SUOMEN MUINAISMUISTOYHDISTYKSEN AIKAKAUSKIRJA
FINSKA FORNMINNESFÖRENINGENS TIDSKRIFT
93

CLASSICISM AND HISTORY

ANACHRONISTIC ARCHITECTURAL THINKING IN FINLAND AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

JAC. AHRENBERG AND GUSTAF NYSTRÖM

VILLE LUKKARINEN

HELSINKI 1989

Toimittaja — Redaktör:
TORSTEN EDGREN

ISBN 951-9056-90-4
ISSN 0355-1822

Vammala 1989
Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy

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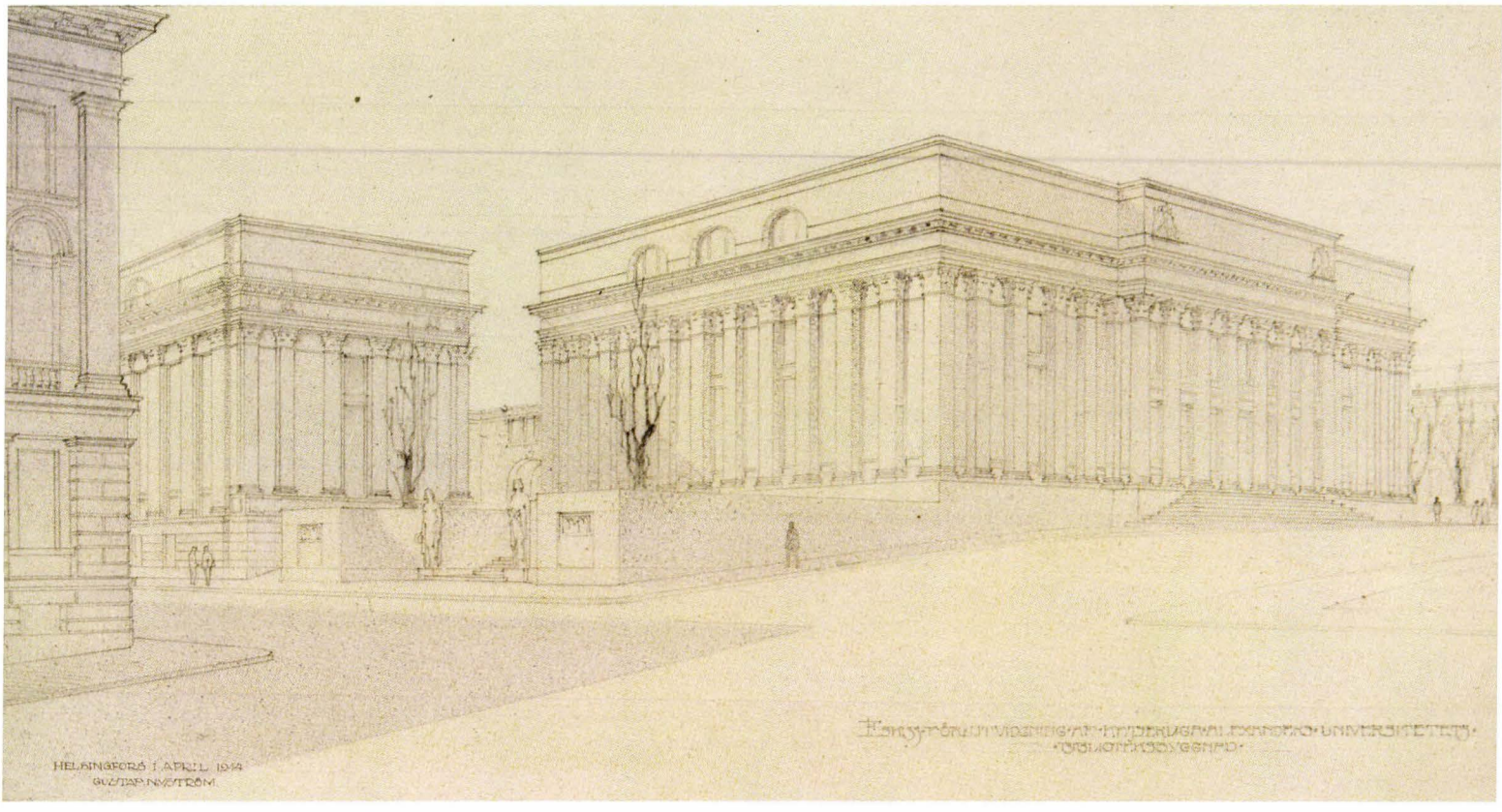

Gustaf Nyström's design for the extension of the University Library in Helsinki. 1914. View from the Senate Square to the north-west. From the left: the University Main Building, a wing of the planned extension, the old University Library. HYM.

PREFACE

This study has come about in the same way as art-historical research in general — through a desire to understand certain works of art. In this case these are a number of architectural projects designed between 1880 and 1915 for the historic centre of Helsinki. This material is presented in detail in the appendix following the main text. It is recommended that the reader should begin with the appendix and illustrations before going on to the main part of the text. The central problems of this study were formulated through my initial confrontation with the works concerned, in spite of the fact that the task came to be defined as an investigation of how the phenomenon of 'historicism' should be approached and studied in art-historical research. This study also has an even more general aim, i.e. to find a suitable model for the historical study of art.

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The study has been officially supervised by Professor Henrik Lilius whose encouragement and kind support have been of invaluable aid. The Young Researchers' Grant of the University of Helsinki made the work possible. I wish to extend my thanks to the Consistorium of the University and especially Rector Päiviö Tommila and Assistant Professor Jukka Ervamaa. Chapter II could not have been completed without a month's stay in Paris in the spring of 1988, made possible by a travel grant from the Chancellor of the University of Helsinki. Also the Kone Foundation's support is gratefully acknowledged. I wish to thank the Finnish Antiquarian Society for the opportunity of publishing my dissertation in its distinguished series. The Antiquarian Society along with the Alfred Kordelin Foundation also granted funds for the English translation of this work.

Mervi Helkkula-Lukkarinen, Markku Peltonen, Antti Veltheim and Assistant Professor Eeva Maija Viljo have kindly read drafts of this study and have given valuable comments. Especially my friends Antti Veltheim and Markku Peltonen were of decisive importance for my final version of the text. Discussions with Juha Ilvas provided guidelines in formulating the problems of research. Dipl.ing., Dr.techn. Erich Lehner of Vienna generously provided me with material concerning teaching in the 19th century at the *Technische Hochschule* of Vienna. I am also indebted to the whole staff of the Department of Art History of the University of Helsinki and especially Renja Suominen-Kokkonen for help and assistance.

Chapters I.2—1.5. were written in English by myself. Jüri Kokkonen, mag.phil., has corrected my text and translated the other sections. Colonel William Mackey, M.A., has kindly read the manuscript. I wish to thank my parents for assistance with my English and especially my father for giving me valuable advice how to conduct the research work.

Finally I extend my thanks to my first academic tutor, Professor emeritus Lars Pettersson, for his continued encouragement and advice in my efforts in the field of art history.

Helsinki, Midsummer Day 1989

Ville Lukkarinen

I. INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM OF 'HISTORICISM'

I.1. Present research

The history of architecture has witnessed a search for new points of departure and approaches that display a less negative attitude towards the "period of revivalism". So-called stylistic pluralism, the simultaneous existence of a number of different "styles", has subsequently been recognized as a characteristic of pre-19th century architecture as well — thus, the 19th century is no longer regarded to such a degree qualitatively different from the preceding "stylistic periods".[1] Despite this, a surprisingly large number of studies published in the 1970s and '80s still display a negative and almost unconsciously deprecative attitude regarding the so-called historicist architecture of the period from approximately 1830 to 1910.[2] This negative attitude is not without its effects on the content of the studies concerned.

A modern starting-point of the negative attitude is Nikolaus Pevsner's 1965 definition of 'historicism', the basic concept of research concerning 19th century art. This has been published only in German:

> Die Haltung, in der die Betrachtung und Benützung der Geschichte wesentlicher ist als die Entdeckung und Entwicklung neuer Systeme, neuer Formen der eigenen Zeit.[3]

According to Pevsner, 'historicism' is tantamount to a tendency to place such faith in the strength of the example provided by a certain historical period that "original creativity" is stifled.[4] In studies purporting to see the whole of 19th century art as a reflection of the "malaise of capitalism" the subject is already predetermined to be of poor quality.[5] Especially the last decades of the 19th century have been seen as an epoch of almost immoral stylistic pluralism, random sketching of historicist stylistic garb, "free competition of style" and outright copying.[6]

The assumed contradiction in late 19th century architecture between the 'historicist' façade of a building and its inner structure of iron or concrete is a well-known theme of so-called Giedionist architectural history. Julius Posener[7] and Neil Levine[8] have stressed the error of this idea, as it is based on an ahistorical attempt to find 19th century "clues" to the birth of the rationalism and functionalism of the "new architecture". The structure of a building is seen as a positive value, "bound" or "fettered" by the façades. Posener and Levine instead see the starting-point of research in the concepts and ideas of the period concerned. The constructions and structures discussed by Sigfried Giedion were not regarded in their own period as architecture at all, but simply as *building*. Despite this, even Kurt Milde's (1981) extensive and basically critical work on 19th century architecture accepts the existence of this dichotomy.[9]

Experts on 19th century architecture usually speak of a building's "historicising shell", "historical garb" or "decoration with historical motifs" rather than simply of the articulation of its façade. This is due not only to the dichotomy of Giedionist thinking that is gradually falling out of use, but also to the generally held view that the 19th century saw and used (historical) styles either as mere backdrops or as *symbols* (i.e. as signs of a moral ideology or to arouse psy-

chological sentiment). Although the idea dates back to the 19th century, it is highly questionable whether there are sufficient grounds to apply this concept to all architecture of the period.

Wolfgang Götz's article from 1970, *Historismus. Ein Versuch zur Definition des Begriffes,* is generally recognized as the best available methodological contribution to the theme at hand. Götz does not take a negative view of historicism and defines it as an idea and not a physical form or concrete method of design, as often argued by scholars. Generally speaking, historicism is ''a special form of historical consciousness'' which Götz does not limit to the 19th century. Various forms of this consciousness and architecture produced under their influence can be found from several centuries.[10]

The significance of historical consciousness and the increasingly deeper understanding of it in the 19th century are naturally stressed in many studies, but the actual concept is only rarely defined, much less taken as the real starting-point of research.[11] In his remarks concerning the problems of historicism in *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* from 1984 Hans-Lothar Kroll complains that the art historians' understanding of this concept has become limited to a label of style and period, classifying facts and objects of study.[12] The same concern was voiced by Heinrich Dilly in 1978 when he remarked that the problem of historicism has only been detoured when it too has become a new stylistic phase with its early, mature and late phases.[13]

In the 1980s a number of leading Finnish art historians have shown interest in the problems of historicism, concentrating especially on the late 19th century and the first years of the 20th century.

Riitta Nikula presented Götz's article in 1981 in her doctoral dissertation *Yhtenäinen kaupunkikuva* ('Uniform Townscape'), although she did not use it as the actual point of departure of her research. In 1986 and 1988 she carried out studies of the interest shown by the architect Armas Lindgren (1874—1929) in historical architecture.[14]

The problems of style in the late 19th century have been specifically the subjects of Henrik Lilius's and Eeva Maija Viljo's studies. In the chapter *Stilfrågan* ('The question of style') of Viljo's 1985 dissertation on the work of the architect Theodor Höijer (1843—1910) she keeps to the perspective of the possible *criteria* for the use of a certain historical form or style (e.g. 'Neo-Gothic, 'Neo-Renaissance' etc.). According to her, the criteria in question could have been religious, ideological-political (mainly nationalistic), esthetic or dependent on construction or function. Furthermore, she claims that the last years of the 19th century were a period of ''free eclecticism'', i.e. random choice of style, use of fashionable styles and so-called thematic historicism.[15] Viljo continued this approach in her article *De svenska liberalerna i den finländska arkitekturen kring sekelskiftet* (1986) ('Swedish liberals in Finnish architecture around the turn of the century'). In this article she attempts to find a connection between ideology ('Swedish liberalism' vs. 'Finnish nationalism') and a predilection for a certain style ('cosmopolitical eclecticism' vs. 'Finnish national timber style'). Direct contacts seem to be lacking. Most of the German historicism studies also concentrate on the contacts between choice of style and political-ideological trends.[16]

Henrik Lilius's criticism proceeds from his observation that ''the stylistic-historical terms Neo-Renaissance and Neo-Gothic do not encompass the whole span of development in architecture''.[17] According to Lilius, ''adequate stylistic terms should be defined for the different trends in architecture'' of the period from 1850 to 1900, and ''we should attempt to describe and analyse that which appears to be characteristic of the different trends of this period and with this work bring about a completely new series of related stylistic concepts''.[18] Operating from this perspective, Lilius has attempted to find and characterize *actual* styles in Finnish architecture

of the late 19th century. He divides the period into two stages (the early and late phases of the revived styles) each of which fall into (at least) four parallel styles (e.g. 'Neo-Renaissance', 'Swiss style').[19]

These experts have in fact concentrated on the study of slightly different aspects. Nikula has searched for the historical consciousness of architects while Viljo has tried to establish the ideological, but above all political, criteria related to the re-use of styles of the past. Lilius, in turn, has aimed at precision in the characteristic classification of the buildings of the period.

In a later connection Lilius has called for "an open-minded search for methodological starting-points" in the study of late 19th century architecture, with a rejection of the whole neo-style system of concepts and the idea of stylistic imitation.[20] In my view, a starting-point for such an approach seems to be provided by the concept of 'historicism' *sensu* Götz, specifically as 'a way of thought' (*Gesinnung*).

As will be argued below, Götz's definition of historicism is to some degree imprecise in concept and requires further precision, even though the basic tenets are accepted. But a review of the concept requires that we demonstrate a discipline where it is both possible and fruitful to apply 'historicism as a way of thought'. For this reason we shall take as our starting-point Quentin Skinner's method for the study of the history of ideas — or more precisely political thought. The potential relevance of the method for art history will be demonstrated when we approach it in terms of the programme put forth by Erwin Panofsky for our discipline. Panofsky, Skinner and Götz have certain features in common in their approaches, which in turn legitimizes such a combination in methodological terms.

Finally, we shall review the work of two "historicists", the Finnish architects Jac. Ahrenberg and Gustaf Nyström, active in the years from 1880 to 1915. I shall attempt to demonstrate how the redefined concept of 'historicism' helps us to understand their work and to question certain generalizing claims concerning the architecture of the "period of eclecticism" or "historicism", especially the notion that late 19th century and early 20th century architectural design of the so-called non-progressive orientation was "immoral" or without ideas.

I.2. "Art History as a Humanistic Discipline"

Although Erwin Panofsky's article *Art History as a Humanistic Discipline* should be known to all art historians, we shall begin with it, concentrating on sections III and IV where Panofsky defines the task of art history.[21]

Panofsky begins with the question of what a work of art is. He proposes the answer that the point where the sphere of practical objects ends, and that of art begins, depends on the *intention* of the creators. Furthermore, he specifies:

> When confronted with a natural object, it is an exclusively personal matter whether or not we choose to experience it aesthetically. A man-made object, however, either demands or does not demand to be so experienced, for it has what the scholastics call an "intention". Should I choose, as I might well do, to experience the redness of a traffic light aesthetically, instead of associating it with the idea of stepping on my brakes, I should act against the "intention" of the traffic light.

Consequently, the art-historian's task is to mentally "re-enact the actions and to re-create the creations" of the past. When interested in *meanings,* and not only material objects, he has to recreate the work of art according to the intention of its maker; he has to reproduce the thoughts that are expressed in the books and the artistic conceptions manifest in the paintings.

The recreative process needs not only natural sensitivity and visual training, but cultural equipment as well. Therefore, the art historian must know the *circumstances* under which the objects of his study were created. These are mainly concerned with the following: age, authorship, destination; comparisons with others of its class; the identification of its subject matter by reading "old books on theology or mythology"; determining its historical locus; separating the individual contribution of its maker from that of forerunners and contemporaries; the history of "motifs" and "types"; rendering familiar the social, religious and philosophical attitudes of the period. And by doing this, "the art historian's own 'aesthetic perception' as such will change accordingly, and it will more and more adapt itself to the original 'intention' of the works".

Panofsky reminds us that intentions can only be formulated in terms of alternatives, i.e. the artist had a problem of choice:

> Thus it appears that the terms used by the art-historian interpret the stylistic peculiarities of the works as specific solutions of generic "*artistic problems*".

The above account is in accordance with the intuition of today's art historian of what is essential in research. It has some claims which are not acceptable to all modern esthetecians (the 'esthetic experience' is attached to the concept of 'intention'; works of art are restricted to man-made objects), but we may disregard them here.[22]

It must be admitted that my account of Panofsky's article leaves out some problematic statements. In explaining the part played by intentions and in describing recreation, Panofsky took up the concept of 'content' which is the third constituent of a work of art along with 'form' and 'idea':

> Content, as opposed to subject matter, may be described (...) as that which a work betrays but does not parade. It is the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion — all this unconsciously qualified by one personality, and condensed in one work.

From the introduction to *Studies in Iconology* we learn further that with 'content' we are dealing with the world of "symbolical values". 'Form' and 'idea' have to be interpreted as the phenomenal manifestations of those underlying principles which reveal the above "basic attitudes". Content is ascertained by "synthetic intuition", controlled by "an insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, the general and essential tendencies of the human mind were expressed".[23]

Panofsky's "artistic problems", in turn, are in his words "generic". By referring to Wölfflin and Edgar Wind, Panofsky reveals that he wishes to understand them as universal and trans-historical, as those "objective principles of organization" which also Wölfflin sought and which, as E.H.Gombrich has demonstrated, Wölfflin could not apprehend to be as they were, viz. historical, bound to time and place.[24]

Thus, 'artistic' problems are comprehended as elementary, and not time-bound, culture-dependent entities; the notion of content, on its part, though tempting, is rather vague. It is just this vagueness and the metaphysical tone of 'content' which has made it problematic for later scholars to accept.

Michael Ann Holly in his *Panofsky and the Foundations of Modern Art History* argues that Panofsky's later works (1939—55), generally regarded as the theoretical culmination of his career, can be properly understood only against the background of his untranslated German papers from 1915—1925.

Holly shows how much Panofsky's thinking owes to the Neo-Kantian philosopher Ernst Cassirer. Cassirer's Kantian interest in different forms of knowledge (among which he included such things as language and myth, but also art), in themselves categories of thought structuring the world we know, was of crucial importance to Panofsky. For instance, perspective, "the cultur-

ally achieved canon of representation'' became in Panofsky's view itself expressive of a creative interdependence of the mind and the world — a symbolic form.[25]

Nevertheless, Holly is very optimistic about the applicability of Panofsky's method. This he bases on the correlates he sees between Panofsky, Ferdinand de Saussure and Michel Foucault.[26] The reviewers of his book have understandably attacked these attempts as being based on erroneous analogies.[27]

Margaret Iversen seems to argue that Holly's optimism is above all due to his misinterpretation of Hegel and Riegl. Holly is right in regarding Hegel's philosophy as important to Panofsky, yet he seems to have read Hegel too literally. Panofsky, as well as Riegl and Cassirer (who is usually regarded to be Kantian only), are still the heirs of Hegel's objective idealism: for them art should be understood as part of the ''project of overcoming mind's alienated relation to the world''. This is reflected in the whole of Panofsky's scientific programme.[28]

Iversen's findings seem fateful for the attempt to treat the view of art historical research presented in *Art History as a Humanistic Discipline* positively, and use it as our possible starting point.

I.3. Quentin Skinner's method: 'intention' and 'context'

Quentin Skinner has appeared as a critic and methodological reformer of the history of ideas in the 1970s and 1980s. His reputation is founded on his first more widely known article *Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas* (1969). After being criticised he has corrected and revealed his theoretical ideas better in several articles. In *Meaning and Understanding* Skinner presents a series of detailed criticisms of some more widely accepted ways of proceeding in the history of political thought ''with unrivaled brilliance and clarity and a staggering array of examples''.[29] For the art historian this might be rather useful to take into account.

The two main paradigms, or mythologies, in Skinner's terms, to which he objects, are, first of all, contextualism which insists that it is the context of religious, political and economic factors which determines the meaning of any given text (or work of art, we might argue), and the other, which insists on the autonomy of the text itself as the sole necessary key to its own meaning.[30] Skinner shows, for instance, the weaknesses of the view that satisfactory history can be constructed of the 'unit ideas', *sensu* Arthur O.Lovejoy, contained in such texts, or by linking such texts together in a chain of alleged 'influences'; both common procedures among art-historians.

His main issue, however, is to gain an understanding of a given literary or philosophical work. This will also be the object of our main interest, for I suggest that the following account will be helpful with regard to some of the theoretical problems of Panofsky's article.

A necessary condition for gaining an understanding of a literary work must be the recovery of the *historical* meaning of the text. Thus, we have to ask how this is achieved. The answer is developed as a case of regarding works of literature and philosophy from the point of view of *action,* viz. as social speech acts that are suggested in the essays and then show the consequences of this conception for the analysis of such texts as well as for the history of ideas itself:

> There is no history of an idea to be written, but only a history necessarily focused on the various agents who used the idea, and on their varying situations and intentions in using it.[31]

Skinner is not alone in introducing this kind of approach. He owes much, for example, to John Dunn[32] and J.G.A.Pocock[33], and all of them, besides to each other, to C.G.Collingwood.

Dunn, for instance, points out that the history of political theory is not a theory of propositions, as Lovejoy would assume, but of ''statements made at a particular date by a particular person''.[34]

Skinner has been characterized as a researcher of 'contexts',[35] but as already pointed out, he explicitly emphasizes that interpretation of meaning cannot be settled by reference to context alone. It is a commonplace, too, to say that in Skinner's method, it is of central importance to know the 'intentions' of the actor in attempting to establish the meaning of a social act.[36] But putting it so briefly misses his ''point'', as well as the fact that his accounts of the role of intentions in recovering the meaning of a text are a serious challenge to New Criticism and its idea of 'Intentional Fallacy'.[37]

Skinner has nowhere presented his method as a coherent whole.[38] As already pointed out, he has developed it in several articles, many of which are contentions to different issues with an ensuing lack of unity. Under the circumstances, I shall attempt to give a short and coherent account of it, as directed to our purposes, derived from his writings from 1969—1981.

We can begin with Skinner's distinction of the three senses of the term 'meaning' (of a text); in most existing theoretical discussions about interpreting ''the meaning'' of texts these have been confused and they can be decoded as:

($_1$) What do the words mean, or what do certain specific words mean in this work?

($_2$) What does this work mean to me?

($_3$) What does the writer mean by what he says in this work?[39]

Skinner shows, with examples, that meaning$_3$ is what is primarily meant with 'meaning', and according to him, it is not altogether irrelevant to know a writer's *motives* and *intentions,* because this helps to determine one's response to the writer's work. To know a writer's motives and intentions is to know the relationship in which he stands to what he has written. To know about intentions is to know such facts as whether the writer was joking, serious or ironic or in general what speech-act he was performing. To know about motives is to know what prompted those particular speech-acts, quite apart from their character and truth status as utterances.[40]

The critics of this, according to whom works of art should be self-explicatory, have generally agreed that a writer's intentions must be *contingently* connected with (and thus antecedent to) his works. With 'intention' they have understood (i) the intention to create a work of a certain character or (ii) the intention to bring about a certain result by writing in a certain way (e.g. ''to achieve fame'' — which hardly distinguishes intentions from motives). Skinner is ready to admit that intentions in either of these senses may be irrelevant to the recovery of meaning $_1$, $_2$ and $_3$, while at the same time insisting that they may nevertheless condition our response to the work.[41]

Thus, some critics, to whom Skinner objects, state that because intentions are ''outside'' the texts, they must be completely irrelevant to the interpretation of literary texts,[42] but others have argued that intention is the *cause* of the action, precisely because it is antecedent and contingently connected to the resulting action.[43]

Skinner argues against the latter view from the viewpoint that a knowledge of the causes of an action (be they understood as ''intentions''[44] or as ''context'', ''background''[45]) is not equivalent to an *understanding* of the action itself.[46]

According to Skinner, both camps have confused two different senses in which the concept of intention can be validly applied.[47] Skinner isolates a sense of intentionality which is not contingently but logically related to the meaning of what is said:

> To speak of a writer's motives seems invariably to be to speak of a condition antecedent to, and contingently connected with, the appearance of his work. But to speak of a writer's intentions may be either to refer to his plan or design to create a certain type of work (his intention *to do x*) or to refer to and describe an actual work in a certain way (as embodying a particular intention *in doing x*). In the former

> we seem (as in talking about motives) to be alluding to a contingent antecedent condition of the appearance of the work. In the latter, however, we seem to be alluding to a feature of the work itself, and to be characterizing it in terms of its embodiment of a particular aim or intention, and thus in terms of its having a particular *point*.[48]

Thus, we may speak of a writer's intentions *in* writing and of these intentions as being in some sense ''inside'' his work, rather than ''outside'' and contingently connected with their appearance. But this does not mean that the critic does not need to pay any attention to their recovery in his attempt to interpret the meaning of a given work; on the contrary, they require a separate form of study.[49] This is based on the fact that this special kind of intention (which can be used as a means of characterizing his work) can also be characterized as 'illocutionary intention'. Here Skinner has imported a concept derived from J.L.Austin's theory of speech-acts.

According to Austin and his disciples, to issue any serious utterance always implies speaking not only with a certain meaning (in other words: ''what S meant by his utterance'') but with a certain illocutionary force of e.g. enquiring, assuring, telling, inviting, criticizing, rejecting, refuting, repudiating or denouncing (i.e. ''what S meant by uttering his utterance''). We can imagine a case, of say a child, meaning something by uttering his utterance (it could have illocutionary force) even though the utterance (although uttered to gain a seriously-intended effect or response) had no meaning (i.e. sense, reference) in itself at all.[50] Following Austin, Skinner notes, ''that an understanding (''uptake'', in Austin's words) of the illocutionary act being performed by an agent in issuing a given utterance will be *equivalent* to an understanding of that agent's *primary intentions* in issuing that particular utterance''.[51]

An agent may well have several different intentions in performing a single social action, some of which may be less important than others from the point of view of characterizing what the agent is doing. All of them may nevertheless form a part of a complex set of intentions which are realized in the given action. It remains true, however, that to understand for instance what a policeman meant to do in issuing an utterance 'the ice over there is very thin' was to *warn* a skater, is equivalent to understanding what the policeman's primary intention was in performing that particular linguistic action.[52]

Thus, it seems that knowledge of a writer's intention *in writing* is not merely relevant to, but actually equivalent to, a knowledge of the meaning$_3$, which we delimited in the beginning, viz. ''what x meant by what he said'' (e.g. he meant it as an attack/a defence of a particular line of argument; he meant to criticize/to contribute to a particular tradition of discourse). To gain ''uptake'' of these intentions in writing is equivalent to understanding the nature and range of the illocutionary acts which the writer may have been performing in writing in this particular way.[53] An understanding of what an agent is saying presupposes a grasp not only of the ordinary sense and reference of his utterance (meaning$_1$), but also its illocutionary force, corresponding to what the agent saw himself as doing in issuing that particular utterance (meaning$_3$).[54]

Before turning to Skinner's other theme, the role of context, a few remarks are required. Firstly, about the role of causality in his method. As pointed out, Skinner's redescriptive form of explanation (i.e. recovering the agent's intented illocutionary act) supplies something other than a causal explanation. Skinner maintains that we have a genuine form of explanation of the given action, even though it is clear that we cannot construe these kinds of intentions (intentions in acting) as causes of which the agent's corresponding actions can then be seen as effects.[55] We have to notice that the recovery of the meaning of a social action is not equivalent to the elucidation of the agent's motives for the action. It is intentions that we need to recover in order to decode the meaning of a social action.[56]

Skinner also points out that he at no point suggested that to provide such non-causal explanations is in any way incompatible with the subsequent provision of further and arguably causal explanations of the same action. One such further stage might be to provide an explanation in

terms of the agent's motives. A yet further stage might be to provide an explanation in terms of the grounds for the agent's possession of precisely those motives.[57] Consider Skinner's example of Yoroba tribesmen who carry about with them boxes covered with shells. In trying to decode the meaning of this social action we ought to ask what they are *doing* in treating the boxes in a reverent way, what is their primary intention, and the answer is: they are protecting their souls against witchcraft. From this recovery of the illocutionary force of the action, or in other words, primary intention, in acting this way we do not learn the nature of the motive which *prompted,* and perhaps *caused,* the Yoroba to treat his box with special regard — although we may now *infer* that the motive is likely to be respect or fear for the power of unknown forces.[58]

As a second remark, we must notice, on the one hand, that we must not be prepared to accept any statements which the writer himself may make about his own intentions as a final authority on the question of what he was doing in a particular work (he may have been self-deceiving about recognizing his intentions or incompetent in stating them).[59] On the other hand, an artist or writer may always achieve less than he intended, or achieve far more than he could possibly have intended.[60] A sole reference to the statements of the writer's own intentions does not suffice for ''closing the context'' of his work.[61]

The recovery of the historical meaning of a given text is a necessary condition for understanding it and, as we treat a text as a form of social action, this process can never be achieved simply by studying the text itself.[62] The study of the *context* is crucial for the understanding of illocutionary intentions, but often even necessary for grasping the ordinary sense and reference ($meaning_1$) of an utterance.[63] By studying the context:

> We can begin to see not merely what arguments they were presenting, but also what questions they were addressing and trying to answer, and how far they were accepting and endorsing, or questioning and repudiating, or perhaps polemically ignoring, the prevailing assumptions and conventions of political debate. We cannot expect to attain this level of understanding if we only study the texts themselves. In order to see them as answers to specific questions, we need to know something about the society in which they were written. And in order to recognize the exact direction and force of their arguments, we need to have some appreciation of the general political vocabulary of the age.[64]

It should be observed that the text is seen, not in causal terms as a precipitate of its context, but ''rather as a meaningful item within a wider context of conventions and assumptions, a context which serves to endow its constituent parts with meaning while attaining its own meaning from the combination of its constituent parts''.[65]

The kind of 'context' which interests Skinner is divided by him in *Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts* (1972) into (a) ''prevailing conventions governing the treatment of the issues or themes with which that text is concerned'' and (b) ''writer's mental world, the world of his empirical beliefs''.[66] In *Hermeneutics and the Role of History* (1975) Skinner gave a number of different contextual entities to which the text stands in relation.[67] These, too, we could classify here under the headings (a) and (b), (a) as: ''prevailing genres and styles of the period''; ''ways of proceeding and modes of argument of the age''; ''meanings, idioms and usages of its time''; and (b) as: ''values of the age''; ''prevailing assumptions, beliefs and attitudes''. In *Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (1981) Skinner speaks more generally of ''ideologies'', ''*mentalités*'' and ''normative vocabulary''.[68]

'Prevailing conventions' interest Skinner the most, especially ''the normative vocabulary available to any given agent''.[69] This is because ''any writer must standardly be engaged in an intended act of communication'',[70] therefore:

> (...) any intention capable of being correctly understood by A as the intention intended by S to be understood by A must always be a socially *conventional intention* — must fall, that is, within a given and *established range of acts* which can be conventionally grasped as being cases of that intention. It must follow that one of the necessary conditions for understanding in any situation what it is that S in uttering utterance x must be doing to A must be some understanding of what it is that people *in general,* when behaving in a conventional manner, *are* usually *doing* in that society and in that situation in uttering such utterances.[71]

This is all the more relevant in more complicated types of communication situations, the most important being the situation in which A may wish to understand the meaning and force of a given utterance uttered by S, but in which S did not in fact communicate with A (eg. S and A not being contemporary) A may typically be confronted not merely with an alien set of social as well as linguistic conventions, but even with an apparently alien conception of what constitutes rationality itself. Skinner stresses that "it is this type of situation which seems most decisively to support the contention that an understanding of conventions, however implicit, must remain a necessary condition for an understanding of all types of speech act".[72]

Thus, the awareness of social as well as linguistic conventions "about what can and cannot be stated, what sorts of meanings and allusions can be expected to be understood without having to be explicitly stated at all, and in general what criteria for the application of any given concept (eg. that of warning) are conventionally accepted as applying in that given situation and society" is necessary for the successful uptake of illocutionary acts.[73]

In *Some Problems in the Analysis of Political Thought and Action* Skinner states that the culmination of the study of conventions is the study of 'genres' and 'traditions' of discourse. Consequently, he does not deny the existence of traditions, as some critics have asserted, but only stresses that we should ask what the agents *do* with the traditions, because if we merely concentrate on the language of the given writer, we may run the risk of assimilating him into a completely alien intellectual tradition, and thus misunderstanding the whole aim of his works (as in the instances of irony, obliquity and other cases in which the writer may seem to be saying something else than what he means), as suggested by Skinner, not merely to indicate the traditions of discourse to which a given writer may be appealing, but also to ask what he may be *doing* when he appeals to the language of those particular traditions, the range of things which can in principle be done *with* them, and *to* them, at a given time. In other words, what range of speech-acts can standardly be performed by a given writer when he makes use of a given set of concepts or terms.[74]

As stated, we have to take notice not only of conventions but of "the world of the writer's empirical beliefs", as there is an obviously crucial logical link between the nature and range of the intentions ascribable to an agent in acting, and the nature and range of that agent's beliefs.[75] Skinner shows the importance of this by an example. For John Locke, to have had the intention to defend the rationality of unlimited capital accumulation, as C.P.Macpherson has suggested, his mental world must have included at least the following beliefs: (i) that society was becoming devoted to unlimited capital accumulation, (ii) that this was an activity crucially in need of ideological justification, (iii) that it was appropriate for him to devote himself to accomplishing precisely this task. In fact Locke did not hold these beliefs, and perhaps could not in principle have held them. Thus, he could not have had this intention *in* writing his *Two Treatises of Government.*[76]

We also have to pose the further question of the *rationality* of the agent's beliefs, since the answer to this question must in turn affect our assessment of his intentions and actions. The question of what is to count as good and sufficient evidence in favour of holding a belief can never be free from *cultural reference.*[77]

There still remains to be considered the question of how to analyze the relations between the professed principles and the actual practices (of political life, in Skinner's examples). Skinner states that political life itself (i.e. society) sets the main problems for the political theorist, causing a certain range of issues to appear problematic, and a corresponding range of questions to become the leading subjects of debate.[78] Adopting this point of view might also help to illuminate some of the connections between political theory and practice.

Some theorists maintain that political ideas or principles have a causal role in relation to the explanation of political actions and events by serving as motives. But to treat principles as sufficient conditions of actions has by now been fairly generally abandoned, especially in the case of analysing the relations between an ideology and a complex course of social or political action. Others turn the direction of alleged causality: principles are usually invented *post festum* as mere rationalizations of quite different motives. Thus, such principles play no causal role in political life.[79]

But again, Skinner begins by stressing that we ought to ask first what x *is doing* with a certain set of principles or the language of a tradition. He may profess principles in which he does not believe.[80] Even if we concede that an agent's professed principles are never his real motives (in some cases, at least, they surely are[81]) we can in the very situation in which the agent is engaged in a form of social or political action that is in some way ''untoward'', and in which he also possesses a strong motive for attempting to justify and legitimate it, be able to uncover a further type of causal connection between the principles and the actual social actions.

All agents possess a standard *motive* for attempting to legitimate untoward social or political actions, or they may be anxious to have their behaviour recognized as that of, say, a man of honour. In that case the agent will find himself, if he is to be accepted as a rationally thinking person,[82] restricted in the range of actions open for him to perform, to the range of actions for which he could hope to supply recognizable *justifications,* and is thus limited by the range of recognized political *principles* which he could plausibly hope to suggest as ''favourable descriptions''[83] (and thus as legitimations) for his actions. The principle which a person actually chooses to profess in his attempt to legitimate his behaviour then makes it rational for him to act, and thus in fact directs him to act, only in a certain highly specific way. Thus, any principle which helps to legitimate a course of action must also be among the enabling (causal) *conditions* of its occurrence. In this way, e.g. the vocabulary of Protestantism not only helped to increase the acceptability of early capitalist practices, but forced to channel their development in specific ways, in particular towards an industrious ethic.[84]

It seems to me that we have here a means for an acceptable modernization of the view of art-historical research which Panofsky presented in his *Art History as a Humanistic Discipline,* with its basic concepts of 'intention', 'circumstances' and 'artistic problems'.

Skinner has divided 'intention' and shown its place in the process of understanding the meaning of an action/text. Skinner's 'motives' as well as 'intention to do' we can understand as equivalent to the 'creator's intention', as put by Panofsky; 'intention in doing' we can take as equivalent to Panofsky's 'the intention of the work of art'. With 'meaning' Panofsky seems to apprehend the same as Skinner with his 'meaning$_3$' (i.e. ''what x meant by what he said''). Panofsky's odd, but tempting, expression, ''the art historian's own aesthetic perception as such will change accordingly, and it will more and more adapt itself to the original intention of the works'', could be deciphered to mean just about the same as ''the scholar gaining uptake of the illocutionary intention of the work''.

Panofsky had some problems in defining the ''circumstances under which the objects were created''. In *Meaning in the Visual Arts* he complained about the study of contexts that ''there is, I am afraid, no other answer to this problem than the use of historical methods tempered, if possible, by common sense''.[85] Besides, scholars have had problems in understanding the vague notion of 'the basic attitude of the age'. But we can clarify and rationalize Panofsky's 'circumstances' and 'basic attitude' with Skinner's elucidations of the 'context' and its relations to 'motives' and 'intentions'.

The problems found in Panofsky's 'artistic problems' have already been discussed, but in or-

der to be acceptable for modern use, they ought to be relativized and temporalized. As already pointed out, Skinner maintains the role of 'problems', 'questions' and 'answers' decisive in the formation of political theory:

> For I take it that political life itself sets the main problems for the political theorist, causing a certain range of issues to appear problematic, and a corresponding range of questions to become the leading subjects of debate.[86]

By way of analogy with the situation in the field of politics, in the field of art, the role of beliefs, conventions and traditions (i.e. context) will actualize precisely at the moment when the artist (or other exponent of that artistic field) is dealing with certain 'artistic problems' of that field. We shall return to this issue below on Chapter I.5.

Even though Skinner is concerned with political texts and practice and Panofsky with works of art, it is possible to superimpose their methods and this can be legitimated because of a special feature of Skinner's point of view. He sees a text as a form of social action: ''the objects of interpretation are texts in a special and extended sense which includes both texts in literal sense and text analogues — such as voluntary actions''.[87] This contention is based, among other things, on the observation that linguistic and non-linguistic actions are very much alike.[88] Thus, an artistic utterance, in the form of a work of art is comparable to a ''political'' utterance (a text or speech). Skinner himself has suggested this application in a footnote where he states that his meaning$_3$ is such that his claims about the importance of revealing the primary intentions of a writer apply not only to literary works of art but also to non-literary ones as well.[89] G.J.Scochet is also aware of this possibility, but in quite a negative way; he criticizes Skinner's method for concentrating on the recovery of the intentions, for ''how do we know, what to look at when we study the history of political thought. How are we able to separate political theory from architecture, genealogy, theology and so forth?''.[90]

As art historians we may take advantage of Skinner's method in at least three different ways and on three various levels; the most important being the last-mentioned one.

(i) In simple terms when studying the history of ideas, dealing e.g. with ''the ideas of the artists'' (i.e. artistic theories[91] revealed in textbooks, treatises, letters etc.).

(ii) As suggested above, dealing with 'works of art' apprehended as the utterances of (artistic) activity.

(iii) By taking up Skinner's analysis of the relation between the professed principles (e.g. 'political theory') and the actual practices of political life; as has been suggested, he here develops the case of regarding *principles* as a means for *legitimating* actual action and at the same time *restricting* it to a specific course. In artistic life, analogously, we can, at least in certain cases, explain how ''artistic theories'' (i.e. the ideas of the artists) condition artistic activity (i.e. the creation of works of art). The more simple case is when 'principles' work as *motives,* the other is when 'principles' form means for the *legitimation* of activity. We can try to decode the motives, intentions and beliefs of the agent behind *both* 'principles/theory' and 'activity'. Here we have means for certain cases of dealing with the *relation* of an artist's writings and works of art which has often been seen as methodologically problematic.

I.4. The concept of 'Historicism'

In his article *Historismus. Ein Versuch zur Definition des Begriffes,* mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Wolfgang Götz starts by severely criticizing certain conceptions of 'historicism' and 'eclecticism'. Traditionally, historicism has been seen as a phenomenon restricted to the nine-

teenth century, with a negative value usually attached to it, and it has been seen as solely a formal problem: ''an old form is reused in later times''. But as Götz points out:

> (...) dass es ja solches eklektisches Zurückgreifen auf frühere Phasen der Kunstgeschichte zu allen Zeiten gegeben hat; dass diese Art von Stil-Eklektizismus keineswegs ''mangeln eigenen schöpferischen Künstlertums'' erfolgen muss, also gleichsam steril sei; dass dieser Stil-Eklektizismus auch schöpferische Züge tragen kann und unter Namen wie Renovatio, Restauratio, Renaissance, Klassizismus oft ein ausgesprochen positives Vorzeichen von der Kunstgeschichtsschreibung erhalten hat.[92]

With various examples and references, Götz shows that an eclectic working of formal models taken from the past and the turning back to old styles (''*Zurückgreifen auf alte Stilarten und Stilformen*'') has occurred in all the ages of Western art history.[93]

The reason for the above-mentioned negative view appears to be found in the total change of meaning in the nineteenth century, of words such as 'plagiary', 'originality', 'creativity' and 'genius'. Götz stresses that the moral problem of 'plagiary', 'quotation', 'copy' and such terms did not arise at all before the early nineteenth century. Until that time they were altogether legitimate forms of artistic activity.[94]

Referring to various studies, Götz maintains that 'historicism' is a concept unifying the *ideological* sphere with the formal. Historicism is *a way of thought* (*Gesinnung*), a historical consciousness (*Geschichtsbewusstsein*). Eclecticism, on the other hand, is the *formal artistic method* attached to the former.

Götz's thinking is interesting, but the undeniable inaccuracies in his argument seem to be due to the fact that in his essay we can discern ambiguity in the meaning of the term 'historicism', as well as in the meaning of 'eclecticism'.

In principle, Götz seems to be speaking of a quite special form of historical consciousness (''*einem ganz besonderen Geschichtsbewusstsein*''). 'Historicism' implies a programmatic relation to history, with ideological-political connotations (''*programmatische historisch-politische Voraussicht*''[95]):

> (...) entscheidend ist für seine (V.L.:historicism's) Werke nicht die ästhetische Konformität, sondern die ideologische Angemessenheit(...).[96]

Götz's examples show us that this phenomenon is to be found from the time of the Carolingian Renaissance as well as from Fischer von Erlach's *Karl-Borromäus-Kirche,* and that the historicism of the nineteenth century is only ''a special form of historicism in general''.

Besides, Götz separates Classicism from Historicism, in stating that in the same way that Classicism arises from the classics, elevated to dogma, historicism arises from history elevated to dogma.[97]

But the limits of 'historicism' are rather broad. In some sections Götz seems to be speaking not only of this ideological and political kind of historical consciousness, but of others as well, which then form the period's way of composing architecture. In its clearest way this is seen in examples of Medieval and Renaissance historical consciousness. He defines them as ''*Fortsetzungsbewusstsein*'' (in relation to Antiquity), for the Middle Ages, and ''*Distanzgefühl*'', for the Renaissance. These definitions are specified; for the Renaissance this means that:

> (...) man rezipiert die Kunstformen der Geschichte, um die Kunst der gegenwart zu regenerieren, die Antike nicht zu nachahmen, sondern wieder zu erreichen. Auch innerhalb dieses scheinbar rein ästhetischen Bereiches wirkt dann ein Geschichtsbewusstsein.[98]

By referring here to Erwin Panofsky's *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* Götz thus leans on the Panofskian way of interpreting the uses of antique (classical) motives and themes in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance from the point of view of changing conceptions of history (without political or ideological implications).[99]

Götz writes:

> Historismus beruht auf einem Geschichtserlebnis, das sich zu einem Geschichtsbewusstsein verdichtet. Dieses Geschichtsbewusstsein ist *wandelbar, in verschiedenen Zeiten verschieden* (italics V.L.).[100]

This variability makes the meaning of 'programmatic/political/ideological relation to history' highly imprecise. Therefore, it is not odd that Götz himself is not able to see the limits of his conception; contrary to what he stated above about the differences of Classicism and Historicism, Götz writes later:

> Begriffe wie "Renovatio", "Renaissance", "Klassizismus" werden somit in der Fachterminologie nicht überflüssig; *sie können gleichsam Gattungen des Historismus bezeichnen* (...). (italics V.L.)[101]

Finally, he states that "*Historismus durchwirkt die ganze abendländische Kunstgeschichte, begleitet sie als "ein zweites Hauptthema*".[102] The "other" main theme is the "progressive" one, which does not stay in any relation to tradition at all. Thus, it is either very marginal or of very recent origin in Western art history. This too, supports the view that Götz's 'historicism' has a very broad extension and cannot be restricted to the case of "political and programmatic relation to history" (or 'programmatic' is understood in such broad terms that it can contain any *positive* view of history).

Also the concept of 'eclecticism' is imprecise in Götz's usage. It appears that he wishes to give the term a meaning that differs from that of 'use of tradition', i.e. the use of tradition as 'plagiary', 'quotation' or 'copy'.[103] However, Götz's historical examples show that he has not reflected upon the differences of 'eclecticism' with respect to 'the use of tradition in general'. Many of the example would seem fit the latter, more general category.[104] Even the very first quotation from Götz in the above text contains this "broader" view. In fact many researchers, including Dennis Mahon, Ernst Gombrich and less directly P.O. Kristeller have defended the view that it is not possible to draw a boundary between 'eclecticism' and the 'use of tradition' in the history of Western art. This view must be taken into account.

It was, in fact, as early as 1947 that Denis Mahon, writing of the Carracci brothers, suggested the abolition of the term 'eclecticism' because "few works of art come into existence without the general vehicle of expression utilized by the artist being related in some fashion or other, even by way of opposition, to the stylistic languages of his own and previous times".[105] Mahon condemns the word 'eclecticism' as "a veritable masterpiece of concise meaninglessness"."By asking how many influences constitute 'eclecticism', how simultaneous these must be to qualify, (and suchlike questions) we soon reach a reductio ad absurdum".[106]

Rudolf Wittkower in his article *Imitation, Eclecticism and Genius* pursues the same line of reasoning. He takes up Vasari's account of Raphael: "He took the best from ancient and modern masters and by combining their different manners in a style of his own superseded them all".[107] Wittkower concludes:

> (...) the most common empirical procedure of art historians is concerned with the tracing of influences and borrowings, and to that extent the method of selective borrowings is silently acknowledged as perfectly respectable. But when confronted with this very issue as an explicit theory, the same art historians paradoxically retract and stigmatize it as eclectic. We found the term first creeping in with Winckelmann, but not until the romantic era did it assume purely negative connotations.[108]

Paul Oskar Kristeller has recently reiterated the role of tradition in artistic creativity.[109] Like Götz, he reminds us that it was only with the Romantic movement that artists came to be considered as creators par excellence.[110] He states that "originality and novelty, if we take them as descriptive terms, are never completely present or absent in any work of art but are always mixed with different degrees of unoriginality and imitation".[111] "I also do not think that the artist creates out of nothing. (...) The artist must be trained in those skills and techniques that can be thought and that are pertinent to his craft. He should be exposed to those rules that have been considered useful by his predecessors, (...) and to some of the masterpieces of the recent and distant past from which he may derive a standard of artistic quality, (...)".[112] And he continues: "A writer has to know his language and literature, if not other languages and literatures, before he can adequately begin to write; he must be familiar with the patterns and rules of the genres

he wishes to employ, whether he wants to write novels or plays, poems or essays; and he must know some of the best specimens of previous literature in order to emulate their quality if not to imitate their external features. The same is true of the musician, the painter, and other artists, and an analogous rule applies to all areas of human activity''.[113]

We may now pause to slightly revise Götz's argument. In studying 'electicism' (whatever the specific intension of the term) and the use of (formal) traditions in general we must take into account its underlying idea — ''*Gesinnung*''. It may be a political-programmatic relationship with history (which we may call 'historicism') or it may be some other form of historical consciousness, as for example the relationship of the Renaissance with Antiquity.

Alan Colquhoun's article *Three Kinds of Historicism* shows clearly that the study of the conception of history is in fact highly relevant in the study of art and above all architecture as well as the fact that the concomitant conceptions of history may differ from 'political-programmatic' historicism.

Colquhoun examines 18th, 19th and 20th century historicism in particular, and architecture from the Renaissance to the present in general, starting from three meanings of 'historicism' on various levels of generality, investigating their internal relations in the course of history.

The basic conceptions of Colquhoun are (with minor modifications):

(1) General theory of history, based on a notion of history (analyzed with the dichotomy: relativistic — non-relativistic view). The relativistic view and the theory according to which ''all socio-cultural phenomena are historically determined and all truths are relative'' are usually called 'historicist'.

(2) 'Historicism' understood as a concern for the institutions and traditions of the past. This Colquhoun calls ''an attitude''.

(3) 'Historicism' understood as the use of historical forms (e.g. in architecture). This is an ''artistic practice''.[114]

Even though relativistic theory did not emerge in historiography until around the year 1800, the eighteenth century's attitude towards history, according to Colquhoun's view, differed from that of the Renaissance. The Renaissance had strong faith in its own contemporary world; in the eighteenth century the return to classicism was motivated by a certain loss of faith in the contemporary world. It was always accompanied by an element of poetic reverie and nostalgia and a feeling of irretrievable loss. This kind of historical consciousness resulted in two possible forms of eclecticism: first, different styles could exist side by side, second, one style could come to stand for a dominant moral idea. But common to both was ''a strong feeling for the past, an awareness of the passage of historical time, and the ability of past styles to suggest certain poetic or moral ideas''. Only after the actual relativistic theory of history had emerged in the German Romantic Movement it became impossible, in principle, to favour one style over another, ''since each style is originally related to a particular spatio-temporal culture, and we cannot judge this culture in any way but on its own terms''.[115]

Of interest here is that with his sets (1) and (2) Colquhoun can explain even seemingly ahistoricist phenomena. He shows that Modernism in architecture was initially based on a conscious ''forgetfulness of history'', which was a deliberate attempt to avoid the implications of absolute relativism in the conception of history.[116] He also criticizes the Post-Modernists of our day who have rediscovered the historical consciousness which Modernism lost, but have been unable to establish a theory of history which will give it a firm basis. It is merely ''the pastness of the past'' which they evoke in their works.[117]

The concept of 'historical consciousness/conception of history' was given a decisive role before Götz by Panofsky as already suggested. In the introduction of his *Studies in Iconology* and in *Renaissances and Renascences in Western Art* Panofsky uses the ''varying interpretations of

history'' as watersheds between the different renaissances in art: ''The *general attitude* towards Antiquity was fundamentally changed when the Renaissance movement set in''.[118] Panofsky explains the Medieval renascences with reference to the 'mind':

> For the medieval mind, classical antiquity was too far removed and at the same time too strongly present to be concerned as an historical phenomenon.[119]
>
> (...) it was impossible for them to evolve the modern idea of history, which is based on the realization of an intellectual distance between the present and the past, and thus enables the scholar to build up comprehensive and consistent concepts of bygone periods.[120]

On the other hand, in Italian High Renaissance the classical past was looked upon, ''as a totality cut off from the present'' and therefore as an ideal to be longed for instead of being utilized and feared.[121]

Panofsky pursues related lines in his *The First Page of Giorgio Vasari's Libro.* Here he explains with the 16th century's (especially Vasari's) conception of history the curious uses of Gothic forms in the Renaissance.[122]

The quotation from Panofsky — ''which is based on the realization of an intellectual distance between the present and the past'' — would appear to refer to a category *more general* than the conception of history, the conception of *temporality* or historical time. Peter L. Janssen has discussed ''the understanding of temporality'' in his recent article *Political Thought as Traditionary Action.* Of interest here, is that he writes in connection with Skinner's method.[123] Jannsen's starting-point is the Skinnerian view that tradition should not be understood an objectified *thing,* a *something* ''carried-on'' and stresses the *nature* of that carrying on, the *activity* of handing down. Jannsen calls this 'traditionary action'.[124]

Essential in this connection is however Janssen's opinion that 'comprehending temporality' is lacking from Skinner's conception of the role of 'intention' in connection with the use of traditions (i.e. what x is doing with a tradition) and should be added to it. Janssen underlines that intentionality cannot be construed in terms of a context of simply synchronic relations, but must involve reference to pasts and futures; the *context* must be seen with the addition of the traditionary dimension. The historicity of intentions means that the interpretative act of the scholar must move to a consideration of the temporal world, temporality.[125] Janssen refers here to Dilthey and Heidegger, who point out the understanding of temporality in all experience.[126]

Writing in the same tradition of Dilthey and Heidegger, Reinhard Koselleck (to whom Koselleck does not explicitly refer) has demonstrated how 'the conception of temporality' must be understood and how it can be studied: our conception of historical time is constituted of our experience of the past and our expectations of the future. According to Koselleck, as historians our question is: ''how in a given present, are the temporal dimensions of past and future related?''. There are, roughly, two possible ways to conceive temporality: the belief in the sameness or repetitiviness of human events versus the modern conception of history: the ''experience of temporalized time'' (after the *Sattelzeit* c.1750).[127]

We are now, at last, ready to present some methodological elucidations of the concept of 'historicism'. In fact, in principle, Götz and Colquhoun in their articles on historicism act like Skinner: they deal with ideas and intentions (historicism), on the one hand, and actions (eclecticism), on the other hand. This is why it is possible to use Skinner's method in connection with 'historicism'.

But the relation of the level of ideas and the level of action is not very explicitly expressed. According to Götz eclecticism is ''attached to'' (*zugehörige*) historicism; eclecticism ''brings historicism to light'' (*veranschaulichen*).[128] According to Colquhoun the ''relativisation of the historical view is obviously *connected in some way* with eclecticism in practice'' (italics V.L.).[129]

It is precisely with Skinner's method that we can study this problematic relation, explicating further:

(i) Götz's 'historicism' in the restricted sense (ie. political and ideological relation to history), or some other corresponding *active* consciousness of history, is a *motive* or *intention* which causes (if working as a motive or as an intention to do) or is intimately connected to (if working as an intention *in doing*) the action, the ''eclectic'' building (i.e. a building with *some* relation to history in its forms) being its 'utterance'. Historicism can also work as a *principle* restricting one's actions in the way political principles or traditions of discourse can causally restrict actions.

(i') The relation of the more *passive* forms of historical consciousness (such as the ''Renaissance conception of history'' in Götz's and Panofsky's examples) to action (eclecticism, or, the use of tradition(s)) is more complicated. They form part of the *beliefs* of the agent, and therefore of the *context*.

We can exemplify the difference between an active consciousness of history and a passive historical consciousness by characterizing the difference between 'Renaissance' and 'historicism'. The Renaissance praised Antiquity because of its objective Truth, not because of its historicity, even though Renaissance artists had a (restricted) understanding of the temporal distance between Antiquity and their own time. In 'historicism', on the other hand, the preceding centuries are praised in the works of art precisely *because* of their *historicity* — i.e. the fact that they are history.

(ii) We must remember, however, that behind the conceptions of history (i.e. (i) and (i')) we may see a higher category: the conception of historical time as demonstrated by Reinhard Koselleck and Peter L. Janssen. We may imagine a person without historical consciousness but not one without some kind of relationship with historical time. The explanatory significance of this seemingly far-fetched conception can be seen when attempting to understand the differences of conceptions of history of the architects of Jac. Ahrenberg's and Gustaf Nyström's period and especially Gustaf Nyström's apparently ''passé'' relationship with his *matière*.

Thus, we may include 'historicism' and the 'conception of history' as well as the 'conception of temporality' in Skinner's schema and at the same time discuss in relation to art-historical studies the imprecise concepts of 'historicism' and 'historical consciousness' and their use. In more exact terms, we interpreted 'historicism' and 'conception of history' in Skinner's terms and we added the 'conception of temporality' to Skinner's schema as suggested by Janssen.

I.5. 'Problems' and 'questions'

We must discuss a further aspect of our schema. The elucidation of the 'problems' and 'questions' of the 'political life' of society is crucial for Skinner, as discussed above. ''To understand what questions a writer is addressing, and what he is doing with the concepts available to him, is equivalently to understand some of his basic intentions in writing''.[130] On the same lines John Dunn points out that for the scholar, central in grasping the point of the intellectual enterprise in history, is ''identification of the problem, (...) of why it was a problem for its proponent (and why many things which would be for us were not for him (...)''.[131]

'Problems' are in connection with 'societies'. Skinner speaks of 'context', 'societies' and 'political life'.[132] J.G.A.Pocock speaks, ''half-metaphorically'', as he says, of 'space', in which ''agents and patients, as well as the rules and conditions governing the action, are thought of as situated''. In that space, speaker and listener always form a certain relation automatically, viz. that of ruling and being ruled; ''with speech as their medium, they are performing acts of power upon one another''.[133]

In his well-known studies of social 'fields' and their relations of power Pierre Bourdieu has defined a ''space'' of this kind affixing sociological status to it in a more clear way.[134] Of interest is the fact that Bourdieu uses the concept of 'problem' and 'problematics', as well.

> A legitimate philosophical (or scientific) problem is one which is known and recognized as such by philosophers (or scientists) (because it conforms to the logic of the history of the field and their historically formed views of the field and via it) and which has every possibility of being accepted as a legitimate problem, due to the special authority they are accorded.[135]

Of interest in this respect is the fact that Bourdieu takes his examples from the field of the arts: Jean-Pierre Brisset's verbal associations would have remained incoherent gibberish if Apollinaire's or Duchamp's plays-on-words and the automatic writing of the surrealists would not have created the *problematics* giving it sense.[136]

The field *sensu* Bourdieu, if not definable, is at least describable in terms of its 'problematics'. The one who possesses the new ''position'' will always bring into the field new ''problems'', from which tensions arise and conflicts about legitimate ''stakes'', with the newcomers trying to overcome the old problematics which the ''old'' control better than they do. Each ''producer'', as keeper of his position (as well as his works), have a certain relationship with the ''opinions'' of the time. The different 'positions' of the field can be defined in relation to this area of problematics (on the radical — traditionalist/conservative axis). Thus, the (objective) structure of the field is in fact the *situation* of the relations of power of the agents or institutions, which (inevitably) carry on a symbolic struggle over the preservation or upheaval of the *distribution* of the special spiritual capital of this field.[137]

Understanding the field in terms of conflict and its being structured mainly around its problems will be the starting-point of our survey of the field of Finnish architecture. A few examples of the 'artistic field' and 'artistic problems' are required to demonstrate their nature. They are also necessary because we have to separate ourselves from the views of the school of art-history which maintains that ''a work of art is a solution to a problem''.

Albert Boime's *Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* shows brilliantly the importance of elucidating the problems of a certain artistic field in order to understand the historical phenomena concerned. He shows that the reason why traditional academic critics did not value the paintings of the various independent schools in nineteenth century France was their inability to understand that it was a different set of *problems* they were dealing with in their activity (based on a new view of the basic aims of art).

For instance, the Impressionists were trying to find a form closer to their first 'impression' of the 'effect' of a view, and concentrated on the fluid light that bathed the objects in a landscape. They had one basic aim in mind: to achieve on canvas the general atmospheric effect. To accomplish this they had to simplify the painting technique, and they arrived at a conclusion that was in fact derived from traditional methods. Since the traditional academic sketch, or landscape study, realized the effect and remained closer to the original impression than the finished work, it seemed useless to elaborate on it in the atelier, as insisted by the Academy. For the traditionalists, the carefully finished work was *morally* vital, an *étude* made out-doors in a single session could not suffice as a self-contained work of art. Therefore, unable to grasp the new problematics, they severely accused the *esquissateurs* of ''taking the path of least effort to glory and success''.[138]

Boime shows that taking viewpoints in this struggle, even in apparently marginal minor issues, is directly related to the positions of the ''traditionalists'' and the ''independents'' in the field. This can be seen especially in connection with artists who were in closest contact with the Academy. In questions relating to the significance and value of 'sketches', 'originality' etc. the motives of their standpoints are always directly linked to the defence of the *curriculum* of the *École* or academic hegemony — i.e. the defence of their *positions*. On the other hand the rise of the groups

of independents *were faciliated* by certain democratic changes in both society and especially in the institutions that presented art.

Turning to another aspect of this issue, good examples of scholars whose fault was to leave unnoticed the *historicity* of the 'problems' are to be found in art history. Consider Sigfried Giedion's interpretations of Henri Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris (1838—50). He wanted to interpret Labrouste's intentions as those of the so-called engineer's aesthetics:

> Labrouste's chief accomplishment in this library rests in the manner in which the iron construction is balanced in itself, so that it puts no rest on the walls. The achievement of just such a hovering equilibrium became the chief task for engineers in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Unfortunately, however, according to Giedion's view, ''thick masonry walls still remain''.[139]

In fact, Giedion transfers the central problem of his own field of reference (ie. the Modern Movement) to a time and place where it did not belong, as shown by Neil Levine.[140] In Skinner's terms, Labrouste's intentions were restricted by the range of intentions he could have expected to be able to communicate, and the doctrine 'form follows function' was not *available* to him. Thus, Giedion does not pay any attention to the historical field in which Labrouste was acting. This is in fact precisely the fault of Giedion's historiography in general.

On the other hand, we should remember that the problems dealt with in a field could be, and are, on *different levels* of generality and abstraction.

When Wolfgang Herrmann separates Northern and Southern Germany by the fact that Abbé Laugier's theories were well received — being reviewed, quoted, appreciated and criticized — in the North, but in the South the architects of the ''vigorous late phase of the Baroque were little affected by theoretical considerations'',[141] he is, in fact, speaking of two different artistic fields with problematics of different orders.

In sixteenth century Florence and Rome, the central problem, or question, was a rather formal one, viz. ''an attitude towards the structure of wall'', if we are to believe Rudolf Wittkower. In nineteenth century Germany it was the attitude towards past. History itself entered into the set of most central artistic problems of an artistic field (if we are to believe Götz, Colquhoun and others).

Or, consider this further quotation from Boime's *The Academy:*

> The Romantic landscapists and history painters both drew attention to two aesthetic aims (...) One aim was *sketch-like execution* carried out in the interests of pictorial expressiveness; the other was the proclaimed *intention of being original.* These aims both favoured spontaneity. (italics V.L.)[142]

Also the Independents' aims were on different levels of generality.

Thus, the 'problems' — 'questions' and 'answers' — are to be understood as varying time- and place-bound *sets* of problems (ranging from more concrete to abstract ones; from technical to artistic, etc.), which are dealt with in various social, time- and place-bound, fields. In the field of art, as in that of politics, the problems, questions and answers, as well as the conventions, assumptions, beliefs, theories and concepts related to them must be taken into account in order to be able to understand what the agents are *doing* with them (eg. maintaining, extolling, questioning, ignoring). The 'problems', as understood here, are *only part of the context,* to be revealed in order to understand the *actions* taking place in the field.

These remarks are indispensable because there is a school of art history holding the view that ''a work of art is a solution to a problem''. In these studies there is a curious tendency to restrict the 'problems' to ''pictorial'' ones, happening only on the canvas of the artist.[143] Besides, *every* individual work of art is seen as the solution to a specific artistic problem.[144] The role of 'problems', as more remote and only a part of the social context, is not considered.

On the other hand, this school connects the issue with the study of style. James S. Ackerman, for instance, seems to think that every style has its own problem: ''Our image of a style is formed about a succession of works that develop the potential of a given problem''.[145] He speaks of

the ''problem of Mannerism''. Svetlana Alpers, who objects to the ''convention of artistic problems'' seems to be thinking of just this kind of way of approach.[146]

In his *Michelangelo's Bibliotheca Laurenziana* Rudolf Wittkower makes his, by now almost classical, separation of Renaissance, Mannerism and Baroque in architecture. This he does from the point of view of the period's ''attitude towards the structure of wall''. The ambiguity of the Mannerist way of using the wall and tectonics of the classical orders is contrasted to the self sufficiency and stability of the mechanically repetitious bays of Renaissance palace façades, and to the dynamism and movement of the Baroque façade designs: ''duality of function (of the order) is one of the fundamental laws of Mannerist architecture''.[147] In fact, this classification proceeds from the point of view of the varying solutions to the (seemingly) most central, or evident, problem in the Roman and Florentine architectural field(s).

It is of course historically justifiable to make some kind of periodization according to the changing values of this variable, but when Wittkower distinguishes the Gothic from the Renaissance on the same basis, it becomes questionable if we can characterize a whole artistic period with negative qualities derived from a problem which was not at all central to its time (i.e. the classical tectonics of wall). Especially Svetlana Alpers has been concerned about the faults of transferring the Italian Renaissance way of thinking, regarded as universal, to other fields, especially Dutch landscape art.[148]

In Finland we have a recent, and in many ways brilliant, example of analysing the various ways of apprehending the tectonics of the wall in Henrik Lilius' work *The Esplanade during the Nineteenth Century*. Here, too, starting from a central artistic problem of the time, whole epochs are constructed, for which Lilius gives general stylistic labels: Gustavian Neo-Classicism (ca. 1770—1820), Russian Empire (ca. 1820—40), Diverse Classicism (ca. 1840—70), etc.[149] His results are assuring and, as in the case of Wittkower, will be useful in future studies of the architecture dealing with those periods. But, speaking of 'style', the limits of this approach must be taken into account (and Lilius himself is certainly fully aware of this). The approach is valid only within a certain tradition and within a uniform empirical material, i.e., when (varying) answers were given to the same question(s) on same (or related) field(s) of discourse. If we take, for instance, façades from the history of the architecture of France, their internal relations and their relations to the Finnish examples of the Helsinki Esplanade may not follow the same periodization or ''evolution''.

The examples show that periodization can be inferred by studying the works of art from the point of view of the artistic questions the agents in a field were dealing with and especially those related to the classical vocabulary of orders. However, problems are due to appear when this is done without reflection; widening the considerations to fields (times and places) which do not primarily deal with the questions of e.g. classical tectonics, or by trying to give universal or at least ''Pan-European'' stylistic meaning to those problem-answer periods.

I.6. The architects Jac. Ahrenberg and Gustaf Nyström — representatives of ''the period of Late Historicism''

The method presented for this study of certain basic problems of 19th century architecture are at one end of the scale bound to an individual act expressed as a work of art or as a text and

at other end to society itself: the *field* of art and its *problematics*. We have seen also that the concept of *historical consciousness* must be defined to a considerable degree from general intuitional practice so that it could serve historical analysis.

In concrete terms we are concerned with the ''period of Late Historicism'' in Finnish architecture (using the term 'historicism' in the sense criticized by Hans-Lothar Kroll and Heinrich Dilly) — in other words the *field* of architecture in Finland in the period 1880—1915 (i.e. the architectural field in Helsinki). The period has raised the largest degree of interest among researchers and has been generally classed as the most ''immoral'' one (i.e. planners and designers were not guided by any higher ideals). On the other hand, the turn of the century also saw the birth of schools of architecture with completely new aims and the field thus has a sufficient degree of complexity.

Art and even architecture alone in Finland at the time, its growth and the history of ideas and social positions constitute a field to such a degree broad that to write its history (not to speak of any conclusions) is not possible within any reasonable bounds. For this reason, it is important to try to find areas providing the main starting-points. The above method may serve as a determinant for finding the chief topics and subjects.

Persons with positions in the field must be limited to a few representative examples. These will be the architects Jac. Ahrenberg and Gustaf Nyström, regarded as ''late historicists'' par excellence. The analysis of the beliefs, conventions, assumptions and problems of the field will be approached from the perspective of these two representatives. This will be done by analyzing the meanings with which the pictorial and written ''utterances'' of Nyström and Ahrenberg are loaded and what possibly motivated and urged such expressions. Such an analysis is possible only when these expressions are seen in their 'context'. Our chief interest will be in their conceptions of history, especially as researchers maintain this to be one of the central problems of 19th-century architectural thinking and most obviously one of the architects' 'primary intentions'

Of help here are their texts and the part of their artistic activity from which we may expect to be able to read these conceptions. Panofsky studied the conceptions of history of the Renaissance on the basis of a number of cases where *additions* had been made to Gothic works of art during the Renaissance. We may also expand our source-material for studying the conceptions of history of Ahrenberg and Nyström by reviewing their attitudes towards construction in connection with projects for historical milieus.[150] These sources provide each other with material and help to clarify each other; also certain ideas presented in the field as well as the specific buildings, as part of their work as planners, will become understandable to us.

The chief characters have qualities that raise them to our perspective. These are partly related to the availability of source material: both Ahrenberg and Nyström wrote profusely and their texts have also been preserved to a great degree. This is something that is more of an exception than a rule in the history of Finnish architecture. Ahrenberg was a polemic and productive journalist while Nyström's main preserved texts are notes from his lectures. Above all, it is important that each held an important position in the architectural field of his day — Nyström represented the highest level of academic teaching in architecture, while Ahrenberg was an official of the highest-level state-bureaucratic building planning board.This gave their expressions, both written and visual, a degree of authority. Both were involved in designing buildings for historical milieus, the most interesting of which in this connection were in the historic centre of Helsinki, for the area of Kruununhaka. At that stage, the area was not so old that its architectural preservation would have been a matter of course, but a living and changing environment. Of these projects, most were by Nyström, but a few designs by Ahrenberg also provide enough material for interpretations and comparisons of these characters.

Carl Gustaf Nyström (1856—1917) held the highest chair of the teaching of architecture in *1*

Finland from 1885 to 1917. Birger Brunila observed upon Nyström's death that "all of Finland's living and active architects have studied under Nyström".[151] All of the known architects of the "Golden Age" of Finnish art at the turn of the century, such as Herman Gesellius, Armas Lindgren, Eliel Saarinen and Lars Sonck received their basic training from Nyström. Gustaf Nyström studied at the Polytechnical school of Helsinki from 1869 to 1876, after which he worked for his teacher the architect Frans Anatolius Sjöström, whom he had assisted already from the year 1873.

Nyström took part in lectures and exercises at the department of architecture of the *Technische Hochshule* of Vienna during the 1878—1879 term. He was taught architectural drawing and composition by the famous Heinrich von Ferstel. After this he undertook a study tour of Italy. Between 1884 and 1915 he went on over ten study tours to Sweden, Denmark, Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, England and Austria.

Nyström became teacher of building construction at the Polytechnical Institute of Helsinki in 1879. He was also an extra teacher of art history at the institute from 1883 to 1898. Nyström was appointed 'senior teacher' of architecture in 1885 and the post was changed to a professorship in 1895. In 1892 the Academy of Arts of St. Petersburg elected Nyström academician. He was vice-principal of the Polytechnical Institute from 1896 to 1904 and principal from 1907 to 1910. The institute became the University of Technology in 1908.

Nyström was active in a number of organizations as well as in state and municipal bodies. He was chairman of *Tekniska Föreningen i Finland* ('The Technical Society of Finland') in 1892 and also chairman of its 'Architects' Club' (*Arkitektsklubben*) in 1896. Nyström was also member of the Archaeological Commission from 1897 to 1908, as well as belonging to the boards of the Finnish Association for Fine Arts (1902—1904) and the Association for Finnish Industrial Art (1884—1904). Nyström served as city councillor in Helsinki from 1884 to 1908 as well as being member or chairman of various building and construction committees. Also his architectonic production is extensive and his plans and designs span the years 1881—1916.[152]

2 Johan Jacob (Jac.) Ahrenberg (1847—1914) studied architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm under Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander from 1870 to 1875, after which he undertook a two-year study tour of Europe — mainly in France, Italy and Greece along with Asia-Minor and North Africa. Ahrenberg became a supernumerary architect of the Board of Public Works and Buildings in 1877 after which he served as director of the provincial Public Building Bureaus in Oulu and Viipuri. He became the first architect of the Board of Public Works and Buildings in 1886 and chief architect in 1910, from which post he resigned a few months before his death in 1914. Ahrenberg had also served at the Polytechnical Institute as an extra teacher of drawing from 1877 to 1879 and supernumerary teacher of art history from 1879 to 1882. Ahrenberg was better known as an essayist, novelist, journalist and water-colour painter than for his architecture.[153]

II. CONCEPTION OF ART

The previous chapter limited the discussion of Jac. Ahrenberg's and Gustaf Nyström's architecture to their projects for old Empire style milieus. Only a detailed analysis of the themes of these designs and projects can show which models and prototypes Ahrenberg and Nyström possibly used and how they applied them.

A technically descriptive, ''Wittkowerian'', analysis of this kind is relatively cumbersome for the reader. In order to spare the impatient reader, this part of the study is presented in a separate appendix. In this connection, it is possible to study in further detail these interesting projects that have been largely neglected in research. It is necessary, however, to present a few central aspects in this respect before going on to a discussion of Ahrenberg's and Nyström's written and published conceptions and views of art and architecture.

A suitable starting-point in the case of Gustaf Nyström is provided by his projects for the Imperial Alexander University (present-day University of Helsinki) from 1883 to 1914 for different departments of the university. All of these projects were intended for the historic centre of Helsinki or its immediate vicinity.

The actual historicity of the city centre is of course relative in many respects. After being razed by fire in 1808, Helsinki became the capital of the Grand Duchy of Finland only as late as 1812. The new town-plan was the work of Johan Albrecht Ehrenström, and most of the main buildings in the centre of the city were designed by the German-born architect Carl Ludvig Engel (1778—1840), who was appointed architect of the re-building committee of Helsinki in 1816. In 1824 Engel became the head of the Bureau of Public Works and Buildings, the official planning and building inspection body. Engel served in this capacity carrying out planning work until his death. *5, 6*

It is not surprising that Nyström's designs and projects from this 35-year span of activity are not stylistically uniform. Despite this, the apparently complete lack of consistency is nevertheless surprising. Even in projects from the same year, two completely different styles can be applied, although the buildings were intended for the use of the same department of the university. It can be observed that the main factor guiding architectural design can be found in their intended location among the existing buildings of Helsinki. Respect for older architecture was especially stressed in the very centre of Helsinki, in the immediate vicinity of buildings designed by Engel. Nyström also gave a varying appearance to the different façades of even the same building, depending on their proximity to Senate Square. For example, the façades of the 1914 library project appear to be intended for completely different buildings. *36—38*

The thematic analysis of the façades of precisely these buildings, erected or intended to be built closest to the centre of Helsinki, shows how contacts were sought with Engel's architecture and how carefully this was done. The same also applies to Nyström's projects for the State Archives (1886), the House of the Estates (1887—1888) and the Customs Building (1898). In many cases, Nyström tried to establish a connection with Engel in an indirect manner — by the use of Palladio's solutions or even more indirectly by utilizing the architecture of Theophil von Hansen, the late proponent of ''*gräzisierende Palladianismus*''. *47, 55—59, 109*

For example in his projects for the building of the Gymnastics Department (1888—1890), Nyström ingeniously combined the classistic motifs of the different façades of the University Main *67—72*

27 Building. The Gymnastics Department was an annex to Engel's Main Building. In its overall appearance, Nyström's main façade first brings to mind von Hansen and the central volume of the façade is connected with the side pavilions with highly Palladian means.

86—95 *30—38* In the projects for extensions to the University Library (1891—1906 and 1913—1914), we can see most clearly Nyström's respect for Engel's architecture and the way in which this was expressed in practical planning. Nyström regarded the library as Engel's finest work. Nyström's projects for the library range from outright copies of Engel's motifs to ''*Jugend*-Classistic'' designs of a highly free nature. However, certain principles of classicism were at no stage abandoned by Nyström.

Jac. Ahrenberg produced designs similar to those by Nyström. In the Appendix a detailed discussion is presented of his projects for the Post Office on Snellmaninkatu (1900), the Throne *113, 110* Hall of the Imperial Palace (1905), the Surveying Office in Turku (1908) and the Cadet College *120, 126* in Hamina (1895). All of these are buildings that take a certain position *vis-à-vis* the surrounding Empire style architecture. Ahrenberg used Engel's architectural motifs in a even clearer and more direct way than Nyström, who may be regarded as having been more inventive in his use of the motifs of classicism. Ahrenberg would use Engel's motifs as such and sometimes he even applied the motifs of Gustavian Neo-Classicism. In almost all of the above buildings the columnar order was taken from Vignola's treatise and at times these buildings are mistakenly regarded as having been built in the early 19th century.

It can thus be seen that in their projects Ahrenberg and Nyström were surprisingly faithful to the historic architecture of Helsinki. Their works carried on a dialogue with Carl Ludvig Engel's architecture. The following chapter will investigate the theories of art and their themes and arguments to which Ahrenberg's and Nyström's written conceptions of art and architecture were linked. This discussion is required in order to analyse later their *actual* relationship to these traditions of thought and the language of ''visual traditions'' used in their planning and design. Accordingly, the question may be posed of what Ahrenberg and Nyström were in fact *doing* when they used, for example, the motifs of Engel's architecture.

II.1. Beauty and harmony — Gustaf Nyström

The first perspective regarding Gustaf Nyström's conception of art is provided by notes from Nyström's lectures in 1891 on the principles of architecture. These notes were recorded by Lars Sonck who later became a famous architect in his own right. Their contents are briefly as follows.[1]

The highest aim of art is to develop and refine the human spirit. It is only when a work of art succeeds in doing so that it becomes Art and thus be called beautiful. Architecture is the first among the Fine Arts.

The highest level of beauty is achieved by the works of nature. Only the study of nature can lead man as close as possible to the ideal and permit the creation of an ''ideal work of art''.

The basic rule of all creations of nature is ''order'', i.e. the relationship of the parts to the body or whole. Acting accordingly, the artist will also achieve a harmonic balance of the parts of his work. This harmony of volumes is based on certain numerical relationships. The order is also anteceded by the ''ordered (Sw. *lagbunden*) grouping of the single parts'' around the centre or central axis, i.e. symmetry which is also found in nature.

The works of nature are ''characteristic'' and ''character'' is also the first requirement of a beautiful work of art. In other words, all of the single parts of a work of architecture must relate so that they fulfil their required purpose (Sw. *ändamål*). A grouping of this kind will bring to the fore the total aim or purpose (Sw. *totaländamål*) of the work as well as the function of its parts and for this reason the work will achieve beauty. In a later connection Nyström returns to the problem of ''characteristic beauty'' which means that the individual parts of a building and the whole have a form that corresponds to the desired end. In other words, with their particular forms the single parts indicate their function in the building.

This design of single parts is called ''articulation'' (Sw. *lem-bildning*) by Nyström. It is the ''language of architecture'' which employs words or formal elements each of which can ''express a certain concept''.

The purpose of this language of architecture is to ''express'' and ''demonstrate'' the function of the various parts of the building, i.e. the relationship of supporting and borne elements (with a column and lintel system) and the purpose of the individual parts (in the sense of encircling, dividing etc.). Ornaments are also of aid in this connection. They can embellish the building, but they can also clarify the function of the various parts. The motifs of the ornaments derive from nature and they provide associations with natural phenomena with similar functions (e.g. the foot of chair can be associated with the foot of an animal).

The construction employed affects the nature of the expression of the relationship of the parts. The simpler the construction (e.g. combined pier vs. column) the simpler the requirement for the language of form. A light and airy building requires a different form than one that is heavy and massive. Also materials must be used in an appropriate way. They must be selected according to the desired end. Materials have specific characters: stone is hard while wood is elastic. It must be noted that Nyström's primary consideration was not the specific character of the material, but its function in the building (i.e. relating to the expression of tectonic hierarchy) or the construction of the building as a whole.

Nyström observes that architecture changes through time, but the language of form of Greek architecture which he raises to the status of paragon is ''universal''. It is perfect and worthy of emulation (Sw. ''*fulländad, mönstergiltigt, lärorikt och efterföljansvärt*''). Greek architecture is based on the relationship of supporting and borne elements with the Greek temple as its culmination. In the lectures that followed this section Nyström appears to have presented the elements of the language of Greek architecture in considerable detail especially with respect to the above relationship, beginning with the *kymata,* the bases, the orders etc.

In the period of free eclecticism, as it is called, the above presents an interesting programme that raises a number of question with its clear references to the classical theory of art. In this tradition or doctrine (cf. classical doctrine, classical theory,[2] great theory,[3] humanistic theory of art,[4] *esthétique classique,*[5] *klassische Ideologie*[6]) as well as in its presentations there are clear variations, but a combination of these into what may be regarded as the hard core of classical tradition resembles closely the contents of Nyström's lecture.

According to classical theory art should aspire not only to please but to teach a moral lesson. Especially in 17th century French academic theory what was pleasing also had to be *utile* — ''*acheminer l'homme vers la vertu*''.[7]

'Beauty' is the central concept of classical theory and at the same time the aim of all art. Beauty is an objective quality of things and not the projection of subjective feelings. It has absolute standards and cannot be comprehended primarily with the senses but with reason.[8] Because of its universal validity everyone can immediately understand beauty and enjoy it.[9]

In order to achieve perfection, art must take nature as its model and imitate not the accidental

but the ''permanent, instrinsic and universal beauty of nature''. Reality must be bound by a network of reason and appropriateness. The copying of nature as improved (*la bella natura*) is said to have remained a standard requirement until the end of the 18th century. The proper imitation of nature results in achieving beauty and truth. These are seen to reside in the simple and the typical and not in the direct copying of the works of nature.[10]

Le beau idéal was in no manner metaphysical to the classicist, i.e. an emphasis on the ''inner notions'' of the artists and the secondariness of the visible world, but in Aristotelian terms a product of aposterior experience: ''an experience of nature, purified by mind'', knowledge of the universal through the particular. Central to this classistic view is a neglect of the contradiction of subject and object. Mind and nature are directly harmonized without the intercession or aid of any metaphysical being or god. In this sense Classicism differs from Mannerism and Romanticism, as stressed by Erwin Panofsky.[11]

The objectivity of ideal beauty has its basis in mathematics. Alberti also presents certain zoomorphic grounds for beauty — where the elements of architecture fit like the members of an animal's body beauty is achieved in the most perfect consonance (*concinnitas*) of the parts.[12] In classicism beauty is seen as consisting in the proportions and arrangements of the parts; in the size, equality and number of the parts and their interrelations. The beauty of *ordre* (i.e. a certain disposition of the parts) is not often seen as such, but as a result achieved when certain criteria — harmony, symmetry, regularity and unity — are met. Or, beauty may simply be seen as equivalent with the above concepts.[13]

In order to achieve beauty and perfection certain controlling *rules* are required which are often regarded as absolute. Their importance was further stressed in French 17th century classicism with its stress on art as specifically rational in nature. The whole point of formulating the rules is that when they are satisfied and the genre in question thereby attains its perfection, the object is beautiful.[14]

In its simplest form, imitation of nature was achieved by direct copying. Because an imitation of ideal nature as governed by 'order' is of central importance, a more important means was to choose the most perfect parts from nature and to combine them in the work of art. The concept of *le beau idéal* is specifically related to this. In practice, however, *le beau idéal* was since the 16th century equivalent to the prototypes of Antiquity. In Rudolf Wittkower's terms, ''the idealization of nature can be advanced further if artists always stand on the shoulders of their great precursors; by imitating the masters, by combining the virtues of those models, the artist creates works of even higher quality''.[15] Two courses of action were open to the artist: either to select a single model to be imitated or the best solutions from a number of models.

According to this view art had achieved its *perfection* already in Antiquity, when art was equivalent to ideal Nature and Truth. The rules found justification in the examples provided by Antiquity the exemplary nature of which was guaranteed by tradition and the connection with the ''laws of reason''. However, already Bertotti Scamozzi included the 16th century masters among his examples.[16]

Nyström's 'characteristic beauty', as the expression of the purpose, refers to the concept of *decorum* of classical doctrine (i.e. the aptitude of proportion, form and structure to the end proposed;[17] appropriate character[18]) or more precisely its later 18th century variations, as will be discussed below.

It is strange to find that Nyström quite obviously adheres to this tradition, especially as classical doctrine is generally maintained as having been in the process of dying out already in the early 19th century. At this stage the theory of imitation changed into various theories of expression and communication and beauty was subjectivized. Even earlier, in the late 17th century and during the 18th century decisive changes came about, which are still seen as variations within

classical theory. These changes have been regarded as the result of the French *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes,* English sensualism and empirical philosophy. 'Beauty' and 'taste' were seen as historical and relativistic in nature and they were accordingly subjectivized and subordinated to psychology. Where the objective standards of beauty were replaced by sense perception and experience the monopoly status of beauty weakened as it was paralleled by concepts relating esthetic *experience.* Also the concepts of nature and its imitations were psychologized in the late 18th century; 'sentiment', 'taste' and 'genius' came to the fore at the cost of *raison.*[19]

What is the origin then of Gustaf Nyström's classistic perspective? This problem is not directly related to the task at hand, but certain views may nevertheless be presented. Heinrich von Ferstel, Nyström's main teacher at the *Technische Hochshule* in Vienna, wished to stress Gottfried Semper's views in his conception of architecture. In his inaugural lecture in 1880 von Ferstel made several references to Semper, but he also used expressions such as: ''*auf den Boden durch Tradition geheiligten Gesetze hinweisen*'' and ''*strengen Festhalten an alten unwandelbaren Grundlagen*'', which may indicate at least some degree of allegiance to the classical tradition. In the architecture of his day Ferstel wished to raise to the status of paragon Schinkel and Semper.[20]

Nyström may have received training in the classical tradition from his teacher in Helsinki, Frans Anatolius Sjöström (1840—1885), for whom he also worked for several years. Sjöström studied architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm from 1861 to 1868. At the Academy architecture was taught by Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander, who was also Jac. Ahrenberg's teacher. Sjöström also worked in Scholander's private studio,[21] under the special guidance of the latter.[22] According to Jac. Ahrenberg Sjöström received ''a strictly classicist academic training''.[23] Scholander in turn studied in the classistic atmosphere of the Stockholm Academy from 1831 to 1839 and the first year of his *grand tour* was spent in the atelier of Hippolyte Lebas.[24] Lebas was by no means the least conservative of the conservative faculty of the *École des Beaux Arts.* Eeva Maija Viljo has suggested certain elements of French classistic theory in Scholander's teaching.[25]

It is difficult to assess the effects on the subject at hand of Neo-Humanism and Classicism which were both especially prominent in Finnish cultural life in the 19th century. Researched examples of this orientation are mainly from the period prior to 1860.[26]

The next perspective on Nyström's views regarding architecture is provided by Otto-Iivari Meurman's notes of Nyström's lectures from 1912. Meurman's material includes a theoretical chapter entitled *Om sanningen i konsten* ('On truth in art').[27] However, the details presented in these notes are expressed in more detail in Nyström's own lecture material.

In his obituary of Nyström, the architect E. Holmberg regrets that Nyström did not publish his lectures (*Föreläsningar i Arkitektur* — 'Lectures in architecture') which were partly ready for publication when Nyström died on December 31, 1917.[28] The archives of the Museum of Finnish Architecture contain eleven folders of material by Nyström including texts and illustrations for lectures. Folders I,II and XI contain various versions for a general introduction to the series of lectures. The texts in the folder I were clearly intended for publication, as they contain sketches for initial letters and vignettes. Of the text 64 pages are typewritten. The work was however not completed and the folders contain a large number of separate notes and variations, some of which have also been preserved at the University of Technology in Otaniemi. Unfortunately, the text was by no means ready for publication. The first version of the introductory part is dated 1912 (folders I and II), but it appears to have been written already in 1909—1910 (manuscript in folder IX). It was added to in 1916, a year before Nyström's death (folder I).

These manuscripts and notes show that Nyström still adhered to classical theory, although ''more modern'' elements and emphases are also included.

Architecture was Art for Nyström and he uses expressions such as ''work of art'' and ''the art of architecture'' throughout. Furthermore he stresses that ''only the short-sighted could come to the conclusion that architecture as a whole cannot be included among the Fine Arts''.[29]

The ''permanent basic principles'' of architecture are beauty and truth.[30] This is a consistent statement,[31] for Nyström's starting-point was still *imitatio naturae:* ''the deeper an artist delves into the secrets of nature, the more perfect his solutions to his task will be''.[32] The creations of nature have the ability to be beautiful. As examples Nyström mentions crystals and ''their simple and regular form'', flowers and ''their organic essence'' and man who in his outward form is ''as perfect as possible''.[33] Nyström purports to quote Michelangelo: ''Only he who with perfect confidence knows and has command of the proportions of the human body can be a good architect''.[34] The prototype presented here is ''the eternal array of forms'' of nature.[35]

Thus, the beauty of imitated nature must not be accidental but ideal and objective in character, i.e. 'truth' and 'beauty': ''(...) the particular with its temporary features falls into the background''; ''the creations of architecture should be construed in agreement with the esthetic as well as scientific laws according to which the undisturbed permanence and beauty of nature are constructed''.[36]

In nature a beautiful creation is one which is harmonic and perfect, which must also be the case in architecture: '' It is the interrelationship, the harmony of the whole, that forms beauty, — perfection''.[37] In a letter (1915) to the architect Ivar Aminoff Nyström observes that ''(...) the greatest master (...) imitates and follows the high and great master in his perpetual work: *Nature* and especially *the human body.* To what extent have the greatest of all eras striven to understand these two (unattainable) models. Especially the human body and its proportions are the basis for the theory of proportion and form of the whole of Antiquity and the Renaissance!'' (italics G.N.).[38] However, architecture does not directly imitate nature: ''In the creations of architecture nature cannot be a model in the same direct manner''. For the ''abstract language'' of architecture to be understandable the concepts of tradition and traditional are of importance.[39] Nyström means that architecture does not imitate nature directly, but through the agency of the Masters. However, Nyström points out that ''(...) the architect must be a modern person. We cannot build ''in Greek'' any more than we can speak Greek with each other''.[40] Peter-Eckhard Knabe has illustrated the relationship of the 18th century classicists with Antiquity with the following quotation from Voltaire: ''*Nous devons admirer ce qui est universellement beau chez les anciens; nous devons nous prêter à ce qui était beau dans leur langue et dans leurs moeurs; mais ce serait s'égarer étrangement que de les vouloir suivre en tout à la piste. Nous ne parlons point la même langue*''.[41] Jean-François Blondel saw the exemplary status of Antiquity in the same terms.[42]

For Nyström art also serves as moral teaching: ''Beauty (...) incites the power of imagination, it enlivens the mind and cleanses our thoughts''.[43]

Beauty is rational — it is comprehended above all by reason. Nyström writes that architecture becomes art only when structures are given a form that appears to ''appeal to reason and our feeling of beauty''.[44] A building must satisfy ''the feelings and understanding (Sw. *förstånd*) of the viewer'';[45] ''The works of architecture cannot and must not be arbitrary constructions erected without rules. They must appeal to our fantasy; they must *be comprehended by our reason* and they must make a deep impression on our souls'' (italics G.N.).[46]

We must take a closer look at Nyström's views regarding the elements that bring about harmony and beauty. According *Föreläsningar i Arkitektur* truth and beauty are achieved in a work of architecture by certain principles, above all 'proportions'. The letter to Ivar Aminoff (who

had written to Nyström for details concerning proportions in architecture) begins with the following words: ''Beautiful art is created by him to whom God has given talent, skill and taste. But this does not exclude the possibility that the rules of beautiful proportions or the rules for beautiful design have been completely studied''; and he summarizes at the end of his letter: ''(...) a perfect work of art gives a harmonius impression. Harmony in this sense is understood in architecture mainly as: serene uniform apperance. This kind of serenity is achieved through *congruence of proportion* (Sw. *likformighet i proportionerna*) in the main parts of the work as well as in its individual parts and details (italics V.L.)''.[47]

This was the basis of Nyström's conception of beauty already in 1891, as shown by Lars Sonck's lecture notes. In this connection Nyström observed that a certain organization brings about ''a harmonic order''. According to Sonck's notes this harmony was based on (i) certain numerical relationships and (ii) the ordered grouping of individual parts around a focal point or one or several central axes — i.e. symmetry. In a very classicist spirit Nyström continued to state that this symmetry derives from nature.[48]

Nyström's classification of elements inducing harmony is interesting as it contains both antique symmetry (i.e. proportions) and modern symmetry. This division was first made explicit in French architectural theory by Claude Perrault (*Symmetrie en Grec & en Latin* versus *Symmetrie en François*) elevating ''modern symmetry'' to a higher status as it was a factor contributing to ''positive beauty''. Since then classicists have specifically stressed the importance of taking into account both ''symmetries'',[49] and they were always combined with the concept of *régularité,*[50] to which also Nyström's 'order' (Sw. *ordning*) appears to refer. As pointed out by Walter Kambartel, this division is based on the dichotomy of *proportio aequalitatis* and *proportio inaequalitatis* of Renaissance architectural theory. According to Kambartel, the Italian Renaissance theoreticians however gradually came to forget the difference of the modern conception of symmetry from proportion[51] and for this reason Perrault's role has been emphasized in research.

The wording of Nyström's definition of symmetry coresponds to the 18th century version of Perrault's *symétrie en français*: symmetry is not only an opposition between similar halves of a façade but also antithetic articulation on both sides of a central projection.[52]

Nyström's harmonic elements, 'proportions' and 'symmetry', could of course be mistakenly understood direct quotations from Vitruvius, who refers to both symmetry and proportion in connection with *ordinatio*. The relations of these concepts are left open to interpretation.[53]

The essential point is, however, to note that Nyström actually mentions both symmetry and proportions in the same connection. Kambartel, among others, is of the opinion that 19th century theorists of art no longer saw any connection between these. Furthermore, symmetry in the modern sense was regarded as so ''vulgar'' (Quatremère de Quincy) and ''banal and insignificant'' (Viollet-le-Duc) that it was not even worthy of mention.[54]

To quote Vitruvius in connection with Nyström is not as far-fetched as may seem, for *Föreläsningar i Arkitektur* defines proportions in Vitruvius's (and later Palladio's)[55] terms. An example is given of the church of San Salvatore in Venice with its ''beautiful harmony'' based on ''wonderful proportions both between the individual parts of the work as well as between them and the whole''.[56] In the section *Om proportionerna i byggnadskonsten* ('On proportions in architecture') proportions are defined as ''the analogy of the individual parts with the whole'', supplemented with the motto ''*Partium et totius operis commodulatio. Vitruv.*''[57] This may be a free quotation from Vitruvius's statement: ''*Proportio est ratae partis membrorum in omni opere totoque commodulatio, ex qua ratio effecitur symmetriarum*'',[58] which is usually translated in the same terms as used by Nyström of the proportions of San Salvatore. He also uses the expression ''the relationship of the individual building parts with each other'',[59] and ''a har-

monic effect is achieved when the proportions of the whole are repeated in the constituent parts''.[60]

The 'module' from the Vitruvius-quotation is also discussed by Nyström in a number of additions written in 1916 which also concentrate on the problems of truth and beauty, i.e. the principles producing harmony. Under the heading *Skala* ('Scale') he writes that a building is designed in ''uniform scale'' when there is harmony between its parts.[61] Good composition requires that ''all parts stand in a harmonious relation to each other'', but Nyström stresses that this condition does not suffice — a relative measure or *module* is also needed.[62] This is presented with traditional examples — the columnar order where the module is ''half the diameter of the column'', the human body and a third example of two rooms of different size designed with the same module, ''the parts of which are so perfectly proportioned to each other and the module that the viewer will at first have no aid in defining the size of the whole or of its parts''.[63]

In fact the *decorum* and *eurythmia,* the concomitants of Vitruvian symmetry, are also included in Nyström's description of proportion, although in this context they could be more conveniently described with the terms *convenance/caractère* and *effet.*

In the above connection Nyström writes of the relation of the proportions to the ''function'' or *purpose* of a building (or its parts) in the following terms: ''To use such proportions for a building is motivated only when it has a significant or uncommon task (Sw. *ändamål*) to fulfil (...)''.[64]

He also writes of the *effect* produced by proportions. Because of its perfect harmony, the Church of St. Peter's does not appear to be as large as for example St. Paul's in London which in turn is considerably smaller and thus the greatest possible effect is not achieved.[65] In precisely the same way J.—G. Soufflot wrote in the 1770s of the disappointing impression of St. Peter's in comparison with the much more *impressive* Gothic cathedrals.[66] Vitruvius's *eurythmia* has been interpreted as referring to the effect of proportion upon the viewer.[67] The effects produced by proportions were not unknown or forbidden even to the classicists. Already Palladio stressed the fact that modifications are necessary ''for the required effects''.[68] It must nevertheless be stressed that in Nyström's proportions the effect of harmony is not the main issue as in sensualistic or romantic architectural theory.[69] The section on the effects of proportion ends as follows: ''We thus observe the degree of skill and attention required of the artist to achieve in all situations *a true harmony, but at the same time* the desired effect in his work'' (italics V.L.).[70]

Thus, according to Nyström, a 'true harmony' of some kind exists, but partly in contrast to the 17th-century French classicists he begins his chapter on proportion by stressing that there are no ''absolute numerical values or ratios'' for proportions.[71] The belief that proportions were bound to certain absolute numerical measures began to die out already in the late 17th century,[72] and Wolfgang Herrmann emphasizes that in this respect classical doctrine allowed more latitude than has been assumed.[73] Nevertheless it must be seen that Nyström does not subscribe to outright relativism, as indicated by the following passage: ''Insofar as we may observe in a large number of buildings *generally recognized* as being well-proportioned that a certain *rule* (Sw. *lag*) is applied with regularity, we may not disregard this fact'' (italics V.L.).[74] This ''absolute truth'' was already recognized by François Blondel as an *inductive generalization* of this kind or collective judgement of taste with rationalizations added. Experience and observation taught the classicists that certain proportions are real and natural. According to classical theory an artist will demonstrate his talent and judgement by selecting from among a number of accepted examples the right proportions for the situation at hand.[75]

The 1909—1910 version of *Föreläsningar i Arkitekturen* mentions in addition to proportions other principles of composition. These are tectonics (in the section *Styrka* — 'Strength') and

honest use of materials (in the section *Jernets inflytande på byggnadskonsten* — 'Influence of iron on architecture').

A building must not only be strong or durable; ''a work of art must also look strong, i.e. it must have a form that also tells the eye that there is sufficient durability''. Continuing along Vitruvian lines Nyström notes that nature offers the required prototypes for the properties and forms that express durability in a building. The strongest parts and details must be located in the lower parts while the upper parts must give the impression of lightness and refinement.[76] For example in the Pal. Riccardi the strength (Sw. *styrka*) of the building diminishes storey by storey ''in full harmony with the decreasing weight''.[77] According to Nyström, the most difficult task is to support an unbroken mass of wall with columns. As an example he presents the Pal. Massimo by Baldassare Peruzzi where the columns are placed in pairs ''so that they may correspond better to the weight''.[78] In its most logical and simplest form this ''idea of stability'' is expressed in the Greek temple. The temple of Nike-Apteros in Athens has in this respect ''unsurpassed proportions''.[79] The hierarchical idea of tectonics is expressed not only with ''forms'' but also for example with the degree of coarseness of the rustication.[80]

On the other hand, ''architectural truth'' would require that the forms of stone and timber (i.e. the traditional language of form) should not be used in a different material such as iron.[81]

Under the heading *Sanning* ('Truth'), following the section entitled *Skönhet* ('Beauty') Nyström especially stresses three points. Firstly, a building should never appear to be anything other than what it really is with respect to both its purpose and construction. Both must be characterized in a truthful manner.[82] Secondly, Nyström stresses the use of materials in a way that corresponds to their ''natural properties''. By this he means the expression of classical tectonics with materials (e.g. rustication).[83] Thirdly, truth is also related to the actual (classical) expression of tectonics: ''Above all one should clearly indicate in a building, how the bearing and supporting constructions carry out their functions (...) with the impression that the pillars can actually bear the weight resting upon them.''[84] Thus, it will satisfy ''the requirements of beauty''. Accordingly, when writing of the ''semblance to truth'' of tectonic expression, Nyström is implying *vraisemblance*.[85] His example of the 'Debtors' Door' of London's Newgate Prison stresses, in turn, expression to such a degree that it touches upon the limits of *vraisemblance*[86] — though not exceeding them in Nyström's opinion (it is presented under the heading of 'Truth'). He maintains that the Debtors' Door illustrates how manipulation of tectonics makes the portico *appear* even more narrow and its vault even heavier than in reality.[87]

In the first section ''truthful characterization'' was mentioned. The concept of 'character' is often used by Nyström and requires further elaboration.

The concept of *caractère* became known especially in French architectural theory of the latter half of the 18th century. In its original connection it was related to the psychologization of architectural thinking and the effects of so-called sensualistic epistomology.[88] It implied the expression of the character of (a) the party commissioning the building and (b) the purpose of the building. In Germain Boffrand's words: ''*Les différents Edifices par leur disposition, par leur structure, par la manière dont ils sont décorés, doivent annoncer au spectateur leur destination; & s'ils ne le font pas, ils pèchent contre l'expression, et ne sont pas ce qu'ils doivent être.*''[89] It does not suffice for a building to be suited to its purpose, i must also express it. The theory of character has been described as a romantic phenomenon that still remained within the bounds of classicism.[90] The term was originally defined in a highly unanalytic and even contradictory way and it was only Quatremère de Quincy who distinguished the various senses of the term and its four genres. The basic problem rests in the fact that *caractère* is at the same time the theory of both design and evaluation.[91] Accordingly, there are varying emphases in studies concerning the concept.

In my opinion, the best way to understand the development of this ''theory'' and its possible variations of content as related to the theorists concerned is to concentrate on the three possibly most central themes of classicism and their development, viz. 'imitation', 'expression' and 'decorum'.[92] Roughly speaking, each of these can be comprehended in either a more ''classical'' or a more ''modern'' sense. The intersection of these degrees of comprehension reveals the specific idea of *caractère* of the writer in question.

During the 18th century the *theory of expression* changed from mechanistic to sensualistic in nature. According to the classical theory of expression the purpose of art is to depict the human form in movement. The human body expresses the feelings and passions of the soul and it was precisely in this expression of passions that art came closest to poetry: *Ut Pictura Poesis.*[93] It was only as late as the 1730s and '40s that Germain Boffrand applied this idea, derived from Horatio's *Ars Poetica,* to architecture. However, this *Ut Architectura Poesis* doctrine is regarded as more psychological in nature and stressing reception more than the classical theory of expression.

In the writings of individual artists the division between mechanistic and sensualistic thought is often hard to observe. For example Le Camus de Mézières showed great interest in the late 17th century psycho-physiological theories of Charles LeBrun,[94] whereas Lomazzo ''anticipated'' the theory of *Einfühlung* as pointed out by Rensselaer W.Lee.[95] Around 1800 the role of sensation in observation was questioned[96] and 'expression' became the romantic self-expression of the artist, or the expression of the ''subjective values of the spirit'' or ''sentiments of morality and infinity''.[97]

It has been claimed that the conception of nature changed around 1750 from a theological one to a philosophical one.[98] Accordingly the idea of *imitating nature* changed from the classical imitation of *la belle nature* in its universality to a so-called analogical imitation, i.e. the imitation of those *sentiments* that the observer feels in viewing nature. The conception of beauty was connected to imitation; now the belief in its objectivity changed to an emphasis on its subjectivity with other emotively comprehended concepts — feelings or emotions (e.g. *sublimity*) — in connection with it.[99]

In architecture the imitation of Antiquity and the Masters waned and in *natural esthetics* it was replaced by the imitation of nature *itself.* This was, however, seen as the imitation of its effects: a work of architecture was to engender the same *feeling* as produced by nature which was a kind of ''repository of sensations'', as stated by Boullée (e.g. the feeling of *magnificence* which was also known as a specific *caractère*).[100] According to a number of scholars the situation changed decisively around the year 1800. According to Werner Szambien imitation became increasingly analogous and was finally given up. Georg Germann maintains that around the year 1800 the word 'natural' falls out of use, being replaced by 'organic'. Natural imitation is accordingly replaced by the concept of the 'organic whole'.[101]

The classical *theory of decorum* applies to ''the appropriate and fitting in different circumstances''. First of all, each figure in a work of art must be given an appropriate character. These characters were seen in highly conventional terms as reduced to suitable models which could be interpreted as fitting symbols of the feelings and emotions of certain *types* of people. On the other hand, *decorum* implied conformity to what is decent and proper in taste, morality and religion.[102] The 17th century French classicists translated *decorum* as *bienséance.* Szambien has demonstrated how the ''development'' of this concept was linked to developments in society and the field of ideology. *Decorum* in its French version was related to social behaviour as an expression of regulated social life — a building should not have more or less *magnificence* than appropriate to the social standing of its owner. In the mid-18th century the central concept of *bienséance* was replaced by *convenance* which was more abstract, relating not to social life but to the

specific aim of the building. The term implied adequate programme, form and location: *convenance* was dependent on rules and established practices. With the development of society, and the ultimate rejection of the authorities of Antiquity and *bienséance, caractère* came to replace *convenance.*[103]

As mentioned above, *caractère* was linked to sensual observation (i.e. to sensualistic epistemology). At first, in the ''early stage'' from 1730 to 1770, *caractère* only provided a classificatory aid: ''*que chaque édifice ait son visage reconnaissable*''. For example, Boffrand still adhered to classical imitation, and even though he introduced the theory of expression into architecture, his idea of expression was still not as observation-centered as those of the later sensualists. It is obviously the result of these two factors that his use of the term *caractère* is still close to the meaning of *convenance.* The same applies to Jacques-François Blondel. However, along with the changing of the concept of imitation *caractère* became central for the *creation* of works of architecture. Now it is linked to analogical imitation with its sensualistic theory of expression (''later stage'', 1770—1800). The imitation of sensations engendered by nature (above all the seasons) guaranteed the status of architecture among the Fine Arts, as in Boullée's theory.[104] As mentioned above, around 1800 not only *caractère* but also the whole theory of character is said to have lost meaning or become formalistic.[105] For example J.N.L.Durand rejected the theory; *caractère* became only the *logical result* of functional design. According to him, beauty was based on 'economy' and 'comfort'. The rejection was the (natural) result of the fact that he rejected not only classical imitation but also analogical imitation and along with it the sensualistic theory of expression.[106] Demetrios Porphyrios maintains that since Durand architectural thought in the 19th century no longer characterized a building as ''frivolous'', ''gay'' or ''morbid'' , but named them on the basis of use.[107]

The idea of the extinction of the theory of character in the early 19th century appears to be an over-simplification of reality, especially with respect to the views of Gustaf Nyström, who in 1891 presented 'character' in the manner that was discussed above. He begins his presentation however with a reference to Romantic art theory: ''Every creation of nature is characteristic and character is the primary requirement of a work that can be called beautiful. The character or original appearance of a building depends primarily on the grouping of its individual parts. In the same way that nature in her creations joins organs to each other so that they may carry out their specific tasks, so does the builder place each part of his building.'' But Nyström continues: ''Such a grouping naturally expresses the total purpose as well as the function of its individual parts and for this reason it is beautiful''; ''Characteristic beauty also requires that individual building parts as well as the whole have a form that corresponds to their purpose''.

In *Föreläsningar i Arkitekturen* (1909—1910) Nyström writes:'' To have character is without doubt the main and foremost requirement that we must place upon a work of architecture from the artistic perspective. Good architecture must reflect the purpose of the building and must not leave the viewer in doubt — also the idea of construction should be expressed through the architectural form.''[108]

Like the 18th century French theorists Nyström links character specifically with *expression.* This is emphasized in his later writings. In the section *Lif* ('Life') appended to *Föreläsningar i Arkitektur* in 1916 he writes: ''(...) good architecture must have character, it must express something. The building as a whole must express its purpose. The individual parts of a building must not constitute dead mass, they must speak.''[109] Thus, the forms of architecture must speak. In another connection, Nyström writes of architectural forms as ''a symbolic language''.[110] The comparison with language was already presented in the 1891 lectures, as recorded by Lars Sonck. Comprehending architectue as a language was specifically a feature emphasized by 18th century

character theory and it was related to comparing architecture to poetry: *Ut Architectura Poesis.*[111]

On the other hand, the manuscripts present the terms 'character' and 'expression' parallel with each other: ''Character and expression come to the fore in the forms of a work of architecture.''[112] In his final notes Nyström develops the idea of 'expression' in a vein that appears more and more romantic: ''A work of art has the power of generating a feeling in its viewer (...)''; ''(...) this feeling the architect attempts to cast in his work and pass on to the viewer''.[113] In a text preserved at the University of Technology (apparently a speech) Nyström writes that the Temple of Karnak immediately gives us the feeling that its architects intended to generate in the visitor. It must be noted, however, that Nyström goes on to specify: ''Music creates a feeling in general, but architecture generates a feeling that symbolically expresses the purpose for which the building has been created.''[114] For him 'feeling' (Sw. *stämning*) is specifically 'character' and not a romantic ''feeling in general''. The reference to music and the above-mentioned connection via language with poetry are of interest, as the character theory of the 18th century aimed at emphasizing the connections of architecture with the other fine arts: architecture was seen as ''mute poetry''.[115]

We have already seen how Nyström uses the language of the classical doctrine of imitation. His texts underline also the links between character and imitation. It is to some degree inconsistent that in this connection he adheres to a different concept of imitation than elsewhere in his texts, viz. analogical imitation,[116] which of course is not inconsistent from the viewpoint of character theory. In the 1916 version of *Föreläsningar* Nyström writes: ''The qualities that characterize living beings in nature also serve the architect as models when he attempts to give life to his creations''.[117] He presents as an example the parallels of the human body and a column with base and capital. At least Germain Boffrand and Jacques-François Blondel reinvestigated this antique motif in connection with the theory of character.[118] Another example is Bernini's colonnade on the square of St.Peter's which is compared to a detachment of guards, and most significantly, the analogy of the human face which was typical of the 18th century and the new thought relating to analogical imitation and the theory of character.[119] It is not a question of anthropomorphy alone, for as Nyström writes, the human face is ''expressive and appealing, reflecting all the streams of thought and ideas that move the soul (...)''.[120] He also stresses that ''the highest impression of life (sic) is attained by a building that with its overall form and use of details succeeds clearly and distinctly in expressing its purpose, i.e. tell us what it is created for and intended. A building of this kind has character which in the artistic sense is the highest quality that can be achieved in a building.''[121]

Nyström uses the term 'character' in a number of meanings that resemble the use of the term *convenance* which is closer to the classical term *decorum.* Even these quotations demonstrate that in stressing the expression of character Nyström implies not only the expression of the function of the whole building but also the function of its individual parts, which appears to have been typical of *convenance* but not 'character'. Werner Szambien emphasizes that ''*convenance* indicates the place of each thing'',[122] while Germain Boffrand writes: ''*Chaque partie relativement au tout doit avoir une proportion et une forme convenable à son usage*''.[123] To quote Jacques-François Blondel: ''*Pour que l'esprit de convenance règne dans un plan, il faut que chaque pièce soit située selon son usage et suivant la nature de l'édifice, et qu'elle ait une forme et une proportion relatives à sa destination*''.[124] Already Claude Perrault wrote that the basis of beauty was in ''*la convenance raisonnable & l'aptitude que chaque partie à pour l'usage auquel elle est destinée*''.[125]

According to Nyström, character also implied that a building be suited to its location and the milieu for which it is planned. Accordingly, ''a building for a certain purpose cannot be general-

ly erected in the same way in different places''. We must take into account differences of climate, ways of life etc.[126] The emphasis of these factors is also implied in *convenance,* as pointed out already by Boffrand:''*Ce qui convient chez une nation ne convient pas toujours chez une autre: toute ont une idée différente de la beauté: elle n'est pas dans les pays chauds la même que dans le Nord.*''[127] Le Camus de Mézières stressed the relative nature of *convenance* — the same kinds of buildings should not be designed for China and Europe.[128]

Nyström addressed the problem of character under the heading *Truth.* Already in the ideas of *decorum* which preceded the late 18th century theory of character, *vraisemblance* was always linked to the right choice of character (*vrai caractère*) and to 'fitness' (*bienséance, convenance*).[129] According to Knabe, *convenance* implied that a work of art was in all respects congruent with the reality that it presents in relation to time, place, customs and characters. If it succeeds in doing so, it will satisfy the requirements of imitation and truth (i.e. congruence with reality).[130] Also Szambien stresses the connections between truth and *convenance.* Like many other scholars he nevertheless sees the *caractère* of the late 18th century as an unesthetic concept. It is no longer connected with beauty and truth in the same way as *convenance.*[131] But in accordance with the idea of *convenance* Nyström specifically emphasizes the connection between 'character' and 'beauty': ''to give a building character and beauty''.[132]

Nyström also emphasized, like the 18th century theorists of *caractère,*[133] that also the rooms of a building should have location, proportions and character corresponding to their purpose.[134]

Nyström saw the expression of character as including the selection of ornaments, material, colours and textures in accordance with the purpose of the building.[135] His letter to Ivar Aminoff shows that he also linked proportions to expression, as observed above. The 18th century French theorists also discussed the characteristic nature of ornament and proportions.[136]

Nyström linked character to building *types*, genres — each of which have a corresponding character. The types presented as examples are public building, cultural edifice, church, city hall,[137] temple, throne room and court of law[138]. Their characters are described with the terms 'serious', 'joyful', 'heavy or light', 'devotional' and 'majestic'. Especially J.-F. Blondel is known for his *typologies* of characters of building types. Also Nyström's characters are to be found in Blondel's writings.[139]

Nyström also saw a number of building types as ''typical''. The centrally planned church, the long church and the hall church had come about due to certain needs and practices of use thus becoming ''characteristic''. Already M.-J. Peyre developed character theory along the same lines. The phenomenon is aptly described by Antonio Hernandez — ''*anderseits werden bestimmte Bautypen durch ihren Character zu Symbolen ihrer Bestimmung. Die Gebäude interpretieren sich selbst.*''[140]

Nyström's correspondence often mentions the characterization of certain building types in connection with individual projects and the problem appears to have been of importance even before his more systematic written account of the 1910s. Writing to his friend, the architect J.B.Blomqvist in 1888 he defends the use of the colossal order in his project for the House of the Estates in the following terms: ''In my opinion this is the only way to bring forth the character of the House of the Estates''.[141] Also his letter to the official deputation for the construction of the House of the Estates stresses the requirements placed by its character on the architectural design.[142] In 1893 he wrote to Selim Lemström, Professor of Physics, in connection with the alterations to the so-called New Clinic for the use of the department that also the façade should undergo changes so that the building could thus acquire a characteristic appearance that is more appropriate to its new purpose.[143]

As mentioned above, Nyström wrote a number of additions to *Föreläsningar i Arkitekturen* in 1916 where he discusses the principles of practical work whereby 'Beauty' and 'Truth', and

accordingly harmony, are achieved. In the 1909 version of the text these principles were 'proportion', 'tectonics' and 'honesty in the use of materials'. In the later chapters the approach is even more practical and psychological.

In *Föreläsningar* Nyström mentions having made considerable use of the works of the English architectural writer, John Belcher.[144] Many of Nyström's examples were taken from Belcher's work *Essentials in Architecture. An Analysis of the Principle and Qualities to be looked for in Buildings* (1907). Nyström's chapter headings are Swedish translations of Belcher's headings.[145] These texts which were among the last that Nyström wrote the psychological viewpoint is clearly stressed. Expressions such as 'impression' and 'effect' are used more and more by him. This may have been the result of the explicit or implicit influence of Belcher's, extremely English, point of view. However, the central concepts of these chapters reveal a highly classical vocabulary and terminology. The chapter entitled *Begränsning,* on simplification, stresses ''moderation'', ''simplicity'' and ''economy'' in design,[146] while the section entitled *Noble and refined art* underlines ''naturalness'' in the sense of ''nothing unnecessary''. Nyström did not see naturalness as a requirement of the artist, but as a property of the work itself: *simplicité*[147]. Andrea Palladio's Basilica is ''natural'' because it is ''simple'', ''pure'' and ''moderate'' as well as having a ''clear basic idea''.[148] In the chapter *Lugn, hvila* ('Serenity and calm') he uses the Winckelmannian criteria which were added to the norms of beauty: ''a work of calm seriousness'', ''eternal calm''.[149] The concept of 'grace' (Sw. *gratie, behag*) introduced by the following chapter corresponds to the idea of *grâce* as defined by the French classicists: ''Grace is a property which is as hard to define as beauty. It may be achieved through extreme purity and refinement in details (...)''.[150] The chapter *Bredd* ('Breadth') stresses ''unity, wholeness'' which may also refer to the classicist concept of *unité.*[151] In 17th and 18th century France *unité* was essentially linked to the essence of beauty.[152] Nyström may have referred to this idea in his letter of 1900 to Wilhem Bolin, University Librarian, characterizing C.L.Engel's University Library Building: ''The impression of wholeness (Sw. *helgjutenhet*), which is characteristic of all of Carl Ludvig Engel's works, has without doubt achieved one of its most beautiful expressions in this building. The harmonic form of the plan, the impressive proportions of the reading rooms and simple rhythmical arrangement of the whole are most probably without parallel in this country''.[153] In this connection Nyström used highly classistic terminology in other respects as well.[154] His example of the beauty of the proportions of San Salvatore was already discussed above. He saw correct proportions as giving the building ''the impression of grandeur (Sw. *storhetsverkan*)'' which in this connection corresponds to the *grandeur* and *magnificence* of the 17th century French classicists.[155]

In the light of the above, it is natural that Nyström does not praise romantic 'genius' which ''in unending plenitude always creates things unique and things that never existed before'', as described by Panofsky.[156] In contrast, Nyström adheres to the classistic view that invention must be based on rules and imagination must be controlled by judgement. This is most clearly expressed in a passage of text from 1910: ''Genius most easily expresses itself through inherited rules, because it comprehends their deep significance''.[157] This feature ultimately demonstrates the depth of Nyström's classicism and its authenticity.

Kineret S. Jaffe has pointed out that the concept of 'genius' can be approached only by taking into account 'imitation', 'invention', 'creation' and 'imagination'.[158] The classicistic concept of invention maintains ''perfection in the imitation of nature and the masters of Antiquity''[159] or ''the right way of applying rules to a specific task''.[160] Nyström's texts contain the largest number of examples of this theme specifically in connection with the concept of 'invention'. For Nyström invention is linked to imitation in the classicistic sense (classistic theory in turn made a

clear distinction between imitation and a pure copy)[161]. This line of thinking took a negative view of innovation.[162]

In *Nya Pressen* of May 25,1888 Nyström presented a condensed defence of his work against allegations that he had copied his entry for the design of the House of the Estates (1887) from Frans Anatolius Sjöström's corresponding design from 1884. Nyström denounced ''the seeking of originality'' as opposed to the positive value of using prototypes: ''I am of the humble opinion that in most of the genres of monumental as well as private architecture typical forms have come about long ago and that if something good shall be achieved one is at pains not to *imitate* them. In my opinion the architectural competition for the House of the Estates has come to show that one cannot disregard the *exemplary works* of the past only in order to achieve an original project.'' (italics V.L.)[163]

In his article on recent English architecture in the journal *Arkitekten* (1904) Nyström opposes ''experiments and excesses'' as well as the idea of a ''totally new style'' stressing that sound and ensured development is possible only on the basis of the work of predecessors.[164] In 1905 Nyström wrote to his friend, the well- known Swedish architect Isak Gustaf Clason, that in the teaching of architecture planning must be carried out ''according to the best prototypes and models bequeathed to us by our predecessors'' and that we should condemn experimentation with ''new motifs''.[165] In a letter from the following year he quotes the Swedish journal *Arkitektur* where an article complains of the aim of architects to achieve ''originality at any cost''. This endangers ''the serious study of all that is good in the works of our predecessors.''[166]

Writing to the architect Gösta Juslén in 1914 Nyström called artists who do not base themselves on tradition as mere ''jugglers''.[167] His article from 1916 *Vår egen byggnadskonst* ('Our own architecture') criticizes architectural expressions achieved by ''original'' and ''new'' forms.[168] The opposition of 'imitation' and condemned 'invention' is especially explicit in a letter to Ivar Aminoff (1915): ''Since time immemorial and up to our own day, even the greatest master has not been able to create anything new. He imitates and follows the almighty and great master in his ever-present work: nature (...)''.[169]

Nyström's ideas of architectural *progress* are clearly set against the worshipping of originality and undue emphasis on invention and genius. We shall return to this theme in the following chapter.

It can be seen that 'imagination' or 'invention' can in no way be taken as a guide, but are to be subjected to imitation, rules and judgement.[170]

For Nyström beauty was in no way ''*un pur effet du génie*''.[171] Genius is subjected to *raison* and *jugement*. Writing to his friend J.B.Blomkvist in 1891, Nyström praises the Renaissance architecture of Florence, which to him represents ''the original'', ''truth'' and ''real architecture'' . These are achieved by the human qualities of ''reason'' and ''skill''.[172] In the 1909—1910 version of *Föreläsningar* Nyström presents Baldassare Peruzzi whose great artistic achievements were based on ''his fine taste and routined experience.''[173] Thus, the chief factors are *experience* and *judgement* which in this connection must be the correct interpretation of 'taste' as in Nyström's context it is hard to imagine that taste would have meant some kind of *goût naturel* or *sentiment* brought about by subjective experience. In this case it was specifically erudite judgement or normative *bon goût*. In 1915 Nyström wrote to Ivar Aminoff that good architecture is created by a person with ''ability, skill and taste''.[174]

In the 1916 version of *Föreläsningar* Nyström ends a chapter with the words ''Study the Masters''.[175] Because of the central importance of imitation of the Masters for classicistic architecture it is interesting and revealing to see what works Nyström held to be exemplary. Andrea Palladio and Carl Ludvig Engel clearly rise above the others as well as the architecture of Florence, Rome and Venice, as evidenced by Nyström's correspondence as well as his lectures.

The status of his paragons does not appear to have been influenced in any way by the varying modes and fashions of the different decades.

An excellent example of Nyström's strong interest in the Italian Renaissance and especially Palladio (Nyström dates the High Renaissance to 1500—1580)[176] are his letters to J.B.Blomkvist in the spring of 1891 who was in Italy at the time. Nyström gave his friend suggestions for travel and instructions for acquiring photographs, which Blomkvist appears to have had to send continually to Nyström. On February 16,1891 Nyström wrote to Blomkvist for pictures of Venice, Florence and Rome, one-third from each city, adding that "actually I would be happiest with Renaissance subjects, but if there is something of Antiquity or even Gothic, it is all the better".[177] Two weeks later he gave instructions for visiting Vicenza and in addition to the Basilica mentioned most of Palladio's palaces in the vicinity as well as their merits.[178] A few weeks later he wrote to Blomkvist thanking him for photographs from Vicenza.[179]

Almost a quarter of a century later around Easter of 1914 Nyström wrote to the architect Juslén a long letter with instructions for a year's tour of Europe: "One could imagine that a young Finnish architect, after having spent some time in gay Venice would one fine day in the S.Giorgio Maggiore wish to see more of Palladio and — after having painted some water-colours in Venice — would leave to study architecture in Vicenza". Nyström continues to state that one must *study* in Vicenza for the very reason that Palladio was "one of the first *modern* architects and from him one can learn to work ahead upon the shoulders of one's predecessors".[180]

The exemplary nature of C.L.Engel was stressed by Nyström in various connections, e.g. in the above-mentioned letter: "In C.L.Engel's architecture we have a real beginning to something that can be furthered". Also in his letter to Blomkvist in Italy he wishes that "now, revitalized, Engel's beautiful works of art should again arise".[181] While planning the additions to the Helsinki University Library Nyström wrote a long letter to librarian Wilhelm Bolin (1900), which we have already quoted. Nyström expressed his admiration of the harmony of this building by Engel and continued: "This building will therefore always be a model for Finnish monumental architecture both today and in the future. It can be easily seen how any architect will hesitate in rushing to change or add something to this masterful creation".[182]

We must stress that Nyström had a wide knowledge of both historical and modern architecture which was by no means limited to a few Masters. This can be seen for example in his lists of orders from bookstores abroad (mainly in Paris, Berlin and London). Along with the commonplace there is also an order for a work (1904) on the *modernista* Puig i Cadafalch and his works in Barcelona as well as a book on Frank Lloyd Wright (1912). The publication *Aus der Wagner Schule* known for its presentations of highly radical designs was sent to Nyström from 1898 onwards when it began to appear.[183]

The library and collections of the Department of Architecture of the Helsinki University of Technology were mostly destroyed in the bombings of 1939. However, the collections of the Department of Architectural History of the University of Technology include pictorial material and illustrations used in the teaching of architecture in Nyström's time. There are large cardboard boxes for photographs which appear to have been acquired in Nyström's period. Forty-two of these boxes present the historical architecture of Finland and 50 of them other architectural subjects. There are also several hundred post-cards of historical architecture from various places in Europe. The post-cards bear Nyström's stamp. There are also large photographs of Palladio's buildings with Nyström's bibliographical notes added. These photographs may have been the ones sent by J.B.Blomkvist in 1891. An example of Nyström's study is a photograph
3 of a 15th century classistic capital which he had carefully marked out in squares.

It must be noted, however, that Nyström felt deep disdain for the post-card tourism of architects. He had become angered when Blomkvist wrote to him that it was better to buy photo-

graphs than to draw on one's own. Upset by this, he had tried to draw in his own home the courtyard of the Pal. Massimo (March 17, 1891) (''A loveable piece, full of genius and form'') and said it took him 25 minutes: ''When the hell have you sat and looked stupid in front of a photograph for 25 minutes? And do you really think that if you would have gazed at such mechanical work for so long (...) would you then have seen everything?''[184] Nyström also stressed this to his son in 1906.[185]

Thus far we have illustrated to what degree Gustaf Nyström's texts can be seen to represent the tradition of classical doctrine. We may now attempt to investigate to what degree Nyström was connected with trends of architectural theory that were specifically characteristic of the 19th century.

Nyström mentions Gottfried Semper and his work *Der Stil* on several occasions, as well as Karl Bötticher.[186] Some of Semper's central themes appear to have connections with Nyström's writings. Such themes are *Bekleidung, Zweck*, his conception of style and his idea of the connections of art and nature.

In *Föreläsningar* and its preliminary drafts Nyström writes with clear reference to Semper's *Bekleidung:* ''The constructive parts retain an addition or cover, cladding, in a purely ideal sense, that decorates it'';[187] ''Its artistic qualities will emerge through giving the constructive basic arrangement an architectural form, i.e. a form that in an explicit way expresses the purpose (...)'';[188] ''(...) the design of architecture constitutes a symbolic language expressing the static and technical functions of the parts of the building (...)''.[189]

Reference to Semper can also be found in the above division of the expression of aim and purpose into two levels — the expression of the function of the individual parts and the expression of the overall or total purpose. *Zweck* implies both the technical function and the ''symbolic level''.[190] But there is no need to go further in searching for influences in connection with this theme, for the basis of Semper's theory is the concept of *Typen* with their ''idea of the original *Zweck*'', the concept of changes in material (*Stoffwechsel*) and a certain non-human determinism (akin to a natural law) related to *Zweck* and *Bekleidung* are all features foreign to Nyström's writings.[191] Also Semper's comparisons with language in connection with architectural expression (''*sprechende Ausdrück*'') is linked to the presentation of the so-called *Urmotiven* in a work of art, which is also completely foreign to Nyström.[192]

Semper's *Typenlehre* is based on the positivistic methodology of botany and linguistics of the period.[193] Accordingly Semper saw the connections between nature and art from the perspective of positivism and the evolution of species,[194] which again is alien to the classical naivete of Nyström's idea of imitation.

Nyström appears to express his conception of style in much the same terms as Semper. According to Nyström, the works of a certain style reflect the conditions under which they came about.[195] According to Semper, style is equivalent to ''*die Uebereinstimmung eines Kunsterscheinung mit ihrer Enstehungsgeschichte, mit allen Vorbedingungen und Umständen ihres Werdens*''.[196] Emphasis on art as socially dependent was quite common in the 19th century, as already stressed by Winckelmann, Herder and Hegel.[197] However, Semper differs from the latter authorities, as well as from Nyström, in that for him style was mathematically determined by its historical situation.[198]

From the social boundedness of the birth of a style Semper drew the conclusion that only ''new ideas in world history'' can produce new architecture. He was interested in the development of art and the new architecture. The use of machines and the market economy required new artistic forms, but Semper was also of the opinion that only with ''new ideas'' can we seek architectural expressions for them, until then we must content ourselves with old forms:''*Bis dahin; begnüge*

mann sich mit den Alten''. Traditional forms of architecture are an unfortunate necessity: ''*Not meiner Zeit*''.[199]

Nyström arrives at the same conclusion, but with a completely opposite preference of emphasis: ''(...) as long as we are working with tasks that are related to those of past eras and with materials and constructions for which historical forms of style have been developed, *it is possible for us* to use and apply the basic principles and design of these styles.''[200] As discussed above and also below, Nyström placed considerable restrictions and doubts on the use of a ''new style''. Furthermore, Semper's grounds for preferring Roman and Renaissance art were not as simply architectural as Nyström's reasons. For Semper, they were the continuation of ''free Antiquity'' and expressions of social conditions that in his opinion were similar to those of his decade, the 1850s.[201]

In fact, Nyström's knowledge of Semper reveals how little he was influenced by the German authority. The themes are mainly the same, but Nyström read Semper (as well as Karl Bötticher)[202] with the bias of a classicist. The views of experts on Semper stressing the basically classical structure of his theory show that such a way of reading his works was possible at least in principle.[203] In fact, a draft for an introduction to *Föreläsningar* shows that Nyström wished to establish an explicit difference with regard to Semper's views, underlining that he emphasizes the importance of tradition for ''the formation of style''. Semper and Bötticher are discredited with the view that forms of architectural style are based on constructive systems and give an expression to construction.[204] The aim here appears to have been a rejection of Semper's natural-scientific and functionalistic determinism which is without the sensitivity of the rationalism of classicism.

Many of Semper's and Nyström's central themes were also taken up by German Idealistic esthetics as central to its conceptions of architecture, viz. *Zweck* and its related 'character', the centrality of the concept of 'beauty', the conception of art as a language, the universal significance of Greek art and the idea of a work of art — e.g. a building — as an organism.[205] It has been seen however that as a whole Nyström's texts are linked to the tradition of classical doctrine in their range of topics and method of argument.

A good example of this is the idea of a building as an organism. In 1891 Nyström wrote: ''In the same way that nature in her creations joins organs to each other so that they may carry out their specific tasks so does the builder place each part of his building''. In *Föreläsningar* he presented the requirement that ''the overall arrangement must be organic'', which means that a building must grow in a natural way and e.g. heavy elements must not be placed in the upper parts of a facade. 'Harmony' is also connected with this aspect: ''It is interaction, the harmony of the whole, that creates beauty, — perfection''.[206]

According to Georg Germann, 'organic unity' replaced the idea of imitation in the early 19th century and this would have specifically signified Romanticism.[207] Nyström's idea of the building as organism occurs together with the idea of imitation. This, as well as his formulations of the organic, are however completely in accordance with the classical tradition. Françoise Choay and Werner Szambien have stressed how the idea of the 'functional organism' was in fact already a central facet of Alberti's thinking. Choay defines *concinnitas* as ''*le principe d'organicité qui, chez les vivants, subordonne harmonieusement les différentes parties de l'organisme à sa totalité*''; According to Alberti a building can be compared to a living animal. In *De re aedificatoria* he has expressed this in a quite unequivocal way. Choay accuses Rudolf Wittkower of neglecting this physiological aspect in his emphasis on Alberti's mathematical theory of beauty.[208] In French architectural theory Alberti's zoomorphism came to the fore in connection with 18th century character theory.[209]

Even in this respect Nyström remains within the bounds of classistic views.

II.2. The Empire style and the Picturesque — Jac. Ahrenberg

Birger Brunila's obituary of Jac. Ahrenberg (*Arkitekten,* 1914) describes him as having been ''devoted to the Renaissance and classicism'' in his architectural designs as well as in his conceptions of art. Brunila quotes at length an article written by Ahrenberg in 1912 where he elaborates on the respect due to ''the great proportions of universal significance developed by the Greeks and the Romans''. The quotation ends with the words: ''The closer we abide in the main lines to classicism the freer we are in using details and ornament, for inasmuch as there is no music without melody, there is no architecture without noble proportions''.[210] In the manner of a true classicist Ahrenberg stresses adherence to the rules of classicism in the main lines of a project and freedom in the use of detail.[211] He also presents the traditional analogy of music and proportion, although such a parallel between melody and proportion is of course questionable from the perspective of a true classicist. Ahrenberg's obituary in *Hufvudstadsbladet* points out that his classical schooling was the basis of his later views in life. According to the author of the obituary Ahrenberg always remained alien to the ''excesses produced by later strivings towards new artistic values and effects''.[212]

In the essays on architecture of his best-known literary work *Människor som jag känt* ('People I have known'), published in 1907—1908, Ahrenberg specifically presents himself as a protagonist of the classical heritage. He describes his teacher, F.W.Scholander, as a representative of ''Gallic clarity'' whose first credo was ''God and the middle axes'', i.e. unquestioning compliance to the *symétrie française.* Ahrenberg quotes at length Scholander's praise of Renaissance architecture pointing out — in Sholander's words — that ''the noblest measures of proportions'' are bound to the columnar orders.[213]

Ahrenberg makes even Charles Garnier appear to be the epitome of classicism. Garnier is generally regarded as anything but a traditional classicist and for this reason it appears that Ahrenberg is voicing his own views, albeit with reference to Garnier: ''The painter and the sculptor must find their models in nature and not create monsters only in the hope of producing something new''. Accordingly, architecture follows rules that must not be transgressed.[214] According to Ahrenberg a closer review of Garnier's *Opéra* reveals a large number of architectural ideas of Greek invention and he reminds the reader that Garnier had for a number of years carried out restoration work on the temple of Diana in Eleusis. Garnier is seen to have been free of ''German Romanticism'' with only the ''main central lines'' and ''classical rhythm'' in mind. His façades can be compared to the Louvre (east façade?) and Versailles. Garnier was not original in the Romantic sense of the term, but an ''individualistic artist''.[215]

In both articles Ahrenberg emphasizes how neglect and denial of the above rules ''proven by experience'' together with an outright ''search for things new'' will produce ''raw and coarse forms'', ''nightmares'' and ''monsters''.[216]

Already in the early 1890s Ahrenberg was a staunch defender of classicism. From 1892 to 1894 he published in various newspapers a number of sharply written articles urging the preservation of the Empire Style architecture of the Senate Square in Helsinki. At this stage the planting of trees had been proposed for the square. The articles were continued in 1896, 1901, 1911 and 1913 when construction of the City Hall and the planting of trees became timely. The architecture of the Senate Square was ''harmonious'', ''magnificent'' and ''serene''.[217] C.L.Engel's architecture had preserved the ''golden measures'' through applying ''the perfect proportions and forms of Antiquity''; ''In his undying masterpieces our foremost architect, Carl Ludvig Engel,

gave his façades the beautiful proportions and perfectly designed details of Antiquity".[218] In 1893 Ahrenberg presented in the journal *Teknikern* Engel's original project for the Åminne manor praising its "economic proportions" and "fine details". In his architecture Engel had preserved the essentials of the style of Antiquity, its "grandeur" (Sw. *storslagenhet*).[219] In 1897 Ahrenberg published a seven-page long biographical essay on Engel in which he praises Engel's buildings with the terms unity, beauty, harmony and simplicity. For Engel, architecture was the art of proportion and not decoration: "the confidence and noblesse of the profile". Engel applied columnar orders and "the main motifs of grand palace architecture" with "variation, simplicity and grace".[220]

Ahrenberg's praise of Engel was not only a historical evaluation, as can be seen in his article *Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter* ('Our architecture and our architects') from 1897—1898. In this connection he especially emphasizes architecture as the art of proportion. However, in a highly unclassicistic psychological vein he adds that there are no golden rules of proportion and that it depends on taste which is continually changing.[221] He criticizes "realism" in architecture for discarding the "flower" of all architecture — "the column and pediment".[222] Thus, he recommends "Engel's style" (i.e. "columns and Renaissance motifs") as a model for the present.[223]

In a series of articles written in the period 1900—1903 Ahrenberg presents series of oppositions of concepts. On the one hand are his criticized concepts of "Romanticism",[224] "the picturesque" (Sw. *pittoresk*[225], *målerisk*[226]), "absolute individuality",[227] "originality".[228] On the other hand the reader is presented with the admired and praised concepts of "the columnar architecture of classicism",[229] "the nobility, refinement of forms and elegance of the proportions" of classicism,[230] and "harmonic proportions and classical ornament".[231] The series of dichotomies is continued later in at least three articles published in 1908 and two from 1912.[232]

Even in his description of a building as picturesque as the Suur- Merijoki manor by Gesellius-Lindgren-Saarinen Ahrenberg delights in the "sensible forms" of the chairs designed for the house: "Sensible proportions between the supporting and supported parts".[233] In *Teknikern* in 1906 Ahrenberg again presented an original drawing by C.L.Engel, a project for a stock exchange for Helsinki whose "noble proportions and fine details" were described with adjectives such as "monumental" and "simple". Ahrenberg proposed that the building be erected with only changes to the plan "corresponding to modern-day requirements".[234] Two years later the Academy building in Turku was described with photographs and in the same flowing terms.[235] In 1912 Ahrenberg wrote in the journal *Finsk Tidskrift* a long and enthusiastic article in two parts on the Empire style. The text concentrates on the lives and achievements of Percier and Fontaine as well as the main representatives of Swedish Gustavian Neo-Classicism in Finland, Carl Christoffer Gjörwell and Carlo Bassi and finally also Engel. Although the article is historical in nature it also had a message for Ahrenberg's contemporaries as he writes of the rebirth of this style in his own day.[236]

In the light of the above it is strange that in his other texts, especially before the year 1900, Ahrenberg appears to take a positive stand regarding certain qualities in art and in artists that were opposed by classicism and are commonly regarded as romanticist in spirit.

Erik Ekelund has discussed Ahrenberg's writings of the 1870s (i.e. 1875—1879) where he expressed admiration for the Romantic artistic genius — "the inhabitant of the world of inspiration and fantasy". These were far removed from the erudite architect of Nyström's texts.[237] In 1875 Ahrenberg wrote for *Åbo Posten* a glowing account of the "mysticism" and "spell" of the Cathedral of Rouen contrasting it to the feeling of oppression of "Haussman's and Napoleon's order in Paris",[238] but in 1898 he described his much-admired Empire-style town plan of Hel-

sinki as ''Napoleonic'' and ''Hausmannian''.[239] In his obituary of F.W.Scholander in 1881 Ahrenberg presents a much different picture of his mentor than in *Människor som jag känt* in 1908. Scholander was described as a Romantic artistic genius who injected into each of his works ''something of his personality: individuality and character'';[240] he had a quality of ''originality'' that is hard to accommodate to academic forms.[241] Ahrenberg did not present Scholander as a bearer of the Renaissance tradition but expresses the matter in the following terms: ''The Renaissance was the genre of style within which Scholander strove to express his own ideas''.[242] Scholander loved the ''picturesque''.[243]

In the same manner as above, Ahrenberg's article on Charles Garnier published in 1882 presents him in a completely different light than in 1908. Garnier is described as ''an individualistic artist'' who used ''all the motifs that the architecture and decorative art of the past had to offer''.[244] At this time Ahrenberg also expressed admiration of qualities such as 'freedom' and 'originality' in Finnish architecture.[245] F.A.Sjöström had no doubt ''good taste and beautiful proportions'', he is ''academically trained'' and ''honours tradition'', but he does not have Theodor Höijer's ''individuality and courageous originality''. On the other hand, Ahrenberg describes himself (or is described by his co-author C.G.Estlander) as an architect with ''living fantasy''.[246]

In an article from 1890 Ahrenberg presented his project for the Kjuloholm manor, the style of which is described as ''picturesque''.[247] In his obituary of Karl von Hasenauer (1894) Ahrenberg describes him as having been ''more versed in knowledge'' rather than having had ''freely creative fantasy and feeling for art''.[248] In the same vein he describes Paul Wallot in connection with the Berlin *Reischstag* project as ''only rearranging old values and not inventing new ones''. Wallot was not ''a trail-blazer, an original spirit'' like Charles Garnier and Ahrenberg goes on to criticize his contemporaries for ''lack of originality''.[249] In both 1894 and 1896 Ahrenberg criticized the Empire style, as this ''pseudoclassical style brazenly applied the antique to modern requirements''.[250] On the other hand, Russian architecture is seen by him as ''characteristic'', with ''richness'' and ''originality''.[251]

In 1897 Ahrenberg praised Theodor Höijer for not being an ''epigone'' but having ''his own style'', ''his own individual taste'' and ''including something of his inner self in each form he creates''. Ahrenberg was of the opinion that it was only to Vignola's benefit that Höijer applied the former in a personal way. In this connection qualities worthy of admiration are: ''picturesque'', ''originality'' and ''boldness''.[252] As late as 1898 in his article *Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter* ('Our architecture and our architects') Ahrenberg expresses his admiration of ''originality'' while criticizing ''the pompous Empire style'' although his main point is at this stage to recommend the architecture of C.L.Engel and the ''flower'' of architecture, the column and pediment, to modern-day architects.[253]

The same year he also criticized the architect of the new opera house in Stockholm for being too erudite and not ''a freely creative builder of bold novelties''. Nevertheless, he expressed his wish that the building express ''classical serenity'' and ''the art of proportions'' of the period of the Tessins.[254] However in the 1900s these views decreased considerably with a corresponding stress on praising the values of classicism, although some discrepancies in this attitude can still be found. An example of this may be his claim, published in *Hufvudstadsbladet* in 1908, that ''one may learn to be scientist, but one has to be born an artist''.[255] In his essay on Pacius in his memoirs Ahrenberg elaborates on the differences between 'talent' and 'genius' in a completely different way than Nyström would have expressed the differences. A talented person will ''only adopt the leading ideas of his day and not create anything new'', while the genius operates with ''forces that arise from the depths of the national soul''.[256] In 1908 Ahrenberg praised the work of Swedish designers presented at the exhibition of industrial arts in St. Petersburg. Their works contained no profiles from Vingola or Letarouilly, but all was new and the creation of

''a freely flowing life of fantasy''.[257] We must bear in mind that in his own buildings of the turn of the century Ahrenberg borrowed his orders directly from the treatise of Vignola. In 1911 Ahrenberg wrote in the journal *Arkitekten* again of the work of Theodor Höijer with an explicit admiration of the latter's originality. The Romanesque style was ''the original element of his soul'' while the Renaissance was something he had learned. However, this exceptional article does not contain any of the profuse expressions of praise for artistic freedom, originality and the picturesque that can be seen in Ahrenberg's texts from the decades preceding the 1900s.[258]

Jac. Ahrenberg's writings and conception of art contain a number of other features that refer more to the new theoretical discussion of the 19th century than to the tradition of classical doctrine.

Ahrenberg stressed continuously, both in 1875 as well as in 1912 that art was linked to society, social life and local geography. ''Among all of the fine arts architecture expresses most clearly and comprehensively the spirit of its times and the national character. This is by way of the fact that in its innermost way it is connected with the way of life, customs, practices, fashion and poetry, in other words with almost all human material and spiritual needs''.[259] In connection with this quotation Erik Ekelund points out the influence of Hippolyte Taine's philosophy of art on Ahrenberg, but we must also bear in mind that the above conception was quite common in the 19th century especially in connection with Realism in theories of art. Reference could also be made to Viollet-le-Duc,[260] whose *Dictionnaire raisonné* Ahrenberg claimed to have studied in detail.[261] Ahrenberg's francophile interests were well known.[262]

The above quotation also highlights another essential facet of Ahrenberg's theories of art: the connections of one's race and people with art. This was of course a highly common idea at the time, but in connection with Ahrenberg we must specifically refer to Viollet-le-Duc and Arthur de Gobineau. The latter he often quoted and even knew personally.[263] Viollet-le-Duc, in turn, had adopted from Gobineau the idea of the inequality of the races applying it especially in his work *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* where architecture is seen as coming about through the interaction of different races. Also Viollet-le-Duc was personally acquainted with this ''pseudo-scientific anthropologist'', as he has been described by Maurice Besset.[264]

In John Ruskin's work *The Stones of Venice* Ahrenberg was above all interested in the ''beautiful and profoundly true'' idea that in Venice the art of different races met and became mixed.[265] The newspaper article from 1908, quoted above (''one may learn to be scientist, but one has to be born an artist'') continues: ''the scholar is only a credit to his nation, while in the artist there arises into consciousness the innermost essence of the race, the truth regarding its inner life''.[266]

In criticizing the rules for architectural competitions in the early 1880s Ahrenberg stressed that the architects had to be from Finland, otherwise Finnish architecture will be without character.[267] In this connection character obviously implies the Romantic idea of *Characteristische*[268] and not the above-discussed *caractère* of classicism. Character would be ensured by the national origin of the architects, in other words — as further defined by Ahrenberg — the exterior, interior and even construction of a building faithfully ''expresses the properties of the material and customs and tastes of its inhabitants as dictated by climate''.[269] Accordingly, in later connections (1890 and 1897) Ahrenberg refers to Renaissance architecture that suits our climate and has been adapted to it.[270]

Of special interest for this theme is Ahrenberg's article from 1912 discussing the Empire style, as mentioned above in connection with his ''classicism''. The article addresses the theoretical problem of the essence of art and styles of art raising the concepts of 'race' and 'ethnos' to Romantic heights quite removed from the classicistic clarity of Nyström. ''The origin of (styles of art) lies hidden in the womb of the mysterious and unexplored force that binds a race, a tribe and a nation together (...). In such a race or tribe there is a latent preference of taste in the form

of a common inclination affecting all of its members. Due to the human desire to imitate, this inclination is expressed in forms and colours that are known to all and understood and loved by all and in this way become the special features of the race or tribe. When simplified and stylized some of these forms achieve a hieratic significance for the tribe so that when borne by the leaders of the people they clarify their unexplored feelings and assemble them around their ideas. In critical periods these forms and colours become symbols of unity that in a way much faster than words will appeal to the instinct of self-preservation and the primitive in man: feeling and fantasy''.[271] With ''the fulfilment of time'' the ''initiated'' artist will raise the ''kernel of form'' to its complete artistic form.[272]

The French as a race have given to mankind a number of incomparable styles of art. Also Empire came about ''in these mystical and silent depths of the nation'',[273] and spread into Europe because of a ''complete lack of national spirit'' among other peoples.[274] In Sweden Ehrensvärd, Masreliez and Sergel could not co-operate as well as Percier and Fontaine in France because they were ''of different races''.[275]

We must also review Ahrenberg's conceptions of periods of style. In his evaluation of late 19th century architecture in Finland, Ahrenberg (*Finsk Tidskrift* 1882) pointedly discusses buildings from the perspective of their 'style' seeing styles as rigid and closed genres which the architect must known how to use in the right way. For example the corps-de-logi of the Malmgård manor by F.A.Sjöström is observed to represent ''the picturesque North German or Dutch brick style''. Ahrenberg did not at all like a certain window motif, but he observes that ''albeit of lesser beauty, it is especially characteristic of the style and we must therefore regard its use as being completely motivated''.[276]

In Ahrenberg's terms, these closed genres of style have a life of their own developing according to their own laws. According to him, Scholander applied the ''noble forms'' of the Renaissance because ''Antiquity and the Gothic were stages in the history of art which had come to an end and no further development or new additions could be expected''.[277] This passage was written by Ahrenberg in 1881, but he held the same opinion still in 1912 when writing of the history of French art. In a couple of centuries the Gothic had been ''used up'' and was condemned to ''an apparent death''. The development of Renaissance forms was interrupted for 20 years by the ''destructiveness'' of the French Revolution, but ''came to life again''. At this moment (1912) ''French skill and talent are resting and gathering strength''.[278] For Finland, French Empire was more interesting ''than any other genre of style still existing''.[279] It was apparently along the same lines that Ahrenberg in the late 1890s stressed the *potential* ''novelty and richness'' of Russian architecture.[280]

Ahrenberg understood styles from a rationalistic perspective. He saw the styles of history as based on how a space is covered; styles were based on the use of the lintel, the vault and the pointed arch.[281] Later he described the ''Egyptian style'' as based on the materials that were used.[282]

Marja Terttu Knapas has demonstrated how Ahrenberg's numerous restoration projects and their related statements adhered totally to 'restoration based on style' and its abstract principle of stylistic purity (*unité de style*), the theoretical starting-point of which was Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné*.[283]

Viollet-le-Duc's architectural thinking was characterized by the concepts of structure and history, i.e. synchrony and diachrony. The methodological basis of his structuralist thinking was in the positivism of the natural sciences of the period and his historical thinking was based on evolutionism. Viollet-le-Duc saw a building as a structure or organization where the individual parts have a functional connection. According to him, the student of architecture must reveal from this system the *principle* of the building which dictates the location of its elements. Thus

it is possible to reconstruct from a fragment the whole, as Cuvier imagined he could reconstruct the skeleton of a vertebrate from a single preserved bone or as Viollet-le-Duc himself said he could deduce from a leaf the whole plant.[284] In my opinion this is the focal point of Viollet-le-Duc's concept of restoration: to reconstruct ''*un état complet qui peut n'avoir jamais existé à un moment donné*'', but with the right and original ''functional structure''.

The idea of understanding architecture as having come about in social and geographical context was organically linked to this form of naturalistic functionalism, for the species of nature had also received their functional structure under certain definite circumstances.[285]

Because of his functionalism and its related materialism, Viollet-le-Duc saw the history of architecture to a large degree as deterministic evolution where the human-esthetic factor was minimized. The evolution of style was ''*régulière et logique*''.[286] Architecture is a product of history in the same sense that the structure of mountain ranges, which interested Viollet-le-Duc, was the result of ''historical'' evolution.[287]

Viollet-le-Duc's range of concepts does not include the idea of ideal architecture: there are only various styles or periods of style each with their own character, beauty and history, each of these in turn being a realization of one or several of the general principles (*principes généraux*) that are the basis of all architecture. It is in this sense and in this sense only that styles are particularistic and the products of certain social conditions.[288] For example, Gothic architecture was such a rational system that had come about under certain historical circumstances, but due to its nature as system it could be further developed according to Viollet-le-Duc from where the medieval mason ended his work.[289] This was apparently the basis for the interest of Viollet-le-Duc's circle in so-called transitional styles and their *principes*, for example the Romanesque and Byzantine style of Sicily, because they were seen as worthy of development.[290]

It was perhaps for this very reason that Ahrenberg was interested in Russian architecture, despite (and because of) the fact that he described it as ''undeveloped''.[291]

Ahrenberg's central themes — the historical-social boundedness of art, the apparently contradictory idea of styles as 'principles' following their own laws and the significance of race and nationality in art — appear to converge with Viollet-le-Duc's main theoretical themes. Of major importance is however that Ahrenberg turned ''classicist'' only after the mid-1890s. Before that he could be mainly described as a Romanticist and, as we have observed, his later classicism was not very profound.

III. HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

III.1. 'The temporalization of time'

Alan Colquhoun's article *Three Kinds of Historicism*, referred to in the introductory chapter, discusses the significance of historiography in forming and spreading views of history.[1] This provides a perspective on German Historicism — in this connection as a school of historiography. It is with respect to this school of thought that Colquhoun bases his argument in his investigation of the new consciousness of history of the 19th century. Could it also shed light on the conception of history of 19th century architects in Finland?

Available knowledge of the nature of German historicist historiography however rejects the possibility that the architects in question obtained their view of history from this school of learning in particular. German historicism was from the outset saturated with political ideas and underlined the leading role of political history. Georg Iggers has demonstrated how historicism was part of German political nationalism. The late-18th century *Humanitätsideal*, the esthetic and cultural rapprochement with nationality and individuality of Idealistic philosophy and Herder's historicism gradually gave way to the ideal of the nation-state. The state was seen as an idealistic individual which constituted an end unto itself. According to the ethical theory of the *Machtstaat* the state had to strive to achieve as much power and independence as possible at the cost of other states in order to develop its ''inner tendencies''. After 1848, the stress on the primary nature and legitimization of state action and political force grew and showed no signs of diminishing.

This train of thought generated history that was of a narrow political character, based on the actions of statesmen, diplomats and generals. The conception of the state abstracted from the Prussian monarchy excluded the social, economic and cultural forces of history. After Leopold von Ranke and Wilhelm von Humboldt (i.e. 1830—1871) historians became ever more involved with the cause of German unification. The study of the past was a political means for achieving the political and ideological goals of the present — the creation of a liberal nation-state. It must also be pointed out that the so-called ''novelties'' of German 19th century historicism — source-criticism and historical relativism had already come about in the preceding centuries.

On the other hand, we must bear in mind that this was by no means the only school of historical thought in 19th century Germany. Both the Hegelians as well as individual scholars such as Jacob Burckhardt and Karl Lamprecht adhered to a completely different philosophical basis than the historicists.[2]

Nor can we demonstrate a clear influence of 19th century Finnish historiography on the conception of history of architects such as Jac. Ahrenberg and Gustaf Nyström. The so-called Yrjö-Koskinen school of national historiography was as state-centered in its premises as the corresponding school in Germany and it is hard to believe that even its more cultural-historical applications would have held much appeal to these Swedish-speaking and ''Swedish-minded'' architects. Finnish historiography was for a long time directly linked with Fennoman politics. It is also hard to demonstrate any potential influences from among the Finnish-Swedish historians.[3]

On the basis of this it is obvious that 'conceptions of history' and 'conceptions of temporality' must be studied on a more general level than that of the individual historian.

In the introduction it was observed, with reference to Reinhard Koselleck, that a conception of *historical time* and *temporality* always lies behind the conception of history. Koselleck introduced metahistorical conceptions, viz. 'space of experience' and 'horizon of expectation', of which the conception of historical time can be seen to consist. Koselleck proceeded from the idea that historical time can be understood only by separating the past from the future and above all by relating the experience of these (i.e. experience and expectation) to each other.[4]

Koselleck uses the term *Sattelzeit* in speaking of the mid 18th century. It was at this stage that Old Europe fell apart and the ''modern world'' arose (on the level of thought).[5] The *Neuzeit* began when expectations decisively differentiated from what had hitherto been experience. This rupture of continuity, the loss of the self-evidentiary nature of continuity and the fact that the past and the future had to be *accommodated* to each other and defined in mutual relation signified the temporalization (*Verzeitlichung*) of history. Until the period from ca. 1650 to 1750 the future had remained bound to the past and previous experience had been relegated to future expectations without any hiatus. This conception subscribed to a neutral and static experience of time.[6]

In the period from ca. 1750 to 1800 both the space of experience and the horizon of expectation were changed in terms of the concept of progress (*Fortschritt*) and the acceleration of changes between the past and the future. The general orientation in ''history'' now changed towards the future. From this period onwards the future was regarded as open and unpredictable and accordingly it could not be known. History came to be seen as a long process of increasing perfection perpetrated by man himself who could also accelerate its pace: it became possible and even necessary to plan the future. Thus, expectations ultimately became differentiated from the sum of experience.

Also the relationship with the *past* changed with the increased significance of the ''progressive future'' and the interruption of continuity. It was only now that history became historical with the realization of its centuries as temporalized units and unique individuals. This metamorphosis of the space of experience was also linked to the comprehension of the plurality of time. It was understood that different phenomena could co-exist without a common span of time (*''die Ungleichzeitigkeit der Gleichzeitigen''*). This diachrony (e.g. of different cultural spheres) was interpreted in terms of progress (vs. delay). Thus, history achieved its own temporal structure that differed from that of nature, which also led to an understanding of the relativity of truth and historical judgement and accordingly to the view that history must be continually rewritten, for ''the changing present opens new perspectives to the past''.[7]

The study of 19th century architectural history has long been based on the idea that this was the period of the birth and dominance of a new and emphasized historical consciousness. However, Koselleck's conception of temporality has, to my knowledge, been referred to only by Michael Brix & Monica Steinhauser and Winfried Nerdinger. In their review of German ''historicist architecture'' Brix & Steinhauser mention breifly in connection with Karl Friedrich Schinkel and Friedrich Schiller Koselleck's argument of the temporalization of history and the consciousness of discontinuity. According to Brix & Steinhauser knowledge of this led to a ''reaction where the 19th century turned to history and away from the problems of its own day''.[8]

In his article *Historismus oder: von der Wahrheit der Kunst zum richtigen Stil* Nerdinger aims at a comprehensive explanation of the even contradictory main orientations of 19th century ''historicist architecture'' using as his explicit starting-point Koselleck's demonstration of the total temporality of all being in the mid 18th century. This new consciousness of history and the results of esthetic-archaeological learning led architecture to comprehend the different periods of history as ''simultaneously available''. Despite attempts to develop counter-arguments to relativity (i.e. to find an objective basis for architecture) no real solutions were found. Also

Nerdinger appears to subscribe to the view that during the 19th century the search for truth changed into the pragmatic problem of historical veracity, i.e. the right reconstruction. This gradually led to ''historical masquerade'', the sentimental admiration of the past in the form of building designs and plans. Finally, in the period from 1875 to 1900 architectural design was dominated by ''decadent virtuosity''; ''which-ever brand of history'' led to the loss of history and the destruction of tradition.[9]

Despite his slightly exaggerated interest in progressive European thought with its positive view of the future, Koselleck does mention *conservatism* which feared the now unknown future and tried to slow and stop ''acceleration''.[10] Wolfgang Hardtwig and Hannelore & Heinz Schlaffer in turn see 19th century European thought as characterized by ''a yearning for integration'' that followed the break of tradition (*Traditionsbruch*) caused by the *Revolutionszeit*.

The historian Wolfgang Hardtwig underlines how in 'historicism' — this new state of Western *mentalité* — also art arose, first of all, from the longing for lost normativity and secondly from the yearning for integration and the search for identity. The latter had become a problem when everything came to be seen as historical and developing. The most common solution to the problem of identity was to place the art of the past and the present in the service of the search for *national* identity. But Hardtwig also points out that a third component of this historicist art was a new consciousness of modernity (*Modernitätsbewusstsein*): ''a clear knowledge of one's own differences *vis-à-vis* the past and a preference for the future''. The potential arbitrariness of delving into history, the possibility of choice, demonstrates the dominance of the present. *Tradition* had lost its grip on mentalities and action and at the same time one's own actions are understood as being historically bounded. According to Hardtwig, also historicist art was an attempt at an integrating construction of the world (*Weltenwurf*) in a present that was felt to be shattered in pieces. This was facilitated by turning to the prerevolutionary order of the *ancien régime* and attempting to transfer it to the present.[11]

In their work *Studien zum ästhetischen Historismus* the Schlaffers place more stress than Hardtwig on the political connotations of the attempt to restore the Old Order. The authors are especially interested in art. They maintain that the relationship of art with history in the 19th century clearly demonstrates how art was only a kind of means or visible figure in a political attempt to restore the past, i.e. ''feudal order''.

It must be noted that none of the philosophers and thinkers upon whom the Schlaffers base their argument (i.e. Herder, Hegel, Schiller, Jacob Burckhardt and various men of letters) belonged to the historicist tradition mentioned above.[12] Regarding the only historian mentioned, Jacob Burckhardt, Iggers has especially stressed that he was the only actual critic of historicism among historians before Karl Lamprecht by his questioning of the existence of any kind of ''wise order'' in history.[13]

The Schlaffers' somewhat one-sided view of the 19th century's conception of history is nonetheless of special interest for the subject at hand, especially as Burckhardt was the historian that also architects were familiar with. Gottfried Semper makes repeated references to Burckhardt's works.[14] Writing in the 1870s Ahrenberg mentions Burckhardt's works as manuals that were studied as a matter of course.[15] Nyström repeatedly used Burckhardt's works in his lectures — Otto-Iivari Meurman's lecture notes show that Nyström recommended Burckhardt to his students in 1912 with the commendation that he was a ''reliable author''.[16]

In reviewing the historical development of 'esthetic historicism' the Schlaffers state that the starting-point is to be found in the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* and the comprehension of the historical nature of epochs and beauty engendered by it. At a somewhat later stage, with the optimism of progress of the Enlightenment the past began to be seen only as surpassed levels of development and thus they were ''unnecessary'' and could be placed in museums and finally

elevated to the status of objects of selfless esthetic study. After the revolutionary period and especially in the historiography of Jacob Burckhardt this estheticization of history achieves its culmination: in the midst of the present that is felt to be shattered into pieces and doomed refuge is sought in the art of the past. It is kept and preserved for a better future as a reminder of a past golden age. Thus, esthetic historicism also achieves a *utopian* dimension in its hope for the rebirth of lost, and expected, art. Burckhardt elevates the art of the past to an autonomous metatemporal sphere standing already at the threshold of the negation of its historical nature and temporality (*Enthistorisierung*). The term 'esthetic historicism' specifically refers to this opposite of historicism (in this context as the understanding of the relativity of history), achieved by passing through it. Seeking refuge in the past is thus tantamount to fleeing history and the historical.

The Schlaffers are extremely critical of this view because of its inherent political conservatism. Art, salvaged by the ''restorer'' for the present by dissociating it from its political past (i.e. by explaining away its alien features) finally came to serve the purposes of political restoration. By estheticizing the prerevolutionary past it was possible, consciously or unconsciously, to mask the ugly purpose of (political) restoration.[17]

Our revised concept of historicism presented in the introductory chapter permits an interpretation of Hardtwig's 'historical historicism' and the 'esthetic historicism' of the Schlaffers. According to Hardtwig, after the *Revolutionszeit* praise of (Pre- Revolutionary) history became a central *intention in* artistic activity — in historicist art. This was *motivated* by a yearning for integration and a search for individuality which in turn were caused by a changed *conception of historical time*, i.e. a sharpened awareness of the temporality of time and its acceleration. The Schlaffers state the case in more pointed terms. For them, the motives that engendered historicist art were markedly political and specifically restorative. These motives led to a situation where the experience of *difference* (with respect to past time) was led to its opposite, esthetic historicism — the negation of this experience.

III.2. Jac. Ahrenberg and 'esthetic historicism'

A generalization of the Schlaffers' theses would no doubt lead to errors, but Jac. Ahrenberg appears nonetheless to be historicist and conservative in the sense implied by Hardtwig and Schlaffers — a person for whom 'historicism' has become its opposite, 'esthetic historicism'.

Ahrenberg saw that art had come about in certain historical circumstances that differed from those of his own day. Writing from Milan in 1875 he emphasizes that architecture specifically reflects the spirit of its times and the character of the people concerned: ''This is by way of the fact that in its innermost way it is connected with the way of life, customs, practices, fashion and poetry, in other words with almost all human material and spiritual needs''.[18] Especially the emphasis of the historical nature of architecture can be seen in his views regarding building and construction in Helsinki, its Empire-style classicism and C.L.Engel. The architecture of that period must be respected above all as *history*. The ''artistic orientation'' expressed by Engel and his students ''dealt with imposing, at times heavy, forms, a heritage from the time of the French Empire and from the Neo-Classicism that had been restored to life with the work of Vincelman (sic) and Thorvaldsen''. Although the works of the period in question appear to be cold and pompous and although Senate Square itself no longer corresponds to our form of government,

we must nonetheless admire and respect it, for this square is a ''beautiful expression of architecture in the first half of the century''.[19] Ahrenberg used the same arguments in a number of writings from the 1890s to the 1910s concerning Senate Square.[20]

Ahrenberg presented C.L.Engel's uncompleted project for the Helsinki Stock Exchange (1814) with the terms ''a beautiful project from times past''.[21] In 1908 and 1912 he wrote of the Academy building in Turku (1801—1815), the restoration of which he was supervising at the time, that it was art of its day ''related to the French architecture of the 1760s and 1770s'', adding in a critical vein that it displayed a ''somewhat exaggerated concept of the simplicity and severity of Antiquity''.[22] In his article on the Empire style in *Finsk Tidskrift* he observes: ''The stylistic orientation of the Emperor period (...) is to the highest degree characteristic of its period and of the nation that produced it''.[23] He always places Engel in historical perspective as a representative of the Winckelmannian conception of art and Hellenism.[24] Claude Perrault's expression of the conventionality of proportions is a classic example of a comprehension of historical relativism. A statement comparable to Perrault's was voiced by Ahrenberg in 1898 in the journal *Teknikern*: ''(...) there is no golden rule for beautiful and pleasing proportions. The history demonstrates an unmeasured variety of taste in this as well as other respects''.[25]

Ahrenberg was clearly conscious of the historical nature of himself as well. He urges the reader to respect the architecture of the Senate Square, even though it might appear passé, because ''we ourselves wish that posterity will treat our works with kindness and respect''.[26] He also sees the city of Helsinki in the same terms: ''Helsinki is not the calm classical town where the learned and government convened and where their representatives reign with unbridled autocracy as in the mid-19th century. Helsinki is a febrile, restless modern town where everything that is new stirs one's blood, where youth prevails, political parties fight, competition abounds and where everything changes, lives and moves. (...) that is why the new additions (i.e. the new buildings) suit the old and dignified setting''.[27]

It is impossible to tell from these sources whether Ahrenberg sees the historical nature of the past and his own day in true *historicist* terms[28]. The growing awareness of historical and cultural relativism does not in itself constitute historicism (seen here again as a form of historical consciousness). Relativism of this kind occurred already in the 16th century. It is completely possible that Ahrenberg does not see world history as a process of *development*, or path to the present of mankind. Rather, he may have seen the past as only the opposite of the present, as understood by the non-historicist Jacob Burckhardt.[29] Least of all he appears to believe in Progress raised to be its own subject, in a state of unending and continuous improvement.

The Schlaffers' description of Jacob Burckhardt's philosophy of history shows that he subscribes in no way to the idea of progress (*Fortschritt*), but sees history traditionally in terms of a cyclical pattern, which specifically binds the future to the past. Burckhardt writes in a utopian vein on a return to the Golden Age and its ahistoricity through cyclical development.[30] Also Jac. Ahrenberg saw art as cyclical epochs both in his writings of the 1870s as well as in the 1910s.[31] Judging from this, Ahrenberg's sporadic thinking in terms of progress is subordinate to the cyclical model.[32]

Despite his apparent historicity, Ahrenberg thinks back on history in the same way as Burckhardt according to the Schlaffers, i.e. contemplating the past Golden Age of harmony with melancholy and longing.[33] Ahrenberg describes the Empire style and its period with the terms: harmonic, serene, unity, grand, grandiose; great, beauty, simplicity, harmony, richness, elegance;[34] ''the Empire period set high standards of beauty'';[35] ''a spirit of greatness and academic moderation'';[36] ''this simple but grand style'';[37] ''the old style'';[38] ''the old sacred (sic) classicism''.[39]

From the 1880s until the 1910s Ahrenberg stressed the significance of ''memories'', ''reminiscences'' and ''traditions'': ''Love and respect for the memories and works of times past'';[41] ''the

feeling of respect for history''.[41] Unlike Turku Helsinki ''lacks historical reminiscences or traditions''.[42] In 1898 Ahrenberg recommended that Engel's architecture again be adopted as a model and prototype; despite its many shortcomings ''it has history and tradition''.[43] In 1908 he reminded his readers that his much-admired Charles Garnier had written eloquently of ''respect for history and memories''.[44]

For the esthetic historicist, the past, i.e. the *beauty* of the past, and the idealistic beauty of the future merged.[45] In this vein, Ahrenberg recommended Engel's architecture as a guideline for future generations: ''(...) which at all times should serve as models for our successors, even when their constructions have become obsolete''.[46]

In esthetic historicism, as the natural mirror-image of the worship and admiration of the past, the present is seen as being without art.[47] Past epochs are its negations and alternatives and the present is not the result of any (at least desired) course of *development*. In 1898 Ahrenberg wrote of ''the decline of fantasy among modern peoples, the cause of the realism of the '80s and the sobriety and poverty of our creative powers today (...) as opposed to past ages and their naivete, their fruitful, childishly sound fantasy untouched by criticism (...)''.[49] In this sense contemporary art was of poor quality and sometimes even all 19th century art. Already in 1881 the lack of style of the early years of the 19th century could be compared to the ''degeneration'' of the Baroque.[50] Ahrenberg continued in the same vein two decades later in reviewing the Paris world exhibition of 1900: ''We are again as in the wig style, i.e. Baroque, the intemperance of the Jesuit style, in the area that will kill all architecture''.[51] Already in the 1880s and '90s Ahrenberg wrote that art had completely died out in Finland after the death of Engel.[52] Still in 1902 and 1903 he wrote of the eclecticism of the period and the demise of European art styles with the Empire style, after which nothing new was created and only the old was admired and valued.[53] In 1912 Ahrenberg wrote that the Empire style was followed by ''a state of saturation and lethargy''.[54] In 1903 he described the history of Engel's Seurahuone Hotel throughout all of its ''periods'', where the ''epigone styles'' gradually destroyed the ''harmonious proportions'' and ''classically beautiful decorations'' of its interiors. In the restoration work Axel Hampus Dahlström represented ''banal French Renaissance'', Florentin Granholm ''German Baroque with *papier mâché*'' and now in 1903 he describes Selim Lindqvist's recent renovations with the terms ''exaggerated'' and ''folly''.[55]

Ahrenberg was of the opinion that a general lack of style prevailed. In 1898 he wrote: ''(...) if we in our architecture are without style, so is the rest of the world at present, which means that one is no worse than the others''.[56] In 1901 he wrote that the character of the modern style ''is to be without character''.[57] In 1908 he quoted Charles Garnier in a tendential manner: ''Our time has no architecture of its own; architecture is in decline'';[58] and again in 1911 he complained of ''the decline of art in our country''[59] while in 1912 he wrote that ''(...) to as equally a limited degree will our modern complexes of buildings, the neo-romanticism of our day with its malplaced towers and spires, our garish colours and our disregard for the architecture surrounding our buildings, can diminish the value of the art that was originally created by these two proud men, J.A.Ehrenström and C.L.Engel''.[60] In 1913 Ahrenberg wrote that Armas Lindgren's entry for the new city hall is of the ''modern crenelated style'' and does not seem to be of much value alongside the ''uniform and exemplary style'' of Empire.[61] In chapter II we referred to Ahrenberg's enthusiasm for the theories of Arthur de Gobineau, whom he knew personally. Also Gobineau was well known for his cultural pessimism, which has been described as ''romantic dissatisfaction with oneself and one's day''.[62]

In esthetic historicism the admired art of the past is easily elevated to a timeless sphere separating it from its social background of origin.[63] Accordingly, also Ahrenberg could bring himself to write : ''Morals change. Forms of religion change (...). Justice, laws and statutes, even the basis

of justice, everything changes, everything changes form and value. Art alone is eternal. (...) The beautiful cannot die.''[64] In his work *Människor jag känt* he again quotes Charles Garnier: ''*L'immobilité n'est past à craindre*''.[65]

In connection with this timelessness, Burckhardt saw especially Italy as the land of the sanctified glory of the past, which he reduced in ahistorical terms to experiences of *space*.[66] It was also in these terms that Ahrenberg saw Italy: ''Poor, cheap towns with monuments so great and enormous that modern man hardly dares to breathe under the weight of the greatness and glory of the past''; ''with the weight of centuries the past rests upon the spiritual life of Italy. (...) all was made better and with more genius''; despite political instability Italian art achieved ''the apex of its development'' in the period called the Renaissance.[68] In this connection art does not seem to be ''product of its society''.

Emphasizing 'tradition' and 'memories' had a clear purpose in searching for identity in continuity. Typically enough Ahrenberg finds a national basis for this. The Schlaffers observe that these references to the *people* in the search for continuity is related to attempts at *Enthistorisierung*. The whole concept of 'people' is an attempt to present a counter-force to the changes of history which were seen as abrupt.[69]

Ahrenberg observes: ''(...) he who is without an independent tradition has little respect for tradition. He will easily become indifferent, formless, undisciplined and restless. His work will include something unfinished, unharmonious, frothing and indistinct. (...) the finer, more noble beauty, (...) is the work of many generations''.[70] In 1898 he writes:'' The soil out of which architecture is to grow must be old, rich and cultivated soil, cared for over the centuries, the sacred tree of art requires deep soil for its roots. (...) inasmuch as the small coral needs human lifetimes to grow and generations are needed for the firm basis on which palms sway and men live, the architect will need more than 90 years to create masterpieces where nothing existed before''.[71] Writing of Ruskin in 1901 Ahrenberg shows special interest in *The Stones of Venice* and its passages stressing the influence of nationalities and races on the formation of styles.[72] In a text from 1902 he quotes ''a French thinker'' (Gobineau ?) in the following terms: ''No education or upbringing can really bring forth fruit if it does not have its roots in the past, the traditions of the race, its history and to keep it in constant touch with the past is to double its individual strength and power''.[73] In *Människor som jag känt* Ahrenberg wrote that ''one does not invent a style in one day just as one does not create a language (...). Five hundred years of constant evolution were needed for the Gothic and the Renaissance to come forth for our admiring gaze''.[74] In 1903 he wrote in *Finsk Tidskrift*: ''Each of us has seen these Italians who on the streets offer their marble vases with birds and fruits of alabaster. These are certainly not works of art, but if we look at them more closely, we can seen in their design reminiscences of a school that goes back to ancient Rome and in their handicraft a skill that is inherited through generations. Looking at the art that is now arising here (in Finland) we must immediately distance ourselves from everything that relates to style, school and inherited skill. There are no signs of any of these; everything is primitive, learned and acquired in the first generation''.[75]

Finnish architecture must be Finnish, national and historical, but relying ''on the broad basis of a high-level, warm and noble culture''.[76] Ahrenberg was enthusiastic about studies concerning the Norwegian stave-churches and expected this old form of art to come to life for the Scandinavian people to find itself by creating once again ''its own style''.[77] For this reason he may have been concerned in the 1880s of lack of understanding in the use of Finnish architects. This concern is expressed in two connections in strong terms: if Helsinki is not designed by Finnish architects it will become like St.Petersburg and *lack character*.[78] He complains of the fact that we have no national tradition upon which a young artist could rely and he places his hope in a genius individual to show the way.[79] Already in 1882 Ahrenberg wrote of our artistic tradi-

tion launched by Engel ''which unfortunately died out gradually''.[80] Even the reuse of the Romanesque brick style is acceptable, because it has ''traditions'' in Finland.[81]

''The nobility of proportions, the finesse and elegance of form'' may be lost in a country such as this ''with little or no interest in the heritage of our fathers, where culture is shallow, art is young, inherited views dominate public opinion only to limited degree'', and where beauty is seen only in the modern and the new.[82] In a 1903 issue of *Teknikern* Ahrenberg praises the new city hall of Copenhagen by Martin Nyrop, but points out that Danish culture contains ''heritage and national character'' and that it developed slowly. On the other hand, in Finland ''the new style'' was established quickly, as solely the desire to create something new with mere ''borrowing of novelties'' as the result.[83] As late as 1912 Ahrenberg wrote in *Arkitekten* of the 19th century in memory of J.A.Ehrenström and C.L.Engel. He criticized the architectural achievements of the present, pointing out that ''they have not sprung technically like hills and mountains from the soil that bears them and without community with the history that engendered them. The whim of fashion is their temporary father''.[84] Specifically because of this national identity and continuity Ahrenberg recommends Engel as a starting-point for architecture: ''We have to adhere to brick architecture and the style that was once introduced by father Engel in our country''.[85] However, it is difficult to see how this German architect of the early 19th century (i.e. of not very great age) who received his chief influences in St.Petersburg could serve as the starting-point of a domestic tradition. Even Ahrenberg himself observes that tradition cannot be created in the span of ninety years.

The explanation may be found in Ahrenberg's interpretation of the nature and essence of the Empire style which is best described in his two-part article on the subject in *Finsk Tidskrift* in 1912. Empire is a late relative of the Renaissance. In the form developed by Percier and Fontaine it spread into other parts of Europe, including Sweden. Ahrenberg's article concentrates on presenting the style that is now called Gustavian Neo-Classicism or Late Gustavian style. However, he calls it the Empire style and continues: ''the Empire style was introduced into Finland by Gjörwell and Bassi and carried on by Engel, an artistic spirit of greater merit than his predecessors, an architect by the grace of God.''[86] Already since the 1890s in attempting to define the historical position of Engel, Ahrenberg sees him as a representative of the solely Western classistic influences of Winckelmann, Friedrich Gilly and the ''pure Neo-Antiquity'' of Schinkel. He does not take into account the influence of St.Petersburg which modern studies regard as characteristic of Engel's work.[87]

The whole programme with its stress on 'tradition' and 'reminiscences' and the search for continuity bears the clear character of political conservatism, and we may regard Ahrenberg's conception of art as its possibly implicit expression.

Jac. Ahrenberg's extreme conservatism is a well-known fact. Erik Ekelund who wrote a literary biography of Ahrenberg points out that his conservatism becomes especially prominent after the late 1890s.[88] In Ahrenberg's novel *Familjen på Haapakoski* ('The Family at Haapakoski') from 1893 the main character, the minister and state secretary W.C.von Daehn (based on real life) says, ''Only the conservative is strong, for out of that which he has preserved, will the new grow by itself in a natural way''.[89] Ahrenberg was a strong opponent of social mobility and warned against its dangers. He admired the nobility, whose chief function he felt was ''to maintain traditions''.[90] In connection with the parliamentary reforms of 1906 he strongly criticized universal suffrage and the abolition of restricted voting and the diet based on representation by estate. His grounds for the preservation of the diet reveal clearly his attitudes: ''It is a heritage from an aristocratic nation and a time of great men. It is like a great shield of noble material from the time of Nordic greatness, wreathed with garlands and wrought in iron (...)''.[91] When the single-chamber parliament was established Ahrenberg wrote about its stupidity and uncul-

turedness, warning of state socialism, poverty and the destruction of the arts and sciences to which it will inevitably lead.[92] He used the term *Ragnarök* (end of the world in Nordic mythology) of the ''period of democratization''.[93] In *Människor som jag känt* he wrote of ''(...) our world-famous single-chamber parliament, given to us by heaven in its wrath in a moment of imposing terror''.[94]

Ahrenberg's admiration of Sweden and the Swedes as opposed to Finland was linked to the ideas he had obtained from Gobineau concerning the nature and significance of the Nordic races.[95] Gobineau saw architecture as a suitable instrument of political unification for combining the various local races under the aegis of a *''pouvoir royal''*.[96]

Ahrenberg especially longed for the Swedish realm and the Sweden- Finland which had existed prior to 1809. In 1905 he wrote in admiring terms of the aristocratic land-owners of the so-called Old Finland (i.e. the part of Finland ceded to Russia in 1721 and 1743 and rejoined to Finland in 1811): ''Their conservative world-view (...) preserved in the restless period of change in 1809 the best of the past, letting it carefully merge with the new that was to come''.[97] He especially admired the period of Gustavus III: ''The time that was dear to us''.[98] In his novel *Rojalister och patrioter* ('Royalists and Patriots') from 1901 he writes of the Anjala alliance of 1788, a subject that slightly earlier had led ''Finnish-minded'' and ''Swedish-minded'' historians into open conflict. Among historians, the chief issue was whether Göran Magnus Sprengtporten was a traitor (''Swedish view'') or not (''Finnish view''). In Ahrenberg's novel the Swedish-French (sic) main character is finally confronted with the question of loyalty. In the end, his credo becomes *''Soyez fidèle''* (to the king of Sweden).[99]

Politics had definite connections with the arts, as observed even by Ahrenberg: ''The history of art and politics are linked in constant interaction, they are interwoven with fine and strong threads, unseen to the short-sighted, but there nevertheless''.[100]

The connection between political conservatism and his conception of art is expressed most clearly in Ahrenberg's views regarding the art of his contemporaries. ''If the fathers of our city should decide on extra funds for our parks and gardens, the absolutely democratic press will be at hand immediately to write of waste and spending. We do not have this aristocratic feeling for our city, this care and love for the monuments and works of times past, which is such a characteristic feature of Swedish society and of all old culture.''[101] Finnish architecture is without style at present, unlike architecture in France or England where despite all of the liberalism of the day ''a certain aristocratic-conservative spirit prevails (...)''.[102] Statements along these lines begin to appear especially after the year 1900: ''(...) this is shown to me by the evolution of art, as I have seen it, in a frightening parallel to the evolution our society is now experiencing. Holmberg, Lindholm, Edelfelt, Berndtson, Järnefelt, representatives of the educated classes, are disappearing or gradually retreating, and the bearers of the new epoch, the sons of peasants, the men of the first generation step forth.''[103] In 1908 Ahrenberg wrote that recent Finnish art is characterized by ''sparseness, hardness and crudity'' because of ''democratic nationalism''. On the other hand the (royalist) art of Sweden displays ''a healthily effervescent life of fantasy''.[104] ''Our times are democratic throughout, even social-democratic. All democracy is basically hostile to art. All art is basically aristocratic in the same way that all science is basically plebeian''.[105] In 1908 he claimed that coarseness and brutality characterize Finnish art of the past few years: ''generally speaking our modern art displays a parity with actual life in our country, its politics both domestic and foreign''.[106] In 1911 Ahrenberg criticized an exhibition of Finnish art at the Ateneum museum as ''madness'' on the grounds that ''it rests mainly upon national brutality, brutality of feeling and brutality of form''.[107]

As a late proponent of esthetic historicism Ahrenberg had behind him two terrifying revolutions: the fall of the *ancien régime* with the events of 1809 in Finland and turn of the century

with its democratization culminating in the parliamentary reforms of 1906. ''We are in a period of change in Finland such as we have not experienced since 1809. But all of this (i.e. the cultural achievements of the 19th century) is now questioned, and much of what existed is now lost.''[108] It is in these terms that Ahrenberg looks back upon the Empire period, but he also criticizes it (''pseudo-classical'',[109], ''pompous'',[110] ''anemic descendant of a great father''[111]) turning towards the joint artistic past and heritage of Sweden-Finland.

In 1903 Ahrenberg wrote an enthusiastic review of the new library building in Turku for the journal *Teknikern*. In stylistic terms the building is faithful to the language of form of the 17th century House of the Nobility in Stockholm and ''it contains, *as it rightly should* in this town founded by the Swedes and in this community with its Swedish customs and civilization, *a memory* of the period of Sweden as a great power, and its task is to bear witness in times to come of the spiritual awakening that seven hundred years ago spread throughout Finland from this very place'' (italics V.L.).[112] Ahrenberg does not agree with how ''the Emperor and autocrat'' erased 500 years (i.e. the period of Swedish power) from the history of our people and claimed that in this way we were raised to the status of a nation among nations. Ahrenberg complains that we ourselves ''and a certain other power'' have eradicated and destroyed the monuments and memories of the Swedish period.[113] Already in 1880 he observed that due to its history and reminescences Turku will always be due more respect and admiration than Helsinki.[114] In 1890 Ahrenberg published his project for a manorial building for Baron Axel Cedercreutz at Kjuloholm. It was to be ''in the style of John III of Sweden'' and the choice of style ''had a certain historical legitimization'' because of the connections of the manor with the period of Sweden-Finland as a great power.[115] Ahrenberg felt that (his much-admired) Swedish architecture had sunk into decline after the death of Gustavus III.[116] In 1911 he wrote an enthusiastic review of August Hahr's *Studier i Johan IIIs renässans* ('Studies on the Renaissance of John III').[117]

Marja Terttu Knapas' studies of architectural restoration in 19th century Finland stresses how Ahrenberg's restoration projects and related discussion expressly favoured the Renaissance style of the period of the Vasa kings of Sweden and how he explicitly underlined the significance of artistic influences that had come via Sweden. In his privately drafted project for the restoration of the castle of Viipuri (1885) Ahrenberg proposed that it be restored expressly ''in the Vasa Renaissance style, which was the golden period of Swedish art''.[118] In 1903 Ahrenberg was alone in supporting the restoration of the steeple of the Cathedral of Turku in the ''Renaissance style'', i.e. as it was before the fire of Turku in 1827. He stated that ''it is my belief that the church had this Renaissance steeple ever since the time of the first Vasa kings''.[119] In fact, the steeple was designed by C.F.Schröder in the 1750s. In another connection Knapas has pointed out that as late as the turn of the century restoration projects were given political content. An interest of this kind in the nation's past could be seen as a preserving factor in society.[120]

It is precisely the 'Renaissance' that appears to find connections with Swedishness. In this connection Ahrenberg quotes F.W.Scholander: ''Ever since the Vasa period we have built in the Renaissance style and we may say that this has given it a certain Swedish character''.[121] With reference to the so-called Northern Renaissance and its Swedish version, Ahrenberg observes that ''we use it in the same way that the most fluent among us use their mother tongue — it is our artistic mother tongue''.[122] Apparently ''Engel's Renaissance'' (to use Ahrenberg's terms)[123] was exemplary because it can be interpreted as expressing *continuity*. Ahrenberg saw the Empire style as having come to Finland from Sweden, as discussed above. The obvious Palladianism of Engel's style is the ''Renaissance'' admired by Ahrenberg and its Hellenism was the ''Gustavian character'' that he also longed for. This may have been among ''the good things preserved by the conservative world-view from before 1809''.

III.3. Gustaf Nyström and 'artistic progress'

Because Nyström was an architect of the "period of historicism" we should expect his writings to reflect an experience of the temporalization of time and discontinuity with Old Europe. He should be expected either to nostalgically contemplate the architecture of the past centuries or to use it without further reflection, with "decadent virtuosity". Contrary to expectation, this is not the case. In fact, his views appear to display the same contradiction as those of the proponents of the classical doctrine in the centuries preceding the 19th century: normativity and a belief in the perpetual laws of beauty were combined with at least some degree of understanding of the historicity of art.[124] The best known extreme example of this is J.J.Winckelmann. He understood Greek art of Antiquity as a unique historical and geographical phenomenon, but was nevertheless of the opinion that modern art could strive to greatness only by imitating the art of Ancient Greece.[125]

Nyström — with his reading of Semper — observed in his lectures of both the 1890s and the 1910s that architecture had come about under certain historical conditions and was dependent on culture, people and climate as well as being an indication of the level of the spiritual culture of its day.[126] However, his actual view of the progress of architecture was not based on this understanding of historical relativity, but appears to find connections with classical doctrine. What then is the conception of the latter regarding artistic progress?

In the conception of *progress* of classicism the question of achieving *perfection* and the idea of *cyclicality* are interwoven. Reinhard Koselleck stresses that the 18th century Enlightenment idea of progress (*Fortschritt*) was preceded by concepts of development (*Progress, Fortgang*) that were still linked to metaphores of growth and cyclicity in nature. He stresses that the "consciousness" of the Renaissance implied knowledge of a new time, but not of a *better* future, as its model was Antiquity. Thus, the past and the future were not seen as having significant differences. The past was not *unique* and the future was not really *new*. On the contrary, in real *Fortschritt* eternal truths had no role to play.[127] Jochen Schlobach has pointed out that only recent studies have shown how clearly the cyclical theory was the central background model of historical theory in all of classical-humanistic esthetics. The ahistoricity of classicism is in fact based on cyclical thought. The whole principle of imitation is based on the attempt to attain the *same* heights of achievement as in Antiquity. Imitation will ensure the success of this attempt.[128] Even Charles Perrault, who is often regarded as the first proponent of the idea of *Fortschritt*, had a very limited span of development in mind: cultures live through periods of rise and fall, but in the course of time they gradually approach perfection. Despite this, the apex (e.g. Perrault's period of Louis XIV) will be followed by inevitable decadence.[129]

The cyclical naturalistic conception of history of the Renaissance did leave some leeway for progress (the art of one's own day could surpass that of Antiquity), but the limit was set at the norm of timeless perfection that surpassed the differences of antique and modern art.[130] Wolfgang Herrmann has demonstrated that the classicists generally held two contradictory theses, viz. that Antiquity had already achieved the perfection of art and that perfection still lay ahead (Herrmann calls the latter the Perrault-Frézier-Laugier tradition). This was possible, for these theses were in a way mirror-images of each other: an idealized image of the reality of Antiquity and an image of a future ideal made real. Thus they could operate as simultaneous and non-contradictory *norms*. In practice, the norms were expectedly 'correct proportions' and 'pure taste', the criteria of which were derived from classical architecture.[131] Koselleck would no doubt have

observed in this connection that ''the past and the future, thus, do not differ from each other''. Such a concept of progress appeas to have been actually related in practice to the classicists' idea of imitation. Chapter II discussed Wittkower's view that according to classical doctrine one could approach the ideal ''by standing on the shoulders of one's precursors'' and even create works of greater quality.[132] Also in the case of Vasari, the cyclical model adopted the form of a certain type of idea of progress.[133] François Blondel, Germain Boffrand and the French classicists in general appear to have believed that progress was a gradual process *towards perfection* refined by rules produced by experience.[134]

According to Hans Belting, the ''Vasarian reception'' ended however in the first half of the 19th century when Vasari's *Vite* began to be seen solely as a collection of historical sources and the history of art came to be regarded an unending process instead of cycles.[135] Belting appears to imply that this Vasarian tradition of thought was interrupted when the modern view of historical time came to the fore.

Ernst H. Gombrich and Svetlana Alpers have analyzed the Vasarian concept of 'progress'. A background factor of this is the idea of art as problem-solving. Vasari's history of art is the history of this new Florentine ''game''. These problems (*disegno* and *invenzione* in painting) were seen as constant by him. Thus progress in art was tantamount to a contribution to the ideal solution of this problem. Vasari cannot accept or even understand that an artist could consciously differ from those problems and operate with completely different rules. His view is basically also anti-individualistic: the artist will only add to what has already been achieved in striving for perfection (by imitating the Antique and nature). Vasari was not interested in how to approach the past, but in how to provide esthetic instructions with the aid of historical examples. He explicitly refers to the *Historia Magistra Vitae* topos of Antiquity, whereby history has to be described so that one may learn from it.[136]

Gustaf Nyström continuously repeated (in his writings from 1904 to 1915)[137] that the architect must work standing on the shoulders of his predecessors, basing himself on their work and developing it further, however at the same time constantly faithful to the requirements of his own day: ''We must build upon the best achievements of our predecessors, which requires that we must know their ideas — , we must know the needs of our time, our people and our country and attempt to satisfy them by the use of our acquired knowledge''.[138]

However, Nyström's descriptions of Renaissance architecture show that he saw its problems as completely the same as those of (at least the best) architecture of his own day. He outlines the point as follows: ''We have here (...) only one means *that has been used throughout history* viz. to study how our predecessors acted and to attempt to understand the means they used to achieve their goals''(italics V.L.).[139] In another connection he observed that Michelangelo and Palladio acted precisely in this way by studying and measuring in Rome for years the masterpieces of Antiquity and by satisfying on the basis of this ''the requirements of their own time''.[140]

Nyström clearly separates the Renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries. High Renaissance was in its means and procedures still valid for the present: ''The essence of Antiquity, its basic idea, its principles of composition, were not directly attainable to the architects of the Early Renaissance. Their first subject of interest was ornament and partly the design of form. These they first applied in buildings which in their disposition and basic idea were still medieval. In the same manner that the Renaissance architects were familiar with the old Roman architecture, it became clear also for them that the latter could not be applied directly in their own day. The tasks of the day differed from those of the past — an the architects of the High Renaissance, e.g. Palladio, studied in Rome with diligence and depth how the men of the past solved their problems

and through this it gradually became clear for him in what way he could approach the task of solving the problems of his own day''.[141] Nyström describes Renaissance architecture in precisely the same terms that he used in giving instructions for modern architecture: ''An important requirement, strictly adhered to, was that the outward appearance of a building should *be congruent with its purpose* (...) churches, palaces, villas, town halls, city gates — all bear an unmistakable character which indicates the purpose that each of them has to serve. They have all the *character* required by the circumstances at hand, in both large and small details''. (italics G.N.)[142]

Progress, as understood by Nyström, is limited in the classistic sense to the following: ''Architecture has *gradually* throughout time developed *towards greater regularity, beauty and effect*. Even where individual great men in art can be seen to have suddenly brought it a great step forward, one can easily see that these steps forward were under long and gradual preparation and that the works of the great men were possible only through preparation and that they based their work on what their predecessors had achieved'' (italics V.L.).[143] Nyström underlines in another connection that also ''chosen'' artists stood on the shoulders of their predecessors and based their work on that of the latter.[144] Writing to the architect Ivar Aminoff (19.6.1915) he points out that ''not even the greatest master could create anything new, but even he has imitated''.[145]

Also the future will remain alike, as indicated by numerous exclamations concerning Engel in connection with the ''development'' of his art. For example, Nyström writes of Engel's University Library that ''it will forever remain a model for the monumental architecture of both the present and the future in Finland''.[146]

In Nyström's case the classicist conception of the gradual refinement of architecture is combined with the Vasarian notion of architecture as artistic problem-solving. In agreement with Vasari, Nyström also sees these problems as constant in time.

In *Föreläsningar* Nyström discusses the problems of the façade of the Pal. Massimo alle Colonne by Baldassare Peruzzi. ''In the Pal. Massimi the Renaissance was confronted with a new *task* which not even Peruzzi with his refined taste and routined experience could completely solve. The apparatus of form of Antiquity was insufficient for this *task*. The role of the column was exhausted with such a *task* and new constructions and forms had to be invented. Already at the time when the Pal. Massimi was built, this was recognized and in Rome an attempt was made to *solve a problem* that has been fully solved only in our own day. (...) But because the column was insufficient and unusable for *tasks* such as these, there is no reason to reject offhand the Italian Renaissance as a whole and its apparatus of form as something improper and worthless.'' (italics V.L.)[147] New problems may arise, but the work of the architect both in Renaissance times as well as in Nyström's own day deals mainly with the articulation of façades, the expression of the relationship of the supporting and supported parts.

In another connection Nyström writes of how the Greeks were masters, but their ''principle'' was so simple and ''undeveloped'' that it could not be used ''in solving more complicated problems''. Nyström felt that in this sense Renaissance architecture implied immense steps forward and a measure of progress and that the architects of his day should also develop it further, in contrast to what was actually being done. The example given by Nyström shows that also in this case he limits progress to the solution of classical problems. Two drawings are shown side-by-side, one of a Doric column with its entablature and the other of a modern iron beam construction, the design of which does not conform to the formal rules of classical tectonics. The viewer is urged to think of ''how much we have regressed!''.[148] The relationship of modern architecture with the Renaissance is equivalent to that of Renaissance architecture with Antiquity. There are no qualitative leaps in the course of development — and there is no Progress.

Nyström addresses in further detail the question of new architectural tasks, viz. the problem of skyscraper architecture. ''The laws of design of a Doric column in the peristyle of a Greek temple, where its only task is to support the entablature, cannot be applied to the design of pillars intended to bear the weight of a 50-storey American skyscraper. For, if a form is to express something, let us say strength, it must naturally change according to its load''.[149] Nyström does not recognize that in the architectural task of designing a skyscraper the central issue is probably something else than the expression of classical tectonics. In his view, also the building of skyscrapers was only a question of *accommodating* the inherited formal language to the task. The actual rules and their formation, i.e. the game, always remain the same.

According to Nyström, new tasks always require new solutions (which in turn are also classically limited and defined).[150] It must be remembered, however, that Nyström readily points out that ''(...) as long as we work with tasks similar to those of the past and with materials and constructions for which the historical styles were developed, it is also possible for us to use and apply the basic principles and design of these styles''.[151] In fact, he even felt that the ''new style'' could only suit mass-produced objects.[152]

In Chapter II we mentioned Nyström's rejection of novelties and originality as well as the adherence to inherited rules. We also observed that in 1891 as well as in 1909 Nyström emphasized that ''architecture is a *language* and in order to be understood a language must be based on tradition''. In the context of Nyström's texts the references to language must be comprehended so that for him, as also in the case of Vasari, architecture is a game the rules of which may not be changed.

As in the Vasarian conception, also Nyström's idea of architecture as problem-solving is combined with anti-individualism. He speaks of development, but as we have seen, he understands it (at least in art but apparently in a more general sense as well) as progress in Vasarian terms. Nyström's view is of course slightly broader in a cultural sense. In a draft text he writes: ''Not to copy them, but to learn from them, is why we study the Great Masters and when, in this connection, we have been able to know and understand the basic principles of architecture — which should always stay in force and remain applicable (sic) — then we — i.e. the few chosen real artists among us — may possibly involve our own personality in the larger scheme of work and in this way *make our own contribution* to the great common cultural effort of mankind''(italics V.L.).[153]

The most telling example of such a view of progress, and also of the fact that it was not generally accepted in Nyström's milieu, is his defence of the sculptor Walter Runeberg, in a letter to M. Hallberg. Nyström describes Runeberg as having been ''raised under a different conception of art than the one that now prevails''. Runeberg had refused to design the following inscription for a medal: ''Free am I born, Freely I wish to think''. Hallberg had been surprised at this and Nyström writes in reply that Runeberg's viewpoint was that ''(...) the whole of mankind is developing itself, and the artist participates in this course of events when he feels solidarity with his fellow-man, builds upon the basis laid down by his predecessors, preserving and improving it, i.e. developing it — according to his personal abilities — for future generations''. Nyström seems to agree with this, for he is able to present such a lucid reply on Runeberg's behalf adding in conclusion that ''artistic freedom *is contained* in the above'' conception of art. Nyström felt that only when understood in this sense, could the disputed text be acceptable.[154]

The *Historia Magistra Vitae* topos mentioned in connection with Vasari is one of Reinhard Koselleck's favourite topics. Methods and courses of action for the present can be derived from history only as long as we imagine that the given assumptions and conditions remain the same and as long as time is experienced as static non-time — when the future does not differ from the past. When the future becomes a riddle the power of tradition and convention disappears.

One of the chief indicators of the *Neuzeit* is the lack of a *pragmatic* relationship with the past. One no longer sees structures as repeating themselves. Koselleck maintains that the *Historia Magistra Vitae* topos died out with the French Revolution, after which history was only information about unique events — universal history without the power of exemplarity.[155]

As concomitants to the *Historia Magistra Vitae* topos Koselleck presents the idea of of the imitation of examples, the conception of understanding history in natural forms, which follows the cyclical and repetitive model instead of the idea of Progress, as well as the concept of human nature as unchanging.[156]

Gustaf Nyström still believed in this topos in the 1910s. He could be an example of the kind of limited thinking in terms of progress which Koselleck saw as possible within this topos. ''A politician can become more clever or even cunning; he can refine his technique; he can become wiser or more fore-sighted, but history would hold for him no new, unknown future regions''.[157] Nyström saw the aims and goals of art as constant. He does not regard Peruzzi or Michelangelo in any decisive way as personages of an epoch different to his own. He believes in the basic permanence of human nature. The historical material presented by him is exemplary for the future.

Nyström constantly urged for the study of the best models and prototypes. Examples and models should not be copied, but imitated, as Palladio did in relation to Antiquity. As discussed in Chapter II his models were above all C.L. Engel and Palladio — the latter a classicist paragon par excellence. Nyström wrote that ''Palladio was one of the first modern architects and from him we may learn to work further ahead, resting upon the shoulders of our predecessors''.[158]

We have seen how Wolfgang Hardtwig in connection with historicist art emphasized that despite its background factor of a longing for integration and continuity, it nevertheless arose from a new consciousness of history: the possibility of choice has demonstrated the supremacy of our day and tradition has lost its grip. The Schlaffers stress the same point. The works of esthetic historicism differ from those of the Renaissance in the sense that past art is no longer a normative prototype, but the pastness (*Vergangensein*) of art or of an epoch of art is seen as irretrievable. It is understood as a closed historical entity and is also presented as such: *''Vergangenheit wird zitiert und nicht mehr tradiert''*. Where tradition is taken as *argument* it ceases to be tradition.[159]

The new 19th century conception of history and tradition, characterized by *Modernitätsbewusstsein* can be applied to Ahrenberg, but not to Nyström, which demonstrates the very basic differences of these two men. However, neither can be linked to conceptions of late 19th century (much less early 20th century) ''historicist architecture'' with mere virtuosity without content as its sole aim, as the architecture of this period has been interpreted.

It is strange to see how Gustaf Nyström still in the 1910s imagines himself to be living in 16th century Italy without any consciousness of the total change of Western *mentalité* as a result of the *Revolutionszeit* as pointed out in research. In 1886 he wrote to his friend the architect Onni Tarjanne of his feelings among the Renaissance palaces of Florence: ''Even I could do this, perhaps even better!''[160]

Already in 1954, Philippe Ariès' *Le temps de l'histoire*, a modern classic in temporality studies, presented the basic ideas of Reinhard Koselleck, albeit in slightly imprecise form. Ariès stressed that in certain fields of thought the conception of time of the Old World managed to continue long into the 19th century and especially within the tradition of classicism.[161]

IV. JAC. AHRENBERG AND GUSTAF NYSTRÖM IN THE WORLD OF CONFLICT

The preceding chapters have discussed the statements and writings of Nyström and Ahrenberg in relation to traditions of art theory and the question of the degree and nature of their historical consciousness has also been surveyed. The Appendix reviews and studies in detail their architectural projects for the historic centre of Helsinki and their relationship with the traditions of the surrounding buildings and townscape. We may now attempt to draw conclusions on the basis of the above. The conclusions presented in the following are to be understood in terms of the concepts and views discussed in the introduction.

Before reviewing the social situation, in Skinner's terms ''life itself'', that may have motivated and prompted Jac. Ahrenberg and Gustaf Nyström to present their pictorial and written ''utterances'', we may first address the question of what our main characters *were doing* with the traditions that they used.

In fact, Nyström *ignored*[1] and *rejected* Gottfried Semper's theories with their adherence to artistic Realism and the natural-scientific approach as well as the theories of Carl Bötticher linked to German Idealism, in describing them as classicism. In doing so Nyström *''eulogized''* the tradition of classical theory. He obviously misinterpreted Semper, but in John Belcher, to whom he referred in his later texts, he found possibly the most classistic author of his time to be applied as required by him.

Nyström lacked an *active* consciousness of history and his conception of history can be described in terms of the *Historia Magistra Vitae* topos. Even in this sense Nyström maintained the tradition of classicism, as it essentially subscribed to the same *passive* historical consciousness. As a background factor, and a possible explanation, is a certain conception of time: the lack of temporality or ''the static experience of time''. This was also the background of the highly limited historical consciousness of the Renaissance (as opposed to the 'modern historical consciousness' of the 18th century).[2]

We saw Jac. Ahrenberg as *endorsing* and *maintaining* the traditions of Romantic and partly also Realistic theories of art as represented by Viollet-le-Duc, Taine and possibly Semper as well. Since the late 1890s, however, he began to *''extoll''* and *revive* the classical doctrine, but by no means as comprehensively as Nyström. Ahrenberg chose only certain *values* of the above.

Ahrenberg had clearly experienced the break of tradition (*Traditionsbruch*) with the preceding centuries as well as the temporalization of time. In a way typical of the 19th century, he directed this experience towards 'esthetic historicism', the *celebration* of the Old World and the search for integration with it by *programmatic* praise of certain phases of the past, the period of the Vasa kings, the reign of Gustavus III and the period of Carl Ludvig Engel.

With respect to their architectural projects, the works of both Nyström and Ahrenberg for the Empire-style centre of Helsinki can initially be said to represent a measure of *conformità* because of their overall classistic approach, i.e. style. They can be regarded as ''conformist'' because Classicism was not the only style that Ahrenberg and Nyström applied in their work

as architects. Furthermore, in their field of social interaction Classicism, at least at the turn of the century, was felt to be completely marginal in nature.

The idea of *conformità* as stylistic uniformity in the construction of additions to architectural works of past, was part of the tradition of classical theory. The best-known field where this topic came to the fore was in connection with attempts to build additions to certain unfinished Gothic cathedrals, e.g. the cathedral of Milan (from the 1480s to the 1880s), S. Petronio in Bologna (1580s) and the Duomo of Florence (from the 17th century to the 1870s). As a corresponding phenomenon Erwin Panofsky mentions Vasari's design of a Gothic frame for a profile of Cimabue.

Both Alberti's concept of *concinnitas universarum partium* and the *decorum* of Vitruvius require that a building has to be of a single uniform style. Even if it is built in the Gothic style, this does not justify abandoning this principle. Requirements of this type were already included in the concept of *stilus* of the rhetoric of Antiquity. In the 16th and 17th centuries *conformità* was often defended on the grounds of following the *intentions* of the original founder of the building. In practice alternative procedures in designing and building additions to a Gothic cathderal were — along with the use of the *maniera moderna* — continuing the use of the *real* Gothic style, which was rare according to Panofsky, and the use of a kind of ''mixed style'' (regulated Gothic) which was the most common procedure.[3]

The modern art-historian knows this phenomenon from the works and studies of Panofsky, Rudolf Wittkower and Georg Germann, but it must be pointed out that already Jacob Burckhardt, as well as Anton Springer, placed great emphasis on the above examples of *conformità* in their works on history. Because of this, these examples need not have been unknown to Ahrenberg's and Nyström's generation.[4] It can be mentioned in passing that in 1891 Nyström asked his friend J.B.Blomkvist, then visiting Italy, to send from Florence ''a large and good-quality photograph of the new façade of the Duomo''.[5]

What were Ahrenberg and Nyström in fact doing in conforming their architecture to the Empire-style buildings of Engel and his school? Nyström's primary intention was not only to maintain the classical tradition of form but also to *develop* it (see the analyses in Appendix). In the case of Nyström we are not actually dealing with *conformità,* as he did not have the distance to Classicism that even the 16th century cathedral builders had to the Gothic style. Nyström's texts show that for him Classicism, for example Engel's Empire style, was not only the ''style of the past'', but the Style of Styles, Architecture itself.

We may, however, hypothesize that in designing a manorial laboratory for the Botanical Gardens of Helsinki, a bank looking like a Hanseatic merchant's house in Viipuri or a ''Gothic'' school building next to the Neo-Gothic Church of St. John in Helsinki, Nyström operated in accordance with classical idea of 'genre'. He specifically *''conformed''* these buildings to their milieu, in exactly the same way that Vasari conformed his frame to suit a 14th century profile. A more difficult question is what Nyström was doing when in the first decade of the 20th century he designed ''modern'' buildings of ''the new style'' for Siltavuori in Helsinki and Puolalanmäki in Turku. *15, 16* *106* *10, 64, 65* *66, 108*

Nyström himself complained in an apologetic vein that he was not always able ''to stand against the current of time'', but had to produce ''some *Roh-bau* here and there''[6] or that he had been ''forced to follow new trends''[7]. In the same way the late 18th century French architects complained of how ''the times force one to do things, that one is ashamed of later'', i.e. works in the rococo style.[8] Perhaps these designs by Nyström ''in the modern style'' should be interpreted also in terms of the classical idea of genre — as *conformità* in relation to one's times! However, even in these buildings Nyström did not abandon the requirements of e.g. classical symmetry.

As observed above, 'pastness' as such was not significant for Nyström, and it did not play any role in the primary intentions of his architectural design and planning.

The designs and projects by Jac. Ahrenberg, presented in Appendix, are examples of *genuine conformità* in the sense that with these plans he quite obviously *maintained* and *demonstrated* the idea of stylistic uniformity — respect for ''original intention'' and that which is typical of its period in the same way as the cathedral builders of the 16th century. Indirect evidence for this view can be seen in the texts already discussed, but also in his statements in connections with planned alterations and renovations to classistic milieus.

In his newspaper and journal articles Ahrenberg appealed in specific terms to ''stylistic uniformity'', ''intentions of the period'', phenomena ''typical of the period'' (or in negation: ''it would be an anachronism if ...'') in voicing his strong opposition to various plans and projects. These included changing the Senate Square into a park (1893—1911),[9] a new painting of the façade of the University Main Building (1894),[10] a new city hall for the south end of Senate Square (1901—1913),[11] the railing and candelabras for the statue of Alexander II (1894 and 1911),[12] a new interior for Engel's Seurahuone hotel (1903),[13] ''modern architectural experiments'' and the use of Neo-Gothic style in the ''Napoleonic'' town-plan of Helsinki (1898—1912)[14] as well as the new opera house in Stockholm amidst the ''French-Italianite Classicism'' of the older parts of the city (1892)[15]. According to him, stylistic uniformity is thus to be preserved in a single building, a block as well as in a whole town — especially in the case of Classicism. It is obvious that in his projects for the Cadet College, the Snellmaninkatu Post Office, the Throne Hall and the Turku Province Surveying Office, Ahrenberg *is eulogizing and praising classistic architecture* (and not simply *maintaining the classical tradition* like Nyström).

123—127, 113—114
110, 118—120

In the preceding chapter we observed on the basis of Ahrenberg's esthetic historicism that 'history' played a part in his primary intentions. In other words it is possible to ask what Ahrenberg was doing with history. It is quite probable that not only in his texts but also in the projects, discussed in the Appendix, Ahrenberg specifically eulogizes a certain *epoch*, in the same way that Burckhardt praised and extolled the Renaissance. The use of classicism in these projects is a *result* of Ahrenberg's *active* conception of history, based on the experience of the temporalization of time. Thus, in praising classistic architecture he also praises a certain cultural period, which is most clearly the *ancien régime* and especially its Swedish version, the epoch of the Vasa kings and Gustavus III (''That time was dear to us'').

On the other hand, the period of the Grand Duchy of Finland which ''will destroy the monuments and memories of the Swedish period'' is not in itself worthy of admiration or remembrance, except when compared with the period of ''barbarism'' and ''culturelessness'' following the parliamentary reforms of 1906. The few ''monuments'' of the Swedish period, the strong Empire spirit and town-plan of Helsinki and the Empire architecture of the provincial towns[16] and even the churches *led* and *restricted* Ahrenberg to adopt and extoll the Empire style, this last, albeit weak, flowering of classicism (''anemic descendant of a mighty father'').

It must be borne in mind that C.L.Engel and J.A.Ehrenström were the objects of Ahrenberg's admiration, because the Empire style *continued* in Finland the heritage of Gustavianism (and thus also the heritage of his much-admired France of the period of Classicism). According to Ahrenberg's mistaken interpretation, Engel passed on this heritage with his architecture and Ehrenström passed it on in quite concrete terms as a former official under King Gustavus III (a true ''Gustavian''). ''Ehrenström had read, seen and travelled a lot. He had lived in the Gustavian epoch of enthusiasm for all that is beautiful in form and colour. He was a man of fine education and without doubt an organizer of high level''.[17] The Empire style (and the ''cultural radiation'' which Ahrenberg saw in connection with it) *continued* the Gustavian period in Finland to a later date than in Sweden (''After Gustavus III Swedish architecture has steadily declined''). In the

same way he saw the Grand Duchy of Finland prior to the parliamentary reforms of 1906 as the last memory of Old Sweden (i.e. *ante* 1809) with its diet of estates and its constitutions from 1772 and 1789.

Ahrenberg,who mainly saw himself as an author and an artist and at least once stated (1883) that he even loathed his profession as an architect,[18] may well have architecture a less fundamental and more instrumental status in his thinking than the "academic" Gustaf Nyström.

At the end of the preceding chapter we observed that in 'esthetc historicism' history was used in quotation and tradition was not passed on (*"es wird zitiert und nicht mehr tradiert"*). When tradition is taken as *argument* it ceases to be tradition. It is most obvious that in his plans and projects presented in the Appendix Ahrenberg specifically "quotes" the Empire style that he was using. Although this aspect does not necessarily present itself to the viewer of Ahrenberg's façades, one cannot escape the idea that this process of quoting and citing can also be seen in these façades. The façade motif of the Post Office on Snellmaninkatu, the façade of project no. 1 for the Cadet College, the façade motif of the Surveying Office and the order of the Throne Hall are all quotations from the works of Engel. Ahrenberg specifically wished to underline this feature also in public, as seen in connection with the buildings concerned. The news item in the journal *Teknikern* presented the plans for the Cadet College and their presentation at the Architects' Club. The text states that the project is "in the style of C.L. Engel in both motifs and details". This suggests that Ahrenberg specifically wished to tell the members of the club which motifs he had borrowed from Engel. In the College project *conformità* would not have necessarily required Engel's style, as the old dormitory by Engel was torn down. Nevertheless, Ahrenberg used this opportunity to praise "the style of C.L.Engel", as it was most probably generally known that the former building was also "in the style of Engel".

113, 123
119, 110
125
122

In a number of connections Ahrenberg suggested an even more clear use of quotation. In 1901 he proposed the construction of a mirror duplicate to the so-called Stockmann house (1822—24) in the south-west end of Senate Square.[19] The new building was to located in the south-east end of the square. In 1906 Ahrenberg proposed the construction of Engel's Stock Exchange (1814) which was never completed[20] and in 1911 he called for the removal of the candelabras (Gustaf Nyström 1894) from the statue of Czar Alexander II on Senate Square and their replacing with candelabras copied from a design by Engel[21]. It is all the more obvious that Ahrenberg's "quotations" entail "ulterior motives" when we bear in mind that he did not subscribe to Nyström's classical concept of imitation. Ahrenberg admired Theodor Höijer, who "did what he wished with Vignola" and Swedish architects who "did not have a single profile borrowed from Vignola". However, in the Snellmaninkatu Post Office and the Surveying Office in Turku as well as in the Cadet College in Hamina he used Vignola's columnar orders.

4
113, 121
127, 116, 117

The debate concerning the planting of trees on Senate Square demonstrates clearly the differences of Ahrenberg's and Nyström's attitudes regarding the architecture of C.L.Engel. The Architects' Club convened for an extra meeting on March 18th, 1893 to discuss the matter. The meeting turned into a debate between Ahrenberg and Nyström.[22] Nyström did not oppose the planting of trees and felt that it was not at all dangerous if "in accordance with changed tastes we undertake to change the squares on which Engel's buildings are situated". Nyström defended this position with examples of squares with trees and shrubbery that were all new and not historical in character. Above all, he referred to the square located between the court museums in Vienna. In Vienna the buildings situated on the square (Gottfried Semper, Karl von Hasenauer) benefited in appearance from the planted trees. Ahrenberg argued for his opposing view with reference to Engel's intentions: "If Engel had wished to plant trees on the square, he would certainly have done so".

Nyström did not see the milieu of Senate Square as an expression of by-passed historical peri-

od, a ''monument''. He felt that Engel's buildings belonged to the present and constituted Architecture, ''a model for the architecture of today as well as the future''. They could well be enhanced with planted trees in the same that Semper's buildings benefited from the addition of trees. Ahrenberg, on the other hand, wished to *preserve the milieu* which was an *image*, albeit faded, of a lost culture.

What led Ahrenberg and Nyström to statements that were loaded with meanings of this kind? A possible answer may be sought in studying the situation where these statements were presented.

In the period from ca. 1895 to 1913 building and construction in Finland experienced a trend of growth which was especially centered on Helsinki.[23] The clientele of architects changed with the increased economic influence of private commissioners of projects (speculators, industrialists, public bodies) since the late 1870s.[24] Also the number of architects had rapidly increased by the turn of the century and the state was no longer the chief employer of architects.[25] The most common projects were now privately-owned several-storey apartement houses.[26]

Thus it is not surprising that in these decades — the 1890s and the turn of the century — certain changes occurred in the professional image and standing of architects. The profession became organized in 1892 when the *Fackklubb för Arkitektur* ('Professional Club for Architecture') of the *Tekniska Föreningen* ('Association for Technology') began its activities. Organizing was clearly related to repelling various kinds of outside ''threats''. It was only by organizing that the labour market could be controlled and architects could protect themselves against the adverse effects of free enterprise and competition. Organizing also led to distinctions in relation to civil engineers and trained master-builders who at this time began to compete in the same field.[27]

Along with the organizing and consolidation of the profession the above decades also saw its inner conflicts come to the fore. There were conflicts between the leading official architects of the Board of Public Works and Buildings and the private architects. The latter group represented a completely new type of architect and had come about due to demand in a new market situation. In fact this had occurred already in the 1870s and 1880s, especially after the state had begun to give projects also to private architects.[28]

The conflict was also connected to the training of architects, the process of legitimization. In the 1870s and 1880s conflicts arose between the ''old generation'' of apprentice-trained architects of the Board of Public Works and Buildings and those who had studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm.[29] Mikael Sundman has described the situation in the following terms: ''The officials of the Board of Public Works and Buildings had finally become second-class professionals by the year 1910''.[30] The democratization of building projects was also caused by the spread of architectural competitions in the 1870s.[31] The conflicts of the architects of the Board of Public Works and Buildings with other parties may have only increased with their waning hegemony in Finnish architecture. In her study of the planning of the building of the Bank of Finland, Eeva Maija Viljo has demonstrated how competitions were a legitimate way of by-passing the highest officials of state building administration, which hitherto (1875) had been allowed to plan the major state building projects. Both requirements and ambitions had outgrown the abilities of the Board of Public Works and Buildings.[32]

The continued rise in the level and status of architectural training in Finland also led to the decrease of the hegemony of the state officials. In 1872 the Technical School of Helsinki became the Polytechnical School with Frans Anatolius Sjöström as teacher of architecture. He had a considerably more thorough and modern training than Axel Hampus Dahlström, who was head of the Board of Public Works and Buildings at the time. According to Viljo, Sjöström was a

completely different type of architect than the bureaucratic Dahlström.[33] Sjöström proved to be an embarrassing competitor to the architects of the Board of Public Works and Buildings in public projects.[34] The Polytechnical School became an institute in 1879 which increased the authority of its teachers and the available funds and means. Entrance requirements were also raised continuously. Gustaf Nyström succeeded Sjöström in 1885, at which stage the teaching is said to have become systematic. Nyström was appointed professor in 1895. Finally in 1908 the institute became a university-level body of learning.[35]

The turn of the century saw the rise of a whole generation of successful private architects. The period has been seen as one of change of generation; ''now the first Finnish-trained generation of architects established itself in planning and design''.[36]

Writing concerning architecture (discussion, criticism and praise) as well as the social status of architects is also said to have achieved their highest level around the turn of the century.[37]

Simply put, in Finland in the period from 1880 to 1910 a certain type of social *field* came about, formed and grew in a definite situation of social change. As observed in the introduction, Pierre Bourdieu's conception sees such a field as always being one of *conflict* with an ongoing struggle over the preservation or upheaval of its spiritual 'capital' and its distribution.

It can be seen from the above that the field of Finnish architecture was characterized already in its period of formation by various kinds of conflicts. Architectural history relating to the turn of the century has especially stressed strong ideological conflicts. These conflicts culminated in a number of cases and aspects.

The ''young architects'' of the turn of the century opposed academic teaching and especially its personification, Gustaf Nyström.[38] In connection with the project for the restoration of the Cathedral of Turku (1896) a conflict arose between the old and young generations and their views on restoration and architecture in general.[39] The planning competition for the National Museum (1900—1902) led to a debate over principles of planning which has been interpreted as the final questioning of the authority of the Board of Public Works and Buildings by the young opposition of private architects who had taken the lead in architectural development.[40] The debate that followed the competition for the Helsinki Railway Station (1904) in turn demonstrated contradictions among the ''young architects'' concerning the aims of the new architecture. Gustaf Strengell and Sigurd Frosterus sharply criticized the so-called National Romantic school and defended the rationalistic ''iron and reason style''.[41]

The texts of the ''old architects'', Gustaf Nyström and Jac. Ahrenberg, show that at various times they also played an active part in the conflicts of the field of Finnish architecture.

The debate over the planning of the House of the Estates provides an excellent view of the conflicts between almost all of the above groups — the Polytechnical Institute, the Board of Public Works and Buildings, private architects and civil engineers — even before the advent of the new ''young architects'' of the turn of the century. Gustaf Nyström became concretely involved in this process.

Nyström's correspondence from the period when the House of the Estates was under planning shows that at various stages he had fallen out with ''the architect members of the delegation'' (Sebastian Gripenberg and Theodor Decker) and ''the chief architect'' (Jac. Ahrenberg) — all of whom were among the leading architects of the Board of Public Works and Buildings. At times he had come into conflict with ''all of his old friends'' and finally with ''the whole architectural profession''.[42]

The reasons for this can be seen not only in Nyström's letters but also in the newspapers of the period. An undefined segment of the architectural profession had felt indignation over the fact that a public competition was not declared for such a major project and that the competition had been limited to only four or five architects. According to Nyström, ''the architects who

were not invited to compete'' attacked him even before the results were made public.[43] Another source of conflict was the by-passing of the statement (7.10.1887) of the jury of experts of the competition (the architects F.G.A. Dahl and Theodor Höijer and the senior civil engineer Th. Tallqvist). In this statement Theodor Decker's entry had been given first consideration, but the delegation of the estates chose Nyström to carry out the final plans (19.11.1887). This had been the procedure already in the competition held the year before: Nyström's entry was selected despite the jury's choice of Sebastian Gripenberg's entry. However, the project in question for additions to the House of the Nobility was not carried out.[44]

A third source of bitterness especially against Nyström was the fact that, as discussed above,
48, 49 he won with an entry that experts felt was a copy of Sjöström's 1884 project. Even before the statement of the jury of experts was published, *Helsingfors Dagblad* and *Nya Pressen* published descriptions of the entries on September 30, 1887. These maintained that Nyström's entry corresponded to Sjöström's project ''as much as possible''.[45] The jury stated that Nyström's entry was prepared on the basis of Sjöström's design and was ''in fact a reduction of it''.[46]

The newspaper debate came to head in *Nya Pressen* in May, 1888 and in *Hufvudstadsbladet* in the autumn of 1890. In *Nya Pressen* of May 25,1885, ''a group of about 15 architects'' stated that they had met several times. Their article was mainly intended as a defence of public architectural competitions ''in order to develop our architectural profession'': ''funds invested in technical training should be put to the test''. Thus, this group may have included younger architects, i.e. Nyström's pupils. The first accusation of their statement in six sections was aimed at Nyström personally: ''Is it right to participate with an entry that is a copy of another architect's work?''[47]

Nyström replied in the same issue of *Nya Pressen*. He maintained that the ground-plans of the two projects were different and stressed that ''the task cannot be solved in many ways and the projects will as a matter of course be highly similar''. Regarding the façades he observed that they could be designed with the aid of only one ''main principle — the use of the colossal order''. This is argued for with reference to the character required of a building of this type. He felt that it was only an honour to Sjöström, his mentor, if the leading ideas of his project were found in Nyström's project. However, he recoils from the accusation of copying and continues: ''I am of the humble opinion that in most of the genres of monumental as well as private architecture typical forms have come about long ago and that if something good shall be achieved one is at pains not to imitate them. In my opinion the architectural competition for the House of the Estates has come to show that one cannot disregard the exemplary works of the past only in order to achieve an original project.'' Nyström refused to understand the point of his opponents' argument. The related views concerning originality and artistic creation in general differ from each other.[48]

In the autumn of 1890 a lively debate arose among two or three pseudonyms concerning the esthetic quality of the House of the Estates which was then nearing completion. The writer who defended the project is clearly its architect, Gustaf Nyström. Judging from the style of writing and the nom-de-plume (*Arkitektförfattaren* — 'Architect-Writer') his opponent may well have been Jac. Ahrenberg. This finds support in the fact that in one of the articles severely criticizing the architecture of the House of the Estates, the recently completed building of the Society for Finnish Literature is praised. The latter was designed by Sebastian Gripenberg, director-in-chief of the Board of Public Works and Buildings.

Nyström published an indignant reply in *Hufvudstadsbladet* (21.9.1890) to the above two criticisms of the House of the Estates claiming them to be the work of the one and same tendential writer. In his article Nyström attempted to demonstrate the lack of knowledge of architectural history of his critic and used the opportunity to criticize the architecture of the building of the

Society for Finnish Literature, claiming it to be almost sub-standard.[49] The articles in *Nya Pressen* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* that set Nyström in an uproar can well be regarded as the work of one person. The critic condemns the House of the Estates in both esthetic and practical terms. This critic, like ''the group of 15 architects'' appears to argue for a different conception of originality than Nystöm, for he writes that the ''only new element'' in the main façade are the round-arched windows of the ground floor ''which have nothing to do with a Greek temple which is otherwise suggested by the façade''. Also the copied use of Sjöström's project is mentioned.[50] The polemic continued in the following numbers of *Hufvudstadsbladet*.[51]

Nyström's written replies and articles could not eradicate the idea that he had copied Sjöström's project. When the building was finished the connections and similarities of the two projects were again mentioned in newspaper articles.[52] The subject was also taken up in discussions in 1888 in the Estate of the Nobility.[53] As late as 1898 Nyström had to return to this subject. He wrote to J.J. Tikkanen, professor of art history, concerning the published work *Finland i XIX seklet* ('Finland in the 19th century'). Nyström was of the opinion that in the new edition of the book the section concerning the House of the Estates should be corrected. The section in question mentions that the architect ''had taken the idea of his teacher''. Nyström wrote: ''Copying, regardless of motive, is seen by us architects as impermissible and greatly detrimental to one's personal value and esteem''. He argumented that the projects find common ground only in the use of the colossal order which he felt was the only possible motif for such a task.[54] Two conceptions of the nature of artistic creation came into conflict.

Already in 1887 in the early stages of the conflict over the House of the Estates Nyström was concerned that ''by mocking one's colleagues one damages above all one's own profession'', as mentioned in a letter to Onni Tarjanne with special reference to Ahrenberg's criticism.[55] A reconciliation of some kind was apparently attempted at this time. Nyström wrote to Törnqvist (13.11.1887) that Sebastian Gripenberg had come to talk to him about arranging some kind of ''meeting of architects''. Nyström stated that he was enthusiastically in favour of such a meeting as he believed also other architects would be ''with concern over the disparity between the Board and the private arcitects''. Nyström said that he wished there were better relations within the profession.[56]

The architect members of the Deputation for the House of the Estates, Sebastian Gripenberg and Theodor Decker of the Board of Public Works and Buildings, refused to judge Nyström's entry and resigned.[57] Gripenberg was also absent when the *Tekniska Förening* made an offical visit to the newly-completed House of the Estates in late 1890, but Nyström wrote to the architect Strömberg that Gripenberg had later visited the building privately and had liked it and ''now we are good friends again''. *59*

After the completion of the House of the Estates Nytström wrote in a letter of January 1890 that he had again ''fallen back into grace at the architects' club''. Officially the club was founded the following year with Sebastian Gripenberg as its first chairman. It is quite possible that the above events — by-passing the jury of experts, the arrangement of the competition and unnecessary quarels — led to concrete expressions of the need for professional organization.

The building of the House of the Estates brought to the fore the conflicts between the Board of Public Works and Buildings and the Polytechnical Institute. From around 1904 onwards Nyström's writings stress the differences between him and his students. These texts express an opposition to 'originality', as discussed above, that is expressly aimed at new trends in architecture around the turn of the century.

A telling example is a letter from Nyström to his friend the Swedish architect Isak Gustaf Clason (dated 31.1.1905). Nyström wrote concerning his surprise over Clason's resigning from his post as professor at the Stockholm University of Technology and becoming the chief architect

of the Swedish Board of Public Works and Buildings. In Finland this would have meant going from Nyström's post to Ahrenberg's post. Nyström assumed that the reason for Clason's decision was no doubt the fact that ''the young are crying for reforms for a more modern view ''. Nyström wrote that he could not accept the fact that the school will become the ''field of experiment'' for phenomena known as ''*Neue Motiven*'', ''*Moderne Dekorationsformen*'' and ''*Neue Schule*''. Nyström wishes his friend success in his new career and ends his letter in a sarcastic note that the new career will hardly be strewn with roses if the Swedish Board of Public Works and Buildings is anything like its Finnish counterpart.[61]

In *Föreläsningar i Arkitektur* Nyström makes a clear distinction between the architect and the civil engineer and states his opposition to both Rationalism and Art Nouveau. According to him, the engineer bases his work on the newest achievements of his field while in architecture ''the historical factor'' is of central significance. Outside the training institutes there are attempts at discarding this view of architecture with the slogans, ''modern'' and ''*Moderne Kunstformen*''. Nyström also opposes the ''modern esthetic view'' according to which design must be based only on ''satisfying the requirements of purpose and demonstrating construction''. He also stresses that it is only the ''architectural form (*Gestalt*)'' that makes Art out of architecture. As an example of the criticized and condemned orientation Nyström had marked the architect Sigurd Frosterus in pencil in the margin.[62] A draft on a sheet of paper included in the folder *Föreläsningar I* contains the following: ''pure utility — dry: Van de Velde'' (Frosterus's master) and: ''craving for novelty (Sw. *nyhetsmakeri*) for the sake of ''originality'': Saar(inen), Sonck etc.'' (regarded as Nyström's most gifted pupils). A paper included in *Föreläsningar IX* contains a draft for a review of the subject *L'Art nouveau*. Under the heading Nyström discusses Rationalism and the Arts and Crafts movement describing the results and achievements of both as ''eccentric excesses'': ''Beauty is not created by only denying what has been achieved so far''.

Jac. Ahrenberg in turn lashed out against both the ''young architects'' and the Polytechnical Institute. Writing in *Finsk Tidskrift* in 1902 Ahrenberg wishes to answer the question of what the new style is. The article shows, as discussed in Chapter II, that the new style is precisely that which he began to oppose since the late 1890s. ''Through freedom in organization and flowing contours it wishes to give a building a picturesque appeal''.[63] In his newspaper articles Ahrenberg atttacked the chief monuments of the 'new style' of the turn of the century. Reviewing in 1901 a residential building at Fabianinkatu 17 by Gesellius-Lindgren-Saarinen he wrote: ''As a whole it gives the impression of something spasmodically original''. It is wrong that the ''trailblazers of the new school'' wish ''to discard everything old only because it is old''.[64] Almost in a furor, Ahrenberg attacked in 1903 the design of the building of the students union of the Polytechnical Institute which had recently been made the manifestation of the 'new school'. He again complains that ''the young discard everything that is old'' and that for them ''everything that is new is beautiful''. Ahrenberg criticized the ''conscious'' and ''studied'' naivete, picturesqueness and originality of the building.[65]

When the architects of the younger generation reverted to a kind of classicism in the 1910s Ahrenberg was by no means satisfied with all of their achievements, although he expressed enthusiasm for some of them.[66] Writing of the project for a new city hall for Helsinki by Armas Lindgren, one of the chief proponents of '1910s classicism', Ahrenberg briefly noted that it represents ''the modern crenelated style so loved by Mr. Lindgren''.[67]

Still in his essay on Scholander in *Människor som jag känt* Ahrenberg returns to the subject of the Students Union Building of the Polytechnical Institute and its ''brutality'', ''savageness'' and ''nightmarishness''. In this connection he also reveals his opinion of the source of all this 'nightmarishness': ''I feel that the professor of architecture at the Polytechnical Institute should spend more than one sleepless night thinking of the German world of forms that his school has

released on us''. As a solution Ahrenberg offers the reader Scholander's expressions concerning architecture, which, as seen in Chapter II, Ahrenberg described in his essay as highly classistic.[68] In an essay on Charles Garnier in the same memoirs Ahrenberg stresses the harmful nature of German architecture and his contempt for it.[69] His admired ''Gallic esprit''[70] is contrasted to ''gloomy German Romanticism''[71]. Accordingly, Ahrenberg's other criticisms of German architecture must also be interpreted as criticism of the teaching of the Polytechnical Institute and Gustaf Nyström. For example, in his article *Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter* ('Our architecture and our architects') from 1898 he criticizes German architecture and the ties of Finnish culture with Germany stating in conclusion that ''our Polytechnic is from yesterday''.[72] Ahrenberg also voiced his opposition to academies of art and academism in general.[73]

In art-historical studies the aims of the ''young architects'' of the turn of the century have been seen as including originality, individuality, picturesqueness, new forms, new style, modern architecture and requirements for the use of authentic materials, functionality, veracity and the organic. They were against historicism and classicism.[74] It can be seen that everything opposed by Nyström and Ahrenberg (the latter since the late 1890s) was regarded as goals by the ''young architects''.

Some features of this contradiction appear almost to be provocations. Ahrenberg's strong opposition to the planting of trees on Senate Square and his vociferous urgings to respect the Empire town-plan of Helsinki are in blatant contradiction to the ''romantic'' and ''artistic'' town-planning of Camillo Sitte who was prominent at the turn of the century. One of the chief statements defending the new orientation, Lars Sonck's article *Modern Vandalism* from 1898 specifically criticizes ''our sad squares'' resembling parade grounds.[75] Gesellius-Lindgren-Saarinen planned a very high National Romanticist tower for the Nordic Union Bank building (1904) adjacent to the Senate Square. In the draft project the tower was even placed in the south-west corner of the square. Marika Hausen has suggested that it was a political provocation against Russian rule, which according to her was symbolized by the Senate Square,[76] but a dispute between conceptions of architecture can also be suggested as the background factor.

In 1906 Ahrenberg proposed the erection of a building on the North Esplanade in Helsinki on the basis of Engel's 1814 project for a stock exchange building, but with a façade using ''authentic materials'' (not brick and plaster) so that ''the power of its noble proportions and fine details'' could be expressed.[77] Thus, Ahrenberg expressed one of the main new aims of the turn of the century — the use of authentic materials in a way corresponding to their nature. Taking up this issue in connection with Engel's project and specifically with the purpose of stressing its proportions, he turned the requirements of the ''young architects'' upside down. It is known for example that all of the classistic buildings of the 17th-19th centuries in Paris were made of authentic *orient* stone. Ahrenberg expressed his admiration of the beauty of this material in his article on the Paris World Fair of 1900.[78] His enthusiasm for the granite Tuscan columns of the Turku Academy building from the 1810s and the use of granite in the bases of the Vignola columns of the Snellmaninkatu Post Office and the Turku Surveying Office appear to be almost a mockery of the attempts of the turn of the century to create National-Romantic stone architecture specifically with the use of granite (see Appendix).

4

113, 121

Ahrenberg deigned to express thanks for some of the chief monuments of National-Romantic architecture, viz. the Suur-Merijoki manor and the State Hotel at Imatra. It must be noted, however, that these buildings differed from many others of the school in question. In his crushing review (1903) of the Students' Union Building of the Polytechnical Institute Ahrenberg wrote: ''If this building were placed by a rapids with pines and firs in the background, its fairy-tale atmosphere would be as enchanting as the hotel at Imatra''; ''A building that is not in its own place will appear to be malplaced''.[79] Ahrenberg thus wished to see these National-Romantic

buildings in terms of classical genres, i.e. it is permissible and right to build a 'picturesque' and asymmetrical building in nature, in the rural genre. Apparently for this reason Ahrenberg also wrote a highly positive review of the Suur-Merijoki manor.[80]

Conceptions of history and its role in architecture also varied among the different schools. In this sense the differences of so-called Rationalism or Constructivism are obvious with respect to both Ahrenberg's and Nyström's orientations. Rationalism relied on the idea of *Fortschritt* directed at the future: "In the field of form we have more to learn from the construction of machines, bicycles and automobiles, dreadnoughts and railway bridges than from historical species of style" (Sigurd Frosterus 1904).[81]

Of the "young architects" of the turn of the century Armas Lindgren has been seen as the one who most clearly turned to the past and Riitta Nikula presents him as a veritable historicist.[82] Therefore, it is interesting to compare his views with Ahrenberg's historicist point of view.

Nikula has stressed how Lindgren, especially in his church architecture, placed elements suggesting different periods (Middle Ages, Baroque etc.) in different parts of the same building with the aim of achieving the right atmosphere. His aim for the National Museum of Finland was to create "(...) a shrine of atmosphere where one can experience in fleeting moments images from times long past in the alluring shimmer of the authentic colour of the period".[84] It appears that, as in the case of Ahrenberg, also for Lindgren history played the role of a primary intention in his architecture. In the National Museum Lindgren wished to *celebrate history* or more precisely *pastness*, but his church projects celebrate not only history or pastness but *temporality* itself, the flow of time, for his church designs also contain explicit additions of *modern* elements.

On the other hand, Ahrenberg celebrates and eulogizes certain *styles* (the Vasa Renaissance, Hellenistic Neo-Classicism) and in doing so he also expresses praise of a certain lost culture — a period of monarchy, aristocracy and social hierarchy. This was a period when the arts (as seen by Ahrenberg) could only flourish. If we see Ahrenberg's interest in history in these terms, we may also understand why his criticism of the Polytechnical students' building (1903) especially centered on its allusions to the historical. In criticizing its "*studied* primitive forms that *lead our thoughts to* our ancient fortresses and the town wall of Visby" (italics V.L.)[85] he criticized its *searched for historicity*. Ahrenberg was shocked by the idea that 'historicity', the passing of time, is taken as part of the primary intentions. It is precisely the passing of time that the esthetic historicist (*sensu* Hannelore & Heinz Schlaffer) wishes to deny and forget. Even Ahrenberg's Empire style designs never intended to praise history itself, only a certain *epoch* of history.

This is central to the problematics of 'historicism'. Armas Lindgren's and Jac.Ahrenberg's works represent two distinct types of eclecticism or use of traditional forms. We may present such a distinction of the various types of eclecticism precisely on the grounds of the *function* performed by the conception of history — this certain "way of thought". Lindgren and Ahrenberg find common ground in the fact that their conception of history is *active* and part of their primary intentions. Their intentions differ, however, in content.

For both Nyström and the so-called Rationalists 'history' is not one of the primary intentions. As discussed above, Nyström's conception of history is *passive*. Thus, his architecture does not even represent 'historicism', although Nyström's and Ahrenberg's projects may *appear* similar. The Rationalists, in turn, with their belief in progress took the 'future' as their guideline.

We may now present some assumptions regarding the *motives* behind Gustaf Nyström's and Jac. Ahrenberg's statements that were directly linked to social life itself, the field of architecture of their period.

Gustaf Nyström went on the defensive already in the 1880s. His conception of architecture, based on the idea of imitation, proved outmoded. The contradiction between his conception of architecture and that of the rising generations only deepened by the turn of the century and it is obvious that his opponents both in the Board of Public Works and Buildings and elsewhere explicitly used this for their own ends. At least the views expressed in connection with the dispute concerning the House of the Estates seem to suggest this.

Nyström used the typical means of defence of academic art. He claimed to resist constructivism and engineering art, because they rob architecture of its value as Fine Art. However, this can be interpreted as meaning that they will rob architecture of its value in terms of Nyström's conception of art, i.e. its value as the art that he was capable of producing. In the same way the aims of Art Nouveau for originality and new forms also threatened his 'artistic capital' which, as shown by his projects for the House of the Estates, was based on anything but 'originality' (in the Romantic sense of the term). In opposing 'originality' Nyström also defended his official position. Albert Boime has demonstrated how in 19th century France the academic fortress strongly opposed especially the aims of the independents in striving for originality, innovation and novelty, because the Academy could not accept the idea that the authority of the *area* of art that it taught would dwindle, which would be the case if originality and individuality were stressed too much.

Classical doctrine was always flexible when attacked. Werner Szambien has stressed how the 17th and 18th century French classicist could make all kinds of ideological concessions, as long as the essential remained: reference to Antiquity and nature.[86] Szambien sees the late 18th century theory of character especially as such a concession, a compromise that at the same time highlighted the status of architecture among the Fine Arts as opposed to the idea of engineering art.[87] Nyström presented the theory of character gradually changing his theory of architecture in general to become more psychological and thus more acceptable to anti-classicist (i.e. his pupils). It was apparently in John Belcher's *Essentials in Architecture* that he found the most modern defence possible for classical theory, by which he could justify his out-moded beliefs and assmuptions *and* his praxis of planning and design. The ''out-modedness'' of all of these (i.e. the contradiction with the generally held views of the field) had presented itself already before the turn of the century in connection with the dispute concerning the House of the Estates. In the same sense that he used Belcher, Nyström also took under discussion and *re-characterized* some of the central themes of 'the new architecture' — 'natural use of materials', 'the organic', 'expression of structure' etc. — returning them to their classistic points of departure in order to *justify* in this way his classistic praxis of design as seemingly modern.

Although Nyström appears to have borne the brunt of the blows in these upheavals of the field of Finnish architecture, Jac. Ahrenberg was in a sense in a more difficult position. He had to defend his definitely obsolete competence (Ahrenberg was seven years Nyström's senior) against the aims and achievements of the ''young'' of the turn of the century. Furthermore, as the leading architect of the Board of Public Works and Buildings he represented the body whose previously unrivalled authority decreased in comparison with all others. Before the turn of the century Ahrenberg strove to distance himself from the Polytechnical Institute — i.e. from the ''Academy'' and academic teaching which increasingly threatened the authority of the Board and the projects given to its architects. He did so by emphasizing 'artistic freedom', 'originality' and 'the picturesque' — all values that were as ''unacademic'' as possible. It is not surprising that Nyström did not publicly attack the Board of Public Works and Buildings in at all the same tone that Ahrenberg used of the Polytechnical Institute. The position of the institute grew stronger while the authority of the Board of Public Works and Buildings continuously decreased.

Around the turn of the century new competitors arose who were even more formidable and

numerous. They expressed their artistic aims in slogans against academic teaching employing precisely Ahrenberg's vocabulary. However, seen from the point of view of the younger generation Ahrenberg's statements were based on out-moded conceptions of art and obsolete skill in planning. Ahrenberg was thus forced to change his strategy. He became a proponent of the classical tradition, because his competence did not suffice to compete with the younger generation on their own terms. In describing the young generation as producers of ''monsters'' trained by Gustaf Nyström ''finally destroying all architecture'' in terms typical of those used by the classicists of Borrominisms, he raised himself (and the Board of Public Works and Buildings) to be the only defender of classicism.[88]

In praising Carl Ludvig Engel and his architecture Ahrenberg also bolstered the sunken authority of the Board of Public Works and Buildings, as Engel was not only a great architect but the most illustrious official of the government body that preceded the Board of Public Works and Buildings. Apparently Ahrenberg's project for a biography of Engel which finally led to only one article (1897) and a few presentations of buildings are also related to this attempt to raise the authority of the Board of Public Works and Buildings. Ahrenberg succeeded in describing himself as a classicist despite the fact the classicism of his texts appears to be mere slogans in comparison with Nyström: his obituaries present Ahrenberg as a classicist.

As observed above, we cannot know Ahrenberg's or Nyström's *real* motives. They may be found somewhere in between a real belief in one's ideas and the tactical manipulation of ideas. It is however tempting to see Gustaf Nyström as an agent whose actions were guided by his principles, i.e. classical doctrine. On the other hand, Jac. Ahrenberg, who completely changed his principles when the field was in upheaval, can be seen as an agent who sought legitimization for his actions in principles that he found suitable.

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Although 'historicism' as a historical and conceptual problem has come to be discussed in a number of publications by the late 1980s, results have remained imprecise. Research concerning the nature of 19th-century 'historicist architecture' has also been limited by a number of mistaken views and conceptions of the architecture of the period.

The starting-point of this study was provided by Wolgang Götz's definitions of 'historicism' and 'eclecticism'. A review of these concepts requires an orientation of research into which it is possible and fruitful to place ''historicism as a way of thinking''. A further starting-point was provided in this respect by Quentin Skinner's method for the study of political thought. The relevance of this method for art history could be seen in approaching it via the programme set out by Erwin Panofsky in his article *Art History as a Humanistic Discipline*.

Skinner's starting-point is to study a literary work from the point of view of action — as social speech-acts suggested in the text. His central themes are the analysis and utilization of the concepts of 'intention' and 'context' as well as the investigation of the act-restricting position of the normative vocabulary of a tradition of discourse.

Götz's idea of eclecticism as the *formal method* of artistic production and the idea of historicism as a *way of thought* were further defined by seeing Götz's conceptions within Skinner's schema, with eclecticism as action and historicism as idea. It was demonstrated that historicism must be divided into various types on the basis of the function in which it serves. The interrelationship of eclecticism and historicism was further defined. In this connection the distinction was made between (i) an active consciousness of history, more or less directly connected with action and (ii) a passive historical consciousness, which is part of the 'context', the world of beliefs of the author or artist. It was also pointed out that underlying the above was (iii) the conception of historical time.

The role of 'problems' and 'questions' in artistic life was also discussed. Because the relationship with history is one of the central problems of ''the period of Historicism'', the study of the relationship of all of the architects of the period with this problem is of crucial importance for understanding their actions. This ''artistic life'' was seen as a field of conflict *sensu* Pierre Bourdieu.

The empirical study was concerned with the field of architecture in Finland and two of its representatives, characterized as typical ''Late Historicists''. Chapter II and the Appendix investigates the intellectual traditions and their language employed by Jac. Ahrenberg and Gustaf Nyström in both their pictorial and written ''utterances''. It was observed that in their work as architects, they especially took into account the architecture of the historic centre of Helsinki, carrying on a dialogue specifically with the architecture of Carl Ludvig Engel. In chapter II it was observed that Nyström used the concepts and arguments of so-called classical doctrine in his writings, despite the fact that he was also thoroughly familiar with later orientations in theories of art. Ahrenberg's texts were connected with theories of art that can be described as romantic and realistic. However, from the mid-1890s onwards he began to employ the terms and values of the classical tradition.

Chapter III discusses the degree of historical consciousness of Ahrenberg and Nyström and their conceptions of historical time. Ahrenberg proved to be a typical representative of post-

revolutionary 'esthetic historicism'. Nyström lacked an active consciousness of history and his conception of history is described with reference to the *Historia Magistra Vitae* topos. In this respect Nyström was a genuine classicist.

In the last chapter we attempted to answer the question of what Ahrenberg and Nyström may have been *doing in* appealing to the language of the above traditions and what *motivated* and *prompted* them to those particular visual and written utterances. The answers to these questions required seeing their actions in context — their work and activities as a whole and within their social field of action. If we do not investigate contextually what Ahrenberg and Nyström were in fact doing in their use of the language of the traditions discussed, we can easily misinterpret both as representatives of the wrong tradition. For example, Ahrenberg could be seen as a 'classicist' and Nyström as a 'rationalist' or 'Semperian'.

With the explication of historicism as *function* it was possible to discern various kinds of 'eclecticism' in the field of architecture studied. Works of architecture of similar appearance proved to be representatives of different kinds of eclecticism, as their underlying intentions differed from each other. Furthermore, it was also demonstrated that Gustaf Nyström, one of the main representatives of ''historicist architecture'' in Finland, was not in fact a historicist at all, for history did not play any role in his *primary intentions*.

It was also observed that late 19th and early 20th century ''non-progressive'', ''historicist'', architecture was not necessarily an architecture of scenery, as implied by research, but as ''moral'' as all previous architecture. This result was achieved through an analysis of Ahrenberg's and Nyström's texts. It was also seen that the theorizing of artists is not necessarily home-spun metaphysics. Nyström's writings on beauty and truth, which at first glance seem to be empty rhetoric, prove to be a part of a centuries-old Western tradition when we investigate in detail his concepts and arguments. Nyström's writings specifically show the vitality of the classical tradition.

In turn-of-the-century Finnish architecture experts have been surprised to find a stylistic side-current differing from Art Nouveau that has been described as ''Academic Post-Classicism'' and ''Eclectic Classicism'' with Nyström and Ahrenberg as its main proponents. An explanation for this orientation, hitherto regarded as solely stylistic, appears to be found in the conflicts of the field between the ''old architects'' and the ''younger generation'' and the official and private architects. The conflicts deepened towards the turn of the century.

''Post-Classicism'' involved a defensive gathering of the ranks of the established older generation of architects against those who strove to further new artistic aims, thus threatening the competence and the professional market of the former. It could be seen that Ahrenberg and Nyström, however, had considerably different motives underlying their expressions and utterances. This was a result of the differences of their respective social statuses.

The study concentrates on two architects. A study of the beliefs, conventions, assumptions and problems of the field of Finnish architecture of the period would require a much wider scope. For instance, Theodor Decker, architect of the Board of Public Buildings, presented a competition entry for the House of the Estates in 1887 that employed the central projection of Engel's Senate almost as such. The use of such a 'quotation' gives grounds to assume that Decker was a representative of 'esthetic historicism' in the manner of Ahrenberg. The actual state of affairs can be determined only through an investigation of the total 'context' of this 'utterance' by Decker.

Appendix: Architectural projects by Jac. Ahrenberg and Gustaf Nyström for Empire-style milieus

1. Gustaf Nyström

The designs prepared by Gustaf Nyström for the Imperial Alexander University (present-day University of Helsinki) present an interesting body of material for the subject at hand. Nyström was the unoffical university architect from 1881 until 1915. According to available sources, he prepared at least 54 different designs for various departments of the university from 1883 to 1914. It must also be noted that Nyström's designs — e.g., for the façade of the book repository of the University Library — include several complete water-coloured alternatives. From 1887 to 1910 the university erected 11 buildings based on Nyström's designs, most of which were for institutes of the natural sciences. Nyström was also the architect in charge of the actual construction work. All of these projects were in the area of the historic centre of Helsinki. *5, 6*

Nyström's mentor Frans Anatolius Sjöström had directed the extensive repairs carried out on the University Library in the late 1870s as well as designing a number of other less assuming repairs in the early years of the 1880s. The beginning of Nyström's career as university architect may be explained by the role of Sjöström who appears to have recommended Nyström as his successor. The fact that architectural projects were given to Sjöström and Nyström is in accordance with the role of the Alexander University, where administrative autonomy was stressed *vis-á-vis* the state and accordingly there was probably no desire to use the services of the government architects of the Board of Public Buildings (former Bureau of Public Works and Buildings). The leading teacher of architecture at the Polytechnical Institute (after 1908 the University of Technology) was well suited to the task insofar as he was independent of the Board of Public Buildings, but nonetheless an official expert with *academic* standing.[1]

1.1. Gustaf Nyström's designs in the townscape of Helsinki

If Gustaf Nyström's designs for his university buildings are viewed from the perspective of a rigid ''period style'' systematization,[2] the university architecture would appear to art historians to be quite inconsistent in nature. The use of various architectural styles was not consistent in chronological perspective (within the span of a single year Nyström could apply different styles in his buildings, and a building representing ''modernism'' could be designed before one of a ''revived'' style)[3]. Nor does Nyström appear to have applied the thematic historicism that has been regarded as typical of the period of eclecticism. There is no evidence of linking a certain historical style to certain building projects (there was no uniform ''university style'', nor do different designs for a certain department of the university conform to any uniform style)[4]. From this perspective Nyström's use of style appears to have been almost arbitrary.

A closer review of the designs outlines a feature that seems at first to confuse the whole situation even more.

Nyström drew up the largest number of designs, twelve in all, for the building of the Department of Physics. Four different locations were suggested for the building in the course of the 16 years of planning. The designs from 1893 and 1897 conform to the scheme of the Renaissance

dwelling palace (cf. Palazzo Strozzi)[5] and they are related to the palatial apartment and commercial buildings erected in the 1880s and '90s in the Erottaja area of Helsinki and along the main thoroughfare (present-day Mannerheimintie). On the other hand, the later designs from 1899—1900 and 1902, at least with regard to their street façades, present the appearance of an administrative palace (originally stemming from the east façade of the Louvre).[6] The overall form and appearance of the completed building (1909) derives in turn from Constructivistic industrial or business premises and it is the only one of the projects that presents a clear and immediate association with a laboratory-type scientific institute.[7] Thus, we may observe that the *building types* applied in the various designs for the Department of Physics differ from each other.

Nyström applied the residential building type in his projects for the Department of Physics
7, 8, 47 Building at Snellmaninkatu 12, an administrative palace at Rauhankatu 19 (adjacent to the State
9 Archives), and at Hallituskatu 11—13 (present site of the Porthania complex of the University
9 of Helsinki) and further in his first sketches for the building to be located at Siltavuorenpenkere.
10 The final design drawn up by Nyström for the Siltavuori region is in accordance with the building type of a laboratory for the natural sciences. The building types applied appear to correlate to some degree with the intended location in the townscape. The comparisons must be continued.

Snellmaninkatu 12 never became the site of a building for the Department of Physics, but in 1902—05 Nyström presented three alternative designs for a building for the Department of Pathology to be erected at the same site. Stylistically the designs can be observed to represent
13—14 so-called National Romanticism (nos. 2 & 3) and International Art Nouveau (no.1). However, all of the designs are mainly of the residential building type, or even that of a private dwelling.[8] Also the building of the Department of Physics (1893,1897) planned for the same lot was classed above as a dwelling. It seems that Nyström saw the residential building type as suited to a specific site, the Snellmaninkatu 12 lot surrounded by the *residential* buildings of the Kruununhaka area.

15 In 1896 Nyström designed a building for the Department of Botany in the middle of the grounds of the Botanical Gardens. Stylistically, this project corresponds to Dutch-Danish Brick Renaissance. The official yearly report of the rector of the university mentions that the building of
16 the Department of Botany, subsequently designed four years later and erected, was of the ''Scanian or Danish manor style'',[9] and also the 1896 design presents an association with manorial
17 architecture. A graphic point of comparison is the Frijsenborg manor in Denmark by Ferdinand Meldahl and dating to the 1850s.[10] The *park-like* Botanical Gardens on the fringe of the town provided in turn the site for Nyström's design for a manorial building.

The following designs by Nyström can be classified as *administrative* palaces with regard to
8, 9 type: the designs for the Department of Physics at Rauhankatu 19 and Hallituskatu 11—13 (cf.
18, 19—24 above), an auditorium (1909)[11] for the latter site, the Department of Anatomy and Pharmacy
30—38 at Fabianinkatu 35 (1885—1895)[12] and an extension of the University Library (1913—1914)[69] intended to replace the latter.[13] The same overall line can be observed in Nyström's previously
47, 48 built State Archives (1887) and possibly also the House of the Estates (1888) and its projected
63 extension as the House of Parliament (1907). Nyström maintained that the *administrative centre* of the Grand Duchy of Finland required buildings of the administrative palace type regardless of the differences in the nature of the actual building projects.

64, 10 It was only in the case of the buildings for the Departments of Physiology (1905),[14] Physics
65—66 (1909)[15] and Anatomy (1913)[16] designed for the Siltavuori site that the building type expresses their function as premises for scientific laboratories and experimental work.

We must also add details to the above with cases that are not as distinct:

The extension to the gymnasium designed for the courtyard of the main building of the university is also within the area of the administrative centre of Helsinki. On initial inspection Nyström's

three designs (1887—1890) for a single-storey building of dispersed volume do not give the impression of an administrative palace. However, the prototype of the basic design can be seen in the projects for the *Reichstag* building in Berlin — an administrative palace of the 1880s par excellence.[17] *67—72*

The building of the Department of Chemistry (1884), also in the administrative centre of Helsinki, is a special case as it is only a wing added to the Laboratory Building designed by Carl Albert Edelfelt (1869) and directly joined to the main building. There were no alternatives available in choosing the building type applied; the building fits uniformly into the street façade of Hallituskatu. *81*

The Refractory Tower of the University Observatory must also be seen as a special case as the building type is dictated by its technical function.[18] *82, 83*

In the 1902 design for the Department of Physics the building was intended for Siltavuori but was nevertheless of the type applied in the centre of the city and does not correspond to the above congruence of building type and location. It must however be remembered that this design was originally intended for the centre area (Hallituskatu 11—13) in accordance with the original ruling of the university authorities. The committee in charge of the project proposed the Siltavuori area as only an alternative.[19] When the Siltavuori site was decided upon in 1900 the earlier design was only revised to conform to the different site.[20] *9*

Nyström's aim was to fill the administrative areas of the centre of Helsinki with buildings of the administrative palace type regardless of their actual function. What architectural styles were represented in these designs?

The extension to the Department of Anatomy (1885), the designs for the University Gymnasium (1887—1890), the Department of Pharmacy (1895) and the designs for the Book Repository (1898,1900) as well as the State Archives (1887) and the House of the Estates (1888) are all projects presented by Nyström in the 1880s and '90s for the centre area of Helsinki. An expert on style could define these as representing the classicism of Viennese "*strengen Historismus*". The classicism of all of these reflects the style of the nearby buildings by Carl Ludvig Engel and the building of the Department of Anatomy and Pharmacy the classicism of Ernst Bernhard Lohrmann. The Refractory Building designed for the observatory (1887) and located in the immediate vicinity of Engel's Observatory can also be included in this group. *21, 22, 67—72* *19—24, 86—95* *47, 55—59*

The designs for the Department of Physics (1899—1900), the design for the University Auditorium building (1909), the façade designs for the Book Repository (1904—1905) as well as the design for the House of Parliament from 1907 represent Viennese Art Nouveau Classicism. In the 1910s Nyström designed for the same area of the city centre a new project for an extension of the House of the Estates to house the planned House of Parliament (1912)[21] and the extension of the University Library (1913—1914). The designs were closely bound to the heritage of classicism with a stress on a heavier language of form and closer to "1910s Classicism" in accordance with general trends of the times. *8, 18* *91—95* *63* *30—38*

Classicism was thus the style which Nyström maintained was suited to the representative administrative sections of the capital of the Grand Duchy of Finland. The stylistic differences between the buildings are limited. In chronological terms, classicism changed from the Viennese Neo-Hellenism and Neo-Renaissance of the 1880s and '90s which followed the lines of Engel's Classicism to the Art Nouveau Classicism of the beginning of the 20th century and reverted in the 1910s to a more traditional orientation.

Furthermore, the topographical placing of the buildings had an effect even on these differences within Nyström's classicism. One of the best examples is the block of buildings (Fi. *Seepra* — Zebra) containing the University Library. Nyström presented different designs for all of the façades of the present Department of Pharmacy, so that they expressed in all directions the in- *20—24*

herent value of the surrounding buildings. This feature was further stressed in the project for
34—38 enlarging the University Library (1914). Each of the façades in the project give the appearance of having been designed for different buildings: the façade facing Unioninkatu and Fabianinkatu borrows its form from the library by Engel. The main façade facing Fabianinkatu is mainly from a Baroque Classical palace and only the ''rear façade'' facing Kirkkokatu partly reveals the character of an archive building designed in the 1910s.

This feature is stressed in a number of details. In the building of the Department of Pharmacy
101 (built in 1897) at the corner of Hallituskatu and Fabianinkatu streets the ornamental moulding and the rustication of the façade facing Hallituskatu street which is also the more impressive one continue ca. 0.5 metres onto the more ascetic façade facing Fabianinkatu street. In the 1914
34 project for the University Library building the façade on Hallituskatu street repeats the composition of features of the side façades of Engel's library building. Because the composition is dictated by Engel's design, the windows required by the storage rooms of the archives had to be opened in between the pilasters in spaces that were only approximately 1.5 pilasters wide. The windows are of normal width in the ''rear façade'' on Kirkkokatu street located on the opposite side.

102 A similar situation can be seen in the side façades of the project for Parliament House (1907). The Kirkkokatu street façade is closer to the Senate Square and it is decorated with free-standing columns. On the opposite side facing Rauhankatu the same motif is reproduced but in a more modest way using only pilasters.

In 1905 the façades of the House of the Estates were criticized for appearing to be from different buildings.[22] It was not understood in this connection that the architect must have had the intention of taking into account the nature of the immediate surroundings.

Outside the sharply defined administrative quarter to a site such as 12 Snellmaninkatu street the styles of the projects are not in accordance with any consistent pattern. The styles applied only tend to be congruent with the building types in question. The plan for the building of the
7 Department of Physics at 12 Snellmaninkatu street is of a Renaissance style suggesting the palazzi of Florence whereas the projects for the Department of Pathology designed for the same lot
13, 14 are either of international *Jugend* or Finnish National-Romantic style. The projects from 1896
15, 16 and 1900 for the Department of Botany, though suggesting 17th century Danish prototypes,[23] differ considerably in appearance, but both are ''well-suited'' to the specific genre of the manorial building that they represent.

One more building by Nyström must be considered in this connection. In the near vicinity
103 of the above buildings are the offices of the Finnish Union Bank on Aleksanterinkatu street
6 (1896—1898). The building is near the University and the Senate Square, but in the non-administrative part of Aleksanterinkatu street (no. 36). The façade type applied is common to buildings of a public nature, but its starting-point is possibly a project for the façade of a residential
12 palace by Serlio.[24] In style the façade is strongly linked to the heritage of Classicism along with a number of Manneristic features. From the perspective of type-style-location analysis it can be interpreted as a borderline case between public and private zones (the Department of Physics at 12 Snellmaninkatu is *clearly* a residential palace). Can the style and type of a bank building be solutions dicated by geographical location? Our reference to a Renaissance palace would provide a much more natural assciation with the function of a bank. It must be noted, however,
104, 105 that Nyström designed the Union Bank building in Tampere (1901), and in Viipuri the Union
106 Bank building (1902) and the premises of the Bank of Finland (1908), none of which contained any reference to Renaissance palaces or in any way conformed to a classistic language of form. On the contrary, the Bank of Finland building in Viipuri is designed in accordance with the ''busi-

ness architecture'' of the old Hanseatic League towns of the Baltic, which in turn is well suited to the history and nature of Viipuri as a town.

In the 1880s and '90s Nyström designed buildings for the university only in the area of the centre of Helsinki and accordingly the buildings commissioned by the university in these decades cannot provide material for comparison or control with respect to the configuration of type, style and location. It must be remembered, however, that the strict attention to the nature of the immediate surroundings could already be seen in the different façades of the building for the Departments of Anatomy and Pharmacy (1885—1895). Comparative material from outside the sphere of university buildings is provided by the *Läroverket för flickor och gossar* -school at 23 Korkeavuorenkatu street designed by Nyström in 1894. The school building conforms to the Neo-Gothic style of the adjacent Church of St. John (Fi. *Johanneksen kirkko;* 1891; A.E.Melander) and differs completely from the Renaissance of the contemporary building for the Department of Pharmacy (1895).

The main factor guiding the design and planning of the buildings (with the exclusion of the obvious practical and functional reasons) appears to have been their location in the townscape, i.e. their intended position among already existing buildings. Nyström's method entailed the use of building types and styles. In the area of the centre of Helsinki which was felt to be more important the stressed respect for the aspect of townscape applied both to the style and the building type selected. However, immediately outside the sharply defined administrative sections of Helsinki the predestinating nature of the visual appearance of the buildings is reduced to apply only to the selection of building type. *6*

The function of the buildings concerned naturally affected their visual design, but the most distinct expression in this sense is given to the *character* of the activities for which the buildings were intended. This affected the allocation of mass and the language of form of the buildings concerned. At Snellmaninkatu 12 the extensive premises of the Department of Physics with their varied functions were given the appearance of a residential *palace* in the 1893 and 1897 projects. *7*
In the designs of 1902—1905 the smaller Department of Pathology was given the volume of a *13, 14*
single-family dwelling. However, both are residential buildings in type. A similar situation arose at the site of the library where the presently standing Department of Pharmacy, designed in *19—24*
1885—1895, displays a much simpler degree of decoration than the projected enlarged library building designed in 1913—1914 and intended to replace it. However, both buildings can be seen *30—38*
as examples of the administrative palace-type of building. The State Archives and the intended *47*
building of the Department of Physics (1899—1900) both on Rauhankatu street differ in their *8*
language of form, although the building committee responsible for the Department of Physics stated that ''the façade was designed taking into account the fact that the buildings should stand in harmony with each other''.[25] The Department of Physics is clearly less assuming and simpler and its character as a laboratory is expressed *in comparison* with the more official representative appearance of the State Archives, but in a broader sense both represent the classicistic administrative palace.

With respect to the public nature of the projects for the State Archives, the House of the Es- *47, 59*
tates and its planned extensions as well as the designed extensions for the University Library *63, 30—38*
Nyström applied a more monumental language of form. On the other hand the buildings for the various departments of the university display designs that are less imposing and of an office-like character approaching that of utilitarian architecture. It is only in this respect that the function of the university buildings as departments for teaching and research comes to the fore; their overall function as parts of the Alma Mater is hardly expressed at all.

Nyström maintained that the environment and surroundings required certain principles to be applied in design, while the university buildings often had specific and even highly practical func-

86—95 tions. Accordingly a latent contradiction came about between these two aspects which culminated in the project for the Book Repository. The function of the extension to the library was mundane, while the surroundings and environs were in Nyström's sense of the most demanding charac-
91 ter. The result is an attempt to disguise the specific nature of the Book Repository with the strong use of decoration and ornament. The best example of this is the project no. 3 for the façade (1904—1905) which is the most ornamental one of the whole series and at the same time expresses the rational structure required by a functional building much more graphically than the alternate projects.

The latent contradiction between the monumental building and the functional building is not solely the result of Nyström's principles of design. It is imminent in the architecture of universities. On the one hand, it has a representative role and on the other hand it presents genuine and far-reaching practical requirements. The Alexander University's building and construction activities can in a sense be defined as public building and in a sense as private building. The university in Imperial Finland was mainly an institution of the state but also an autonomous administrative and scholarly community. In Nyström's university architecture the requirement of representativeness was clearly in the foreground in the centre of the city and less prominent at Snellmaninkatu 12 and in the Botanical Gardens. On the other hand, at Siltavuori the principle of functional building, and accordingly the nature of the university as a scientific and scholarly institution, are stressed.

The specific nature of the Siltavuori area has already been discussed above. The planned whole
64, 10 consisting of three buildings housing the Departments of Physiology (1905), Physics (1909) and
65, 66 Anatomy (1913) indicates a functional disposition of building mass and a so-called Constructivistic language of form.[26] All of the buildings bring to mind direct associations with laboratory and experimental work. In the case of the Department of Physiology this is only because of the fact that it cannot be classed in any other group.

The location of these buildings on a hill rising above the town indicates even in a symbolic sense their requirements: light, a solid foundation and an isolated location. A uniform wall surface of brick joins the buildings into a single whole. A projection of brick in the unaccentuated plastered wall of the the Department of Physiology forms a point-de-vue at the end of the axis of the street:

> Coming from the centre of the town to the hill next to the State Archives one can see the new house high up on Siltavuori hill with its middle part forming the north end of Nikolainkatu street. There it stands red upon red with the darker reds of the walls and the lighter red of the tiled roof, an especially beautiful combination of colours. Both the walls and the roof are richly decorated, the former with light-coloured mouldings, bands, blocks and ornaments (...) as well as glazed tiles and light-red terracotta ornaments and forged-iron anchoring irons providing an excellent effect — the last mentioned, viz. roof, is decorated with expensive works in copper.[27]

107 Thus the eye of the viewer following Snellmaninkatu (formerly Nikolainkatu street) links the fortress-like island of university buildings on Siltavuori hill to the university buildings of the centre of the town. It was only here on the fringes of the centre of Helsinki on an unbuilt hill clearly separate from its surroundings and without any prior history of (monumental) architecture that Nyström designed buildings for laboratory and experimental work that clearly expressed their function, i.e. a modern university milieu. A similar situation arose in connection with Nyström's
108 project for the Art Museum of Turku (1901—1904). The site of the museum was Puolalanmäki hill dominating the west bank of the Aurajoki river and with hardly any buildings at the turn of the century. It was here that Nyström permitted himself a Richardsonian architectural solution that even generated a great deal of interest due to its progressive character.[28] However, the "younger generation" of architects criticized his project as rigid and lifeless.[29]

1.2. Gustaf Nyström and the architecture of Carl Ludvig Engel in the centre of Helsinki

The following discussion centers on the buildings designed by Gustaf Nyström for quarters of the administrative centre of Helsinki. It was in this area that we observed how the environment *6*
was especially taken into account in the planning process. However, only a detailed analysis of the themes of the façades of the buildings will reveal the actual contacts between Nyström's buildings and the surrounding classicist buildings of the 1820s and '30s.

The Refractor Tower

The visual form of the present round building is almost completely the result of its function (housing for a double refracting telescope for astronomical photography) and the technical features and solutions selected by Anders Donner, professor of astronomy at the time. The architect was left with the task of articulating the façades of the building.[30]

82

Project No. 1 (September 1887)

The façade is composed with the column-entablature system. In principle each bay is similar. The classicistic Renaissance character of the building is accentuated by the balance of horizontal and vertical motifs; the vertical lines of the pilasters and windows are offset by a distinct division into storeys by the entablatures. The ground floor is composed of Tuscan double pilasters and a triglyph-metope frieze supported by them. The walls in between the pilasters are smooth and their round-arched openings are bordered by a simple profiled band. The square laboratory of photography is part of the same architectural system, but it has its own pilasters bearing the weight of the structure in all four corners.

In the main storey, in accordance with the tectonic principle, there are Ionic double plasters with an entablature. Behind the double pilasters are shorter and wider pillars with their reduced bases and capitals. The sides of these capitals support archivolts, the profiles of which however do not touch the Ionic architrave of the storey. The theme of the storey is thus a type of variation of the rhythmic bay.

As in the case of Nyström also in the first floor of the lower courtyard of Bramante's Belvedere the supports of the archivolts are clearly uniform pillars behind the main order — and not two separate pilasters.[31] But Nyström's solution is in fact more related to the architecture of C.L.Engel. The central projection of the Gymnasium of the University Main Building (Engel *73*
1832 — Fabianinkatu 33) resembles Nyström's design to a great degree, although it can be interpreted as the combination of a taberna motif and the rhythmic bay. Also in this this case the archivolts do not extend to the architrave. In Engel's main order there are Corinthian single columns and the Attic small columns are without a base. A variation of this motif can also be seen in the main storey of the side façades of the University Main Building (1828), although the *84*
colossal columns enclose two consecutive storeys. In these windows framed by archivolts there is a balustrade, a motif also used by Nyström. He especially studied these façades by Engel in preparing his designs at the same time for the extensions to the Gymnasium. In these the motif of the rhythmic bay is varied in a slightly different manner, as discussed below.

It must be noted how Nyström joined the composition of vertical and horizontal elements: the horizontal moulding of the balustrade railing connects with the cornice of the pedestal of the Ionic pilasters. Above the entablature of the main storey is a balcony supported by a console frieze of cast iron above which is the actual dome for the telescope. The horizontal moulding

separates from the storey a high zone without wall articulation; it is only from the height of the parapet wall that the panelled supports and the windows framed by a simple architrave surround rise.

The architectural composition of the openings of the main storey is thus bound to the Ionic order to form the motif of the rhythmic bay, but the windows of the bottom storey are only openings in the wall between the pilasters and the entablature, thus stressing the nature of this floor as the actual basement of the building. This is of course further stressed by the hierarchy of the orders applied in the storeys. In the first storey it is Tuscan and in the second storey Ionic. On the other hand, because of the fact that the Tuscan order and the intervening wall surface with its openings are in no organic connection with each other, the wall surface can be imagined to be considerably deeper than the column-entablature layer thus forming an ''open'' peristyle.

85 This interpretation of the ground floor presents a comparison of the building with the classic specimen of all classicistic round temples, Bramante's Tempietto. Also here the windows of the first floor can be seen as ''gouged'' into the mass of the wall. In Nyström's project there are 16 columns as in the Tempietto, albeit grouped as double pilasters. Also in other connection Nyström showed a tendency to change the columns of his classistic prototypes into pairs of columns.[32] It must be noted that there are four *pairs* of pilasters in the interior of the Tempietto. Also the balustrades of the main storey indicate the Tempietto. The horizontal line of the balustrade railing continues past the window casings onto the pedestals of the pilasters.

However, the main storey cannot be accomodated to the Tempietto allusion, but the third storey — which in fact is the drum of the dome — corresponds to a great deal to the architectural composition of the drum of the dome of the Tempietto. In both cases the supports are provided by atectonic vertical elements differing from the tectonic system of the rest of the building (the supports of the Tempietto have pedestals, however). A hemisphere was the most common form of observatory dome in the late 19th century.[33] The Finnish climate and the instructions of Anders Donner, however, dictated the form of the Helsinki dome to be conical. A letter from Nyström to Donner (June 13th, 1887)[34] can be interpreted as a desire by the former to apply a different form (such as a hemisphere?) to the dome than the one presented in the plans. A hemispherical dome would have created a more obvious allusion to the Tempietto.

The round-arched windows of project no. 1 would almost require a hemispherical dome. In *83* the final project (no. 2) the windows have aedicula frames that correspond better to the conical dome form that was selected. The atectonic vertical organization of the drum of the dome can be argued for not only as a hypothetical allusion to the Tempietto, as the storey is not only a covering of sheet iron but also a rotating part. To join it rigidly to the column and beam system of the lower storeys would create a comic appearance.

The hypothetical allusion to the Tempietto lacks iconographic grounds. On the other hand, it may be asked whether it was a gesture with reference to the tower and dome of the Nikolai Church by Engel, which, like the refractor tower, rises above the rooftops of Helsinki on its *115* own pedestal of brick. In the first project by Engel for the church (1818) the tower was of the Tempietto type. At least Jac. Ahrenberg is known to have studied this drawing, as will be discussed below. In any case, the use of classistic tectonics and the architectural solutions of Engel finds grounds in the close vicinity of the observatory by Engel.

83 Project no. 2 (November 1887)

In contrast to the first project, based on the column and beam system, the latter project is characterized by the use of different textures. The façade stresses horizontal lines with horizontal mouldings as dominant features. Texture is used to separate the bottom storey from the main storey.

The former is rusticated while the latter has brick surfaces. The use of sheer brick surfaces can be connected with Nyström's statement concerning his project for the Customs Building at Katajanokka (1899) according to which the walls were not plastered as the plastering would not stand up to the effects of the wind from the sea.[35] The use of brick surfaces in the main floor may also have been the result of Professor Donner's plans to save on costs. As there were doubts whether the university authorities would approve of the project, Donner had this less costly alternative prepared. In this second project the tower is 0.75 metres shorter and 1 metre narrower. Futhermore, the observation balcony has been removed and ornamentation was reduced and simplified.[36]

The bottom storey has blind windows and the entrance has an architrave surround. The lintel of the latter is at the same time a projecting part of the horizontal moulding separating the first and second storeys. A closer look reveals that the moulding is in fact an entablature. Recessed Tuscan half pilasters can be seen on the outer edge of the pilasters surrounding the entrance. These support the horizontal listel, although supportive function could have been achieved by rustication alone. In contrast to project no. 1, the photography laboratory is under the same entablature because it does not have its own upright supports.

The motif of the brick-walled main storey is formed by eight aedicular-framed windows bound together by an entablature and a continuous surbase moulding. In fact, the windows of the main floor in project no. 1 were also joined to each other from above and below, thus giving both façades the appearance of a rotating movement. Because the enframing pilasters of the windows are equidistant and because they support in a sense the entablature continuing around the whole building, the impression of ambiguity is obtained. In a sense these 16 pilasters support a uniform entablature and on the other hand they are pilasters enframing the windows (if we take into account the projection of the entablature and the aedicular triangles). This ambiguity suggests that the motif can be regarded as Manneristic in the sense described by Rudolf Wittkower.[37] Manneristic elements are also characteristic of Nyström's later classicism. It must also be noted that a similar motif was applied in the main storey of the inner walls of the chamber of the House of Parliament in Vienna designed in 1884 by Theophil von Hansen who served as an example to Nyström in other respects as well. The storey — and in a way the whole building, as the dome does not have any kind of architectural articulation — ends in a strongly projecting console frieze. In this feature, architectural design and functionality are combined: the wide frieze disguises a covering of sheet iron to prevent snow from getting in to the mechanism for rotating the dome.

Project no. 2 is of a simpler design and is more obviously for a utility-type building than the first project. However, analysis shows that it contains certain features surprising in classistic tectonics, which could not be observed in the more explicit first project.

As was the case in the first project the architectural design of the two main floors in the second project does not correspond in any way to the interior of the building — a staircase winding around a granite pillar. Of more importance, however, is the connection of the building with Engel's observatory on the one hand[38] and the townscape of Helsinki on the other. The undressed brick walls of project no. 2 clearly indicate the aim of giving the South Harbour area of Helsinki a uniform architectural appearance.[39] The building was constructed in 1889—1890 in accordance with the latter plan, but both of the main floors were plastered over.

The building for the Departments of Anatomy, Pharmacy, Physiology and Hygiene

The old part of the building (Fabianinkatu 35), designed by Ernst Bernhard Lohrmann or Jean Wiik, was completed in the autumn of 1847 to house a laboratory of chemistry and an anatomy theater. Gustaf Nyström's 1885 project for the department of anatomy added a north wing mak-

19 ing the building right-angled. The wing was built in 1888—1891. A south wing of corresponding volume was added for the departments of pharmacy, physiology and hygiene in 1895—1897 according to Nyström's design of 1895. The south wing is longer by one window axis than the north wing due to the fact that the old building was not in the centre of the lot.[40]

20 The vertical orgnization of the main façade facing Fabianinkatu street is based on a central projection with a triangular pediment and wide projections on the sides. This is the same type
26, 27 of façade as in Engel's designs for the Senate building, the University Main Building and the
28 Seurahuone hotel.[41] The horizontal organization is based on a rusticated bottom storey and a main storey with smooth walls and only window surrounds as decoration. The windows have a closed parapet on which the windows are placed on a simple unprofiled listel dividing the storeys. In other respects as well, the façade is tectonic in an Empire-style spirit. It must be noted that the first 15 window axes are of a building of the 1840s from which Nyström continued using the same architectural principles.

Nyström's actual contribution to the façade are the side projections. Due to the slope of the terrain the south projection has an extra foundation storey. The two lower storeys are rusticated tectonically: in the lower one the blocks are in better resolution than the stratified rustication of the following storey. The storeys are divided by a two-part horizontal moulding which is not otherwise linked to the decoration of the façade but is only a continuation of the façade facing Hallituskatu. The rustication of the side projection to the north (from the 1885 project) is structurally in accordance with Lohrmann's ashlar design. On the other hand in the south side projection, designed ten years later, the vertical division of the rustication was more sparse. The hierarchical division is also preserved horizontally — the window frames of the main storey of the central projection extend more than the others and they are supported by consoles, on the other hand there is an flat parapet in the side projections as in the windows of the wall in between the projections.

The actual architectural motif of the side projections is the combination of three round-arched windows with its entablature.

The side projections break the monotonous horizontal continuity of the façade. This has been underlined by advancing in two stages from the basic surface of the wall and by covering the side projections with an attic above the top cornice. The projections of the attic continue the
19 vertical axes of the side projection. The floor-plan shows that the interior did not in any way dictate the width of the projections, the two-stage profile of their surface or the three windows (there was room for more windows). A three-window design finds grounds in Nyström's deliber-
26 ate links with the façade type used by Engel in the Senate Square. In the Senate and the Universi-
27 ty Main Building a central projection with five windows was connected to side projections with three windows.

The round-arched window motif finds hypothetical explanations. It can be explained as a deliberate connection — in a simpler language of form — to the archivolt-framed windows of Engel's
27, 20 University Main Building. On the other hand the lunette window of Lohrmann's pediment finds its logical pairs in these triple archivolts. Furthermore, Nyström's obvious aim of keeping to Lohrmann's language of form may have inspired him to use these *Quattrocento* Windows which were originally used also by Lohrmann (Snellmaninkatu Post Office, 1851; Hakasalmi Villa, 1843).

21 The north façade on Unioninkatu street, designed in 1885, is an obvious palace façade with
29 its starting-point in the two-storey Pal. Caprini of Bramante.[42] Characteristic of the building are a bottom storey with rustication and arches and a piano nobile employing aedicula windows with balustrades. Nyström's interpretation is in the spirit of the late 19th century. Already at first glance one can see the lack of markedly plastic features which are present in the prototype as well as in Engel's monumental buildings. The relief is very low: rustication is only marked with

lines and the supports are flat pilasters. In this case Nyström worked along the lines of the low Late Empire relief of the Fabianinkatu façade by Lohrmann.

The round-arched blind windows on the second and fourth bays of the bottom storey are a distant reflection of the arches of the Pal. Caprini. The keystone is a volute supporting at the same time a simple unprofiled band dividing the storeys. This detail in turn is a direct reference to the Pal. Caprini. On the other hand, a rectangular door opening with architrave framing and Ionic pilasters was opened on the central axis. The entablature of the door with its console frieze clearly rises above the storey listel and separates from it the aedicula framework immediately above as a separate vertical theme, separate in turn from the horizontal lines of the whole façade. In Nyström's piano nobile the aedicula-framed windows of the Pal. Caprini are tectonized; they have Tuscan pilasters and an entablature supporting a pediment.

The use of the colossal order differs clearly from Renaissance prototypes, although tectonics are by no means sacrificed. The outermost axes of the bottom storey extend to form the pedestals of the double pilasters enframing the main storey. From this "pedestal" a capital and base are marked and it can be seen as an order specific to the bottom storey. It must be noted that coupled pilasters have their own projecting entablatures. Thus, unbroken verticals are formed at the sides of the façade. The broken entablature is more a feature of the verticalism of Baroque architecture than Engel's Neo-Classicism.[43] At the Pal. Caprini the colossal supports had a pedestal the height of the window balustrades. In Nyström's case the high pedestal was in a sense moved to the bottom storey. Also the nature of the main pilaster-entablature motif is changed. At the Pal. Caprini the double supports are in between all of the window rows, here they are only at the sides of the façade.

It is obvious that the carefully worked design of this secondary façade is due to its location between Engel's University Library and the Cantonist School (1826), albeit drawn in from the line of the street. For example the console frieze of the façade is taken directly from the above buildings by Engel in the same scale. There are also other references to nearby buildings by Engel. The façade can be seen as a vertical reduction of the side projections of the Senate and thus as a side pavilion of Engel's library building. On the other hand as an explanation for the consistent verticality of the double supports they can in this Neo-Classicist context be seen almost as side projections due to their verticality extending from the basement to the top cornice. Accordingly they would find reference in the side projections of the rear façade of the University Main Building by Engel which are only one bay wide and thus formed of two adjacent pilasters. *96* *95* *27*

The dimensions of the façade are also the result of careful study. At first glance the façade gives a harmonic and closed appearance. The rectangle of the façade (dimensions 3:5) is in fact closed from all four sides by a "frame" approximately equally wide. Vertically the façade is enframed by the double pilasters with their pedestals and projecting entablatures, horizontally by the Ionic entablature, and in the bottom storey a horizontal moulding at the elevation of the parapet of the blind windows separates the socle and a blockwork layer higher than the others into a separate band.

The storeys have a ratio of 3:2 with the main floor dominating, thus corrresponding to the dominance of the piano nobile in the palazzi of the Caprini group.[44] In the bottom storey the pedestals of the double pilasters are as wide as the door between the small Ionic pilasters. In the main storey the windows are the width of the double pilasters — the same width applies also to the spacing of the blind windows of the bottom storey, with their recessed band-like surround.

The angle of the hipped roof at the end of the building giving the appearance of a pyramid roof corresponds to the triangular pediments of the windows of the main storey. The proportions of the façade do not occur by chance, i.e. they are not a logical result of the Fabianinkatu façade by Lohrmann and the contours of the site. At Nyström's proposal the building commit-

tee agreed to lower the street-level of Kirkkokatu in connection with construction[45] and it was thus possible to give the façade the dimensions desired by the architect. The auditorium behind the aedicula-framed windows on the main floor was observed to be poorly lit[46] and it appears that a harmonic façade on Unioninkatu was of more importance to Nyström than other considerations.

Although the façade in question differs from the Pal. Caprini, it can be seen that in both cases "the façade is dominated by a simple opposition between the verticality of the pilasters and the aediculae and the overall horizontality of the façade" as observed by Christoph Luitpold Frommel of the façade of the Pal. Caprini.[47] It is probable, however, that Nyström used as his starting-point one of the several later designs of the façade type of the Pal. Caprini.[48]

22 The façade facing Kirkkokatu (1885) is extremely horizontal and simple in design. It consists of two low storeys and 11 axes of windows. The bottom storey employs horizontal rustication and the façade is without any vertical supports. This is in fact no more than a repetition of the side parts of Lohrmann's main façade, however with a further accent on horizontality with the use of stratified rustication. The impression of the façade is almost eighteenth-century in character and only the large size and height of the windows reveal it to be a product of the late 19th century.

23 In principle the Hallituskatu façade (1895) is similar to that on Kirkkokatu (1885), but due to the slope of the site a basement storey has been added. Also the central location of the building in the townscape led to the main axis being stressed with the framings of the openings. In the central bay the openings of the three stories are joined. Also the entablature of the main *21* door is at a different height than the moulding between the storeys (cf. the Unioninkatu façade of 1885). The emphasis on the central bay is further supported by the framing of the windows of the adjacent bays in the second storey.

There are a few atectonic details in the façade. In the three central bays of the first storey there are six pilasters on two different levels of relief. The pilasters have capitals, but their bases connect directly with the horizontals from which they should rise. The pilasters framing the second-storey window on the central bay are rusticated; this feature also decreases their supporting function.

Possibly due to the important location of the façade near the Senate Square there were addi- *101* tions to decoration as well as further emphasis on certain vertical axes in the actual building stage. The above-mentioned atectonic pilasters of the first storey were removed. The Ionic half-columns surrounding the main portal were partly fluted. The balustrade above the entablature of these supports was converted into a solid parapet, while in the corresponding window of the third storey a balustrade was added. Also other decorations were added.

25 It is interesting to compare Nyström's project with the preceding design by Jac. Ahrenberg from 1889 which was turned down by the University authorities due to reasons of fire safety.[49] In Ahrenberg's project the façade on Hallituskatu is only a repetition of Nyström's 1885 façade on Kirkkokatu. The Hallituskatu façade has the character of a secondary façade without any kind of stress on vertical axes. The main motif of Ahrenberg's façade is automatically the hierarchical order of the texture of the storeys: blocked ashlar, linear rustication, smooth plastered wall. In comparison with Ahrenberg Nyström appears to have studied his project in considerably greater detail.

24, 21 The façade of the south wing facing Unioninkatu (1895) should correspond to the north wing which is ten years older, but this is not the case in all respects. The reasons for this are mainly practical. There are two rusticated bottom storeys due to the slope of the site. There are five windows instead of three. This may have been dictated by the requirements of obtaining light in the building. As mentioned above, the north façade was criticized for being dark. The use

of five windows reduced the double pilasters framing the façade of the north wing into the form of single pilasters.

The façade also displays differences in relation to its pair on the north wing of the building that are not the result of practical concerns. The ground floors have simple linear rustication. The pilasters are Corinthian and not Ionic. Nor does this façade display the same continuous vertical line of the colossal supports. The moulding separating the main floor from the basement do not project which in turn is the case between the first and second ground floors. As a result, the main floor appears to sway on its two-storey high pilaster supports.

In completing the building the balustrades of the piano nobile were replaced with griffons.[50] *94*
Changes in the architectural order and the decoration are posibly explained by the proximity of the Senate Square.

Viewing the building as a whole it must be noted that all of the façades appear to be separated *19*
from each other by indentations of the corners. Furthermore, at the corners of each façade the *101*
horizontal lines of the adjacent façade that are different in decoration and composition can be seen. It is obvious that all of the five façades concerned are in a sense intended as main façades.

Extensions to the University Gymnasium

The building committee established on November 12, 1884 for preparing the extensions to the University Gymnasium presented its proposal in January 1889 according to which the building was to include a gymnasium with a balcony, a gymnasium for the disabled, dressing rooms, four apartments for staff, a music class and a drawing class. The committee decided to have a completely new building erected on the lot of the University Main Building and the courtyard building by Engel (1830—1834) facing Fabianinkatu was to be demolished. The planned entrance was *73*
to be on Aleksanterinkatu and according to the proposed programme the building was to preserve "the style used by Engel".[51]

Project no. 1 (February 1888) *67*

Nyström's project displays only allusions to the building by Engel. In the ground-plan the latter is in fact indicated only by the large domed gymnasium in the middle. It is however 10 metres longer and 4 metres wider than Engel's gymnasium, i.e. 29 x 13 metres. Furthermore, dressing-rooms were added to the courtyard side. In addition to the elongated rectangular form of the central part the main volumes of the building consist of pavilions at the ends with space for the gymnasium for the disabled in the north end and a music class in the south part, as stipulated in the programme.

The basic form of the building is markedly horizontal due to the fact that the façade motif used by Engel in the Main Building was applied to a single-storey building.

In contrast to the horizontality of the volume the projections were designed with distinct vertical supports. The elongated openings in the walls between the projections also stressed verticality. Thus, the building achieves a degree of monumentality unrelated to its function. The starting-point of the design was Engel's Gymnasium Building, as required by the instructions of the com- *73*
mittee. The use of the Corinthian order is also motivated by Engel's building — the pilasters of both buildings are identical. Engel's façade consisted of a main volume with dome that was seven axes wide bordered by long (10 axes) and low wings that narrowed gradually.

Also in Nyström's design the entablature of the seven-axes long central volume with its low attic rises above the top cornice of the rest of the building. The central volume also projects from the walls more than the side projections, thus giving the central block the impression of an independent building volume.

In the center projection the colonnade and its entablature must be seen as a basic surface as they also mark its sides. On the other hand, the supports of the side projections (as well as the projecting part of the entablature borne by them and the corresponding part of the basement) are in front of the actual wall which at the sides of the front can be seen as rusticated supports bearing the actual cornice continuing in the north and south façades. The column and entablature motifs of the centre projection and the side projections are highly similar, but of completely different significance.

In the centre projection there is a narrow moulding forming a window sill and running at the elevation of the parapet in a bay framed by two colossal pilasters. The window is framed by simple pilasters with a base and capital. According to the tectonic principle, these support an entablature which is in turn the lintel of the window. The remaining wall surface is broken by a panel motif. In the seven bays this theme changes appearance. Behind the eight colossal pilasters is a uniform moulding at the elevation of the parapet. From the moulding eight lower pillars rise in turn bearing a uniform entablature behind the colossal order. This may have been a studied variation of the centre projection of Engel's Gymnasium Building at the same site. As in the case of the Refractor Tower this also employs a combination of the rhythmic bay and taberna motifs, but Nyström removed the archivolts by placing a simple straight entablature on the columns. Because Nyström changed Engel's Attic order into a Doric order the motif of the projection is in fact more identical with that of the main storeys of the side projections in Engel's un-
74 finalized first project for the University Main Building.[52]

The side projections vary the theme of the centre projection. Because the top cornice of the former is lower, also the colossal order is lower. Furthermore, the posts and lintel form a portico-*in-antis* motif without a triangular pediment as the central supports are half-columns. There is a strange and apparently untectonic feature in the window frame pilasters of the side projections — they are without capitals and continue downwards past the parapet to the level of the bases of the colossal supports. A relatively high attic storey continuing the verticals of the supports raises the side projections to the level of the centre projection. The large windows of the side projections were bricked in rather clumsily and the only windows of the side projections are where they should not be, i.e. in the attic storey of the north projection (the windows of the drawing class).

The sections of wall between the projections have smooth surfaces in contrast to the plasticity of the projections and have three architrave-enframed windows. The building has a shallow dome — a variation of the rounder dome of Engel's Gymnasium.

68 Project no. 2 (December 1888)

The building committee convened on May 15, 1888 and came to the conclusion that Nyström's project was too costly. A new project was commissioned which would only entail renovations and extensions to Engel's building. Accordingly the west part of Engel's building would be preserved and extended to the north and south. The committee stated that it was aware of sacrificing certain esthetic aspects — functionality was also limited to some degree — but economic considerations came to the fore.[53]

In the second project the requirements of functionality were in fact served better than in the preceding one, although a clear architectural image was lost. The area of Engel's building was doubled by extending it into the courtyard by its width. Even in this case the basic parts of the project were a large gymnasium on the central axis with pavilions on the sides. The large gymnasium was completely square in plan and Engel's dome was left asymmetrically in the west half. The committee defended its decision later by stating that the asymmetrical placing of the dome

and the different roof constructions of the old and new parts could hardly be observed from the outside and decoration of the interior could also be used to mask the lack of uniformity.[54] Preserving the west wall of Engel's building created in the main façade volumes projecting and receding at four levels.

The brickwork of the wall-sections with three and four window axes following the centre projection is from Engel's building. The centre projection in its entirety belongs to Engel's building.

The following wall-section, four window-axes wide, was raised as the cornice of the volume was originally at the level of the imposts of the window arches. Now the lintel is on this level and the cornice begins at an elevation 50 cm higher. In contrast to the Empire design by Engel these parts of the façade are almost in the late 18th century style with low relief, smooth surfaces, simple eared window frames and rusticated lisenes bordering the walls.

The following wall units, three window-axes wide, are recessed even more. The cornice of these parts of the façade is at the same elevation as the imposts of the centre projection. The narrow and cramped lengths of wall are completely unarticulated with only a listel at the sill accentuating the windows (as in the second wall-section of Engel's building). The unassuming appearance of the walls is congruent with the secondary nature of the rooms behind the façade.

The side projections are the most decorative part of the façade. Their portico-*in-antis* motif is now complete with triangular pediments. The use of the motif may be related to the intention of preserving the style of Engel in the building. The motif, appearing in projects 1 and 2, may be originally from the gables of the wings of the first Heidenstrauch building facing the Market Square, designed by Pehr Granstedt with repairs planned by Engel in 1817.[55] Here, the separate column and entablature motif with attic storey is placed in front of a single-storey wall surface with linear rustication.[56] In Nyström's project no. 2, as in the first project, the basic surfaces of the centre projection and the side projections differ, but now the rhythmic bay motif of the centre projection continues in the side projections. The south pavilion — the music class — has blind windows, as the room was to receive light only from the side facing Aleksanterinkatu. The side projections do not have attic storeys and the angle of the slope of the hipped roof corresponds to that of the triangular pediments ending in acroteria thus giving the appearance of a pyramid roof. The north pavilion is at a higher elevation due to the slope of the site. *75*

A feature already present in the first project becomes even more apparent in this connection. Each of the parts of the façade forms a distinct unit of its own. Every unit has not only its individual roof, differing from the others, but also individual forms in detail. The so-called *staccato* feature is regarded by Wittkower as Palladian and especially characteristic of English Palladianism of the 18th century. The theme was introduced by Lord Burlington at Tottenham Park in the 1720s.[57] This feature will be discussed in further detail below.

Project no. 3 (May 1890) *69—72*

According to the orders of the university Consistorium the "final project" of 1890 corresponds to the second project of December 1888 with respect to the design and disposition of the rooms.[58] The remains of the wall were removed from the gymnasium and the dome was hung with iron bars in the centre.

Where the second plan displayed the intention of keeping to the style of Engel's Empire stressing simplicity, the third project reverts to the more tectonic features of Engel and the whole façade with its rich decoration employs the appearance of Theophil von Hansens Viennese style.

Structural changes are limited to the dome of the gymnasium and other changes to the design are markedly architectonic. Engel's dome was removed and the new dome was placed on iron supports above the centre of the square gymnasium. The drum of Engel's dome was four-sided *70*

while Nyström's drum is round. It is also lower and the dome itself is shallower in form. The dome appears to have acroteria of cast iron. There are four small windows in the drum and a small lanternine window at the crest of the dome.

71 The corner bays of the centre projection are accentuated with a panel between the horizontal moulding and the entablature. The bays also have low attics. This is a motif appearing in Nys-
56 tröm's project for the House of the Estates from the year before, as well as in its obvious proto-
50 type, Theophil von Hansen's design for the House of Parliament in Vienna (1884). The vertical lines of the other colossal pilasters are stressed with acroteria borne by the entablature.

The second section of the façade is tectonized in relation to project no. 2 in the sense that the eared frames have a protruding listel as their sill and a beam to support. The main changes are in the sections of three window axes that are furthest from the level of the centre projection. Instead of a smooth plastered surface there are now pilasters the height of the whole storey bordering the windows and supporting an entablature. This motif can be compared to the window
67 theme behind the colossal order of the side projections of the first project. This section of the façade is decorated with Apollonian wreaths and panels in the parapet wall. The design stresses the illusionary role of the section in binding together the various parts of the façade and has the form of an open peristyle.

In the façades of the side pavilions, the windows have a straight entablature (as in project no. 1) and the motif differs thus from the centre projection. The basement of the south pavilion has linear rustication with an emphasis on decorativeness. The portico-*in-antis* motifs have been converted to tetraprostyles and they stand apart from the wall even more clearly than in the first two projects, being placed in front of it (cf. the centre projection). This is achieved by the use of small detail: the pilasters (piers) bordering the windows are rusticated thus giving the appearance of a continued linear rustication of the wall behind the tetraprostyle. Tectonically the side pavilions form a carefully studied and designed whole. The marked linear rustication of the basement and the width of the corner pilasters of the prostyle stress the supporting function of these parts of the building.

The side projections do in fact give the appearance of separate pavilions. The *staccato* feature of the façade of the preceding project, employed in English Palladianism, is now linked directly to Palladio. The domed block in the centre has weak connections with the whole of the monumental façade. Extending from the central volume are low wings which in the third section have the character of a peristyle. The peristyle connects the ''main building'' with the side pavilions with
76 their prostyle façades. This displays obvious parallels with villa projects nos. XXXI and XLIII in Palladio's *I Quattro Libri*.[59] On the other hand, the above is an organization of volumes similar to that used by Theophil von Hansen in his monumental projects. The architectural themes of the separate blocks are linked as weakly as possible to each other and the parts of the wall
43 joining the volumes are often given the character of a passageway. Examples include the Acade-
44, 50 my (1875) and Library (1884) of Athens, the House of Parliament in Vienna (1884) as well as
45, 46 the projects for the *Herrenhaus* (1865) and Court Museum (1867) in Vienna, the Berlin *Reichstag* (1882) and the Royal Palace of Greece (1888).[60]

The main façades of all three projects by Nyström can also be discussed from the perspective of the Louvre façade type and the Viennese style with less emphasis on the *staccato* principle. In this connection our attention is drawn to the 1882 project for the *Reichstag* building in Berlin
77, 78 and especially the proposals of Schmieden und Speer and the architect Fr. Schulze. The projects employ a façade of two storeys with a low basement and a high piano nobile. The centre projection is wide with narrow side projections and there is a loggia of columns between the projections. Of special note are the side pavilions by Schmieden und Speer in connection with the corresponding parts of Nyström's first project and Schulze's centre projection in connection with

the centre projection of the third project. These plans were presented in the book *Auswahl aus den Entwürfen zum deutschen Reichstagsgebäude*, acquired by Nyström in 1887.[61]

The side façades on Aleksanterinkatu (facing south) and Hallituskatu (facing north) are also highly interesting. In a sense, they are repetitions of the centre projection of the main façade on Fabianinkatu. Each has seven bays of which the five in the centre employ a combination of the rhythmic bay and taberna motif. The south façade has a high rusticated basement. *72*

However, the side supports of the colossal order reveal the basic differences of the motifs of the main and side façades. On Hallituskatu and Aleksanterinkatu the entablature is borne by rusticated lisenes forming a continuation of the the east and west façades. Thus, the actual Corinthian pilasters at the same level of relief appear to be recessed and without tectonic function. The impression is obvious in the Hallituskatu façade where a large atelier window forces the motif into its basic elements of a window enframed by Corinthian pilasters, in turn bordered by rusticated lisenes joined by an entablature. The motif occurs twice in the façade. The physical separateness of these bays is further stressed by the attics accentuating the vertical lines of both.

In closer review it can be seen, however, that the Corinthian pilasters provide the main support for the entablature. The horizontal moulding of the imposts continues past the rusticated lisenes but not the Corinthian pilasters and cuts through the lisene thus decreasing its tectonic function. Furthermore, these supports are without bases or capitals. The proportions of the entablature also correspond to the pilasters and not the lisenes.

In fact, the recessed colonnade is by no means alien to the architecture of Classicism, occurring as it does in the works of Palladio, Vignola and also Engel.[62] The explanation for the articulation of the side façades of the Gymnasium Building can be found in the north and south façades of Engel's University Main Building. The pavilions by Nyström are joined to the main building with a low wall of linear rustication designed by Engel[63]. Nyström's sketches include precise measurements of the dimensions of the wall and its gateway. To the left of the gate one can see how Nyström planned to cut the wall by Engel. *84* *79*

The basement storey of Nyström's pavilion is of the same height as the wall. At its east end the top of the wall is at the same level as the horizontal moulding separating the two rusticated ground-floors in the side façade of the University Main Building. Thus, seen from both Aleksanterinkatu and Hallituskatu the main storey of Nyström's pavilion appears to be partly at the same elevation as the upper rusticated ground floor of the main building of the university and partly at the elevation of the Doric colossal pilasters of its main storey. It is apparent that in designing the side façades Nyström wished to join the two storeys of the adjacent façade by Engel. The façade of the pavilion is at an elevation halfway between the storeys. In Nyström's façade the main storey by Engel is ''forced'', without the mezzanine, in between the rusticated lisenes. The impression is further supported in the unbroken south façade by the emblems of the frieze. Emblems relating to the music auditorium behind the south façade are at the same points on the vertical axis of the pilasters as the leaved rosettes on Engel's south façade. *72* *84*

Nyström's project was however never carried out. A comparison with the completed project (Board of Public Works and Buildings; December 30th, 1895; Hugo Lindberg) reveals Nyström's skill in accommodating the building to Engel's architecture. *80*

In the project of the Board of Public Works and Buildings the whole of the building's wall is rusticated, but this feature does not find any logical explanation. The parts in between the projections have cornices raised to the level of the architrave of the central projection. The simple architrave framing of the windows is more Lohrmannesque (Late Empire) in its dimensions than of the style of Engel. The side projections display a motif that is a simple copy of the centre projection. The corner bays without windows were narrowed. The five central supports were converted into half-columns and they were made thinner, although their height is dictated by

Engel's part of the building. Thus the proportioned relationship of the pilaster and the entablature changed. The entablature of the side projections appear to be supported only by the pilasters at the edges because only they conform to Engel's dimensions and the five central half-columns are only decorative elements. The solution can be understood from the viewpoint of stressing the tectonics of the building (the pilasters at the corners bear the weight of two walls), but this is alien to Engel's thought.

The same motif is repeated in the Aleksanterinkatu façade with as many as nine bays. In this case there is not the slightest indication of Nyström's delicate means of linking the façade to the side façade of Engel's University Main Building. Furthermore, the façade on Hallituskatu employs clearly late-19th century three-part windows.

The Book Repository of the University Library

96 The book repository was built in 1903—1906 as a projecting wing to the Library Building (1836—1840) by C.L. Engel. The designing of the repository had begun in 1893. Already in 1888 there had been plans for an annex with reading-room to be added to the library. The project was abandoned however in 1891 when Nyström, in the capacity of expert adviser, strongly complained to Chief Librarian Wilhelm Bolin of attempts to carry out changes to the library building.[64]

Because of the simple function of the building the architect was not hampered by any pre-set programme of construction. The task was simply to design a storage wing that provided as much space as possible. At the time of the planning of the book repository for the Helsinki University Library the modern ''stock-room'' system had already come to replace the hall-type system of storing books that was used by Engel in his design.

Only one drawing by Nyström has been preserved of the 10-year period of planning prior to 1898. This was a scale drawing from 1891 of the first floor of Engel's library. Available documents do not tell, whether the proposal for an extension presented by Bolin in 1888 contained illustrations. The proposal, however, pointed out two technical problems relating to the whole project for an extension to the library. According to Bolin, his proposal of a separate reading-room joined to the main building by a passageway would solve the problem of sufficient *lighting*; on the other hand the separate placing of the extension clearly aimed at a solution that took into account *fire-safety* requirements.[65]

The building committee, established on October 26th, 1892, stated that Nyström prepared a project in 1893 for a book repository to be situated on the west side of the library building.[66] The project has not been preserved, but we can assume that it followed the lines of the 1898 plan. Nyström himself stated that before the project of 1898 he experimented with the idea of placing wings on the north and south sides of the main building, but had rejected the idea ''on architectural grounds''.[67] In 1891 Nyström told Bolin that he was against the whole plan for an extension which he felt was impractical and an architectural insult to the dimensions and beauty of Engel's library building. At this stage Bolin wished to abandon the whole project.[68] This outlines the second main problem of the planning of the extension: it offered the architect a difficult artistic challenge. The task was to design an extension to a building that Nyström already felt was one of the finest monumental buildings in Finland.[69]

His change of attitude from rejecting the whole project for an extension to becoming its avid planner was in fact explained by Nyström as being due to reasons of building conservation. In writing to Bolin in 1900 on the various possibilities for the storage of books without additions to the building, Nyström saw the only alternative as converting the large north and south reading-rooms into storage space and noted that:

> Even if for the purpose of achieving this minor addition to space we would agree to sacrifice for all time the general order of this room, which architecturally is its most impressive feature, we could nevertheless not afford to postpone the issue of extensions to the building by a single year.[70]

Project no. 1 (September 1898) *86, 87*

The project of 1898 was not presented to the university authorities. The large number of plans was, according to Nyström, due to the difficulty of the task.[71] The purpose was to avoid damage to the architecture of Engel's library solving at the same time a number of technical and practical problems.

The book repository was planned as a continuation to the series of rooms on the central axis of the library building. The repository was of the same width as the rooms (19.5 metres). Although the repository wing extends from the building only in the form of a projection of 12.5 metres, the storage space was made square in plan by taking down Engel's west centre projection and the floors of the rooms behind it, whereby the repository borders on the domed central hall of the building. In the new wing the storage shelves of each floor are in three rows running N-S and the four windows of the north and south walls light the intervening areas. In the part that extends into the main building the four rows of shelves are placed running E-W. They are poorly lit — but improvements to lighting were attempted with a wide window in the west wall, a skylight and possibly also with iron floors of cross-work.

The width of the façade of the book repository is defined by the interior of the library building. The repository is a mechanically executed addition to Engel's building also with respect to the articulation of its façade. The horizontals of Engel's and Nyström's façades correspond to each other, but Nyström widened the intercolumnation. The reason for this appears to have been the need to provide sufficient light for the wing within the bounds of Engel's language of form. In the north and south façades each pilaster interval has a window the same size as the windows in the west and east walls of Engel's building, thus corresponding to the spaces between the shelves. On the centre axis of the west façade there is only one window opening which is, however, over twice the width of Engel's windows. The window is articulated in a slightly clumsy manner with the use of mullions and transoms of even width. The frieze has three mezzanine windows with horizontal battens and the attic storey has a window corresponding to the form of the lunette windows in the attics of Engel's south and north façades. As it is converted into a Roman Baths form of window with mullions it also follows the form of the windows of the drum of the dome of the library.

Some of the features of the façade suggest stylistic preferences differing from the Empire period. These features increase in the later stages of planning. The corners of the wing are accentuated by shortening the intervals of the pilasters, thus giving the sides of the façade double pilasters. Nyström applied a similar solution in the articulation of the façade of the State Archives. On the other hand, Nyström did not ''dare'' to leave the wall surface between the pilasters smooth; it is divided by a horizontal band which is a continuation of the transom of the window in the west façade of Engel's library.

The elevation of the façade was already marked with sketches in pencil of the following stage of planning. In the attic storey the vertical lines of the end window were continued with pilasters. The motif ends in a pediment or fronton. In practice this would have provided a larger window area.

Project no. 2 (January 1900)

In 1900 Chief Librarian Wilhelm Bolin wrote to the Consistorium of the university regarding the rapid increase in the numbers of books. It was already necessary to place them in two rows

on the shelves.[72] Thus, it appears that by 1900 project no. 1, that was only two years old, clearly provided insufficient space. The floor area was 1852,5 square metres of which 780 sq.m. were in the old library part. In the final project available floor area was extended to 2910 square metres.[73]

86 The new solution to the problem was already sketched in pencil in the ground-plan of the project of 1898. Using the central axis of Engel's west façade as centre a semi-circle was drawn bound by the north and south windows of Engel's façade. This increased floor area and also provided solutions to a number of other problems.

88 The semi-circular basic form was a brilliant starting-point with regard to two basic technical problems — sufficient light and fire security in a lot of small size.[74] The new basic form of the book repository was also the core of the solution of the architectural problem. It was not only esthetically satisfactory, the use of a semispherical form had a certain background in 'the history of motifs'.

Inside the library the book repository presents itself as a completely round space as its light well was in the centre of the imaginary circle. This brings to mind a series of circular library plans, the first example of which is Cristopher Wren's project of the 1670s for a library of circular form for Trinity College in Cambridge.[75] The first circular building that was erected was the library of Wolfenbüttel (1706—1710).[76] Architectural literature mentions in this connection at *97, 98* least 13 buildings and designs by ten different architects ranging from Trinity College to the round reading-room of the *Königliche Bibliothek* in Berlin (1903—1904).[77] The main ones were presented in the manuals *Handbuch der Architektur* and *Handbuch der Bibliothekslehre*, both well known to Nyström.[78]

A round space usually forms an impressive reading-room. Hans Michael Crass links the round form to attempts to solve the problem of bringing books for use.[79] The use of the dome makes the reading-room the representative focal-point of the library.[80] Because of its large scale the reading-room of the British museum (Sidney Smirke, 1857) was the first actual design along these lines. Similar dimensions were previously found only in sacral connections. Crass stresses the symbolic points of reference of the space in question to round temples such as the Pantheon in Rome.[81] A less common practice was to have a completely round library building.[82] Helen Rosenau presents the ideal designs of Boullée and other so-called Revolutionary architects as *98* the prototypes for Benjamin Delessert's influential design for the Bibliothéque Royale in Paris (1835) that was published in numerous connections.[83]

Radially placed shelves, as applied by Nyström, occur only in the above-mentioned design by Delessert. There are also radially placed bookshelves in the storage area of the semi-circular reading-room of the library of the university of Leipzig (1891).[84] Nyström's used the most de-*87, 90* veloped constructive structure of the period in the Book Repository.[85] This feature is also present in the reading-room of the British Museum where the immense dome was constructed of iron beams.[86] As in the case of the Helsinki University Library almost all of the round rooms of the above libraries have clerestorial lighting.[87]

We may also present another, hypothetical, explanation for the architectural justification of the geometric form applied in this case. Lars Pettersson pointed out in 1957 that the disposition of rooms in Engel's library building displays connections with the normal floor-plan in the architecture of Roman baths.[88] It is possible that Nyström, who taught architectural history, may *99* also have made the same observation. The round *caldarium* projecting from the middle of one of the long sides of the baths of Caracalla may have offered at least some degree of justification for a semi-circular extension to Engel's "closed and symmetrically composed" (Nyström)[89] library, thus appealing to the architect's concern for the preservation of the architectural beauty of the building.

Regarding the façade of project no. 2, Nyström states that he attempted to design it "as congruently as possible with respect to the older parts of the building".[90] This starting-point was changed however in the later stages of planning. The semi-circular extension was designed to be as large as possible and for this reason only the half of the inner pilasters enframing the windows of the east façade were preserved. The horizontal moulding transversing the windows of the extension part (cf. project no. 1) now find architectural grounds as it derives from the above-mentioned window of the library. Nyström's principle was to provide as much light as possible within the bounds of Engel's architectural system. Therefore, the whole space between the pilasters was made into a window. *89* *87*

The pilasters conform to the pattern, — -a-a-aa-a-a- —; and the double pilasters were apparently chosen on constructive grounds. The central opening of the three-window motif is approximately of the same width as the windows of the library. As a result, the extension part appears to continue as far as the windows of the east façade of the library, and thus displaying a fixed and organic connection with it. The cornices of the old and new parts are also at the same level. In the attic storey there are five windows corresponding to Engel's lunette windows. In the 1880s Nyström came to the conclusion that skylights were not suited to the Finnish climate and for this reason they were used only to a minimum in the building of the State Archives.[91] In project no. 2, however, windows were placed throughout the whole of the roof.

In the project there are also pencil sketches of larger windows and a further emphasis on vertical lines. The arcades, borne by double pilasters, extend to the cornice. The vertical lines of the pilasters continue as decorative elements across the opening and past the crowning cornice. A greater stress on verticality and larger windows are characteristic of the later stages of planning.

Project no. 3 (ca. 1904—1905) *91*

Of the six façade plans that have been preserved, project no. 3 is the most untectonic and decorative in nature and the furthest from the principles of Classicism. Despite its decorativity, the project reveals best the structure of the wall of the book repository with floors of reinforced concrete supported by nine brick pillars and glass in the intervening space. Lars Pettersson notes that Engel's library with its heavy-set character expresses the nature of the vaulted rooms inside.[92] *96* Accordingly, we may say that the book repository in this project reveals its modern structure.

Vertically the façade alternates pillars and glass surfaces. The vertical lines of the pillars were stressed architecturally. They begin in the basement storey, where the windows follow the rhythm of the pillars. All of the horizontal lines of the pillars are subordinated to the vertical lines. The vertical is first interrupted by the crowning cornice which is at the same level as that of the library building. In the extension there is a low extra attic above the cornice and the articulation of the former again stresses the vertical lines of the pillars with the use of a volute-type decoration. Also the verticals of the high and narrow windows continue via the attic to the cornice with only minor interruptions by horizontal mouldings.

The basements of the old and new parts are of the same height and the main storeys begin at the same elevations. Some of the horizontal lines are joined to the library building, although the connections are highly unconstructive and almost decorative in nature. The only real facet of continuity is the design of the top cornice.

The sills of the windows are almost at the same elevation. The following two transoms in the large window area, perpendicularly symmetrical, are placed according to the first and third floors. Thus, it is impossible for them to correspond in any way to Engel's façade. The lower one crosses in abstract form the pillars of the book repository. The entablature of the library was moved as a decorative element to the new wing, but reduced in size and with openings for windows

to provide as much light as possible. The cornice of the entablature of the library is continued in the extension without consoles and in fact slightly wider in form. Also the architrave extends reduced to its uppermost section. Thus, also the frieze of the library can be observed in the façade of the new wing, but with three adjacent windows separated by Ionic colonnettes in the frieze. The junction of the architrave and the pilasters is indicated in the book repository by a narrow horizontal groove in the terms. Also the horizontal lines of the meander below the crowning cornice continue in the Book Repository wing in the triglyph-metope frieze on the surface of the pillars.

The relief of the building is highly plastic in nature consisting of complex surfaces. At the elevation of the parapet of the windows the basic surface appears to be a smooth wall between the pedestals of the ''pilasters''. Higher up, this ''basic surface'' reveals itself as part of the pedestals of the decorative urns at the sides of the pilasters. The wall behind the urns in turn gives the appearance of a basic surface, but at the level of the attic it narrows abruptly revealing yet another smooth wall beyond enclosing the attic windows and appearing to be the basic surface. The relief recedes continuously towards higher elevations. The basic surface of the parapet extends 60 cm from the basic surface of the attic.

Also the pilasters contain surprising features. They do not support the entablature, but are in fact terms, the heads of which are in the attic storey. Below the bust is a singularly Manneristic combination of triglyph and metope. Use of triglyphs in ways differing from classical grammar was one of the favourite motifs in Mannerism.[93] Reliefs similar to the metope reliefs of the Parthenon are narrowed to the dimensions of the tripglyphs with *guttae* hanging from them. Because this motif is at the level of the frieze of the library's Corinthian entablature it serves to place the book repository in the Doric order in an odd way. On the other hand, the miniature columns of the windows between the triglyph-metopes of the pillars are Ionic, but the Doric order is suggested by the small triglyph-metope frieze of the crowning cornice. This frieze is interrupted by the central pillar with freer decoration thus accentuating the central line and stopping the impression of rotation of the round wing. The terms end in suggested bases at the level of the Corinthian bases and plinths of the library building.

The ''rounding'' of the attic windows links them to the lunette windows of the library. The attic is gradated into two surfaces. The outermost one was curved by Nyström against the book repository. This breaks the impression of continuity, in providing a framework for the book repository. Despite this, the horizontal line of this relief is continued in the panels of the attic windows. Between the capitals of the library building Nyström placed decoration suggesting Art Nouveau. It must be noted, however, that all of the decorative elements derive recognizably from Classicism — even the scrolls on the brow of the attic are in fact formed of three adjacent volutes.

92 Project no. 4 (ca. 1904—1905)

Projects nos. 4—6 display partly a return to the classical tectonics and decoration of Engel. A characteristic feature is the re-use of the weight-bearing functions of the column-and-lintel system after the experiments of project no. 3. The nine brick pillars which form the constructive wall of the building now have pilasters in front of them that support the continuation of the entablature of the library. This provides an apparently intentional impression of a classic three-column motif.

Nyström appears to have had definite problems in correlating the bases of the supports with Engel's bases. In project no. 4 the connecting part was left undrawn. The project is better linked horizontally to Engel's building. The sills of the windows are now more precisely at the level of the windows of the east façade of the library. The pilasters/lisenes do not bear actual capitals.

Instead they support reliefs of the owl of Minerva as a symbol of the university. The band below them is at the level of the *campana* of Engel's capitals. The owl design corresponds in height to Engel's capitals, but the lisene continues and the entablature begins at the level of the frieze of the library building. The frieze and cornice match the corresponding parts of Engel's building. The architrave is thus reduced to a band-like moulding. The upper part of the windows is bordered in the basic wall surface by laurel-wreath bands alluding to Apollo.

The attic storey simply continues the vertical division of the main storey. The only effect applied is the use of relief. There is a gradation in the wall at the level of the gradation of the attic of the library building. The window frames form their own recessed wall surface.

The central axis is stressed by a group of three triglyphs in the horizontal zone corresponding to Engel's meander band. This is the only indication of the Doric order that was more clearly present in project no. 3. Rising above the attic of the library is an extra attic ca. 50 cm high.

Project no. 5 (ca. 1904—1905) *93*

The bases of the pilasters are divided in more detail than in project no. 4. Also the capitals protrude and they have a distinct abacus. The weight-bearing function of the supports is stressed. Also the pillars behind the pilasters have their own capitals. The horizontal mouldings crossing the windows and following the division into storeys are less obtrusive with a resulting stress on verticality. The gradation of the attic, borrowed from Engel's library, is further stressed with the use of a type of volute motif. The pillar behind it also has a pedestal. A degree of respect for Engel is also shown by the continuation of the meander band across the façade. The urns are now only surface decorations and they are not plastic or raised on pedestals as in project no. 3.

Project no. 6 (ca. 1904—1905) *94, 95*

This project, which was carried out, has an increased number of elements from Engel's library building. The bases correspond to those of the library even at the risk of differing from the specific character of the wing. However, they now have an extra *bastone*. The volutes of the attic are replaced with rococo-type scrolls and instead of the owls of the capitals there are now symbolic busts. The busts were the work of Walter Runeberg and bear the texts, ARS, ASTRONOMIA, HISTORIA, HIST.NATUR., IURISPRUD., MEDICINA, PHILOSOPHIA, PHYSICA, THEOLOGIA.[94]

A certain contradiction was observed between the symbolic value of the round form of the Book Repository and its rather mundane function. This contradiction is underlined by the fact the relatively large windows of the repository in the form of narrow and high strips nevertheless reveal the function of the wing.

German library architecture from approximately 1890 to 1900 presents three parallel building types. The novelty of the decade was a progressive group of buildings that abandoned the need for representativeness and clearly revealed its function through the functional design of its storage areas. Since the library of the university of Freiburg (1897—1902) the storage areas were characterized specifically by windows that were narrow and high extending through the various storeys in strips. Furthermore, in these libraries (or their storage wings) decoration and iconography was not applied as they had no connections. Hans Michael Crass observes that the more the storage areas and book repositories became prominent the more the iconographic programmes disappeared.[95]

Nyström's façade designs show that the Book Repository with its strip-like windows belongs to the above group. The repository displays however another contradictory feature, viz. in con-

trast to the above group it hides the everyday function of the building behind monumental decoration.

The motifs of the decoration are by no means original, as they are part of the standard iconography of libraries of the period — albeit in formal connections. Above the portal of the library of the university of Halle is the owl of Minerva and twourns with flames. Personifications of various branches of learning and science are found i.a. in the libraries of Stuttgart 1878—1883), Wolfenbüttel (1882—1886), Leipzig (1888—1891), Strasbourg (1889—1894), Aachen (1897), Cologne (1898), Giessen (1901—1904) and Berlin (1903—1914).[96]

The most significant building, however in this respect, is the library of the university of Heidelberg (1900—1905), which was visited by Nyström and the librarian Georg Schauman in January
100 of 1903 while it was under construction.[97] The reading-room of the library is decorated with stuccos by J.Dum in the Viennese Art Nouveau style.[98] The capitals with busts of the Helsinki Book Repository are closely related to the personifications of the sciences under the arches of the vaults in the reading-room of the university of Heidelberg. On both sides of the main entrance are two terms which deserve to be mentioned in connection with the strange terms of Nys-
91 tröm's project no. 3.

The façade analysis demonstrated the close relationship of the repository projects with En-
91—95 gel's Classicism. Projects nos. 3—6 are however more closely linked to the stylistic trends of the period than one could immediately infer.

Viennese architecture of the turn of the century was not unknown in Finland and interest in Wagner and the Secessionists has especially been recorded in connection with Gesellius, Lindgren and Saarinen. According to Hausen, the Finns were specifically interested in Wagner's aims at constructive clarity, but were not ready to accept his monumentalism as it was said to be too close to Neo-Renaissance, which was despised at the time.[99] In Nyström's case the situation is almost the opposite. Of the Wagner-influenced university designs and projects only the project for the façade of the Department of Physics from 1899 displays a more ascetic approach and a more allusive Classicism. In the projects for the Book Repository Nyström's Classicism is combined with the earlier monumentalistic period of the Wagnerians where the style was still more plastic and more faithful to Classicism — i.e. closer to Viennese Late Historicism.[100]

In a letter dated July 28,1900, Nyström wrote to his friend von Heideken upon his return from the Paris World Fair:

> The actual Paris exhibition was not so pleasant, it appears above all that the French are at the end of the line in their architecture. In Vienna, on the other hand I made a number of interesting acquaintances among the protagonists of the new art, especially Otto Wagner, whose name will gradually become as well known as that of Richard Wagner.[101]

Nyström's projects for the Department of Physics from 1900 (façade 1899) and 1902, the Book Repository designs of 1904—1905 and the Auditorium building project of 1909 can be classified under classistic Viennese Art Nouveau, whose chief representative was Otto Wagner. Among Nyström's projects and designs for the centre of Helsinki also the plans for extending the House of the Estates into the House of Parliament (1907) belongs to this group.

The building of the Department of Physics

The planning of the building was begun in 1889 and it was finally erected in 1909—1910. The intended site of the building changed throughout the planning process. Gustaf Nyström prepared 12 different projects for the building in the years 1890—1909.[102] In this connection we are mainly concerned with two projects for sites closest to the Senate Square.

Project no. 1 (No. V, 1899) *8*

According to the instructions of the university building committee the State Archives (1890) by *47*
Nyström and the intended Department of Physics adjacent to it at Rauhankatu 19 were to form a single whole:

> (...) a building 48 metres long sets off architecturally the State Archives building, 53 metres long, with which the new laboratory building forms a complex. The height of the laboratory building is equal to that of the State Archives, and the façade takes into account the requirement that the buildings be in a harmonious relationship with each other.[103]

These administrative palaces would have differed from each other only with respect to the more monumental design and articulation of the State Archives and the asceticism of the Department of Physics.

The façade of project no. 1 is an example of the façade type employed by Engel on Senate Square, in which the vertical articulation is based on a central projection that is stressed and side projections. It must be noted, however, that in project no. 1 the central projection extends from the wall surface only in the second and third storeys of the three-storey buildings. The side projections, on the other hand, project more than usual. Each of the sections of the façade has three bays; in the side projections the bays are however considerably less wide than in the other parts.

The building is of three storeys consisting of a ground floor and two main floors separated from it with a moulding. The bottom storey is not rusticated, but the large semicircular vault openings of the bottom floor parts of the side projections are enframed with massive voussoirs. There are keystones also above the windows of the bottom storey in between the projections. These details and the width of the bottom floor in relation to the main floor as well as the small size of the windows suffice to make it a some kind of basement floor as in the Renaissance and Baroque palaces.

The main floors of the projections are articulated by a type of colossal order which, nevertheless, does not support an entablature. Pilasters narrowing from the base continue past the top cornice. The central supports of the centre projection are narrower than the ones at the sides. In the narrower side projections there is a smaller and just as abstractly expressed order in between the windows. This order "bears" a narrow listel between the second and third floors. There is a further detail characteristic of the style of this façade — the supports in question continue behind the horizontal moulding and are joined to each other with a straight beam. The third storey of the side projections is without windows; at the corresponding level is a relief *all'antica* three bays wide. Beneath the actual cornice a Doric triglyph-metope frieze is stretched onto the wall-plane thus indicating the Doric order. Above the cornice is a low and decorated attic. The verticals of the colossal pilasters that extend past the cornice are continued with small pillars. The triangle of the hipped roof in between these remotely suggests an antique pediment or fronton.

The parts of the façade in between the projections are without articulation suggesting any kind of architectural order. It is possible to interpret the narrow line-like beam above the windows of the second storey as an abstract architrave surround.

It is thus possible to interpret the façade in terms of classistic tectonics, but the elements in questions have been reduced to line-like abstractions, the columnal order cannot be interpreted and the bearing function of the supports and the entablature has been deliberately obscured. A characteristic detail is the decoration of the colossal pilasters formed of a circle and a staff-like line. They are placed more or less at the level of the possible capitals of the supports, providing an allusion to the classical heritage of the supports. These features, such as the drawing technique employed, show that the façade is linked to so-called Viennese *Jugend* Classicism.

The military asceticism of the façade and the above-mentioned decorations in place of the cap-

itals bring to mind the Guards Garrison by C.L.Engel (1822) and its decorative standard poles of the upper storey of the centre projection. This suggests a possible solution to the problem of the architectural motifs of the side projections in Nyström's project — viz. they can be in-
11 ferred from the side projections of the Guards Garrison building. By dividing the rusticated bottom storey of the latter at the level of the wide horizontal listel we are presented with the bottom storey of the project for the Department of Physics building with its prominent arches of keystones and voussoirs. In the main storeys of the side projections of the Guards Garrison the pilaster strips at the sides of the projections correspond to the abstract colossal order of the department of physics building and in both cases there is in the third storey a relief *all'antica* resting on its side and borne by the above supports.

9 Project no. 2 (No. IX, December 1902)

Project no. 2 from 1902 was intended to be located either at Siltavuori or on the so-called Hällström lot (Hallituskatu 9—11) close to the other university buildings and the Senate Square.[104]

The basic form of the building is slightly asymmetrical 'H' with a large auditorium extending as a wing from the central line. The façade is a three-storey palace façade consisting of a bottom storey and two main storeys. Vertically the façade is articulated by side projections the width of a single bay.

Without going into details we can state that the façade is genuinely manneristic, because most of the architectural elements can be interpreted in terms of classical grammar, but their function is open to varying interpretations. As in the preceding plan, a review of the architectural design and the drawing technique applied demonstrate stylistic links with so-called Viennese *Jugend* Classicism.

The façade type in question was used to a some degree. Nyström himself has presented varia-
103 tions of it in a more classistic spirit in the Union Bank building on Aleksanterinkatu (1896—1898). This façade has also been seen as Manneristic due to the crosswise Ionic capitals of the colossal pilasters.[105] As mentioned above, the starting-point for the façade type appears to be a design
12 presented by Sebastiano Serlio in his book no. VII. Also the main façade of the Paris Opera by Charles Garnier (1861—1874) can be regarded as a variation of the above.

The extension of the University Library building

The starting-point of the plans for extensions to the University Library (1913—1914) was the request by J.J.Mikkola, head of the Russian department of the library, to have the Russian collections as close as possible to the main library and the proposal of a university committee (2.12.1912) to enlarge the library into the premises of the departments of anatomy and pharmacy. Accordingly, the library would have taken up the whole block, known as Zebra. On the first
19—24 of May, 1914, the university committee proposed that the building (Fabianinkatu 35) should be renovated completely and raised by a storey. The committee went on to state that in the changes there should be special concern for a modern book repository with large windows. The Russian library required 12,000 feet of shelf space, a reading-room for 32 persons, rooms for packaging and cataloguing, offices for the head librarian and the assistant and a passage joining it to the general department of the University Library.[106]

The removal of the Russian library was only a part of a major plan to acquire the whole lot for the use of the library. The need for office space in the library is stressed by treasurer and architect Gunnar Stenius in a draft for an aide-mémoire in this connection. Also underlined was the small size of the reading-room. The planned building was to include a reading-room seating

200, a reading-room for newspapers and periodicals for 50, a small number of separate offices for researchers, a room for recreation and facilities for lending books, which had begun to increase. The only solution envisioned was to join the building of the Departments of Anatomy and Pharmacy to the semi-circular Book Repository and to enlarge its north and south wings. The Russian library was to be placed in the north wing of the enlarged building.[107] The First World War prevented further work on the project.

Project no. 1 (1913—1914) *30—32*
Project no. 2 (1913—1914)
Project no. 3 (April 1914) *33—38*
Project no. 4 (1914)

The planned extension consists of an E-shaped volume with the central arm serving as a passage to the semi-circular Book Repository (1906). The transverse arms were also linked with short passages to the south-west and north-west corners of the main library.

The development of library architecture can be studied with reference to the relationship of premises and facilities for administration, service to users and storage. This factor affects not only the formation of the floor-plan but also the façade and the accentuation of masses.

As discussed in connection with the Book Repository, the decade from 1890 to 1900 displays a clear trend in European library architecture whereby administration and public areas were separated from storage facilities and libraries came to have two parts. The storage areas became larger and larger — they required the largest amount of space and came to dictate the architectural composition of the buildings. From the beginning of the century a new individualistic and functional library type became established with an architectural form corresponding to its content and function. In the 1910s book repositories completely dictated the architecture of libraries and offices and public areas were of a secondary nature. In the first half of the 19th century the reading-room was still the main part of a library. During the 19th century library buildings evolved from the reading-room type to storehouses for books.[108] The individualistic and functional library type which had evolved since the 1880s was paralleled especially in the large German cities by a regressive trend to design libraries as impersonal administrative palaces.[109]

Also the projects by Nyström follow European prototypes of the early 20th century in clearly separating storage areas from offices and areas for public use. The large repositories were placed in the north and south wings and the offices and public areas were in the main block of the building. On the other hand with respect to the functional/palace library dichotomy, Nyström's projects are clearly of the latter type. Certain characteristic changes were made, however, due to personal and partly also practical reasons.

The so-called palace library type had a palace façade, but its storage areas, which had grown over the course of the century, were hidden either inside the building or behind it. Although these parts were hidden with respect to the main façade, their own façades were of functional design and they expressed their specific nature as storerooms as discussed above in connection with the Book Repository.[110]

Due to the small size of the lot, the storerooms of the University Library were located facing the street, which was completely contrary to the new European practices in library design. For practical reasons, the existence of the large storerooms could not be denied and they fill the whole of the north and south wings, but the façades strive to obscure their nature as much as possible. On the other hand, the extra offices and public service areas of the Russsian library were placed among the storerooms in the first floor of the north wing.

The large reading-room is behind the main façade and this is also indicated iconographically

36 by designing the volume containg the reading-room and the other offices and service areas as a Greek temple. This differs completely from the above-mentioned palace libraries where the reading-room is usually a domed hall in the centre of the building complex. The solution applied also differs from the turn-of-the-century trend whereby the nature of the outside architecture of a building is dictated by storerooms with offices and public service areas playing a minor role.

The location of the reading-room in the central part of the main façade on the main floor was a common solution already in the reading-room type libraries.[111] Thus, the above-discussed features of Nyström's projects — storerooms in the street façade but hidden and a reading-room on the main floor behind the main façade — are quite conservative.

32 The interior of the reading-room with its low barreled vaults and — in project no.1 — double
33, 90 columns bearing galleries is a baroque version of the north and south reading-rooms of Engel's library (the north hall was converted into a reading-room in 1893)[112]. Nyström did not however use the antique lunette windows for providing light to the barrel vaults as applied by Engel.[113]

As discussed in connection with the Book Repository its façade experiments were finally subjugated to the architectural order of Engel's library. A similar course of development can be seen in the various alternatives of the projects for enlarging the library drawn up in the 1910s.
33—38 Projects 3 and 4 are more literally in accordance with the architectural language of Engel's li-
30—32 brary, while porjects nos. 1 and 2 do the same in a more coarse manner. In the final projects the aspect of "building conservation" is stressed. In projects nos. 3 and 4 the north and south wings are drawn in at the east end of the old library building and joined to it with L-shaped passages. Also the design of the façade in the latter is carried out with a greater respect for Engel's architecture. Project no. 1, which was the most extensive one and apparently most expen-
30 sive as well, contains a radical change to Engel's building: the floor-plan proposes the dismantling of the walls between the three main halls and replacing them with columns.

33—35 The complex formed by the cataloguing room and the stair-well in projects nos. 3 and 4 is highly interesting. This is a three-naved space on the main floor where the two axes on the right form the cataloguing room and the one on the left — partitioned with a glass wall — forms
39 a stair-well to the floor below. This can be compared to the entrance hall of the Pal. Farnese, which is a Renaissance interpretation of an antique atrium. There the three naves are separated by a row of Doric columns. The barrel vault of the central nave is casetted with rich stucco ornaments. The naves to the sides have even ceilings with pilasters and round-headed niches on the walls.[114] This description also applies to the space in question in Nyström's projects.

36 The façade illustrations of project no. 3 show that its two main floors were designed around a massive Corinthian colossal order. The colossal pilasters rise from a socle which due to the slope of the site grows into an actual basement at the south end. The colossal order bears an almost continuous normal entablature where the cornice is at the same time the top cornice of the whole façade.

The very long rectangular form of the façade required a great deal of emphasis on verticality. The façade is articulated into a 13-bay wide central projection, side projections and intervening parts one bay wide. The impression of verticality is added to by two pairs of double pilasters as well as minor details. The stressed transverse bar of the windows of the main floor (running level with the lower profile of the colossal capitals) has an accent on the central axis; the central windows of the three-part windows of the sections of wall between the projections is slightly wider than the ones on the sides.

The central projection does not consist of the usual temple prostyle — an illusionistic temple is seen from the side. The lengthwise gabled roof rises above an entablature borne by fourteen columns. The bays between the colossal pilasters appear at first sight to be of the same design
47, 96 as in Nyström's State Archives building, one of the models for which was Engel's Library Build-

ing.[115] In the latter the two main storeys are joined by a colossal order with an entablature and a smaller order supporting it separating the storeys. However, closer scrutiny of the window-frames of the first main storey shows that tectonalically Nyström's library design differs from this so-called Capitolium motif.

The supports (window frames) of the small order are in fact mouldings regularly broken by every second block of the wall rustication overlapping the moulding. Similarly, the entablature is only an apparent one. The moulding of the lintel of each of the windows is cut at the ends to an angle of 45 degrees and in actual fact does not continue although its horizontal line continues as the belt moulding of the receding parts between the projections. Nor does the smooth part below the moulding of the lintel continue as a horizontal beam, but appears more to be connected with the unprofiled enframement of the second storey window of the same bay.

We must also point out certain subtle features in certain bays of this central projection which appears to repeat the same bay motif. The central bay is slightly wider than the others and it is accentuated not only by the main entrance but also by ornaments in the rustication indistinctly visible in the basement. The five central bays are also stressed by placing above the "belt moulding" allegorical reliefs approximately square in shape. This emphasis on the five central bays can be compared to the central projections of the Library Building by Engel and the State Archives building by Nyström — in the latter it is exactly five bays wide. On the other hand, the bays at the corners of the projection are narrower than the others, their first storey windows are lower than in the other bays and instead of a window on the second storey of the bay there is a recessed panel. *96* *47*

The relief of the side projections is richer and more varied, projecting in two stages from the basic surface. The projections are framed by pilasters with half-pilasters behind them. The actual wall with its stratified rustication is recessed in three stages. The outermost level is formed by the block pillars ending in a profile depicting a capital or an abacus. The window of the first floor is aedicula-framed and the upper one is unframed. In the part above the top cornice there is a high attic following the form and height of the attic of Engel's library. The verticals of the forward colossal pilasters are continued by sculpted figures with swords placed in front of the attic bringing to mind the sculpted figures of the attic of the Triumphal Arch of Constantine which also continue the verticals of the colossal supports. *96*

The narrow wall sections between the projections with less articulation are subtly joined to the adjacent projections. Although the colossal entablature is discontinued at this part of the wall, the cornice, the upper profile of the architrave and the lower profile of the capitals continue across this section of the wall. Also the stratified rustication of the central projection and that of the side projections continue in the first storey of the intervening sections of wall. The upper storey has a smooth wall. The part in question is joined to the centre projection by the continuation of the moulding separating the storeys as well as by the fact that the wall surfaces are on the same level. The connection with the side projection is provided by the fact that the length of wall between the colossal pilasters in the section between the projections is equal to the wall area between the pilasters of the side projections. In the intervening section the window of the first floor is thematically linked to the windows of the same floor in the central projection: the band-like enframement is broken by every other layer of blocks and the illusory voussoirs of the lintel. On the second floor the window is divided with two pilasters into three narrow strips. The pilasters in between have no bases. The window-frame supports consist only of capitals projecting from the surface of the wall. The lintel is a linear continuation of the lower profile of the colossal capitals.

These window frames of special form permit a review of the design of the window frames of the whole façade. Despite the fact that in the main storey of this façade there is a total of

seven different models of window frames, they all have a certain feature in common. The window frames of the first floor of the central projection and the corresponding floor of the receding parts have frames strictly linked to the wall due to the *active nature* of its rustication.[116] The same applies to the first floor of the side projections where the cubical blocks of the enframing pilasters link them to the rustication of the wall (''unfinished column'' motif)[117]. The other windows of the façade can also be linked to this ''active wall'' feature. In the second storey of the section between the projections the shafts of the pillars are sunk into the wall and only the capitals are visible. Windows completely without enframement can of course be interpreted as dominated by the active wall (i.e. the frames are completely covered by the wall). In this respect the whole of the complex façade consists in fact of only two surfaces: the forward surface of the colossal pilasters and the wall behind them into which all of the window frames of varying form are strictly bound.

The window frames of the first storey were not Nyström's own motif. The ''blocked Pantheon aedicula'' (Frommel)[118] of the first floor of the side projections became known from the so-called House of Giulio Romano and became popular among Italian Mannerists.[119] The window frames of the receding parts derive from the early 18th century circle of English Palladianists, among whom both of the above window motifs were almost a fashion. The latter motif — a simple moulded frame overlapped at regular intervals by the rustication of the wall — was invented by the English although they thought it to be Palladian.[120] The motif of the side projec-
40 tions — a blocked Pantheon aedicula — was used at Holkham Hall (1730s) by William Kent, among other architects.[121] In contrast to the above, this is a genuinely Manneristic motif, used
41 by Palladio himself, after Giulio Romano, in the piano nobile of the Palazzo Thiene.[122] However, in the latter case the pilasters are Ionic and not Tuscan as in Nyström's design. Both motifs were also used in the circle of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor and in England they became completely academic in nature.[123]

The frame motifs of the façade are highly manneristic in their ambiguity and untectonic character. In fact, Nyström's library façade displays a number of other features clearly indicating Mannerism, although the overall impression is purely classistic and even Hellenistic. Linking the larger and smaller architectural orders in a complex rhythm of elements is a motif that according to Wittkower was popular among mannerists.[124] Nyström succeeded in making this already Manneristic theme even more ambiguous in the centre projection. Furthermore, the elongated temple of the central projection can also be regarded as a Manneristic breach against canon, if we see it as a temple front rotated transversely.

There are also other features of the façade than the above-mentioned Pantheon aedicula that
41 suggest Palladio — i.e. the articulation of the side projections indicates the façade of the Pal. Thiene. Nyström is known to have been especially interested in Palladio in the 1890s. On the other hand, he was also interested, as shown by his writings, in the new wave of Palladianism that became a major trend in England in the mid-1890s and led to an apppreciation of architects such as Jones, Wren and Vanbrugh.[125]

According to Wittkower, the main motif of the façade of the Pal.Thiene is the contrast between the heavy blocked ashlar and voussoirs on the one hand and the regular flat rustication of the walls and the smooth pilasters on the other.[126] This may be regarded as the main motif of the side projections of Nyström's façade as well. It must be noted that the side projections are in a way enframed by double pilasters as in the case of the Pal. Thiene. The round-arched window of the basement with its massive voussoirs suggests the arch of the taberna window of the Pal. Thiene and in neither of the façades is there stratified rustication in the smooth wall surface between the capitals. In the upper profile of the cornice of the Pal. Thiene there are extra dentils almost unnoticable, on the verticals of the inner colossal pilasters, which is also the case

in the corresponding section of Nyström's façade. From this perspective also the figures on pedestals placed in the attic appear to be Palladian. They suggest figures rising from the cornice, as in the Pal. Chiericati but in this case supplemented by Engel's attic.[127]

Some of the details of the central projection also suggest more remote links with the Pal. Valmarana which in its features follows the Capitolium motif. Also here the first storey windows of the bays at the sides are smaller and lack plastic enframements. There is also a strange feature of the second storey windows that occurs in Nyström's façade as well, viz. their upper edge is connected to the colossal architrave and the frames to the colossal capitals. Furthermore, there are reliefs between the windows of the main floors of the Pal. Valmarana as in the central bays of the library project by Nyström.[128] *42*

According to Wittkower, a typical method of Palladio's was to employ the contrast of the temple front of the villa and the low wings which are only loosely linked to the monumental block in between them. This so-called *staccato* principle by Palladio was further developed by the English Palladianists of the early 18th century and is one of the characteristic features of their work.[129] The same feature can also be seen in the main façade designs of the Gymnasium extension projects for the adjoining lot on the same street (Fabianinkatu). Typical of the English designs was the use of a massive main volume, pavilions at the sides and linking sections of wall that were recessed. Each of the three parts forms its own unit with an individual roof and individual details.[130] *67, 68, 71*

This principle can be clearly seen in the main façade design of the library project. Despite the features in common that were analyzed above, the three parts — central projection, side projections and the intervening sections of wall — differ completely from each other in motif and roof form. Especially in the sections of wall between the projections the details differ from those of the projections and the roof is at a considerably lower elevation. The wall also appears to be recessed in relation to the projections. The nature of this part as a separate and linking section of wall is stressed by the fact that the articulation of its three-part windows corresponds to that of the windows of the passages — used to join Engel's library building with Nyström's building. It must also be noted that the narrow sections of wall between the projections are in reality only an architectural motif not reflecting in any way the space behind them. The windows of the side projections and the intervening sections of wall provide light for the same room. *36* *37*

In the palace façades of the above-mentioned English trend the side pavilions or the side projections of the main volume often have a high attic above the cornice or even a whole storey giving the corner motif the character of a castle-like tower. In a sense, this also ocurs in the library project. The high attics of the side projections are emphasised, because the central projection has a slanted gabled roof. In this sense the architectural solution finds its parallel above all in the south façade of Holkham Hall (1730s) by William Kent, which was mentioned above in connection with the Pantheon aedicula frames.[131] *40*

The ''transverse'' Greek temple of Nyström's central projection is a rare motif. In some of his designs Theophil von Hansen rotated a Greek temple placing it at right angles to the main façade, but this was always in connection with side pavilions, e.g. in the design for the Court Museum in Vienna (1867), the Academy of Athens (1875) and the project for the Reichstag building in Berlin (1882).[132] *43, 46*

The north façade on Kirkkokatu consists of a rusticated ground floor and a main floor with a smooth plastered wall as in the case of typical Bramante façades. Of main interest is the colossal order which is not very tectonic. The frieze is broken by windows and the two pilasters of the side projections purport to bear the entablature extending over the whole façade, but give the appearance of having been plastered and remaining separate from the basic surface, as the projecting entablature ends halfway up the attic section. The east projection is further from the *37*

edge of the façade than one on the west side. Also in the former projection the pilasters are 1.5 metres lower than in the west part because their pedestals are higher. In fact, the entablature is supported by the pilasters of the east and west façades behind the side projections of the Kirkkokatu façade which is facing north.

The function of these ''plastered'' narrow projections can be understood with reference to
36 the façade of Engel's library building — the projections pass on the dimensions and proportions of Engel's Corinthian order to the main west façade of Nyström's library building which is of larger dimension than the façades of the former. Due to the slope of the site the bases of the colossal pilasters are at a lower elevation than those of Engel's pilasters. The proportions of the
36 Engel's pilasters are 1:9.6. The same proportion applies in the colossal pilasters of Nyström's
37 main west façade on Fabianinkatu and also in the pilasters of the west projection of the façade on Kirkkokatu, but in comparing these with Engel's pilasters we observe how Nyström's pilasters are considerably larger. The connection between the two scales is provided by the east projection where the pilasters correspond to Nyström's larger scale, but the higher pedestals raise the bases to the same level as those of Engel's smaller pilasters. This naturally destroys the classic proportions of the pilasters, but the shift from Engel's façades to Nyström's main façade becomes gradual and more subtle.

The enframement of the small windows of the frieze of the entablature suggest the Hellenism of the main façade while the arched fields of the attic find reference in the lunette windows of Engel's library building.

The bays of the main storey and the wall between them, the rhythm of the windows of the frieze and the alternation of the round-arched fields of the attic and the narrow windows give the façade a strong impression of rhythm. The entrance is not on the central axis which indicates that it is a side façade (behind it is the entrance to the Russian library). With its large narrow and high windows and sparse articulation this façade reveals the nature of the archives and storerooms behind it much more clearly than the other façades of the building.

33, 38 The south façade of Hallituskatu and the east gables of the book repositories take their architectural articulation directly from Engel's library building.

The State Archives

In addition to the university buildings Nyström's designs in the centre of Helsinki include a number of other projects, some of which are even more monumental in character.

47 The State Archives building was designed in 1886 by Nyström and was built in 1886—1890. The main floor is based on the Capitolium motif. In her graduate thesis (unpublished) Anna-
96 Liisa Alho has demonstrated that the façade design utilized the University Library building by
27 Engel, almost adjacent, as well as his University Main Building.[133] The State Archives is in fact the only building of which Nyström has publicly stated in writing that ''it employs the architectural style in which most of the capital's most beautiful public buildings have been designed''.[134] At a later stage Nyström especially wished to stress that he was the first, since Engel, in Finland to apply the colossal order in a completed building.[135]

The House of the Estates

The long-drawn and involved planning stages of the House of the Estates have been presented and discussed in another publication.[136] However, the façades of Nyström's projects require further discussion.[137] In 1887 a competition limited to four architects was held.[138] Nyström partic-

ipated with 16 drawn plans forming two project versions. Of the façades only the main façade of version A has been preserved.

It must be noted that the jury of experts selected Theodor Decker's project as the best entry, but the political decision-making body, the so-called Deputation for the House of the Estates chose Nyström's project for construction. Nyström, however, had to make numerous changes in his plans in order to reduce costs. In the first stage (presented before the 27th of February, 1888) he lowered the embankment on which the building was intended to be raised, moved it closer to the line of the street, reduced the number of gallery staircases along with a number of other minor changes. In the next stage (presented before 19th of March, 1888) connecting passages and other less important areas and rooms were deleted from the plans, a whole courtyard with glass roofing was converted into a simple skylight, the decoration of the interiors was reduced and the whole embankment and carriage ramps by the main entrance were removed being replaced by a simple staircase. Some of these changes were required by the deputation and others were dictated by a four-man committee set up by the deputation to help Nyström in his task. The House of the Estates was completed in late 1890 and early 1891.[139]

We have discussed the public accusations against Nyström according to which his project was a direct copy of Frans Anatolius Sjöström's 1884 project for the House of the Estates to be located on Tähtitorninmäki hill (i.e. Observatory Hill). The latter plan was abandoned in the 1885 Diet because of its high costs and various political disputes.[140] Morally outraged, Nyström presented a staunch defence against accusations of copying. As late as 1898, seven years after the completion of the building he wrote to J.J. Tikkanen, then professor of art history:

> Copying, regardless of motive, is seen by us architects as impermissible and greatly detrimental to one's personal value and esteem.[141]

The floor-plans of Nyström's entry have not been preserved, but written descriptions suggest that they corresponded nevertheless to a great degree to those of Sjöström's project.[142] The floor-plan by Nyström that was finally executed in the building was reworked to reduce costs and was considerably different. Nyström especially stressed to his friend J.B.Blomkvist that his floor-plan differed completely from that by Sjöström,[143] although the floor-plan type, *parti*, is clearly the same as in Sjöström's case.[144] In any case, it is interesting to review Nyström's façade designs in relation to Sjöström's plans.

In each of the three projects (Sjöström 1884, Nyström 1887, Nyström 1888) the main façade consists of a classistic portico surrounded by flanking sections of wall one bay wide. Of interest is how Nyström, in contrast to Sjöström, joined a triangular pediment to the portico. *49, 48, 55*

Project no. 1 (August 1887) *48*

In Nyström's entry the basement is considerably lower than in Sjöström's plan. Thus, he was able to avoid the high pedestals of the colossal order as in Sjöström's project. This solution was based on changed location of the building (Snellmaninkatu 9). In Nyström's project the rhythm of the supports of the portico is considerably simpler and more distinct. Nyström himself stressed that it was not an *in antis* motif — as claimed by a critic in the press — for in this motif intercolumnation is regular.[145] Nyström may well have regarded the modification of Sjöström's portico as his own invention. *49*

The walls flanking the portico display the same tectonics and rhythm as in Sjöström's design. Nyström, however, kept the walls smooth, as opposed to the block rustication of Sjöström's which covered the main floors and the pilasters throughout. Nyström articulated the enframement of the round-arched window of the ground floor in a simpler manner and he also removed the rosettes of Sjöström's design from the architrave-framed window of the main storey. The

three doorways of the main entrance are now enframed with columns and entablature, instead of the round-arched vaults of Sjöström's design. The ramps of the main entrance were no doubt
50 borrowed from the Vienna House of Parliament by Theophil von Hansen (1884) and the winged
43 figures standing on the columns suggest the corresponding motif from the Academy of Athens also by Hansen (1857—1887). The *''gräzisierende Palladianismus''* of Nyström's both designs indicates in other respects as well the architecture of von Hansen.

49 In Sjöström's project the projection, the outer supports of the portico and its enframing fields and the corresponding parts of the entablature as well as the profuse decorative motifs above the cornice give the building a highly baroque and even picturesque character. Seen in the context of the series of drawings which led to Sjöström's final design, the ''authenticity'' of the façade's Classicism may even be questioned. This is further supported by the fact that the Classicism of this final project by Sjöström was not completely in accordance with his personal desires. The architect members of the House of Estates deputation (Sebastian Gripenberg and Theodor Decker) had wished for a more classicist approach; according to Nyström, they even went as
51—54 far as to force Sjöström to prepare a classicist project.[146] In the series of projects preceding the final design we can see how the style applied changed gradually from the *Rundbogenstil* to Classicism with the same volumes retained throughout the planning process. Perhaps the rich and profuse forms of Sjöström's final project derive from its unclassistic background and we may even venture the assumption that the architect saw in it and applied artistic values that were completely different to those of a ''true classicist''.

55—59 Project no. 2 (1888)

55 The changes made by Nyström for his final design are of special interest. It was through these that he linked the building to its surroundings. A significant change was to leave out the pilasters from the walls surrounding the portico. However, the tectonic qualities were at no stage abandoned. In this case, it is based on the hierarchy of texture — the block rustication of Sjöström's design is again used, but with a cruder rustication of the ground floor as opposed to the main floor. Vertically the rustication is bounded by a wave scroll running at level with the lintels of the windows of the main floor. In the section of wall between this band and the three-part entablature is a frieze with antique motifs the height of which corresponds to that of the capitals of the colossal order.

The frames of the round-arched windows of the ground floor have now been removed. The consol serving as the keystone of the window arch borders on the belt moulding which it supports. Apparently related to this feature is a detail mentioned in Nyström's letters and lectures,
47 viz. that he attempted to link the rustication of the ground floors of the State Archives and the
26 House of the Estates with that of the ground floors of the Senate (C.L.Engel 1817) and building
6 of the Finnish Bank (Ludvig Bohnstedt 1875).[147] The latter building is opposite the House of the Estates and adjacent to the State Archives.

Also the windows of the main floor were redesigned. They were now fitted with architrave surrounds narrowing upwards. In the form used by Nyström these indicate specifically the doors of the Erechteion (with parapet) and not, for example, Roman palazzi. This is an interesting detail, as enframements narrowing upwards were first used in Helsinki by C.L.Engel in the en-
28 trances of the Seurahuone hotel (1828). F.A.Sjöström also used the motif. In the sketches for
54 his final project for the House of the Estates Erechteion enframements are placed in the corresponding location. This motif finds reference in Engel's architecture also in the sense that the capitals of the columns of the portico of the University Main Building are also of the highly characteristic Erechteion type. In Nyström's final project the whole bay is considerably more

tensile than in his or Sjöström's earlier designs where the proportion of the lintels to the moulding above was excessive in the bottom storey and accordingly too small in the main storey.

The exclusion of the pilasters and the broken entablature from the wall planes of the sides further emphasized the relationship of the building with Palladio and above all the Villa Rotonda where the flanking wall planes surround the portico. The wall planes were one bay wide with superimposed windows as the only vertical motif. The connection is further implied by a number of other details. In the main façade of the House of the Estates the slope of the roof and the pediment of the skylight with its gabled roof give the impression of the pyramid roof of the Villa Rotonda with its low dome. The fields surrounding the portico are repeated at the corners of the side façades. Seen from the side façade they even appear to be separate from the rest of the façade, but it is precisely this separateness that joins them to the corresponding fields of the main façade. Thus, the following motifs together with the design of the roof clearly indicate the use of volumes of the Villa Rotonda: the portico, the fields surrounding them and sections of wall at right-angles to the latter and identical with them. The design for the House of the Estates does not, however, have the high attic of the Villa Rotonda. It gives the appearance of having been reduced to a low attic behind the pediment and to the attics of the projections of the side façades, which can also be seen in the main façade. The low attic of the pediment is linked to the corresponding attics of Engel's Senate and University Main Building which were only a few hundred yards from the House of the Estates.

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The classical serenity of the façade in relation to the 1887 project is further enhanced by the lowering of the projections of the side façades to the level of the main façade thus placing all of the outside walls under a continuous entablature.

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The wide centre projection of the side façade, consisting of seven bays, is also highly Palladian in character. The starting-point for the articulation of the five central bays may be sought in the façade of the Pal. Valmarana used by Nyström in connection with the main façade of the project for the addition to the University Library (1914).

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Connections with the Empire-style buildings of C.L.Engel in the vicinity of the House of the Estates were endeavoured partly via Palladio and partly by emphasising Greek features. Without doubt, both of these features find connections with the above-mentioned ''Grecianizing Palladianism'' of Theophil von Hansen. The frieze of the House of the Estates and above all its location are obvious references to the Vienna House of Parliament.

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The 16 large Corinthian colossal columns of the staircase together with the entablature and the large skylight convert the central space of the interior into a peristyle courtyard. This finds reference not only in the peristyle with skylight of the Vienna Parliament House but also in Palladio and the peristyle courtyards designed by him for various palazzi (e.g. Pal. Porto-Colleoni).[148]

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The Customs Building

The Customs Building by Nyström at Katajanokka in Helsinki which was built in 1900 and designed in 1898 was preceded by a project dated December 1897 and presented by Nyström in the journal *Teknikern* in 1898. In the project the building has the special form of a Medieval castle.[149] Bearing in mind Nyström's above-discussed architectural relationship with Engel, we may present the hypothesis that also this project implies a conscious reference to Engel. Engel had planned a residence for the czar and the governor-general of Finland to be located at Katajanokka. This project had the form of a Roman *castrum* or a Medieval knightly castle.[150] The present location of the project is not known, but it is not out of the question that Nyström had either seen it or at least heard of it. Engel's ''magnificent'' project for an imperial palace

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at Katajanokka was mentioned in the press in 1882 in connection with discussions concerning the location of the House of the Estates.[151]

2. Jac. Ahrenberg

The building projects by Jac. Ahrenberg that are significant in this connection are fewer in number than those by Gustaf Nyström, but are in now way less interesting.

The Throne Hall

75 The plans for the Imperial Palace (Pehr Grahnstedt and C.L. Engel 1817, 1838) drafted by Jac. Ahrenberg in 1905 for the Board of Public Works and Buildings include a project for a separate wing with a throne hall, a square antechamber and a vestibule. The work was completed in 1905—1907.[152]

110—111 The architectural motif of the Throne Hall is a colonnade of freely standing double columns surrounding a hall of rectangular plan. The practical function of the colonnade was to bear the weight of a gallery and the entablature forms the parapet of the gallery. Double pilasters along the walls correspond to the double columns.

The hall received a very favourable critique by the pseudonym *Reporter* in the newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet*. It appears that the architect himself was the same person as the nom-de-plume.[153] The article compares the hall in its beauty to the great hall of the Turku Academy building (Carl Christoffer Gjörwell 1801) which Ahrenberg in a another connection has described as the most beautiful hall of its kind in Finland.[154] *Reporter* wrote that the throne hall was of ''strict Empire style (...) merging the new with the older parts of the palace''.

90, 35 The use of a colonnade as a gallery suggests above all the design of the three main halls of the Helsinki University Library. Also the model of the columns and entablature was one that was used by Engel; a similar entablature occurs at least in the Greek-Orthodox church of Turku (1835). Ahrenberg's columns were fluted along two-thirds of their shafts which is a detail not used by Engel. Continuing the Corinthian colonnade behind the throne suggests the only other place in Finland where arrangements had been made for an imperial throne: the hall of assembly of the Senate building by Engel. However, at the Senate double columns were not used. In fact, in Ahrenberg's original plan the columns were placed singly.[155] However, the double column motif brings to mind a number of architectural solutions by Engel. At the far walls are two glazed stoves on pedestals and placed within an aedicula frame motif. In the so-called Governor-General's House (1816) adjacent to the Imperial Palace Engel had placed on one of the long walls of the *112* great hall two glazed stoves between *double* pilasters.[156] The rhythm of the far walls of the Throne Hall is the same as in well-known recessed colonnade of the former Military Commandant's House by Engel (1822). It must be noted that the corner supports of the colonnade of the Throne Hall are four-sided and not round. This indicates a connection with the great hall of the Turku Academy building, mentioned by Ahrenberg himself. There the corner columns are four-sided and the Ionic columns of the long walls are placed in pairs.

Post office building, Snellmaninkatu 2, Helsinki

The city of Helsinki sold the Snellmaninkatu 2 lot for the construction of a post office on the condition that the building would not be higher than the terrace of the Nikolai church behind

it and that the façade would have a solemn appearance. Jac. Ahrenberg, in the service of the Board of Public Works and Buildings drafted plans for the building in 1900. The building was constructed in 1902—1903.[157] *113*

The nom-de-plume *Reporter*, i.e. most probably Ahrenberg himself, also wrote of the post office for *Hufvudstadsbladet*.[158] The reviewer saw the building as "curious" and its site as one of the most valuable in the whole of Helsinki. He mentions Engel's uncompleted project for the site for a ramp leading to the church. *Reporter* also describes the content of façade of the post office building in the following terms: "Its façade consists of a single colonnade, Doric columns with entablature and a so-called attic rising above them. A building for guards of this type was previously located on the Senate Square side of the lot where the steps to the church are now and for this reason the architect Jac. Ahrenberg, who drafted the plans for the Board of Public Works and Buildings, chose this motif from C.L.Engel, the re-creator of Helsinki."

The fact that Ahrenberg even painted a water-colour of the subject demonstrates the special significance of the building for him. The angle of view of the water-colour shows that he specifically wished the post office and the church to be seen as a single entity with the post office as the "pedestal" of the church in the same way as the building of the guards had been in the early years of the 19th century. Eeva Maija Viljo has pointed out that Ahrenberg had studied Engel's 1818 project for the Guards' Building which differed from the final version which was torn down in 1839.[159] This can be seen in the fact that the form and proportions of Ahrenberg's columns correspond more closely to the 1818 project than the final building which had thick *Paestum* type columns. He number of columns is the same in both Ahrenberg's and Engel's buildings, viz. eight, but the flanking motifs — the half-columns and side projections — are lacking in Ahrenberg's plan. This was due to the narrow form of the lot. Ahrenberg's colonnade was separated from the adjoining buildings with a half-metre wide recess. Engel's peristyle passage was reduced to illusory form by Ahrenberg and the window frames of the wall are of simpler design than in the prototype. *114* *115*

Ahrenberg's columns do not have bases, as in the case of Engel's columns in the Guards' Building, but these are suggested by Ahrenberg with a ring of granite which was not thicker than the shaft of the column. There are similar details in the Doric half-columns of the gables of the wings of the Imperial Palace. Engel used normal bases of granite in the south façade of the Senate. In the Post Office Building the capitals of the columns and the whole entablature was borrowed from the Doric orders in Vignola's treatise, *The Five Orders*, and specifically from a version where the capitals are decorated with lilies. However, one of the capital profiles applies the other Doric order (with rosettes) presented by Vignola. Ahrenberg of course did not have access to Vignola in the original and most probably made use of the late 18th century French *"Vignole"* or Giovanni Rivelanti's 19th century version.[160] *113* *75* *116, 117*

Province surveying office, Turku

It is surprising to note that the columns of the Snellmaninkatu Post Office in Helsinki and in fact the whole colonnade can be found in Turku at the Province Surveying Office Building, designed by Ahrenberg in 1908 and built in 1909. This building is also in a historic setting behind the Cathedral, which according to Ahrenberg[161] is a partly Empire milieu as well. The office building was an extension to the so-called Governor's Storehouse Building (1828) by Carlo Bassi.[162] In this case the entablature and not only the columns have profiles from *both* of Vignola's Doric orders. In a special drawing for the doorway there is an alternative for a column (not built) with a fluted shaft as in the case of both Doric columns by Vignola.[163] The colonnade is shorter than in Helsinki and being placed at the corner of the lot it is curved. The curvature *118—121* *116—117*

conforms to the curved corner of an Empire style residential building on the next lot (C.L.Engel (?), 1835—1837)[164]. It is not certain whether the colonnade has any connection with the Pal. Massimo alle Colonne by Peruzzi. The six-pillar colonnade is more closely related to the guards'
115 building by Engel than that of the post office in the sense that there is a half-column with straight sides at both ends. In contrast to the Post Office on Snellmaninkatu in Helsinki the surveying office has a genuine peristyle passage and the windows have architrave surrounds. The form of the lintel is from the adjacent storehouse building by Bassi.

120 Ahrenberg's office building extends east of the colonnade with the same motifs that are used in the storehouse by Bassi on its west side. Instead of the five storehouse doors with archivolts there are only three openings serving as windows.

121 The granite bases of the Snellmaninkatu Post Office and Turku Surveying Office building thus display some kind of connection with a few bases used by Engel in Helsinki, but we may also hypothesise a connection with the four granite columns of the vestibule of the Turku Academy building situated next to the surveying office. The planning of the surveying office came about as a result of its being removed from the premises of the Academy building. This occurred when the Board of Public Works and Buildings under the direction of Ahrenberg began to renovate and restore the Academy building.[165] In this connection Ahrenberg expressed in various published articles his admiration for the granite pillars of the vestibule.[166] He even had their coat of dark brown paint removed and their cracks and fissures repaired.[167] As pointed out in detail, Ahrenberg did not differentiate between Gustavian Neo-Classicism and Empire and for this reason the use of motifs from the Academy building did not pose any problems for him.

Main building of the Cadet College in Hamina

A discussion of this building in Hamina is called for due to the especially interesting character of this building designed by Ahrenberg in the capacity of architect for the Board of Public Works and Buildings. The journal *Teknikern* mentions that Ahrenberg presented his façade designs for the Cadet College building at the Architects' Club on October 26,1895. The audience showed interest in the plans which were carried out ''in the style of C.L.Engel in both motifs and details.''[168]

In the area of the Cadet College in Hamina two brick buildings of identical appearance had
122 been built, partly using older buildings, according to plans by C.L.Engel dated 1819. One of the buildings contained the dormitory and classrooms while the other contained a hall, library, offices and other rooms. The hall building was torn down in 1875. Also the Cadet Dormitory was torn down, in the summer of 1898, with the completion of a new dormitory and college building immediately behind it. The new building was designed by the Board of Public Works and Buildings (Ahrenberg) and was inaugurated in September 1897.[169]

123 Project no. 1 (1895)

Jac. Ahrenberg's papers include a project which was not carried out for raising Engel's Cadet Dormitory Building with a storey and lengthening it with six bays. The façade is of the same three-storey palace façade type as in Engel's Senate, University Main Building and Seurahuone hotel. Its vertical articulation is based on a portico five bays wide and side projections of three bays. The side projections are in fact fields recessed from the basic wall surface. The connection
27 of this façade with the University Main Building is so obvious that no further discussion is required. Even the heraldic emblem of the pediment of the university façade is repeated with minor changes in Ahrenberg's project.

Ahrenberg's façade also displays a clear connection with the façade by Engel that was meant to be torn down in the renovation of the building. The two-storey volume of Engel's building is also articulated by an Ionic portico which appears to be raised at such one storey higher in Ahrenberg's three-storey façade. Also the vertical rhythm of the central bay was preserved by Ahrenberg. In the lower storey of the bay the doorway is wider than the other openings. The window above it is in turn clearly narrower than the other windows behind the portico. Furthermore, in both Engel's and Ahrenberg's façades the whole central bay is wider than the other bays of the portico. The design of the archivolt-decorated doorway of the balcony, together with the wider spacing of the columns of the centre bay and the recess of the wall of the same bay in the bottom storey are clear references to the temple front of the so-called Governor-General's House (1816) by C.L.Engel. *124*

Project no. 2 (1895) *125—127*

The project that was carried out did not observe Engel's projects as literally as the first project. There are however clear connections also in this case. The proportions of the bays are no longer in accordance with those of Engel's Cadet Dormitory Building as project no. 2 was intended for a new building. In the new building the number of bays is however the same as in Engel's original dormitory building with the five bays of the portico surrounded by wall sections seven bays wide.

The order is Doric, but no longer Ionic, which is a clear reference to the military nature of the building. Also this order is a combination of the two versions of the Doric order by Vignola. In this case, the capitals have rosettes and not lilies. The Greek character of the building is emphasized in the upper storey with *Bassae* type colonnettes serving as the upright crossbars of the windows. To my knowledge this is the only case of this motif in Finland. *127*

The articulation of the wall behind the portico finds reference in Engel's University Main Building. The window frames of the second storey consist of enframing pilasters bearing a continuous entablature. Above the entablature is a frieze in relief the width of the portico. The upper moulding of the frieze bears the windows of the third storey. The same motif was applied in the first façade design for the University Main Building which was not carried out. Apparently also the modest plaques in relief placed in the corresponding location in the first project for the Cadet College suggest the same origin. *27* *128*

Notes and references

I. Introduction: The Problem of 'Historicism'

1. See eg. Beiträge zum Problem des Stilpluralismus 1977 and Forssman 1981.
2. Eg. Schädlich 1973, p. 146; Dolgner 1973, p. 155,164; Brix & Steinhauser 1978, p. 207, 222, 229, 268; Gollwitzer 1979, p. 13—14; Feist 1980, p. 3; Schönemann 1980, p. 9; Ullmann 1980, p. 8; Milde 1981, p. 38, 81, 173—174, 302ff.; Frampton 1984.
3. Pevsner 1965, p. 107.
4. Pevsner 1965a, p. 116; See also Götz 1970, p. 196—197.
5. Eg. Schädlich 1973, p. 147—148; Brix & Steinhauser 1978, p. 222; Gollwitzer 1979, p. 13; The articles in Bildende Kunst 3/1980, supplement; Milde 1981, p. 81, 127—128, 130, 173—174; Frampton 1984.
6. Eg. Brix & Steinhauser 1978, p. 222, 229, 268; Gollwitzer 1979, p. 14; Schönemann 1980, p. 10; Milde 1981, p. 38, 222, 302ff, Nerdinger 1984, p.39, 42.
7. Posener 1976, p. 486—488.
8. Levine 1977, p. 325—334.
9. Milde 1981, p. 173—174, 202—204.
10. Götz 1970.
11. Eg. Schädlich 1973, p. 147; Götz 1977; Brix & Steinhauser 1978, p. 200—201, 229, 236—237, 256, 267; Gollwitzer 1979, p. 12; Feist 1980, p. 3; Schädlich 1980, p. 11; Schönemann 1980, p. 9; Ullmann 1980, p. 5; Milde 1981, 8, 61, 173—174, 330; Mårtelius 1987, p. 9, 194; To the few exceptions we shall return in chapter III.
12. Kroll 1984, p. 139
13. Dilly 1978, p. 15—16.
14. Nikula 1981, p. 20—21; Nikula 1986; Nikula 1988.
15. Viljo 1985, p. 14—15.
16. Eg. Dolgner 1973; Schädlich 1973; Götz 1975; Götz 1977; Hammer—Schenk 1978; Gollwitzer 1979; Feist 1980, p.4; Milde 1981, p. 61, 128, 221—222, 330.
17. Lilius 1984, p. 48—49.
18. Lilius 1985, p. 72.
19. Lilius 1983, p. 180—181; Lilius 1984, p. 48—50.
20. Lilius 1985, p.72.
21. Panofsky 1955, p. 10—22.
22. Besides, Richard Wollheim has argued that serious distortions are introduced into many accounts of the 'aesthetic attitude' by taking as central to it cases which are really secondary (e.g. regarding a piece of uncontrived nature as a work of art): "For once the aesthetic attitude has been established on the basis of objects produced under the concept of art, we can then extend it beyond its base: in much the same way as, having established the concept of person on the basis of human beings, we may then, in fables or children's stories, come to apply it to animals or even trees or rocks" (Wollheim 1980, p. 96—97).
23. Panofsky 1972, p. 14—16.
24. Gombrich 1978, p.89—98.
25. Holly 1984, p. 156.
26. Holly 1984, p. 175—187.
27. Bann 1986; Iversen 1986.
28. Iversen 1986, p. 272—273; See also Iversen 1979, p. 63.
29. Expression from Schochet 1974, p. 265.
30. Skinner 1969, p.1.
31. Skinner 1969, p. 38.
32. See eg. Dunn 1968.
33. See eg. Pocock 1981.
34. Dunn 1968, p. 93.
35. See e.g. Diggins 1984; Janssen 1985, p. 125—127.
36. Schochet 1974, p. 262, 264; see also Janssen 1985, p. 131—133.
37. See especially Skinner 1972.
38. The best presentation is Tully 1983.
39. Skinner 1972, p. 396—397.
40. Skinner 1972, p. 400.
41. ibid.
42. Skinner 1972, p. 401; Skinner 1975, p. 213.
43. Skinner 1969, p. 44.
44. Skinner 1972a, p. 139.
45. Skinner 1969, p. 39—44; Skinner 1975, p. 215.
46. Skinner 1969, p. 44.
47. This is what the art historians have also done. See eg. Wollheim 1980, p. 19; Baxandall 1985, p. 41—42.
48. Skinner 1972, p. 401.
49. Skinner 1972, p. 402.
50. Skinner 1970, p.120.
51. Skinner 1972, p. 402; How 'perlocutionary acts' are distinguishable from 'illocutionary acts', see Skinner 1970, p. 123—124 and Skinner 1972, p. 402—403.
52. Skinner 1972a, p. 142.
53. Skinner 1972, p. 404.
54. Skinner 1975, p. 212.
55. Skinner 1972a, p. 145—146.
56. Skinner 1972a, p. 147—148.
57. Skinner 1972a, p.148; but Skinner continues: "And I should wish to claim that it is strongly arguable in the case of the first of these further stages, and unquestionable in the case of he second, that to provide these further explanations will be to provide causal explanations for the performance of the given social action".

58. Skinner 1972a, p. 143.
59. Skinner 1972, p. 405.
60. Skinner 1975, p. 218—219.
61. Skinner 1974, p. 284.
62. Skinner 1974, p. 285; Skinner 1975, p. 212; Skinner admits that some texts, like Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* can have "relatively autonomous character", see Skinner 1975, p. 221—223. Compare this to Wollheim 1980, p. 146—148.
63. Skinner 1970, p. 137—138.
64. Skinner 1985, p. xiii.
65. Skinner 1975, p. 216.
66. Skinner 1972, p. 406—407.
67. Skinner 1975, p. 221.
68. Skinner 1985, p. xi.
69. See Skinner 1985, p. xiii.
70. Skinner 1972, p. 406.
71. Skinner 1970, p. 133.
72. Skinner 1970, p. 135.
73. Skinner 1970, p. 130, 137.
74. Skinner 1974, p. 287—289; See also Skinner 1970.
75. Skinner 1972a, p. 150.
76. Skinner 1972, p. 407.
77. Skinner 1972a, p. 150—154.
78. Skinner 1985, p. xi.
79. Skinner 1974, p. 290—291.
80. Skinner 1974, p. 288—289.
81. Skinner 1974, p. 293.
82. Skinner 1974, p. 295: "(...) to explain why an agent acts as he does must always involve the capacity to explain why he evidently *believed* it was rational for him to perform a particular action when it was not in fact rational for him to do so", and: "(...) to exhibit a social action as rational *is* to explain it". See also Skinner 1974a, p. 127.
83. The following quotation shows further what Skinner means with "favorable descriptions": "His concern is to legitimate a new range of social actions which, in terms of the existing ways of applying the moral vocabulary prevailing in his society, are currently regarded as in some way untoward or illegitimate. His aim must therefore be to show that a number of existing and favorable evaluative-descriptive terms can somehow be applied to his apparently untoward actions. If he can somehow perform this trick, he can thereby hope to argue that the condemnatory descriptions which are otherwise liable to be applied to his actions can in consequence be discounted." (Skinner 1974, p. 294).
84. Skinner 1974a, p. 127—128; Skinner 1974, p. 299.
85. See Holly 1984, p.164.
86. Skinner 1985, p. xi.
87. Skinner 1975, p.210.
88. Skinner 1972a, p. 142—143.
89. Skinner 1972, note 37.
90. Schochet 1974, p. 271.
91. A methodological remark is called for here. We have put forward that Skinner is especially against the manner of examining the history of ideas as 'unit-ideas'. By 'unit-ideas' A.O.Lovejoy meant many things, e.g.: "types of categories, thoughts concerning particular aspects of common experience, implicit or explicit presuppositions, sacred formulas and catchwords, specific philosophic theorems, or the larger hypotheses, generalizations or methodological assumptions of various sciences". (Lovejoy 1948, p. 4).

    Lovejoy believed that the history of ideas should not deal directly with systems or -isms, but with what he regarded as their elemental components, viz. the unit-ideas, which are to be found within them (See Mandelbaum 1985, p. 199). Lovejoy maintained that the total body of a doctrine is almost always a complex and heterogeneous aggregate, and that most philosophic systems are original rather in their patterns than in their components. He stresses the importance of the "non-philosophic" world: "beliefs, prejudices, pietics, tastes, aspirations..."(Lovejoy 1948, p. 179—180).

    All this seems interesting from our point of view. "Theorizing" by artists seems often to be, at least partially, composed of 'unit-ideas', rather than being strict logical wholes. This makes Lovejoy's method tempting for the historian of art. But, as Maurice Mandelbaum has pointed out, Lovejoy took these unit-ideas to be "the *dynamic* units of the history of thought". Lovejoy was primarily concerned with *the continuities of the elements*, not with the formative influences that helped determine the patterns into which these elements fitted (Mandelbaum 1983, p. 200).

    It is for these reasons that Skinner, too, condemns Lovejoy, for we must remember that "the words denoting the idea may be used with varying and quite incompatible intentions" (Skinner 1969, p. 36—37). Nevertheless, we could maintain with Mandelbaum, that "by calling attention to possible parallels in the use to which concepts have been put by different thinkers, and in showing the ambiguities and confusions which some of these concepts may contain, Lovejoy has given the intellectual historian a powerful set of analytical tools". It is only if we consider Lovejoy's methodological convictions as a self sufficient research programme that the problems follow. Mandelbaum criticizes that Lovejoy's way of approach (ie. stressing on the continuity of unit-ideas which enter into a particular philosophic system) fails to yield an interpretation of the basic aim and motivating power of that system (Mandelbaum 1983, p. 201, 204).

    But this is precisely what we can do with Skinner's way of approach. The two methodologies are not so incompatible as has been asserted if we treat Lovejoy's methodology only as an "analytical tool" and with caution. For sure, "artistic theories" contain such unit-ideas, and perhaps in a much wider extent than "philosophical theories". The recovery of these ideas might be elusive for us, but our final task should be the decoding of the primary intentions of the writer, i.e. what he meant by what he said.
92. Götz 1970, p. 197.
93. Götz 1970, p. 201.
94. Götz 1970, p. 203—204.
95. Götz 1970, p. 209; See also p. 211: "*programmatische Neubelebung*".

96. Götz 1970, p. 211.
97. Götz 1970, p. 202.
98. Götz 1970, p. 207.
99. See Götz's notes 70 and 73.
100. Götz 1970, p. 206.
101. Götz 1970, p. 212.
102. Götz 1970, p. 212.
103. Götz 1970, p. 203, 210.
104. Götz 1970, eg. p. 211.
105. Mahon 1947, p. 206.
106. Mahon 1947, p. 227; See also Weisbach 1957, p. 92—93.
107. Wittkower 1965, p. 150.
108. Wittkower 1965, p. 154—155.
109. See also Ackerman 1970, p. 310; Brucher 1985, p. 63—69.
110. Kristeller 1983, p. 106—107.
111. Kristeller 1983, p.110.
112. Kristeller 1983, p. 110—111.
113. Kristeller 1983, p. 112.
114. Colquhoun 1983, p. 86.
115. Colquhoun 1983, p. 87—88.
116. Colquhoun 1983, p. 88, 90.
117. Colquhoun 1983, p. 89—90.
118. Panofsky 1972, p. 18.
119. Panofsky 1972, p. 27.
120. Panofsky 1972, p. 28.
121. Panofsky 1960, p. 113.
122. Panofsky 1955.
123. Skinner 1974, p. 287—288.
124. Janssen 1985, p. 138—139.
125. Janssen 1985, p. 144—146.
126. Janssen 1985, p. 142—144.
127. Koselleck 1985, p. xxi—xxiv, 240, 267—288; See chapter III.
128. Götz 1970, p. 205.
129. Colquhoun 1983, p. 87.
130. Skinner 1985, p. xiii; See also Skinner 1974, p. 286.
131. Dunn 1968, p. 99.
132. Skinner 1985, p. x—xi.
133. Pocock 1981, p. 960.
134. See Roos 1985, p. 11—13.
135. Bourdieu 1980, p. 118.
136. ibid.
137. Bourdieu 1980, p. 116, 118—119, 215—216; See also Bourdieu 1975, p. 141; Bourdieu 1980a, p. 92; Bourdieu 1980b, p. 92—93, 95, 111—115.
138. Boime 1971, p. 172.
139. Giedion 1952, p. 156.
140. Levine 1977, p. 326.
141. Herrmann 1962, p. 187.
142. Boime 1971, p. 9.
143. See eg. Gombrich 1978, p. 94—95; Ackerman 1970; Baxandall 1985, e.g. p. 44—45, 64ff., 132; We have accounted already that for Panofsky the artistic problems were of more metaphysical nature than we do understand them here.
144. See eg. Wollheim 1980, p. 70—73, and the relating references.
145. Ackerman 1970, p. 323.
146. Alpers 1979, p. 117; Alpers criticizes the "convention of artistic problems" for not having any understanding of unconventionality in art. Also Skinner has been — unjustifiably — accused of being "blinded to such goals as innovation and creativity". He defends as follows: "It is only if and when we have mapped out all the prevailing conventions of political discussion that we can begin to observe the point at which, and the extent to which, Locke (in Skinner's example. V.L.) may be concerned to breach or repudiate them. So far from denying such moments of creativity, my approach seems in this way to provide the only means of recognising and illuminating them in a genuinely historical way." (Skinner 1974, p. 287).
147. Wittkower 1978, p. 63.
148. Alpers 1971; Alpers 1979.
149. Lilius 1984a.
150. Another subject area would be restoration. This is discussed only in passing in this connection because a separate study is under preparation on the restauration work of the period.
151. Birger Brunila, 'Professor Carl Gustaf Nyström'. TFFF 1918, p. 95—97.
152. Report from *Technische Hochschule in Wien*. SRM; Lindberg 1922, p. 135—139; Copie-bok 6.2.1914, p. 361ff. SRM; Birger Brunila, 'Professor Carl Gustaf Nyström'. TFFF 1918, p. 95—97; E.Holmberg, 'Gustaf Nyström'. Teknikern 1918, p.1; Matrikel 1899, p. 95, 193—194; Finsk biografisk handbok 1903, 'Nyström, Carl Gustaf'; 'Professor Gustaf Nyström 60 år' Arkitekten I, 1916, p. 1—6.
153. Matrikel 1899, p.6; Birger Brunila, 'Jac Ahrenberg in memoriam'. Arkitekten VII 1914, p. 93—95; 'Jac. Ahrenberg'. HBL 11.10.1914; Puranen 1967, p. 474; Ekelund 1943.

II. Conception of Art

1. Lars Sonck's lecture-notes are in the collections of the Museum of Finnish Architecture (SRM).
2. Wittkower 1974.
3. Tatarkiewitz 1972.
4. Lee 1940.
5. Tatarkiewitz 1968.
6. Weisbach 1957.
7. Tatarkiewitz 1968, p. 27; Wittkower 1974, p. 193—194; Lee 1940, 226—228; Szambien 1986, p. 19.
8. Tatarkiewitz 1968, p.24; Tatarkiewitz 1972, p. 169—170; Wittkower 1974, p. 193—196.
9. Lovejoy 1948, p. 75.
10. Wittkower 1974, p. 195—196.; Tatarkiewitz 1968, p. 26—27; Lovejoy 1948; Knabe 1972, p. 12—13, 320.
11. Panofsky 1968, p.107; Lee 1940, p.207—208.
12. Choay 1980, p.124—125, 134—135; Szambien 1986, p. 62; The authors underline that Rudolf Wittkower has forgotten this important point

when emphasizing the mathematical basis of beauty in Alberti's theory.

13. See Wittkower 1974, p.196—197; Tatarkiewitz 1968, p.24—28; Tatarkiewitz 1972, p.167—169; Dieckman 1973, p.196, 200 202; Stolnitz 1961, p. 187; Szambien 1986, p.19, 61.
14. ibid.
15. Wittkower 1965, p. 144—145.
16. See Wittkower 1974, p. 196; Wittkower 1965, p. 144—145; Tatarkiewitz 1968, p. 25—27; Lee 1940, p. 205; Fichet 1979, p. 15; Knabe 1972, p. 13; Germann 1980, p. 160; Weisbach 1957; Panofsky 1968, p. 109.
17. Dieckman 1973, p. 201.
18. Lee 1940, p. 228—235; See also Tatarkiewitz 1968, p. 27—28.
19. See eg. Tatarkiewitz 1972, p. 169—176; Germann 1980, p. 189ff.; Stolnitz 1961, p. 190—200; Wittkower 1974, p. 195—203; Dieckman 1973, p. 201—202; Knabe 1972, p. 14—18; Fichet 1979, p. 33—36; Jauss 1971; Osborne 1968, p. 131—175.
20. von Ferstel 1880, p. 48—49; König 1884, p. 41—43.
21. Matrikel 1899, p. 100.
22. J.A.(Jac.Ahrenberg),'Sjöström Frans Anatolius'. Finsk biografisk handbok 1903, p. 1988.
23. loc.cit., p. 1989.
24. Grandien 1979, p. 18—44.
25. Viljo 1987, p. 10—11.
26. See Rinman 1950; Klinge 1962; Ringbom 1971; Saarela 1986; Ringbom 1986, p. 47—50.
27. Otto-Iivari Meurman's lecture-notes are in the collections of TKK.
28. E.Holmberg, 'Gustaf Nyström'. Teknikern 1918, p.1.
29. Manuscript in TKK.
30. FiA II, p. 27. SRM. The page-numbers differ in versions (FiA I 1912, FiA I 1916 and FiA II) of the manuscript. In FiA I the same page-numbers are used in various connections.
31. Cf. Knabe 1972, p. 472—479, particularly p. 473: "(...) *la grande vérité de son imitation* (...)" (de Piles 1708).
32. FiA II, p. 25. SRM.
33. FiA II, p. 36. SRM.
34. FiA II, p.38. SRM.
35. FiA II, p.39. SRM.
36. FiA II, p. 27. SRM.
37. FiA II, p. 42. SRM.
38. G.Nyström to I.Aminoff 19.6.1915. Copie-bok 21.10.1913ff. SRM.
39. FiA II, p. 26. SRM.
40. FiA I, unbound manuscript between pages 11 and 12.
41. Knabe 1972, p. 52.
42. Chafée 1977, p. 63.
43. FiA II, p.35. SRM.
44. FiA II, p. 21. SRM.
45. FiA II, p. 34. SRM.
46. FiA I, unbound paper. SRM.
47. G.Nyström to I.Aminoff 19.6.1915. Copie-bok 21.10.1913ff. SRM.
48. Vrt Kambartel 1972, p. 38—39; Szambien 1986, p. 75.
49. Kambartel 1972, p. 53, 57.
50. Szambien 1986,p.79.
51. Kambartel 1972, p.40, 41—43.
52. Kambartel 1972, p. 54.
53. See e.g. Kruft 1985, p.25, 28; Kambartel 1972, p. 40.
54. Kambartel 1972, p. 59—61; Szambien 1986, p. 78.
55. See Wittkower 1973, p.22.
56. FiA II, p. 42. SRM.
57. FiA II, p.56. SRM.
58. See Kambartel 1972, p. 40.
59. FiA II, p. 53. SRM.
60. FiA II, p.53. SRM.
61. FiA I, p. 64. SRM.
62. FiA I, p. 65. SRM.
63. FiA I, p. 64—67. SRM.
64. FiA II, p. 59; See also p. 56—60. In fact the *decorum* of Vitruvius is not attached to the proportions.(See eg. Kruft 1985, p. 26—27.)
65. FiA II, p. 57; FiA I, p.68—72. SRM.
66. Herrmann 1973, p. 82—83.
67. Germann 1980, p.18; Kruft 1985, p. 26; Fichet 1979, p. 25.
68. See eg. Herrmann 1973, p. 83—84.
69. See Fichet 1979, p. 39; Herrmann 1962, p. 82—87.
70. FiA I, p. 72. SRM.
71. FiA II, p. 53. SRM.
72. Kambartel 1972, p. 99 and Hermann 1973, p. 172. Both underline that the belief that proportions can be bound to absolute measures decreased continuously since the 17th century.
73. Herrmann 1962, p. 164—165.
74. FiA II, p. 56. SRM.
75. See Kambartel 1972, p. 94—96; Herrmann 1973, p. 32—33, 62: *"Sur l'induction & la suite de plusiers experiences"*; Cf. Wittkower 1973, p. 144 and Szambien 1986, p. 113—119.
76. FiA II, p. 44—45; Cf. Germann 1980, p. 146—147 on the views of Vitruvius and Palladio regarding tectonic hierarchy.
77. FiA II, p. 50—51. SRM.
78. FiA II, p. 47. SRM.
79. FiA II, p. 48. SRM.
80. FiA II, p. 49—51. SRM.
81. FiA II, p. 61—63. SRM.
82. FiA II, p. 27—29. SRM.
83. FiA II, p. 30—31. SRM.
84. FiA II, p. 31—34. SRM.
85. See Knabe 1972, 472—479, 322, especially p. 475: *"Les Arts, dans ce qui est proprement art, ne sont que des imitations, des ressemblances qui ne sont point la nature, mais qui paroissent l'être; & qu'ainsi la matiere des beaux Arts n'est point le vrai, mais seulement la vraisamblable"* (Batteaux 1746/1753). *Vraisemblance* is ordered by conventions: *"L'objet de l'art n'est pas la vérité elle-méme, mais l'apparence de la vérité. Pour offrir cette apparence, il est obligé de recourir à des moyens de convention"* (Lévesque 1792).
86. See Knabe 1972, p. 477.
87. FiA II, p. 51—52. SRM.
88. The theory of character has been discussed by at least: Lee 1940; Kaufmann 1952, p. 429—564; Bialostocki 1966; Pérouse de Montclos 1969, p. 204—205; Vogt 1969, p. 159—160, 187—188; Germann 1972, p. 22—23; Hernandez 1972, p. 86—87, 89, 114—116, 121—122; Knabe 1972,

p.100—106; Vidler 1977; Porphyrios 1977,p. 119—123; Egbert 1980, p. 121—138; Szambien 1981; Krufft 1985, p. 162—163, 167, 174—175, 179; Szambien 1985; Szambien 1986, p. 92—98, 167—203.
89. Hernandez 1972, p. 89.
90. See Fichet 1979; Egbert 1980, p. 121—133; Hernandez 1972, p. 87.
91. See Szambien 1986, p. 174—175.
92. See Lee 1940, p. 203—235.
93. Lee 1940 p. 217—226.
94. Kruft 1985, p. 174.
95. Lee 1940, p. 218.
96. Szambien 1985, p. 43.
97. See e.g. Osborne 1968, p. 131ff.
98. Ehrard 1970, p.187—196.
99. Ehrard 1970, p. 187—196; Szambien 1985, p 42.
100. Szambien 1981; Pérouse de Montclos 1969, p. 204; Szambien 1986, p. 43—44.
101. Germann 1972, p. 32—33.
102. Lee 1940, p. 228—235; Bialostocki 1966.
103. Szambien 1985.
104. Szambien 1985, p. 41—43; Szambien 1986, p. 174—199; About Blondel, see also Picon 1985, p.36.
105. Szambien 1986, p.197—198; Kruft 1985, p. 185.
106. Szambien 1981; Szambien 1985, p. 43; Szambien 1986, p. 197—199.
107. Porphyrios 1977, p. 120.
108. FiA II, p. 29. SRM.
109. FiA I, p. 49. SRM.
110. FiA II, p. 23. SRM.
111. Hernandez 1972, p. 86; Vidler 1977, p. 101—103; Solà Morales 1981.
112. FiA I, unbound paper. SRM.
113. FiA I, unbound paper marked: '112'. SRM.
114. A manuscript in TKK.
115. Hernandez 1972, p. 115; Szambien 1986, p. 174, 178.
116. Szambien 1986, p.44 has characterized 'analogical imitation' briefly: "*(...) (de) imite(r) les différentes expressions dont la nature fournit le modèle*".
117. FiA I, p. 49ff.
118. Vogt 1969, p. 159; Szambien 1986, p. 176—177; Picon 1985, p. 29.
119. Vidler 1977, p. 101; Szambien 1981, p. 105.
120. FiA I, p.51. SRM.
121. FiA I, p. 52. SRM.
122. Szambien 1986, p. 167.
123. Kruft 1985, p., 162.
124. Szambien 1986, p. 170.
125. Szambien 1986, p. 168.
126. FiA I, unbound paper. SRM.
127. Hernandez 1972, p. 87.
128. Szambien 1986, p. 171.
129. Knabe 1972, p. 472—479; Lee 1940, p. 235.
130. Knabe 1972, p. 100, 106.
131. Szambien 1986, p. 167—168, 174; Hernandez 1972, p. 89; Kruft 1985, p. 163.
132. FiA I: unbound manuscript, which is clearly a draft for the beginning of the publication. SRM.
133. See Szambien 1986, p. 181—182; Kruft 1985, p. 162.
134. FiA I, unbound paper. SRM.
135. FiA I, unbound paper. SRM.
136. Germann 1972, p. 23; Kruft 1985, p. 179; Szambien 1986, p. 168, 179, 183.
137. FiA I, p. 29—30. SRM.
138. Manuscript in TKK.
139. Hernandez 1972, p. 115—116; Kruft 1985, p. 167; Vidler 1977, p. 99—101; Picon 1985, p. 36; Fichet 1979, p. 40.
140. Hernandez 1972, p. 119.
141. G.Nyström to J.B.Blomkvist 23.3.1888. Copiebok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
142. Säätyhuonevaltuuskunnan kertomus 1888, p. 66—67. Asiakirjat valtiopäiviltä... 1888; Säätyhuonevaltuuskunnan kertomus 1891, p.22—23. Asiakirjat valtiopäiviltä... 1891.
143. G.Nyström to S.Lemström 27.5.1893. Copiebok 3.3.1893ff. SRM.
144. FiA I, p.51. SRM.
145. See Borissavliévitch 1951, p. 313—340. Unfortunately, I have not been able to get in touch with the original *Essentials*.
146. FiA I, p. 53—54. SRM.
147. See eg. Szambien 1986, p. 149.
148. FiA I, p. 54—55. SRM.
149. FiA I, p. 56—58. SRM.
150. FiA I, p. 58—69, especially p. 59. SRM; Cf. Herrmann 1962, p. 65—67; Knabe 1972, p. 16; Tatarkiewitz 1973, p. 172.
151. FiA I, p. 61—63. SRM.
152. Borissavliévitch 1951, p. 89—90; Szambien 1986, e.g. p. 19.
153. G.Nyström to W.Bolin January 1900. Minutes of Consistorium 28.2.1900 §19. HYA.
154. On 'rhythm' in classical theory see Tzonis & Lefaivre 1986, p. 118—152.
155. FiA I, p. 42. SRM.
156. Panofsky 1968, p. 124.
157. FiA I unbound paper; Cf. Szambien 1986, p. 124.
158. Jaffe 1980, p. 579.
159. Szambien 1986, p. 12.
160. Fichet 1979, p.22.
161. Brice 1985, p. xxxii; See also Gombrich 1978, p. 123.
162. Szambien 1986, p. 122 quotes J.M. Peyre's expression as an example of the classistic view of this subject: "*Le goût de la nouveauté n'est pas le génie; les innovations sont dangéreuses, et l'Architecture ne doit pas être une affaire de mode. Toutes les fois qu'on a voulu s'écarter des principes généraux que les anciens ont adoptés, on a fait de mauvaises choses*"; See also Szambien 1986, p.12; Fichet 1979, p. 22.
163. Gustaf Nyström, 'Från allmänheten'. NP 25.5. 1888.
164. Gustaf Nyström, 'Den nyare engelska byggnadskonsten'. Arkitekten I 1903, p. 26.
165. G.Nyström to I.Clason 23.1.1905. Copie-bok 14.7.1903ff. SRM.
166. G.Nyström to G.Nyström 12.9.1906. Copie-bok 14.7.1903ff. SRM.
167. G.Nyström to G.Juslén Påskdagen 1914. Copiebok 21.8.1913ff. SRM.
168. G.Nyström, 'Vår egen byggnadskonst'. Teknikern 1914, p. 14.
169. G.Nyström to I.Aminoff 19.6.1915. Copie-bok 21.8.1913. SRM.
170. Cf. Knabe 1972, p. 306, 308.
171. Herrmann 1962, p. 131, of romantic conception

of 'genius'.
172. G.Nyström to J.B.Blomkvist 18.3.1891. Copie-bok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
173. FiA I, p. 47. SRM.
174. G.Nyström to I.Aminoff 19.6.1915. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM.
175. FiA I, p. 54. SRM.
176. FiA IV 'Den italienska renässanssens arkitektoniska formlära', p. 1. SRM.
177. Nyström to J.B.Blomkvist 16.2.1891. Copie-bok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
178. G.Nyström to J.B.Blomkvist 1.3.1891. Copie-bok 6.5.1887. SRM.
179. G.Nyström to J.B.Blomkvist 18.3.1891. Copie-bok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
180. G.Nyström to G.Juslén Påskdagen 1914. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM.
181. G.Nyström to J.B.Blomkvist 16.4.1891. Copie-bok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
182. G.Nyström to W.Bolin Jan.1900. Minutes of the Consistorium 28.2.1900 §19. HYA.
183. See the Copies of correspondence (Copie-bok), especially: Copie-bok 1.11.1912ff., p.10; Copie-bok 8.8.1903ff., p. 190; Copie-bok 13.10.1896ff., p. 301. SRM.
184. G.Nyström to J.B.Blomkvist 18.3.1891. Copie-bok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
185. G.Nyström to G. Nyström 12.9.1906. Copie-bok 14.7.1903ff. SRM.
186. FiA I, p. 13 pencil marking *''Se Semper 'Der Stil I''.* ; FiA I unbound manuscript marked ''S1—S2'': *''Många af byggnadskonstens formelement mäta vi äfven uti konstindustrin. Ja, vi spåra ofta deras textila, keramiska och metalltekniska tillverkningar, som icke varit afsedda för byggnader''; ''Gottfried Semper har uti sitt monumentala verk ''Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten'' på ett ingående sätt (...)''*; FiA II, p.6. pencil marking *''Boetticher, Akropolis''*; There is also a reference to Bötticher's *Die Tektonik der Hellenen* in FiA II, p.63. SRM.
187. FiA I, unbound paper. SRM.
188. FiA I, p. 21. SRM.
189. FiA I, p. 23. SRM.
190. Quitzsch 1962, p. 54—57.
191. See Quitzsch 1962.
192. Milde 1981, p. 176.
193. See Quitzsch 1962, p. 39—40.; Milde 1981, p. 175.
194. Quitzsch 1962, p. 43—44, 46.
195. FiA I, p.22; Lars Sonck's lecture-notes 1891. SRM.
196. Quitzsch 1962, p. 17, 18, 19, 57, 58, 63; Piel 1963, p. 29.
197. See eg. Junod 1979, p. 63; Quitzsch 1962, p. 20.
198. Quitzsch 1962, p. 43—44; Piel 1963, p. 29—30.
199. Quitzsch 1962, p. 23.25, 29, 63, 77—78, 79, 80, 81—82; Germann 1976, p. 225; Herrmann 1984, p. 153—164.
200. FiA I, p. 23—24. SRM.
201. Quitzsch 1962, p. 31, 78—79; Milde 1981, p. 180ff.
202. About Bötticher, see: Quitzsch 1962, p. 75—76; Bauer 1963, p. 147—152; Döhmer 1976, p. 53—55; Milde 1981, p. 197—198; Herrmann 1984, p. 139—152; Drüeke 1981, p. 58—62; Börsch-Supan 1977, p.20—21.
203. L.Ettlinger interpreted Semper as a classicist. Heinz Quizsch has demonstrated that this was not the case, but he does concede that Semper still advocated many of the basic ideas of classicism (Quitzsch 1962, p. 80). According to Kurt Milde Semper with ''the expression of the *Zweck*'' and his ''*sprechende Form*'' only modernized the classicistic *architecture parlante* (Milde 1981, p. 176). and also according to Hermann Bauer Semper's categories of thought are initially classistic (Bauer 1963, p. 160—165).
204. FiA I, unbound manuscript, which is clearly a draft for the beginning of the publication. SRM.
205. Drüeke 1981, p. 52—72.
206. FiA I, p. 40—42. SRM.
207. Germann 1972, p. 33—37.
208. Choay 1980, p. 116, 124—125, 134—135.
209. Szambien 1986, p. 62—63.
210. Birger Brunila,'Jac Ahrenberg in memoriam'. Arkitekten VII 1914, p. 93—95; Quotation from HBL 7.4.1912.
211. See Herrmann 1973, p. 87.
212. 'Jac.Ahrenberg'. HBL 11.10.1914.
213. Ahrenberg 1907, p. 243—294.
214. Ahrenberg 1908, p. 172
215. Ahrenberg 1908, p. 175—177.
216. Ahrenberg 1908 p. 171, 172; Ahrenberg 1907, p. 266, 267.
217. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Senatstorget och den föreslagna planeringen'. HBL 5.3.1893; 'Fack-klubbens för arkitektur möte den 4 mars 1893'. TFFF 1893, p. 45—46.
218. (Jac.Ahrenberg?), 'Universitetets fasadmålning'. Teknikern 1894, p. 167.
219. J.A.(Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Åminnegårds karaktärsbyggnad'. Teknikern 1893, p.
220. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Karl Ludvig Engel'. TFFF 1897, p. 91—97.
221. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'.Teknikern 1898, p. 9.
222. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p.10.
223. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p.14.
224. J.Ahrenberg, 'Världsutställningen i Paris år 1900'. FT 49.1900, p. 465; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'En värdesättning af aktiebolaget Sampos hus'. Teknikern 1903,p. 91.
225. J.Ahrenberg, 'Världsutställningen i Paris I'. FT 49.1900, p. 465; J.Ahrenberg, 'Världsutställningen i Paris II'. FT 50.1901, p. 143; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår museifråga II'. FT 53.1902, p. 208; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'En värdesättning af aktiebolaget Sampos hus'. Teknikern 1903, p. 391.
226. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Världsutställningen i Paris II'. FT 50.1901, p. 143; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår museifråga'. FT 53. 1902, p. 208; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'En värdesättning af aktiebolaget Sampos hus'. Teknikern 1903, p. 393, 394.
227. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår museifråga'. FT 53.1902, p. 212; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Värdesättning af aktiebolaget Sampos hus'. Teknikern 1903, p. 391.
228. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Två nya byggnadsvärk i Helsingfors'. Teknikern 1901, p. 171; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Värdesättning af aktiebolaget Sampos hus'. Teknikern 1903, p. 393.

229. J.Ahrenberg, 'Världsutställningen i Paris år 1900 I'. FT 49.1900, p. 465; .Ahrenberg, 'Världsutställningen i Paris år 1900 II'. FT 50.1901, p. 141.
230. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår museifråga II'. FT 53.1902, p. 210.
231. Reporter (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Det återuppståndna Societetshuset'. (HP 1903?). Ahrenberg collection. SLS.
232. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Hypoteksföreningens nya hus'. HBL 29.6.1908; J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Mikael-Agricola monumentet i Viborg'. HBL 23.7.1908; J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Det nya landtdagshuset'. Teknikern 1908, p. 1; J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Suomis hus vid Salutorget'. HBL 2.5.1912; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Till sekelminnet. J.A.Ehrenström och C.L.Engel'. Arkitekten 1912, p. 49 50; J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberhg), 'Modern Helsingforsarkitektur'. VK 8. 1909, p. 57—59.
233. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Suur-Merijoki nya karaktärsbyggnad'. Teknikern 1903, p. 89—91.
234. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'En börsbyggnad för Helsingfors'. Teknikern 1906, p. 289.
235. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Åbo akademiehus'. VK 23. 1908, p. 177—179.
236. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen I—II'. FT 72.1912, p. 29 47 and FT 73.1912, p. 401—419.
237. Ekelund 1943, p. 83—88.
238. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Bref från utlandet V'. ÅP 20.7.1875.
239. Jac.Ahrenberg, Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 14.
240. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Fredrik Vilhelm Scholander'. FT 10.1881, p. 381.
241. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Fredrik Vilhelm Scholander'. FT 10.1881, p.382.
242. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Fredrik Vilhelm Scholander'. FT 10.1881, p. 380.
243. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Fredrik Vilhelm Scholander'. FT 10.1881, p. 381.
244. Scylla och Charybdis (C.G.Estlander and Jac. Ahrenberg), 'Öfversigt. Byggnadskonst'. FT 12.1882, p. 384—385.
245. Scylla och Charybdis (C.G.Estlander and Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Öfversigt. Byggnadskonst'. FT 12.1882, p. 386—387.
246. Scylla och Charybdis (C.G.Estlander and Jac. Ahrenberg), 'Öfversigt. Byggnadskonst'. FT 12.1882, p. 390.
247. J.Ahrenberg, 'Teckning till karaktärsbyggnad å Kjuloholm'. TFFF 1890, p. 109.
248. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Karl von Hasenauer'. Teknikern 1894, p.63.
249. J.Ahrenberg, 'Nya riksdagshuset i Berlin'. Teknikern 1894, p. 249.
250. See R.B., 'Konstflitföreningens utställning'. Teknikern 1894, p. 96; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Ryska arkitektur vid utställningen i Nischnie Novgorod'. Teknikern 1896,p. 153.
251. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Rysk arkitektur vid utställningen i Nischnie Novgorod'. Teknikern 1896, p. 153, 173.
252. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Theodor Höijers senaste arbete, det Norrménska huset'. Teknikern 1897, p.213.
253. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter', Teknikern 1898, p. 14.
254. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Den nya operan i Stockholm'. Teknikern 1898, p. 187—188.
255. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Mikael-Agricola-monumentet i Viborg'. HBL 23.7.1908.
256. Ahrenberg 1909, p. 280.
257. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Från internationella konstindustriutställningen i St.Petersburg'. HBL 30.10.1908
258. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Till Karl Theodor Höijers biografi'. Arkitekten I 1911, p. 1—5.
259. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Bref från utlandet V'. ÅP 20.7.1875; See also Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Om verkliga värdet af de hos oss försiggångna offentliga arkitektoniska pristäflingarne'. TFFF 1880, p.10; Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Empirestilen I'. FT 72.1912, p. 29—32; Ekelund 1943, p. 62.
260. See Junod 1979, p. 62—63; Gubler 1979, p.112.
261. Ahrenberg 1907, p. 76—77.
262. Ekelund 1943, p. 247—248, 340.
263. Ahrenberg 1904, p. 33—61; Ekelund 1943, p. 267, 297.
264. See Gubler 1979, p. 112—113; Auberson 1979; Germann 1979, p.17; Junod 1979, p. 66; Besset 1965, p. 54.
265. J.A.(Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Böcker. John Ruskin'. (?) Aug. 1902. Ahrenberg collection. SLS.
266. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Mikael-Agricola-monumentet i Viborg'. HBL 23.7.1908.
267. Scylla och Charybdis (C.G.Estlander and Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Öfversigt. Byggnadskonsten'. FT 12.1882, p. 15—18; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Om verkliga värdet af de hos oss försiggångna arkitektoniska pristäflingarne'. TFFF 1880, p. 10—11.
268. Cf. Krückeberg 1971.
269. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Om verkliga värdet af de hos oss försiggångna arkitektoniska pristäflingarne'. TFFF 1880, p. 10—11.
270. J.Ahrenberg, 'Teckning till karaktärsbyggnad å Kjuloholm'. TFFF 1890, p. 109; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Theodor Höijers senaste arbete, det Norrménska huset'. Teknikern 1897, p. 213.
271. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen I'. FT 72.1912, p. 29.
272. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen I', FT 72.1912, p.30.
273. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen I'. FT 72.1912, p.32.
274. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen I'. FT 72.1912, p.47.
275. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen II'. FT 73.1912, p. 402.
276. Scylla och Charybdis (C.G.Estlander and Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Öfversigt. Byggnadskonst'. FT12.1882, p. 390.
277. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Fredrik Vilhelm Scholander'. FT 10.1881, p. 380.
278. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen I'. FT 72.1912, p.31.
279. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen'. FT 72.1912, p.33.
280. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Rysk arkitektur vid utställningen i Nischnie Novgorod'. Teknikern 1896, p. 153; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Den ryska arkitekturen'. Teknikern 1899, p. 173—176.
281. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Senaste sommars byggnadsperiod II'. HBL 11.1.1905.

282. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen I'. FT 72.1912, p. 30.
283. Knapas 1983, p. 178—180; Knapas 1984.
284. Junod 1979, p. 61; Damisch 1980, p. 243—248.
285. Junod 1979, p. 61.
286. Junod 1979, p. 61—62.
287. Bekaert 1980, p. 210; Damisch 1980, p. 248—249; Bayley 1979, p. 31.
288. Bekaert 1980, p.209—210; Junod 1979, p. 63; Gubler 1979, p.112.
289. Bayley 1979, p. 27.
290. Bergdoll 1980, p. 217.
291. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Rysk arkitektur vid utställningen i Nischnie Novgorod'. Teknikern 1896, p. 153; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Den ryska arkitekturen'. Teknikern 1899, p. 173—176.

III. Historical Consciousness

1. Colquhoun 1983, p.87.
2. Iggers 1983, especially chapters I and II.
3. See: Kangas 1945; Mustelin 1957; Suomalaisia historiantutkijoita 1965, p. 9—143; Blomstedt 1968, p. 460—495; Tommila 1978; Klinge 1980, p. 216—221; Manninen 1986.
4. Koselleck 1985, p.xxiii.
5. Koselleck 1975, p. XIV—XV.
6. Koselleck 1985, p. 239—240, 276—277, 281.
7. Koselleck 1985, p. 246—250, 281.
8. Brix & Steinhauser 1978, p. 236—237.
9. Nerdinger 1984.
10. Koselleck 1985, p. 18, 252, 257.
11. Hardtwig 1978, p. 22—25.
12. See Schlaffer 1975, p. 8—9.
13. Iggers 1983, see chapters I and II and p. 128—129, 182.
14. See Watkin 1980, p.37.
15. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Från Michael-Angelofesten i Florens III'. HD 24.9.1875.
16. Illustrations in the collections of the University of Technology with pencil-marked references to Burckhardt's works; O-I. Meurman's lecture-notes. TKK; G.Nyström to G.Juslén Påskdagen 1914: Nyström recommends Burckhardt's *Cicerone* as reading for a tour in Italy. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM.
17. Schlaffer 1975, p. 19, 57, 89, 96—97.
18. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Bref från utlandet V'. ÅP 20.7.1875.
19. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Senatstorget och den föreslagna planeringen'. HBL 5.3.1893.
20. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'En brännande fråga för Helsingfors III'. DA 31.1.1901; J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Hypoteksföreningens nya hus'. HBL 29.6.1908; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Karl Ludvig Engel'. TFFF 1897, p. 91—97; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Till Öfverstyrelsen för allmänna byggnaderna'. Teknikern 1893, p. 100; 'Fackklubbens får arkitektur extra sammanträde den 18 mars 1893'. Teknikern 1893, p. 101—102; Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Om Senatstorgets planering'. Teknikern 1896, p. 13; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Senatstorgets planering'. Arkitekten III 1911, p. 17—30.
21. A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'En börsbyggnad för Helsingfors'. Teknikern 1906, p. 289.
22. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Åbo akademiehus'. VK 23. 1908 p. 177—179.
23. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen II'. FT 73.1912, p. 32.
24. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Till sekelminnet. C.A.Ehrenström och C.L.Engel'. Arkitekten IV 1912, p. 50 ; Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Senatstorgets planering'. Arkitekten III 1911, p. 28; Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 10; Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Om Senatstorgets planering'. Teknikern 1896, p. 13; J. A-g. (Jac. Ahrenberg), 'Ur Helsingfors stads byggnadshistoria'. HBL 7.4.1912; Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Karl Ludvig Engel'. TFFF 1897, p. 91—97.
25. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 9. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Om Senatstorgets planering'. Teknikern 1896, p. 13.
26. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Om Senatstorgets planering'. Teknikern 1896, p. 13; See also Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Senatstorget och den föreslagna planeringen'. HBL 5.3.1893.
27. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Det nya Helsingfors'. VK-Sydväst 1904, p. 493; See also Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 14—15.
28. According to Zachary Sayre Schiffman only when the *historicity* of one's own time and the past is understood in terms of *both* 'individuality' and 'development' will it be genuinely ''historicist'. In Schiffman's terms historicism is the ''nexus of the ideas of individuality and development'' (Schiffman 1985).

    Maurice Mandelbaum in turn suggests that a phenomenon is comprehended in a 'historicist' manner when seen ''in terms of the place which it occupied and the role which it played within a process of development''. Mandelbaum thus emphasizes the sole idea of development, without taking into account the idea of individuality. Furthermore, his definition of 'development' appears to be in contradiction with Schiffman's definition (Mandelbaum 1965, p. 42—49; Schiffman 1985, p. 172).

    The more complex view of Schiffman is also supported by Wolfgang Hardtwig (Hardtwig 1978) and already by Friedrich Meinecke.

    In addition to these problems of definition we must also note that in a criticism of various studies Schiffman has shown how difficult it is, on the basis of historical sources, to discern ''historical understandig comprehended in terms of 'development' and 'individuality'' and how difficult it is to separate them from each other as well.

    On the basis of the isolated statements in Jac. Ahrenberg's newspaper articles it does not seem to be necessary to even try to solve the problem of the authenticity of his ''historicism'' in any

greater detail than discussed in this chapter.

29. Schlaffer 1975, p. 75, 78.
30. Schlaffer 1975, p. 78, 100—103.
31. Writing in *Finsk Tidskrift* in 1881 Ahrenberg sees a parallel to "the lack of style" of the 1880s in the "period of degeneration" of the Baroque ('Fredrik Vilhelm Scholander'. FT 10.1881, p. 379—380). This comparison is repeated by him 20 years later ('Världsutställningen i Paris år 1900 II'. FT 50.1901, p. 143). In 1898 he wrote: "*Men som hvarje rörelse inom konsten var äfven denna hellenism en vågrörelse, den nådde sin kulmen och sin vågdal. (...) epigoner öfverdrefvo som alltid stilens svagheter och bragte den på fall.*" ('Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 10). In *Människor som jag känt* he writes: "*(Stilarnas) inkubationstid är lång, men de födas och tillväxa snabbt. Högrenässanssen föddes och dog under en människoålder.*" (Ahrenberg 1908, p. 170—171). Writing in *Arkitekten* in 1911 of the biography of Theodor Höijer he also elaborates on the rise and fall of styles, comparing their variation to vawes. The large vawes of architecture are corresponded by smaller vawes in the related arts ('Till Carl Theodor Höihers biografi'. Arkitekten III 1911, p. 2). This is a typical metaphor of the cyclical model (See Schlobach 1978, p. 138—141). His thinking along these lines culminates in his article on the Empire style from 1912 which begins with a statement concerning the birth, flowering and degeneration of art styles. In this connection style is compared to a tree and human life ('Empire-stilen I'. FT 73. 1912, p. 29—31).
32. In 1880 Ahrenberg wrote in *TFFF* that we must give our architecture time to develop. We cannot pass over certain stages "in the actual course of development of our architecture". Only by relying on our ability can we reach the "goal"; this had already been almost achieved by the Swedes; their architecture was characterized by "seriousness, manliness, authenticity, proportion" ('Om verkliga värdet af de hos oss försiggångna arkitektoniska pristäflingarne'. TFFF I 1880, p. 11). This would be regarded by Reinhard Koselleck as pertaining to the cyclical model, for in actual *Fortschritt*-based thinking the goal is unattainable and in the background is the idea of *constant* improvement (See Koselleck 1975a, p. 375—378). Also the following passage from *Människor som jag känt, "Det behöfdes femhundra år af ständig evolution för att gotiken och renässanssen skulle uppenbara sig för våra tjusta blickar"*, shows how Ahrenberg's idea of progress was clearly limited and subordinate to the great cycles (Ahrenberg 1908, p. 170).
33. Schlaffer 1975, p. 76, 78—89.
34. Scylla och Charybdis (C.G.Estlander och Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Öfversigt. Byggnadskonst'. FT 10.1882, p. 158; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Senatstorget och den föreslagna planeringen'. HBL 5.3.1893; 'Fackklubbens för arkitektur möte den 18 mars 1893'. Teknikern 1893, p. 101; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Karl Ludvig Engel'. TFFF 1897, p. 91—97; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen II'. FT 73.1912, p. 416.
35. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Suomis hus vid Salutorget'. HBL 2.5.1912.
36. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Åbo akademiehus'. VK 23.1908, p. 177—179.
37. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Om Senatstorgets planering'. Teknikern 1896, p. 13.
38. J.A-g. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Ur Helsingfors stads byggnadshistoria'. HBL 17.4.1912.
39. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Det nya Helsingfors'. VK-Sydväst 1904, p. 493.
40. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898. 9—15.
41. J.A-g. (Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Ur Helsingfors stads byggnadshistoria'. HBL 7.4.12.
42. J.Ahrenberg, 'Bildande konst'. FT 8.1880, p. 72.
43. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och vår arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 9—15.
44. Ahrenberg 1908, p. 167.
45. Schlaffer 1975, p. 104.
46. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Till sekelminnet. J.A.Ehrenström och C.L.Engel'. Arkitekten IV 1912, p. 50.
47. Schlaffer 1975, p. 60, 75.
48. Schlaffer 1975, p.75.
49. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Den nya operan i Stockholm'. Teknikern 1898, p. 187.
50. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Fredrik Vilhelm Scholander'. FT 10.1881, p. 380.
51. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Världsutställningen i Paris år 1900 II'. FT 50.1901, p. 143.
52. Scylla och Charybdis (C.G.Estlander and Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Öfversigt. Byggnadskonst'. FT 2.1882, p. 154; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Georg Theodor Policron Chiewitz'. Teknikern 1896, p. 1001—101; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 10.
53. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår museifråga I'. FT 51.1902, p. 116; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Osvald Sirén: Carl Gustaf Pilo'. FT 54.1903, p. 187.
54. J.A-g. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Ur Helsingfors stads byggnadshistoria'. HBL 7.4.12.
55. Reporter (Jac. Ahrenberg), 'Det återuppståndna Societetshuset'. HP 1903. Ahrenberg collection. SLS.
56. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 10.
57. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Nyländska afdelningens hus'. DA 5.7. 1901.
58. Ahrenberg 1908, p. 169.
59. Cajus Cilnius Maecenas (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Till Publius Severus'. HBL 28.9.1911.
60. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Till sekelminnet. J.A.Ehrenström och C.L.Engel'. Arkitekten IV 1912, p. 50.
61. Spectator (Jac.Ahrenebrg), 'Täflingsritningarna till det nya stadshuset I'. NP 24.5.1913.
62. Besset 1965, p. 54.
63. Schlaffer 1975, p. 52, 72—77.
64. Flanör (Jac.Ahreneberg), 'Staty- och tafvelfolket om igen'. HBL 8.2.1903.
65. Ahrenberg 1908, p. 171.
66. Schlaffer 1975, p. 75.
67. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Bref från utlandet III'. ÅP 17.4.1875; J.A. (Jac. Ahrenberg), 'Bref från utlandet V'. ÅP 20.7.1875; J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Från Michael-Angelo-festen i Florens II'. HD 24.9.1875; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Ernst Beckman:

Från påfvarnes land'. FT 10.1881, p. 317; 'Blad ur skissboken af Jac.Ahrenberg'. Teknikern 1903, p. 80.

68. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Bref från utlandet V'. ÅP 20.7.1875.
69. Schlaffer 1975, p. 58—59.
70. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Finska konstnärernas utställning III'. HBL 21.10.1898.
71. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 15.
72. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Böcker. John Ruskin'. Aug. 1901 (?). Ahrenberg collection. SLS. 1901, p.2.
73. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Konstöfversikt'. FT 53.1902, p. 116.
74. Ahrenberg 1908, p. 170.
75. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Konstöfversikt'. FT 54.1903, p. 526.
76. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Det nya Helsingfors'. VK-Sydväst 1904, p. 492.
77. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'L.Dietrichson: De norske stavkirker'. FT 34.1893, p. 141—144.
78. J.Ahrenberg, 'Om verkliga värdet af de hos oss försiggångna arkitektoniska pristäflingarne'. TFFF I 1880, p. 10; Scylla och Charybdis (C.G.Estlander and Jac. Ahrenberg), 'Öfversigt. Byggnadskonst'. FT 2. 1882, p. 158.
79. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Konstföreningens årsexposition'. FT 11. 1881, p. 410.
80. Scylla och Charybdis (C.G.Estlander and Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Öfversigt. Byggnaskonst'. FT 2.1882, p. 154.
81. Scylla och Charybdis (C.G.Estlander and Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Öfversigt. Byggnadskonst'. FT 2.1882, p. 385.
82. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår museifråga II'. FT 50. 1902, p. 210.
83. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Det nya rådhuset i Köpenhamn'. Teknikern 1903, p. 143—145; J.A. (Jac. Ahrenberg), 'Vår konst och året 1907'. AD 1908, p. 102—103.
84. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Till sekelminnet. J.A.Ehrenström och C.L.Engel'. Arkitekten IV 1912, p. 50.
85. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 14; J.Ahrenberg, 'Om verkliga värdet af de hos oss försiggångna arkitektoniska pristäflingarne'. TFFF 1880, p. 11.
86. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen II'. FT 73.1912, p. 417.
87. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen II'. FT 73.1912, p. 418; Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Karl Ludvig Engel'. TFFF 1897, p. 171—179; Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Om Senatstorgets planering'. Teknikern 1896, p. 13; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 10; J.A-g. (Jac. Ahrenberg), 'Ur Helsingfors stads byggnadshistoria'. HBL 17.4.1912; Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Till sekelminnet. J.A.Ehrenström och C.L.Engel'. Arkitekten IV 1912, p. 50; Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Senatstorgets planering'. Arkitekten III 1911, p. 28.
88. See Ekelund 1943, p. 95, 265, 315—361; especially p. 338—340 and the references to them; See also eg. J.A., 'Åbo stads bibliotekshus'. Teknikern 1903, p. 337 and Ahrenberg 1908, p.225—227.
89. Ekelund 1943, p. 265—266.
90. Ekelund 1943, p. 315, 320, 323.
91. Ekelund 1943, p. 339—340 and quoted literature and sources; See further: J.A. (Jac. Ahrenberg), 'Ännu en gång i rösträttsfrågan'. (?). Ahrenberg collection. SLS; Chevalier (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Jakten skall socialiseras...!'. HBL 1909 (?). Ahrenberg collection. SLS; The quotation is from Flanör (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Demokratiseras!'. HBL 1.2.1903.
92. Chevalier (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Ur staden Monopolias historia'. HBL 1.4.1906.
93. Chevalier (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Jakten skall socialiseras...!'. HBL 1909 (?). Ahrenberg collection. SLS; Flanör (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Demokratiseras!'. HBL 1.2.1903.
94. Ahrenberg 1908, p. 227.
95. See Ekelund 1943, p. 297—298; Ahrenberg 1904, p. 33—58; On the significance of race for the arts see e.g. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Konstöfversikt'. FT 53.1902, p. 499—502.
96. Germann 1979, p. 17.
97. Ekelund 1943, p. 315—316.
98. Ekelund 1943, p. 246—247; Ahrenberg 1908, p. 34—35.
99. Ekelund 1943, p. 304—318.
100. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och vår arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 15.
101. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och vår arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 9.
102. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och vår arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 10.
103. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Konstöfversikt'. FT 54.1903, p. 526.
104. J.A. (Jac. Ahrenberg), 'Från internationella konstindustriutställningen i St.Petersburg'. HBL 30.10.08.
105. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Mikael-Agricola-monumentet i Viborg'. HBL 23.7.08.
106. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår konst och året 1907'. AD 1908, p. 102—103.
107. Cajus Cl. Maecenas (Jac. Ahrenberg), 'Det andra brefvet till Publius Severus'. HBL 8.10.1911.
108. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Våra nutidsmännen'. DA (?). Ahrenberg collection. SLS.
109. See R.B., 'Konstflitföreningens utställning'. Teknikern 1894, p. 96.
110. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och våra arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 10.
111. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Rysk arkitektur vid utställningen i Nichnie Novgorod'. Teknikern 1896, p. 153.
112. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Åbo stads bibliotekshus'. Teknikern 1903, p. 337.
113. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och vår arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 15.
114. J.Ahrenberg, 'Bildande konst'. FT 8.1880, p. 72.
115. J.Ahrenberg, 'Teckning till karaktärsbyggnad å Kjuloholm'. TFFF 1890, p. 109.
116. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Georg Theodor Policron Chiewitz'. Teknikern 1896, p. 100.
117. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Svensk renässans'. FT 70.1911, p. 108—113.
118. Knapas 1983, p. 139—141, 185; Knapas 1984, p. 81—84.
119. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Ett nytt uppslag i frågan om Åbo domkyrkas restauration'. FT 55.1903,

p.199.
120. Knapas 1988, p. 141.
121. Ahrenberg 1908, p. 265.
122. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Ett nytt uppslag i frågan om Åbo domkyrkas restauration'. FT 53.1903, p. 197—198.
123. Scylla och Charybdis (C.G.Estlander and Jac. hrenberg), 'Öfversigt. Byggnadskonst'. FT 2.1882, p. 158.
124. See eg. Herrmann 1973, p. 62.
125. See eg. Jauss 1971, p. 413; Belting 1978, p. 117—120.
126. Lars Sonck's lecture-notes 1891. TKK; FiA II, p. 1—24. SRM.
127. Koselleck 1975a, p. 371—372; See also Mandelbaum 1965, p. 41.
128. Schlobach 1978, p. 127—128.
129. Schlobach 1978, p. 131—133.
130. Jauss 1971, p. 412—413; Panofsky 1955, p.206—207.
131. Herrmann 1962, p. 54—60.
132. Wittkower 1965, p.144—145; Wittkower 1974, p.196.
133. See Gombrich 1973, p. 1—10; Gombrich 1973, p. 100; Alpers 1960.
134. See Herrmann 1973, p. 25; Hernandez 1972, p. 84; Germann 1980, p. 184—188.
135. Belting 1978, p. 120—123.
136. Alpers 1960; Gombrich 1973, p. 1—10; See also Belting 1978, p. 104.
137. Gustaf Nyström, 'Den nyare engelska byggnadskonsten'. Arkitekten I 1904, p. 26; G.Nyström to Kyrkorådet för Helsingfors Svensk-Finska Församling 29.8.1906. Copie-bok 22.12.1905ff. SRM; G.Nyström to G.Juslén Påskdagen 1914. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM. G.Nyström to M.Hallberg 21.3.1914. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM; G.Nyström to I.Aminoff 19.6.1915. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM. FiA I, unbound paper. SRM.
138. G.Nyström to G.Juslén Påskdagen 1914. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM; See also FiA I, unbound manuscript: "*För att på byggnadskonstens område skapa något nytt af bestående värde måste man, genom att studera det bästa som föregångarene gjort, söka komma underfund med de medel hvarijenom byggnadskonstnären förmår gifva uttryck åt en arkitektonisk tanke. Därnäst har man att göra klar för sig den föreliggande uppgiftens natur samt hvilka nya problem den möjligen innefattar. Endast mästaren som behärskar stilbildningens principer och som fullt förstår sin egen tids behof och ideela åskådning, kan hoppas förmå finna (nya) uttryck för dem.*"
139. FiA I, unbound paper. SRM.
140. FiA I, unbound paper; FiA III, paper marked: "IR 2a"; G.Nyström to G.Juslén Påskdagen 1914. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM.
141. FiA III, papers marked: "IR2" and "IR2a". SRM; See also FiA I, unbound paper. SRM: "*Renässansens tidigare mästare trodde på möjligheten af en "pånyttfödelse" af antikens byggnadskonst. Bramante, Rafaele, Peruzzi och Palladio sågo emellertid saken annorlunda. Genom ingående studium af de antika byggnaderna sökte de komma underfund med på hvad sätt och genom hvad medel antikens mästare uppnådde en så mäktig arkitektonisk verkan. Genom att förfara på ett analogt sätt sökte de, genom tillämpningen af antikens vunna resultat och med dem som utgång, lösa sin egen tids uppgifter fritt, självständigt och personligt.*"
142. Manuscript: 'Italiens renässans formlära'. TKK.
143. FiA I, unbound paper marked "12forts". SRM.
144. FiA I, unbound paper. SRM: "*Under stora och utvecklade stilperioder har det kunnat förekomma att enskilda konstnärer med enastående gestaltningsförmåga förmått föra Konsten ett långt steg farmåt. Men äfven dessa utvalda hafva stått på sina föregångares axlar och grundat sitt arbete på deras.*"
145. G.Nyström to I.Aminoff 19.6.1915. Copie-bok 21.8. 1913ff. SRM.
146. G.Nyström to W.Bolin Jan.1900. Minutes of the Consistorium 28.2.1900 §19. HYA; See also G.Nyström to J.B.Blomkvist 16.4.1891. Copie-bok 6.5.1887ff. SRM; FiA I, unbound paper marked '19.6.1914'. SRM; G.Nyström to G.Juslén Påskdagen 1914. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM; See also chapter II.
147. FiA II, p.47.
148. Unbound manuscripts marked "4A". TKK.
149. G.Nyström to I.Aminoff 19.6.1915. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM; O.-I. Meurman's lecture-notes 1912. TKK.
150. See also FiA II, p. 23. SRM.
151. FiA II, p. 23—24. SRM.
152. FiA I, unbound paper following typewritten text: "*Den nya stilen kommer främst att göra sig gällande med sådana föremål och sådana byggnader som förekommer i mängd — der så att säga maskinfabrikationen kan ifrågakomma*". SRM.
153. FiA I, unbound paper. SRM; See also FiA II, p. 24: "*(...) i inspirationens heliga ögonblick skall den verkliga konstnären lyckas lägga något nytt till allt det som traditionen till vår tid öfverlämnat och därigenom skall han då gifva sitt bidrag till hela menskligheten gemensamma sträfvan efter utveckling och framåtskridande*"; And Gustaf Nyström, 'Den nyare engelska byggnadskonsten'. Arkitekten I 1904, p. 26: "*(...) bygga på de framsteg våra föregångare gjort. Blott om vi betrakta oss själfva icke såsom helt och hållet fristående individer, utan endast såsom delar af den mäktiga ström, som i sin helhet utgör det stora framåtskridandet, då kan vårt arbete blifva till gagn och bidraga till byggnadskonstens fortsatta, sunda utveckling.*"
154. G.Nyström to M.Hallberg 21.3.1914. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM; Also to G.Juslén Påskdagen 1914. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM: "*Men märk, att det är menskligheten, som går framåt och endast om vi känna oss som en samhörig del med denna menskslighet förmå vi medverka i den stora utvecklingsgången. Vi måste bygga på vad våra föregångare gjort (...)*".
155. Koselleck 1985, p. 16, 21—38, 240, 253, 254.
156. Koselleck 1985, p. 16, 24, 198—212, 267ff.
157. Koselleck 1985, p. 16.
158. G.Nyström to G.Juslén Påskdagen 1914. Copie-bok 21.8.1913ff. SRM.
159. Schlaffer 1975, p. 18—19, 23.
160. G.Nyström to O.Tarjanne 29.9.1886. SRM.
161. Ariés 1954, p. 163ff.

IV. Jac. Ahrenberg and Gustaf Nyström in the World of Conflict

1. The terms, 'ignore', 'reject', 'celebrate', 'extoll', 'maintain', 'revive', 'endorse', used in this chapter are taken from Quentin Skinner's examples.
2. See Schiffmann 1985; Also Panofsky reminds us that the Renaissance was aware of the distance to the Middle Ages but that everything was dominated by the *perfetta regola dell'arte* (Panofsky 1955, p. 206—207).
3. See Panofsky 1955, p. 169—225; Wittkower 1974a; Germann 1980, p. 142—153.
4. Springer 1867, p. 147ff.; Burckhardt 1878, p. 29—31; There are six references to Anton Springer's works in a typewritten list of Gustaf Nyström's books in the Museum of Finnish Architecture ('Gustaf Nyströmin kirjasto'). SRM.
5. G.Nyström to J.B.Blomkvist 18.3.1891. Copiebok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
6. G.Nyström to Andersin February 1895. Copiebok 3.3.1893ff., p.330. SRM.
7. G.Nyström's letter to St.Petersburg 11.5.1910. Copie-bok 14.7.1903ff., p. 303. SRM.
8. Herrmann 1962, p. 64.
9. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Senatstorget och den föreslagna planeringen'. HBL 5.3.1893; (Jac. Ahrenberg?), 'Alexandersmonumentet och arkitekterna'. Teknikern 1891, p. 13; Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Till Öfverstyrelsen för allmänna byggnaderna'. Teknikern 1893, p. 100; 'Fackklubbens för arkitektur extra sammanträde den 18 mars 1893.' Teknikern 1893, p. 101—102; Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Om Senatstorgets planering'. Teknikern 1896, p. 13; Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Senatstorgets planering'. Arkitekten III 1911, p. 17—30.
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15. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Gustaf III:s Operahus och dess minnen'. FT 32. 1892, p. 176—177.
16. Ahrenberg wrote about this subject in 'Till sekelminnet. J.A.Ehrenström och C.L.Engel'. Arkitekten IV 1912, p. 49.
17. J.A-g. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Ur Helsingfors stads byggnadshistoria'. HBL 7.4.1912.
18. Ekelund 1943, p. 67.
19. (Jac.Ahrenberg),'En brännande fråga i Helsingfors III'. DA 31.1.1901.
20. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'En börsbyggnad för Helsingfors'. Teknikern 1906, p. 289.
21. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Senatstorgets planering'. Arkitekten III 1911, p. 28.
22. 'Fackklubbens för arkitektur extra sammanträde den 18 mars 1893'. Teknikern 1893, p. 101—102; 'Fack-klubbens för arkitektur extra möte den 18 mars 1893'. TFFF 1893, p. 46—51; See also Ahrenberg 1914, p.300—302.
23. Nikula 1981, p. 23; Wäre 1983, p. 238—239; Viljo 1985, p. 9—10.
24. Viljo 1985, p. 9—10; Viljo 1987, p. 8.
25. Wäre 1983, p. 240.
26. Viljo 1987, p. 8; Wäre 1983, p. 238.
27. Viljo 1985, p. 12.
28. Viljo 1985, p. 10—12.
29. Viljo 1985, p. 11—12.
30. Sundman 1986, p. 36—37.
31. Tuomi 1979, p. 79; Viljo 1985, p. 12.
32. Viljo 1986, p. 95.
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34. Viljo 1985, p. 12.
35. Hautala—Kajos—Härö 1986, p. 30—40.
36. Sundman 1986, p. 40; Viljo 1985, p. 11.
37. Wäre 1983, p. 240; Tuomi 1979, p. 57—58.
38. Setälä 1970, p. 77, 101—105, 124—125; Nikula 1981, p. 27; Hausen 1977, note 39; Hausen 1984, p. 14; Ringbom 1988, p. 179; Lindberg 1922, p. 138; 'Professor Gustaf Nyström 60 år'. Arkitekten I 1916, p. 2: ''*Vi veta att många duster utkämpats i ritsalarna mellan den ''konsevative'' professorn och rabuliska ''oppositionsmän'' som velat komponera sina projekt i obunden frihet (...)*''. See also Birger Brunila, 'Professor Carl Gustaf Nyström'. TFFF 1918, p. 96.
39. Ringbom 1979; Knapas 1983; Knapas 1984, p. 91.
40. Wäre 1986, p. 96—102.
41. See eg. Ringbom 1978, p. 222.
42. G.Nyström to O.Törnqvist 30.7.1887, 14.8.1887, 13.11.1887. Copie-bok 6.5.1887ff. SRM; G.Nyström to J.B.Blomkvist 23.3.1888, 22.4.1888, 16.8.1888, 22.1.1891. Copie-bok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
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44. See Lukkarinen 1988.
45. 'Ständerhusritningarne'. HD 30.9.1887; 'Ritningarne till ständerhuset'. NP 30.9.1887.
46. Tarkastusvaliokunnan lausunto 7.11.1887. Säätyhuonevaltuuskunnan kertomus 1888, liite IV. Asiakirjat valtiopäivillä Helsingissä 1888.
47. Mötesdeltagarene, 'Från arkitektmötet'. NP 25.5.1888.
48. Gustaf Nyström, 'Meddelanden från allmänhet-

en'. NP 25.5.1888.
49. 'Det monumentala Helsingfors'. HBL 17.9.1890; Tertius interveniens, '''Det monumentala Helsingfors''?'. HBL 21.9.1890.
50. 'Ständerhuset'. NP 24.8.1890.
51. Arkitektförfattaren Secundus, 'Svar till herr Tertius interveniens'. HBL 23.9.1890; Tertius interveniens, 'Till bedömaren af Ständerhuset'. HBL 25.9.1890.
52. Eg. 'Uusi Säätytalo'. Päivälehti 16.1.1891.
53. Protokoll förda hos Finlands Ridderskap och adel vid Landtdagen år 1888, the meetings on 17.3. 1888.
54. G.Nyström to J.J.Tikkanen 16.9.1898. Copie-bok 13.10.1896ff. SRM.
55. G.Nyström to O.Törnqvist 13.11.1887.SRM.
56. G.Nyström to O.Törnqvist 13.11.1887. SRM.
57. Minutes of the Delegation 19.3.1888 §3. Säätyhuonevaltuuskunnan kertomus 1888. Asiakirjat valtiopäiviltä Helsingissä 1888; Säätyhuonevaltuuskunnan kertomus 1891, p. 11—12. Asiakirjat valtiopäivillä 1891; Protokoll förda hos Finlands Ridderskap och adel vid Landtdagen år 1888, the meetings of 17.3.1888; Suomen talonpoikaissäädyn keskustelupöytäkirjat Valtiopäivillä vuonna 1888, the meetings of 27.3.1888.
58. G.Nyström to Strömberg 22.1.1891. Copie-bok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
59. G.Nyström to Strömberg 22.1.1891. Copie-bok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
60. See e.g. 'Tekniska föreningens fackklub för arkitektur'. Teknikern 1892, p. 226.
61. G.Nyström to I.G.Clason 23.1.1905. Copie-bok 14.7.1903ff. SRM.
62. FiA II, p. 13—14. SRM.
63. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår museifråga II', FT 53.1902, p. 206—212.
64. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Två nya byggnadsvärk i Helsingfors'. Teknikern 1901, p. 170—171.
65. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'En värdesättning af aktiebolaget Sampos hus'. Teknikern 1903, p. 391—395; See Ringbom 1979a, p. 1—4 and Ringbom 1988 p. 27, 181—183.
66. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Modern Helsingforsarkitektur'. VK 8. 1909; J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Suomis hus vid Salutorget'. HBL 2.5.1912; J.A-g. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Ur Helsingfors stads byggnadshistoria. HBL 7.4.1912.
67. Spectator (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Täflingsritningarna till det nya stadshuset II'. NP 27.5.1913.
68. Ahrenberg 1907, p. 267.
69. Ahrenberg 1908, p. 177—178.
70. See also Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och vår arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 10; Ahrenberg 1907, p. 257.
71. Ahrenberg 1908, p. p.177.
72. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Vår arkitektur och vår arkitekter'. Teknikern 1898, p. 9,10,14, 15.
73. J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg), 'Det nya Helsingfors'. VK-Sydväst 1904, p. 191—192; Ahrenberg 1908, p. 174.
74. See.e.g. Hausen 1967; Hausen 1977; Ringbom 1978, p.215, 216; Tuomi 1979; Wäre 1983, p. 240; Hausen 1984, p. 14; Ringbom 1988, p. 27, 187.
75. See Ringbom 1979, p. 448—451.
76. Hausen 1977, p. 87.
77. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'En börsbyggnad i Helsingfors'. Teknikern 1906, p. 289.
78. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Världsutställningen i Paris år 1900 '. FT 49.1902, p. 465.
79. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'En värdesättning af aktiebolaget Sampos hus'. Teknikern 1903, p. 392; See also J.A. (Jac.Ahrenberg) 1904, p. 66—70.
80. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'Suur-Merijoki nya karaktärsbyggnad'. Teknikern 1904, p. 89—91.
81. See Ringbom 1978, p. 225—226.
82. Nikula 1986; Nikula 1988.
83. Nikula 1988, p. 123—124, 143.
84. Nikula 1986, p. 149.
85. Jac.Ahrenberg, 'En värdesättning af aktiebolaget Sampos hus'. Teknikern 1903, p. 391.
86. Szambien 1986, p. 112.
87. Szambien 1986, p. 174—175.
88. Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Vår museifråga II'. FT 1902, p. 210—212; Ahrenberg 1907, p. 267; Ahrenberg 1908, p. 172.

Appendix: Architectural Projects by Jac. Ahrenberg and Gustaf Nyström for Empire-style Milieus

1. Lukkarinen 1986, p.52—57.
2. I.e. the contention that homogenous, monolithic ''styleblocks'' succeed each other in time.
3. Lukkarinen 1986, p.58—59.
4. ibid.
5. For history and detail of the project see Lukkarinen 1986, p.258.
6. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.263—265, 266—269.
7. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.271—273.
8. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.245—247.
9. Redogörelse 1902—05, p.266.
10. Brogaard—Lund—Norregård—Nielsen 1980, p.183—184.
11. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.251—252.
12. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.180—181.
13. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.291—297.
14. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.221—223.
15. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.271—273.
16. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.278—280.
17. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.199.
18. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.215—216.
19. Building committee to the consistorium 29.9. 1902. Consistorium minutes 1.10.1902 S16. HYA.
20. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.256.
21. A façade of this project is in the collections of the Museum of Finnish Architecture (Original material).

22. Wilenius 1905, p.41.
23. For a more detailed analysis, see Lukkarinen 1986, p.206—210, 213—215.
24. Tutte l'Opere 1619, VII, Cap. 40, G7.
25. Building committee to the consistorium 13.3. 1900. Consistorium minutes 14.3.1900 §18. HYA.
26. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.221—223, 271—273, 278—280.
27. Wilenius 1905, p.67.
28. See Wilenius 1905, p.64; Hausen 1977, p.77; Ringbom 1978, p.223.
29. Ringbom 1988, p.179.
30. Lukkarinen 1986, p.164—165.
31. See e.g. Bruschi 1977, p.94—95.
32. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.169, 183.
33. Handbuch der Architectur 1888, p.501—502.
34. G.Nyström to A.Donner 13.6.1887. Copie-bok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
35. TFFF 1899, p.1.
36. A.Donner to the consistorium 29.11.1887. Consistorium minutes 29.1.1888 §15. HYA.
37. Wittkower 1975, p.49; Wittkower 1978, p.62; Frommel 1973, p.120.
38. See Wilenius 1905, p.40.
39. Cf. Viljo 1985, p.174—175.
40. Lukkarinen 1986, p.173—176.
41. See Pöykkö 1972, p.158—161.
42. See Frommel 1973, p.93—96.
43. Wittkower 1975, p.20—21.
44. Frommel 1973, p.103.
45. Minutes of the building committee 28.7.1888 §4. Rakennuspiirustuksia ja kustannusarvioita 1817—1890 -folder. HYA.
46. H.Grönroos to the consistorium 17.1.1909. Consistorium minutes 6.2.1909 §14. HYA.
47. Frommel 1973, p.102.
48. See e.g. Kärki 1972, p.43—45.
49. Lukkarinen 1986, p.175.
50. Cf. House of the Estates. TFFF 1889, p.61.
51. Building committee to the consistorium 6.10. 1988. Consistorium minutes 19.1.1889 §13. HYA; Lukkarinen 1986, p.189—190.
52. This project was probably known to Nyström, see Lukkarinen 1986, p.149.
53. Building committee to the consistorium 6.10. 1888. Consistorium minutes 19.1.1889 §13. HYA.
54. Ibid.
55. See Sinisalo 1979, p.103.
56. See also Lilius 1984, p.14.
57. Wittkower 1974, p.120.
58. Consistorium minutes 30.1.1889 §6 and 4.6.1890 §21. HYA.
59. The Four Books... 1738, plates XXXI and XLIII; Cf. Wittkower 1974, p.30, 34.
60. See Niemann & Feldegg 1893, p.35, 57, 104, 117, 118, 124, 124, 129 and Wagner—Rieger 1970, pl. 56a.
61. Auswahl—Reichstagsgebäude 1883, pl. 24, 26, 87; G.Nyström to E.Wasmuth 31.5.1887. Copie-bok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
62. Wittkower 1975, p.24; Lilius 1984a, p.23.
63. Pöykkö 1972, p.67—68.
64. Lukkarinen 1986, p.225—227.
65. W.Bolin to the consistorium 23.3.1888. Consistorium minutes 2.5.1888 §7. HYA.
66. Building committee to the consistorium. Consistorium minutes 25.5.1893 §12. HYA.
67. G.Nyström to W.Bolin Jan. 1900. Consistorium minutes 28.2.1900 §19. HYA.
68. W.Bolin to the consistorium 20.4.1891. Consistorium minutes 22.4.1891 §8. HYA.
69. G.Nyström to W.Bolin Jan. 1900. Consistorium minutes 28.2.1900 §19. HYA.
70. ibid.
71. ibid.
72. W.Bolin to the consistorium 15.1.1900. Consistorium minutes 28.2.1900 §19. HYA.
73. G.Nyström to G.Schauman 15.8.1907. 'Lisärakennuksia koskevia asiapapereita 1897—1957'. Tudeer collection. HYK.
74. See Lukkarinen 1983, p. 97—99.
75. Pevsner 1976, p.99.
76. Crass 1976, p.31.
77. Rosenau 1970, p.110—113; Crook 1973, p.163—193; Pevsner 1976, p.98—103; Crass 1976, p.31—36.
78. Hanbuch der Architectur 1893; Graesel 1902.
79. Crass 1976, p.31.
80. Crass 1976, p.104.
81. Crass 1976, p.31.
82. Crass 1976, p.36.
83. Rosenau 1970, p.111—112.
84. Crass 1976, p.50.
85. Lukkarinen 1983, p. 97—99.
86. Crook 1973, p.163—193.
87. See Crass 1976, p.31—36.
88. Pettersson 1957, p.35—38.
89. G.Nyström to W.Bolin Jan. 1900. Consistorium minutes 28.2.1900 §19. HYA.
90. ibid.
91. Gustaf Nyström, 'Byggnad för Finlands Statsarkiv'. TFFF 1887, p.44.
92. Pettersson 1957, p. 38.
93. See Wittkower 1973, p.86.
94. Arkitekten 1907, p.40.
95. Crass 1976, p.138—144, 148—150.
96. See Crass 1976, p.40, 44, 47, 50, 52, 60, 73, 83.
97. G.Nyström to the building committee 9.3.1903. 'Lisärakennuksia koskevia asiapapereita 1897—1957'. Tudeer collection. HYK.
98. Crass 1976, p. 69—71.
99. Hausen 1967, p.9.
100. See Benevolo 1971, p.284—298; Wagner—Rieger 1970, p.277ff.
101. G.Nyström to von Heideken 28.7.1900. Copie-bok 9.11.1900ff. SRM.
102. Lukkarinen 1986, p.253—257.
103. Building committee to the consistorium 13.3.1900. Consistorium minutes 14.3.1900 §18. HYA.
104. Lukkarinen 1986, p. 255—256.
105. Ringbom 1978a, p.220.
106. See Lukkarinen 1986, p.281—282.
107. G.Stenius's draft for the aide-mémoire of 27.4. 1914. 'Lisärakennuksia koskevia asiapapereita 1897—1957'. Tudeer collection. HYK.
108. Crass 1976, p.104—119.
109. Crass 1976, p.123—124.
110. Crass 1976, p.126.
111. Crass 1976, p.147—148.
112. Lukkarinen 1983, p.93.
113. See Lilius 1984b, p.43.

114. Frommel 1973, p.149.
115. Alho 1981, p.60—63. THL.
116. Cf. Wittkower 1974, p.170.
117. ibid.
118. Frommel 1973, p.113.
119. Frommel 1973, p.44, 113; Wittkower 1973, p.83—84.
120. Wittkower 1974, p.170.
121. Wittkower 1974, p.123—124.
122. Ackerman 1980, p.78.
123. Wittkower 1974, p.174.
124. Wittkower 1973, p.84.
125. See Gustaf Nyström, 'Den nyare engelska byggnadskonsten'. Arkitekten I 1903, p.33—35 and chapter II.
126. Wittkower 1973, p.83.
127. Wittkower 1973, p.81—82.
128. Wittkower 1973, p.84.
129. Wittkower 1974, p.30, 120.
130. Wittkower 1974, p.120.
131. See Wittkower 1974, p.122—124.
132. See Niemann & Feldegg 1893, p.35, 117, 118; Wagner—Rieger 1970, pl.56a.
133. Alho 1981, p. 60—63. THL.
134. Gustaf Nyström, 'Byggnad för Finlands statsarkiv'. TFFF 1887, p.44.
135. G.Nyström to J.J.Tikkanen 16.9.1898. Copiebok 13.10.1896. SRM.
136. Viljo 1988; Lukkarinen 1988.
137. We shall not discuss in this connection the competition for additions to the House of the Nobility, in which Gustaf Nyström also participated, because the strict rules of the competition required that all competitors adhere to the architectural articulation of the House of the Nobility (1857). The board of governors of the House of the Nobility had laid down these rules for what appear to be other than architectural reasons (see Lukkarinen 1988).
138. The architects were Theodor Decker, Sebastian Gripenberg, K.A.Wrede and Gustaf Nyström. The fifth architect invited,Theodor Höijer, declined to participate (see Lukkarinen 1988).
139. Lukkarinen 1988.
140. Viljo 1988; Lukkarinen 1988.
141. G.Nyström to J.J.Tikkanen 16.9.1898. Copiebok 13.10.1896ff. SRM.
142. Lukkarinen 1988, p.59—61.
143. G.Nyström to J.B.Blomkvist 23.3.1888. Copiebok 6.5.1887ff. SRM.
144. See Lukkarinen 1988, p. 61.
145. 'Det monumentala Helsingfors'. HBL 17.9.1890; Tertius interveniens, '''Det monumentala Helsingfors'''.HBL 21.9.1890.
146. See Viljo 1988, note 77.
147. G.Nyström to O.Törnqvist 3.6.1887. SRM; FiA I (1916), p.76—77.
148. See Wittkower 1973, p. 78—79.
149. 'Frågan om nytt tull- och packhus i Helsingfors'. Teknikern 1898, p. 131.
150. Mutreich 1968, p. 38.
151. 'Platsen för Ständerhuset'. HBL 28.2.1882; Matti, 'Kirje Helsingistä'.US 2.5.1882.
152. Rakennustilasto 4. 1908, p. 1—7.
153. Reporter, 'Den nya tronsalen'. HBL 19.5.1907; Ahrenberg's list of some of his articles in *Huvudstadsbladet* contains ''Reporter. Den nya tronsalen''. Ahrenberg collection. SLS. Ahrenberg used the pseudonym also in various other occasions. See the Ahrenberg collection.
154. Rakennustilasto 5. 1912, p. 21.
155. Rakennustilasto 4. 1908, p.4.
156. The model of the stoves was changed later. At present they are almost identical to the stoves in Ahrenberg's Throne Hall. It would not be suprising if they were originally designed by Ahrenberg (Cf. Wickberg 1981, p. 40—41).
157. Rakennustilasto 4. 1908, p. 8—10.
158. Reporter, 'Den nya tillbyggnaden vid posthuset'. HBL(?). Ahrenberg collection. SLS.
159. Viljo 1986, p.283.
160. See Livre nouveau... s.a., pl. 13 and 14 (a copy of this edition is in the library of the Board of Public Works and Buildings); Traité élémentaire pratique... s.a., pl. XIV and XV (a copy of this edition is in the library of the Department of Art History, Helsinki University, with the signature of Th. Granstedt); Li cinque ordini... 1865, pl. VI and VII (a copy of this edition is in the library of the Museum of Finnish Architecture). Eeva Maija Viljo has kindly demonstrated to me the connections with Vignola of the order of Ahrenberg's Post Office Building.
161. See Jac. Ahrenberg, 'Empire-stilen II'. FT 73.1912, especially p.410.
162. Rakennustilasto 5. 1912, p. 30-31; Gardberg 1952, p. 60—62.
163. RHA Ica 248. VA.
164. Ringbom — Ringbom 1985, p.97.
165. Rakennustilasto 5. 1912, p.30.
166. Rakennustilasto 5. 1912, p.21; J.A. (Jac. Ahrenberg), 'Åbo akademiehus'. VK 23. 1908, p.177—179.
167. Rakennustilasto 5. 1912, p.25.
168. Teknikern 1895, p.117, 242.
169. Nordenstreng 1911, p. 612, 835—837; Nordenstreng — Halila 1975, 260—261; Rakennustilasto 2. 1901, p.11—13.

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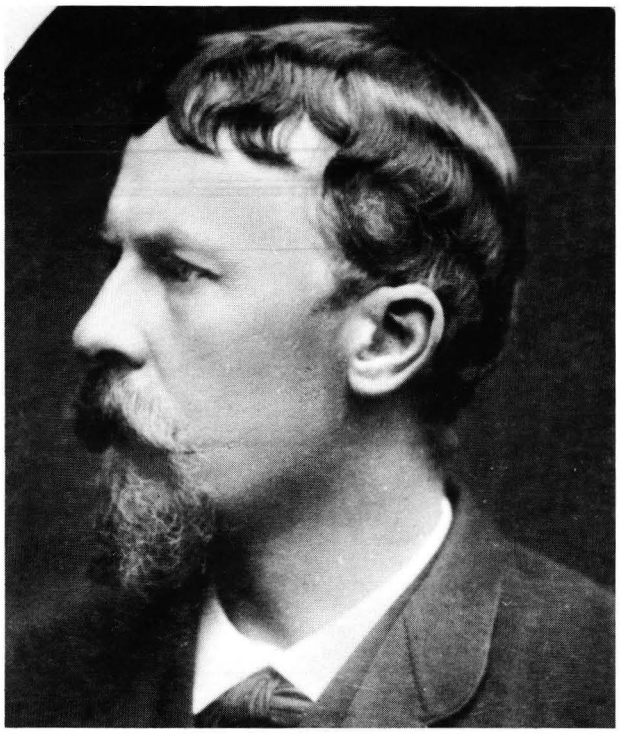
Abbreviations

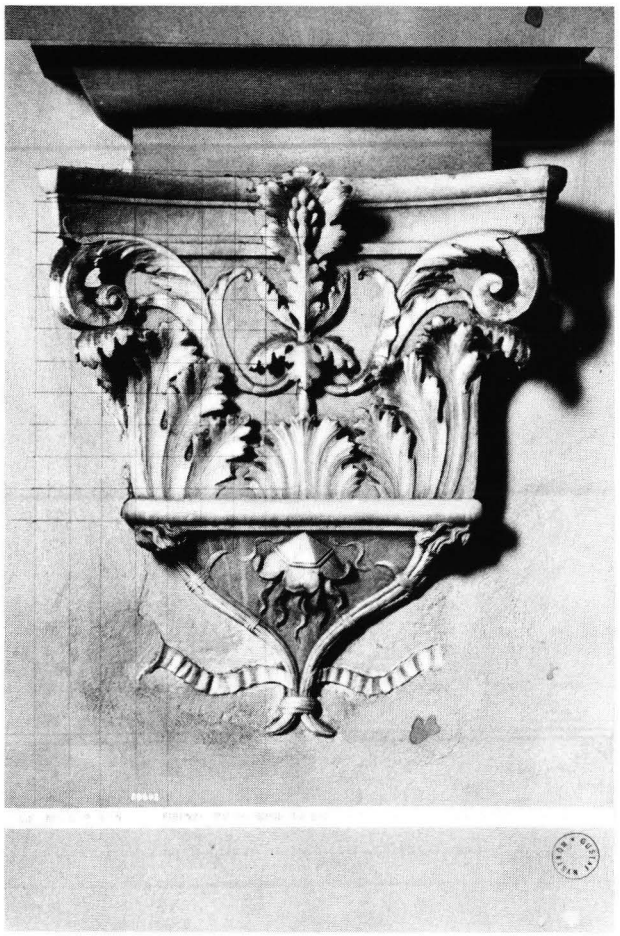
AD	Anno Domini
ÅP	Åbo Posten
DA	Dagligt Allehanda
FiA	'Föreläsningar i Arkitektur' (Gustaf Nyström's manuscript 'Lectures in Architecture')
FT	Finsk Tidskrift
HBL	Huvudstadsbladet
HD	Helsingfors Dagblad
HKM	Helsingin kaupunginmuseon kuva—arkisto (Helsinki City Museum, Pictorial Archives)
HP	Helsingfors Posten
HYA	Helsingin yliopiston arkisto (Helsinki University Archives)
HYK	Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto (Helsinki University Library)
HYM	Helsingin yliopiston museo (Helsinki University Museum)
MVHKA	Museoviraston historian toimiston kuva-arkisto (National Board of Antiquities, Pictorial Archives of the Section for History)
NP	Nya Pressen
RHA	Rakennushallituksen arkisto (Archives of the Board of Public Works and Buildings)
SLS	Svenska Litteratursällskapet
SRM	Suomen rakennustaiteen museo (Museum of Finnish Architecture)
TFFF	Tekniska Föreningens i Finland Förhandlingar
THL	Taidehistorian laitos, Helsingin yliopisto (Department of Art History, University of Helsinki)
TKK	Teknillisen korkeakoulun arkkitehtuurihistorian laitos, Otaniemi (Department of the History of Architecture, University of Technology, Otaniemi)
VA	Valtionarkisto (State Archives)
VK	Veckans Krönika

Plates

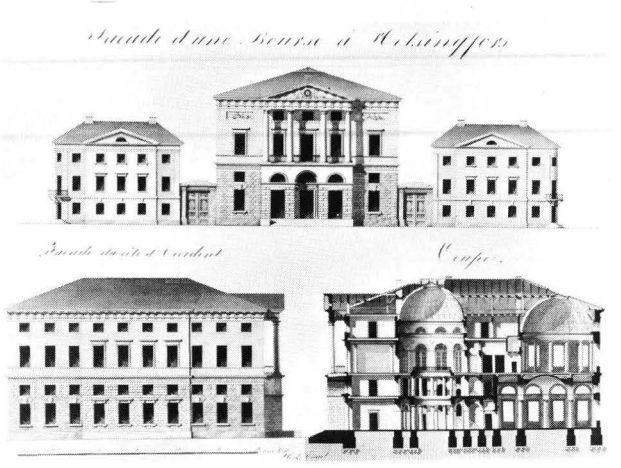
1. Carl Gustaf Nyström (1856—1917). Neg. 141209. MVHKA.



2. Johan Jacob (Jac.) Ahrenberg (1847—1914). MVHKA.

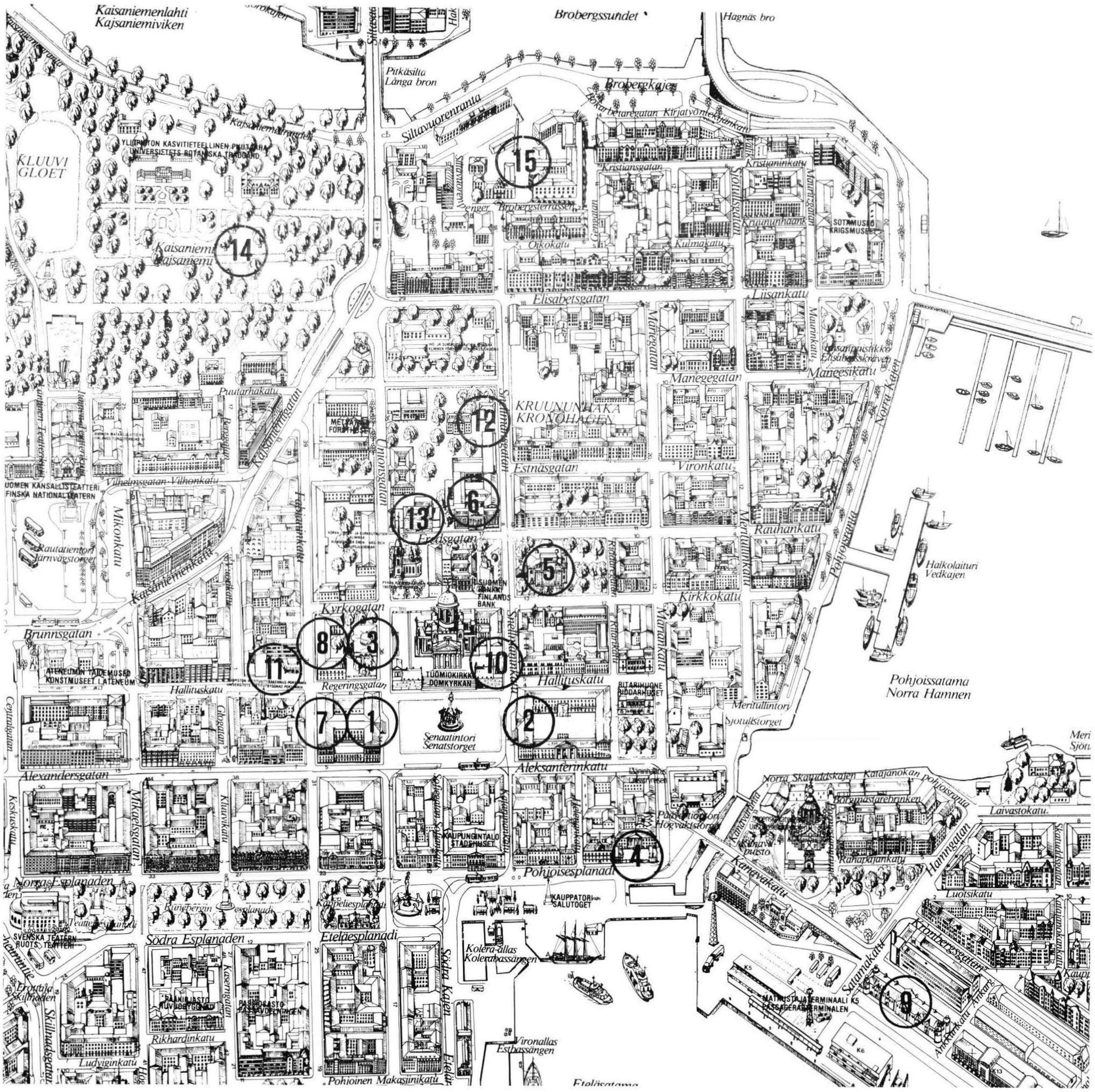


3. Capital from Pal. Gondi, Florence, marked out in squares by Gustaf Nyström. TKK.



4. Carl Ludvig Engel, Design for the Helsinki Stock Exchange. 1814. Photo SRM.

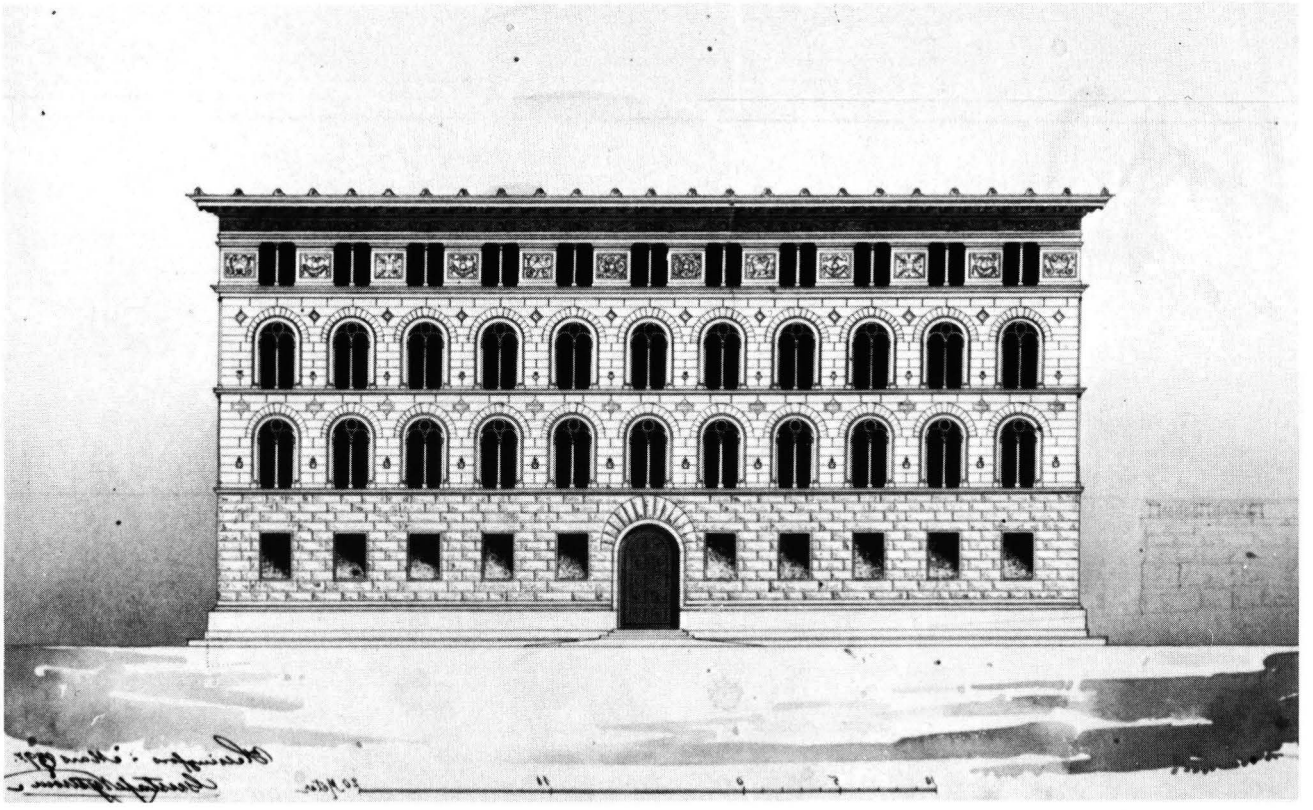
5. The centre of Helsinki. Photo Ilmavoimat.



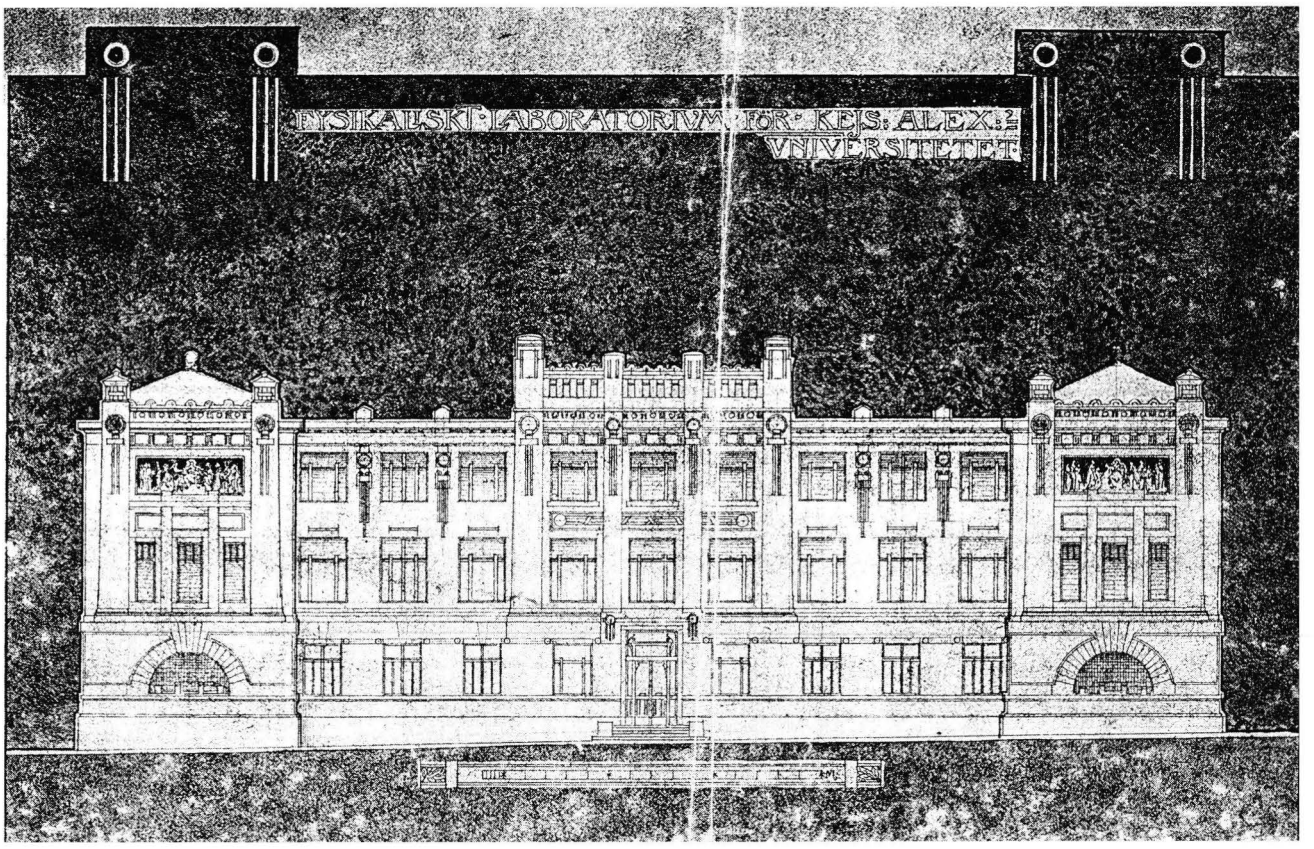
6. The centre of Helsinki.

Some of the buildings and lots discussed in the text

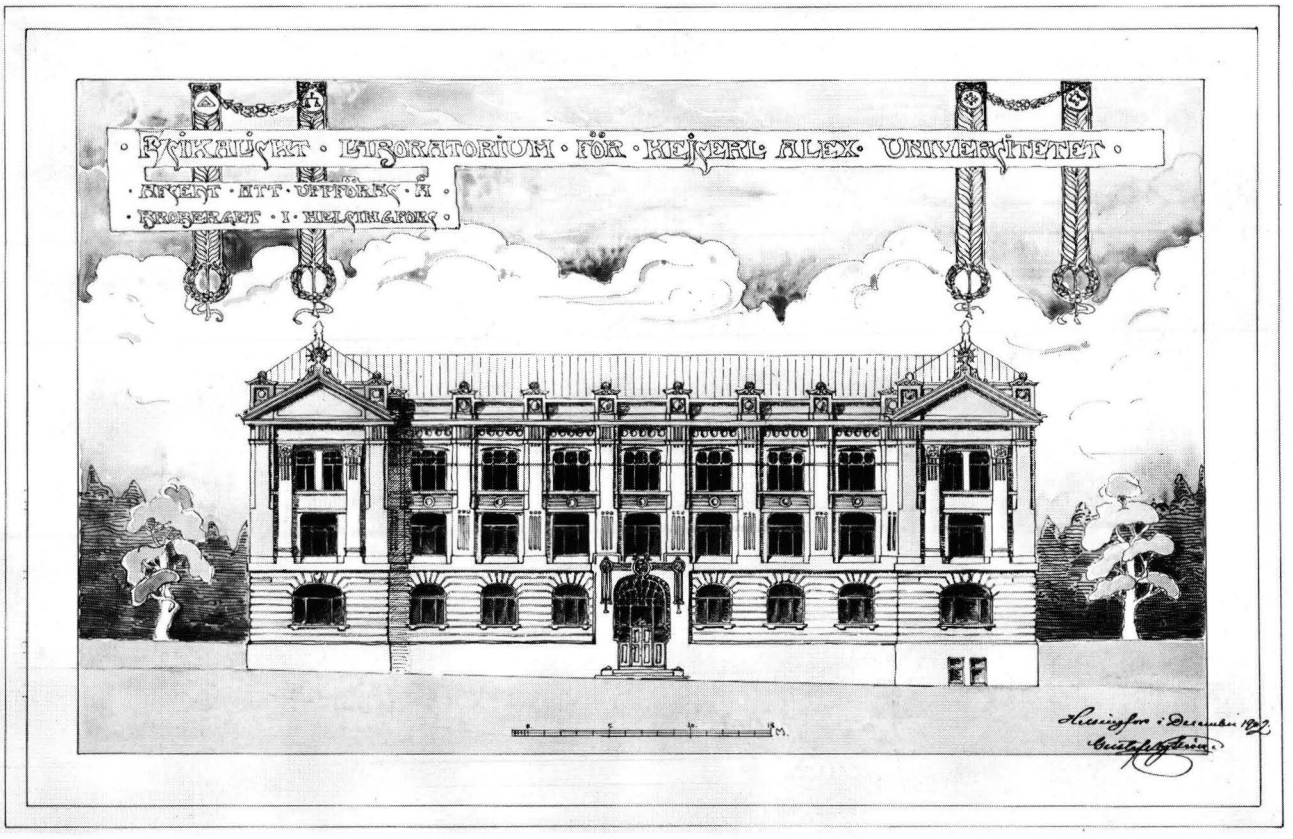
1 The University Main Building
2 The Senate Building
3 The University Library
4 The Imperial Palace
5 The House of the Estates
6 The State Archives
7 The University Gymnasium
8 The building of the Departments of Anatomy, Pharmacy, Physiology and Hygiene; (The extension of the University Library Building)
9 The Customs Building
10 The Snellmaninkatu Post Office
11 Hallituskatu Street 11—13 lot
12 Snellmaninkatu Street 12 lot
13 Rauhankatu Street 19 lot
14 The Botanical Gardens
15 Siltavuori/Siltavuorenpenger



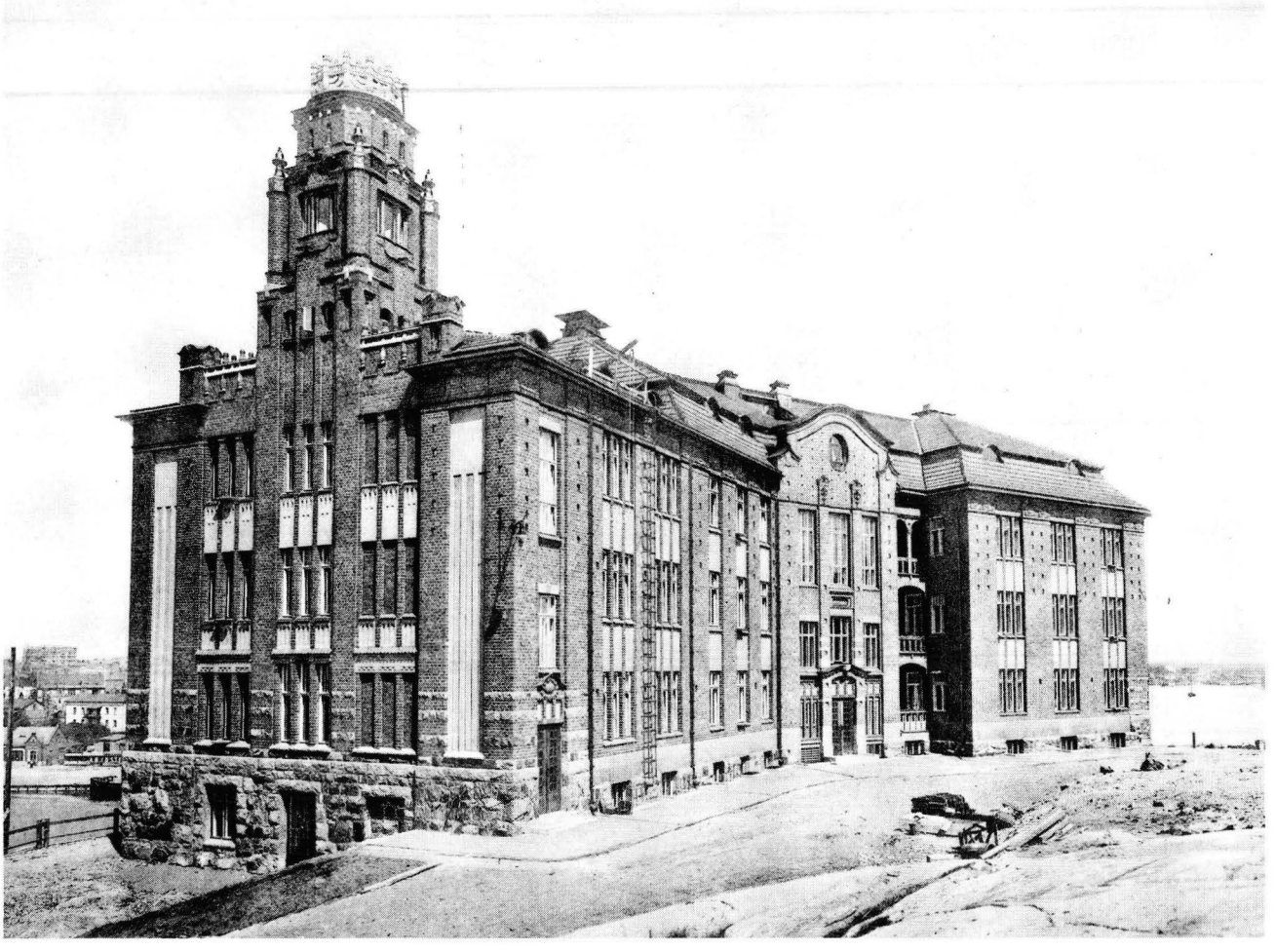
7. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Department of Physics. Snellmaninkatu Street 12, Helsinki. March 1897. HYM.



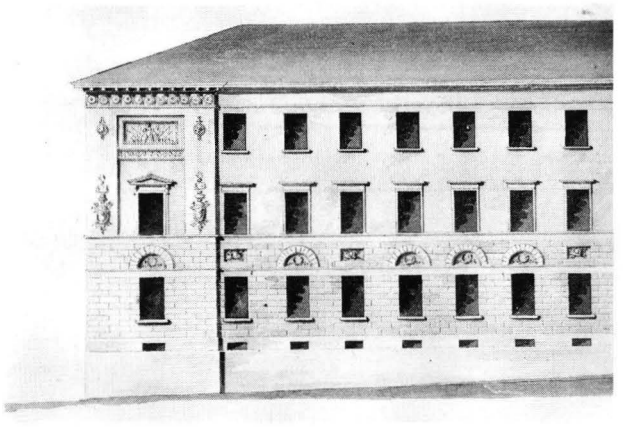
8. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Department of Physics. Rauhankatu Street 19, Helsinki. 1899—1900. Photocopy by the author. The original has disappeared after 1983 from the Department of Physics, University of Helsinki.



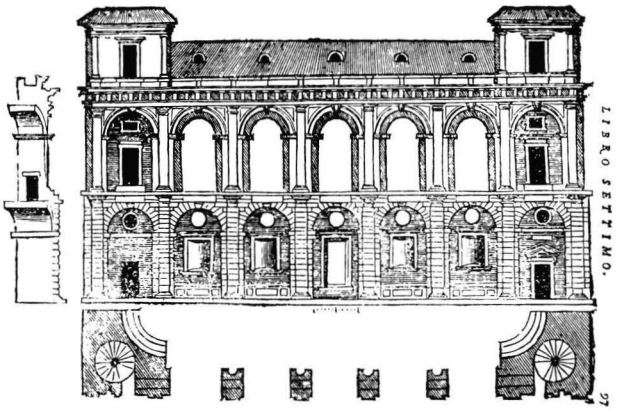
9. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Department of Physics. Siltavuori or Hallituskatu Street 11—13, Helsinki. December 1902. HYM.



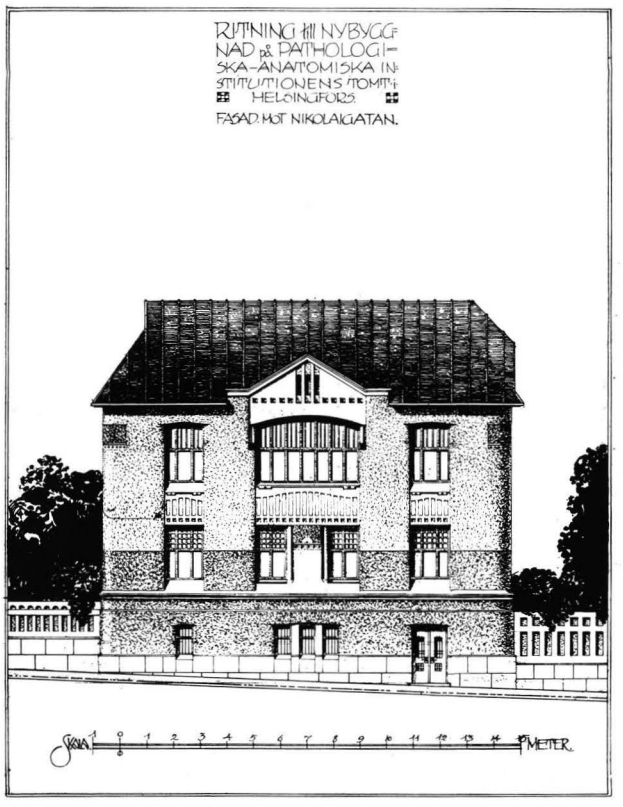
10. Gustaf Nyström, Building of the Department of Physics. Siltavuorenpenger Street 20 D, Helsinki. Designed 1909. Tallqvist 1911.



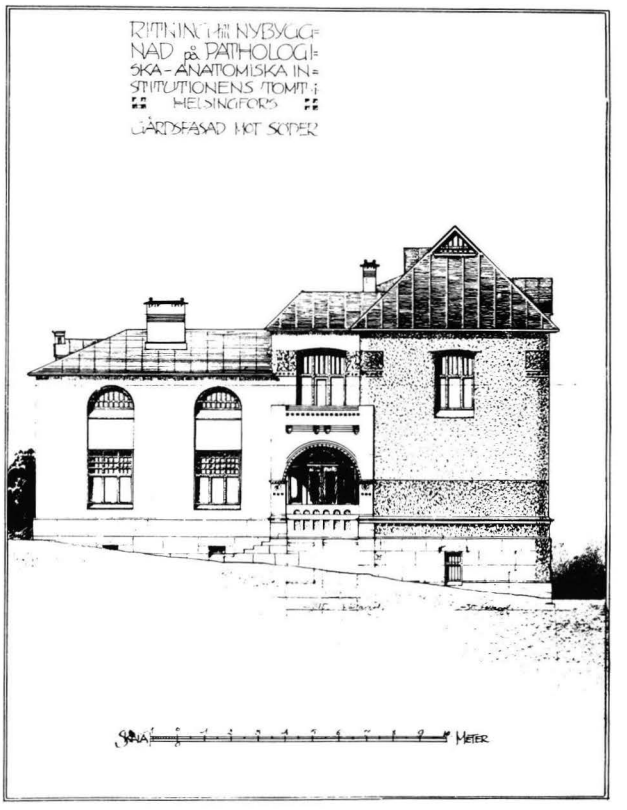
11. Carl Ludvig Engel, The Guards Garrison Building. Helsinki. Detail of the main façade. 1819. RHA II Iga 35:7. VA.



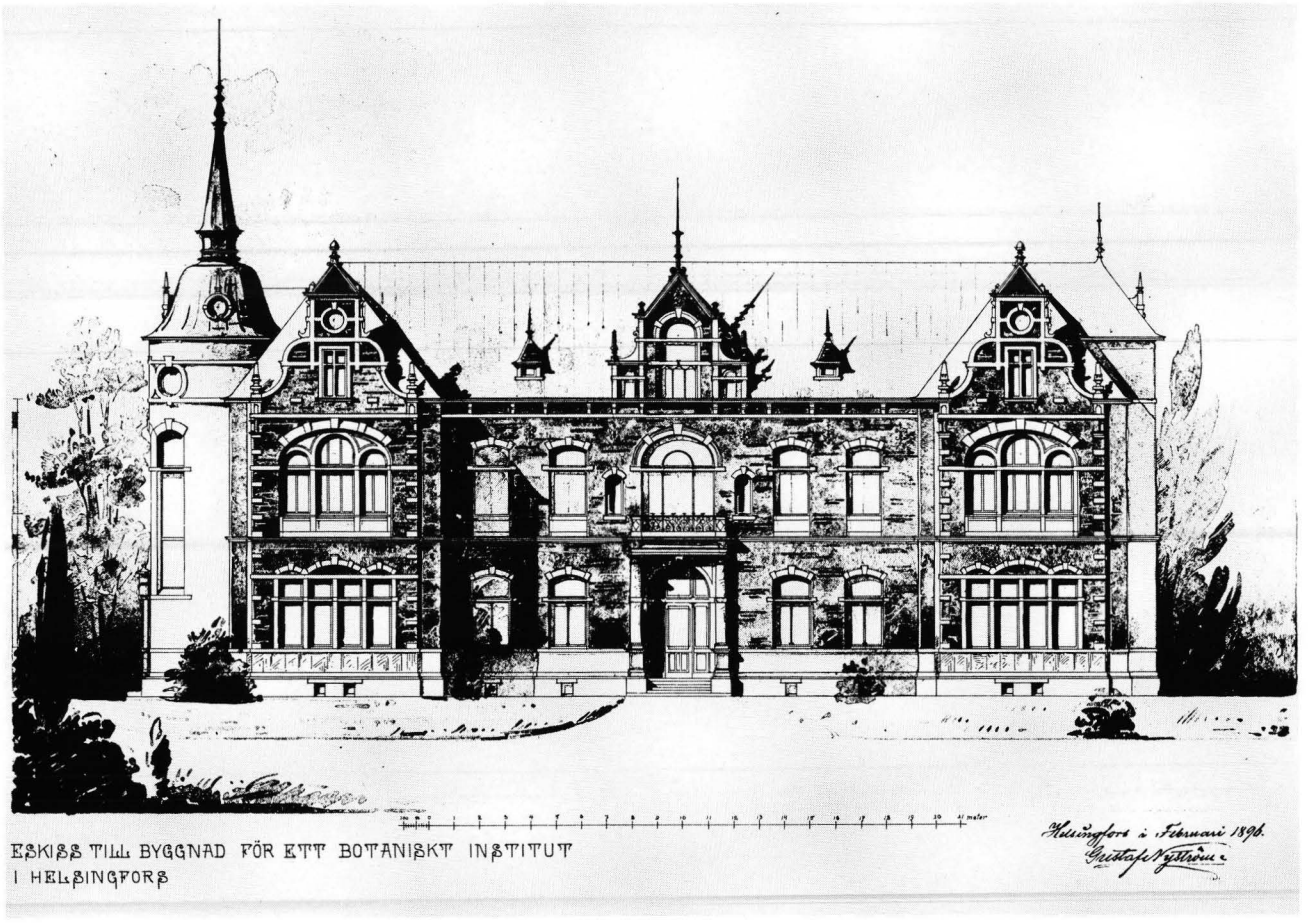
12. Sebastiano Serlio, Design for a façade. Tutte l'Opere Architettura 1619 VII, Cap.40, G 7.



13. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Department of Pathology, Snellmaninkatu Street 12, Helsinki. Façade facing Snellmaninkatu. Ca. 1902—05. HYM.

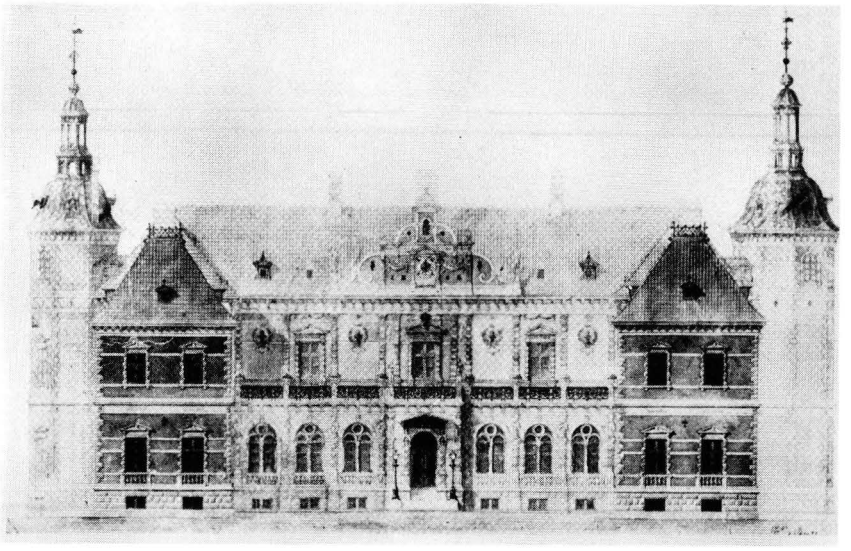


14. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Department of Pathology, Snellmaninkatu Street 12, Helsinki. Façade facing south. Ca. 1902—05. HYM.

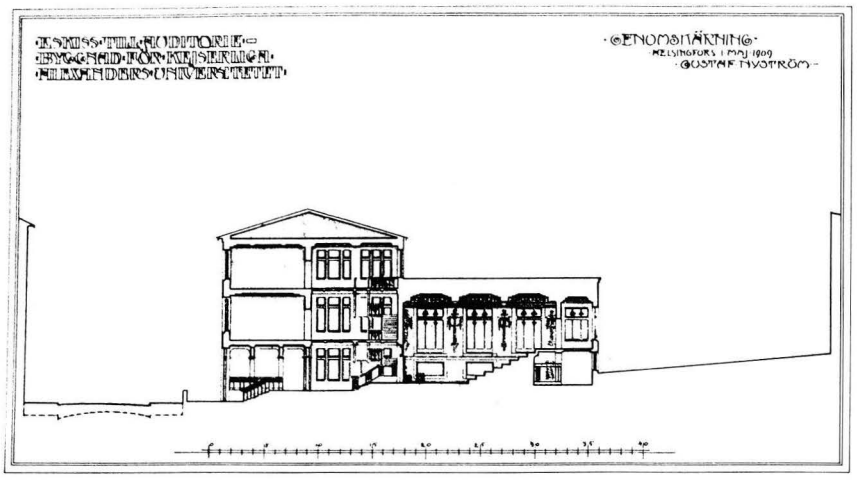


15. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Department of Botany. Botanical Gardens, Helsinki. February 1896. HYM.

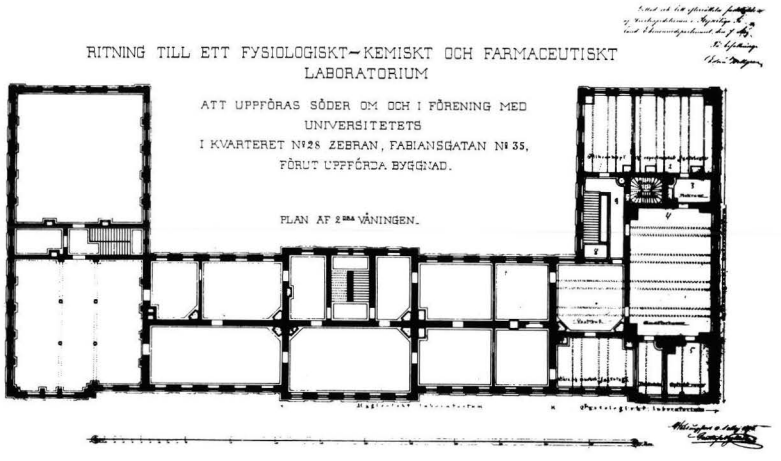
16. Gustaf Nyström, Building of the Department of Botany. Botanical Gardens, Helsinki. Designed 1900. Photo HYM.



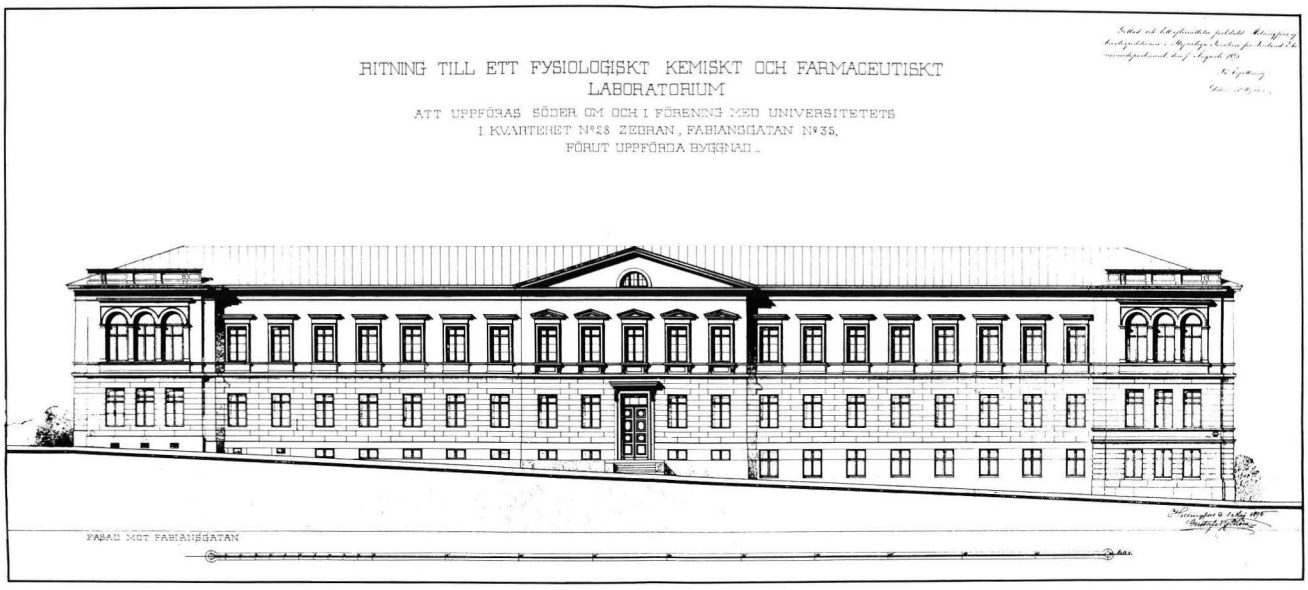
17. Ferdinand Meldahl, The Frijsenborg Manor. Denmark. Ca. 1850. Brogaard—Lund—Nörregård-Nielsen 1980, p.183.



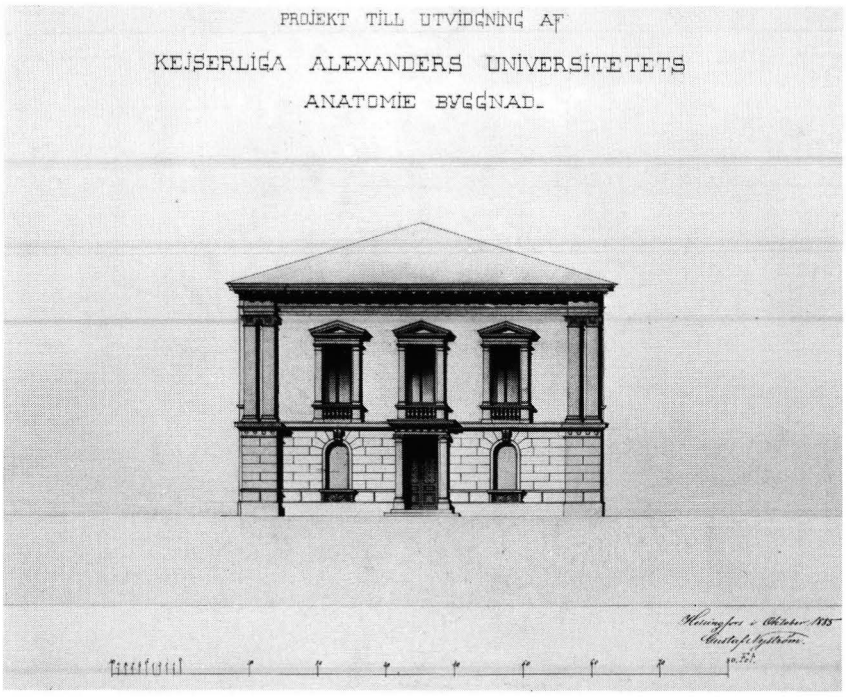
18. Gustaf Nyström, Design for an auditorium building. Hallituskatu Street 11—13, Helsinki. Section. May 1909. HYM.



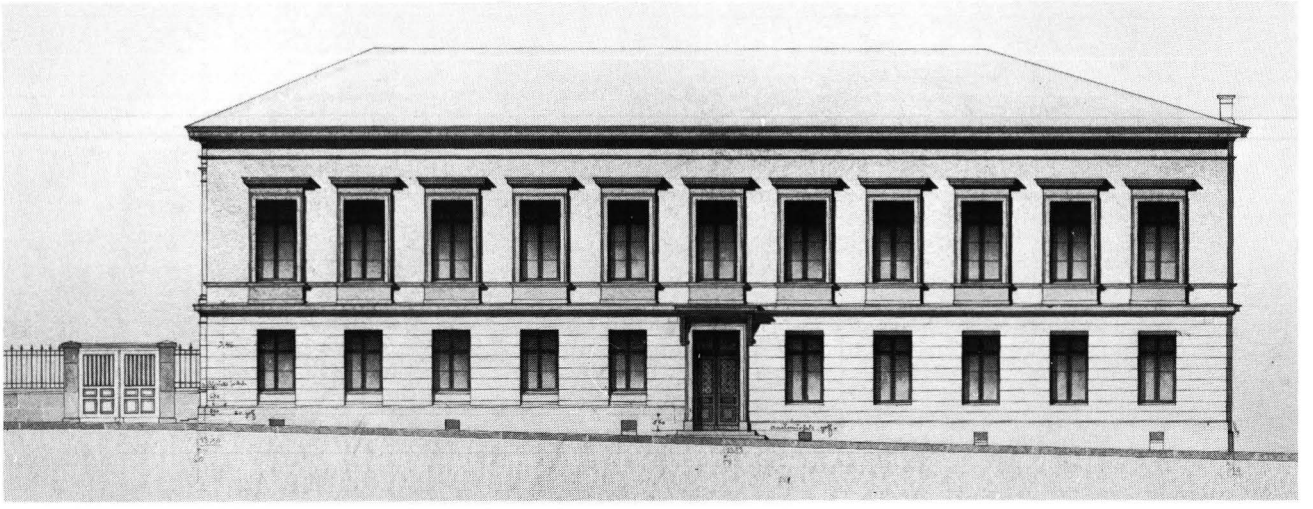
19. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Departments of Pharmacy, Physiology and Hygiene. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Plan of the main floor. 1.5. 1895. HYM.



20. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Departments of Pharmacy, Physiology and Hygiene. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Façade facing Fabianinkatu. 1.5.1895. HYM.



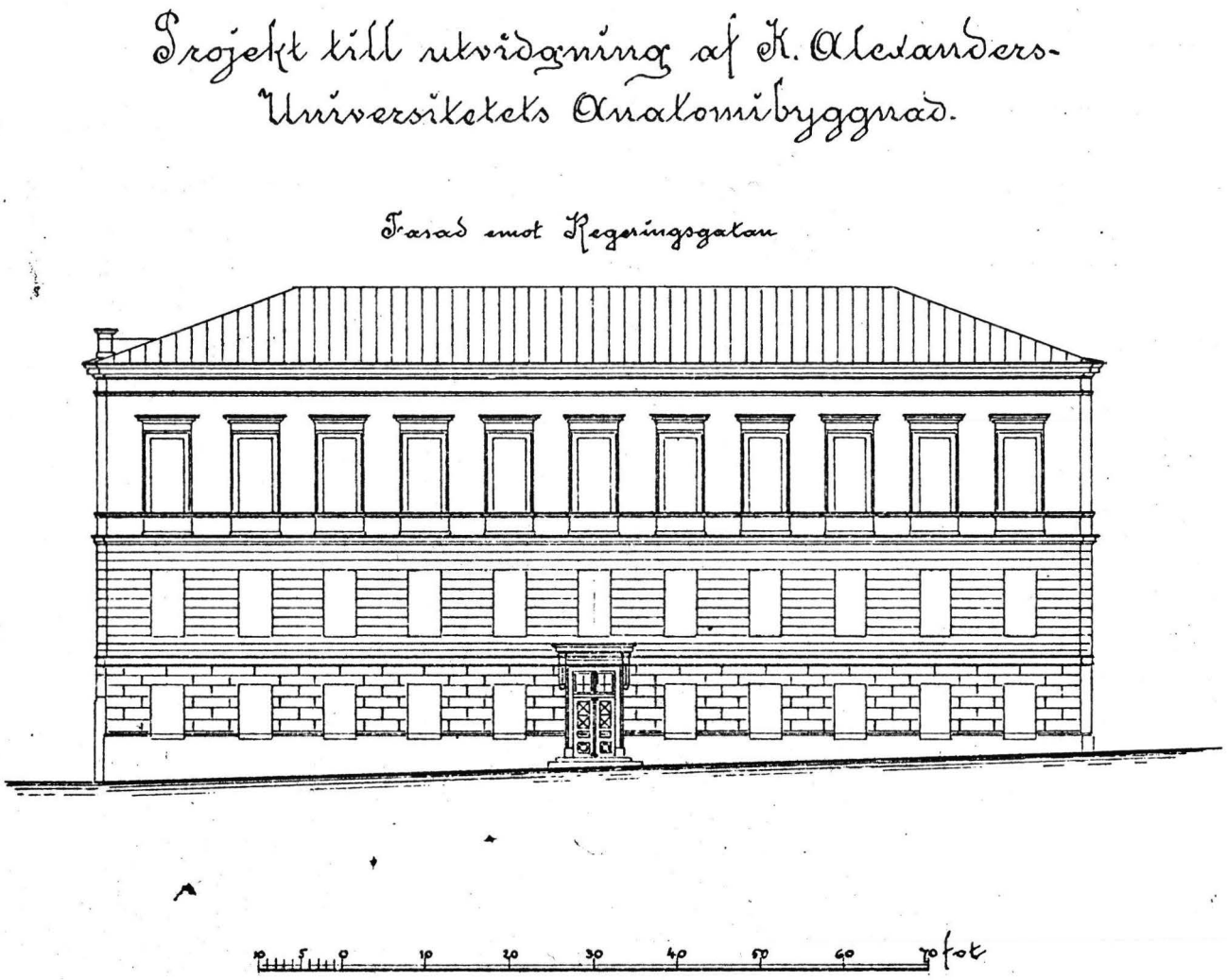
21. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Department of Anatomy. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Façade facing Unioninkatu. October 1885. HYM.



22. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Department of Anatomy. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Façade facing Kirkkokatu. October 1885. HYM.

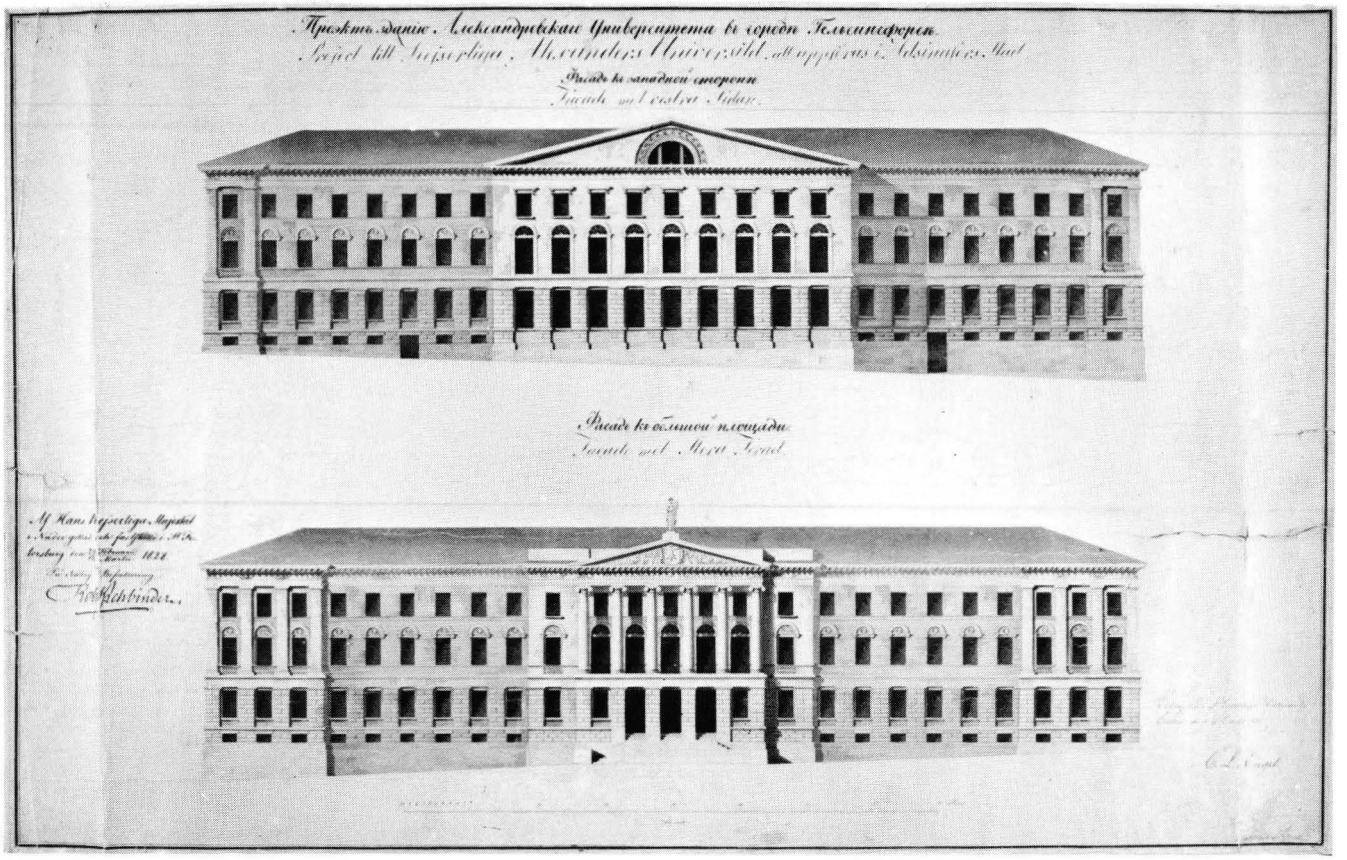
23. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Departments of Pharmacy, Physiology and Hygiene. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Façade facing Hallituskatu. 1.5.1895. HYM.

24. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Departments of Pharmacy, Physiology and Hygiene. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Section and façade facing Unioninkatu. 1.5.1895. HYM.



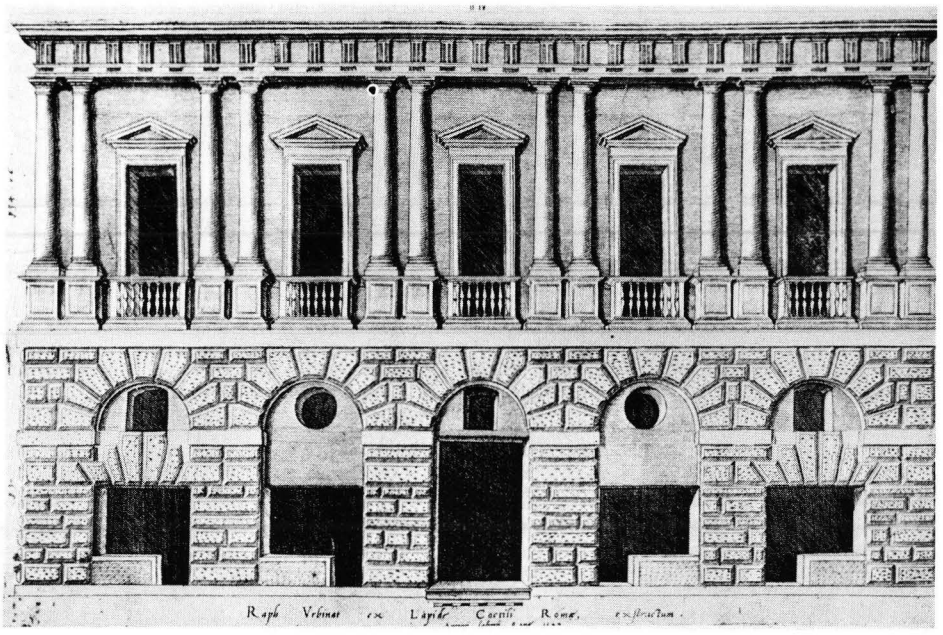
25. Jac. Ahrenberg, Design for the building of the Departments of Pharmacy, Physiology and Hygiene. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Façade facing Hallituskatu. 1880. KD 48/330. VA.

26. Carl Ludvig Engel, The Senate Building. Snellmaninkatu Street 1, Helsinki. Designed 1818. Photo S. Rista. SRM.

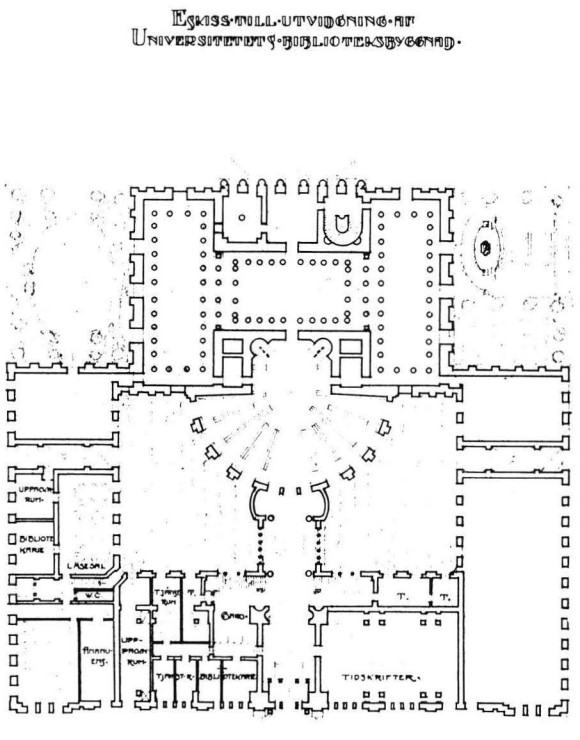


27. Carl Ludvig Engel, Design for the University Main Building. Unioninkatu Street 34, Helsinki. Rear façade and main façade. 1828. HYM.

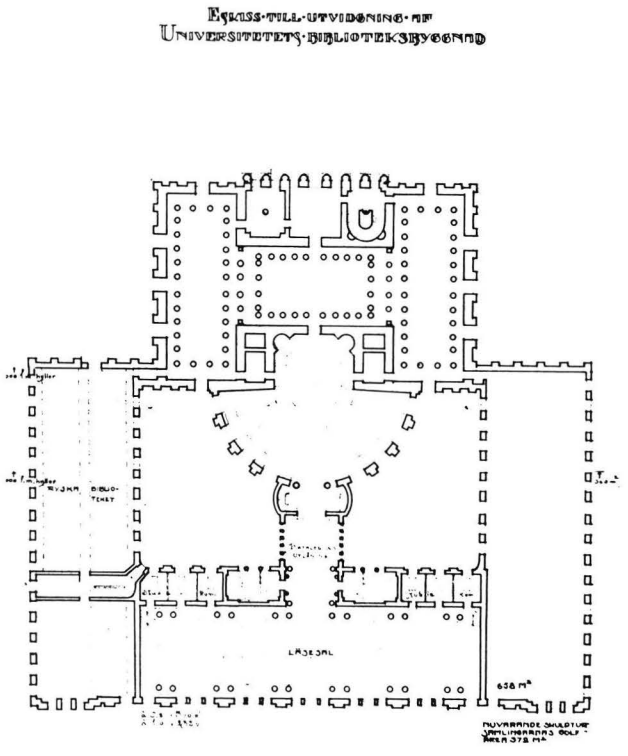
28. Carl Ludvig Engel, The Seurahuone Hotel. Pohjoisesplanadi Street 11—13, Helsinki. Designed 1828. Photo A. Salokorpi. SRM.



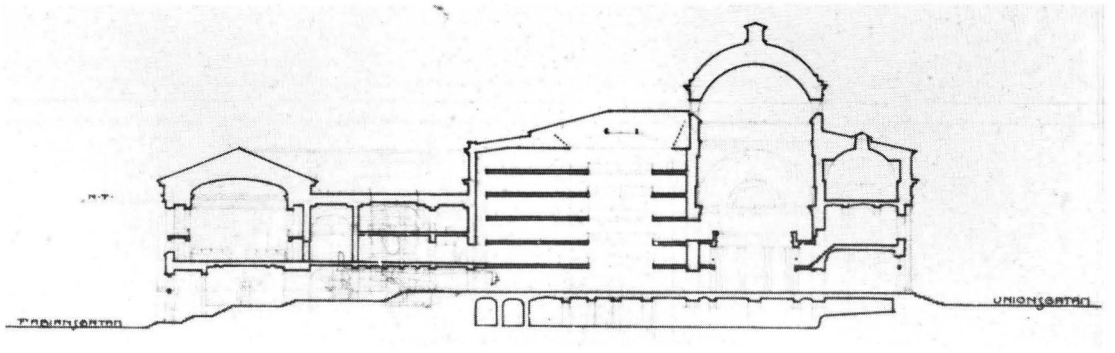
29. Pal. Caprini. Rome. Frommel 1973, pl. 32a.



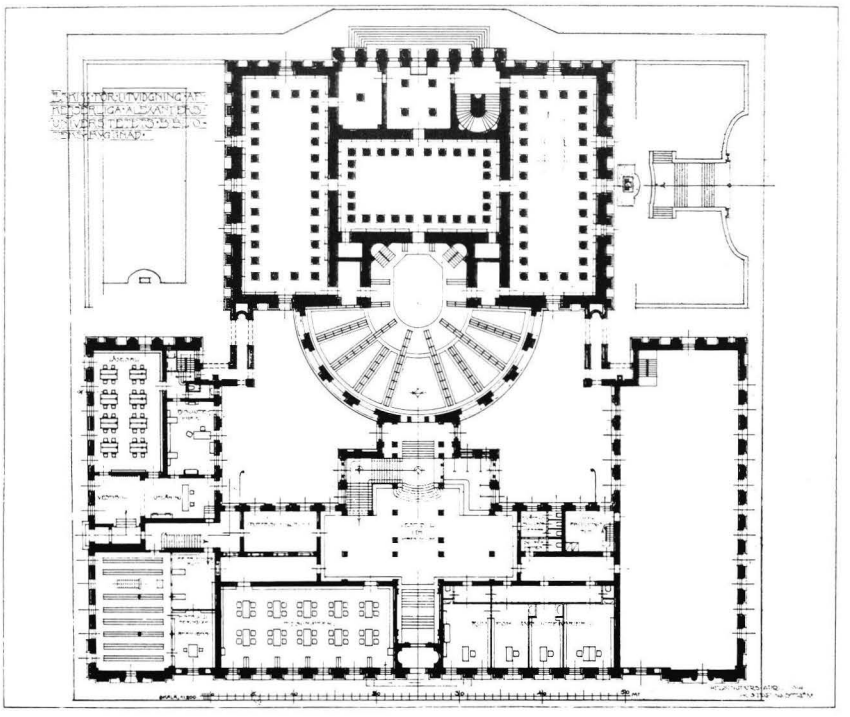
30. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Library. Project no.1. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Plan of the ground floor. Ca. 1913. HYM.



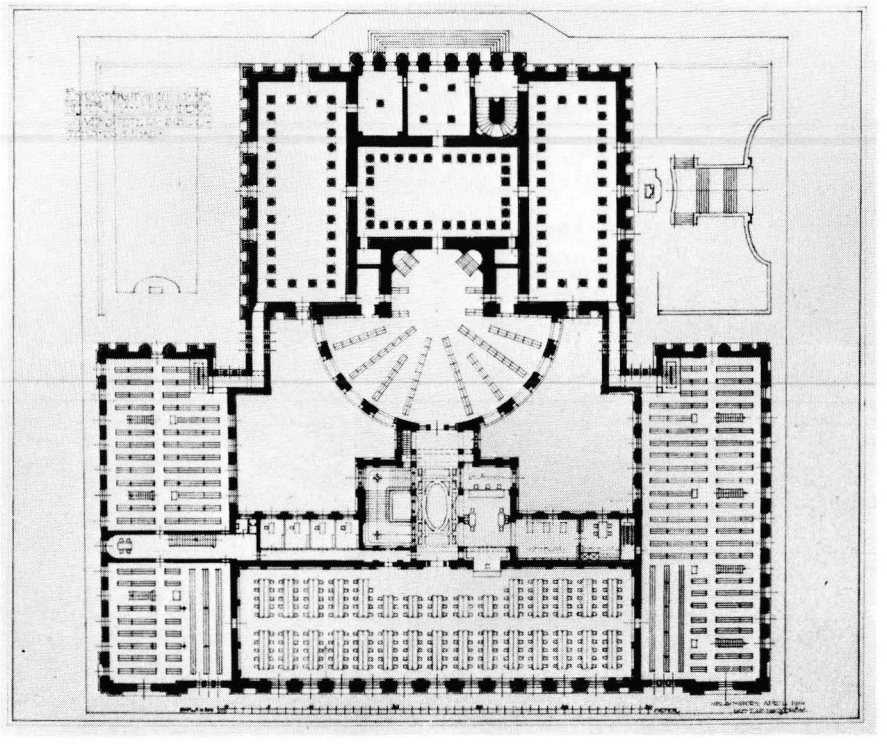
31. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Library. Project no.1. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Plan of the main floor. Ca. 1913. HYM.



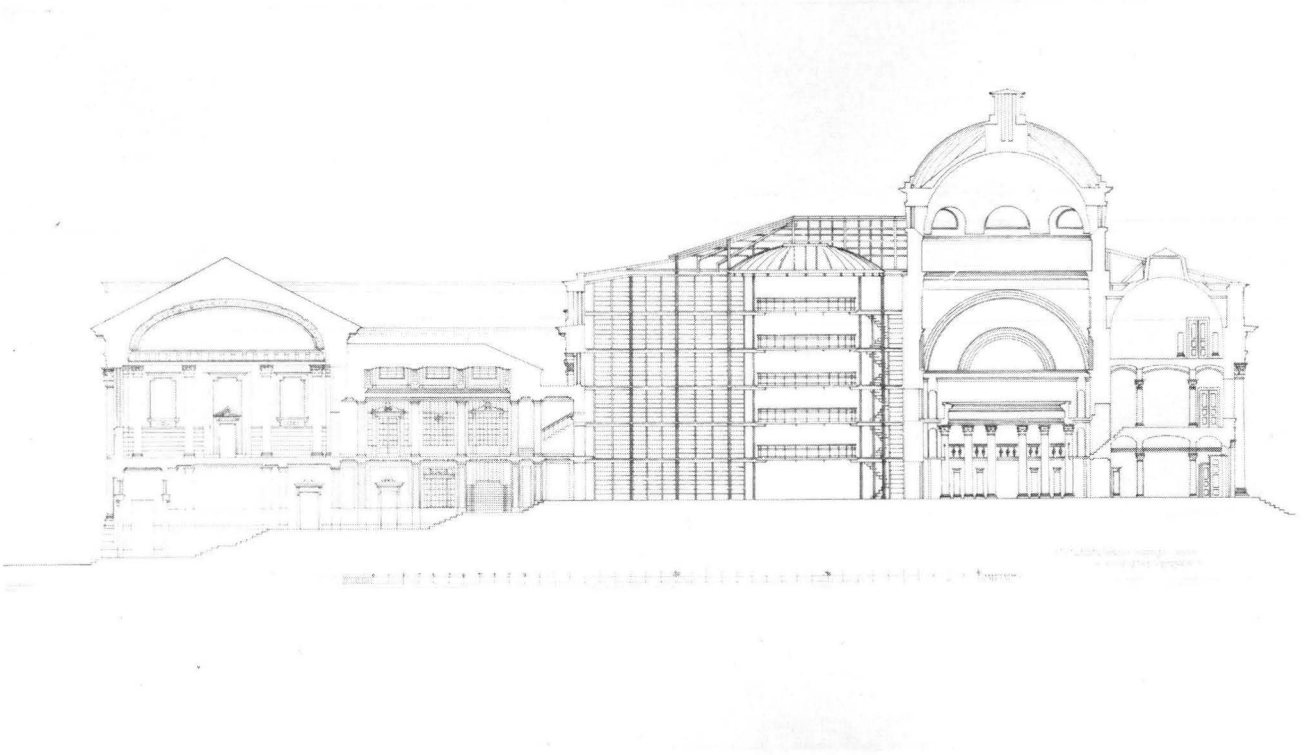
32. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Library. Project no.1. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Section. Ca. 1913. HYM.



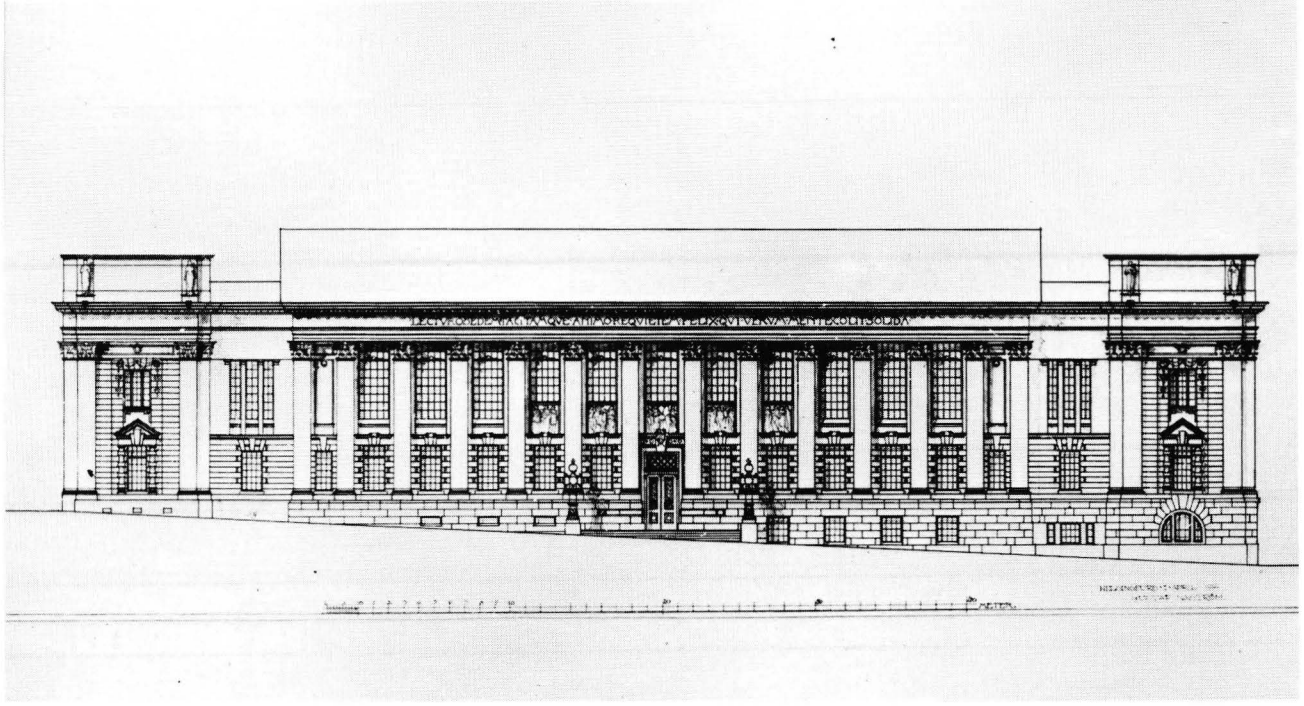
33. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Library. Project no.3. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Plan of the ground floor. April 1914. HYM.



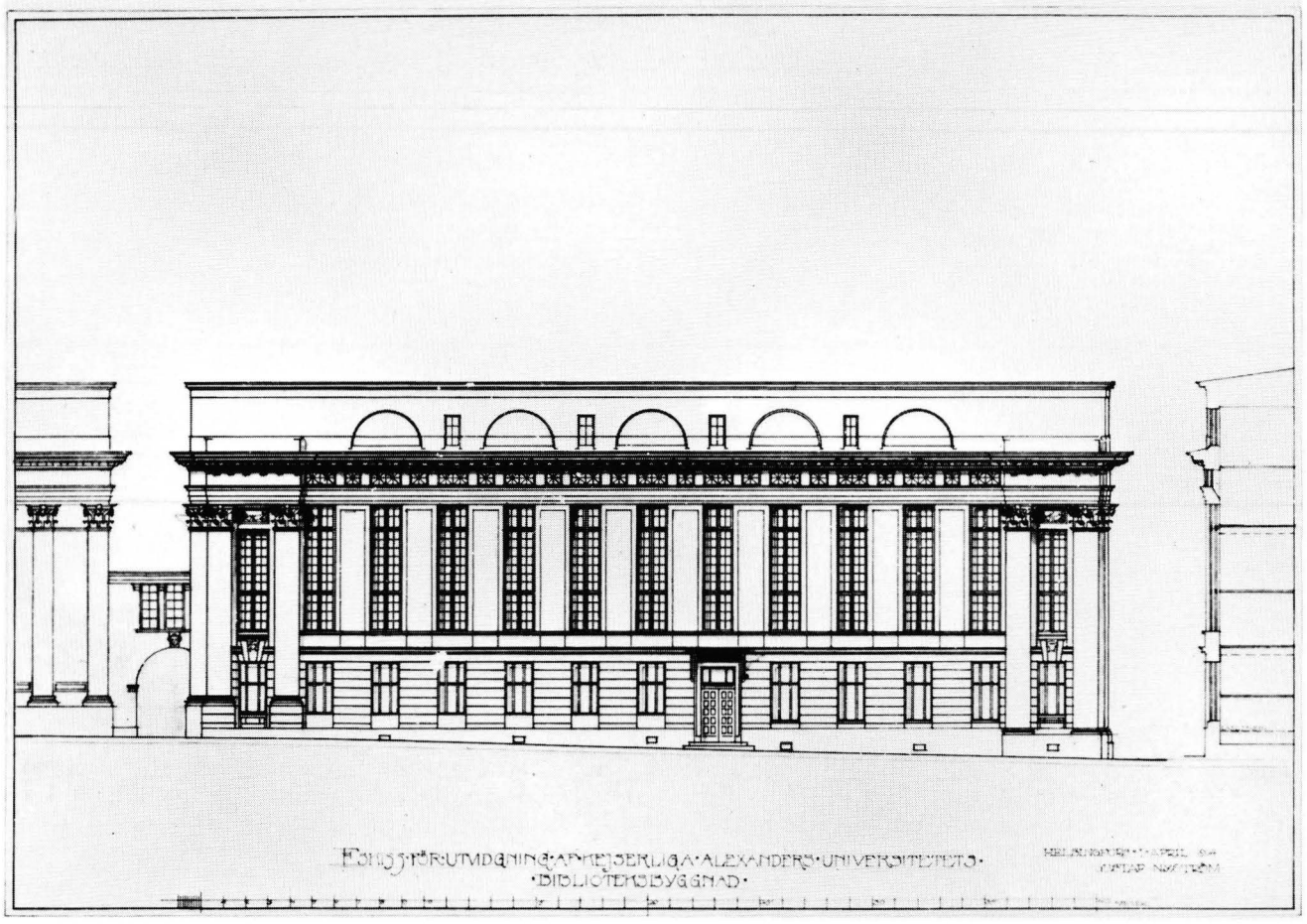
34. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Library. Project no.3. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Plan of the main floor. April 1914. HYM.



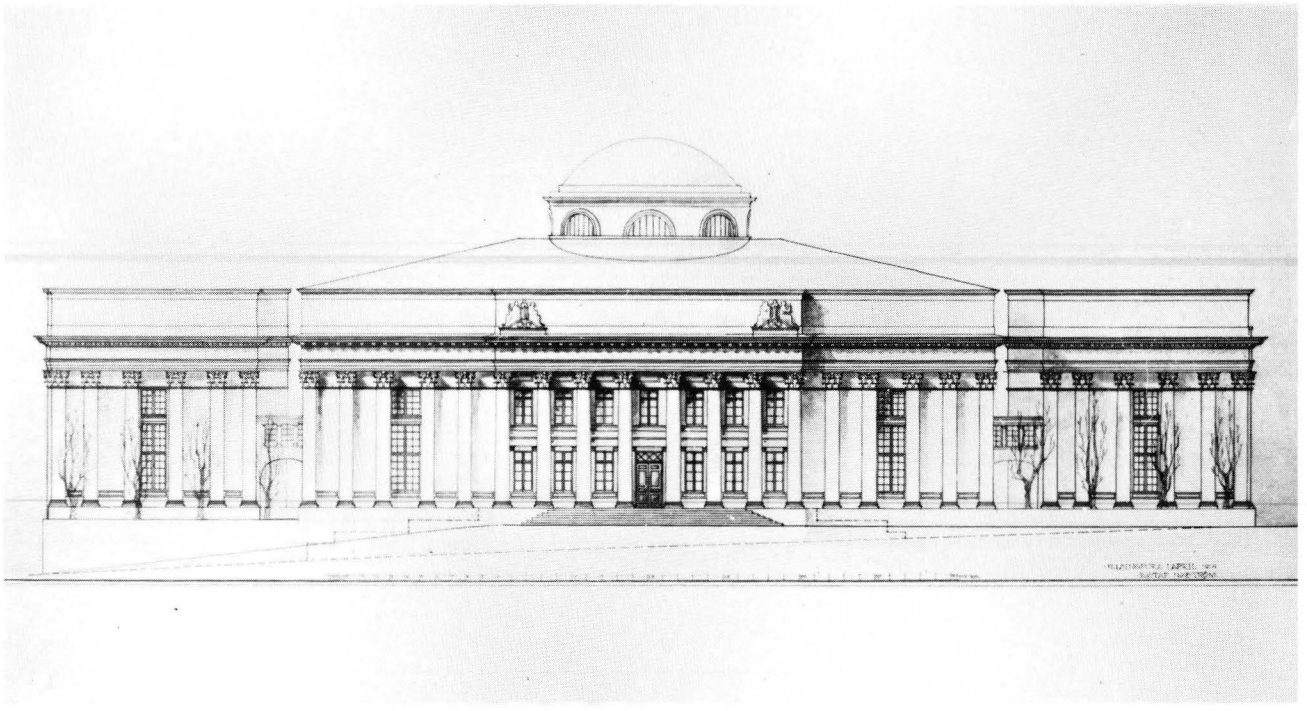
35. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Library. Project no.3. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Section. April 1914. HYM.



36. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Library. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Façade facing Fabianinkatu. April 1914. HYM.

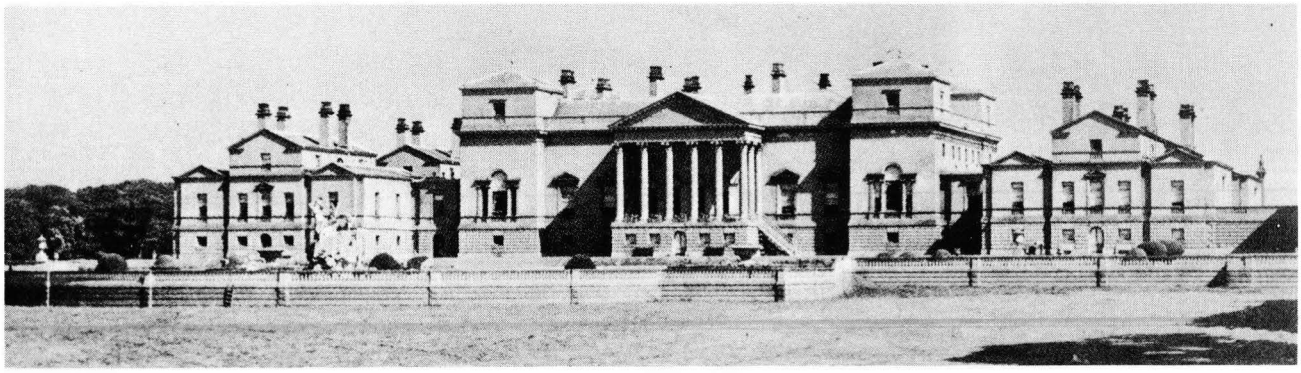


37. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Library. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Façade facing Kirkkokatu. April 1914. HYM.

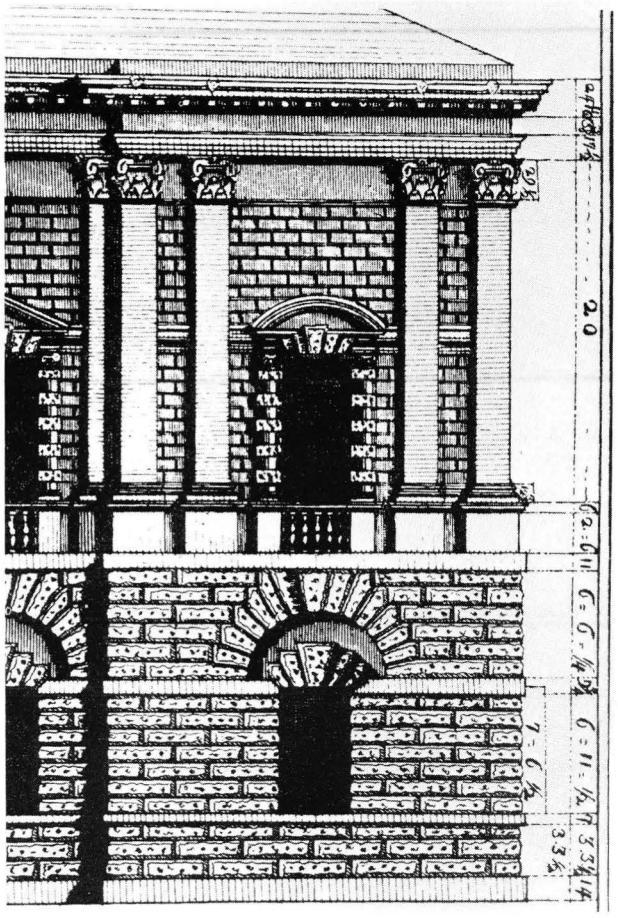


38. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Library. Fabianinkatu Street 35, Helsinki. Façade facing Unioninkatu. April 1914. HYM.

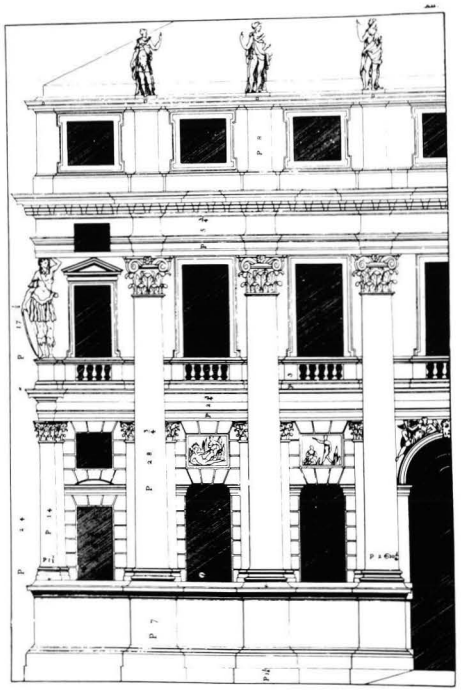
39. Pal. Farnese. Rome. Frommel 1973, pl. 40b.



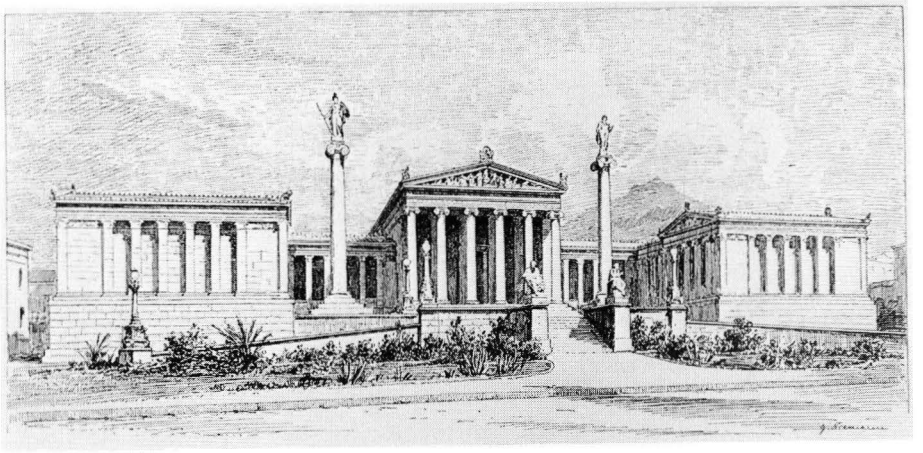
40. William Kent, Holkham Hall. Holkham. Ca. 1730. Wittkower 1974, p. 124.



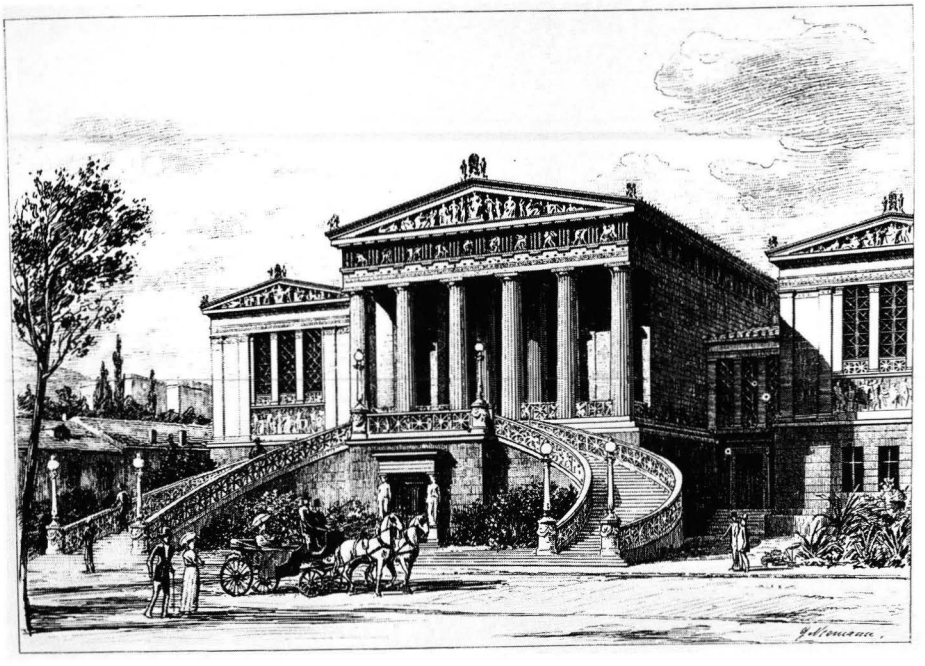
41. Andrea Palladio, Pal. Thiene. Vicenza. Side projection of the main façade. Scamozzi 1796, Vol. I, pl. XXV.



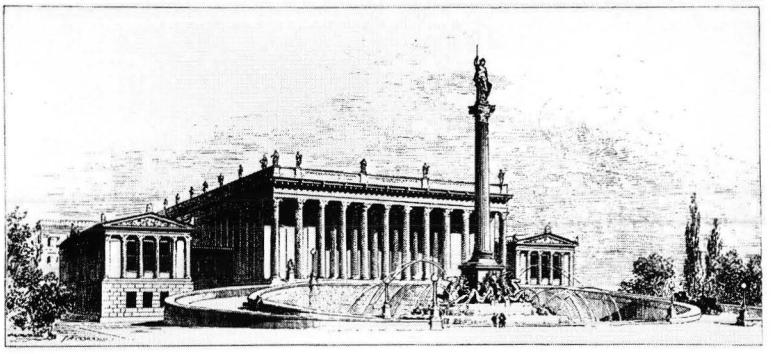
42. Andrea Palladio, Pal. Valmarana. Vicenza. The Four Books of Andrea Palladio 1738, Vol. 2, pl. XII.



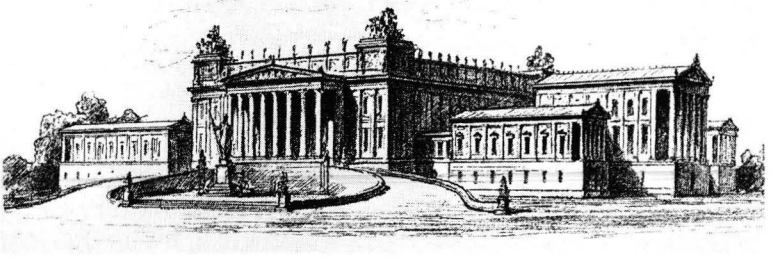
43. Theophil von Hansen, The Academy of Athens. 1875. Niemann & Feldegg 1893, p. 31.



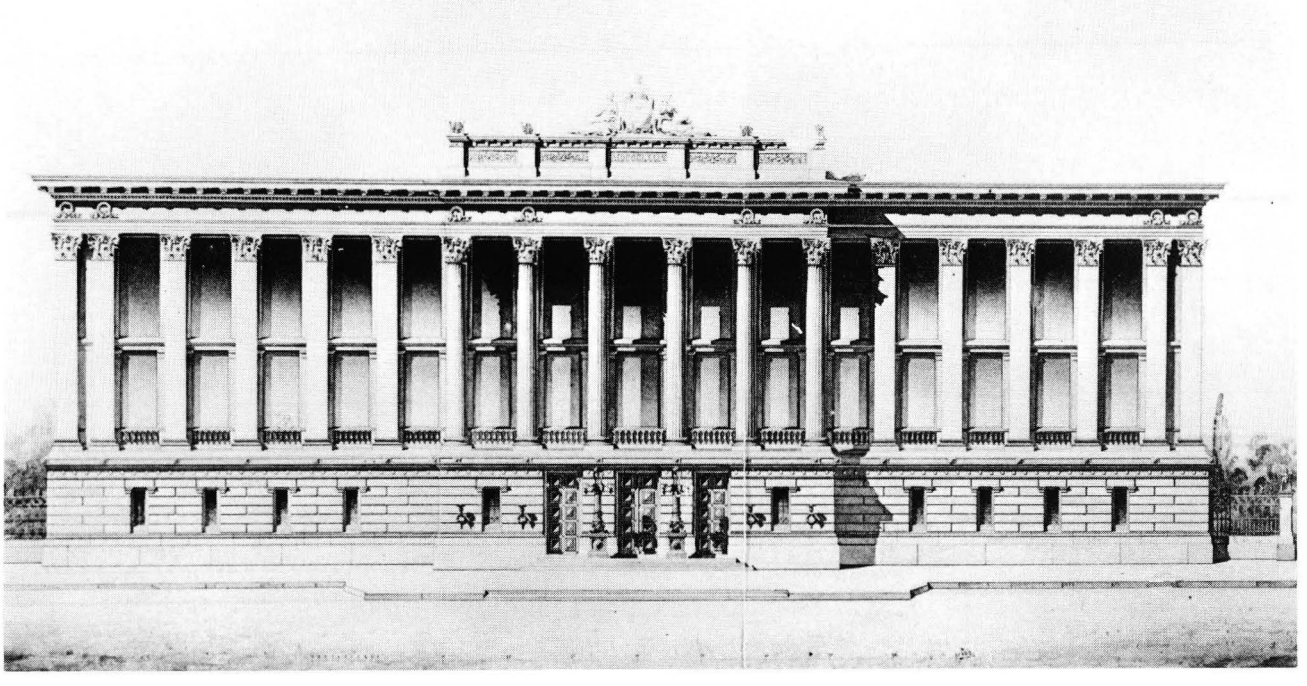
44. Theophil von Hansen, The Library of Athens. 1884. Niemann & Feldegg 1893, p. 124.



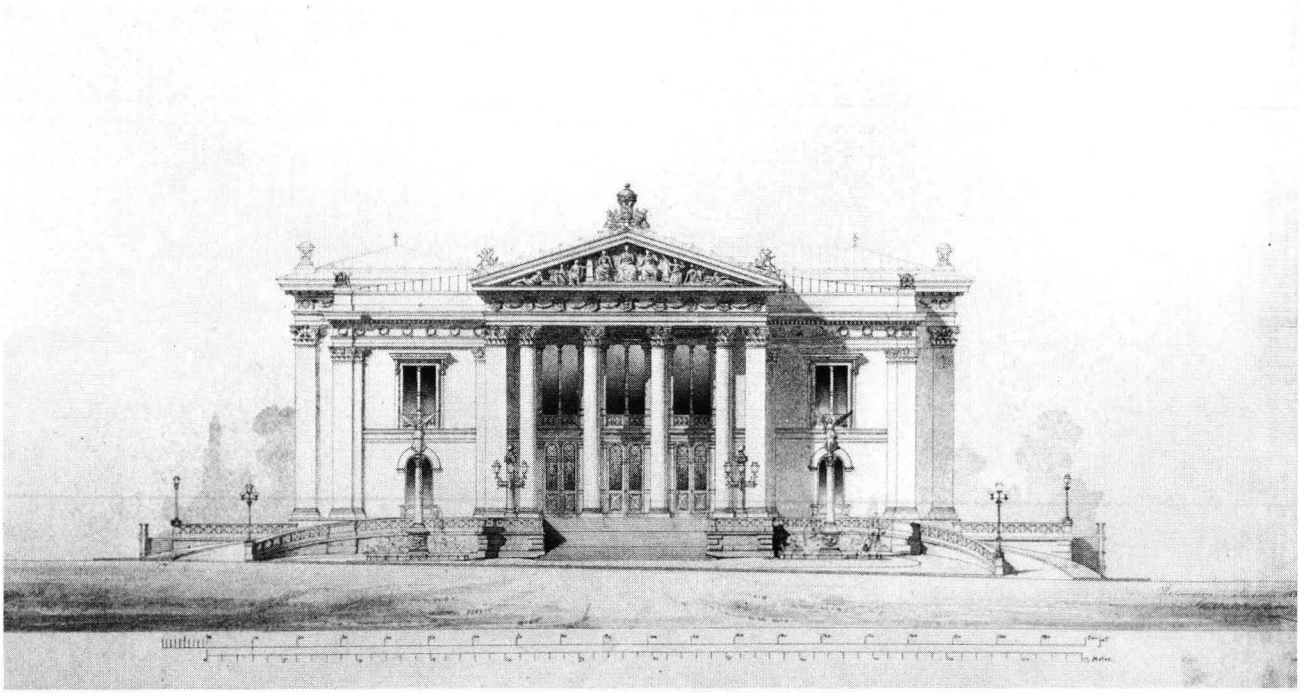
45. Theophil von Hansen, Design for the ***Herrenhaus****. Vienna. 1865. Niemann & Feldegg 1893, p. 57.*



46. Theophil von Hansen, Design for the ***Reichstag*** *Building. Berlin. 1882. Niemann & Feldegg 1893, p. 117.*



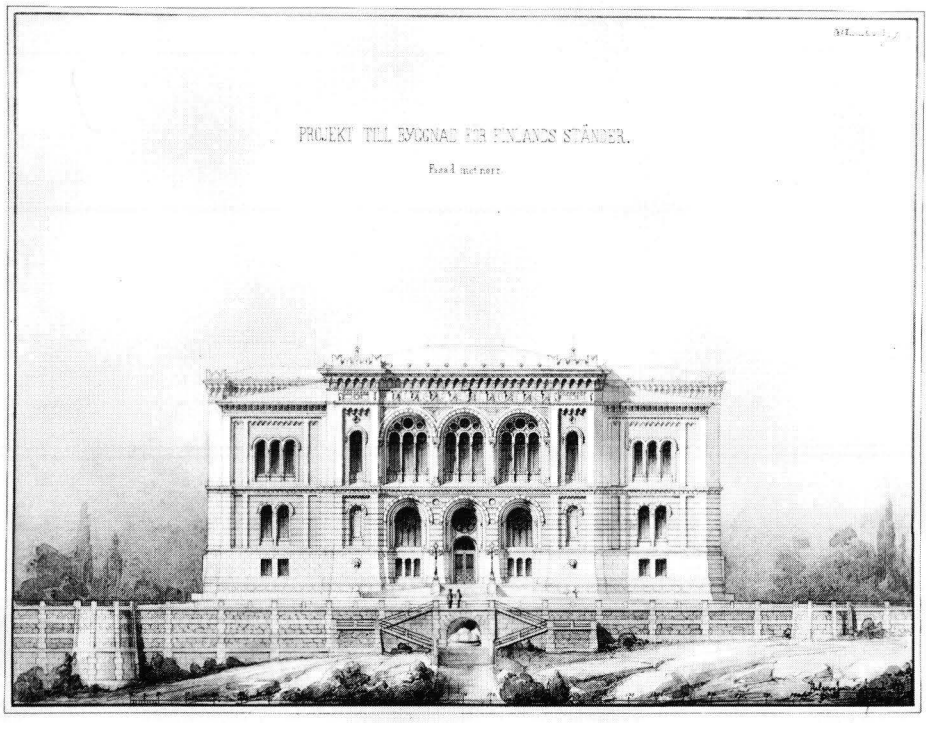
47. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the State Archives. Rauhankatu Street 17, Helsinki. 1886. TFFF 1887.



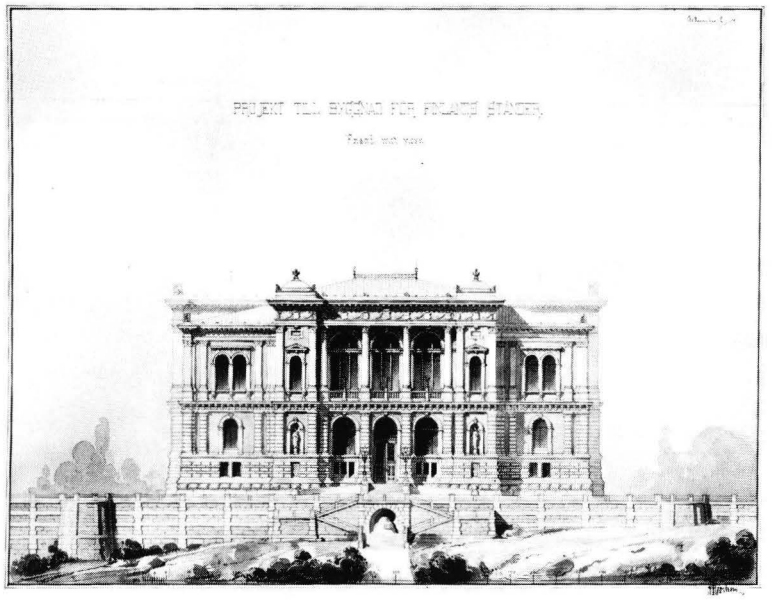
48. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the House of the Estates. Snellmaninkatu Street 9, Helsinki. Façade facing Snellmaninkatu. August 1887. TKK.

49. Frans Anatolius Sjöström, Design for the House of the Estates. Tähtitorninmäki Hill, Helsinki. Main façade. 1884. Photo SRM.

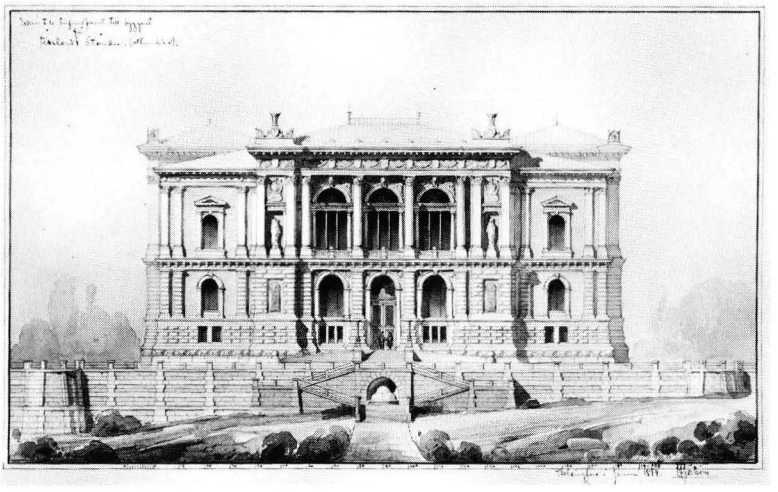
50. Theophil von Hansen, The House of Parliament. Vienna. 1884. Das K.K. Reichsraths-Gebäude s.a.



51. Frans Anatolius Sjöström, Proposed design for the House of the Estates. Tähtitorninmäki Hill, Helsinki. Main façade. 1883. Tieteellisten seurain valtuuskunta, Säätytalo 1:2. VA.

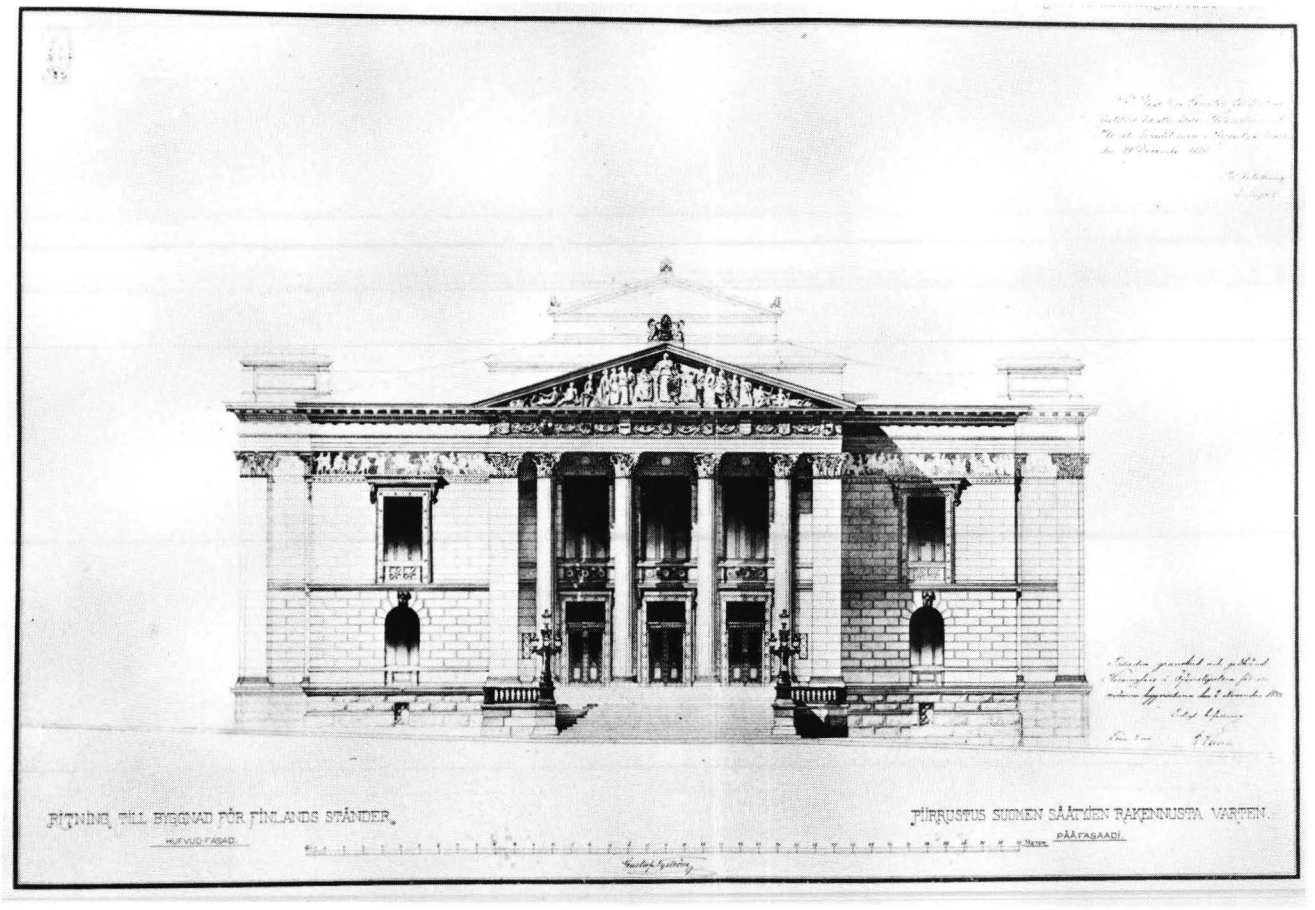


52. Frans Anatolius Sjöström, Proposed design for the House of the Estates. Tähtitorninmäki Hill, Helsinki. Main façade. 1883. Tieteellisten seurain valtuuskunta, Säätytalo 1:3. VA.

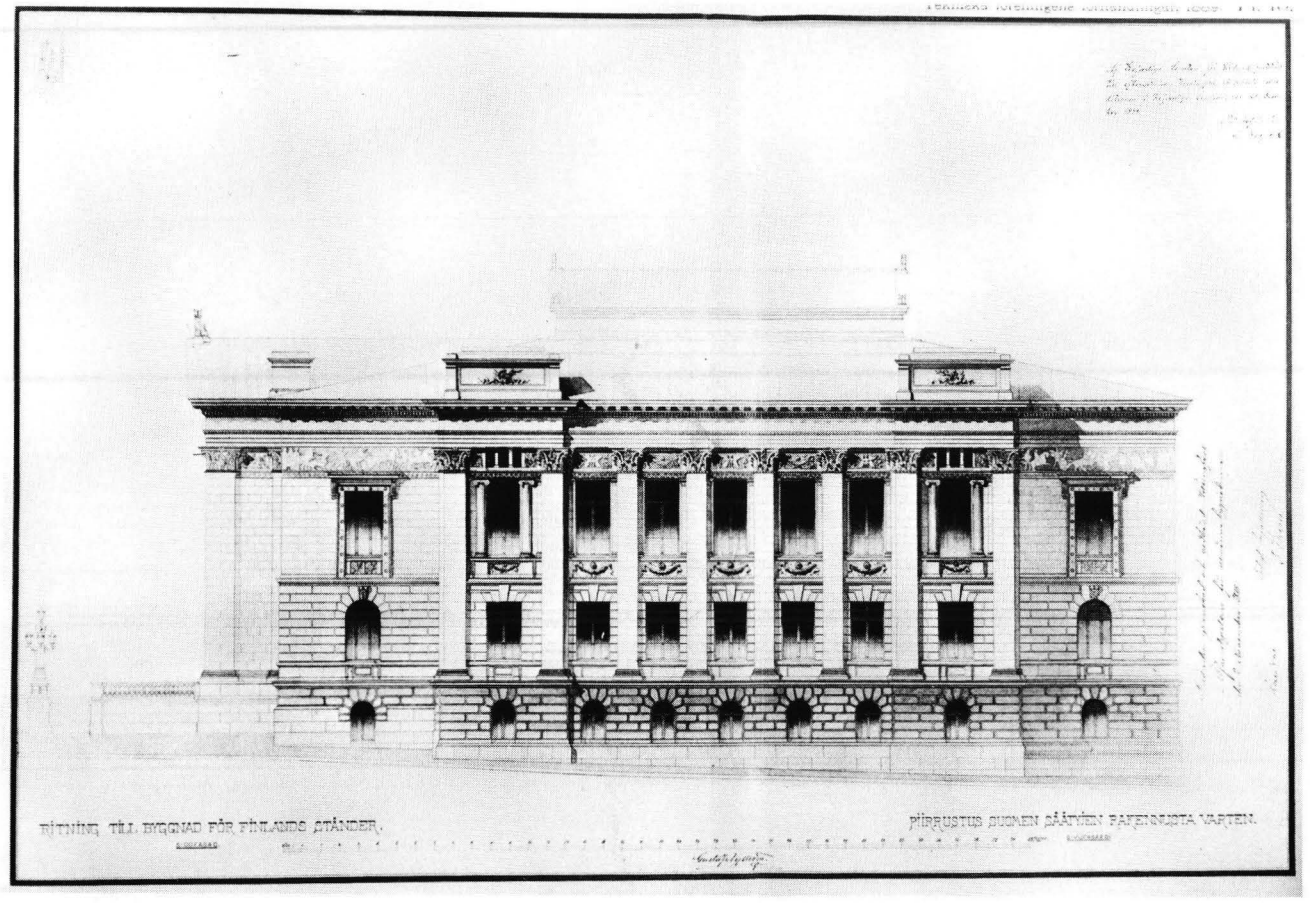


53. Frans Anatolius Sjöström, Proposed design for the House of the Estates. Tähtitorninmäki Hill, Helsinki. Main façade. 1883. Tieteellisten seurain valtuuskunta, Säätytalo 1:6. VA.

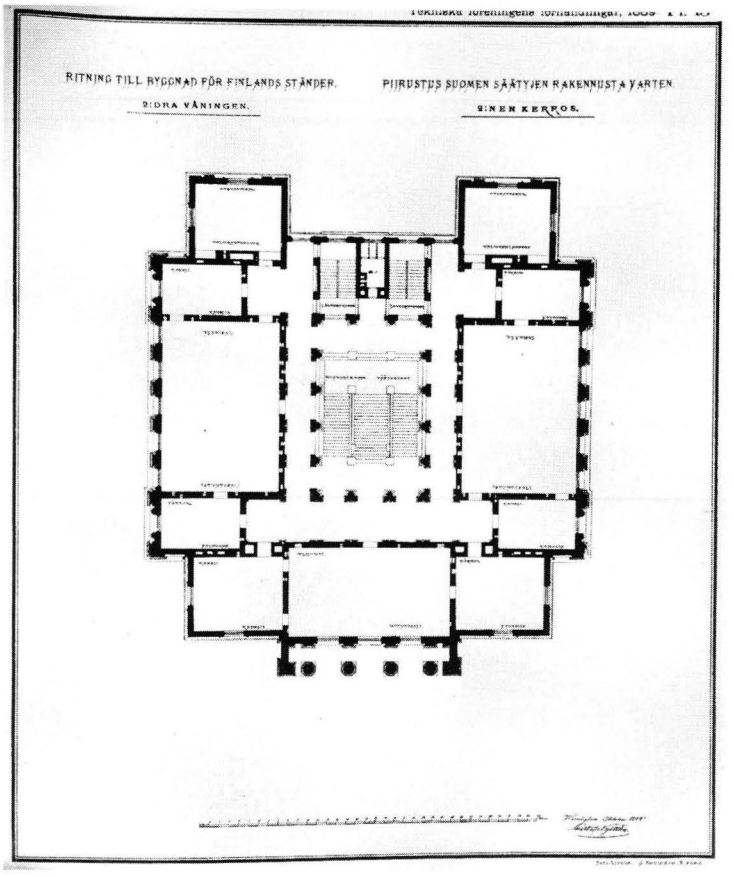
54. Frans Anatolius Sjöström, Proposed design for the House of the Estates. Tähtitorninmäki Hill, Helsinki. Main façade. 1883. Tieteellisten seurain valtuuskunta, Säätytalo 1:7. VA.



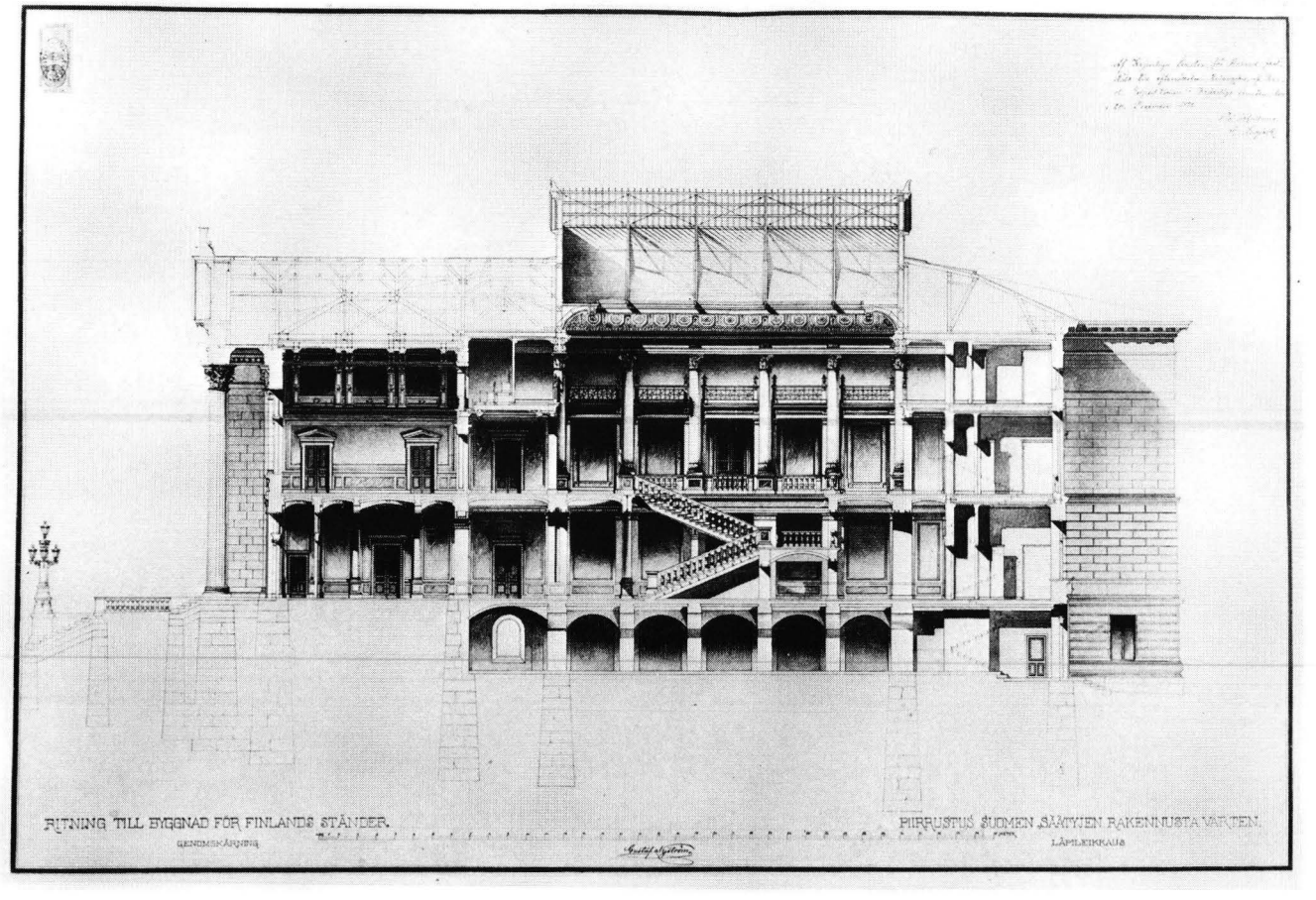
55. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the House of the Estates. Snellmaninkatu Street 9, Helsinki. Façade facing Snellmaninkatu. 1888. TFFF 1889.



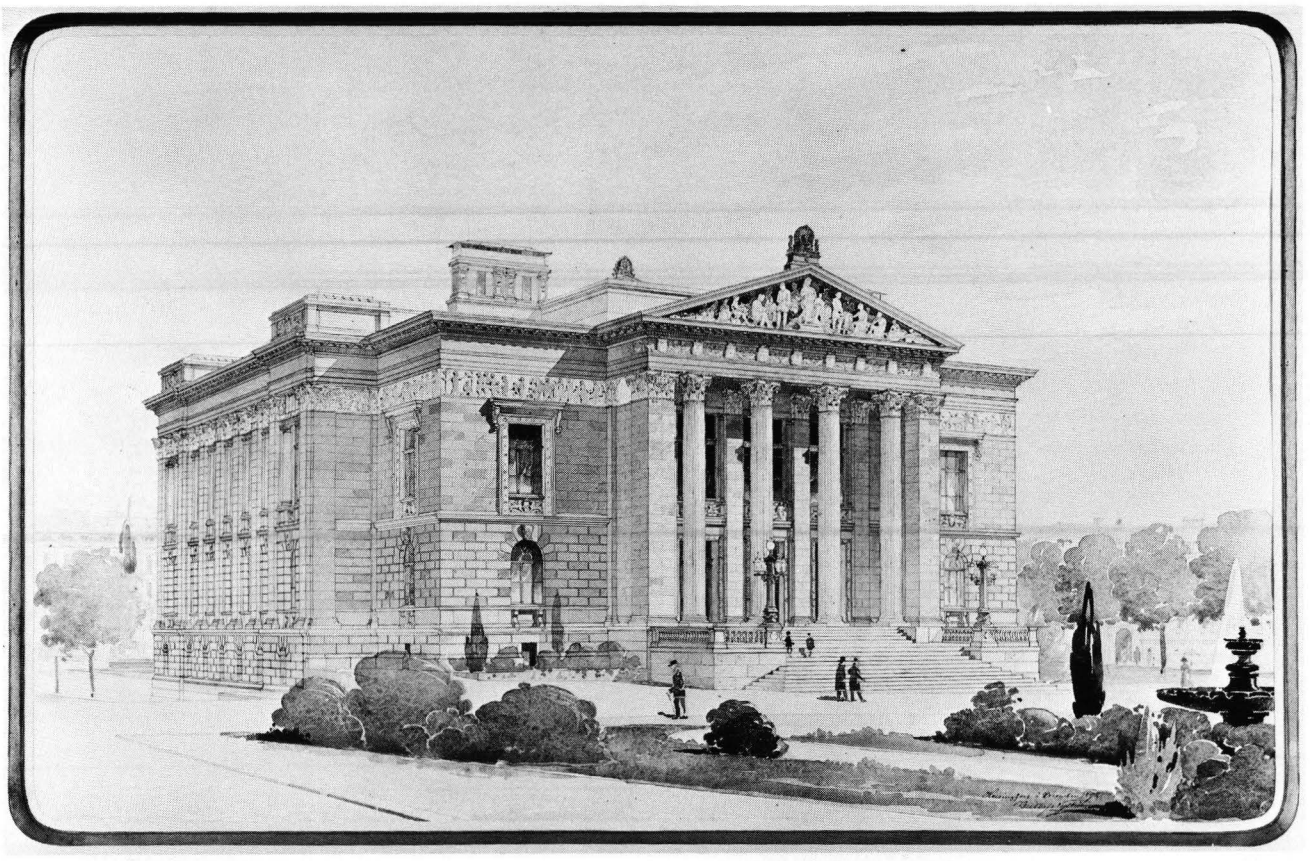
56. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the House of the Estates. Snellmaninkatu Street 9, Helsinki. Façade facing Kirkkokatu. 1888. TFFF 1889.



57. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the House of the Estates. Snellmaninkatu Street 9, Helsinki. Plan of the main floor. 1888. TFFF 1889.



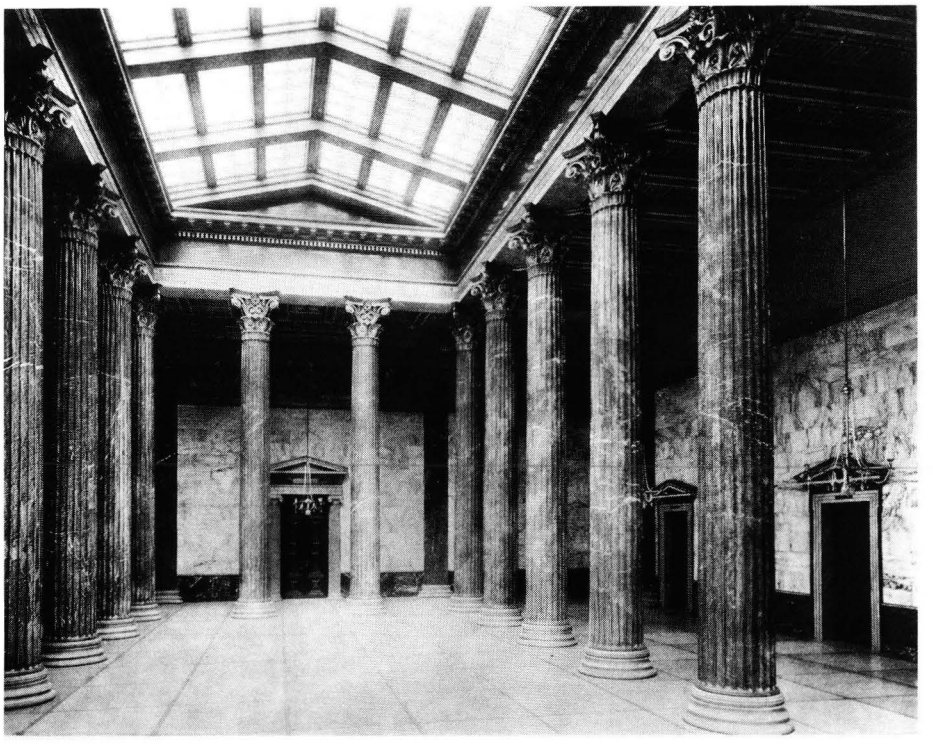
58. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the House of the Estates. Snellmaninkatu Street 9, Helsinki. Section. 1888. TFFF 1889.



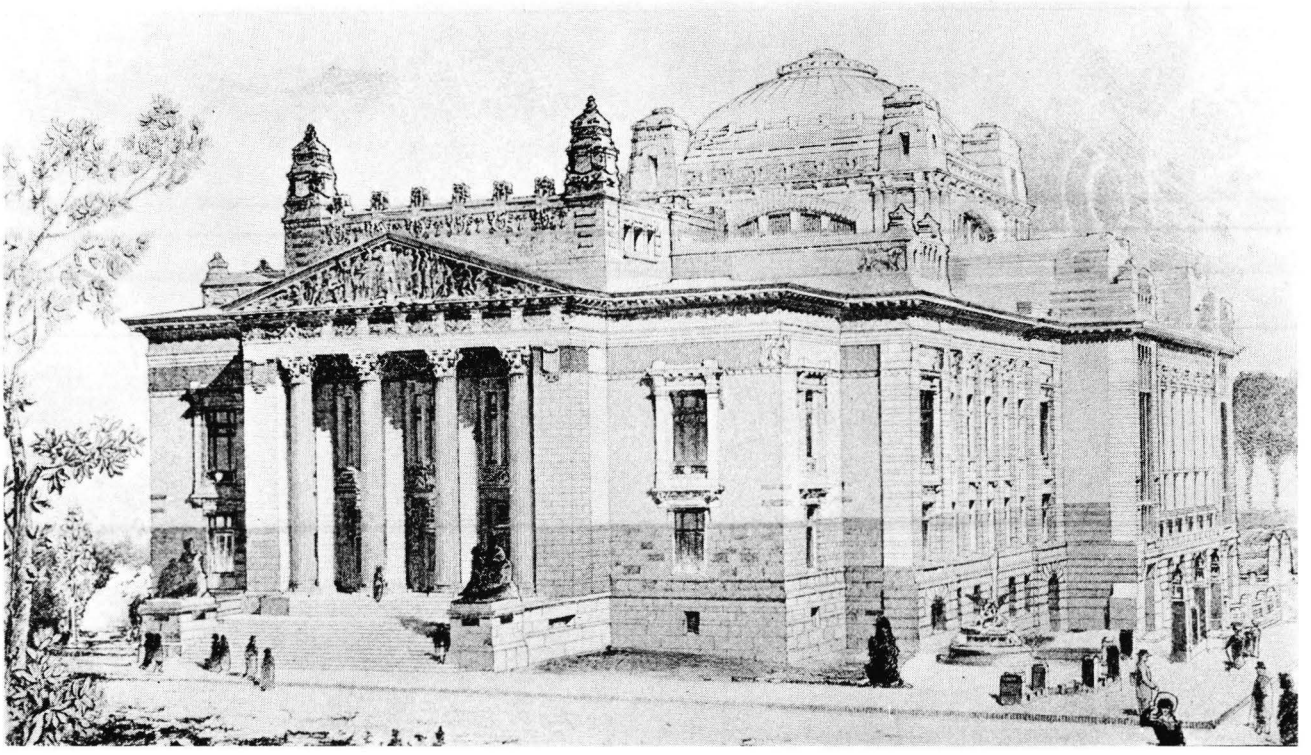
59. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the House of the Estates. Snellmaninkatu Street 9, Helsinki. Perspective. SRM.

60. Andrea Palladio, Villa Rotonda. Palladio i dag, p. 69.

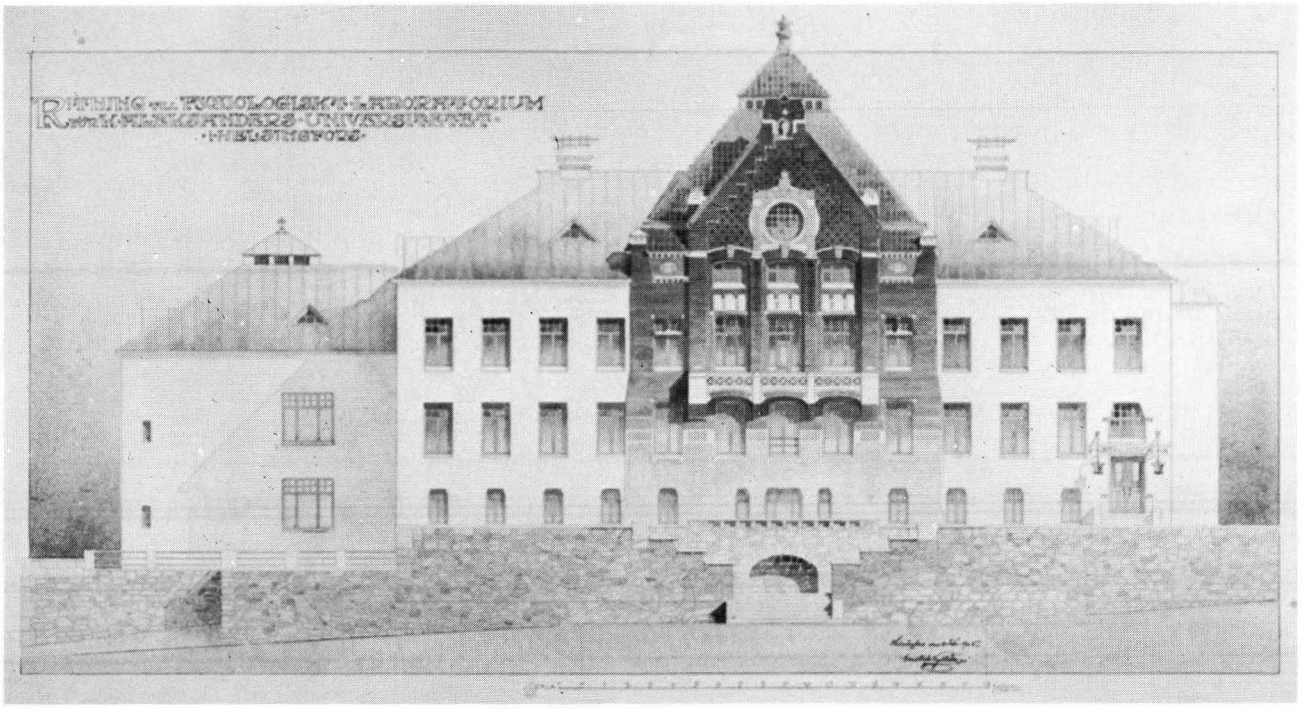
61. Gustaf Nyström, The House of the Estates. Snellmaninkatu Street 9, Helsinki. The staircase. Designed 1888. Photo I. Racz. SRM.



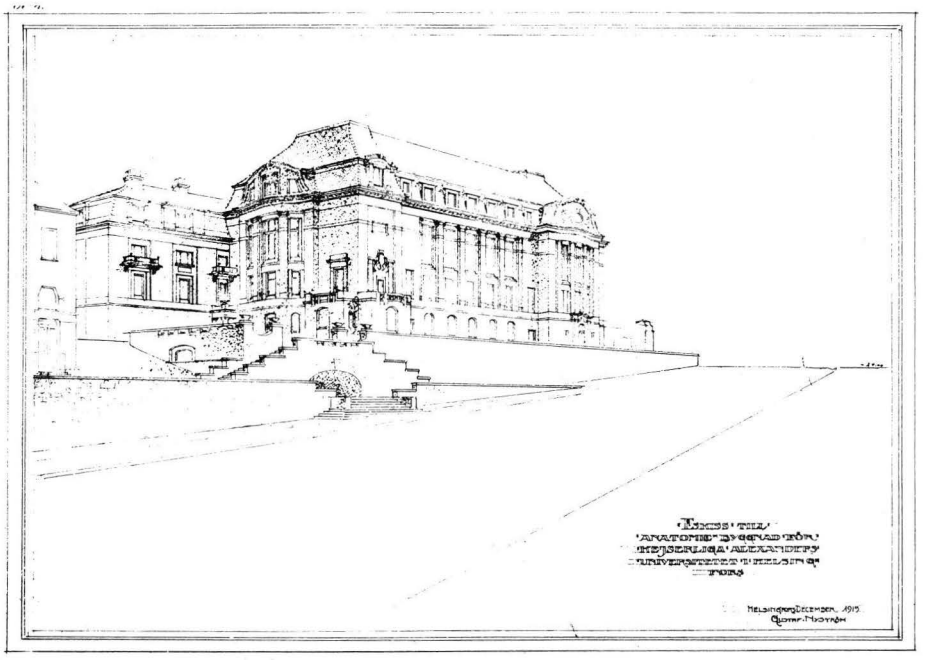
62. Theophil von Hansen, The House of Parliament. Vienna. The Peristyle. 1884. Das K.K. Reichsraths-Gebäude s.a.



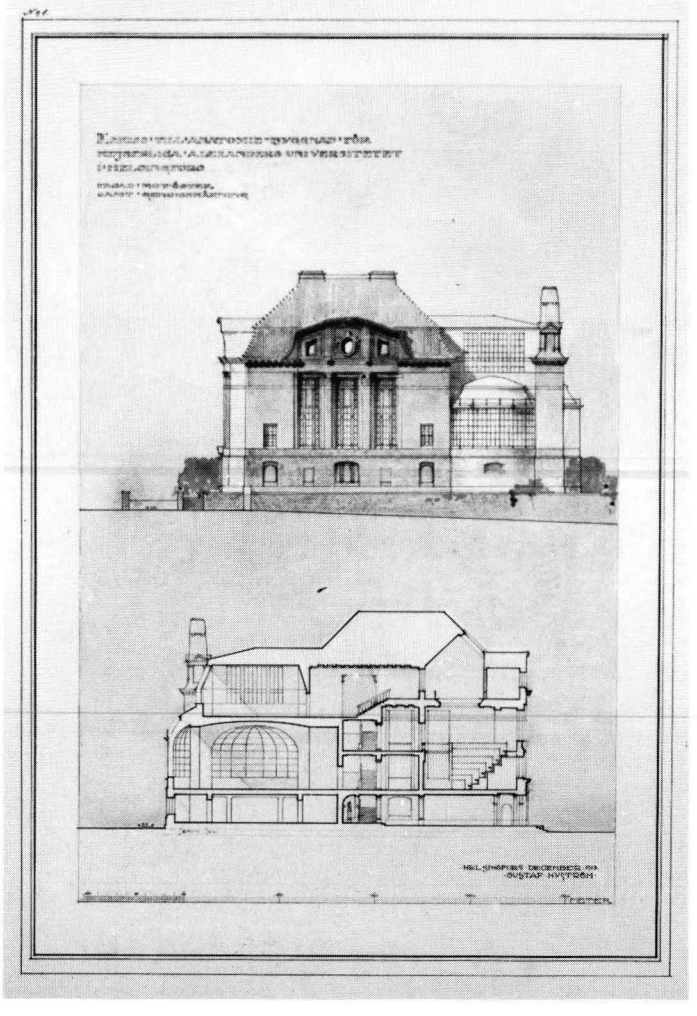
63. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the House of Parliament. Snellmaninkatu Street 9, Helsinki. 1907. TFFF 1907.



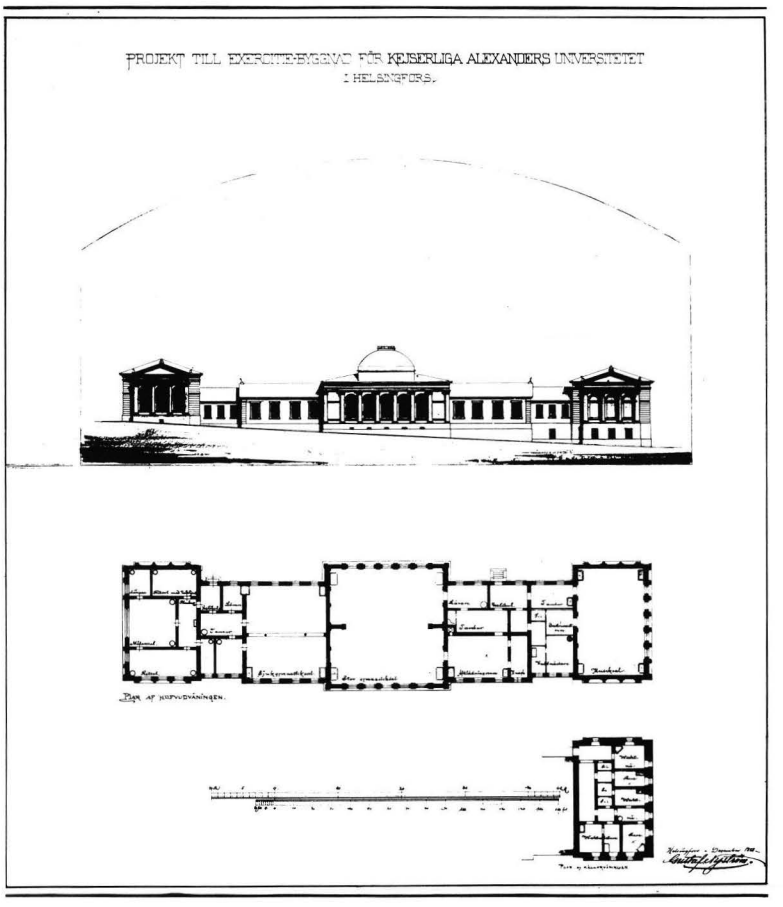
64. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Department of Physiology. Siltavuorenpenger Street 20 J, Helsinki. 10.2.1905. HYM.



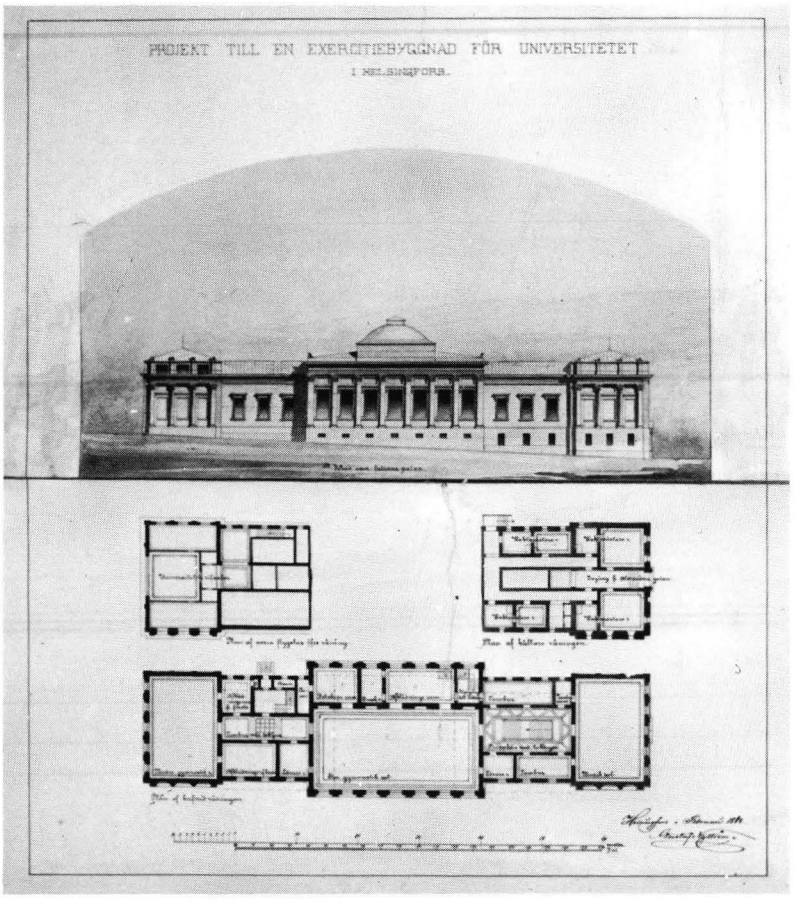
65. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Department of Anatomy. Siltavuorenpenger Street 20 A, Helsinki. Perspective. December 1913. HYM.



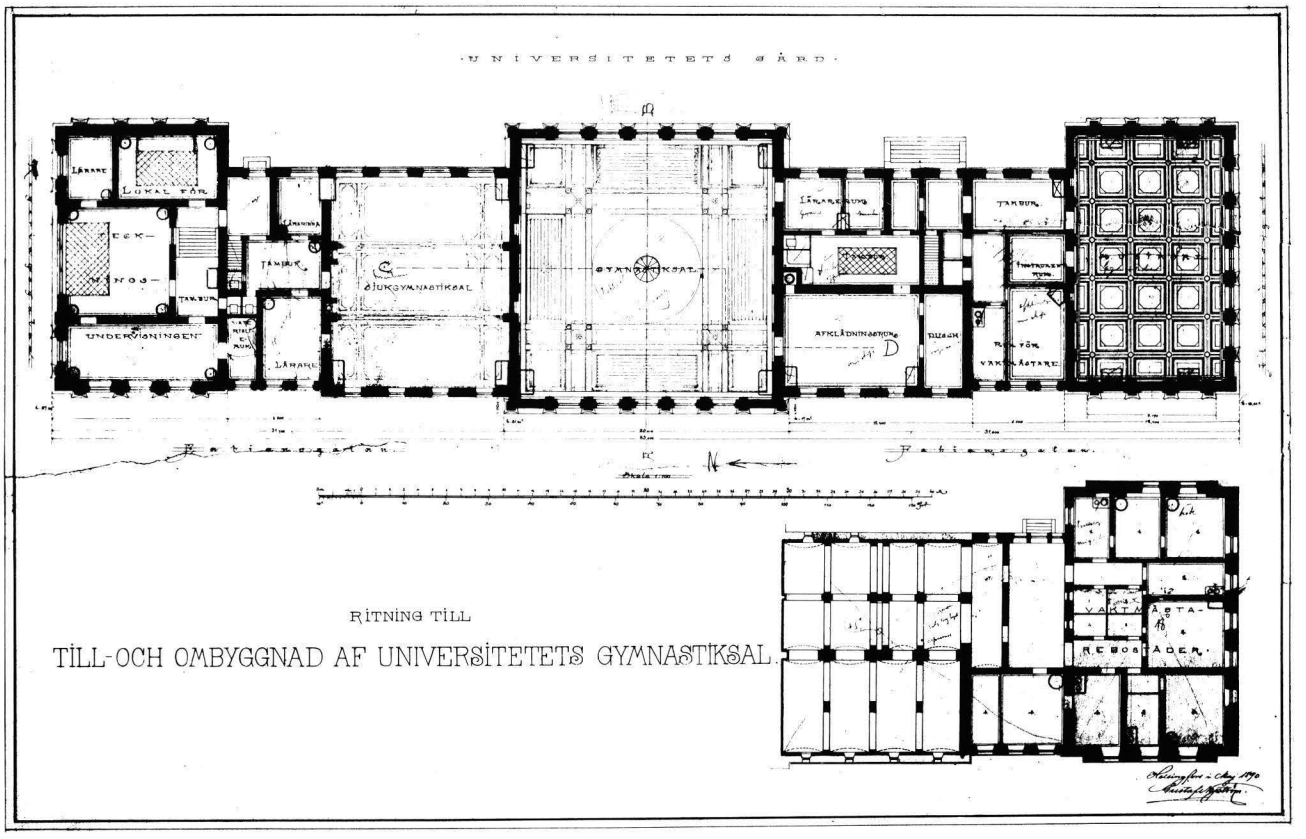
66. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Department of Anatomy. Siltavuorenpenger Street 20 A, Helsinki. Façade facing east and section. December 1913. HYM.



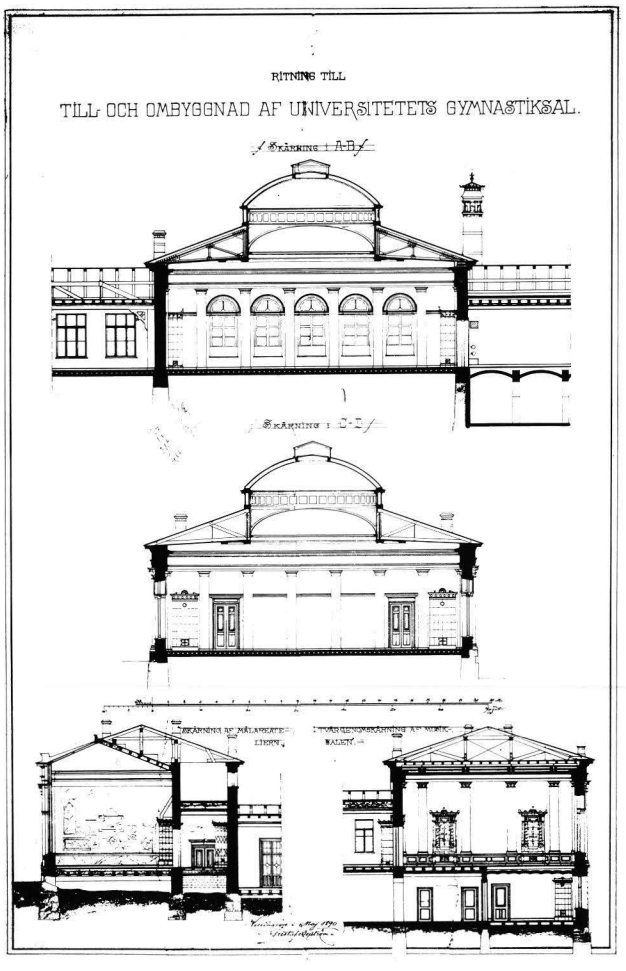
67. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the University Gymnasium. Fabianinkatu Street 33, Helsinki. February 1888. HYM.



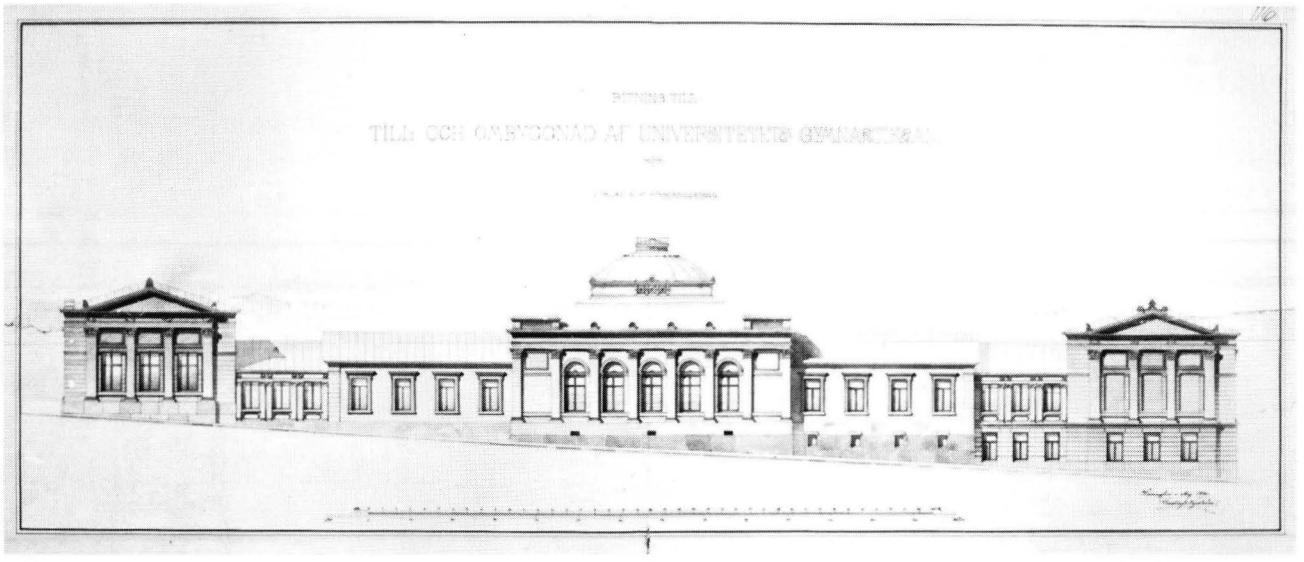
68. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Gymnasium. Fabianinkatu Street 33, Helsinki. December 1888. HYM.



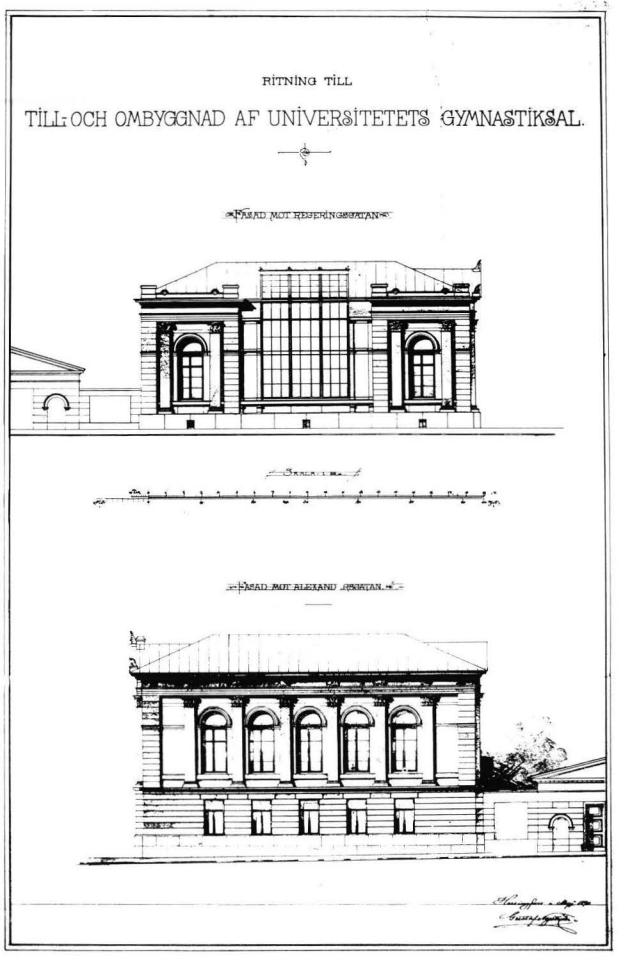
69. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Gymnasium. Fabianinkatu Street 33, Helsinki. Plan. May 1890. HYM.



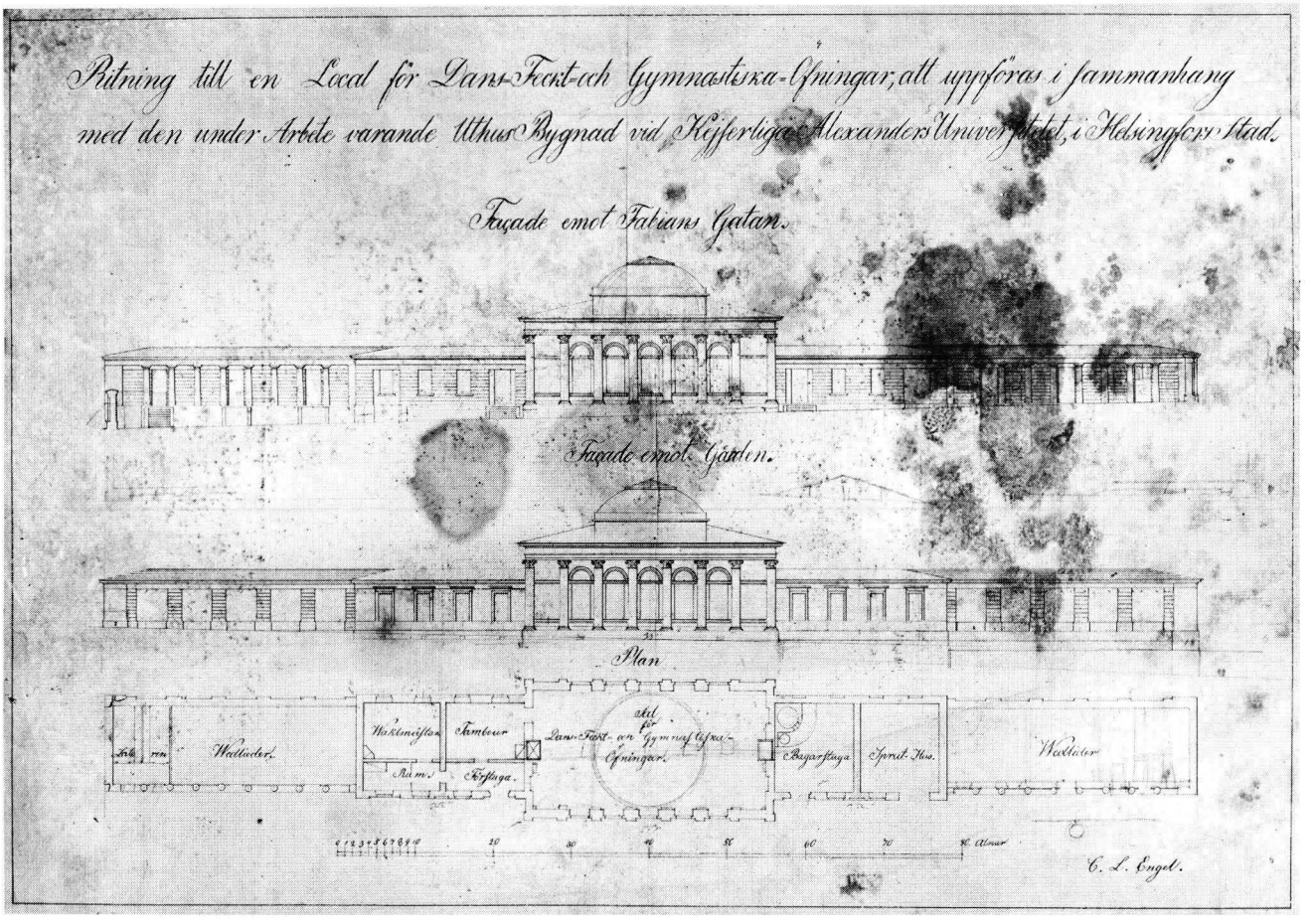
70. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Gymnasium. Fabianinkatu Street 33, Helsinki. Section. May 1890. HYM.



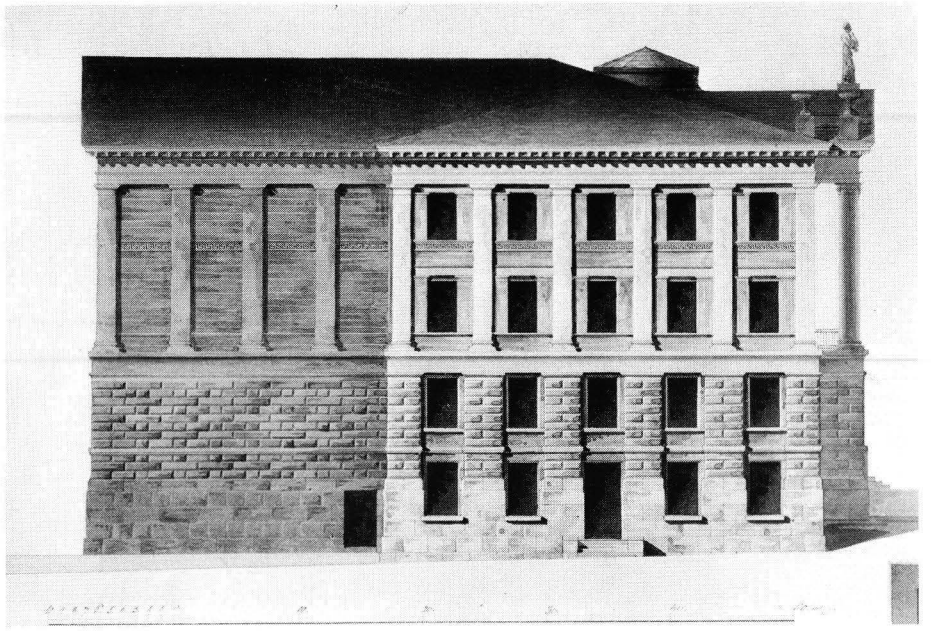
71. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Gymnasium. Fabianinkatu Street 33, Helsinki. Façade facing Fabianinkatu. May 1890. HYM.



72. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the extension of the University Gymnasium. Fabianinkatu Street 33, Helsinki. Façades facing Hallituskatu and Aleksanterinkatu. May 1890. HYM.

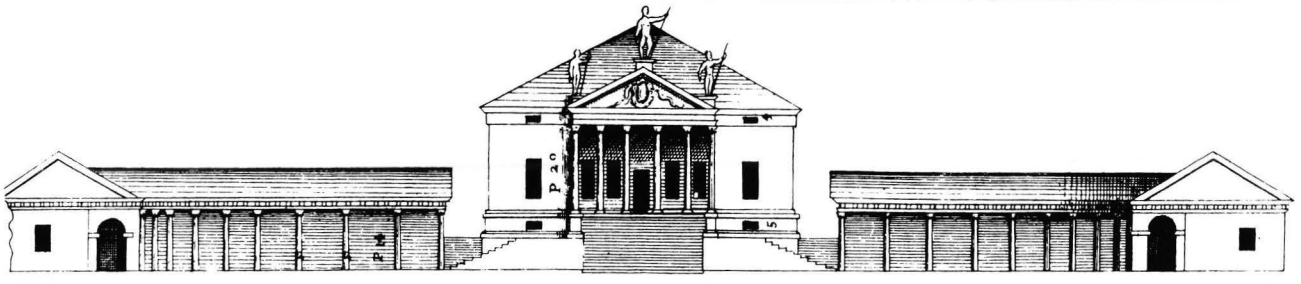


73. Carl Ludvig Engel, Design for the University Gymnasium. Fabianinkatu Street 33, Helsinki. 1833. Photo SRM.

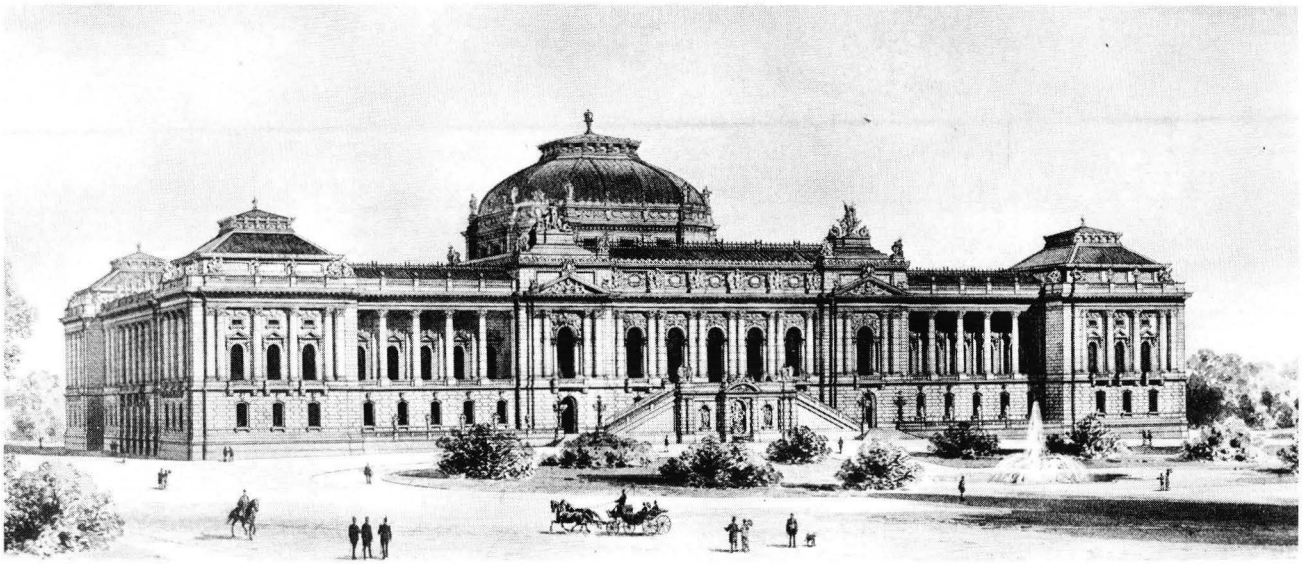


74. Carl Ludvig Engel, Proposed design for the University Main Building. Unioninkatu Street 34, Façade facing Aleksanterinkatu. Helsinki. 1828. RHA Ida 31:8. VA.

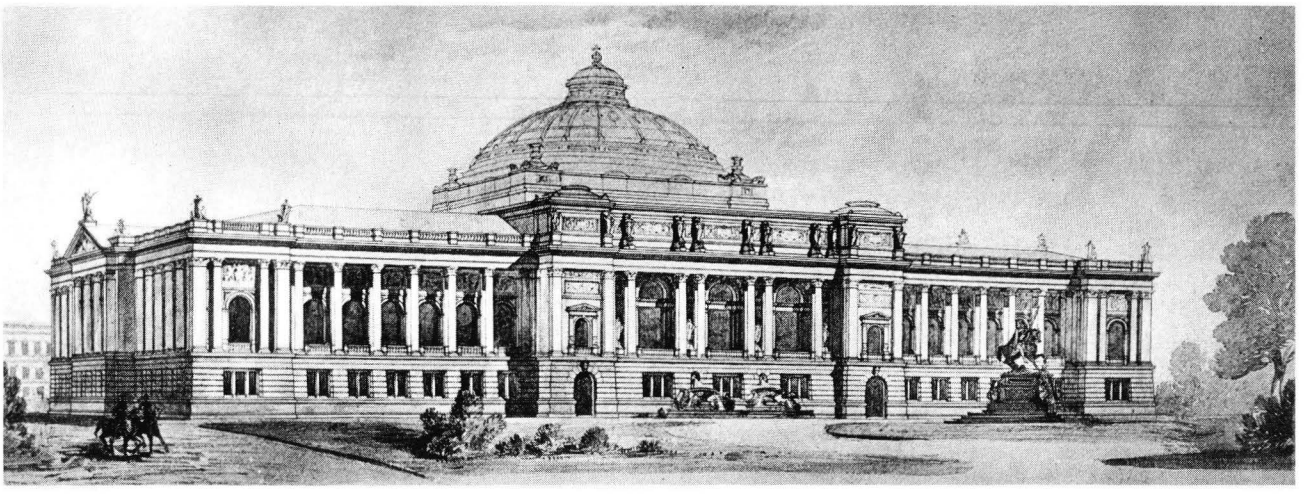
75. Pehr Granstedt and Carl Ludvig Engel, The former Imperial Palace. Pohjoisesplanadi Street 1, Helsinki. Designed 1817. Photo C. Grünberg ca. 1959. HKM.



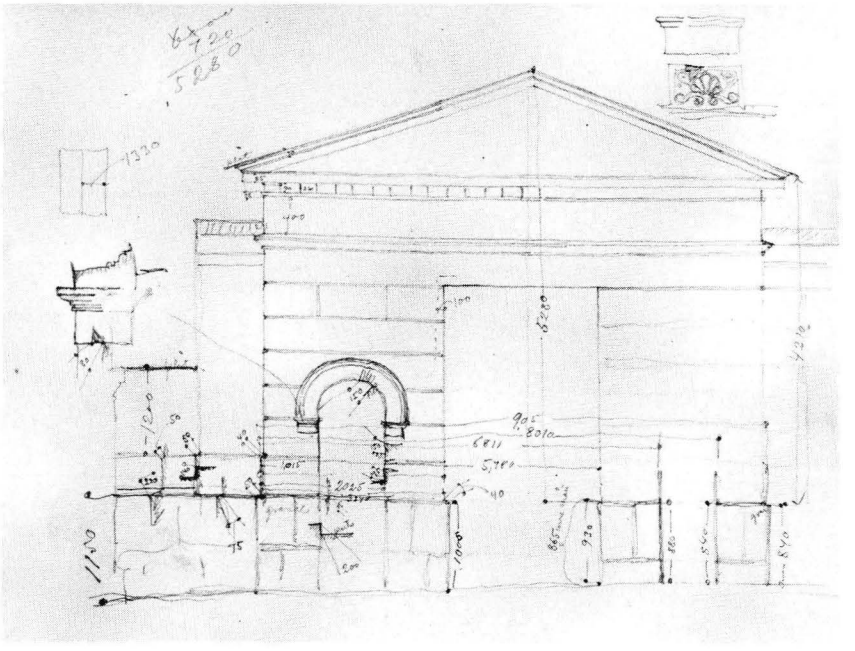
76. Andrea Palladio, Design for a villa. The Four Books of Andrea Palladio 1738, Vol. 2, pl. XXXI.



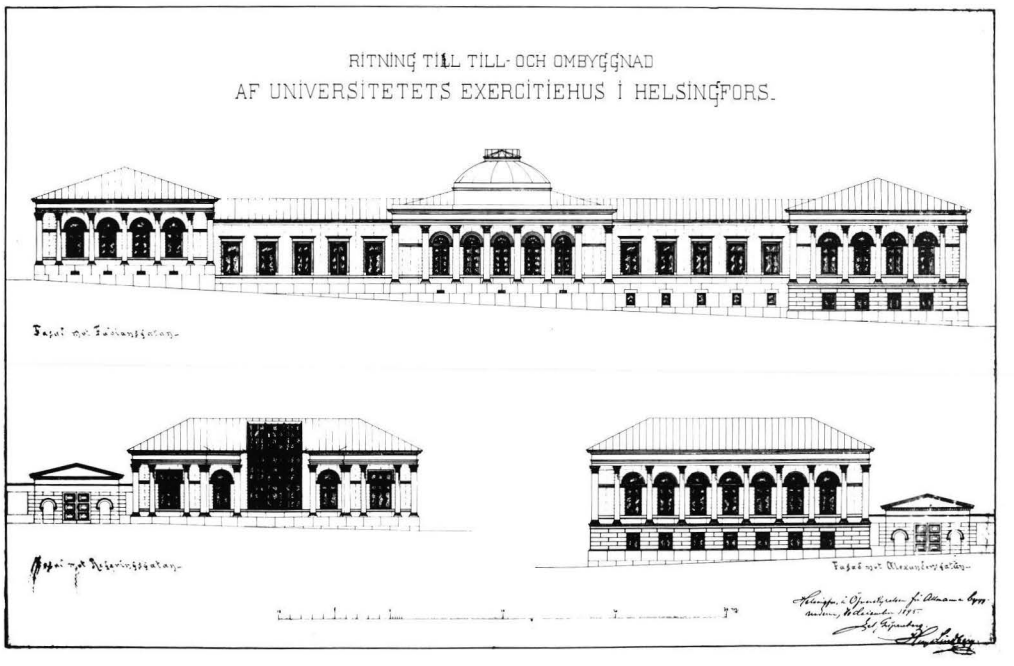
77. Schmieden & Speer, Design for the ***Reichstag*** *Building. Berlin. 1882. Auswahl aus der Entwürfe zum Deutschen Reichstagsgebäude 1883, pl. 26.*



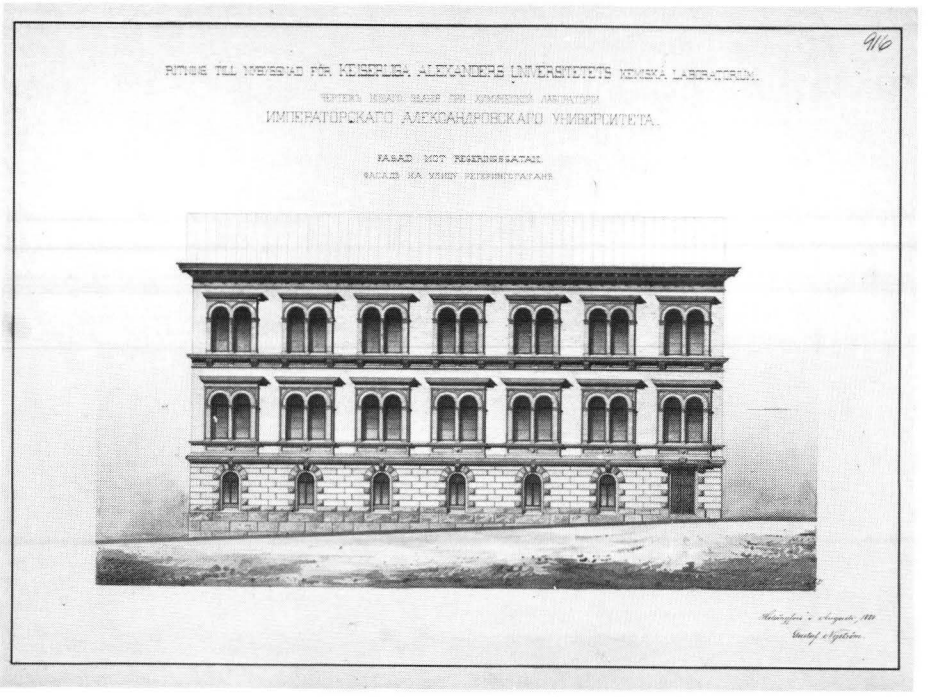
78. Fr. Schulze, Design for the ***Reichstag*** *Building. Berlin. 1882. Auswahl aus der Entwürfe zum Deutschen Reichstagsgebäude 1883, pl. 87.*



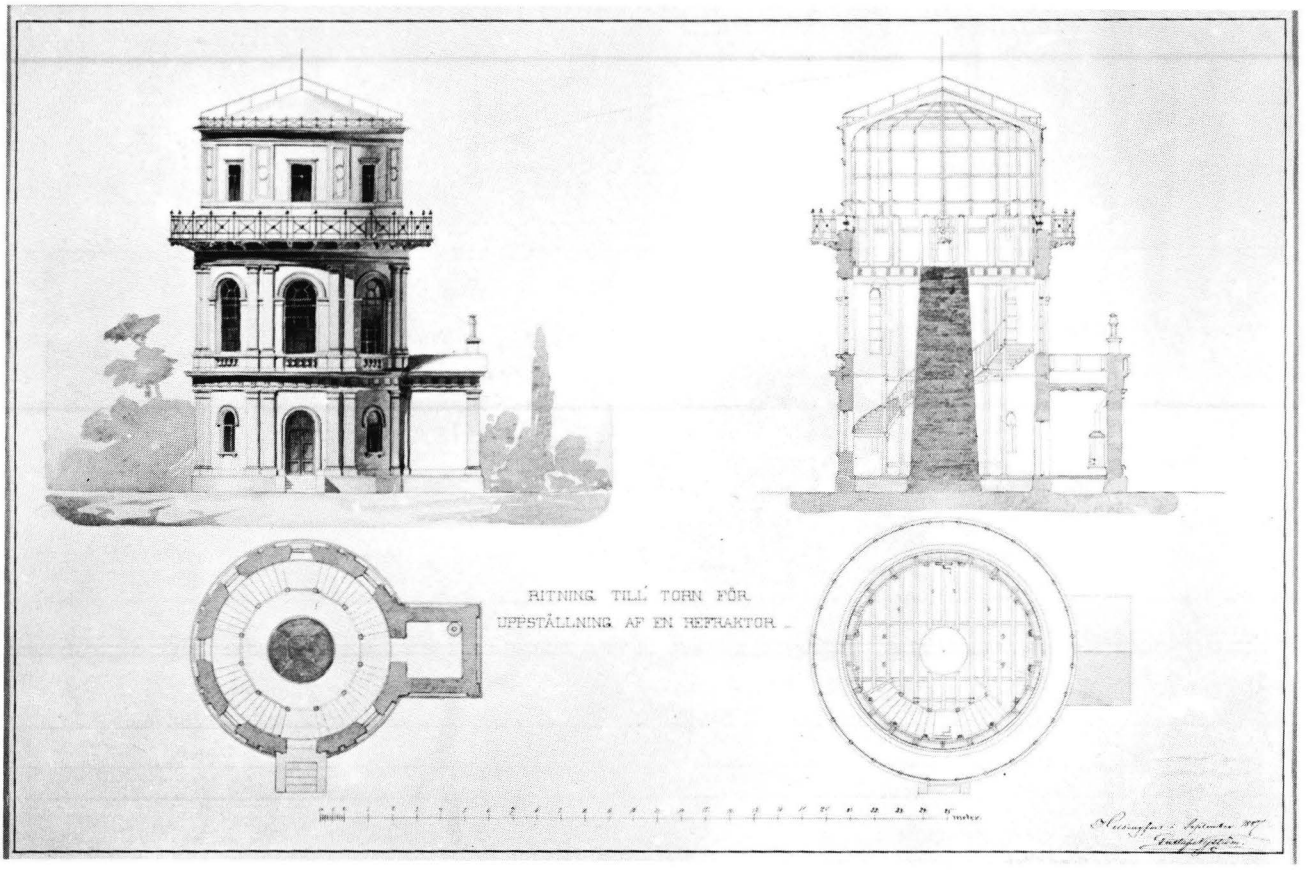
79. Gustaf Nyström, Measurement of the gateway to the courtyard of the University Main Building. Gustaf Nyström's sketchbook. TKK.



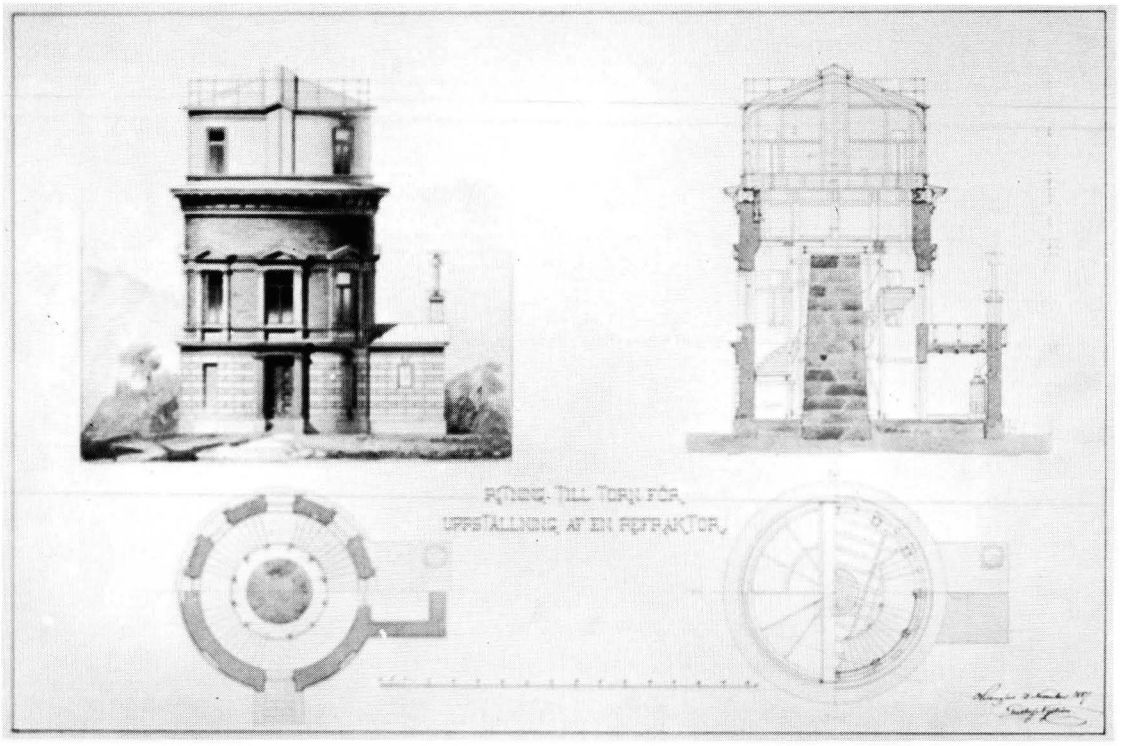
80. The Board of Public Works and Buildings, The extension of the University Gymnasium. Fabianinkatu Street 33, Helsinki. 30.12. 1895. HYM.



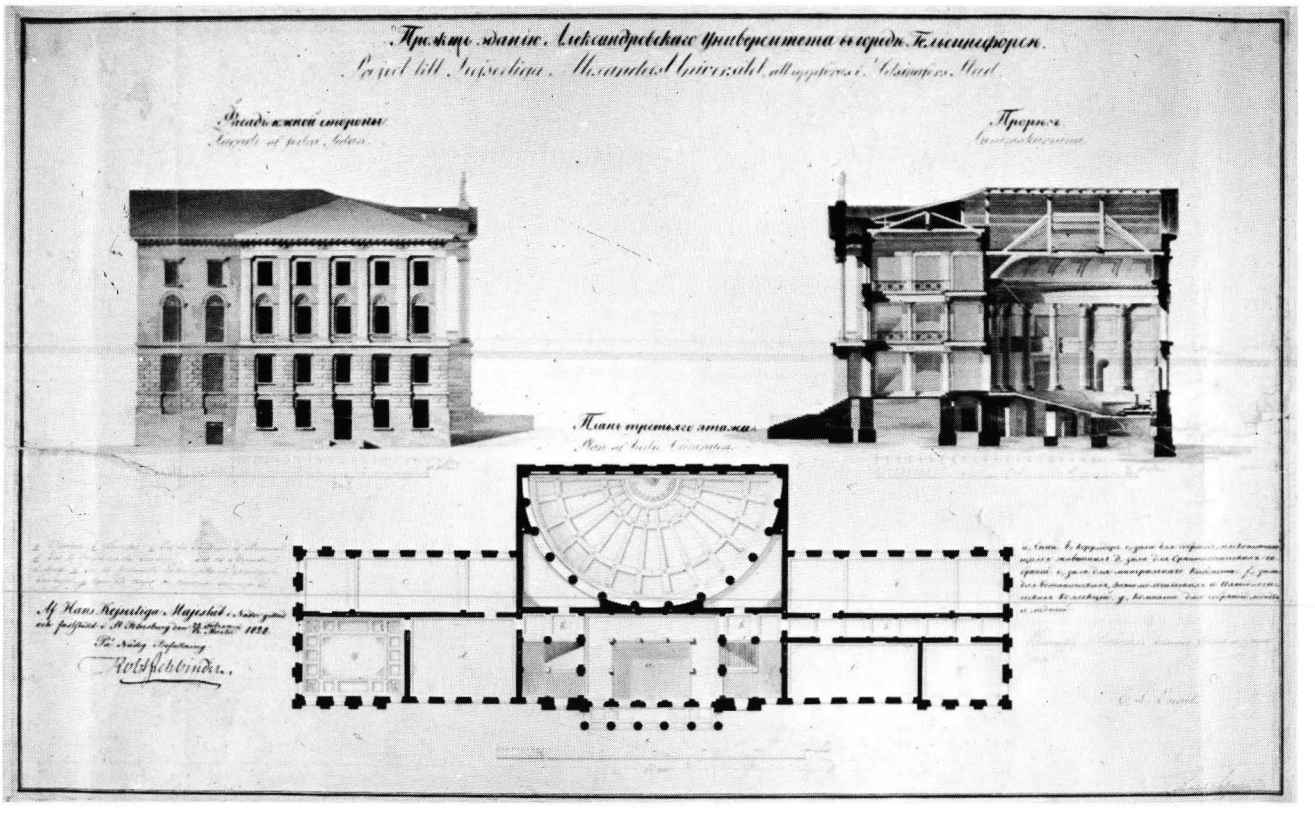
81. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the building of the Department of Chemistry. Hallituskatu Street 5, Helsinki. August 1884. HYM.



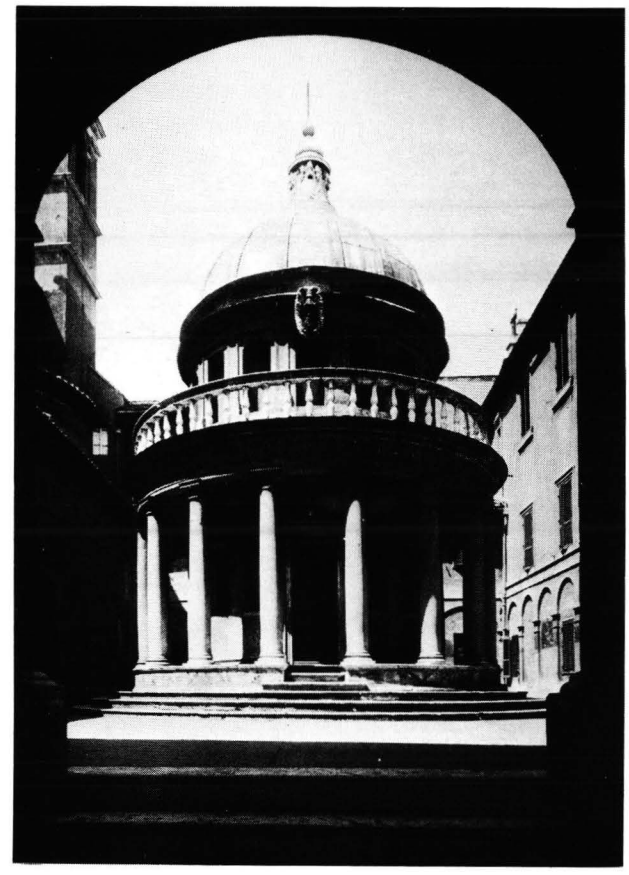
82. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the Refractor Tower. Tähtitorninmäki Hill. September 1887. HYM.



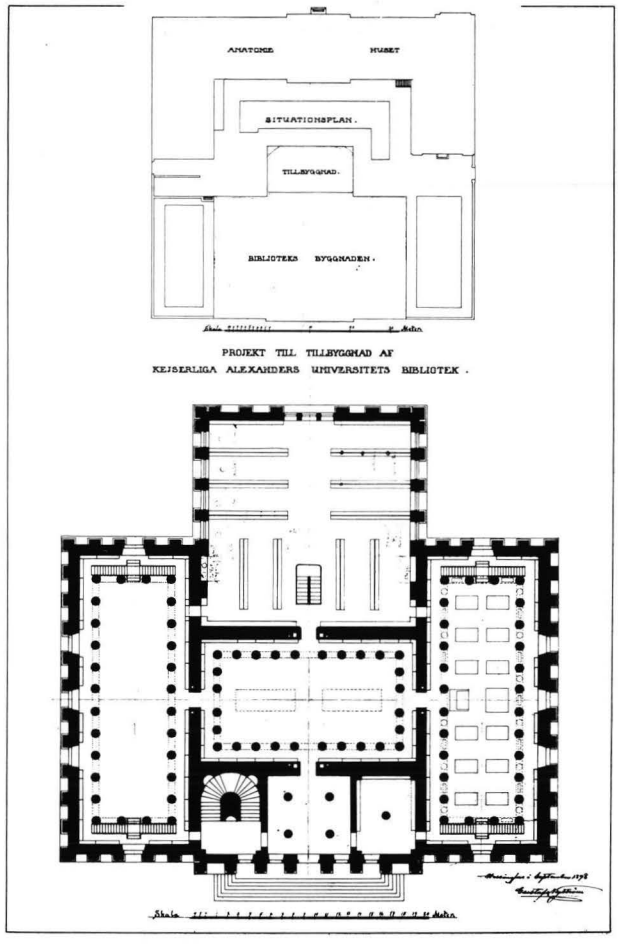
83. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the Refractor Tower. Tähtitorninmäki Hill. 12.11.1887. HYM.



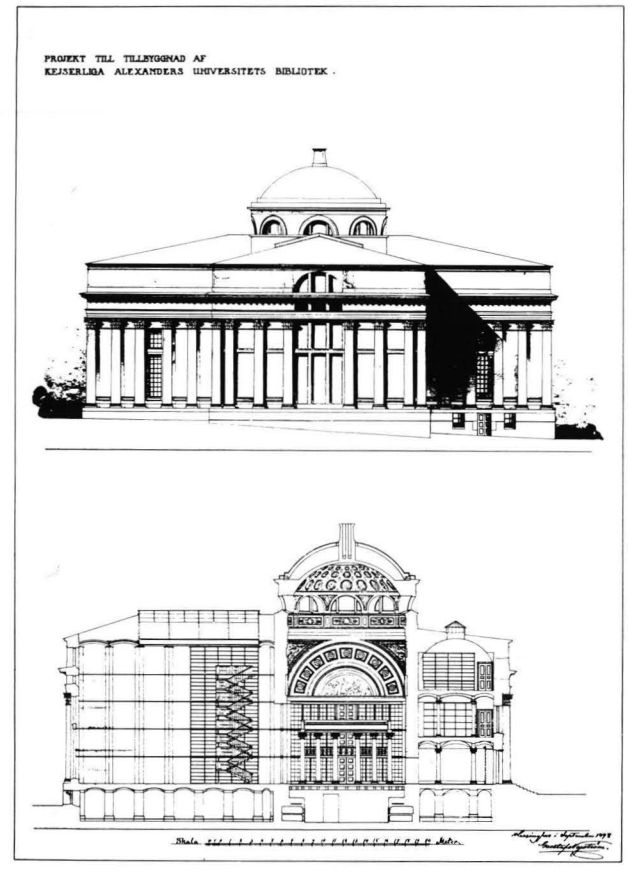
84. Carl Ludvig Engel, Design for the University Main Building. Unioninkatu Street 34, Helsinki. Façade facing Aleksanterinkatu, section and plan. 1828. HYM.



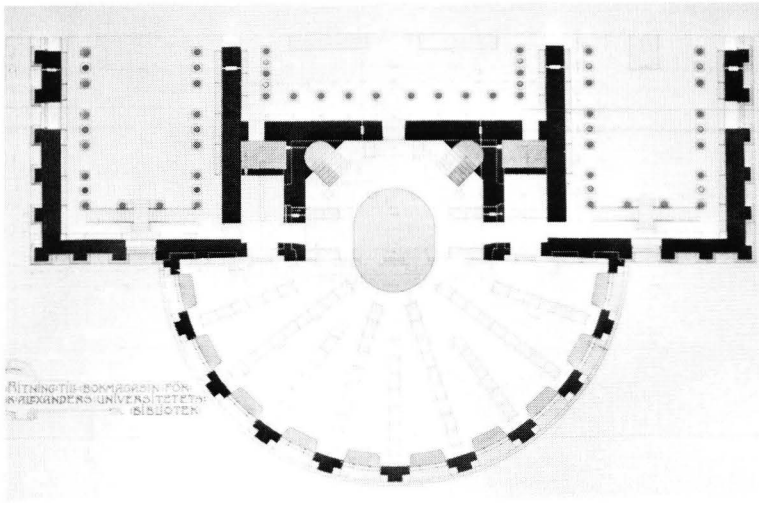
85. Bramante, Tempietto. Rome. Bruschi 1977, p. 128.



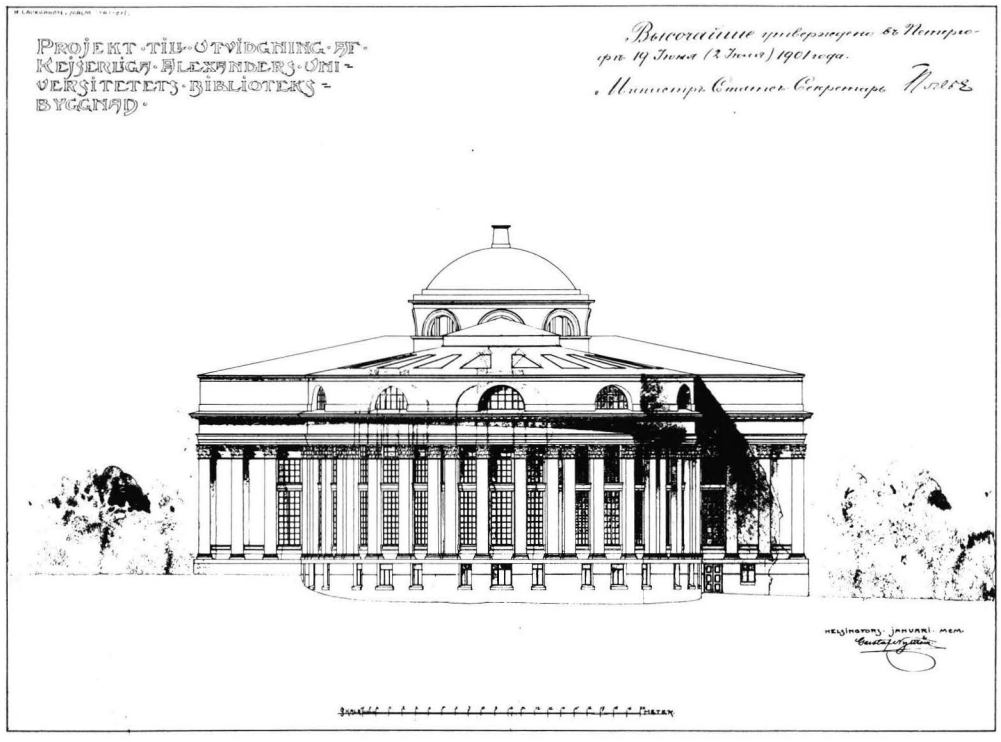
86. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the Book Repository of the University Library. Unioninkatu Street 36, Helsinki. Plan. September 1898. HYM.



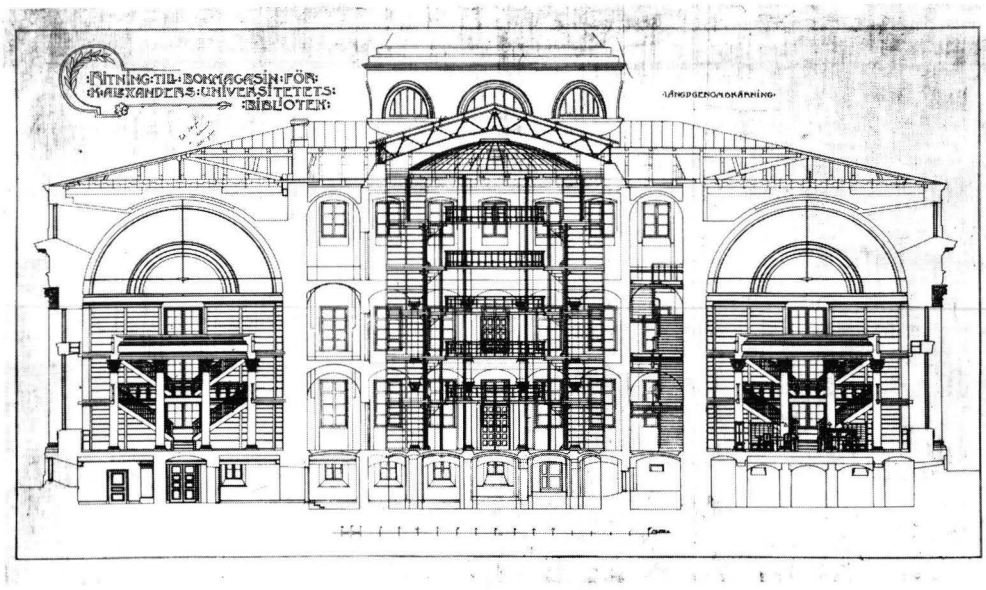
87. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the Book Repository of the University Library. Unioninkatu Street 36, Helsinki. Façade and section. September 1898. HYM.



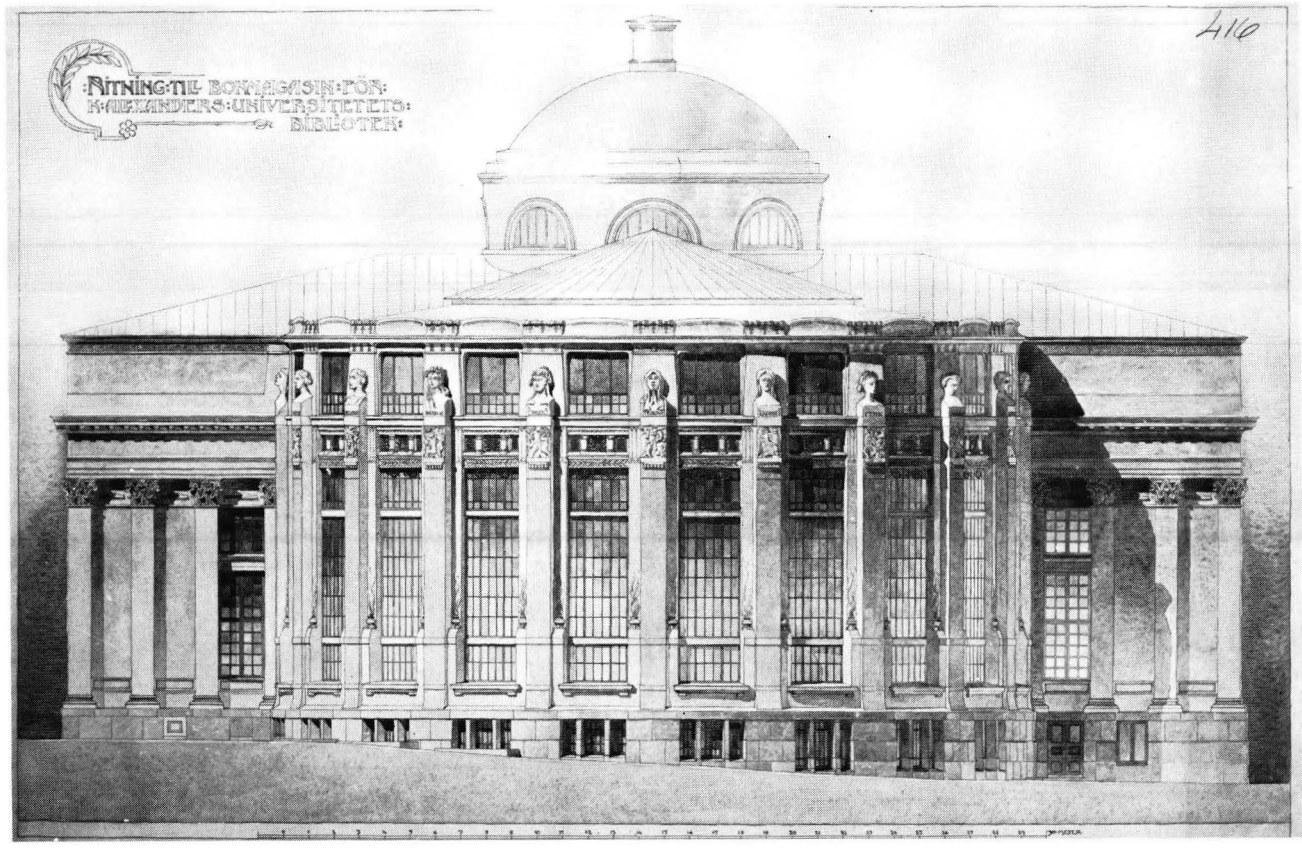
88. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the Book Repository of the University Library. Unioninkatu Street 36, Helsinki. Plan. Ca. 1904—05. HYM.



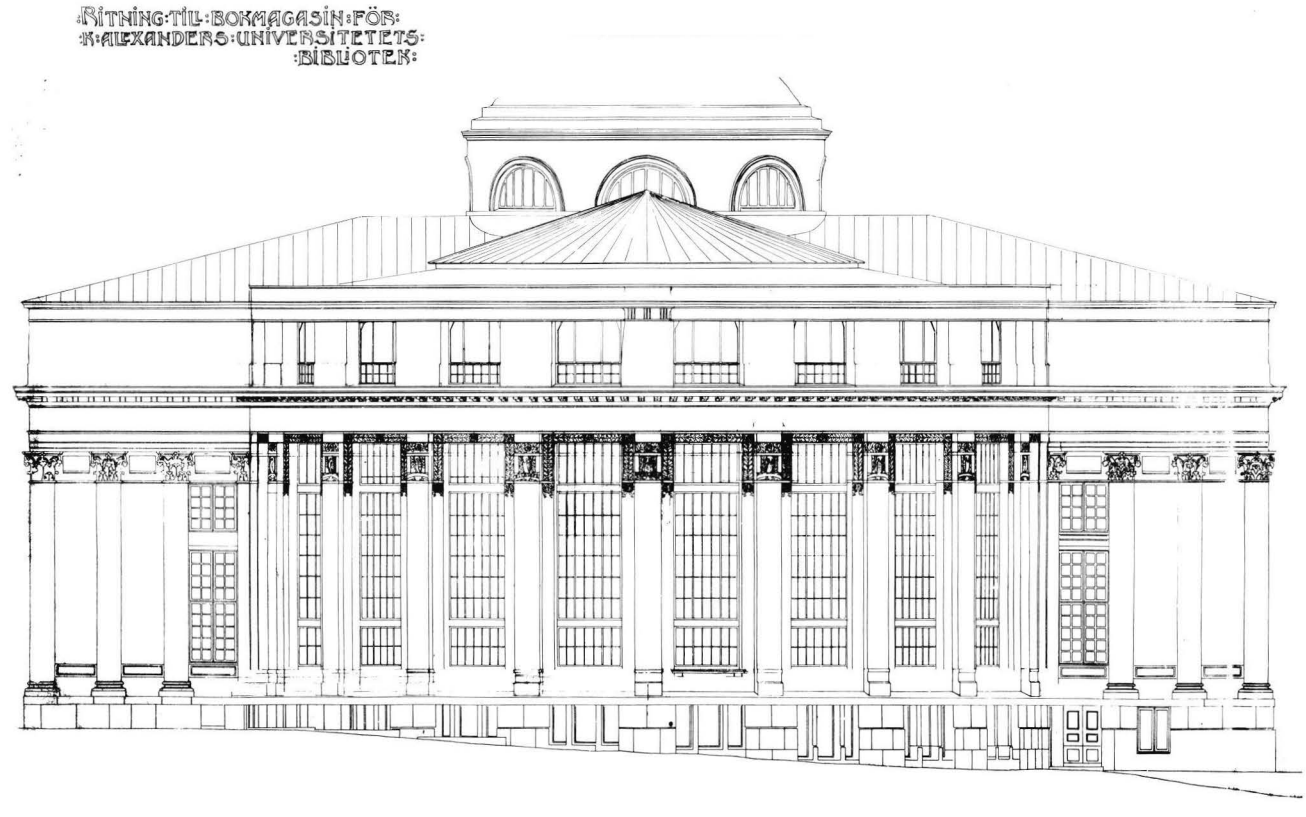
89. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the Book Repository of the University Library. Unioninkatu Street 36, Helsinki. Façade. January 1900. HYM.



90. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the Book Repository of the University Library. Unioninkatu Street 36, Helsinki. Section. Ca. 1904—05. HYM.

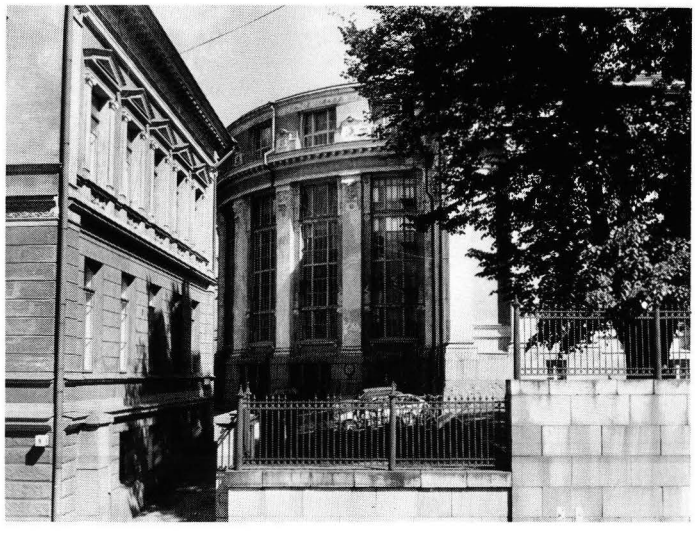


91. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the Book Repository of the University Library. Unioninkatu Street 36, Helsinki. Façade ('Project no. 3'). Ca. 1904—05. HYM.

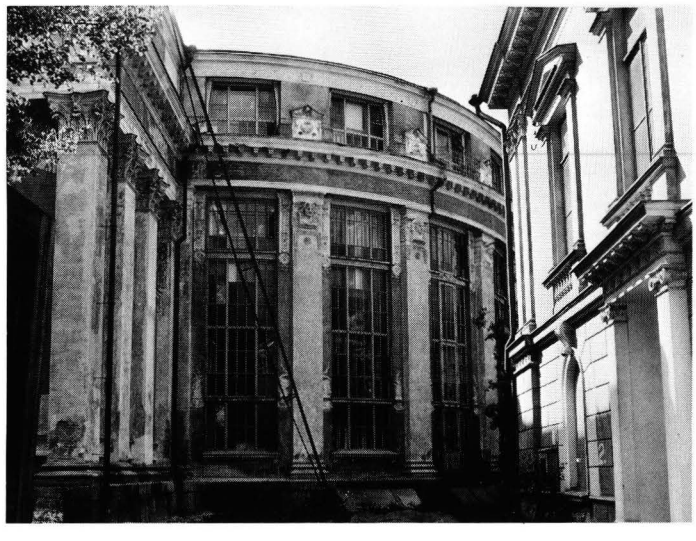


92. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the Book Repository of the University Library. Unioninkatu Street 36, Helsinki. Façade ('Project no. 4'). Ca. 1904—05. HYM.

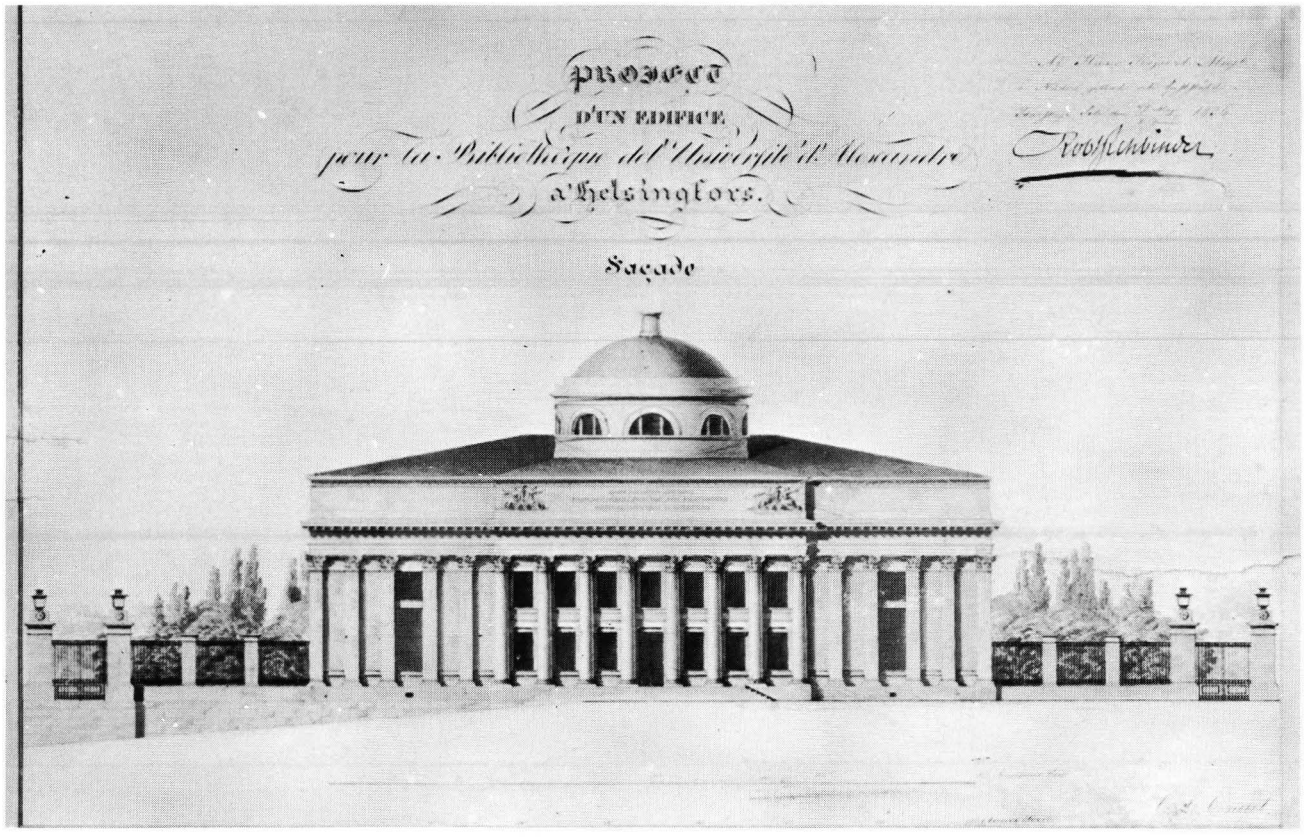
93. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the Book Repository of the University Library. Unioninkatu Street 36, Helsinki. Façade ('Project no. 5'). Ca. 1904—05. HYM.



94. Gustaf Nyström, The Book Repository of the University Library (1902—06) with the Department of Pharmacy on the left. Photo V. Lukkarinen 1989.

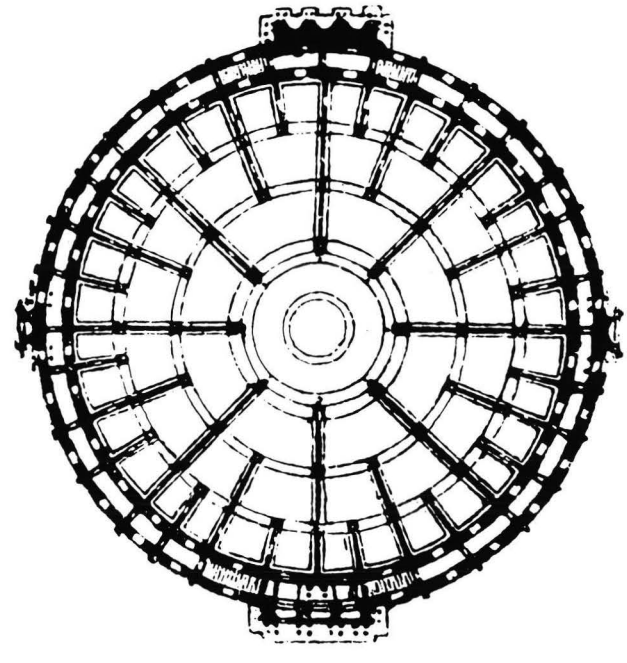


95. Gustaf Nyström, The Book Repository of the University Library (1902—06) with the former Department of Anatomy on the right. Photo V. Lukkarinen 1989.

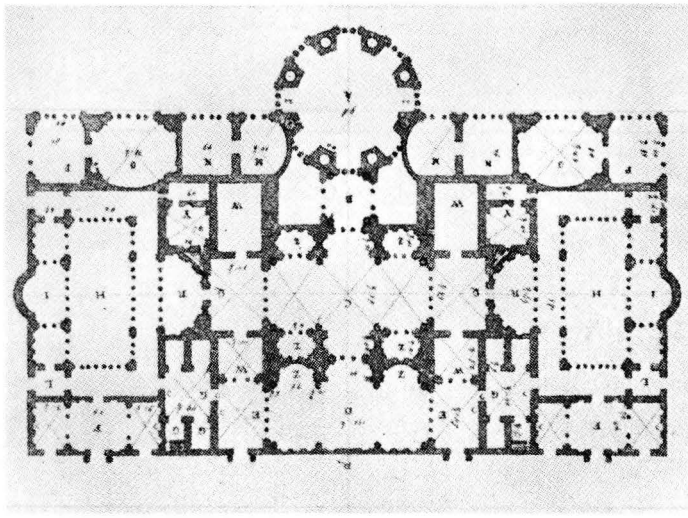


96. Carl Ludvig Engel, Design for the University Library. Unioninkatu Street 36, Helsinki. 1833. Photo HYM.

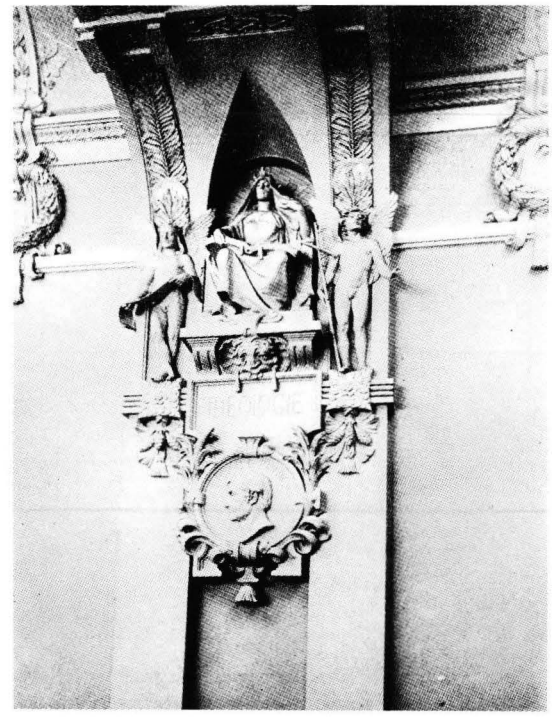
97. James Gibbs, The Radcliffe Camera. Oxford. 1737—49. Downes 1966, pl. 539.



98. Benjamin Delessert, Bibliothèque Royale. Paris. 1835. Handbuch der Architektur IV:6:4.

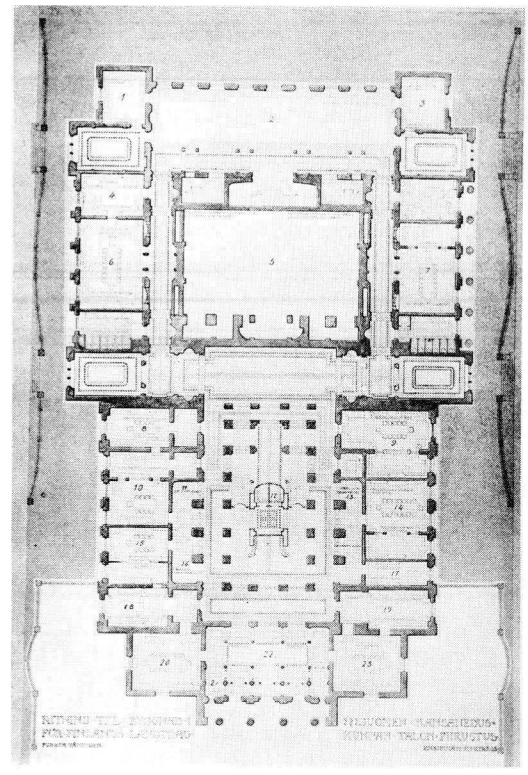


99. The Terms of Caracalla. Rome. Lundberg 1951, p. 526.

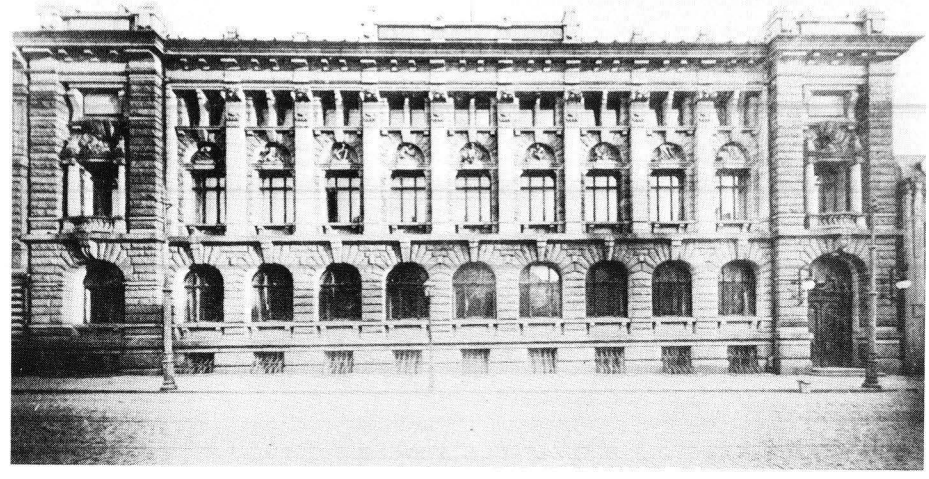


100. J.Dum, The decorations of the reading-room of the Library of the University of Heidelberg. 1900—05. Crass 1976, pl. 143.

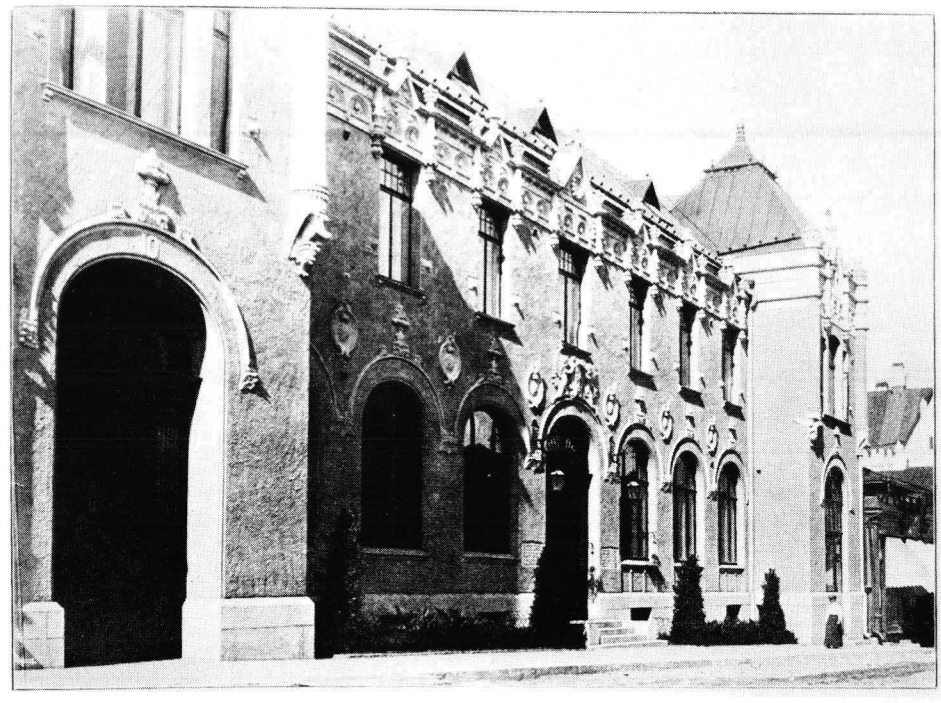
101. The corner of the building of the Departments of Anatomy, Pharmacy, Physiology and Hygiene. On the left the Fabianinkatu façade, on the right the Hallituskatu façade. Photo V. Lukkarinen 1989.



102. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the House of Parliament. Snellmaninkatu Street 9, Helsinki. Plan. 1907. TFFF 1907.



103. Gustaf Nyström, The Finnish Union Bank. Aleksanterinkatu Street 36, Helsinki. Designed 1896. Ringbom 1978a, p. 218.

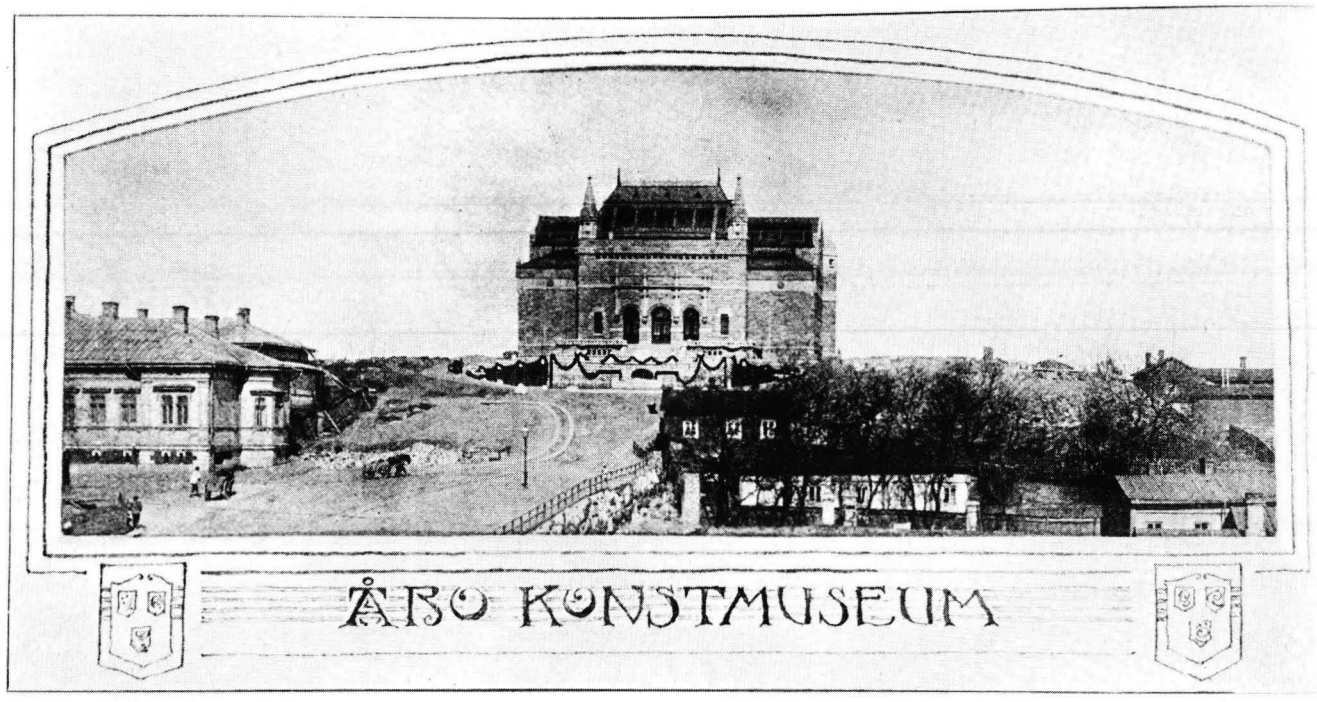


104. Gustaf Nyström, The Finnish Union Bank. Tampere. 1901. Wasastjerna 1904.

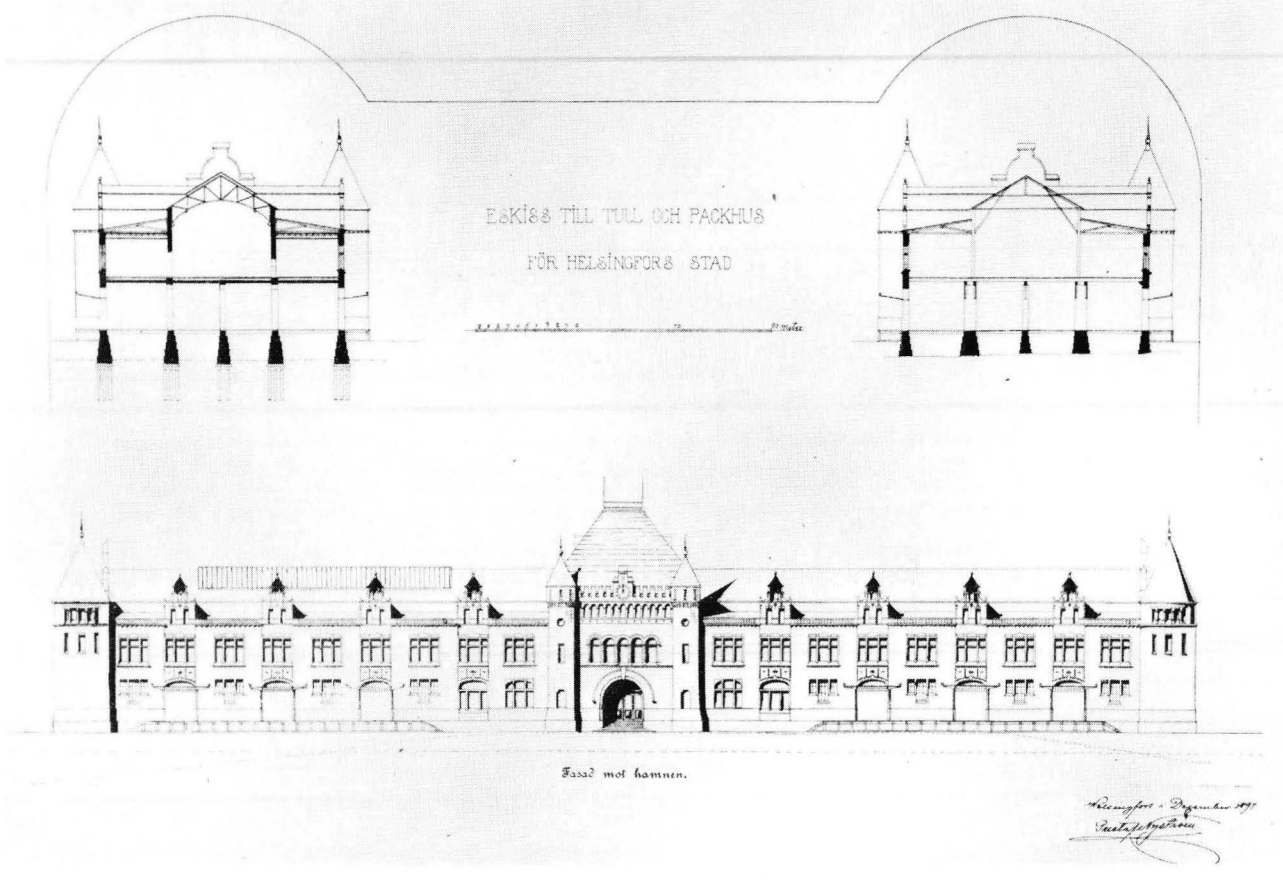
105. Gustaf Nyström, The Finnish Union Bank. Viipuri. Wilenius 1905, p. 42.

106. Gustaf Nyström, The Bank of Finland. Viipuri. 1908. Arkitekten 1915, p. 56.

107. The Snellmaninkatu Street. Photo V. Lukkarinen 1989.

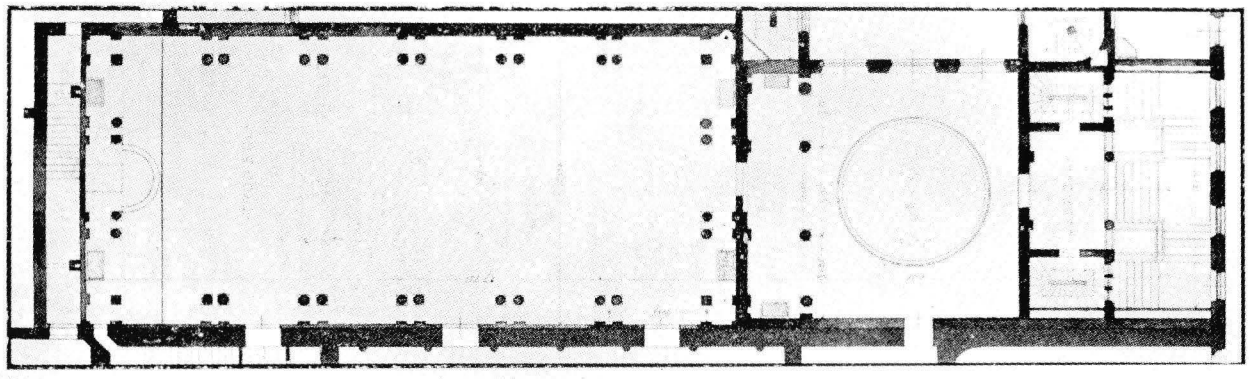


108. Gustaf Nyström, The Art Museum of Turku. 1901—04. Wilenius 1905, p. 64.

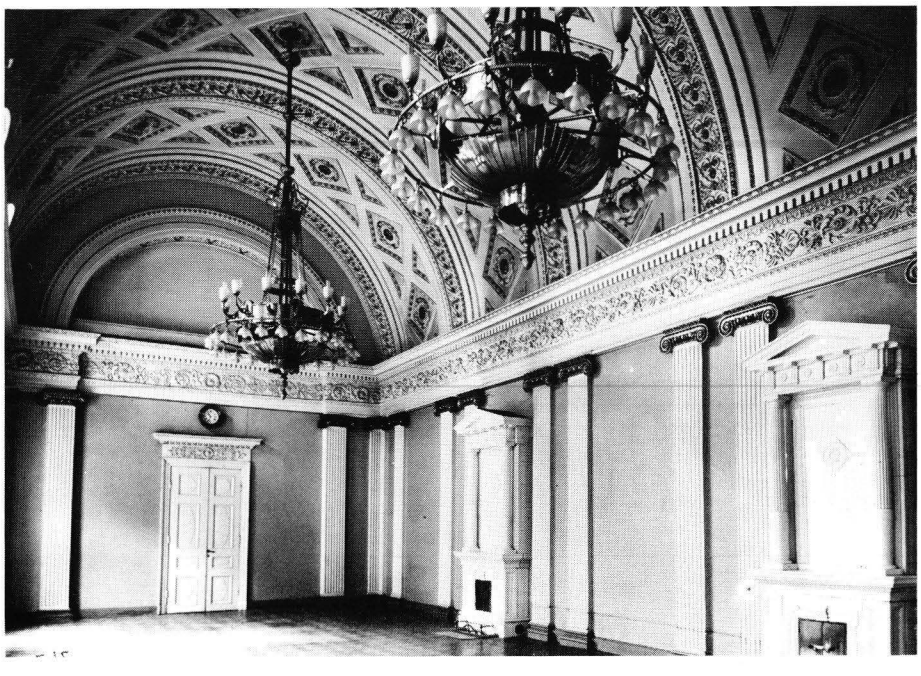


109. Gustaf Nyström, Design for the Customs Building. Katajanokka, Helsinki. December 1897. Teknikern 1898.

110. Jac. Ahrenberg, The Throne Hall of the Imperial Palace. Pohjoisesplanadi Street 1, Helsinki. 1905—07. Photo E. Holmberg 1924. HKM.



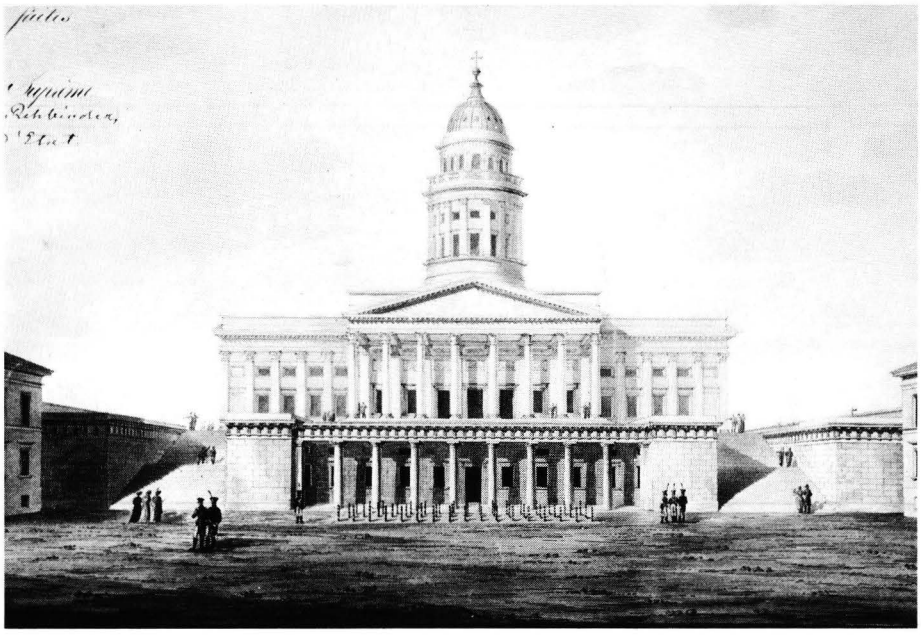
111. Jac. Ahrenberg, Design for the Throne Hall of the Imperial Palace. Pohjoisesplanadi Street 1, Helsinki. Plan. 1905. Rakennustilasto 4 1908.



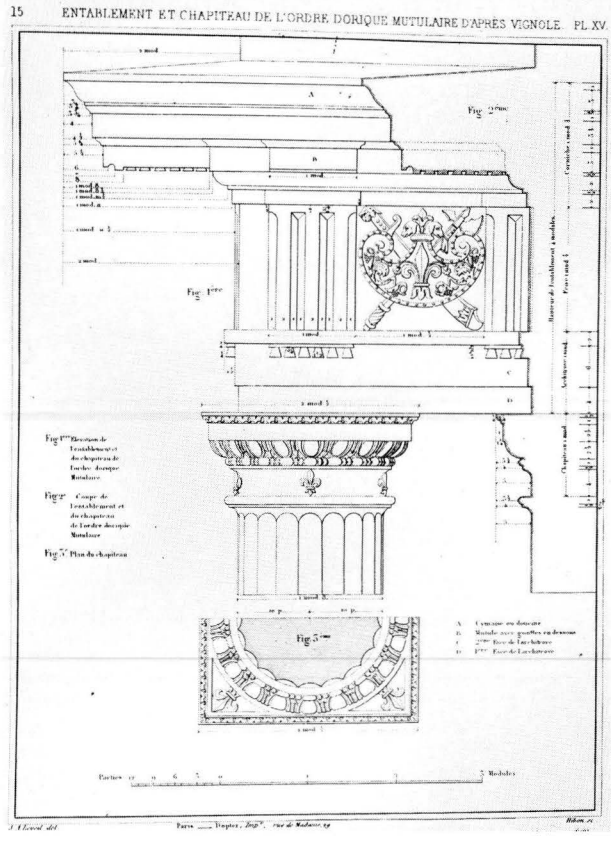
112. Carl Ludvig Engel, The Great Hall of the former Governor-General's House. Helsinki. 1816—19. Photo S. Brander ca. 1912. HKM.

113. Jac. Ahrenberg, Post office building, Snellmaninkatu Street 2, Helsinki. 1902—03. Photo A. Salokorpi. SRM.

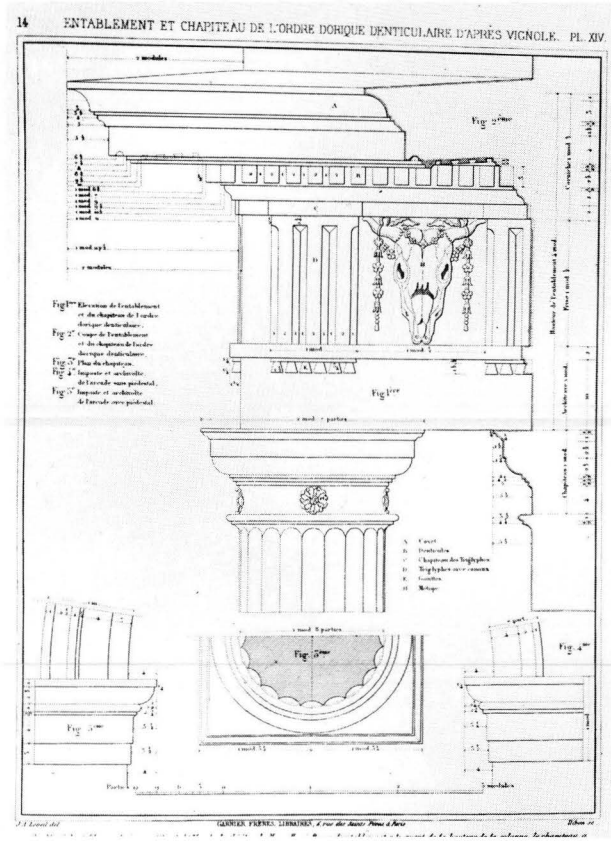
114. Jac. Ahrenberg, The Snellmaninkatu Post Office and the Nicholas Church. 1901. Neg.165655. MVHKA.



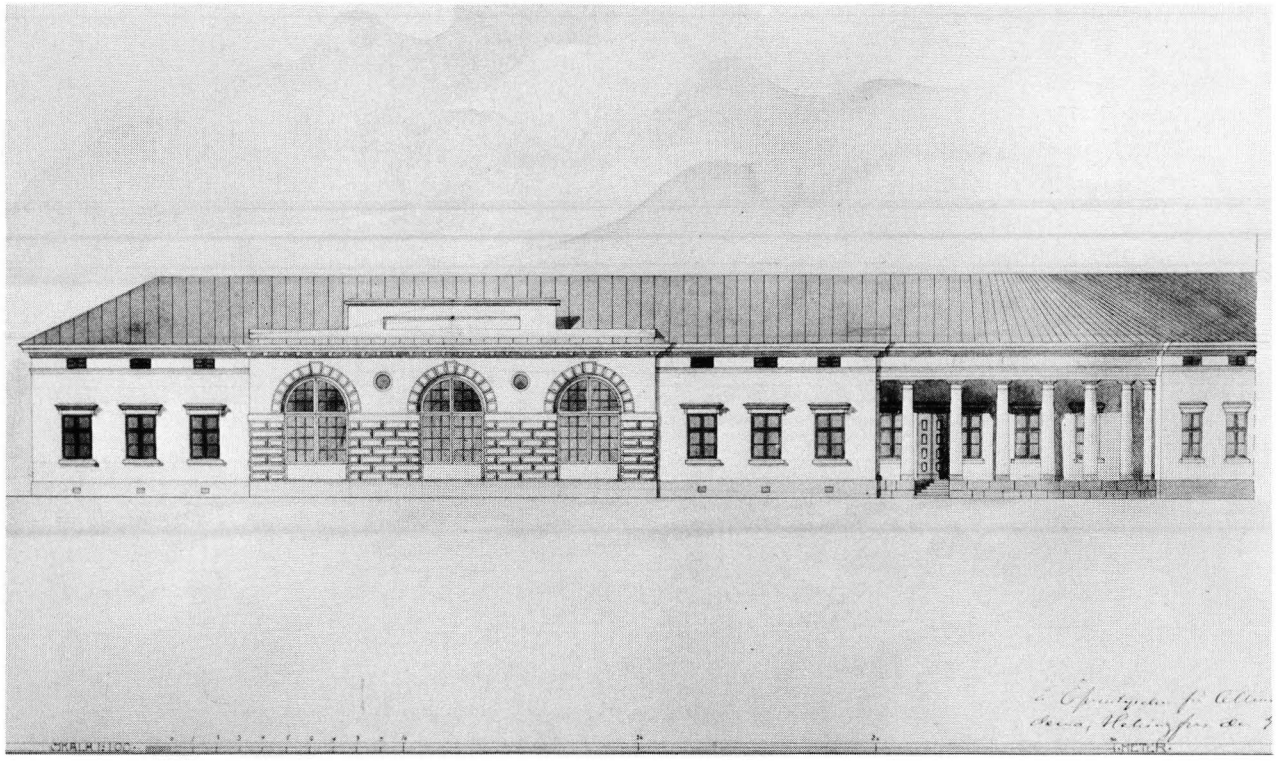
115. Carl Ludvig Engel, Proposed design for the northern side of the Senate Square with the Main Guard in the middle. Detail. 1818. RHA Iaa 336:1. VA.



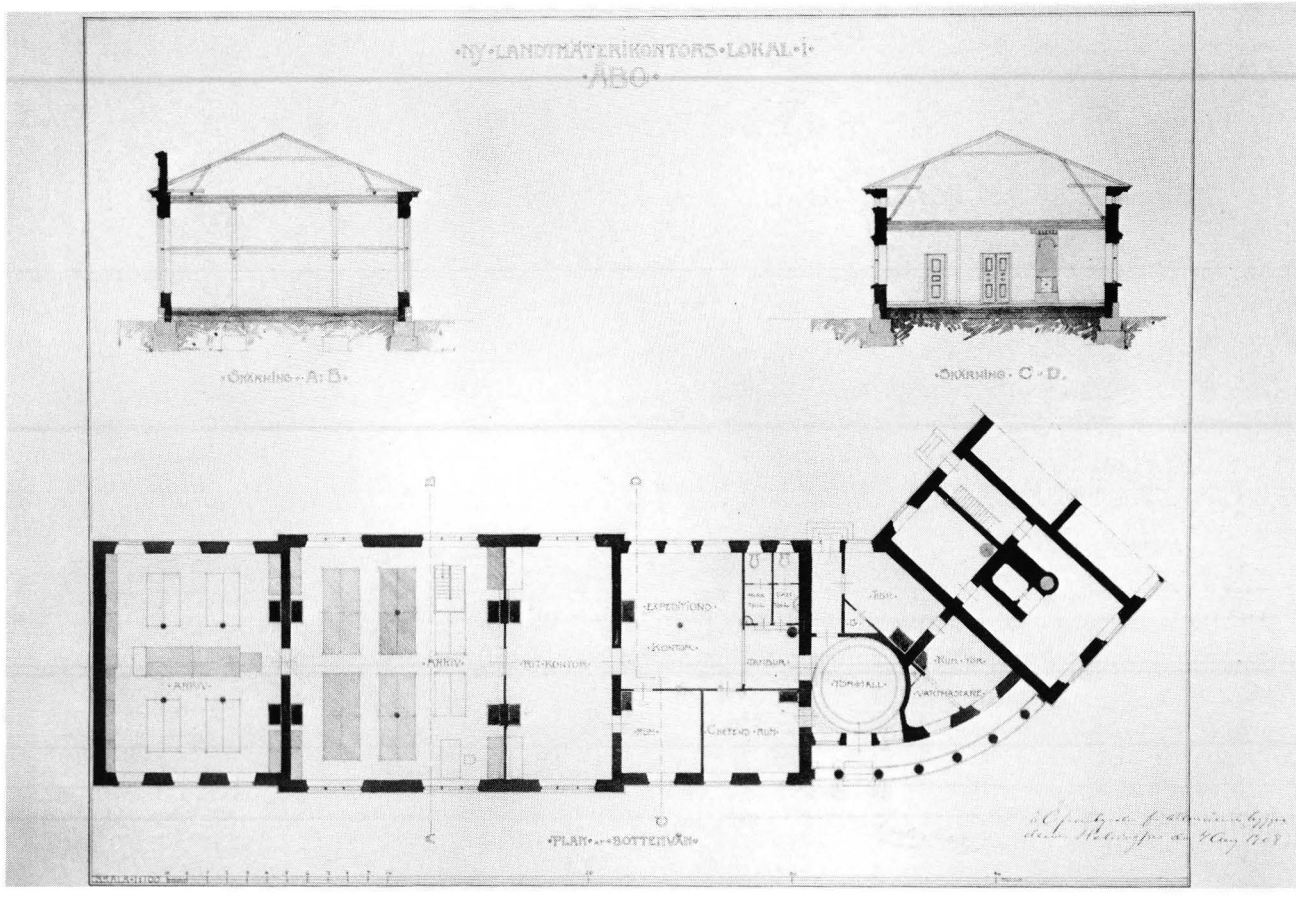
116. Doric order from ***Traité élémentaire pratique d'Architecture ou Etude des Cinq Ordres d'après Jacques Barozzio da Vignole,*** *pl. XV.*



117. Doric order from ***Traité élémentaire pratique d'Architecture ou Etude des Cinq Ordres d'après Jacques Barozzio da Vignole,*** *pl. XIV.*

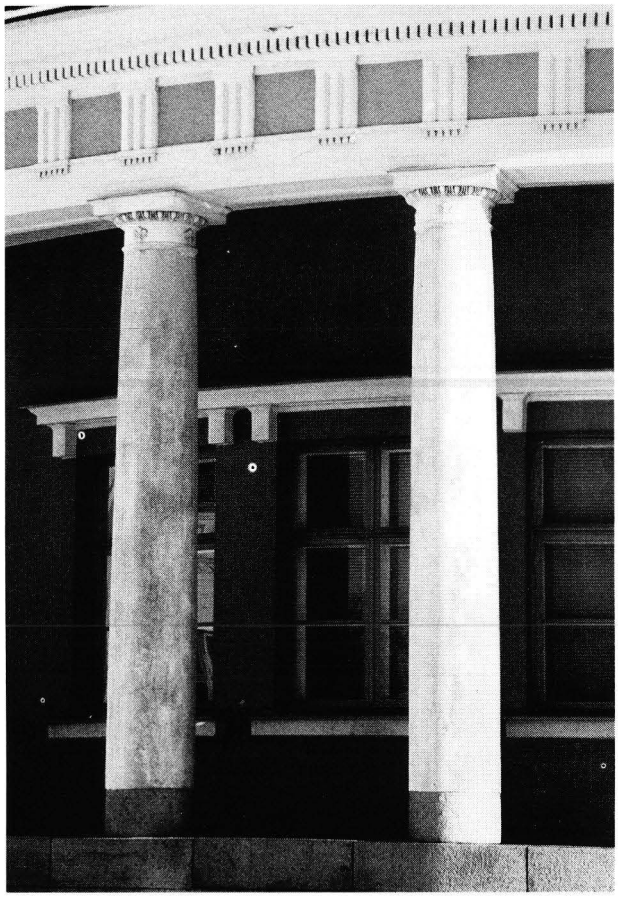


118. Jac. Ahrenberg, Design for the Province Surveying Office in Turku. Façade. 4.8.1908. RHA II Ica 246:4. VA.

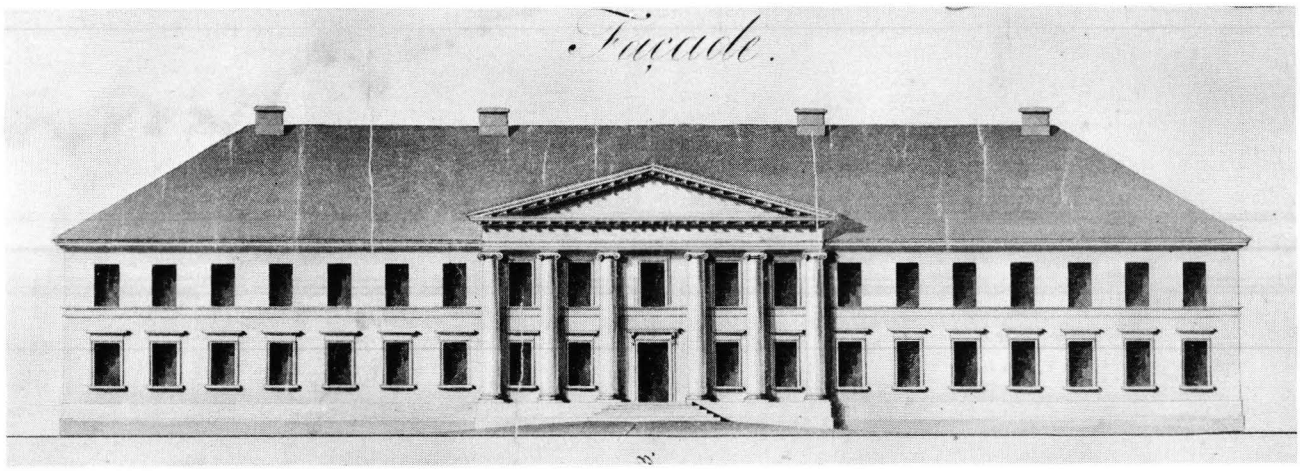


119. Jac. Ahrenberg, Design for the Province Surveying Office in Turku. Plan. 4.8.1908. RHA II Ica 246:1. VA.

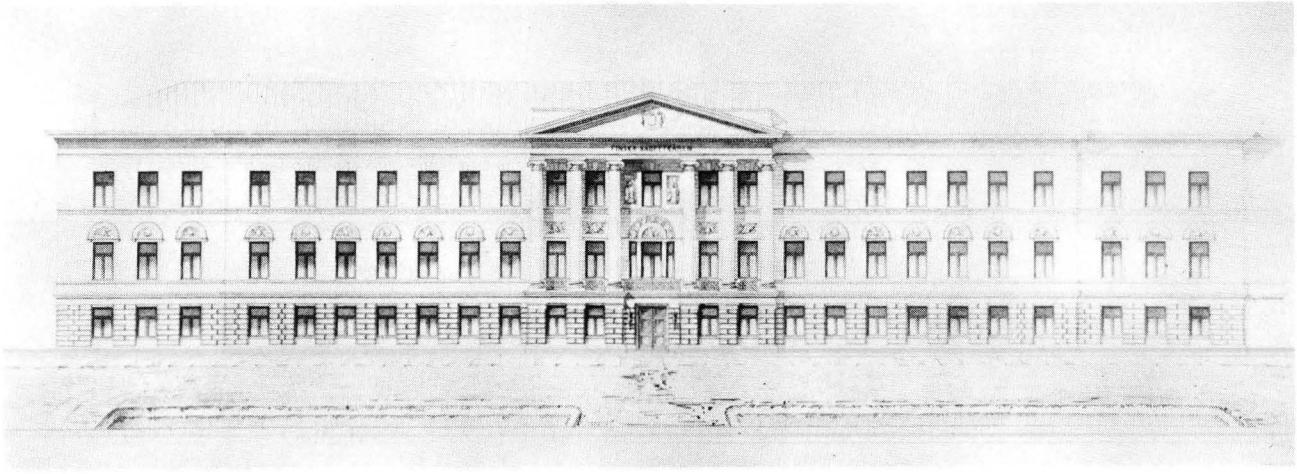
120. Jac. Ahrenberg, The Province Surveying Office in Turku. 1909. From the colonnade to the right: The Governor's Storehouse Building by Carlo Bassi (1828). Photo V. Lukkarinen 1989.



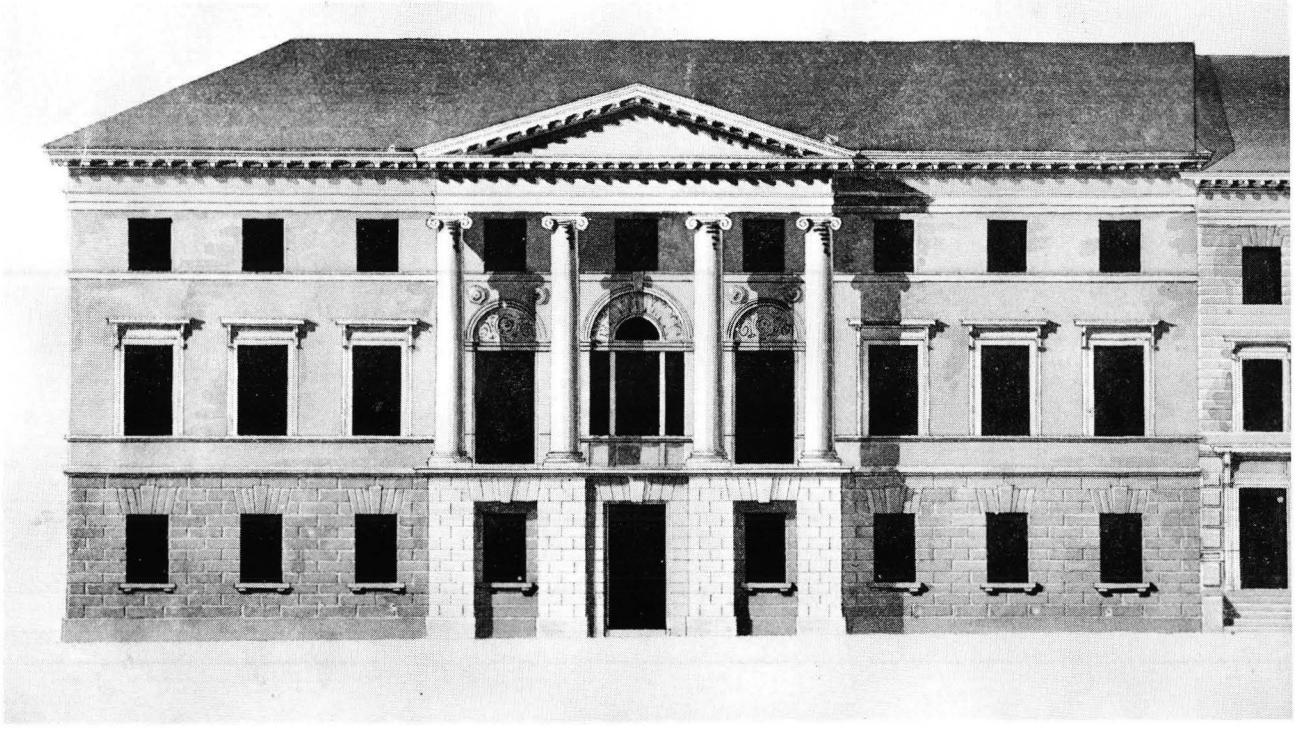
121. Jac. Ahrenberg, The Province Surveying Office in Turku. A part of the colonnade. Photo V. Lukkarinen 1989.



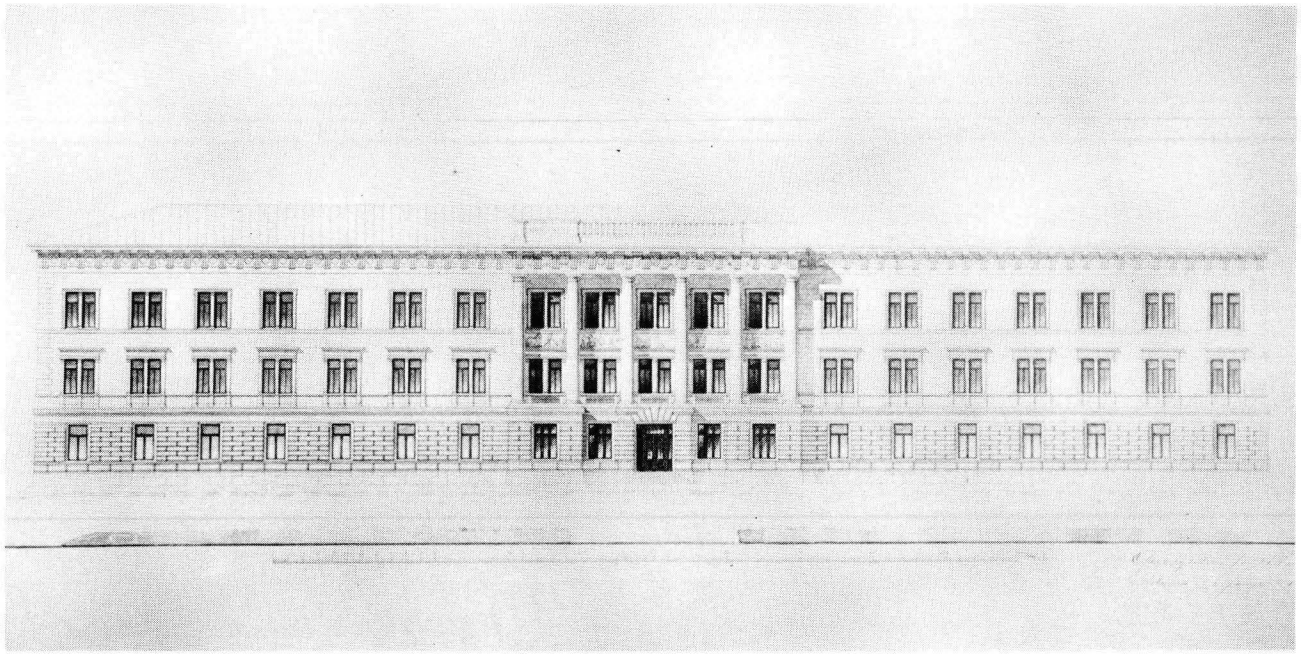
122. Carl Ludvig Engel, Design for the Cadet Dormitory in Hamina. Detail. 1819. RHA II Iga 15:1. VA.



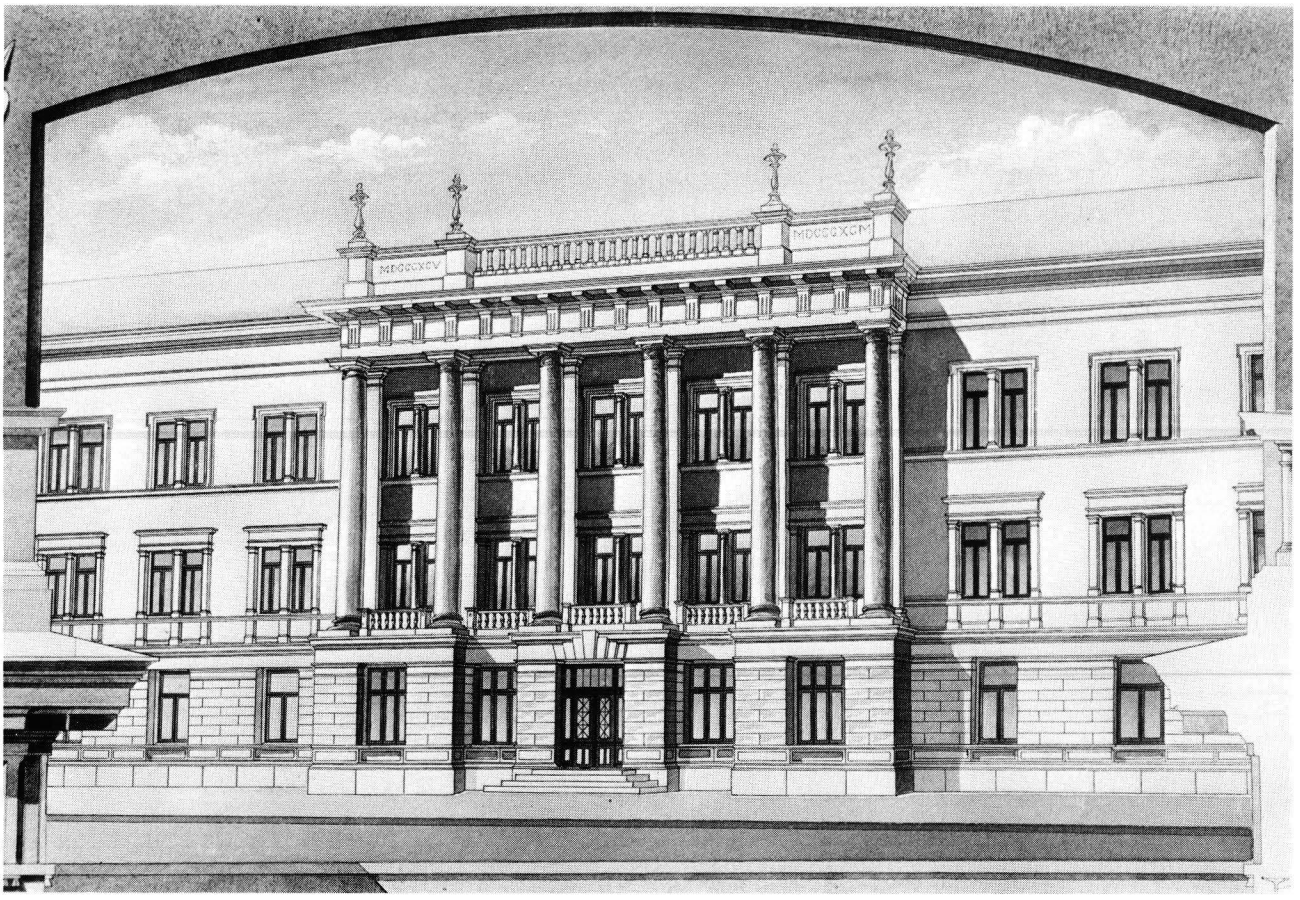
123. Jac. Ahrenberg, Proposed design for the Main Building of the Cadet College. Hamina. 1895. Photocopy from ca. 1900. RHA II Iga 21:2. VA.



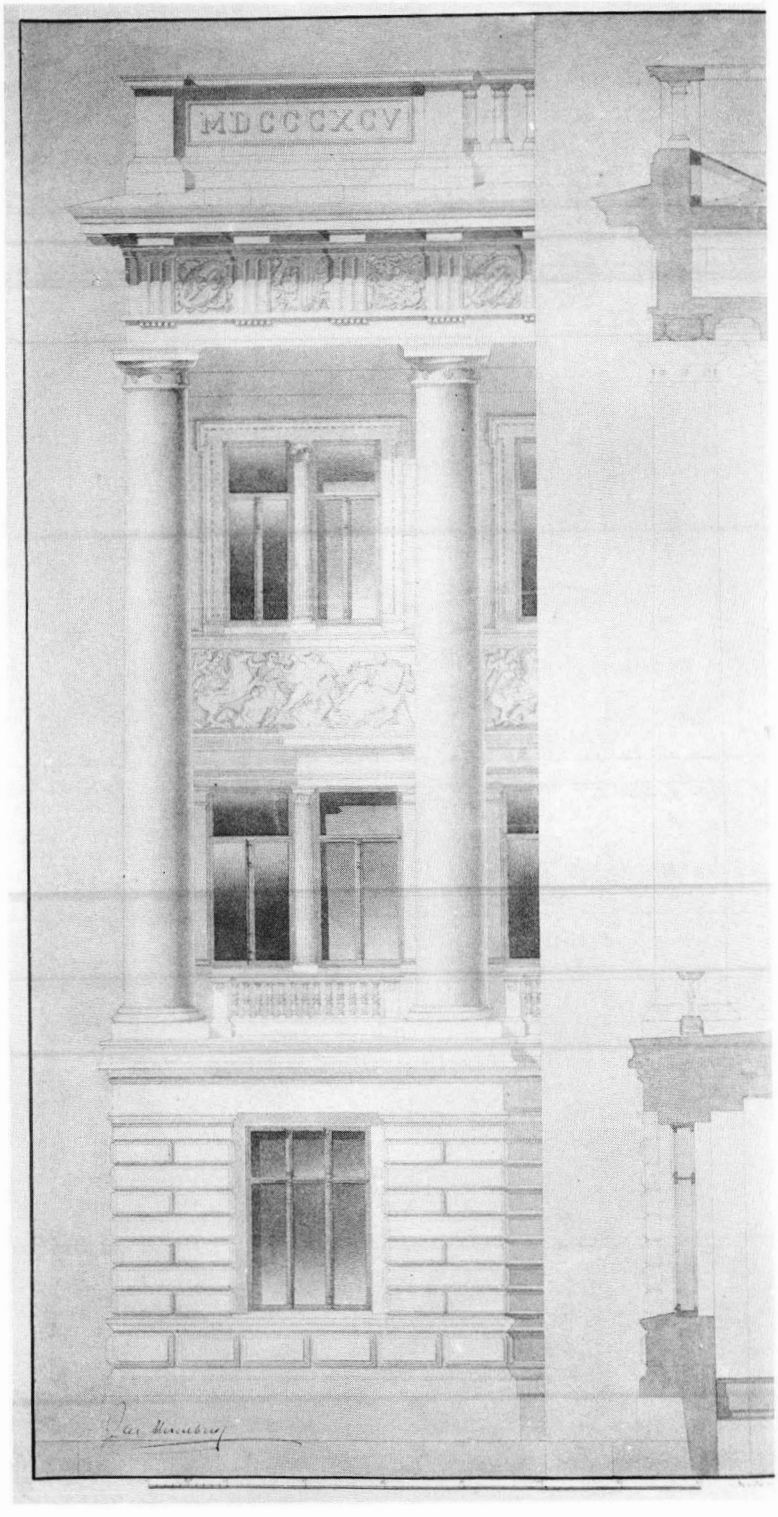
124. Carl Ludvig Engel, Design for the Governor-General's House. Helsinki. 1816. RHA II Ica 7. VA.



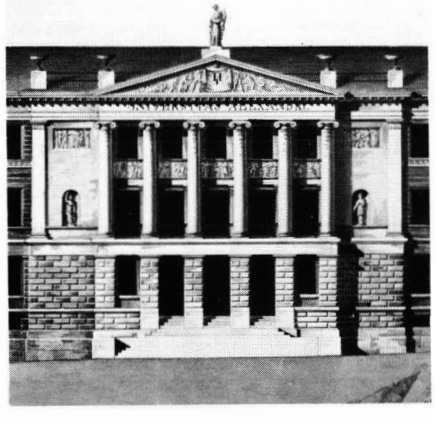
125. Jac. Ahrenberg, Design for the Main Building of the Cadet College. Hamina. 1895. Photocopy from ca. 1900. RHA II Iga 21:7. VA.



126. Jac. Ahrenberg, Design for the Main Building of the Cadet College. Hamina. 1895. Perspective, detail. RHA II Iga 22:19. VA.



127. Jac. Ahrenberg, Design for the Main Building of the Cadet College. Hamina. 1895. Special drawing. RHA II Iga 22:18. VA.



128. Carl Ludvig Engel, Proposed design for the University Main Building. Unioninkatu Street 34, Helsinki. 1828. Photo SRM.