields of ornament were left mainly in the tower and the frieze of the apse. Only the decoration of the main portal was "sculpted" (skulpterad), while the other parts were "hewn" (hugget).[39]

Stone structures were originally planned for the interior as well. The intended stone columns, standing on the bedrock foundation, would have supported the galleries, the concrete central vault, the upper part of the wall and the ceiling.[40] Also the supports embedded into the brick walls were to be of stone. The structural combination of stone and concrete would have decreased the need for supporting brickwork. Unlike St. John's Church, the masonry of the Kallio church was not only intended to cover the brickwork and support the galleries, but also the outside walls and the ceiling were to have been supported by completely stone-laid structures. Had the original plans been executed, Sonck would have been able to extend the themes of the Telephone Association building to the body of a larger building. A visual counterpart in the composition of the exterior was planned for the bearing vertical structures. For example, a smaller tectonic system located between the larger supports would have borne the weight of the field above the windows, transmitting it via the gallery arches to the columns and the foundation. This structural division is repeated in the exterior. In a manner similar to the Telephone Association building, the masonry involves two structural principles. The walls of the side naves, the pavilions and the tower present bearing masonry, corresponding to the brick wall behind them. Pillars and beams were used only in the windows. The second principle, expressing the relation-

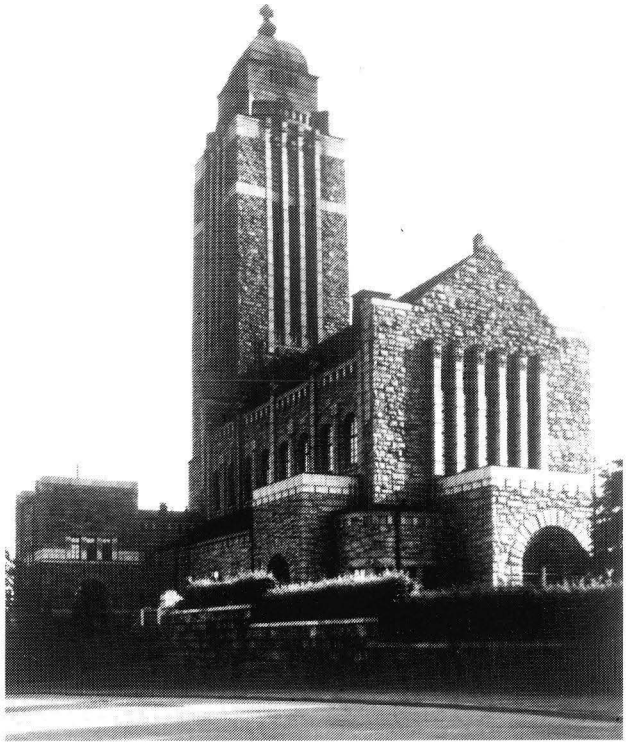

Fig. 110. The church from the northeast. (Photo SRM/Savialoff).

ship of borne and supporting parts, is present either in the structures or in their visual duplication, as in the nave part, the apse and the pillars of the tower.

Originally, even the roof would have continued the masonry, extending in an unbroken manner from the foundation, but during the actual construction work the original slate roofing was replaced by copper plate.[41] The decisive alteration with respect to masonry was the use of concrete structures in both the walls and the interior. Concrete was chosen in the main drawing stage, while in the earlier plans the vaulting was of brick. The concrete of the main vault was linked with a form that was as plain as possible with strengthened arches and their interspersed fields. The degree to which concrete was used is hard to determine, for the structures were not marked in colour in the drawings. Although concrete was intended for the floors of the galleries, stone was still intended for the vertical supports, and a combination of stone and concrete was still presented in the estimate of costs. In the summer of 1908, August Kiökemeister, of the Allgemeine Beton und Eisengesellschaft firm of Berlin, was contracted for the laying of concrete, "according to drawings presented to me" (enligt mig förevisade ritningar). According to these plans, concrete was used in all of the vaults, the intermediary floors, the galleries and their balustrades as well as the columnar structure, previously designed in stone. Also concreted were the intermediary floors of the tower and the foundation of the spire. Kiökemeister informed the architect that he was using the Hennebique system. The vaults of the main nave and the galleries, however, were made "according to a special design given to me" (enligt mig lemnad specialritning). Available sources do not mention the expert concerned, but Hjalmar Castrén appears to have been the most probable choice at the time for such a demanding task.[42] The concrete work of the Kallio church was based on German standards, experience and execution via the local representative. The planning, however, was by Finnish experts.

Apart from the use of concrete the building was to have other modern structures as well. The roof of the nave was to have trusses of steel, but for reasons of economy timber supports were used. The concrete work of the tower was also reduced. During the planning process modern solutions such as concrete and steel were chosen to replace the traditional means of stone, brick and wood, but in the building stage some of the new solutions were rejected.

A similar rejection of aims initially agreed upon also concerned the interior of the church. Originally, the frieze of the gallery railing and all of the capitals were to be covered with gold leaf, but in the final stage the capitals were left with an unfinished surface of cast material.[43] Unlike stone, the materials that were used did not embody esthetic values

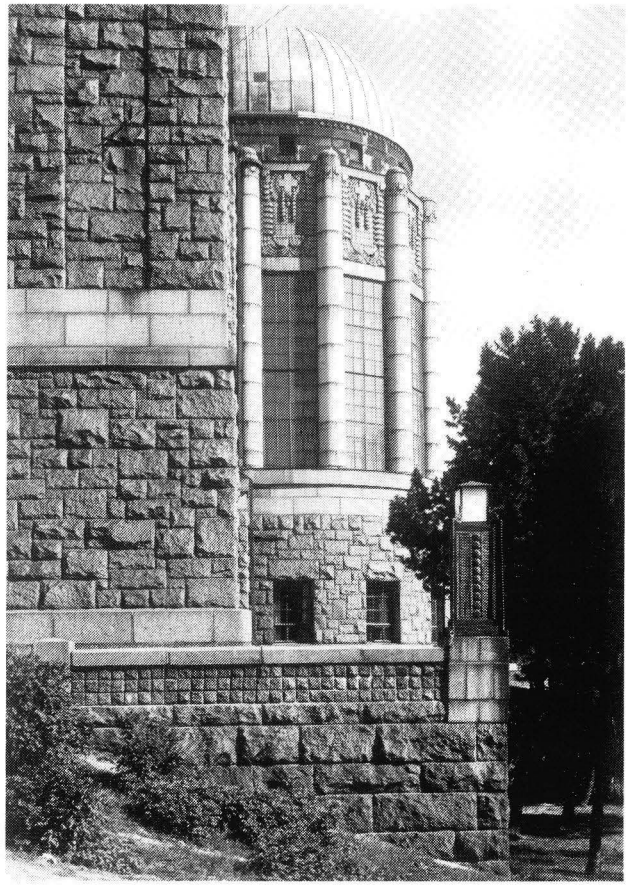

Fig. 111. The apse of the southern facade. (Photo SRM/Kari Hakli).

of their own, and the designed effects were based on the finish of the surface, e.g. plaster, the stucco of the columns and the gold of the capitals. Even the rich painted decoration of the main vault was rejected. The interior decoration also reflected the bare and unadorned character of the final version. Among other features, the plain and unprominent lighting fixtures created an unbroken impression of space in the main vault. The common denominator was abstraction. The interior did not have any symbolically laden, decorative or figurative programme, and there was even no altarpiece. The stylized ornamental motifs, derived from nature, were not linked to structure through any organic analogies, as in St. John's Church. The painted motifs only serve to articulate the various surfaces. The originally planned decoration of the main vault would have given the series of arches the impression of an open leafed vault.

The placing of the organ was dictated by the programme of interior furnishing. Despite numerous efforts, Oskar Merikanto and Heikki Klemetti, the musical experts of the project, were not able to change Sonck's original plan,[44] according to which the organ pipes in the chancel were only part of the equipment and the main part of the organ was in the gallery of the north wall.[45] The organ wall located behind the altar was an integral part of the interior architecture and its colour scheme, to which the optimum use of the organ was subordinated (Fig. 112). This was a poor location in view of audibility and the maintenance of the organ.

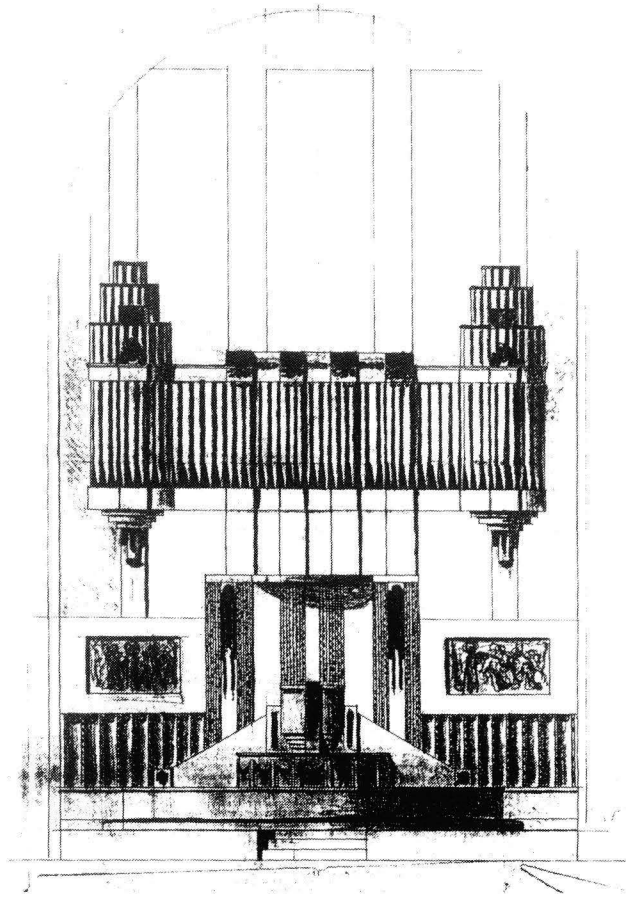

Fig. 112. A sketch showing the combination of altar, pulpit and organ wall. (Original and photo SRM).

The artistic ensemble concept of the St. John's Church project was now repeated in a minor way by commissioning the carillon tune from Jean Sibelius.[46] There is no mention of who was responsible for the painted decoration or works of art that were possibly to be acquired.[47] A number of reliefs in plaster by Sigrid af Forselles were placed in the church. These were offered by a group of women artists.[48] They were not related to Sonck's architectural aims, and he does not appear to have been consulted in the matter.

When the church came under construction Sonck presented his wishes concerning the nearby surroundings. In the autumn of 1908 he drew up a plan, according to which "shops and bazaars" (butiker och basarer) were to be located in the high, terraced east wall of the church.[49] The addition of business activities to the basic structures of the church would have linked it to the secular reality of its surroundings. In a sense, this idea was a continuation of Sonck's earlier concepts, based on the stratification and density of medieval urban architecture, but also economic reasons were involved. The suggestion was, however, rejected as "repulsive and undignified" (anstötlig och ovärdigt).[50] Within the bounds of the available town plan, the church was given a visible location enhancing its dominating role in the townscape. Leading to the square of the church were five streets, one of which even provided the diagonal view, aimed at in Sonck's earlier church projects. In 1910 Sonck proposed that the surrounding unbuilt area should be purchased by the parish, so that the church could be isolated with arcades or other structures.[51] A few years earlier he had specifically wished to place buildings in the immediate vicinity of St. Michael's Church. Now, the Kallio church was to be left standing on its square as an independent monument.

The church was inaugurated on 1 September 1912, prior to the final inspection. The building committee officially forwarded the building to the parish in the autumn of 1913, and it came to be known as the Kallio church.[52]

The exterior corresponded to the main drawings from 1907. Changes were mainly made in the number of portals, the covering materials and the north facade. In the latter part the originally planned arched window was converted into rectangular form with four openings divided by six stone pillars. The architectural aim was the correspondence of the facades. Unlike the long sides, the end walls could

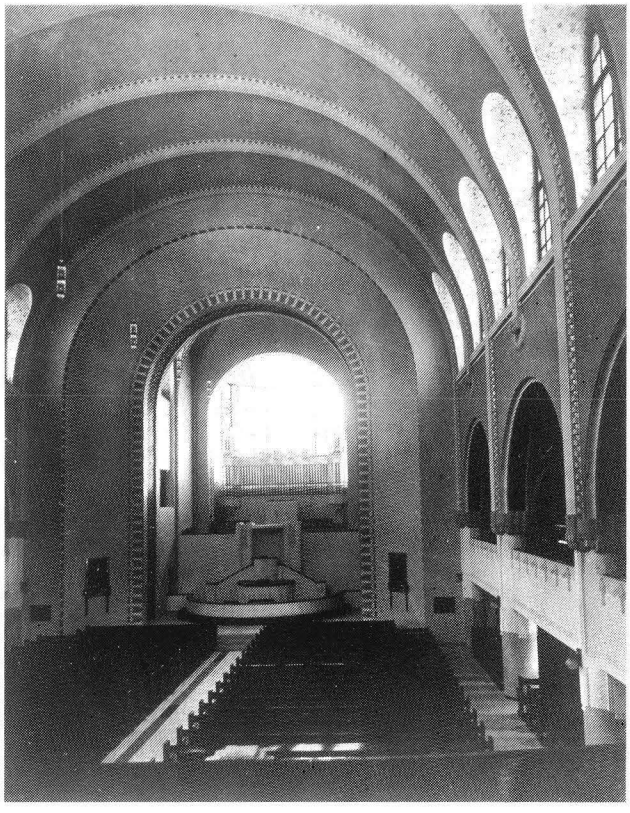

Fig. 113. The nave of the Kallio church towards the south. (Photo Helsinki City Museum Picture Archives).

not be identical. The new design corresponded to the dimensions of the apse, creating verticals extending from below to the spire of the tower. The upper part of the tower was the last feature to be decided upon, and it was not drawn even in the final design for the stones of the facade.[53] In the end, Sonck chose the form of a vaulted pavilion, of square base and lower than originally planned. This part was joined to the square base of the body through a circular railing. In this connection the apse was fitted with a cupola. The width of the south side corresponds to the overall length of the church. Matching both of the above is the height of the body of the tower as far as the foundation of the spire. Thus, all of the main dimensions of volume correspond to each other both horizontally and vertically. The spire was not included in the system of dimensions and proportions, and it could be designed separately. In its accomplished form, the church clearly displayed the way in which its volume was composed of distinct units of space. The apse, the pavilions, the tower, the nave part and the structures of the portals present themselves as cylinders, oblongs and cubes. For example, the nave part is delimited into rectangular form by sheet-like end walls extending past the volume.

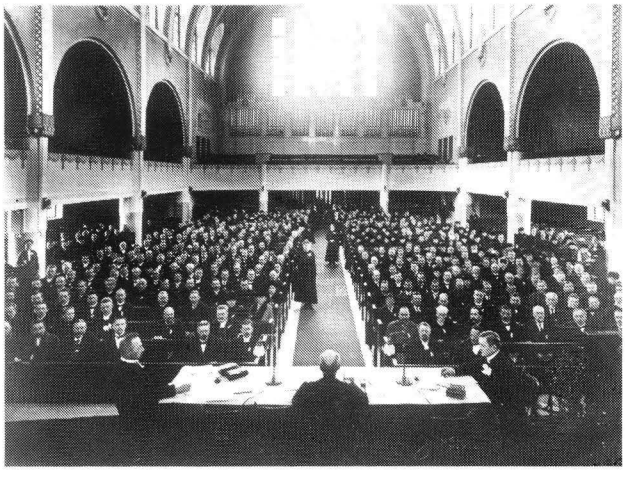

Fig. 114. The nave towards the north. (Photo Helsinki City Museum Picture Archives/Erik Sundström).

The floor plan combines two liturgical traditions (Fig. 108). The centralized design of the actual interior underlines the character of a Protestant church serving the purpose of preaching. However, in the form of a basilica it refers back to the Middle Ages as a specific type of space, but not on the level of forms. The churches of St. Michael's and St. John's were both combinations of the hall-type church and a pseudo basilica. In St. Michael's Church in Turku the tall windows provided light for both floors of the side naves, while in Tampere this was arranged by windows on both floors. In the Kallio church the light from above in the main vault part extends throughout the main nave and to the narrow galleries, while the side naves on the ground floor have separate windows. The exterior contours of the church are based on the Latin cross, from which a tall tower rises. In other words, the result is the system employed in Romanesque cathedrals. Sonck was able to apply on a very general level a historical and international architectonic type, linking it to individual forms, interiors and liturgical requirements alien to its original starting point.

The early planning stage and the masonry work continued themes already present in St. John's Church, but in the later stages and during the actual construction of the church a picturesque adaptation of medieval forms gave way to a centralized, axial and geometricized result. Although the round arches can be traced back to Romanesque architecture, the church does not contain any distinct historical references with associations to specific periods or regions.[54] Despite this, the vaulting system is hierarchical, for the part covering the pulpit and altar – corresponding in principle to the chancel vault – is fitted with ribbed tapering arches, which, however, extend to a round, flat ceiling. The spire of St. John's Church, with its allusions to the Middle Ages, changed from the original "Huss" entry through the planning and construction process, so that the combination of a central tower and four towers at the corners is no longer as distinct as originally pre-

sented. Related to the reduction of identifiable historical references was the use of cubic forms and the abstract nature of the decoration. In the early plans the monochromy of the exterior was to have been accentuated by the shiny roofing of the apse and the tower and the crosses of similar hues of the frieze of the apse. Inside the church a metallic gloss was to have been achieved with gilding. These features were based on international sources and influences, mainly from the Viennese modernists. As discussed above, Germany was the main source of influences, primarily relating to the design of the chancel, the views of the jury based on Gurlitt, the floor plan and also the use of concrete.[55] German influences can also be seen in the curving system of stairs in the south end. This feature was familiar for example from the works of the architects Schilling & Gräbner.[56] The joining of the parish meeting rooms as a visible part of the church may derive from Anglo-American models.[57] In St. John's Church the parish hall was located beneath the body of the building, while in Kallio the hall and the parish offices provided a reason to build the south pavilions on both sides of the tower, a feature essential to the overall division of volume.

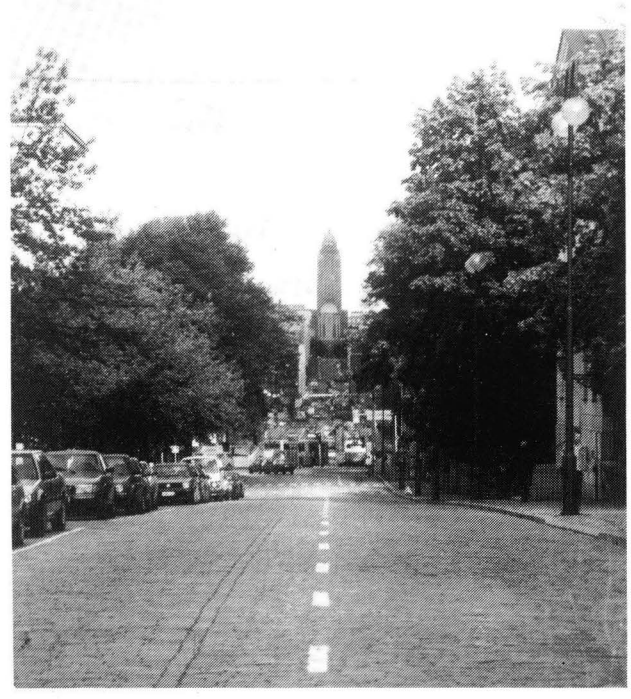

Fig. 115. View to the north from the old centre of the town along the Unioninkatu axis with the Kallio Church closing the vista. (Photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

The Kallio church applied the medieval cathedral tradition in its volume and main part. This was accomplished in a way that in a highly generalizing sense fits in with the historicist conception of architecture on the level of types and forms. The varied use of the tradition of religious architecture can also be seen in the dual character of the interior. The division of space conforms to the basic type created by the Catholic Middle Ages from the architecture of antiquity. On the other hand, the uniform, square space joined to the superimposed combination of the altar and the pulpit without an altarpiece "reformed" the Lutheran church of the remnants of Catholic iconolatry. The combination chosen by Sonck derives from early Reformed meeting houses, known from Europe and North America. In this case, modernity signified a return to the original sources of Protestant liturgy, in the way presented by Gurlitt and desired by the competition jury. The role of this church in the overall transition of Finnish architecture towards symmetry, axes and nascent classicism can be compared to the designs for the new railway station in Helsinki from the 1904 competition entry and the abstract and geometricized appearance of the building when completed. This also applies to the technique of building in concrete – the large concrete vaults of the station halls were built at the same time as the Kallio church. Eliel Saarinen's 1904 project for the railway station is one of the most probable Finnish prototypes for Sonck's design. Some of the features of the "Huss-Omarbetning" (Huss reworked) entry, such as the large arched window, symmetry and the portal pavilions, find parallels in the main facade of the railway station. The upper part of Saarinen's tower is also present in the sketches for the church. In the end, this relationship may have been reversed. Sonck's tower, like the final tower of the station, is not a static rectangle, but a form in which the stressed profile tapers upwards.

The simplification of the interior vaulting coincided with the adoption of a new technique, i.e. concrete. In itself, this did not require formal alterations, nor did it dictate the forms used. Changes occurred primarily in the area of esthetic intention. The vaults of the first planning stage could well have been built of concrete. For example in Germany, the static properties of concrete – differing from brickwork – had already been exploited in vaults of highly varied form and even in outright duplicates of Gothic vaulting.[58]

The role of the church in the townscape involved three levels. Seen at close range from the square and the connecting streets, the church was a freely standing plastic volume, in accordance with Sonck's wishes. Seen from the centre of Helsinki it was the culmination and point of view of a central north-south thoroughfare. The spire, rising to 94 metres above sea level, dominated the northern horizon of the city. It provided a scenic dominant for the sections north of Pitkäsilta Bridge, in the same way as the Cathedral and the Church of St. John were the

respective landmarks of the city centre and the southern parts of Helsinki (Fig. 115).

For Sonck, this project was a catalyst and testing ground for new ideas in the same way as St. John's Church had been for secular works following its main drawing stage. In this sense, the Kallio church was a watershed in Sonck's architectural production. The initial plans were continuations of themes from earlier years, while many of the features of the final result were reflected in ensuing works, to be discussed below. In the field of church architecture the project showed how the architect had matured to using permanent models, and Sonck was to apply the division of volume created for the church up to the 1930s. However, the reforming concept of 1906 had by this time become outmoded. With respect to technique, the Kallio project was analogous to St. John's Church. In the latter, brick structures were replaced by stone during the actual construction work. Sonck varied the use of stone over the following years. In the Kallio church this material was originally intended to dominate the whole in as varied a way as possible, but the planned structures were replaced by concrete.

In 1911 Sigurd Frosterus published a review of the church in the journal Arkitekten, which is interesting in many respects. Frosterus connects the role of the church in the history of style with Sonck's personal development as an architect.[59] The review is written in a positive vein, although Frosterus maintains that Sonck presented the character of the interior much too clearly in the exterior, though he acknowledges an "organic" connection between the two. For Frosterus, the praiseworthy feature was not the correspondence of the interior and the exterior, but the expression of the interior through the exterior. Remarking positively upon the volume and especially the tower, Frosterus suggests the sphinx as an analogy for the whole. In the series of three churches by Sonck the unrestricted floor plan of St. John's came to be expressed in the exterior of the Kallio church. It was in this synthesis that Sonck found his footing. Frosterus does not distinguish historical themes or motifs, and describes the church as the successful result of a "tendency towards liberation" (frigörelsetendens). In Sonck's architecture the gradual disappearance of historical themes is linked with the maturing of his career and the process by which he "found his footing". Frosterus's evaluation of the church corresponds by and large to the wishes regarding style presented by the competition jury in 1906. Not only one of the leaders in the development of style in Finnish architecture, Sonck was also sensitive to the desires of his colleagues concerning this course of development.

III.7. Sonck's project for Parliament House in Helsinki

It was seen above how the features of the planning and construction stages of St. John's Church were applied in secular works of the period, as well as in a competition entry for a major public work of architecture. This situation repeated itself with the Kallio church. In the continued planning stage of the church, following the main drawings of the summer of 1907, an architectural competition was declared in the autumn of the same year for the House of Parliament to be built in Helsinki. The competition closed in the early winter of 1908.[1] The competition involved the creation of an edifice for the new single-chamber parliament of the Grand Duchy of Finland, achieved through reforms enacted in 1906. Most of the renowned Finnish architects of the day participated. The winning entry was by Eliel Saarinen, and Sonck was placed fourth. Parliament House was finally built in different form after Finland gained independence.

The planned location of the building on Tähtitorninmäki hill in Helsinki would have dominated the southern townscape of Helsinki as seen from the centre, and also the horizon towards the sea. Stressed in the programme of rooms and space were the assembly hall, the rooms of the select committees, the impressive vestibules and the stairways. Most of the entries were dominated by axial symmetry, tower motifs and emphasized central portals.[2]

Sonck, together with D. W. Frölander, participated with an entry called "Plenum".[3] In this project, the portal, forming a continuation of the axis of Unioninkatu, is followed by a completely symmetrical floor plan. Branching off from the central part are two wings, and a large tapering tower rises from the first cross-arm. This feature presents a clear contrast with the otherwise horizontal whole. The leading theme of the interior is the rise of the monumental stairway to the glass-domed central hall under the tower, which is followed by the large assembly hall. The cross-like form of the hall, with narrow galleries, resembles the nave of the Kallio church. Seating requirements were considerable also in this case, as well as good lighting conditions, visibility and audibility. The rostrum is located in the part corresponding to the chancel of the church.

The compact parts of the flat-ceiling volume of the "Plenum" project consist of cubes and rectangles. The straight surfaces of the facades are dominated by a plain composition of verticals, which was shaped into a colossal system without capitals in the main facade on the north side. The most plastic feature is the colonnade supporting the grand attic

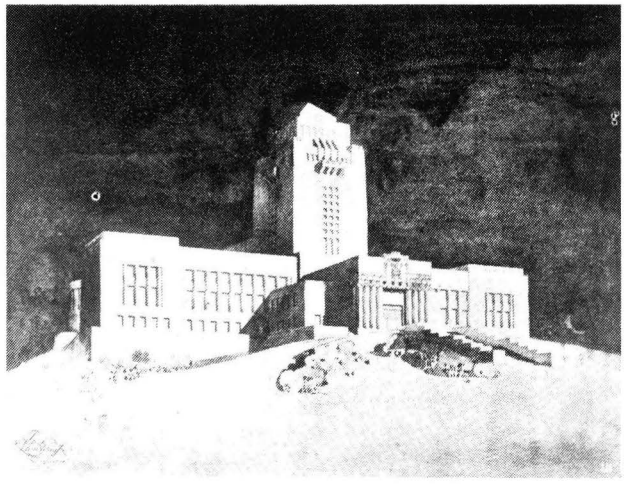

Fig. 116. Competition entry for Parliament House in Helsinki, 1908. Pseudonym "Plenum". IV prize. Assisted by D.W. Frölander. View towards the southwest. *Arkitekten* II 1908, p. 25.

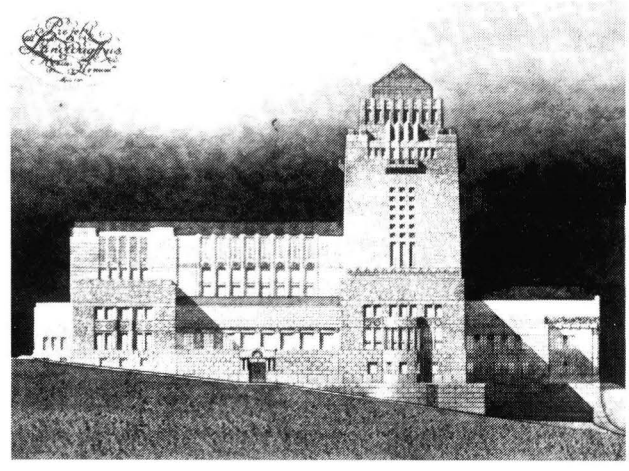

Fig. 118. East elevation. (Original and photo SRM).

of the portal. The pink granite exterior surface was designed as squared rubble.

In the plans and designs of the Kallio church the above features were also used in connection with axial symmetry. Similarities can be seen in the series of facades and in the perspective illustration. The division of the north or main facade is the same as in the church, while the portal structure and its columns correspond to the apse. This was also true of the south facade of the "Plenum" project and the north facade of the church. In side view, the series formed by the portico, tower, pavilions and assembly hall resembles that of the apse, tower, pavilions and nave of the church. The windows providing light for the glassed dome repeat the bell-openings of the church tower. In perspective view from the side, the T-shaped volume which was to be seen diagonally from below covers the rear parts of the building from view. The composition developed in the church project was now reshaped to form the framework of the programme required by the Parliament House project.

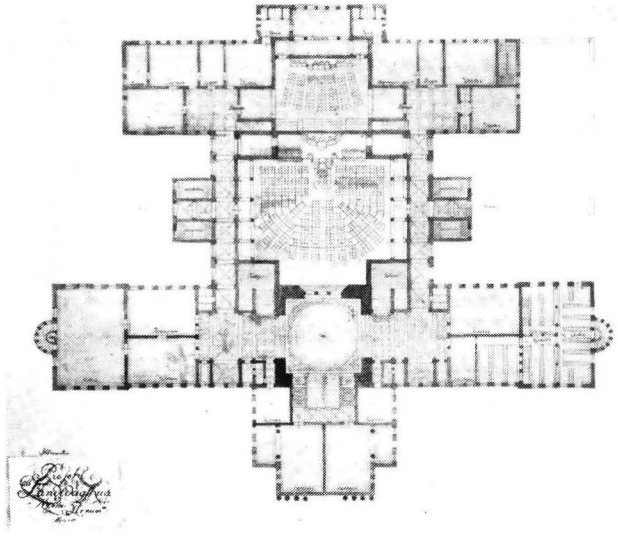

Fig. 117. Plan of the main floor. (Original and photo SRM).

The jury especially praised the use of the tower,[4] observing that the exterior "expresses its character excellently". The exterior architecture of Sonck's entry was regarded as positive in other respects as well.[5] Sonck applied the successful basic solutions of a religious building to the House of Parliament, and even in this case the result was seen as clearly expressing the function of the building. Joint features of both projects were their large size, public nature and location in the townscape.

There were other coinciding features in this situation as well. The same architect served as an assistant in both cases. The relationship of the church with its surroundings and axis had already been decided upon. In the Parliament House project, Sonck was given the potential opportunity of placing two contemporary monumental buildings at the ends of the same axis, i.e. Unioninkatu street. In both buildings, the line of the street would have continued in the lengthwise axes of symmetry. Sonck's desire for a greater emphasis on classicizing features was, in turn, excellently suited to the tradition of characterization of parliamentary edifices. The "Plenum" project showed how the conclusions concerning volume, surfaces and historical themes developed in the planning process of the church had a wider basis and could thus be applied in other tasks as well. As in the earlier National Museum entry, ideas developed in connection with a church project were transferred to the plans and designs of an extensive, but uncompleted, secular work of architecture.

III.8. The building of the Mortgage Association of Finland

III.8.1. Points of departure

The building designed in 1907 for the Mortgage Association of Finland (Fi. *Suomen Hypoteekkiyhdistys*) and completed in 1909 continued the series of bank premises designed by Sonck for the centre of Helsinki, which had begun with the Privatbanken. The present project was also on the Esplanades (at no. 16 South Esplanade) and involved a four-storey new building to serve the needs of the client and a number of tenants. The impressive head office of the Mortgage Association continued a programme of construction by banks and insurance companies, based on the expanding market of capital. This process had already created impressive edifices for the Wasa Banken bank and the Pohjola insurance company, and within a few years its was to include the Stock Exchange building and the buildings of the Kaleva, Suomi and Salama insurance companies in the centre of Helsinki. In this case, Sonck was again involved in planning a building of a public nature with private funds.

The activities of the Mortgage Association of Finland, founded in 1861, differed from those of the commercial banks, and it did not have to compete for customers with impressive premises.[1] A favourable economic climate and the desire to acquire permanent premises of its own made the building project a viable alternative in the early years of the 20th century. When the lot at 16 South Esplanade was bought in 1906 the intention was to include in the programme of construction a large number of premises for rent to provide returns on the capital invested.[2] The lot was at some distance from the centre formed by the main thoroughfares of Unioninkatu, Aleksanterinkatu and the North Esplanade. It was, however, close to the focus of business life and on the routes leading to the Market Square and Erottaja at the end of the Esplanades.[3]

There was no architectural competition for the new building, and the board of the bank chose Sonck directly for the task. The reasons for this are suggested by the membership of the board. In 1906, Emil Schybergson was elected managing director of the Mortgage Association. As director of the Privatbanken, he had commissioned the renovation of the latter's premises from Sonck.[4] The successful result and the relationship of client and architect now promoted Sonck as the architect of private capital in Helsinki at a stage when the business centre of Helsinki was being restructured to a marked degree. Schybergson took the initiative in the matter, and in January 1907, together with other members of the board and a "certain" architect, he began preparations on the project.[5] A few weeks later, the board was presented with Sonck's proposal for the programme of rooms and space. The envisioned building was to be four storeys high on the side facing the street and three storeys high on the side of the yard. It was to include the premises of the client as well as business premises of varying size with access from the street.[6]

When receiving the commission, Sonck was preparing the main drawings of the alternatives for the second stage of the Kallio church competition. In these designs, axial symmetry was already a dominating feature and reinforced concrete was planned for the vault structures. At this stage, also the tectonic themes of the church were developed, such as the colonnade of the south end. As a whole, the design and construction of the Mortgage Association building coincides with the Kallio project. The problems encountered in the former may have had some effect on the decisions regarding the church. Despite different starting points, the simultaneous planning of two stone-clad public buildings led to similar solutions of form, materials and building technique.

Sonck carried out the planning in three months, and the main drawings were approved in April 1907.[7] His earlier achievements, such as business premises, stone facades and a bank, contained partial solutions for the new project. The task now was to create a synthesis for the needs of several businesses of different types and for a bank in a central location in the nation's capital. After the board had inspected the finished drawings, Sonck and Schybergson were given total responsibility for the costs of the project.[8] Sonck was given more or less complete freedom of action with respect to the choice of material, but as Sonck's and Schybergson's mutual decisions were not reported in any way, there is no detailed evidence of them. In the summer of 1907 the older wooden buildings on the site were demolished, and on the 29th of November the same year the building had reached roofing height.[9] Work proceeded at a fast pace in view of the extent of the project, and the building was completed in the spring of 1909.[10] The basic architectural solutions of rooms, materials, structures and expression were created within the span of a few months, and their realization took only a short time from early summer to late autumn.

Both in planning and execution, the Mortgage Association project was a fluid and uniform process, in which the architect was trusted and was able to work with a relatively free budget. The client, the director of a significant banking establishment, was personally responsible for the progress of the work and cooperated closely with the designer in choosing materials and structures. Schybergson funnelled the bank's funds into an impressive building project,

considerably exceeding the original estimate of costs. In addition to creating functioning premises of a representative nature, the commission also strove to illustrate on the level of the townscape the client's wealth and culturally-minded aims.

After the planning stage of the winter of 1907 the facade was changed only in minor details. The composition of the preliminary pencil sketch is based on horizontal and vertical rectangles, the relationships of which are dictated by the symmetry following from the central portal (Fig. 119). These themes, the side projections and the attic delimit a completely plastic two-storey colonnade in the middle of the rectangle of the facade. The uniform rectangle of the facade, lacking a roof moulding, is for the most part separated from the pavement. The basic solution of the floor plan was also retained. Corresponding to the central axis of the facade is the main stairway, providing access to the front and rear parts of the volume. The deep and narrow lot does not include a skylit yard, as the body of the building is detached from the fire-proof walls at the sides, and there is a skylight in the banking hall of the ground floor. The rooms facing the street encircle the central office hall almost symmetrically. The smaller units in the rear part were designed for apartments, but became interconnected business premises. The relationship of planned and executed features corresponded in this respect to the Helsinki Telephone Association building. It was also related to the changing of the centre of Helsinki into an area purely serving the needs of the business community, whereby the previously significant construction of housing was removed completely to other parts of the city.

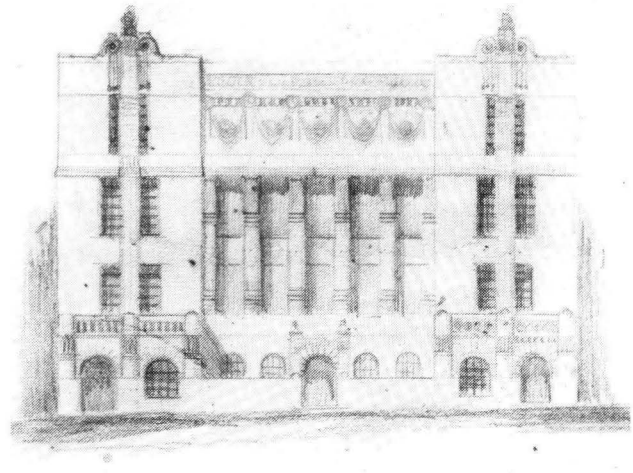

Fig. 119. Sketch from 1907 for the facade of the Mortgage Association building, South Esplanade 16, Helsinki, 1907-09. (Original Mortgage Association of Finland, photo SRM).

III.8.2. The facade

In the following, the facade of the building is discussed separately, as the alterations to structures and the division of rooms did not affect it. In the preliminary sketch stage, the architect concentrated on materials, structural articulation and details. Tectonically the facade was a continuation of the themes executed in the Telephone Association building and planned for the Kallio church, with previously applied themes linked to the new principles of composition.

The main drawings of April 1907 differed from the final version in a few details. The large decorative fields of the upper parts of the projections were removed, as well as the heraldic field from above the main entrance. The capitals of the colonnade and the pilasters were redesigned, and the front yard set off by a small fence was only included in the alteration plans of 1913.[11] Despite this, it was an important part of the original whole, as shown by the sketches. The appearance of the building as executed can be seen in a later, undated, watercoloured drawing of the facade.[12] (Fig. 120)

The static nature of the facade is achieved by the dominant contours of the rectangular form, the horizontals of the listels and the verticals of the columns and pilasters (Fig. 123). In axial symmetry, all of the themes have identical counterparts. Within this context, the various parts form a structurally logical system with partly visual and partly real means. The composition was executed in stone. A granite surface for the facade was already decided upon before the main drawings were approved. The material used is light-grey Uusikaupunki granite, supplied by Suomen Kiviteollisuus Oy.[13] Sonck had the stone polished to a smooth finish.[14] An overall single-hued monochromy was achieved in the same way as in the Kallio church with a single dominating material. The

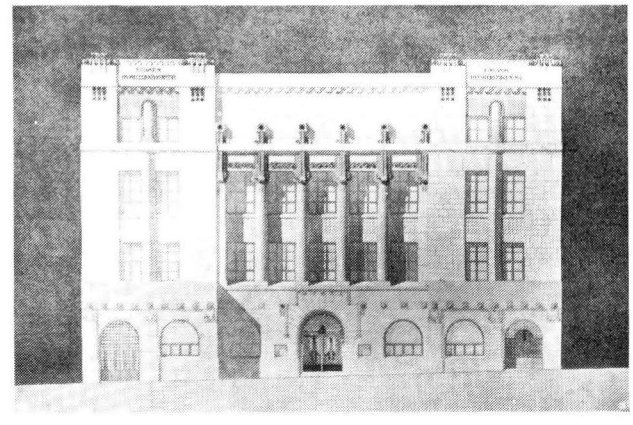

Fig. 120. Drawing från 1907, by D.W. Frölander. *Arkitekten* IV 1909, p. 51.

reduced, linear bond of the facade material expressed the concept of a bearing wall, but the effect achieved by the vertical and horizontal elements is stronger.

The structural concept of the facade is best revealed in single-level frontal perspective, which corresponds to the view from Esplanade Park. Proceeding from below, the projections can be seen as separate units with the central part of the facade standing apart. The pavilion system delimiting the front yard forms, in visual terms, the basis of the upper storeys of the projections. Prototypes for this can be seen in neoclassical buildings in Helsinki.[15] The pilasters of low relief support a strongly expressed column-and-lintel system, and the round arch system of the simple rhythmic bay is expressed with voussoirs. The capitals are formed with an ornamental zone. Rising from the column-and-lintel part to the horizontal listel between the third and fourth storeys are two structures – a wall with solid rustication and a pilaster placed angularly in the central part and serving as a continuation of the system of the ground floor. The structural principle of the attic part is more diffuse.

The column-and-lintel system, borne by the emphasized ashlar of the arches in the ground floor of the central part, supports four completely plastic stone columns extending to the architrave dividing the third and fourth floors. At the sides of the columns are pilasters linked to the projections.[16] The columns continue to form supports for the fourth storey with a secondary zone behind them, separating the second and third storeys. As in the Telephone Association building, here too a supporting stone colonnade was built within a stone-faced brick wall. The colossal colonnade of the Mortgage Association building is linked to a classicizing frame of reference, but – like the pavilions – it is without any specific allusions to the styles of the past.

The non-classical and layered capitals of the columns support in stages the beam, the listel and finally the uppermost level of the entablature, which in turn forms the horizontal listel of the whole facade. After carrying out their classical function, these parts are continued in the surface decoration of the attic storey. The varied interpretations of this storey are added to by the fact that it ends in a denticulated frieze and a secondary attic above it.

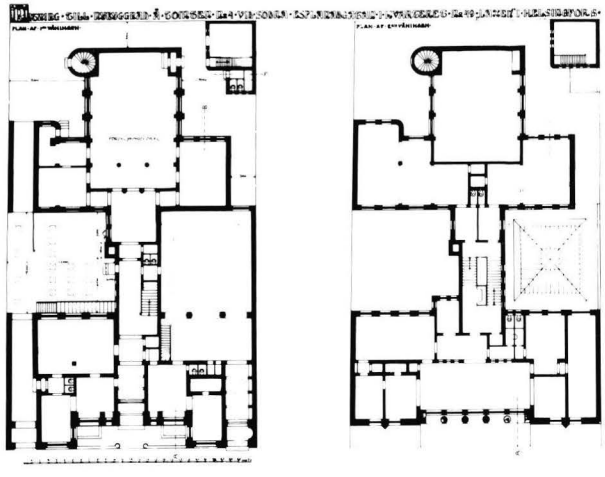

Fig. 121. Plans of the first and second floors, 1907. (HKRVVA).

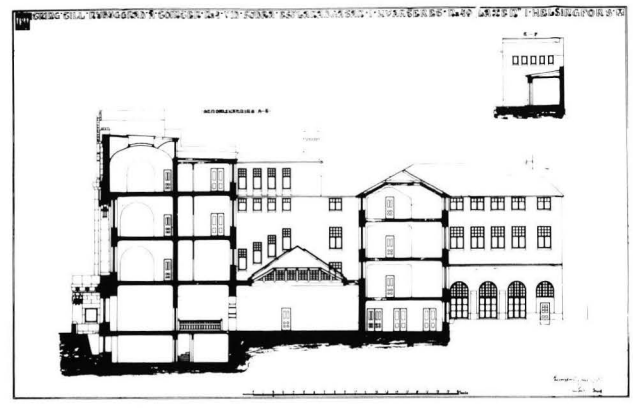

Fig. 122. Longitudinal section towards the east, 1907. (HKRVVA).

The obvious classicizing features of the Mortgage Association building did not imply a return to the principles explicitly rejected by Sonck and other young architects of the turn of the century. In terms of the Vitruvian-Albertian canon, the facade is an unorthodox combination of various systems, the logic of which can be derived from the major systems of architectural history, as in the pavilions. In the Mortgage Association project Sonck, for the first time since his student days of the early 1890s, designed a symmetrical classicizing facade. This involved principles which he had learned, but were now applied freely as a tectonic system without specific historical details. The decoration was also abstract, with its non-figurative or stylized botanical motifs. He was assisted by D. W. Frölander, and the water-coloured drawing of the final version was signed "Lars Sonck Invenit – D.W. Frölander Pinxit".[17]

Also in this case Sonck wanted the building to lend shape to its immediate location, and the gradation of the facade can be seen especially in side view. From this perspective, also the colonnade stands apart as an independent feature with the wall behind obscured from view. The subdued and serene nature of the design and the stress on horizontals imply a concept of townscape differing from that of the Telephone Association building. The Mortgage Association building was designed as part of a multi-layered and continuous wall of street-fronts.

The facade contains features in common with the older buildings on the South Esplanade. In the adjacent block was the Wasa Banken building, built in

Fig. 123. The Mortgage Association building soon after completion. It is today surrounded by multi-storey commercial buildings. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

1899, which also had a stone-faced monochrome facade. In addition to the material and the round arches of the ground floor, the identical enframing motif of the central portals was another shared feature. Sonck's gradated band of ornament is a direct replication of the older building.[18] With respect to the colonnade reference is made to the nearby Governor-General's residence, designed by C.L. Engel and built in 1824 for the local military commander. This was the most valuable building on the Esplanade in terms of function. In Engel's building are six almost plastic recessed columns between the side projections. The columns support a straight attic part. Sonck's building displayed thus connections with significant buildings already standing on the South Esplanade. The series of arches and the division of storeys also linked it to the row of buildings on the North Esplanade, located opposite. The method of dividing four storeys into three main zones is the same one that, for example, Theodor Höijer applied to his five-storey facades. Also in this sense, Sonck returned to 19th-century principles of composition and through them to the facade divisions of the Renaissance.[19]

Upon completion in 1909, the Mortgage Association building, or its facade, was the subject of great interest in the press.[20] Sigurd Frosterus wrote a review of it in *Arkitekten*.[21] Frosterus regarded the use of a smooth stone surface as a modern feature, related to the culture of machines, and was happy to see granite finally used in a way that corresponded more closely to the techniques afforded by modern machinery than the "rustic rubble wall". The dimensions of the facade, the capitals of the columns and especially their extensions were regarded as successful features. Sonck was commended for the consistent way in which he had carried out the difficult task of abstracting the ornament, as well as for his "serene command" and "maturity". In his review, Frosterus stressed the modernity and organic nature of the design, the use of abstraction and the free application of classical material. With respect to the relationship of the function to the exterior, "the monumental nature of the bank building was admirably merged with its practical function."

In his article "*Modern Helsingforsarkitektur*" (Modern architecture in Helsinki) Jac. Ahrenberg also discussed this new work by Sonck.[22] He first criticized sharply the architecture of Helsinki in recent years. The town plan was created for buildings whose effect is based on "plastic" volume and not on picturesque means. For Ahrenberg, the picturesque

involved the "newest school" of architecture up to the year 1907. Ahrenberg reiterated his conception of style, already presented in 1898.[23] He had pointed out how classicism was a suitable method of design for Helsinki, as it was based on historical strata, i.e. the heritage of neoclassicism. Medieval themes and motifs were not suitable for secular buildings, for they did not have any Finnish prototypes, of which the new works could be regarded as a continuation. The Mortgage Association building was seen by Ahrenberg as being linked in an exemplary way to the positive starting points as defined by himself. He observed that Sonck had understood correctly the basic spirit of the town plan. In its main details, the facade of the building conformed to the concepts of the "old school" of architecture (i.e. *ante* 1880s) with respect to simplicity, balance and harmony. The result was a "plastic" whole. Ahrenberg went on to point out how Sonck had also succeeded in applying the best features of the "new school", such as respect for materials and climate, accommodating details to material and their individual use. He described the columns and their capitals as "brilliant". Generally speaking, Ahrenberg saw the Mortgage Association building as "the best creation of urban architecture in Finland by the new school".

Frosterus regarded the building as an example of modernity, a rejection of the imitation of nature and as an organic merging of the exterior with function. For Ahrenberg, this work signified a return to the traditional classical ideal of Helsinki, with the addition of new features to established tradition. The building was at the same time an example of reform and freedom from tradition as well as a continuation of the classical tradition and a new stage in its evolution. The facade material was praised by Frosterus as an expression of modern "machine culture", while Ahrenberg commended it for reasons of climate, Sonck was thus able to convince two leading critics of different generations and opposite points of view.

III.8.3. The structures and the interior

Of definite influence for the interior architecture and the alterations from the sketches to the main drawing stage was the use of reinforced concrete in the bearing structures, intermediary floors, stairways and vaults. This material also speeded the construction of the building. The special plans and designs were again prepared by Hjalmar Castrén, and they were executed in the Hennebique technique by August Kiökemeister, as in the Kallio project.[24] The facade of the Mortgage Association building was the subject of much concern and considerable costs, and

Fig. 124. The banking hall of Suomen Kauppapankki on the ground floor. Furniture later removed. Hirn 1906-, p. 283.

the result was widely recognized. Behind this ruled the considerations of economy and efficiency of modern business premises, and the desired result was achieved by experts using the latest technology. To a greater extent than in the Telephone Association building concrete dominated the shaping of the interior, and the architectural solutions were clearly influenced by a construction engineer.

The ground floor, reserved for business premises and offices, was designed as a separate entity, while the floor plans of the three upper storeys are almost identical (Fig. 121). Concrete permitted the opening of the rear part into a large, two-storey-high space and the clear marking of a route leading there from the main entrance. The only vertical supports of the hall, measuring 11 x 11 metres, were concrete columns bearing the weight of the partition wall of the upper floors. The high space was divided by an encircling balcony of concrete, to which an open stairway led from the central part.

The main room of the ground floor was the office hall of the Suomen Kauppapankki Oy bank[25] (Fig. 124). Its requirements resembled those of the Privatbanken project. The bank was on the ground floor of a larger building, and the portal was subordinated to the overall composition of the facade. In completed form, the building repeated the division of rooms and space of the Privatbanken with its directors' rooms, vault and the stairway leading to it. The series of rooms leading from the street was also similar. The rooms of the bank differ, however, from Jung's decorative and richly-coloured scheme. In the hall of the Kauppapankki bank the monochromy of the exterior was paralleled by a neutral light colour scheme. There was no programme for the abstract decoration, nor did it refer on the symbolic level to anything other than itself, such as an organic or historical plane of reference. The reduction and abstraction of visual imagery, already observed in the Kallio church and even more distinct in this case, was linked to a more general trend that had by now

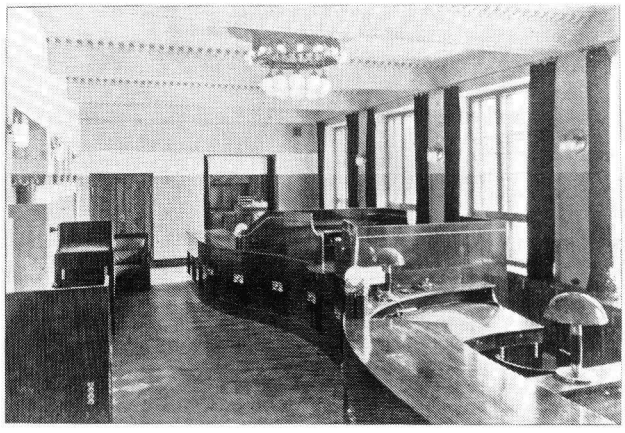

Fig. 125. The customer office of the Mortgage Association facing South Esplanade with furniture by D.W. Frölander (later moved to other premises). *Arkitekten* I 1910, p. 3.

become common in Finnish architecture. In the case of Sonck, we must also take into account the significant role of his assistant architects, especially D. W. Frölander.

Features resembling the Privatbanken are also the large columns between the vestibule and the main hall. These supports for the partition walls of the upper storeys create an axial structuring of a space which is entered asymmetrically. Sonck had again created a basically classicizing *in antis* space. The columns were differentiated from the otherwise concrete supports of the building by the use of Vehmaa red-brown granite in partly polished and partly coarse-surface monoliths.[26]

Sonck envisioned for the hall a three-nave division as in the Privatbanken, a U-shaped counter and a window in the end part. Concrete structures made it possible to leave the floor free of vertical supports. The final L-shaped counter set off a similar-shaped area for the bank officials and a rectangular area for the customers. Surrounding the hall is a structure lower than the skylight, supporting the flat ceiling, differing from the form presented in the main drawings.[27]

Related to the more general classicizing themes of the building is the cassette system following the division of the above supporting structures. In the banking hall, concrete affects both the functional and expressive aspects of the design. The result finds a comparison in the Privatbanken in the same way as the Kallio project can be compared to St. John's church. The problem of identical function was solved with different results but with a floor plan closely resembling the former. In both cases the changes were related to a new type of structure.

The rooms behind the main stairway in the upper storeys were originally intended to be let out as office space. Also in these parts of the building, concrete permitted the creation of flexible floor plans, which could be altered to suit the needs of the tenants. The similarity of the rooms facing the street was related to their function. On the third floor, above the client's premises, were the offices of the Municipalities' Mortgage Fund and the Finnish Real Estate Bank.[28] The second and third floors thus required space for serving customers, executives' rooms and related office space. Because the activities concerned did not resemble those of the commercial bank located downstairs, direct access from the street was not necessary.

The actual premises of the Mortgage Association were furnished by Frölander, while the next floor was decorated by Sigurd Frosterus.[29] The symmetrical, short and wide central hall posed a problem for Frölander (Fig. 125). There was not much distance between the doorway and the window wall, nor was there much room for the bank clerks or the customers. Frölander's solution employed a curving counter, almost as wide as the room itself, in which the central part curved towards the window wall, stressing the symmetry of the room and the central axis of the whole building. Sonck's facade was reflected not only in the furnishings but also in the articulation of the hall.[30] The beams of concrete articulating the ceiling are supported by the wall pillars between the windows. There is a tectonic composition of features also on the opposite wall. Thus, the hall is shaped by the supporting frame of the building, the supports of the window wall, the ceiling beams and – linked to these – the articulation of the entrance wall – i.e. a variation of the stylobate-column-entablature system. The division of parts corresponds to the portal in reverse. Because the hall is on the street side of the second floor, according to the piano nobile tradition, the axis following from the facade does not lead directly into it, and the exterior themes are again encountered in the part beyond the stairway. The fourth-floor windows facing the street were sacrificed by Sonck to obtain the unbroken wall surface aimed at in the design. Because the ceiling of this part was not an intermediary floor, Sonck made a window in it and shaped a curving concrete vault for the room. The vertical themes of the exterior extended as far as the floor below, and accordingly the rooms in question did not require any vertical articulation.

The finishing of the building was carried out without any regard for costs.[31] Examples of work expended on the materials are the silver handles of the main door and their beaten parts, made by the Koru Oy firm of Eino Schroderus after clay models by Frölander. The visible materials, related to architectural expression, did not greatly differ from Sonck's earlier works, but they were used in a different way. The working and finishing of stone was already present, and the use of metal changed. The numerous

embossed works of the interior no longer emphasized the relationship of the artisan and his tools with the materials. The aim now was to achieve a finished and luxurious effect. On the outside were fields of ornament in silver in the main door, and metal was also used in the facade. Carl Slotte's firm was paid for the partial gilding of some details in the facade.[32] The gilding has by now disappeared and its original extent is hard to determine. This detail demonstrates the use of a combination of precious metal and stone surfaces, as in the main drawings of the Kallio church. Differing from the increased tendency towards abstraction and anti-naturalism are the naturalistic feline figures in silver in the main door. These continued in miniature form the classical tradition of guarding animals.[33]

Because of the attention to details and finish, costs were exceeded by over half a million marks.[34] The largest single expenditures were for concrete, c. 90,000 marks, and for the masonry of the facade and banking hall, c. 100,000 marks.[35] The surface of the facade and the columns thus came to cost more than the reinforced-concrete framework of the whole building.[36]

The role of the Mortgage Association, and especially Schybergson, as Sonck's generous sponsor, was widely noted. In his review of the interior of the building, Gustaf Strengell pointed out how monetary institutions had been the main sponsors of "the modern orientation of architecture" since its beginning, in the same way as the bankers of Renaissance Florence.[37] According to him, most of the leading architectural achievements of recent years had come about through their initiative; broad-minded executives had had the foresight to interpret the signs of the times and to strive towards new and creative solutions in building. Strengell linked the representatives of the booming economy with the aims for modernity – expressed as impressive building projects which were of benefit to all. In this sense, Sonck's co-operation with the Mortgage Association no doubt appeared successful. The result generated positive interest among both older and younger architects, and was recognized for its modernity, in turn seen as reflecting the modern approach and attitudes of the client.

III.9. The Helsinki Stock Exchange building

III.9.1. Structures and division of space

The Helsinki Stock Exchange, designed by Sonck in 1901 and completed in 1912, was the largest commission he had hitherto received from a private client. The project was commissioned by the leading capital-owners of Helsinki and the whole of Finland. The building with its special demands on rooms and space and its varied functions was to be located in the central business area of Helsinki at Fabianinkatu 14, between the Esplanade and Aleksanterinkatu. Although Sonck could rely on his experiences in the Mortgage Association project, the Stock Exchange was nevertheless a completely new type of project for him and Finnish architecture in general.

The economic boom which had speeded Sonck's former projects was also reflected in investments and trading in stocks and bonds.[1] This area of economic activity in Finland was poorly organized at the time, which impaired business on a nationwide level.[2] A number of leading businessmen in Helsinki, led by Julius Tallberg, purchased a lot at Fabianinkatu 14 in 1907 with the intention of keeping its price stable for the needs of a future Stock Exchange company. In March 1910 the same persons founded the Stock Exchange company (*Aktiebolaget Börs*) of Helsinki.[3] The early stages of the company, the stock exchange operating in its premises and the Stock Exchange Club, coincided with and affected the construction of the building and the programme entailed in it.

Membership in the Stock Exchange Club, located in the building, was linked to the financing of the project. The premises acquired by the club and the share-holding company of the building were to be rented to the Stock Exchange. The Stock Exchange Club was to be an association for the persons in control of Finland's leading firms, capital interests and landed property. The executive level of the Swedish-speaking business community, which still dominated Finnish economic life, immediately joined the club.[4] Membership in this commercially-minded elite body, which at first had few ties with cultural or academic life, provided effortless private contacts with the leading strata of Finnish society. In view of this background it is not at all surprising that the list of charter members, comprising industrialists and merchants such as von Julin, Frenckell, Stockmann and Fazer, also included many of Finland's leading architects and naturally Sonck.[5]

Although Tallberg was one of the leaders of the initial stages and his favourite, Eliel Saarinen, was also a charter member of the club, the design was commissioned from Sonck. An influential group of

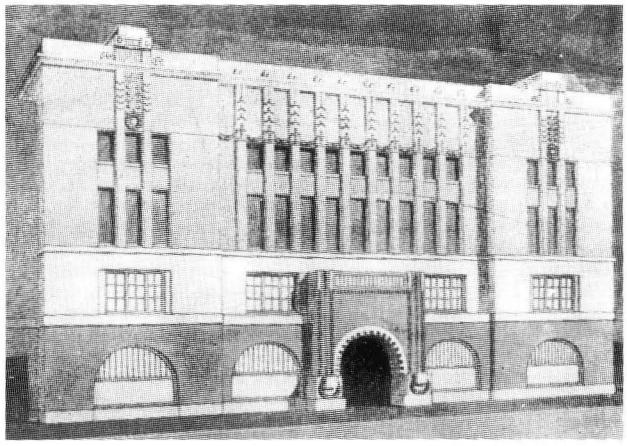

Fig. 126. Preliminary design from 1910 for the facade of the Helsinki Stock Exchange building, Fabianinkatu 14, Helsinki, 1910–12. *Arkitekten* II 1910, p. 26.

bankers acting in the background included Sonck's old sponsors, Axel Ehrnrooth of the Privatbanken and Emil Schybergson of the Mortgage Association.[6] The new building of the Mortgage Association bore witness to Sonck's skills in the design of impressive and functional business premises. In any case, Sonck had the sketches of the floor plans and the facade ready by the early winter of 1910, before the company was even founded.[7] The main drawings were approved in April and construction was begun immediately in the spring of 1910.[8] By June the following year the parts facing the street were finished and the tenants of the premises were able to take occupancy in July. The interior, including the stock exchange, the club and the restaurants, was finished by the winter of 1912.[9] The project kept to the estimate of costs, but the original budget was on a generous scale. Costs amounted to c. 1.5 million marks, over three times the cost of the Kallio church which was under construction at the same time.[10]

Sonck had only recently solved the problems of design of a relatively large business building situated in a similar block structure. The programme of the Stock Exchange project was, however, more extensive and functionally more varied. Requirements included the stock exchange with its hall and offices, the large Stock Exchange Club, offices for rent, a separate café-restaurant and shops on the street-front. The value of the narrow and deep lot required an effective use of available space. In the Mortgage Association building Sonck had created lightwells by dividing the body of the building in two and by separating it from the adjacent fire-proof walls. The same solution was applied to the Stock Exchange building, but with a covered skylit yard in the centre. The leading principle was the complete concentration of rooms and space along the lengthwise axis with resulting mirror-like symmetry (Fig. 128). In this project Sonck developed to the extreme the axiality devised for the Kallio church and the Mortgage Association building. After this, it was only necessary to place the rooms and space along both sides of the axis beginning at the central portal of the facade and continuing to the rear part of the volume. The rooms required by the various functions with their different shapes and forms grow from the central axis towards the sides of the lot.

Sonck divided the body of the building into functional zones extending from the streetfront to the rear parts (Fig. 129). In the first zone were the shops of the ground floor and the offices of the upper storeys. Repeated in the street-front was a division established in the city blocks already in the 1880s, albeit without apartments, which Sonck did not even sketch for the lot. The division of rooms in the identical office floors resembled the design of the Mort-

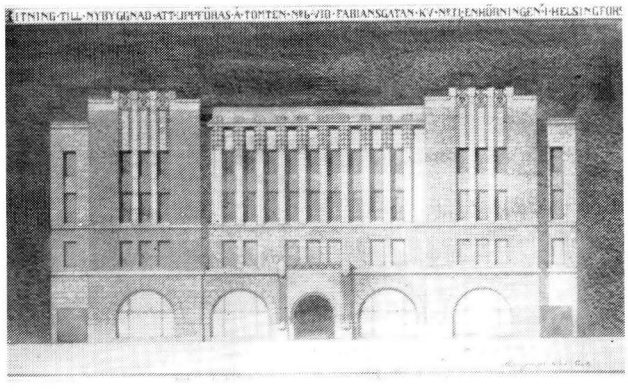

Fig. 127. Main drawings from 1910. (Helsinki Stock Exchange, photo Kai Nordberg, collections of Jonathan Moorhouse).

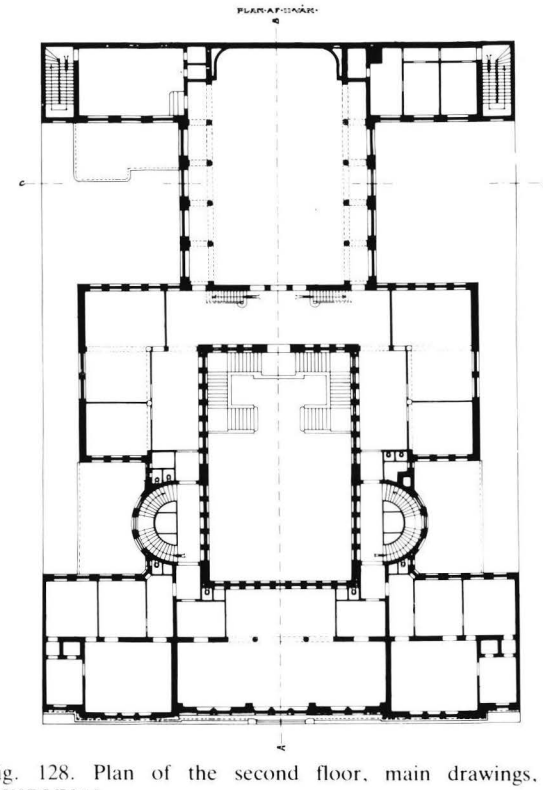

Fig. 128. Plan of the second floor, main drawings, 1910. (HKRVVA).

gage Association building. The main stairways of the following zone with their lifts served the needs of vertical communication in the building, providing access from the side parts to the streetfront premises and the offices of the second zone. With their halls these parts are linked to the final zone, in which the restaurant, the two-storey stock exchange hall and the club were located above each other. Also in this part were maintenance facilities and secondary stairways. The importance of the stock exchange hall is stressed by its own monumental stairway, leading from the courtyard directly to the hall on the second floor. The building employs two systems of communications, one based on circulation and the other on the lengthwise axis.

The courtyard provides access to all of the surrounding rooms through passages and vestibules which open onto it and are lit by the skylight. Movement on the uppermost floor is in reverse through a balcony passage with access directly to the club. There is another route along the central axis which is based on both functional and hierarchic principles. This project executed on a larger scale the series of rooms and space already designed for the Privatbanken and the Mortgage Association building. It leads from the street through a low, barrel-vaulted passage to the large four-storey high skylit courtyard. From there, the broker involved in the primary function of the building is led to the large twin staircase, through an emphasized portal again onto the central axis and through a vestibule into the stock exchange hall. The sequence of space, varying in volume and lighting, leads to the focus of the whole building, the rear part of the hall, where the masters of ceremony, the directors of the exchange, are seated in a recess of chancel-like form, controlling the activities conducted in the hall and thereby the basic function of the whole space. Placed at the end of the axis, they are turned towards it. The stock exchange hall, located in the piano nobile of the second floor and at the end of the volume, opens to the viewer only after the ritualistic architectural promenade underlined by the monumental staircase. The axis articulating the facade of the building and its division of rooms and space also provides a hierarchic aspect for the whole. It proceeds from the everyday reality of the street and the shops towards the higher structures of the business world, with its abstract activities of prices and rates.

In Sonck's division of volume the rooms were lit from the street, the sides of the volume, the glass-roofed courtyard and in the club premises from a skylight. The needs of lighting were served also by the glassed roof of the courtyard, based on both conventional and modern solutions. This structure of steel, glass and concrete measures c. 20 x 12 metres. Its double structure is based on a pre-stressed steel framework, in which glass panes were affixed to the upper and lower surfaces. Thus, one large roof truss supports both the outer roof and the inner glass ceiling suspended from it. As it was not necessary to support the upper part with the framework of the inner panes, which did not have to be built in the form of beams crossing the courtyard, it was possible to make the inner framework as unobtrusive as possible. Like the construction of the equipment hall of the Telephone Association building, this independent structure did not transmit pressure outwards. Thus, it could be lodged in the concrete structure of the fourth storey resting upon the encircling passageway of the inner walls. In this case, the coffered supporting framework of the Kauppapankki banking hall was enlarged and opened to form a passage under the skylight for inter-building communication. The light weight of the inner glass structure and its sparse articulation are linked to the nature of the courtyard as a roofed outdoor space. The ceiling does not indicate any structures related to the interior space, as in the Privatbanken, but forms a glass shell between the courtyard and the open sky above.

The storeys are merged into a structural whole by the system of concrete pillars rising from the foundation. As there was no need for bearing partition walls, it was possible to vary the square rooms behind the main staircase and the design of the storeys in the rear part and to obtain large window surfaces. The series of vertical supports divides the body of

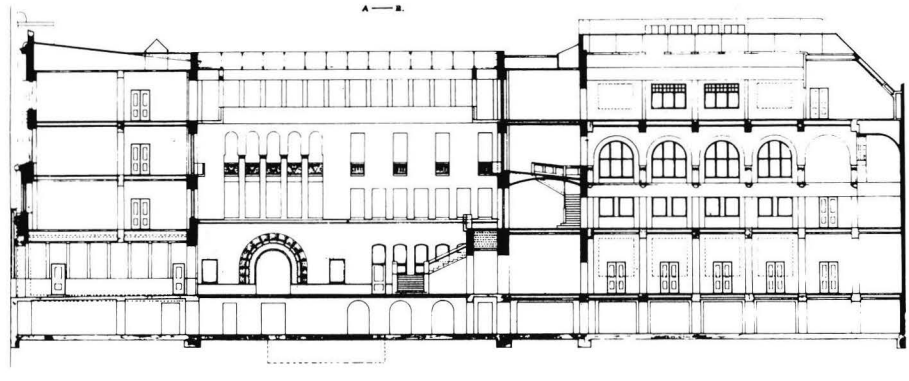

Fig. 129. The Helsinki Stock Exchange building, longitudinal section towards south, main drawings, 1910. (HKRVVA).

the building beginning from the streetfront according to the function division described above. At the rear of the lot it proceeds from the foundations of the basement to the restaurant on the ground floor, from there to the gallery columns of the stock exchange hall, and further on as the interior supporting structure of the club restaurant. Joined to this columnar system are the beams of the reinforced-concrete intermediary floors and partly also the passage of the fourth floor and the curving concrete vaults.

There is no information on the designer of the concrete structures or the skylight. It is clear that Sonck must have used outside experts, as in the Mortgage Association building and the Kallio church projects. The laying of concrete was carried out by the Helsingin Sementti- & Asfalttiliike firm.[11]

III.9.2. The facade

The facade of the Stock Exchange building was also based on a bearing brick wall covered with granite, and its form was not influenced by the new concrete technique applied in the body of the building or by the combination of steel and glass used in the lighting. Sonck had now given up his former method of placing bearing structures of stone in brick walls. The pillars of the facade bear the attic storey, behind which, however, are no rooms requiring supports. The pillars are of such deep form that they appear to be an independent system, although in fact they are joined to the wall pillars which bear the weight. Unlike the design of the Mortgage Association building, the stone structures now support parts that are not essential in terms of function, but are necessary for the overall composition.

The various features of the initial plans drawn up in the winter of 1910, such as symmetry, the arched windows of the ground floors, the division of projections, the arched portal and the straight roof listel, were all retained[12] (Fig. 126). The perspective illustration of these plans shows how the recesses of the ends of the facade were intended to separate the building from the adjoining facades of the streetfront to form a detached field. This solution continues in a more subdued way Sonck's earlier aims of separating the facade of the building into a theme rendering form to the immediate surroundings. In the Mortgage Association building Sonck had recessed the facade from the pavement. However, this effect would be lost when the adjoining lots were built to their permissible extent, whereby the facade would be partly obscured. This solution was also uneconomical in its use of available space. The Stock Exchange building signified a change towards lower relief in both volume and facade surfaces. Rectangularity was now extended to the outer surface of the volume, and the differences of levels were to be decreased.

Because of the narrow street, the facade is seen sideways, and with the exclusion of the recessing of the ends from the actual themes of the building, the projections and the central part are delimited as a whole reflecting the volume behind them. In the projections of the sketch, the roof listel turns towards the inner parts of the lot, indicating the real width of the building. Sonck's intention of creating the illusion of a freely-standing monument in the closed street setting is best seen in a sketch distributed to the participants of the founding meeting of the Stock Exchange Club.[13] In the initial plans Sonck had still designed the portal as a strongly protruding cubic volume. In the end, the overall line of the streetfront was not changed, and the facade closely follows throughout its whole height the course of the street. A polychrome horizontal zonal division, achieved by the variation of material and stressing the two uppermost storeys of the facade, was to remain in the sketches, and was not executed. The system of vertical supports was to be changed as well.

The classicistic division of parts presented in the sketches was based on the ground floor, a mezzanine, a piano nobile under the colossal order of the colonnade and a lower fourth storey. The piano nobile was emphasized by its own height as well as by the completely plastic columns standing apart from the wall. There were no functional or symbolic grounds for this design. The three upper floors were almost identical, and the design could not reflect the location of the two-storey-high stock exchange hall. Sonck saw the facade as a truly independent element. The tectonic articulation of the upper storeys and the windows without divisions of panes present the storeys as on open colonnade facing the street. As in the Mortgage Association building, the verticals of the columns extend into the decoration of the attic. The sketch for the facade resembles in both composition and in the division of storeys Gustaf Nyström's facade of the head office of the Union Bank of Finland from 1898.

The main drawings and the final version of the facade which corresponded to them closely resemble the sketches (Figs. 127, 130). Symmetry following the central axis binds the composition, which is divided into three main fields both horizontally and vertically and employing rectangles and arcs. The use of right angles extended also to the sharp-edged demarcation of the various levels of relief, and accordingly the columns are replaced with pilasters. The three-part horizontal division, based on strongly accentuated listels, consists of the central field and the

Fig. 130. The facade of the Helsinki Stock Exchange building on Fabianinkatu. See also Fig. 11. (Photo SRM/Kari Hakli).

projections, while the zones at the sides are of secondary nature. Verticalization is increased by the articulation of pilasters in the uppermost storeys, by increasing the height of the pilasters and by extending the narrow division of windows to the second storey.

In frontal view, the facade is of horizontal form; the ratio of width to height is c. 2:1, and the straight roof listel delimits the levels marked by the horizontal listels. In actual fact, the facade presents itself in diagonal view. This emphasizes the vertical accents, in which the major theme of the projections is repeated by the articulation of the pilasters, to which the enframement of the portal is also linked. The row of pilasters is so deep in the central field that the horizontal zone between the third and fourth floors remains out of view in the same way as the windows. In his earlier works Sonck often used triangles of different sizes in combining the various parts of asymmetrical facades. The combining theme of the Stock Exchange building is rectangular verticality, varied through the use of scale.

Within the context of increased abstraction and geometricity, the facade contains themes familiar from earlier works. The field of pilasters is deep enough to serve as a bearing theme. Despite its classicizing character, its system employs ahistorical details. After the window level of the fourth storey the pilasters merge through decoration into the following field, ending only in the very low attic. The end parts, located in the attic in the main drawings, resembled Ionic capitals placed sideways, but in the final version this feature was altered and moved to where the trunk of the pilasters begins to be covered with decoration. The abstraction of classicism also involved a rejection of the entasis characteristic of the colonnade of the Mortgage Association building.

The articulation of the light-grey, monochrome granite attempts to reflect various structural principles also in this case. However, this is done in a

Fig. 131. The central part of the facade. (Photo SRM).

reduced manner corresponding to the alluding character of the tectonics. The ashlar wall of even height in the ground floor and the marked wedging of the arches are logical features with respect to the upper storeys, based on the small-scale rubble bond and the combination of verticals and horizontals. The articulation of the windows without a partition separating the interior from the exterior suggests the impression of an open tectonic system already aimed at in the Telephone Association building. The supports required by the large glass surfaces of the arched windows were made as unobtrusive as possible.

The sparse decoration is not related to the activities and functions behind the facade, and the main function of the building is given in the text "Börs" (Stock exchange) engraved in the portal. In the Mortgage Association project decoration was still part of the actual stone surface, but now the themes and motifs are mainly separated from the straight levels of the facade. They are related to nature and, surprisingly enough, partly figurative. However, this does not imply any level of metaphor linked to organic nature, and the ornaments and motifs repeat compositions based on natural materials, but removed from their original context and employed as decoration alone. For example, in the additive fields of decoration of the upper parts of the projections, wreaths are affixed to the wall with garlands descending from them (Fig. 132). The backward-curved profiles of the projections, in the same way as the corresponding theme in the Mortgage Association building, are familiar from the Viennese modernism of the period. In the Sonck Exchange building project Sonck was assisted by the architects Max Frelander and Gösta Kulvik.[14] Frelander, who was responsible for the decoration, had been familiar with Sonck's wishes concerning stonework ever since the St. Michael's Church project.

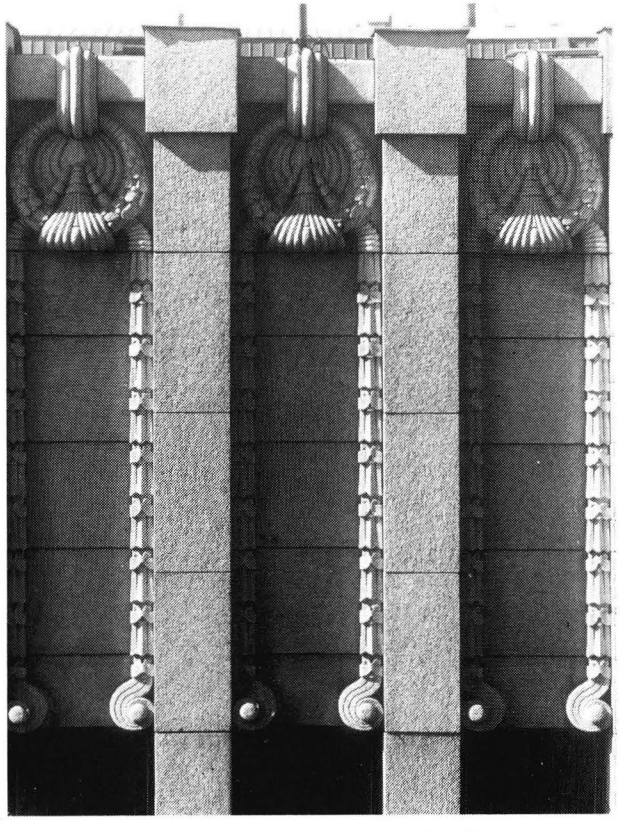

Fig. 132. Details of the uppermost parts of the side projections of the facade. (Photo SRM).

III.9.3. The courtyard and the stock exchange hall

While the facade was part of the surrounding townscape, the courtyard was intended for the users of the building (Fig. 133). Apart from lighting the floors, it also provided access to the actual rooms and space of the interior through the two main stairways, an open staircase leading to the second storey and via a portal located beneath the latter. The functional division is in turn the subject of rich articulation, in contrast with the even grey of the facade. Like the facade, the courtyard is also divided into three superimposed zones, now indicated polychromically with materials and colours. The rectangular themes of the exterior are replaced by perpendicularity in the courtyard. This feature was most marked in the sketches resembling the final versions of the Kallio church. In these the twin staircase of the courtyard

Fig. 133. The courtyard of the Stock Exchange building with the stairs leading to the stock exchange hall. (Photo SRM/Heikki Havas).

was of curved form, and low series of domes were intended for the passages of the various floors. In the realized version, the arch theme is repeated for example in the portals, the balconies, the arcade and in the plans of the stairways.

Like the facade, the courtyard combines means of expression based on tectonics and the bearing wall. The open colonnade of the ground floor supports the landing of the large staircase of the rear wall, and on the fourth floor the vertical divisions of the passage support the skylight. The main staircases open onto the courtyard through colossal columns, bearing – via the series of arches – the wall of the fourth storey. As in the Mortgage Association building, the division of storeys behind these parts is separated from the columns. In other words, the tectonics of the courtyard is not visual, but real. The bare brick wall of the second and third storeys does not require articulation and the openings face the encircling passage.

The levels of meaning in the courtyard part, transcending considerations of utility, are related to hierarchy and to multilayered and metaphorical historical material. The axis of the courtyard culminates in the brass gate above the twin staircase, the only large and shiny metal surface in the yard. The gate leads on to the stock exchange hall, the main part of the building. The impressive rise is divided into several 90-degree turns and the staircase is further enhanced with white marble on the landings and the banisters. The staircase refers back to Baroque architecture and as such it is supported by the more general, historicizing level of association of the courtyard. The core of a modern business edifice was shaped as the *cour d'honneur* of a castle, with access to the main volume in the rear part. The

courtyard was originally marked in the designs as "Vinterträdgården" (winter garden), and it was intended as a place to linger in. When the building was completed, the courtyard was fitted with benches, tables, plants and bushes.[15] The unplastered brickwork and the greenery underlined the nature of the courtyard as an outdoor space.

The open colonnades of the side walls of the courtyard, and especially their perforated capitals and series of arches, allude to Byzantine forms. This explicit reference to architectural history is executed with orthodox structures, for example in the brickwork of the arches and in the dimensions of the whole in relation to the wall. Within the free combinations of historical motifs in the courtyard the themes progress from the large Baroque staircase to the tradition of castle architecture in general, and via the bare brick wall to the older architecture of the Baltic region and further to the Byzantine world. The articulation of the courtyard does not contain details specifically alluding to the tradition of classicism. It is to be noted that Sonck derived the characterization of the colossal colonnade from an historical stratum that, after the exoticism of the 19th century, had again begun to interest early 20th-century architects because of its structural principles.

In Sonck's works unplastered brickwork now began to replace natural stone. Brick *rohbau* had dominated his architecture in the mid-1890s, mainly in connection with historical forms derived from the Baltic region. The return to this material was again related to the above cultural sphere, but the starting points were now in contemporary Scandinavian brick architecture, as represented by Martin Nyrop, Ragnar Östberg and Anton Rosen, among others. For example, unplastered red brick was used in the courtyard of the Copenhagen City Hall with its skylight and round arches. The town hall was completed in 1905 and it was the subject of much interest. The planning of the Stockholm City Hall, a major monument of Scandinavian architecture, had begun already in 1901.[16] In the drawings from 1907, a granite surface was planned for the building, but Östberg finally decided upon red brickwork of varied forms stressing the artisanry of the construction process. Debate concerning the relative merits of brick and stone was familiar to Sonck as well, and he discussed the architectural problems of the Stockholm City Hall in correspondence with his friend Östberg.[17]

It appears that around the turn of the 1910s Scandinavian brick architecture became an example to Finnish architects on a more general level.[18] In Sweden and Denmark it had a historical and regional meaning, whereas it had not dominated the earlier architecture of Finland. In this respect, Sonck's extensive brick architecture of the early 1910s did not contain references to these, but was related more to the reduction of historical and metaphorical elements. Undressed stone was also given up for reasons of economy.[19] Stone facades were expensive, as shown by the Mortgage Association building. In any case, the Stock Exchange building signified a period of transition for Sonck in his choice of material. The last granite facade of his public works of architecture continued the use of masonry covering a brick wall, devised already in the 1890s. The unplastered red brick of the courtyard was to dominate the facades of Sonck's following works.

A chronologically more recent prototype for the use of brick in the Stock Exchange building can be seen in Holland, in the Amsterdam Stock Exchange, built in 1903 according to the designs of H.P.P. Berlage and famous for its innovative architecture.[20] In this building the unplastered brick surfaces are combined with undressed stone and the skylit courtyards are fitted with arcades. The Amsterdam Stock Exchange provided models in both function and means of architectural expression.

The axis of the Helsinki Stock Exchange building served to separate its users, and the final part, the stock exchange hall, was reserved for the brokers carrying out the underlying motive of the whole project (Figs. 134–135). The rectangular exchange

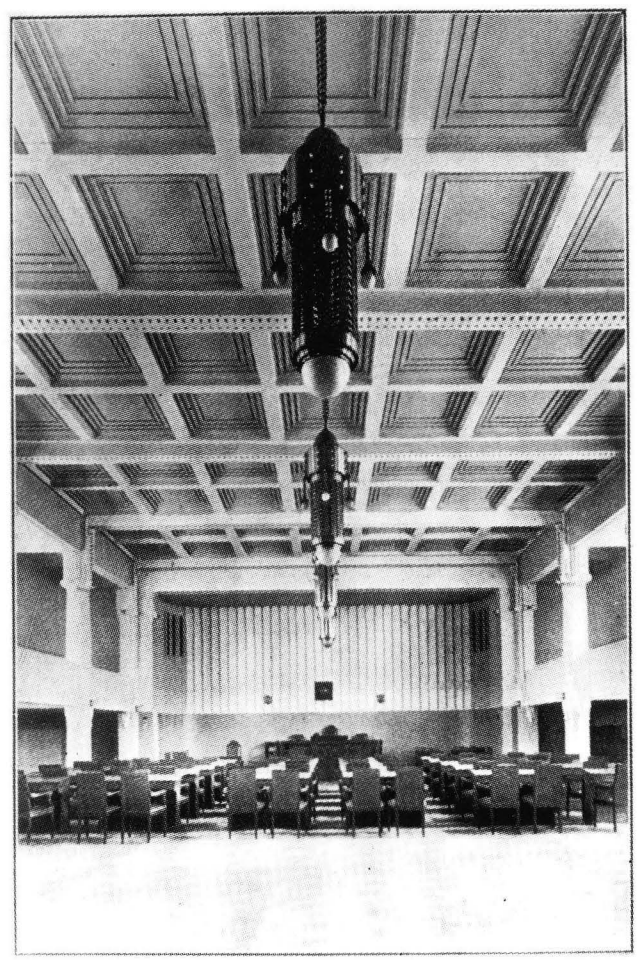

Fig. 134. The stock exchange hall. Hirn 1906-, p. 282.

Fig. 135. The stock exchange hall in use. (Photo Helsinki City Museum Picture Archives/Erik Sundström).

hall corresponds in height to two normal storeys and has a gallery. The space culminates in a podium at the rear wall, from where trading activities are directed and supervised. This area was emphasized in the main drawings with a part resembling an exedra and a curving vault, but the upper vault was later excluded. The floor area was reserved for trading and the gallery was for the public. In view of the central importance of the hall, the articulation is restrained. A festive impression, abundance of materials and polychromy were reserved for the courtyard.[21] The design, based on a rectangular module, is derived from the bearing concrete body of the building, which is also the basis for the large-scale classicizing coffering of the ceiling. The hall does not include any levels of association employing materials, imagery or ornaments. In principle and in form, dimensions and inner division, the hall is the same as the nave of the Kallio church, but with level vaulting. Possible symbolic content may be found in the asceticism of Protestant culture. This highest locus of trading in the fruits of labour and enterprise, one of the foundations of modern society, was to be businesslike, stressing its function without outside effects.

III.9.4. The nature of the achievement

In the Stock Exchange building Sonck was able to create a venue for Finland's leading capital-owners, whose status he had approached through membership in the same club. In many respects, this work was a culmination of several courses of development which had taken shape in the previous works discussed above. This project involved influential past and potential clients, and the programme was more varied than in the earlier business edifice projects. The composition of the facade and the rooms took to an extreme the axial symmetry presented already in the first stage of the Kallio church project. Unspecific classicizing, related to the above work, and the abstraction of ornament were developed further. The concrete structure of the building allowed a more flexible use of space than before. Furthermore, Sonck permitted these structures to be present in the interior architecture. In view of the consolidation of the business centre of Helsinki at the time, Sonck was able to make good use of a difficult site, with a narrow and deep lot. The main function of the heterogenous programme, trading in stock and bonds, was brought to the fore through the architectural articulation of the courtyard.

The Helsinki Stock Exchange was a new functional type in Finnish business architecture. Carl Ludvig Engel had already planned a stock exchange for Helsinki in 1814, but this idea did not correspond to the needs of the business community at the time.[22] It was only almost a century later that the Finnish economy had the needs and facilities required by a stock exchange. But even in this case, Finnish architecture did not acquire a building type established elsewhere and solely intended for trading in stocks and bonds. Sonck's work clearly differed from the building type developed in Europe over the past two hundred years, where trading is carried out on a large scale in an exchange hall occupying the main part of the building. Sufficient for Finland's capital markets was a separate hall, and the traditional yard was executed in a courtyard serving

other functions. Accordingly, the functional division of the Amsterdam Stock Exchange cannot be regarded as an example, although this building may have influenced the design of the courtyard and the choice of materials. The programme of Berlage's extensive work applies as a whole to wholesale trading and brokerage activities carried out in two large courtyards.

The symmetric floor plan of the Helsinki Stock Exchange, the dominance of the axis and the classicizing facade signified a partial return to principles common in the early 1890s. Where Sonck's studies of that period reflected universal themes derived from classicism, this project stressed universality and the rational principles of business edifices. The classicizing trends of the 19th century and the almost universally accepted principles of Neo-Gothicism provided solutions to architectural problems in varied cultural contexts.[23] In the early years of the 20th century, Sonck, along with many other Finnish architects, attempted to reject these principles, emphasizing regional traditions, materials and climate. The elements thus selected were then combined with projects of a new type. A few years later, already in the Mortgage Association building, but especially in the Stock Exchange project, Sonck rejected the use of allusions to non-classicizing regionality and specific historical strata in general. The abstracted classicism of the Stock Exchange is universal, and its materials and tectonics do not present associations with archaic stages or non-European ancient cultures. There is no need to seek any programmatic, historical themes behind the eclectic multilayered character of the courtyard. The universality of the facade is matched by the articulation of the floor plan on the basis of a few principles of access and communication, and by provisions for previously unanticipated activities. Even the stock exchange hall is given the generalizing shape of a large meeting hall.[24]

Many of the practices developed in the Kallio church and the Mortgage Association building projects were applied in the Stock Exchange. In turn, the features of the latter were to dominate a major part of Sonck's future works. The building thus created a convention for Sonck's secular works in the same way as the Kallio church influenced his later church architecture. With the exception of wooden architecture, the change of design principles applied to all areas, including freely standing volumes. In a sense, the Helsinki Stock Exchange included the features of Sonck's earlier works as well as the use of axes and classicism of his student days. The details of this building that shaped the convention of his individual style were linked to a general trend towards more regular principles of composition in Finnish architecture.

In its setting the building did not strive to establish links with the older strata of the surrounding townscape. On the other hand, the above-mentioned correspondence of the facade division with Gustaf Nyström's bank building on Aleksanterinkatu may well be a deliberate comment on the works of his former teacher. The latter building had marked the beginning of a series of facades in stone, which Sonck's work now continued a decade later.[25] At the same time, the Stock Exchange building was one of the last works in this series of facades. The composition signified an absolution of the architecture of the last decades of the 19th century on the level of principle, if not in its individual themes.

This building too was reviewed in *Arkitekten* by Sigurd Frosterus.[26] The positive review did not analyse the relationship of the facade with the rest of the building. Surprisingly enough, the courtyard is not mentioned once, and the text concentrates on the facade. It is linked to the function by presenting the connection of the narrow and repetitive window division with the variability of the interior rooms. This was, however, very difficult because of the symmetric rooms designed by Sonck for the streetfront. The review stressed the individuality and independence of the facade, combining these attributes to Sonck's architectural persona. Frosterus wrote how "Sonck has a special talent for composing a facade as an object in itself, an objet d'art, complete as such . . . as an ornament" ("Sonck äger en sällsynt förmåga att komponera en facad som ett slutet föremål, ett objet d'art, som är helt för sig . . . som ett ornament."). The reviewer observes how this transcends functional requirements, for example with respect to lighting. Concerning the relationships of Sonck's production, the nature of his architecture and Finnish architecture in general it was pointed out that "there is a confident rhythm and beat in Sonck's play with masses and proportions, far exceeding conventional norms. He is a sound and individual personality boldly expressing himself, and as an architect in the true sense of the term there is hardly anyone in Finland, who stands on his own footing as much as Sonck" ("Det vilar en säker rytm och takt över Soncks långt ifrån det hävdvunnas normer avlägsnade lek med massor och proportioner, det är en sund och säregen personlighet, som här oförskräckt uttalar sig och såsom arkitekt i ordets egentliga betydelse står väl ingen i vårt land så helt på egen grund som Sonck."). The essence of the architect's profession was defined as an individual approach and the ability to shape and compose, which again was personified by Sonck and expressed in his Stock Exchange building.

In 1912, when the Stock Exchange had been opened and the Kallio church had been inaugurated, Sonck was in his early forties with almost two de-

cades of experience as a successful privately practising architect. His several commissions, executed with speed, had permitted experimentation with new ideas in often simultaneous works. Apart from Finland, Sonck was recognized in Scandinavia and known also on the Continent. The above reviews place him in the fore of renewal and the development of style. Also in this sense, the Stock Exchange building was a culmination of his career. On a more general level, it was to mark the slowing down of a rich and productive series of innovations. However, still in 1912 August Brunius of Sweden defined Sonck's role in the field of Scandinavian architecture in the following terms: "The Stock Exchange building is the most severe, the most sparse and the purest work of the new generation . . ." (Börshuset är det strängaste, knappaste och renaste den nya generationen gjort. . ."). [27]

IV. THEMES

IV.1. Clientele

Sonck was highly productive already in the early stages of his career as well as in the period now under review. He was also able to see most of his designs completed and executed not long after the drawing and planning stage. With the exception of his church projects, he did not however win any of the architectural competitions which he entered over the years. In the discussion concerning Sonck's contacts with his clientele church projects will be excluded, as they were a specific building type, apparently well suited to Sonck.

It was mentioned in Chapter II that Sonck gradually approached the influential building clients of Helsinki. The commission given by the Helsinki Telephone Association in 1901 can be regarded as a breakthrough in this respect. Available sources do not tell whether this was due to the reputation Sonck had achieved as the original designer of the churches of St. Michael's and St. John's and a number of apartment buildings, or if it was based on his already existing contacts with the executives of the company commissioning the project. In any case, it led to cooperation with Emil Schybergson, who was a member of the board of the Telephone Association and a director of the Privatbanken bank. He hired Sonck to carry out the renovations of the bank in 1903, the same year that the planning of the Telephone Association building was begun. The funds of the next project, the Eira hospital, were managed by the Privatbanken. Axel Ehrnrooth, the other director of the bank, founded an apartment building company together with Wilhelm Zilliacus, who was head of the hospital and responsible for its building project.

When the Mortgage Association began to plan a building for its own use in 1906, Schybergson had become its managing director. Hired for this purpose was Sonck, with whom earlier cooperation had led to buildings which were publicly recognized. Furthermore, when the Helsinki Stock Exchange decided to commission the planning of its new building from Sonck, background figures were his old sponsors Schybergson, Ehrnrooth and Karl Stockmann, head of the Stockmann trading house, whose commissions from Sonck were mentioned in Chapter II.

In 1909, when the Mortgage Association building was nearing completion, Sonck designed an apartment building at Maneesikatu 4 in Helsinki. The main commissioning party of this project was Emil Schybergson and the building was known as the "Schybergson House" (*Schybergsonska huset*).[1] While involved in the design of the above works, Sonck was also active in founding the Kulosaari villa community near Helsinki. The share-holding company established for this purpose, AB Brändö Villastad, came to include Schybergson in 1910.[2]

Sonck received his major private commissions from a small group of Swedish-speaking capital-owners in Helsinki, and most of these projects involved Emil Schybergson. Schybergson, however, was always the representative of a larger commissioning party, either as its director or board member. He did not primarily employ Sonck for projects involving his own property or name, although he was obviously active in producing the desired achitectural results. A more direct contact between the architect and his clients was, however, present in Stockmann's commissions for projects relating to various areas of his public and private life.

Sonck was thus able to secure the confidence and trust of a few persons, representing several commissioning parties at different times. This occurred at a stage when the Finnish economy provided opportunities for large-scale, impressive building projects. Achievements in this area compensated for Sonck's poor success in competitions for secular works of architecture, and led to the construction of the buildings upon which Sonck's later fame was largely based along with his church projects.

At this time the leading sectors of the Finnish economy were mainly in the hands of the Swedish-speaking minority, with a corresponding division in the language background of the architectural profession. For this reason, the preference for Sonck as a Swedish-speaking Finn should not be seen in the context of any specific links with cultural or language-related policies. Despite this, Sonck's contacts with Finnish-speaking clients were clearly fewer. Nor did he involve himself with orientations in the arts or cultural life displaying links with a past

seen in Finnish-national terms. With some degree of polarization, we may again present as a contrast Eliel Saarinen and his role, for example, in shaping the architectural visions of the Kalevala Society.[3] In a sense, Sonck's own cultural background of family, home region and schooling, his clear orientation towards Scandinavia and the network of his clients form a natural context within the upper strata of Swedish-speaking society and its broader frame of reference of Western-minded cultural interests. This, however, was the organic continuation of a long tradition of culture and economy and not a programmatic aim, for example of the Swedish-minded circles of the day. In other words, the means of architectural expression employed by Sonck do not contain signs of any ideological striving to introduce into Finland the specific features of older or newer Swedish architecture.[4]

IV.2. Materials and structures

IV.2.1. Brick

The facades of Sonck's urban architecture were originally dominated by unplastered red brick. The main drawings of St. Michael's Church present a Neo-Gothic brick church, enhanced with German prototypes, and the means of expression of this material were also employed in Sonck's first apartment building project, the Lignell building in Hanko (Fig. 147). Sonck searched for a way out of the dominating 19th-century practice of producing an often classicizing structural image of plaster on a bearing brick wall. Even when worked plastically, a bare brick surface could be comprehended as the exterior continuation of a bearing basic wall. As units, bricks were small enough for decorative details which were linked to the surface of the facade in terms of material.

The problem of brick-faced architecture was the lack of domestic production of high-class facade brick and the ensuing high costs in comparison with plastered walls.[1] Furthermore, Sonck's expression, deriving from the brick Gothic architecture of the Baltic lands, began to become outmoded in view of the reform movements of Continental and partly also Scandinavian architecture in the late 1890s. Thus, even general trends in style called for the rejection of expensive brick facades. In any case, brick was withdrawn from the facade surface in Sonck's works of the turn of the century. It again served only as the body or skeleton of the building, while the exterior appearance was characterized by varying stylistic trendes in other materials.

When Sonck again began to create more detailed and nuanced facades on the basic wall in his more demanding works of the early 1900s, undressed stone was the material chosen. Uniform, unrusticated plaster surfaces remained in use, however, and they were used for example in the Eira hospital and in an apartment building design from 1905 at Fabianinkatu 14 in Helsinki. In the period from 1898 to 1910, brick, used only in the framework structures, was not included in architectural expression. The brick surfaces of St. Michael's Church, inaugurated in 1905, were designed some ten years previously.

Surfaces of undressed stone were however a short-term phenomenon, and Sonck came to use unplastered red brick again in the facades of the apartment building built in 1910 at Maneesikatu 4 in Helsinki. Subsequently, brick was used in the courtyard of the Stock Exchange building, and it later became the dominant exterior material of Sonck's urban architecture. Although the Finnish brick industry had developed over the course of ten years, Sonck's brick facades of the 1910s did not use this material but mainly Scandinavian products, which corresponded to the ideational background of the brick facades.[2] Brick no longer came to be replaced by other materials, and it defined the exterior of Sonck's major works in the 1920s and '30s. His last public works, the Church of Mikael Agricola in Helsinki (1932–35) (Fig. 25) and the Maarianhamina Town Hall (1938–39) (Fig. 26) were based on the means of expression provided by brick walls. In the former project this was present in the exterior and in the latter in the auditorium resembling the courtyard of the Helsinki Stock Exchange. Sonck's reputation, however, is mostly based on his few stone facades. In broader perspective, these were only part of a shorter episode in his career. Brick marked the beginning of Sonck's large-scale works; it was always present behind different materials and it recovered its role as a permanent surface material. The experiments with stone occurred as if in parentheses within the above broader course of development. But at the same time that brick returned to Sonck's facades, its structural significance began to be replaced by a new material, reinforced concrete.

IV.2.2. Stone

The facades of most of the buildings discussed above were covered with Finnish stone, granite and steatite. Their varying ways of shaping and the composition of the facade blocks were a major architectural effect in Sonck's designs. Masonry was first present

in unrealized plans. It came to be applied in the first years of the 20th century, after which it dominated Sonck's architecture for a few years, and finally lost importance near the end of the period under review.

Sonck's architecture in stone, originally related to church designs, was part of a long and originally medieval Finnish tradition, later sporadically represented by the stone churches of Juva (1851–63) and Kitee (1882–86, 1890). In his study of the late 19th- and early 20th-century natural stone movement in Nordic architecture, Sixten Ringbom has pointed out how especially in Norwegian church architecture of the early 1890s undressed stone was related to a rejection of Neo-Gothicism, copying international models and prototypes.[3] The realization of a new, nationally oriented architecture with domestic stone materials was discussed and experimented with in the Nordic countries when Sonck was embarking upon his architectural career. In connection with churches, architecture in stone could be seen both as a revival of older domestic traditions and as the following of newer international trends. Stone offered a synthesis of historical consciousness and modernity.

Sonck began his work in stone architecture in the spring of 1894 with his study for a chapel ("Eskiss till en kapellkyrka") drawn up in the later stages of his architectural studies and with his entry for the Turku church competition (Fig. 27). The exterior of his winning entry was based on stone ashlar, which was later replaced by red brick in the main drawings. The free design, albeit in sketch-like form, of the above was continued in a study for a rural church ("Eskiss till en landskyrka") from 1897 and in the final designs for the church of Kylmäkoski (1898) which were apparently based on the latter.[4] (Figs. 60–61) Although the design was clearly based on the Neo-Gothic tradition, it also contains series of round arches referring to Romanesque architecture as well as unconventional features, present in Sonck's other works of the period. St. John's Church in Tampere was to be the realization of this combination of new trends expressed in undressed stone, with a level of reference deriving generally from the Middle Ages but largely adapted from its historical points of departure. The origins of European stone architecture were in Romanesque stone churches, and in many countries, such as Germany and Norway, stone and this period were seen as interlinked. Sonck, on the other hand, did not combine his use of stone with any overall historical level of association.

Although stone was an important material for Sonck, his works of the early 20th century did not strive towards the structural consistency of Josef Stenbäck, the most productive church architect of the turn of the century. Stenbäck specifically wished to develop wall structures completely of stone.[5] Sonck, however, aimed at similar solutions in the late 1890s. The church designed for the parish of Kylmäkoski and drawn in two stages between 1897 and 1898 was to be completely of stone.[6] (Fig. 61) Thus, Sonck's unrealized early plans were part of a total concept employing the structural properties of stone. Participating in the Tampere church competition in 1900, Sonck was able to draw conclusions concerning Stenbäck's completed projects, which had presented problems with respect to moisture. The programme of the St. John's Church competition would have permitted walls completely of stone, had Sonck so desired.[7] The basic walls of the church are, however, of brick, as in all of Sonck's stone-faced buildings. The varying bonds of St. John's Church and the ensuing works with stone surfaces strive to express the structure of the wall as a logical and credible whole. The diminishing of this principle in relation to other aims guiding the design of facades was linked to the more general frame of reference discussed above.

While the masonry of the churches was still being planned, Sonck experimented with granite in the ground floors of his urban multi-storey buildings. The two buildings of the Suomi insurance company in Helsinki, built in 1900, had a squared rubble bond (Fig. 148). The original designs of the Tirkkonen building in Tampere had large shop windows with basket vaults opened into the diagonal masonry. The openings in the final version were of a smaller division than intended. The covering of the bearing brick wall with a diagonal wall of stone, squared rubble or ashlar did not present any major structural problems. If, however, openings were to be made in the masonry, with restrictions on credible ways of vaulting, or if they were to have straight top parts, stone had to be placed in positions that actually bore the weight. Problems related to vertical and horizontal supports form a second main theme in Sonck's use of stone.

In a building from 1900 at the corner of Fredrikinkatu and Uudenmaankatu streets in Helsinki Sonck placed a large, monolithic stone column in the ground floor (Fig. 148, left). The cube-shaped Romanesque capital of this part is not related in any way to the otherwise overall-European and non-historicizing appearance of the building. Bearing stone structures were next executed in the monolithic granite columns supporting the galleries of St. Michael's Church. As discussed above, the massive columns of St. John's Church, bearing the weight of the galleries and the main vault, were also of stone. In addition to columnsd and pillars bearing the vaults and galleries, the church includes clear post-and-beam structures, of which the main one is in the doorway leading to the nave. The monolithic block or slab structure is pre-

sented in an extremely reduced and simplified manner. In the National Museum project irregular stone supports composed of boulders were suggested both for the interior and for the facade.

Sonck's use of stone soon came to include clearly structural entities. To some extent he used the stone covering the brick wall to give the impression of a wall built completely of stone, and to an increasing degree he shaped bearing stone structures based on the post-and-beam system. The buildings to which these structures were applied had the medieval period as a general level of historical reference. This context was exceptionally well suited to the use of stone walls, vaulting and also upright supports bearing the weight of arches. The same applies to the stone consoles of the volumes protruding from the facades. Systems based on upright and horizontal supports were, however, traditionally comprehended through the tradition of classicism. Despite this, Sonck did not combine these major, and to a large degree antithetic, traditions. He articulated his tectonics in stone to refer to architectural periods outside the tradition of the High Middle Ages as well as classicism. Because the chains of association executed in stone applied to the interpretation of historical material, they will be discussed in further detail below as part of Sonck's conception of history. Suffice it to note here that the various associations and diffuse references of Sonck's architecture in stone were well suited to his overall aim of avoiding any all-encompassing stylistic or historical framework. By presenting the innate structural properties of the material, i.e. stone, a dominant "style" could be avoided and expression could be shaped on the basis of the material itself, its surface and its structure. For example, Gustaf Strengell, in his 1903 analysis of contemporary Finnish architecture, linked the stone architecture of St. John's Church to two artistic trends. The "lively and efficient" character of the church was a link with "the romantic school". On the other hand, the use of natural materials, with very little finish, was "verism", i.e. extreme naturalism.[8] Sonck's works thus executed, through the medium of stone, romantic or picturesque features with naturalistic means.

The facade of the Telephone Association building combined ashlar, vaulting and an impressive column-and-lintel composition with the intention of creating the image of a self-supporting stone wall (Fig. 74). A sufficiently deep stone structure would no doubt bear its own weight according to the principles demonstrated by Sonck, as the structural system was so consistent. This permitted Sonck to open a colonnade in the middle part, where the window surface placed behind the monolithic supports underlines the separate and independent character of the structure. The same applies to the deeply recessed window panes of the ground floor. In both shape and masonry the Telephone Association building resembles certain works by H.H.Richardson, and its facade is an illusory counterpart to the bearing walls of the latter which were often built completely of stone. In Sonck's work, this illusory trait could also extend to the covering of vertical brick supports with stone, where required by the means of expression of the whole. We may refer in this connection to the thick L-based supports continuing the row of monolithic stone columns in the central nave of the Privatbanken. In these parts the stone covering the bearing brick pillar incorporates the supports on the level of expression with the structural concepts of the space as a whole. The supports, in turn, bear the weight of a large stone slab.

Stone presented associations not only with the history of architecture and structurality but also with nature, its source of origin. In some of Richardson's works (Ames Gate Lodge, North Easton, 1880–1881; R.T. Paine House, Waltham, 1884–87) there is a tendency to create architecture directly with the materials provided by nature, randomly laid irregular stone blocks.[9] The result displays the work of nature itself as part of geological history. A direct link between the building and the materials of its location is similarly indicated by the use of rocks and stones shaped by the Ice Age. The masonry of the perimeter wall of St. John's Church and the planned laid stonework of the Eira hospital closely resemble the features of the above-mentioned works by Richardson (Fig. 137). This also applies to the enframing slabs used in the windows of the ground floor of the Eira hospital. As Sonck did not design stone architecture for rural locations at this time, it remains unknown how he would have accommodated the natural conditions of a site with irregular stone material. The perspective illustration of Villa Nils Berg in the archipelago of Stockholm (1901) has a Richardsonian foundation laid of irregular stones, and the foundation of Villa Ainola (1904) in Järvenpää continues the visible outcrop of bedrock left as an integral part of the design.

The covering of the bearing brick wall with stone could be used to refer to a bearing structure without any counterpart in reality, but also to a surface, which did not require any structural confirmation. Sonck applied the first-mentioned principle, which was also the prevailing practice in Finnish and Scandinavian architecture of the period. It also served as a reference to the older periods of architecture in stone. When Otto Wagner used stone in the facade of the Postsparkasse in Vienna in 1903–06, the frame of reference was modern technology. The bolts or rivets in the thin marble slabs covering the brick wall were intended to create the impression of the methods of construction of the industrial era.

The marble slabs were, however, affixed to the wall with mortar.[10] In early 20th-century Finland, stone covering on normal brickwork alluded to a solid and historicizing stone wall, while in Vienna it suggested only itself, i.e. a light covering.

Along with a number of other features, the design and construction of the Kallio church renewed Sonck's relationship with stone. It was seen above how it was to dominate the exterior in the planning stage and to serve as the main vertical supports of the church. This did not apply only to the columns supporting the galleries and vaults, as in St. John's Church, but also to the outer walls and the roof. Had it been built in this way, the Kallio church would have been the culmination of Sonck's decade-long experimentation with stone structures. In this project stone was finally used even less than in St. John's Church, which, however, did not imply a return to bearing brick structures but the adoption of a new type of structure, i.e. reinforced concrete.

In the following major works, the Mortgage Association building and the Helsinki Stock Exchange, the stone covering of the facades was very thin and smoothly dressed. Additional features were the stone columns of the facade and the banking hall of the Mortgage Association building. The colossal columns of the facade, composed of drums, no longer demonstrated any specific type of structurality related to stone, but were part of a more general, classicizing frame of reference. The smooth surfaces of the facades of these buildings were in turn linked not only to the development of stone dressing technique, as demonstrated by Ringbom, but also to classicizing design and abstraction. The bond of the stone surfaces is still marked with distinct seams, but especially in the Stock Exchange building they form a graphic and abstract pattern on the flush surfaces rather than a structural whole. This change is related to the process whereby classicizing universal features

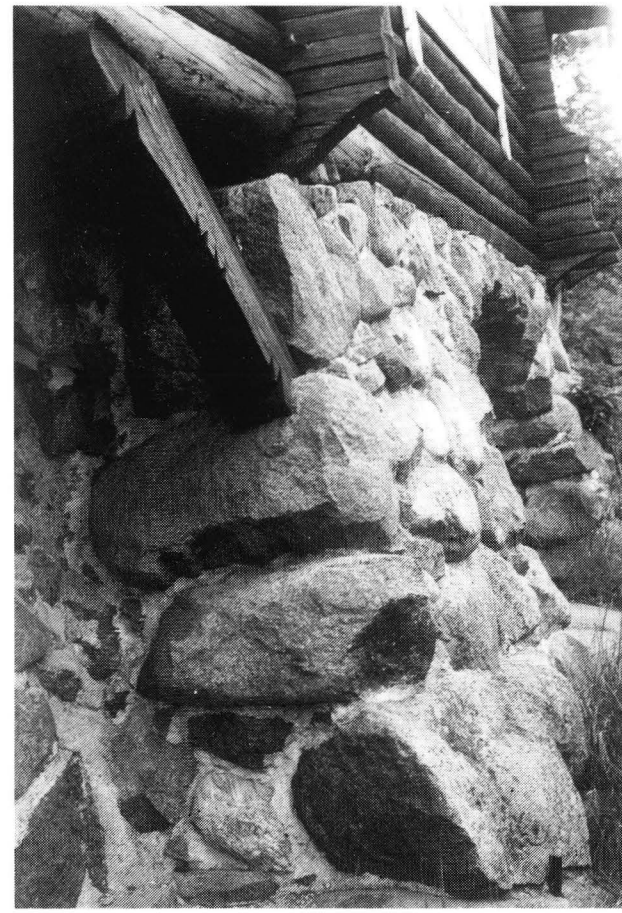

Fig. 136. The stone foundation of *Lasses Villa*. (Photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

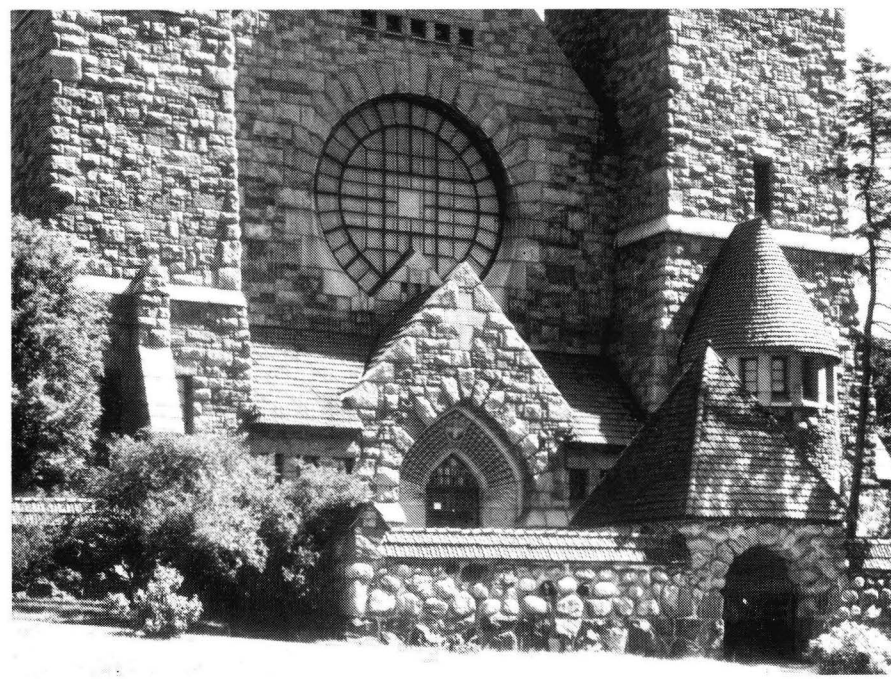

Fig. 137. St. John's Church, west facade. (Photo SRM/Heikki Havas).

replaced approaches stressing regionality, subjectivity and the specific. Even in later works, Sonck used stone surfaces, as in the Villa Alfred Kordelin (Luonnonmaa, Naantali, 1916), but he began to prefer bare brick surfaces and uniform, plastered facades.

In the 1890s Sonck was one of the first Finnish architects to emphasize both structural and decorative properties of stone. This applied, however, to plans and designs, and Sonck's first stone facades were built only as late as 1903. Prior to this, churches had been built in stone, and the properties of domestic stone materials had been demonstrated in Helsinki in the Finnish Theatre (National Theatre, Onni Törnqvist (Tarjanne), 1900–1901) and in the edifice of the Pohjola insurance company, designed by Gesellius, Lindgren & Saarinen (1899–1901). When Sonck was finally able to introduce his own stone facade in the townscape of Helsinki in the Telephone Association building (1904–05), the result was one of the most consistent structural entities in the early 20th-century stone architecture of Finland.

The smoothing of Sonck's stone facades and their rejection after the early years of the 1910s was part of the overall trend that marked an end to the so-called natural stone movement that had flourished for approximately a decade.[11] Thus, Sonck's completed works in stone are part of a technically broader course of development started by others, but they include some of its most monumental achievements. This is exemplified by the stonework of St. John's Church and especially the columns of the interior. The tectonic compositions of the Telephone Association building, in turn, served to create an extremely independent character for masonry that still only covered the brickwork. This occurred at a stage when the plastic working of stone and its deep relief were in the process of being rejected.

IV.2.3. Iron

The most significant iron structures in the above works were appended to the actual body of the building, as in the ceiling of the exchange hall of the Telephone Association building and in the skylights of the Privatbanken, the Mortgage Association building and on the largest scale in the Stock Exchange building. Sonck did not add these features to his repertoire of expression, although light from above was an important feature for the perception of space and the mood of the buildings. Nor did the use of iron structures relate in any way to regional trends, traditions or adherence to the properties of specific materials. It was for this very reason that the skylight structure of the Privatbanken was shaped in the form of a wooden system of beams. This practice was adopted by other architects of the period as well. For example, in the Pohjola building by Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen the heavy wooden columns with large fittings that supported the ceiling of the customer hall were only shells fitted onto slender iron columns.

Iron structures, e.g. skylight supports, had not become common in late 19th-century Finnish architecture to the same degree as on the Continent. Cast iron had had a certain symbolic value as a metaphor of the industrial era, and this material could in some cases be presented in a highly visible manner, as in the large lamp posts of the House of the Estates in Helsinki, designed by Gustaf Nyström (1890). The use of vertical structural elements of iron, i.e. cast-iron columns, was a fairly common practice in the architecture of business premises in cities, and beams were used for example in staircases. On the other hand, it was alien to Sonck's architectural views of the early 20th century to present industrially made and finished elements. For example, the large iron structure of the Telephone Association building could be seen only by the workers (Fig. 76). Nor did Sonck use iron columns or study the problems related to them, because the project in which they could have been called for, the Telephone Association building, could already be built in concrete. Sonck's use of iron falls into a period of transition, when cast iron had begun to fall out of use in Finland. Wrought iron, which was lighter and structurally more versatile, was used in the exchange hall of the Telephone Association building. Steel, the most developed product in this series of materials, came into use a few years later in the roof trusses of the Mortgage Association building. Iron was of course used on a permanent basis in Sonck's works, but only in unseen form inside the reinforced concrete. When Sonck designed the halls with skylights of the Stockmann department store (1912–13), the structures were made of this material.

Iron structures required the aid of outside experts, and for example the Telephone Association project enlisted the services of the engineer Hjalmar Castrén which had become indispensable to Sonck and most other Finnish architects of the period. Although the iron structures of the Telephone Association building could have been made in Finland, they were ordered from Germany. The steel roof trusses of the banking hall of the Mortgage Association building were of domestic manufacture. The material of these purely utilitarian structures was based on economic considerations, and not ideological reasons as to a great extent in the case of stone.

Reinforced concrete, which had become common in Finland around the turn of the century, was adopted by Sonck at a relatively early stage. The Telephone Association building was one of the first building projects in Finland in which the Hennebique system was applied extensively.[12] Sonck had already used concrete in the renovations of the floors of the medieval stone church of Kemiö in 1903,[13] and a large slab of concrete was laid for the foundation of the Eira hospital in 1904.

In the architecture of business edifices concrete had distinct advantages, as seen in the division of space of the Mortgage Association building. In the Stock Exchange this material was applied in an even more consistent way. The vertical supports located throughout the body, and the concrete levels joined to them, made it possible to create rooms that could be flexibly divided according to need and they also permitted the creation of the large stock exchange hall. The adoption of the new structures can perhaps be seen best in the various stages of the Kallio church project, where the architect studied the various relationships of brick, stone and finally concrete, which was used.

Of the competing systems of concrete structures available at the beginning of the century, the Hennebique system was chosen for the Telephone Association building, the Kallio church and the Mortgage Association building. The standard of the Finnish concrete industry made it necessary to order the ready-made iron structures that were to be laid with concrete from abroad, in this case from Germany. For example the concrete work of the Mortgage Association building required the following chain of events: the architect (Sonck) designs the building and requests the assistance of a construction engineer (Castrén) in connection with the structures. The engineer's calculations are passed on to Kiökemeister, the local representative of the Hennebique system, who orders the structures from Germany, and their erection is given to a sub-contractor, the Helsingin Sementti- ja Asfalttiliike firm.

For Sonck, concrete was an economic material for the body of the building and the interior. It did not require much space, it could bear loads and it was also fire-proof. The increased use of this material was suited to Sonck's overall classicizing and abstracting aims, which did not require a great deal of plastic finishing. The structural features of concrete could also be applied with ease in classicizing themes. An example of this is the coffered ceiling of the stock exchange hall. It might also be suggested that Sonck did not design distinct capitals in concrete because the principles developed for the materials of older periods did not apply to the new structures. This, however, was not the case, for the details and finish of concrete corresponded to themes and motifs developed in stone and plaster. Likewise, the simplicity of the large barrel vault of the Kallio church does not reflect any new mode of architectural thinking dictated by a new type of structure. The large brick-laid central vault of St. John's Church was by no means less demanding, and its technical execution could have been used for the barrel vault of the Kallio church.

Concrete was not to have any effect on the exteriors of Sonck's buildings. Although the stone surfaces became simpler from the Telephone Association building to the Stock Exchange, they had no contact with the body of the building, for they were affixed to the brick wall and not the concrete parts which determined the division of space. The independence of the facades is clearly described in Sigurd Frosterus's reviews, which do not even mention the structures of the interior, despite the fact that they represent the rational concrete architecture propagated by him only a few years before. Of importance for Frosterus was only that which the architect had presented for view.

Mentioned above in several connections was the construction engineer Hjalmar Castrén, the designer of the concrete structures of most of Sonck's buildings. As Castrén also assisted several other architects of the period, such as Gustaf Nyström and Selim A. Lindqvist, it is obvious that the field of design had undergone clear changes in the span of a few years. A few experts, skilled in essential construction techniques, played a role in the contemporaneous works of several architects. The overall concept was no doubt that of the architect, but the divisions defined by the engineering expert on the basis of the properties of reinforced concrete were part of the synthesis of the completed building. In Finland the close cooperation of construction engineers and architects appears to have prevented a dichotomy of design between "technology" and "culture", in which the architects would only have had the task of decoratively shaping the structures of the engineers into "architecture". This may also have been due to the polytechnical background of training of both groups.[14] A clear example of this in Sonck's works is a large waterfront warehouse at Katajanokka in Helsinki, designed in 1911 and built between 1913 and 1928 (Fig. 16). The calculations for the concrete framework were prepared by a construction engineer, the design of the body was by the architect Selim A. Lindqvist and the competition for the facade was won by Sonck.[15]

Sonck's attitude regarding concrete, and the stage when he began to apply this material, corresponded to the practice common among the leading architects of the period. Structural properties were sometimes

utilized in an impressive manner, as in the vaults of the halls of the Helsinki Railway Station, built at the same time as the Kallio church. However, architectural expression was rarely based on concrete structures. An exception is Selim A. Lindqvist, who strove to express the features of the concrete structures of his business edifices also in their exterior architecture.

IV.2.5. The materials of the details

The materials and structures discussed above were of primary importance for the actual construction of the buildings concerned, although stone facades covered both technique and finish. In addition, the materials of smaller parts, such as doors, railings and facade details, were also of importance for the whole. In a few rare cases Sonck used stone in the finish of the interior, as in the entrance hall of the Privatbanken, but the materials were mostly wood, metal and plaster.

A leading theme of the use of materials in the innovative architecture of the turn of the century was the concept of "authenticity", which was only rarely defined. In practice it meant the rejection of material imitation which had previously been common. The change in the values of expression of materials was partly based on increased affluence, which permitted greater investments in surface materials. For example in the Privatbanken project, Finnish stone replaced stone imitations which had previously required skilled stucco technique. On the other hand, if stucco was chosen for reasons of durability, as in the walls of the Telephone Association building, it was no longer used to create the impression of stone. Wooden parts were only varnished, so that the original surface structure would remain visible. This applied to both outer doors and to permanent furnishings, as in St. John's Church and the Privatbanken. In the portals, combinations of stone, wood and metal embossings created a triad of "authentic" materials.

At this time Sonck also added details to his facades with themes and motifs corresponding to the properties of the materials used, such as stone or plaster. A few years earlier, Sonck had reversed the prevailing trend of imitation characterizing Finnish architecture, in which wooden architecture mainly strove to imitate features of brick and plaster based the ashlar walls. In the Lignell building in Hanko (1896–97) Sonck placed colonnettes of brick and plaster at the sides of the main portal, which imitated the forms of Karelian architecture in wood. These features were also present in the drawings of the Tirkkonen building in Tampere and the spa hotel in Hanko, both from 1898 (Fig. 149). In the freely eclectic expression of his urban multi-storey buildings Sonck thus used themes and motifs specific to his wooden architecture which were derived from rural society, as for example in *Lasses Villa.*

The use of metal details corresponded to the concepts associated with the iron structures. Where metal was present, it was to be worked and finished by hand. The railing supports of the Tirkkonen building were still cast, but in the following buildings they were made of beaten bars and plates. Wrought iron experienced a renaissance around the turn of the century, with especially art nouveau as a background factor. The curving contours of the latter were based, for example in the architecture of Victor Horta, on the use of wrought-iron details. This also applies to the works of the so-called Nancy school. Not only in details, but also in larger structures, the use of wrought iron was based on the metallurgical traditions of Belgium and Southeast France. On the international level this technology was already outmoded. Thus, it was based on local traditions and technology and it could be parallelled with contemporary Finnish wooden architecture and the features renewing its preserved practices. Sonck's use of wrought iron in Finland was related to international currents and not to any revitalizing of old domestic techniques.

With the decreased allegorical and metaphorical content of buildings and the generalization of levels of association, the use of metal became mainly decorative and aimed at creating the impression of luxury. The Kallio church was to have gilded capitals and bronze-coloured exterior details. The spire would have been crowned by a high metal cylinder. Gold and silver were in turn planned for the facade of the Mortgage Association building. These were explicit features contrasting with the monochrome grey of the facade. The point of departure of this method was in the Viennese architecture and craftsmanship of the period, a dominating feature of which was the underlining of simple forms with luxurious details.

IV.3. Composition and volume

Sonck's urban buildings of the late 1890s were all on corner lots, and the junctions of the facades were emphasized with large gables (the Lignell building, the Tirkkonen building and the Fredrikinkatu 35 building in Helsinki) and with towers added to them (the Hanko spa hotel, the Pohjoisranta 10 building in Helsinki). The corner theme was often repeated

as a balancing and symmetricizing factor at the opposite end of the facade. This method of design and composition was common to the architecture of Helsinki at this time, and it was linked to non-classicizing themes and surface articulation. The high transverse gables could be interpreted both in terms of the French Renaissance and also via the medieval urban architecture of the Baltic region.[1] In Sonck's works, such as the Tirkkonen building, themes serving the needs of composition were not linked to any specific historicizing frame of reference.

When Sonck moved on to highly plastic[2] volume design and the openings began to have features clearly derived from medieval architecture, the triangular gable themes became even more important in both the composition and the related associations. It was discussed above how the repeated series of triangular gables articulated the main facade of St. John's Church, and how in the Telephone Association building the portal theme corresponded to the large triangle of the spire. In the Eira hospital the large triangles not only characterized the facades but also served as focal points for various views of the building. In this situation, the triangular forms served a diagonal principle of composition creating uniformity in explicitly non-axial facades and volumes. Designed in varying size, they lead one's view obliquely over the facades, as for example in the Tehtaankatu facade of the Eira hospital from the large gable to the smaller roof over the gate. In this way, a diagonal network is created across the facades, enriching the variety of form already achieved with inter-storey variation. Unlike in axial symmetry, these diagonals do not structure the whole from a single point – the interpretation requires a changing point of view.

The diagonals also provide a rhythm for the volume. The four corner towers of St. John's Church form pairs in which the major themes of the main facade find a correspondence in the diagonally located small towers. Achieved in this way are two intersecting lines crossing the volume at different elevations. In interior architecture this practice is best seen in the Privatbanken, in which the impression of space was manipulated with diagonal views, actually or illusorily opening from the series of arches. The gables and tapering arches of St. John's served an overall spirit freely associated with the Middle Ages, to which also belonged the vaulting of the interiors and perimeter walls of stone with gates. Thus, the geometric forms essential for the composition were made to serve the other levels of meaning implied by the whole.

Along with axial symmetry, the composition as a whole changed. The freely standing Kallio church has only one binding vertical, the rise of which is linked to the lower themes of the facades, made as symmetrically as possible. In the Mortgage Association building and the Stock Exchange, the central axis divides the facades into identical halves. Their composition can be comprehended immediately and from any point of view chosen. The clear verticals and horizontals form a bound system, employing as its elements rectangles or static arcs. The exclusion of the roofs as part of the composition removed their former diagonals, and verticalization became the only movement present in the facades. The elements of composition are articulated mainly in a classicizing manner, which corresponds to the leading historical applications of axial symmetry. Classicizing, to be discussed in further detail below, was part of the general stylistic trends of the period and could easily lead to compositions specific to its tradition. I would, however, regard the principles introduced by Sonck from 1906 to 1910 to his facades and volumes as mainly architectural devices rather than attempts to reinstate an overall classicizing concept of architecture. The guiding central axis was first used in the competition entry for the Kallio church, which still had medieval features. The dominating lengthwise axis of the completed project can of course be derived from medieval cathedrals and need not be interpreted in terms of the classical tradition. In the Kallio church and the project for the House of Parliament, a street axis articulating the town plan served to define the composition of the buildings which were to be located at its ends. As a point of departure, the central axis was in a sense universal and without any specific stylistic allusions, as it was present throughout the history of Western architecture. However, Sonck's buildings, as part of the mainstream of Romanticism and the picturesque, employed with their medieval characterization a completely different kind of articulation. The axial principle made it possible to apply, for example, Baroque themes, as in the courtyard of the Stock Exchange building. In his works Sonck did not blend the principles of the main periods of architectural history. In this sense, his chronologically varying compositions and their historical associations form an entity, differing from certain practices applied in late 19th-century Finland. In these cases an otherwise axially symmetric facade with projections could be characterized with medieval themes.

Corresponding to changes in the composition of the facades was the development of the contours of the volume, i.e. the floor plan, the wall surfaces and roof shapes. In the Telephone Association building and the Eira hospital the base of the volume was flexible in relation to the course of the adjacent street. Even this was varied by balconies and other projections in the different storeys. The buildings have high, steeply-pitched roofs and towers. The ex-

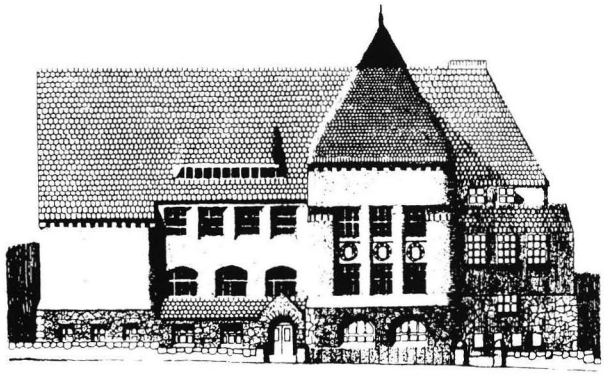

Fig. 138. Competition entry for a primary school in Helsinki, 1905 ("Sol"). *Rakentaja* IX 1905, p. 77.

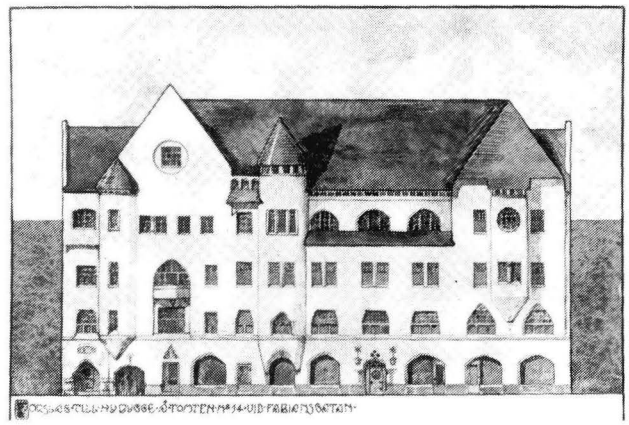

Fig. 140. Design for a building at Fabianinkatu 14, Helsinki, 1905. (Original and photo SRM).

terior dispersion of volume can be clearly seen also in the churches of St. Michael and St. John, both of which have a clear central axis leading from the main entrance to the altar. Sonck developed these aims to the utmost in a competition entry from 1905 for a primary school on Tehtaankatu in Helsinki.[3] (Figs. 138–139) This project, under the pseudonym of "Sol" (Sun) resembles to some degree the Telephone Association building, but its unrestricted location made it possible for Sonck to extend the volume into a plastic whole, defined by the classrooms and spreading radially from the staircase. The marked variations of relief in the surfaces of the Eira hospital were in turn accommodated in a more subdued manner in an unrealized project for an apartment building (Fabianinkatu 14, Helsinki, 1905) with a facade following the line of the pavement and bound by the adjacent fire-proof walls.[4] (Fig. 140) The articulation of the above works was also guided by individualizing aims within the context of a given urban setting, regarded as unsatisfactory. This could be clearly seen in the Telephone Association building.

Symmetry based on the central axis was executed within the bounds of the contours of the volume. The Mortgage Association building, was still withdrawn from the pavement, but the fields of the facade were aligned with it. The exterior surface of the Stock Exchange building closely followed the perimeter of the lot, without major differences between storeys. In both cases, the volume ends in a dominating horizontal. These works were business edifices on narrow lots. However, we can speak of an overall change in the shaping of volume only when these principles were applied in freely standing buildings.

In Vienna, Otto Wagner and his students developed alternatives to the approaches of the 1890s with their deep relief and clear allusions to the history of architectural styles. The new concepts strove towards simple, geometric basic forms. Stereometric volumes consisting of rectangular parts were covered with smooth, light-coloured plaster surfaces. Background factors of the light-coloured cubic forms

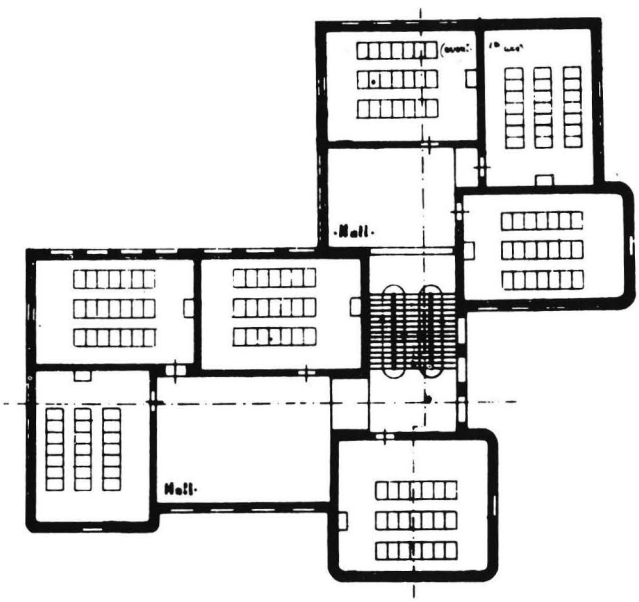

Fig. 139. Competition entry "Sol", second floor. *Rakentaja* IX 1905, appendix of plates XVII.

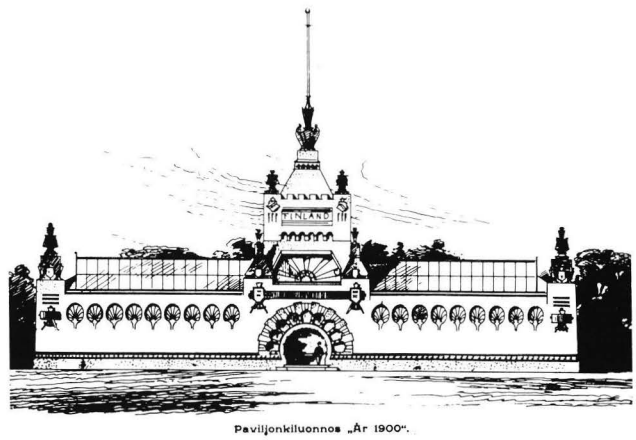

Fig. 141. Competition entry from 1898 for the Finnish pavilion at the Paris World Fair of 1900 ("År 1900"). *Suomen Teollisuuslehti* no. 19, 1898, p. 223.

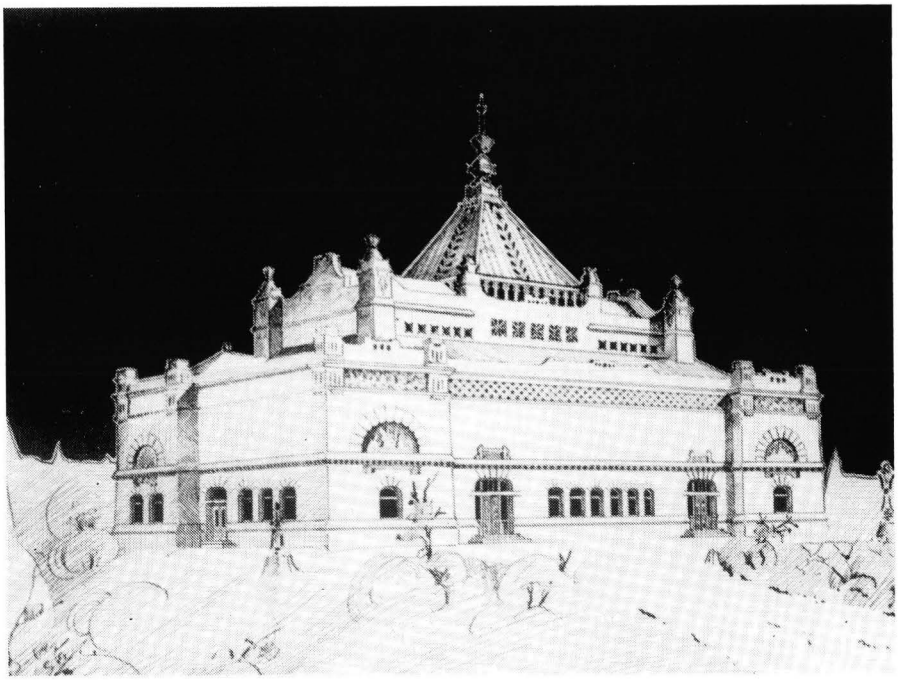

Fig. 142. Competition entry for an art museum in Turku, 1900 ("Athene"). (Turku Art Museum, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

were geometric simplification and the vernacular architecture of the Mediterranean, especially Italy, which was seen as having retained a tradition free from "styles" or "civilization". For example, in 1896 Josef Hoffman published a series of sketches from Capri, illustrating these ideas. Sonck himself had visited Capri during his tour of Italy in 1901.[5]

In Sonck's production, the first reflections of the above themes developed by the Viennese modernists were his project for the Finnish Pavilion at the Paris World Fair of 1900 (1898) and his entry in the competition for the Turku art museum (1900).[6] (Figs. 141–142) The light-coloured and smoothly plastered rectangle of the museum project can be derived from J.M. Olbrich, whose Secession building could also have been a functional model for the museum. Sonck appears to have turned towards Vienna again in the Kallio church and Mortgage Association building projects, as discussed in connection with their decoration.

Cubic forms and white surfaces, partly inspired by the anonymous architecture of the Mediterranean, were realized above all in the affluent suburban villas of Vienna. When Sonck was given a similar task

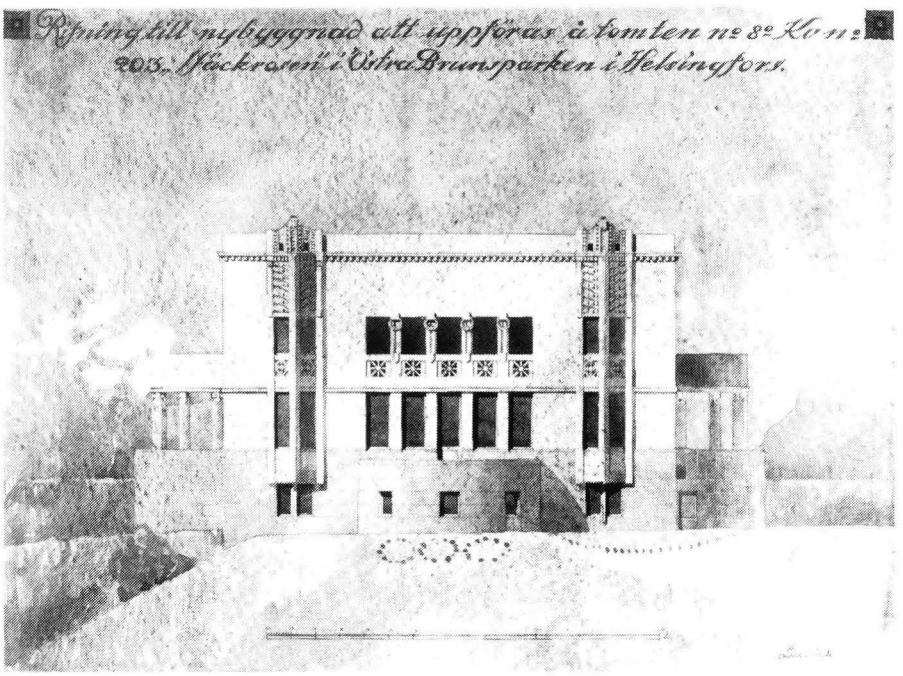

Fig. 143. Design for Villa Stockmann/Baumgartner, Itäinen Puistotie 17, Helsinki, 1911-13. Demolished. (Original and photo SRM).

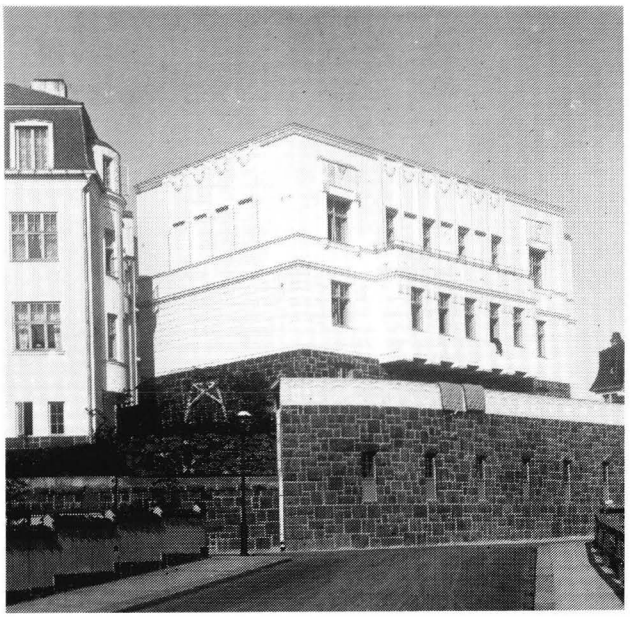

Fig. 144. Armfeltintie 4, Eira villa district, Helsinki, 1911-13. Later altered. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

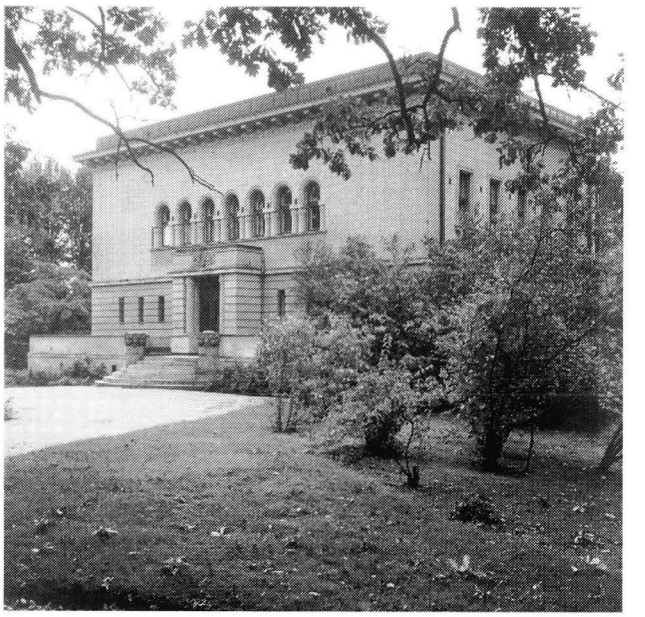

Fig. 146. Villa Billnäs, Billnäs, Pohja, 1917. (Photo SRM/Asko Salokorpi).

for the first time in 1911, the project was for the "villa" of the businessman Karl Stockmann in Kaivopuisto in Helsinki (Fig. 143). The simplified, smooth and white rectangular form of the Villa Stockmann/Baumgartner was related to corresponding works by Otto Wagner, Otto Schönthal and others, but it also expressed Sonck's aims regarding the axial symmetry of the floor plan and the facades. Of interest is the rejection of a clearly visible roof part, which retained contours of the stereometric body. These features were to dominate Sonck's architecture for a few years, and stereometricity was applied in projects as varied as the Helsinki City Hall (competition entry, 1913) and the main building of a manor (Villa Billnäs, Pinjainen, 1917).[7] (Fig. 178, 146)

The above stages in composition and the formation of volume, differing completely from each other, were interspersed in the sense that the dominating themes of the latter period were already developed within the former. An example of this is the columnar opening bounded by the wall surface. This feature first appeared in the initial designs of the Telephone Association building in 1903 and was executed in a larger size than originally planned. At the same time, Sonck placed this theme in the second storey of the end facing the street in the hall of the Privatbanken. In the "Sol" school project of 1905 (Fig. 138) it grew within a rectangular field to become a two-storey-high colossal colonnade. The next time, but without the triangular theme of the roof, the combination was used in the end pavilions of the

Fig. 145. Erottajankatu 4 – Bulevardi 2-4, Helsinki, 1911-13. (Photo SRM/Erik Sundström).

Fig. 147. The Lignell building, Hanko, 1896. See also Fig. 2. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

main facades of the competition entry for the House of Parliament (1907) (Fig. 116). Coinciding with this design, the theme was made the dominant feature of the entire facade of the Mortgage Association building. Working from this theme, Sonck designed the whole of the part facing Erottaja in the Keskuskirjapaino printing premises (Helsinki, 1911–13) (Fig. 145). The composition developed in anti-classical form, but the colossal system of the "Sol" project was classicized in accordance with the frame of reference of Sonck's future buildings.

IV.4. Surface and decoration

Mentioned in Chapter III were several works in which the surface of the facade was uniform and unbroken, with smooth curves around the corners. This was said to differ, for example, from late 19th-century architecture deriving from the classical periods of style. What were the points of departure of Sonck's concept of surface?

Sonck embarked upon his career at a stage when the markedly plastic facade architecture, especially of the 1880s, involving column themes and rustication was being rejected. This co-occurred with increased building activity after the economic depression of the mid-1890s. In the Lignell building, Sonck attempted to utilize the decorative properties of unplastered brick, which was related to the use of this material in St. Michael's Church. It was only around the turn of the century in four multi-storey urban buildings (the Tirkkonen building in Tampere, Pohjoisranta 10 and Fredrikinkatu 10 in Helsinki and the Hanko spa hotel) that Sonck achieved a consistent surface technique, which clearly differed from the articulations that had dominated the previous major period of construction. These buildings employ a smooth, unbroken and contiguous plaster surface, with a basic surface defined by large fields

Fig. 148. Uudenmaankatu 25 – Fredrikinkatu 35, Helsinki, 1899-1900. Onni Törnqvist (Tarjanne) designed the floor plans. (Photo SRM).

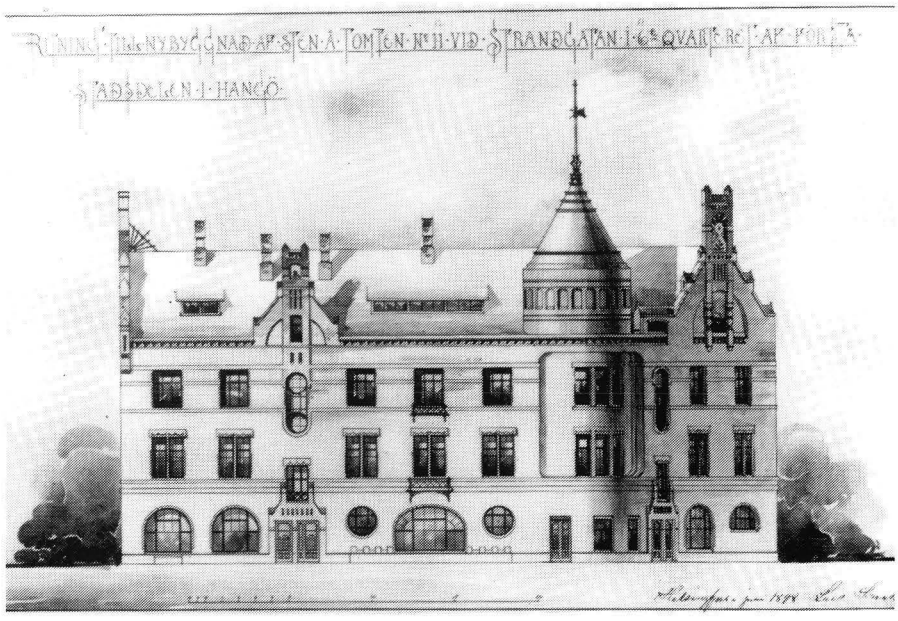

Fig. 149. Design for a spa hotel in Hanko with health bath facilities on the first floor, 1898, completed in 1900. (Hanko City Archives, photo Hanko Museum).

and no plastic motifs or themes protruding to form relief. In almost all cases, the fields of ornament are withdrawn into the basic surface. The windows have arched and profiled enframements, but even this detail is executed in negative relief. This method of working inside the bounds of the basic surface was most clearly present in the designs of the Hanko spa hotel, where the corner tower is completely recessed from the rest of the facade, and its cylindrical form is shown only through an opening in the main surface (Fig. 149). These principles were combined with sharp-edged, rectangular volumes in Sonck's projects for the Finnish pavilion at the Paris World Fair and the Turku art museum from 1900.

Easily malleable plaster was well suited to gently curving forms, but did not in itself guide Sonck in his choice of relationship between the basic surface and the secondary themes. The starting point here was a departure from the means of surface articulation applied in the classicist concept of architecture. In the eclectic classicist architecture of the late 19th-century in Finland, especially in the works of Theodor Höijer, facades were shaped outwards from the basic surface of the wall. Added to the facade, mostly rusticated and giving the impression of bearing weight, were ornaments, such as cartouches, or tectonic compositions, such as aedicular themes. The result was a vivid relief, rich in forms, where the surface was dispersed into a thick and layered combination of different themes.[1] (Fig. 150) Sonck reversed this practice by stressing the basic wall and keeping its surface with its impression of solidity as unbroken as possible. Deep relief was abandoned, for the themes and motifs were only slightly withdrawn into the surface.

Fig. 150. A detail of the facade of Hotel Kämp in Helsinki by Theodor Höijer, completed in 1887. (Photo SRM/Ingervo).

These concepts may have been partly inspired by the above-mentioned Viennese modernism but also by architecture free of references to the history of style which was already present in Helsinki in 1898, and in which similar means were applied. The Tallberg building at Katajanokka (Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen, 1897–98) demonstrated the concepts adopted and further developed by Sonck at the stage when he began to design the above-mentioned works. An apartment building at Fabianinkatu 17 also by Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen (1900–01) and similar works at Katajanokka in Helsinki involved consistent applications of the same principle within a considerably simpler language of forms. Thus, smooth plaster surfaces came to be used in most of the urban architecture of Finland in the 1900s.[2]

Although Sonck's works of the early 1900s differed in many essential ways from his previous works, the surface concepts of the latter were further developed and applied in stone in St. John's Church and in plaster in the Eira hospital. Surfaces extend-

ing in smooth and curved forms past the joints of volume parts were now executed in the technically demanding material of granite. At the same time the massive character of the wall was stressed by deeply recessing the window panes from the exterior surface. In the Telephone Association building the colonnade is a significant feature, insofar as the classicistic facade architecture of the late 19th century also used plastically shaped upright supports. In most cases these were outside the basic wall and they bore similarly protruding parts such as entablatures and pediments which added to the relief of the facade. Sonck placed his colonnade, shaped as an open arcade inside the wall and partly within its structure, with a resulting unbroken exterior surface. At this stage, Sonck abandoned even the last enframing themes of the windows. In the stone facades they were parts left empty in the ashlar or enframed by the masonry of the vault, while in the plastered wall of the Eira hospital they were sharpedged openings in the surface. There were no longer any intermediary profiles between the unbroken surface and the seam of the opening. Sonck also abandoned the plastic shaping of the part where the wall surface joined the roof, which in the previous buildings had still referred back to the basic tenets of classicism. The development of the surface concepts was parallelled by composition. While the triangular themes, already present in previous works, were given additional importance in both composition and meaning, the principle of unbroken surface grew in importance and was used to refer to structural systems.

The above articulation of surface integrated the ornamental motifs of sunken relief into the material of the surface, stone and plaster on the exterior and stucco and plaster in the interior. This also applied to the columns, and the decoration of the capitals of the Telephone Association building and the Eira hospital was placed within the cylindrical surfaces. The same principle was also employed in the massive cubic capitals of the columns in the entrance of the Privatbanken.

The rounding of outer corners, and volume parts joining each other in curves without clear borders, allude to the plasticity of form. The rejection of stereometricity, which was mainly characteristic of classicistic architecture, was no doubt part of a wider, anti-classical frame of reference. In his surface design, Sonck did not, however, return to any other, or older, concept of architecture. Though personal innovativeness should not be disregarded, outside impulses and influences may be demonstrated. One of these was without doubt late 19th-century American architecture, especially H. H. Richardson and his later influence. The adoption of Richardson's plastic language of form was also facilitated by the fact that it was executed in stone, the

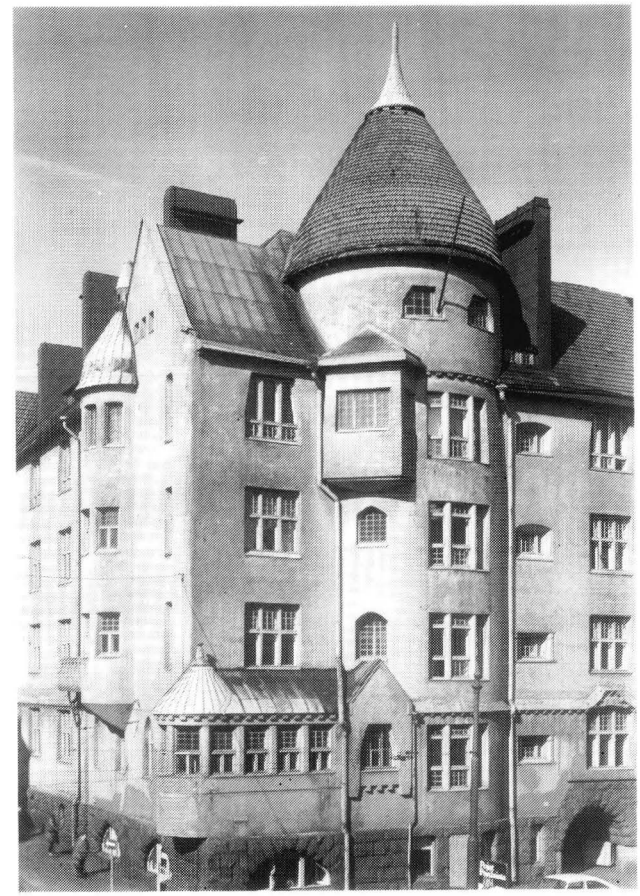

Fig. 151. "Olofsborg", Kauppiaankatu 7, Helsinki, 1900-02 by Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen. (Photo SRM/Kari Hakli).

problems of which were studied by Sonck at this time. England, the other centre of the Anglo-American sphere, also offered contemporary examples, such as the works of C.R. MacIntosh and C.A. Voysey, in which light-coloured plaster surfaces were used. Despite its stereometric overall appearance, Viennese modernism approached the relationship of walls and openings with the same principles that Sonck had adopted, for example in the Eira hospital project. In the Finnish context we must again refer to the works of Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen. Their early 20th-century apartment buildings in Helsinki, such as the Olofsborg building (Kauppiaankatu 7, 1901–02) (Fig. 151) and the EOL building (Luotsikatu 5, 1901–03) had plastically shaped volumes with uniform plaster surfaces, and they preceded Sonck's project for the Fabianinkatu 14 building, which closely resembled them. A light-coloured plaster surface was also used in the Suur-Merijoki manor (1901–03) with its L-shaped, freely standing volume. Sonck had seen the building in the winter of 1904 on an excursion arranged by the Architects' Club, immediately before the preparation of the designs for the Eira hospital.[3]

The continuous stone facade surface was broken up into a mosaic-like relief articulated by individual

Fig. 152. The tomb of Rudolf Kolster in the Old Cemetery in Helsinki, 1901-03. (Photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

Fig. 153. The tomb of Lars Sonck's parents in the graveyard of the Finström Church, c. 1915. (Photo SRM/Pekka Korvenmaa).

stones, and the overall theme was dispersed into a sensorily rich field, shaped by the effects of light and shade. Although the basic surface of the wall was kept unbroken, its individual levels depended on the variation of relief of the stones. Along with curved joints and corners, this feature obscured clear borders. For example, the corner of the tower in the Telephone Association building has a granular appearance. Even as a whole, the building does not appear in any graphic way, emphasizing contour, and the various parts are seen without any distinct borders (Fig. 75).[4]

Plastic form was an overriding aim in Sonck's works of these years, extending from the sculptural and three-dimensional shaping of the townscape to grave monuments. For example, the small-scale stone sepulchre of Rudolf Kolster in the Old Cemetery of Helsinki (1901–03) displays the same principles of contiguous form and plasticity as St. John's Church (Fig. 152).

The surface technique discussed above changed with the Mortgage Association building and especially the Helsinki Stock Exchange project. With the adoption of smooth stone surfaces, Sonck began to stress the borders of the facade parts. The planes of the rectangular edges in the Stock Exchange building stand out as autonomous parts of the facade with graphic clarity. Also the decorative themes stand out as three-dimensional additions to the basic surface. The differences also applied to the design of the capitals. We may compare, for example, the capitals of varied form in the Mortgage Association building with the end parts of the gallery columns of St. John's Church. In the Mortgage Association building the themes and motifs of the capitals are added to the core and grow out of it.

In addition to the above changes in surface forms and structure, the colour schemes of the buildings also changed from polychromy to monochromy. In the 1890s Sonck had applied polychromy in three ways: by combining white-plastered surfaces with brick, by painting over completely plastered facades and by using facade stones of different colour. The first-mentioned feature finds an explanation in the medieval allusions of Sonck's works in brick, providing historical grounds for the plastered surfaces. In the next stage, for example in the Tirkkonen building, use of colour was concentrated to accentuate the decorative fields of the otherwise single-hued facades. Polychrome stone architecture was already present in Sonck's early chapel study, and it was further developed in his study for a rural church from 1897 ("Eskiss till en landskyrka"). The two last-mentioned practices came to be used in Sonck's works of the early 1900s, and brick surfaces were rejected.

In the works of the early 1900s, the relationship

of plaster surfaces and polychromy is demonstrated only in the Eira hospital. The two colours of its facades, white and yellow, are articulated in structural terms so that the wall is yellow and the other supporting structures such as the consoles and columns are white. Multi-coloured decoration was given to the capitals of the columns to further outline the relationship of bearing and borne parts. The uniform wall surface was thus not broken even with the use of colour. The overall impression is dominated by the three superimposed fields of colour in the roof, the facades and the stone foundation.[5]

Polychromy in stone was realized in St. John's Church, but especially in the Telephone Association building, where the stones of different colour do not form patterns or fields of ornament but are combined in a "deliberately random" fashion. In this sense, the building differs from late 19th-century practices of polychromy, which aimed at demonstrating the character of the facade or to create fields of geometric patterns. For example, Richardson used polychromy (Trinity Church; Austin Hall; Ames Memorial Library), but with the aim of overall, regular fields of patterns. Sonck's effects were thus not based on the Ruskinian trends of 19th-century Anglo-American architecture, but were apparently developed by himself as an original and free addition to the stone techniques otherwise derived from the above-mentioned cultural sphere.

Already in the planning stage of the Telephone Association building Sonck had considered a monochrome, grey facade of stone, as in corresponding works by other architects (the National Theatre, the Pohjola building and the House of the Polytechnical Students Union). A facade of this kind was executed by Sonck in the Kallio church but not in pure form, for it included bearing elements standing out in lighter grey from the wall. It was only in the ensuing works that the same stone material, Uusikaupunki granite, was consistently single-hued and monochrome. It was discussed above that Sonck considered the addition of shiny metal details to these surfaces. A similar change occurred in the interiors, and the bright fields of colour of the Privatbanken and the Eira hospital were reduced to single-hued light shades in the banking hall of the Mortgage Association and to two superimposed fields of material in the courtyard of the Stock Exchange building.

Related to both surface structure and decoration was the problem of figurative facade sculptures. On the whole, Sonck avoided any clearly narrative features in his architecture and his facades did not include human figures. The reliefs with human themes in the Privatbanken were located in the entrance hall. Even the animal themes were highly stylized and never strove towards naturalistic figurativeness. In this sense, Sonck differed from most of his contemporaries. Among others, Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen and later Armas Lindgren and Eliel Saarinen separately used sculptures as often dominant themes of their facades. An example is the New Student House in Helsinki by Lindgren (1908–10) with its large, naturalistic human figures or the colossal lamp-bearers next to the main entrance of the Helsinki Railway Station by Saarinen (1904–14). The latter details were combined in a manner typical of Saarinen as part of the structure and materials of the facade.[6] Sonck's unwillingness to support his architectural means with human figures was a consistent feature of his whole production. This was not affected in any way by the otherwise clear changes in his means of design. Even in the interiors, Valter Jung's decorative sculptures of the Privatbanken are an exception.

Mentioned above was decoration as part of the overall articulation of surfaces. Especially in the beginning of the period discussed, the stylized, but nonetheless recognizable ornamental motifs and themes had meaning for the content of the works. The decorative programmes of the churches were to a large degree defined by liturgical tradition. The exceptional painted decoration of St. John's Church has been analysed and discussed at length by Paula Kivinen. The point of departure of Sonck's and Jung's decoration was nature, and the degree of stylizing of the floral and faunal motifs ranged from the almost naturalistic to the near-abstract. Stylized and differently executed plant motifs occur in the facade of the Telephone Association building, between the arched windows of the second storey and in the capitals of the colonnade. In this case, as also in the Eira hospital, organic motifs and themes are placed in structurally joining parts. The plant motifs of the gallery columns of St. John's Church grow into a kind of organic capital. The vitality and growth of nature was drawn on here to articulate structurally important parts. This also applied to the series of colonnettes in the entrance hall of the Privatbanken, with their stylized allusions to the forest. Sonck did not, however, use architectural elements imitating natural forms, such as columns in the shape of trees or bearing animal figures. The forms derived from nature were subordinate to structurality expressed with other means. The use of natural forms, especially those of plants, was a major issue in turn-of-the-century architecture. As pointed out by Annika Waenerberg, many of the curving forms of the Jugend architecture of Munich derived from a serious study of flora and fauna.[7] The natural motifs employed in Finnish architecture in the early 1900s were based on international prototypes, but domestic species were often chosen as the actual subjects. Thus, Sonck's works include ferns and thorns, but his use of ornaments did not involve any pro-

grammatic emphasis on national aims, any more than his architecture in general.

Decoration based on natural forms was related to anti-classicism, and the choice of local subjects and species was also opposed to the universality of classicism. In its most varied form, this concept appears in the Privatbanken, which in its decoration must be regarded as an exception on other levels as well. Jung's motifs included the wide range of flora and fauna, with a considerable number of animals such as cats and birds. The animals are presented either in fantastic or comic shape. This trait leads from natural analogies to history – the second level of Sonck's ornament. The Privatbanken showed how the stone sculptures of the capitals could be linked to certain artistic concepts of the Romanesque period.[8] This more general level, in which anti-classicism, material (i.e. stone), the themes and their execution all referred back to the same historical period, was related to Sonck's historicist thinking, which will be discussed separately.

Decoration became more abstract and the natural motifs were stylized and universal already in the Mortgage Association building. In the Stock Exchange, themes allegorically based on nature, such as wreaths and garlands, were however limited to themselves as the articulation of the facade, without any deeper levels of meaning. The execution, corresponding to contemporary Viennese prototypes, was linked to generally applied material of international and non-local character. In a sense, Sonck returned to the ornamental principles of his works of the late 1890s, which were also largely based on Viennese examples. Viennese modernism had continuously stressed the importance of stylizing even in the use of natural motifs, and analogies with the organic world were alien to it. The ornamental motifs used by Sonck from 1907 to 1910 were free of associations or references to the history of styles, whereby the classicizing overall articulation did not include decoration deriving from the classical periods.

Although Sonck's ornaments could present "stories" related to nature, history or religion, they were used to only a very small degree to illustrate function or the role of the client. As he was not concerned with classically conventional themes or allegorical sculptures buildings such as the Helsinki Telephone Association or the Eira hospital do not "tell" of their function except in a cryptic manner. In the former this was achieved by a frieze of technical themes, and in the latter with the name engraved in the portal, which required some degree of learning to be understood correctly. In the Privatbanken the money-bag motifs of the entrance could have prepared the visitor for the activities conducted in the building. Figurativeness naturally decreased with the general use of abstraction. In the street facade of the Stock Exchange, the *primus motor* of the project was expressed with the unequivocal text "Börs" (Stock Exchange).

IV.5. Types, models and characterization

With the exception of the Telephone Association building, all of the above projects had some kind of functional history that could suggest the forms employed for housing their various activities. The possible similarities or dissimilarities of Sonck's works with these more-or-less established background factors give cause to discuss them in terms of the type concept.

The concept of type, as formulated by Quatremère de Quincy in the beginning of the 19th century with reference to French discussion regarding architecture in the preceding century, was reflected in the Western notion of architecture throughout the 19th century.[1] The type concept and the integrally related idea of model were part of the programme of teaching at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, and also other institutes. With some degree of simplification, it can be said that a type is an architectural solution developed at some stage in history, such as a Greek temple, the starting points of which can be applied in other areas of construction in later periods. Each task requires a separate characterization. In other words, types do not preclude change or individuality – they facilitate change by serving as "the frame within which change operates."[2] The blind repetition of the point of departure of a type, in turn, implies a restrictive model. Thus, we are not referring to the concept of the "building type", as propagated by Pevsner,[3] which is common at present and bound to the history of action.

The above distinction also differs from the concept of genre, also characteristic of the 19th century and publicized in the beginning of that century by J. M. Durand. This rational overall concept, facilitating the process of planning, was more related to the functional programme of a building. Durandian principles of composition, based on schematic floor-plan modules and binding axes, were also prominent in the curriculum of the Ecole.[4] A whole, designed according to Durandian principles was formally characterized with a style, i.e. with the means mainly provided by the history of architecture. Within the same floor plan and facade it was possible to operate with themes referring back to both Gothic and Renaissance architecture.

These briefly described distinctions were also current in Finland. The leading authority and teacher

of Sonck and his generation was Professor Gustaf Nyström, whose role will be discussed in further detail below. In his recent study of Nyström's architecture, Ville Lukkarinen has analysed his relationship with the above concepts that were still operative at the time.[5] For Nyström, the characterization of a building was to express its content or purpose. On the other hand, he combined his ideas of character with highly common concepts of type, within which characterization is carried out.

Churches were unequivocal projects insofar as Christian tradition provided a rich array of types, models and characterizations. In the St. Michael's Church project Sonck operated on the level of recent history, choosing from the architecture of his own period a characterization developed by others from medieval architecture. This was applied in the manner of a model as the basis of his work. In St. John's Church the points of departure are on a deeper level. The type in question is centralized space, but Sonck characterized it with features pertaining to the Middle Ages. Also present in this work were local variants of the major periods of architecture, which provided an additional aspect for characterization. Already in his project for the restoration of the Cathedral of Turku, Sonck had proposed the medieval rural churches of Finland as the basis of type. The volumes of these churches became common in Finland in the early 1900s, e.g. in projects for museums and libraries. Present in the characterization of St. John's Church, i.e. the free but nevertheless recognizable shaping of its medieval themes, was a markedly individualizing trend. In the Kallio Church, individual forms of clearly medieval character were excluded. This building, however, alludes to the Middle Ages in two ways, which cannot be comprehended simultaneously. The basilica of the interior is based on the highly abstract characterization of a type shaped by Christian tradition from its Roman background. The exterior volume corresponds to the cathedral type, but without the period-specific forms related to its points of departure.

The churches also corresponded to Nyström's requirements of recognizability. This, however, was not the case with the new functional contents of projects. The Telephone Association building is a good example, for here Sonck could not rely on any established starting points. The result was a differentiation of content from the exterior which was shaped by a loose association with the types of castle and fortress architecture. On the other hand, the new functions permitted free typing and characterization, as there were no authorized examples among the traditional categories. Hardly anyone could have said what a telephone company building should look like. In this sense, the critical comments about masking the function of the building were without grounds. If necessary, the planning of the Eira hospital could have been served by the typology developed in the late 19th century. This, however, had its basis in Durandian rationalism, antagonistic to Sonck's views and concepts of the time. Also the variation of content involving a small private hospital permitted the architect to differ from standard solutions. The type in question, which Sonck had characterized freely with medieval themes, is mainly derived from the picturesque tradition of villa architecture. The debate and discussion on the museum project can also be seen as a critique of the type and characterization concepts that had dominated the end of the 19th-century. The project of the official party was described as conforming to the overall aims of public monuments. The opposition, Sonck included, spoke against the way a new task was forcibly accommodated to features of design and style that had developed historically in connection with completely different functions. For example in Sonck's project, there was an attempt to define the division of space according to function. In characterization, the starting points were different, corresponding to the variations of content of the overall volume.

In the Parliament House competition Sonck, like most of the entrants, applied a palatial, axial floorplan type, which had become established in the 19th century for administrative buildings. On the exterior these buildings had a dominant central part and projections or pavilions at the sides. This solution was used in a number of buildings, including the Reichstag in Berlin, which was completed in the 1890s and was the subject of much interest. Even at this stage, Sonck's planning and design began to involve to an increasing degree much broader generalizations and modular thinking dominated by an axis; in other words it developed in the direction of practices that can be regarded as Durandian. In the facades of the Mortgage Association building and the Stock Exchange Sonck applied a universal, classicizing articulation. This does not have any actual typological background; it does not derive from any clear model, nor has it been characterized to be recognizable in terms of the history of styles. The classicizing is not bound to the task at hand, because e.g. the articulation of the Stock Exchange building was to be repeated in several projects of different kinds. An established tradition of characterization, dating back to the Renaissance, could have been found for the Mortgage Association building as a monetary institution. Although Sonck to some degree returned to the universal principles of design of the late 19th century, this did not occur in the shape of the formal prototypes of that period.

Sonck's works are discussed here in relation to

concepts mainly formulated in France around the turn of the 19th century, but we do not assume that he was himself conscious of the theoretical foundations of his choices. Sonck avoided theorizing, and his public statements and writings were linked to the practical aspects of planning and design. The ideas dominating late 19th- and early 20th-century architecture were adopted by him through studies, literature, the press and travels. The academic tradition was passed on by Sonck's teacher Gustaf Nyström, who was completely versed in it and whose characterization of the Kallio church entry, also employing medieval features, lost to Sonck's design. Manuals, such as the Handbuch der Architektur, were divided according to the activities concerned, and they offered architects concise reviews of the ways in which certain problems had been solved. Study tours were often related to tasks at hand, and the architect wished to see earlier solutions at first hand. For Sonck, as well as for Finnish architecture in general, the synthesis transmitted by these channels led to a new and less profound interpretation of the concepts of type, model and characterization which were specific to the 19th century being based on the architectural theories of the 18th century. At the same time, the tradition in the teaching of architecture was broken when Nyström, with his total command of the classical concept of architecture, died in 1917.

IV.6. The past

IV.6.1. The problem of choice

The analysis of the above projects showed that Sonck used architectural history in a versatile way in designing buildings and milieus for the needs of his own time. The whole of the architectural past was available, and we may ask what Sonck chose from that boundless storehouse of themes – and for which reasons. Also to be discussed is the way in which he linked different levels of the past and how these methods of applying historical themes possibly changed during the period under review.

Historicism and the closely related idea of eclecticism were characteristic of Sonck's attitudes regarding the past. Also traditions could be applied, but to a lesser degree than the above. In defining the relationship of Sonck with historicism we may refer, among other sources, to the statements of Wolfgang Götz and Alan Colquhoun and the analyses presented by Ville Lukkarinen concerning the architectural phenomena of the turn of the century in Finland.[1] According to Götz's article on historicism from 1970, it is a way of thinking and an attitude concerning the past (*Gesinnung*). Eclecticism, in turn, is a praxis serving this attitude, "... eine künstlerische Methode im Dienste des Historismus".[2] Historicism does not require classicism any more than it precludes it. Whereas in the case of classicism the classics are authorities, the past in general is the authority of historicism.[3] This analysis is interesting especially in connection with Sonck's classicizing period. In 1983 Colquhoun divided historicism into three forms of manifestation, the last of which is the most relevant for Sonck. It defines historicism as the use of historical forms for example in architecture, and is thus related to artistic praxis. In a sense, this aspect also entails Götz's concept of eclecticism, with its guiding way of thought in the background of the various manifestations. In the following, tradition is understood as the utilization and modification to contemporary needs of practices that had remained vital and unbroken up to the planning and design stage in question. Lukkarinen's analysis of historicism proceeds from the above concepts, but in relating them to the architectural works of Gustaf Nyström and Jac. Ahrenberg he arrives at a basic position which also serves to define Sonck's relationship with the past.[4] Sonck did not see the history of architecture as a normative prototype or as a doctrine guiding and controlling present-day praxis (*sensu* Nyström). For him, the events of the past were concluded chains of events, bound to their own day, which could be freely applied in solving modern problems of highly different content. Lukkarinen maintains that Ahrenberg applied this form of "esthetic historicism". In connection with Sonck's architecture, the latter concept of historicism raises the question of the criteria of selection, i.e. the reasons for the utilization of certain architectural periods and their regional manifestations.

Medieval features were most clearly present in Sonck's architecture from his first works to the early years of the 1900s – a period of some ten years. His attitudes regarding this period clearly changed during this time. The medieval character of the main drawings of St. Michael's Church (1895) were based on the Neo-Gothic, prominent at the time and involving material repeatedly modified from its own points of departure. At the same time, Sonck had gathered information on the medieval churches of Finland on a number of study and documentation excursions arranged by the Finnish Archaeological Society. In connection with the debate concerning the restoration of the Turku Cathedral in 1897, Sonck tried to accommodate the antiquarian history of the monument with his own concepts involving the artistic modification of the medieval period. The questions and issues he encountered appear to have

led to a deeper understanding of the Middle Ages, which could also be seen in the written expression of these ideas. Sonck's numerous contemporary and ensuing church projects were thus parallelled by the first Finnish efforts at arranging building conservation and its practical aspects of restoration. The empirical material provided by the medieval churches of Finland and the related problems of its protection and use enriched Sonck's planning work which had already been based on medieval themes. A further subject of interest was found in the regional and modified manifestations of medieval architecture within the architect's own cultural sphere.

St.John's Church can be regarded as a synthesis of the above factors, involving both international Neo-Gothicism and Finnish medieval themes. Sonck thus turned to the Middle Ages as such, familiar to him from personal experience, bypassing Neo-Gothic features which had become conventions. The church, however, included themes which appear to refer back to less clearly defined periods predating the High Middle Ages. These can also be seen in works that followed St. John's Church, such as the National Museum project, the Telephone Association building and the Privatbanken.

In her discussion of national features in 19th-century German architecture, Barbara Miller Lane distinguishes courses of development anticipating by a few decades similar events in Finnish architecture around the turn of the century.[5] These were the study of medieval monuments, protection and conservation applying such studies, and the free use of the same monuments as the sources of inspiration of new architecture. This was made to serve national aims, and especially Romanesque architecture was seen as a reflection of a great German past, upon which the new Germany of the Hohenzollerns could be built. In Germany this course of development extended from the 1840s to the 1880s, at which stage it could be clearly seen that the Middle Ages, seen in nationalistic terms, provided the impetus for the new architecture, also comprehended as nationalistic. Miller Lane refers to similar phenomena in Scandinavia around the turn of the century and in the early years of the 20th century. These, however, did not have clear links with the state.[6] In these countries, Finland included, medieval features served a form of expression regarded as modern by its proponents and striving to reject 19th-century eclecticism. In other words, themes derived from history facilitated a separation from the praxis of historicism which was now regarded as outmoded.

Miller Lane also observes how historically verifiable points of departure were combined with features that were generally speaking ancient, such as prehistoric graves and the inadequately known buildings of the German kings. In the practical work of planning and design this implied a progression from archaeologically verifiable antiquarian material to "the twin realms of archaism and innovation".[7]

In Finland around the turn of the century, the above phenomena followed the German trend with a time-lag typical of cultural ties between the two countries. Information gathered by the Finnish Archaeological Society in the late 19th century concerning earlier architecture, restoration issues and new projects merged into a synthesis which also contained nationalistic overtones. As demonstrated above, Sonck was deeply involved in this process. In his architecture the medieval frame of reference was combined with innovation via archaisms, which permitted a highly unrestrained eclecticism of diffuse points of departure.

The medieval features of St. John's Church, the Telephone Association building and the Eira hospital refer to Gothic architecture, while the Privatbanken combined both Gothic and Romanesque material. The starting points of stonework associated with these forms are highly varied and extend even further into the past. Varied and irregular stone walls can be found in medieval architecture, and the stone consoles of the Telephone Association building and the Eira hospital present references to the architecture of castles and forts. The free bond of the early planning stage of the Telephone Association building and the large-scale ashlar of the ground floor of the final version derive, however, from the earlier periods of stone architecture. The Egyptianized colonnade even referred back to the very foundations of Western architecture in stone. This also applied to the intended diagonal bond of the Eira hospital, which was realized only in the perimeter wall. The wall of the ground floor of the Telephone Association building was built without a visible lining of mortar and in deep relief. It not only expresses but also demonstrates visually the original techniques of stone architecture.

In addition to the wall, these works included archaic and reduced tectonic structures, such as the monolithic supports of the interior of St. John's Church and the exaggeratedly heavy columns in the hall of the Privatbanken. Also to be noted are the primitive upright supports of loose boulders in the museum project.

Anti-classicism is the common denominator of the above stone-building techniques. The tectonic entities were executed without references to the classical periods, and the medieval features already implied anti-classical overtones. Along with the clearly expressed Egyptianized features, other possible sources are to be found in the stone architecture of Mycenae and archaic Greece, i.e. the civilizations preceding the classical periods. Also related to these were the

themes of the painted decoration of the Privatbanken with their references to the Near East of antiquity.[8] It is to be noted that in combining stone with Egyptianism Sonck did not apply any overall concept of repeating the features of stylistic history. Since the turn of the 19th century Western architectural thinking had seen Egypt as the foundation of civilization and as the paragon of authenticity. On a general level, this reference implied a return to the original sources and a rejection of the load of stylistic repetition.

A closer background was offered by the early stone architecture of Europe, expressed as Romanesque or modified features of it or as simplified Gothic. These, together with undressed stone, suggest northern, transalpine architecture and its first major periods. Some of the stone structures of the museum project resemble Scandinavian megalithic graves, and prototypes for the steatite decoration of the Privatbanken can be found in the Romanesque architecture of the Nordic countries. To this same Scandinavian context, on an even earlier level, we may refer the fantasy figures on the ribs of the vaults in the hall of the bank. It can be seen that the way of thought bound to local conditions, seeking to avoid the features of the classical periods of the Mediterranean and their derivatives, operated on many levels and was linked to the cultural sphere immediately bordering on Finland. What then were the models and prototypes provided by the prehistoric past and the Middle Ages in Finland?

The medieval architectural monuments of Finland were well suited to the purposes of archaic design, as they reiterated in simplified and often clumsy form the refined solutions of High Gothic architecture. This especially applied to masonry technique with its unfinished use of local stone, to which allusions could sometimes be made, as in the perspective illustration of the competition entry for St. John's Church. Local historical forms and their original material expression could together be made part of the overall medieval frame of reference.

Archaic features referring to the past in general and local practices were all based on processes that had already come to an end, and partly on an imaginary early history of the country. Their expressions and manifestations in the medium of stone were often on the level of imagery, for the actual bearing wall was of brick. On the other hand, Sonck's wooden and log architecture, which had begun in the 1890s, was based on the transferral of the technique of a living tradition from vernacular architecture to the realm of expression of the upper strata of culture. Adapting and modifying it, for example with themes and motifs from Eastern Karelia, signified an intensification of the tradition by making it refer to relict areas displaying features regarded as archaic but nevertheless still operating as cultural organisms. Nor did Sonck's log architecture with its unfaced surfaces entail any conflict between apparent and real structures, in itself a point of departure for expression. Also detail work could be executed as part of the structures concerned, as in the form of notches. Round-log technique, which had already fallen out of use, was in itself an archaic feature, which naturally had prototypes in the older vernacular architecture of both Finland and Eastern Karelia. Sonck combined the age-old regionally determined blockwork technique of the northern coniferous zone with vertical supports that were generally alien to it. Prototypes were found in the early medieval wooden architecture of Norway, among other sources.

References to a simplified medieval period or early civilizations were common in Finnish architecture of the early 1900s. The unsuitability of these, e.g. "Assyrian-Babylonian" forms, for modern business architecture was noted in the criticism presented by Gustaf Strengell and Sigurd Frosterus in 1904.[9] On a more general level archaic features in architecture were related to trends in the arts in Finland in the 1890s and early 1900s. Around this time various areas of the arts sought elements for themes and means of expression in old, already extinct or relict-like contents and techniques. Reference may be made to the revival of fresco painting, folk-poetry themes in music and poetry and literature alluding to an imaginary national past in early history.[10] In architecture, with the possible exception of churches, only the forms and techniques could refer back in an archaic sense e.g. to the Middle Ages or to vernacular practices, whereas the "content", i.e. the functional requirements, were defined by modern praxis. These problems were clearly present in the Telephone Association building.

The use of archaic features and the striving towards authenticity form a specific theme throughout late 19th- and early 20th-century architecture in the whole of Europe. History and related fields of learning had made the public familiar with new strata of culture and civilization alongside the formerly known classical periods. This level could be linked with a turning towards the specific and partly mythical materials of one's own region. Alongside Germany, already referred to above, we may also mention Hungary, whose architects tried to find the points of departure for renewal in the preserved relicts of vernacular architecture in the villages of Transylvania. This did not imply a repetition of their features, but innovation proceeding from them which might also attempt reconstructions of hypothetical ancient architecture.[11] The archaic trends of Lars Sonck's architecture thus belonged to a broader set of phenomena which also emphasized the import-

ance of individual and local expression. Sonck's contemporaries were aware of this, and for example D. Joseph used the heading "Archaismus, Subjektivismus und Moderne" for his volume on the recent period published in the early 1900s as part of his history of architecture.[12] In 1908 an international congress of architects convened in Vienna to discuss the modern concept of architecture, in which connection strivings for authenticity were linked to innovativeness in the following terms: "Sie (the new architecture) hat eine auf Erfindung gerichtete, heuristische Tendenz. Daher Ihre Vorliebe für Ursprüngliche, im Wandel der Geschichte längst überholte Formen; daher Ihre Ablehnung aller beglaubligten Grundsätze; daher Ihre fast nihilistisch zu nennende Gegnerschaft gegen alles Herbrachtete und Abgeleitete."[13]

The above-sketched use of archaic features opened for Sonck a way into the Middle Ages and via it the innovative use of older material. The medieval period remained an identifiable general level to such degree that for example the Telephone Association building or the Eira hospital could be associated with castle architecture, and through its 19th-century picturesque utilization with the romanticized Middle Ages. Sonck's historicism of this period was further deepened by the restoration of medieval monuments, and the process of renewal coincided with new architecture even in the early years of the 20th century. In 1903, when Sonck was designing the Telephone Association building and the vaulting of its entrance passage, he was also involved with the renovation and furnishing of the medieval rural church of Kemiö.[14] This situation would appear to demonstrate the concentration of antiquarian expertise, practical restoration and the creation of completely new architecture in the same hands, as observed by Miller Lane in connection with 19th-century Germany.

With respect to the history of Finnish architecture, churches played an important role. With the exception of a few medieval castles, there were no other buildings of this period that could provide points of departure for the design of volume in secular architecture. Accordingly, history had to be re-activated on a hypothetical level, as in the museum project. This also applied to accommodating individual buildings to the townscape and the aims of urban architecture in general. The town-plan competition for the Töölö area of Helsinki displayed a desire to create a medievalistic townscape of which there were no historical remains in Finland. Eclectic historicism, executed additively in individual works, led to the structuring of a larger physical reality with the aid of the starting points provided by a given historical stratum. The development of Sonck's ideas in this respect is clearly seen in the St. Michael's Church project. The church, originally designed in medieval forms, was made into a freely standing monument in accordance with the tradition of classicism. In 1904 Sonck wished to have the immediate surroundings of the church built up, in order to achieve a thematic link between the medieval features of the church and its position in the townscape.[15] (Fig. 58) This was after he had studied medieval towns and the restoration problems of the Turku Cathedral. Had it been realized, Sonck's project would have implied transferring the original townscape of the surroundings of the Turku Cathedral, which had remained dense before being opened up in the early 19th century, to the setting of another church in the same city, built at the turn of century and formally linked to the Middle Ages. Background factors of Sonck's medievalistic town planning were the theories of Camillo Sitte, which in themselves did not require specifically medieval forms. Sitte explicitly cautioned against attempting to create artificially "old" townscapes.[16] More characteristic of Sonck was the three-dimensional execution of Sittean principles with themes derived from the Middle Ages. In this connection, in 1913 he renewed his plan for the surroundings of St. Michael's Church. The original squares, clearly based on Sitte, were now surrounded by buildings which were not unequivocally linked to any specific historical periods.

Although Sonck's relationship with the past had deepened by the early years of the 20th century, not all of his themes of architectural history were from original sources. His secular works followed a model demonstrated by St. Michael's Church in the 1890s, where the historical material had already been developed by others before being applied to the buildings. The medieval character of the Lignell building (1896–97) was based for example on German material developed by the Hannover school under the influence of J.W. Hase. Although the Tirkkonen building (1898–1900) does not display any clear historical points of departure, its corner design clearly corresponds to the Argos building in Helsinki (1898), which in turn was a continuation of the design of a building designed by the Swedish architect I.G. Clason on Strandvägen in Stockholm. Clason had found his prototypes in French Renaissance architecture. Thus, the Tirkkonen building is part of a chain of eclecticism, based on original prototypes that had become obscured by the time they reached Tampere. The same applies to the Richardsonian features of Sonck's works of the early 1900s. One of their original points of departure was the Romanesque architecture of Provence and Northern Spain, but when applied by Sonck in early 20th-century Helsinki their cultural roots were no longer of importance, for example for the historical frame of reference of the Telephone Association building.

Turning towards the Finnish tradition of architecture meant the elevation of history – usually understood in national terms in turn-of-the-century Europe – to facilitate modern needs serving nationalistic aims. These links were especially clear in Germany, where some of the architectural features were even related to the Kaiser's personal aims.[17] Generally speaking, the utilization of the domestic tradition concerned either monuments, such as churches and castles, or vernacular architecture. Architecture based on these sources has been called national-romantic, and the term appears to have become established as a general concept even in recent studies.[18] In Finland, this view has often emphasized the early 1900s in contrast with other aims. Is there cause to describe Sonck's works in terms of national romanticism?

We have seen how Sonck made reference to the Middle Ages of Finland, from which he found features such as the perimeter wall and the spire of St. John's Church and historical details essentially linked to the function of the museum project. On a very general level, the design of rooms and space in the Privatbanken can also be derived from the church architecture of the Middle Ages. On the other hand, national-historical features are minimal in the Telephone Association building and the Eira hospital. As entities, none of these buildings strove towards the appearance of a specific monument or group of monuments. The aim here was modernity, still served by eclecticism, guided by historicism, but of a very free spirit with medieval overtones. Although, for example, the initial design of St. John's may have been based on influences from the architectural history of the Turku Cathedral, the new architecture partly facilitated by them did not serve any clearly defined aims of a national-political character. Using the tradition of one's own cultural sphere or country for enriching new architecture in itself signified a positive attitude towards the past and present of the nation. Sonck did not put into writing his view of the nation's past or its present. He did, however, see architecture, construction and patriotism as closely linked areas, and he obviously felt that architects were responsible for promoting and furthering the architectural culture of Finland. This applied also to maintaining its heritage, and Sonck was especially concerned over the fate of architecture and construction in the rural areas.[19]

The above suggests that Sonck's works of the early 1900s were national, i.e. they strove towards a regionally specific, modern appearance with some use of the architectural history of one's own country. They were also romantic, viz. their forms were linked to the mainstream of romanticism via the picturesque tradition. On the other hand, Sonck's works were not national-romanticist in the sense that they would have aimed at a programmatically "Finnish" appearance. In other words, they did not romanticize the national past for ideological purposes related to cultural life or politics.

The use of the forms and techniques of vernacular architecture could avail itself of existing tradition, and it was in this area that especially Finnish features of style were conceived in the 1890s.[20] In Continental Europe, the idealization of vernacular architecture was linked to the *Heimatkunst* orientation stressing national roots as well as to a search for alternatives to the rapidly expanding cities.[21] In its time-honoured practices, vernacular architecture was seen as the medium of cultural meanings that had otherwise disappeared. In Finland, blockwork construction with logs was revitalized in the 1890s especially in a group of artist's villas, the locations of which also implied a reaction against urban culture.[22] Sonck's *Lasses Villa,* as on of this series, contained features from several architectural cultures. It is still obvious, however, that Sonck strove to establish points of contact with the most typical and characteristic technique of construction of Finland. In the 1890s his architecture in wood was executed with these means in works of varied function. These involve several sources of influence, especially northern techniques and features from East Karelian architecture. When Sonck's concept of history deepened around the turn of the century and when his ever more simplified architecture began to involve archaisms, his wooden architecture experienced a similar change. Direct historical or stylistic loans were excluded. The wooden villa from 1904 for the composer Jean Sibelius at Järvenpää in the countryside was a building of simple forms, even originally intended to be covered with boarding and with unextended corner joints (Fig. 154). The only references to vernacular wooden architecture are the balconies of round logs, which were supported with upright and diagonal parts alien to the Finnish tradition of log construction. This is a telling example, as Sibelius was a personification of nationalistic aims in the cultural conflicts that arose from political pressure exerted by Russia upon Finland around the turn of the century. The log building for the composer in an undisturbed natural setting could have inspired the architect to employ natural materials and forms to achieve a building of archaic forms derived from real and imagined vernacular architecture. Such features are not present in Villa Ainola, which was a modern villa residence related to the international trends of the period. Finnish architecture of these years, however, includes a project which combined the flight from the city of an artist collective, medieval overtones, archaic features and the imitation of vernacular techniques on a large scale. The project in question was Hvitträsk

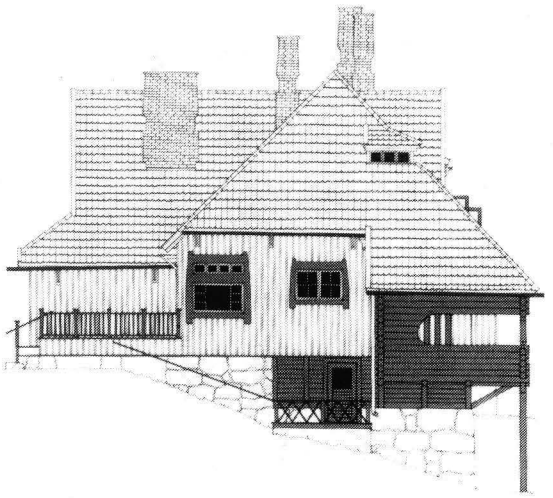

Fig. 154. Villa Ainola, Järvenpää, 1904. Built as the home of the composer Jean Sibelius. (Later measured drawing, photo SRM).

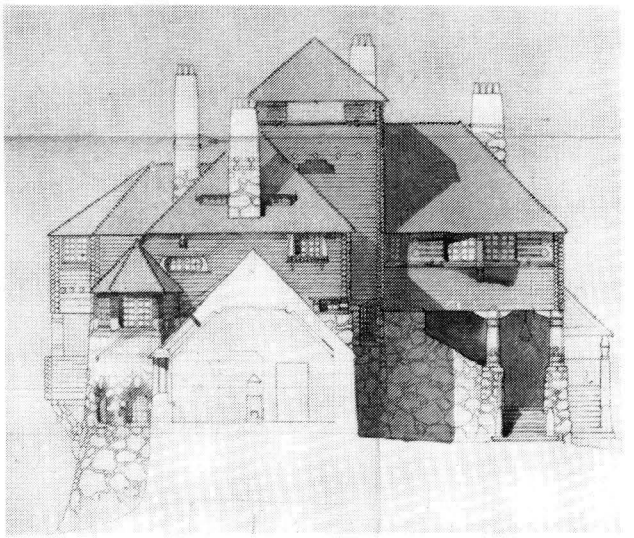

Fig. 155. Section of the Hvitträsk studio and home complex of architects Herman Gesellius, Armas Lindgren and Eliel Saarinen, built in 1902-03. The 1901 main drawings (detail). Shown here is the Lindgren wing. (Original and photo SRM).

(1902–03), the studio and residence complex of the Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen office of architects (Fig. 155).

Sonck's wooden architecture was of a national spirit in the sense that its point of departure was the most traditional building technique of the country, the expressive features of which were now further developed. Log architecture was, however, a northern technique, and the details employed by Sonck in the 1890s refer on the one hand to Scandinavia in the west and on the other hand to Russian Karelia, the other extreme of the Finnish sphere (Figs. 3, 5). Even these features and references were abandoned in the early years of the 1900s. The genre of villa architecture naturally provided starting points for picturesque design, and in this connection we may refer to the romanticizing tradition. This brand of romanticism, however, applied only to an appreciation of nature as something esthetically and philosophically significant, and it did not involve any sentimentalization of the past of the nation. As a term national romanticism does not seem to be adequate for describing the specific character of Sonck's wooden architecture of the early 1900s.

Anders Åman has recently demonstrated the relationship of "national form" (nationell form) or regionally bound expression with classicism and modernism in terms of tradition, universality and a tendency for renewal.[23] In Åman's schema themes intended to be comprehended as national can be bound to both tradition and renewal, while classicism has corresponding links with tradition and universality. Sonck did not aim at traditional expression or the continuation of traditions *per se*. Thus, his works involving national/local themes involved renewal and his classicism strove towards universality with some use of local traditions. Finnish modernism of the 1900s with art nouveau overtones, such as certain works and projects by Sigurd Frosterus, are linked in terms of Åman's division to both universality and renewal. This may explain Frosterus's positive attitudes regarding Sonck's works of the early 1900s. Although these architects produced works of highly different appearance, their aims find a common denominator in the rejection of tradition and a striving towards renewal. During Sonck's classicizing period, the modernist Frosterus regarded the universality of the former's works as a positive trait. In applying the material that he had developed from the national/regional tradition, Sonck did not attempt to restore or maintain traditions. The above themes were part of a frame of reference ultimately defined by the rejection of periodized historicism, which was now seen as a limiting factor.

Medieval and archaic features, an emphasis on local traits, the "authentic" presentation of materials and craftsmanship, along with other features, suggest the influential reform movements of 19th-century England. These involved A.W. Pugin, John Ruskin and William Morris as well as the whole of the arts and crafts ideology, which would seem to have been well suited to Finland and hence to Sonck's aims around the turn of the century. As pointed out by Ringbom, the concepts of the authentic and true use of stone materials were filtered from several sources, and there is no reason to look for any individual or specific authorities, for example as background factors to Sonck's architecture in stone.[24] The features mentioned above, which were characteristic of Sonck's works, conform to the requirements of "northern architecture", laid down by

Ruskin in his 1849 essay "The Nature of Gothic".[25] Although Ruskin's views, which affected the whole of Western architecture with varied interpretations, were spread through innumerable books and loans as late as the early 20th century, cultural boundaries prevent us from establishing any direct link between him and Sonck. Finland was traditionally oriented towards Germany, as also was Sonck himself. Ruskin's theories were received in the Anglo-American world, but in Germany his books came to be published only as late as the early 1900s in connection with the Anglophile spirit of housing architecture prominent at the time. In Finland, the trade press did not spread Ruskin's ideas, e.g. as translated articles. Ruskinian views were channelled into Finland via the Swedish press, which was closely followed. According to Wäre, Ruskin's essays began to be published in Sweden in the late 1890s.[26] In 1897–98, Jac. Ahrenberg observed how the new light of Ruskin's views came from England, and that they had become the subject of attention here as well.[27] The influence of Ruskin need not have been passed on to Sonck through published texts, but may have been adopted through works of architecture. Anglo-American and Continental architecture inspired by Ruskin served as a text through which originally literary ideas were passed on as elements of architectural design.

Ruskinian views were merged into the arts and crafts movement, which – like William Morris – were well known in Finland since the 1890s. We have already seen how in Sonck's works respect for the specific properties of materials and a stress of craftsmanship reflected English prototypes. The arts and crafts movement and especially William Morris saw the Middle Ages not only as the source of artistic ideas but also as a socio-esthetic and morally imperative whole. This led to, among other concepts, a rejection of industrialism and the cities it had engendered, and these ideas were still present in the garden city concepts of the early 1900s. The low degree of industrialization and urbanization in Finland did not create as strong a contrast between Sonck and other arts and crafts-inspired architects and industrialized urbanism. English ideas were in fact expressed in the interiors of projects within the urban structure, such as the Eira hospital. Sonck's villas, in turn, were individual cases mostly continuing the summer villa tradition established in the 19th century. We may again refer to Hvitträsk as the most varied and versatile manifestation of the above ideals. Although Sonck's works combined a medieval frame of reference with features derived from the arts and crafts movement, they did not imply any content of social reform based on the ideas of Morris.[28]

We have seen Sonck's turn-of-the-century town planning as involving the general trend of Finnish architecture to create historicized milieus, largely based on medieval urban architecture, which had been poorly preserved in Finland. This can be interpreted as a situation where a young culture, lacking historical townscapes of its own, wished to create strata not only presenting associations with the past but intended to be seen as historical in a concrete manner. David Lowenthal has pointed to the images of durability and agelessness implied by the Neo-Romanesque stone architecture of H.H. Richardson, a central figure of late 19th-century America, which was also a "young culture".[29] In this case, material and historical forms were combined to create levels or strata which in fact did not exist in the architecture of the country. Projected to Finland and Sonck's works such as the Telephone Association building, this explanation gives further meaning to the diffuse medieval features of the buildings and their use of stone. These works were not historically imitative in appearance and they did not lead the viewer's thoughts to any specific prototype, demonstrating directly the historically comprehensible, intervening span of time between the former and the latter. In a way, Sonck's eclecticism was an addition to urban architecture by re-creating lost features and by giving contemporary architecture traits that could be understood as historical. Had it been built to overhang the pavement, the tower of the Telephone Association building could have been understood as a reminder or fragment of earlier and subsequently lost strata in a late 19th-century urban setting. It would have brought to mind historical levels, which in fact had never existed at the site.

Sonck's attitudes towards historical material changed around the planning stages of the Kallio church and the Mortgage Association building. The analysis of the Kallio church showed how distinct references to medieval architecture were excluded in the various stages of the planning process. The division of space in the final version and the exterior form referred back to the cathedral tradition on the most general level possible. The changing of Sonck's concept of history is even more clearly present in the classicism of the Mortgage Association building. He not only changed the period taken as a point of departure, but also carried out a profound rejection of the above concepts which had been characteristic of his works of the early years of the century.

Despite his clear use of classicizing features, Sonck continued to apply the picturesque tradition in its specific functional context of private houses and villas. In this sense, he went on to characterize buildings according to their purpose. With reference to Sonck's works in the centre of Helsinki, the period from 1900 to 1910 can be seen in polarized terms, involving both the romanticism of the Tele-

phone Association building and the classicism of the Stock Exchange. Accordingly, Sonck cannot be described as an explicit representative of either concept, and the observed polarity was part of the inner periodization of the works of an individual.[30] As will be discussed below, classicizing was also linked to specific local features.

The exterior characteristics of Sonck's new perspective on historicism included axiality, symmetry, columns, a combined contour and monochromy. These features had already been present in his early studies, but the new situation did not imply a return to the architectural principles of the late 19th century. The latter had stressed the suitability of certain styles to specific functions, e.g. brick Neo-Gothic for churches or classicism for administrative buildings. The approaches developed by Sonck in the years 1907–1910 were generally applicable, and he was able to use them in highly different projects, such as banks, multi-storey buildings and telephone exchanges.

For Sonck, classicism signified universality, abstraction and a general return to neoclassicism, the last all-encompassing style of Western architecture. At the same time, he continued to apply approaches that emphasized the significance of local traditions in his former works. How could these apparently contradictory trends be combined?

In his review of the Mortgage Association building from 1909, Jac. Ahrenberg mentioned that the classicistic town plan of Helsinki required a specific type of architecture, mainly demonstrated by the works of C.L. Engel. According to him, Sonck had understood this point and the building in question was a continuation of the tradition of classicism that had been broken.[31] In this sense, Sonck's new classicism was to some extent regional in character, based on the local history of Helsinki where neoclassical architecture still dominated the administrative centre as well as other areas. Within the bounds of historicism, a new period of identification was now chosen, which was much better suited to the urban requirements of the rapidly expanding capital than the Middle Ages. Unlike the medieval period, neoclassicism offered a wide array of secular architecture from the early 19th century, to which the present classicism could be added without the conflict of function and exterior. This conflict had raised debate in connection with the medieval features of the Telephone Association building.

In the late 18th century, neoclassicism had been created in the spirit of the Enlightenment as the universal architectural language of the new world. However, archaeological discoveries and local conditions soon led to different local variants. In most cases architects made reference to the grand examples of classicism, Ancient Greece and Rome. When classicism was returned to in early 20th-century Finland, the starting point was now a local manifestation already developed from the original prototypes, viz. C.L. Engel's architecture derived from Germany and bearing the imprint of the Empire style of St. Petersburg. This was a universal phenomenon. In Germany in the early 1910s Peter Behrens and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe developed classicizing architecture from the works of K.F. Schinkel. Ancient Greece was returned to only in the works of Le Corbusier in the 1920s, who reached conclusions that were formally highly alien to the known appearance of classicism.

Interesting parallels to Sonck's works, such as the Mortgage Association building and the Stock Exchange, can be found in the contemporary architecture of St. Petersburg. The dominating architectural strata of the city resembled each other closely; also in St. Petersburg architects used the Empire style as a model, and – as in Helsinki – it was applied without imitative repetition. Especially the impressive, stone-faced edifices of banks and insurance companies of the early 1910s applied a free and abstracted classicism, where colonnades and details such as thermal windows displayed links with the historical architecture of the city. The works of Fedor Lidval (Fredrik Lidvall of Sweden), such as the Azov-Don bank (1908–09) closely resemble the Mortgage Association building.[32] The classicizing trends of the period and a striving towards the overall tone of local tradition were combined in Peter Behrens' design for the German Embassy in St. Petersburg (1911). In this building the whole of the granite facade employs a colossal order which linked a new, early 20th-century interpretation of the neoclassicism of Berlin with St. Petersburg Empire and the new architecture of the period which applied the overtones of the latter. Sonck's works in Helsinki were part of these phenomena.

Sonck also changed his views on the townscape, and the Stock Exchange building in particular demonstrated his acceptance of the conditions laid down by the Helsinki town plan and the structure of the block concerned. In the Töölö town-planning competition as well as in a number of other projects of the period for redesigning the squares of the city centre, he had attempted to reject both neoclassicism and the principles of linear planning that had been a continuation of it. In the Telephone Association building he had tried to break out of the structure of the block and the course of the pavement, which he had regarded as restricting. The main surfaces and lines of the Mortgage Association building already conformed to the contours of the immediate setting, although most of the volume was recessed from the street. In the Stock Exchange building only the slightly withdrawn facade attempts

to establish the impression of an illusory, freely standing volume. The Keskuskirjapaino printing premises (1911–12) at the corner of Bulevardi and Erottaja is a stereometric rectangle, with closed contours conforming precisely to the outer boundary of the lot. In this project, Sonck took a stand on the older, late 19th-century architecture of the area, which he did not reject, and the level of the eaves of the adjacent building was taken as the dominant horizontal of his own work (Fig. 145).

IV.6.2. Classicism – rejected and rediscovered

Sonck's return to classicizing design dominated by a central axis was discussed above in relation to his historicist approach and in connection with a certain stylistic period – neoclassicism. The column-and-lintel systems of his earlier works were analysed in terms of archaism. The period under review in this context has, however, a single common denominator, related to the classical language of architecture, i.e. the tectonics of columns and entablatures. This basic architectural principle was continuously present in Sonck's works and its varying applications demonstrate the ways in which he approached this central problem of structure and expression in Western architectural history.

Sonck, like other Finnish architects of his period, had studied the history of architecture at the Polytechnical Institute of Helsinki, mainly under Gustaf Nyström. Sonck's notes from Nyström's lectures in 1891 present a review of the history of Western architecture, and he had carefully sketched the classical columnar orders of Greece and Rome.[33] Sonck applied his learning in study projects, which show that he commanded the repertoire of classicism to the degree that it was applied for example in Nyström's House of the Estates in Helsinki (built in 1890).[34] (Fig. 156) When the young architects such as Sonck, Saarinen and Lindgren began their careers, even their first works of the period from 1895 to 1898 were not classicizing nor did they express tectonic thinking. In the early years of the 1900s their works were to differ even more from the models and prototypes offered by Nyström. However, these works of an overall anti-classical character came to include more and more tectonic structures, which show that the principles they had studied were applied in structural thinking but not in relation to the history of styles. Without disregarding the international development of architectural style, the anti-classical tendencies of early 20th-century Finnish architecture can be seen to some degree as a reaction against the principles demonstrated with skill and authority in the teaching and works of Nyström.

The tectonic thinking of the beginning of the century was mostly expressed in the medium of stone and was combined with archaic features, discussed above. The colonnade of the Telephone Association building is an actual, bearing tectonic feature, but it was characterized in an anti-classical way and set in a frame of reference containing medieval overtones. It must be seen as an open arcade behind which the glass surface was based only on the needs of climate. This way of thought, repeated in many of Sonck's works, can also be seen in Nyström's architecture, as in the State Archives (Helsinki 1886–90). Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen followed a similar course of action in the Pohjola building (1899–1901). Placed in the irregular wall of the building was a series of Doricist pillars covering the second storey and encircling the whole building. The building is a good example because of the extensive variation of its tectonic solutions. The twin columns of its portal are in the shape of pine trees (Fig. 158). The portal is like a stage set and is placed apart from the bearing wall. This organic metaphor, referring at the same time to the primitive origins of the classical grammar in wooden architecture, is also placed in a location that actually bears weight in the building. In the Mikonkatu facade of the building there is a triangular projection, the outer corner of which is in the shape of a fully plastic column (Fig. 159). The capital is composed of branches, which are also in the consoles bearing the whole projection. This basic element of Western architecture, conventionalized by the classicizing periods, has "reverted" to its origins in "natural" architecture. In the same way, Sonck linked the columns of the Telephone Association

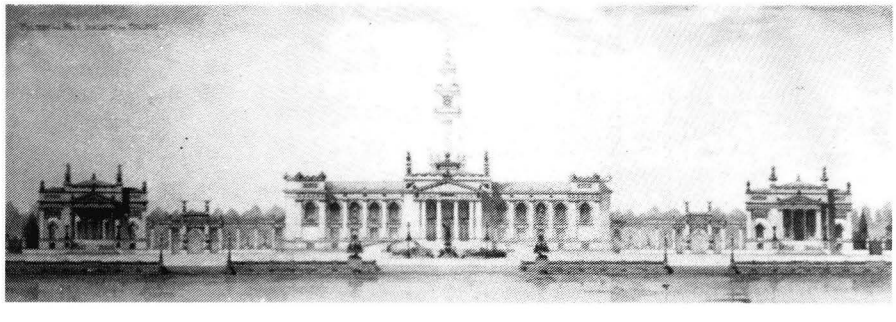

Fig. 156. Design for a stock exchange, town hall and customs house ("Förslag till börs, stadshus och tullhus"). Student project, early 1890s. (ÅM, photo SRM/ Paula Kivinen).

Fig. 157. The headquarters of the Union Bank of Finland, Aleksanterinkatu 36, Helsinki, designed by Gustaf Nyström and built in 1898. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

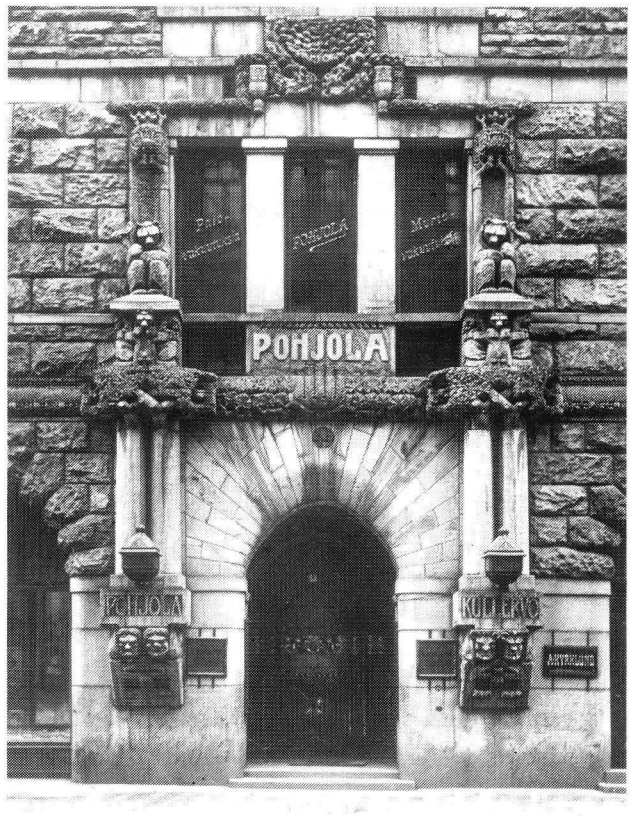

Fig. 158. The main entrance to the Pohjola Insurance Company building, Aleksanterinkatu 44, Helsinki, 1899-1901 by Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen. (Photo SRM/Risto Kamunen).

building with the original sources of stone tectonics. Other works of the above office of architects also have heavy and monolithic column-and-lintel structures placed in architectural entities of stylized medieval features. The most extensive use of these was in the Tampereen Säästöpankki bank edifice from 1900–01. Sonck applied structures of this kind also in the interiors of St. John's Church and the Privatbanken.

In a way, Sonck and many other architects broke down the grammar of classicism, rejected it as a principle guiding the whole, and removed from its themes attributes added to its tectonics over the millenia, i.e. the historically identifiable features of the various periods that had utilized it. This liberated the tectonic structures to be freely shaped and combined, for example in contexts that otherwise contained references to the medieval period. The vertical and upright supports, reduced to their basic forms, did not contain any reflection of the history of styles. These features were placed as fragments in the portals and window openings, and in extremely archaic form they could even lose their cultural content and approach natural forms. An example of this is the Polytechnical Students Union building (Thomé-Lindahl, 1901–03), with supports of irregular boulders bearing the weight of the Gothic-derived vaults (Fig. 160). These were not always bearing themes, and they could also be used in a visual sense. But even then they mostly referred only

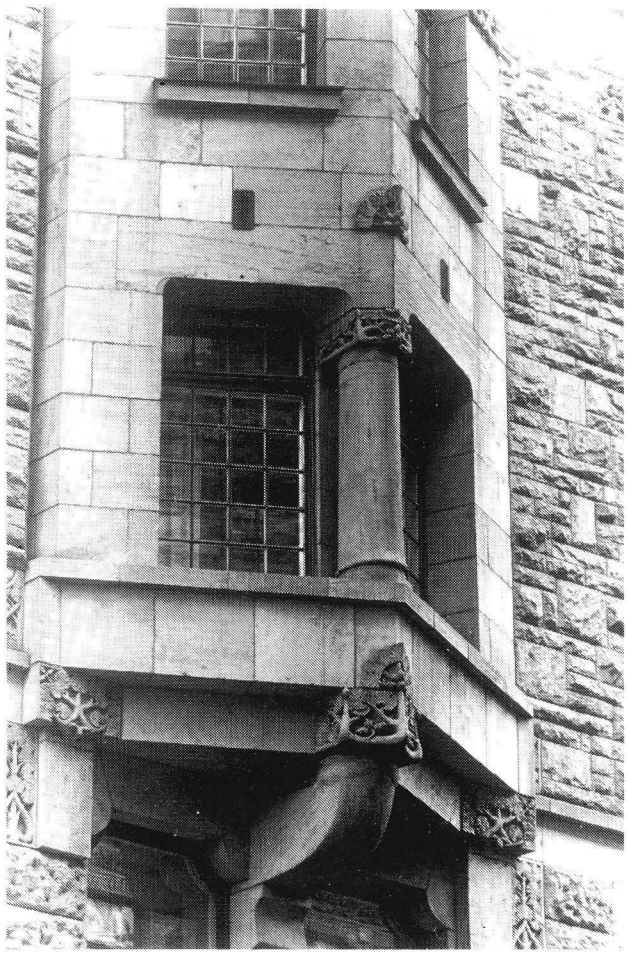

Fig. 159. The Pohjola building, projection of the Mikonkatu facade. (Photo SRM/Risto Kamunen).

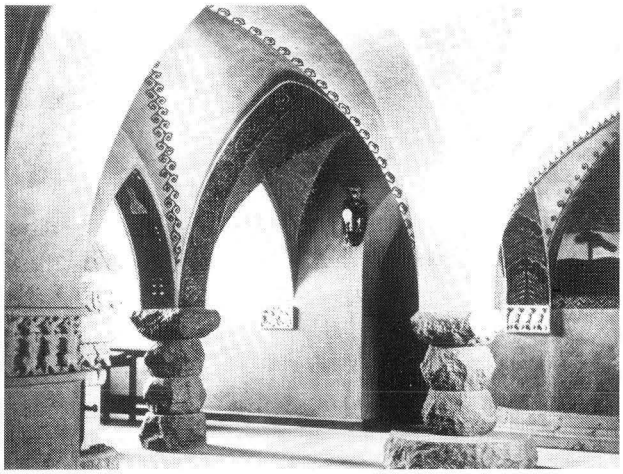

Fig. 160. The building for the students' union of the Polytechnical Institute of Helsinki, Lönnrotinkatu 29, Helsinki, 1901-03 by Ivar Thomé and Karl Lindahl. The entrance lobby. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

to themselves, and were of secondary importance for the whole. In an apartment building designed by the office of Grahn, Hedman, Wasastjerna at Fabianinkatu 4 – Pohjoinen Makasiinikatu 7 (1904–05), the smooth plaster facades are atectonic. At the corner, covering the fourth and fifth storeys, is an Ionic colossal order in very low and partly negative relief (Fig. 161). The actual wall surface continues above the entablature. This fully classical quote is a separate reference and without any links with the other themes applied in the building. In the same way fully classical colossal columns with entasis were used in an otherwise anti-classical and atectonic facade in an apartment building at Bulevardi 17 designed by Gustaf Estlander (1904–05). The architects of the period were aware of the heritage of classicism, but deliberately kept it in the background.

Not very long after they had been rejected, classicized columns became more prominent, but their forms no longer strove towards recognizability in stylistic-historical terms. The Pirtti building in Helsinki, designed by Eliel Saarinen and built in 1904, linked two major lines of approach, usually regarded as antithetical – classicism and the medieval (Fig. 162). The first two floors consist of a fluted colossal colonnade without classicizing capitals. The part above it, with a steeply pitched roof and only a small opening for a balcony, made reference to the houses of medieval ports. The whole can be comprehended only through two different frames of reference. In the same year, Saarinen prepared designs for the Helsinki railway station, in which the facade facing Asematori square had a long row of half-columns without capitals with the closed wall surface above referring already to an attic (Fig. 163, 167). Rows of colums were soon linked to

Fig. 161. Fabianinkatu 4 – Pohjoinen Makasiinikatu 7, Helsinki, 1904-05 by the office Grahn, Hedman & Wasastjerna. (Photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

Fig. 162. The Pirtti building, Eteläesplanadi 22, Helsinki, 1904 by Eliel Saarinen. Demolished. (Photo SRM).

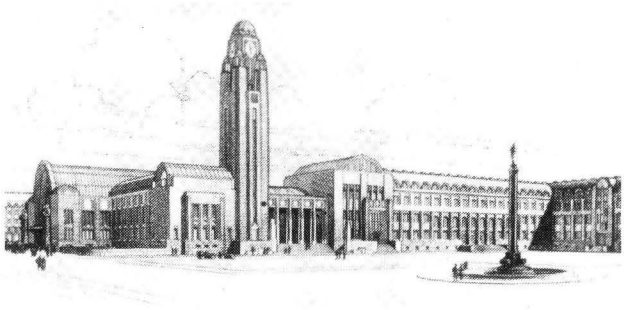

Fig. 163. Helsinki railway station. From a series of plans by Eliel Saarinen, begun after the architectural competition in 1904. The final version from 1909. Cf. Fig. 167. (Original and photo SRM).

symmetry and central axes, and the architecture surrounding them began to have a classicizing basic tone. In 1908 Sonck's Mortgage Association building introduced to the Esplanade setting a fully plastic colossal colonnade.

Even before the Mortgage Association building, Sonck had linked to his designs tectonic themes of a classicizing character, but in reduced form and usually in anti-classical entities they cannot at first glance be seen as bearing and borne elements. In the "Sol" project from 1905 for a primary school, a volume mainly presenting itself as a tower because of its high pyramid roof extends towards the street. However, if we disregard the roof, we are left with a classicizing structure, where the beam above the rusticated ground floor with its arched openings bears two colossal orders. At the sides are thick half-columns with narrower ones in between, which together bear the weight of the closed attic storey. In reviewing Sonck's principles of composition it was seen how this theme is repeated in the 1907 project for the House of Parliament.

Alongside architecture in stone, combinations of horizontal and vertical supports were also applied in the wooden architecture of the period. The older log architecture of Finland had been based on the horizontal use of wood, and the upright supports which became common from the 1890s onwards were the result of applying concepts specific to the period in traditional technique. At Kalela, the studio and villa of the painter Akseli Gallen-Kallela built in 1894, the overhanging gable part is supported by the log pillars of the veranda, for which protoclassical capitals were carved. In Sonck's *Lasses Villa* upright supports were justified by giving them the shape of East Karelian grave-posts (Fig. 164). The use of log columns or pillars was taken to the extreme by Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen. In Saarinen's part of the Hvitträsk complex the high uprights supporting the staircase wall of the large hall had capitals carved out of pieces of log, again a reference to the timber origins of tectonics (Fig. 165). In Lindgren's part, large upright logs support an upper storey overhanging the outer stairs (Fig. 155). These, and many similar cases, were related to archaisms, but they also show an interest in tectonics reduced to its basic features – not only in stone but also in blockwork technique that was left visible.

Although Finnish architecture experienced a clear shift towards classicism around the year 1910, this did not imply the design and shaping of its basic elements – columns, entablatures and pediments – in the 19th-century manner according to set canons or periodization. An example is the obvious, but also unorthodox, classicized facade of the Mortgage Association building. Working on the facade of an apartment building at Maneesikatu 4 in 1909, Sonck

Fig. 164. View towards the sea from the balcony of *Lasses Villa*. (Photo SRM).

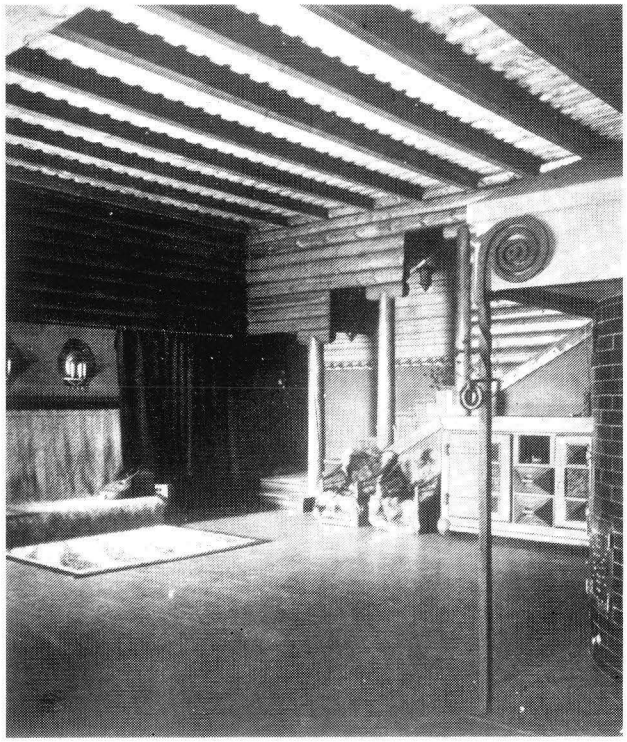

Fig. 165. Hvitträsk by Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen, 1901-03. The hall of the Saarinen wing. (Photo SRM).

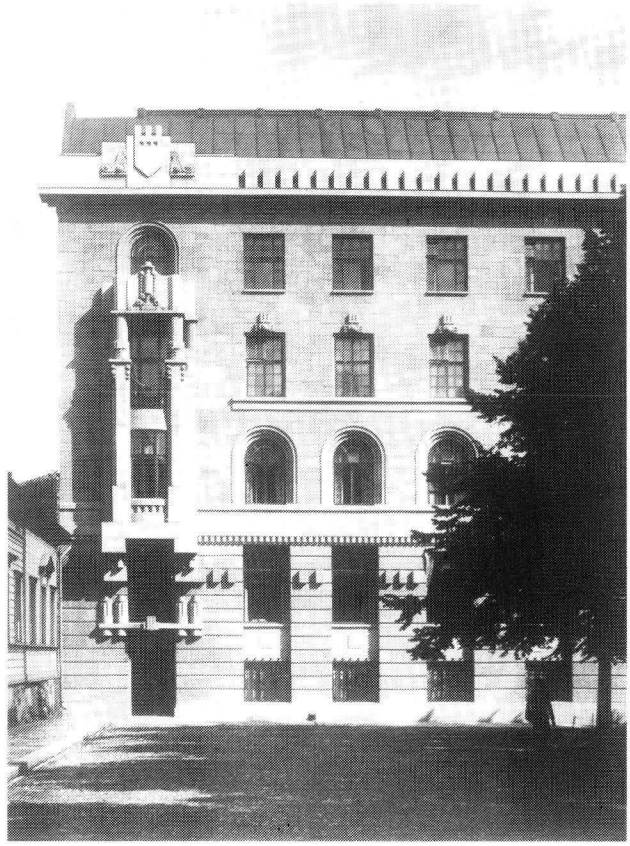

Fig. 166. The Suomi Insurance Company building, Lönnrotinkatu 5, Helsinki, 1909-10 by Armas Lindgren. Southwest facade. (Photo SRM/Nils Wasastjerna).

used five twin columns each two storeys high. They support an entablature, but the basis is an overhanging balcony (Fig. 168). This liberal attitude towards the basic rules of classicism raised criticism, and the architect Waldemar Wilenius reproached Sonck for this solution.[35] The rules of classical tectonics were deliberately broken so that this new variant of classicism could not be seen as a continuation of an already discarded tradition. The doctrine had been rejected around the turn of the century and the formerly binding programme could now even be used ironically.

Classical elements were used in highly different and individual ways. It was seen above how Sonck usually tried to design the columns as part of a structurally credible image achieved by the stones of the facade. On the other hand, Armas Lindgren used bearing themes, denticulated listels and consoles as elements of composition, which mainly enhanced the appearance of the facade rather than appearing in structurally logical roles.[36] The Suomi insurance company building (Helsinki, 1909–11) by Lindgren includes console structures of exaggerated dimensions which only partly support the themes above them (Fig. 166). The main entrance of the Kaleva insurance company building in Helsinki (1911–13) is surrounded by heavy, fluted monolithic columns, but the stone facades as a whole do not attempt to create a uniform structural image extending from the foundation to the roof. There were also differences in the correspondence of exteriors and interiors. In Sonck's works, the themes of the facades were continued at least to some degree in the interior, as in the Mortgage Association building and the Stock Exchange. In Eliel Saarinen's Lahti Town Hall (1911–13) the exterior is of homogeneous *rohbau* brickwork, while the walls of the council hall are surrounded by fluted Doricist half-columns.

In connection with archaisms, links were seen with similar trends in other areas of the arts. If Finnish architecture after the middle of the first decade of this century clearly progressed towards classical themes, was this then part of an overall process involving the other arts as well? – It is hard to demonstrate any classicizing, i.e. antique, themes in the painting of the period. On the other hand, the so-called principle of the pure palette made its breakthrough around this time, when the darker scale of colour of the preceding decade was abandoned, as were themes from folklore and mythical prehistory. This also applied to some degree to poetry and prose. In music, Jean Sibelius went on to an increased reduction of forms. The arts in Finland appear to have been characterized by a state of change, in which content and means of presentation that had mainly come about in the 1890s were rejected in different ways. Classicizing tendencies appear to have been part of this process, but they mostly dominated

the field of architecture. In 1907, when Akseli Gallen-Kallela himself made the frame of his painting "Purren valitus" (The lament of the boat), it had a stylobate in the lower part from which Doricist columns rise to support the entablature of the upper part. In this case, a theme from the regional heritage of folk poetry was enframed by a level of reference derived from Antiquity and the universal background of Western culture.

IV.7. The sphere of influences

IV.7.1. Finland

Despite the importance of applying historical material, contemporary praxis was for Sonck the all-encompassing and guiding frame of reference. It meant working in a field of impulses that operated on the same chronological plane and was formed by other architects both in Finland and abroad. It was from this level that Sonck sought points of departure for his work, mainly among his own generation which was regarded as young. Many of the leading figures of turn-of-the-century architecture, with their aims towards modernity, were born – like Sonck – around the year 1870. Their ideas were quickly disseminated through the trade press which had rapidly grown and employed developed printing techniques. While contemporary international material offered a growing array of changing prototypes and travel was more feasible and more common than before, the specific stimuli of Finnish architecture became more concentrated.

In reviewing Sonck's career and architectural production, the fast growth of the architectural profession in Finland could be observed from the 1890s onwards. This was parallelled by increased urban construction and the related differentiation of activities, which placed new requirements on construction also in the public sector. Also referred to was the generally accepted practice of competitions, which encouraged the aims of architects towards individual forms of expression. The growth of a freely financed architectural market, increasingly separated from state control, brought to the fore clients who favoured innovative and distinctive designs also for the purpose of enhancing their own profile. The cycles of consumption were fast even on the formal level. This combination of supply, demand and change was most intensive in Helsinki, the main centre and capital of the nation. It was there that trends which had developed in the rich fields of stimuli of the major centres were combined with the events of a much smaller artistic centre which was nevertheless highly significant for its own area and in fact the only one available.[1]

In his analysis of the arts in Europe in 1907, H. L.C. Jaffe discussed the problem of generations with regard to stylistic uniformity, i.e. the question of the degree to which contemporaneity guides artistic individuality. Instead of a mechanically predestinating age, Jaffe places importance on the conditions under which a certain age group developed its means of expression.[2] In Finnish architecture of the early 20th century, the question of generations is relevant as many of the architects active in Helsinki at the time had been born between the years 1865 and 1875. They were the offspring of a narrow middle-class or bourgeois stratum in a small cultural sphere, and they studied in Helsinki in the nation's only school of architecture. Contemporaneity was thus combined with a parallel process of professional and artistic growth, as underlined by Jaffe. All of the architects had studied under Gustaf Nyström, among other teachers. Furthermore, this generation dominated Finnish architecture from the turn of the century onwards, and – with only a few exceptions – their works were not interspersed with the production of older architects, still active and adhering to the older ideals of style. The architectural profession did not have an established or productive "old master" dominating the field. The young generation was aware of the ease by which they had achieved a certain degree of hegemony. Writing in the journal *Arkitekten* in 1904, Sonck observed: "Whereas we do not have old architecture like other nations, we have also avoided, in the advent of new ideas, hard struggles against conservative opinion, and the breakthrough of these ideas has been relatively easy, unfortunately perhaps all too easy" ("Då vi ej likt de mesta andra nationer egt en gammal arkitektur, hafva vi icke häller, då nya ideer sökt sig fram, behöft föra någon hårdnackad kamp mot en konservativ opinion, utan deras genombrott har skett jämförelsevis lätt, tyvärr kanske alltför lätt").[3] Criticism within the young generation was mainly voiced by individuals who had worked abroad, such as Sigurd Frosterus, who had worked for Henry van de Velde, and Gustaf Strengell, who had assisted Harrison Townsend. The sphere of stimuli and influences in early 20th-century Finnish architecture was mainly based on the situation in a single city where similarly trained architects dominated, construction was fast and competitions were arranged for ideas. In this context, Sonck was a leading arbiter of style who had established his position and whose office held an appeal to colleagues a few years his junior. In the intensified atmosphere of the period, which also involved active contacts on the private level, ideas were quickly transmitted, and there is no reason to trace the almost simultaneous features of

many architects from elsewhere than outside this professional community, for example from major centres abroad. However, in Sonck's case we may observe such a degree of reaction to the works of a number of other architects that the adoption of influences can well be claimed.

The influence of Gustaf Nyström's teaching and works is indisputable, although it had a reverse effect around the turn of the century as a prototype to be rejected. On the other hand, the principles passed on by Nyström, as discussed in the preceding chapter, had a lasting effect on Sonck's works especially when he returned to the use of axes, symmetry and columns. Sonck was taught structural theory by Onni Törnqvist (Tarjanne) at the Polytechnical Institute, and the latter seems to have provided models or prototypes for the Lignell building, whose forms and brickwork closely resemble Törnqvist's 1895 project for a secondary school in Lappeenranta.[4] A few years later, Törnqvist entrusted Sonck with the design of the facades for two of his multi-storey buildings in Helsinki (Pohjoisranta 10 and Fredrikinkatu 35). The teacher went on to apply the forms of these facades in the exterior of a building erected at Pietarinkatu 5 in 1901. Also to be remembered is the fact that Törnqvist's Finnish Theatre (present National Theatre), a stone building, had been completed in 1901, before Sonck began to work in stone.

The above projects continued the relationship of teacher and student. The significance of the Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen firm and Eliel Saarinen in particular has already been referred to at several points. These architects embarked upon their careers a few years later than Sonck, but they quickly achieved leading roles in the profession because of their significant commissions and successes in competitions. It appears that Sonck kept a close watch especially on the works of these colleagues and reacted to changes in their production. A uniform facade surface and related plasticity were only two of the features that could be seen in the projects of the above firm before Sonck reached his own conclusions regarding the same principles. Sonck's entry in the competition for the Finnish pavilion at the Paris World Fair of 1900 was based on a symmetrically divided rectangular form with light-coloured plaster surfaces, whereas the winning entry by Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen was asymmetrical, picturesque and stone-clad. The Pohjola building, designed by the firm, demonstrated the ways in which stone as well as medieval and archaistic features could be applied in an urban setting. This predated Sonck's work with similar problems in the Telephone Association building. A corresponding connection existed between the plans for the Helsinki railway station from 1904 and the competition for

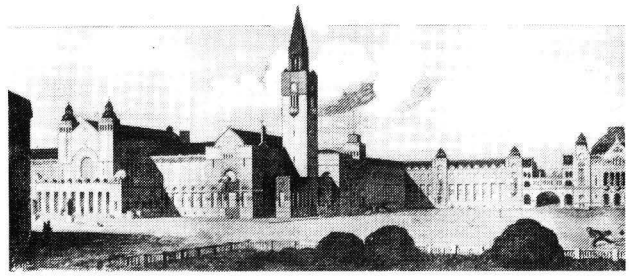

Fig. 167. Competition entry for a new railway station in Helsinki by Eliel Saarinen, 1904. I prize. Cf. Fig. 163. (Photo SRM).

the Kallio church held in 1906 (Fig. 167). From this point onwards there are no more similarities, and after the Kallio church Sonck's works no longer displayed views or positions regarding the works of other Finnish architects. Sonck's relationship with Saarinen and his colleagues was not derivative. It is more probable that their aims were sufficiently close to his own goals to provide impulses for projects already under preparation and to inspire new and competing concepts.[5]

Because of this rapidly changing and rich sphere of stimuli and impulses the influence of Sonck's works on the architecture of his day is difficult to verify. Especially his works of the first years of the 20th century are so individual that their solutions could hardly have served other architects except in the case of clearly identifiable loans. Traces of Sonck's works can be seen in the designs of his friends and former assistants. An example is the facade of the Kihlman house (Korkeavuorenkatu 19, Helsinki) from 1899 which was designed by Bertel Jung and closely resembles the Lignell building. After his joint office with Sonck disbanded, Birger Federley's designs followed for some time the starting points provided by the Tirkkonen building. Although Josef Stenbäck, the pioneer of church architecture in stone, was many years older than Sonck and his stone architecture of the 1890s preceded Sonck's work in this area, he nevertheless saw St. John's Church as a suitable formal prototype for some of his works of the 1900s.[6]

It is, however, obvious that Sonck himself saw that the features of his own works had spread excessively and in contexts of poorer architectural quality. In 1904 he wrote of how "epigonous architecture" was taking over Helsinki and how this "decadence" will paralyze the architects (i.e. Sonck) who now have to see their concepts, still under preparation, being spoiled in unskilled hands. Architecture should be left to those ". . . with both the will and the ability to create independently" (". . . som äga såväl vilja som förmåga att skapa självständigt").[7] This quick spread of themes separated from their original frames of reference may also have led to their rejection and accordingly to the changes wit-

nessed in Sonck's architecture. The "taming" via repetition of innovations that were clearly distinctive when created led to new means of distinction. The typical facade design of Sonck's works of the 1910s, with their projections and vertical themes in the middle part, became one of the most common formulas of facade design in that decade.

IV.7.2. The international scene

In his study of new foreign architecture, either through publications or by travelling, Sonck oriented himself in varions ways with the available material which by then covered the whole of the Western world. His attitudes concerning different cultures changed; some became prominent for a few years, while others were continuous subjects of interest.

Both geographically and culturally Scandinavia was closest. Norwegian wooden architecture of the late 19th century, labelled "dragon style" (dragestil) and "Ancient Nordic" (fornnordisk), had clear influences on Sonck's corresponding works of the 1890s.[8] A few years later, Norwegian stone churches came to the fore. Medieval principles were freely applied in these. In this connection, the problems of history, nationality and material were of topical interest in the planning of St. John's Church.[9] Denmark was a familiar place of transit on trips to the Continent, but its new architecture appears to have influenced Sonck's means of expression only when he returned to the use of unplastered red brick in the late 1910s. From the Danish perspective, the courtyard of the Stock Exchange building presented familiar features, as pointed out by Francis Beckett: ". . . it shows that the artist has been in the courtyard of Nyrop's City Hall" (. . .det fortaeller at Kunstneren har gaaet under Nyrops Raadhushal").[10] According to unverified information, Sonck had trained in the office of Anton Rosen.[11] This would have been in the 1890s when he would have had the opportunity of studying Danish brick architecture, which in turn was taken up again around the year 1910. Of the Nordic countries, Sweden remained closest to Sonck, but its architecture does not seem to have had any significant effect on his means of expression before the 1910s. On the general level, ideas from Sweden which were still clearly present in the late 1890s appear to have been set aside in Finnish architecture in the early 1900s. The Swedish trade press and Swedish books on architecture were still an important channel of international ideas, and the technical background of Sonck's use of stone is partly Swedish.[12] When stone came to be replaced by brick, Sonck became interested in contemporary Swedish architecture. The Stockholm City Hall, designed by his acquaintance Ragnar Östberg and under construction at the time, appears to have been a background factor for Sonck's competition entry for the Helsinki City Hall in 1913. Apart from the facade material, there are other similarities with the slightly irregular trapezoids of the yards in Östberg's building.[13] In connection with Nordic impulses and contacts it must be remembered that they were organized and strengthened through Nordic architects' meetings arranged on a regular basis in the early 1900s.

The historically central sphere of united Germany was still of primary importance for Finnish architecture with respect to style and technique. In Sonck's case this could be seen in the Mortgage Association building and the Kallio church, among other works. Sonck made recourse to Germany in the main drawing stage of St. Michael's Church, and features of German church architecture can also be seen in his following church projects. The use of brick in the secular architecture of the 1890s can also be derived from this background. We must also keep in mind the early interest displayed by German architects in the works of H.H. Richardson, and the local applications of these which passed on American influences mixed with historical German material.[14] When Sonck and other Finnish architects went on to employ axiality and classicizing themes, the designs of Peter Behrens, in turn emulating K.F. Schinkel, were without doubt a subject of interest.

Vienna was the newer centre of influence for the German-speaking world and Europe as a whole, and it was also a stopping place for Sonck on his travels.[15] In his multi-storey buildings of the late 1890s, Sonck applied the themes of Otto Wagner and his circle for decorative purposes. The Viennese background is clearly present in some of Sonck's competition entries, such as the project for the Turku art museum. This centre came to the fore again in the Mortgage Association and Stock Exchange projects. Especially in the latter, the classicism of sharp-edged articulation and the themes of the upper part of the facade were closely related to the works of Otto Wagner. It was also seen how the combining of metals and gilding with facade materials derived from this source as well.[16]

Of the major centres of European architecture around the turn of the century, England, Scotland, France and Belgium were not discussed above. Although Sonck did not visit these countries, he was still able to keep in touch with new influences, as will be seen in connection with the United States. Art nouveau was present in a random manner, mainly in windows, as in the omega-shaped openings in a project for a church in Nilsiä from 1900. Seeking impulses from abroad, Sonck was oriented in both direct and indirect influences along an axis ranging from Scandinavia via the German-speaking countries

to the Mediterranean. The latter interested him because of its historical strata. In this respect, he followed the traditional route of cultural influences into Finland. A new area of interest was the United States, which had become familiar especially through the development of printing techniques.

The influence of the stone architecture of Romanesque themes developed by H.H. Richardson and his followers on early 20th-century Finland has been observed not only in its own day but also in recent years by several scholars.[17] Knowledge of these phenomena spread to Finland mainly through German architecture and publications. Also Swedish publications provided written information. Finnish architects of the period did not travel to America to study its architecture. The illustrated work "Neubauten in Nordamerika" from 1897–99 was also known here. Its large high-quality photographs, including architectural details, showed, among other features, the variation of texture on stone surface. The introduction of American features in Finnish architecture some fifteen years after their initial blooming is partly due to the late interest they generated in Germany. The illustrated works presented original projects, but the new German architecture also influenced the situation in Finland. It combined Richardsonia features with the material of its own Romanesque architecture, with stone as the linking factor.

Around the year 1900 American stone buildings appealed to several architects in Finland. Most clearly related to the American Neo-Romanesque was the Finnish Theatre by Onni Törnqvist (Tarjanne). Sonck found in Richardsonian architecture a useful element for his intended new synthesis replacing his finely detailed plaster architecture of Continental orientation. The robust stone architecture of America was well suited to the expressive materials chosen by Sonck, as well as for picturesque and asymmetrical effects and the archaistic use of historical themes, partly of domestic origin. Features that can be identified as American were already present in the proposed alterations to the plans for St. Michael's Church (1897), but they were basically brought forth in St. John's Church. Of the individual themes the most prominent one is a projection with a semi-circular base and a conical roof which was later applied in the Eira hospital, among other projects. The overall appearance of the Telephone Association building immediately reminds the viewer of Richardson, but Sonck assimilated these influences into his own forms in a way that makes it difficult to name actual points of contact or similarities. The influences applied for example to principles of composition, and the articulation of the Telephone Association building and the Eira hospital, among other projects, resembles the carefully studied asymmetry of Richardson's buildings. Americanism was only one element, and by no means dominant. Sonck's works do not involve points of departure dictating the whole volume such as were applied by Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen in the Pohjola building.[18] On the other hand, the same prototypes were applied in Germany, also in the medium of stone. Sonck used features and traits that can be regarded as Richardsonian for only a few years, and they were finally abandoned around the time of the Kallio church competition. Nevertheless, they provided a significant impulse to the planning process of three of his main works. This phenomenon demonstrates the unification of Western culture into a transatlantic entity, where the influences of the formerly receiving party extended not only to the geographical extremes of this sphere, but could also bring about changes in the cultural products of the receiver, in this case in architecture.[19]

In attempting to relate Sonck's foreign influences with his works we must also take into account the concepts of centre, periphery and province. Finland had traditionally been in a peripheral position in relation to the major centres of style in Europe, and even in relation to Stockholm. By the beginning of the 20th century, the time-lag in adopting stylistic innovations had been bridged, and Finland was now part of a simultaneous and enlarged sphere of influences and stimuli. The situation was no longer one of receiving, but of conscious selection from continuously accessible material that was available to an ever-increasing degree. It was in this international atmosphere that Finnish architecture displayed tendencies stressing its specific nature, according to which local traditions and materials were to be utilized.

Jan Bialostocki has defined peripheries as areas distant from centres and susceptible to influences from several directions. The themes offered by various locuses can be used selectively and with discretion. In this sense, Finland in the early 20th-century was a definite periphery in relation to Paris, Vienna, Berlin and other centres. The term province implies an area dependent on only one dominating centre, the features of which are repeated in simpler form in the former. In the earlier stages of her history, Finland had mainly been provincial in relation to Stockholm, and at the beginning of the 20th century the rural towns of Finland were provincial in relation to Helsinki. The concept of periphery is not a negative one, and peripheries often create singular combinations of the influences and impulses of several centres together with local elements. In connection with Lars Sonck and the early 20th-century architecture of Finland, we may subscribe to Bialostocki's observation that "it seems that under advantageous conditions the periphery may be highly original and creative."[20]

V. SUMMARY

The initial material of this study consists of the exceptional number of buildings, town plans and unrealized projects created by Lars Sonck during the course of a career lasting almost sixty years. The material displays a broad distribution in chronological, functional, technical and regional terms. There were also stylistic changes in his architecture from the 1890s to the 1950s. These applied to both his individual expression and to the overall course of development guided by prevailing trends. In this context, it was obvious that a traditional monograph could only present a superficial overview of this material. Without more thorough analyses of specific works, it would have easily led to a cursory description of Sonck's specific character as an architect, which was susceptible to historical change and by no means an unchanging factor. Without a detailed discussion, Sonck's buildings could not have been the subject of the individual description and analysis due to them as works of art. On the other hand, it would seem possible – on the basis of the above – to focus on the common features of the works providing a broader perspective of Sonck's production. As this implies hundreds of buildings alone, it is clear that analysis cannot be extended to all of them. The selection of a few buildings from over a long time span would again lead, in the context of a single study, to unduly large blanks and the obscuring of continuity. For these reasons, I decided to concentrate on a single period regarded as central to Sonck's production. Furthermore, this period contains two different stages, whereby the material was assumed to demonstrate changes also on the individual level. The selection of a brief time span of some ten years with works regarded as representative was also based on the assumption that Sonck's career entailed periods of greater and lesser importance for himself as well as for Finnish architecture in general.

The study started from the assumption that Sonck achieved his status as a leading architect at the beginning of the 20th century by designing the buildings upon which his reputation came to be based both in Finland and abroad. This initial assumption has not changed during the course of the study. The works have in fact shown themselves to be of a much more varied basis than they appeared to be in the selection stage. In this sense, the study has confirmed its own points of departure. The period reviewed begins in the middle of Sonck's career on the grounds that St. John's Church and the projects that immediately followed it were seen as differing in many ways from the aims of the preceding works. During the course of the study, projects such as the Telephone Association building and the Privatbanken revealed a number of features, including levels of applying historical themes and materials, which clearly indicated a broadening and deepening of Sonck's means of expression. The change in expression within this period, already sketched out in the initial stage, and its ending in practices that remained established throughout the rest of Sonck's career could be seen as more comprehensive than hitherto assumed. It was related to a number of factors, including axiality, composition, border surfaces and the independent application of the heritage of classicism.

On the other hand, it was seen that many of the features characteristic of the latter part of the period were present in some form in all stages, and were passed on into Sonck's later production. Some of them can be derived from the concepts of axes, volume and the universality of classicism as a praxis guiding the planning process, which were adopted by the architect as a student. It was, however, obvious that the classicizing designs of the late 1900s and early 1910s did not represent the way of thinking of late 19th-century architecture, where the functional type defined the array of forms and the historical associations presented by it.

The material revealed themes that had been worked and developed continuously. These applied to features or parts in buildings of different types as well as to the development of a single type of building from one project to another. The whole period was combined by structural thinking, expressed in both visual form and as actual bearing articulation. This feature was present in many ways in Sonck's ideas concerning walls and in tectonics demonstrating the relationship of bearing and borne parts. Finally, this thinking, which at first employed archaisms and medieval associations, among others,

merged into classicizing, symmetrical facade design and remained a permanent praxis in Sonck's production. The problems of church architecture had already been addressed in Sonck's projects from his student days, and the series launched by St. Michael's Church in the 1890s ended with the Kallio church. In the latter, the concept is realized with axiality and is devoid of any obvious historical references. The basic division of the volume was to be a background for many of Sonck's future church designs. Thus, the grounds set out for the end of the period selected were further verified during the study, and the detailed analysis of the works did not give any cause to change the period or projects selected. The simultaneity of the planning and construction of the works showed how ideas were realized in several buildings under planning and construction at the same time. This feature presented a division of the material, whereby the works of the early and late parts formed definite and somewhat specific groups in which churches marked the beginning of the generation of ideas.

This study proceeded from the view, presented in several connections over the decades, that Sonck was one of the leading Finnish architects of his day. It could thus be assumed that his central production would provide further light on the whole of the period. Research showed that this leading role was ensured by his ability to create architecture regarded as new and innovative through major commissions provided by important clients. In accordance with the views presented in the trade press, this was seen as characteristic of Sonck's architecture from the 1890s to the 1910s. It could also be seen that Sonck was bound to the overall development of architecture in Finland, in which he also developed practices already introduced by others. As a whole, this was in turn related to a broader, international field of impulses and stimuli, to which Sonck had access through publications, travel and personal contacts. His professional activities also bear witness to the ability of an active periphery to assimilate the impulses of major centres as part of a locally selected material. The result formed a new synthesis in relation to both domestic and international trends.

The analyses of Sonck's works demonstrated his ability to create original combinations from an extensive material embodying history, materials, townscape and functional requirements. This presents the image of an architect commanding a large repertoire and producing results that stand out as individual works of art in the architecture of his day. It was specifically this artistic inclination, focused on the independent design of facades, and an originality characteristic of individual buildings and his production as a whole, that dominated Sonck's architectural expression – and not aims towards solutions that could be generalized or towards rationalized structures. In this sense, he conformed to the role of artist-architect, common in his day, and continued a professional concept that had become established among Finnish architects in the 1890s. Sonck achieved this solely through private practice, which was clearly the result of a process that had begun much earlier in which architects separated themselves to an increasing degree from the public sector that had dominated the field. It is obvious that the community of Finnish architects regarded Sonck as one of their foremost representatives, as shown by the extensive descriptions of his works on the pages of *Arkitekten*, the professional journal. Sonck was thus a member of the select leading circle of his profession, whose works were the subject of interest even outside the borders of Finland.

In a way, Sonck served as a bridge between late 19th-century and early 20th-century construction praxis. In his studies, he had progressed the long route from master-builder to architect. Technically, he was bound to established practices, although he flexibly adopted the new technique of concrete in the early 1900s. Sonck was traditional in the sense that he underlined the structuring of his exteriors either as walls or as column-and-lintel systems. Concrete provided an aid which did not affect the articulation of the facade, e.g. as a large glass surface or as details differing from the statics of the walls. His log architecture shows how he could modify old practices by proceeding from the possibilities provided by timber-working techniques.

Sonck's leading role in Finnish architecture can thus be defined through architectural qualities, analysable in specific works. These included the design of volume, facade articulation, the shaping of rooms and spaces, the visual and factual structuring of the exterior into a logical entity, reference to townscape and setting, and a varied and expressive command of materials. Sonck concentrated on these features throughout the period discussed, although they were manifested in different ways at the beginning of the period and at its end.

The group of buildings consisting of St. John's Church, the Telephone Association building, the Privatbanken and the Eira hospital are characterized by aims towards plasticity, three-dimensional volume and an emphasis on the omnipotence of stone walls. The Middle Ages were the main historical frame of reference, whose themes were used in allusion without references that could be identified in an antiquarian or stylistic-historical sense. Sonck's works also included features of the northern variants of medieval architecture as well as modified fragments of Finnish monuments. The tectonic entities of the buildings were often executed in stone and involved archaisms. An example is the colonnade of

the Telephone Association building. A background factor was the anti-classicism characteristic of the whole of the above group. Within this context, tectonics achieved forms deriving from the early, preclassical periods of architecture. In Finnish culture, archaisms were part of a general trend that had come about in the 1890s, in which old contents and practices were returned to. These works by Sonck can be described as representing a romantic trend employing picturesque composition. They did not, however, contain much material that could be derived from any specifically national heritage, and the little that was became merged into a synthesis based on general considerations of architectural history, modern trends and esthetic points of departure. In the articulation, triangles and diagonals were emphasized in floor plans, volumes and facades. These buildings also strive to characterize their setting in an individualistic manner, creating variations in the regular townscape of Helsinki.

The long planning and construction process of the Kallio church led from the frame of reference of the above group to the principles embodied in the completed church, the Mortgage Association building and the Stock Exchange building. Asymmetry, fluid combinations of volumes, programmatic anti-classicism and plastic three-dimensionality came to be replaced by a dominant central axis, symmetry, modular design achieved by horizontals and verticals and obvious classicizing, even achieved by a plastic colossal colonnade. Sonck's new classicism was abstract and unorthodox in relation to the traditional orders of classicism. Its details did not refer to any specific periods or styles. On the other hand, it can be seen as linked to the themes of the Empire-style centre of Helsinki which still dominated the city at the time. Through a similar manner of allusion, the volume of the Kallio church was linked to the international tradition of cathedral architecture. Sonck's clear but original classicizing approach signified a renewal on the personal level, but also brought back into use solutions common to the 19th century. Themes which had become characteristic of his works, such as columns, were made part of a classicizing frame of reference and were linked by it to the most common basic solutions of architectural history. Of equal importance was the change in Sonck's design. Cubes, rectangles, circles, axes and separate planes now became central elements. These features were more a reflection of Sonck's inner development than an application of any overall architectural concept.

The above was connected to more extensive factors characterizing both foreign and domestic architecture. Over the years, foreign material came to be used in an increasingly internalized way, and the transition to axes, bound contours and classicizing conformed to contemporary developments on the Continent. The changes that came about in the period of Sonck's career under review applied to Finnish architecture in general. Sonck was not always the first to present or introduce the techniques or articulations that he applied in his works, such as undressed stone or symmetrical facades. Instead, he often developed them further from their original starting points. For example, the masonry of the Telephone Association building was one of the most versatile examples of the structural and esthetic possibilities of this material at the time. The symmetrical Mortgage Association building re-introduced the fully plastic colossal colonnade into the centre of Helsinki after an interlude of many years. Thus, Sonck modified and individualized concepts and ideas common to his day, combining them with the permanent themes of his expression and producing results that even now – ninety years later – stand out as original artefacts. The present study has been inspired both by the concepts they exemplify and by the works themselves.

EPILOGUE

From innovation to convention

In the above study a chronological span was laid out beginning partly in the 1890s but essentially starting at the turn of the century and extending up to the early 1910s. Within this period, clear changes were observed in Lars Sonck's architecture in both composition and expression. Especially at the beginning of the period, innovativeness was emphasized, whereas the facade themes of the end of the period were seen as having formed permanent conventions in Sonck's architecture. Reviewed in this connection are Sonck's works following the Kallio church, the Mortgage Association building and the Helsinki Stock Exchange. The purpose here is to present further evidence for the claim that Sonck's means of expression became standardized.

Works such as the Telephone Association building and the Eira hospital involved innovation of two kinds. On the first level, they were examples of something new in Finnish architecture in general, and on the second level they marked a new way of combining themes already present in the architect's earlier works in building tasks and commissions differing from traditional ones. Sonck's individual course of development fell in with the general development of style in such a way that innovations on the personal level were to be regarded as factors furthering the architecture of the whole country. With reference to certain published expressions of opinion, it could be seen how this situation still applied in connection with the Kallio church and even the Stock Exchange building. The clear changes in Sonck's individual style guided overall development and conformed to its expressed tendencies of renewal to such a degree that his free classicism can still be described as innovative on the same two levels.

The facades of the Mortgage Association building and the Stock Exchange are similar not only with regard to their central axes but also in their components. For example, the projections had their own symmetry. This made it possible to separate these themes to be used in other connections and to serve facade compositions of different general appearance. At this stage, Sonck established for his own use an array of themes that could be repeated and combined to solve the problems of projects of varying scale and function. This grammar was by no means adhered to in all of Sonck's buildings, but it appeared in sufficiently many significant works to permit us to speak of Sonck's conventionalized, later individual style. His wooden architecture followed its own solutions, which were based on the limitations of log material and were also repeated. In the church projects, a type remained in use which had been established at an early stage, using a rectangular form and a large-faced saddle-back roof. However, the Kallio church had the same significance for the architect's later churches as the above buildings did with respect to his secular architecture.

This standardization of Sonck's expression into clearly repeated conventions was carried out with such a degree of variety that it was not a point of criticism at least in the early 1910s. He had developed means of expression that permitted sufficient variety. It must also be pointed out that the buildings were also characterized by the variation of facade levels and planes and materials, decoration, size and their role in the surrounding townscape. In the late 1920s Sonck still successfully applied the composition of the Stock Exchange building in his multistorey urban buildings. His last major secular work, the Maarianhamina Town Hall, employed a design that was in principle similar to this.

It is clear that individual expression that had become established in this way came into conflict in the 1920s and '30s with views that had developed in cultural, political and economic conditions completely different to those of the Grand Duchy of Finland in the early 1900s. This was especially the case when international modernism, known as functionalism in the Nordic countries, achieved a leading role in Finnish architecture at the beginning of the 1930s. Sonck's means of expression were, however, flexible enough to ensure several commissions in the 1920s and even in the following decade. His numerous unsuccessful competition entries of the 1930s, such as church projects, show how his basic vocabulary that dated back some thirty years could be characterized to conform to the stylistic ideals of the period.

Sonck's established means became "outmoded", and were superseded first by classicistic and later by modernistic ideals. This was typical for an artist whose active career lasted several decades. This had been the fate of Theodor Höijer (1843–1910), the leading figure of the 1880s and early 1890s, who in the early 1900s had to compete for commissions in a stylistic atmosphere that had changed considerably. In situations where the overall development of style remains fairly uniform for a long period in formal terms or in principle, the expression of an individual can be regarded as up-to-date for some time. The history of Finnish architecture contains two such figures, who first actively spread certain ideals in their own work and then enjoyed an honoured status in the framework of these ideals for several decades. Carl Ludvig Engel (1779–1840), who was born in Germany and had studied in Berlin, played an influential role in Finland from 1816 until his death. Although his neoclassicism had begun to be replaced in the 1830s on the European level, it did not meet with any appreciable competition in peripheral Finland. This was also due to Engel's role as the country's leading official architect as head of the Board of Public Building and his undeniable talent. Thus, Engel both studied and worked within the framework of neoclassicism based on mainly on Antiquity. By the 20th century, the cycles of change in styles had become considerably faster than in Engel's time. Alvar Aalto (1898–1976) studied and began his work among the classicizing trends of the late 1910s and the 1920s. But by the end of the '20s he was among the first to turn the mainstream of architectural design towards Continental European modernism. Ideals that had become dominant because of his work remained, albeit modified in execution, among the basic concepts of Finnish architecture up to the 1980s, and are vital even today. In this frame of reference Aalto's late works were generally accepted, and the use of themes developed some fifty years earlier was not regarded as anachronistic. Background factors in this situation were the architect's obvious prowess and his continuous process of renewal. The posthumous realization of some of Aalto's projects, such as the Essen Opera House (designed in 1959 and built in 1988), some thirty years after their initial design, bear witness not only to the skill of the architect but also to the way in which the values of the parties interested in the project were bound to the context of its inception. In contrast, Eliel Saarinen's 1921 project for the Kalevala House in Helsinki could hardly have been realized in the 1950s.

The appended illustrations demonstrate how in Sonck's architectural production features were used that had become common in the period from 1907 to 1910. The main emphasis is on the early 1910s, but examples up to the late 1930s show a clear continuity. The selected material is explicitly schematic to some degree, as the review focuses on facade composition, excluding other architectural effects.

The facade of the Mortgage Association building is repeated in modified form in an apartment building designed in early 1909 (Maneesikatu 4, Helsinki) (Fig. 168) which also has fully plastic colossal columns in pairs. A symmetrical projection, also designed for the Mortgage Association building, was applied as an individual feature in other projects (Unioninkatu 28 B, Helsinki, 1909–10; the alteration of the facade of Sonck's office, 1909–10) (Fig. 169). Generally speaking, Sonck made the rectangular projection into a theme dominating both symmetrical compositions in these years (extension of the Eira hospital, Tehtaankatu 28, Helsinki, 1909–10; Fredrikinkatu 32, Helsinki, 1910–11) (Figs. 170–171) and also slightly asymmetrical ones (Sibeliuksenkatu 11, Helsinki, 1910–11) (Fig. 172). At this stage, two formulas became established. One applied to the enframing of a central field divided by columns or pilasters within more closed fields, as in the Mortgage Association building. The other entailed the verticalization of an entity articulated by two projections, as in the Stock Exchange building. Related to both was a stereometric volume of uniform contour.

In Sonck's entry for the facade of the Suomi insurance company (1909) the projection of the Mortgage Association building became a tower on the central axis (Fig. 173). In the Keskuskirjapaino printing premises (Erottajankatu 4 – Bulevardi 2–4, Helsinki, 1911–13) all of the above features were used, (Fig. 174) with an enframed colonnade in the end wall and verticalization with projections as in the Stock Exchange in the facade facing Bulevardi, as well as a clear rectangularity of volume. Sonck's 1911 designs for a harbour warehouse at Katajanokka in Helsinki (1913–28) employ the schema of the Stock Exchange building, now stretched across a 140-metre-long body and repeated as a smaller variant in the projections and end parts (Fig. 175). These compositions were also applied in apartment buildings (Rahapajankatu 3, Helsinki, 1912–13) and in smaller houses for one or several families (Sibeliuksenkatu 11, Helsinki 1910–11; Villa Stockmann/Baumgartner, Itäinen Puistotie 17, Helsinki, 1911–13; Armfeltintie 4, Helsinki, 1912–13) (Figs. 176–177).

In his entry for the Helsinki City Hall (1913) Sonck presented a facade dominated by a brick surface and employing projections flanking a verticalized field (Fig. 178). This design was applied in telephone exchanges, among other projects (Runeberginkatu 43, Helsinki; Kaarlenkatu 11, Helsinki; both from 1914–15) (Fig. 179). In the City Hall

entry the facade facing Senate Square repeats the features of the Stock Exchange with only pediments and colonnades added to the projections (Fig. 180). Late examples include an apartment building at Tehtaankatu 11–13 (Helsinki, together with Matti Finell, 1928–29) and the Maarianhamina City Hall (1938–39), which demonstrate the flexibility and identifiability of a basic concept chosen much earlier (Figs. 181–182).

Sonck immediately went on to use the composition of the Kallio church in corresponding works. This is most clearly evident in a project of smaller scale for the Finnish church of Porvoo (1910), and in a project for the church of Karkku (1911) which does not employ volumes extending from the tower (Figs. 183–184). The composition in question dominated the Church of Mikael Agricola in Helsinki (1932–35), and it was also the basis for Sonck's entry for the Temppeliaukio church in Helsinki (1933) which employed reduced volumes in accordance with the requirements of the period (Figs. 185–186). The volume of the Kallio church was also reflected in Sonck's secular architecture. The seashore hotel designed in 1916 for the Kulosaari villa community and built in 1917 basially employs two south walls of the Kallio church placed opposite to each other so that the combined nave part forms the main facade of the building facing the sea (Fig. 187).

Fig. 168. Maneesikatu 4 (originally 2 B), Helsinki, 1909-10. (HKRVVA).

Fig. 169. Unioninkatu 28 B, Helsinki, alteration and addition, 1909-10. (HKRVVA).

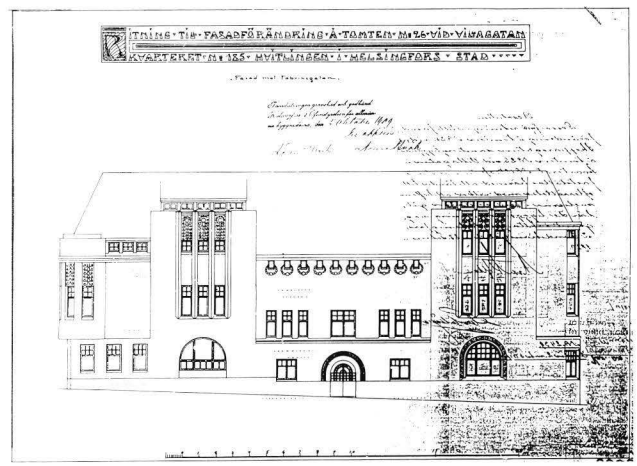

Fig. 170. Extension of the Eira Hospital, Tehtaankatu 28, Helsinki, 1909-10. Later altered by Sonck. (HKRVVA).

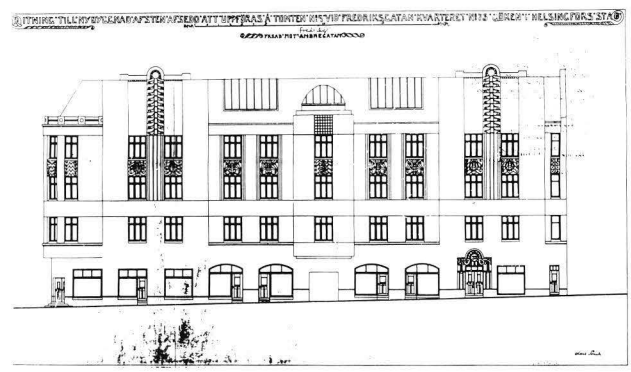

Fig. 171. Fredrikinkatu 32 – Lönnrotinkatu 17, Helsinki, 1911-12. (HKRVVA).

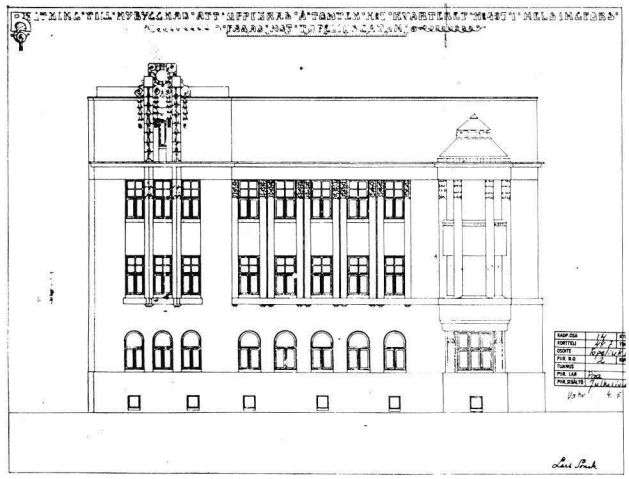

Fig. 172. Sibeliuksenkatu 11, Helsinki, 1910-11. Demolished. (HKRVVA).

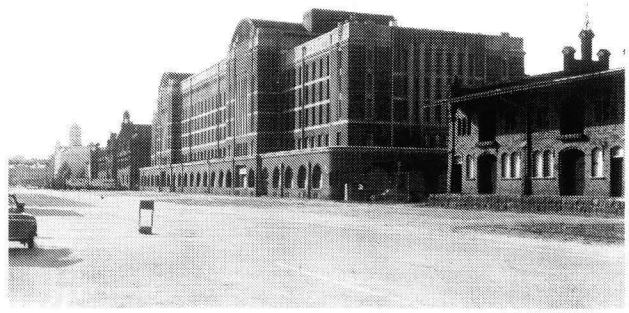

Fig. 175. Harbour warehouse, Katajanokka, Helsinki, 1911-13, second building stage and completion 1928. (Photo SRM/Kari Hakli).

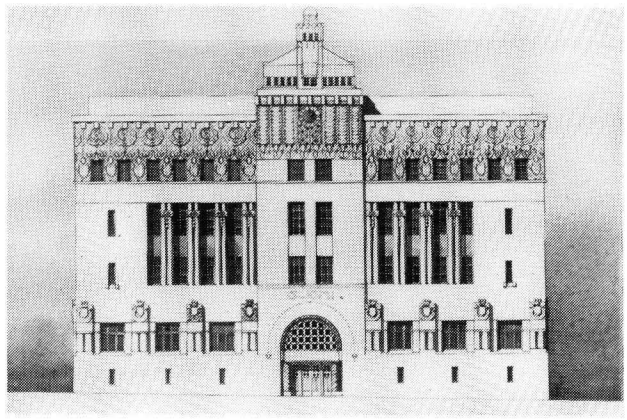

Fig. 173. Competition entry for the headquarters of the Suomi Insurance Company, Helsinki, 1909. (Original and photo SRM).

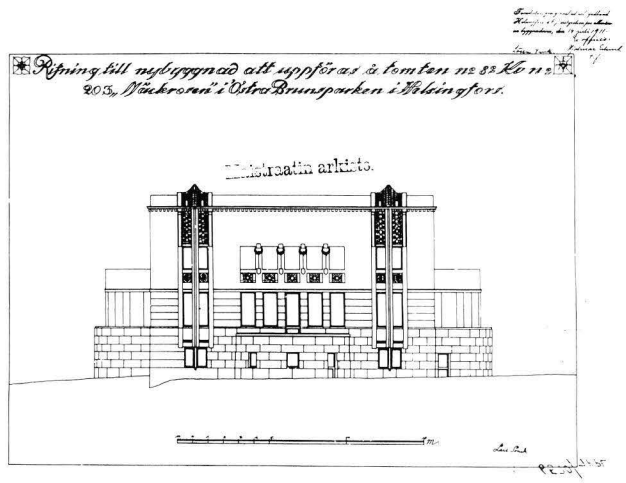

Fig. 176. Villa Stockmann/Baumgartner, Itäinen Puistotie 17, Helsinki, 1911-13. Demolished. (HKRVVA).

Fig. 174. Erottajankatu 4 – Bulevardi 2-4, Helsinki, 1911-13. See also Fig. 146. (Original and photo SRM).

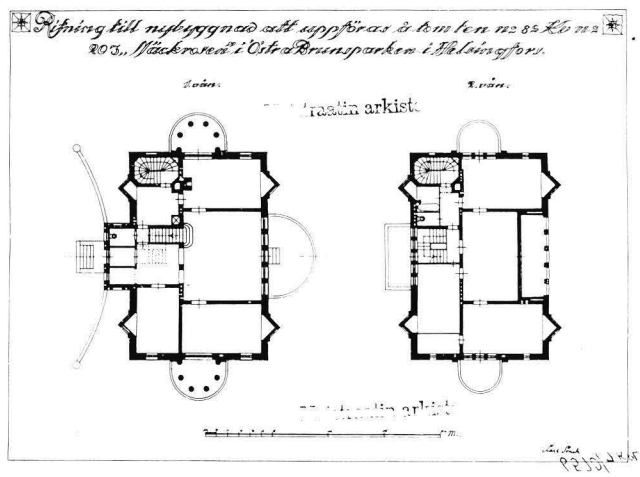

Fig. 177. Villa Stockmann/Baumgartner, first and second floors. (HKRVVA).

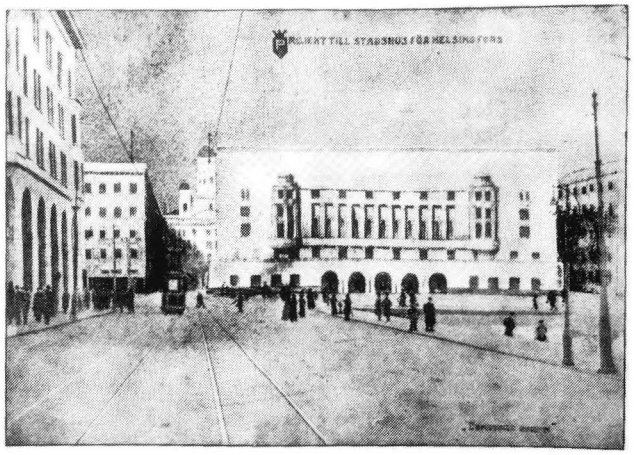

Fig. 178. Competition entry for a new town hall in Helsinki, 1913. Together with Oskar Bomansson. Facade facing south towards the Market Square and the South Harbour. *Arkitekten* V 1913, p. 52.

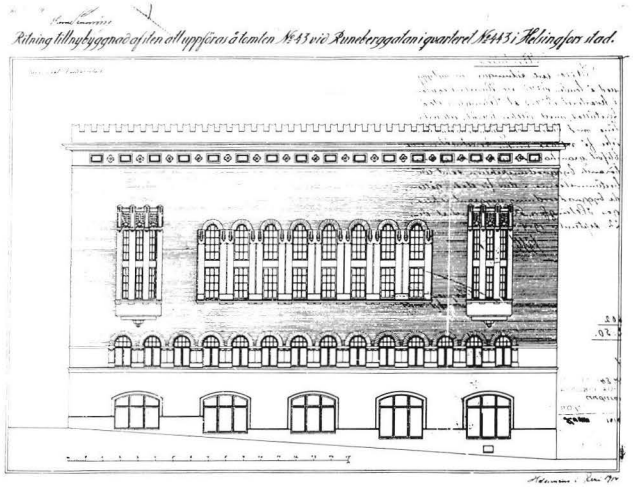

Fig. 179. Telephone exchange building at Runeberginkatu 43, Helsinki, 1914-15. (HKRVVA).

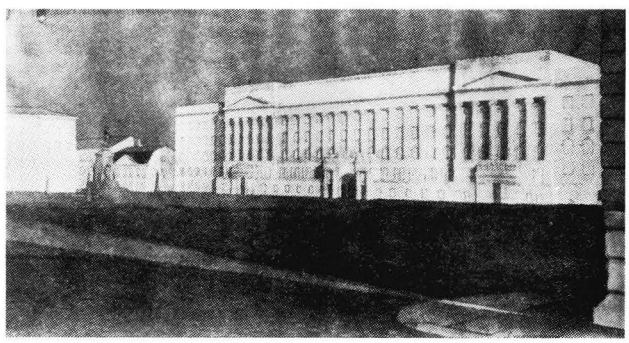

Fig. 180. Competition entry for a new town hall in Helsinki, 1913. The north facade on the Senate Square. *Arkitekten* V 1913, p. 83.

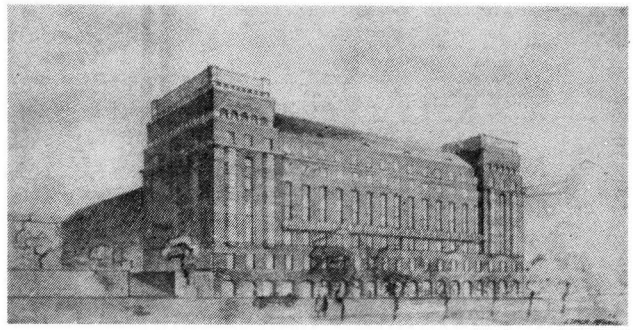

Fig. 181. Tehtaankatu 11-13, Helsinki, 1928-29. Together with Matti Finell. See also Fig. 23 (SRM, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

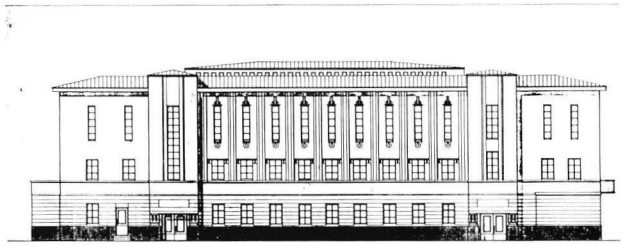

Fig. 182. Maarianhamina town hall, 1938-39. East facade. Later measured drawing. See also Fig. 26. (Maarianhamina Town Building Office).

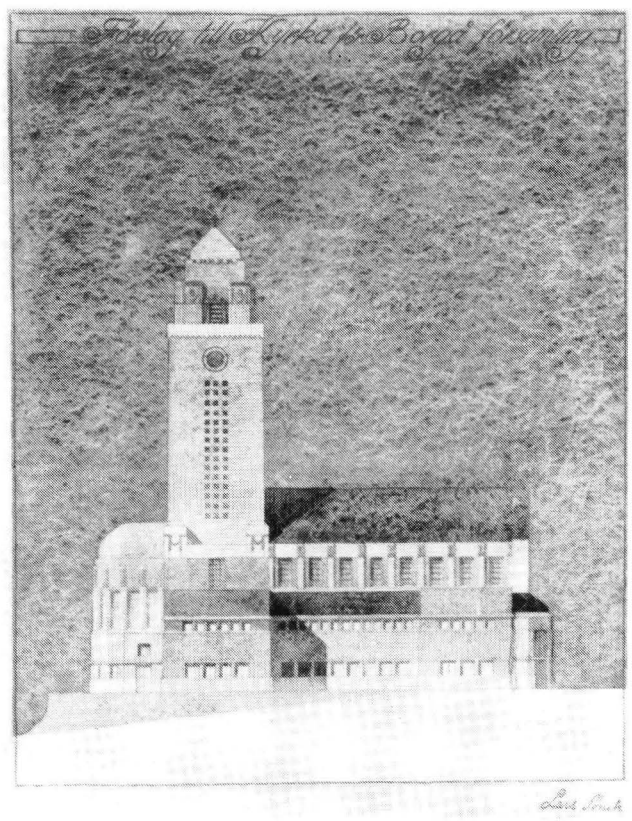

Fig. 183. Design for at new church in Porvoo, 1910. (SRM, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

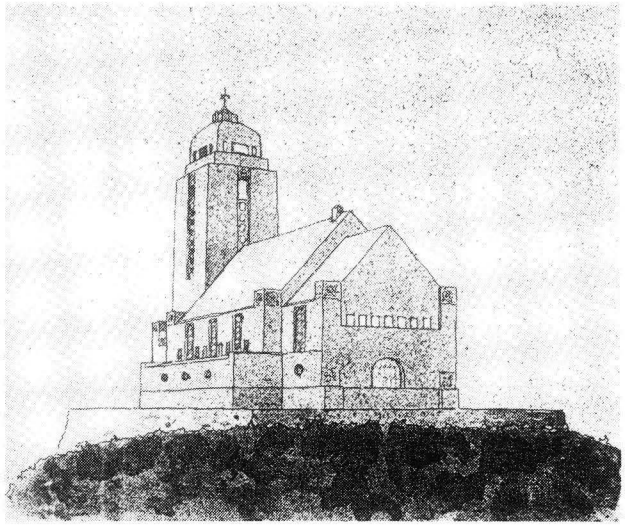

Fig. 184. Competition entry for a church in Karkku, 1911. (SRM, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

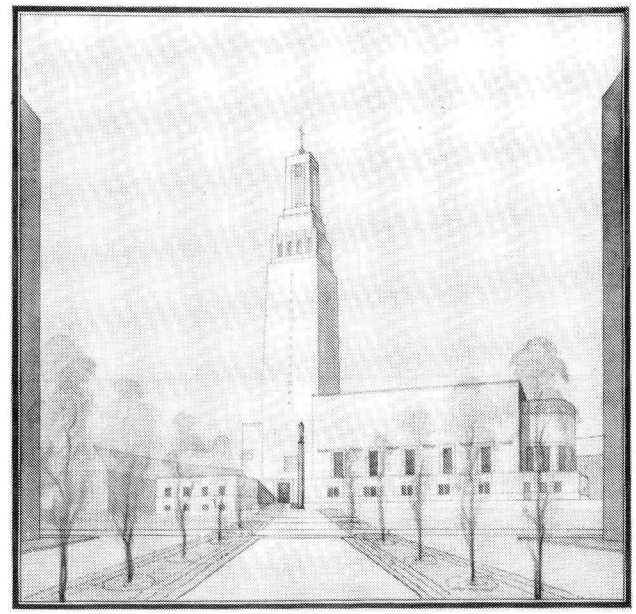

Fig. 186. Competition entry for a church on Temppelinaukio in Helsinki, 1933. (SRM, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

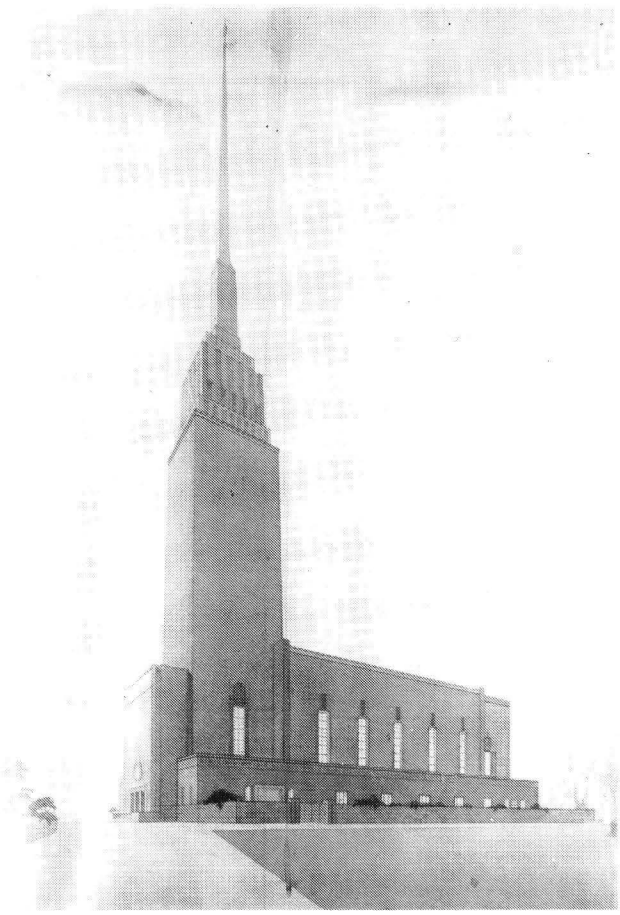

Fig. 185. Main drawings for the Mikael Agricola Church in Helsinki, 1932-35. Assisted by Arvo Muroma. See also Fig. 25 (SRM, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

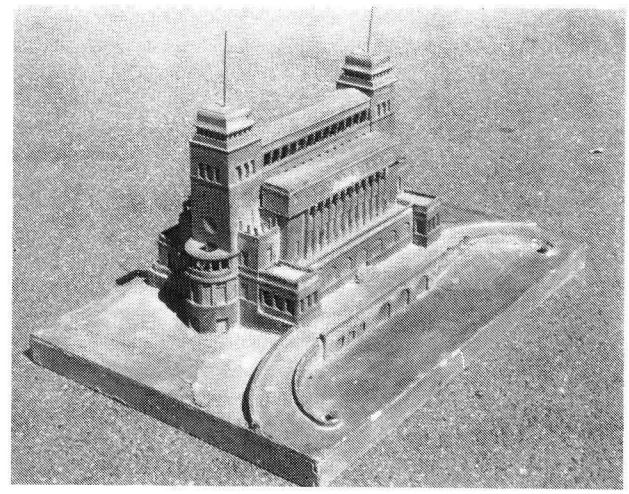

Fig. 187. Hotel for the Kulosaari villa community, 1916-17. Plywood model. See also Fig. 19. (ÅM, photo Pekka Korvenmaa).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The limited size of the sample is related to the monograph problem discussed in further detail below. As observed by Henrik Lilius, the individual character of works may fall into the background in a study of extensive material; Lilius 1986. In monographs, however, the specific nature of works is a central point.
2. This concept is from Kubler, and is related to his generalizations concerning the career types of artists. This point will be discussed below; Kubler 1961, p. 1–5.
3. In its simplest form, this applies to the role of architecture in the visual arts where it stands out i.a. because of its clear utilitarian value. Historical documents can attempt to define the conditions for this, whereas the role of the buildings as works of art requires the perspective of the esthetic dimension. On these basic divisions, see Mukarovsky's 1977 article "The essence of the visual arts" in which the terms "implement" and "work of art" are used.
4. Other bases of explanation would be ones applicable in general to the study of material culture, in which the object can be referred back to its starting points through its cultural references. See Prown 1988.
5. This author agrees with Gadamer's view that "the invention of the real meaning of a text or a work of art never ends, and is in fact an infinite process". This statement by Hans-Georg Gadamer from 1960 is quoted in Niiniluoto 1983, p. 174.
6. Kivinen 1961.
7. Kivinen 1982 and 1986.
8. Kivinen 1981 and 1982.
9. Listed under Kivinen, Korvenmaa, Salokorpi 1981 in the list of sources published in the book issued by the Museum of Finnish Architecture in connection with its exhibition on Sonck the same year.
10. Treib 1971; Spence 1982.
11. Tuomi 1979, Nikula 1981 and 1983. Sonck is also discussed in Wäre 1989.
12. Ringbom 1987; Lukkarinen 1989; also Nikula's monograph from 1988.
13. Juan Pablo Bonta's work presents well the interpretations appended to works through time and their effect on approaches. In other words, an object is rarely evaluated without knowledge of several prior levels of interpretation. In this study, this feature is related to using the works as points of departure. Although the aim is to observe as objectively as possible, earlier interpretations will guide conclusions, often in unconscious ways. This point coincides with Gadamer's above-mentioned view of the unending invention of meaning. Bonta 1979.
14. This observation is from the introduction to Curtis's monograph on Le Corbusier, Curtis 1986, p. 13.
15. On the meaning of these two views, Kubler has observed the following:" Simple biographical narration in the history of art tends to display the entire historical situation in terms of one individual's development. Such biography is a necessary stage of reconstruction, but a formal sequence designates chains of linked events by an analysis which requires us to do the opposite: to perceive the individual in terms of his situation." Kubler 1962, p. 36.
16. For recent monographs in Finnish architectural history, see Viljo 1985 (a) and Nikula 1988. Viljo has also addressed the problems of monograph-type studies in her article Viljo 1985 (b).
17. On this concept and the analysis it requires, see e.g. von Winterfeld 1986.
18. Verification and the notion of "productive" questions are interrelated. As pointed out by Lilius (1986) it is essential to analyse the works of the architect under study from clearly defined points of departure. I have chosen the method of extensive verification in order to present the buildings as esthetic-functional entities, prior to the analysis of jointly discussed features in the later stage of the study. This aim has been commented upon by Francesco Dal Co in the following terms: "An historical method is always necessary but what I am stressing today... is the right and obligation of the historian to open up his thinking to the questions raised by things, especially to escape from a tradition accustomed to merely to putting questions so as to obtain reassuring, "productive" answers." Dal Co 1985, p. 12.
19. The fairly extensive reconstructions applied in this study are the result of an aim, of which Hans Sedlmayr has observed:" Das Interpretieren des Kunstwerks muss von dem gesicherten äusseren Bestand des Kunstwerks ausgehen: ich nenne ihn den "Text". Man hat sich zu vergewissern, ob das Kunstwerk noch in dem Zustand vor uns steht, wie es aus der Hand seines Schöpfers hervorgegangen ist. Wo das nicht der fall ist, muss das Kunstwerk in seinem ursprünglichen Zustand wiederhergestellt werden." Quoted in Bauer 1976, p. 112. Sedlmayr's above observation is from 1956.
20. As observed by William Curtis in his monograph on Le Corbusier: "They (the buildings) must also be seen... as solutions to a host of social, practical, technical, expressive and symbolic problems. To grasp them properly we need to reconstruct the conditions and limitations under which Le Corbusier worked...". Curtis 1986, p. 7.
21. Bonta 1979, p. 226. Bonta goes on to discuss the question of primary and secondary meanings. "It still remains to be explained how one can be sure what the primary meanings the designer intended to communicate were, and how it is possible for people at a later time to see secondary meanings which were not intended to be there, Furthermore: how do we know that the secondary meanings were not intended by the designer?" Ibid. - Interpretation is especially influenced by the inevitable situation

of which Prown observes: "The particular encounter of an object with its history and an individual with his or her history shapes the deductions." Prown 1988, p. 25. – Historical change and the belonging of the object and the interpreter to different cultures will serve at least to shape concepts related to secondary meanings. – Related to this is the fact that this study belongs to the hermeneutic line of approach of humanistic studies. The aim, along with historical narrative and verification, is to look for the meanings contained by the works through interpretation. – Intentionality naturally encompasses all levels of a building, but in a work of art it is present in an atemporal sense without the analysis of intention. In other words, as stated by Mukarovsky: "It is precisely as a thing that the work is capable of affecting what is universally human in man, whereas in its semiotic aspect the work always appeals eventually to what is socially and temporarily determined in him." Mukarovsky 1977, p. 128 ("Intentionality and unintentionality in art"). – The varied levels of intention analysis has most recently been discussed in Finland in Lukkarinen 1989, Ch. I. 3.

22. Curtis 1986, p. 7.
23. Joan Ockman has presented the following concise definition of architectural history: "The architectural work, the construction of physical space, represents a battleground of a multitude of colliding forces, a highly volatile synthesis of developments in the modes and relations of production and consumption on the one hand, and intellectual or abstract labor on the other. This makes the architectural historian's task a particularly delicate one... architectural history must be able to describe both the concrete and abstract aspects of architecture...and to insert itself into the dialectical gap between these two competing base and superstructural forces. This gap is the historical space in which ideology flourishes, and it is the passage of ideology ...from the superstructure to the domain of the real that opens up a field of urgent historical work." Ockman 1985, p. 184.

II. LARS SONCK'S CAREER AND FIELD OF EXPERTISE

II.1. Professional career

1. Biographical data, especially on Sonck's earlier years, is mainly based on Paula Kivinen's studies. See Kivinen 1961, 1981, 1986.
2. Sonck graduated from the building department of the Turku trade school in 1890. Province Archives of Turku, roll of the Turku trade school. This point was verified by Ms. Renja Suominen-Kokkonen, lic.phil.
3. The following references to Sonck's architectural production are listed in Korvenmaa 1981 which also contains a large number of illustrations referring to the subject matter of this chapter. Kivinen, Korvenmaa 1981.
4. Lars Sonck's letters to Victor Westerholm, ÅAB.
5. See Ch. III on St. John's Church in Tampere.
6. Address- och yrkeskalender för Helsingfors stad 1898–99.
7. The original plan is in the archives of the Museum of Finnish Architecture (SRM) and published in Kivinen 1981, p. 38.
8. Mentioned in Wilenius 1905, p. 70.
9. Address och yrkeskalender för Helsingfors stad 1899–1900; ibid. 1903–04; also HKRVVA. The growth of Sonck's office can be seen in the plans in the HKRVVA archives. The office was extended gradually in stages and clearly reflects the development of Sonck's career. It was at its largest in the early 1910s. The studio was in a location at present serving the Kluuvi Art Gallery.
10. ÅAB. Sonck's letters to Gustaf Mattsson from the late 1890s and the early 1900s tell of his impressions of Italy, e.g. Genoa. Sonck does not refer to his impressions of the newer architecture of Germany or Austria. He travelled on the Continent for the express purpose of studying new architectural solutions, as in the case of the building for the Helsinki Telephone Association. However, he did not specifically mention the buildings or works of architecture that he saw, and it is not possible to reconstruct any influences he may have obtained on these journeys.
11. *Finsk Tidskrift* 1898, p. 262–287. The article was also published in the trade press; Sonck 1898. Related discussion is presented in Nikula 1981, p. 292, footnote 19.
12. The various stages of this plan, discussed below, are presented in Nikula 1981, CH. IV 1 and Salokorpi 1981.
13. Finska konstnärernas utställning 1897 i Ateneum, Illustrerad katalog, nos. 201–205; ibid. 1898, nos. 241–245.
14. E.g. Wilenius 1905, p. 68–71.
15. Viljo discusses these factors of change in relation to Theodor Höijer, the leading Finnish architect of the preceding period. Viljo 1985(a), p. 9–10.
16. On Sonck's office see Korvenmaa 1981 (text), p. 96. See also, *Arkitekten* V 1910, p. 77 with its account of Sonck's office in connection with a description of an excursion to the Åland Islands by the Architects' Club.
17. On Sonck's career at this stage, see the section in Ch. III on the Stock Exchange building in Helsinki.
18. On the history of Kulosaari and especially its founding, see Peltonen 1983 and in more detail Kolbe 1988.
19. On the development of architectural style in Finland from the 1890s to the 1930s, see Ch. II of Nikula 1981, Heinonen's licentiate thesis on the breakthrough of functionalism in Finland (Heinonen 1978; published 1986) and with respect to the turn of the century especially Wäre's recent review of the subject (Wäre 1989).
20. Based on information supplied in 1979 by the painter Bruno Tuukkanen, Sonck's personal friend and professional partner for many years. Tuukkanen was also involved in the Tehtaankatu building project. The archive sources for the actual bankruptcy documents are not known.
21. In 1929 Sonck participated in the competition for the head office of the Nordic Union Bank with an entry in which the classicizing overall design was combined with strip windows extending around the corners. See Korvenmaa 1981, p. 111. figs. 202–203.
22. On the discussion concerning functionalism and the Tehtaanpuisto church competition, see Heinonen 1986, p. 134–155.

II.2. Features of Sonck's works and professional activity

23. On Sonck's architectural works, see list in Korvenmaa 1981. The list is incomplete, as a number of additions have come to the author's knowledge in recent years. Some of these are major works.
24. The coloured drawing is framed and hung at the Department of Architectural History at the University of Technology in Otaniemi near Helsinki.
25. Drawing ÅM.
26. "Eskiss till en kyrka för ett större herresäte"; ÅM.
27. Sonck's advertisement in *Suomen Teollisuuslehti*, No. 16, 1898, p. 3.
28. For example, Sonck won the competition for the Finnish church of Porvoo in 1910 and the final plans and designs were finished in 1914. However, the church was not built and Sonck went on to design a new church for Porvoo in the 1930s, which closely resembled the church of Mikael Agricola in Helsinki. The designs were finished in 1936, but even this project was not accomplished.
29. On the overall development of the architectural profession, see Ricken 1977, Saint 1983, Östnäs 1984. For the specific situation in Finland in the late 19th century, see Viljo 1985 (a) and on the turn of the century, see Wäre 1989.
30. Jung 1942, p. 230.
31. See Ch. III on the museum project.
32. Sonck's published writings are listed in Kivinen, Korvenmaa, Salokorpi 1981, p. 153.
33. Sonck 1909.
34. *Kotitaide* I 1903, App. II.
35. An example is the master-builder Heikki Kaartinen of Helsinki, who was one of the leading professional builders of his day. His projects included the building of a number of projects designed by Sonck (St. John's Church, the Helsinki Telephone Association building). Kaartinen was also an independent designer of many large urban buildings. On master-builders in the period concerned, see Suominen-Kokkonen 1989.
36. *Suomen Teollisuuslehti*, No. 16 1898, p. 3.
37. On the National Museum and Parliament House competitions, see Ch. III. He apparently did not participate in the 1904 competition for the Helsinki Railway Station, as his entry was not among those awarded or remunerated. If he had participated without being placed, the designs would have been returned to him. However, there are no indications of any designs for the station in any of Sonck's posthumous material. At the time of the competition Sonck was involved in an intensive period of work. See Ch. III.
38. Examples include works discussed in Ch. III.
39. His period of highest income was from 1909 to 1914. HKA, Taxeringslängder för Helsingfors stad, 1909–1914.
40. The writings of Pierre Bourdieu and their applications by Jeja-Pekka Roos may provide starting points for the study of professionalism in early 20th-century Finnish architecture. Sonck's social and cultural status can be approached by Roos's model applied to the Swedish-speaking upper class in the period from 1910 to 1985. In this connection, Bourdieu's concepts should be applied and transformed to suit historical study. Bourdieu 1985, Roos 1985.
41. This study is not concerned with Sonck's personality in other than professional terms. Reference must be made, however, to Sonck's irregular lifestyle, in which almost incessant work alternated with travel, social life and heavy drinking. One of the factors explaining his mobility and considerable capacity for work is his bachelor status and lack of family. On the numerous anecdotes concerning Sonck, see Kivinen op.cit.
42. HKRVVA
43. Information on the background of Villa Soldis and Villa Stockmann/Baumgartner has been provided by Mr Erik Antell, MSc(Eng.) of Helsinki in 1989.
44. The designs for the department store: SRM, orig. arch. and HKRVVA. The new lightwell courtyards of the buildings with galleries on two stories were combined to form two adjacent halls.
45. On the Stock Exchange Club see Ch. III.
46. These projects are discussed in further detail in Ch. III. Together with other sources of income, Sonck received a total of 60,000 marks for the design of the Kallio church and the Mortgage Association building. This corresponded to a sum of 900,000 marks in 1988 (c. US$ 225,000).
47. Discussed in Mikkola 1984.
48. Frosterus 1911 (a), p. 88.
49. Frosterus 1911 (b), p. 70.
50. Ibid.
51. Wilenius 1905, p. 68–71.
52. Brunius wrote his review originally for the newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* and it was quoted in the journal *Arkitekten* under the heading "Ett svensk uttalande om vår byggnadskonst" (A Swedish comment on our architecture), Arkitekten III 1912, p. 29– 31.
53. Beckett 1912, p. 514–516.
54. Avenard 1908, p. 30.
55. E.g. Ahrenberg 1909; Wilenius 1915. Wilenius has some sharp comments, especially pointing out that Sonck had been shielded from criticism.
56. The most recent general work on Saarinen is Hausen, Mikkola, Amberg, Valto 1990. On the aims of Saarinen's urban architecture, see Mikkola 1984.
57. The works in question are *Villa Nils Berg* (Finnvillan) at Furusund, 1902 and *Villa Ekblom* at Liepaja (Libau), 1913.
58. In cultural-historical terms *Lasses Villa* would merit a separate description. The visitor's book of the villa (now in the possession of the estate of Mrs Greta Stengård, Sonck's daughter) and a hand-written and illustrated chronicle of the villa presented to Sonck on his 50th birthday by several architects and leading cultural figures contain material central to Finnish culture of the turn of the century. In this respect, *Lasses Villa* was part of the network of artists' villas including Akseli Gallen-Kallela's *Kalela*, Emil Wikström's *Visavuori* and Albert Edelfelt's *Haikkoo* through which personal ties and contacts were maintained among the leading figures of cultural life.
59. On Hvitträsk, its architecture and social life, see Hausen 1987.
60. Information on Höijer and observations concerning the architectural profession in late 19th-century Finland is based on Viljo 1985 (a), Chs. I.1 and II.
61. On the overall conditions of the architectural profession in early 20th-century Finland, see Wäre 1989.
62. See Ch. III on the Privatbanken building and the Mortgage Association building.
63. See Saint 1983; Östnäs 1984 presents an extensive account of the Swedish situation.
64. The competition is discussed in Nikula 1976.
65. On the competition, see Arkitekten III 1916, p. 32–41.
66. The archives of Oy Stockmann Ab in Helsinki do not contain any entries that might indicate Sonck, nor does Sonck's posthumous material contain any references to the competition.

III. WORKS AND PROJECTS FROM 1900 TO 1910

III.1. St. John's Church

III.1.1. Points of departure and the result

1. Used here is the original name, i.e. St. John's Church.
2. Kivinen 1961 and 1986. Kivinen has published a considerable body of information on Sonck's professional activities and in the 1950s she was the first to begin art-historical studies of Sonck's works. St. John's Church, as also St. Michael's Church, have recently been discussed by Wäre 1989.
3. On St. Michael's Church see Kivinen 1981, pl. 34–44; *Teknikern* 1894, no. 83, p. 125 and pl. 8; ibid. 1894, no. 84, p. 131–132; *Rakentaja* I. p. 1–3; *Arkitekten* III 1905, p. 28–33.
4. Chiewitz's Neo-Gothic architecture, as executed at Liperi in 1852 and Uusikaupunki in 1854, involved a combination of unplastered brick, Gothic themes and the long church form. Sonck's 1894 proposal was more closely related to the latter stages of Neo-Gothic architecture in Finland.
5. For example, Höijer's Alexander Church in Tampere (1880–81) represents this style.
6. On Otzen's architecture, see Bahns 1971. St. Michael's Church especially resembles Otzen's Lutherkirche (Apolda, 1891–94) and his St. Georg-Kirche (Berlin, 1894–98; designed in 1892). The chancel of St. Michael's closely resembles the solutions used in the Lutherkirche, while the exterior appearance is closer to that of the St. Georg-Kirche. Bahns 1971, Figs. 48–50; 57–58. Otzen is also mentioned in Spence 1982, p. 43–44.
7. See description of the materials of the planned church in *Teknikern* 1899, no. 120, p. 272, according to which the stone columns were to be "turned" (Sw. svarvad) and fitted with chiselled capitals. The article refers to the "natural materials" as a positive feature.
8. A close view of the building of the church and Sonck's aims for the project was written by Bertel Jung; Jung 1905.
9. ÅM, see Kivinen 1981, p. 3–4. Features of the future St. Michael's Church were already present in an training study for a manorial church ("Eskiss till en kyrka för en större herresäte"); ÅM. The history of St. Michael's Church was exceptional insofar as the architect was continually prepared to change and develop his designs, while the commissioning party kept to the original version. It was more common for the builder to change the underlying idea and execution contrary to the architect's plans. See e.g. the section on the Kallio church in Helsinki.
10. On the vaulting, see Kivinen 1961, p. 90.
11. On the stone work of the exterior, see Kivinen 1961, p. 87–89. For general information on the use of stone in the period concerned, see Ringbom 1978.
12. In this connection, the term structural applies to supporting structures, essential to the building. An advantage of the stone covering was of course its durability.
13. Rounded forms occur e.g. in the seams of the main tower and its projection, the joining of the sacristy with the north wall and in the southwest corner of the building. This method of shaping stone work details to achieve a uniform surface indicates the late 19th-century stone architecture of the United States and the work of H. H. Richardson and his successors. Cf. Richardson's Austin Hall (Cambridge, Mass., 1882) which was well known in Europe.
14. The site plan of the competition entry is published in Kivinen 1961, p. 98; the site plan of the main design is published in Kivinen 1961, p. 60.
15. St. John's Church is anti-classical with respect to its links with the Neo-Gothic and the Middle Ages. The apparent tectonics of the building were formed in a both anti-classical and non-medieval manner. The architect did not wish to refer back to any derivatives of known major styles.
16. Kivinen 1961, p. 90. Kivinen refers in this connection to a list of the final costs of the church project drawn up in 1907. See Kivinen 1961, p. 232, footnote 228.
17. Kivinen 1961, p. 100–101. In the main drawing stage and in his report of construction work carried out in 1902 Sonck planned to apply decorations only to the arch separating the nave from the chancel in addition to the latter part.
18. Jung's sketch book contains parts of the decoration and ornaments of the church. Because only part of the material has been preserved, it is hard to define the separate areas of work in this as in certain other designs. See Ch. III on the Privatbanken building. Sketch book: Mrs Ulrica Eklund, Helsinki. – Kivinen 1986, p. 145–174, has a detailed discussion of Valter Jung and his role in the decoration and ornaments of the church.
19. The sanctification of nature can be seen in connection with late 19th-century trends in Finland which stressed symbolism and pantheism. Salme Sarajas-Korte has underlined the central importance of nature-based mysticism, symbolism and theosophy especially for Finnish artists of the 1890s. Nature was seen as bearing higher levels of meaning, on the level of so-called correspondences, and directly as the source of renewal and vitality. Also present at the time were national and romantic currents of thought which raised Finnish nature to the level of paragon in the arts. This was conceived via its specific character and especially through its symbolic meanings. It may be far-fetched to assume that Sonck and Jung attempted to create a programme of ornament illustrating e.g. the teachings of Swedenborg, but we must nevertheless take into account general trends of the period. According to information from Professor Bruno Tuukkanen, Sonck was involved with theosophy and, like many artists of his day, he was also interested in astronomy and its cosmic dimensions. – On symbolism and concepts of nature in the 1890s in Finland, see Sarajas-Korte 1966, p. 12–13; 221–223. – On a similar hierarchical use of materials and ornament by Sonck and Jung, see the section in Ch. III on the Privatbanken building.
20. The sectional drawing of the competition entry is published in Kivinen 1986, p. 48.
21. The main plans and designs are in the archives of the Evangelical-Lutheran congregations of Tampere.
22. See presentation of the competition results in *Teknikern* 1894, no. 83, pl. 8.
23. On Frelander's role in the decoration of St. Michael's Church, see *Veckans krönika*, no 6, 1905, p. 84 and *Rakentaja* I 1905, p. 1–3. Some of the soap-stone ornaments were designed by Valter Jung, as indicated by his sketch book.
24. *Tekniska föreningens i Finland förhandlingar* 1897, p. 80.
25. On the relationship of German evangelical church architecture with historical prototypes in the late 19th and

early 20th centuries, see the section on the Kallio church in Ch. III.

26. E.g. the above-mentioned training studies "Eskiss till en landskyrka" for a stone church (1897; ÅM) and his designs for a church for Kylmäkoski (1898; SRM; photo archives).
27. Several examples in *Handbuch der Architektur*, and its 1906 volume on churches; see e.g. Gurlitt 1906, p. 232. – The German practice of church architecture was also presented in Der Kirchenbau des Protestantismus von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart, see Fritsch 1893. – Johannes Otzen, mentioned in connection with St. Michael's Church, had used a similar floor plan in his 1892 design of the Friedhofskirche at Elberfeld, which was built in the years 1894–1898. See Bahns 1971, fig. 85–88. Otzen's church was of centralized form.
28. E.g. Kivinen 1981, p. 46, fig. 85.
29. Ringbom 1987, p. 225–227.

III.1.2. Relationship with the surroundings

30. E.g. Hämeenlinna (1892); Josef Stenbäck designed a ribbed vault for the church of Ruovesi as late as 1904.
31. Sonck's town-planning work of this period has been discussed by Nikula 1981 and Salokorpi 1981. On Camillo Sitte, see Collins-Collins 1986; for a review of early 20th-century town planning, see Nikula 1989.
32. Published in e.g. Kivinen 1986, p. 56.
33. Gustaf Nyström worked in a similar way in Helsinki, where he designed a school building (1894–95) next to the Neo-Gothic St. John's Church in Helsinki (1891). This building was also of red brick and contained medieval features. I would suggest, however, that Nyström strove to make the school conform to the dominant church for reasons of townscape, without the intention of linking buildings to history on the level of function.
34. Sonck 1900. Sonck was present in a special architectural number of *Ateneum*, a journal devoted to general cultural affairs. – Lilius 1978 provides an overview of conservation and town planning in small Finnish towns around the turn of the century.
35. See Kivinen 1986, p. 56–58. The town plan was approved and confirmed in 1907.

III.1.3. Themes of the past

36. This was noted by Sigurd Frosterus, among others, in his review of the church. Frosterus 1908, p. 4.
37. The importance of these expeditions as background factors in early 20th-century architecture has been underlined by several scholars, most recently Nikula 1986.
38. A detailed account of the restoration issues related to the Cathedral of Turku is given in Knapas 1983. – Sonck's article was published i.a. in *Teknsika föreningens i Finland förhandlingar;* see Sonck 1897.
39. Ibid.
40. On building-site conditions, see Kivinen 1961, p. 84–90; on the work force involved see Kivinen 1986, p. 185–192. – In the construction of many early 20th-century public buildings the so-called "Bauhütte" organization with medieval antecedents was employed. Working at the site were builders, artisans and designers. This did not imply a direct repetition of medieval methods, but applied to the process and the collective involved. Perhaps the best-known example is Antonio Gaudi's Sagrada Familia in Barcelona (1898–). In the Nordic countries Ragnar Östberg's Stockholm City Hall was built in the same way between 1909 and 1923. In addition to the striving for a medieval spirit, background factors also involved the concepts of a total work of art and the value of artisanship. This point has been discussed e.g. by Germann 1972, p. 177–179.
41. The criticism is mentioned by Kivinen 1961, p. 233, footnote 233.
42. The 1900 designs for the church of Nilsiä consist of a series of pencil drawings with facades, sections and a floor plan. The original is in the parish archives of Nilsiä. This proposal was brought to the author's attention by museum director Helena Riekki.
43. An example of similar stone masonry is Armas Lindgren's water-colour of the church of the rural parish of Pietarsaari (1896), which is published in Nikula 1986, p. 144, fig. 4.

III.2. Competition project for the museum of archaeology, history and ethnography in Helsinki

1. Kopisto 1981. Also discussed in Nikula 1988, p. 29–33 and Wäre 1989.
2. On the programmatic side of the debate, see *Vårt Museum* 1900; on other criticism, see Kopisto 1981, p. 12–16; on the competition and appraisal of entries, see Teknikern no. 282 1902, p. 173–176.
3. The text was signed by Herman Gesellius, Bertel Jung, Armas Lindgren, Harald Neovius and Lars Sonck. Foreign museums with illustrations include G. Güll's Landesmuseum in Zurich (1899) where medieval themes were combined with the agglomerate principle.
4. *Vårt Museum*, p. 1; the aim was modernity in functional terms and its combination with period collections achieved with the means of historicism.
5. *Teknikern* no 282 1902, p. 175.
6. The designs and plans of the museum competition are in the Finnish State Archives in the collections of the National Building Board.
7. Published in Kopisto 1981, p. 9.
8. This was already mentioned in *Vårt Museum*, p. 41; see also Kopisto 1981, p. 30–31. In some of the entries building representing peasant or farmer architecture were sketched in the vicinity of the museum. The open-air museum was opened in 1909 at Seurasaari in Helsinki.
9. *Vårt Museum*, p. 41.
10. Earlier peasant architecture of logs was thus not subordinate to periods of style in the same way as the milieu of the upper classes. It was even idealized as the direct product of the immediate needs of the people and as a timeless convention. Thus, it reflects a different kind of duration than the periodization of the museum building.
11. These were familiar to Sonck. See e.g. Sonck's letters to Gustaf Mattsson from these years with observations and references to various localities. ÅAB.
12. See the illustration in perspective in Sonck's entry for the Töölö town-planning competition. The future architecture of Töölö was also envisioned in *Vårt Museum* with the reference to "the original stone houses of Töölö", p. 41.

III.3. The Helsinki Telephone Association building

III.3.1. Commission and initial planning

1. Published in Suomen kaupunkilaitoksen historia II, p. 320, fig. 272.
2. For example, the Mannerheimintie 16 building designed by Th. Höijer (1889; demolished); see Viljo 1985 (a), p. 170, Fig. 152; also the head office of the Union Bank of Finland by Gustaf Nyström (Helsinki 1898) and the allegorical sculptures of these buildings.
3. See e.g. Bobergiana 1958, p. 47. The power station designed by Boberg (later demolished) clearly combined natural stone with features sought from the United States. On this level, however, it did not serve as a model for Sonck's Telephone Association building, which also employed features linked with the United States. Both architects sought influences from the same area but separately.
4. The following general information is from Söderlund 1916; Killinen 1932, Turpeinen 1981. Separate information relating to the buildings, is provided by the minutes of the board of the Helsinki Telephone Association (HPY/JKPTK). – HPY/JKPTK 4.2.1901.
5. The above works and the minutes do not say anything about where Sonck travelled. Nor have any letters or reports by Sonck been found concerning the telephone exchanges that he had visited.
6. Ibid. 23.11.1901.
7. Ibid. 21.2.1903.
8. Ibid. 9.11.1903.
9. Original, professor C. E. Sonck, Helsinki.
10. Helsinki Telephone Association (HPY), property department, archives.
11. Ibid.
12. HKRVVA. Duplicates of the floor plans HPY, property department, archives.
13. Only floor plans and sectional drawings have been preserved of this stage. The drawings in the archives of the property department of the Helsinki Telephone Association are problematic, for they do not form a continuous series. In the following, a reconstruction of the events is attempted by combining information from drawings and board meeting minutes. Sonck presented some of his sketches to the board already in February 1903, but these have not been preserved.
14. HPY/JKPTK 9.11.1903. A motion was carried implying the exclusion of apartments. Sonck was not completely able to predict the economic changes of the centre of Helsinki. In 1905 he planned, among other projects, an apartment building for the lot at Fabianinkatu 14 which later became the site of the Helsinki Stock Exchange. He also planned apartments for the Mortgage Association building in 1907; see Ch. III on the latter building.
15. HPY, property department, archives. On presenting his floor plans Sonck was given the task of supervising the final drafting of the sketches. Thus, the facades were developed from the sketches presented in April 1903 and involved two different storey heights. HPY/JKPTK 9.4.1903.
16. HPY/JKPTK 26.5.1903.
17. This facade drawing appears to be the final one of the series, for the equipment hall is placed under the roof as in the completed building. On 26 May, 1903 the board requested Sonck to re-work his proposed facade, i.e. the rejected four-storey version. HPY/JKPTK 26.5.1903.
18. In the drawings the tower overshadows part of the facade. This was a feature of presentation technique. The light falls from the northwest, but in reality the tower would not have left Sonck's building in shadow but the adjoining one.
19. Reasons for the castle-like form of the building and the sparse presentation of its function can be sought in a hypothesis involving the political conditions of the time. Finland's communications were under the administrative supervision of the Imperial Russian government, but the Helsinki Telephone Association was exempt from governmental control. In principle this private company was involved only in transmitting information between itself and its shareholders. This background may explain the unwillingness to demonstrate the activities of the company in a prominent way, in addition to the form of the building with its defensive historical associations. – The rejection of this design may also have been caused by the final decision to locate the exchange hall in the fifth storey under the roof.
20. The board of the Telephone Association in January, the National Building Board and the city authorities in February. HPY/JKPTK 6.1.1904; *Hufvudstadsbladet* no. 27 1904 29.1., p. 3; HKA/City Administrative Court records 17.2.1904.
21. The rejection of the original idea for the tower is hard to verify. Although a close watch was kept on the project, the board did not interfere. The series of drawings do not give an unequivocal answer to the question. The records of the Helsinki City Administrative Court do not mention a version in which the tower would have overhung the sidewalk. The matter was discussed in the Hufvudstadsbladet daily on 29 January, 1904, where it was observed that the architect's original intention was to build the tower above the sidewalk, but this met with unsurmountable opposition from the city authorities. Accordingly the tower was recessed into the lot, which did not enhance the appearance of the building, as observed in the newspaper. The article is unsigned.
22. HKA/City Administrative Court records 17.2.1904.
23. A problem of Sonck's works, as in stone facades of many other periods, is their actual use as a covering, without e.g. any bearing function related to the division of storeys. On the bottom storeys the situation is often different. Despite this, the facades functioned for example like some of the stone walls designed by H. H. Richardson which remained standing as independent structures even when the rest of the building was destroyed by fire. See e.g. Ochsner 1982, p. 284, Fig. 101 c.
24. The vault types of medieval churches, familiar to Sonck, can be seen in the entrance hall with the stellar vault forming an end to the sequence as in the concept of medieval churches.

III.3.2. The building as completed

25. On particularization, see Porphyrios 1982, p. 13–25. In this case a single larger space was particularized into various parts without any changes to the volume or use of the actual space. On the other hand, false vaults were used in other cases (see Ch. III on the Privatbanken building) to create a hierarchy of rooms.
26. HPY/JKPTK 28.2.1905; Söderlund 1916, p. 54.
27. Ibid. 10.2.1904.
28. Sonck did not select Kaartinen for the task, who was engaged on the basis of tenders. Kaartinen's monthly fee was 500 marks. HPY/JKPTK 9.4.1904.

29. HPY/JKPTK 9.4.1904. The stone materials of the building and their procurers were as follows: socle: the Pohjola company; coarse-surfaced grey and red facade granite: Uusikaupunki Oy (Nystads AB); smoothed granite for the facade: the Pohjola company; steatite columns, consoles etc.: Suomen Vuolukiviosakeyhtiö. – The cost of masonry work was estimated at 20,000 marks. Ibid. 22.4. 1904. – The use of stone in this building is discussed in Ringbom 1987, p. 179–180.
30. Before the final selection of structures a Swedish expert, director Cedergren, was asked for a professional opinion. Cedergren proposed that the exchange hall be lit by high vertical windows instead of skylights. This suggestion was not followed. HPY/JKPTK 14.5.1904.
31. Ibid. 26.9.1904.
32. Kaartinen's work report: Kaartinen 1905.
33. The precise description of the concrete-laying is difficult, and the sectional drawings are not detailed. Nor are there any records of concrete-laying at the site. The work was undertaken by the Helsingfors Asfaltaktiebolag company. Kaartinen 1905.
34. HPY/JKPTK 26.9.1904.
35. Also Finnish manufacturers were asked for tenders for the roof structure. These included the Kone- ja Siltarakennusosakeyhtiö company. HPY/JKPTK 13.6.1904. – The structure was made by the Franz Zimmermann company of Werdau-Leipzig according to designs drawn up by Castrén. Ibid. 5.7.1904.
36. Ibid.
37. A detailed account of the structure is given in Kaartinen 1905. Combined with the outer part of the supporting structure was a cement vaulting as well as insulation on the inner and outer surfaces. A light vault was constructed on the inside with wire netting and plaster. Heating pipes were installed inside the shell, whereby insulation and reflected heat was provided for the hall.
38. Kaartinen 1905.
39. At the same time as industry strove to establish standardized work and products, more efficient models of organization were sought for office work. The work of the telephone operators resembled factory work, but was of a different nature and status. The work setting created by Sonck was based not only on efficiency but also on a social hierarchy of the interior. Rationalized work, supervision and standardization were common trends in early 20th-century businesses and industry on the whole. An international influence was the so-called scientific management movement, which was especially prominent in Germany. On this point, see Merkle 1980.
40. The completed building was presented in the following publications: *Rakentaja* XI–XII 1905, p. 101–103: *Arkitekten* VII 1905, p. 68–71; *Veckans Krönika* 34 1906, p. 552–555. – According to the estimate the cost of the building was 410,000 marks. Söderlund 1916, p. 52. The final cost of the masonry was 28,000 marks, Kaartinen 1905, p. 101. – Sonck's final fee was the subject of long debate in the board, and was settled at 19,692 marks. HPY/JKPTK 26.2.1906; ibid. 23.3.1906. In 1988 this would have amounted to c. 344,000 marks (US$ 86,000).
41. Kivinen 1961, p. 84–90.
42. The nature of interaction is hard to define in this connection. Red stone was not used in the lower parts of the church, and it appears that Sonck decided upon its use during the construction process.
43. Kaartinen 1905, p. 102.
44. This interpretation of stone walls was common at the time. Historical prototypes were followed not only in terms of form and material but also in the use of various techniques. E.g. the Morgan Library (New York 1907) by Charles McKim where the marble blocks are joined without plaster. The desire was thus to link the stylistic apparatus of the building , i.e. High Renaissance, to history also on the level of execution.
45. HPY/JKPTK 10.2.1904.
46. As pointed out by Wäre (1989, p. 153), suspended cables were no longer used in the early 20th century. These would naturally have implied the technical purpose and content of the building.
47. The plastering and stucco work was carried out by Carl Slotte. Kaartinen 1905, p. 103.
48. HPY/JKPTK 26.2.1906. It is also possible that Jung was directly employed by Sonck and not paid separately.
49. The board with added members which supervised the building project included the bank director A. Norrmén, Emil Schybergson and mayor E. Öhman. HPY/JKPTK 171.1.1904.
50. On criticism, see e.g. Kallio 1907, p. 762.
51. An almost contemporary parallel is the Gothenburg Power Plant designed by Hans Hedlund and built in 1907. This building involves the same elements as Sonck's building (asymmetry, natural stone, plasticity). The content of the building is, however, expressed in two ways. The large arch of the portal is enframed by a clearly recognizable frieze of incandescent lamps, and the volume is divided so that the hall with the technical equipment is clearly separated from the offices.
52. This course of development has been noted by several scholars. See e.g. Hausen 1977; Nikula 1981, Ch. II, p. 25–28; Nikula 1988; Wäre 1989 and especially the references of the above texts to the works of Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen.
53. The interior vaulting of the Polytechnical Students House and its pillars of stone blocks bear a close resemblance to Sonck's museum project. A possible interaction is all the more understandable as both architects trained under Sonck.

III.4 The *Privatbanken* building

III.4.1. The project

1. The drawing material consists of the originals of the main drawings in the archives of the Union Bank of Finland (January 1903), the less-detailed, approved main drawings from February 1903 (HKA; copies HKRVVA) as well as Valter Jung's sketches for the interior and the decoration (SRM and in the possession of Mrs Ulrica Eklund).
2. On the values of property and lots in the centre of Helsinki, see Åström 1957, p. 142–178. This block contained the largest number of shops and offices in the centre of Helsinki.
3. See Aaku 1955, p. 65. The Privatbanken specifically served the Swedish-speaking capital owners. See also Hirn 1906-, p.48–52 and Schybergson 1913; see also Privatbanken 1905.
4. Address- och yrkeskalender för Helsingfors stad 1897–1901.
5. Hirn 1906-, p. 49. According to Hirn, the board of governors of the bank decided upon renovations only as late as 1903, whereby Sonck would have worked very fast. The drawings are dated January 1903. The decisions of

board cannot be verified, as the archives of the bank were destroyed when it was merged with the Nordic Union Bank in the 1920s.

6. Ibid. p. 48.
7. See Chapter III on the Helsinki Telephone Association building.
8. Aaku 1955, p. 65.
9. The building had previously been altered by Theodor Höijer in 1876 and Waldemar Aspelin in 1896, among others (HKRVVA). – The old and new structures are shown overlapping in the plan in the archives of the Union Bank of Finland. Alterations also involved the so-called Edlund corner, a bookstore at the corner of the lot. Records do not show whether the furnishings of this store were designed by Jung. Nor have any drawings or photographs been preserved. A graphic account of the new interior of the bank is given in the *Hufvudstadsbladet* daily, and this source is of primary importance owing to later changes in the bank. *Hufvudstadsbladet* 1904 no. 245, 10.9., p. 5.
10. The vault was built so that the outermost part consisted of a granite wall strengthened with "iron bars". The inner vault with its armoured steel covering was divided into several compartments. This technically demanding structure was ordered from A. E. Rosengren of Gothenburg (*Hufvudstadsbladet* 10.9.1904). The vault was of similar structure as the examples in the 1902 volume of *Handbuch der Architektur* on banks. Handbuch 1902.
11. The stained-glass window designed by Valter Jung was made by S. Wuorio of Helsinki; Arkitekten I 1905, p. 2. It is now in the hall of the Fiscal Office of the City of Helsinki at no. 11 North Esplanade.

III.4.2. New premises

12. HKRVVA
13. The colour-coding of the materials is shown: HKA, building plans and drawing collection of the Helsinki Administrative Court.
14. Shown in the series of drawings in the archives of the Union Bank of Finland.
15. Ibid.
16. No designs or drawings of the vault have been preserved. The only available document is a photograph where part of it is shown. Hirn 1906-, p. 52, lower photograph.
17. HKRVVA, alteration drawings. The alteration was part of the construction work and not a later addition. This study does not mention changes to the exterior of the building. These concerned the divisions of panes of certain windows and the above-mentioned alterations of the part facing Unioninkatu. In connection with the changes to the main portal the windows on both sides were given their final square form, smaller than the other windows. The alteration drawing also presents the use of steatite in the portal.
18. Granite was supplied by two companies. The granite of the interior was delivered by Osakeyhtiö Granit, and the masonry of the entrance hall by Suomen Kiviteollisuus OY, *Arkitekten* I 1905, p. 3, 6.
19. The steatite was supplied by Suomen Vuolukivi OY. Ibid.
20. It may be mentioned here that e.g. the French critic Etienne Avenard in his 1908 review of the hall of the bank noted how its basic division resembling a medieval church was converted to serve a completely new function. Avenard 1908, p. 24.
21. In addition to the Middle Ages, other general levels of reference can be sought for the type of space involved. For example, the combining of the vestibule, its side walls, the opening flanked by two columns and the main hall derives from the templum in antis and on the secular level from the megaron.
22. SRM, archives of originals. This unsigned and undated drawing is the only one showing the locations of the furnishings in the area used by the bank staff.
23. The furniture was made by Sörnäisten puuseppätehdas and Helsingin Puuseppäin Oy; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 1904, no. 245, 10.9., p.5. On the colours of the furniture, see *Veckans krönika* no. 38 1904, p. 617–620.
24. Made by Hj. Fagerroos. *Arkitekten* I 1905, p. 3.
25. The railing was designed by the architect Arne Rancken. *Veckans krönika* no. 38, 1904, p. 620.

III.4.3. Decoration and historical features

26. Valter Jung (1879–1946) graduated as architect in 1902 and became Sonck's assistant in 1903. From 1905 onwards he had a joint architect's office with Emil Fabritius. Except for St. Michael's Church, St. John's Church and the Privatbanken, his part in Sonck's works of architecture is hard to verify. He appears to have prepared at least the plan of decoration for the so-called Kiseleff House in 1904 (Unioninkatu 31 in Helsinki). According to the obituary written by Sigurd Frosterus, Jung was originally involved as much in arts and crafts as in architecture. Working in Sonck's office he appears to have learned about the composition of space and accordingly devoted his efforts to architecture. While the Privatbanken was for Jung a chance to prove his merit in the field of craftsmanship, it also signified for him a shift towards architecture. For the young Jung the interior decoration of the bank was a success similar to Sonck's successes in architectural competitions during his student years. It appears that Sonck used Jung specifically as a designer of decoration and furnishings, and he should not be regarded as a typical assistant architect. Jung also drafted final drawings, and the style and technique of the original drawings for the Privatbanken building correspond to the technique of his sketch-book. On Valter Jung, see Frosterus 1946. – The stucco and painted decoration of the bank was carried out by Carl Slotte. *Arkitekten* I 1905, p. 3.26.
27. E.g. in the article in *Veckans krönika*, A.Ö. 1904.
28. A. O. 1904, p. 618.
29. Ibid. p. 620.
30. Interpreted as part of the idea are the diffuse levels of reference of the hall, where none of the themes is a direct historical quote. Themes relating to Nordic prehistory (*fornnordisk, dragestil*) were central in the decoration of Sonck's wooden architecture of the 1890s. Extending these themes into larger entities followed from the overall development of Sonck's applications of historical material. On the applications of the above themes in the 19th century, see Grandien 1987.
31. Part of the decoration is in Jung's sketch-book.
32. A contemporary writer mentioned an "Assyrian-Babylonian" association. This feature relates to the same levels of reference as the columns of the Telephone Association Building. A. Ö. 1904, p. 620.

III.4.4. The Privatbanken building in the context of contemporary bank architecture

33. *Handbuch der Architektur* 1902, e.g. p. 152, 183.
34. Andersson-Bedoire 1980, p. 272–273.
35. Unioninkatu 30, Helsinki. The work is ascribed to the office of Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen. The facade of these drawings was not built, and the final version is according to the drawings prepared by Saarinen in May 1904. SRM, the collection of the Saarinen working group. See also Hausen et al. 1990, p. 152–157.
36. The competition was followed in the press, see *Hufvudstadsbladet* 1904, no. 245, 10.9., p. 5.
37. Ibid., see also A.Ö. 1904, p. 617–620.
38. *Arkitekten* I 1905, p. 2–6 and *Moderne Bauformen* 1906, Heft 1, p. 28–31. The illustrations presented in Arkitekten did not include a written evaluation, and thus contemporary professional criticism is not available.
39. Avenard 1908. This extensive article discussed, among other works, the Nordic Joint-Stock Bank and the Privatbanken. The writer saw as apparent the derivation of their division of space from the medieval church architecture of Finland. – An illustration of the Privatbanken was also published in the Parisian journal *L'Architecte*, Mars 1908, p. 16.
40. A. Ö. 1904.

III.5. The Eira hospital

III.5.1. The commission

1. SRM, Collection of the Saarinen working group, copies of documents relating to the Fabianinkatu 17 apartment building. – On this building, see also Hausen 1990, p. 98–101.
2. See Jung 1901.
3. See footnote 1. Both Zilliacus and Ehrnrooth were the founders of the apartment building company. – Läkares sjukhusaktiebolag. Kassabok.
4. On the history of hospitals in late 19th-century Finland, see Rasila 1983.
5. Information on the origin and original programme of the Eira hospital is based on Sandelin 1935, Malm 1965 and the records of the archives of the Eira hospital. After the building was completed, the company set up for commissioning the project became the Eira company, in charge of running the hospital.
6. The hospital records do not contain any further information on the programme or instructions to Sonck.
7. Designs and drawings from two stages are available. Dating back to the planning stage is a coloured facade drawing of the part facing Tehtaankatu, signed "Lars Sonck 1904" (in the possession of the Eira hospital). The main drawings, which differed somewhat from the above, were approved in May 1904 (HKRVVA; HKA, construction drawings collection of the Helsinki Administrative Court). Sonck's involvement in the project from the very beginning is evidenced by the fact that he was already paid in April 1904 (Läkares sjukhusaktiebolag. Kassabok, 3.0.4.1904).

III.5.2. Interior and function

8. According to Sandelin 1935. See also drawings, HKRVVA. In the structural solutions the engineer Hjalmar Castrén was again consulted (Läkares sjukhusaktiebolag. Kassabok. Kassabok 3.9.1904). A payment for a "cement floor" was made to an unspecified recipient (ibid. 21.1.1905).
9. The original functional division of the rooms is shown in a series of drawings published in *Arkitekten* VII 1905, p. 66–67.
10. "Eira. Hufvudstadens modernaste sjukhus". *Veckans krönika* no. 25 1905, p. 390.
11. See Rosenberg 1987, p. 133.
12. *Veckans krönika* no. 25 1905, p. 390. The frieze has been removed.
13. Drawn in Jung's sketch-book are chairs still in use in the hospital. On the other hand, Frölander is mentioned as the designer of the furnishings (*Veckans krönika* no. 25 1905, p. 390). In 1905 Jung was involved in founding his own architect's office together with Emil Fabritius, and he was replaced by Frölander. Frölander was a Swedish master-builder, who had originally come to Finland in 1898 to work for Gustaf Nyström, with whom he served for five years. See Hansson 1989, p. 313. There are no references to the design of the ornaments in connection with the hospital. The interior painting and ornaments were also in this case executed by the firm of Carl Slotte (Läkares sjukhusaktiebolag. Kassabok 24.5.1905).
14. *Veckans krönika* no. 25 1905, p. 389–391.
15. The use of hard and non-porous materials in hospitals had been a subject of discussion for a long time. Also stressed was the importance of sufficient air and ventilation. In the background were late 19th-century ideas of the aerial spread of diseases (the so-called miasma theory). The decision not to build large wards or to reserve a certain volume of air per patient was not based on a rejection of the earlier theories, but on the fact that the hospital did not admit patients with contagious diseases. Owing to the lack of documentary evidence, it is difficult to say which theories of treatment and contagion prevention Zilliacus preferred. – On the hygienic principles of late 19th-century Swedish hospitals, see Åman 1970. On Wagner's choice of materials with respect to hygiene, see Pehnt 1984.
16. On hygiene, cleaning and the home environment in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see Forty 1986, ch. 7 "Hygiene and cleanliness".

III.5.3. The exterior

17. Stenius 1969, map no. 185; Åström 1957, p. 226–227.
18. Åström 1957, p. 228. In the 1902 building scheme the blocks were set apart for villas. Ibid. Map 36.
19. See Salokorpi 1981, p. 136. According to the joint proposal of Bertel Jung, Armas Lindgren and Sonck, the company intended to build a villa suburb in the area. The plan related to the proposal was drawn up by Sonck, and formed the basis of the 1908 town plan prepared and approved by the city authorities.
20. The original colours, removed in 1986, can be seen in the coloured facade drawing from 1904.
21. The costs of the lot, building and interior decoration amounted to c. 300,000 marks. Sandelin 1935, p. 461. The masonry of the Telephone Association building cost 28,000 marks.

22. Sandelin 1935, p. 461. – Although the hospital was presented with illustrations in a number of publications, no professional reviews were published.
23. The passage is from an unsigned review in the weekly *Veckans krönika* under the heading "Hufvudstadens modernaste sjukhus" (The Most Modern Hospital in the Capital); Veckans krönika no. 25 1905, p. 389–391. The article refers to the hospital i.a. as "more like a first-rate modern, private hotel", " . . . the patients' rooms appear to be extremely inviting and comfortable . . ." (". . .snarast som ett modernt, förnämt privathotell", ". . . sjukrummen värka ytterst inbjudande, hemtrefliga. . .".

III.6. The Kallio church

III.6.1. Initial stages and planning

1. The original sources are in series of documents in the archives of the Kallio congregation in Helsinki: Building committee minutes and appended material (RTKPTK); competition jury minutes (KLPTK). The programme was published in a booklet, "Pristäflan för kyrka i Berghäll" (Competition for a church in Kallio), Helsingfors 1906. – The various stages and results of the competition were reported with profuse illustrations in the trade press: *Arkitekten* VII 1906, p. 105–115; *Rakennustaito* no. 31 1906, 150–156; *Kotitaide* X 1906, p. 135–146. – Drawing material is available as follows: main drawings, Central Bureau of the Evangelical-Lutheran Congregations of Helsinki; drawings, alternatives and sketches from the competition stage, SRM and ÅM.
2. RTKPTK, Förslag till ny kyrka å området Berghäll i Helsingfors (Project for a new church in the Kallio district of Helsinki), Josef Stenbäck 1.5.1901. – Stenbäck proposed the use of the reddish granite of Sörnäinen, as it had been successfully used recently in the ground floor of an apartment building designed by Sonck at Pohjoisranta-Rauhankatu in Helsinki.
3. Ringbom 1982.
4. RTKPTK 25.9.1906, including an excerpt from the official letter of 1904.
5. Pristäflan. . . 1906. The detailed programme defined i.a. the size of the stairs. Of significance for the interior was the ruling that only 30 % of the seats could be located in the galleries, which led to a large floor area and narrow galleries. Also to be taken into account were the needs of communication within the church and the possibility to vacate premises quickly.
6. On the competition, see publications mentioned in footnote 2.
7. The main drawings were signed "Helsingfors i Juni 1907, Lars Sonck". The drawings are mentioned as completed in RTKPTK 5.6.1907. A letter from the Chapter of the Diocese of Porvoo (dated 25.1.1908) to the Northern Finnish congregation of Helsinki mentions that the Senate had approved the drawings. RTKPTK, references to works.
8. The original members of the jury were Counsellor of State C.G. Estlander (chairman), Alexander Nyström and Onni Törnqvist (Tarjanne) as architectural experts, Vicar K. A. Hildén and Bertel Jung (secretary). Estlander and Nyström resigned and were replaced by J. A. Nordman and the architect R. Björnberg. KLPTK and Kotitaide X 1906, p. 138.
9. KLPTK. For example, functionality was stressed in the following terms: ". . .in view of the church as a house of God or the altar or chancel as its most sacred parts, we must not stray into preventing such designs that would make the whole even more suitable for its purpose".
10. Gurlitt 1906. Gurlitt was specifically referred to in the minutes.
11. Ibid., p. 82.
12. Ibid., p. 83. The original reads:" Dass endlich Aufgabe des protestantischen Kirchenbaues ist, ein aus seiner Liturgie entwickletes Haus zu schaffen, ganz unabhängig davon, ob er das in Anlehnung an alte Stile tut oder nicht."
13. KLPTK 23.5.1906.
14. On Jung's attitudes concerning newer architecture in general and Sonck in particular, see Jung 1905.
15. See *Rakennustaito* no. 31 1906, p. 150–156.
16. Among other sources, *Handbuch der Architektur* presented solutions of this kind. Gurlitt 1906.
17. Also this was shown as a pictorial example in the Handbuch. Ibid. p. 296–297.
18. KLPTK
19. KLPTK
20. The limitations of the tolerance of this orientation, seeing itself as modern, was seen a couple of years earlier in the competition for the new railway station of Helsinki, in which Sigurd Frosterus's project representing Continental art nouveau did not meet with recognition. – On the competition for the railway station, see Hausen 1977.
21. KLPTK
22. See Chapter III of this work on St. John's Church.
23. Minutes of the Parish Council of Kylmäkoski, 28.6. 1897. Sonck was requested to move the pulpit from above the altar table to its conventional place. – The author was kindly informed of the material on Sonck in the archives of the Kylmäkoski congregation by District Dean Antti Lehtipuu.
24. The chancel design was thus linked to newer German architecture. It can also be derived from the earlier versions of Reformed church architecture in Central Europe and North America. Sonck was familiar with the history of Protestantism, as shown by the names of his entries. "Huss" = Jan Huss, the reformer, " Till Damaskus" (To Damascus) = the Pauline conversion. "Huss-Omarbetning" (Huss reworked) = the purification of something already reformed.
25. For example, the architects Curjel & Moser linked this combination to the organ pipes located above and the square base with short cross-arms. This was all linked to the use of stone and Romanesque themes as well as American and domestic features in a way that made the buildings analogies to St. John's Church. See Gurlitt 1906, p. 379–381. – With respect to Sonck's floor plan, Otzen and his church in Rheydt must also be mentioned. Ibid., p. 332.
26. KLPTK
27. Evaluation of the entry, KLPTK. – The series of illustrations for the entry is only partially preserved with respect to the exterior, SRM, archives of originals.
28. *Rakennustaito* no. 11 1906, p. 156. Incensed by criticism, Nyström declined to participate in this stage of the competition. He also presented the jury with a long letter in which he criticized its general principles. Nyström stated that he was well aware of the views of Gurlitt. KLPTK, letter dated 29.8.1906.
29. The entries have been partly preserved in the SRM and

ÅM archives; they were also published in part in the press.
30. ÅM; *Kotitaide* X 1906, p. 135.
31. RTKPTK 11.10.1906. In this connection a fee of 33,100 marks was agreed upon for Sonck. – A large number of sketches and two large-scale, coloured facade drawings have been preserved of this stage (SRM).
32. For example, the text of the illustrations presenting the south and east facades (SRM) reads:" Lars Sonck invenit – D.W. Frölander pinxit". The exact dating of these drawings is not known. I assume that they were prepared in between the competition and the main drawings in order to demonstrate the progress of the planning. They may also have been intended for public display, for Sonck participated in an exhibition of architecture staged in the late autumn of 1907 by the Architects' Club at the House of the Nobility in Helsinki. Also the main drawings are by Frölander.
33. SRM, archives of originals.
34. The metal of the main drawings is copper plate. In the two illustrations mentioned above the colour is bronze.
35. RTKPTK 5.6.1907.
36. The materials, furnishings and equipment of the church were supplied as follows. Masonry of the foundation and socle: Osuuskunta Kivi; facade masonry: Suomen Kiviteollisuus Oy; concrete work: August Kiökemeister/Allgemeine Beton und Eisengesellschaft (Berlin); interior furnishings: Helsingin Puuseppätehdas Oy; lighting fixtures: Siemens & Halske (Helsinki); painting: Carl Slotte; organ: Schlag & Söhne (Schweidnitz, Silesia); church bells: Franz Schilling (Apolda in Thüringen). RTPTK, appendices.
37. RTKPTK 7.4. 1908. On Wäänänen's background, see Tolonen 1930, p. 636–637.

III.6.2. Construction and the final result

38. RTKPTK 10.3.1908. – On the relationship of the masonry of the Kallio project with broader courses of development in the Nordic countries, see Ringbom 1987, p. 228–231.
39. Ibid. 29.5. 1908. Appended masonry contract.
40. Ibid. On the masonry, see also "Kostnadsförslag till Berghälls kyrka" (Proposal of costs for the Kallio church), s.a. – Especially high-class material was desired for the structurally central stone columns. Letter of the Chapter of the Diocese of Porvoo to the building committee 25.1.1908. RTKPTK.
41. Ibid., estimate of costs.
42. Owing to sparse sources, the extent and nature of the concrete work are hard to define. In an undated estimate of costs, prepared most probably after the main drawings, concrete vaulting and stone columns are specifically mentioned. Kiökemeister's tender of 8.8.1908 does not mention who prepared the special plans. In an article source (Nurminen 1977, p. 50, correction) Castrén has been mentioned as having influenced the matter, but he is not mentioned in the documents. An unsigned draft of the calculations of strength has been preserved. In the autumn of 1908 it was recorded that the laying of concrete was to be interrupted for the winter. RTKPTK 5.11.1908. – Kiökemeister gave a two-year warranty for his work, ensuring durability according to the Prussian normal regulations of 1907.
43. RTKPTK, appendices. Carl Slotte's estimate of the paintwork 9.3.1911. The capitals are not of stone, but of a specially prepared cast material mixed with sandstone.
44. A long letter by Merikanto and Klemetti regarding the organ has been preserved. The letter closes with the observation that "it would be preferable if Messrs architects, before embarking upon drawings and designs for new city churches, would consult music experts on the dimensions of space required by organ galleries. This would prevent a situation detrimental to the development of church music, such as we have again had the opportunity to observe".
45. Above the vault of the chancel and in an unseen location was an echoing device (*Fernwerk*), transmitting sound through the open ceiling of the vault.
46. RTKPTK 19.1.1911.
47. The sketches for the chancel wall include two panels, for which paintings or reliefs were intended. SRM, archives of originals.
48. The reliefs were made by Forselles in 1911. They were offered for sale by a "consortium" consisting of Maria Wiik, Anna Sahlsten, Hanna Rönnberg, Helene Westermarck and Constance Ullner. The purchase was approved by experts such as E. Aspelin-Haapkylä, Yrjö Hirn and E. Järnefelt. RTKPTK, appendices.
49. RTKPTK, appendices; ibid. 5.12.1910.
50. Ibid. 24.11. 1908; 18.12. 1908.
51. Ibid. Sonck's letter to the committee, 1.12.1910.
52. Construction work finally proceeded at a very slow pace. The church was to have been finished by All Saints' Day 1911; the inspection was held only as late as 10 October, 1912. The original name was to have been Petri Kyrkan (St. Peter's Church). Like the present name (Fi. kallio = rock, bedrock), this name would also have alluded to the bedrock upon which it stands, the surrounding area and the dominant material of the building. RTKPTK.
53. The plaster model of the church from 1908 already had a square-based variant. See *Veckans krönika* no. 23 1908, p. 182. Sonck had plaster models made of all of the churches discussed in this study.
54. The consistent use and application of round arches, as well as the cruciform plan with a tower, can be linked to Romanesque architecture. As there are no other references to this period, I do not feel that Sonck aimed at any explicit level of association. More probably, he appears to have applied historical models without striving for references.
55. Parallels to the Kallio church can be found in the case of a number of Swedish churches where the same problems of history, materials and regionality vs. internationality were addressed. These were the Masthuggskyrkan in Gothenburg (Sigrid Ericson, 1910–14), the Vasakyrkan also in Gothenburg (Yngve Rasmussen, 1905–08); the Engelbrektskyrkan in Stockholm (Lars I. Wahlman, 1906: 1909–14). The Masthuggskyrkan contains clear references to the brick architecture and the Middle Ages of the Baltic region, but on a very general level. It also displays features that were common in Finnish architecture of the early years of the 20th century. The Vasakyrkan is of natural stone, and its interior refers back to the Romanesque in a way that was even more generalizing than in the Kallio church. The Engelbrektskyrkan is perhaps the closest parallel, with its highly centralized volume and its manner of applying history as a material, whose use does not derive from any specific examples.
56. The church designed by Schilling & Gräbner in Strehlen (1905) is of symmetrical long form with a tower. The design of the lower part of the tower is repeated in the Kallio church. This work of architecture was described in a number of publications, including *L'Architecte*, 15 Janvier 1906, p. 71.

57. This point has been presented by Wäre 1989, p. 130.
58. On examples, see Gurlitt 1906, p. 442.
59. Frosterus 1911 (a).

III.7. Sonck's project for Parliament House in Helsinki

1. The exact date when the competition was declared is not mentioned in printed sources. The programme of the competition was discussed in October 1907 at the Architects' Club; *Arkitekten* VII 1907, p. 138. The jury judged the entries on 15 February, 1908; *Arkitekten* II 1908, p. 13.
2. The competition entries, with illustrations, were published together with the minutes of the jury, see *Arkitekten* II 1908, p. 13.
3. The original drawings are in the archives of the Museum of Finnish Architecture (SRM). The subsequently lost perspective drawing was published in *Arkitekten* II 1908, p. 25.
4. On related criticism, see *Arkitekten* II 1908, p. 17–18.
5. Article by the pseudonym "Arkitekten" (Architect) in the journal *Arkitekten;* "Apropos lantdagshustävlingen" (On the Parliament House competition), *Arkitekten* II 1908, p. 29–30. The writer regarded Sonck's facades as highly successful works of design, and expressed his amazement at the jury's negative comments concerning the floor plans of the "Plenum" entry. In his view, the latter features were thoroughly thought out.

III.8. The building of the Mortgage Association of Finland

III.8.1. Points of departure

1. On the history of the Mortgage Association of Finland (Suomen hypoteekkiyhdistys), see Pihkala 1961.
2. Ibid., tables p. 138. It was profitable at the time to invest and amortize accumulated capital through construction. The Association operated to "protect the association from removal and relocation". The Mortgage Association of Finland. Yearly report of the board and auditors' statement for the fiscal year of 1906, p. 5.
3. On the value of this block and the adjacent ones, see Åström 1957, map 22.
4. Pihkala 1961, p. 134. Schybergson's and Sonck's cooperation had begun already in connection with the Telephone Association project.
5. The Mortgage Association of Finland, minutes of the board 10.1.1907.
6. Ibid. 18.1.1907. Building costs were estimated at 450,000 marks, to which the price of the lot, 250,000 marks, was added. – The project is described in an exceptionally complete series of documents. All costs are verified, and the daily labour records have also been preserved. The project was also discussed in the minutes of the board meetings. – Drawings and plans are preserved from three stages of the project: an undated sketch by Sonck, possibly from the winter of 1907 (Mortage Association of Finland, Helsinki) and floor plan sketches belonging to the above (SRM, archives of originals); the approved main drawings and plans of April 1907 (HKRVVA; HKA, building plans collection of the Administrative Court of Helsinki); and a large undated, coloured illustration of the final appearance of the building (SRM, archives of originals; published in *Arkitekten* IV 1909, p. 51).
7. HKRVVA
8. Minutes of the board 27.4.1907.
9. Nybyggets verifikationer (Building project receipts). Joh. Johansson was chosen as the master-builder and his signature is on the records for daily labour.
10. Minutes of the board 22.5.1909.

III.8.2. The facade

11. HKRVVA
12. SRM, archives of originals. The exact date of the large water-coloured drawing is not known. It is most probably of a later date than the main drawings, for it corresponds to the final version. The function of this illustration is not clear, as it was not prepared for the client. Also this illustration may have been made for the exhibition of architecture held in the autumn of 1907 in order to present the future building (see the section on the Kallio church).
13. The tenders for the masonry work were reviewed already in late April before the official approval of the main drawings. Minutes of the board 27.4.1907. Nybyggets verifikationer (Building project receipts), invoice of 31.8.1908. See also *Rakennustaito* no. 8 1909, p. 101.
14. As pointed out by Ringbom, masonry technique had only at this point reached the stage where granite could be shaped by machine. See Ringbom 1987, p. 231 and 239–241.
15. See Lilius 1984, fig. 20, p. 44. C.L. Engel's alterations to the original plans for the so-called Heidenstrauch building are from 1838. I am referring here to the way in which the wings delimiting the yard and extending to the pavement are in frontal view a part of the articulation of the main volume.
16. The terminology of classical architecture can only be applied freely to the facade. It is used, however, in order to demonstrate the way in which classicism was applied in this case.
17. SRM, archives of originals. Drawing published in *Arkitekten* IV 1909, p. 51. Also Frosterus mentions Frölander's role in designing the ornamental motifs of the facade; Frosterus 1909, p. 69.
18. As mentioned by Ringbom, this theme is of Spanish origin. It was introduced in Stockholm by I.G. Clason (the Halwyll Palace, 1893–98), from where it came to Helsinki (Grahn-Hedman-Wasastjerna, the Wasa Bank building, 1898–99) and was finally applied by Sonck in the Mortgage Association building. See Ringbom 1987, p. 102–103; 241.
19. The facade may again be compared with the Telephone Association building, where each storey forms a clearly separate unit with individual features of design. – Examples of Höijer's facades are the buildings at Erottaja 2 and Erottaja 19 in Helsinki. This has also been pointed out in Viljo 1985 (a), p. 167. The ultimate background factor was the division of facades in the High Renaissance palazzi of Italy.

20. Presented in *Arkitekten* IV 1909, p. 53, 64–70; *Arkitekten* I 1910, p. 2–5, 56–57; *Rakennustaito* no. 8 1909, p. 101; *Veckans krönika* no. 8 1909, p. 57–58; *Hufvudstadsbladet* no. 165 22.6.1906, p. 6–7 (= Strengell 1909).
21. Frosterus 1909.
22. Ahrenberg 1909. – On Ahrenberg's architectural writing, see Lukkarinen 1989.
23. Ahrenberg 1897–98.

III.8.3. The structures and the interior

24. Nybyggets verifikationer (Building project receipts); Kiökemeister's itemized invoice 1.3.1909 and payment for same 14.2.1907 in which the system is mentioned. Castrén was paid for the structural calculation and drawings. An unclear feature is the fact that the Helsingin sementti- ja asfalttiliike firm stated that it had carried out the concrete laying (Hirn 1906-, p. 281). The drawings and special plans would thus have been prepared by Sonck, the calculations by Castrén, and Kiökemeister would have built the structures with the aid of sub-contractors.
25. In addition to the drawings, see interior view; Hirn 1906-, p. 283.
26. Building project receipts, payment on 3.10.1908.
27. The Finnish-made roof trusses of the skylight are of steel. Building project receipts.
28. Strengell 1909.
29. Ibid. The rooms and premises were presented extensively with illustrations: Arkitekten I 1910, p. 2–4, 56–59. The floor plan by Frölander illustrates the dimensions of the final version. In connection with this project, Frölander became the artistic director of the Sandviken carpentry firm. Strengell 1909.
30. The furnishings of the hall were related to the exterior architecture also on the stylistic level. The forms and materials, dark hardwood with brass embossings, alluded to the early 19th century. Most of the furnishings, including the counter, are still in use in the premises of the Mortgage Association at Yrjönkatu 9 in Helsinki.
31. The painting work was again carried out by the firm of Carl Slotte. The plaster features of the architectural articulation of the interior were made by J. W. Lindgren, known as both "modeller" and "sculptor". Building project receipts. Special glass panes were ordered from Paris, the roof trusses of the hall were made by the Koneja Siltarakennusyhtiö firm, the lugino walls were supplied by E. Tilgmann and the beaten works and lighting fixtures were made by the Koru Oy firm. The furnishings were made by several carpentry firms.
32. Building project receipts.
33. Writing of the capitals of the facade, Frosterus observed that they suggest beaten metal work more than stone. The concept of metal parts may thus have even influenced the dressing of stone. Frosterus 1909, p. 68.
34. Reserved for the purpose were 700,000 marks, including the price of the lot. However, the final costs amounted to 1,190,000 marks. Pihkala 1961, p. 139.
35. Building project receipts, Kiökemeister's invoices; ibid. the invoices of the Suomen Kiviteollisuus firm.
36. Sonck's fee was 29,000 marks. Ibid, total of fees paid to Sonck.
37. Strengell 1909.

III.9. The Helsinki Stock Exchange building

III.9.1. Structures and division of space

1. The following is based on Tiderman 1937 and Frenckell 1980 s.a.
2. Frenckell 1980.
3. Tiderman 1937, p. 33.
4. Frenckell 1980.
5. Ibid., and other documents in the possession of the Stock Exchange Club.
6. Tiderman 1937, p. 33; other documents of the Stock Exchange Club; Frenckell 1980.
7. These sketches were published in *Arkitekten* II 1910 p. 26–27. – In the founding meeting held at the Seurahuone hotel and restaurant on 9.3.1910 Sonck's facade sketch was printed on the menu; collections of the Stock Exchange Club. Cf. the similar situation in connection with the Eira hospital.
8. The water-coloured main drawings are hung in the Helsinki Stock Exchange (facade and lengthwise projection); the corresponding approved drawings HKRVVA; Tiderman 1937, p. 34.
9. Tiderman 1937, p. 34.
10. The costs amounted to 1,477,798 marks. Available sources do not tell, whether the price of the lot (385,000 marks) was included in the sum. In addition to these were the costs of furnishings for the Stock Exchange Club, over 100,000 marks. Tiderman 1937, p. 34 and Frenckell 1980. The estimate of costs of the Kallio church, built at the same time, was thus only a third of the above.
11. The few documents do not provide information on the structures or their designer. Because of the level of requirements, Castrén is again the most probable choice. The company is mentioned in Hirn 1906-, p. 282.

III.9.2. The facade

12. On the design, see *Arkitekten* II. 1910, p. 26–27.
13. Documents of the Stock Exchange Club.
14. The building was described in *Kotitaide* I & II 1911, p. 3–4.

III.9.3. The courtyard and the stock exchange hall

15. *Arkitekten* II 1910, p. 27. – Described with illustrations in *Kotitaide* I & II 1911, p. 3–4; *Veckans krönika* no 6 1912, p. 49. There was a lot of greenery also along the railings of the staircase.
16. On the various stages of Östberg's design of the City Hall, see Cornell 1965.
17. Letter from Ragnar Östberg to Sonck, 4.4.1911. Estate of Mrs Greta Stengård. – The large Blue Hall (Blå Hallen) of the Stockholm City Hall, resembling an exterior space, has a brick surface and a large open staircase of Renaissance derivation.
18. Mentioned i.a. in Nikula 1981, p. 30. See also an extensive presentation of Danish architecture in *Arkitekten* VII 1907, p. 133–136, 153–160.
19. On these points, see Ringbom 1987, p. 232–244.
20. Berlage's Stock Exchange is discussed in detail in Singelenberg 1972.

21. The fixed furnishings and the furniture of the courtyard and the exchange hall were designed by Gösta Kulvik and they were made by the Sörnäisten Puuseppätehdas firm. The beaten works, lighting fixtures and the brass gate of the courtyard were made by the Koru Oy firm (*Kotitaide* I & II 1911, p. 3–4). The dispute caused by the furnishings of the club was discussed with numerous illustrations in *Arkitekten* II 1911, p. 33–37. D. W. Frölander had prepared an overall plan of furnishings in his capacity as artistic director of the Sandviken company. This tender lost out to a firm from London. In view of the background of the club, it was logical to order the furniture from England.

III.9.4. The nature of the achievement

22. In 1906, around the time when the stock exchange became a timely issue, the architect Jac. Ahrenberg suggested that it should be built according to Engel's original plans. This is mentioned in Lukkarinen 1989, p. 72.
23. Examples of these principles include a study by Sonck from the early 1890s for a stock exchange, city hall and customs office ("Projekt till Börs, Stadshus och Tullhus"; ÅM). Although Sonck drew a stock exchange in this work, it was only a facade study, in which the stock exchange part corresponds closely to the House of the Estates by Gustaf Nyström which was completed in 1890. See Fig. 156.
24. This feature may be related to the fact that there were plans for renting out the hall to outside users. Tiderman 1937, p. 35.
25. This correspondence is mentioned in Ringbom 1978, p. 226.
26. Frosterus 1911 (b).
27. The review is part of a summary of an article published by Brunius in Sweden, titled "Ett svenskt uttalande om vår byggnadskonst" (A Swedish statement concerning our architecture), *Arkitekten* III 1912, p. 29–31.

IV. THEMES

IV.1. Clientele

1. State Archives, Helsinki City Administrative Court Archives, Registration of deed, 5 May 1909. Schybergson sold a lot which he had previously owned to the Aktiebolaget Manegegatan 2 A (later 4) company, of which he was a board member.
2. On Kulosaari, Sonck and Schybergson, see Kolbe 1988.
3. See Hausen et al. 1990, p. 185–186.
4. Sonck's Scandinavianism was thus on the general level of cultural orientation. An example of a different attitude towards foreign architecture is the early 20th-century Anglophile spirit of Hermann Muthesius and Adolf Loos. In the Finnish context, this has been referred to by Viljo in her article "De 'svenska liberalerna' i den finländska arkitekturen kring sekelskiftet". *Taidehistoriallisia tutkimuksia – Studies in Art History* 9, Ekenäs 1986.

IV.2. Materials and structures

IV.2.1. Brick

1. This has been discussed in Wäre 1989, p. 124, among other sources.
2. Sonck especially used dark Helsingborg brick, which had been produced industrially since 1903. This material was used in the telephone exchange at Runeberginkatu and Kaarlenkatu (1914–15) and the Keskuskirjapaino printing premises at Erottaja in Helsinki (1911–13). – On the use of brick and stone, see Ringbom 1987, p. 232.

IV.2.2. Stone

3. Ringbom 1987 provides a broader framework for the problems related to stone discussed in this study, and also covers the related phenomena of the 19th century. On Norway, see p. 201–210.
4. Archives of the Kylmäkoski parish; minutes of the parish council 1896–99. Already in 1897 Sonck drew up plans for both a stone church and a wooden one. When the client decided upon a stone church, Sonck prepared the final, unrealized, drawings. His 1897 study for a rural church ("Eskiss till en landskyrka) was most probably the first design for the stone church of Kylmäkoski.
5. On Stenbäck, see Ringbom 1982 and 1987, p. 213–225.
6. Minutes of the Kylmäkoski parish council 1896–99. Sonck visited the locality to study the availability of stone material, and his activities in this project closely resemble the corresponding work of Stenbäck in the 1890s; see Ringbom 1982.
7. The competition programme for the new evangelical church of Tampere, as presented in *Suomen Teollisuuslehti* no. 1 1900, p. 12. "A church. . . of brick, granite or both combined."
8. Strengell 1903, p. 26, 34.
9. This feature has been analysed by O'Gorman 1987, p. 104–109. Although Sonck may have been inspired by illustrations of Richardson's works, his architectural solutions need not have been guided by the concepts that shaped the prototypes and examples.
10. See Müller 1986, p. 40; this has also been discussed by Moravanszky 1988, p. 71.
11. For further details, see Ringbom 1987, chapter 11.

IV.2.3. Iron

IV.2.4. Concrete

12. On the early 20th-century use of reinforced concrete, see Lauri Putkonen's introduction to the subject. On the techniques and methods of the period, see Weyerstall 1913.
13. See Nikula 1975.
14. On the relationship of architects and construction engineers on the Continent and related problems, see the overview presented in Moravanszky 1989, p. 41–45.

15. There are no specialist studies on Castrén, but his crucial role in developing concrete structures in the early 20th century can be clearly seen when reviewing the works of individual architects of the period. Castrén also taught construction theory at the Polytechnical Institute of Helsinki. – The framework drawings of the warehouse HKRVVA: on the competition, see *Arkitekten* VII 1911. A few years later, Sonck prepared the designs of a three-storey apartment building in Helsinki with the heading "Concrete building" (Nybyggnad af beton; SRM archives of originals). The wall structure of this unrealized design appears to be of hollow concrete.

IV.2.5. The materials of the details

IV.3. Composition and volume

1. For example the Argos building (Grahn, Hedman, Wasastjerna; 1896–97; 41 North Esplanade) and the Falken building (Karl Hård af Segerstad; 1898–99; Bulevardi 30). A background factor of the Argos building can be seen in French Early Renaissance architecture passed on via Sweden with characteristic high gable themes.
2. In this connection the term plastic denotes the opposite of stereometric.
3. Published for example in *Rakentaja* IX 1905. KL: XVII.
4. SRM , archives of originals.
5. On Italy, cubic forms and turn-of-the-century Vienna, see Moravanszky 1988, p. 117–121. – In 1901 Sonck is known to have visited at least Genoa, Florence, Rome, Naples, Pompeii and Capri. On his return trip he stayed in Munich and Vienna. Letters to Gustaf Mattson, ÄAB.
6. *Suomen Teollisuuslehti* 1898, no. 19, p. 223; Collections of the Turku Art Museum.
7. On the City Hall project, see *Arkitekten* V 1913.

IV.4. Surface and decoration

1. See e.g. examples from the Esplanade in Helsinki discussed in Lilius 1984 and Viljo 1985 (a).
2. Several examples are presented e.g. in Moorhouse-Carapetian-Moorhouse 1987 and Wäre 1989.
3. On the excursion of the Architects' Club, see *Arkitekten* III 1904, p. 23–29.
4. Some of Sonck's buildings give the impression of a malleable mass of wall, resembling a plastic sculpture that can be shaped by hand. The inherent difference with respect to late 19th-century, classicizing and medievalistic trends resembles by way of analogy the relationship of late 19th-century naturalistic sculpture with the plastic principles of Rodin. In his later works, the fluid combining of shapes and parts prevented the figures from being comprehended through clear, linear contours. We know, however, that Sonck – like other Finnish architects of the period – did not prepare scale models in malleable materials of their works in the planning stage. Sonck had large plaster models made of his church projects, but they were intended as three-dimensional illustrations of the final designs.
5. Although the different genres of the arts have separate and somewhat autonomous histories, it might be useful to compare Sonck's and Saarinen's colour concepts of the early 1900s with certain trends in the visual arts of the late 19th century. The closest parallels are the techniques employing large, single-hued planes of colour that followed Realism and Impressionism. In Finland, Akseli Gallen-Kallela painted his Kalevala themes of the 1890s in accordance with these principles. Architecture usually follows other areas of the arts with some degree of time-lag, which might explain the introduction of these features in architecture some years later. A well-known example of such a correspondence is early 20th-century Vienna, where the divisions of fields in Hoffman's architecture were matched by Klimt's concepts of surface.
6. According to Bruno Tuukkanen, Sonck regarded the sculptures of the railway station as an example of how architecture is obscured by themes of secondary importance.
7. Waenerberg 1982.
8. As analysed e.g. by Meyer Schapiro, 1977, p. 4. This article was originally published in 1947.

IV.5. Types, models and characterization

1. The following definitions are based on Vidler 1977 and 1987, Moneo 1978 and Anderson 1982.
2. Moneo 1978, p. 27
3. For example, Nikolaus Pevsner's well-known "A History of Building Types", Princeton 1976. In Finland, this approach was introduced by Henrik Lilius in his study of the history of school buildings (Suomalaisen koulutalon arkkitehtuurihistoriaa. *Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja* 83. Helsinki 1982). The most recent example is Äsa Ringbom's doctoral dissertation on 19th-century hotel-restaurants from 1988 (Societetshuset i storfurstendömet Finland. *Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift* 92. Helsinki).
4. Moneo 1978, p. 29–31.
5. On Nyström and the concept of characterization, see Lukkarinen 1989, p. 38–42.

IV.6. The past

IV.6.1. The problem of choice

1. Wolfgang Götz's article from 1970, "Historismus. Ein Versuch zur Definition des Begriffes", was already referred to in Riitta Nikula's dissertation in 1981. Colquhoun approaches the problem from a slightly different angle in his 1983 article "Three kinds of historicism". In Lukkarinen's dissertation from 1989 a whole chapter (I.4.) is devoted to the analysis of the concept of historicism. In the latter context, other analyses are added to the texts of Götz and Colquhoun, and I recommend Lukkarinen's review of historicism to all who are interested in the problem. – Also Viljo 1985 (a) discusses the manifestations of historicism in Finnish architecture of the late 19th century.

2. Götz 1970, p. 211.
3. Götz, as quoted in Lukkarinen 1989, p. 20.
4. Lukkarinen 1989, Chapters III.2., III.3. and p. 68.
5. Miller Lane 1988.
6. Ibid., p. 1–20. She observes that "up until the 1870s or 1880s, the leading historians and the leading architects were very close to one another, while many historians were practicing architects and many architects were preservation catalogers or archaeologists at the same time". Ibid., p. 18.
7. Ibid., p. 25. In Germany this came to the fore in the construction of new imperial castles in which the architects wished to refer back to the Staufian past. – Gothic was seen as too international (i.e. French!) and a great emphasis was placed on the early Romanesque. References were also made to prehistory. It is to be noted that for example Wilhelm Lübke's histories of architecture, which were published in the 1870s and 1880s and were distributed widely, presented examples of this kind. Ibid., p. 15.
8. Mycenae is presented here as only one of the possible and suitable sources of inspiration. If we are to assume that Sonck tried to find themes in early stone-building cultures and civilizations, we must investigate to what degree they were known around the year 1900. For example, Mycenae had recently become known to the world through Schliemann's excavations begun in 1878. On the other hand, the exemplary and monumental ancient stone architecture of South America was not yet known to scholars; Macchu Picchu was first published in 1912. – Polygonally bonded walls were used in Egypt as well as in Archaic Greece.
9. Strengell-Frosterus 1904, p. 42.
10. In other areas of the arts an undercurrent of archaism was provided by folk poetry, the Kalevala epic and Karelian romanticism. In painting both old techniques and themes could be combined, as in Akseli Gallen-Kallela's "Kullervo" fresco (1901). In Sonck's architecture these aims were in a sense combined through two areas of the arts when Hugo Simberg used fresco technique in the murals of St. John's Church.
11. See Katalin Keserü's article from 1988 on the Gödöllö artist colony; on the hypothetical past of folklore , see p. 12.
12. Joseph, s.a. The year of printing is not given. A third, appended impression extends as for as the phenomena of 1908.
13. von Feldegg 1908, p. 445–446.
14. Nikula 1975.
15. On Sonck's project and its reception, see Sonck 1904.
16. "Es müssten allerlei Krummziehungen, Strassenwinkel, Unregelmässigkeiten künstlich im Plane vorgesehen werden; also erzwungene Ungezwungenheiten; beabsichtigte Unabsichtlichkeiten. Kann man aber Zufälligkeiten, wie sie die Geschichte im Laufe der Jahrhunderte ergab, am Plane eigens erfinden und construiren? Könnte man denn an solcher erlogenen Naivität, an einer solchen künstlichen Natürlichkeit wirkliche, ungeheuchelte Freude haben? Gewiss nicht." Sitte 1965, p. 119; also Collins-Crasemann-Collins 1986, p. 249.
17. On these features, see Miller Lane 1988.
18. In the following the concept of national romanticism cannot be reviewed in the detail it undoubtedly requires. Foreign scholars, e.g. Miller Lane 1988, use the term to refer to a variety of heterogeneous phenomena in Nordic and Finnish architecture of the turn of the century. In Finland, Ringbom 1987 uses the term in connection with architecture in stone. Wäre 1989 presents in my view a suitable analysis, where national romanticism is limited to a few central monuments and especially wooden architecture. Early modernism, the other general term used by Wäre, is correct insofar as it distinguishes the aims of the period from the concept of modernism which has come to be applied to the trends of the 1920s and '30s.
19. In 1901 Sonck wrote to Gustaf Matsson from Genoa, stating that "it was only recently that I have begun to see that interest in architecture had been – perhaps stupidly – bound to patriotism" ("Först på senare tider har jag börjat märka hur intresset för arkitekturen varit – kanske dumt nog – förenad med fosterlandskänslan"; ÅAB). Speaking at the Architects' Club in 1901, Sonck referred to the decay of rural architecture at the time, complaining of how the traditional and simple techniques of building have been rejected. He proposed the preparation of simple and cheap instructive booklets to help raise the level of vernacular architecture on the basis of tradition. *Rakentaja* 1901 no. 2, p. 12.
20. On the search for a Finnish style, see Tuomi (Wäre) 1979.
21. Moravanszky 1988, p. 179–182, discusses the importance of vernacular architecture as a prototype around the turn of the century.
22. These points have been discussed in Tuomi (Wäre) 1979 and Wäre 1989.
23. Åman 1987, especially p. 98–100.
24. Ringbom 1987.
25. In Rosenberg 1979, p. 170–196.
26. Wäre 1989, p. 119.
27. Ahrenberg 1897–98.
28. On the other hand, these features can be seen in Sonck's above-discussed desire to protect vernacular architecture from the products of industrialism and in his urging to return to the working of wood by hand. – Sonck's role in establishing villa communities and their planning involved features related to the reform of ways of living. E.g. on Kulosaari near Helsinki, see Kolbe 1988.
29. Lowenthal 1985, p. 181 and Ch. 4, The look of age.
30. On the differences of Classicists and Romanticists, e.g. Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth has stated: "Klassizisten suchen Harmonie innerhalb eines Koordinatensystems, Antiklassizisten zerreissen es. Klassizisten suchen den Ausdruck der Ruhe und Dauer, Antiklassizisten den des organischen Werdens and Wachsens, der Bewegung." Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth 1985, p. 24. – According to the above, Sonck could be generally classed as a Romanticist, compared for example with Gustaf Nyström.
31. Ahrenberg 1909, p. 54.
32. On classicism in St. Petersburg in the early 20th century, see Brumfield 1989.

IV.6.2. Classicism – rejected and rediscovered

33. Sonck's notes, SRM.
34. Study projects, ÅM. Lukkarinen 1989 presents an extensive review of Nyström's principles.
35. Wilenius 1915; Armas Lindgren was similarly criticized for his design of the New Student House in Helsinki.
36. Lindgren's works are discussed in detail in Nikula 1988.

IV.7. The sphere of influences

IV.7.1. Finland

1. The relationship of early 20th-century Helsinki with the rest of Finland can be described in the words of Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth: "Grosse Kunstzentren bieten komprimierte Auseinandersetzungen, erhöhte Konkurrenz, schnelle Information, kurz eine Art Treibhausklima, in dem Dinge rascher reifen, mitunter auch rascher welken." Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth 1985, p. 21.
2. Jaffe 1977,especially p. 30. Comparisons of contemporary but artistically different individuals (von Marees, Cezanne) reveal the importance of the growth milieu, which is also present in similar artistic inclinations (Monet, Rodin, Renoir).
3. Sonck's article "*På orätt spår*" (On the wrong track) in *Arkitekten* VIII, 1904, p. 83–84.
4. Published as a perspektive illustration, *Tekniska föreningens i Finland förhandlingar* 1896, PL. VI.
5. David van Zanten has analysed a somewhat similar situation, viz. the fast change of Louis Sullivan's architectural principles around the year 1890. This involved inner development, related to a period in American architecture that was fruitful, competitive and rich in impulses. The exterior frame of reference provided an impulse that facilitated the channelling of partly developed ideas and in a way legitimized new ones. See van Zanten 1986.
6. See Ringbom 1982, who mentions the similarity with the churches of Koivisto and Muuruvesi (1904).
7. The article "*På orätt spår*" (On the wrong track) in *Arkitekten* VIII 1904 was aimed indirectly against facade design by master-builders.

IV.7.2. The international scene

8. These features combined with ones from other sources, such as the domestic tradition of architecture and Eastern Karelia. A clear example is the casino of the Loviisa spa from 1898 (burned down).
9. Examples in Ringbom 1987, p. 206–207.
10. This comment was in Beckett's series of articles on Finnish architecture; Beckett 1987, p. 206–207.
11. The author has been informed of this by Professor Leonard K. Eaton on two occasions, most recently in 1990. In the 1960s Eaton interviewed the architect Kay Fisker who claimed that Sonck had worked in Rosen's office. As Fisker is now dead, the point cannot be verified further. With respect to Sonck's use of brick in the 1890s and his Scandinavianism it is, however, probable.
12. On this point, see e.g. Ringbom 1987, Chapter 3.
13. In the project by Sonck and O. Bomansson there is a rectangle widening to the north between the main volume bordering on the courtyard and the adjacent block to the west. There are no technical or plan-related grounds for the form. See *Arkitekten* V 1913, p. 85.
14. See e.g. Miller Lane 1988 and Lewis 1962.
15. On the importance of Vienna as a centre, see e.g. Liskar 1986. – Sonck was in Vienna in 1901 as well as on other occasions. ÅAB.
16. For example, the relationship of the details of the eaves in Wagner's Haus der Ehre project (1908) and the Postsparkasse with the pillar ends of the Stock Exchange which curve towards the volume. Combining metal, such as gilding, with exterior architecture was already present in the gilded leaved cupola of Olbrich's Secession building in 1897.
17. Among other sources, Tuomi (Wäre) 1979; this point has most recently been discussed in Ringbom 1987, Chapter 5.
18. As pointed in Tuomi (Wäre) 1979 the building can be derived from Richardson's Cheney building in Hartford.
19. Any discussion of the relationship of American and Finnish architecture should be extended to technology, as pointed out by Ringbom (1987, Chapter 5), and to general factors related to the structures of cultures. A framework for such an investigation has been sketched out in Virtanen 1988.
20. Bialostocki 1986; his division is based on the works of Lubo Karaman which are not mentioned.

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