

Rödabergsområdet: a verdant small town idyll within the city

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Abstract

On the rocky peaks of the hilly area in north-western outskirts Stockholm, more than forty architects gave their contribution to approximately 2,500 dwelling units comprising the neighbourhood so-called Rödabergsområdet, which corresponds to one of the longest-pondered and biggest housing plans of the 1910s and 1920s, although its knowledge is still limited outside Nordic countries. The shape of the district stems from progressive refinements and conflations: from the first proposal (1906-1909) by the Swedish urban planner Per Olof Hallman, via crucial improvements by the architect Sigurd Lewerentz (1921) down to integrations (1922 and 1928) by the team of the Stockholm City Building Board.

This contribution sheds new light on urban design history and development of the residential estate via key findings: on the one hand, some drawings and texts from Hallman's collection (Stockholm Stadsarkiv) as well as drawings and photos of the H.S.B. housing cooperative archive (Centrum för Näringslivshistoria), and, on the other hand, the never-discovered four drawings plates of Lewerentz (ArkDes, Stockholm) that for the first time demonstrate how his design inputs affected significantly the district layout. Organic and structured in form, Rödabergsområdet belongs as much to the collective memory and cultural heritage of Stockholm as to the cityscape.

Keywords: Stockholm; Per Olof Hallman; Sigurd Lewerentz; Nordic Classicism;

Large courtyard blocks; Collective spaces

Introduction

On the rocky peaks of the hilly area of Norrmalm, in the north-western unbuilt outskirts of Stockholm, more than forty architects gave their contribution to approximately 2,500 dwelling units which comprise the neighbourhood so-called Rödabergsområdet. This corresponds to one of the longest-pondered and biggest urban housing plans in the capital, designed a couple decades before the functionalist wind of change of the 1930s. The complex arrangement of ten large-courtyard blocks was built by housing cooperatives – mainly the H.S.B.¹ – and various associations or foundations, the rest being private builders.

This example «is generally regarded today as one of the finest parts of the inner city»² with its variety of reformed perimeter blocks forming a continuous environment suited to the lie of the land with different street-views, attractive squares, hilly parkland and private gardens. Indeed, the particular topography of the site «was utilized in building up the townscape round a natural accent»³. The shape of the district stems from progressive refinements and a conflation of diverse planning principles in terms of density and settlement patterns, from the first «particularly adequate»⁴ proposal (1906-1909) by the Swedish urban planner Per Olof Hallman, via crucial improvements by the architect Sigurd Lewerentz (1921), down to integrations (1922 and 1928) by the team of the Stockholms Stadsbyggnadsnämnd (Stockholm City Building Board) under the supervision of the architect Sigurd Westholm and Hallman as vice-director. All these features made what is often seen as one of the most significant housing intervention drawn up in that point of the 20th century in the Nordic countries, when national consciousness together with newly interpreted classical formal vocabulary as well as new transnational ideas on urban design blossomed and, then, became the main sources of references.

¹ The acronym stands for *Hyresgästernas sparkasse- och byggnadsföreningars Riksförbun* (National Association of Tenants' Savings and Building Societies). Established in 1923, it is still active. See http://www.hsb-historien.se (accessed November 15, 2020).

² Hall. *Planning and Urban Growth in the Nordic Countries*, 207.

³ Andersson and Bedoire. *Stockholm architecture and townscape*, 259.

⁴ Beredningsutskottets utlåtanden och memorial för år 1906, Binhang No. 52, 12: https://sok.stadsarkivet.stockholm.se/Bildarkiv/Egenproducerat/Kommuntrycket/KTR0074_009 ps.pdf (accessed November 15, 2020).

Therefore, the 1910s and 1920s saw substantial urban, architectural, technical, but also social tranformations. Two decades full of contrasts and contradictions which markedly altered the needs of the modern city and the eager demand of land for housing purposes, because housing started to become a public utility. Together with other examples of the period, Rödabergsområdet is one valuable result of the negotiations for reshaping the city of Stockholm, implying in turn greatly improved spatial implications at the scale of the neighborhood and of inhabitants' community.

Nevertheless, the understanding of the impact of Rödabergsområdet, like other Nordic housing examples of that period, is still limited compared to other modern European residential operations which grabbed much more the interest at large, as shown by the dearth of thorough studies especially outside Sweden.

The 1910s-1920s Nordic housing plans, but more in general the buildings elaborated in that period constituted an almost unbeaten track for long time and often they were deliberately neglected for preconceptions on the classical motifs of the façades and the employment of urban memories in the plan design.

Figure 1. The continuous environment and distorted street-perspectives

Source: Author's own photos, 2017-2018

The re-discovery of that production spurned in the Eighties onwards at the large audience, thanks to the *2nd International Alvar Aalto Symposium - Classical Tradition and the Modern Movement* held at the Alvar Aalto Museum in Jyväskylä (1982) and accompanied with the itinerant exhibition *Nordisk Klassicism 1910-1930*. Such attitude of an abstract and ahistorical classicism as a «mixed bag»⁵ was employed in a wide range of different buildings, from cemeteries to unpretentious working-class housing complexes. Architects gradually shifted the focus from the bourgeoisie to a wider audience, the working-class masses, including also single mothers and elderly people. The architectural language of urban façades would upgrade the social status and reflect a search for community ideals gathered around the green areas, squares and attaractive roads. The Rödabergsområdet vividly coloured plaster façades with their re-interpretation of certain classical motifs and

⁵ Paavilainen, Pallasmaa. Nordisk Klassicism 1910-1930 / Nordic Classicism 1910-1930, 7.

decorations were a sort of useful tool for a process of «aesthetic democratization»⁶ of society and equally identification of their homes as part of a recognised cityscape.

Since the 1980s the term *Nordic Classicism*, used for labelling the architectural production spanning the first two decades of the 20th century, has generally been preferred to *Swedish Grace*⁷ coined by the British architect Morton Shand aiming to describe the Swedish simple, light, elegant interpretation of classicism with regard to furniture and household objects (and architecture to a little extent)⁸.

Later on, Sweden 20th Century Architecture (1998)9, in form of collective publication and jointed travelling exhibition, still embodies a seminal portray for the overall understanding of the Swedish modern developments – where housing and planning policies played a central role – to a worldwide audience. Although this also added some key aspects and steps on the 1920s housing operations, that resulted little known to a larger public, the volume does not provide a systematic and in-depth investigation about the built examples. On the contrary, very few studies by Swedish scholars – actually two Ph.D. theses on Per Olof Hallman and urban transformations in Stockholm (Thomas Paulsson in 1959 and Anna-Lisa Löfquist in 1991) and one about the typology of the large courtyard block (Linn 1974) – enriched the discussion in this respect via an indetail research in the archives. However, their dissemination was limited, because these have never been translated. The third dissertation, conducted by the historian Björn Linn, still represents the first and last effort of comparative analysis ranging the different degrees of complexity of the reformed perimeter block to the gradual abandonment of the the term Storgårdskvarteret he bracketed Nordic instances, idea. Under Rödabergsområdet too, with a number of Western and Central European experiences from World War I up to approximately 1930. In recent times, Nordic housing estates have been included in the cross-national "tradition" of the metropolitan reformed urban block as a meaningful answer to the compact city-building pattern, as demonstrated by the papers and book of Wolfang Sonne¹⁰.

⁶ Andersson. "Modern Klassicism i Norden / Modern Classicism in Norden", 23.

⁷ See Mårtelius, Elmlund (2015) and Ivanov (2017). For a wider overview of the revising process see also Monterumisi (2021).

⁸ Morton Shand. "Stockholm 1930", 69.

⁹ It was produced and hosted at first by the Deutsches Architekturmuseum (DAM) in Frankfurt.

¹⁰ Among the many, see Sonne 2009 and 2017.

What emerged from this concise review of the dedicated literature is that Rödabergsområdet is often uplifted as one of the most noticeable examples produced at that time. However, the understanding of the development of the project portrays an almost "Hallman-centred perspective", albeit the housing estate is the result of progressive iterations performed by multiple exchanges, decisions-making and contributions within the more general backdrop of the transformations of land policies and building by-law. Due to lack of archival evidence till the recent times, how Lewerentz' input was to affect the layout of the district have not been investigated so far. If one looks at the first Hallman's proposal and the final layout as it was built, several design choices are still obscure, especially the arrangement of blocks around the two main public spaces of the two halves. The recent discovery of four noteworthy drawings plates (two site plans and two assemblages of elevations), signed by the same Lewerentz, finally offer fresh cognition of the plan elaboration and, more in general, of the Swedish architect production. These findings¹¹, belonging to the ArkDes - Swedish Centre for Architecture and Design collection (Stockholm), are illustrated in the present work for the very first time. In actual fact, the experience of the architect as urban planner for housing purposes is a side almost unbeaten. Therefore, Lewerentz involvement was for long overshadowed by Hallman who initially addressed his energies into proposing radical changes to the street pattern and building lots of the monumental rigid grid-pattern envisioned by Albert Lindhagen (1866) for the modernization of Stockholm, that was in fact not implemented¹² as much in that site as in other outskirts' borders.

This entails that the majority of in-depth and relevant monographic studies (only in Swedish language) about Hallman – for instance the Ph.D. dissertations of Thomas Paulsson (1959) and Anna-Lisa Löfquist (1991), but particularly the thematic issue *Per O. Hallman, Stadsplanekonstens förnyare* of S.t Eriks årsbok (2019)¹³ – practically omit to mention the key inputs and involvement – albeit crystallized in very few, but appreciable, drawings – of Lewerentz. Likewise, the remarkable collective publication about the 1920s architectural and artistic venture, *Swedish Grace. The forgotten modern*

¹¹ See folder named Tävlings Förslag till Stadsplan for Nedre Norrmalm, Stockholm 1933.

¹² Cf. Paulsson. Den glömda staden [...], 117.

¹³ See the section "Rödabergsområdet" of the paper "Hallman i Stockholm. Skönhet och trevnad i nya stadsdelar" (Andersson, Reppen, 101-107).

(2015) just briefly mentioned the name of Lewerentz in the discourses dealing with Rödabergsområdet plan.

Of particular importance for the present discussion has been also the consultation of very little-known first-hand items of Per Olof Hallman collection (e.g. critic papers, notes, journal-clippings, correspondences, and drawings, etc...) collected by the same architect in form of books (1894-1929) and now stored at the Stockholms Stadsarkiv in the Kungsklippan headquarter¹⁴. Parallel to that, the collection of photos, flyers, reviews and drawings of the H.S.B., one of the main housing cooperative that built several blocks of the district, have been consulted at the Centrum för Näringslivshistoria (Bromma, Stockholm)¹⁵. These documents offer further suggestions for the design of the communal areas, dwelling layouts and facilities available for the inhabitants of each housing block and those for the all the larger community of the estate.

The overall goal of the present contribution is thus to offer a new understanding, particularly of the energetic and combined efforts of Hallman, Lewerentz and the team of Stockholm City Building Board, within the favorable *milieu* of inter-war years where those first urban and political interventions and social transformations resulted as a sort of «proto-welfare state»¹⁶ which went onto underpin the concept of *Folkhemmet* (People's homes).

Dissemination of urban memories and formation of spatial idea(s)

Around the end of the 19th century, the accelerated metropolitan growth and the increase inflows of urban population intensified the pressure on Stockholm old town space, which was inhibited in its expansion both by the island-setting of the city and by the lack of modern means of transportation¹⁷.

¹⁴ See *Hallman samling SE/SSA/0908* – sections A (*Brev och urklipp, huvudserien*), B (*Brev och urklipp, särskilda tema*), C (*Personalia*) and D (*Excerpter*):

https://sok.riksarkivet.se/arkiv/qwN6Zv6GM464eVmeWXGpM3 (accessed November 15, 2020).

¹⁵ See the sections HSB Förlags AB, HSB Riksförbund, HSB Stockholm.

¹⁶ Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete, Dirk van den Heuvel (eds.). "Introduction", 10.

¹⁷ Silk. Sweden plans for better housing, 266.

Unlike other European cities of the period, Stockholm was still a small city, but in any case, requiring new infrastructures like railway and tramway systems. The islands of the archipelago over which the city is scattered needed to be connected efficiently and the city needed to expand in area to keep pace with its population increase. Stockholm has a peculiar topography: «the water courses have naturally divided the town into separate and well-defined districts usually of a hilly nature and each more or less with a character of its own»¹⁸.

Modernisation also involved town planning on a grand scale as proposed by the *Lindhagenplanen*, drafted largely on the lines of Paris, but also resembling other city plans in Europe such as Vienna and Berlin. The plan proposed an East-West oriented grid-pattern with prominent features such as public parks, wide thoroughfares and boulevards along the quays. Implementation was on a reduced scale, after numerous adjustments in the ensuing years. «The rectangular system of streets laid out in Stockholm [...] took very little account of the hilly ground and therefore execution of the scheme proved extremely expensive»¹⁹.

For the first time, the planning legislation – Government Building Ordinance (*Byggnadsstadgan*, 1874) – was drawn up to regulate the municipal operations via a set of minute instructions. The new plans and ordinance needed «to satisfy the requirements of spaciousness, aesthetics, comfort, variety, neatness and hygiene; also, to provide light and air, and the greatest possible protection against fire»²⁰. Further guidelines addressed the arrangement of dwelling house blocks «along the streets [which were] permitted to be somewhat more than 20 metres to roof height. A maximum of five storeys was permitted. [...] Courtyard surfaces had to be at least half the site occupied by the buildings. In corner houses one third was sufficient»²¹. Although the ordinance was one of the most elaborate examples of urban legislation in Europe, it was inappropriate to many Swedish requirements. In the last two decades of the 19th century, it had a dramatic impact on cityscapes, creating a «new stone city over the rural one»²². Thus, «the permission [...] to construct high buildings was utilized to its fullest extent within the

¹⁸ Lindgren. "Stockholm: A Brief History of Its Development", 266.

¹⁹ Linden. "The land problem and town development in Sweden", 102.

²⁰ Linden. "Town planning in Sweden after 1850", 254.

²¹ Råberg. "The development of Stockholm since the Seventeenth Century", 23.

²² Johansson. Trettiotalets Stockholm, 15.

town area of Stockholm in response to the eager demand for centrally situated dwellings, and so contributed to the continuous forcing up of land values. Another contributory cause was the claim for symmetrical streets of unnecessary width, as prescribed in the Building Order in accordance with the taste of the time»²³. This state of affairs also dramatically increased the urban density, resulting in towns being forced «to expand vertically, rather than horizontally. Tenement houses, introduced in Stockholm and Gothenburg in the 1870s, soon spread to other expanding communities. Urban land values were forced up and, with them, rents»²⁴.

Big size perimeter blocks overcrowded the inner space with many protruding wings encircling the original lot or T-shape protrusions. Cramped dreary yards huddled behind the large blocks, and each lot was demarcated by boundary walls reinforcing the idea of segregation and division between citizens belonged to the same block. Larger apartments faced onto the street – later very often divided up to accommodate several households—while small ugly ones encircled the inner gravel-floored courtyards.

«Before the 19th century all the land was virtually owned by the Crown, but now the right to acquire building sites was vested in private persons, a right which they exploited to the hilt and which has since made it difficult to carry out desired planning changes»²⁵.

In 1907, the Town Planning Act (*Stadsplanelagen*) further improved planning conditions by establishing the legal relations between municipalities and property owners. This introduced a municipal planning monopoly in Sweden leading to progressive acquisition of land as a key prerequisite for future land policy, the preference going to prolonged land leases rather than purchase. The legislation also obliged land owners to contribute to the cost of implementing new town plans. Despite these significant improvements, the «municipal law did not give any support to real master planning or coordinated planning within regions consisting of several communities»²⁶.

The *laissez faire* approach by municipal control and the aggressive speculative attitude to tenement building showed a failure to respond to a social question; the situation became explosive with the outbreak of the First War World, despite Sweden's position as a non-combatant. Such situation of general crisis forced the municipalities to build emergency

²³ Linden. "The land problem and town development in Sweden", 102.

²⁴ Silk. Sweden plans for better housing, 9.

²⁵ Åström. City planning in Sweden, 27.

²⁶ Markelius. "Swedish land policy", 24.

housing and also paved the way for the formation of Swedish cooperative movement with their various aims, structure and financial organisation. In the housing sector, one can mention the first one (and still operating today) established in 1916, that is *SKB* - *Stockholms Kooperativa Bostadsförening* (Stockholm Cooperative Housing Association).

At the turn of the 20th century, the demand for land reform had become acute as housing gained the status of a public utility, unquestionably one of the most important issues of modernization, involving many actors and an unprecedented degree of public intervention, through rent control and housing construction subsidies. In a situation of over-exploitation and town congestion, it became crucial to seek alternative town planning and architectural answers to economic, social and cultural needs. As presented at the *Inter-Allied Housing and Town Planning Congress* held in London in 1924, Stockholm combated the "evil" of building speculation along two main lines: on the one hand, to encourage the building of one-family houses in suburban settlements, and, on the other, to create a reformed version of tenement housing upon co-operative principles²⁷.

Hakon Ahlberg, who co-authored the monumental illustrated volume *Swedish* architecture of the *Twentieth century* (1925)²⁸ with the British photographer F. R. Yerbury, lamented that no clear guiding principles had taken shape within this difficult branch of art as town planning is, so that the Swedish panorama had, as yet, borne scanty fruit²⁹. The authors overlooked new plans for suburbs areas and worker's row settlements presented to a wider audience at the greatest event *Gothenburg Tercentennial Jubilee Exposition* (1923)³⁰, as much as some examples of large neighbourhood comprised by reformed perimeter blocks already built. It must be said that in the year Yerbury and Ahlberg's volume was published, Stockholm was in a real ferment of building, including Rödabergsområdet; indeed, very few housing districts had yet been completed. Some

²⁷ Cf. the Swedish Delegation at the Inter-Allied Housing and Town Planning Congress in London, *The housing question in Sweden*, 24.

²⁸ The volume was the output of the namesake exhibition arranged at the R.I.B.A. headquarter in May 1924.

²⁹ Cfr. Ahlberg and Yerbury, *Swedish Architecture of the Twentieth century*, 27.

³⁰ The event opened in-conjunction with the *VII International Federation for Housing and Town Planning conference* chaired by Ebezener Howard.

other urban plans were still on the negotiating table, as a result of the economic depression during the First World War and also difficulties in managing town planning under new conditions deriving from the rapid expansion of cities, as mentioned by Ahlberg. But the comments of the Swedish architect and co-author do only partial justice to the 1920s town planning achievements: despite real difficulties, it is no exaggeration to view that decade as «a golden age»³¹, paving the way for a generation of highly qualified town planners and for devising the first convincing strategies of spatial practice as a combination of aesthetic, technical, hygienic, social and juridical considerations.

For the Swedish town planning panorama, Hallman at first introduced in the country and then re-interpreted ideas and principles formulated by the German and English debates. In 1895, he was awarded a travel grant with the aim of studying urban planning in Germany, Austria, Belgium and France. He attended a town planning course in Berlin³². He wrote numerous publications (not exclusively in Nordic journals), he lectured extensively, and he was the first professor of town planning at the Royal Institute of Stockholm (1897-1934). Together with the urban planner Albert Lilienberg, he took part in the first *Town Planning Conferences* held in London in 1910³³ presenting proposal plans for some Swedish towns, as well as measures and policies adopted.

Study trips, workshops abroad, participations in conferences outside Sweden, direct and fruitful exchanges with the eminent figures of the new urban ideas made possible for him to dominate the scenes for long time and to actively contribute, as a member of the City Building Board and then director (1921-1927).

As Hallman stressed in his articles, this plan would have efficiently exploited the potential of the terrain for «achieving a great variety in views and street perspectives»³⁴. This is in line with the arguments and comparison between 18th and 19th century street pattern schemes he published in 1905, at first in the Swedish magazine *Arkitektur* and then in the German *Der Städtebau* – journal promoted by the initiative of Theodor Goecke and Camillo Sitte the year before. He advocated a high degree of complexity in the design of an urban block, which is not an enclosed entity within a regular pattern, but rather a

³¹ Rådberg, "The golden age of Swedish Town Planning", 74.

³² See See Paulsson 1959 and Bergström 2019.

³³ See Lilienberg "Town Planning work and legislation in Sweden during the last fifty years", 702–711.

³⁴ Hallman, "Landtlif midt i Stockholm".

multiple, open-ended, even distorted dwelling encircling a public space, or perhaps an irregular superblock with an outer and inner circle of buildings, interrupted by street patterns differing in terms of shape and width.

Figure 2. Per Olof Hallman. Comparison between 18th and 19th century town patterns.

Source: Der Städtebau, 1905

The Swedish attitude to town planning entailed inspirations on the one hand, from the inherited forms and aesthetic principles of the urban tradition according to the "artistic city building" and, on the other hand from the environmental and architectural quality of the Garden Cities. Sitte's masterpiece *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (1889) introduced to Sweden a new understanding of city planning as compositional arrangement according to «aesthetic principles of city building emphasizing the existential value of space and reviving the character of urban spaces as living space»³⁵. Far from any merely aesthetic considerations, Sitte questioned the banal rectangular geometry of a street layout which forcibly eliminated the irregularities of terrain and existing roads; by their spatial character streets, together with squares and urban blocks, worked as containers of enclosed space, that is as a «unified entity of shapes calculated for their impact»³⁶. The Swedish formulation of Sitte's ideas drew pragmatically on these points and suggestions, searching for a balance between practical requirements, civic needs and the "spirit of the place" (not merely from a poetical point of view).

Garden city models offered the inspiring prospect of extensive districts such as the garden suburbs of Enskede and Bromma nearby Stockholm (of which resonance arrived even on the pages of *Der Städtebau* in 1908)³⁷ which were promoted as an alternative to the overcongested metropolis. But what also fascinated Swedish planners was the potential of the garden city's environmental and aesthetical dimension for being tailored and actualized

³⁵ Porfyriou, "Artistic urban design and cultural myths: the garden city idea in Nordic countries, 1900-1925", 266.

³⁶ Collins, Collins. Camillo Sitte: the birth of modern city planning, 225.

³⁷ See Hallman. "Bebauungsplan für einen Teil von Enskede bei Stockholm (Schweden)", 109-110.

in a physical planning model³⁸. For example, handling of residential space, involving features such as "closes", "cul-de-sacs" and "quadrangles", which Unwin carefully illustrated in *Town Planning in Practice* (1909), provided the inspiration for curving streets and grouping accommodation around interconnected collective spaces or back gardens.

Behind the 1910s-1920s housing operations built in Stockholm there was not a systematic plan involving all the city, rather specific projects for strategic areas differing by size, where the negotiations achieved the goal of a plan for housing masses.

Rödabergsområdet – together with other residential estates in Stockholm – vindicated the new planning principles and marked a real experimental opportunity for testing certain improvements in the building by-laws.

The design of Rödabergsområdet (and the nearby Upplandsgatan housing estate, designed by Hallman too), situated on North-West edges of the Norrmalm district, illustrates all the facets of a progressive debate which led to important, albeit in some cases only partial, achievements in shaping Stockholm. These areas required a long-pondered reorganisation of the streets pattern and plots entailing piecemeal transformations in the not implemented Lindhagen plan taking account of the topography. Among the members of the Stockholms Stadsbyggnadsnämnd (with which Hallman collaborated since 1893) and the City Council many proposals were prepared and discussed before the finalisation.

In 1906, the urban planner Per Olof Hallman (1869-1941) presented the first proposal to the Stockholm City Building Board, that only in three years was released. The southern limit, Karlbergsvägen – a street running diagonal to the east-west oriented grid-plan – remained unchanged. Due to the improvements in street circulation and partly for City Engineering Office Committee aesthetic reasons, the Stadsingenjörskontor) decided to prolong Sankt Eriksgatan starting from the bridge of S:t Eriksbron. This wide diagonal avenue progressively climbed across the land lots debouching onto the tree-lined avenue of Vanadisvägen. The meeting point formed a large roundabout planted with flowers, which for a long time enabled the tramway line along the perpendicular Vanadisvägen to turn around. In the Lindhagenplanen the N-S running Torsgatan was the last street of the urban development still in line with the original orientation. Occupying a low point in the lie of the land, it had the function of dividing the overall district into two topographically different areas – the two halves of

³⁸ Creese. The Search for environment. The garden city: before and after, 158.

the polygonal layout – until Rödabergsområdet was constructed. Building a rectangular square in the north part of the area caused another diagonal street, Norrbacka gatan, to be introduced and this ran along the foot of the eastern hillside.

Figure 3. The re-organisation of Norrmalm area, where the Lindhangen plan was not implemented. Comparison between extracts of historical urban maps (clockwise order, left to right): A. R. Lundgren, *Atlas öfver Stockholm upprättad och utgifven år 1885*³⁹; Alfred Bentzers, *1909 års karta över Stockholm*⁴⁰; A. E. Påhlman, Nils Hanzon, *1930 Karta över de centrala delarna av Stockholms stad*⁴¹.

Source: Stockholm Stadsarkiv

In 1907, he published several articles – accompanied with site plans and prospects – illustrating the proposed housing neighbourhood: «if the plan keeps its promise, Stockholm will here get a rural idyll in the middle of city life»⁴². Beyond the poetic atmosphere that evokes an urban life in sharp contrast to the congested segregated city of the 19th century as it harked back to the peace of the countryside, his goal would be to translate these eloquent sentiments into concrete spatial and aesthetic modifications; literally the plan would be to strike the right compromise between a big city and small residential streets⁴³.

From the first layout, down to the last one implemented, the shape of the residential district was to be polygonal and comprised of numerous residential buildings differing in shape, size and building density as the comparison between Hallman's proposal and the one approved in 1923 clearly illustrates. The N-S Torsgatan kept the function of dividing the overall estate into two topographically different halves since it occupied the low point in the lie of the land. Hallman gave particular emphasis to the N-S avenue by widening it to form an elliptical square. The latter framed the view of the E-W perpendicularly abutting street axis at the end of which were buildings for district inhabitants. On the west side stood a parish church at the highest central point in the area and the nearby southern semi-open multi-apartment complex was closed up by a public building probably reserved for school purposes. On the opposite peak to the east rose a monumental building

³⁹https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/31650 (accessed October 30, 2020).

⁴⁰https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/31548 (accessed October 30, 2020).

⁴¹ https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/9719 (accessed October 30, 2020).

⁴² Hallman, "Landtlif midt i Stockholm".

⁴³ Cf. Hallman, "Stadsgatan sedd med arkitektögon", 204.

bordering the estate and continuing the line of the nearby perimeter urban blocks. From that elevated area, the limit of the district was connected to the system of streets and the wide boulevard Vanadisvägen via staircases and ramps⁴⁴.

In 1911, he described his plans to representatives of various countries on a study visit to Stockholm for the *National Housing and Town Planning Board* in the following terms: «The plan there embraced tallish houses (4-5 storey multi-apartment blocks) lining the streets that form the boundary of the area» including both sides of the central Torsgatan «and smaller ones in the centre of two or three storeys, each detached-house intended for one family. The scheme is not unlike those common in England, but it was drawn up several years ago, previous to the knowledge of what was going forward at the English garden cities of Letchworth, Hampstead, etc. This scheme is in the process of execution, though no houses have actually been built as yet». ⁴⁵ Private back gardens previously comprised by separation walls were designed to employ fences or even demolishing them in favour to communal green areas. However, these are few, but well positioned in the nearby of public buildings or close to strategic areas in-between the housing blocks, particularly in the less dense central configuration.

The result recalls the planning principles set out in his scheme for buildings and street layouts published in 1905, particularly the proposal for his envision for the 19th century. It was actually a hybrid conflation: on the one hand, the idea of the urban housing block taken in particular from Josef Stübben and Camillo Sitte (though also some first successful instances by Albert Gessner) and, on the other hand, the spatial peculiarities of smaller-scale housing layouts such as the Garden City models embodied.

Figure 4. Collage of Per Olof Hallman drawings published in several journals (1907). In clockwise order starting from the top: a sketch of the detached houses located at the estate core; classification of buildings block according to number of storeys and function; how the configuration of the neighbourhood breaks with the grid-pattern of Lindhagen plan.

Source: Stockholms Stadsarkiv, P.O.H. samling samling, SE/SSA/0908 (Brev och urklipp, huvudserien)

⁴⁴ Cf. Reppen, Andersson, 107.

⁴⁵ Hallman, Stockholm and town-planning: a short introductory survey, 10.

Although Hallman's proposal (1909) was not developed down to dwelling unit scale, it is no exaggeration to view the plan as an impressive forerunner of similar German and Dutch housing layouts employing a similar design and handling of density. In fact, he would learn about the proposals for the competition *Groβ-Berlin* (1908-1911) at the Town Planning Conference in London in 1910, where Rudolf Eberstadt presented them.

Before World War One an extensive portion of the southern blocks of Rödabergsområdet was built, particularly those facing onto Karlbergsvägen, while after the war portions of two complexes in the north perimeter were added. On the western half, there lie the following blocks named according to the cadastral system (clockwise order): Myrstacken, Humleboet, Sigyn, Verdandi and Bikupan, and on the eastern half Kannan, Fatet, Kakelugnen, Urnan and Pokalen (which was added in 1928). These large perimeter complexes occupying a plot resulted as progressive addition of parcel of blocks different by size: as consequence, their design was not undertaken by a unique developer or cooperative company.

Things had changed and the plan needed further development in response to housing requirements for many more inhabitants, if possible with no repercussions of reducing the communal green areas and squares. Revision of the plan was assigned to Sigurd Lewerentz (1885-1975) though he was not a member of the "extra ordinary architects" team (1916-1940) – many with a brilliant future like Sven Wallander (1890-1968)⁴⁶, the driving force behind the H.S.B – who worked at the Stockholms Stadsbyggnadsnämnd. Lewerentz did not even belong to the team of architects (namely Osvald Almqvist, Sigurd Westholm, Gustaf Larson, Carl Bergsten and Cyrillus Johansson) that in 1921 produced an investigation for the economic feasibility and the hygienic and socially desirable solutions, a pretty detailed report accompanied by design recommendations entitled Praktiska och hygieniska bostäder: betänkande och förslag (Practical and hygienic dwellings: Report and proposals). A part of the team also designed housing blocks for Rödabergsområdet: among the many Carl Åkerblad, Paul Hedqvist, Edvard Lundquist and Wolter Gahn. The latter was also one of the organizers of the 1930 Stockholm exhibition next to Erik Gunnar Asplund, Gregor Paulsson, Sven Markelius, Uno Åhrén and Eskil Sundahl.

No monographic study or other dedicated publications have never displayed graphic documentation or at least further explanations about Lewerentz's contribution to

⁴⁶See Holm "Stockholms stads byggnadsnämds årsberättelser 1917-1941", 382-387.

Rödabergsområdet. Not even the monographic exhibition *Sigurd Lewerentz 1885-1975*⁴⁷ (curated by Christina Engfors and Olof Hultin) held at the Arkitekturmuseet (today ArkDes) in 1985 in occasion of the centennial anniversary of Lewerentz birthday provided pictures of the proposal project, albeit the catalogue illustrates both realised buildings and drawings of proposal projects.

A short comment of his involvement is also in the stocktaking of all inner-city buildings commissioned by the Stockholm Stadsmuseet (1974) and of the renovation work report by the Stockholm Stadsbyggnadskontoret (1989)⁴⁸ as well as in Thomas Hall's detailed analysis (2011 [1991]) on planning history and a few other volumes collecting papers by Swedish scholars on architectural developments⁴⁹.

What little we know about the housing district, in the moment in which the plan passes in the hands of Lewerentz, is that in 1921 he made a «proposal for the development of the Norrmalm block in Stockholm, but this was not carried out»⁵⁰; and yet in May 1922 the City Building Board approved a new urban plan (adopted for realization in November 1923) that derived from the joint scheme by the architects' team and Lewerentz' proposal⁵¹. That official approval stepped up the pace of work on the building sites, so that the overall housing operation was completed by 1929.

Figure 5. From top to bottom: the evolution of the housing neighbourhood design. Per Olof Hallaman (first, 1909), Sigurd Lewerentz (second and third, 1921) and Stockholms Stadsbyggnadsnämnd (fourth, 1928)

Source: Author drawing

⁴⁷ All the other important exhibitions on him, for instance *Sigurd Lewerent 1855-1975*. *The dilemma of classicism* (AA exhibition room, London 1989), always overlooked the project for Norrmalm area, preferring to focus the attention on several of his masterpieces.

⁴⁸ See Nilson. "Röda Bergen Inventering" and "Röda bergen: miljöprogram för ett riksintressant område".

⁴⁹ See Hall 1989; Caldenby et al. 1998 and Elmund and Mårtelius, 2015.

⁵⁰ Ahlin, *Sigurd Lewerentz 1885–1975*, 187; Arkitekturmuseet and Arkitektur Forlag AB. *Sigurd Lewerentz: 1885–1975*, 48.

⁵¹ Cf. Nilson. "Röda Bergen Inventering", 112.

By the age of 36 he had amassed substantial experience in major large-scale planning competitions, for example the Stockholm Woodland Cemetery (1915-1940) with Gunnar Asplund, the Malmö Eastern Cemetery (1916-1971), two phases of the Götaplatsen competition in Göteborg (1917-1918), etc. As for plans for housing schemes, once he came back to Stockholm from the internship (1908-1910) in Germany, he attended the 2year independent Klara skola (1910-1911 and 1911-1912) along with Erik Gunnar Asplund, Osvald Almqvist and Josef Östlihn among others, where the "fathers" of National Romanticism - Ragnar Östberg, Carl Westman, Carl Bergsten and Ivar Tengbom – were invited to participate as teachers. The teaching was conducted with lectures on various building problems, discussions, design assignments through sketches, drawings in plates and preparation of model of larger study similar to real practice, etc.⁵² Various group exercises were set, among which of particular interest is the design theme "The city's housing issue with special attention to the possibilities of the garden". The site for the project was in Norrkoping and the teachers gave two nearby plots of similar size and divided by a street, where students would have had to intervene by proposing a courtyard housing district entailing two collective spaces of different shape separated by a central block. Passages and gateways at the ground floor allowed the permeation of movement throughout the communal green and paved zones and inhabitants would have accessed their apartment via the inner areas. Both aspects showed hints of improvement with respect to what the speculative tenement building proposed in the decades before. Teachers who illustrated the exercise on the Swedish journal Arkitektur (1912) did not provide any clear evidence of which housing complex was designed by the group which Lewerentz belonged to⁵³. Nevertheless, looking at the two proposals, the willing of emphasising particular views and street perspective as well as the synergic dialogue between the inner buildings and the geometry of the two collective spaces of different shape would suggest that Lewerentz took part in designing the courtyard block "B". The Klara Skola experience can reasonably be considered a forerunner on having explored how to house people on a communal basis and also how to handle the traditional-classical vocabulary of architectural forms and languages in the design of housing buildings.

⁵² See a letter of ArkDes Stockholm collection: ARKM.1988-02-d516.

⁵³ See Bergsten. "Ett bidrag till belysning af bostdsfrågan i Stad".

Figure 6. Projects of the blocks "A" (on the left) and the blocks "B" (on the right) designed by students belonging to the *Klara Skola*. On the top, the landscaping design models of the two blocks for the area.

Source: Byggmästaren, No. 9 (1912)

The period at the German studio of Bruno Möhring in Berlin, as well as those of Theodor Fischer and Richard Riemerschmid in Munich where he came in contact with the *Deutscher Werkbund*, also played a decisive role as a source of references. It is surely no coincidence that Lewerentz trained at the Möhring studio at the exact time of the *Greater Berlin competition* which «turned out to be a melting pot and a laboratory for influential housing models»⁵⁴. During the three months, he spent at Riemerschmid's studio, he was involved in the design of Hellerau residential garden city for working class families in Dresden particularly working on some individual house of the plan.

In addition to these experiences, between 1911 and 1915, Lewerentz designed – and in some cases also built – plans and special dwelling types for several housing colonies for workers next to industrial sites established in the countryside (e.g. Nyvång, Karlshäll and Helsinborg)⁵⁵.

That being said, in 1921 (March and May) he designed two well-documented proposals for Rödabergsområdet – with detailed site plans and many sections – which reveal how pivotal the impact of his suggestions was on the layout even though they did not alter Hallman's goals altogether.

In contrast to Hallman, he replaced the two housing types with multi-apartments alone. Lewerentz kept the distinction in terms of the number of storeys in the blocks running around the polygonal perimeter as well as along both sides of the central avenue and in the inner circles or groups of blocks. The March plans show 5 storeys along all the edges of the two halves, 4 storeys for the square and 3 storeys for the remaining parallel bars. By contrast, in May the layout was: 6 storeys (in red) along the perimeter of the eastern half and on the western side of the N-S axis of Torsgatan, 5 storeys (in blue) on the opposite side of Torsgatan, 4 storeys (in pink) for those buildings facing the wider

⁵⁴ Sonne. "Dwelling in the metropolis: Reformed urban blocks 1890–1940 as a model for the sustainable compact city", 64.

⁵⁵ See Ahlin. Sigurd Lewerentz, architect, 20–27.

avenues and 3 storeys (in yellow) for the six bars in between the narrower residential streets.

As clearly illustrated by both proposals, Lewerentz heightened the complexity of the arrangement by creating an almost opposite design approach in the two parts of the polygonal plan. The East side was regulated by a pattern of streets and green terraces (March) or private gardens (May) parallel with one another except where some deformations affected the North and South complexes, while the West side was arranged by the semi-open blocks and public buildings (church, school and assembly house) around a communal open space.

What is really intriguing in that group of buildings is the round-plan church with a domed roof and the slim bell tower nearby on the highest point of the area. It seemed as if a wave of Islamic references⁵⁶ were altering the project, but the plates with neighbourhood prospects give no clues.

Figure 7. Sigurd Lewerentz, Site plan and elevations, March 1921

Source: ArkDes -Stockholm, ARKM.1973-05-00035 and ARKM.1973-05-00034.

Nevertheless, the two opposite peaks of the site kept the idea of having two public buildings around communal spaces. In March, he designed an impressive "quadrangle" of housing blocks as the centre of the Eastern half layout, while in May these had been replaced by a trapezoidal shape; in the centre of both proposals there was a public building.

Figure 8. Sigurd Lewerentz, Site plan and elevations, May 1921

Source: ArkDes - Stockholm, ARKM.1973-05-00032 and ARKM.1973-05-00033.

 $^{^{56}}$ Of some first comments on East architectures references in Lewerentz idiom, see: Mårtelius,

[&]quot;The Persian wall".

What also changed with respect to Hallman's plan is the big-size "quadrangle" (March 1921) opened at the intersection point with the wide boulevard Vanadisvägen coming from outside the housing estate. After passing the square Lewerentz inserted another opening in the form of a narrower street continuing the line of the tree-lined dual carriageway. The place on the eastern peak works as spatial device for comprising the two almost symmetrical housing configurations forming on the N-E and S-E side.

In the second option (May 1921), the trapezoidal square performs the same latter function of the big-size "quadrangle", but now Lewerentz has added a real new E-W axis of the same width as the Vanadisvägen in the eastern half. But, once the trapezoidal square is passed, the axis rotates in order to visually connect the assembly building and the round church on the opposite side.

From Hallman to Lewerentz, the two halves of Rödabergsområdet looked progressively more like two irregular mega-blocks with their outer and inner lines forming irregular complexes interrupted by winding streets, squares and parkland areas. To a certain extent, the arrangement recalls not only some proposals for the Greater Berlin competition, particularly the winning entry by Hermann Jansen and the third award which had gone to Bruno Möhring and Rudolf Eberstadt, but also certain Garden City models of grouping houses.

These novel findings show how Lewerentz's plan dated May 1921 corresponded by subtle modifications – like the opening-up of two complexes in the northern part – to the one approved (May 1922) and signed by the Stockholms Stadsbyggnadsnämnd in the person of Hallman as director. A further evidence of the key importance of his inputs is directly on the same plate – precisely on the left corner – where a short note states: «the plan was prepared according to a sketch by architect Lewerentz». Looking at 1909 Hallman proposal and the one approved in 1922, the joint proposals of Lewerentz constitute a clear proof of his insightful contribution to the overall plan. The idea of introducing a big-size "quadrangle" and later a trapezoidal is the real turning point for handling the lie of land, the design of the plots and stressing multiple street views.

In 1928, the City Building Board made some further small modifications⁵⁷: they added one semi-open block in the south-west corner replacing the school and nearby playground, and, on the other hand, keeping as green areas the lot previously planned for

⁵⁷ See last extract (dated 1930) of the historical map displayed in Figure 2.

the church (today a playground) and the public building in-between the trapezoidal place (today a playground and sandpits).

The six years of works/building sites were supervised by the City Building Board that also provided the building permits for housing blocks and arrangements of green areas. In 1912, Hallman strongly advocated the pivotal idea of «planting the yards within the neighborhood of the city»⁵⁸, but a such hard goal called for a real (though not easy to implement) transformation in the way of conceiving the ownership of land lots. «Although the unhealthy situation in the city was regarded as a common problem, it was up to each property owner to turn the dark and boring yards into green open spaces⁵⁹. Fortunately, the division of external areas by party walls affected only about half of the ten complexes within Rödabergsområdet, especially those (Bikupan, Verdandi, Urnan, Fatet and Pokalen) with narrower courtyards with a higher density of the housing blocks all around. Nevertheless, the majority of unbuilt areas of these plots preferred greenery to paved surfaces. The rest succeeded in transforming space handling, there being few architects in charge of the same block (or the same builders): the inner space of the large perimeter blocks became an area common to all properties – especially in the case of cooperatives and foundations – and some cases entailed collective participation in upkeep of gardens and are fully equipped for families and children. The fact of conceiving the district as a single unit in terms of plot and design undertook by a unique developer or cooperative company in turn triggered interactions among the inhabitants.

Landscape architects were called in to design few green areas. For instance, the Humleboet complex (the north block around the trapezoidal square)⁶⁰ was designed by the first Swedish women garden designer, Easter Claesson⁶¹. She practised in Denmark

⁵⁸ See the transcription of the speech: Hallman published on *Arkitektur* (1912): 23–26.

⁵⁹ Nolin. "Stockholm's urban parks: meeting places and social context from 1860-1930", 122.

⁶⁰ See Nilson "Röda Bergen Inventering", 121–122; Stockholms stadsbyggnadskontor. *Röda Bergen* [...], 1989, 5; Monterumisi and Porotto, "Why can't we live together? Stockholm and Vienna's large courtyard blocks", 15–19

⁶¹ See Jonstoij, "Ester Claesson (1884–1931)", 172-183; Nolin. "Ester Claesson und die Deutsch-Schwedischen Beziehungen am Anfang des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts", 259–280. See Nolin, "Stockholm's urban parks: meeting places and social context from 1860-1930", 111–126.

and Germany, and actively joined in the debate about the demolition of party walls between yards in favour of planting and enlarging the inner space.

Next to Hallman, and Claesson, Anna Lindhagen, as member of the Social Democrat party, and Wilhelm Klemming among others fought for such improvements for all the urban fabrics. The importance assigned to greenery, not merely aesthetic, would help to create a peaceful atmosphere, a complete novelty when it came to enclosed spaces and city blocks. The Swedish effort, like the German counterpart promoted by Sitte⁶², aimed to bring «sanitary greenery» inside the recreational spaces of large blocks centring on human activities and community contacts, rather than the dust and noise of the streets.

Figure 9. The approved plan for Rödabergsområdet, May 1922 – November 1923.

Source: Stockholms Stadsarkiv

Supervision by the City Building Board ensured a well-balanced result in the character of the façades: similar house heights, similar roof shapes and façade materials would blend together to confer a harmonious overall character⁶³ on a lively environment (still today) of high-quality collective living. Alterations in proportions, in pastel-colour plaster and certain decorative elements employed on each façade mark the functions and roles in the overall architectural statement of the residential estate. Swedish architects did not go in for dressing up dwellings all alike in classical motifs based on intellectual snobbery, but took a critical and abstracting attitude to historical forms, especially those that did not belong to aristocratic tradition but to what Björn Linn called «popular classicism»⁶⁴.

A bird's eye-view sketch (1925) by Sven Wallander, as a leading exponent of the cooperative and a member of the Stockholms Stadsbyggnadsnämnd, illustrated the special treatment of the corner complexes belonging to H.S.B. The multiple perspectives of grid-plan or curving streets required indeed a «special treatment of the corner building with all open sides designed as front elevation and windows arranged to command the

⁶² Collins, Collins, 319.

⁶³ Cf. Hallman, "Enhetlighet vid Stadsbyggnad".

⁶⁴ Björn. "Alltagsklassizismus als Ursprung: der bergang vom Klassizismus zum Funktionalismus in Skandinavien", 66.

different views opened up by the cross roads»⁶⁵. This drawing also shows how in the 1925 the assembly building (as suggested by Lewerentz' proposals) was still conceived in the centre of trapezoidal quadrangle at the end of the tree-lined dual carriageway.

Figure 10. Sven Wallander, Sketch of the first blocks of the housing cooperative, October 1925

Source: Centrum för Näringslivshistoria, H.S.B. Stockholm

Behind the façades, the many architects involved were called upon to design the layout of the dwelling units. A closer look at the dwellings within the blocks, Rödabergsområdet affords to improve the typological solutions adopted with respect to the previous ones of 19th high dense perimeter blocks. However, the irregular polygonal shape of some housing blocks caused certain difficulties in arranging floor layouts, especially at the tightest corners. The range of types also shows progressive developments in conceiving the way of living in the dwelling unit and in respect also to the relationship with facing streets and green areas. Collective green spaces also served to make more acceptable the quality of single-sided one-room apartments (*smålägenheter*) which were for a long time the main type employed.

The housing estate welcomed middle class families (as shown in flats equipped by servant room and double entrance in the parallel blocks of bar-arrangement), workers (or families of workers), elder people, single mothers. Some facilities (e.g. common laundries and showers, shops, ateliers, and assembly rooms) were novelty provided in the basements or part of ground floors, especially for those blocks built by cooperatives and foundations. For the first time this housing estate employed standardised fittings (kitchen units, windows and doors)⁶⁶ as well as dwelling types on a standardised layout⁶⁷. The H.S.B. extensively employed the kitchen layout designs of Osvald Almqvist – whose studies

⁶⁵ Unwin, Town Planning in practice. An Introduction to the art of designing cities and suburbs, 333.

⁶⁶ See Perers, "*Bygge och bo*: the building and home exhibitions, forerunner to the 1930 Stockholm exhibition".

⁶⁷ See Stockholms stadsbyggnadskontor. Röda bergen: miljöprogram för ett riksintressant område.

became pioneering work for the following years. Most of the dwelling units are small, 50% being one-room with a kitchen or kitchenette, but they provided the inhabitants with an unprecedentedly high quality of life.

Conclusions

All in all, the final implementation of Rödabergsområdet as a joint design effort made up of different parts which hark back to many urban memories – differing in spatial shape and relationship – while dialoguing more generally with landscape and evolving street pattern. For the present work, the four drawings belonged to ArkDes collection play a key role, because allow to shed new light on some aspects never explored up to now. Above all, these findings illustrate interesting new terms of discussion to understand to which extent the Lewerentz contribution was relevant for the N-E streets patterns and blocks of the estate. The discovery of such unbeaten track is also in line with some recent⁶⁸ and forthcoming⁶⁹ initiatives promoted by the institution of the ArkDes which aims to explore thoroughly its collection and then revise the legacy of the Swedish architect, going thus beyond the first monographic exhibition in 1985⁷⁰.

The present examination aimed to demonstrate in detail how Rödabergsområdet is nor a mere mechanical extension of streets neither agglomeration of individual units around yards. After almost one hundred years form the realisation, this is the overall effect that one perceives still nowadays while is strolling along the streets and green areas. Organic and structured in form, the residential intervention belongs as much to the collective memory and cultural heritage of Stockholm as to the surrounding cityscape. As amply illustrated in the present paper, the conception and realisation of the housing district spanned two decades of transitions and real transformations in the urban design.

⁶⁸ For example: the special issue *Sigurd Lewerentz - Drawing Collection 1+2* of the magazine A+U (April 2016) and the exhibition *Freestanding* for the *16th Biennale Architettura di Venezia* in 2018.

⁶⁹ See the exhibition curated by Kieran Long and Johan Örn, *Sigurd Lewerentz: Architect of Death and Life* (30 April 2021 - 6 February 2022): https://arkdes.se/en/utstallning/sigurd-lewerentz-architect-of-death-and-life/ (accessed November 25, 2020).

⁷⁰ See catalogue: Arkitekturmuseet and Arkitektur Forlag AB, *Sigurd Lewerentz 1885-1975*.

As stressed by Aldo Rossi who further developed the thoughts of Maurice Halbwachs, «the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the *locus* of the collective memory. This relationship between the *locus* and the citizenry then becomes the city's predominant image, both of architecture and of landscape, and as certain artefacts become part of its memory, new ones emerge»⁷¹.

In 1995, the case study of the present paper received the recognition of "site of particular high cultural-historical value", formulated on the base of the inventories⁷² prepared by the Stockholm City Museum and the renovations (outsides of the buildings, the courtyards and the greenery, technical installations, rooms for commons use, and the bathrooms and kitchens of the individual apartments) during the Eighties according to the so-called ROT programme promoted by National Heritage Board⁷³. Almost a half of Rödabergsområdet – especially the N-E portion – gained the highest cultural-historical value given that its features are equivalent to those of building monuments as reported in the Cultural Heritage Act (*Kulturminneslagen* 1988:950). The other half gained the status of buildings that are particularly valuable from a historical, cultural-historical, environmental or artistic point of view⁷⁴.

All these measures show the arising concern in protecting and including Rödabergsområdet in the wider heritage of Stockholm. Nevertheless, this intention was put forward even before, such that several critics like Gotthard Johansson, who introduced functionalist principles to a wider group of Swedes, did not fall into any blind dogmatic vision of modern architecture that formulated preconceptions on classical motifs of these housing complexes.

Looking at the transformations that occurred in Stockholm, one sees Rödabergsområdet as the result of the 1920s achievement of reforming inner-city housing buildings by partly

⁷¹ Rossi. *The architecture of the city*, 130.

⁷² See Nilson. "Röda Bergen Inventering".

⁷³ Crf. Blomberg. "The Rödabergen district", 147.

⁷⁴ See the indigo hatch (N-E half of the estate) and the green hatch (S-W half of the estate): http://kartor.stockholm.se/bios/dpwebmap/cust_sth/kul/klassificering/DPWebMap.html (accessed November 25, 2020).

breaking with the previous urban layout, but unlike other dense neighbourhoods built at the period, retaining the pleasant features of a truly «a verdant small-town idyll»⁷⁵.

of a tr.

⁷⁵ Johansson. Trettiotalets Stockholm, 9.

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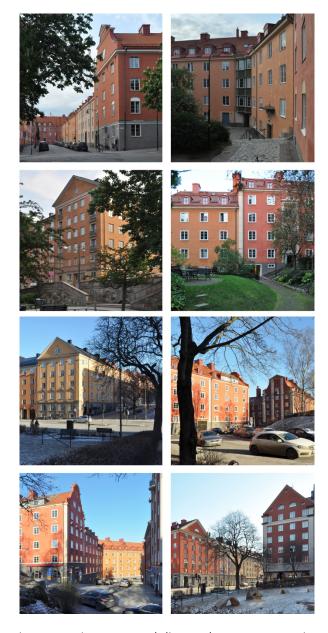
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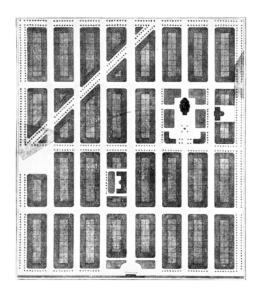
VV.AA. Praktiska och hygieniska bostäder Praktiska och hygieniska bostäder: betänkande och förslag avgivet av jämlikt nådigt bemyndigande den 27 februari 1920 tillkallade sakkunnige för utredning av frågan om bostadssociala minimifordringar å med allmänt understöd tillkommande smålägenheter (Stockholm: Kungliga boktryckeriet - P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1921).

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Caption : Figure 1. The continuous environment and distorted street-perspectives. Source: Author's photos, 2017-2018



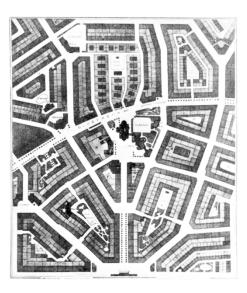


Figure 2. Per Olof Hallman. Comparison between 18th and 19th century town patterns. Source: Der Städtebau, 1905

164x89mm (300 x 300 DPI)





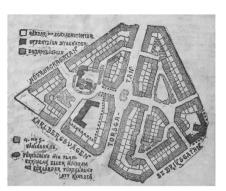


Figure 3. The re-organisation of Norrmalm area, where the Lindhangen plan was not implemented. Comparison between extracts of historical urban maps (clockwise order, left to right): A. R. Lundgren, Atlas öfver Stockholm upprättad och utgifven år 1885; Alfred Bentzers, 1909 års karta över Stockholm; A. E. Påhlman, Nils Hanzon, 1930 Karta över de centrala delarna av Stockholms stad.

Source: Stockholm Stadsarkiv

209x297mm (300 x 300 DPI)





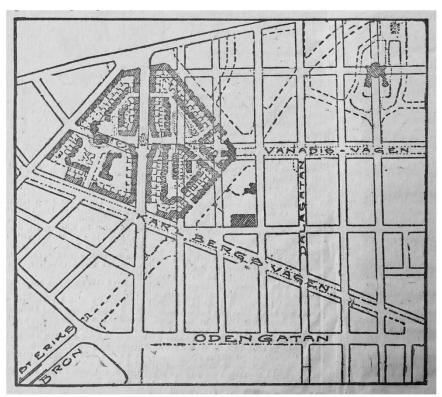


Figure 4. Collage of Per Olof Hallman drawings published in several journals (1907). In clockwise order starting from the top: a sketch of the detached houses located at the estate core; classification of buildings block according to number of storeys and function; how the configuration of the neighbourhood breaks with the grid-pattern of Lindhagen plan.

Source: Stockholms Stadsarkiv, P.O.H. samling samling, SE/SSA/0908 (Brev och urklipp, huvudserien)

147x193mm (300 x 300 DPI)

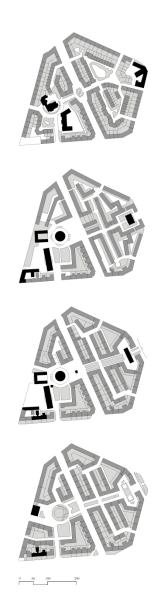
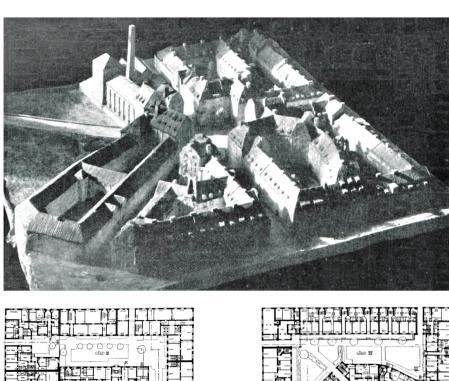


Figure 5. From top to bottom: the evolution of the housing neighbourhood design. Per Olof Hallaman (first, 1909), Sigurd Lewerentz (second and third, 1921) and Stockholms Stadsbyggnadsnämnd (fourth, 1928)

Source: Author drawing

296x420mm (300 x 300 DPI)







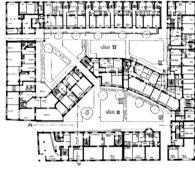




Figure 6. Projects of the blocks A'' (on the left) and the blocks B'' (on the right) designed by students belonging to the Klara Skola. On the top, the landscaping design models of the two blocks for the area. Source: Byggmästaren, No. 9 (1912)



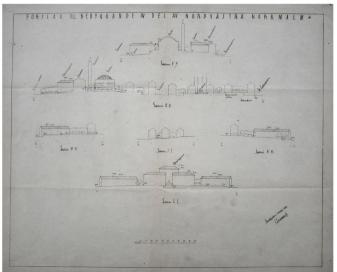


Figure 7. Sigurd Lewerentz, Site plan and elevations, March 1921 Source: ArkDes -Stockholm, ARKM.1973-05-00035 and ARKM.1973-05-00034.

209x297mm (300 x 300 DPI)



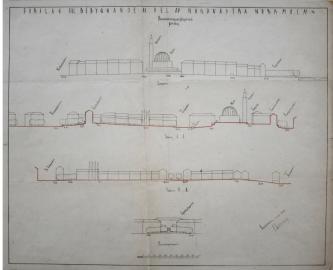


Figure 8. Sigurd Lewerentz, Site plan and elevations, May 1921 Source: ArkDes - Stockholm, ARKM.1973-05-00032 and ARKM.1973-05-00033.

209x297mm (300 x 300 DPI)

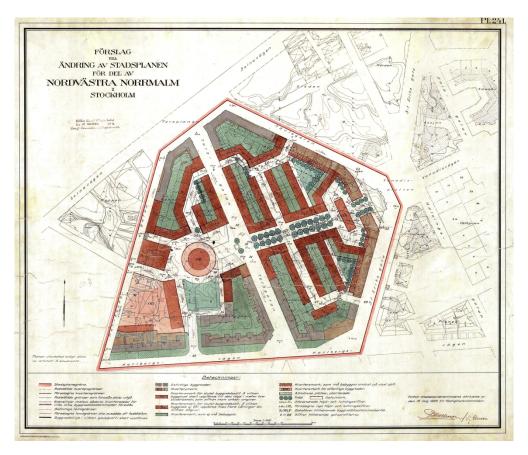


Figure 9. Stockholms Stadsbyggnadsnämnd .May 1922 – November 1923. Source: Stockholm Stadsmuseet

1485x1257mm (72 x 72 DPI)

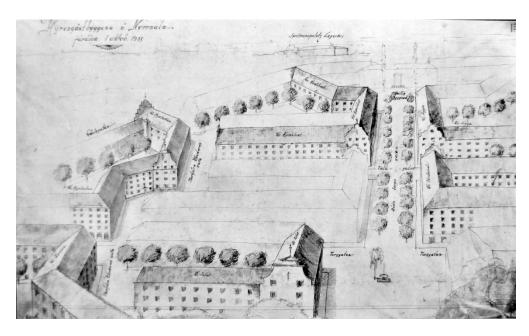


Figure 10. Sven Wallander, Sketch of the first blocks of the housing cooperative, October 1925

Source: Centrum för Näringslivshistoria, H.S.B. Stockholm

322x193mm (300 x 300 DPI)