

Aalto Landscape Ruins *Chora*

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ABSTRACT

The architectural works of Catalonian architects RCR, Pritzker Prize laureates for 2017, exhibit, according to the jury citation, 'a strong sense of place and are powerfully connected to the surrounding landscape'; the siting, materials and geometries of their works aim to 'highlight the natural conditions and pull them into the building.' This contemporary citation recalls the capacity of Alvar Aalto to make buildings which connect with their site, forming intimate dialogue with nature and landscape. The prominence of site, place and landscape in RCR's work and in the 2017 Pritzker citation suggests the enduring value of Aalto's capacity to connect the architectural imagination with the forms, moods and vivacious dynamics of the natural world.

Landscape in this paper becomes a central theme to conceptualize Aalto's work, to unfold and extend thinking on Aalto's work using the topic of ruins. Ruins are evident influences in the siting, the conceptualization and composition, and the forms, elements, and even the finishes, of Aalto's buildings. In their location and siting and in their fragmentary presence, the ruins of ancient Greece offered Aalto a repertoire of design materials to include in his version of modernism. Studied in keenly focused travel sketches made at Delphi, Mycenae and Athens, the Greek ruins gave Aalto access to a complex design vocabulary of fragmentary elements involving nature, space and the architectural past, and an implicit means of expressing civic and cultural ideals.

Göran Schildt summarized Aalto's ambition to create buildings 'at once modern and natural, buildings which express a harmonious balance between modern man, the potential of technology and the existing environment.' Aalto sought to make 'an earthly paradise for people' based on twin imperatives: the wellbeing of his idealized user, the 'little man'; and invocation of landscape in an architecture which mediated between people and institutions and their immediate natural world conditions.

Aalto's interest in the ancient Greek theatre suggests that Plato's difficult idea of chora – relevant to Greek theatre and Greek ideas of landscape, and to more recent theoretical concerns of architectural space and place – has potential to open new insight into Aalto's work. Invoked by writers since the 1990s, the idea of chora offers a theoretical platform to unfold a broader discourse on the landscape-related spatiality of Aalto's architecture. Landscape and ruins seen through the idea of chora offer a means to discuss space and place in Aalto's work.

Today the work of Aalto, with its visual and haptic openness to nature and landscape, suggests to architects and students possible new engagements for design and drawing, a 'third way' for design thinking, emerging through modernism but transcending both a minimal rectilinearity and artificially generated 'organic' form. This paper offers a conceptual approach to Aalto that investigates the presence of ruins in his work. The concept of chora provides a complex, fruitful theoretical basis for transforming our understanding of Aalto's work through an expanded comprehension of nature and landscape as integral to his work and methods. It supports the value of Aalto's architecture as a profound and accessible mediation between humankind and the natural world.

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. . . Aalto had witnessed the destruction of towns and cities in Finland. He saw it all burn, saw his Finnish friends in the utmost distress . . . Aalto realized that no soldier would want to return home from a hated barracks to live in exactly the same kind of building. It was a wise observation. Aalto did not want to see his fellow countrymen and women in misery. They should stay on their own soil.¹

Jørn Utzon

Introduction

In asking, 'Why Aalto?' we might note the jury citation of Catalonian architects RCR, Pritzker Prize laureates for 2017, whose works 'have a strong sense of place and are powerfully connected to the surrounding landscape . . . The siting of buildings, the choice of materials and the geometries used are always intended to highlight the natural conditions and pull them into the building.'² This praise for non-urban architects concerned with 'place' prompts reconsideration of architecture's engagement with landscape and the natural world, a fundamental concern for Alvar Aalto, who aimed to make 'an earthly paradise for people'.³

This paper focuses on landscape and ruins in Aalto's architecture. It seeks to conceptualize Aalto's work by thinking about landscape and ruins through the idea of *chora*, seen variously as a matter of space and place. It aims to unfold something of Aalto's complexity, to show how Aalto remains exemplary and essential for developing strategies for architecture to mediate humankind's place on earth, in nature, and in social relations, now and into the future.

The theme of ruins presents an opportunity to connect Aalto's work with the principles of classical Greece. Aalto built architecture after World War II exhibiting elements of ruin, from Baker House to the Muuratsalo house and his Helsinki office, to buildings on the Otaniemi and Jyväskylä campuses. Aalto also used ruins variously for writing and reflection: Pompeiiian ruins as precedent for enclosed open space;⁴ a Greek temple 'colonnade' comparing Classical sculpture and modern technological form;⁵ wartime ruins exemplifying human resilience and architectural optimism.⁶ Aalto's 1953 sketches of ruins at Delphi captured a sense of place through the unique spatiality of the theatre, locating social and architectural ideals in dialogue with the landscape.⁷ Aalto's sketches of Delphi are central to this paper's discussion of space, place, ruins and landscape.

Ruins, writing, literature

A significant architectural 'ruins literature' extends through European culture, from Piranesi's eighteenth century engravings of ancient Roman ruins⁸ and documentation of Greek ruins by Le Roy and by Stuart and Revett,⁹ to the presence of ruins in Walter Benjamin's writing, particularly his 1928 study of baroque German drama, the *Trauerspiel*,¹⁰ to post-World War II ruin writing, from Rose Macaulay's *Pleasure of Ruins* (1953),¹¹ and to collections by Hell and Schonle (2010) and Dillon (2011).¹² Ruins have been central to Sebald's writing, and also to a burgeoning academic interest, of which reflections by Hell, Theisen, and Stoler stand out in their interpretive insight.¹³ In the 8th century Old English elegy *The Ruin*, the speaker shows wonder at 'the work of giants', in regarding a ruined Roman or Anglo-Saxon palace in southern England.

The Ruin

Wondrous is this foundation – the fates have broken
and shattered this city; the work of giants crumbles.

The roofs are ruined, the towers toppled,
frost in the mortar has broken the gate,
torn and worn and shorn by the storm,
eaten through with age.

. . .

. . . The ruins toppled to the ground,
broken into rubble, where once many a man
glad-minded, gold-bright, bedecked in splendor,
proud, full of wine, shone in his war-gear,
gazed on treasure, on silver, on sparkling gems,
on wealth, on possessions, on the precious stone,
on this bright capital of a broad kingdom.¹⁴

Garner comments that ‘Old English poetry seems to regard stone structures and ruins with a degree of ambivalence – admiration but also a certain degree of suspicion.’¹⁵ The melancholy of huge ruins is balanced with imagery of its glittering past: ‘More than a physical space alone, the ruins . . . serve as a locus for reshaping the past of the structure and its imagined inhabitants in terms of the speaker’s own cultural memory.’¹⁶ The *space* of the ruin becomes a *place*, a locus for reflections more complex than wonder or puzzlement; architectural space becomes ‘a common and productive mnemonic for storing information’, for situating memories and for reflection on more abstract concepts such as human grief or life’s transience.¹⁷

Critic Harold Bloom cites Owen Barfield’s discourses on the word ruin:

Figurations or tropes create meaning, which could not exist without them . . . The Latin verb *ruo*, meaning “rush” or “collapse”, led to the substantive *ruina* for what had fallen. Chaucer . . . helped to domesticate “ruin” as “a falling”:

Min is the ruine of the highe halles
The falling of the towers and of the walles.¹⁸

Bloom reviews figurative uses of ruin in Shakespeare:

I myself find even stronger the blind Gloucester’s piercing outcry when he confronts the mad King Lear (IV, vi, 134-135):

O ruin’d piece of nature! This great world
Shall so wear out to nought.’

. . . Once Barfield sets one searching, the figurative power of “ruined” seems endless . . . I note Barfield’s insight, that the figurative power of “ruin” depends upon restoring its original sense of *movement*, of rushing toward a collapse.¹⁹

Barfield in *Poetic Diction* (1928) considered the senses and evolution of *ruin*. The Latin *ruo* (after the Greek *eruo*), in Classical contexts, ‘carries with it a larger sense of swift, disastrous movement’. Further, ‘The Greek *po, reo*, “to flow”, and similar words in other European languages . . . suggest that the old rumbling, guttural “r”, which our modern palates have so thinned and refined, once had its concrete connection with swift, natural movements such as those of torrents or landslides.’²⁰

Ruins as topic

In 1907 philosopher and social scientist Georg Simmel wrote on ruins and landscape:

When we speak of “returning home”, we mean to characterize the peace whose mood surrounds the ruin. And we must characterize something else: our sense that these two world potencies – the striving upward and the sinking downward – are working serenely together, as we envisage in their working a picture of purely natural existence. Expressing this peace for us, the ruin orders itself into the surrounding landscape without a break, growing together with it like tree and stone – whereas a palace, a villa, even a peasant house, even where they fit perfectly into the mood of their landscape, always stem from another order of things and blend with that of nature only as if in afterthought. Very old buildings in open country, and particularly ruins, often show a peculiar similarity of color to the tones of the soil around them.²¹

Simmel emphasizes that in the peaceful ambience of the ruin a resolution seems to have been attained between downward-drawing gravity and upward-drawing growth, as well as between the built and the natural world. This sense of harmony leads to one of Aalto’s key uses of ruin.



Figure 1. Slides from Aalto's 1941 Zürich lecture.
 Source: Schildt, *Alvar Aalto in his Own Words*, 151.

The idea of building for people and place in harmony springs surprisingly from images in Aalto's 1941 Zürich lecture, showing a jumble of ruin elements – tots playing in rubble, old people, a log cabin and a tent, an outdoor kitchen, a makeshift stove (Fig.1). Aalto sees 'the influence of classical architectural forms' in the log cabin (foreshadowing Aalto's log-wall Muuratsalo sauna). He shows the 'touching example' of a 'peasant woman', courageously resilient in the open air, 'who has found her oven intact among the ruins of her home and is now baking her first loaves of bread there.' With amazing creative optimism Aalto creates a harmony of opposites, promoting rebirth out of devastation: 'This is a home without walls or roof, with its damaged but still-beating heart.'²² And foreseeing the dread prospect of standardized low-cost *existenzminimum* modernist housing for the Finnish 'little man', Aalto counters by urging a sophisticated optimizing approach to postwar reconstruction, respecting the individuality of every building and site:

As opposed to a car, a building has a fixed relationship with nature: it is inseparably attached to a specific plot of land, and it is affected by the specific natural conditions that result from the distinctive character of its site. We can confidently assert, and at least theoretically prove, that no two building sites in this world are alike. They are all different, even in the most monotonous regions, according to the laws of biological diversity.'²³

Aalto argues against repetitive standardization, even in the face of ruination and destruction, and maintains that the individual's connection with a particular place is the true basis for strategy of reconstruction.

In terms of twentieth century history, Aalto worked, as Curtis observes, at a time of national hardship during and after World War II: 'Aalto's idea of buildings as intermediaries between human life and the natural landscape was explored continuously in the post-war years. This was a period of rapid reconstruction and urbanization in Finland (whole villages and townships had been destroyed)'.²⁴ World War II and postwar social realignments affected Aalto's architectural development, triggering a search for regeneration, for 'new inspirations and primal signposts',²⁵ possibly from Finnish vernacular architecture, natural and landscape forms, tactile material aesthetics, even the forms and ideas of classical Greece. Aalto showed two peaks of interest in the ruins of the classical world: in Pompeiian ruins in the 1920s, as illustrated in his 1924 'Doorstep to living room' essay;²⁶ and after World War II in the ruins of Greece, which he visited in the 1950s.

Chora, space, place

Philosopher Jeff Malpas, citing geographer Doreen Massey, advises against assuming that the terms 'space', 'spatial', and 'place' might have 'clear and uncontested' meanings.²⁷ Discussion of relationships between 'place' and 'space' has been a cornerstone in the thinking of major philosophers – Newton, Descartes, Heidegger, Einstein, Whitehead – for over three centuries.²⁸ This evident significance and contestation of the topic should serve as a warning against assuming the sufficiency of everyday usages; the key topic of 'place' / 'space' is extensive, and clearly entails extended discussion beyond this paper. Here we proceed by assuming that the idea of spatiality remains, in Malpas's words, as 'primarily a matter of physical extendedness'; space can be regarded as instrumental and dimensionally determined, as Malpas notes: 'the philosophical history of the concept of space in Western thought is a history in which space has been increasingly understood in the narrower terms that tie it to physical extension.'²⁹

In the present context it is hoped that while ideas of 'place' / 'space' may help unfold our understanding of Aalto's methods, it is hoped that Aalto's work and ideas can in turn

expand our comprehension of concepts which might appear to be locked together in an endless spiral of duality of 'place' / 'space'.

Forty's comments on 'place' and 'space' in *Words and Buildings* may clarify the situation efficiently in two instances. First, introducing a chapter on space in modernist architecture, Forty points out that space 'simply did not exist in the architectural vocabulary until the 1890s.'³⁰ Second, Forty dismisses 'place' as a useful term for thinking about modernism: he notes that under Heidegger's influence, 'in certain circles, "place" superseded "space" as the buzzword.'³¹ As a consequence this paper assumes Malpas's reflections on place (following Heidegger's ideas) as authoritative for the present discussion:

I simply want to establish the idea of place in such a way that it can begin to be seen, neither in terms merely of some narrow sense of spatio-temporal location, nor as some sort of subjective construct, but rather as that wherein the sort of being that is characteristically human has its ground.³²

This idea of place as a point for (literally) 'human being' seems persuasive for thinking about Aalto's architecture as exemplifying place, evident in his drawing of the ruins of a classical theatre in the open air at Delphi in a remote sacred place in mainland Greece.

Malpas further clarifies:

Fundamental to the idea of place would seem to be the idea of an open and yet bounded realm within which the things of the world can appear and within which events can "take place". Such a notion of place is, of course, broader than just the idea of place as a narrowly defined point of location, but this latter idea of place as merely a "point" would seem to be a very limited and perhaps even derivative use of the / concept.³³

That place might be neither a 'point' nor a region suggests the indefiniteness of *chora*, of an ideal that might become more negotiable when tested in an actual setting. Malpas's idea of 'an open and yet bounded realm within which the things of the world can appear and within which events can "take place"' suggests neither a room nor even a building; the 'open and yet bounded realm' cries out for the open concavity, the artificial geometric order, the finite edges and the openness to landscape and elements characteristic of the Greek theatre.

Curtis writes of the Greek theatre, of ruins and landscape, and of Aalto's adoption of an 'irregular' order associated with the play of the non-orthogonal curve, wave or fan form that played against the order of the solid, rectilinear box: this irregular order was Aalto's 'harmony':

. . . a harmony of buildings, landscape and the spirit of place – that Aalto managed to evoke in his drawings of ancient ruins, especially Delphi, and that he attempted to translate into his own architecture and urban designs. It may be that the final touchstone for the fan shape . . . was the Greek amphitheatre, fractured and eroded by time.³⁴

Aalto's ideal of harmony suggests to Curtis landscape, and also 'spirit of place', a contestable and potentially distracting term associated with architectural phenomenology, regionalism, and 'genius loci'. Landscape historian J.B. Jackson names 'sense of place' as 'an awkward and ambiguous modern translation of the Latin term *genius loci*.' He holds that, 'In classical times it meant not so much the place itself as the guardian divinity of that place . . . we now use the current version to describe the *atmosphere* of a place, the quality of its *environment*.'³⁵ The simpler term 'place' seems sufficiently dissociated from ideas of *genius loci* and atmosphere to help keep attention on key concerns of the present work.

Unwin discusses the Greek theatre and his interpretation of *chora* in the context of architectural archetypes: 'The power of the ancient Greek orchestra is so strong that it easily survives the ruination of the theatre as a whole. If anything, that power becomes even stronger; the pure geometry of the circled flat space contrasts with and isolates itself from the roughness of the surrounding terrain.'³⁶

***Chora* at Delphi: sketches of place**

In his definitive study of Greek architecture, Dinsmoor (1950) discusses the proscenium building at length, but avoids the problem of visual or spatial connection of theatre with landscape.³⁷ As may be seen in Aalto's sketches (Fig.2), while the proscenium at Delphi is today only a relict platform, the theatre's connection with landscape is visually clear and spatially articulate, recalling Piranesi's notion of 'speaking ruins' telling their story straight to the viewer.³⁸ Scully (Fig.3) notes at Delphi:

The seats of [the] theatre nestle back into the hollow of the slope. Their concave shape complements an especially convex outpouring of rock on the slope across the

valley, and they look out over their own low stage house and even the mass of the temple of Apollo toward the longer view southward across the land.³⁹



Figure 2. Alvar Aalto, Delphi. theatre ruins and landscape, pencil sketch, 1953.

Source: Schildt, *Alvar Aalto in his own words*, 27.

In the ruined theatre, with surrounding roofs and walls cleared away, the original landscape strategies of selecting and modifying the site and connecting architecture with place, become evident once more; looking back into the natural setting Scully sees the spatiality of the theatre's emplacement: 'when one mounts beyond the temple and comes to the theatre, it can be seen that the arc of its seats is nestled into the earth and indeed echoes the hollow volume of space created by the mountain's horns above it.'⁴⁰

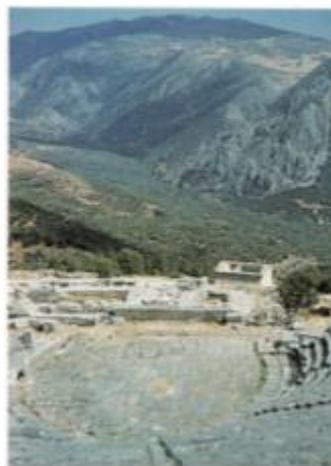


Figure 3. Delphi. Theatre ruins and landscape.

Source: Vincent Scully, *Architecture: The Natural and the Manmade*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1991), 63.

In Aalto's sketch (Fig.2) the 'box' of the platform of the ruined temple of Apollo is drawn with dense shadows and square outlines against the undulating curves, emanating waves and steps of the ruined theatre. Both sets of drawn forms work against and resonate with the curves of the valley landscape.

In a similar way a *parti* drawing by Aalto for the New York Finland pavilion (1939) shows a sinuous undulating line within a box – a plan diagram underlying the built project (Fig.4).⁴¹ Menin remarks that this diagram is 'central to Aalto's compositional technique', and shows a complementarity between rigorous analysis and 'turbulent' fantasy of creative imagination.⁴²

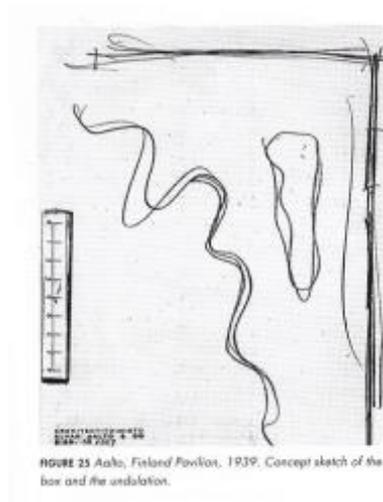


Figure 4. Finland Pavilion, sketch by Alvar Aalto, 1939
Source: Menin, 'Embracing Independence', (2012), 157.

A remarkably similar diagram was sketched by philosopher Jacques Derrida in 1986, to help describe a truthful sense of *chora* to architect Peter Eisenman (Fig.5.) Derrida's sketch represents, for himself a number of things, including: 'a metallic object, gilded . . . planted oblique in the sun, neither vertical nor horizontal . . . a framework (loom), a sieve, or a grille (grid), and also a stringed musical instrument (piano, harp, lyre)'.⁴³ The spatiality and forms implied beyond Derrida's text suggest conceptual parallels beyond the scope of this paper; it is sufficient here to use this similarity to link Aalto with contemporary architectural thinking on *chora*. Plato's difficult idea of *chora*, the word from the *Timaeus* for space, also discussed by contemporary philosophers, informs a discussion of Aalto's complexity and spatiality.⁴⁴

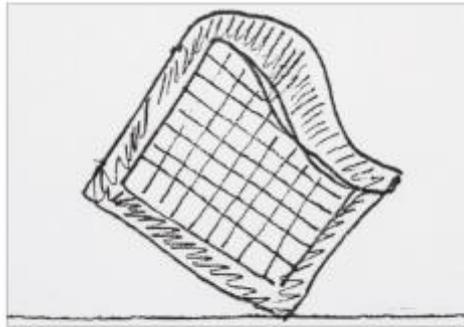


Figure 3. Jacques Derrida (1930-2004), drawing for *Choral Works*. Detail from a letter to Peter Eisenman of May 30, 1986. Photo, Collection-Centre Canadien d'Architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal.

Figure 5. *Chora* diagram, drawn by Jacques Derrida, 1986
Source: Derrida and Eisenman, *Choral Works*, 185.

Aalto was cryptically silent on interpretation of his work; however, he recommends ‘a particularly subtle kind of humour’ to the architect: ‘*you must give yourself away in some little detail . . . no architectural creation is complete without some such trait; it will not be alive.*’⁴⁵ The play of the undulating line against the box, seen often in Aalto’s work after 1939, may be this trait, at varying scales, with the sinuous line representing nature and human nature, the individual, childhood, play, folly, experiment, music, gardens, feelings, landscape – all manifestations, beyond the box, frame or grid, of Aalto’s ideal of freedom. ‘After all’, Aalto wrote in 1949, ‘nature is a symbol of freedom. Sometimes nature actually gives rise to and maintains the idea of freedom.’⁴⁶ Thus Aalto’s subtle mischief allows a glimpse of a connection between his work and Derrida’s ‘lyre’ of *chora*, a connection allowing a correspondence between Aalto’s ideas of space / place and the Greek idea of *chora*: the buildings and drawings of Aalto, through the idea of *chora*, thus arguably become open to new stages of theoretical interpretation.

Terroir and orientation

Architecture uses the term ‘place’ less as the geographer’s idea of ‘region’ than the tighter focused location and orientation involved in the ‘placement’ of a building on its site. The precision of siting advocated by Aalto resembles more the French viticultural concept of *terroir* than the geographers’ notion of region. Hugh Johnson stresses the precise place where grapes grow: ‘The better the wine, the more exactly it locates its origin . . . it is the exact spot of earth which is the governing factor . . . Techniques and fashions change; owners, machines, even the climate changes. What does not change is the soil, the elevation, the exposure.’⁴⁷ The idea of a particular tiny parcel of ground, a defined area of earthly space, of a particular place as the dominant agent of wine flavour recalls the

precision of the architectural site, particularly a theatre site. In fact about eighty per cent of Greek theatres were oriented to face south to south-east, facing, like a good vineyard, towards the warmth and light of the first half of the day, for reasons of ritual and comfort.⁴⁸ Summarizing this significant topic, Vincent Scully argues that ancient orientations were variously to both the sky and the earth; neolithic monuments in Britain were related to the sun more than the land: 'The earth around them is as unfocused as the sea . . . it is among the heavenly bodies they seek their larger pattern of order.' The Bronze Age palaces of Crete, set in a landscape seen as 'essentially oblong and linear', were oriented north-south to gain winter sun, and were directed primarily not to the sky but 'toward the eye-fixing forms of mountains'. The Greek orientation, especially of temples, related to both earth *and* sky, in a world regarded as 'essentially circular', but with 'two points of focus, the rising sun and the sacred landscape shape.'⁴⁹

Conclusion

Today the work of Aalto, with its visual and haptic openness to nature and landscape, suggests to architects and students possible new engagements for contemporary design and drawing, a 'third way' for design thinking, emerging through modernism but transcending both a minimal rectilinearity and artificially generated 'organic' forms. This paper opens a conceptual approach to Aalto that investigates the presence of ruins in his work. The concept of *chora*, as receptacle, as place, as landscape setting for architecture, provides a complex, fruitful theoretical basis for transforming our understanding of Aalto's work through an expanded comprehension of nature and landscape as integral to his work and methods. It supports the value of Aalto's architecture as a profound and accessible mediation between humankind and the natural world. It also confirms architecture as an embodiment of optimism and creativity in all construction and in reconstruction aimed at providing the best possible living conditions for people, as Aalto aimed to provide for his fellow Finns after the Winter War. And as Aalto said in 1957,

Architecture has an ulterior motive . . . the thought of creating a paradise. It is the only purpose of our houses. If we did not always carry this thought around with us all our houses would become simpler and more trivial and life would become – would it be at all worth living?⁵⁰

Why Aalto? In the midst of ruins, one hopes and works towards happiness.

NOTES

- ¹ Jørn Utzon and Henrik Sten Møller, 'Conversations', in Henrik Sten Møller & Vibe Udsen, *Jørn Utzon Houses* (Copenhagen: Living Architecture Publishing, 2004), 7-8.
- ² Pritzker Prize 2017 jury citation (Pritzker laureates: RCR Architects Rafael Aranda, Carme Pigem and Ramon Vilalta); Glenn Murcutt, chair. <http://www.pritzkerprize.com/2017/jury-citation>. Noted 3 April 2017.
- ³ Alvar Aalto, 'The Architect's Conception for Paradise' (1957), in *Alvar Aalto Sketches*, ed. Goran Schildt, trans. Stuart Wrede (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The MIT Press, 1978), 158.
- ⁴ Alvar Aalto, 'From doorstep to living room' (1926), in *Alvar Aalto in his own words*, ed. Göran Schildt, trans. Timothy Binham (Helsinki: Ottava, 1997), 51.
- ⁵ Alvar Aalto, 'The Latest Trends in Architecture' (1928), in *Alvar Aalto in his own words*, ed. Göran Schildt, trans. Timothy Binham (Helsinki: Ottava, 1997), 61.
- ⁶ Alvar Aalto, 'The Reconstruction of Europe is the key problem for the architecture of our time' (1941), in *Alvar Aalto in his own words*, ed. Göran Schildt, trans. Timothy Binham (Helsinki: Ottava, 1997), 150-151.
- ⁷ *Alvar Aalto in his own words*, ed. Göran Schildt, trans. Timothy Binham (Helsinki: Ottava, 1997), 25, 27.
- ⁸ John Wilton-Ely, *The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978); John Wilton-Ely, *Piranesi, Paestum & Soane* (Munich: Prestel, 2013);
- ⁹ Julien-David Le Roy, *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece*, intr. Robin Middleton, trans. David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004 / 1770); James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, intr. Frank Salmon (10 vols, published 1762-1818) (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008).
- ¹⁰ Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, intr. George Steiner, trans. John Osborne (London: Verso, 1977) (1928). Original 1928, published as *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels* by Surkamp Verlag in 1963.
- ¹¹ Rose Macaulay, *Pleasure of Ruins* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1953).
- ¹² Julia Hell & Andreas Schonle, *Ruins of Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Brian Dillon, ed., *Ruins* (London, UK & Cambridge, MA: Whitechapel Gallery and MIT Press, 2011).
- ¹³ W.G. Sebald, *The Rings of Saturn*, trans. Michael Hulse (London: Harwill Press, 1999); W.G. Sebald, 'Air War and Literature: Zürich Lectures', in *On the Natural History of Destruction*, trans. Anthea Bell (New York: Random House, 2003); Bianca Theisen, 'A Natural History of Destruction: W.G. Sebald's *The Rings of Saturn*', *MLN* 121 (2006): 563-581; Julia Hell, 'The Angel's Enigmatic Eyes, or The Gothic Beauty of Catastrophic History in W. G. Sebald's "Air War and Literature"', *Criticism*, Vol.46, No.3, Special Issue: Extreme and Sentimental History (Summer 2004): 361-392.
- ¹⁴ *The Ruin*, elegy from The Exeter Book, c750-850 AD. See <https://web.utk.edu/~rliuzza/401/Elegies.pdf>. Noted 1 Dec 2016.
- ¹⁵ Lori Ann Garner, *Structuring Spaces: Oral Poetics and Architecture in Early Medieval England* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 162.
- ¹⁶ Garner, *Structuring Spaces*, 162.
- ¹⁷ Garner, *Structuring Spaces*, 166.
- ¹⁸ Harold Bloom, 'The Art of Reading Poetry' in *The Best Poems of the English Language: From Chaucer through Frost* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004), 3.
- ¹⁹ Bloom, 'The Art of Reading Poetry', 3.
- ²⁰ Owen Barfield, *Poetic Diction: A Study in Meaning* (London: Faber, 1952 [1928]), 113-14.
- ²¹ Georg Simmel, 'The Ruin' (1907), in 'Two Essays', *The Hudson Review*, Vol.11, No.3 (Autumn, 1958): 383.
- ²² Alvar Aalto, 'The Reconstruction of Europe is the Key Problem for the Architecture of our Time' (1941), in Schildt, *Alvar Aalto in his own words*, 150-151.
- ²³ Aalto, 'The Reconstruction of Europe', 153.
- ²⁴ William J.R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, 3rd edn (London: Phaidon, 1996), 455.

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- ²⁵ Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, 452.
- ²⁶ Alvar Aalto, 'From doorstep to living room' (1926), in *Alvar Aalto in his own words*, ed. Göran Schildt, trans. Timothy Binham (Helsinki: Ottava, 1997), 51.
- ²⁷ J.E. Malpas, *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 21; cites Doreen Massey, 'Politics and Space/Time', in Michael Keith and Steve Pile, eds, *Place and the Politics of Identity* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 141-142.
- ²⁸ Malpas, *Place and Experience*, 26.
- ²⁹ Malpas, *Place and Experience*, 26.
- ³⁰ Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 256.
- ³¹ Forty, *Words and Buildings*, 271.
- ³² Malpas, *Place and Experience*, 33.
- ³³ Malpas, *Place and Experience*, 33-34.
- ³⁴ Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, 461.
- ³⁵ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, 'A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time', in *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 157-158.
- ³⁶ Simon Unwin, *The Ten Most Influential Buildings in History: Architecture's Archetypes* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2017), 129; note chapter 6 'Theatre', 128-159.
- ³⁷ William Bell Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece: An account of its historical development* (London: Batsford, 1950), 297-319.
- ³⁸ Giambattista Piranesi wrote of '*parlante ruine*' in 1743: 'these speaking ruins have filled my spirit with images of a kind which even precise drawings such as those by the immortal Palladio, which I always kept before my eyes, can never conjure up.' See Andreas Huyssen, 'Nostalgia for Ruins', *Grey Room* 23 (Spring 2006): 16.
- ³⁹ Vincent Scully, *Architecture: The Natural and the Manmade* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1991), 63.
- ⁴⁰ Scully, *Architecture*, 63.
- ⁴¹ Göran Schildt, with Elina Standertskjöld and Kristiina Paatero, eds, *The Architectural Drawings of Alvar Aalto, 1917-1939*, Vol.10 (New York: Garland Publishing, in collaboration with the Museum of Finnish Architecture, 1994).
- ⁴² Sarah Menin, 'Embracing Independence: The Finland Pavilion, New York, 1939', in Stanford Anderson, Gail Fenske, and David Fixler, eds, *Aalto and America* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2012), 157.
- ⁴³ Jacques Derrida, 'Letter to Peter Eisenman' (1986), in Jacques Derrida and Peter Eisenman, *Chora L Works*, edited by Jeffrey Kipnis and Thomas Leiser (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1997), 185.
- ⁴⁴ Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*, trans. Desmond Lee (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971 / 1965), 67-72. See also J.E. Malpas, 'The obscurity of space', in *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 19-43; Keimpe Algra, *Concepts of Space in Greek Thought* (Leiden; New York; Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 72-120.
- ⁴⁵ Aalto, 'From doorstep to living room', 55.
- ⁴⁶ Alvar Aalto, 'National Planning and Cultural Goals' (1949), in *Alvar Aalto Sketches*, ed. Goran Schildt, trans. Stuart Wrede (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: The MIT Press, 1978), 102.
- ⁴⁷ Hugh Johnson, *The World Atlas of Wine: A Complete Guide to the Wines & Spirits of the World* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 1971), 8.
- ⁴⁸ Clifford Ashby, *Classical Greek Theatre: New Views of an Old Subject* (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1999), 97-117.
- ⁴⁹ Vincent Scully, *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture*, rev. edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979 / 1962), 24.
- ⁵⁰ Alvar Aalto, 'The Architect's Conception for Paradise' (1957), in *Alvar Aalto Sketches*, ed. Goran Schildt, trans. Stuart Wrede (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: The MIT Press, 1978), 159.