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Sigurd Lewerentz and the 'Half-Open Door'

by VAUGHAN HART

The importance of the Swedish architect Sigurd Lewerentz (1885–1975) to the development of the Modern Movement has only recently been recognized.¹ Following Lewerentz's confirmation at the age of eighteen he was a life-long Bible-reading Lutheran, the established religion in Sweden, and Lewerentz's well known churches are testimony to his ability to design sacred space which reinterpreted the Lutheran mass.² It is within this scriptural context, albeit modified by Swedish cremation policy, that this article examines probably the most famous and monumental of Lewerentz's works, the Woodland cemetery and crematorium, Stockholm (the Skogskyrkogården).

The cemetery was designed in collaboration with Lewerentz's exact Swedish contemporary, Erik Gunnar Asplund (1885–1940). Notwithstanding the eventual rift between the two architects and certain differences in their approach, the cemetery's overall plan, from that in the competition proposal of 1915 to its considerably amended form in execution, was the product of close co-operation between Lewerentz and Asplund over a period of some twenty-five years. The cemetery comprises one large and two small funerary chapels (such chapels are considered as quite different entities from churches in Sweden) (Fig. 1). On entry in the northern edge of the cemetery, the path leads to the main chapel of the Holy Cross (which includes the crematorium), the large 'portico' or loggia of which touches the path's eastern edge (Fig. 2). Opposite this chapel to the west lies a giant mound, the dominant element in the Woodland landscape. Between the chapel and the mound, a large stone cross was erected in 1940 which recalled the wooden cross in Lewerentz's competition drawing of 1915 (Fig. 3) and Asplund's wooden cross in his 1932 proposal for the ceremonial plaza. When seen from the entrance walk, the great cross appears against the mound which in turn is silhouetted against the sky. Due south and on axis with the mound lies a path entitled the 'Way of the Seven Wells', and the portico of the chapel of the Resurrection forms the goal of this path (Fig. 4). To the east lies a small Woodland chapel, approached via paths both from the 'Way of the Seven Wells' and from the main entrance.

Whilst Asplund had overall responsibility for the design of the Woodland chapel of 1918–21 and later for the main chapel of the Holy Cross of 1935–40, the southern chapel of 1921–25 was designed solely by Lewerentz; this small chapel is well known today as the 'Resurrection chapel' but was so-called only after a donor had been found for sculptural reliefs in the tympanum. All three designs owe much to the burial reform ideas of the secretary of the Swedish Cremation Society, Gustav Schlyter (from 1911). For it was Schlyter who first commissioned a design from Lewerentz and

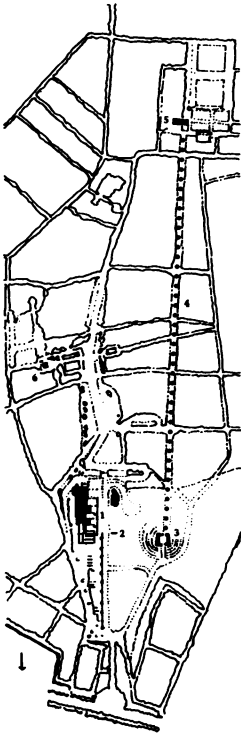


Fig. 1. *Plan of the Woodland cemetery, Stockholm*

1. *Chapel of the Holy Cross*
2. *Cross*
3. *Grove of Remembrance*
4. *Way of the Seven Wells*
5. *Chapel of the Resurrection*
6. *Woodland Chapel*



Fig. 2. *The chapel of the Holy Cross and the great cross in the landscape, as seen from the entry path*

Torsten Stubelius for Hälsingborg crematorium (1911–14), directly after which Lewerentz and Asplund prepared their Woodland cemetery competition scheme.³

On designs where Lewerentz and Asplund were co-architects, the work was evidently divided as equally as possible. Whilst the individual design responsibilities of

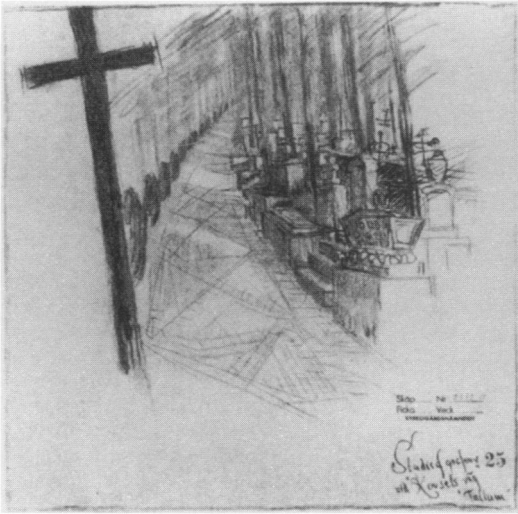


Fig. 3. Competition drawing of 'The Way of the Cross' by Lewerentz and Asplund (1915). (By permission of the Swedish Museum of Architecture)

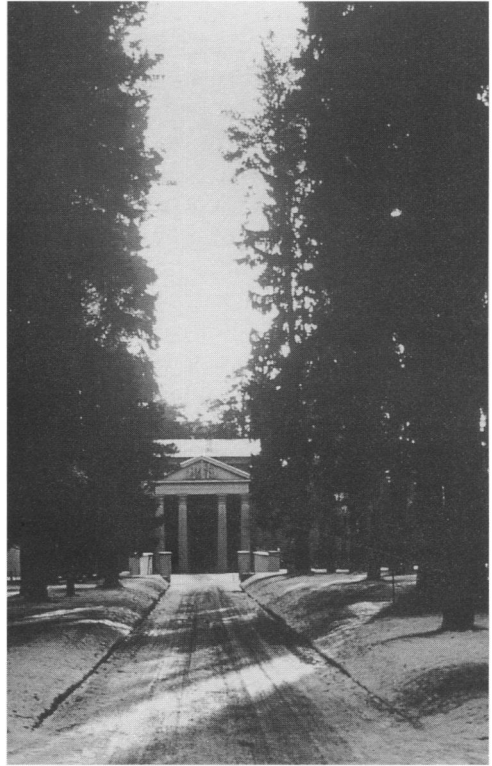


Fig. 4. The 'Way of the Seven Wells' with the portico of the chapel of the Resurrection in the distance

the two architects have been charted, their differences in the approach to architecture itself have proved more difficult to define.⁴ Even the later argument between the two (in 1935) throws little light on this issue, since this dispute was not about design but rather about conduct.⁵ For Colin St John Wilson writing in 1992, Lewerentz was a 'stricter' designer than Asplund, with the cemetery's appeal lying in 'the tension between Lewerentz's strict and tragic vision and Asplund's sensuous manipulations'.⁶ If differences can be detected through their individual areas of design responsibility, then Lewerentz (who, as the drawings show, was responsible for much of the landscaping) would seem more interested in landscape form and arrangement. Indeed in one of the main works on Asplund, published in 1980, Stuart Wrede asserts that Asplund 'admired Lewerentz as a landscapist and no doubt learned a good deal from him in this area.' But Wrede concludes from examining their later work that 'the strong romantic naturalism and pathos of their winning scheme originated with Asplund. According to Hakon Ahlberg, who knew both architects well, Asplund was quick and intuitive, Lewerentz more systematic.'⁷ The architects adopted opposing approaches in their individual entries for the Götaplatsen in Gothenburg which reinforce the identification of Lewerentz as the principal landscape designer. Asplund's scheme for a monumental square effectively turned its back on its surroundings, whereas Lewerentz aimed to integrate new buildings with existing conditions.⁸

Caroline Constant concluded in 1994 that the architects' cemetery drawings show profoundly different attitudes to materials, with Asplund's interest in the 'formal attributes of individual species of plants' contrasting with Lewerentz's focus 'on the contrasting moods evoked by each [tree] type'. Hence Constant credits Lewerentz with the cemetery's 'spiritual essence'.⁹ But with both architects aiming to contrast light and dark in their designs, to use biblical symbolism and express the purity of forms frequently drawn from Nordic precedents, it is very difficult to distinguish between the work of Lewerentz and Asplund during their collaboration on the cemetery design.

The cemetery we see today, in its mood and layout, is much changed from the competition proposal of 1915, and the iconographic reading of the cemetery landscape discussed below was evidently worked towards through the many subsequent revisions. Indeed Bengt Johansson has claimed that it was the actual excavations for the buildings that finally gave the architects the idea for what he terms the cemetery's 'biblical landscape', although the competition image of the cross had clearly suggested this theme (Fig. 3).¹⁰ Despite the fact that Swedish historians have thus long noted the symbolic intentions behind the design, until recently non-Swedish commentators have paid little attention to how the landscape elements might form part of a continuous narrative or an overall symbolic scheme.¹¹ Constant's recent interpretation of the spiritual dimension of the landscape pointed to German romantic and native Nordic influences more than to biblical sources.¹² Indeed most architectural commentators have de-Christianized the cemetery in their discussions of architectural style.¹³ Wrede offers a pagan interpretation of the landscape in observing that the great grass-covered knoll 'resembles both the ancient burial mounds that dot northern Europe and a great earthen breast'.¹⁴ Following an elusive reference to Lewerentz's transformation of 'simple elements of construction into metaphors of brooding mystery', Wilson echoed this in noting that the cemetery mound 'recalls the Bronze Age burial mounds of Agri (known as the Maiden Mounds)'.¹⁵ For Constant the mound was again built up 'to reaffirm the primitive quality of the natural terrain'.¹⁶ Further, it has been over-stressed by commentators that the cemetery mood reflects paintings by Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840), who had represented Christian iconography within the archetypal German, that is northern European, forest landscapes.¹⁷ A cemetery landscape possessing so-called 'Friedrichian intensity' has been suggested, not as the means to an end, but rather as the very purpose of the design.¹⁸

However, the fact that Lewerentz set the free-standing portico of the Resurrection chapel at a slight angle to the north façade has caused the biggest problem for those commentators who have concentrated on architectural style or composition (Fig. 5).¹⁹ Stuart Knight observed in 1982 that the portico was 'slightly rotated, one of the Mannerist techniques frequently employed by the "modern classicists"',²⁰ whilst Hans Nordenström noted in 1965 that through being skewed in plan, the portico could 'be said to be both a free-standing building as well as bound to the chapel structure . . . The chapel demonstrates a similar ambiguity in its closedness and in its compound relationships to surrounding elements of the composition'.²¹ Wilson on the other hand noted that the

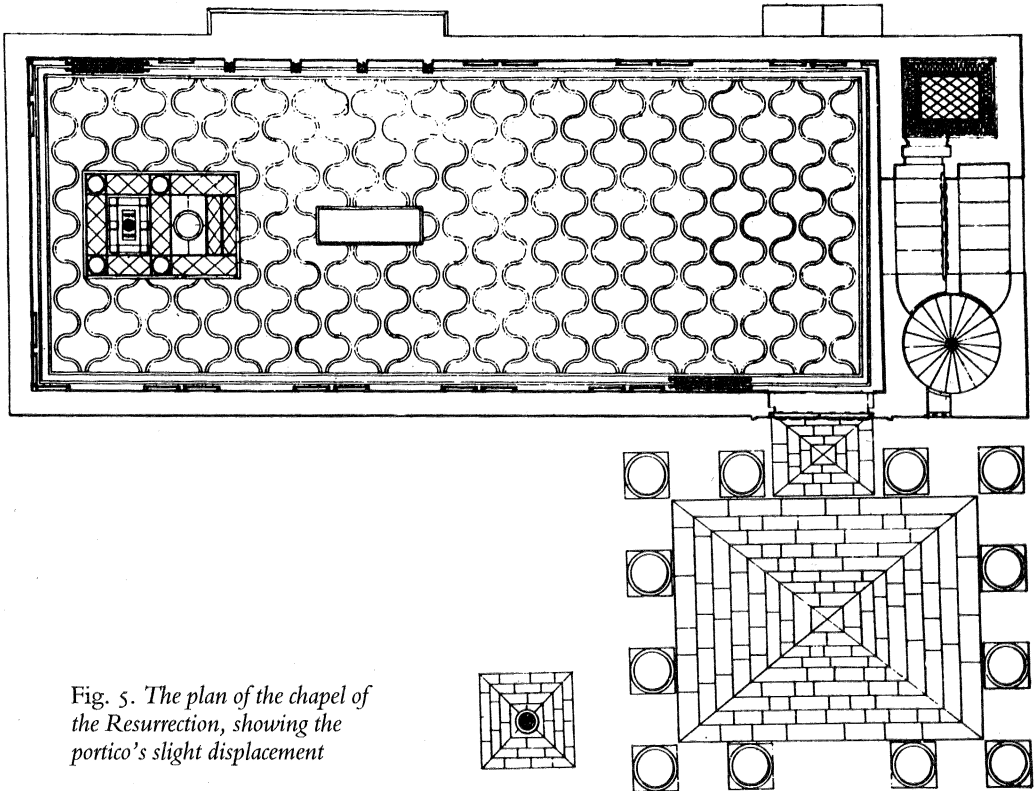


Fig. 5. The plan of the chapel of the Resurrection, showing the portico's slight displacement

disengagement is enigmatic . . . I suggest that the freeing of the portico is to compensate for the weakness that would result from locating it at the far corner of the chapel . . . To have simply attached the portico to the corner of the chapel would have been formally banal.²²

In fact the Erechtheion provided Lewerentz with ample precedent for a corner portico on a north elevation, although the Erechtheion's portico is not rotated from the body of the temple. Wilson suggests a modern source for the portico's dislocation in adding that there is 'an intensity in Lewerentz's wrestle with this that recalls the part played by distortion in a work by Cézanne'.²³ For Constant the inflexion 'qualifies the singularity of the prolonged approach'.²⁴ Hence with no obvious functional justification for its rotation, this portico in particular has been the subject of much debate and remains something of an enigma. Asplund himself described the cemetery landscape as 'biblical', and the following interpretation of the Resurrection chapel is therefore intended to illuminate rather than deny the richness of a landscape design clearly informed by many sources.²⁵

SIGURD LEWERENTZ'S HOLY SEPULCHRE

Key elements of the principal route through the cemetery landscape — that is, the main chapel (of the Holy Cross), the cross, the mound (grove of Remembrance), its

path (Way of the Seven Wells), and its concluding chapel (of the Resurrection) — have an obvious source in the Bible, and the story of Christ's final days on earth. For according to scripture, Christ was crucified on the hill called Golgotha, after which Joseph of Arimathea

took the body, and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the tomb, and departed . . . the chief priests and the Pharisees were gathered together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I rise again . . . And behold, there was a great earthquake; for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled away the stone, and sat upon it (Matthew 27. 59–60, 62–63, 28. 2 [Revised Edition]).

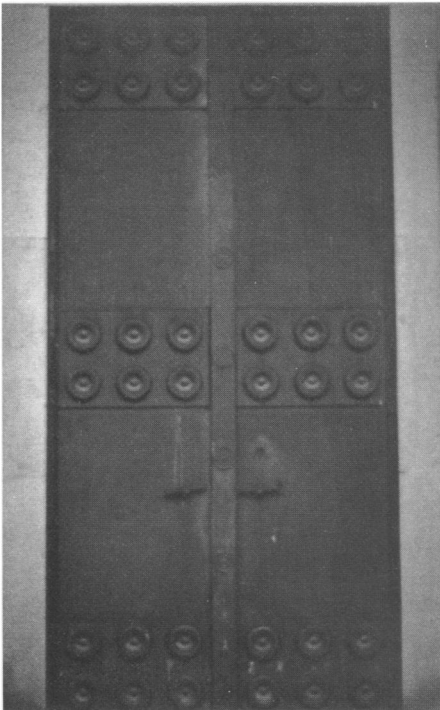
The Bible further records that Christ's tomb was located within a garden (John 19. 41).

Hence when taking the axial path from the mound to the Resurrection chapel, the mourners are made to progress, necessarily on foot, on a pilgrimage-like journey which celebrates the rebirth of Christ's soul, that is from his Crucifixion to his Resurrection. Further, the Bible implies that before Christ's Resurrection the world was sent into spiritual darkness, and the dense forest between the mound and the chapel can easily be seen to represent this period of spiritual darkness. Indeed its duration, three days and three nights, may have inspired the idea for a forest path of seven wells, necessarily structured by six zones between the first and last well (although only the first well atop the mound was in fact built). The path's descent into the core of the forest and climb to the chapel emphasizes this journey to redemption. The very title of this path, together with the entrance 'Way of the Cross' (a path from which provides an alternative route to the chapel), is indicative of the Resurrection theme of the landscape design as a whole. Specific changes in the cemetery design also served to intensify this biblical narrative reading of the landscape. The main chapel of the Holy Cross, for example, was relocated in the plan of 1932 from a position straddling the entrance pathway to stand on the path's eastern boundary, a move which enhanced the role of the chapel of the Resurrection as the final (and most important) event in a sequence of landscape elements.²⁶

From the 'Way of the Seven Wells' the dense, evergreen pine forest gives way to a light-filled clearing in which Lewerentz's rendered chapel, with its tall limestone portico, stands as a symbol of light (Fig. 6). The circles on the large doors resemble sun discs (Figs 7 and 8), whilst the chapel's east-west orientation followed Schlyter's recommendations and accorded with ancient Swedish custom in which graves were to be orientated facing the rising sun, 'awaiting' the resurrection.²⁷ On entry to the chapel the mourners are made to turn to the altar in the east, towards the sunrise. The single, large south-facing window restricts the light entering the chapel to this eastern end and this light thus serves as a further reminder of the Resurrection theme (Fig. 9); when reviewing the chapel on completion, Sven Markelius noted in 1926 that 'at times when funeral ceremonies generally take place, the sunlight will fall upon the catafalque and altar, and give these objects a special emphasis.'²⁸ The entrance to Asplund's Woodland chapel involves a similar controlled movement from dark to light.²⁹ Indeed this progression had been central to Lewerentz's Hälsingborg



Fig. 6. *The Resurrection chapel's front façade*



Figs 7 and 8. *The Resurrection chapel's doors, with their discs*



Fig. 9. *The Resurrection chapel's south-facing window*

crematorium and chapel project of 1914, where the mourners move from a dark 'Hall of Death' to a bright 'Hall of Life'.³⁰

It is in its form, however, that Lewerentz's Resurrection chapel most clearly celebrates the soul's journey from one life to another. For the primary physical symbol of Christ's Resurrection in the biblical story, the tombstone set ajar, is suggested by the enigmatic shift in the axis of the chapel's portico. The monumental stone portico is obviously not the actual chapel door but rather celebrates the key symbolic role of the 'great stone' in the story of Christ's Resurrection. Just as the rock was detached from the mouth of the cave, so the portico is detached from, and frames, the chapel entrance.³¹ In its detail and asymmetrical position it contrasts strongly with the unornamented walls of the chapel behind. Indeed Lewerentz emphasized the independence of this portico by including carving on the hidden side of the pediment.³² Through its alignment with the 'Way of the Seven Wells' (a pre-existing path on the site), the portico has a stronger relationship with the landscape and with the mourners' point of arrival than it has with the chapel itself. The chapel's tomb or sepulchral qualities are emphasized through the great height of its unornamented, austere walls (which stand without plinths), and the absence of any windows on the

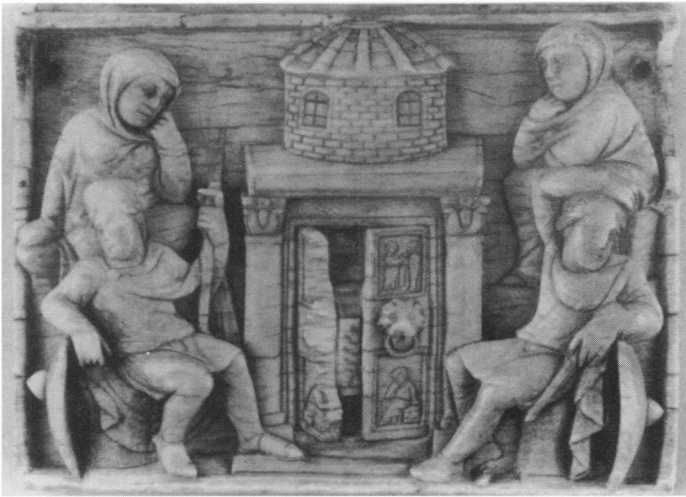


Fig. 10. Ivory carving of the Holy Sepulchre with its door ajar, from an Early Christian casket (c. A.D. 420–30) (By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London)

north, east and west façades. With the organ and choir concealed in an opening high in the west wall (following Schlyter's requirements), the dark, simple interior also mimics the cave. The interiors of Asplund's Woodland chapel and of his later main chapel of the Holy Cross are also reminiscent of a burial cave. In Asplund's penultimate scheme for the main chapel, the floor even curved up against the back wall.³³

The biblical story of a tombstone set ajar in fact reflected an established motif, for the door had been an important symbol for the boundary between life and death in pagan mythology and iconography. The 'half-open door' set within an architectonic structure resembling a temple was, for example, a common motif on Roman tombs.³⁴ Here the closed door was a symbol of death and the threshold of the underworld (the gate of Hades), the door ajar represented hope for the soul's resurrection freed from the flesh, whilst the open door symbolized the soul's eternal life.³⁵ This Roman door motif had been easily adapted in early Christian iconography. In an ivory panel depicting the Holy Sepulchre on a casket carved around A.D. 420–30, for example, Corinthian columns frame doors set ajar whilst a Roman soldier sits in front of a slumbering Mary (Fig. 10).³⁶ Further, as symbols of resurrection and rebirth, Roman funerary altars sometimes featured sun discs on the half-open door, and the discs on the chapel doors certainly resemble these pagan solar symbols (Figs 7 and 8).³⁷ Roman iconography was much studied in Scandinavia in the early part of this century as an aspect of the 'new classicism' movement.³⁸ A year before Lewerentz started to design the Resurrection chapel, Alvar Aalto urged his contemporaries in an essay of 1922 to 'receive currents from ancient Italy'.³⁹ Lewerentz could have witnessed Roman tomb iconography on his long trip to Italy in 1909, as could Asplund when he visited Italy in 1913–14. Lewerentz certainly had a wide interest in tomb design, attested for example by the tomb he built on the island of Utterö in the Stockholm archipelago in 1929, which was again related to a path and a cross.⁴⁰ Indeed, the entrance path at the Woodland cemetery, the 'Way of the Cross', is reminiscent of Pompeii's Via Sepulchra

and Rome's Via Appia Antica, although these burial archetypes were more apparent in the competition entry.⁴¹

In using the Corinthian order Lewerentz chose not only the most 'noble' of the orders described by Vitruvius but also the order which was most appropriate to the funerary function of his chapel. For according to Vitruvius, the Corinthian capital had been inspired by a basket which contained the belongings of a deceased maiden and around which acanthus leaves had grown.⁴² The Corinthian order was common in portals to cave tombs, such as 'El Khasne', Petra, built around A.D. 120, and acanthus itself frequently featured in Roman tomb iconography.⁴³ Further, as an extension of the idea of the Sepulchre stone, Lewerentz's twelve 'noble' Corinthian columns might be seen to represent the twelve true apostles, standing at the doorway to Resurrection. Indeed these columns support a pediment depicting the Resurrection of Christ, carved by the sculptor Ivar Johnsson. Here the risen Christ stands with angels on either side, confirming this reading of the portico as a symbol of Resurrection.⁴⁴ The portico serves a functional role as a loggia, in which the mourners gather and await the priest after their journey (or pilgrimage) through the forest (the priest enters from the west side of the chapel and opens the large doors from the inside). The mourners are thus made to pause, their spirits uplifted by the fine Corinthian columns as they contemplate the idea of Resurrection.

The chapel is in fact only one element in the mourners' journey, and not the conclusion of it, for having entered through the north portico the congregation leave by the west door. A stair lies on axis with this door and leads down to the graveyard. Such a 'rite of passage', progressing from a place of remembrance into a chapel in which the funeral rites are enacted and thence out into the graveyard, closely followed Schlyter's prescription for funerary chapels.⁴⁵ The portico is thus displaced from its traditional location on the west façade, on axis with the altar in the east end, and placed on the western end of the north façade not only to face the 'Way of the Seven Wells' (which might equally well have been terminated by a centrally placed portico) but principally to facilitate this internal passage and its liturgical purpose. For to force the mourners to retrace their steps and exit by the same door as they had entered would have served to diminish the power of the portico as a symbol of the soul's irrevocable transference from this world to the next. Like Christ's tombstone, the portico indicates not a way *in* but a way *out*, a dynamic progression emphasized through the portico's shift in alignment. Further, since the west façade of the chapel is set-out at a right angle to the portico, the portico is effectively 'hinged' about the chapel's south-west corner (Fig. 5). As a result, the interior of the chapel is not a perfect rectangle, thereby continuing the 'idea' of the open door motif internally and binding the west façade, through which the mourners depart, to the theme of hope which the portico signified on entry. The whole chapel, and not just the portico, thus acts as the 'gateway' or 'door' between two realms. For the chapel is located on the boundary between life (represented by the forest path celebrating the 'wells' of life), and death (represented by the graveyard on the chapel's western side). It also represents a collective memorial to the individuals who lie buried in the graveyard beyond, a sign of their risen souls and an antechamber to the true dwelling of the spirits.

Lewerentz's first plan for the Resurrection chapel had excluded an altar, which he deemed unnecessary in funerary chapels.⁴⁶ This omission was perfectly compatible with the idea of the empty tomb since the altar and the sacrament represent the body of Christ which, with the door ajar, has already 'risen'. A free-standing altar was, however, included in all subsequent designs at the insistence of the clergy. The altar's unorthodox position off the longitudinal axis of entry, however, serves to emphasize its role as part of the journey and not, as is traditionally the case, as the conclusion of the mourner's procession.

The tomb-reading for Lewerentz's Resurrection chapel examined above would thus explain the interior's 'ambiguity in its closedness' and the 'enigmatic' shift of the portico axis as observed by earlier commentators. Having no obvious practical justification, the realignment of the portico must surely have been motivated by the chapel's dedicatory theme.

A WOODLAND PATH FROM CRUCIFIXION TO RESURRECTION

In the competition scheme for the Woodland cemetery of 1915, a path leading from a giant cross (entitled the 'Way of the Cross') heralded the idea that through a ritualized journey across the landscape, the rebirth of the deceased's soul was celebrated in the image of Christ's Resurrection (Fig. 3). The portico to the chapel of the Holy Cross contains a monument to the Resurrection by John Lundqvist, and this and the stone cross are, on entrance to the cemetery, the most obvious signs of the redemptive theme of the landscape as a whole. Biblical imagery, and that recalling the Garden of Eden in particular, was common in the work of both Asplund and Lewerentz. Most notable are the Adam and Eve sculpture in Asplund's Skandia Cinema (1922–23) and Public Library (1920–28), both in Stockholm, the snakes on the gates to the Woodland chapel, and the Eden motifs in Asplund's 'Paradise' restaurant in the Stockholm exhibition of 1930 (Fig. 11). In the latter case the representation of Adam, Eve, the snake and the apple formed an explicit attempt to link the new architecture introduced in the exhibition to the paradise of scripture.

Lewerentz had made clear reference to Golgotha when designing the Malmö Eastern Cemetery in 1916, having sketched on to a photograph a cross atop Malmö's ancient burial mound. On a pedestrian entrance gate to the Woodland cemetery of 1956 he used a motif clearly recalling Christ's crown of thorns. Indeed in Lewerentz's penultimate work, the austere and catacomb-like St Petri church, Klippan (1963–66), the raw steel column and its crossbeam in the centre of the church has been seen to represent the central symbols of both the Old and New Testaments, that is the tree of knowledge and the cross of redemption (Fig. 12).⁴⁷ Here, once again, Lewerentz represented a Christian message through the use of the column, although at Klippan this biblical message is no longer conveyed through the stone orders of antiquity but rather through the medium of modern steel. Externally to the west a lone tree stands next to a pool in an enclosed garden, and as such this tree is surely intended to form a counterpart to the column in recalling the tree of life in the centre of the garden of Eden. Lewerentz thus attempted at Klippan to resolve the apparent contradiction

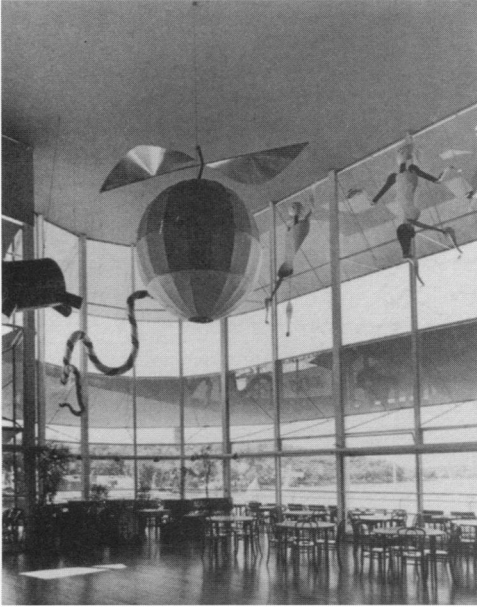


Fig. 11. *Eden motifs in Asplund's 'Paradise' restaurant in the Stockholm exhibition of 1930*



Fig. 12. *Interior of St Petri, Klippan, with its cross support*

between the increasing desire for simple, unadorned forms and for a Christian symbolism traditionally identified with the classical language of architecture.

Hence far from rejecting history in the spirit of the German Bauhaus, Scandinavian Modern Movement architects actively drew on symbolism from antique-biblical sources.⁴⁸ The careers of Lewerentz and Asplund coincided with Carl Jung's study of primitive archetypes and ancient symbols, and of the role of these in funerary rituals in particular.⁴⁹ In his 'In Memoriam' written for Asplund in 1940, Aalto noted that the new architecture 'continues to employ the tools of the social sciences, but also includes the study of psychological problems — "the unknown human" in his totality.' He adds that 'within this latter architecture, Asplund has his place.'⁵⁰ Whilst the Swedish Cremation Movement grew as a response to new customs abroad and the overcrowding of confined urban cemeteries, advocates of cremation such as Schlyter stressed the need for an appropriate symbolism and primitive precedents to underpin this new burial practice.

Following Sweden's isolation during the First World War, in the 1920s the country saw the full establishment of Social Democracy and an urban industrial society. The quest for a collective, non-hierarchical cemetery landscape and, more generally, an architecture which was appropriate to these changes, led architects such as Lewerentz away from the historical styles (which were identified with the old, rural aristocracy) towards the new ideals of Modernism. With its neo-classical portico but unornamented façades, the Resurrection chapel might be seen as bound up in this movement.

Antique ornamentation celebrated but also hid constructional relationships, such as that between the wall and the ground concealed by the plinth, and the chapel's unornamented walls foreshadowed Lewerentz's subsequent obsession with frame- and sill-less windows. The unorthodox position of the portico clearly also anticipated the movement from beaux-arts symmetry to a more 'functionalist' planning. Sven Markelius noted in his review of the chapel in 1926 that the design was

closely derived from the Egyptian and Greek classical traditions. While this is attractive, it is relatively insignificant . . . Its greatness resides in its perception that an original form must be derived from its special purpose, and herein lies the secret of the building's enduring power — a power which will be felt even when its classical attire ceases to enjoy its superficial appeal.⁵¹

Lewerentz's constant aim was for an astylar architecture, one which would transcend the time and place of its making. His reference to the Holy Sepulchre in the chapel's design reflected this ambition, echoing as it did the timeless search for universal harmony in which architecture, as the queen of the arts, serves to enrich Nature.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank Professor Joseph Rykwert for his encouragement and advice in the early stages of this article. Professor Andor Gomme pointed out the similarity in portico arrangement between the Resurrection chapel and the Erechtheion. Dr Jennifer Nutkins, Timothy Anstey, Thordis Arrhenius and Professor Hans Nordenström should also be thanked for their help on detailed points. Documents relating to the cemetery design are in the Kyrkogårdsnämnds archive, Stockholm (Cemetery Administration), and the drawings are in the Asplund and Lewerentz archives in the Arkitektur Museum, Stockholm (Swedish Museum of Architecture). The photographs are by the author and Timothy Anstey. Fig. 3, Swedish Architecture Museum; Fig. 9, British Museum, London.

NOTES

1 See Janne Ahlin, *Sigurd Lewerentz, arkitekt* (Stockholm, 1985) (based primarily on the author's personal knowledge of Lewerentz and his papers and drawings); all following references are to the partial translation by Kerstin Westerlund published as: *Sigurd Lewerentz, architect 1885–1975* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987). Colin St John Wilson, *Architectural Reflections: Studies in the Philosophy and Practice of Architecture* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 110–37, p. 149 (largely a reprint of 'Masters of Building: Sigurd Lewerentz', *Architects Journal*, 13 April 1988, pp. 32–46; see also Edward Williams, 'The Missing Years', in *ibid.*, pp. 47–52). Hakon Ahlberg, 'Sigurd Lewerentz', *Byggmästaren* 19 (1945), pp. 359–60, 'Sigurd Lewerentz', *Arkitektur* 9 (1963) (entire issue), and 'Sigurd Lewerentz 1855–1975: The Dilemma of Classicism', *AA Files: Annals of the Architectural Association School of Architecture* 19 (1990), pp. 82–90. The best study is: Caroline Constant, *The Woodland Cemetery: Towards a Spiritual Landscape* (Stockholm, 1994).

2 Lewerentz restored Uppsala Cathedral and built the churches of St Mark's in Björkhagen and St Petri in Klippan. For the Lutheran aspect of St Petri church see Wilson, *ibid.*, p. 119.

3 On Schlyter see Ulf G. Johnsson, 'De Första Svenska Krematorierna och Deras Förutsättningar' (trans. 'The first Swedish crematoria and the conditions under which they emerged'), *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 15 (1964), pp. 3–4, and Constant, *Woodland Cemetery*, pp. 16–19. On Hälsingborg and early crematorium design see for example Arne Jacobsen, 'Kapel og Krematorium i Malmö', *Byggmästaren* 19 (1945), pp. 360–79; Ahlberg, 'Lewerentz', *Arkitektur* (entire issue); Constant, *ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

4 For the different areas of responsibility see Constant, *ibid.*, e.g. pp. 45, 164–65; p. 50 notes: 'Despite strong differences in both their personalities and their individual designs, the result is truly collaborative'.

5 The argument arose, according to Janne Ahlin's report, because the cemetery board had found Lewerentz slow and difficult to work with, and had consequently appointed Asplund sole architect of the chapel of the

Holy Cross without properly notifying Lewerentz of this fact. Ahlin, *Lewerentz*, pp. 117–18. See also Constant, *ibid.*, pp. 86–87.

6 Wilson, *Reflections*, pp. 150–52.

7 Stuart Wrede, *The Architecture of Erik Gunnar Asplund* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980), p. 233 n. 66. See also Constant, *Woodland Cemetery*, pp. 50, 77.

8 See Ahlberg, 'Lewerentz', *AA Files*, pp. 83–85, and Wrede, *ibid.*, pp. 69–70.

9 Constant, *Woodland Cemetery*, pp. 164–65.

10 Bengt O. H. Johansson, 'Skogskyrkogården och den sanitära estetiken', *Arkitektur* 2 (1982), p. 29: 'it must have been in the spring, 1932, that Asplund and Lewerentz suddenly discovered the landscape which had been excavated and blasted inside the entrance . . . In May 1932 the proposal first showing the "sublime" biblical landscape picture which now dominates the impression of the woodland cemetery was ready'.

11 On the symbolic qualities of the cemetery landscape and chapels see Hans Nordenström, 'Uppståndelsekapellet på Skogskyrkogården', in Nils Ahrbom, *HUS. 27 arkitekters val ur Svensk byggnadskonst* (Föratt hylla Professor Nils Ahrbom på hans 60 års dag. Redaktionskommitté: ed. H. Borgström and others) (Stockholm, 1965), pp. 120–33; Bengt O. H. Johansson, 'Skogskyrkogården i Enskede, 1914–1940', unpublished dissertation (Uppsala, 1961), and on the cemetery's antecedents and symbolism see Johansson, 'Skogskyrkogården', *Arkitektur*, pp. 26–29. See also the Swedish edition of Ahlin, *Lewerentz*.

12 Constant, *Woodland Cemetery*, esp. pp. 1, 13, 41, 100, 103, 107: influences from Worringer and Kandinsky, p. 24.

13 The stylistic shifts in the Woodland Cemetery buildings form the structure in Wrede's *Asplund*. See also Wrede, 'Landscape and Architecture: the Work of Erik Gunnar Asplund', *Perspecta: The Yale University Architecture Journal* 20 (1983), p. 205.

14 Wrede, *Asplund*, pp. 32, 204.

15 Wilson, *Reflections*, pp. 112, 130.

16 Constant, *Woodland Cemetery*, p. 1, see also p. 103.

17 Arnold Böcklin's *Toteninsel* ('Island of the Dead', five versions from 1880) may have been as relevant a source as works by Friedrich. On parallels with Friedrich see Wrede, *Asplund*, pp. 26–32, and 'Landscape', pp. 198–201. See also Constant, *ibid.*, pp. 24, 134.

18 This phrase was used in Wrede, 'Landscape', p. 206.

19 In 1990 the gap between the chapel and the porch was filled in (on pragmatic grounds). Asplund also detached the portico from the main chapel of 1935–40. Whilst the angle of the portico is recorded in Lewerentz's final chapel plan, even the architect's elevations and sections of the chapel drawn at the same time curiously fail to register this shift (these drawings were made by Lewerentz after the building was completed). Lewerentz's site plan/elevation projection (c.1923) of this area does however record the portico's shift in angle. This drawing is in the Swedish Museum of Architecture, Stockholm (the Arkitekturmuseet), and published in Henrik Andersson and Fredric Bedoire, *Swedish Architecture: Drawings 1640–1970* (Stockholm, 1986), p. 195. Shifts in angle are not uncommon in Swedish architecture, such as that in Östberg's Stockholm City Hall (1913–23) and in Asplund's Villa Snellman (1917–18). The shifts in angle in these designs would appear to be made without symbolic intent, however, and unlike Lewerentz's chapel they do not form part of a landscape composed of 'biblical' symbols.

20 Stuart Knight in 'Sigurd Lewerentz', *International Architect* 8.1 (1982), p. 34.

21 Nordenström, 'Uppståndelsekapellet', pp. 120–33 (passage translated in Ahlin, *Lewerentz*, pp. 80–81).

22 Wilson, *Reflections*, pp. 114–16.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 150.

24 Constant, *Woodland Cemetery*, p. 69.

25 Erik Gunnar Asplund, 'Krematoriebygget' (trans. 'The Crematorium Building'), *Byggmästaren* (1940), p. 248.

26 See Johansson, 'Skogskyrkogården', *Arkitektur*, p. 29 and Wrede, *Asplund*, p. 189. On the main chapel see Josef Hodin, 'Det Nya Krematoriet på Skogskyrkogården' (trans. 'The New Crematorium at the Woodland Cemetery') *Ignis* (Swedish Cremation Society Publication, 1940), p. 150. See also Constant, *Woodland Cemetery*, chapel siting pp. 80, 83, main chapel design pp. 84–101.

27 See Ahlin, *Lewerentz*, p. 64 and Constant, *ibid.*, p. 41.

- 28 Sven Markelius, 'Uppståndelsekapellet', *Byggmästaren* (1926), pp. 233–37 (partially translated in Stuart Knight, 'Lewerentz', pp. 34–35). See also Sigurd Lewerentz, 'Uppgifter Rörande Skogskyrkogårdens Uppståndelsekapell Med Tillhörande Byggnader', in *ibid.*, pp. 238–41.
- 29 See Johansson, 'Skogskyrkogården', *Arkitektur*, p. 29, and Constant, *Woodland Cemetery*, p. 58.
- 30 At Hälsingborg an existing canal was channelled into a dark vault under the main chapel's entrance (recalling the river Styx flowing into Hades) and emerged on the other side of the chapel in a cascade, thereby reflecting the Scandinavian Cremation Movement's cultivation of symbols of death and resurrection. See Wrede, *Asplund*, pp. 239–40 n.133, and Wrede, 'Landscape and Architecture', p. 201. See also Ahlberg, 'Lewerentz', *Arkitektur*.
- 31 The portico was even more disengaged in an early version of the design; see Ahlin, *Lewerentz*, p. 81.
- 32 In his section Lewerentz shows sculpture on the 'inside' tympanum (that is, facing the chapel), which obviously would never have been seen.
- 33 Wrede notes that, in alluding to both the tomb and the womb, this was 'appropriate to the cremation movement's symbolic coupling of death and rebirth' (*Asplund*, p. 204; see also p. 38).
- 34 See Britt Haarløv, *The Half-Open Door, A Common Symbolic Motif within Roman Sepulchral Sculpture* (Odense: Odense UP, 1977), on the temple-like qualities, see p. 31, on the theme of Resurrection, see esp. pp. 20–21, 27, 36, 45, 48, 50–56. See also Bernard Goldman, *The Sacred Portal, A Primary Symbol in Ancient Judaic Art* (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1966), and Tomasz Wujewski, *Anatolian Sepulchral Stelae in Roman Times* (Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz UP, 1991), pp. 36–40.
- 35 See Haarløv, *ibid.*, p. 9.
- 36 On this casket see *ibid.*, p. 41, and Lieselotte Kötzsche, 'Die trauernden Frauen. Zum Londoner Passimskästchen', in *Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture presented to Peter Lasko*, ed. D. Buckton, T. A. Heslop (Stroud, 1994), pp. 80–90. The presentation of the cave as a mausoleum in medieval Bible manuscripts became common enough: for example, the cave is idealized as a mausoleum on the cover of a Sacramentarium (1104–14) of the Emperor Henry II, from Bamberg (in the collection of the Staatsbibliothek, Munich). Indeed a sepulchre had itself stood on the supposed site of Christ's tomb from the time of Constantine, and Leon Battista Alberti took this building as the model for his design of the Rucellai Sepulchre in S. Pancrazio, Florence, of 1467. See Richard Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (London, 1971), pp. 69–106, and Franco Borsi, *Leon Battista Alberti* (New York, 1987 edn), pp. 75–90. On the integration of Pagan and Christian customs see Constant, *Woodland Cemetery*, p. 41.
- 37 See Haarløv, *ibid.*, p. 20.
- 38 See Kirmo Mikkola and Björn Linn, 'The transition from classicism to functionalism in Scandinavia', in *Classical Tradition and the Modern Movement* (trans. *Den Klassiska Traditionen och Modernismen*), ed. A. Salokorpi (the 2nd International Alvar Aalto Symposium, Helsinki, 1982), pp. 42–105.
- 39 See Alvar Aalto, 'Menneitten Aikojen Motiivit', *Arkkitehti* (1922), p. 25 (trans. 'Motifs From Times Past' in *Sketches*, ed. G. Schildt, trans. by Wrede (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978), p. 2). Discussed in Mikkola, *ibid.*, p. 44.
- 40 Illustrated in Ahlberg, 'Lewerentz', *Arkitektur*, p. 222. See also Ahlin, *Lewerentz*, pp. 34, 63–64 and Constant, *Woodland Cemetery*, pp. 98–99. Asplund designed a number of tombs based on Tuscan precedents, see Wrede, *Asplund*, pp. 94–96.
- 41 Wrede notes that the Woodland cemetery design was drawn 'partly from Nordic and Mediterranean landscape traditions and partly from burial archetypes' (*ibid.*, p. 27). On this theme see Constant, *ibid.*, pp. 40–41.
- 42 Vitruvius, *De architectura*, IV, 1, 9–10. Lewerentz clearly followed Vitruvius in making the height of his Corinthian capitals match the thickness (or 'module') of the column (IV, 1, 11). On the chapel's proportions see Nordenström, 'Uppståndelsekapellet', pp. 120–33. Lewerentz's drawing of the portico (from 1924) is published in Ahlin, *Lewerentz*, p. 70, who discusses the proportions of the chapel on pp. 78–80.
- 43 Haarløv, *Half-Open Door*, p. 52.
- 44 Roman tomb pediments had frequently carried symbolism representing the heavens, supported by Corinthian columns: see Haarløv, *ibid.*, p. 52.
- 45 See Johnsson, 'Första Svenska', pp. 3–4 and Constant, *Woodland Cemetery*, pp. 17, 19–20.
- 46 Lewerentz objected to the presence of an altar in a funerary chapel, as it interfered with the desired intimacy between mourners and catafalque. See Ahlin, *Lewerentz*, p. 77.
- 47 See Wilson, *Reflections*, p. 112. On this design see also Ahlberg, 'Lewerentz', *Arkitektur*.

48 The emblem for the Stockholm Exhibition, designed by Lewerentz, was a soaring wing based on the ancient Egyptian falconman, whose spirit was presumably being revived by the exhibition's new architecture. This motif was used on the exhibition poster and on a pin; see Ahlin, *Lewerentz*, p. 94. The use of symbolism was quite common in Asplund's early work, from Golden Age decoration used on Government grain silos (1917) to a 'starry' night sky in the Skandia cinema (1922–23). Wrede points out the predominance in his designs of the theme of pairing opposites, which included life and death, in *Asplund*, pp. 84–85, 221, 224.

49 See Wrede, *ibid.*, pp. 21–23, 224, and on Asplund's concern with the psychology of bereavement see Constant, *Woodland Cemetery*, pp. 2, 59, 98. See also Vaughan Hart, 'Carl Jung's Alchemical Tower at Bollingen', *RES* 25 (Spring 1994), pp. 36–50.

50 Aalto, 'E. G. Asplund: In Memoriam', in Schildt, *Sketches*, pp. 66–67.

51 Markelius, 'Uppståndelsekapellet', pp. 233–37. On this passage see Ahlberg, 'Lewerentz', *AA Files*, p. 86.