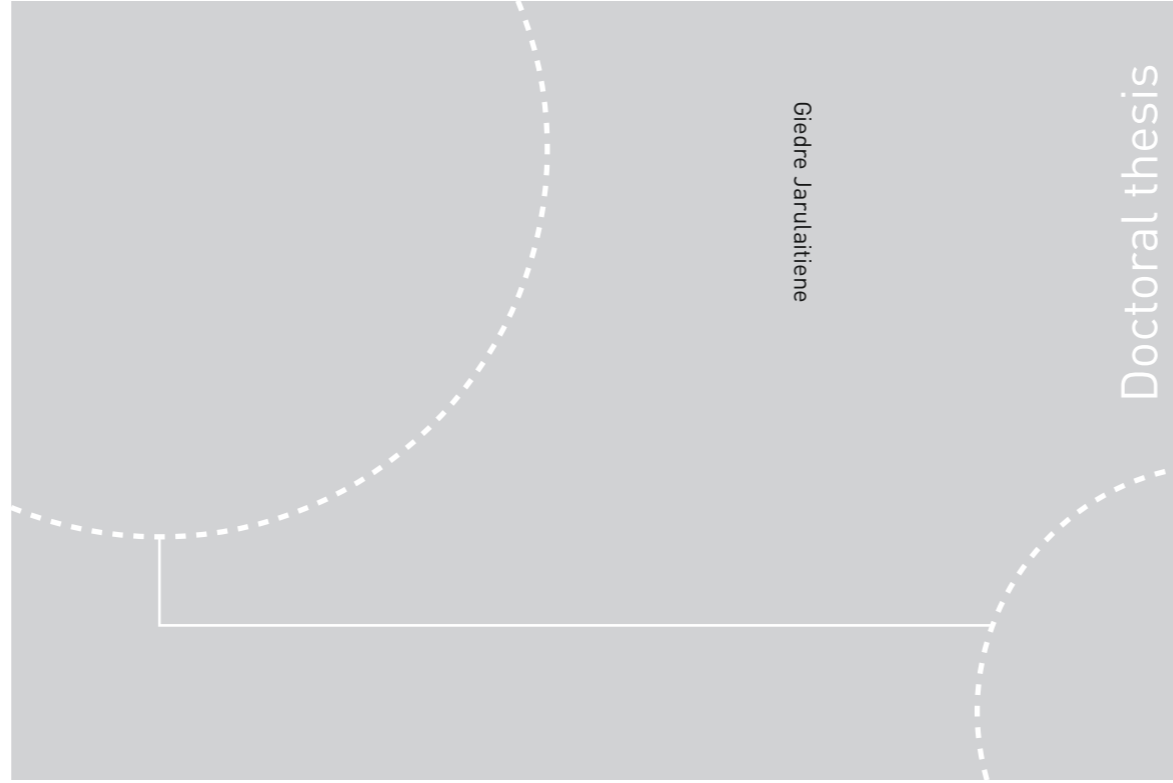


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Giedre Jarulaitiene

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The Shaping of Historical Wooden Towns by
Traditional Workmanship

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Science and Technology

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Foreword

The modern reconstruction of the Renaissance Palace of Grand Dukes, which took place throughout my studies at the nearby Vilnius University, provoked my questioning of the correlation between the theory and practice of heritage conservation, what in turn laid the foundation for the further trajectory of my research interests. The critical approach to the discrepancies between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi*, not to mention the very practice of reconstruction, already took shape while I was studying at the newly established department of heritage conservation, led by Professor Rasa Čepaitienė at that time.

The scientific curiosity guided the further research on diverse practices of heritage conservation by focusing mainly on wooden historical buildings and historical woodworking techniques. The inspiration to concentrate on tangible and intangible wooden heritage came first and foremost from the architect Rasa Bertašiūtė PhD, whom I am very grateful to for sharing her extensive knowledge and deep insights. I am also thankful to a group of skilful craftsmen (Romas Valantis, Saulius Sakalas, etc.) for the valuable know-how of historical woodworking revealed while implementing some practical heritage conservation projects in Lithuania.

The understanding that the safeguarding of wooden historical buildings was guided by an alternative theoretical approach was initially influenced by the renowned book by Professor Knut Einar Larsen and his colleague Nils Marstein, *Conservation of historic timber structures. An ecological approach*. Consequently, the analysis of the relationship between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi* within the field of heritage conservation in Norway was consciously chosen as a continuation of my further research. Thus, I am grateful to the Faculty of Architecture and Design at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology for providing the opportunity to implement this PhD research project at the Department of Architectural Design, History and Technology, where the correlated scientific interests among colleagues could be shared.

I am greatly thankful to my advisor Professor Eir Ragna Grytli, who has guided this research project with patience and attention to detail. Her kind reminder to follow the “Red Thread” assisted in keeping the research on track throughout the longitudinal labyrinth. I would also like to thank the accompanying advisors Dag Nilsen and Professor Dag Kittang for providing valuable suggestions at the very beginning of the work. Special thanks are also due to Associate Professor Lisbet Sauarlia for her comments on the socio-anthropological analysis.

This study would not have been conducted without the invaluable assistance and helpful information provided locally during the fieldwork at chosen urban conservation sites in Norway, Finland and Lithuania. I am grateful to the representatives of the Outbuilding Project at Røros municipality and the Preservation Centre at Røros Museum. I am especially thankful to Erik Roll for finding and providing numerous historical visual documents at the Archive of Røros Museum. I would also like to thank Petri Vuojala PhD at the Department of Architecture and Restoration Studies of the University of Oulu for assisting my first research steps in Finland. Thanks are also due to the architect Nils

Stenman for welcoming and informative support at Kokkola. I am very grateful to all the interviewees of the socio-anthropological studies and respondents to the social surveys which were conducted in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai during 2009 and 2011. Even though respondents remained anonymous due to the ethical guidelines of the anthropological analysis, this PhD project aimed to make their voices heard.

Last but not least, I would like to thank each and every member of my dearest family for their patience and support throughout this lengthy journey, which was also accompanied by interesting personal discoveries that I had so much joy sharing with you all.



Figure 1. The ride in Røros was full of exciting discoveries (Photo taken by Kåre Pedersen, Domkirkeoddens fotoarkiv, KP-0175).

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“Viollet-le-Duc proposes a strictly technical explanation: the repetition of the same forms and the use of the same generating lines have the capacity, he suggests, to reduce the number of ‘traits’ (that is to say, working drawings) given as models to the workmen.”
(Bourdieu, 2005b, 239).

1 Introduction

1.1 Aims of the research

The aim of this PhD research project was to analyse the phenomenon of traditional workmanship and its role in urban conservation throughout history and in recent times by focusing on the main case of Røros in Norway, and by comparing it with two supplementary cases of urban conservation: Kokkola in Finland and Trakai in Lithuania. Besides the multinational case studies, the PhD research also took a multidisciplinary (socio-historical, architectural, socio-anthropological) approach in order to show how the concept of “traditional workmanship” was used as the legitimizing instrument in the practice of heritage conservation and how this concept evolved over time, by including differing or even contrary content that, in turn, resulted in varying architectural and urban physical expressions after practical actions of heritage conservation were taken. The socio-historical approach was used to reveal how the changes imposed on heritage objects were justified by the shifting but legitimating versions of the concept of “traditional workmanship” and how the social positions were won, which enabled such validations of preferences.

Furthermore, the analysis sought to improve the body of knowledge about urban conservation in practice, by tracing and describing active processes of the chosen conservation projects. Hereby, the use of traditional workmanship was analysed through the levels of urban, architectural conservation, and by highlighting the detailed woodworking. One actual ongoing conservation project was chosen in each of the urban conservation areas in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai, and the in-depth historiographical and ethnographic analyses were performed to reveal the power games involved in urban conservation. The in-depth studies were performed by using qualitative research methods, while the quantitative approach was chosen to depict and compare the broader pictures of urban conservation in the three historical wooden towns.

There was also a hypothesis to be tested by this research that the national authorities of heritage conservation created a demand by publicly financing a supply of traditional workmanship in urban conservation areas. The hypothesis was rather instrumental in composing the research design and research questions, as well as in choosing the cases of urban conservation for investigation.

1.2 The structure of the study and research questions

The main research question is connected to the hypothesis of the study and aims to answer the following: what is the role of traditional workmanship in urban conservation of wooden historical towns? The analyses of three chosen urban conservation cases started by studying their urban conservation histories, and by highlighting the shifting perception and role of traditional workmanship in the past. The socio-historical analyses of the three urban conservation sites were chronologically guided towards socio-anthropological studies of present conditions within the national fields of heritage conservation, with reference to the use of traditional workmanship in practice. The socio-historical studies of the developing *logic of practice* for the national fields of heritage conservation within the chosen wooden urban conservation areas were guided by the following questions:

1. Have the subfields of traditional workmanship been created by the national fields of heritage conservation in Norway, Finland and Lithuania?
2. Which building methods or architectural styles were considered as being traditional and how were particular preferences validated?

The subsequent in-depth descriptive studies of ongoing actual conservation projects in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai were carried out using ethnographic research methods. Thus, the corresponding question, which guided the socio-anthropological analysis, was raised:

3. How were the tastes towards traditional workmanship distributed among various stakeholders involved in actual urban conservation projects, and whose decisions were legitimated?

The last block of questions aimed to find out the level of supply and demand for traditional building skills and materials by zooming out and focusing again on entire wooden urban conservation areas in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai. The sociological explanation of the causal connections and varying preferences was based on the quantitative data, analysed and guided by the following questions:

4. What are the levels of demand for the products and services of traditional workmanship?
5. What are the possible reasons for acknowledgement or rejection of traditional workmanship by private urban citizens?

The PhD project was concluded by comparative analysis of qualitative and quantitative data and provided answers to the main PhD hypothesis: did the supply of traditional workmanship, promoted by the national field of heritage conservation, influence the demand for traditional workmanship?

1.3 Research methodology

1.3.1 The process of data gathering and the selection of cases

As the aim of the PhD research project was to study a certain phenomenon of traditional workmanship within historical and present-day contexts of chosen urban conservation areas, using multiple sources of evidence, the most suitable research strategy is a case study (Atkin, 2008b). The strength of a case study is not only the possibility to conduct in-depth research by using multiple sources, different from other research strategies such as surveys or experiments, but also the opportunity to study a certain phenomenon in a certain context. Context-dependent knowledge is the strength, not the weakness, of a case study strategy as social science has not yet succeeded in producing a universal theory, and all it has to offer is context-dependent knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 38–49).

The case study is especially valuable when “*the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident*” (Yin, 2003, 13). Since this challenge was relevant to the present PhD project, a multiple case study approach was chosen as it allowed the researcher to choose cases where relations between the phenomenon and its context hypothetically differed. The outcome of such a study would help “*to state the conditions under which a particular phenomenon is likely to be found*” (ibid., 47).

Consequently, three different cases were chosen which allowed analysis of the phenomenon of traditional workmanship in various urban contexts with varying levels of public financing mechanisms for urban conservation projects. According to the raised hypothesis, the first case study was considered critical and was conducted in Røros (Norway). The *a priori* assumption that the policies of the national field of heritage conservation resulted in creating an especially positive environment for traditional workmanship in Røros was tested. The other two variation cases were performed in Trakai (Lithuania) and Kokkola (Finland) where assumptions about the national fields of heritage conservation did not play such a crucial role in the formation of the subfields of traditional workmanship.

Contrary to the intentional selection of urban conservation areas in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai, determined by the presupposed existence or absence of the subfield of traditional workmanship, the actual conservation projects within those urban conservation areas were chosen for the coincidence of the ongoing phase of their practical implementation, which enabled the application of ethnographic methods in gathering multiple types of data. The in-depth qualitative studies of actual urban conservation projects, aimed at adding to the generalizations derived from empirical findings, were based on the sound collection of evidence.

Urban conservation areas are usually extensive physical territories, and therefore an in-depth study of whole urban areas was challenging. However, it was important to refer to the whole urban conservation areas as such, because they were considered integral entities by the field of heritage conservation. A protected urban area is usually entirely regulated by the same national and local legislation and planning documentation, and therefore it forms an important unit of study while seeking to find out about contextual, socio-historical and socio-economic conditions.

Thus, the case studies were performed at two levels: the socio-historical and socio-anthropological analyses were implemented by revealing the historic and present-day *logic of practice* of urban conservation, regulated by the national fields of heritage conservation. A special focus on the role of traditional workmanship was maintained throughout the study of the three different urban conservation areas. Afterwards, the in-depth ethnographic study of actual urban conservation projects in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai was conducted. Lastly, the focus was zoomed out again by encompassing all three cases of urban conservation in Norway, Finland and Lithuania to conduct a sociological comparative analysis, based on quantitative data. Consequently, the combination of findings, discovered with the help of qualitative and quantitative data, supported the disclosure of reasons for the existing varying preferences for traditional workmanship.

As differing historical and socio-economic conditions were revealed to be dominant in all three cases of urban conservation, e.g. distinct compositions of social stratum, these factors were considered to be the major cause for distinctive distributions of taste towards traditional workmanship in the urban conservation areas concerned. Thus, these findings provided the possibility to test the hypothesis of whether the national field of heritage conservation played the major role in creating the demand for traditional workmanship, or if other socio-economic factors were concerned.

1.3.2 Data gathering methods

The data gathering process was divided into several phases, and at first the historiographical sources (published scientific literature and archival documents) on urban conservation areas in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai were analysed. These historiographical sources were mainly produced by representatives of the field of heritage conservation and therefore were considered sources of knowledge about the shifting legitimated *logic of practice* in the field of heritage conservation in the past. Afterwards, primary sources such as local newspapers and journals were used because they revealed more recent and diverse preferences of local representatives of various fields concerned with the actual urban conservation projects in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai. Part of the historical information was also acquired during semi-structured interviews, providing the retrospective justifications of the present-day practices within the field of heritage conservation or the subfield of traditional workmanship. Seeking to disclose the process of presupposed exceptional creation of the subfield of traditional workmanship by the national field of heritage conservation in Norway, the socio-historical analysis of urban conservation in Røros was given special attention compared to the other two chosen cases of urban conservation in Finland and Lithuania. Thus, both the detailed socio-historical and contemporary analyses of the development of the unprecedented phenomena of the formation of the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros were conducted in depth and at length to reveal how and why the subfield gained such an exceptionally high status within the national field of heritage conservation in Norway. The historical and contemporary analyses of urban conservation in Kokkola and Trakai were based on the same type of data, gathered by similar methods; however, the scope of information was smaller due to the differing socio-economic contexts – the research revealed that subfields of traditional workmanship were

not created by the national fields of heritage conservation in Finland and Lithuania and therefore the chapters on the two minor cases of urban conservation became less voluminous than the chapter on urban conservation in Røros.

During the process of zooming into specific conservation projects in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai, primary, unpublished historical sources were used because they offered important information to enable evaluation of recent practical decisions. The data on actual practical work was gathered by such ethnographic methods as participant observation and interviews. Semi-structured interviews, framed according to the research questions, and unstructured interviews, guided entirely by the informants, were performed. Informal, on-site conversations were also referred to as they helped to guide the researcher in understanding the conservation processes and decisions made.

The ethnographic study was grounded on information gathered from a wide spectrum of informants who had real public or private impact and comprehensive knowledge of the chosen historical wooden towns. The aim was to interview those informants who represented local fields of heritage conservation and local subfields of traditional workmanship; private agents who were actually engaged in the particular cases of urban conservation were also interviewed. Consequently, 18 extensive semi-structured interviews were performed (six in Røros; seven in Kokkola; five in Trakai), while the informants covered a similar typological range in each of the urban conservation cases studied. The interviews were conducted between 2008 and 2011, during repeated field trips to the chosen urban conservation areas of study (for more details, see the interviews listed at the end).

As mentioned above, the semi-structured interviews were framed according to the main research questions and even though the formulation of the questions asked was adapted in order to be understood by the informants (by breaking down the main points, specifying the subjects and the lexicon and using actual examples), the underlying meaning and intention of inquiries was sustained. The challenge for the researcher was keeping the conversations and interviews on track and sometimes even re-evaluating the research if the gathered information indicated considerable changes along the path of the data collection process. A number of practical issues concerning interviews and participant observation were to be considered, such as gaining access, dependence on chance encounters, asking clear questions and last but not least translation issues as the majority of observations were performed in foreign countries, and the interviews were mainly conducted in foreign languages to the researcher.

Visual information also formed an important part of the data as it was used to illustrate and ground some research findings. The historical visual material was gathered in private collections, local museums, and national, regional and municipal archives, with permissions to use them for research purposes. A considerable part of the visual material was also composed of private photographs, taken by the researcher. The photography was restricted to focusing on urban environments, buildings or building details while social contexts, even though forming an important segment of the research, were kept anonymous.

The ethnographic method of studying present-time, face-to-face interactions was chosen for the actual urban conservation projects in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai. As summarized by Hammersley, ethnography has three central features: induction, context and unfamiliarity (Hammersley, 1992, 22–23). All three features might be considered qualities of ethnographic study as well as challenges for the researcher. The question of context has already been raised and is also addressed in more detail later (see *Bourdieuian analytical lens*). The inductive reasoning, by relying on the actual urban conservation cases, also proved to be suitable for drawing generalizations about the supply and demand for traditional workmanship within all three urban conservation areas. It should also be emphasized that the ethnographic studies were full of surprises, and unfamiliarity, attributed to ethnographic studies, was often encountered. That, in turn, enabled the researcher to see the processes and trace the phenomena of traditional workmanship “*from the point of view of the people involved*” (ibid, 23) and to restructure the research.

During the next phase of data collection, when the focus of research was zoomed back out to the entire urban conservation environments to perform sociological studies, the important part of empirical data was gained by questioning the inhabitants of urban conservation areas. The data was collected using social surveys in Neristan in Kokkola and the old towns of Trakai and Røros during field trips in 2011. Field trips were arranged solely to conduct social surveys in each of the urban conservation areas as the process was rather time-consuming. Questionnaires were delivered in person and answers to the questions were received during face-to-face verbal interviews. Every single wooden building in each urban conservation area was visited and the questionnaires were provided to a singular inhabitant in each building. It should be noted that in most cases, the answers were provided by the owners of buildings and less often by the tenants or unspecified inhabitants of properties due to rather specific questions asked about the actual repairs implemented and the type of services and materials used. In total, 178 questionnaires were completed: 61 in Røros, 47 in Kokkola and 70 in Trakai.

This part of the study was strongly guided by the hypothesis, theoretical framework and empirical findings from former socio-historic and ethnographic studies. There was a great risk that the choice of questions might lead to the gathering of desirable evidence and thus would help to confirm the hypothesis. However, the results of the survey showed unintended findings and could therefore be treated as objective. The possibility of unintended findings was a result of the inclusion of open-ended questions in the questionnaires as the answers were guided by the informants themselves. The social survey aimed to answer the question of whether the supply of the subfield of traditional workmanship, created by the national field of heritage conservation, played the determinant role in the increased demand among the residents in these urban conservation areas. The supply and demand for traditional workmanship in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai were measured by closed-ended and open-ended questions, presented in the questionnaires. Firstly, calculations were made based on the answers to the following fixed questions: “*Is the supply of traditional workmanship high/low?*” and “*Would you use the services of traditional workmanship?*” Afterwards, the positive/negative attitudes towards the

traditional workmanship were calculated by evaluating the answers to the third group of questions (for more detail, see the Questionnaire at the end).

Most importantly, the social survey aimed to analyse the reasons for varying tastes for traditional workmanship in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai. Thus, the questionnaires involved questions to determine certain characteristics of the respondents. However, the survey revealed that neither the age nor the occupation of respondents influenced the considerable tendencies in the social mapping of distribution of tastes in the urban conservation areas studied. Trakai was an exception, where the ethnic identity of respondents was found to be an obvious factor that determined the preferences of inhabitants. Consequently, the sociological study eventually concentrated on the core of the Bourdieuan theoretical concepts (see *Bourdieuian analytical lens*) and focused mainly on the relationship between educational (i.e. institutionalized cultural) capital and economic capital because the interconnection between these two types of capital proved to have the most significant effect on the distribution of tastes for traditional workmanship. Moreover, the social survey also enabled the evaluation of the role of the field of heritage conservation compared to the above-mentioned socio-economic factors for urban conservation in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai.

Lastly, it should be noted that the social survey involved investigation of opinions about the ongoing actual urban conservation projects, which were studied in detail. This information enabled the verification of singular evaluations expressed during decision-making processes or the in-depth interviews, when the presupposed, ungrounded assessment of the general opinions about particular aesthetic decisions was used as a legitimizing argument. The social survey disclosed the unbiased assessments and public opinions which were supposed to be considered powerful and important judgements in the process of democratization of the field of heritage conservation.

1.3.3 The researcher's role

The research strategy of using a case study has often been criticized for maintaining a bias towards verification, a tendency to confirm a researcher's preconceived notions which can be of questionable scientific value. The way out of that kind of situation is to not only gather solid evidence to verify the hypothesis (Atkin, 2008b), but to also test the presumptions during the process of data gathering and further analysis.

The case study strategy and qualitative research methods are often seen as being less rigorous than quantitative methods, such as surveys. However, the bias towards verification is common and could even concern quantitative research methods as, for example, the choice of categories and variables for structured questionnaires can possess a significant element of prejudice. On the other hand, the case study strategy and qualitative methods give more space for a researcher's subjective judgement, and it also allows the researcher to change their preconceived views, which might, in turn, disprove the hypothesis raised. Being placed in close relationship to the object of study, the researcher is likely to be corrected by the study objects "talking back" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, 234–237).

Consequently, the first phase of data gathering was led by applying the “emic perspective” – the historiographic analysis of the differing and shifting *logic of practice* of the national fields of heritage conservation and the ethnographic studies of particular ongoing conservation projects in terms meaningful to the actor. In the second phase of the PhD project, the “etic perspective” was introduced, which enabled the use of terms applicable in various cultures, and therefore a comparative analysis of cases within different cultures was possible.

1.4 Framing the theoretical approaches developed within the international field of heritage conservation

1.4.1 The concept of “traditional workmanship”

In its broadest sense, the term “workmanship” is explained as “*the skill with which something was made or done*” (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary). In the context of conservation of wooden buildings, traditional workmanship could be defined as a traditional manner of working with wood, the type of tools used and the traces of the process left on construction components (Suikkari, 2002). Thereby, the definition of traditional workmanship is very much connected not only to the knowledge possessed by people (traditional know-how, which is tacit or explicit), but also to the knowledge which is practised. In other words, the skill is not merely a theoretical knowledge; rather, it is a knowledge gained through practice and applied in practice.

It should also be noted that the initial operational notion of “craftsmanship” was immediately replaced by the concept of “workmanship” in the very beginning of the research project because the latter involves manual as well as other types of building techniques. For example, the below-presented socio-historical analysis revealed how the field of heritage conservation in Norway gradually expanded the meaning of “craftsmanship” by incorporating the historical industrial techniques of building production. Thus, as the study aimed to understand the great variety of legitimized or officially unrecognized types of building techniques, the notion of “workmanship” was put to use. Thereby, another constituting element of the notion became essentially important. The socio-historical and socio-anthropological studies analysed what was considered as being “traditional” workmanship and how the legitimized judgements have differed throughout history and across distinct urban conservation areas.

There is also a question about whether the term “authentic” workmanship or “traditional” workmanship should be used to refer to the appropriate skills for practical conservation of historical buildings. “Authentic” workmanship is understood as corresponding to the existing building, but is a rather problematic term as it might be used to define the modern alterations and additions as well, which are considered as listed or preserved. As “authentic” is very often misused, by associating it with “the original”, the term becomes even more complicated; therefore, the more popular and well-established concept of “traditional workmanship” was chosen as a conceptual tool in this research.

As will be explained further, the field of heritage conservation used the term of “traditional workmanship” to prove that building methods vary from region to region and from nation to nation due to different socio-historical, natural, socio-economic and other conditions. The modern processes of industrialized standardization were conceived as a threat to growing internalization and uniformity, which diminished the diverse nature of the existing historical built environments. The use of traditional workmanship was therefore perceived as a mean of sustaining the local characters of diverse localities or even national identities, while the use of mass-produced building materials and modern building techniques was viewed as diluting the links and shaping new contrasts to the historical built environments. The use of modern construction standards in conservation works of traditional buildings did not just equate to the acceptance of the inauthentic, inappropriate and even damaging building methods. This stance was grounded on the claim that the use of modern workmanship for traditional buildings often causes their decay that, in turn, accelerated the loss of the existing historical building stock. Moreover, the very existence of physical historical traces was perceived as depending on the maintenance of traditional workmanship. It has been stated that if the skilled knowledge of how to repair and maintain traditional buildings is lost, we will not be able to look after them (Oxley, 2003, 54, 83).

Traditional building skills were usually defined as contrasting with modern building techniques – while modern building methods were treated as being based on impermeability and relative “thinness”, traditional building techniques, by contrast, were based around different principles of thermal mass and flexibility (Forsyn, 2008). However, the basic difference between the traditional and modern building techniques was linked to the contrasting evaluation of the “breathability” of buildings. It was claimed that a traditional building is a “*breathing*” building in contrast to the *logic of practice*, introduced by the modern building industry, which based its practice on impervious materials, designed to exclude moisture and rely upon physical barriers. The materials used for traditional construction were mainly porous, such as stone, brick, timber and earth, which absorbed and readily allowed evaporation of moisture (Oxley, 2003, 1, 71).

As will be described in the following chapters on the history of how the concept of “traditional workmanship” became or failed to be established as a legitimating instrument within the national field of heritage conservation, the emergence of the concept of “traditional workmanship” is of rather recent origin. The field of heritage conservation has gone through different historical phases, during which the conservation policies have been shifting, both nationally and internationally. Along with the shifting conservation policies, the approach to the use of traditional materials and skills has also changed, which is one of the main concerns of this study.

According to Jukka Jokilehto, the history of heritage conservation might be arranged into six phases: traditional approach; stylistic restoration; conservation movement; scientific restoration; modern conservation; and culturally and environmentally sustainable development. The traditional approach to existing building stock was prevailing until the 19th century and could be characterized as focusing on repairs mainly, based on the needs of users, by means of traditional techniques and materials. The approach became

complicated due to increasing globalization (Jokilehto, 2007, 4) and industrialization in the 19th century. Consequently, the issue of the treatment of existing building stock became more fragmented and diverse as various schools of thought on heritage conservation emerged.

After the traditional approach to the historical physical environment diminished, the historical buildings came to be considered as objects of heritage and thus the above-mentioned schools of conservation developed. The schools of heritage conservation treated the chosen buildings or historical built environments as heritage and applied various policies of conservation. Along with the changing object of conservation (exceptional monuments/anonymous historical areas; material substance/intangible properties), attitudes towards the method of conservation also varied. However, recent studies have questioned the development of heritage conservation as linear and progressive, and modern conservation has received some criticism resulting in a return to the former conservation approaches. Criticism of the modern conservation approach is often based on the proclaimed methodology of heritage treatment, especially with reference to the use, or rather non-use, of traditional materials and skills (Lowenthal, 1989, 73; Larsen, 2000; Oxley, 2003; Rodwell, 2007; Nypan and Helseth, 2008, 39–59; Bossi, 2009; Hassard, 2006; 2009a; 2009b). Consequently, this study contributes to raising awareness of this issue.

1.4.2 Stylistic restoration vs. conservation movement

One of the earliest discussions in the field of heritage conservation on the issue of traditional materials and skills took place in the 19th century between the French School of Viollet-le-Duc and the English Conservation Movement led by John Ruskin and William Morris. However, most modern-day authors who discuss this topic point to the opposing ideas of stylistic restoration and conservation, but do not mention the disagreement on the use of traditional building skills and materials.

The discussion often uses the following prominent quotations: Viollet-le-Duc: “*to restore the building is to re-establish it to a complete state which even may never have existed at any particular time*”, and the opposing one of John Ruskin: “*restoration, so called, is the worst manner of destruction...restoration is always a lie*” (Viollet-le-Duc and John Ruskin cited by Tschudi-Madsen, 1985). Consequently, by restoration Viollet-le-Duc meant the reinstating of a building to a condition of completeness, which might have never existed before, and those ideas were favoured by contemporaries not only in France but also internationally (Jokilehto, 1999, 284) and continued to be popular during the next century; by contrast, Ruskin’s ideals were so advanced and morally integral that they were difficult to fulfil in practice (Tschudi-Madsen, 1985, 14). The contemporary authoritative discourse in the field of heritage conservation tends to present the ideals of Viollet-le-Duc as improper and unethical, because the modern conservation principles stem from the English School of Conservation (Hassard, 2006, 306).

It seems, however, that Viollet-le-Duc’s school of thought and restoration practice was more multicoloured and was often misinterpreted, or misunderstood, by his contemporaries

as well as modern critics. *The Instruction* for the conservation, maintenance and the restoration of religious buildings and particularly cathedrals, which was written in 1849 by the *Commission des Arts et Edifices religieux* and was based on a report by Mérimée and Viollet-le-Duc, prioritized the maintenance of monuments instead of their restoration: “however well done, the restoration of a building is always a regrettable necessity which intelligent maintenance must always prevent”. Moreover, the replacement of decayed original materials with new ones was suggested to be executed by using traditional workmanship, as new additions were supposed to be “of the same type and form and used according to the original methods adopted” (*The instruction* cited by Jokilehto, 1999, 278). Obviously, both the maintenance of buildings and the use of traditional building skills and materials were familiar methods to Viollet-le-Duc (*ibid.*, 279). However, his attitude towards traditional building skills and materials was not thorough and consistent, as Viollet-le-Duc also advocated the use of new industrial products because they were believed to have superior quality than the old traditional ones: “There is another overriding condition that must be kept in mind in restoration work. It is this: both methods and the materials of construction employed by the restorer must always be of superior quality” (Viollet-le-Duc, 1990, 214). Though Viollet-le-Duc insisted that an architect should have a good knowledge of various building skills from different periods, the historical building methods were not of equal quality for him as they were identified as possibly defective. Consequently, he accepted the use of modern materials such as steel instead of timber to maintain the structure of a restored monument (Jokilehto, 1999, 281, 284).

Viollet-le-Duc’s preference might be explained by his views on history and his appreciation of the progressive outline of historical development. According to Bressani, his very notion of style defines a technical activity and is the result of a struggle between the real (nature and tradition, which provides given facts from which humans start to act) and the ideal (human aspirations and progress). For Viollet-le-Duc, the architecture had to give a clear representation of the understanding of nature which a particular epoch has gained; therefore, to build like the Greeks did, using the same materials and techniques, might give a style to a building, but would not make art since modern consciousness would not have the same faith in these forms (Bressani, 1989, 327, 340). For Viollet-le-Duc, a historical building is frozen in time and therefore such ethical principles as reversibility, not continuity, became so important as they often legitimize the use of modern materials and techniques in restoration rather than like-for-like means (Hassard, 2009b, 283).

Stylistic restoration often embodied a complete reconstruction, a practice which was frequently employed in the middle of the 19th century; thus, the counter-approaches and so-called conservation movement began to take shape under the influence of Ruskin. Bearing in mind the perception of restoration, maintained by his contemporaries, Ruskin had another view, but his arguments were very similar to those declared by Viollet-le-Duc. For him, as well as for Viollet-le-Duc, “the past was a ‘foreign country’ [the expression made famous by Lowenthal, 1985]. It is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture. That which I have above insisted upon as the life of the whole, that spirit which is given only by the hand of the workman, never can be recalled. Another spirit may be given by another time, and it is then a new building; but the spirit of the dead workman cannot be summoned up, and

commanded to direct other hands, and other thoughts. And as for direct and simple copying, it is palpably impossible" (Ruskin, 1914, 161).

Both Viollet-le-Duc and Ruskin recognized restoration as transformation of a building, but Ruskin considered it to be morally unethical. Instead of restoration, he insisted on preventive care of buildings, the absence of which often gives an excuse for necessity of restoration. *"Take proper care of your monuments, and you will not need to restore them afterwards. A few sheets of lead put in time upon the roof, a few dead leaves and sticks swept in time out of a water-course, will save both roof and walls from ruin. Watch an old building an anxious care; guard it as best you may, and at any cost, from every influence of dilapidation. Count its stones as you would jewel of a crown; set watches about it as if at gates of a besieged city; bind it together with iron where it loosens; stay it with timber where it declines; do not care about the unsightliness of the aid; better a crutch than a lost limb"* (Ruskin, 1914, 162–163). Ruskin therefore not only criticized the act of restoration, but he also disagreed with Viollet-le-Duc by objecting to any intervention that favoured the antiquated external appearance of a historical building instead of its authentic structure and its authentic material substance. As proven by the above-presented citation, Ruskin was not a strong advocate of traditional materials and skills, used in conservation, as those would be the copies of the foreign time and foreign workmen. On the other hand, he criticized the industrialism of his age for causing both moral decline and environmental problems. For him, the mechanical age represented the evil and progressive alienation of mankind from nature, and therefore he promoted the use of handwork versus machine work: *"there are two reasons, both weighty, against the substitution of cast or machine work for that of hand: one, that all cast and machine work is bad, as work; the other, that it is dishonest. [...] It is dishonesty, however, which, to my mind, is of the grossest kind, is, I think, a sufficient reason to determine absolute and unconditional rejection of it"* (Ruskin, 1914, 43–44).

William Morris, one of the followers of Ruskin, continued the movement against the products of the mechanical age. Morris was inspired by Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* and especially by the chapter "On the Nature of Gothic, and the Office of the Workman therein", which described the work of a medieval craftsman as a creative process of freedom, pleasure and happiness (Jokilehto, 1999, 318). For Ruskin and Morris, the ancient buildings were reminders of labour, which was believed to be freely given, and were the examples of a craft-based system of production, so different from the mass-production techniques of the Victorian decorative arts industry (Miele, 2005, viii): *"the art of any epoch must of necessity be the expression of its social life, and that the social life of the Middle Ages allowed the workman freedom of individual expression, which on the other hand our social life forbids him."* (Morris, 1888).

Such ideas of social injustice, prevailing in the 19th century, led Morris to enter the socialist political party. However, he did not reject the idea of progress; on the contrary, he believed in progress, which would be enabled by refusal of industrialization, mass production and a waged economy. The preservation of old buildings that would help to gain such goals as heritage conservation was treated as defiance against capitalism. According to Morris, the socialist future was about to spring from germs of historic buildings (Miele, 2005, 2).

Morris, as well as Ruskin, was reluctant to accept the industrial production and use of industrial products in restoration practice, because he believed that a machine would kill the contact and intimate link between a workman and his work. Morris tried to implement his ideas in practice by various means, one of which was the establishment of a company that aimed to involve the artists in the actual process of restricted cultural production, following the ideal of medieval craftsmanship (Jokilehto, 1999, 317–318). This initiative was one of the expressions of the Arts and Crafts movement.

In 1877, Morris also founded the Society of the Protection of Ancient Buildings which integrated his and his colleagues' ideas based on rejecting stylistic restoration, promoting preventive maintenance of historical buildings and preferring handcrafted building products and handicraft skills. In the same year, the influential Manifesto of the Society was formulated, which promoted the handicraft methods but warned against copying historical styles, by stressing that, in the past, the repairs were carried out in "*an unmistakable fashion of the time [...] The result of all this was often a building, in which many changes, though harsh and visible enough, were, by their very contrast, interesting and instructive and could by no possibility mislead*" (Morris, 1877). Thus, the Manifesto honoured the craftsmanship but rejected the misleading copies of historical products. In 1929, the secretary of the Society Albert Reginald Powys complemented these ideas by publishing the handbook *Repair of Ancient Buildings*, which summarized the principles of the society and advised "*that work may be done with the least alteration to the qualities, which make a building worthy of notice, namely – workmanship, form, colour and texture*" (Powys cited by Jokilehto, 1999, 320). As far as practical restoration was concerned, it was the architect Philip Webb who took the leading role within the Society of the Protection of Ancient Buildings: "*It was Webb who took Ruskin's romantic and technically rather horrifying ideas of wooden props and iron hoops and devised more seemly, permanent and effective, but also no less frank and honest substitutes*" (Summerson, 1966). Morris turned to Webb for advice on practical conservation, and it was Webb who worked out the methodology of repair. Moreover, they shared socialist ideas and implemented them into practice, by repairing the buildings of all periods and status, and by praising the work of the hand as high as that of the brain. They also shared the admiration for vernacular buildings and rejected the whole idea of "style" as Webb aimed to maintain the "honest" state of buildings instead of applied stylistic mannerism (Burman, 2005, 68–69).

1.4.3 Scientific restoration and modern conservation

The ideas of the above-mentioned Englishmen were echoed in Italy by Camillo Boito and later by Gustavo Giovannoni. Boito drafted the first Italian Charter of Conservation in 1883 on similar lines to those of Ruskin and Morris (Jokilehto, 1999, 8). He stressed the need for maintenance instead of restoration and use of modern materials and building skills only if necessary: "*historic buildings should be consolidated rather than repaired, repaired rather than restored, taking great pains to avoid any additions or renovations. [...] Modern work and new materials [are] to be kept to the minimum and to differ from the historic, in harmony with artistic appearance*" (Boito cited by Jokilehto, 2007, 5). However, the use

of traditional materials and building skills in conservation was not recommended by Boito as the emphasis was laid on the conservative approach, using the principle of minimum intervention but with modern materials and techniques. The Italian Charter formed the ideological basis for the Athens Charter on urban planning of 1933, which in turn also influenced the dogma of historical equivalence, internationally embedded by the Venice Charter of 1964. The Venice Charter formed the core of modern conservation, based on the idea that the traces of interventions in a historical building, made in various periods of history, should be readable by displaying the distinctive signs of its time.

In the 20th century, the ideas of Boito were developed by Giovannoni, who introduced a broadening touch. He admired Boito's respect for expression of various periods in historical buildings, the focus on structural restoration instead of artistic, and assurance of a modest character of all the work, carried on in such buildings. However, it is important to stress that he also followed Boito's acceptance of modern materials and building skills, used in reinforcement of historical buildings, but only if no other means were available (Jokilehto, 1999, 351–355). His impact on the promotion of the use of traditional workmanship in conservation is not directly observable, but can be traced as the unintended consequence of development of his term *urban conservation*, which inspired his followers to introduce another notion, that of *integrated conservation*.

1.4.4 Culturally and environmentally sustainable development through the policy of “integrated conservation”

The etymology of the concept of “integrated conservation” can generally be traced back to the 1970s when the concept was first launched in the international context by the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage and by the following Amsterdam Declaration in the same year of 1975 (Jokilehto, 2004, 6; Rodwell, 2007, 13; Zancheti et al., 2004, i). However, the idea of “*integrated conservation*” unfolded gradually, and it could even be dated to the first half of the 20th century.

The above-mentioned European Charter of the Architectural Heritage and the Amsterdam Declaration were composed as an early reaction to the Venice Charter of 1964. The Venice Charter was criticized for not mentioning historic towns. A number of speakers at the Meeting in Venice complained about the attitude of planning authorities on the conservation of historic towns and areas. Consequently, a separate document was composed during the same meeting, “*Motion concerning protection and rehabilitation of historic centres*”, which urged the creation of legislative apparatus for conservation of historic towns and for the integration of them into contemporary life (Petzet, 2004, 25). This initiative influenced the adoption of the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 1975 (Jokilehto, 1999, 422).

However, the European Charter, as well as any other legislative document on conservation, cannot be regarded as an anonymous creation. On the contrary, there had always been some interested parties who promoted, opposed or reacted negatively to the charters. The key personality in promulgating the concept of “integrated conservation” was Piero Gazzola

(1908–1979), who possessed great practical knowledge and extensive international experience as the director of monument protection for West Veneto and the founding President of ICOMOS (The International Council on Monuments and Sites). Gazzola was also Chairman of the Committee, which drafted the Venice Charter in 1964, and he was among those who emphasized the conservation of all periods and refused stylistic restoration. At the same time, he was one of the few members who proposed not following previous recommendations on sharpening the distinction between “the new” and “the old”. His exceptional position was supplemented by the invitation to follow the Italian Charter of 1932 instead of the Athens Charter of 1931.

The Italian Charter of 1932 was drafted by Giovannoni (1873–1947) – the main inspiration for Gazzola. The important factor was that the Italian Charter introduced the concept of “anastylosis” – a reconstruction of dismembered parts, with neutral elements to the greatest degree possible. Giovannoni emphasized maintenance, repair and consolidation, while the use of modern technology in the last case if necessary (Jokilehto, 1999, 354). Moreover, he proclaimed the relationship between the historical and modern town, from a theoretical level to the very detailed level in practice. Also, integrated training for architects was promoted by him, involving knowledge of traditional building techniques and their compatibility with technical innovations, knowledge of historical, architectural and urban form, understanding of contemporary social needs and respect for the historical physical context. As the inventor of the term “urban heritage” and the concept of “living conservation” (Rodwell, 2007, 33–35), Giovannoni had a great influence on Gazzola.

Gazzola developed Giovannoni’s ideas further by introducing the concept of *conservazione integrata*. The idea of integrated conservation addressed not only the material habitat, but also the sustainability of social conditions and moral structures and brought into discussion the organization of modern society and impoverishment of natural resources. Gazzola also adhered to the historiographical methods of Giovannoni and questioned the aesthetics as an essential quality. Consequently, he proclaimed that it is not only the great works of art that possess the values of heritage, but also the modest vernacular town contexts and settings. As the Venice Charter became internationally accepted, he aimed for a new objective of promoting regulations on urban conservation internationally. After he became President of ICOMOS, Gazzola sought approval for the documents on integrated conservation, which he succeeded in doing in Amsterdam in 1975 (Guerriero, 2008, 63–66).

The mentioned documents of 1975 launched the concept of *integrated conservation* onto the international legislative level and constituted a base for future urban conservation (Jokilehto, 1999, 422). The European Charter of the Architectural Conservation recognized architectural heritage as an integral part of urban and regional planning: “*the future of architectural heritage depends largely upon its integration into the context of people’s lives and upon the weight given to it in regional and town planning and development schemes*”. It also underlined the consideration of the appropriate processes of restoration: “*integrated conservation is achieved by the application of sensitive restoration techniques and the correct choice of appropriate functions*”. The latter idea was developed a decade later by the Granada Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe, which

was officially ratified by the majority of European countries (Norway in 1997, Finland in 1992, Lithuania in 1999). It stated that *“Each Party undertakes to adopt integrated conservation policies which: include the protection of the architectural heritage as an essential town and country planning objective and ensure that this requirement is taken into account at all stages both in the drawing up of development plans and in the procedures for authorizing work”*.

Moreover, the concept of “integrated conservation” was directly linked with policies of the international field of heritage conservation, promoting the use of traditional workmanship. The European Charter of the Architectural Conservation stated that *“integrated conservation does not rule out the introduction of modern architecture into areas containing old buildings provided that the existing context, proportions, forms, sizes and scale are fully respected and traditional materials used”*. Some dangers regarding the implementation of integrated conservation were emphasized: *“there are today too few architects, technicians of all kinds, specialized firms and skilled craftsmen to respond to all needs of restoration. It is necessary to develop training facilities and increase prospects of employment for the relevant managerial, technical and manual skills. The building industry should be urged to adapt itself to these needs. Traditional crafts should be fostered rather than allowed to die out.”*

The Declaration of Amsterdam repeated: *“integrated conservation requires the promotion of methods, techniques and skills for restoration and rehabilitation [...] Steps should be taken to ensure that traditional building materials remain available and that traditional crafts and techniques continue to be used.”* Even the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe, which was officially ratified by most of the European countries as well, maintained that: *“Each Party undertakes to adopt integrated conservation policies which [...] foster, as being essential to the future of architectural heritage, the application and development of traditional skills and materials.”*

Even though the link between integrated conservation and the use of traditional materials and skills was stated by the international legislative documents in the 1970s, still very little research has been done about the implementation of this policy in practice. One of these studies was done by Dennis Rodwell, who observed that *“the lack of consistency at policy and practical levels has contributed substantially to the loss of authenticity and integrity in historic areas in Britain. It has also led to a reduction in demand for the traditional craft skills on which the sound repair and maintenance of historic buildings and cities depends”* (Rodwell, 2007, 110). At the same time, however, he was optimistic about the anthropological approach that would contribute to positioning heritage as an integral part of the socio-economic life and to securing the continuity of demand for traditional building skills and their extension into new areas (Rodwell, 2007, 187).

1.4.5 The measuring of urban conservation performance by local social inclusion

The positioning of heritage as an integral part of local socio-economic life still proves to be a challenge for the field of heritage conservation. To counter this, various encouraging policies have been introduced by the national fields of heritage conservation, such as

extensive public financial mechanisms in the case of Røros. In line with the emerging democratizing paradigm within the international field of heritage conservation, promoting the empowerment of multiple stakeholders in urban conservation projects (ICOMOS Scientific Symposium “Heritage and Democracy”, December 2017), this research project aims to assess urban heritage conservation management by measuring the levels of local social inclusion in conservation practices. Thus, the distributions of tastes among the local inhabitants of the protected urban areas, for or against the phenomenon of traditional workmanship, was used as a “litmus paper” to test the levels of local involvement in urban conservation.

It was assumed in advance that, by promoting the use of traditional workmanship, the urban conservation performance was about to make a wider social impact as such practice depended on the maintenance of intangible traditional building knowledge and skills locally. Furthermore, it was believed that the participation of local representatives of various professions in urban heritage conservation would help to develop the potential for the appropriate urban conservation and vice versa. This approach was implicated by the international field of heritage conservation, when even the building industry sector was urged to adapt itself to the needs of special managerial, technical and manual skills to increase the prospects of employment for traditional workmanship and thereby to create the necessary local urban socio-economic environments (Council of Europe, 1975).

This research project also tested the hypothetical question about whether the policies and financial mechanisms, introduced by the national fields of heritage conservation for the creation of supply of traditional workmanship within particular urban conservation areas, might have an impact on the emergence of demand for such services of restricted cultural production. The special socio-economic environment for the subfield of traditional workmanship, created by the Norwegian field of heritage conservation in Røros, was compared to other urban conservation cases in Kokkola and Trakai, where such exceptional conditions for practising traditional workmanship was *a priori* assumed as being absent. The comparative study of urban heritage conservation performance in the three above-mentioned cases was conducted by applying the theoretical framework of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who proposed engaging with economic and cultural issues while basing them on sociological terms (Bourdieu, 2005, 15).

1.5 Bourdieuan analytical lens

If traditional workmanship gained some research attention, it mainly focused on separate historical buildings, generally listed ones with very special conservation status. The impact of use or non-use of traditional workmanship in wider urban contexts has not been studied thoroughly to date. One of the reasons for the lack of a detailed analysis on the issue is probably its interdisciplinary character. The studies of demand and supply for building production are usually ascribed to economics, while the research on traditional building methods is typically done within the history of architecture. This analysis, however, is based on the belief that the economics of such practices as well as architectural choices made are not unconditioned givens, but depend on various social conditions and, therefore, are also the subjects of sociology. Drawing on the invitation by Bourdieu to engage with

socio-economic studies and to analyse the economic supplies as well as architectural preferences using sociological terms (Bourdieu, 2005, 15), his sociological method and conceptual tools were chosen for guidance.

The focus of the research project on traditional workmanship was reinforced by using the theoretical instrument of *modus operandi*, which was introduced by Bourdieu in his *chef-d'oeuvre*, where *opus operatum* was termed as being structured products which are produced by structuring structures, i.e. *modus operandi*, through retranslations and according to the specific logic of different fields (Bourdieu, 1979, 172). Bourdieu emphasized that: “Systematicity is found in the *opus operatum* because it is in the *modus operandi*. [...] An old cabinetmaker’s world view, the way he manages his budget, his time or his body, his use of language and choice of clothing are fully present in his ethic of scrupulous, impeccable craftsmanship and in the aesthetic of work for work’s sake which leads him to measure the beauty of his products by the care and patience that have gone into them.” (ibid., 174).

Furthermore, Bourdieu drew parallels with the disposition of handwriting, which was regarded as presenting features of a style or manner whereby an artist could be recognized. Bourdieu was inspired by French palaeographer Robert Marichal, who described how *modus operandi* and *habitus* of a medieval scribe was formed: “When a scribe has copied this pattern some ten thousand times, how could he not, no matter how absent-minded or stubborn one may like to imagine him, have acquired the habit of thus conducting his own thought?” (Bourdieu, 2005, 234). This approach was developed further in synergy with Bourdieu’s translation of Erwin Panofsky’s *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, where the art historian demonstrated that *modus operandi*, which is at work in a graphic composition of medieval manuscripts, is also expressed in a Gothic cathedral: “These human works that the rib vault, the break of Gothic handwriting, or the flying buttress represent have, to use the language of scholasticism, an intention that is ambiguous in that they can be apprehended and appreciated either for their mere technical function or for their ‘optical value’, which supposes a ‘special interest in form’. This objective intention, which can never be reduced to the creator’s intention, depends on the schemes of thought, perception, an action the creator owes to his belonging to a society, an epoch, and a class.” (ibid., 239).

Bourdieu was influenced by Panofsky’s analysis of the relationship between an individual “creator” and scholastic *habitus*, i.e. a medieval “*habit of mind*”, that guided both Scholasticism and Gothic art. He was also influenced by Panofsky’s explanation of a “*habit forming force*” as being formed by the monopolized scholastic education and reproduced further in the structures of medieval cathedrals or graphic layouts of manuscripts (Holsinger, 2005, 100, 111). Panofsky disclosed “*the deep grammar of the Gothic worldview*” by revealing “*the history of building, the typological aims, the symbolic programs coordinated with liturgy, the availability of techniques and materials and the movement of artisans*” (Wood, 2019, 368), and this conceptual construction was invoked by Bourdieu after being deprived of its medieval indigeneity. Consequently, it is important to note that Bourdieu was not only influenced by Panofsky’s discoveries of structural

similarities between social and aesthetic practices, but also his deeper understanding of the logic of a cultural practice itself (Holsinger, 2005, 109).

Bourdieu's conceptual notion of the logic of practice of a field and can be expressed by the following formula: [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice (Bourdieu, 1984, 101). This formula stems from his extensive research on various social practices, as the above-described analysis of architectural production, as well as Bourdieu's further studies on housing industry, etc. (Bourdieu, 2005a; 2005b). The theory of practice of a field is explained as a practical sense or a feel for the game that guides particular agents acting within a certain field. Knowledge of the rules of a field and possession of shared forms of capital in turn determine an agent's practices (Webb, 2002, 49).

Seeking to understand the *logic of practice*, Bourdieu proposes using the notion of *field* which helps to frame a relational analysis. Bourdieu's *fields* are characterized by their own agents; for example, the field of heritage conservation is represented by urban planners, architects and antiquarians, working within the local, regional or national institutions of heritage conservation. The field is also bound by its own history and the preferred combination of accumulated capital (Calhoun et al., 1993, 5). Both the history of the field and the shifting combination of preferences throughout time were thoroughly described in detailed studies of urban conservation in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai.

The Bourdieuan *field* is closely related to the notion of *habitus* as a mutually dependent antonym at the same time. While *field* can be conceived as external structures, *habitus* is associated with internal features. *Habitus* is explained as the context-bound nature of individual cultural practice. The position of a certain agent in a field is the result of the interplay between the agent's *habitus* and the accumulation of the appropriate form of capital. Different forms of *capital* can be valued or not depending on the field to which it is related (ibid., 5–6).

Bourdieu distinguishes between four types of capital: *economic*, *cultural*, *social* and *symbolic*. The *economic* form of capital is associated with the very literal meaning of the capital. The *social capital* is linked to the possession of a network of relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu, 1986, 46–51). The notion of *cultural capital* is of special importance to this study as it involves the different forms of knowledge, skills (*embodied state of cultural capital*) and academic qualifications (*institutionalized state of cultural capital*) and the *objectified state* when *cultural capital* is expressed in the form of cultural goods and products (Bourdieu, 1986, 47–50). In line with Bourdieu's theoretical framework of social mapping, educational attainment (*institutionalized cultural capital*) was considered one of the crucial parameters to measure the level of cultural capital of respondents while conducting social surveys: “*The more the competences measured are recognized by the school system, and the more ‘academic’ the techniques used to measure them, the stronger is the relation between performance and educational qualification. The latter, as a more or less adequate indicator of the number of years of scholastic inculcation, guarantees cultural capital more or less completely, depending on whether it is inherited from the family or acquired at school, and so it is an unequally adequate indicator of this*

capital.” (Bourdieu, 1979, 14). Last but not least is *symbolic capital*, which is closely related to *cultural capital* and, more precisely, to *cultural legitimacy*.

According to Bourdieu, the affirmation of a claim to *cultural legitimacy* is implied in any act of cultural production. It follows that the very *logic of practice* suggests that all actions aim at maximization of material or symbolic gain, and they can be interpreted as strategies in the competition for prestige or standing in the social hierarchy (Webster, 2011, 31). By elaborating on the concept of cultural production, Bourdieu suggested the splitting of the *field* into two subfields of *restricted* and *large-scale production*, explaining that *restricted production* prioritizes the product’s symbolic value before the economic profit while the output of *large-scale production* is short-lived and rated economically rather than symbolically valuable (Bourdieu, 1985, 13; Bourdieu, 1996, 124).

In his relevant study on housing production in the late 1980s in France, Bourdieu used the division of cultural production fields to explain the differences in the subfield of house builders. He concluded that the market of housing production was dominated by large companies, “*producing ‘mason-built houses’ with no masons of their own, they have managed industrially to manufacture products that are traditional in appearance; moreover, thanks to heavy investment in the commercial sector and, most especially, in advertising, they know how to dress up the industrial manufacture of mass-produced products as traditional craft-production and to exploit the myth of the house as ‘residence’, by using the genuine characteristics of the traditional mode of construction, but diverted from their original meaning.*” (Bourdieu, 2005, 49). Such large companies focused on gaining economic instead of symbolic capital. At the other end of the field, Bourdieu stated that small companies of restricted production are “*building houses by traditional methods. These companies, offering a product ‘handmade’ by masons and carpenters who are craftsmen, the group most traditionally associated with the idea of ‘authenticity’, in materials representative of the idea of permanence and stability [...], have all the traditional logic of the most traditional demand on their favour*” (ibid., 51). The small companies, making the actual traditional product, accumulated rather low economic but high symbolic capital, and they could satisfy the dominating demand for a traditional house.

As Bourdieu put it, both subfields of large-scale and restricted production organized themselves in such a way to satisfy the prevailing preference of customers for the traditional house. As not all customers could afford it, the subfield of large-scale production with cheaper replacement products, copying the traditional appearances, came onto the market to satisfy this demand. Bourdieu drew implications from these findings, stating that “*the least well-off purchasers find themselves towards the companies, offering the most basic products, particularly from the aesthetic point of view, while others gravitate ‘spontaneously’ towards the firms, occupying position in social space, that is to say, the producers and products best suited to satisfy their taste for comfort, tradition and originality – in a word, their sense of distinction. If this match occurs, it is because of the correspondence between the social characteristics of the buyers and that of companies, and hence of their products and staff*” (ibid., 73).

Thereby, Bourdieu explained that there is a direct correlation between the position of customers and companies in the social space, determined by their total capital accumulation and its configuration. However, he noted the importance of a third factor, that of social conditions, produced by the “housing policy”, such as building regulations, planning permits and financial assistance, which contribute to the formation of specific tastes and thereby to the arrangement of the field of housing.

The third component of market formation, namely the public institutions, is of crucial importance to this research as it deals with the issue of the role and effect of policies in the field of heritage conservation for the actual conservation projects in protected urban areas. Through the case studies, conducted in Røros, Trakai and Kokkola, this research project aimed to reveal the actual causes for varying degrees of demand for restricted cultural production and test if the demand was dependent on the supply of the products and services of traditional workmanship, which was created by the national field of heritage conservation. The in-depth case studies were grounded on the Bourdieuan conceptual framework and focused on the actual urban conservation projects in Røros, Trakai and Kokkola. This would enable the research to highlight the distribution of tastes among the different professionals, representing various fields, as well as non-professional participants, involved in the processes of urban conservation. The study also revealed the factual demand for and supply of traditional building skills and materials in the chosen protected urban areas. These findings were further analysed, and the reasons for acknowledgement or rejection of traditional building skills and materials by various actors were explained.

2 How did the concept of local building traditions change throughout the history of Røros?

2.1 *The Enlightenment-inspired descriptions of Røros as testimonies of the adapted ideals of continental classical styles in vernacular wooden architecture*

The story of Røros generally starts with the founding of the Copper Works in 1644, which led to the appearance of written historical sources that formed the basis of the authorized history. The time before the establishment of the mining industry was not taken into account because the territory was used by the Sami people who did not leave any written historical sources or remarkable archaeological findings, due to their nomadic lifestyle. The settled domestic farming activities, which expanded from the 17th century as miners took on extra work, started to cause conflicts between the indigenous Sami people and the new-coming farmers (Salvesen, 2014, 39).

Due to the rise in National Romanticism, the historian and ethnographer Yngvar Nielsen sought to resolve the conflict by developing his migration theory (*framrykkingsterori*), stating that the Sami people migrated from the north to Røros only in the middle of the 18th century as the first historical records showing their existence are dated to that period (Gjelsvik, 2016, 27). The below-presented written sources about Røros, dated from the 18th century, name the Sami people, but they do so mainly because they were the Enlightenment-inspired texts of foreign scientists, eager to learn about objective natural, social, cultural and economic conditions, and learned about by way of travel. Later, however, the historical sources, indoctrinated by the ideals of Romantic Nationalism, started to dominate the descriptions of Røros, and the Sami people then became marginalized by the authorized field of national history. The national field of heritage conservation followed the same direction and Sami building traditions were not perceived as influencing the development of national, regional or local building traditions. The historical sources analysed in this chapter reveal the basis on which authorized evaluations of what was perceived as local building traditions were grounded.

The first well-known written source with a description of Røros townscape is dated to the year 1734, when Swedish botanist Carl von Linné travelled from Sweden over the border to Norway to compare Swedish and Norwegian natural and cultural landscapes. The botanist described the natural and cultural environment as similar in both countries. Poor local forestry resources influenced slower mine works and smaller buildings because of the lack of wood stock. There was no agriculture, and thus livestock was the only activity besides the Copper Works. Røros was defined as a small town composed of simple single-storey dwellings, with no gardens attached. There were a few merchants, trading with Sweden. Several of their trade booths were hidden in the inner yards, next to other outbuildings, on the urban farmyards (Linné et al., 1980, 111, quoted by Daugstad et al., 1999, 81). The issue of the regrowth of forests in the Røros area was also mentioned by the Danish theologian Erik Pontoppidan in his book which, according to the author, was one of the first attempts to write about Norwegian natural history in 1752–1753. Pontoppidan

noted that the resources of copper ore were large but, due to the lack of charcoal, which was the result of deforestation, it had to be transported from areas further away and that influenced higher production costs (Pontoppidan, 1755, 192).

The Danish historian Peter Fredrik Suhm, who was one of the founders of the Royal Academy of Science in Trondheim (*Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab i Trondheim*), published a collection of articles about the socio-economic situation in Norway and Røros in particular. He discussed the issue of deforestation in more detail, noting that the quality of wood, which would be grown during the process of reforestation in the Røros area, would not be suitable for logging due to the harsh climatic conditions which retard the growth of timber. According to Suhm, locally regrown timber in the Røros area was therefore more suitable for mining than for the sawmill industry (Suhm, 1761, quoted by Daugstad et al., 1999, 87).

Another one of the founders of the Royal Academy of Science in Trondheim, the Norwegian geographer Gerhard Schøning, travelled around Norway in 1773–1775. When describing Røros as one of the visited places, he highlighted the great extent of deforestation, in the same way as his predecessors had done. Yet he made an interesting remark, stating that the pinewood in Røros area used to be very dense, consisting of thick and high pines before the Røros Copper Works started (Schøning, 1979, 44).



Figure 2. Traces of Peter Petersen Hiort's Engan baroque garden (Photo taken by Halvor Vreim in 1941. Riksantikvaren)

Schøning depicted the changed townscape of Røros as a pretty large town with some considerable wooden buildings, several streets, one church, a school building and one big smelting house. Schøning continued by describing a few of the buildings in detail. He was fascinated by the luxurious summer residence of Engan with a baroque garden, which belonged to Peter Pedersen Hiort, the director of Røros Copper Works at that time. Hiort's family ended up in Røros having moved from Flensburg via Trondheim, where a number of urban citizens, stemming from Schleswig-Holstein, were concentrated at that time (Berg, 2009). Besides the Engan baroque estate, the old wooden church of Røros also caught Schøning's attention and was portrayed as a considerable wooden building. The church had a high spire and lavishly decorated interior (Schøning, 1979, 46).

Schøning mentioned that the old church was demolished between winter 1784 and spring 1785; some parts were sold at public auction and reused as building materials in other constructions, due to their material value solely. If those building parts were considered as possessing any qualities, they were associated with the excellence of performed craftsmanship and the superiority of material features, which enabled their reuse. For example, the old church's vine-like decorated doors and the carved column capitals, which originally had been covered with gold leaves, were simply used as bearing elements for ceiling joists in a former local "dungeon", called *Mørkstuggu*. At the beginning of the 19th century, the building was purchased by a private owner and relocated to a nearby standing urban farmyard as an outbuilding (Eide, 2003).



Figure 3. The exterior of *Mørkstuggu* (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė in 2016)



Figure 4. *Mørkstuggu* - an example of the local tradition of reusing old building materials for purely practical purposes. (Photo taken by © Eide Ingrid in 2003; Fjell-ljom).

However, not all parts remained because of practical reasons; some of them were considered to have an antiquarian value. It is important to mention that, while describing the interior of the old wooden church, Schøning turned the reader's attention to the visual representation of the initiators of the copper mining industry in Røros – Hans Olsen Aasen, who, according to the legend, accidentally found copper ore in the area, and the first mining engineer at Røros was Lorentz Lossius, coming from Germany, who was the founder and the first director of Røros Copper Works. Schøning drew the reader's attention to the paintings of Aasen and Lossius (Schøning, 1979, 46). Hiort had also noticed that two portraits of the pioneers and an F4 monogram, standing over the choir door, merited being placed in a visible part of the new church because "*one should as much as possible conserve*

everything that is old and antique, for posterity's sake" (Ødegaard, 1977, 24). The reason for such an incentive lies not only behind the wish to honour the economic capital, coming from Denmark, or the scholarly capital, arriving from Germany, in the initial state of the establishment of Røros Copper Works (Aspaas, 1992, 45). It also demonstrated the phenomenal wish of the local elite to preserve some artefacts of cultural production, which were remarkably conceived as objects of heritage. Thus, the roots of an antiquarian attitude can be traced back to the second half of the 18th century. Another novelty which was observed in the writings of Hiort's contemporary Schøning is his consideration not only of exceptional monuments, but also of common objects, representing *folk culture*. As observed by Halvdan Koht, this innovative, and at that time exceptional, approach was inspired by such thinkers of Enlightenment as Voltaire, Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who were interested not as much in magnificent histories of warfare and statecraft, but rather in the history of *commoners* in peaceful times, which was considered as most truthful and presumably progressive (Koht, 1913, 20, quoted by Lidén, 1991, 16).

A detailed depiction of Røros townscape was provided by two Swedish mining scientists Carl Magnus Robsahm and Anton Swab after their visit in 1796. The town was described as consisting of two parallel streets running lengthwise and two parallel streets built crosswise. The size of Røros was perceived as being similar to Tälje, a Swedish town. Robsahm and Swab were surprised to find such a good quality of timber used for construction as only mountain birch was growing in the local area. They were informed that timber was brought from the southern part of the Lake Femunden area. The attention of travellers was caught by a couple of buildings in the town – the only stone structure, which was the new church of Røros, and a couple of buildings built from high-quality timber logs: the house of Miss Borchgrevink, the daughter of the principal of the Røros Copper Works (*Direktørgården*); another house, which was under the responsibility of the Copper Company's shareholders (*Bergskrivergården*); and lastly the priest's house (presently called *Leighgården*) (Aspaas, 1974, 14; Richter et al., 1940, quoted by Daugstad et al., 1999, 95; Øisang, 1942, 170–171).

However, not every visitor admired the remote highland town. At the very end of the 18th century, after a luxurious reception in Trondheim, the English economist Thomas Robert Malthus visited Røros, and his impressions were rather negative, depicting Røros as a poverty-stricken town, consisting of small houses only with very few of them having something similar to a garden alongside (Malthus, 1968, 118–119). Surprisingly, in the same year of 1799, Malthus' companion, the English mineralogist Edward Daniel Clarke, arrived at Røros from the eastern side, and he was positively amazed by the townscape so far north, comprised of streets and houses of significant size: "*We were greatly surprised by the appearance of this place; not having any idea of a town of such consequence existed so far to the north. The streets and houses are of considerable magnitude; and were it not for the turf upon all the roofs, it would look more like a town in Holland than in this remote part of Norway*" (Clarke, 1824, 182). Consequently, this quote indicates that the contemporary traveller of the end of the 18th century could recognize traces of travelling architectural styles along the trading route between Røros and the Netherlands through Trondheim.

Copper was brought to Trondheim by draught oxen, then shipped to Amsterdam and sold at a high profit. In reverse on the trade route, not only grain from Trondheim but also architectural inspirations were brought to the remote mining town. The buildings at Røros were smaller copies of Trondheimian mansions, especially those that were owned by Thomas Angell, a descendant of a rich merchant family, originating from Southern Schleswig, and the main shareholder at Røros Copper Company.



Figure 5. The so-called “Thomas Angell “monastery”” was built and intended as a retirement home according to the project of the Danish mason Johan Christian Neumann (from Preetz in Schleswig-Holstein). After J. Ch. Neumann’s sudden death, the building was finished by his son, the mason Peter Leonard Neumann, the supposed author of Røros church. The building was enlarged in 1863 by the architect F. Meinhardt and changed again in 1902 by the architect Axel Guldahl (Hendrich, Knut, 1982, 33). (Photo taken by Erik Olsen before 1902, Riksantikvaren).

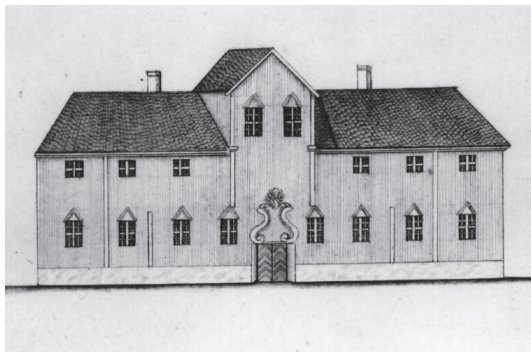


Figure 6. Thomas Angell’s *Stuer* – the boarding house for elderly widows. Designed and built in 1768-1770 by the joiner Heinrich Kühnemann from Arkhangelsk, master of the guild of joiners in Trondheim, who was also considered to be the architect of *Bakkegård*, *Harmonien*, *Adresseavisens gård*, etc. in Trondheim. (The drawing by Gerhard Schøning. Bratberg, 2008, 690; Kavli, 1966, 128, 149, 189, 309-310).

The copies of Trondheimian mansions in Røros were log buildings, with luxurious exterior details: vertical wooden cladding, elaborated window frames, portals and richly profiled mouldings. They belonged to the local gentry and the administrators of the Copper Company. The mansions were concentrated on the main *Bergmannsgata* – the large mansions at the bottom of the street contrasted with the simple lower residential log buildings, situated further up the same street, which belonged to ordinary mineworkers. These two types of buildings formed baroque patterns of converging perspective (Kavli, 1966, 242; Aspaas, 1974, 15).

Even the very rigid town plan of Røros was believed to follow the same town planning ideals implemented in Trondheim, as well as another Swedish mining town Falun, and is reminiscent of the Middle European model of a linear settlement, “*Strassendorf*” (Salvesen, 2014, 49), composed of a rectangular network of streets, filled in by urban farmyards, with their main dwellings facing the streets and backyards, enclosed by outbuildings. The whole

urban plan of Røros then consisted of two main streets – *Kjerkgata*, ending with the old church, raised above the rest of the dwellings as the symbol of religious power, and *Bergmannsgata*, starting with the mansion of the principal of Røros Copper Works (*Direktørgården*) as a symbol of the parallel secular power.

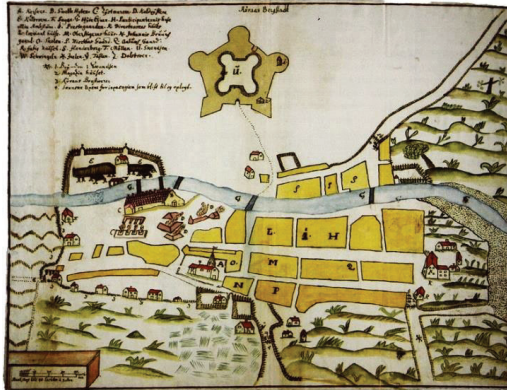


Figure 7. The urban structure of Røros in 1711, with the original wooden church still ending *Kjerkegata*. The location of other main buildings and complexes in Røros (Malmpladsen, *Direktørens Huus*, etc.) remained the same until today. (Det kongelige Bibliotek i København; Thotts samling, No. 689)



Figure 8. The view of the Røros townscape, facing upwards *Bergmannsgata*, around 1870, before the opening of the railway station in 1877, which influenced the greatest changes in the town. (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, ca. 1870. ©Røros museet, RMUB.251055)



Figure 9. The urban landscape facing downwards Bergmansgata, between 1897 and 1907 when the Swiss chalet style started to leave its traces in the “traditional” environment. (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.252017)

Clarke emphasized the importance of the Røros Copper Works’ influence over Trondheim and the whole region, stating that “*the prodigious benefit which was the result of working in these mines is not felt in Rørås alone. The prosperity and flourishing state of the whole Northern Norway, especially of the city of Trønnyem, improperly written Drontheim, are mainly due to its copper-mines. The country near Rørås contains a store of wealth for many generations*” (Clarke, 1824, 194). The English mineralogist did not expect Røros to appear such a magnificent town even though he had been familiar with previous scientific descriptions of it, such as the one written by Pontoppidan in 1755. Like his predecessor Pontoppidan, Clarke also referred to the centenary speech by the preacher Peter Abildgaard in 1744, stating that “*It has been not much above a hundred years [...] since the only inhabitants of these parts were made up of seven or eight families, of about thirty to forty people; and they led a savage life, and derived their survival basis from hunting; whereas now the number of this congregation exceeds two thousand, exclusive of the neighbouring one, which contains many more; and they all subsist on the work in the mine*” (Clarke, 1824, 190–191).

According to the antiquarian Halvor Vreim, who worked extensively with conservation of Røros in the first half of the 20th century, it is hard to believe that the previously mentioned travellers described one and the same location (Vreim, 1944. 8). However, he did refer to the above-presented written historical descriptions in his writings on the heritage conservation of Røros. Thus, despite the opposing descriptions of the travelling scientists, these historical sources were used as references by the first national antiquarians at the

beginning of the 20th century in order to validate the restoration of the “true image of Røros” which, according to them, reached the mastery of craftsmanship in the second half of the 18th century and early 19th century when the neoclassical style in the smaller copies of Trondheimian wooden mansions was introduced in Røros. This “true image of Røros” was later threatened by the “tone-breaking” Swiss chalet style, which was prompted by the opening of the railway line.

2.2 The descriptions of Røros in the age of Romantic Nationalism of the 19th century

Towards the middle of the 19th century, the descriptions of Røros changed in character, from those aimed at scientific observations to the rise of national awareness. In 1848, a drawing book by the Norwegian publisher Christian Tønsberg was launched, illustrating the scenery of the *fatherland* (Daugstad et al., 1999, 109). A collector of Norwegian folklore, Peter Christen Asbjørnsen had contributed as the author of the complementing texts, showing that, since the establishment of the Røros Copper Works in 1644, Røros had grown into a significant town with 2040 citizens in the year 1840. Even though the bright future for the Copper Company was predicted by the author, the townscape of Røros itself was painted rather darkly: “*Røros is represented as a sad sight for the traveller, the barren area in the high mountains is enhanced by the Copper Works smoke-filled environment and the grey winter sky*” (Asbjørnsen, 1848, 163).



Figure 10. The sensual perspective of Røros. Lithography by C. Müller (Asbjørnsen, 1848, 163).

The Norwegian philologist Ivar Aasen, in his writings on experiences from journeys in Norway, described Røros in the 1860s like this: “*The farms looked like summer mountain farms because there were only grass meadows and no agricultural fields around them. And Røros itself looked like a big summer mountain farm from a distance, but when one entered the town, a lot of comfortable and nice houses could be seen, although they all were small as there was no use of building bigger houses in this town where the weather might be so cold that the people from coastal areas could hardly imagine. Anyway, there was a nice*

view and a friendly place to visit even though it was situated that high in the mountains” (Aasen, 1911, 210).

In the second half of the 19th century, Røros was discovered by Norwegian explorers of local traditions and folklore and was assessed against sensual, mostly visual aesthetic, criteria, which were signs of Romantic Nationalism, spreading out from the Germanic countries at that time. It originated from Johann Gottfried von Herder’s ideas that geography formed a natural economy and customs of people living in a particular area, so every nation was perceived as being distinguishable by its climate, language, traditions and heredity. Folk traditions and folklore were revealed as creative powers of a nation. The concepts of *volksgeist* and *zeitgeist*, coined by Herder, affected the perception of culture as varying in time and space and thereby raising the interest in safeguarding the legacy of diverse bygone times and various nations. This perspective has influenced the establishment of national heritage conservation institutions and grounded the reasoning for conservative practices until the present day (Myklebust, 2014, 35). In 19th-century Norway, the foundation of the national heritage preservation movement correlated with the appreciation of the importance of Gothic architecture for common Germanic awareness, which was again revealed under the influence of Herder (Jokilehto, 1986, 242).

The direct influence of German Romantic Nationalism was transferred to Norway by the Norwegian painter Johan Christian Dahl, who worked in Dresden and Leipzig. He performed “antiquarian travel” to Norway and painted the landscapes with medieval stave churches and old farm buildings. He aimed to build public awareness and raise the value of the depicted buildings, and directly contributed to saving several stave churches, even if such measures as exporting the locally unwanted building abroad had to be taken. One of such extreme examples is the effort made by Dahl to save Vang stave church from Valdres, which was threatened with demolition because it had become too small for the growing number of local inhabitants. Due to disinterest in the local area, the church was bought, documented and removed by private initiative of Dahl, who obtained a personal bank loan for that purpose, and which was later taken over by the King of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm IV (Jokilehto, 1986, 402). The stave church was relocated to Brückenberg, Silesia (presently in Poland). In 1843, the same king nominated Ferdinand von Quast as the first state antiquarian in the Germanic countries (Myklebust, 2014, 37). The king showed exceptional interest in safeguarding historic buildings, especially the symbols of the common Germanic past and, therefore, the preservation of the Norwegian stave church fulfilled the Prussian ideological programme of heritage preservation at that time (Christensen, 2011, 39).

The most important contribution of Dahl to the Norwegian heritage conservation movement was the founding of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments (*Fortidsminneforeningen*) in 1844. Interestingly, according to Anders Bugge, Dahl’s attempt to safeguard Vang stave church was the main stimulus and cause for founding the society, which was primarily preoccupied with the worsening situation of stave churches in Norway (Bugge, 1930, 45). The society was established according to the German model as Dahl himself was a member of the German equivalent association, *Königlich sächsischen Vereins zur Erforschung und Erhaltung vaterländischer*

Alterthümer, which was started in Dresden in 1824. The first paragraph of the statute of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments was identical to the first paragraph of the statute of the society of Saxony (Lidén, 1991, 30).

One of the aims declared in the first paragraph of the statute was to “*shed light upon the people’s artistic skill and artistic sense in the past*” (“*opplyse Folkets Kunstfærdighed og Kunstsands i fortiden*”) (Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring, 1844, 13; translated and quoted by Bye, 2010, 67). The painter Joachim Frich, one of the members of *Fortidsminneforeningen* and a student of Dahl, composed a list of objects in 1846 which were of some interest to the society: pieces of furniture, paintings, decorative weapons, jewellery and, finally, buildings “*that may provide information on the Art of Building in the Middle Ages*” (“*der kunne give oplysning om Bygningskunstens Standpunkt i Middelalderen*”) (Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring, 1846 Annal, 13). Thus, even though the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments focused on artistic skills and workmanship, that spotlight was constricted to objects dated to the medieval period, which represented the political independence of Norway and the source of true national identity.

2.3 *The introduction of the concept of building traditions by Eilert Sundt*

When the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments was founded in 1844, the demand for scientific, summarizing information about the Norwegian building traditions was brought to light. As presented above, the written historical sources from the 17th and 18th centuries described some individual buildings in greater detail. Schøning’s systematic investigation of buildings in Trøndelag was a pleasant exception. However, travellers’ artistic sketches from the period of Romantic Nationalism could not be classified as historical documents because they were not detailed enough (Hegard, 1984, 24–25).

Consequently, the systematic work by Sundt of travelling the country, exploring the local building traditions and forming the first classification system for vernacular buildings in Norway filled that gap. In 1862, he published his most famous book, *About the building traditions in the Norwegian countryside (Om bygningsskikken paa landet i Norge)* and coined the term of building traditions (*byggeskikk*). It is important to remark that his studies on building traditions were unique because they were socio-historical, not aesthetic, even though the latter focus was much more common at that time. The concept of building traditions became an important notion in the studies of vernacular, local building traditions as opposed to *architectural history*, the studies of certain buildings as artistic pieces, created by architects, or the studies of the history of international and academic architectural styles. Folk buildings were classified under the same subject of *architectural history* in the English-speaking countries because the studies of folk building traditions did not succeed in winning such strong positions as in the Nordic countries (Roede, 2001, 40) where the influence of German Romanticism from Herder onwards was so extensive in creating bipolar urban (classical/South European/artificial) and rural (medieval/Nordic/natural) fields (Lending, 2006, 21; Hvattum, 2011, 204).

Sundt was conscious of the prevailing division between “the urban” and “the rural” and contributed to deepening the gap as he introduced his work on building traditions with the following words: “*I have brought with me the image of towns that, if someone was about to build a house, so one built it according to one’s own wishes; but a lot of my preconceived notions did not correspond to the reality of the countryside as here I found things to happen so that, if someone was about to build a house, so one would not that easily make it very different, because a house should be built ‘according to the tradition’*” (Sundt, 1976, 1). The urban/rural division and the connection of the notion of building traditions exclusively with the rural folk architecture was later questioned, and the term was also used for the urban building traditions as it was acknowledged that, even while “*building according to one’s own wishes*”, some ingrained modes, differing in various social layers, are followed (Christensen, 1995, 31).

Sundt’s understanding of building traditions encompassed the classification of buildings according to regional variations of plan layouts and the types of fireplaces. He adjusted the theory of Romantic Nationalism, which stated that farmers’ building traditions were static and had not changed since the Middle Ages, and therefore the medieval building traditions could be traced by studying contemporary village buildings. That theory, among others grounded by Nicolaysen, affirmed that the medieval traditions were sustained not only in the temporal but also in the spatial dimension, because the original log building type with the saddle roof was considered a common Germanic building tradition still found in Scandinavian countries. Sundt established a more detailed and complex evolutionary explanation of how three basic and original forms of buildings (a building with two rooms and a hearth, a building with three rooms and a hearth, and an *akershusisk* building) had developed throughout history, and how the development varied in different regions (Lidén, 2005, 58). Further studies of building traditions at the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments were and still are based on the background of Sundt’s observations and his classificatory framework, by elaborating on or correcting some details of his observations but lacking the same overwhelming magnitude (Hegard, 1984, 30).

2.3.1 Sundt’s evolutionist perspective on the history of building traditions

Sundt’s studies of building traditions were empirical, based only on his own observations. However, the ideological thinking of German Romanticism, although not explicitly reflected by the author, could be traced in his works. Moreover, in the same year his book on building traditions was published, Sundt visited the World Fair in London where he became concerned with the Darwinian theory of evolution and was eager to adapt it to the cultural history as he was fascinated with finding the gradual development in nature as well as in culture: “*that growth, that development, that replacement of the old by the new, this endless movement forward, upwards, towards the complete – is like lifeblood’s spire and sprout of a plant, which is growing, constantly from within, outwards and upwards, the one supersedes the other. There is a connection. The new which supersedes the older is improved and carried by the older, which is superseded*” (Sundt, 1976, VII). The main thesis of his work was that a homogeneous tradition of log construction was dominating in medieval Norway and had displaced all other previous types of building construction. The

variations, which were observed by Sundt in various districts in the 1850s, were interpreted as different stages of further development of the medieval log building tradition (Hegard, 1984, 30). The source for further development of building traditions was seen to be rooted in medieval times, as well as the genius of the Norwegian nation (Stenseth, 2000, 63), which, again, indicates the influence of Herder, who made mainstream the terms *Nationalgeist* (spirit of a nation), *Genius der Nation* (genius of a nation) and *Nationalcharakter* (character of a nation) (Blickle, 2002, 52). The changes in building traditions were perceived as progressive that is, the simple building types were replaced with more complex buildings. The evolutionist theory also implied that all contemporary forms of building traditions had originated from the older ones.

Further development of the building traditions and the introduction of the Swiss style in Norway, which is associated with the introduction of the Norwegian railway and building a number of railway stations in the Swiss style, was evaluated as a double-edged sword by Sundt. On the one hand, he admired the new, e.g. the Swiss type, dwelling house at Hof farm in Aker, which replaced the older *akershussik* type dwelling house, which was smaller and more modest. The new dwelling house was “*probably the handsomest and definitely the most fully and meticulously equipped building*” which Sundt had ever seen on any farm before. On the other hand, Sundt considered the Swiss style to be rather foreign, pointing out the following: “*so called Swiss style houses, which in the recent years had been built by some circles of townspeople. It seems, that this style which emerged from metropolitan architects (I am not sure how proper the term is, but people keep on calling it so) will become the trendsetting style in our country. Hof is among the first rural farms to implement the trend of urban circles, but that beautiful building at Hof is already tagged as a model for other places*” (Sundt, 1976, 93–94).

Sundt’s fieldwork and direct contact with his objects of study formed a positive attitude towards folk culture. Gradually, he changed from being judging and preaching about them, and ended up as an advocate of his objects of study as he was fascinated to learn about the underlying rationality of folk culture. He observed that the living conditions of farmers were changing positively – bigger, brighter and more reasonable dwelling houses were built, which was a sign of the developing culture. Sundt directly linked the level of development of a dwelling house to general human progress (Lidén, 2005, 41–42). Consequently, Sundt did not express any regrets for the older type of building being replaced by the new type as he was not occupied with antiquarian ideas. He was rather disappointed that the new style was foreign, born in Germany following the traditional architecture of the Swiss mountain farms: “*recently, the artistic style has visited our land. It comes from the south, partly together with foreign artisans, partly with natives, who had been educated over there. In the last years, a number of fine log buildings were built in the Swiss style, the style which emerged in Germany after the artists fell in love with the Swiss farmers’ building traditions. But it would be interesting to see what Norwegian architects could create out of regular and loyal building traditions at Telemark, Gudbrandsdalen and Østerdalen. A number of attempts could delight us with something domestic and appreciative*” (Sundt, 1976, 226).

“There is a natural expectation for a truthful master builder to use his skills in developing the former, local, naturally grown building traditions further and therefore the awareness should be raised that the style of wooden buildings which today is drawn on the drawing boards by architects differs from the old Norwegian way and, therefore, by many it is called Swiss style. Is this the fault of an architect that the greater attention was not given to the Norwegian building traditions? Or is it due to the reason that the Norwegian building traditions are too poor, therefore the foreign ones must be implanted?” (Sundt, 1976, 97).

Sundt mentioned a few good examples of the revival of local building traditions in contemporary construction, financed by the Norwegian businessman Thomas Johannesen Heftye and embodied by the architects Heinrich Ernst Schirmer and Wilhelm von Hanno at the recreational area of Sarabråten near Christiania (presently Oslo) in 1856. According to Sundt, the copy of a traditional building (*sperrestue*) from Østerdalen in eastern Norway was *“a first attempt to achieve artistic completeness of Norwegian farmers’ good, old-time building tradition. [...] A truthful master builder [...] should use his artistry in developing and improving the former and naturally grown building traditions of his country”* (Sundt, quoted in Bugge, 1933, 118). The copy was a result of Heftye’s admiration for Østerdalen’s building traditions, which captured his attention during wanderings in the regional wild nature and remote villages. Other reasons could be found in his professional activities involved in timbering (Hegard, 1984, 83). Consequently, Sundt encouraged appropriate copies of regional building traditions to be made, and the value of these copies depended on how accurate the reproduction of regional forms, dimensions, layouts and appearances was. The idea of copying local building traditions was also accepted by the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments (*Fortidsminneforeningen*) at that time as both H. E. Schirmer and Hanno, as well as Heftye himself, were members of the society (Sundt, 1976, 73, 226; Eldal, 1998, 203; Hegard, 1984, 203; Lidén, 2005, 176).



Figure 11. *“The reflectiveness and permanent praxis of sawing logs by hand with a sawpit, developed the workmanship into craftsmanship/artistry”*(Sundt, 1975, 213-214).

The progress in woodworking techniques was not perceived as threatening by Sundt. However, while describing the wood-sawing transition from hand-sawing to water-powered and steam-powered sawmills, he advocated for the historical method as it was considered a more cost-effective one because logs were assorted rather dismissively at sawmills. The hand-sawyer, on the contrary, could saw a log according to its physical

properties. Sundt was also interested in sustaining a complex system of minor businesses involved in hand-sawing: hardworking skippers of small commercial sailing vessels, who took timber to foreign countries; farmers who owned forests and felled trees in wintertime in addition to their daily work on farms; their sons, hired workers, who got used to sawing logs by hand as their occupation developed into craftsmanship over time. Thus, Sundt was eager to learn why such a hard craftsmanship survived the competition of water-powered sawmills and expressed his hope that the same reasons would contribute to winning the competition again against steam-powered sawmills (Sundt, 1975, 214–215). Consequently, his concern involved not only sustaining traditional craftsmanship, acquired by heavy work of sawyers, but also sustaining the complex system of small businesses on which many of those workers depended economically.

2.3.2 Røros Copper Works as the platform for studying class struggles

Sundt travelled around the country to study the countryside building traditions, not urban environments; thus, Røros was not within the scope of his studies at first. However, Sundt was not focused on mere building traditions. Social life within these buildings and the social environment associated with building traditions interested him too (Sundt, 1975, VIII). Sundt pioneered in ethnological as well as historically oriented sociological studies. Such an attitude was especially evident in his depiction of Røros in 1858 when he thoroughly described the living conditions of workers employed by the Røros Copper Works. While visiting Røros in 1851, Sundt was fascinated about the exceptional willingness of local peasants and miners to dedicate their leisure time to handicrafts despite their exhausting main work at the Copper Works. He observed that most of the products were made in large numbers, for trade, but the artistic playfulness of craftsmen was of remarkable character; the products were somewhat irregular, singular and therefore not of serial production: *“I have learned that an old man does not simply work hard alone for a long time in order to make hundreds of wooden spoons, he rather follows his knife and after that, for example, a spoon with bowls on each side of the knife’s handle appears”* (Sundt, 1975, 78). As emphasized by Sundt, the gracefully mastered handicrafts in Røros were the result of the enduring engagement in producing creative pieces from natural local resources that started in early childhood as small children practised handicrafts when they looked after the farm animals. There was an obvious motivation among peasants and miners in producing the goods for sales and securing additional income, separate from earnings at the Røros Copper Works.

Sundt’s purpose of his later studies of Røros in 1858 was to analyse the struggle between the capital and a worker in Røros, just as he had already studied relationships between tenant farmers and land-owning farmers in the Norwegian countryside (Sundt, 1858, 11). Sundt’s focus on a worker’s position and his living conditions were well timed. The Røros Copper Works experienced decline in the middle of the 19th century when the output of copper ore from Storwart mine decreased dramatically, the fuel supplies became more expensive, the price of production declined, and the Røros Copper Works introduced savings measures in order to keep operations going. Sundt was certain that workers were dependent on the Røros Copper Works while the company’s further operations were

threatened with being stopped. Through his studies, Sundt was brought closer to the subjects of his studies, which was considered unacceptable by the liberal reformers of the 19th century. Consequently, his state grant for further research was withdrawn (Seip, 1983, 18–37). However, Sundt managed to establish the labour association *Kristiania Arbeidersamfund* in 1864, which is still functioning today. Moreover, a number of labour associations were founded in various regions of Norway after Sundt's example, until the United Labour Association of the country was formed. Many of the members of the former carpenter's guild transferred their savings to the sickness insurance fund which was established by the labour association in 1866 and thus contributed to attracting many new members since the last carpenter's guild vanished in 1870. The former system of guilds was eradicated by the new law on trades and crafts, launched by the *Storting* in 1827. During that time, the prestige of the crafts degraded as the remains of the old system – the guild's final examination (*svenneprøve*) – was abolished, and unlimited liberal trades without testing or verification were introduced. The certificate of completed apprenticeship was voluntary and anyone could call himself a master; therefore, many small workshops were established that were run by owners without qualifications (Zachariassen, 1979, 24–27). However, in 1894, the apprenticeship examination was reintroduced for those who wanted to gain a trade licence (*håndverksborgerskap*).

To conclude, it should be emphasized that despite his membership of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments, Sundt's contribution to the field of heritage conservation was rather indirect but essential. First of all, he set the course of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments towards further research on vernacular building traditions, by focusing not only on the physical objects, but also on the subjects who had created them. Despite Sundt's evolutionist worldview, he contributed to the establishment of the subject of heritage conservation by raising awareness of the importance of a craftsman's work, which followed the local traditions. Further studies on building traditions in Norway permeated the foundations of open-air museums, which Sundt also advocated for: "*If we could place on the same grounds one farm from various regions of the land: from Jæderen, from Indherred, from Sundmøre, from Østerdalen, from Sætersdalen, etc., it would be quite a surprising collection. Apparently, it would be amazing to study the confusion of the mixture; but as soon as one realizes that these differences in building traditions could be followed up to the unity of the country's common building tradition, and that these various traditions were the sources of it, so one could engage in reflections and entertainment for hours*" (Sundt, 1976, 3). Sundt's encouragement to develop the national Norwegian architectural style according to the local building traditions was followed further by the architect Herman Major Schirmer, who republished Sundt's work on building traditions in 1900 and nominated him for the title of *the father of the vernacular* (*byggeskikkens far*) (Bye, 2010, 112).

2.4 Why Røros was not an object of interest for Nicolay Nicolaysen

One of Sundt's contemporaries, Nicolay Nicolaysen was active in polemic writings, disputing Sundt's ideas but rarely referring to his name directly (Lidén, 2005, 58, 60). Nicolaysen's ideas kept in step with Romantic Nationalism, but initially he opposed the evolutionist perspectives as he perceived the Norwegian farmers' building traditions to be

rather static. He is most famous for his archaeological studies of medieval church buildings, but it is worth noting that Nicolaysen was interested in studying the farmers' secular buildings as well, first and foremost because he was convinced that traces from the Saga Times could be identified in the countryside buildings of the 19th century. According to Nicolaysen, the period between the 17th and 18th centuries was perceived as a stage of decline in architectural development due to the foreign elements of classical masonry, applied in the wooden Nordic architecture. The smaller copies of Trondheimian wooden mansions in Røros were signs of this recession and, therefore, were disregarded as objects of heritage protection. However, even if Røros was not within the scope of heritage protection in the 19th century, it is interesting to understand the reasons for it as well as the subsequent counter-reactions, driven by the next generation of antiquarians at the beginning of the 20th century.

If Dahl is regarded as the founder of the Norwegian Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments (*Fortidsminneforeningen*), then Nicolaysen is considered the successor and developer of the society. Nicolaysen focused on medieval buildings or later constructions that were thought to be built according to the medieval building traditions, because he expected to find evidence for his propositions, which were established by studying written historical sources. He was a follower of the Norwegian Historical School, created by the historian and first leader of the Norwegian Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments, Rudolf Keyser, and his colleague, the historian Peter Andreas Munch. The school originated from the Theory of Immigration to Norway, inspired by the previously mentioned Schøningh, and it set the course of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments for the future (Bugge, 1933, 119). In relation to the discourse of the Norwegian Historical School, the Reformation of 1537 was defined as a turning point in Norway, and most of the attention was given to the pre-reformation period by Nicolaysen and his contemporaries in the second half of the 19th century. This date appeared in later juridical documents of heritage preservation as non-negotiable, and all the objects dated before 1537 were and are still considered to be automatically protected by law.

Consequently, Nicolaysen saw Norwegian architecture as stemming from Old Norse wooden building traditions, dominated by horizontal notched-log constructions. Nicolaysen was convinced that Norway was one of the few European countries where the historical traces of former building traditions could still be found in the 19th century as many of the old buildings had survived then. He did not have any doubts that one common national building tradition was prevailing in the country in the Middle Ages. The essence of the Norwegian building tradition was a four-square, notched-log building, covered with a low turf roof, built from rounded timber logs and, accordingly, without panel cladding. According to Nicolaysen, this prototype could be found both at the royal or nobleman's farm and at an ordinary farmer's yard simultaneously (Nicolaysen, 1982, 2). Moreover, he claimed that the same notched-log building tradition spread further into the town, by composing the so-called "urban yards" in the same manner as the rural homesteads, with minor buildings for different functions placed around the inner yard. Nicolaysen did not object to the idea that foreign cultural impulses from abroad were generally adapted in towns first and then later spread into the countryside, but he was convinced that the building

traditions did not evolve in the same manner; instead, they were perceived as an exception to the rule. In Nicolaysen's view, Norwegian urban building traditions emerged from the countryside where they had prevailed long before the first towns were established. According to Nicolaysen, the word *carpenter* (*tømmermann*) was primarily used to name shipbuilders and the term *builder* (*bygningmann*) was used instead for a person who built wooden houses in the Middle Ages. In urban territories, there were mainly only *joiners* (*bordarbeidsmenn*), while *builders* (*bygningmenn*) inhabited the surrounding villages. During the process of constructing a wooden house in medieval times, there was a clear division of labour between these groups (Nicolaysen, quoted by Lidén, 2005, 94). Gradually, the rural building style was adapted to different urban conditions in towns and therefore changed its character in history – this is how Nicolaysen explained the emerging distinct urban building traditions. In the 19th century, masonry remained an exceptional building method as most of the buildings were still built in notched-log construction, they did not have panel boarding on façades, they had external staircases and galleries, and most of them were covered with turf roofs (Nicolaysen, 1890).

According to Nicolaysen, the original Nordic medieval notched-log construction began to decay in the age of decline of architecture as well as because of degrading material culture and moral virtues in general. The decline started in the second half of the 18th century when traditions were abandoned in both rural and urban environments, first and foremost by the *nouveau riches*. The same eradicating process continued later on in the 19th century, and Nicolaysen sought to distance himself from this downturn, by recoiling upon the authenticity and extensive historical knowledge, based on reliable written and solid sources of knowledge. By using Bourdieuan terms, Arne Lie Christensen interprets Nicolaysen's opposing position as characteristic of a representative of *Bildungsbürgertum* – a class of well-educated and economically stronger upper-bourgeoisie (Christensen, 2011, 70). Nicolaysen was making a clear distinction in his own social environment, by separating “*the exclusive bourgeois, who possessed the educated taste based on historical knowledge, from the nouveau riches, who ignorantly gorged with old styles and chose spiritless ‘imitations’ and were guided by the moods of fashion*” (Lidén, 2005, 51).

It was considered that the decline of building traditions started when the elements of masonry and stone architecture were introduced into the wooden building traditions. The borrowed elements were usually decorative, added to the façades or interiors as ornamental additions. The signs of cultural recession were associated with the neo-baroque, and especially the French-inspired neo-rococo style, which flourished in rural Norway in the form of *rosemaling* – decorative painting on wood, with floral ornamentation and flowing patterns (Fett, 1935, 10). In order to resist over-embellishments and expressions of poor taste, Nicolaysen suggested revitalizing the tradition of wood carving, which, according to him, lasted from medieval times and could still be traced in carved acanthus leaves of the 19th century.

Even if the local notched-log building traditions were still followed in the 19th century, in Nicolaysen's opinion, the architectural expressions of the traditional four-square, notched-log buildings became too elaborate. Therefore, in his article of 1884, Nicolaysen gave a detailed description of how buildings should be treated in a truthful way by discussing the

exterior of log walls and panel cladding, the proper use of red and yellow wood for colours, instead of delusive white paint. He mentioned the proper arrangement of windows and doors and criticized the painted and plastered ceilings with "*feigned ceiling rose*" in the middle (Nicolaysen, 1884, 121–122). Nicolaysen was certain that buildings should be built diversely, in various places with differing climatic conditions. Long-lasting local building traditions were those which proved the most adaptable to certain climatic conditions in the extended course of time. Wood as a building material was considered to have certain limitations, which influenced the shape and appearance of a building; therefore, the imitation of southern architecture for masonry in wooden buildings was treated as artificial and too fanciful.

In contrast to Sundt, Nicolaysen was sceptical about the emerging practice of copying the historical wooden farmers' buildings and calling them "national" due to the lack of progressive elements. Nicolaysen assumed that only the introduction of the so-called new Swiss chalet style, or alternatively called "wooden style", in the 1840s promised architectural recovery in Norway, after a long period of decline due to the extensive use of decorative elements of masonry on wooden buildings (Lidén, 2005, 176–177). However, at the same time, Nicolaysen doubted the very notion of national architecture. He noticed that the conscious aim at creating national architecture was quite a new phenomenon, which emerged with the Nationalist movement after 1830 and the establishment of new polytechnic schools of architecture as a counterbalance to the earlier art academies, which were focused on classical, "higher" architecture as the rest of architectural expressions were discarded as being non-artistic. The latter category also involved those buildings that were built entirely from wood (Nicolaysen, 1884, 114). He explained that architectural styles are bound to certain periods of time, not particular countries, but they can be considered regional due to special materiality, climatic conditions, ways of life and common traditions. If the named common features circulated in some areas, so would the common architectural expressions and therefore it would not be surprising to find similar buildings in Norway and Sweden at the same time (Nicolaysen, 1884, 116). Nicolaysen also observed that certain artistic forms were often incorrectly called national as they could have been brought from abroad long before (Nicolaysen, 1896, 310).

According to Nicolaysen, another reason why the national architectural style, integral for the whole country as it was in medieval times, was not possible to be recreated lay in the fact that his contemporary Norwegian architects obtained their education abroad, mainly in Germany, where some patterns were taught as valuable, without due consideration given to the locally inherited building traditions, proven as suitable over time for particular building materials in certain climatic circumstances. He emphasized that the contemporary wooden architecture, however, was not based on local building traditions because it was a combination of antique elements and borrowed forms from country buildings of Switzerland or Tyrol. Nicolaysen criticized the prevalent use of antique forms, embodied in embraided symmetry, and suggested that dissonance should play a far more important role in creating richer harmony in artistic compositions. Thus, he suggested solving the limitations of straight square forms, determined by wood as the construction material, with the help of the angle ground plan, popular in England at that time, and encouraged

Norwegian architects to continue their studies in that foreign country (Nicolaysen, 1884, 118–199).

However, Nicolaysen approved the emergence of the new Swiss chalet style because it was intended for wooden architecture essentially and expressed the qualities of a certain building material – wood. In line with Sundt, Nicolaysen did not object to the industrial production of building materials and encouraged changing the working methods, which were introduced together with the spread of the Swiss chalet style, if the special features of wood as a building material were expressed. By disputing the restoration of Nidaros cathedral, Nicolaysen stated that “*the individuality of a material should be respected. It is not enough for the critical evaluation of art that the form should correspond to the purpose of things, but the nature of a material should be liberated as well. A stone should be formed as stone, not as God or something else; if one painted wood in green, white, red or black, the form of it should still demonstrate that it is wooden*” (Nicolaysen, 1855, 1). Lidén had observed that Nicolaysen followed the ideas of Semper, which were published in 1834 (Semper, 1834, XI), and other architects of historicism, such as Prussian Schinkel and his follower Linstow, working in Norway. Nicolaysen was also familiar with the ideas of Viollet-le-Duc, who resisted the French academic fine arts tradition of applying decorative elements of classical architecture as he emphasized the role of a building’s material and construction over its form. Both Viollet-le-Duc and Semper were representing the course of structural rationalism, promoted by the polytechnic schools in the middle of the 19th century (Lidén, 2005, 175).

The rational and practical purpose of restoration, in contrast to the conservative approach, was also advocated by the structural rationalism programme. Viollet-le-Duc claimed that an object of heritage should be restored due to its potential practical use value and resisted the conservationist approach to the ruins, which mainly sustained the value of curiosity (Laussus and Viollet-le-Duc, 1843, 3–4). In line with structural rationalism, the functional purpose of gargoyles as part of the Gothic system of guttering was emphasized during the restoration of Notre-Dame in Paris, by emphasizing that they were not added as merely decorative sculptures to the structure. According to Viollet-le-Duc, their functional purpose went unnoticed in the Age of Reason when many of them were demolished as signs of medieval irrationality. The continual restorations and reconstructions of chimeras, which were exposed to rapid deterioration, were perceived as part of the medieval tradition, and thus the restoration of sculptures in the 19th century could be justified as gargoyles became signs of salvation of a building’s body, inbuilt elements of protecting the structure (Camille, 2008, 14–17).

Analogies between the restoration of Nidaros cathedral by Nicolaysen to its medieval state, by cleaning it of “*all the shamefulness of the subsequent ages*” (Nicolaysen, quoted in Lidén, 2005, 61), and Viollet-le-Duc’s advocacy for returning the former glory of the monument could be found; however, parallel lines could not be drawn. At least in his textual legacy, Viollet-le-Duc explained that the traces of various periods in different styles should be respected and therefore by restoration the building is elevated to the state in which elements of different styles never coexisted before: “*every addition, from whatever period, should in principle be conserved, consolidated and restored in its own style.*”

Moreover, this should be done with absolute discretion and without the slightest trace of personal opinions” (Laussus and Viollet-le-Duc, 1843, 4). If restorations to previous styles were made by removing the latter additions, they were explained as necessary for structural stability. Differently from Nicolaysen, who despised rococo and baroque as foreign decorative symbols, for Viollet-le-Duc, architectural forms were part of rational structural principles. Hellenistic and French Gothic building traditions were considered as following different structural laws and, therefore, were not very compatible. Consequently, later additions in classical styles to medieval buildings were viewed as inappropriate.

Viollet-le-Duc emphasized that a restoration architect should possess the knowledge of working techniques of various historical building traditions and the ability to recognize the quality of building methods. The original building techniques were not considered of superior quality *per se* and if the later additions or innovations proved to be technically better, these were chosen for restoration (Jokilehto, 2011, 152). Nevertheless, Viollet-le-Duc tried to recreate the social system that built the medieval cathedrals by establishing stonecutting workshops and employing sculptors, who could “*rediscover at the end of his chisel, this naïveté of past centuries*” (Laussus and Viollet-le-Duc, 1843, 8). As described by his own great-granddaughter, Viollet-le-Duc “*could handle all the instruments used by builders and even stonecutters. He could show a workman how to approach the job. He was therefore highly respected because he was not ‘the architect’, ‘the gentleman’, and this was most unusual in his time. He was always very close to his workers, in the medieval tradition*” (Viollet-le-Duc, quoted in Camille, 2008, 63). The success of the recreation of the social medieval environment in the construction yard was doubtful, first and foremost, due to the external socio-political situation, which hindered its further evolution into the French equivalent of the English Arts and Crafts movement.

The situation at the stonecutting workshop at Nidaros cathedral was somehow different. Nicolaysen, who was first and foremost a scholar interested in archaeology, doubted the possibility of a creative architect of the 19th century being able to understand and convey the way a medieval architect worked. Nicolaysen quoted the French archaeologist Arcisse De Caumont, who claimed that architects in France damaged the medieval monuments by newly rebuilding them in the name of restoration. Nicolaysen also referred to Ferdinand von Quast, the Prussian state antiquarian who, after his visit to France, stated that the restored monuments were no longer old, but became the exact copies of themselves. Nicolaysen suggested considering the English experience instead, where the opposite reactions were stemming from (Nicolaysen, 1859, 221).

2.4.1 The improvement of the medieval crafts by industrial workmanship

According to Nicolaysen, the medieval stonecutters who built Nidaros and other stone buildings in Norway were mainly foreigners; however, the revival of local wooden building traditions by following the authentic methods was not seen as reasonable. The excuse was that social and economic differences between the Middle Ages, when the national building traditions flourished, and the 19th century were thought to be too big (Lidén, 2005, 178).

During pre-industrial times, the producers and consumers of handicraft goods were mainly from the same rural environment, but this unity was divided in the middle of the 19th century when the production of handicrafts was partly transferred to bigger urban workshops and factories and intended for a new group of customers – the townspeople. By introducing mass production, the relationship between the producer and consumer was changed into an anonymous one, and a handicraft product became a commodity in the market. Wood carving became a product on demand during the times of Romantic Nationalism, but had to be cleaned from the prevailing influences of the rococo style, which was associated with the French aristocracy of the second half of the 18th century. For Nicolaysen, the rococo decorations were foreign, so even though they were common in folk culture, the arbiter of taste of the 19th century did not consider them part of the national folk tradition (Sveen, 2004, 85–90). Nicolaysen, like many of his contemporaries, had a dual relationship with folk creative expressions: he admired them, but at the same time he believed that they had declined and, therefore, had to be improved by modern means of production.

Consequently, the pre-modern handicraft was rediscovered and “saved” by advanced production techniques but, at the same time, it lost its spontaneous, individual expression (Christensen, 2011, 49). For Nicolaysen the artistic expression was not that important as the rationalization of handicraft production; he thought that industrially produced goods would be of the same quality or even better than the ones produced individually in the domestic environment. At the same time, there was a conviction that serial production would contribute to reducing the prices of products, that the mass-produced, good-quality commodities would become affordable for most of the population, and that is how they would compete with the declining taste for inappropriate goods (Lidén, 2005, 172–174).

Nicolaysen sought to collect traces of medieval handicraft in order to show the connection between the medieval craftsmanship and the creative expression of the Norwegian farmer in the 19th century. At the same time, the handicrafts had to be cleaned of all the additions of successive ages and multiplied by serial production for the wider populace. As Lidén and Christensen had noticed, the mass production of handicrafts could be equated to the accumulation and publishing of folklore in the middle of the 19th century when the link between a producer and a consumer was anonymized (Lidén, 2005, 36; Christensen, 2011, 50, 64).

2.4.2 The copying of traditional log buildings and the beginnings of the open-air museum

Even though the general disposition and preference of the Norwegian Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments was preservation of historical buildings *in situ*, this principle could be applied only when such preservation was realistic (Hegard, 1984, 215). Otherwise, efforts were made to find external financial support to purchase such buildings and let them stay in their original place or, if the first option was impossible, to move them, as the common tradition and technical possibility of transporting notched-log buildings enabled relocation. During the period of Nicolaysen’s leadership in the

society, the first steps of establishing open-air museums were taken, which also promoted the preservation of old wooden buildings that had lost their original function or otherwise become useless and, therefore, appeared unwanted by the people at large.

As previously mentioned, Nicolaysen doubted the possibility of reconstructing the national style by using traditional building techniques, and this possibly was one of the reasons why he was not involved in the implementation of the plans of Heftye, who pioneered not only commissioning the new copies of old wooden buildings, following local Norwegian constructing traditions, but also collecting the original ancient structures from various areas at Frognerseteren and making the collection open for public visits. As written before, Heftye started implementing his ideas at Sarabråten by building a copy of *sperrestue* in 1856, but also by preserving the original *akerhusstue in situ* as well as building copies of two ancient storehouses in circa 1860 and 1880, by inviting the local carpenters from Telemark to perform the assignment in the most traditional way possible (Hegard, 1984, 67; Eldal, 1997, 197–108). At Frognerseteren, Heftye built a copy of Telemark's house with the help of H. M. Schirmer in 1867 (Hegard, 1984, 69–9–71). Again, the carpenters from Telemark were employed to construct it according to local building traditions (Heftye, 1994, 5–6).

Heftye's activities in Sarabråten and Frognerseteren were inspired by foreign tendencies and experiences from the 1867 World Fair in Paris; at the same time, Heftye's own practices had great international influence as well. For example, the Swedes, who visited Frognerseteren in 1884, published reflections in their homeland by stating that "*Hazelius would not hesitate to establish a similar environment at the Norwegian division of the Nordic Museum*" (Hegard, 1984, 74). Very likely, the following visit in 1885 of Hazelius himself to King Oscar II's collection at Bygdøy influenced the purchase of the first original old building *Morastuen* the same year. Soon after, in 1891, Hazelius founded the open-air museum in Skansen as a division of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm.

As stated before, Nicolaysen did not engage in the work of Heftye in establishing his collections, and one of the reasons could be due to his rejection of historical reconstructions. Nicolaysen expressed very clearly that the historical buildings would not meet contemporary expectations: "*for example an open hearth building corresponded to that particular civilization, but today it would only be a romantic fantasy to live in such a house, without windows and sun. A stave church is a characteristic creation of our land, but even if such huge materials, which once were used to build those churches, would be obtained today, it would not be possible to build bigger churches for our contemporary cult [...]. Lastly, regardless of the interest and inherence of storehouses in mountainous villages, I doubt if someone would enjoy building such an outhouse, separated from the main dwelling and the kitchen, due to our climatic conditions*" (Nicolaysen, 1884, 116).

Consequently, for Nicolaysen, "*the past was a foreign country*", and the idea of an open-air museum was soon associated with a collection of original samples which could be used for scientific purposes to study bygone times. Therefore, he proposed bringing a selection of original buildings from various areas of Norway and of various periods and functions, and with different types of fireplaces to Christiania and to place those around the already

moved farmer's house *Hovestue* at King Oscar II's summer residence of Bygdøy (Lidén, 2005, 200–201). Consequently, Nicolaysen was primarily concerned with the preservation of the material authenticity of the original buildings, which were brought to King Oscar II's collection. Therefore, he strongly criticized the renovations made during the relocation of the open hearth building *røykstua* from Kjelleberg in 1887. The carpenter Jacob Torstensen, who transported and assembled this and many other buildings for King Oscar II's collection, fended off the criticism by explaining that he recreated the building in the same appearance as he found it *in situ* (Hegard, 1984, 51). The contemporaries of Nicolaysen did not share the same uncompromising concern about the preservation of the original material, and a copy as such was not perceived negatively, as falsification, but rather as a continuation of building traditions by a wide variety of professionals – architects as well as carpenters.

2.4.3 Open-air museums as alma mater of the state antiquarians

Next to King Oscar II's collection, a Norwegian open-air museum was established in 1894 by Hans Aall, a librarian who followed different views on an open-air museum than those held by Heftye or Nicolaysen. Aall acknowledged his admiration in the diversity of expositions as well as success and popularity of the open-air museum in Skansen, established by Hazelius (Fett, 1943, 82). It was clearly stated in the regulations of Skansen that this museum should not serve scientific goals alone, but rather aimed at public enlightenment, by focusing not just on collections of material heritage. The museum first and foremost aimed “*to commemorate men and women, who in different ways encouraged patriotic culture and honour*”, and “*to awaken and support patriotic feelings*” of the visitors (Bringéus, 1974, 5). n

Hazelius was mostly occupied with safeguarding the traditions, or the so-called intangible heritage. He drew attention not only to folk dance and folk music, but he also influenced the domestic arts and crafts movement in Sweden as the collections were intended to serve mostly as a source of inspiration for craftsmen.

Aall also maintained that the preservation of the originality of relocated buildings depended on the work of local carpenters, who could repeat the traditional building techniques, typical of the precise places. In other terms, Aall believed that the safeguarding of material heritage depended on the preservation of the intangible heritage. Therefore, as emphasized by Hegard, instead of hiring architects, Aall entrusted these operations to experienced carpenters, who conducted both the dismantling and the assembling of built structures (Hegard, 1984, 189). However, the relocation of some old buildings from remote areas could not be performed by following the above-mentioned requirements due to the absence of a craftsman's expertise inherent to particular outlying places. Therefore, in order to perform relocations, the post of a foreman was established in 1898. Consequently, the newly hired foreman Christian Olsen, a skilful joiner and carpenter, led relocations until 1906. Afterwards he was replaced by the above-mentioned carpenter, Torstensen, who was

already experienced in working at King Oscar II's collection, and he subsequently was employed at the Norwegian open-air museum until 1911.

However, a critique of the prevalent ignorance of traditional Norwegian building techniques was expressed by some contemporary architects of that time. At the same time, a growing discontent with the elitist, exclusive and Germanic ideology was embodied both in the heritage and new architectural projects, which finally resulted in a generational revolution within the field of heritage conservation (Christensen, 2011, 71–72). Thus, the old generation, represented mainly by academics, was replaced by a new generation, consisting largely of architects (Myklebust, 1994, 115). The greatest opponent of Nicolaysen was H. M. Schirmer, who became the leader of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments in 1899 as a result of a more democratic management system, which required the rotation of the representatives of the directorate by ordinary members every third or second year (Lidén, 2005, 217). This period can be associated not only with the organizational changes within the society, but with an overall paradigm shift in the field of heritage conservation as well.

Nicolaysen emphasized that a survey of an old wooden building “*should not serve as a significant influence for the practised contemporary building methods. The big differences of building materials between those which were used in our old buildings and those which are used in our times as well as the big changes which are expected in buildings presently will limit the possibilities of such influence. According to the general opinion of the Directorate, the aim of such surveys should significantly be based on the interest in scientific views, their importance for the art history and cultural history*” (Nicolaysen, quoted by Hegard, 1984, 208). With a background in juridical studies, Nicolaysen was mostly concerned with the documentation of the surviving wooden buildings and the preservation of the extant samples. For representatives of the creative professions, such as painters or architects, the wooden buildings served as sources of inspiration. H. M. Schirmer started surveying anonymous secular wooden buildings while lecturing at the Academy of Craft and Art Industry (*Den kongelige tegneskole*) from 1872. He organized surveying field trips for the students of architecture in Østlandet and, in that way, he accumulated a solid capital of knowledge about Norwegian building traditions as well as contributed to deepening the expertise in the subject among his students, the future architects (Lidén, 2005, 208). H. M. Schirmer expressed regret in following foreign architectural impulses and ascertained a huge gap in Norwegian built material studies appearing because this kind of information was not scientifically organized and supplied to students. As H. M. Schirmer became the leader of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments in 1899, he straight away prepared clear instructions for how the surveying of buildings should be conducted. The aim of these surveys was to start registering building traditions, with a special focus on traditional craftsmanship, and provide clarification on how it changed over time (Hegard, 1984, 220).

H. M. Schirmer did not cooperate closely with the Norwegian open-air museum in Bygdøy even when he became the leader of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments. But he was familiar with and constantly consulted the founders of the regional open-air museums – Anders Sandvig in Maihaugen and Gert Falch Heiberg in Sogn.

Moreover, H. M. Schirmer assisted Heiberg in his plans to construct a new museum building in Sogn, by entrusting his former student Holger Sinding-Larsen to design a building according to the knowledge gained during the surveying of traditional buildings. “*The ugly building*”, which was previously proposed to Heiberg by his mason Ernst Hansen from Bergen, was rejected and instead a wooden building was constructed in 1905. H. M. Schirmer was personally engaged in the construction process and named the project with pride as a recognition of his “*mastery of apprentice*”, despite the reality that the building construction followed traditions more characteristic of Østlandet as well as the fact that it was built from massive planks instead of logs (Hegard, 1984, 139–140).

H. M. Schirmer restored the objectives of Dahl, which had been misunderstood by Dahl’s contemporaries. This misconception was most evident in the above-mentioned case of transportation of Vang stave church. Dahl’s proposition that the relocated Vang stave church would serve firstly as a royal palatial chapel and secondly as a model of contemporary wooden churches was incomprehensible as it employed alien rationale for the first half of the 19th century in Norway. Despite his personal ignorance, H. M. Schirmer unintentionally revived Dahl’s ideas at the end of the 19th century and even widened the scope, by including secular medieval buildings into his agenda. H. M. Schirmer was more conscious of the resurrection of Sundt’s standpoint as he republished Sundt’s work on the Norwegian farm building traditions in 1900 and encouraged his students of architecture to study Sundt’s writings for creative aspirations.

In 1880, H. M. Schirmer published his viewpoints on the national style, stating that the medieval building traditions could be studied by surveying the remaining material constructions. Those studies, in turn, should serve as sources of inspiration for restoring intangible heritage – the lost knowledge of medieval craftsmanship. According to H. M. Schirmer, the loss of medieval craftsmanship was caused by two main reasons: the practical one, i.e. a shortage of timber logs in great sizes and volumes of duramen, and aesthetic foreign impulses, which were alien to the local building traditions (Schirmer, 1880). Subsequently, Schirmer advocated in 1898 that “*the Norwegian architect and the one who is preparing himself to become one is called to study the Norwegian style, which flourishes in the countryside and which evolved under different conditions than those under which one has to live and work in towns now. He is called to study it wisely, in the same way as he is expected at home or abroad to study Hellenic style, Roman style, their influences in the early Christian times, Renaissance with its various phases, as well as the medieval building groups in foreign countries*” (Øistein, 1986, 44). H. M. Schirmer advocated for in-depth studies of the Norwegian vernacular building traditions to avoid the shallow succession of decorative forms entitled as a national style: “*A lot of hasty things are built under this brand, which search its way into the Norwegianness by misinterpreted external decoration. There is also art industry produced in the same manner, in modern dragon style – the type of art without soul and more alien to Norway now than the foreign tourists for whom it is manufactured*” (ibid., 44).

Despite the fact that H. M. Schirmer’s field trips and lectures on Norwegian building traditions were successful and effective among students of architecture, they were not favoured by the leadership of the Academy. H. M. Schirmer also ended up in conflict with

the members of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments and, therefore, had to resign from the position of chairman in 1911. In 1912, however, he was appointed the first state Director General for Cultural Heritage in Norway (*Riksantikvaren*) by royal resolution for a limited period, which was cut short by his death in April 1913. The succeeding Director General for Cultural Heritage in Norway, Harry Fett, described these tensions in the field of heritage conservation as political struggles between the group of academics led by Nicolaysen, who followed the right-wing ideals and opposed the introduction of the Cultural Heritage Act of 1905 as a threat to private real estate ownership, and the left-wing individuals, such as H. M. Schirmer and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, who were a minority in Christiania at that time (Myklebust, 2014, 100).

The Cultural Heritage Act of 1905 determined the obligatory protection of objects, dated to the period before the Reformation took place in 1537, i.e. those material traces which belonged to medieval Norway. However, the date was chosen not only due to the aesthetical preferences, but also to designate the political stance as well. The date of 1537 also signified obedience to Danish rule until 1814 when Norway ended up in union with Sweden. In 1905 Norway regained its independence and symbolically enough the Cultural Heritage Act of 1905 was the first legal act issued by the fully autonomous country. The subsequent generations of antiquarians, who appreciated the traces from the later periods and were in favour of intervening in private property, broadened the perception of heritage and subordinated it to state regulation by law.

2.5 Fett's perception of craftsmanship as domesticated artistry

Fett could be granted the title of the architect of the public heritage protection system in Norway. He was the son of Eduard Fett, an immigrant from Hamburg, who built up an industrial enterprise of roofing paper as well as of tapestry and decorative stucco. Even though Fett was not interested in the family business and turned away from industrial enterprise to become an art historian, he was influenced by his familial habitus and even was compelled to take over the managerial responsibilities at the factories from 1911 onwards, after his father's death. At the same time, he got involved in the field of heritage conservation on his own initiative. The position of Director General at the Directorate of Cultural Heritage was granted after he published an article on preservation of ancient monuments (Fett, 1913), right after H. M. Schirmer's death, which could be considered a present-day application for employment (Myklebust, 2014, 120). The article revealed his extensive accumulation of knowledge on the topic of art history and heritage conservation both abroad and in Norway itself and encompassed analysis of the existing situation in the field. Fett proved to be a productive publisher and explorer of the relevant themes since his assignment as a conservator at the Norwegian open-air museum in Bygdøy from 1901 until 1911.

In 1906, Fett wrote a book as part of the museum's series on the history of building traditions by encompassing both the development of exterior and interior architectural directions and furniture-making. In 1907, he produced another book, focusing on the historical development of benches and chairs alone and providing a detailed list of craftsmen who had been making furniture in Norway throughout history. Fett wanted the

books to provide inspiration for contemporary architects and artists by revealing the value of the artistic cultural production of the previous centuries (Fett, 1906, 1907). The last half of the 19th century was perceived as a period of decline due to mechanical reproduction and the loss of artistic and individual expressions. Therefore, differently from the former antiquarian H. M. Schirmer, he opposed accurate reconstructions and mere copying of the former building traditions and expected the revival of more artistic interpretations of historical patterns to be taking place.

Instead of Sundt's concept of *building traditions* (*byggeskikk*), which was revived and cultivated by H. M. Schirmer, Fett introduced the term *folk art* (*folkekunst*), which was intended to define the artistic qualities of popular cultural production. The origin of the creations, however, was not perceived as stemming "from the bottom"; rather, they were conceived as sent down from "above", i.e. they were the local artistic interpretations of European high-end styles. According to Fett, the whole global society was divided into three ranked groups according to their artistic achievements: the European upper society, which he attributed himself to and which featured the exceptional disposition for artistic styles; the European common people, who reproduced the local adaptations of fine artistry; and all the non-Western world with its "*wild and half-wild*" folk artistic expressions (Fett, 1904, 213).

Fett opposed Nicolaysen's disregard of *rosemaling* as the local adaptation of the rococo decorativeness and the symbol of moral decline. For Fett, the period of Danish rule in Norway and the artistic expressions of that time were instead associated with the ideal structure of society, which was led by the cultivated officers of the crown in a wise and moral way. Fett associated himself with this class of society as he combined industrial practice with responsible cultural engagement. He condemned the emerging democratic system, based on elections of political parties and ruled by masses. He emphasized the advantages of the professional governance instead. These differences, according to Christensen, were especially evident in the field of heritage conservation as both the left-wing and right-wing politicians agreed with the demolitions when the questions of protection of cultural heritage occurred, while professionals in architecture and arts opposed the destruction. The moral and cultural decline led to commercialism, mass production and the creation of the *nouveau riches* (Christensen, 2011, 89), characterized by missing education, i.e. cultural capital. Consequently, even though Fett and Nicolaysen favoured different periods of appropriate moral principles and aesthetic expression, they shared a common concern for the declining cultural capital among their contemporaries' upper social stratum, possessing most of the economic capital and power. They both stemmed from families of higher economic bourgeoisie, engaged in industry and merchandise, but both of them chose exclusive careers in the cultural heritage field.

Fett, however, managed to synchronize both the economic and cultural activities and it could be one of the reasons why he admired the neoclassical artistic expressions, characteristic of the early industrial and merchant centres in the Norwegian-Danish kingdom, when both the accumulation of large economic and high cultural capital was merged into the "art of Mercury" (Fett, 1923). Fett praised Colbertism, which emerged in France in the 17th century, as well as its form of mercantilism, adapted in the Norwegian-

Danish Kingdom by Christian IV. Consequently, Fett proclaimed Kongsberg as the Norwegian capital of mercantilism, not only due to the developed mining industry, but also because the cultural and educational activities were concentrated at the Kongsberg Mining Academy. The Mining Academy was not only the first academic institution of mining and engineering but of architecture as well and, according to Fett, the cultural impact spread into the surrounding region and reached as far as Røros.

Fett described the mining towns (*bergstader*¹) of Røros and Kongsberg as “*two torches in the winterly quietness*” (Fett, 1923, 30) where the Colbertist manufacturers were operating, and human excellence flourished due to foreign impulses and new ideas ploughing into those mining towns as strangers were engaging in crafts and trades there. By describing the ideal Colbertist model of social order, Fett criticized the overwhelming focus and incitement of class struggle in his contemporary Norwegian democratic politics. He provided an example of this provocation by taking advantage of art history and by setting against the rural and urban art forms. Fett advocated instead searching for links between the two and proclaimed that the mastery of a Norwegian farmer’s craftsmanship is dependent on his ability to adopt the coeval international decorative styles. Fett debated Nicolaysen’s claims that the 19th-century Norwegian folk craftsmanship contained traces of the medieval legacy, and he argued instead that the last creative period of the *folk art* was affected by Colbertist mercantilism of the 18th century, which reached Norway from abroad and flourished within the framework of the corresponding decorative styles. Fett accentuated that: “*From the works, from town craftsmen, from Kongsberg and Røros, this art is stemming and comes logically and solidly into its stylistic appearance. The rural and urban artists stand together and should be seen together if one aims at real understanding of the artistic life in the 18th century*” (Fett, 1923, 34–35). Fett criticized his predecessor in the field of heritage conservation, who was focused mainly on medieval heritage. Under the Ancient Regime, the farmers were influenced by the artists of mercantilism instead of “*mystical medieval reminiscences*” (Fett, 1923, 36). The rich artistry of forging, ornamental carving and *rosemaling* were all based on the trendy decorative styles. Farmers were involved in common creative processes by *domestication* and provided the special character with “*pure abstract architectonic sense of style*” (Fett, 1923, 37).

2.5.1 Svend Aspaas as the rural genius of practical artistry

The long-reaching influence of Kongsberg’s architectural style (the term used by Fett, 1923, quoted by Seip, 2008, 78) is reaffirmed by today’s architectural historians, claiming that Kongsberg church, which was in 1739 designed by Joachim Andreas Stuckenbrock, coming from the mining area of Harz in Germany, had a direct influence over *Bergstadens Ziir* in Røros, built in 1784. Interestingly, this impact is believed to have spread further, and its traces are to be found in rural building traditions, specifically in the octagonal log churches (Seip, 2008, 77). The sources on which such assumptions were made are not

¹ Only two mining towns in Norway – Røros and Kongsberg – were granted the special rights of *bergstad*. The mining community was regulated in a similar way to towns that were granted self-governance by monarchical privileges. Differently from Kongsberg, which today operates as a town, Røros formally sustained its special status of *bergstad* (https://nn.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bergstaden_Røros).

provided by the author, but one might guess that the links could be traced by following the career path of Svend Aspaas, a master builder from Røros, who was educated at the Kongsberg Mining Academy.

It should be noted that the earliest octagonal log churches in Norway were built at the beginning of the 18th century in Trondheim (*Hospitalskirken* in 1705–1706 and the *Bakke* church in 1714–1715) by the Netherlandish mason Johan Christopher Hempel, who was also the first master of the newly established guild of masons in Trondheim in 1722 (Bratberg, 2008, 231). Hempel's octagonal log churches in Trondheim followed the patterns of baroque churches, common in the Netherlands beginning in the middle of the 17th century, and they were considered models for more than 60 other octagonal log churches in Norway (ibid., 239). However, it was Fett who saw S. Aspaas as a rural genius and grounded his assumptions on the records of the Danish-Norwegian historian Niels Henrik Weinwich (Fett, 1921, 95), who claimed that S. Aspaas had “*exclusionary artistic practical skills*” that he demonstrated in building a number of houses in the region of Trondheim and the octagonal Vang church in Hedmark (Weinwich, 1829, 12). Based on Weinwich's statements, Fett attributed the creation of many more of the log octagonal churches to him: Sør-Fron (1787), Klæbu (1789–1792), Storelvedalen (1809), Støren (1817), and Buviken (1819). If some of those churches were constructed after S. Aspaas' death in 1816, Fett believed that they were built by his apprentices as all those buildings bear the features of Trøndelag's baroque architecture, commonly found not only in sacral but also in a number of secular buildings of the region (Fett, 1921, 101–103).

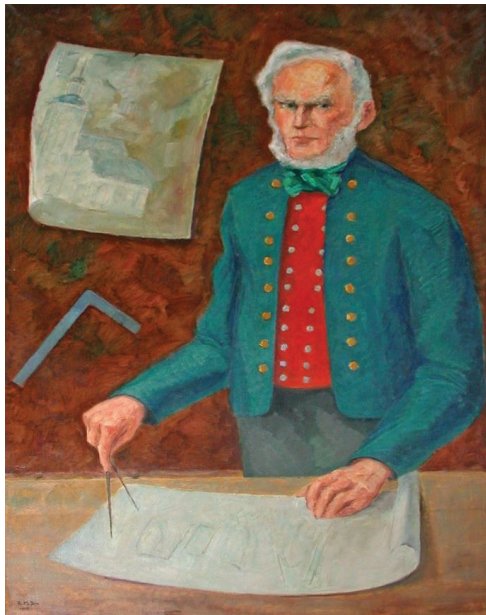


Figure 12. The painting from Røros church of mason Svend Aspaas (1736–1816) appointed as the main master builder at the Røros Copper Works after his contribution to building the church. Painted by R. M. Bye in 1964. (Photo taken by ©Einar Aasen in 2002)

Many of Fett's assumptions about the authorship of churches were based only on visual evaluation of the artistic expressions. Based on the artistic features of Trøndelag's vernacular baroque appearance, Fett ascribed to S. Aspaas the accomplishment of many residential manors for the upper classes in Røros, Trondheim and Hedmarken. Fett was assured that S. Aspaas was occupied with these constructions in the summer time, whereas in winter time, S. Aspaas supposedly was engaged in engineering the technical facilities, instruments and structures. Fett attributes to him the construction of many of the bridges in the upper part of the Gaula river valley (*Gauladalen*) and over the Orkla river for Løkken Mines (Fett, 1937a, 1). Fett did not emphasize the fact, but recent studies have shown that S. Aspaas gained artistic inspirations and technical knowledge not only in Kongsberg but from Sweden as well. The clockwork box, which S. Aspaas crafted for himself, follows the trends of *Härjedals rococo*, the style which was brought to Røros by the wood carver Jøns Andersson Ljungberg (1732–1818) from Härjedalen, a coeval of S. Aspaas, working at Hiort's estates (Suul, 2009, 205).



Figure 13. Wooden carvings at P. Hiort's funeral chapel performed by J. A. Ljungberg. (Photo by Iver Olsen, date unknown, ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.251125)



Figure 14. According to recent studies, Härjedals rococo in Røros has no equivalent in Norway, but was an artistic inspiration for S. Aspaas (Suul, 2009, 206). (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė in 2016)

Another link to Sweden could be based on the fact that, after the construction of Røros church, in 1784, S. Aspaas was sent to the Falun Mine by the Røros Copper Works to learn about building techniques using slag (a by-product left after the smelting of metals). In 1805, two years after S. Aspaas became the chief master builder (*overbyggmester*) of the Røros Copper Works, a masonry *Hyttstuggu* was built in Røros by using slag as a component in a mixture with lime and sand. This

strengthened type of lime mortar was an effective building material, used in various engineering constructions (Ormhaug, 2011, 6). Consequently, Fett depicted the example of the genius of S. Aspaas as a possibility for talented craftsmen gaining knowledge and skills through prolonged practice to reach the mastery of craftsmanship and achieve the skills of artistry. The legacy of regional adaptations of baroque architecture attributed to S. Aspaas witnessed the results of *domestication* of international styles and thus contributed to validating Fett's ideological programme.

Lately, S. Aspaas' authorship of Røros church has been questioned and attributed instead to the Trondheimian architect P. L. Neumann (Hendrich, 1982, 52). His architectural influence on many other octagonal log churches was also doubted (Ødegaard, 1977, 21– 23). However, his artisan input in the actual construction of these buildings should not be underestimated as, in the 18th century, the profession of an architect was a rarity in Norway, and the architectural functions were performed by various building craftsmen or educated people in the fields of military and mining (Ormhaug, 2011, 9). Priests and officials, who belonged to the upper, educated classes, influenced the spread of certain architectural tastes, and therefore the role of Hiort is so important not only in the architectural decisions made at his Engan baroque estate, but also in project managing Røros church. As observed by the art historian Kåre Hosar, the architectural fulfilment of this church was more liberal than that of Kongsberg, and Røros church could therefore be regarded as a collective architectural work (Hosar, quoted by Ormhaug, 2011, 9). It should be noted that master builders often worked without any initial project drawings at that time, as they “*had everything in their head and they did not need any drawings*” (Eldar, 2002, 17).



Figure 15. The historical lithography of Røros church which, according to the author, “was built in 1780 by the farmer Svend Aspaas and funded by shareholders of the Røros Copper Works”. (Lithography by Hansen, L. B., 1891. Gunnerus - Spesialsamlinger ved NTNU Universitetsbiblioteket, UBT-TO-000919_01_1).

Fett praised local baroque carpentry and vernacular adaptations of the international architectural styles, realized in octagonal churches, because he tried to raise the symbolic status of the regional heritage, dated to the 18th century. The legacy from that stylistic period, and especially the *domesticated* form of it, did not yet possess a special value either in the field of heritage conservation or among the practising architects of that time. Fett's mission therefore was to stop "*the destruction of the 18th century church culture*" (Fett, 1937b, 1).

The further architectural influence of S. Aspaas was traced by following the history of his family. His son Rasmus Svendsen Aspaas was appointed master builder at the Røros Copper Works as well and was the architect of an octagonal church at nearby Tolga village, built in 1840, according to a rather "*dilettantish*" drawing as depreciated by the antiquarian Vreim (Vreim, 1939, 130). In 1812, R. S. Aspaas also became one of the three new owners of Hiort's Baroque Garden at Engan, which was probably built by his father (Hosar, 2009).

The indirect influence of S. Aspaas' legacy was also attributed to other dwelling houses at Røros, namely, to *Aspaasgården*. The core construction of the main building suggests that it was rather a common two-storey building of notched-log construction with a turf roof, built at the beginning of the 18th century. It was believed that *Aspaasgården* was dramatically decorated in the 1790s by the owner of the house at that time – the carpenter Peder Andersen Indset (1739–1800). It was claimed that Indset could have gained skills and knowledge in baroque decorative styles by working at the construction of Røros church in 1780–1784, together with Ellingsen and S. Aspaas. The local written sources reveal that *Aspaasgården* was built by Indset indeed, and later on this urban farmyard was inhabited by his daughter Ingeborg Pedersdatter Indset as she became a widow after the death of her husband Peder Svendsen Aspaas, a son of the same famous local master builder at the Røros Copper Works, S. Aspaas (Kvikne, 1974, 94).

However, recently a theory was raised by the architect/restorer Even Nystu, grounded on his thorough analysis of the building's physical traces, stating that *Aspaasgården* was richly decorated with reused embellishments, translocated from an older building, by the succeeding owner Rasmus Halvorsen Aspaas (1831–1891), who bought the urban farm yard in 1855. R. H. Aspaas was a local "broker", concerned not that much with the skilful consolidation of all the reused parts but rather with the eccentric exterior of the building only; therefore, physical analysis of the building enabled analysts to trace transformations, suggesting that the added decorations were supposed to originate from a much more splendid secular building, belonging to the local upper classes. The hypothesis was expressed that, while R. H. Aspaas was engaged in "social climbing", the reused building parts were experiencing "social degradation" as a new local upper class of merchants was forming in Røros due to the raised trade monopoly of the Røros Copper Works. According to this theory, the new elite at Røros was fascinated by the fresh architectural trends and more up-to-date Swiss chalet style, meaning the rococo embellishments were considered old-fashioned and subsequently were reused by R. H. Aspaas, belonging to a lower social stratum (Nystu, 2007, 229).

If the theory of "social climbing" of R. H. Aspaas seems to be rather poorly grounded, the attribution of the initiated embellishment of *Aspaasgården* to him could be founded on further reasoning, based on his links of kinship. R. H. Aspaas was the grandson of Rasmus Svendsen Aspaas, one of the three new owners of Hiort's estate at Engan, and the great-grandson of Svend Halvorsen Aspaas, the famous master builder at the Røros Copper Works, who also constructed

the very same baroque manor. As mentioned above, R. H. Aspaas bought *Aspaasgården* in 1855 where previously Ingeborg Pedersdatter Indset, the widow of P. S. Aspaas, used to reside. P. S. Aspaas was the half-brother of R. H. Aspaas' grandfather, R. S. Aspaas, who is known to have sold his part of the Engan estate in the 1850s (Kvikne, 1974, 96). However, if no direct and evident proof of baroque decorations at *Aspaasgården* were found from the demolished Hiort's estate at Engan, Nystu suggested the following: "It is doubtful if there is any other secular wooden building decoration of such dimensions and high quality preserved here in this country from the same period of time" (Nystu, 2007, 232).



Figure 16. Differing kind of windows and their embellishments testify the reuse of various building materials from other, older buildings. (Photo taken by Iver Olsen; date unknown, ©Rørosmuseet RMUB.251032).

The forming field of heritage conservation at the beginning of the 20th century regarded the overwhelming obsession with the Swiss chalet style as a threat while *Aspaasgården* represented the image of the vernacular adaptation of the baroque architectural style. Consequently, the building caught the attention of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments in 1891. The building was documented in 1906–1907. However, soon after, in 1909, the building was announced for sale. In 1913, it was sold by the owner Lars Skancke to Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum and was moved to Trondheim in 1917 as one of the prime buildings of the collection. The translocation was made despite the objections of culturally engaged local enthusiasts in Røros and after unsuccessful attempts to raise public funds in order to keep the building *in situ* (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 10–12). If the building was refurbished to the superior appearance by reusing the decorative parts of older baroque buildings by R. H. Aspaas, it was brought to an even more "idealized" state after its translocation to the museum. The common museum's practice of that time to restore buildings back to the "original" brought *Aspaasgården* to a state that, in truth, had never existed before (Nystu, 2007, 229).



Figure 17. The “restored” Aspaasgården at Sverresborg open-air museum in Trondheim. (Photo taken by Klaus Forbregd in 1958, Gunnerus - Spesialsamlinger ved NTNU Universitetsbiblioteket, FB-58-004-B1-02_01).

2.5.2 Compiling the first national list of preservable buildings in Røros

The preservation of buildings, especially those in private ownership and dated to later periods than the Middle Ages, was often possible only through relocation to open-air museums at that time. Fett, who started the work of organizing legislative apparatus for the preservation of such buildings *in situ*, at first doubted this possibility himself: “*any attempt to preserve those values by law the way it is done in Italy could not be imaginable in our country*” (Fett, quoted by Myklebust, 2014, 128). However, already in 1918, Fett initiated the publication of the advocating article by his colleague, the Danish antiquarian Mouritz Mackeprang, on the building preservation law, which was enacted in Denmark the very same year (Mackeprang, 1918). The Danish Cultural Heritage Act followed the French law of 1887 and the Italian law of 1902 by dividing the level of preservation according to the assigned artistic or historical value of a certain object of concern (Myklebust, 2014, 167). Despite objections coming from the right-wing political parties and their accusations of “*reshaping the country into a huge museum of curiosities*” (Myklebust, 2014, 169), the Built Heritage Act was signed by King Haakon in 1920.

In 1921, a new unit of the Antiquarian Board for Buildings (*Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd*) was established within the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, which until 1978 was responsible for drawing up the list of preserved buildings and judging about the practical measures applied to the already listed ones (Bye, 2010, 128). Anders Bugge was mainly responsible for implementing the appointed tasks. He had already had practice with the inventory record-keeping of medieval churches, fortifications and vicarages, mainly based on scientific literature and documentation,

after the Cultural Heritage Act of 1905 was issued. After the implementation of the Built Heritage Act of 1920, a broader focus was set on two other groups of buildings: the ones in public ownership, i.e. old public buildings and state officials' homes, and those in private ownership, i.e. mainly the old farmers' homesteads. The information on most of those buildings was not available beforehand, and therefore inquiries were made for suggestions and sent to local authorities, historians, architects and regional members of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments. The District Sheriff is known to have been one of the public officers who served as informants in Røros (Bye, 2010, 351). Information on the chronology of the buildings and the craftsmen who built them was requested. Dating of the buildings of interest now overstepped the previously established margin of 1537 and reached the years 1830–1840 (Myklebust, 2014, 172–173). Consequently, with the help of the Built Heritage Act of 1920, Fett's ideological preferences were legitimized and gradually implemented by discovering and promoting the legacy of Norwegian-Danish mercantilism in Røros.

In 1923, the Directorate of Cultural Heritage listed eight buildings in Røros despite objections from the local County Board in Røros, who instead proposed listing buildings that were on the outskirts of the town or in the rural areas, as the imposed decision of the directorate would “*cause many difficulties for the concerned owners if new constructions or restoration works will have to be performed to nearly collapsing buildings. Some of the listed buildings should be removed due to the street regulation requirements and others are standing there as obstacles for beautification of the town*” (Myklebust, 2014, 210).

The disagreement with the listings of the Directorate of Cultural Heritage arose not only from the local ruling circles, but from common people as well. The owner of *Per Amundsagården* decided to tear the buildings down two years after the farmyard had been listed by the directorate, and the local County Board approved the demolition as it had to provide space for the petrol station (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 15). The farmyard, however, was proclaimed worthy of preserving as it represented “*a true type of Røros farmyard*” due to its full complexity, encompassing outhouses intended for cattle. The evaluation was done by Domenico Erdmann, a restorer from the directorate, who was sent to Røros in 1924 to assess the newly developed situation. Consequently, the buildings of *Per Amundsagården* were donated to the Norwegian open-air museum in Bygdøy, and in 1925 a young employee of the museum, the carpenter Halvor Vreim, visited Røros for the first time to make preparatory work for the relocation of the farmyard (Myklebust, 2014, 211). The buildings were documented by Vreim, dismantled and moved to the museum in the same year. Certain parts of the buildings were kept there disassembled until 1962, when they were rebuilt in the original place due to the efforts of the Norwegian Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments. In 1935 *Per Amundsagården* was described as “*a structure, which, due to its plan, corresponds to the building traditions, common for the old Trondheim, and demonstrates the medieval type*”. The buildings comprising *Per Amundsagården*, however, were dated later – to the end of the 18th century, but, according to antiquarian information based on Vreim's documentation, the buildings possessed exceptional features of the original, i.e. medieval, building traditions ([Bugge], 1935, 163).



Figure 18. Ironically, today Per Amundsgården could be regarded as standing out in the colourful urban landscape comprised of buildings, covered with panel cladding (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė in 2016).

The other five buildings that gained attention during the first round of listing included the famous *Sohlbergrekka* – the group of buildings forming the line along one of the main streets, *Kjerkgata*, in Røros. The listing of this group of buildings was chosen due to the influential painting by Harald Sohlberg, *The Street in Røros, Winter (Gate på Røros, vinter)*, of 1903, which hangs in the capital's National Gallery and was used for the promotion and legitimization of the work of cultural heritage preservation by Fett when public opposition against the first listings was increasing (Myklebust, 2014, 213). The decisions made about listing the other buildings, such as *Pers-stuggu*, were more difficult to defend, and they have been questioned even by today's professionals working in the field of heritage conservation (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 15). However, as will be revealed further on (see the section on Vreim), *Pers-stuggu* could be viewed as the origin of wooden buildings in Røros, based on Vreim's developed perspective of the history of Norwegian wooden buildings.

As has already been revealed, one of the common ways to ensure the preservation of secular buildings at that time was the assignment of their ownership and care to the museums. The eighth building listed during the first round of preservation was *Aasengården*, the ownership of which was assigned to Hans Aasen, who, according to the legend, accidentally discovered copper ore in Røros while hunting in the area in 1644. The inventory of buildings from 1935 indicated that the dwelling house at *Aasengården* stemmed from later times than the 17th century; yet, it should be noted that *Aasengården* belonged to the Røros folk museum in 1935 ([Bugge], 1935, 162).

This fact has recently been questioned by Dag Myklebust, stating that the folk museum had never been established in Røros, differently from Røros Museum, which was founded in 1930 (Myklebust, 2014, 328). This disagreement demands a closer look as it is an example that shows

how national authorities and local enthusiasts have interpreted the development of the local cultural movement in Røros in different ways. For example, the local historian S. Ødegaard expressed the opposite assumption by stating his regret that the title of Røros Museum was only partly attributed to the open-air museum, and mainly to the natural area of *Dokortjønna*, on the outskirts of the historical centre of Røros (Ødegaard, 1988, 21).

2.5.3 The open-air museum as a manifestation of the local significance

The first impulses for the preservation of cultural heritage in the local community arose after the baroque organ from Røros church was handed over to the ecclesiastical collection of the Norwegian open-air museum in Bygdøy in 1902 (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 11). In the same year, the local historian Henrik Grønn, who was also chairman at the Mining Town's Welfare Society (*Bergstadens Vel*) and the Society of Crafts (*Håndverksforeningen*), initiated the discussions regarding the opening of a local museum in Røros (Heinonen, 1987a, 2). However, the discussions had not been embodied in any specific actions, mostly due to insufficient public interest in this matter (Øverås, 1977, 22). Grønn wrote about ineffective effort in the period between 1902 and 1904 in establishing the museum, stating that "*the local community showed little interest and none of the influential men supported the idea, therefore the implementation of it was postponed*" (Grønn, 1930, quoted by Kvikne, 1942b, 464). At this early preparatory stage of the establishment of Røros Museum, plans were generated to purchase *Aspaasgården* and use it as a repository of the collections (Grønn, 1930, quoted by Gynnild, 2005, 5).

After the above-mentioned *Aspaasgården* was announced for sale in 1909 and the Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum showed interest in obtaining it, the initiative of establishing the local open-air museum was revived in 1910; however, it was unsuccessful again. The local historian Olav Kvikne expressed his regrets that "*A lot was lost of the valuable houses and movable properties related to the old culture of mountaineers until the majority of the populace in Røros understood what they were deprived of. The dealers of antiquities travelled quite undisturbed around towns and villages during their purchasing voyages, even whole farmyards from Bergstaden ended up in the museums out of our town before any steps were taken to preserve something on-site*" (Kvikne, 1942b, 464). In 1929, Grønn, the leader of the Society of Crafts, invited its members as well as the representatives of the Mining Town's Welfare Society (*Bergstadens Vel*) and Røros Tourism Association to unite the efforts for the common purpose of establishing the local museum.

Members of the Society of Crafts were eager to contribute to that purpose as it was viewed as a possibility for promoting the exceptional image of Røros in creating new products. The idea of using older buildings and tools as sources of inspiration for contemporary cultural production was part of the ideological programme of Romantic Nationalism and its aesthetical ideals of Historism. The historical images of the town were borrowed to be used in the marketing of both the locally produced products and the place itself. Alf Skancke, who, besides other things, represented Røros Tourism Association at that time, contributed financially to the cooperation in the work of establishing the local museum, and the past and local traditions were conceived by him as a resource for contemporary manufacturing and merchandising.

Hence, despite the difficult financial situation in the area, caused by the critical economic situation at the Røros Copper Works and the decreasing exploitation of the railway line, the cultural life in Røros, driven mainly by Grønn, started to bloom (Gynnild, 2005, 17). Finally, in 1930, Røros Museum and Historical Society (*Røros Museums- og historielag*) was established, and a temporary exhibition was organized at *Aasengården* in cooperation with the Mining Town's Welfare Society, Society of Crafts and Røros Tourism Association. The collection of items was assembled by the entire community as people willingly responded to Grønn's announcements published in local newspapers.



Figure 19. The theatrical parade at the opening ceremony of the exhibition at Aasengården. (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, 1930; ©Rørosmuseet RMUB.251840)

The exhibition of the items was organized in *Aasengården*, which was entrusted by the owner Axel Åsen on this occasion due to its symbolic value – this was the urban farmyard where the founder of copper ore Hans Aasen once resided, so it was considered an appropriate place to start the museum activities as well (Kvikne, 1942b, 465). The other reason for choosing *Aasengården* as a starting place lay in the ideological orientation of the entire cultural movement, which was figuratively described by the local writer and political activist J. Falkberget, who was another driving force backing the cultural uprising in Røros. The character of Hans Aasen was favoured by Falkberget in his writings and typified “*the tacit and anonymous toilers – the workers, who despite the austerity and sacrifices, had fought to survive up there*” (Gynnild, 2005, 18). For Falkberget, who in the same year of 1930 was elected to the Norwegian Parliament as a

representative of the Labour Party, the cultural heritage of local workers and farmers was the main cause and purpose of the cultural movement in Røros.

In his writings as well as in other cultural activities, Falkberget sought to depict the social life of common miners from within as he identified himself with that local community, being the representative of a family who had been working in the mining industry for the last 300 years. At the same time, he possessed a rather exceptional cultural capital, advanced by the efforts of his father, Mikkel Pedersen Lillebakken, who was a miner, a farmer and a migrant worker simultaneously. The merged experiences conditioned his stimulating dispositions that “*exceeded his time and his environment. The New Testament and French classics were lying on his bookshelves. On the way to the mines, he told stories to his son; he read aloud to him and the miners in the barracks from Hugo’s ‘Les Misérables’ and Zola’s ‘Germinal’, the books that portrayed the misery that the miners were acquainted with themselves*” (Nettum, 1995, 442).

Falkberget was not that interested in the material preservation of a miner’s daily items and tools for the newly formed collection in Røros. For Falkberget, the museum was an instrument in strengthening the local identity of the working people, and, for this reason, the theatrical celebration of the Miners’ Day in Røros was launched in 1933. Falkberget sought to display the heritage of the commoners – the miners and farmers – who were forgotten and whose input in the prosperity of the country was understated. He even expressed his concern that “*the state powers considered erasing Røros from the map of Norway*” (Gynnild, 1993, 80; 2005, 17) as the important decisions were more often made by the national authorities without any reference to the public opinion of the local community. The museum, therefore, was treated as a measure of reminding others about the importance of Røros in the course of national development.



Figure 20. The sign “The Copper Works Collection” indicates that a small technical mining museum was established in the building, called *Hyttstuggu*. (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, 1956. ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB. 251315)

At the same time as the exhibition at *Aasengården* was organized, another small museum was opened at *Hyttstuggu* near *Smeltehytta* (the smelting house) by Torfinn Natrud, the director at the Røros Copper Works, which demonstrated objects from the Copper Works Collection. This collection had been assembled separately and individually by Natrud before 1928 (Ødegaard,

1976a, 9). This was a special technical museum of the mining industry and it represented the technological development of Røros and herewith of the whole country, and therefore part of this collection had already been proudly exhibited in the Norwegian display at the World Fair in Paris (Gynnild, 1993, 79). The Copper Works Collection also comprised woodworking and smithery tools, once used at the original workshops of the company; a collection of models of technical mining mechanisms, joinery tools, a joiner's bench for jointing and squaring boards (*skottbenk*), a workbench (*høvelbenk*) and other tools from the woodworking workshops were located next to the above-mentioned *Smeltehytta*. Carpentry tools were gathered as well, such as jacks, blocks and tackles, belonging to the building division of the Røros Copper Works (Ødegaard, 1972, 13).

However, this technical collection did not attract as much local attention as the newly formed exhibition, established by Falkberget and Grønn; therefore, the coherent next step was the opening of the permanent folk museum in Røros by following the examples of the open-air museums at Maihaugen and Bygdøy. The local open-air museum in Røros was designed by Vreim, who started his career at the Norwegian open-air museum in Oslo; he was already familiar with Røros due to his previous translocation work of *Per Amundsagården* to the capital (see *Compiling the first national list of preservable buildings in Røros*). This also explains why, instead of purchasing the available *Aasengården*, some larger, empty plots were bought near the town, in the Doktortjønna area, in 1936 by the local Røros Museum and Historical Society (*Røros Museums-og historielag*) (Ødegaard, 1972, 2). Thus, the intention was to create not only the museum as a collection of items but also an assemblage of historical buildings by forming the open-air museum in Røros (Ødegaard, 1976a, 10–12).

While describing the historical development of various forms and intentions of museums, Ødegaard emphasized that, different from the cabinets of curiosities popular among the elite 200 or 300 years ago or scientific collections that emerged in the age of Enlightenment, the idea of a folk museum in Røros was based on Romantic Nationalism, which was still vivid locally in Røros in the first half of the 20th century. Consequently, the activities at the folk museum featured “*highly popularized folklore and the distinction between poetry and science was rather obscure*” (Ødegaard, 1976a, 11). Historical parades, public meetings and feasts with orations as well as theatrical historical performances were organized. Historical costumes played an important role in these cultural events, often considered the most authentic element in those cultural activities – by wearing costumes made using the original fabric, the present community could experience the reunion with the past (Gynnild, 1993, 93–94). The aim was to attract the attention of the local population and to create a viable local environment, and therefore the activities concentrated not on the legacy of the old mining industry, but on the farmers' heritage as it was closer, more understandable and “homely” for the majority of the populace (Lidén, 2005, 13).

Røros Museum was mainly self-sustained, and most of the income depended on the popularity of its artistic supply as well as on the provided entertainment (Ødegaard, 1976a, 10). Røros Museum and Historical Society were responsible for the activities at Røros open-air museum and they sought to spread the message about the cultural uprising in Røros both on the local and national scale, by publishing historical books on Røros, writing newspaper articles, and inviting the national broadcasting company. In 1937, a folk festival was organized at Doktortjønna, which was honoured and promoted nationwide by the visit of the Crown Prince and Princess (Ødegaard, 1976a, 11).

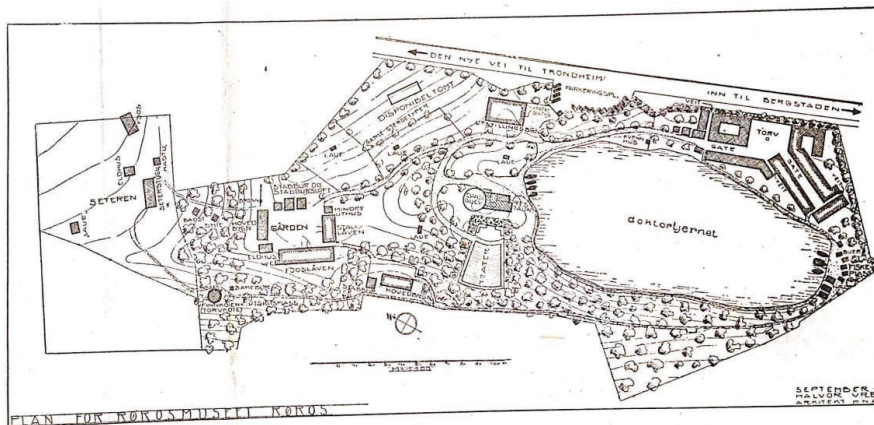


Figure 21. The projected plan of Røros open-air museum proposed by Halvor Vreim in 1937 (Vreim, 1937, 1).

In the same year of 1937, Vreim publicized the project drawings for Røros open-air museum. It was planned as a composition of two main parts: the new one, consisting of a newly built fireproof building for the collection of articles, and the new amusement centre as well as an open-air space, with old translocated buildings. A new building, functioning as a restaurant, with an open-air roofed annex serving as a dance floor and a theatre stage, was built in the first place, in 1939. This fact clearly indicates what kind of activities were chosen as priorities for the new open-air museum. However, due to the outbreak of the Second World War, the collection of old buildings was launched only after the war ended.

Consequently, only in 1947 were the first old buildings transferred to the open-air museum. The first moved building was *Hamlanderstuggu* – the only transferred building from Røros Bergstaden, possessing all the “typical” features of a two-storey traditional house in Røros (*Rørosstuggu*) (Falkberget, 1960, 47–48). It was donated to the museum with all the interior equipment by Magnus Hamlander, who grew up in Røros and began his career in journalism there, by establishing the youth journal *Breidablikk*, which was also the first channel for the young Falkberget to start publishing his works (Pedersen, 2013, 90). Besides his achievements in journalism, Hamlander is known for developing the Glomdal Museum in Elverum to become the third largest open-air museum in the country, after the Norwegian Folk Museum in Oslo and Anders Sandvig’s collection in Maihaugen. The wish to follow the enthusiasm and works of Hamlander in opening the open-air museum in Røros was publicly expressed in 1936, stating that the local devotees had not yet succeeded in stopping the plundering of Røros area by establishing a well-functioning local museum, in the way it was achieved in Elverum by Hamlander (anonymous author, 1936, 1).

A second building came to the museum from the summer mountain farm *Løkkja* in Hådalén (Falkberget, 1960, 48). The whole arrangement of a summer mountain farm had never been completely composed at the museum (Ødegaard, 1976a, 12). Only the composition of a farmyard from *Eggagården* at *Stormoen* was fully realized in 1948 and consisted of the main dwelling building, together with the outbuilding.

A new Sami *goahti* was constructed in 1950, and some other old buildings were transferred to the museum at that time – a birch barn (*bjørklaue*) from Jamtvollen in Aursund and the industrial buildings, based on water power, such as a stamping mill (*stamphuset*) and a laundry cottage (*rullbua*) from Håneset, dating back to the beginning of the 18th century, and a grinding mill (*kvernhuset*) (Falkberget, 1960, 48; Ødegaard, 1976a, 12). A historically and aesthetically interesting building, stemming from the Engan baroque garden, the so-called “P. P. Hiort’s church” (*Hjort-kjerka*) was also moved to the museum even though there had been no initial intention to display the heritage of the upper classes.

“P. P. Hiort’s church” had originally served as a garden pavilion at the Engan summer estate, built 8 km away from Røros in 1759–1780 by Hiort, the director of Røros Copper Works. The estate was described in 1773–1775 by the Norwegian geographer Schøning, a friend of Hiort (see *The Enlightenment-inspired descriptions of the traditional townscape of Røros*). The formation of the baroque ensemble in Røros was an outcome of Hiort’s educational journeys to Europe, together with his friend Daniel Tilas, after their studies in Copenhagen. By visiting the ironworks, mines and manors related to those industrial sites, Hiort learned about the trends, inspired by André Le Nôtre’s classic work at the Gardens of Versailles. Many of the wooden decorations at the Engan baroque estate were produced by the Swedish cabinetmaker and woodworker J. A. Ljungberg from Härjedalen, who became a master carpenter in Stockholm in 1761. He was working at Ljusendal’s copper mining workshops, which were managed by Daniel Tilas, and this is how he ended up at Hiort’s estate (Henriksen, 2015, 24).

A number of buildings formed the central Engan manor yard and they were formed around the main square: “the Blue House” (*Blåstuggu*), “the Yellow House” (*Gulstuggu*), the main building, a barn (*stabbur*), a cowshed, a shed, a cotter’s house, a smithery and a catering house (*mastu*) (Østby, 2014). The buildings were built in a rather decorative baroque style, but only a few traces of them were preserved as most of the original buildings were picked out as building materials and reused as parts of buildings in other constructions after 1813 when the estate was sold and divided between brothers Rasmus and Anders Prytz and Rasmus Aspaas.

The logs from “the Yellow House” were brought to Kalvhagen farm in Røros and used to build a cowshed there. The whole main house of the original estate, which was of “*four lengths*” (i.e. four connected cases of notch-logs) and two storeys, was moved to Clausvollen. However, in 1831, the daughter of the new owner married and took away with her the inherited one case of notch-logs from the first floor and two cases from the second floor. As a consequence, the original main building was left with only three primary notched-log cases on the first floor and barely two cases on the second floor. The missing third case of the second floor was built only in 1891. The traces of exceptionally decorated “Blue House” have still not been traced, and it is only known that it was sold in 1897 (Prytz, 2007, 42–44).

These are just a few examples of the destiny of some buildings from the baroque Engan estate. These complex stories depict the long-living local tradition of reusing the building materials, which was rather a necessity due to the scarce local resources. During the whole 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, the original baroque manor houses were appreciated only as a source of supply of building materials; these unique buildings possessed only practical value for the locals.

Meanwhile, representatives of the national field of heritage conservation did show specific interest in the local baroque heritage throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.



Figure 22. The reused Baroque window, with most of the original glass remaining at *Søndre Tyvoll farm*. (© Torgeir Leander Henriksen).



Figure 23. The remaining trace of the “Blue House”? (© Torgeir Leander Henriksen)



Figure 24. The neglected Baroque garden pavilion (*lysthus*) reused as a hay barn. (Photographer and date unknown, Gunnerus - Spesialsamlinger ved NTNU Universitetsbiblioteket, VI-Uf-72721)



Figure 25. The remaining octagonal pavilion from P. P. Hiort's Engan garden. (Photo taken in 2013; © Torgeir Leander Henriksen)

The unfortunate situation was described in 1916 by the art historian Carl W. Schnitler, stating that: *“Something is preserved. The old manor has been demolished and the garden has vanished, but the way through the forest is the most visible thing remaining”* (Schnitler, 1916, 142). In a recent report on the baroque ensemble, produced by local initiative, it was noted that *“Until the 1990s,*

the baroque estate at Galåen near Røros was a well-hidden secret, known only to the local inhabitants in the Røros area and a small group of specialists, interested in the cultural history of gardening” (Galåen, 2009, 19). Consequently, after the main buildings of the estate had disappeared, only four minor buildings from the garden remained *in situ* until the middle of the 20th century – the previously mentioned “P. P. Hiort’s church”, two octagonal pavilions and a haybarn (Galåen, 2009, 18).

In the depicted historical context, the translocation of “P. P. Hiort’s church” to the open-air museum, despite the absence of such initial plans, was rather an exceptional action taken to preserve the symbol of the heritage of upper classes in Røros. The translocation was probably part of the campaign, reflected in some local initiatives urging the inclusion of built elements and especially “P. P. Hiort’s church” in the national heritage list (Prytz, 1946). The surviving “P. P. Hiort’s church” gained more attention due to its exceptional form and decorations. It was probably built in 1765, in a timber frame construction, covered by wooden panelling, but due to the tower bell and the pyramidal roof form, it was figuratively called “P. P. Hiort’s church”. A relief of St Olav was also hanging over the portal. It is not known who was the main builder but, as mentioned before (see *Svend Aspaas as the rural genius of practical artistry*), one of the best carpenters in the area at that time, Svend Aspaas, worked at Engan estate (Høsøien, 2010). Hiort used the occasion to keep the employers of the Copper Company occupied in building the Engan estate during the times of high unemployment levels at the mines (Østby, 2014).



Figure 26. The exceptional form of Engan garden pavilion, called “P. P. Hiort’s church”. (Photo taken by Iver Olsen. ©Rørosmusset RMUB.251118)



Figure 27. The relief of St. Olav over the portal of “P. P. Hiort’s church” (A fragment of the photo taken by Iver Olsen. ©Rørosmuseet RMUB.251119)

Despite the fact that the previously mentioned buildings were not originally planned to become part of the museum, it should be emphasized that the translocation of those buildings to the museum provided a possibility for their survival. For example, the stamping mill is still functioning today as an illustration of an industrial way to pestle a wool cloth to wool felt – the technique had been used at that stamping mill until 1920. It is considered today as one of the oldest functioning industrial buildings of that kind. Another building from the group preserved by the museum, the so-called fisherman’s storage house (*fiskarbua*), also possesses exceptional status as one of the oldest buildings in the area due to its logs, examined and dated back to the period between 1679 and 1681. Supposedly, originally it was an open hearth house (*årestue* or *ljørbu*) (Engen, 2007, 54). According to other sources, it is known to have stemmed from Erlia and is believed to have been built before the start of the Copper Works Company in Røros (Falkberget, 1960, 48).

In 1956, a fireproof brick building for the collection of articles was built at *Doktortjønna*. It was the result of extensive work by the leader of Røros Museum and Historical Society Grønn, who managed to collect substantial financial support from various local sources for constructing a new building for the museum’s collection of articles. The biggest donators were Røros municipality and *Bergstadens Vel* – a local welfare association, managed by Grønn. The above-mentioned A. Skancke, Hamlander and other private devotees as well as other local public organizations also contributed to raising the necessary economic capital (Kvikne, 1942b, 471). In 1957, the 400-year jubilee of Hans Aasen and the opening of the new collection’s house was celebrated simultaneously with the 7th Miner’s Day. Consequently, one could consider that the grouping of the open-air museum had been finished by that date, although its complete project design was never fully implemented as one significant part was missing.

According to the initial plans made by Vreim, an urban environment at the open-air museum was proposed, consisting of urban buildings, placed along main streets, some minor lanes and around

the town square, with a water post in the middle. These were the main features of the structural composition of Røros town centre as well, even though the proposed arrangement of the repeated elements differed. The buildings in the urban compartment were intended to be brought from Røros town centre, but only if preserving a valuable building *in situ* proved to be impossible. Vreim emphasized that the national authorities of heritage preservation, which Vreim represented himself, made an agreement with the governing board of Røros Museum to ensure that the urban buildings should be taken care of in their original environment as long it was achievable. The preservation of two minor buildings *in situ* at Sleggveien, which were already owned by the museum, was presented as an example of such an appropriate and expected practice. As asserted by Vreim, “*There is no intention for Røros Bergstaden to be demolished – on the contrary. [...] Due to the present atmosphere, the rather complete preservation of Røros Bergstad is favourable. And such good conditions were shaped especially by the actions taken by the governing board of the museum*” (Vreim, 1937, 1).

Vreim praised the plans to open a local open-air museum due to its exceptional quality in relation to other museums of that kind within the national context: “*Hitherto it is the only open-air museum which could be seen as belonging to its home, as being part of the district*” (Vreim, 1937, 1). Moreover, by establishing the local open-air museum, the big wave of building translocations from Røros to alien environments within the national borders decreased as it was no longer possible to bypass the local interests by leaving the properties at least in the local open-air museum. However, the role of the open-air museum in Røros was not fully recognized by the national field of heritage conservation. Some doubt was even expressed, questioning the very existence of the open-air museum in Røros (Myklebust, 2014, 328). Alternatively, if the existence was accepted, it was often depreciated due to the fact that Vreim’s projected drawing was not fully realized and, therefore, the whole project was considered a failure (Ødegaard, 1976a, 12).

Vreim’s simultaneously expressed ideas of preserving the urban townscape *in situ* and such a twofold *logic of practice* of heritage conservation was not unique at that time. Surprisingly, even the other inspirer of the open-air museum at Røros, the above-mentioned Hamlander, expressed similar twofold concerns. Due to the exceptional historical quality of this town, two main aims were set forth by the cultural enthusiasts in Røros. Even though Hamlander approved Vreim’s plan for the museum and urged for it to be completed, he simultaneously asserted the importance of preserving the urban environment of Røros in its original place: “*It would not be less than a disaster if one or few of the characteristic buildings of the well-known cluster with the traditional bell tower (hytteklokka) at Mørkstubakken would be rebuilt or anyhow changed. Even such a supposedly insignificant thing as a changed window of a cowshed would destroy such a classic and valuable environment, which many talented artists have secured on the canvas and made it known in Europe. And one which is every year admired at this location by thousands of foreigners*” (Hamlander, 1937, 1).



Figure 28. The traditional bell tower (*hytteklokka*) at *Mørkstubakken* emerged as a symbol of safeguarding the urban surroundings *in situ*. (Photo taken by Iver Olsen between 1904-1959; ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB. 251038)

For this reason, Hamlander welcomed the Built Heritage Act of 1920, but at the same time he warned that: “*The Heritage Act is a strong but necessary intervention into the private estate ownership and into the freedom of action for some house owners. Therefore, it is important that, in the cases of demand, there would be funds available for the essential maintenance, restoration or, as the last option, for the procurement or the redemption of the building concerned*” (Hamlander, 1937, 1). Thus, Hamlander set the course for the preservation of Røros Bergstad in the future, by preserving the buildings *in situ*, but at the same time he drew attention to an important condition, which as will be presented further on, raised the everlasting discussions among various agents concerned with urban conservation – the preservation of the cultural capital of Røros was recognized as being dependent on the economic capital available.

2.5.4 The evolution of local technical craftsmanship

The local initiatives of the cultural movement in Røros emerged from a group of enthusiasts who were personally linked to a finer type of craftsmanship – bookbinding. The above-mentioned Hamlander came from a family of bookbinders. His father, Gustav Adolf Hamlander (1844–1917), advanced the artistry of his ancestor Ludvig Hamlander and became the first professional bookbinder in Røros, educated in this craft in Trondheim. Another above-mentioned local enthusiast, Grønn, took over G. A. Hamlander’s bookbinding business after the latter’s death and got involved in printing. Grønn reused most of the technical equipment from the first printing house at Røros, established in 1866 by Andreas Halvorsen, a professional pressman from Christiania. The local newspapers, in turn, were also used as a means of informing the community about the preservation of historical buildings in Røros (Ødegaard, 1974, 26). Another interesting connection, linking those culturally engaged locals, was their membership of Røros Song Association (*Røros Sangforening*), a local men’s chorus, established in 1848. The Association

played an important role in the local cultural environment; however, the participants of the Association were not just concerned with the past of the town. They also wanted to create a new cultural identity of the town, and it is most obvious when looking at the Association's new main building constructed.

During the years of cultural upturn in Røros at the beginning of the 20th century, another local cultural centre was established in addition to the museum – a new “House of Singers” (*Sangerhuset*) was built in 1907, belonging to the above-mentioned Røros Song Association. The initiative for the new location came from the Røros Copper Works and part of the company's own provisioner's plot (*Proviantskrivergården*) was provided. There was a need expressed that the building should incorporate a large concert hall and the external architectural appearance should signify the building's special function, differing from most of the neighbouring dwelling houses.

Five different architectural drawing proposals were presented during the planning phase of the “House of Singers”. Two of them were prepared by professional external architects from Trondheim and Christiania and represented magnificent buildings in the Swiss style, with some aspirations for Romantic Nationalism. The third plan, prepared locally, had three iterations, the final one of which was chosen for the building. It was proposed by the director of Røros Copper Works Alfred Getz and was upgraded by the same company's mining surveyor (*markscheider*) Ole Aalens.



Figure 29. Efforts were made to repeat the rhythm and classical decorations of the neighbouring buildings on the front façade of the „House of Singers”. (Photo taken by Iver Olsen in 1936; ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.252551)

The constructed building stood out from the local building traditions and signified the influence of the Swiss chalet style architecture or, rather, Swiss chalet type workmanship due to the thin chamfered timber cladding (*faspanel*) used. At the same time, attempts were made to include the “House of Singers” in the built environment, by proposing baroque-inspired door decorations in the initial phase of designing or installing the classical embellishments of the window and door frames in the final version. As noted by Noach, if the first two external proposals by professional architects were solely concerned about the “House of Singers” and disregarded the harmonious adaptation of it to the built environment, the local version was better-suited for Røros in general and for *Storgata* specifically (Noach, 2010, 30). However, despite the popularity and the proven utility of the new building, it was viewed as a threat by the establishing national field of heritage

conservation, especially when the ideas of preservation of the buildings *in situ* evolved and the idea of saving the “true image of Røros” emerged.

The local culturally-oriented enthusiasts were not that affected by the adaptation of the changing architectural styles or modern workmanship in Røros at that time. This could be most clearly proven by tracing the career and activities of Grønn, who, besides his above-mentioned occupation in bookbinding and printing, was also the head of the Røros Song Association, which owned the newly built, extraordinary “House of Singers”. Grønn succeeded in synchronizing his work as the leader of Røros Museum and Historical Society (1930–1946) with forward-looking management of quite a few other local public organizations, such as the local welfare organization, *Bergstadens Vel*. He was chairman of the associated enterprises of *Bergstadens Vel*, the subsequently presented *Kaffestuggu* cafeteria and restaurant, and at Røros baths and Røros cinema, which was established in the same “House of Singers”. At the same time, he contributed significantly to improving the local health services, to further development of Røros railway line, and to opening Røros hydroelectric power station in 1912 (Grønn, 1950, 9–11).

Finally, Grønn, being the grandson of the local smith Johan Henrik Olsen Grønn and self-employed with the craft of publishing, was also a longstanding manager of the Society of Crafts (*Håndverkerforeningen*) in Røros. The association was recognized as helping to develop strong position of craftsmen in Røros. The Society of Crafts was established in 1910, with the aim of improving “*cultural and economic respect*” for craftsmen (Kvikne, 1942a, 204), as it was believed that, towards the end of the 19th century, the quality of craftsmanship had been in decline. The aim of restoring the vocational prestige was clearly manifested in the choice of the symbol for the newly established organization, the above-discussed image of *Aspaasgården*.



Figure 30 The banner of the Society of Crafts. The display of *Aspaasgården* aimed at symbolizing the excellence of craftsmanship achieved in Røros. The message on the back side of the Society’s banner: “As high as this banner is raised, your craft is praised” (Grønn., 1949, 12). (Photo taken by Iver Olsen; ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.251023)

According to Grønn, it was not known if there was any official association of all craftsmen or any guild established throughout history in Røros, but he was familiar with the regular meetings of various craftsmen at *Rasmusgården* – the building that, as will be presented further on, was preserved *in situ* by the efforts and financial contribution of *Bergstadens Vel*. Grønn was aware of the mutual cartel agreement since the 1880s between joiners and carpenters on one side (Grønn, 1949, 6) and their own association on the other, which was closed down in 1898 (*ibid.*, 11). Craftsmen were not educated locally as there was no known permanent guild in Røros; therefore, most of the craftsmen received their training in Trondheim or even further away. The aim of the newly established Society of Crafts in Røros, therefore, was to consolidate various forms of capital and to create a local alternative to prevent foreign influence on the further development of craftsmanship in Røros. Local unification was seen as a solution to this problem as the blame for the vocational downturn at the end of the 19th century was ascribed to “*the outsiders, who settled down as independently enterprising craftsmen, without any professional qualifications, which previously were maintained continuously for a long period of time*” (Kvikne, 1942a, 204).



Figure 31. The Swiss chalet style building was called Solvang at the time when it was built by the manager of P. Hiort’s foundation S. H. Nordseth in 1908 – 1909. In 1955, the building was sold to Røros Society of Crafts and renamed as A Craftman’s House (Håndverkernes hus). The building is demolished now, and the shopping-mall Domus was built on its plot in 1972 (Kvikne, 1974, 389) (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, 1956, ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB. 251299).

The wave of newly arriving craftsmen, who were so underappreciated by their local colleagues, was the direct outcome of the Røros railway line, opened in 1877. However, the intensified industrialization and mechanization of craftsmanship in the second half of the 19th century was not recognized as a determinant for the above-mentioned decline yet. On the contrary, “*the technical development had influenced craftsmanship. This development did not occur at the expense of the professional skills of craftsmanship because those machines which are used by craftsmen always require handcrafting qualifications of those who operate them, in the same way as the processing of materials depend on professional excellence*” (Grønn, 1949, 5). Consequently, the Society of Crafts was interested in two major goals: continuity of the technical profile of local craftsmanship and the avoidance of newcomers to the town which, as was believed, could be achieved by opening local technical evening classes in 1939 (Grønn, 1949, 13). Few members of the society and the local possessors of either exceptional cultural or economic capital were personally engaged in this initiative – the above-mentioned Grønn, who was culturally engaged, and Per Sjøvold, who, as will be presented later, was the owner of one of the first private, electrically driven woodworking workshops in Røros.

Further development of craftsmanship by means of rapid industrialization and mechanization was not yet questioned and was instead perceived as an irreversible and fortunate fact. Consequently, efforts were made to establish the society's own woodworking factory in 1913, after the opening of the local electric power plant in 1912, but those attempts were not successful (Grønn, 1949, 8). The electric power plant did however influence the foundation of some other new industrial enterprises, with their roots in the traditional craftsmanship of Røros.

In 1914, *Brødre Krogs*, a woollen mill, was opened by two brothers, Ole Ch. Krog and Axel Krog, which was the industrial conversion of the traditional dye works, operated by their father Ole O. Krog and started by their grandfather Ch. Sollie in 1860. After finishing their technical education in textile and weaving branches as well as gaining some foreign experience in Sweden, Denmark and Germany, the brothers returned to their home country and continued their patrimonial vocation in Røros. They both were members of the Røros Society of Crafts and were praised locally for equipping their factory "*with the most modern machines and always maintaining a high level of technical development*" (Kvikne, 1942a, 205).

Later, another textile company was started in 1939 by Tollef Bredal, a rich consul-general from the capital city, who sought to revive his roots in Røros as a descendant of the director of the Copper Works, Hans Bredal. T. Bredal aimed at renewing the legacy of Hiort, by reviving the socio-economic model of his foundation and adding modern mercantile forms to this organization. Consequently, *Røros-Tweed* started as an organized domestic craft company, by arranging handweaving courses according to the traditional techniques and patterns for local women, but later evolved by establishing a spinning mill and a dyeing house. In the 1950s, production was transferred to the newly formed industrial area in Røros, located south of the railway station (Kvikne, 1942a, 207–208).

Similarly to the field of traditional weaving, traditional carpentry and joinery also experienced rapid industrialization at the beginning of the 20th century in Røros. Local craftsmanship was also closely related to the industrial profile of the Copper Works and the company, in turn, was dependent on the appropriate technical dispositions of its employees. Until the middle of the 19th century, most craftsmen in Røros were employed at the company, where their technical and mechanical knowledge and skills were advanced. Consequently, it was not artistic or decorative perfection but rather technical precision and engineering expertise that were considered the mastery of craftsmanship in Røros. Interestingly, the woodworking workshops, situated at *Kurantgården*, were even called the wheel-making house as the process of wheel-making and the knowledge of the transmission of power required the highest degree of a craftsman's technical excellence (Kvikne, 1942a, 182).



Figure 32. A group of craftsmen with their hand tools. (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, date unknown; ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.251135)

One of the sources of that kind of technical excellence was the sawmill, belonging to the Copper Works Company, which sustained the oldest tradition of a water-powered timber mill, lasting for 200 years. In the middle of the 19th century, a new building for the Copper Works Company's sawmill was constructed at Gjøsvika, which since the 18th century had been used as a place for timber stocking. Interestingly, historical sources stated that the first preparations of timber for the Røros railway line were still performed by hand at Gjøsvika sawmill. Two master sawyers were mentioned as being highly experienced in hand-sawing – Per Langen and John I. Guldahl (Kvikne, 1942a, 166).

Shortly after, Guldahl was named again as the founder of the first woodworking workshops, running independently from the Copper Works Company and equipped with the mechanisms driven by the water wheel. Guldahl started his woodworking factory, *Røros trevarefabrikk*, in 1875. In the 1880s, the workshops were transferred to the *Øra* industrial area to install the water wheel in the channel, stretching from the river *Hytterelva*. Soon after the relocation, this building was sold to Olaf O. Berg in 1891, and a publishing house for the local newspaper *Fjell-ljom* was established there. The new industrial building for *Røros trevarefabrikk* was built up in the town, near *Hyttersjøen*, and powered by water wheels but was sold soon again by Guldahl to Per Sjøvold and Iver P. Feragen in 1925 (Kvikne, 1942a, 193, 200, 210). Due to technical difficulties causing disruptions in the winter time, the new owners split the team and established two separate woodworking factories, driven by electricity in town, at the industrial area in Røros. Feragen founded *Bergstadens snekkeri* in 1937 while Sjøvold continued the technically advanced operations at *Røros trevarefabrikk*. Both of the owners of woodworking factories were members of the Society of Crafts.



Figure 33. The first water-powered woodworking workshops, operating separately from the Copper Works, were installed in this building by J. I. Guldahl. (Photo taken by Iver Olsen in 1917; ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.251981)



Figure 34. The industrial building of *Bergstadens snekkeri* built in 1954. The advancing sources of power and technical development did not only influence the industrial process, but also the visual appearance of the industrial buildings concerned. (Photo taken by Iver Olsen in 1956; ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB. 251297)



Figure 35. *Bergstadens snekkeri* advertised as modern, industrial and time-saving producer of doors, windows and staircases. (*Fjell-ljom*, 17th of April, 1936).

As will be discussed in the next chapter, the legacy of those two factories is significant not only in the field of woodworking at Røros, but also in the field of heritage conservation. Even though *Bergstadens snekkeri* went bankrupt in 1971, its operations were continued by the newly established *Røros Bruk A/S*, which is known for creating such culturally engaged industrial products as *Røros Vinduer* or *Røros Dører*. In 2009, *Røros Bruk A/S* was merged back with *Sjøvold* – the successor of *Røros trevarefabrikk* woodworking company, named after its owner. Today *Røros Bruk A/S* claims to be the representative of one of the oldest woodworking factories, basing its production on the local traditional techniques of Røros (*Røros vinduer og dører* (online). <http://www.rorosvinduet.no/om-oss/historien> [last accessed 10.10.2016]).

Domestic handicraft (*husflid*) also became more organized after the local Society of Handicrafts (*Husflidsforeningen*) was founded in 1926. This field of activities had traditionally been stimulated by the local vicar and the parish council since the 1860s, when the “industrial exhibition” was organized in Røros in 1868, and locals of various proficiency, from master craftsmen to children, presented their handicraft products (Kvikne, 1942a, 201). The exhibition was arranged around the same time as Sundt visited Bergstaden and he thereafter reported his fascination with the excitement and dedication revealed by locals in the process of handicraft creation (see *Eilert Sundt’s evolutionist perspective on the history of building traditions* for a more detailed description).

The local elite, however, noticed a decline in the quality of handicrafts both in the middle of the 19th century and again in the first half of the 20th century, and these downturns were used as a reason for reviving the organized forms of handicraft production. In both cases the aim was assigned to the recollection of Hiort’s foundation’s model, started in 1781. Hiort was treated as the “*patriotic Rørosian*” (Kvikne, 1942c, 406) by locals, even though he originated from Southern Schleswig. He died leaving no descendants and left his fortune to serve the inhabitants in Røros by establishing P. Hiort’s foundation. Through his fund, financial donations were distributed to local youth groups that were practising some kind of purposeful handicraft; raw materials were also bought and given to the local poor so that money could be earned by selling the products they manufactured themselves.



Figure 36. The lasting tradition of distributing the handicraft materials for the poor in P. Hiort’s burial chapel, according to his testament of 1788. (Photo taken by Sverre A. Børretzen in 1963; ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.019366)

There were also initiatives for reviving handwork schools for separate genders, which were once founded by Hiort. In 1860, a school for girls was opened and, in 1872, a new handwork school for boys was established with the financial support of local financial institutions. The carpenter Ole Borchgrevink travelled to various vocational schools, workshops and factories in Norway to gather knowledge about this kind of educational institution for boys. The continuity of both schools was assured as the local municipality took the schools over and made education in handwork mandatory as part of the curriculum in elementary school (Kvikne, 1942a, 201–204).

One of the main underlying aims of the Society of Handicrafts and the Society of Crafts was to consolidate the independently operating craftsmen. Even though the employees of Røros Copper Works were accepted as members, it was emphasized with joy that also a growing number of autonomous craftsmen was enrolling in the society. The number of affiliates rose by 70% during the first years after the Second World War; consequently, tailors and shoemakers were gradually supplemented by carpenters and joiners. Besides the good skills of craftsmanship, competence in entrepreneurship was appraised and encouraged (Grønn, 1949, 5, 7). Thus, in 1932, specialized retail venue for handicraft products (*Husflidsutsal*) was created.

In 1935, due to the efforts of Grønn, the proposal was accepted by the members of the local society to join the national Norwegian Society of Crafts. An agreement was also reached for the approval of the Act on Craftsmanship (*Håndverksloven*) in 1937. It was considered the most important achievement of the Society of Crafts in Røros by the main supporter of the society, Grønn. After the law was enacted, the list of authorized craftsmen in Røros was reviewed by the above-mentioned leading members of the society – Grønn, Sjøvold and others – leaving the society with 120 members instead of the former 175 members as some of them were disqualified (Grønn, 1949, 10). By introducing the Law on Craftsmanship and merging with the Norwegian Society of Crafts, the development of craftsmanship followed a more national direction.

The Law on Craftsmanship, however, was not received without scepticism on the national level. The first version of the Law on Craftsmanship was initiated in 1839, after the Christiania's Society of Crafts was founded in 1838. The aim of this movement was to liberate the industrial production by stopping the monopolies in the guild system in Norway. At that time, 44 guilds and 1331 master craftsmen were registered in Norway. The new order aimed to assemble various kinds of craftsmen under one major organization, but concerns were expressed about the lack of collegial evaluation and the lowering aspirations for artisan mastery. However, there were stronger national interests and political intentions in establishing the Christiania's Society of Crafts as well – in 1845, the Song Association of Craftsmen, similar to the later Rørosian version, was founded in the capital, and, in 1847, the first committee for public celebration of the 17th of May was mobilized (Munthe, 1896, 45–47). The celebration of Constitution Day did not just encompass national interests; the primary text of 1814 stated the industrial concerns as well: “*the new and continuous restrictions of the liberty of industry should not be admissible in the future*” (1814, § 101, *Grunnloven*).

In 1871, it was decided to merge the Christiania's Society of Crafts with the Technical Society, and a new Society of Crafts and Industry was established (Munthe, 1896, 110). The ideological and practical part of the programme of the society turned in the direction of advanced mechanization. The updated edition of the Law on Craftsmanship of 1881 also reformed the educational and training system of craftsmen (Dolven, 2015). Afterwards, the national Common

Norwegian Craft and Industry Society was founded in 1887 (Munthe, 1896, 200) and, as mentioned before, the Røros Society of Crafts became part of it in 1935. Consequently, in the same way as on the national level, on the local scale of Røros, the further development of craftsmanship was closely related to progressive industrial technologies, which, as presented above, changed the visual appearance of the smallest building details to the widest urban landscapes.

2.5.5 *Glück auf!* for urban conservation in Røros

Alongside his efforts in creating the open-air museum in Røros, Vreim was also among the first in the national field of heritage conservation to express concern about the preservation of certain urban buildings *in situ* at Røros. After leaving his appointment at the open-air museum in the capital city and taking the position of secretary at the Antiquarian Board for Buildings (*Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd*) within the Directorate for Cultural Heritage in 1937, he transferred his focus from the preservation of buildings at museums to the restoration of “living” buildings. In order to achieve these aims, the opportunity to enlist a bigger number of buildings in Røros into the national list of preservable buildings was expected. However, the directorate aimed to obtain agreement from the local political and cultural elite in Røros this time, differently from the troublesome enlisting procedure of 1923 (Myklebust, 2014, 212–213).

Consequently, in 1939, a meeting of the most prominent elite people in the national field of heritage conservation was organized in Røros, and representatives of the National Board of Antiquities, the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments and the Association of Museums (*Museumsforbundet*) participated. The arrangement was initiated by the town mayor, Olav Guldahl, and coordinated by the local Tourist Association because of its aim to make Røros a tourist destination. Some presentations were organized for a wider local populace at the above-mentioned “House of Singers” as it could seat a bigger audience. This was also a place where the main state antiquarian, Fett, made his famous speech “*Glück auf!* Preaching for the mining town in Røros”. The title indicates that the “preaching” was supposed to be held in the church, but there was no such possibility and therefore the “House of Singers” was chosen. Ironically, the building was seen as an inappropriate inclusion in a “true image of Røros” by state antiquarians at that time, because it was built in the Swiss chalet style and contained too few details of neoclassicism (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 29) (on local efforts in designing a Swiss chalet style building with classical detailing, see *The local efforts in continuity of technical craftsmanship*). However, as noted by Myklebust, the positive outcome was that “the preaching” could reach most of the local inhabitants as this building was conventional and more customary to locals (Myklebust, 2014, 214).

The local populace was greeted by the old German miners’ salute, *Glück auf!*, by the main state antiquarian, Fett, who was of German descent himself. In his “preaching”, Fett honoured the old system of guilds and the old miners’ social ranking, determined by their achievements in mastery. He referred to Hamsun, Ibsen and Falkberget (the last two originating from miners’ families) as belonging to the same group of “*romantics of hard work*” (Fett, 1939a, 11). Fett wanted to prevent class-based fighting and rather inspire the craftsmen in Røros to continue their “hard work” by romanticizing their input: “*The old miner was far away from being a proletarian. He was more of an artist and craftsman. Let Røros be the brand of quality, be it smith work, weaving, handicrafts or food*” (Fett, 1939a, 29).

Fett sought to show that the future of Røros depended on the creative adaptations of old craftsmanship in new circumstances: “*Could other professions, other industries, other livelihoods win some place in the old Bergstad? Art blacksmiths could move into the old houses. Maybe Ertzscheider’s [ore sorter’s] housewife could set their weaving handlooms in their old cottages? That kind of work could be performed there. Maybe they could open their shops in the urban farms, which once belonged to a stiger [foreman of miners] or to a berggesellen [mining journeyman]. Maybe Røros could develop its own special form of industry. The mining town should possess its old, traditional proficiency*” (Fett, 1939a, 28). In his speech of 1941 at the ceremony for handing over advanced craft certificates in Oslo, he explained in more detail how the old forms of craftsmanship could be adapted and practised even when the socio-economic circumstances had changed: “*I do not accuse the old blacksmith who became a mechanic or an installer – the craftsmanship should not go back, maybe rather forward – and if an old tailor became a factory worker and a shoemaker turned into the fixer of machinery, a lot of the old craftsmanship can be saved and continued further in life*” (Fett, 1941, 10).

Fett admired the old German social ranking model, based on the level and type of occupation, imported to the mining and merchant centres of Norway, such as Røros and Bergen. That system was based on rules and formulas, applied to everyone in the guild; this system prevented cheaters from climbing the social ladder within a certain professional field (Fett, 1941, 4). Fett also emphasized the role of travelling miners and craftsmen and drew the listeners’ attention to various foreign surnames found in Røros (Fett, 1939a, 29). He praised the guilds of journeymen, who received their apprenticeship qualification by travelling abroad, more than those of masters, due to the international character of the former as the journeymen had a possibility of “*getting acquainted with foreign countries, different people; they learned how to get acquainted, to understand and to respect each other. They learned the most important thing of the apprenticeship – ‘awe of the honour’*” (Fett, 1941, 10).

Fett claimed that mining was more of a mystical, artistic and humanistic origin than a technical one: “*the mines did not mechanize men*” (Fett, 1939a, 13). He also warned against the recent threats of mechanization within the field of craftsmanship: “*Should all this, what once lived its quaint life around the old symbols and rituals, be torn into pieces by the emotionless hands, should everything be characterized by the mechanical uniformity and stereotypical mass production?*” (Fett, 1941, 5). Fett was optimistic, stating that there is a possibility of artistic craftsmanship finding its niche alongside the industrialized products, by emphasizing the immaterial features of the craftsmanship, and “immaterial”, as used by him, implied “immortal”. He believed, therefore, that the industrial machine is not capable of destroying the reviving forms of artistry (Fett, 1941, 8).

However, industrialization was viewed as the most important factor for social change in the 19th century. It was perceived as being so significant because medieval ages and modern times were mixed in one and the same person. He personified this transition by introducing one character of dual nature – Anders the Masterly (*Anders Alltings*) and Anders the Mechanic (*Anders Maskinist*). Fett believed that the industrial liberal bourgeoisie and the old medieval city society had much in common as the Norwegian industry was created not by rich industrialists, but by craftsmen, farmers and other common urban citizens. However, he claimed that it was due to the missed link with the religious component that turned the modern liberal society towards demagogy,

dictatorship, imperialism and nationalism. He announced these threats right before the start of World War II, at the centenary celebration of the Crafts and Industry Society of Oslo in 1939. He admired the work of this society as an example of how old medieval craftsmanship could cooperate with the reality of the powerful machinery and expressed a wish for spreading the partnership between the guilds of craftsmen and industry across the country (Fett, 1939b, 6, 10, 14, 20).

That said, Fett realized that it was difficult to understand the meaning of old religious symbols and rituals for his coevals *“in the times of functionalism and streamlines, in the times of searching for new materials and constructive principles”* (Fett, 1941, 9–10). According to him, these new times started to leave too many sharp traces in the physical environment, especially in such an intact town as Røros. Fett picturesquely described how new constructions disturbed the harmonious townscape and tried to convince the local populace that the further balanced development of the town depended on their own initiatives: *“Our democracy has neglected, and it has neglected this area a lot – Røros is threatened. On the new route into the town, there is a railway line and a road going parallel at different heights, and this road slightly turns into the old urban terrain. A new house, located wrongly, breaks into this settlement. A planned hotel of concrete, being built with state financial support, will push itself further into the townscape. Other areas are even more important in the town. Nobody could save the quaint cultural character of Røros without the determined will of the town. It takes so little to destroy and so little to save”* (Fett, 1939a, 30).



Figure 37. The disturbing entrance to Røros centre as described by H. Fett. (Photo taken by Carl Norman, ca. 1920-1930, Gunnerus - Spesialsamlinger ved NTNU Universitetsbiblioteket, VI-Uf-74808).

The meeting at Røros of the representatives from the field of heritage conservation resulted in two outcomes. In the local context, “The Old Mining Town” association (*Den Gamle Bergstad*) was founded in 1939. On the national scene, 93 other buildings from Røros were enlisted into the nationwide list of preserved cultural heritage in 1940 (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 30).

The reason for enlisting so many buildings in Røros was grounded on the aspirations for restoring a “true” historical image of Røros *in situ* instead of translocating them to local, regional or national open-air museums. The decision to enlist the buildings, covering the entire length of streets, for example the western side of the whole *Sleggveien*, could be explained by the aim to safeguard the whole urban townscape instead of some exceptional buildings. However, as noted by Brønne, the chosen way of reaching this aim led to the creation of merely scenic urban images (*ibid.*, 35–38). Moreover, another case of enlisting only those buildings that were within the visual reach of the bell tower (*hytteklokka*) at Mørkstubakken, by following the previously expressed suggestion of Hamlander, confirmed the opinion that the list of 1940 was created mainly to safeguard the picturesque scenery of Røros.



Figure 38. According to J. Brønne, the antiquarians were standing approximately in this position and enlisted all the buildings around, which were part of this visual scene. (Photo taken by Halvor Vreim, 1942, Riksantikvaren, T359_01_0502).

2.6 An external architect's chase for a "true image of Røros"

2.6.1 Architect Eliassen's proposals for correcting the mistakes of "bad carpentry"

As described above, Fett's perception of urban conservation was focused on the continuity of local handicraft traditions in relation to the changing industrial technologies. Thus, for Fett, the preservation of the town was dependent on its sustainable socio-economic development, on the gradual transformation of methods of cultural production, and this concern could be explained by his own social capital, acquired while being engaged in familial industrial business. However, Fett's involvement in the practical implementation of his guidelines and in actual architectural preservation of Røros was limited to several written critiques about the drastic changes in the old townscape, which for him represented rough erosions of physical expressions of the former local social stratification.

More direct involvement and physically observable traces of urban conservation campaigns in Røros were left by Fett's colleagues, the architects Georg Eliassen and Vreim, both members of the Antiquarian Board for Buildings (*Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd*) within the Directorate for Cultural Heritage. Eliassen was also the leader of the Managing Board at the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments (*Fortidsminneforeningen*) between 1929 and 1952, and he published an article right after his return from Røros, where a meeting of the top representatives of the national field of heritage conservation was held in 1939. The article was influenced by the inspiring speech of Fett (Myklebust, 2014, 219), but Eliassen drew more practical guidelines for direct action to be taken to achieve the goals at Røros set by the elite within the national field of heritage conservation (Eliassen, 1939).

Fett's influence on Eliassen's article can be traced since the material urban environment was acknowledged by both of them, and they viewed it as a result of the immaterial historical social environment and public relations, shaped by Røros Copper Works and rough natural conditions. However, Eliassen did not regret the former social order by earnestly following Fett; instead, he focused on creating a new identity and a new meaning for the historical physical environment remaining in Røros. Firstly, differently from Fett, Eliassen was mostly interested in making Røros significant on a national scale. He started his article by emphasizing that "*Røros, as an object of heritage, stands among our most characteristic ones*" (ibid., 1). He identified its relationship to other Norwegian wooden towns and emphasized that the exceptionally Norwegian building traditions from Trøndelag and Østerdal were adapted to Røros. He also expressed his concern: "*it would be a national loss if these cultural values, produced throughout centuries up here in the wilderness, disappeared*" (ibid., 2). Interestingly, at the same time, Eliassen distinguished Røros from other Norwegian towns due to its rather international features, i.e. for sharing the parallels with continental medieval cathedral towns due to the dramatic townscape, shaped by the "*contrast between the high rising, black-and-white church and the picturesque, low buildings, covered with panel boarding of vivid colours or left with dark notched-log walls*" (ibid., 2). Eliassen highlighted the fact that it was only Røros in Norway which was awarded such a "medieval" townscape and warned that this urban image was threatened by "*the confusing intervention in recent years*". He regretted "*the decay*" and recent "*vulgarization of old urban buildings*" and blamed the difficult economic situation in Røros on the then unprofitable Røros Copper Works operations (ibid., 2).

Eliassen proposed the solution to this cultural and economic crisis, which probably was also inspired by Fett's ideas, as the emphasis was laid on such small industries like domestic crafts being an alternative source of income for the locals. However, the greatest hopes of Eliassen were centred on making Røros a tourist destination, and even the proposed mobilization of domestic crafts was intended not for producing items, required locally, but rather souvenirs for tourists (ibid., 7). Thus, differently from the previously analysed goals of local efforts, the aim of urban conservation now was intended to impress a visiting tourist and, for that visitor, the town itself was supposed to become an attraction: "*it should be considered what the visitor will be searching for here – it is the image of the old Bergstaden as it was preserved for us until recent years, when the buildings were marked by the recession. Bringing back this image is the primary duty of renovations and restorations, managed by the antiquarian authorities*" (ibid., 3).

Thus, due to such purely practical economic reasons, the trendsetting ideas of urban conservation *in situ* were generated by the external top officials within the field of heritage conservation, and it was claimed that only the whole image of a historic town could attract tourists, not specific architectural objects, when taken out of their contexts, as was previously thought by locals while creating the open-air museum in Røros: "*disconnected from its context, those simplified street images are not that remarkable. Nor do the individual houses have such furnishings or richness in detail to serve as landmarks. Only the entirety of buildings is captivating*" (ibid., 2). Eliassen encouraged specialists to consider the whole characteristic environment not only when it concerned urban conservation, but also other fields of contemporary industries. The newly opened businesses were supposed to be adapted to the ancient surroundings and the new buildings were supposed to be built from wood following the local building traditions, but only as far as it concerned the historical town centre. The newly developed urban surroundings were supposed to gain modern forms and to be constructed by modern means and methods. Typically for the contemporary architects of functionalism, Eliassen proposed setting a clear distinction between "the old" and "the new" by not blending them, but by setting up a physical divide – a park (the unbuild space) in between to create two different urban spaces of "the past" and "the present" (ibid., 6).

Consequently, Eliassen's guidelines reflected contemporary trends in the field of architecture and his own creative capital, accumulated as a practising architect, while designing functionalistic buildings and working in the field of heritage preservation. According to Christensen, those two dissonant fields of engagement were possible to combine for architects of functionalism as they saw the built environment from their abstract view – a log building was viewed as a set of proper proportions apart from all the associated craftsmanship or decorative additions, just as the Parthenon for Le Corbusier (Christensen, 2011, 121). Eliassen's functionalistic view resonated not only in his proposals for architectural conservation, but also in the field of urban conservation, when the urban spaces were intended to be separated by function as well as chronologically. The physically isolated "new" and "old" urban parts were also intended to obey the contrary legitimate systems of values even when these values concerned contemporary architectural practices. This dualism was clearly revealed in Eliassen's discussion and his propositions for the future of the above-mentioned Bergstaden Hotel, built in 1897 in the Swiss chalet style.

In accordance with Fett, Eliassen also heavily criticized the entryway to the town centre, stating that it was hindered by "*the unfortunate fulfilment of the new road construction and the old flimsy*

and poorly maintained building in the front – they both create a confusion.” (ibid., 6). Eliassen disapproved of the current plans for enlarging the Swiss chalet style hotel with a new extension constructed in concrete. He proposed an alternative option of demolishing the main building and building a new one, completely in wood and by following the local building traditions. Moreover, he suggested reusing the old urban dwellings, which were no longer suitable as family houses, for the hotel’s guest accommodation. In that way, he claimed, there would be solutions to two challenges – the preservation of the original urban structures and the elasticity of the hotel as the demand for tourist accommodation varied heavily according to seasons.

Eliassen treated the established Røros Museum as another realistic way of preserving old urban structures and proposed expanding the local open-air museum, by incorporating a chosen urban settlement in its natural environment, i.e. *in situ*. Eliassen also provided a detailed description of what should be considered “proper carpentry” in respect to the maintenance of urban dwelling façades in Røros. Most of his assessments, however, were based on aesthetic instead of technical grounds. The old unpanelled notched-log buildings were supposed to be preserved unchanged due to “*the interplay between the black walls and red or white windows, which looked lively and cheerful*”; the main façades of dwellings, boarded with “*cheap and characterless panelling*”, so-called bevelled or bead-flush panels (*fas – og perlstaffpanélene*), were supposed to be changed in order to regain the character of buildings; the new windows and doors should be reinstalled so that they would “*harmonize with the dimensions and divisions of the wall’s surface*”. The proposed changes also involved the repairs and reinstallation of turfed roofs as elements of the distinctive character of the town – in that way, the “*disorder*”, created by “*extensive roofing variation*”, could be solved. Finally, Eliassen ridiculed the recent attempts at “*decorating*” the stoneworks, such as detached outdoor steps, foundations or chimneys with cement plaster.

All in all, it seems that Eliassen could be named the pioneer of the criteria and the concept of traditional workmanship within the field of heritage conservation as he criticized extensive use of the current technological achievements in woodworking while repairing old buildings – the workmanship was supposed to travel backwards in time and be adequate for the original age of the building. On the other hand, the Eliassen’s criteria for “proper workmanship” were based on a purely aesthetic evaluation, influenced by subjective and sensual impressions, determined by contemporary architectural, i.e. aesthetic, trends of that time. Consequently, an ordinary carpenter was seen as not being capable of sensing these special artistic tendencies, and therefore, according to Eliassen, the help of an architect was needed to correct the mistakes of “*bad carpentry*” and the above-mentioned “*flaws*” (ibid., 8). Eliassen advocated the importance of the controlling position of an architect when it concerned workmanship related to repairs of singular old houses since those were viewed as an integral and constituting part of a whole historical urban townscape. It was an architect, no longer a carpenter, who was to decide what kind of materials were used and how they should be applied in restorations.

Restoration was no longer considered a common part of repairs – traditional and ordinarily outdated materials and working techniques were revealed by architects within the field of heritage conservation, while most of the carpenters were using modernized methods of work and building elements of that time. The technological advances started to leave bold and remarkable traces on the visual appearance of the low-tech historical environments and therefore were considered threatening, dissonant, contrasting and unsuitable due to the aesthetic differences they conveyed.

2.6.2 The “Vreimifization” of Røros in 1937–1965

Vreim implemented the ideas of his colleague Eliassen in practice in Røros and contributed largely to strengthening the position of the overruling professional within the field of heritage conservation in general. He integrated two spheres of activities due to his exceptional background, based on practical and managerial experience. As a trained carpenter, Vreim worked extensively with translocation of old buildings to the open-air museum in the capital town and, namely, this practice, not his formal education, earned him the title of an architect, provided by the National Association of Architects in 1936 (Berg, 2009). Soon after, in 1937, he was employed at the National Board of Antiquities, and Røros, which he was well-acquainted with during his previous work experience, became one of the most important objects of his engagement. He worked effectively at applying the ideology of the national authorities of heritage conservation in the physical environment of Røros and was the initiator of the heritagization of Røros as a national symbol.

The ideological programme for Røros, aimed at the restoration of a “true image” of pre-1850s, was the outcome of Vreim’s educational capital, assembled from the professor in art history Carl Wille Schnitler. Admiration for the neoclassical styles was not that popular in Norway at that time when the national movement was more concerned with the revival of Norwegian medieval architecture. Schnitler, however, published the book *Slekten fra 1814*, where he succeeded in proving that the Norwegian economic and cultural growth was the result of trade and industry in the 18th century, which subsequently led to the constitutional independence of 1814. Consequently, the cultural legacy of the 18th century, embodied in the characteristic weatherboarded wooden architecture, was approved as national and converted into the “Norwegian style” (Bye, 2010, 116).

However, if the neoclassical styles were not yet recognized as sufficiently homely by the broader public, Vreim sought to find other proof to show that Røros also possessed medieval traces which, no doubt, were commonly considered as being Norwegian. He published an article in 1927, “Building traditions in Røros” (“Byggeskikk på Røros”), where he expressed his admiration for the medieval character of Røros, judged not only in terms of its urban structure, but also in terms of the local building traditions. Vreim made assumptions that the medieval heritage of Røros stemmed from Trondheim and based his arguments on Sundt’s claims that the influences on the development of building traditions in Trøndelag were spreading from the north, not from the south (Vreim, 1927, 380). The aim of such rationale was to prove that Røros possessed strong Norwegian building traditions since “the medieval” was equated to “the Norwegian”: “*The old way of building houses which can still be traced in Røros is, as previously mentioned, inherited from the Middle Ages. Most likely, it was spreading or was influenced by Trondheim. The signs of foreign influence on buildings or households are much less recognizable than one would expect. The foreign elements had been absorbed in the Norwegian environment up there, without any conscious resistance, and had subordinated itself to its goals. In the language, on the contrary, there are many German and Swedish words and names*” (ibid., 380–381).

Consequently, Vreim separated the physical environment, which, according to him, succeeded in sustaining the purely Norwegian medieval character in Røros, from the local social environment, which possessed more varied and impure characteristics. The aim was to save a “true image of

Røros” not only from the disturbing foreign influences but also from the local population itself and for that reason Vreim took advantage of Falkberget’s fictitious caricature of Bør Børson Junior to embody the prevailing local preferences for the modernized and varied types of building materials, which, according to him, threatened the old homogeneous design and structure of the town (Vreim, 1944, 11–12).

Moreover, Vreim even declared that, to restore a true image of Røros, “*it is extremely important to use the civic right to eliminate the signs of Bør Børson Junior*”. To make the argument stronger, Vreim invoked the explanation of the French architectural theorist Marc-Antoine Laugier, who in his *Essai sur l'Architecture* of 1753 claimed that the formation of the public space within a town should not obey random, individual whims and irregular decorations. Vreim used this quotation to transfer control of public urban space, i.e. façades facing the streets, to the public authorities to sustain the ancient character of a town (ibid., 36). Ironically, Laugier himself meant something different – he argued for eradicating the irregular medieval urban structures of Paris by imposing the principles of pure and rational classicism in urban design at the time when rococo had been running its course (Mandanipur, 2007, 96). Rococo, mainly financed by *nouveau riche* in Paris (Wittman, 2007, 244), was condemned by the academic rationalists of the 18th century in line with the “barbarian” Gothic style due to the heavy usage of ornaments (Ćulafić, 2010, 47).

Vreim wanted to make the neoclassical traces at Røros more widely acceptable and linked the roots of the neoclassical wooden mansions of Røros to the primitive minor dwellings. Seeking to depict the similarities, he referred not only to physical traces, but also to the coeval written primary historical sources of the 18th century – the above-mentioned travel descriptions of foreigners, such as Carl von Linné (1734), Carl Magnus Robsahm and Anton Swab (1796), and Edward Daniel Clarke (1799). Vreim asserted that a few of the oldest primitive houses, described by Carl von Linné in the 18th century, were still present in *Sleggveien*.



Figure 39. *Pers-stuggu* – a prototype of Neo-Classical forms as stated by H. Vreim. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011, during The Days of Craftsmanship in Røros.)



Figure 40. According to H. Vreim, *Løssistuggu\ Langs-stuggu* in *Sleggveien*, dated as two centuries old in 1974, could be one of the few remaining primitive houses seen by Carl von Linné in 1734 (Vreim, H., 1944, p. 8; Aspaas, K, 1974, p. 257) (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, date unknown, ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.251201)

Even though Vreim acknowledged historically recorded and visually recognizable changes in Røros from the period before the 18th century, he emphasized that the harmonious unity was then sustained due to the use of the same local and natural materials and the customary obedience to the appropriate architectural expressions, befitting the corresponding position in the social hierarchy of that time: “*The big mansions were panel boarded first of all, and then they got heavy overlapping boarding. They had individually produced window frames, portals, and richly profiled cornices. Many of the smaller urban dwellings were also supplied with carpenter’s cladding (tømmermanns-klædning), but these were much simpler. Some of the small buildings had naked notched-log walls and partly were still covered with turf roof. The same type of roofing was used in the larger buildings. Many common features linked the whole harmoniously together. It was unthinkable that someone could break the tone. It was typical of the towns of the 18th century, and especially of Røros*” (Vreim, 1944, 10). Consequently, in line with Laugier, Vreim advocated for a clear distinction of social ranking in the architectural expressions and also sustainment of the aesthetic unity of the physical environment by rational and natural means.

The aim of Vreim was to recreate the aesthetic appearance of Røros in its golden age under the control of the Copper Works. He clearly stated that even Røros church should not be considered the symbol of a highly religious local community but rather as evidence of the high architectural capital of knowledge, which was gained mostly by practice and shared among the local craftsmen. In line with Fett (see *Svend Aspaas as the rural genius of practical artistry*), Vreim mentioned S. Aspaas and his colleagues Ellingsen and Indset, who demonstrated great architectural influence on the region and claimed that they even created their own artisan “*school*” of distinct architectural expression (Vreim, 1939, 130). But first and foremost, the church of Røros, according to Vreim, should be considered a sign of great flourishing of the town under the leadership of Hiort, Director of the Røros Copper Works. As Vreim saw it, the situation started to change when Røros municipality took over the management of Røros in the middle of the 19th century (Vreim, 1927, 382). Vreim blamed modernization of the town, fostered, first and foremost, by the local *nouveau riche*, who chased the new trends of style by installing large windows in their business venues or even demolished the old buildings to provide space for their retail services (Vreim, 1944, 28).

Vreim published guidelines for the restoration of a “true image of Røros” and led the reader through the streets of the town by commenting on the present state and instructing on the

appropriate changes that should be made in almost every building of significance. By reviewing *Bergmannsgata*, Vreim wanted the elimination of traces of the Swiss chalet style from the façade of *Kaffestuggu*, to restore the façade of the shop, owned by J. Engzelius & Søn, to improve the appearance of the workshops, held by Lars Skancke. He welcomed the interest and practical activity of the director of the Røros Copper Works, V. B. Lange, for restoring *Bergskrivergården*, which was built in 1793 for the administration of the company. Vreim also expressed his hope that the good example would be followed in the restoration of *Direktørboligen*, owned by a new owner – Røros municipality (ibid., 12).



Figure 41. Bergskrivergården – modernized in Swiss chalet style. (Photo taken by unknown photographer, date unknown, Riksantikvaren, T359_01_0559).



Figure 42. Bergskrivergården restored, with added details in the Classical style. (Photo taken by Halvor Vreim, 1946, Riksantikvaren, T359_01_0555).



Figure 43. The cow barn, on the left-hand side of the photo, of Bergmannsgata that belonged to the urban farmyard Bekholdtgården, which was enlisted as an object of cultural heritage in 1940. (Photo taken by unknown photographer, date unknown, Riksantikvaren, T359_01_0343).



Figure 44. H. Vreim disliked the façade of new workshops and the store in Bergmannsgata, installed instead of the old cow shed by Lars Skancke, who bought the whole urban farmyard Bekholdtgården in 1916. (Photo taken by Halvor Vreim, 1943, Riksantikvaren, T359_01_0345).

For Vreim, different from the local concerns described above, the biggest challenge for urban conservation was not the economic crisis in Røros between the two World Wars, but the accumulation of economic capital, since the newly emerged class of local businessmen and merchants prioritized economic instead of cultural capital and used the historic urban environment to increase their own profits only. Thus, Vreim viewed the potential of the restoration of the harmonious image of Røros not as a financial challenge but rather as an issue of taste, and he was sure that only collaboration with the owner, who would refuse own wishes for the sake of the general needs, could lead to his goal of restoring the historical town centre (Vreim, 1944, 15).

Thus, not only was the changing townscape of Røros criticized, but also the newly established local open-air museum was suddenly renounced by Vreim. In contrast to the local enthusiasts at the beginning of the 20th century, Vreim claimed that it was the centre of the town, not Røros open-air museum, that was obliged to preserve the local identity. In accordance with the previously mentioned proposals of Eliassen (see *The architect G. Eliassen's proposals for correcting the mistakes of "bad carpentry"*), Vreim suggested encircling the core of the town with a park line, which would clearly separate "the new" from "the old". Vreim made reference to medieval fortified towns, surrounded by masonry walls, which, according to him, allowed disciplined clarity to be sustained in urban structures (ibid., 24). The main aim of Vreim was to provide a finalized image of the historical centre of Røros as he accused the newly introduced "*measuring scale*" of breaking the rhythm and alignments in the rows of uniform buildings. As warned by Vreim, the new "*measuring scale*" determined the disorderly urban skyline and structural shapes, and therefore the town gained the image of being in an ever-unfinished state (ibid., 28). Apparently, what Vreim really wanted was the creation of that missing townscape – fully accomplished and perfected.

It should be noted that the ideas of Vreim and his colleagues were announced at a time when the core of modern urban planning and, respectively, urban conservation was only gaining shape both nationally and internationally. In 1933, the International Congress of Modern Architecture was held in Athens, which was led by Le Corbusier and where the Charter on Urban Planning was produced. The Athens Charter formed the principles of the Functional City, which were largely implemented after World War II and formed the foundations for the Venice Charter of 1964. While the Athens Charter acknowledged the conservation of historical urban areas (mainly only those that proved to be harmless to public health), the following Venice Charter of 1964, adopted at the Second International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings, provided the general principles of how safeguarded historic buildings should be treated. The Venice Charter condemned the aspirations to create unities of style and urged for respect of the contributions of all periods to the buildings preserved (*Venice Charter*, Article 11). It also did not rule out the use of modern techniques in conservation and even urged to leave distinguishable traces from the original "*so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence*" (*Venice Charter*, Article 12).

Based on the ideology mainly formed by the Venice Charter, present-day professionals within the field of heritage conservation condemn the ideas of Vreim as being inconsistent with modern principles and the manner in which heritage objects are treated, be they in urban areas or singular buildings. The period when Vreim implemented his urban conservation campaign in Røros was later named "*Vreimifization*" (Myklebust, 2014, 227) due to the fact that many of the original

historical building details were replaced by undocumented and unjustified substitutes. Vreim was accused of basing his practice on the ideology of “stylistic restoration”, also attributed to Viollet-le-Duc (Andersen, Brønne, 2006, 25–26). While Viollet-le-Duc sought to recreate a homogenous architectural style in line with a building’s structural uniqueness (Jarulaitienė, 2016), for Vreim, any of the subsequent architectural styles (until the occurrence of the Swiss chalet style) related to the structural wooden core were just the continuation of medieval building traditions.

According to him, it was only the decorative elements of the exterior and interior that shifted frequently due to the changing architectural styles and fashion, while the wooden construction solutions remained the same: *“it is often only the outer costume of a built structure which is imprinted by the new trends and which enables one to understand what is called style. That, what is constitutive of a house, the inner mechanics, construction are continued further in the same old way, rather uninfluenced by the new splendour. The walls are built as before, the floor and ceiling are installed in the customary way and roof structures are old. They are changing a little bit gradually, but not at the same speed as the outfits of the exterior or interior, which are following fashion”* (Vreim, 1939, 14).

At the same time, he explained that, despite the everchanging aesthetic caprices, constant technical solutions to the external outfits were also available, which were appropriate to a certain type of construction. As a result of Vreim’s logic as a carpenter, as well as his extensive architectural knowledge, gathered during his investigative antiquarian expeditions around the country, Vreim was able to explain the diffusion of historical structural features in Norway: *“there is a clear correlation between a stave construction, rafter roof and horizontal cladding and between notched-log construction, purlin roof and vertical cladding”* (ibid., 14).

Consequently, Vreim aimed to demonstrate that some technically appropriate solutions even to the exterior of buildings were historically available and they should be followed when the focus was on the preservation of certain buildings or the whole urban historical environments. These solutions were based on the historical experience and the logic of carpentry and therefore were suitable for repeat use; this was in contrast to the new, untried industrial building materials and techniques, which flourished together with the emergence of the Swiss chalet style. Consequently, it was not just the differing aesthetic features, but also the changed working methods of the newly established field of building industry that Vreim saw as the biggest threat to the “true image” of Røros. His position was very much influenced by his practical know-how and his cultural capital as a carpenter.

2.6.2.1 How did the shifting architectural styles influence the decline of a carpenter’s position?

Vreim acknowledged that good accessibility of building materials for notched-log buildings was not an exceptionally Norwegian phenomenon. He called the region Northern Scandinavia, including Finland, Russia and its bordering countries, situated 55 degrees north and possessing coniferous forests. Vreim explained that even though notched-log constructions were developed in all these countries, the Norwegian carpentry achieved the best technical and aesthetic qualities, especially in terms of the *“thorough, cultivated and disciplined”* notched-log constructions in

medieval times (Vreim, 1939, 15). He highlighted that, during the medieval times, carpentry reached its peak in Norway and very often a carpenter ought to possess knowledge about both types of constructions – notched-log and stave – even though these structures required quite different kinds of knowledge. To build notched-log structures, a carpenter must be familiar with wood as a building material and ought to be able to provide proper craftsman’s calculations; by contrast, to build stave structures, a carpenter must possess special constructing skills (ibid., 8). Vreim highlighted the point that those medieval buildings were testimonies of an exceptional relationship between the carpenter and timber as building material, like a musician maintaining his secret interplay with an instrument (Vreim, 1956).

As reported by Vreim, the common Norwegian medieval building tradition started to vary locally only in the 18th century; it was also the time when buildings, their elements and even a carpenter’s working tools developed various idiosyncratic notions (Vreim, 1956). At the same time, it was the period when, on the international scale, 18th-century Enlightenment ideas were followed by striving for constant heating and brighter rooms, which stimulated, in turn, glass production (Vreim, 1939, 35). Vreim still regretted the fact that carpentry experienced its first decline during the 18th century as external panel cladding was getting more and more fashionable: “*It was not interesting anymore to see what the wall behind the cladding looked like, and therefore they were not that much concerned with constructing structures of high class. All this damaged handcrafting as it was only the log notching that held a carpenter vigorous. Aesthetically less pleasing log notching types, such as kamnov and sinknov, became broadly used, firstly and foremostly, by building plenty of octagonal churches in the period of Enlightenment. As a matter of fact, the panel-cladded architecture was first introduced in building churches*” (ibid., 8). Internal panel cladding also stimulated changes in handicrafts as a completely new profession within the field of building handicraft emerged – a joiner who was engaged in lighter interior woodworking than a carpenter (ibid., 26).

Vreim claimed that it was not just stylistic trends that influenced the spread of weatherboarded architecture. As neoclassicism was part of the new ideological programme of the Enlightenment in the 18th century, so were the new standards of physiocracy, especially proclaimed by Schøning in Trøndelag. This economic theory maintained that agriculture formed the basis of the national wealth, and therefore to save the forest resources, instructions were issued to use more natural stone as a building material. By following the directives, roofing tiles also started to be produced in areas where clay was available. The covering of notched-log buildings with panel boarding, used to prolong the life of timber materials, was just another measure, promoted by physiocrats in favour of saving natural resources of forests. The introduction of painting the weatherboarded façade was also used as a method for conserving wooden building materials, and was not just an expression of aesthetic preferences (ibid., 10–11). As Vreim pointed out, that was also why tar was used originally until 1572, when it was forbidden due to fire hazards, and later a mixture of fish oil and pigments of English red and diverse shades of yellow (variations of ochre) were applied directly to the external log walls (ibid., 79; Drange et al., 2011, 385).

Vreim points to Trøndelag as an exceptional region, where the panel-cladded architecture reached its highest artisan quality in the 18th century. He named long, thin, two-storey neoclassical *trønderlån* with heavy carpenter’s cladding (*tømmermannsklædning*). It was the latest named element that made the greatest impression on Vreim. He admired *trønderlån* buildings, especially

those in *Inderøy*, which were “covered with hand-sewn boards and Swedish nails, which people from *Trøndelag* bartered for themselves at the annual fair in *Levanger*” (Vreim, 1939, 35). Vreim was delighted with properly used timber characteristics for panel cladding and the way it was combined with other considerable elements of a façade: “the broad, vertical and well-prepared carpenter’s cladding was extended without any break from the base board (*sokkelbord*) to the very cornice of a building, where a simple, hollowed out log was placed as a rain gutter. No unnecessary horizontal bands or mouldings are used to camouflage aesthetical or technical weaknesses of a building. Turnbuckles (*strekfiskene*) and logs, which marked the inner structure of a house, could be used as rich pilasters that, together with heavy framed windows, fostered plasticity and blew in life into a façade” (ibid., 106).

In the capital of *Trøndelag*, the qualities of carpentry were identified again, but this time they were viewed as composing not the integral part of the rural landscape, but of the desired townscape. Vreim considered *Munkegata* in *Trondheim* to be one of the best examples in Norway, where the appropriate carpentry contributed to the exceptional urban image, characterized by “great line routing, proportions and dimensions, suited both for ordinary weekdays and holidays” (ibid., 86). Vreim forewarned that it was about to disappear, due to recent modernizations. He named the buildings in *Munkegata*, such as the Cathedral School and *Harmonien*, for their exceptional qualities and excluded *Stiftsgården* as one of the premier adaptations of rococo and neoclassicism in wooden architecture ever known.



Figure 45. The appropriate implementation of Rococo in wooden architecture was a distinct *trøndisk* feature, according to H. Vreim. However, *Harmonien* in *Trondheim* was probably designed by H. Kühnemann or Johan Daniel Berlin from Memel. (Bratberg, T. V., 2008, p. 222; Kavli, G., 1966, p. 309). The entrance portal to *Harmonien* was claimed to be H. Kühnemann’s exceptional piece of fantasy, which “hardly is a common local joiner’s work” (Kavli, 1966, 310). (Photographer unknown, 1913, Gunnerus - Spesialsamlinger ved NTNU Universitetsbiblioteket, UBT-TO-075281_01_1)

Vreim acknowledged that the way international baroque, rococo and neoclassical styles reached Norway was not only based on the economical capital, but also on the cultural connections. He indicated that the sons of “*patrician merchants*” brought back from their studies in foreign countries not only professional knowledge but also particular taste preferences, which were implemented throughout the country, and especially at the clusters of trade, such as *Trondheim*. Vreim was sure that not only *Trondheimian* medieval architecture, embodied in the layout of urban farmyards, but also wooden *Trondheimian* rococo mansions influenced the architectural development in the region, including *Røros*.

According to Vreim, the biggest loss in the architectural history in Norway, determined by the emergence of the Swiss chalet style in the middle of the 19th century, was not the aesthetic disruption; rather, it was the disturbance of the well-established historical, technical, economic and

social procedures. According to Vreim, the introduction of the Swiss chalet style influenced the disturbance of the standardized mode of relations in the construction place. A carpenter and an owner-builder (*byggherre*) used to have a tighter connection and common agreements while constructing a building, and the solutions often followed the established traditions before the middle of the 19th century. However, by introducing industrially produced building materials, this significant relationship was eradicated and only the formal association remained. And not only the aesthetically unpleasing Swiss chalet style was to blame: Vreim judged the “national” dragon style on the same grounds. Even though it was created to demonstrate common German roots by using “*old methods of carpentry*”, it ended up as being in opposition to the original aims as the industrially processed boards and mouldings formed the core of it. According to Vreim, due to the emergence of these styles, the concept of the building industry flourished while the position of the carpenter and his crafting skills became weaker (ibid., 38–40). However, as described above, the very idea of H. M. Schirmer to create the national style, in opposition to the international and uniform architectural production, was welcomed by Vreim, but, according to him, it needed some correction, namely expanded use of traditional elements in the building processes.

The carpenter’s relation to timber as his main working material became even more uncertain after the introduction of functionalism, with its “*unverified ideas, new materials and working methods, with speed and restlessness as its main features*” (ibid., 42). Functionalism did not provide any professional challenges to help carpenters to develop their skills as the style was too simplistic and dull (ibid., 44). Vreim assumed that “*the new type of architecture is less concerned with the future, but rather with the constantly changing needs of the present moment*” (ibid., 43). Thus, the artisan capital of Vreim heavily influenced his perception of the history of architectural styles as he was not that concerned with the changing aesthetic expressions, but rather with the changing social conditions on construction sites, which were determined by the shifting building technologies. Furthermore, the aesthetic qualities of Røros as an urban heritage site did not play the most important role for him either.

Even though Vreim mentioned the aesthetic features of Røros townscape by referring to the growing interest of artists, such as the painter Harald Sohlberg and his works, which gained national acknowledgement, he distanced himself from that position. Vreim recognized that Røros might be interesting due to aesthetic reasons for artists while for him the main stimulus was the social environment of the place: “*it is not nice up here, but it touches our feelings in such a strong and direct way, wakes up our interests in the people and social conditions*” (ibid., 43). It was not the only time when Vreim indicated that his interest in the field of heritage conservation did not refer to the physical environment alone. He also referred to Sundt and praised his well-foreseen socially engaged position, which, according to Vreim, was ahead of Sundt’s coevals: “*The genius Eilert Sundt perceived a dwelling as a personal private issue already 80 years ago. We finally have reached the same level with him now as well as the ability to see this way*” (ibid., 43).

Directions for the proper care of Røros, which were published by Vreim, were not aesthetically-oriented; rather, they aimed to promote the use of materials and building techniques according to the notion of “traditional”, which was legitimate at that time. Consequently, the characteristics of the “traditional” were determined by social composition, influenced by a certain *zeitgeist*, and by the individual capital, accumulated by Vreim himself, and very much related to his former artisan practice. However, as further analysis of the actual application of Vreim’s guidelines to practice

showed, very often his ideology and requirements were not followed consistently either by the owners of the houses at Røros or by Vreim himself (Bye, 2010).

2.6.2.2 The discrepancy between what has been preached and what has been practised

In his directions on how a “true image of Røros” should be achieved, Vreim declared the rejection of modern, industrial building materials and cement was ruled out as unacceptable above all: “Cement is among the most versatile and flexible building materials which we possess. Therefore, it can be misused” (Vreim, 1944, 17). Vreim condemned the common practice of that time in using cement instead of natural stone for the detached outdoor steps on the main façades in Røros. He also was sceptical about using cement plaster for foundations as it provided a different visual effect than the natural grey stonework. He also criticized the repair work done to Røros church when the gate and the fence around the churchyard were ill-treated by using cement (ibid., 18). By that time, the use of cement had become so trendy that the cement-containing plaster (*skvett puss* or *sopelimpuss*) was used even in repair works of church façades in 1904 (Brønne, 2003, 15).



Figure 46. Imitations of ashlar masonry in the corners of the church tower at Røros were concealed under the renovation works in 1904. The original lime mortar was replaced with cement-containing plaster (Brønne, 2003, 15). (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, 1904, ©Røros museet, RMUB.251781).

At the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, the neoclassical façades of the church were restored, but with modern and industrial building materials again. Only in the recent proposal and during the latest restoration works was attention paid to the original type of lime plaster (Brønne, 2003, 16). However, the compromises in allowing the use of cement were made during later restorations of other listed buildings in Røros. Thorough study has shown that even though the restoration processes of *Sohlbergrekka*, consisting of five urban farmyards in *Kjerkgata*, were under close supervision of the National Antiquarian Board for Buildings, represented by Vreim at that time, the recommendations of antiquarians were not followed, and cement was used instead of natural stone and lime mortar. Vreim was forced to make compromises and demanded concealment of those modern building materials that did not fit aesthetically into a “true image of Røros” (Bye, 2010, 420).

Another interesting case, which confirms the approval of illusionary use of traditional building materials and techniques, was the promoted turf roofing. Vreim indicated that the popular new type of light stone slates with shiny surfaces unfortunately replaced the original type of turf roofing, which was supposed to be used instead according to Vreim's antiquarian principles. In those cases when turf was impossible to apply, Vreim believed that less harm would be made by choosing the dark type of stone slates, which would visually imitate turf better (Vreim, 1944, 13). Moreover, Vreim's concern about the preservation of the actual turf roofing was not fulfilled in accordance with his own ideals of traditional workmanship. Vreim's practical guidelines on how the process of turf roofing should be performed indicated that, due to practical reasons, when a large amount of birch bark was not available, corrugated asbestos cement (Eternit) was approved for underlay. Moreover, Vreim relied on the recommendations of the modern producer *Norsk Eternit Fabrikk* for using roofing paper as the underlayer for asbestos cement. The thorough description of the process could be regarded as honest recognition and objective necessity emerging from the lack of original building resources at that time. On the other hand, Vreim's advice to use scarce assets of birch bark for the visible parts at the corners of the roof had quite the opposite intention – it was aimed at creating an illusion of the antiquarian building materials and techniques, used in the whole process of the roofing. The only detail could reveal the falsehood, and that novelty was once again introduced by Vreim – the netting that was supposed to hold the turf on the underlay of asbestos cement was much more slippery than originally used birch bark (Vreim, 1961).

The imitations of historical building methods were meant to deceive a spectator but ended up creating only a simulation of building traditions. Another example of how the traditional building elements were counterfeited during the period of “Vreimifization” at Røros was provided by Brønne, who revealed that during the years 1937 to 1965, some of the buildings were not merely restored by modern techniques and materials to “look old” but were even made to “look older” than they were factually dated. Brønne pointed out that the original windows (with two or three horizontal divisions in each of the two frames), the characteristic Røros windows of the beginning of the 19th century, were changed for windows with small panes, which stylistically were pre-dated to the period when the depicted buildings in *Sleggveien* were actually built (Andersen, Brønne, 2006, 26–29). Consequently, it was not just the buildings but the whole streetscape of *Sleggveien* became antiquated. Moreover, the windows with small panes were probably produced by using technological methods that were rather common at the beginning of the 20th century, and therefore they were just another imitation, not even a copy of the historical type of windows. In the end, such a Janus-faced fight against industrial building techniques served not the field of heritage conservation but rather the field of local building industry.



Figure 47.
Listed buildings
at *Sleggveien*
before the
“restoration”.
(Photo taken by
Halvor Vreim,
1940,
Riksantikvaren,
T359_01_0410)



Figure 48. The antiquated streetscape of Sleggveien. (Photo taken by Halvor Vreim, 1959, Riksantikvaren, T359_01_0417).

Later on, Vreim developed a more scientific approach to restoration, at least in his publications if not in practice. His experience was presented in an article published by the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments in 1952 on the restoration process at Fossesholm manor estate in Buskerud. Vreim regretted the fact that restorations had become too popular and too poor, so he outlined some principles of scientific restoration, urging those involved to leave the later additions on the original buildings *in salvo* if documentation was missing instead of restoring the missing original elements, which could be considered a fraud (Vreim, 1952, 66). Interestingly, such a recommendation could be considered the foundation of scientific restoration, which was also embedded by the Venice Charter, although it happened more than a decade later in 1964 (Venice Charter, Article 9).

Another shift in Vreim's later ideology was also related to his numerous experiences with restoration projects, where he was not engaged as a carpenter but as an antiquarian. Possibly due to the vast number of restoration cases, his attention to the quality of workmanship was declining, but there were also other reasons, as indicated by Vreim himself. He regretted that many of the restoration works, performed both by modern architects and modern craftsmen, were the result of changed building traditions. The restorations were executed according to contemporary and customary methods and knowledge, instead of trying to carry out such projects by following the working procedures employed historically. Vreim stated that craftsmen and architects had not experienced such a huge discrepancy in building methods before, and therefore they could act much more freely and creatively and still perform repairs in the way that "*the house itself was calling for*" (Vreim, 1952, 57–58). Vreim confessed that the use of building elements, produced by industrial means, was a practical necessity even during those restoration projects that were managed by him: "*it was absolutely unavoidable to use machinery to plane new wooden materials, including windows. Mouldings were made the same as the old ones. After the house was painted, it was not easy to see that all mouldings were planed by a machine. On the other hand, one could notice that the external fittings of windows were made with the help of a stamping press, which obviously weakened them artistically, but they were fastened with the right kind of nails. The reparations at Fossesholm would have been impossible to perform without industrially produced building elements. Sometimes there should be concessions made due to the practical difficulties*" (ibid., 66–68). Thus, the difficulties in fulfilling the aims of applying historical workmanship to actual restoration projects were regarded as regretful by Vreim, and that again shows that he stood against the industrialized means of production as far as it was practically possible. The failures in carrying out restoration projects by applying historical workmanship entirely should therefore not

be considered intentional and disregarded according to the current ideology of the field of heritage conservation. The regrets due to the practical impossibility of using historical workmanship were clearly expressed by Vreim, and those preceded the Venice Charter of 1964, which stated that “*Where traditional techniques prove inadequate, the consolidation of a monument can be achieved by the use of any modern technique*” (Venice Charter, Article 10).

The only obvious discordance of the Vreim-developed restoration theory with the dogma of scientific restoration was the principle of “the equivalent copy”, which was considered to be of the highest priority by Vreim and disregarded as historical falsification by the Venice Charter. Vreim believed that the quality of workmanship depended on the ability of the carpenter to produce accurate copies of historical building elements. The competence of a professional, in turn, could be verified by his ability to identify good copies from bad ones, which were merely “*almost like the old ones*” (Vreim, 1952, 50). In the Venice Charter, on the contrary, it was claimed that “*Replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence*” (Venice Charter, Article 12). Consequently, there could be a conclusion made that the principle of “historical equivalence” was encouraged by both opposing paradigms, but only because it bore differing meanings and perceptions, determined very much by the distinct professional fields which developed those ideals. The Venice Charter was developed mainly by the field of architects, educated in the period of the rise of modernism, which disregarded any form of historical repetition; only the replications of modern forms were considered valid and historically equivalent, i.e. equivalent to the contemporary epoch, with its own artistic expressions and technological advances. By contrast, for a craftsman and an antiquarian who saw a historical building as the point of departure for his professional practice and creativity, the accurate repetition of historical forms was considered historically equivalent, i.e. equivalent to a certain historical period, usually the one to which the historical building concerned was originally dated.

An interesting detail should be noted that, by the end of his career, Vreim finally recognized that the disruptions in building traditions were not always to be considered negative occurrences and that the foreign influences, which were usually the cause of such interruptions, could also have positive outcomes. Thus, Vreim acknowledged the importance of foreign influences in the development of building traditions in Norway, and, even more importantly, this influence was no longer considered unfavourable: “*The aim for such a rich and valuable architecture would not be achieved without the influence from outside. In the case of isolated existence, our houses would have been primitive*” (Vreim, 1956).

All in all, the theoretical stance and even the genuine practice of Vreim could not be summed up as a uniform paradigm, as the ideology of a whole field of heritage conservation and its application were in constant flux, based on different processes, reactions and counter-reactions. This was also the case with the individual route of Vreim, who was not a merely passive but rather a forming agent of the field of heritage conservation. Due to his authoritative status within that field, his unprecedented combination of capital, including the practical experience of a carpenter and the managerial knowledge of an antiquarian, and the extensive traces left in the physical environment and professional bibliography, Vreim’s legacy is easily accessible for various kinds of assessment, which sometimes become somewhat contradictory.

Vreim's tacit knowledge as a carpenter was made explicit in his writings and allowed the wider society to understand the importance of traditional materials and techniques for the field of heritage conservation, while his legacy in the physical built environment revealed that such ideals were not always possible to implement in practice. The building traditions were constantly changing, and the field of heritage conservation encountered unstoppable technological development in practical terms at that time. However, the reproductions of picturesque historical sceneries and images by using modern materials and techniques were encouraged and even considered as good copies and appropriate fabrications by the field of heritage conservation and beyond. Such a position influenced the formation of a new subfield of large-scale cultural production within the field of building industry in Røros. However, as the later discussion will show, the discrepancy between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi* remained overlooked within the field of heritage conservation.

2.7 *The local initiatives to safeguard the habitual historical common miner's environment*

In 1964, Vreim retired as a secretary from the Antiquarian Board for Buildings (*Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd*) and, according to Arne Berg, in order to continue with the same amount of work to be done – managing and monitoring the listed buildings – his position was substituted by ten employees (Bye, 2010, 129; Arne, 2010). Vreim's exceptional interest in Røros was followed by the architect Ola Hektoen Øverås, one of his successors at the National Board of Antiquities. The board also financed the formation of a new local appointment at the municipality of Røros for a maintenance workman (*vedlikeholdsmannen*). This position was assigned to Håkon Borgos, and his duties involved slight repairs to listed buildings at Røros. The constant maintenance of buildings aimed to avoid larger and more costly restorations afterwards. His actual contribution was observed not only in the maintenance of the privately-owned listed objects, but also in the buildings belonging to the local museum and those situated in the centre of the town (Ødegaard, 1972, 10).

Consequently, this assignment was a predecessor of the current officer of the Outbuilding Project at Røros municipality, which was initiated and is still authorized by the National Board of Antiquities. In the middle of the 20th century, however, this appointment had not been completely developed and, despite the positive practical impact but due to the lack of administrative coordination, it was withdrawn (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 40). As informed by Ødegaard, because of the lack of antiquarian supervision, the duties of maintaining the listed buildings were distributed irrationally by the municipality because the exceptionally technical knowledge and skills of the hired joiner had not been properly evaluated (Ødegaard, 1974, 38). Ødegaard wanted to prove that one of the reasons for such an inoperative structure was the absence of the town's antiquarian (*byantikvaren*) office, which would have functioned as a regulatory link between the national and regional institutions within the field of heritage conservation and local executive agents (Ødegaard, 1972, 25).

2.7.1 S. Ødegaard's vision of the consolidated and strengthened local heritage management

The lack of local administrative apparatus within the field of heritage conservation was the main thesis in two of Ødegaard's reports written in the 1970s on the management of heritage

conservation in Røros. Ødegaard, who had been a local enthusiast about the history of Røros since his early years, and later educated in visual arts, wrote those reports on behalf of his employer – Røros Museum. Ødegaard drew outlines of the managerial reorganization, traces of which can still be detected today, to connect both the national and regional bureaucratic systems within the field of heritage conservation with the local institutions concerned.

To achieve these goals, Ødegaard chose arguments that were comprehensible both for the field of heritage conservation and for the wider local community. He explained that, due to the extended enlisting of historical buildings, the concentration of protectable objects of heritage had grown so rich in Røros that it became difficult to continue their supervision from afar: “*Apparently, it is difficult for the authorities of heritage conservation to ensure the care of such a huge number of valuable buildings and constructions in Røros mining town and the surrounding area in a satisfactory way from Oslo or Trondheim, especially when the intensified travel contributes to the rising expenses*” (Ødegaard, 1974, 83). Ødegaard also provided some arguments that engaged the town’s community, concerned with the issues of heritage conservation; he claimed that, despite the exceptional annual financial support from the National Board of Antiquities to restoration works at Røros, local public opinion on the aims of the board was still negative: “*There is a missing contact of the National Board of Antiquities (Riksantikvaren) and the Regional Conservation Officer (Fylkeskonservator) with the owners of buildings. This had influenced the damaged public understanding of the antiquarian care for the townscape*” (Ødegaard, 1972, 4). Ødegaard acknowledged that even the local fields of heritage conservation and museum were foreign and unknowable for the majority of the local population. Therefore, the results of any conservation activities were widely negatively assessed: the restored buildings were seen as turned into pure national symbols or used as commercial adverts, beneficial for the interests of the tourism industry; the local museums were neglected as static and remote institutions; and, finally, the very process of restoration was regarded as a mere luxury (Ødegaard, 1974, 90). On the other hand, he emphasized that the positive examples of private initiatives should not be forgotten, especially when historical dwellings were properly restored independently, without any financial or informative support from the National Board of Antiquities. He also stated that, despite the “*good intentions*” of private owners and engaged craftsmen, “*unfortunate interventions*” usually resulted in a lack of supervision and irregular control of work processes, due to only sporadic visits by representatives of the National Board of Antiquities to Røros (ibid., 33–34).

Consequently, differently from the antiquarian position, characteristic of the first half of the 20th century, Ødegaard’s response to and focus on the local community was a novelty in the field of heritage conservation. As opposed to the external state antiquarians, who had mainly professional connections to their objects of interest, Ødegaard had been an integral part of Røros neighbourhood since his childhood, and he was therefore concerned about harmonizing the requirements of the local commoners and the ideals of the officials within the field of heritage conservation, seeking to achieve that by means of closer communication in the form of dialogue: “*if the valid arguments for the protective work are not displayed, one should not expect to be understood. Only if one manages to assert the viewpoints in a comprehensible way and to explain what kind of duties are carried out can one expect to gain support both from the population and the politicians*” (Ødegaard, 1974, 91). According to Ødegaard, the only way to reach this goal in Røros was by establishing the local office of the town’s antiquarian as a binding link between the local population and the National Board of Antiquities (ibid., 35).

The position of the town's antiquarian, however, was established only in 1988; until that time, there were continuously emerging and various forms of heritage conservation management locally. Ødegaard named the local association "The Old Mining Town" (*Den Gamle Bergstad*), which was founded in 1939, with the aim of conducting the inspection of restoration projects, as a link between the national authorities and the local community. The association, however, did not re-emerge after World War II. A similar but new institution was then established, "The Co-ordinating Committee for the Antiquarian and Historical Work at the Old Mining Town" (*Samordningsnemnda for det antikvariske og historiske arbeid i den gamle Bergstad*) (ibid., 35). It was not functioning properly, so in 1972, the post-war institution was substituted by a new organization: The Committee for Antiquarian Preservation of Røros (*Utvalg for antikvarisk vernearbeid på Røros*), which was made up of representatives from state and regional authorities of heritage conservation, Røros municipality, Røros Museum and Historical Society, and Røros Copper Works (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 43). However, as revealed by Ødegaard, there were internal conflicts within this committee as well, meaning it could not function consistently. If the National Board of Antiquities presented actual restoration projects for evaluation at the local committee, the municipality was not eager to inform them about ongoing cases of antiquarian concern for the same working group. Nor did the local private owners of historical buildings refer to the committee to gain consultations regarding the issues of heritage preservation (ibid., 36). In 1975, the committee was dissolved on the initiative of Røros municipality by arguing that: "*such a committee could be regarded only as a delaying component in the executive work*" and that Røros municipality would rather decide independently when the antiquarian authorities should be contacted for consultation (Gjelsvik, 2014, 100).

Ødegaard, however, did not miss the opportunity to use the closer link between the regional authorities and local institutions; thus, on his initiative and through the established communication platform, the Regional Conservation Office was convinced in establishing the Antiquarian Workshop (*Antikvarisk Verksted*) in 1974. One permanent joiner, Kåre Løkken, was employed to run workshops. The Regional Conservation Office, because of the personal engagement of Jonas Gill Haashuus, contributed to creating suitable conditions for the restricted cultural production in Røros because Antiquarian Workshop was assigned to hand-making windows, doors, mouldings and weatherboarding for restoration projects not only in Røros, but also in the whole region (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 41; Brønne, 2006, 11).

Moreover, Ødegaard suggested some changes in the managerial model to strengthen the field of heritage conservation in the local context, by merging the offices of the municipal antiquarian and the head of the museum into one position. He also proposed that the separate fields of heritage conservation and the museum would be consolidated further not only in managerial but in practical work as well, by combining the efforts of joiners and by offering their restricted cultural production not only for local or regional museums and public listed buildings, but also for a large market of privately owned historical buildings, the protection of which was under the responsibility of the National Board of Antiquities. Ødegaard proposed that the financial support from the board would cover the incremental costs in choosing such products of restricted cultural production, comparable to the "*building parts of standard production at an ordinary workshop*" (Ødegaard, 1974, 66).

Ødegaard even proposed a managerial system of how the field of building industry could be incorporated into restoration projects so that the ideals of the field of heritage conservation would not be left behind. He started by describing the unfortunate present situation, when construction workers from the field of building industry were usually hard to find by owners of historic buildings for various tasks, because these builders were not interested in performing small repair work. Ødegaard offered, instead, that various minor commissions from certain owners of historic buildings would be registered by the office of the municipal antiquarian and distributed to various builders within the field of building industry or craftsmen providing restricted cultural production (ibid., 74–76). This way, a construction worker would get a guarantee for constant demand while every single owner of a historic building would get a guarantee for a constant supply of appropriate workmanship. The field of heritage conservation would, in turn, get the best of outcomes – all the changes in the built historical environment would be registered, documented and even influenced in favour of the preferences of the time.

Even though Ødegaard's managerial scheme was never fully and officially implemented, many segments of the projected cultural network were realized individually over time, such as the Building Conservation Centre at Røros Museum, Materialbanken, and the Outbuilding Project. Some of the procedural connections and operations designed by Ødegaard in 1974 were later followed informally; for example, when the local "Committee for Antiquarian Preservation of Røros" was dissolved in 1977, Ødegaard, as a member of Røros Museum and Historical Society, was the informal town's antiquarian until this job position was officially established in 1988 (Brønne, 2006, 12).

2.7.2 From Romantic Nationalism to local social history: from the open-air museum to Malmplassen

While the preservation of a "true image" of Røros was organized and guided from the capital during the period between 1937 and 1965, local enthusiasm and cultural activism at that time was declining. It was especially obvious in the case of the local open-air museum, which was initially built with enormous local support but was left unattended after a while and, therefore, the physical condition of the translocated buildings worsened (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 39). The local cultural enthusiasm was revived in Røros by Ødegaard in the 1970s, and Røros Museum was again the main axis around which the local engagement was spinning.

Ødegaard had another vision of what kind of message Røros Museum should be spreading and whom it should represent, different from the initial local ideals and copied from the national open-air museum movement (see *Open-air museums as alma mater of the state antiquarians*). Ødegaard, who grew up in the very centre of the historical town, near *Malmplassen* (Gynnild, 2005, 19), aimed to prove that it was the heart and essence of Røros that was culturally undervalued and therefore must be revived. The Antiquarian Workshop, which was initiated by Ødegaard and which aimed to accumulate all the practical conservation activities, was supposed to become part of the Røros Museum centre at *Kurantgården*, on the lower part of *Malmplassen*. But to implement the *Malmplassen* Project (*Malmplassprosjektet*), it was necessary to prove that the previously established open-air museum in *Dokortjønna* had lost its relevance as it had been left unfinished for decades (Ødegaard, 1972, 18).

It was the poor physical state of the historical buildings at the open-air museum that was first highlighted. The weathering of buildings was not only the result of cultural neglect; Ødegaard mentioned that some buildings were intentionally destroyed (such as Sami *goahti*) (Ødegaard, 1972, 9). Therefore, financial investment was required not only for the reparation work, but also for fencing off a vast area in the open-air museum. Ødegaard also indicated that a relatively new exhibition building was made fireproof to such an extent that it was unheated and it was simply not possible to use it in the cold season (*ibid.*, 7); moreover, it was too tiny for further development of the museum (Ødegaard, 1974, 109). The exhibition building was the only one open to the public at least in the summer while other historical buildings were permanently closed because of a shortage of personnel at the museum (Ødegaard, 1972, 10–11). Ødegaard stated that in addition to the decline of the physical state of the museum buildings, the human resources were getting scarce: “*it is a known fact that Røros Museum is in a critical situation these days. The ideological and anxious forces, who stood behind the museum before, have passed away. Those who were still guarding the museum got tired due to many intertwined circumstances. The museum ended up in a crisis of confidence. And that is no wonder as all the work, which had to be done, was done on a private initiative in spare time by the chairman and board members of the society. The interest in the museum among the local population is minimal – not to say that there flourishes reluctance and scepticism about this institution*” (*ibid.*, 11).

Despite the fact that a physical fence was missing, Ødegaard described the open-air museum as a cultural reserve, existing outside the local society, and he claimed that, once these buildings were translocated to the open-air museum, their existence was terminated: “*it is only possible to translocate the walls of a building, but one can never transfer an urban environment or a cultural landscape which that house was a part of. By translocation most of what is genuine is lost, much of that pedagogical value*” (Ødegaard, 1988, 21). Ødegaard saw the mission of the museum first of all in educating the local population as the shortest route to proper heritage conservation. He claimed that only the knowledge of local people about their local environment can make them feel responsible and appreciate these cultural relics as their own (*ibid.*, 25).

Apparently, the dissatisfaction with the open-air museum prevailed not solely among the local population; Ødegaard emphasized that “*People are not travelling to Røros to find the idyll of an open-air museum. Røros in Falkberget’s stories, with its Copper Works and the old mining town – that is what is interesting*” (Ødegaard, 1972, 12). Thus, even though Falkberget was personally involved in the creation of the open-air museum in Røros (see *The open-air museum as a manifestation of the local significance*), half a century later, the national romantic ideals, embodied in the transferred farm buildings from the outskirts of Røros, were substituted by the aspirations to celebrate the legacy of the local working class, involved in the mining industry. Ødegaard’s plans corresponded to the turn towards the socialist history of industries, prevailing in Scandinavia at that time, summarized in the slogan “Dig where you stand”, coined by the Swedish writer Sven Lindqvist in his book on the cement industry (Gynnild, 1993, 121).

Ødegaard used the objective numbers of visitors at the open-air museum to validate his proposals, stating that more visitors were drawn to a small collection of copper works, which had been administered and exhibited personally by Ødegaard since 1965 (Aas, 2002, 4). Consequently, he offered to translocate the buildings of the open-air museum from the remote *Dokortjønna* area

and to assemble all the separate museum activities of Røros in one place, by focusing first and foremost on demonstrating the miners' daily life through the expositions as well as the historical built environment (Ødegaard, 1972, 12, 14).

Ødegaard claimed that traditionally the most important activities of the town were taking place at the smeltery in *Malmplassen*, and therefore all cultural activities should be transferred nearby, to *Kurantgården*. The buildings of interest belonged to the Røros Copper Works at that time, but when the company went bankrupt in 1977, after 333 years in business, Ødegaard cooperated with Knut R. Strøm, the director of Røros Tourist Hotel, who used his vast network of contacts to ensure financial support which resulted in the purchase of the company's real estate by the Ministry of Environment and the assignment of its management to Røros Museum (Aas, 2002, 5). *Kurantgården* was treated by Ødegaard as a complex of anonymous buildings, merging with the surrounding burnt black wooden log walls in the area, but at the same time dominating the townscape of Røros (Ødegaard, 1974, 110). Despite the relatively late dating of these buildings, their ensemble was considered important for the mining town not due to aesthetic reasons, but due to their socio-historical and environmental significance (Ødegaard, 1972, 28). These were the buildings where the Røros Copper Works had its workshops and administrative offices, and therefore those buildings were viewed as the most important part of the narrative on the history of the company and the mining town. After the original functions ended, efforts were made to establish the centre of Røros Museum here so that these buildings would become part of the historical story-telling.

At the same time, Ødegaard aimed not merely at local history; he also wanted to organize Røros Museum in such a way that it would become part of the living environment in Røros. Therefore, the above-mentioned Antiquarian Workshops was also supposed to become an integral component of the museum, not solely administratively, but also physically – plans were made to open Antiquarian Workshop at the former mechanical workshops in *Kurantgården*. As a constant supplier of restricted cultural production – copies of historical windows, doors and other building elements for Røros and beyond – it was supposed to become a lively and enriching unit in the museum and in the whole historical city centre of Røros. Antiquarian Workshop was also seen as a lively link between the two separates spheres – the museum and heritage conservation (Ødegaard, 1974, 122).



Figure 49. The workshops of smiths, joiners, fire bellow makers and wheelwrights, belonging to the Røros Copper Works at Kurantgården (Lithography, Twining, 1836, 274-275).



Figure 50. The entrance to *Kurantgården* where the Røros Copper Works still had its office and workshops. Photo taken before the new mechanical workshops were built in 1940. (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, 1940, ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.255837)

As noted by the museologist Gynnild, Ødegaard's ideals of the museum were very much reminiscent of the ecomuseum, a concept developed by French museologists Georges Henri Rivière and Hugues de Varine in 1971, who placed local society in the centre of all the cultural activities (Gynnild, 2005, 19). For Ødegaard as well, the local community was supposed to be the purpose, the meaning and the means of the museum (Ødegaard, 1988, 24). The ecomuseum's goal was not an exhibition of a frozen moment in history for tourists; rather, it was conceived as a museum of continuous social development where the local society was part of that change (Gynnild, 1993, 140). There was not such a clear distinction of a certain idealized historical period but, instead, the aim was to connect the past, the present and the future more for the sake of the whole Røros region (the old circumference) than for a preferred purified urban environment or an enclosed open-air museum (Ødegaard, 1988, 21).

The museologist John Aage Gjestrum endorsed Ødegaard's attempts towards the establishment of an ecomuseum in Røros and emphasized that it was a huge paradigm shift within the centenary process of museumization (*musealising*) of the mining town. He observed that Ødegaard's focus on the historical processes of copper production and the technical constructions, used for these operations, were far beyond the programmes of aestheticization, prevailing within the field of heritage conservation. Thus, it was no longer a farmer, as the cultural carrier of national traditions, and his legacy, materialized in the open-air museum, which was of highest importance; in the case of Røros, it was a miner and his heritage that was finally celebrated in the 1970s and 1980s (Gjestrum, 2001, 78).

Gjestrum praised the arrangement of Miner's Days in 1976, based on the writings of Falkberget, when his heroes – the common miners – resurrected and "*inhabited the town*" (ibid., 77; Gjestrum, 1988, 161). However, it should be noted that the celebration of Miner's Days was a creation of the former generations of local cultural enthusiasts who saw the local open-air museum as the most appropriate scenery for the celebration. Thus, the open-air museum was not evaluated either by Gjestrum or by Ødegaard as a reasonable measure of local cultural expression, which at least aimed at retaining the buildings of Røros in Røros during the time when these buildings were on demand both at regional and national open-air museums.

The new exhibition building at the open-air museum, which was built in 1956 (see *The open-air museum as a manifestation of the local significance*), by accumulating local financial funds, was not appreciated as a proper expression of the community's cultural engagement either; therefore, Ødegaard proposed building a new fireproof building at *Kurantgården* instead of the garage, which was considered worthless and was designated for demolition (see Ødegaard's drawing above (building A)). The replaced building was planned as a concrete construction, but was recommended to be covered with wooden boarding in respect to the surrounding environment. There was even particular advice provided, suggesting copying horizontal timber cladding, used on some buildings at *Kurantgården* or outbuildings at *Proviangården* or *Bergskrivergården*. The roof was supposed to be covered with natural stone slates like other original roofs at *Kurantgården*; at the same time, however, Ødegaard did not rule out the use of asbestos cement, Eternit. The building was supposed to be stained a brownish or black colour (Ødegaard, 1974, 113–114).

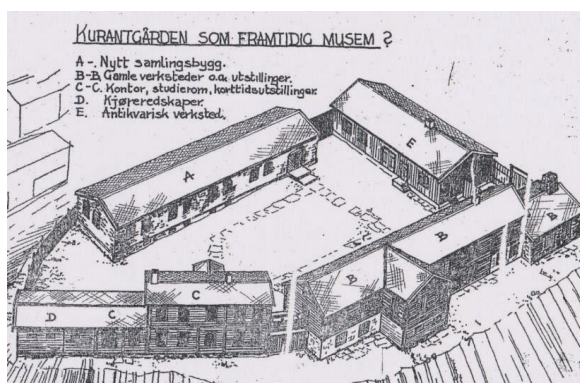


Figure 51. S. Ødegaard proposed to reuse the buildings at *Kurantgården* according to their original function (Antiquarian Workshops to be located at the former building of the mechanical workshops (E); the administration of Røros museum was at the former office building of Røros Copper Works (C)). A new repository building was proposed to be built instead of the old garage (A) at *Kurantgården*. (Ødegaard, S., 1972, p. 33)

Ødegaard's plans to build a new repository at *Kurantgården* had to be adjusted due to an unfortunate incident when the nearby smeltery was fully devastated by a fire in 1975. The smeltery of 1889 was a “modern operational building both in construction and form. Besides being the operational centre for the whole mining industry, the smeltery also represented the high-tech activities in one of the oldest industrial communities of the country” (Eggen, 1985, 2). Despite the industrial and modern image of the smeltery, it was rebuilt in 1986–1988 as a copy, at least as far as the external appearance was concerned (Nyhus, 2003, 29). This kind of reconstruction was quite a novelty in Røros as all the reconstructed buildings before were obliged to bear the “pre-1850s appearance”, be it achieved with modern building materials and methods or not. Simultaneously, however, it was a continuation of the architectural habit, formed within the field of heritage conservation by copying historical buildings if one takes into consideration the fact that the proposal of the architect Sverre Fehn (Norberg-Schulz, 1997, 170–176), which was submitted for the architectural competition for forming a new centre at Røros Museum, organized by the municipality, did not win at that time.



Figure 52. The view on Malmplassen, with the smeltery of 1889 dominating. Picture taken from the tower of the church. (Photo taken by Ole E. Aalen, 1907, ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.000217)

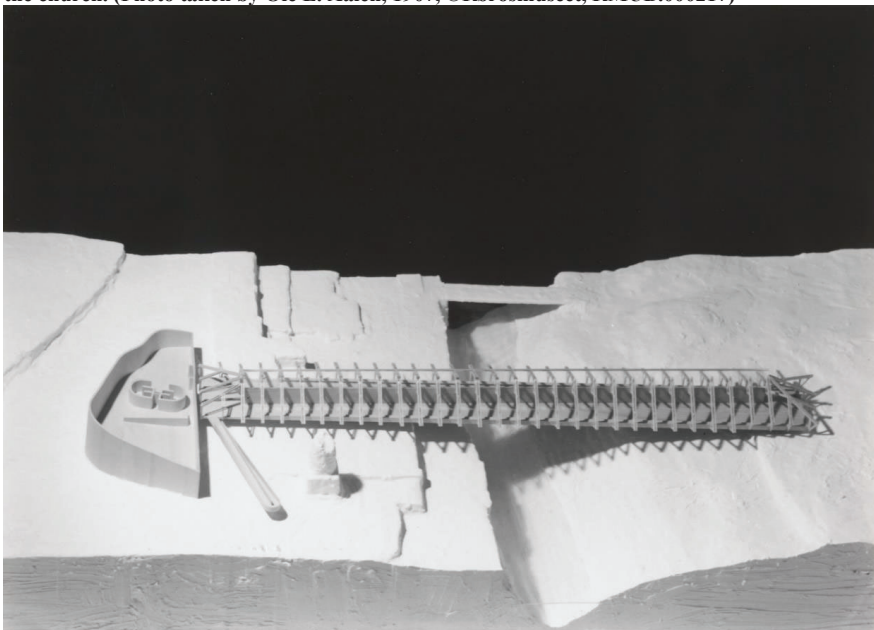


Figure 53. The unrealized project of the new centre of Røros museum, proposed by Sverre Fehn (Photographer unknown, 1979, Nasjonalmuseet, NMK.2008.0734.361.004)



Figure 54. The new centre of Røros museum, built in 1988 and designed by S. Heinonen, in the present townscape of Røros (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011)

The new museum centre was built on the very same foundations while it was stated that only the form of the former smeltery was copied (Heinonen, 1987a, 15). The building was intended for a new function – as an exhibition hall, office for administration, and library as well as the repository. Those original industrial installations that survived the conflagration were included as parts of the exhibition. The design of the new building was prepared by the architect Seppo Heinonen, who was an active colleague of Ødegaard at Røros at that time and whose input in the development of the museum, and especially in the urban conservation of Røros, has not been properly evaluated yet. Even though, as noted by Bye, Ødegaard was more interested in implementing the *Malmplassen* Project and building up a new united museum, all the daily routines in the management of urban conservation in Røros, such as the inspection of certain cases of rehabilitation executed by private owners, were performed by Heinonen (Bye, 2010, 425–426).

2.7.3 Seppo Heinonen’s unnoticed revolution towards recognition of the Swiss chalet style

It is important to note that Heinonen did not only contribute to the actual heritage conservation projects as an architect, consultant and inspector, but he was also well aware of the development of theory within the field of heritage conservation and took a rather conscious stance within it. Heinonen reflected on the origins of the Norwegian field of heritage conservation by pointing out that Dahl was a follower of Ruskin’s school of conservation, which, among other things, asserted that “*the respect for historical crafts should be highly evaluated by emphasizing the fact that the original traces and craftsmanship could never be imitated*” (Heinonen, 1987a, 8). Heinonen also pointed out that if Nicolaysen, the subsequent leader of the Norwegian Society for Preservation of

Norwegian Ancient Monuments, also shared the same views of Dahl, they were, however, not implemented, and this discrepancy was especially visible in the case of the restoration of Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim. Moreover, Heinonen reminded people about the fact that William Morris, the follower of Ruskin, had expressed his personal concern about the restoration works of Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim in 1859. Heinonen was well aware of the anti-restoration critique, addressed towards Viollet-le-Duc, but pointed to the recent publication by Luce Hinsch in 1974, proving that the famous restoration architect of the 19th century had performed thorough archive studies, physical analysis of buildings, architectural and even statistical research. Lastly, this extensive knowledge formed the base for his restoration practices (ibid., 9). Thus, Heinonen justified reconstructions and restorations as well as the use of traditional building techniques as far as the intended appearance was founded on the historical data and detailed physical analysis (ibid., 16).

The concern for scientific analysis of the historical urban environment as a base for restorations was inspired by the Nordic movement for protection of wooden urban districts, mainly the worn-down working-class areas, against the torrent of post-war redevelopments. The organized Nordic network *Den Nordiska Trästad* was created in 1972, which was supported by the Norwegian state antiquarian Roar Hauglid, who was more interested in cooperation with Scandinavian countries than continental Europe, which was also apparent in his resistance to ratify the World Heritage Convention of 1972 (Gjelsvik, 2014, 87). The wooden urban heritage was then seen as an exceptionally Nordic phenomenon, assuming that most of the towns in Europe were largely built from brick and stone – as an outcome of devastating fires and subsequent municipal restrictions on wooden structures (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 40). It was emphasized that the common phenomenon for the whole of Norway at that time was the municipal redevelopment plans, which meant the biggest threat to historical wooden structures. The plans were then opposed by the national field of heritage conservation, but most importantly by a vast local population. The public actions to protect the neglected urban working-class neighbourhood of Bakklandet in Trondheim was one of those examples of civic uprising, encouraged not only by the inhabitants of the area, but also by students and academia in general. The platform created by *Den Nordiska Trästad* was a way of drawing the attention of a wider international audience (Larsen, 1974, 129).

The report on *Den Nordiska Trästad* concluded that Røros was one of the best-preserved historical towns, compared to other urban wooden heritage in the Nordic countries, maintained due to constant financing by the state authorities of heritage conservation. Røros was not chosen as one of the main pilot projects, but, despite that fact, the call for this international network of “systematic antiquarian care” (*Trästäder i Norden*, 1973) resonated in Røros. Thus, Heinonen took photographs of all the buildings within the town centre, and these were later used as the basis for his architectural drawings of all the streetscapes of the 1970s (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 42). *Kjerkgata* gained special attention as the façades were thoroughly measured, and the colourful architectural drawings were presented to the public as well as the private owners concerned. The inspiration for such a project was copied from Helsingør in Denmark (Heinonen, 1987a, 14).



Figure 55. Students from The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, School of Architecture, measure the façades of buildings in Røros. (Photo taken by Klaus Forbregd, 1964, Gunnerus - Spesialsamlinger ved NTNU Universitetsbiblioteket, FB-64-020-C1-04).

Another novelty, introduced by Heinonen in the field of heritage conservation, was the shift towards acceptance of “*the bewilderment of styles*”, meaning that he was among the first to claim that buildings in the Swiss chalet style should not be undervalued. Heinonen drew a reader’s attention to the case of the “House of Singers” (*Sangerhuset*), which was built in 1907 in the Swiss chalet style and was sold for demolition in 1978 by the instruction of the National Board of Antiquities as well as local authorities. Through the engagement and protests of Røros Museum and Historical Society, the building was safeguarded and finally enlisted as a heritage object in 1983 (Heinonen, 1987a, 14; Heinonen, 1987b, 52).

Heinonen’s attention to the legacy of the Swiss chalet style could be observed already in 1978 when the “House of Singers” was doomed by the authorities within the field of heritage conservation. In 1978, Heinonen published an article in the local museum’s journal *Fjell-folk* where two examples of actual restoration projects were compared. An appropriate restoration project of *Volqvartzgården* in *Kjerkgata* was introduced, which was based on historical documents, and compared to another restoration project of *Skottgården* at *Nedre Flanderborg*, which rather reminded of aesthetic antiquing, based on the impressions of what a traditional building in Røros should look like (Heinonen, 1978, 34–37).

In both cases, however, building elements, such as doors, mouldings and capping boards, were made at the Antiquarian Workshops and installed by Borgos, the above-mentioned restoration carpenter, employed at the municipality of Røros. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the

windows in the first case of the “appropriate restoration” were changed as the façade was “so damaged that there was a need for replacing windows, doors, cladding and casings” (ibid., 35). The damage of the façade was not caused by physical weathering, but by large shop windows installed in the style of functionalism, and these were assessed as devastating the appearance of the building. In order to restore the original appearance of the Swiss chalet style building, new windows were installed, which were made at *Røros Trevarefabrikk* to look like the original crossbar windows with four frames. These Swiss chalet style windows, however, were industrially “upgraded”: “The windows are produced as coupled two-framed windows which reduced the costs and eased the functioning of windows, without the appearance of the façade being changed” (ibid., 37). Thus, the conclusion could be made that even if historical building techniques and materials were not used entirely in the case of the restoration of *Volqvartzgården*, it was still considered more appropriate in comparison to the aesthetic antiquing of *Skottgården*, because the image of the restored *Volqvartzgården* corresponded to the historical documentation. Above all, the very aim of restoring a Swiss chalet style façade was innovative, even though the building elements were mass produced, only as visual imitations, despite the fact that changes in the functionalistic style were still considered a “bewilderment of styles” by the established authorities, as well as by the reformist new generation of local enthusiasts within the field of heritage conservation.

Analysis of Ødegaard’s reports shows that not all members of the new generation of antiquarians were as revolutionary as Heinonen was. In accordance with the predecessors in the national field of heritage conservation, the Swiss chalet style was still considered foreign by Ødegaard, who aimed to ground the reasons for such an evaluation in objective explanations, based on the documented changes in building techniques.

Ødegaard innovatively described how changes in the smallest detailing of building techniques had influenced rather radical changes to the whole townscape of Røros. He emphasized that the biggest revolution, introduced with the Swiss chalet style, was the increased height of buildings. It all started with foundations, which now were made much higher. When historical turf roofs were replaced by stone slate roofs, the roof angle was also altered – roofs became higher and steeper. The third element that influenced the increased height of Swiss chalet buildings was the emergence of the second floor in its full height (Ødegaard, 1974, 20–24). All in all, the changed building techniques resulted in the height of buildings increasing by 25–50%, which, in turn, dramatically influenced the whole townscape.

Even though Ødegaard acknowledged that the building traditions had been constantly changing in Røros since the 17th until the second half of the 19th century, they all were assessed as gradually increasing the volumes of buildings, except for the Swiss chalet style, which was not introduced smoothly – instead, it came with a force, with new sources of power and with extensive industrialism and mass production. Røros community was not willing to miss the all-inclusive technological progress, and therefore, on the initiative of local businesses and public organizations, including the local welfare organization *Bergstadens Vel*, the streetscapes changed dramatically – pavements were laid, street gutters made, and electrical, telegraph and telephone lines were installed (ibid., 24). All these signs of technological development, alongside the associated Swiss chalet style, were welcomed as reasonable by the local community at that time but they were disregarded by the antiquarians and considered devastating to the “true image” of Røros. Therefore, efforts were made by the National Board of Antiquities to create a uniform look of

Røros by replacing pillars and communication lines with underground cables, by installing free-hanging street lighting, and by removing picket fences and concrete elements of pavements, which were to be replaced with high board fences and flagstones (Heinonen, 1987a, 13).

Despite the commonly prevailing preferences for the constantly changing and trendy architectural styles among the residents of Røros, single voices of opposition were also coming from the inhabitants, and those had been publicly expressed already back in 1937. An open discussion in a local newspaper was launched, which aimed to clear up the debate about whether functionalism or Swiss style were appropriate to Røros. A contentious opinion was expressed that functionalistic buildings, reminiscent of “*a margarine box*” (by referring to its form and industrial origin), were not suitable for Røros as, being mere signs of architectural trends, they will not be durable in the same way as the Swiss chalet style, which was evaluated as nothing more than a short-lived mode of showing off and demonstrating “*who was the main man in the village*” (“Passer funksistilen inn i Røros-miljø? ‘Margarinkasse-stilen’ og Schweitzer-stilen”, 1937, 1).

Even though the article was anonymous, it seems clear that the author was either an enthusiast in urban conservation or a local inhabitant who had not moved to Røros but was born there, because only the natives would share the same ideals as his (Ronning, 1937). The anonymous author maintained that “*modernization damages our old goodies – both traditional and habitual. Also, when it concerns types of houses and building methods [...] In Røros area we have types of buildings which are only a little bit different from the ‘trøndisk’ type, and these buildings have created a distinctive character of Røros, the old and cosy mining town, admired by all visitors and desired by the brush and palette of the artist. However, modernization of buildings initiated the damaging of this object of attraction*” (“Passer funksistilen inn i Røros-miljø? ‘Margarinkasse-stilen’ og Schweitzer-stilen”, 1937, 1).

2.7.4 S. Ødegaard’s fight to include outbuildings and summer pastures in the scope of urban heritage

Despite sporadic calls by local inhabitants to revive the “*‘trøndisk style’, cleared from any knick-knacks, but enriched with small-paned windows*” (ibid., 1), Ødegaard maintained that it was only due to the economic crisis in Røros, which hit copper production between the two World Wars, that the characteristic Røros townscape was saved from further damage. According to him, if the Swiss chalet style radically changed the townscape of Røros from 1880 until 1910, the reactionary functionalism that was yet to come failed to take root in Røros due to local economic stagnation. In other words, as noted by another interviewed local inhabitant, “*It is not because the dwellers of Røros had been so good in the preservation of the town. One simply could not afford to upgrade and develop the society*” (Skjevdal, 2014, 62).

Another positive outcome of the economic downturn in Røros, which served for the sake of urban conservation, as observed by Ødegaard, was the sustained use of outbuildings, which helped retain the “true” visual townscape, witnessed by the heritagization campaign. Ødegaard emphasized that the outbuildings of Røros were an important part of the daily life of a common miner and, therefore, should be considered as his heritage, revealing his working relation to the Røros Copper Works, because it was of vital importance for the company to sustain the subsistence urban farming

so that the company could maintain minimum wages (Ødegaard, 1982, 4). During the economic recession and World War II, many outbuildings, such as barns and cowsheds, were preserved in Røros as they were reused by locals for the same, original function (Ødegaard, 1974, 8). Thus, the outbuildings were safeguarded not as part of the picturesque “true image” of Røros, but as an integral component of common daily living, as one of the basic necessities. Ironically enough, the economic downturn and subsistence urban farming brought great cultural benefits, the fruits of which were also harvested by the field of heritage conservation.

However, the national field of heritage conservation did not recognize outbuildings as objects of heritage in the 1970s, and therefore Ødegaard’s attention to these structures was rather revolutionary. Already in 1974, Ødegaard maintained that “*among the unlisted buildings, the biggest part of protectable objects in Røros are outbuildings*” (ibid., 50). Ødegaard was fascinated by the fact that many of the buildings sustained most of their original details, which could be valuable sources of information in studying the building history of Røros. At the same, it should be noted that outbuildings retained most of their original fabric despite the absence of authoritative heritagization. However, as noticed by Ødegaard, the need for practical use of outbuildings was declining after World War II, and therefore their physical condition worsened. Already in 1974, Ødegaard urged the National Board of Antiquities to prepare financial instruments to cover the expenses of repairing the outbuildings in Røros. A decade later, in 1985, financial support was obtained due to the efforts of local enthusiasts when the actual position of the municipal antiquarian was not yet officially established.

The repair works of outbuildings in Røros were intended to be implemented using different working methods compared with the restoration of façades of dwellings, carried out under the supervision of the National Board of Antiquities. In the first place, it was highlighted that renovations should be performed according to “the principles of maintenance”, which involved: “*as few replacements as possible for the original fabric, reuse of those building elements which could still be repaired, old roofing methods and external treatment. [...] Special attention was given to the importance of handwork and the relationship between the planners and the performers. The experiences gained from this will be developed further by planning educational possibilities for craftsmen within restoration and maintenance in Røros*” (Heinonen, 1987a, 18). This kind of innovative attitude, expressed and developed by Heinonen together with Ødegaard in the 1970s and 1980s, shows that the roots of the Outbuilding Project in Røros were to be found locally. Thus, local cultural enthusiasts, not the institutions or professionals within the national and international field of heritage conservation, were the first to draw public attention to the worsening condition of unused outbuildings and, also, to form the principles of maintenance, which are still applicable in the case of the ongoing Outbuilding Project.

Already in 1974, Ødegaard expressed his worries that outbuildings should be safeguarded irrespective of their use value since they formed the core of the historical wholeness of the urban environment. Ødegaard warned that Røros without its outbuildings would merely become an empty shell of decorative façades (Ødegaard, 1974, 47). The worries of Røros, as becoming a superficial collection of façades, was based on the heritagization of certain streetscapes in 1940, which later on was critically entitled as “*the enlisting of theatrical sceneries of façades*” (*kulissefredningen*) by Brønne (Brønne, 2006, 13; Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 35). Ødegaard recognized that collectively organized repairs of the whole urban entity, not of singular objects as before,

would help to rationalize the very process of repair work, from the initial planning to the very practical implementation by craftsmen, but he urged that such campaigns, despite their useful impact on the popularization of heritage conservation, were only temporary, and long-term actions needed to be taken instead (Ødegaard, 1974, 89).

The European Architectural Year of 1975 resulted in some long-lasting results. On the international level, The Declaration of Amsterdam was affirmed at the end of 1975, crowning The European Architectural Year, which solidified the concept of integrated conservation. The declaration not only advocated conservation of architectural heritage as an integral part of urban planning, but the very concept of integrated conservation was also perceived as encompassing the use of traditional building materials and techniques. Furthermore, it was even stated that: *“Specialized techniques which have been developed for the restoration of important historic complexes should be henceforth applied to the wide range of buildings and complexes of less outstanding artistic merit”* (The Declaration of Amsterdam, 1975). Consequently, the use of traditional techniques and materials was supported in the conservation of not only exceptional buildings, but also of those of less artistic value and which were considered parts of larger territorial heritage objects. The coeval European Charter of the Architectural Heritage also emphasized that there was a need *“for developing training facilities and increasing prospects of employment for the relevant managerial, technical and manual skills. The building industry should be urged to adapt itself to these needs. Traditional crafts should be fostered rather than allowed to die out”* (the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage, 1975). As described above, Ødegaard’s efforts to establish an environment for the development of traditional workmanship in Røros were clear in 1974; the whole system of heritage conservation, however, was yet to become fully integrated into urban planning.

In relation to The European Architectural Year campaign, the master plan of Røros was finally approved by the Ministry of Environment in 1976, ten years after the Plan and Building Act (*Plan- og Bygningsloven*) was implemented in 1965, which substituted the Building Act (*Bygningsloven*) of 1924. The new Plan and Building Act demanded the preparation of general municipal plans and enabled the juridical protection of certain urban areas as valuable entities of heritage. Thus, the Act provided the possibility of integrating heritage objects into the process of urban planning (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 64). The Building Act introduced another level of heritage conservation and another type of heritage object. A historical building now could be regarded worthy of preservation (*bevaringsverdi*), as an integral part of a special area, differently from the listed buildings, namely individually protected by the Cultural Heritage Act.

The preservation of these buildings was confined to the external compliance of each as part of bigger urban areas. The external façades of such buildings, protected by the Plan and Building Act, as integral parts of wider urban areas, were considered the most important and protectable features. Ødegaard welcomed such an approach and acknowledged the adjustments that would satisfy the modern technical needs without transformation of the exterior of historical buildings. However, at the same time, Ødegaard justified replacements of such buildings, worthy of preservation, by new reconstructions as long as the materials, colours, measurements and forms were considered to be locally traditional. Interestingly, Ødegaard’s attitude corresponded to the later-declared principles in the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage that *“integrated conservation does not rule out the introduction of modern architecture into areas containing old buildings provided that the*

existing context, proportions, forms, sizes and scale are fully respected and traditional materials are used” (the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage, 1975). The question, however, remained of what was considered to be “traditional” and, as has already been revealed, what qualifications for such an ascription were not static.

As perceived by Ødegaard, mainly buildings that were built or reconstructed in the 20th century fell into the category of heritage, protected by the Building Act, as opposed to the earlier-listed buildings, protected by the former Cultural Heritage Act (Ødegaard, 1974, 48–49). The dating of the new category of heritage objects presupposed that they were mainly built or rebuilt in the Swiss chalet or any later style, and therefore the reconstruction to the “traditional” appearance was still considered valid by Ødegaard. The guidelines set by Ødegaard for the use of traditional or modern building techniques also revealed that all signs of the Swiss style were neglected. For example, Ødegaard regretted that the roofs of natural stone slates started to dominate the townscape, because they were categorized as being untraditional. He offered, instead, to use asbestos cement (Eternit) to repair natural stone slate roofs (ibid., 53).



Figure 56. The glittering surfaces of natural stone slate roofs, dominating in Røros, were not considered as being traditional by S. Ødegaard in 1974. (Photo taken by Klaus Forbregd, 1958, Gunnerus - Spesialsamlinger ved NTNU Universitetsbiblioteket, FB-58-129-B1-14_01)

Ødegaard expressed his regret that the master plan of Røros was left unrealized before World War II, according to the proposal of Eliassen for setting a “buffer zone” – the unbuilt area around the centre of the town (Ødegaard, 1974, 43). Ødegaard regretted the fact that the belated master plan failed to safeguard the traditional urban image, which was ruined by the chaotic diffusion of buildings in the Swiss chalet and functionalistic styles; he also regretted that the general plan of

Røros, which was created in 1976, did not rule out the physical development of the outskirts of Røros, which historically were used for summer pasture farming (*Småsetran*) and, therefore, were an integral part of the historical way of life for miners.

The further regulation plan for the historical town centre was to be prepared by Røros municipality, which had to observe the requirements of the national authorities of heritage conservation and environment protection to allow only new constructions that in their form would harmonize with the traditional building methods in Røros. These regulations were applied to the historical centre of the town, which was entitled as “*the special antiquarian area of cultural history*” (*antikvarisk kulturhistorisk spesialområde*). The regulation plan was prepared by architect Nic Stabell in 1976 and was confirmed by the Ministry of Environment Protection in 1982. The coeval regulation plan for *Småsetran* area, however, conformed to the municipal intentions of developing new residential neighbourhoods around the historical city centre, but it was rejected by the Ministry in 1981. The rejection led to a new regulation plan of 1989, which was the first governmental regulation plan in Norway. It legitimized the governmental plans of using *Småsetran* area as a buffer zone, with the aim of further expansion of the World Heritage Site of Røros in the future (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 68). Thus, the governmental intentions did not correspond to the municipal aims to develop *Småsetran* as new residential neighbourhoods. Already in 1976, a huge local protest movement was organized by Ødegaard, entitled The Action Committee for Protection of *Småsetran* (*Småseteraksjonen*). After fierce local struggles between the Action Committee and the ruling Labour Party at the municipal level, the national authorities of heritage conservation were persuaded to intervene and they, in turn, made efforts to inscribe Røros on UNESCO’s World Heritage List.

Through Ødegaard’s initiated project of *Malmplassen* and during the former European Architectural Year, Røros was used as a platform for building closer collaboration between the local and national agents within the field of heritage conservation. Consequently, Tschudi-Madsen, who subsequently took the position of state antiquarian in 1978, in collaboration with his colleague Ola Hektoen Øverås, succeeded in convincing UNESCO in 1980 that Røros possessed international, i.e. universal, values of cultural heritage, and this inscription was used as the main argument by the National Board of Antiquities in consequent persuasion of the Ministry of Environment Protection to preserve *Småsetran* in Røros in 1981. Thus, even though the territory, inscribed on UNESCO’s World Heritage List, was not clearly geographically defined, it was assumed that *Småsetran* was not incorporated into it. The new responsibility for safeguarding the Røros and its heritage of prestigious universal value was used as an argument in convincing not only broader state authorities but also the local community to safeguard *Småsetran*. Moreover, it could be claimed that the radical development plans for the outskirts of Røros were what created the aspirations to acquire the status of World Heritage, and it was through the public discussions on the fate of *Småsetran* that the local community was finally informed about the inscription in 1981, almost half a year after it had happened (Gjelsvik, 2014, 101–105). The UNESCO inscription was kept secret for some time by the state authorities of heritage conservation because the external actors, i.e. national field heritage conservation, had not yet gained much support from the local municipality or the majority of the local people (Brønne, 2006, 31).

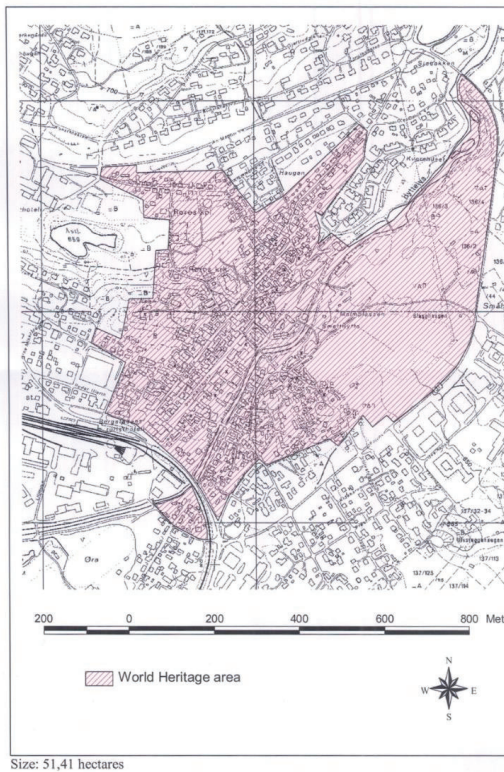


Figure 57. The territory of World Heritage area was specified in 1995. (UNESCO Online Archive, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/101444>)

2.7.5 The strengthening of local managerial positions as a consequence of decentralization of the national field of heritage conservation in Norway

In 1980, an agreement was reached between the state institutions on one side and the Røros Museum and Historical Society and the Friends of Olav Mines (*Olavsgruvas venner*) on the other side that these local associations would take responsibility for the maintenance of the estates, bought by the state after the closure of the Røros Copper Works. In 1990, these two local associations were merged into one Røros Museum Foundation (*Stiftelsen Rørosmuseet*), but close collaboration with the National Board of Antiquities was sustained not only for the safeguarding of the former buildings of the Copper Works, but in most other cases of urban heritage conservation as well. In principle, it was the model that was proposed by Ødegaard in 1974 and which had been implemented in practice.

Meanwhile, the interference of the National Board of Antiquities and the bounded local societies with the local municipality was avoided what created a “*crisis of confidence*” as expressed by the mayor, Erling Sven Busch. This crisis was the result of the hidden nomination of Røros as a World Heritage Site which stopped the municipality’s redevelopment plans of *Småsetran* in 1981, the contradictions of the National Board of

Antiquities to build a back road, which would separate the historical *Aasengården* from the centre of the town and would require demolition of one outbuilding near *Røros Uldvarefabrikk* in 1985. Lastly, more than 40 other unconsidered building applications were still waiting for their turn at the National Board of Antiquities at that time (Gjelsvik, 2014b, 118; Gjelsvik, 2016, 26).

Simultaneously, ongoing reorganization of the managerial system of heritage conservation was carried out in Norway, which aimed at decentralization by granting the responsibility of urban heritage conservation to local municipalities, so that the National Board of Antiquities could concentrate on listed buildings. Soon after, in 1990, responsibility for the listed buildings was also distributed to the regional level and delegated to the county administrations. The reorganization was coordinated by the Ministry of Environmental Protection and aimed to integrate the field of heritage conservation within the field of environmental protection. Røros was chosen as a pilot project in 1988, when the role for a municipal antiquarian was established for a period of three years as part of the municipal department for environmental protection (*ibid.*, 117–119).

In 1989, the first municipal antiquarian was employed at Røros and the position was granted to the architect Ulrich Malisius, coming from Germany, a long-term urban conservator of Stone Town in Zanzibar. As noted by Gjelsvik, the foreign origin of Malisius served to improve communication with the owners of historical buildings as the projects were closely followed by him; he used direct dialogue, aimed at mutual respect, and considered this the most important working method. The biggest problem, according to Malisius, which he inherited from previous conflicts in Røros, was that local inhabitants could not separate a case from a person (Interview with Malisius, Gjelsvik, 2014, 121), meaning that arguments were directed against the man (*argumentum ad hominem*) rather than the point (*argumentum ad rem*).

Another innovation brought by Malisius to Røros was his efforts in building up the social environment of local craftsmen. He reacted against the then-prevailing practice of shifting original building details instead of repairing them and, therefore, advocated starting systematic work in changing woodworkers' convictions to preserve as much of the original material as possible. He suggested organizing the permanent carpenters' meetings to share experiences and to discuss operating problems. Malisius' goal was to raise woodworkers' awareness and self-reflectiveness about their own work. Røros Museum's Antiquarian Workshop was proposed as a platform for such forums of craftsmen where they could meet and discuss projects and experiences with colleagues. The idea was gradually implemented and proved to be necessary and a long-lasting one. The practice of monthly carpenters' gatherings has survived until today, contributing to developing the Building Preservation Centre (*Bygningsvernsenteret*) at Røros Museum with the Antiquarian Workshop incorporated as part of the centre (*ibid.*, 121–122).

At the end of the three-year trial period, the title of municipal antiquarian was changed to manager of cultural heritage (*kulturminneforvalter*), a position that, in practice, meant that the scope of responsibility was widened, by involving not only the care of the historical centre of Røros, but also the technical heritage and cultural landscapes (Andersen and

Brønne, 2006, 48). The architect Eir Grytli became the first manager of cultural heritage in Røros in 1993 and continued the positive performance of the former municipal antiquarian, Malisius, in carrying further mutual communications with owners, who, according to Grytli, in practice were the most important managers of their own cultural heritage (Interview with E. Grytli, Gjelsvik, 2014, 123).

Consequently, Grytli established a subsidy scheme, in agreement with *Husbanken*, to cover the additional costs if antiquarian solutions were chosen instead of modern ones. This financial assistance was also intended to subsidize the design projects of architects in cases of reconstructions, meaning that fine cultural expertise, not just skilful artisan practices, were funded. Furthermore, the most sustained contribution, implemented during a short one-year term of employment in Røros, was the surveying of the physical condition of nearly 400 outbuildings in Røros by Vegard Røhme, carried out to calculate the approximate costs so that the most urgent works could be performed. The focus of the analysis was then fixed on outbuildings built before 1940 (ibid., 124; Borgos and Storsletten, 2014, 195). The conducted survey of outbuildings served as a basis for the future Outbuilding Project, which not only helped to repair a vast number of outbuildings, fallen out of their original use after World War II, but also supported the establishment of a strong environment of traditional craftsmen in Røros.

In 1993, a second ICOMOS monitoring report was prepared after Røros had been inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1980, which concluded that *“the emphasis in restoration seems to have been mainly on the principal buildings along the streets. Courtyards have been given less attention, and a number of outbuildings have fallen out of use and are in a state of disrepair”*. Further, ICOMOS recommended that *“existing building elements, such as windows, doors and wall boards should, where possible, be conserved and repaired rather than replaced. Traditional techniques and materials should be given priority in new works”* (Larsen, 1994a). Consequently, according to the recommendations in the ICOMOS report, the Outbuilding Project was launched in 1996, and the main responsibility for carrying out the project was delegated to Røros municipality. In 1995, a new manager of cultural heritage was employed at Røros – local architect Fredrik Prøsch, who was also an enthusiastic administrator of the newly established Outbuilding Project.

2.8 The turn to traditional workmanship: international causes and national effects

2.8.1 A reaction against the Eurocentric international field of heritage conservation and modern practice of scientific restoration

The focus on traditional techniques and materials was clearly stated in the ICOMOS report, which was prepared by an international working group, chaired by the Norwegian architect Knut Einar Larsen, President of ICOMOS Norway and Secretary General of ICOMOS International Wood Committee at that time (Larsen, 1995, 44). By then, Larsen had already been a prominent figure within the international field of heritage conservation and the leading promoter of the paradigm shift aiming at taking into consideration the different

physical nature of wooden buildings, which had not been taken into account by previous dogmas established during the ICOMOS Constitutional and General Assembly in Krakow and Warsaw in 1965 when the Venice Charter of 1964 was actually adopted.

Larsen spent a year in Japan, researching the actual repairs of wooden constructions, and delivered outstanding results in mutual comprehension between the Western and Eastern fields of heritage conservation. In 1996, the Japanese Association of Architects presented a prestigious prize, for revealing the Japanese architectural traditions to the Western world, to Larsen, who was the first foreigner to receive this prize. Larsen published a study on Japanese heritage conservation principles in 1994, the most comprehensive presentation of alternative *logic of practice* in the reconstruction of wooden heritage, which until then had been criticized by the international field of heritage conservation due to the prevailing Eurocentric principles, emphasizing the value of the conserved original material. As maintained by Larsen, the Western doctrine of heritage conservation, summarized in the Venice Charter, was based on praising the original material as a historical document – the opposite of “the fake” or “the copied”. Historical reconstructions, therefore, were ruled out as falsifications because, in line with the Czech-Austrian art historian Max Dvořák, the heritage buildings were equated to historical documents. The falsifications in heritage conservation, therefore, were supposed to be prevented since “*every educated person knows that falsification of documents is improper, but such falsifications are not only allowed in art, but also favoured by many*” (Dvořák, quoted by Larsen, 2004, 17).

Thus, due to the opposing position towards the phenomenon of reconstruction, there was also a misunderstanding of the Japanese conservation practice, dominating in the Western field of heritage conservation at that time, unable to distinguish between the two types of reconstructions practised in Japan. The ritual reconstruction of *Ise Grand Shrine*, i.e. the complete rebuilding by means of traditional craftsmanship, taking place every 20 years in Japan as the religious practice of ancient Shinto animism, was often considered to be the prevailing practice within the national field of heritage conservation in Japan, irrespective of the fact that the *Ise Grand Shrine* was not even part of the national register of heritage objects. Reconstructions of the temples of Buddhism – the religion that was brought from the continent in the 7th century – were carried out for other reasons, usually as a method of maintenance for the wooden structures (Masuda, 2015, 60). Those temples were disassembled every couple of hundred years due to physical timber damage and the damaged parts were substituted with exact copies, reproduced by means of traditional craftsmanship, and the structures reassembled.

In the case of reconstructions of Buddhist temples, the original material was highly valued and it was reused as long as it remained sound. As emphasized by Larsen, it is due to such continual reconstruction repair work that Japan still possesses the oldest wooden buildings in the world, dating to the end of the 7th century, the oldest of which, the Golden Hall of *Hōryū-ji* temple in Nara, is dated to the year 670 AD. During World War II, the Golden Hall was partly dismantled for preventive protection, but the plastered and decorated first floor was left intact as it could not have been reassembled by the same method of reconstruction, without destroying the authentic material, which by then was still in good shape. Other timber parts of the Golden Hall were dismantled because the structure had

been built by connecting timber parts without any nails or metal fasteners. Even though the site was not bombed, the remaining first floor was heavily damaged by fire after World War II. The damaged timber was then conserved next to the site as a historical document, while the reconstruction of the first floor, following the previous detailed documentation, was reproduced. Consequently, the oldest wooden building in the world today holds 15–20% of the original material (Larsen, 2004, 19–20).

Despite the differing goals and methods of maintenance of wooden temples in Japan, the traditional craftsmanship was applied to both types of reconstructions. Therefore, in Japan, differently from the Western international field of heritage conservation, not only heritage objects (such as *Hōryū-ji* temple) but also master craftsmen, possessing the cultural capital of traditional workmanship, could have been designated as National Treasures. It is important to note that the concept of intangible heritage (artistry and skills) was introduced into the Japanese national field of heritage conservation by law in 1950, but at first only traditional theatre performers gained special attention. After revision of the law in 1975, practitioners of architectural skills and techniques could also be designated as Human National Treasures. The system was modified simultaneously when the heritagization of districts, composed of historical buildings, took place in Japan, as the outcome of vast destruction, influenced by the economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s. It is important to emphasize that it was not the architectural skills and techniques that were protected, but rather single craftsmen or groups of craftsmen (Matsumoto, 2000, 52). The designation lasted as long as the practitioners were alive, though if the craftsman was no longer able to perform the traditional skills, the designation was withdrawn (Inaba, 2015, 70). Consequently, the whole system was created to keep the traditional skills and knowledge alive, not by sharing it among a vast population but rather by ensuring the continuity of intangible heritage as exceptional skills and practices within a certain group of practitioners. In that way, the distinct character of traditional craftsmanship was created, which rescued it from devaluation and helped to control and sustain the authenticity of these traditional practices.

The title of Human National Treasure, provided by the national field of heritage conservation in Japan, granted exceptional social capital for the practitioners concerned. The distinctive position, in turn, worked as a means of attracting apprentices to learn the skills from the master, and, in that way, the continuation of the apprentice system in Japan, surviving within an exceptional community, was enabled. However, despite the title of Human National Treasure and government financial support for training and research, the apprenticeship system in Japan is largely dependent on private enterprises as there is no public training institution (Matsumoto, 2000, 52–53).

The Nara Conference on Authenticity, organized in 1995 by UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICCROM, aimed to turn the attention of the Western international field of heritage conservation to alternative doctrines, mainly those prevailing in East Asia, and to a different *logic of practice* concerning the safeguarding of wooden buildings in general. The above-mentioned study by Larsen on the conservation of wooden buildings in Japan was published just before the Nara Conference and distributed among the participants of the conference to generate a common understanding of the rationale for distinct practices

(Masuda, 2015, 59). The study was not only the first thorough representation of alternative Japanese conservation practices in English, but it was written by a representative of the Western field of heritage conservation and intended for that field; therefore, the differing *logic of practice* was “translated” in to terms that were comprehensible to Westerners.

Larsen aimed to broaden the horizons of the modern Western field of heritage conservation by pointing to the very roots of Western philosophy and reminding readers about the everlasting discussion on the authenticity of Theseus’s ship, which had been preserved as a monument by Athenians in honour of Theseus’s successful fight against the Minotaur. In order to retain the very existence of the ship, which also had to remain seaworthy, the decayed parts were gradually changed by Athenians, which resulted in the famous philosophical paradox: was the changed object, the components of which had been gradually replaced, still the same? The debate was initiated by the Greek philosopher Plutarch in the 2nd century AD and was later used as an argument for proving the rational validity of the method of reconstruction, including by Larsen, who sought to show the differing constructional features of stone and brick architecture in Southern and Central Europe, which were chosen as a point of departure for the universal principles adopted by the Venice Charter. Theseus’s paradox was also analysed by Ove Hidemark, the Swedish architect and the considered founder of the school, favouring traditional workmanship in the Nordic field of heritage conservation (see *The influence of the Medieval Project – from reconstructed foreign medieval woodworking skills to “nation-building”*) (Larsen, 2004, 19; Larsen and Marstein, 2016, 15; Hidemark, 1996, 114).

At the same time, it is important to emphasize that Plutarch’s original presentation of Theseus’s paradox did not explicitly say that the replaced wooden parts were produced in the same traditional manner as the original details: “*The ship wherein Theseus and the youth of Athens returned had thirty oars and was preserved by the Athenians down even to the time of Demetrius Phalereus, for they took away the old planks as they decayed, putting in new and stronger timber in their place, insomuch that this ship became a standing example among the philosophers whenever they disputed about the things that increase [grow/change], one side holding that the ship remained the same, and the other as fiercely contending that it was not the same*” (Plutarch, 1688, 32).

However, by solving the paradox according to the philosophical system of Aristotle, four fundamental reasons or causes of a thing’s identity were analysed. For Aristotle, the identity of an object was, first and foremost, defined by its *formal cause* – a form or design, which in the case of the changed ship of Theseus was sustained even though the *material cause*, i.e. the constituting matter, was altered over time. The *final cause*, or the originally intended purpose of the ship, was also continued, which makes the argument for authenticity of the changed ship even stronger. Aristotle’s fourth cause, the *efficient cause* (how a thing is made), was continued through the process of reproduction, as it was commonly believed that carpenters used the same tools and techniques in building the original ship as well as in later reparations (Mitchell, 2015, 85).

Aristotle’s four fundamental principles were later adopted by Thomas Aquinas (Turner, 2015, 168), the main philosopher of Roman Catholicism, and therefore they greatly

influenced medieval philosophy as well. At the same time, it was not only Christian but also Jewish and Islamic tradition that religiously valued the very act of copying the original sacred texts (Graham, 2010, 202). Only in the age of Enlightenment, in the 18th century, was “fabrication” first perceived as a negative action, aimed at falsification, forging and making up (Lowenthal, 1998, 5). Thus, by using the Aristotelian philosophical notions only, and departing from his philosophical system, there could be a proposition made that the rival modern Western field of heritage conservation excluded the *material cause* as a determinant in judging the authenticity of heritage objects. In the above-mentioned terms of Dvořák, the falsification of heritage objects was negatively equated to the falsification of historical documents by the modern Western heritage conservation, which, as embedded in the Venice Charter, should be avoided.

During the preparatory meeting, organized in Bergen before the Nara Conference in 1994 by Larsen, focus was aimed at proving that in addition to the historic and traditional materials and traditional craft techniques, certain components for identification of the authenticity of a heritage building were equally important. Moreover, it was claimed that the traditional materials and craft techniques helped to maintain the authenticity of a heritage object by sustaining the integrity of its fabric and design (Larsen and Marstein, 2016, 10).

The changing form was recognized as being equally valuable as the primary appearance of a heritage object in the Venice Charter, and the meaning of the notion of “authenticity” was dissociated from the concept of “the original” in the subsequent World Heritage Convention, by establishing four determinant categories of “*authenticity in design, materials, workmanship and setting*” (UNESCO 1972 and 1988). The above-mentioned workshop in Bergen aimed at further clarification of the concept of authenticity and, therefore, five features of authenticity were proposed to be considered when judging the value of a heritage object: “1. *form or design*; 2. *material or substance*; 3. *function or use*; 4. *context or setting, the spirit of place (genius loci)*; 5. *techniques, traditions or processes which include pre-industrial as well as industrial techniques and processes*” (Larsen and Marstein, 1994, 132–133).

Thus, the test in authenticity was broadened by including the criterion of “*function or use*”, but, in this respect, the most important was the proposed replacement of the component of “*authenticity in workmanship*” for “*authenticity in techniques, traditions or processes, which include pre-industrial as well as industrial techniques and processes*”. The latter formulation encompassed all kinds of production, not only ancient carpentry, performed by hand, but also more recent building techniques, including industrial production. This was rather a ground-breaking acknowledgement of industrial building technologies, which were equated to the previously distinguished and praised traditional craftsmanship. Another revolutionary element of the same formulation was the focus on the very process of workmanship, instead of the material expressions of it, as the term “workmanship” in the English language was commonly used with reference to the degree of skill used in the production of tangible objects (*Oxford English Dictionary*), but not to define an intangible process as such.

Moreover, even a new substituting notion was coined, “*authenticity of processes*” (Larsen and Marstein, 2016, 10), which, however, did not get successfully established within the international field of heritage conservation. Later, in 1994, the Nara Document on Authenticity established the above-mentioned five categories as the basis for authenticity judgements and, as previously proposed, the notion of “*authenticity in workmanship*” was removed but the substitute did not include the suggested focus on the processes of workmanship – it was restricted to the authenticity in “*traditions and techniques*” (UNESCO, 1994). Irrespective of the fact that the international field of heritage conservation did not embrace the emphasis on the authenticity of processes universally, the national Norwegian field of heritage conservation turned another way – in the last few decades, the new paradigm has become rather widely accepted under the label of “procedural authenticity” (*prosessuell autentisitet*) (Balto and Dammann, 2004, 8). The fact that *Riksantikvaren* republished the book by Marstein and Larsen (originally printed in 2000) on traditional building techniques and processes in 2016 and distributed it online shows that the new paradigm had finally taken root in the national field of heritage conservation.

The above-mentioned report on Røros of the year 1993, prepared by ICOMOS Norway and led by Larsen, aimed to emphasize the role of traditional techniques in urban conservation. Thus, the Outbuilding Project served as a local practical implementation of the new ideological paradigm. The same working group from ICOMOS Norway also reported on the situation in another wooden urban settlement in Norway, inscribed on UNESCO’s World Heritage List – Bryggen in Bergen, with the remains of the 18th-century trading port of the Hanseatic League. Consequently, in the middle of the 1990s, the shift in restoration principles, from the previous use of modern materials to the return to traditional building techniques, was reported (Rytter and Schonhowd, 2015, 44).

2.8.2 The growing scope of application of the principle of “procedural authenticity” as a historically correct method in Norway

The term “procedural authenticity” (*prosessuell autentisitet*) was rationalized by the Norwegian national field of heritage conservation as “*historically correct in relation to individual cultural monuments because it contributed to their maintenance by including necessary additions to correspond in the best way possible to the authentic components*” (Balto and Dammann, 2004, 7). It must be emphasized, however, that until recently, the rationale for the historical correctness of traditional workmanship in Norway was restricted only to new additions in historical buildings, i.e. in restorations of the existing heritage objects. The new additions to the historical urban districts or landscapes, i.e. infill architecture in the historical environment, built from traditional materials and by using traditional techniques, were considered historically incorrect, and novelty in design was expected. Consequently, the very same principle of historical correctness was perceived and applied rather contrariwise when it was attributed to individual heritage objects as opposed to groups of heritage objects, and the proposition could be made that this division was based on the professional distribution of spheres of practice between the field of building industry and the field of architecture in Norway.

Meanwhile, in continental Europe, where the principle of historical equivalence was introduced by the established school of modern scientific restoration, there was no such great divide between the spheres of influence: an architect was commonly responsible for both designing new buildings, and restorations and conservation of the existing built constructions or environments. Therefore, the principle of historic equivalence was developed from architects' perspective mainly, determined by their habitus and combination of their capitals.

Thus, the ideal of historical equivalence, which was developed by the Italian architect and engineer Camillo Boito at the end of the 19th century and sought to resolve the conflicting ideologies of Viollet-le-Duc and Ruskin, first formed the core of the national Italian field of conservation and subsequently influenced the international field of heritage conservation, especially after the adoption of the Venice Charter. Boito proposed the way out from the debate between “restorers” and “conservators” by acknowledging only scientific restorations, which would result in different styles, building materials and methods, by clearly marking distinctiveness between the new and old parts of the heritage object. This principle of historical equivalence was first introduced in the Italian Charter of Restoration, passed in 1883 by Boito (Piccinato, 2016, 114) at the Third Conference of Architects and Civil Engineers in Rome.

At this conference, the problem of restorations imitating historical architecture, which became popular in Italy as a result of the influence of the French School, was stressed by Boito (Jokilehto, 2011, 201), who sought to prove this practice as being unscientific: *“In forcedly thrusting the spirit of the ancient architect into the head of the modern architect, the former adapts to the circumlocutions of the new mind, and the resulting work is neither ancient nor modern. Do you want me to say it openly? When the restorations are carried out with the theory of Mr. Viollet-le-Duc, which can be called the romantic theory of restoration, a theory that until the day before yesterday was universal and nevertheless is followed by many, indeed even by most in Italy, I prefer badly made restorations to well-made ones. Whereas those, by virtue of their beneficial ignorance, let me distinguish clearly the ancient from the modern part, these, with admirable science and cunning, by making the new appear ancient, put me in such a fierce perplexity of judgment that the pleasure of contemplating the monument disappears and studying it becomes a most fastidious labour. [...] Months ago, I stopped in a little city where I had never been before to see a church of the thirteenth century, one of those churches with small orders of columns superimposed on the façade, with capitals full of monsters and friezes full of intricacies. I had with me notebook and pencil. The first impression, at a certain distance, was good; but then, as I examined the church, a thousand doubts and suspects began to grow in me. The building had been restored so sublimely that one could not distinguish the old from the new; the same materials, the same sculpture, the same colour revered over the centuries. I see a very bizarre corbel and begin to sketch it; my soul was worried; I have someone give me a ladder, and I climb to the top, I touch, hit, scratch, scrape: it was modern stuff. This is the problem I had to confront at each and every moment: do I see a thing of the thirteenth century or one of recent years? There were no old drawings, there were no old photographs. The sacristans, young, hadn't seen anything; the priest, decrepit,*

didn't remember anything. I put back notebook and pencil and went straight to the station to take the train that would take me away, cursing his excellence the restorer, and calling him a liar, a cheat, a forger" (Boito and Birignani, 2009, 70–71).

Later, the principle of historical equivalence was developed further by adding Giovanni's "broadening touch", which was consolidated in the Italian Charter of 1932, subsequently in the Athens Charter, formulated at the International Congress in Athens in 1931 and being the first international document, promoting the modern conservation policy. Giovanni also considered Viollet-le-Duc's theory to be anti-scientific as it was based on subjective visions, causing falsifications. He instead followed the principle of historical equivalence, emphasized by Boito, and claimed that restorations when the consolidations of historical structures were invisible but performed by modern methods and techniques were the best examples. In any case, all new additions were supposed to be recognizable as new (Jokilehto, 2011, 221–222, 284).

Giovanni also broadened the perspective of the field of heritage conservation by encompassing "minor architecture", i.e. the historical urban structure, which was newly discovered as a better representative of architectural traditions than the exceptional masterpieces. The widening perspective Giovanni was developed further at the Fourth International Congress of Modern Architecture, which was arranged in 1933 in Athens as the result of concern about the destruction of historic towns during World War I. The acts of the Congress were edited by the Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier and published in 1943 as the Athens Charter on urban planning, which, in a similar way to the Athens Charter of 1932, refused "*any aesthetic assimilation of new architecture with historic buildings*" (ibid., 285).

In Norway, however, the internationally acknowledged principle of historical equivalence was not applied thoroughly. Moreover, as has already been mentioned before, the very meaning of this term was interpreted contrariwise, depending on which field it was attributed to. The critique of Vreim's period of stylistic restorations in Røros, implemented using modern materials and methods but in an antiquing way, was expressed by the subsequent generation of architects (see the previous chapter *The "Vreimification" of Røros in 1937–1965*). This fact proves that the principle of historical equivalence was understood in a different way than it was originally intended, by establishing the principle as the norm by the Venice Charter of 1964. While Vreim's stylistic restorations involved only historical forms, not methods of reproduction, Viollet-le-Duc's paradigm aimed at simulating not only the historical architecture in its form, but also in craftsmanship (ibid., 205). The school of scientific restoration, developed by the international field of architecture, as described above, renounced both the repetition of historical architectural forms and historical craftsmanship.

Repairs to existing historical objects, especially those in private ownership, were commonly carried out under the responsibility of individual master builders in Norway. Consequently, differently from other European countries, the sphere of restorations was rarely considered a battlefield of influences between the fields of architecture and building construction. Thus, as the use of historical craftsmanship was allowed and even promoted

in the restorations of heritage objects, while the very meaning of the principle of historical equivalence was turned upside down to justify such restorations, the use of historical methods and techniques was now considered historically correct both by the field of architecture and the field of building industry. The better the copy was, the more authentic it was considered to be.

For instance, in the case of Bryggen in Bergen, the initiation of restorations by using traditional methods and materials in the 1990s was approved by the national field of heritage conservation: *“In 1998 Bryggen Foundation (Stiftelsen Bryggen) initiated Bryggen Project (Prosjekt Bryggen), which today is a governmental development programme. The project involves 38 out of 61 buildings and aims at restoration and reparation of that number of buildings to such standard that only ordinary maintenance would be necessary for further use. There is detailed research involved in this project, starting with the selection of timber in a forest, gaining the proper percentage of salt in logs, interpretation of traces, left by various woodworking tools, collecting the old tools to find those which best suit the historical traces, and ending with handmade planes, used to reproduce historically correct cornices, panelling and frames”* (Stiftelsen Bryggen, <http://stiftelsenbryggen.no>).

If restorations of historical buildings at Bryggen were carried out using traditional methods that were considered historically correct, the proposal for reconstruction of a whole historical quarter, which was damaged by fire in 1955, was called a *“utopian decision at least if an accurate reconstruction in original materials is expected”*. Therefore, a combined solution was chosen, *“consisting of a modern building, adapted to the existing built structure, and a pastiche – a concrete construction, a continuation of a row of wooden buildings”* (Myklebust, 1988, 148, 150). Despite some coeval critiques that the main façade did not represent the period when the buildings were originally constructed due to falsified historical legibility, this solution was generally welcomed and even granted the Europa Nostra prize in 1984 as a proper example of adaptive architecture (*tilpasningsarkitektur*). The common belief, prevailing within the Norwegian field of architecture, was that historical architectural design was impossible to reproduce by applying historical craftsmanship, and this conviction was grounded on technical premises, claiming that *“in practice, the stylistic copies will never be something more than a stylistic imitation. The use of materials and quality of craftsmanship would seldom be continued if the building should be adapted to present functional requirements and technical regulations, which demand fire protection, insulation, ventilation, universal design, etc. That creates only a scenery where the exterior and interior do not harmonize with each other, and where images of the past are empty”* (Stige and Hoem, 2010).

Moreover, from the point of view of an architect, and by following the principle of historical equivalence in the same sense as it was introduced by the Venice Charter, it was claimed that new infill architecture should be adapted to the historical surroundings only in the volume, main forms and material, while copying of the smallest building elements is unnecessary and should be restricted. The new buildings were supposed to look like new ones, i.e. built according to coeval architectural design principles, characteristic of contemporary aesthetic tastes. It was maintained that the practice of antiquifying new

buildings led to the “*inflation of history*” (Hoem, 2004, 53–54), meaning that copying in large numbers diminishes the value of the original, the quantity of which should remain limited. The very motivation for choosing historical copying was interpreted in a derogatory way – as an expression of sensual nostalgia which has no scientific or rational logic: “*The wish of using traditional visual expression could have deep psychological causes – the search for roots in time, which is shifting. The chase for familiar and humanistic aesthetics is also important – ‘the past’ came into fashion. [...] The paradox is that the better a copy or nostalgic new creation is made, the easier they will trick us*” (ibid., 48, 54). Interestingly, seeking to explain the reasons for choosing a nostalgic design, Bourdieu’s theory on distinction of tastes was taken into consideration by marking the opposites between scholarly pure aesthetic expressions on one side and sensual, usually romantic, taste, favoured by the majority, on the other. The conclusion was made that the first group, aiming at exceptionality, negatively evaluated nostalgic reproduction of copies. The second group, i.e. the majority of the population, accepted nostalgic copies as symbolic reminders of historic authenticity. Lastly, the principle, common for the Norwegian field of architecture, was developed, stating that “*A greater mixture of the past and the present is much more productive than a reproduction of new copies in conservation areas. New architecture should adapt to the needs of people, without retrograding to romantic stylistic copies*” (Hoem, 1994, 104, 107, 111). It should be noted that the author of the previous words expressed the habitus and cultural capital, accumulated during studies on architecture, and reflected the prevailing position within the field of architecture.

However, the situation is about to change as will be described further on, since the national field of heritage conservation has created a new subfield of traditional workmanship in Norway, which, in turn, has influenced much of the recent changes in the very strategy of urban conservation in Norway. These changes will definitely influence the field of architecture because the new directions oppose the above-presented position: “*In uniform, homogeneous surroundings, the contrasting expressions, which do not continue the qualities of cultural environment, should be avoided. [...] The quality of design is emphasized in constructing new buildings, which continue local historical building traditions. The quality is determined by the choice of durable materials, good design and technical detailing as well as high workmanship*” (Riksantikvaren, 2017, 10, 15). The new paradigm, presented recently by Riksantikvaren, seems to be strongly influenced by its own creation – the subfield of traditional workmanship – as the examples of new buildings in historic styles, provided by a prominent craftsman, were chosen for guidance. The further chapters will describe in detail how the subfield of traditional workmanship was created and became so influential in Norway and at Røros in particular.

3 Creation of the local subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros by the national field of heritage conservation

The Outbuilding Project was enabled due to huge support from the top national leaders within the two fields of environmental protection and heritage conservation in Norway. The quotation describing the very start of the project is rather self-explanatory: “*In winter of 1995 Ernst Ivar Tønset, the director of environment protection of Røros at that time, phoned the minister of environment protection Torbjørn Berntsen to discuss the situation of outbuildings in the mining town. Berntsen was then informed about the survey report from 1994. Tønset received one million Norwegian kroner to start the immediate reparations and the promise to get three million Norwegian kroner annually in the period of ten upcoming years*” (Borgos and Storsletten, 2014, 195). The opening of the Outbuilding Project was honoured by the visit of Torbjørn Berntsen himself. The former minister of environment protection was also invited to attend the 20th anniversary of the project and celebration of receiving the Europa Nostra prize in 2015, awarded to the Outbuilding Project as it resulted in establishing an exceptional platform of sharing knowledge and skills within the field of heritage conservation among self-employed craftsmen (EU Prize for Cultural Heritage/Europa Nostra Awards, April 14, 2015, <http://www.europeanheritageawards.eu/winners/the-outbuilding-project/>).

Consequently, two decades after it was set up, the project was still generously funded by the Norwegian government and gained not only national but also international acknowledgement within the field of heritage conservation. It is important to note that, according to the former minister of environment protection Berntsen himself, who was recently named the father of the Outbuilding Project (*Uthusprosjektets far*), it was the Director General of *Riksantikvaren*, Tschudi-Madsen, who, due to his “*extremely solid professional knowledge*”, persuaded Berntsen to ensure the political support for the Outbuilding Project. The increased attention for Røros within the international field of heritage conservation, after the inscription of the mining town in the World Heritage List, in turn enabled them to lobby the national politicians and to ensure the continuous generous government funding for the restoration of outbuildings at Røros (Jortveit, 2015).

As noted by Berntsen, it was a rather generous financing scheme, which came in addition to the continuous annual government funding for the field of heritage conservation at Røros that had been given since the end of World War II. However, as declared by the local manager of the Outbuilding Project, F. Prøsch: “*In spite of the fact that Riksantikvaren has offered both expertise and economic support during the entire period following World War Two, it has not been sufficient to hinder buildings from falling into serious disrepair*” (Prøsch, 1999, 4) and that situation was about to be rectified by the project.

The largest amount of funds was provided by *Riksantikvaren* itself. It provided support for building the competence of craftsmen by financing practical courses, seminars and other forms of training and education, the sharing of gained knowledge and skills among craftsmen, the spreading of information and evaluation of the Outbuilding Project and, in addition to all that, *Riksantikvaren* donated 65% of all expenses for repairing certain

historical outbuildings. Røros municipality, which was the main manager of the project, contributed by providing 15% of the restoration expenses, and the final 20% was covered by the owners of the buildings (ibid., 15).

3.1 *The formation of the exclusive “guild” of traditional craftsmen in Røros*

After the Røros Copper Works were closed in 1977, another period of economic decline occurred in Røros between 1985 and 1995, accompanied by high levels of unemployment. Consequently, government funds were used for local job creation measures designated for the unemployed industrial workers. Some of the government funds were used for provisional job positions within the municipality and the museum, intended for repair work of publicly owned historical buildings. This work was managed by a master carpenter, employed at the municipality, and performed by eight temporary, self-employed workers. In addition, monthly gatherings of craftsmen were organized at Røros Museum’s Antiquarian Workshop, as proposed by Malisius, reminiscent of the earlier managerial scheme, proposed by Ødegaard in 1974 (see *S. Ødegaard’s vision of the consolidated and strengthened local heritage management*; Ødegaard, 1974, 82). In this way, not only was the professional knowledge shared and developed, i.e. the cultural capital of the group of craftsmen increased, but the continuous meetings also contributed to building their social capital – “*a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition*” (Bourdieu, 1986, 51). Consequently, a rather exceptional environment of traditional craftsmen evolved in Røros, when both self-employed carpenters and local building contractors were involved in actual restoration projects in Røros together with traditional craftsmen, employed at public institutions.

However, further development of the project proved that not all local carpenters or construction companies were welcome. Despite the fact that public financial capital was used in reparation of heritage objects, the job positions of practising craftsmen were not open to the competitive market (Borgos and Storsletten, 2014, 195). The very fact that the principle of distributing public funds after the competitive bidding was abandoned presupposes that the restoration works were considered exceptionally high cultural rather than economic value.

The high cultural value of the Outbuilding Project was sustained for decades even though the exclusive conditions, developed for a group of local traditional craftsmen, were periodically questioned by municipal politicians. In 2009, an external administrative audit was performed by *Revisjon Fjell IKS*, which concluded that: “*all public procurements, linked to the Outbuilding Project, are performed by direct acquisitions. [...] We maintain that, in relation to the scope/value and duration of the Outbuilding Project, the requirements for competition are not followed up in line with existing legislation. According to our opinion, the possibilities to ensure competition are available. A number of companies have necessary competence. There could be competition implemented among those who possess the necessary competence*” (Revisjon Fjell IKS, 2009, 13). The head of municipal administration then responded to the accusations by acknowledging the absence of open competitive bidding within the framework of the Outbuilding Project, but claimed

that such procedures were impossible to implement in this case: “*This is an issue which has been discussed many times, and every time a conclusion was reached that it is difficult to establish real competition in practice. As mentioned before, that decision is based on the assumption that there is a need for special competence, developed through courses, arranged by the Outbuilding Project or Riksantikvaren. In addition to that, it should be emphasized that craftsmen, operating within the Outbuilding Project, should be constantly employed*” (ibid., Vedlegg, 2).

The exceptional conditions for a group of traditional craftsmen working with the Outbuilding Project were also recently openly challenged by a group of other local craftsmen, excluded from the Outbuilding Project (Østby, 2015a). Ironically enough, that group of rebellious craftsmen were united under the historical banner of the revived Society of Crafts (Østby, 2015b), which was originally established in 1910, and which was one of the actual local leaders of many local cultural initiatives in the first half of the 20th century in Røros (e.g. Røros open-air museum). It is important to remember that even though the Society of Crafts performed one of the major roles locally in recovering the cultural potential of Røros in the first half of the 20th century, the very aim of the society was to reach the advanced technological development of local craftsmen in order to compete with the external market within the building industry field, which had “threatened” Røros since the opening of the railway station in the second part of the 19th century (see *The local efforts in continuity of technical craftsmanship*). However, differently from the representatives of the field of heritage conservation, the Society of Crafts did not see a threat in the changed building technologies, resulting in the spread of the Swiss chalet style and changing townscape; instead, their aim was to adopt the advanced building techniques locally so as to compete with the external market within the large-scale building industry.

The Outbuilding Project, however, was based on the revival of historical technical knowledge and skills which have disappeared, were forgotten or abandoned due to the technological progress within the field of building industry. The Outbuilding Project was therefore, after the recommendation of *Riksantikvaren* itself (Jortveit, 2016a), categorized as a Research and Development Project (*FoU – Forsknings og utviklingsprosjekt*), which also made it possible to exclude it from the main principle of competitive bidding within the publicly financed programmes (Østby, 2015a).



Figure 58. The historical banner of the revived local Society of Crafts in the parade on the National Day of Norway, the 17th of May. (Photo taken by ©Tore Østby in 2015. Rørosnytt, <http://www.rorosnytt.no/handverkerforeningen-tilbake-i-toget>).

Consequently, the Outbuilding Project did not include all the local craftsmen and local construction companies that were already operating within the building industry at that time. Rather, a new subfield of traditional workmanship (i.e. the subfield of restricted cultural production, in Bourdieu’s terms) was created locally by the national field of heritage conservation. Moreover, that subfield was protected from external competition by developing special knowledge and skills of particular craftsmen from the very start of project activities. As admitted by one of the craftsmen working at the Outbuilding Project: *“When the project started it was necessary to establish a new group of craftsmen who mastered traditional craft techniques”* (Westum, 2015). The *Riksantikvaren* indicated the novelty of the type of newfound craftsmanship: *“From the very beginning, it was obvious that these activities will shape a new type of craftsman”* (Jortveit, 2016a).

The nomination for the Europa Nostra prize in 2015 for the Outbuilding Project was awarded first of all because the exceptional environment for traditional workmanship was acknowledged by the international field of heritage conservation. On the national scale, the competences, skills and traces of cultural production, performed by Rørosian traditional craftsmen, were acknowledged as being of exceptional quality and equated to artistic production. By downplaying his own efforts, the “father of the Outbuilding Project” Berntsen credited carpenters and joiners who performed the practical repair work of outbuildings over two decades: *“It went beyond all expectations, and the honour goes to those who have been working with it. Look at those craftsmen today! Certainly, they are true artists”* (Jortveit, 2015).

Riksantikvaren, in turn, concluded that due to the exceptional environment of the craftsmen, created during the development of the Outbuilding Project, it proved to be the most successful project compared to other restoration projects within Norway, even in

financial terms. *Riksantikvaren* praised the decision to delegate most of the work from the start of the project to the final reports to executive craftsmen, who, of course, were also responsible for the practical repairs. Consequently, according to *Riksantikvaren*, the success of the project was also based on the fact that a rather small administrative team was maintained, and therefore a direct and short link from granting the financial support to the actual work being carried out was sustained (Jortveit, 2016a).

Approval of the exceptional conditions for the traditional craftsmen in Røros was not just ensured in the international and national fields of heritage conservation. When local discontent at the exclusion of a group of traditional craftsmen reached its peak in 2015, there was support for the closed procurement process, based on the claims of effective cost control within the project which would be worsened in the case of open competition: “*The Outbuilding Project is organized in such a way that each particular project has an independent self-employed craftsman, who is fully responsible. Usually, he is working together with other self-employed craftsmen and apprentices, who are about to receive a certificate of apprenticeship (fagbrev). The cooperation and the mutual development are much more important in this case than competition*” (Enget, 2015). One representative of the municipal executive board also stated that the exclusive conditions provided for the group of traditional craftsmen in Røros resulted in creating “*a hallmark of solid quality, which is used throughout the country and in Svalbard*”. A concern was expressed that “*Riksantikvaren can withdraw all subsidies if the financing scheme is changed*” (Jortveit, 2016b). The group of traditional craftsmen operating within the Outbuilding Project expressed their concerns that changes to the financing scheme, which, according to them, had been functioning extremely well, would lead to increased bureaucratization (Jortveit, 2016c). That would in sequence lead to the situation where craftsmen were not given such a high level of confidence as before, when they were fully responsible for the effective planning and implementation of particular restoration projects.

Consequently, the group of traditional craftsmen in Røros had been functioning almost as a revived historical guild of craftsmen. In this way, they had been shielded from external competition by ensuring their constant employment within the local field of heritage conservation, and this is how the exceptional subfield of restricted cultural production was created. The network of traditional craftsmen had been sustained by the increased social capital – a strengthened network of social mutual recognition, which had been evaluated as a positive outcome of the original system of guilds, functioning in proto-industrial times from the medieval period to the 19th century (Ogilvie, 2004, 329). The historical proto-industrialization, which preconditioned the emergence of the modern, machine-driven industrial revolution, was based on “*traditionally organized, principally rural handicraft*” (Mendels, 1972, 241), and this is also the model that inspired the subfield of traditional workmanship. Thus, the handicraft mode of production, i.e. *modus operandi*, was favoured more than industrial and mechanical means, and this was set as the aim of the subfield of traditional workmanship. The subfield also resembled the pre-industrial socio-economic organization of craftsmen guilds.

However, as revealed by a historian of economics, the exceptional social capital, built up by the system of historical guilds, hardly benefited the economy as a whole because it

opposed free trade and hindered technological modernization. It was considered that “*social capital might reduce innovativeness and economic well-being by penalizing ‘deviant’ actions that could have benefited the economy at large*” (Ogilvie, 2004, 330). Anyhow, in the case of the Outbuilding Project, the issue of innovativeness was irrelevant due to the historical profile of the practised crafts. In addition, the Outbuilding Project was driven by generous public financing, and therefore the issue of cost-effectiveness was not considered a crucial factor by the donor – i.e. the national field of heritage conservation – nor by members of the subfield of traditional workmanship. However, despite the eliminated concern about financial competition, there was the increased struggle in achieving professional excellence, i.e. cultural capital; the assignments within the Outbuilding Project were distributed according to the competence of the traditional craftsmen.

Thus, the criticism expressed towards the exceptional privileges provided to the group of traditional craftsmen was disproved by emphasizing that the competition within the Outbuilding Project does not concern financial resources; rather, the real struggle takes place in the area of professional competence. It was claimed that the group is not fully closed to external competitive bidding as long as the knowledge and skills within historical craftsmanship are considered the main criterion for achieving recognition: “*It is important to emphasize that the Outbuilding Project is not reserved for the exclusive group of craftsmen, who aim at sustaining their privileges. Assignments and the group are open for everyone, but the requirements for quality and competence in order to receive the assignments are much stricter. Duties are also bound to them and each and every craftsman in Røros can decide for themselves to adjust to those rules or not*” (Jortveit, 2016c). However, it was simultaneously reaffirmed by *Riksantikvaren* that the subfield of traditional workmanship should be excluded from external competition within the open market, by sustaining the exceptional commitment of members within the established network of traditional craftsmen and by maintaining their acquired cultural capital: “*the features of the Research and Development Project (FoU) are visible in a craftsman’s basis of knowledge, attitude and networking duties in all working operations*” (Jortveit, 2016a).

3.2 The influence of the Medieval Project – from reconstructed foreign medieval woodworking skills to “nation-building”

The exceptional cultural capital, such as practical restoration skills based on historical craftsmanship, had not been initially embodied in the local industrial workers at the very start of the Outbuilding Project. On the contrary, as the previous chapters have revealed, Røros experienced a natural change in building techniques, fostered by the industrial means of production. Moreover, Røros could even be considered a centre of quite advanced industrial activities compared to other provincial Norwegian towns. Therefore, a craftsman’s competence with historical building techniques, which was already distinct in Røros when the Outbuilding Project was initiated, had to be further built up. The main source of knowledge for planning the activities and the financial resources for the Outbuilding Project was the above-mentioned analysis of the physical condition of 400 outbuildings in Røros, conducted by Røhme. The process of developing the competence of

craftsmen was, in turn, directly reproduced according to the organizational model and the practical experience gained during the Medieval Project (*Middelalderprosjektet*) (Prøsch, 1999, 13).

The Medieval Project was initiated by *Riksantikvaren* and ran from 1991 to 1998. The purpose of the project was to repair the profane medieval buildings in poor condition by copying the historical workmanship and processing building materials with traditional tools. The Medieval Project was later replaced by the Stave Church Programme (*Stavkirkeprogrammet*), which followed the same principles as the Medieval Project but for sacral medieval buildings with exceptional stave constructions. The revival of medieval carpentry techniques was the main purpose of both programmes, as the knowledge and practical know-how was considered lost at that time. However, in the case of the Stave Church Programme, that gap was acknowledged as being even wider. As described by the chief conservator at the open-air museum in Oslo: “*The stave churches are dark and alien. [...] They never really get under your skin because they are so remote, so different. When we look at our profane vernacular building traditions, it is easier to experience a deep sense of continuity. The stave churches provide no such strong, clear resonance*” (Planke, 2016, 117). The main goal that united both medieval programmes was a rediscovery of the practical skills and competences of forgotten historical craftsmanship. According to Fjeldheim, the leader of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments, the ideals of the Medieval Project, which classified and divided the modern industrial workmanship against the traditional craftsmanship, were influenced by the Swedish architect Ove Hidemark, who was considered to be the pioneer of the new ideological and practical approach to restoration in the Nordic countries, and who was claimed to have the greatest influence on Anders Haslestad, the Norwegian architect working at *Riksantikvaren* and leading the Norwegian Medieval Project (Fjeldheim, 2012, 112).

Differently from Fjeldheim, Norwegian architect Larsen and the director of *Riksantikvaren* at that time Nils Marstein argued that the approach of copying the replaced damaged parts of wooden buildings by using analogous historical production techniques had originated further east from Norway than Sweden. They claimed that the revival of traditional techniques was influenced by the negative outcomes of two other approaches to repairs of historic timber structures. Repairs of the 19th century were classified as belonging to the first approach when the available coeval materials and techniques were used both in restoration and conservation works. The second approach was based on the introduction of new modern reinforcements, adding strengthening structures to the existing historical fabric. But, as argued by Larsen and Marstein, the number of synthetic materials rose dramatically in the 20th century while the durability of them was not yet practically proven; therefore, the first two approaches were no longer suitable in the field of heritage conservation as the physical qualities of modern building materials started to differ too much from the historical ones. Consequently, a third approach was promoted, where historical timber buildings were reassembled to reproduce the damaged parts according to the same historical means of production (Larsen and Marstein, 2016, 31).

As specified by Larsen and Marstein, the third approach to repairing historic timber structures was thoroughly applied by Russian architect and carpenter Alexander Popov in

Archangelsk: “Alexander Popov repairs historic timber structures in a very logical way: if a beam or log from the eighteenth century has to be replaced, he and his colleagues use the tools and techniques from that time; the same when a nineteenth century beam or log has to be replaced. The carpenters have become extremely skilful in copying the craftsmanship techniques of ancient times by using the same methods and the same techniques” (ibid., 32). The authors also referred to the Swedish experience in a Research and Development Project (FoU), led by the Swedish National Board of Antiquities (Riksantikvarieämbetet) in the 1990s, when historical carpenters’ knowledge, which had been disappearing since the 1950s in Sweden, was revived through practical courses arranged by the national field of heritage conservation. However, it was claimed that present reconstructions of historical building techniques were often performed in a rough way so as to express the presently conceivable “primitive” character of historical craftsmanship, assuming that carpenters previously were not able to achieve “fine” outer surfaces (Ponnert and Sjömar, 1993, 28–29). Simultaneously, the Norwegian Medieval Project was started, which aimed to reconstruct the medieval way of producing wooden structures to restore the oldest surviving profane buildings in Norway. However, the task proved to be more complicated than initially assumed: “When carpenters in Norway and Sweden tried to revive the technique at the beginning of the 1990s, they were not able to reconstruct the old surfaces perfectly” (Larsen and Marstein, 2016, 47). The reconstruction of the specific medieval technique of splash whittling (*sprettelgjing*) turned out to be most challenging.

The Medieval Project was based on the survey of profane medieval buildings, conducted by Norwegian architect Arne Berg, while the traces of the medieval technique of splash whittling was considered one of the indicators for dating the buildings to pre- or post-1350 when the Black Death (the plague pandemics) devastated Norway to such a huge extent that the technique became extinct as the carpenters died out. Even though some examples of splash whittling were found in post-1350 buildings, as water-powered saws were introduced only in the 16th century in Norway, the quality of the technique was assessed as rather “decadent”. In northern Russia, which was not as badly affected by the Black Death, the original medieval technique of splash whittling survived until the end of the 18th century. Popov and his team managed to reconstruct the medieval technique in the 1990s by learning the special way of handling an axe, which in turn was sharpened in the appropriate way (Thun and Storsletten, 2011, 46).

The reconstruction of the medieval splash whittling technique was successful due to the special cultural capital, acquired by Popov. Despite his institutionalized (i.e. academically qualified knowledge) cultural capital, gained as a professional architect, working within the state institutions of heritage conservation during Soviet times, he was not content with his own theoretical knowledge nor with the restoration standards, due to poor understanding of traditional craftsmanship within the state field of heritage conservation, especially after the changed political situation in the 1990s. Consequently, he left his work at state institutions, started his own restoration workshop and learned the trades of carpentry, joinery, masonry and even smithery. The practical skills of craftsmanship (i.e. consciously acquired embodied knowledge, in the terms of Bourdieu) enabled Popov to become familiar with another objective reality within the very same field of heritage

conservation, and in that way the mysteries of forgotten historical craftsmanship could be solved. According to Haslestad, Popov's attempts were successful because: "*The result was that the architect could not only carry out all the tasks involved in restorations himself, but he could also produce his own tools if that was necessary*" (Haslestad and Storsletten, 1992, 43).

The breaking up of the former Soviet Union, however, served to open the borders for international cooperation between the national fields of heritage conservation, which seemed to be promising at that time because it was realized that, despite the hermetic frontiers during the last half of the century, former traces of cultural capital exchange could be found in wooden building techniques due to the similar natural conditions not only in Nordic countries, but also in Northern Russia and the Baltic countries (Ponnert and Sjömar, 1993, 33). Consequently, continuous cooperation between the restoration workshops of Popov and the Swedish and Norwegian leaders of the national programmes for the revival of medieval craftsmanship was established, which first and foremost was characterized as a research project (ibid., 37). The common aim, not only for the Swedish and Norwegian counterparts but also for the Russian associates, to restore the medieval building techniques was the fundamental reason for taking part in the international research project: "*What united them together was some kind of vocation to restore old buildings, but any religious or strong nationalistic aspects were not prominent in mutual discourses*" (Haslestad and Storsletten, 1992, 43).

The reconstructed knowledge in medieval building techniques was spread further in Norway with the help of the Medieval Project as the aim of *Riksantikvaren* was that this practical knowledge would not be kept within the exclusive group of professionals. On the contrary, it was supposed to be shared among carpenters through courses arranged by the national field of heritage conservation. The restoration practice by using historical means of production was also closely related to the very principles of restoration developed by Popov's workshops, which were supposed to become the common working methods on restoration sites in Norway (Haslestad, 1993, 16). Only human power was supposed to be used from the very beginning to the very end of restoration projects – even the disassembling and reassembly of buildings was supposed to be executed without cranes. The production of copies was also exercised by the same principles: from choosing and felling of timber in the woods, to the traditional methods for transporting timber to the restoration sites, to the preparation of building materials by hand: "*The new parts were copied to the very detail, with appropriate tools and production technique of the period concerned. The available work-saving solutions in form of stabilizers or covering with modern materials are out of the question*" (Haslestad and Storsletten, 1992, 43).

Such uncompromising principles of restoration were transferred to Norway by the Medieval Project, which had the ambitious goal of repairing medieval notched-log buildings in the period of 1991-1999 as part of the practical training within the courses on traditional workmanship. These buildings were supposed to become good examples of restoration, worth imitating in the future, and therefore no compromises were made as far as the production of historical building materials or the use of historical building techniques were concerned (Ponnert and Sjömar, 1993, 34).

Due to the special but uncertified knowledge required, as well as the working processes which were rather distinct from the ordinary procedures within the field of large-scale building industry, the restorations that were carried out as part of educational training within the Medieval Project avoided the requirements for competitive bidding (Bjørvik, 2009, 8), as in the case of the Outbuilding Project in Røros. The courses organized by the Medieval Project, however, were obligatory for any craftsman who wanted to become a member of the newly forming subfield of traditional workmanship in Norway, and in that way the embodied craftsman's knowledge became institutionalized through the standardized vocational education, which could be later proven by course certificates. Participation on these courses also enabled a craftsman to build not only his cultural capital by education and training, but also his social capital by becoming part of the establishing network throughout the country. Around 200 new craftsmen were educated in the practical training, 40 of them forming the core group within the Medieval Project (ibid., 6), which had a total budget of 34 million Norwegian Kroner, and during which 255 buildings were restored in various areas of Norway (Fjeldheim, 2012, 109).

In addition to the foreign experience within the creation of the principles of historic workmanship, local craftsmen (*tradisjonsbærere*) possessing more recent knowledge and skills in traditional rather than historical building techniques (i.e. embodied cultural capital – consciously or unconsciously acquired knowledge) were also employed as master teachers at the courses for the Medieval Project, organized by *Riksantikvaren*. Even though the traditional knowledge possessed by the local craftsmen did not stem from medieval times, they were employed as long-term practitioners of their crafts. Consequently, the older and deep-rooted handicraft skills (not institutionalized cultural capital) were the main criteria for their acknowledgement.

At the start of the Medieval Project, a shortage of elder practitioners of traditional crafts was declared as a national and international problem, and therefore the remaining craftsmen were sent to different regions within the country to ease the deficiency. At the same time, however, regional diversity within building traditions was realized, therefore, there was the rule followed – the training period of traditional craftsmen from foreign regions was shortened so that proto-industrial techniques were revived locally after awareness of the *logic of practice* within the establishing subfield of traditional workmanship was conceived. Consequently, the leaders of the Medieval Project highlighted the regionality of building traditions and aimed at sustaining those regional differences by avoiding the merge that could be provoked by the Medieval Project (Haslestad, 1993, 16–17).

However, as the results were evaluated after the end of the Medieval Project, the broader international influence on the formation of the *Riksantikvaren*'s programme was minimized by restricting the foreign impact to the neighbouring Nordic countries, especially by emphasizing the imprint of Hidemark (Bjørvik, 2009, 6; Fjeldheim, 2012, 112). The conclusion was also made that although the initiators of the Medieval Project were not concerned with “*nation-building*”, the result was the opposite. The Medieval Project, initially intended for the revival of professional and objective medieval

craftsmanship, in the aftermath was equated to the ideological programme of National Romanticism, which flourished in Norway in the 19th century and was grounded by linking “the medieval” to “the Norwegian”: “*If nobody within the Medieval Project thought about nation-building, it is not that difficult to find such indications in retrospection. There are links back to Ivar Aasen and his coevals. In addition, historians of ideas would say that ‘Lillehammer’s effect’ was also applicable to cultural heritage protection. And where else could the support be found if not in the medieval houses?*” (Fjeldheim, 2012, 116).

3.3 Recognition of “gingerbread joinery” by the developing subfield of traditional workmanship

The “Lillehammer effect” was not just restricted to the revived medieval workmanship; gradually, it even took over the international phenomenon of the Swiss chalet style – the Gothic revival in wooden architecture that was necessary in order to assimilate the changing wooden building traditions of the 19th century as part of traditional workmanship in Norway. The arguments for heritagization of the Swiss chalet style could be traced to Hidemark’s definition of traditional workmanship. For Hidemark, traditional workmanship was not necessarily medieval or regional but rather opposite to the modern one; it was claimed that traditional building techniques had lasted for approximately 1000 years and were fully substituted by industrial building techniques around the year 1950 (Hidemark, 1994, 6). As interpreted by Fjeldheim, even though the traditional building techniques changed, for example from the use of manual pit saws in the medieval times to the introduction of water-powered sawmills with up-and-down saws in the 16th century and even to the spread of circular saws in the 19th century, these alterations were accepted as part of the same building tradition, which was gradually developing. However, such modern building materials as cement stone and aluminium gutters were not considered part of building traditions but rather elements of the ground-breaking industrial building industry (Fjeldheim, 2012, 112).

The year 1950 was also marked as the turning point in the development of building technologies, as stated by Prøsch, one of the initiators of the Outbuilding Project in Røros. He claimed that, traditionally, timber panelling at Røros was flat-hewn or sawn in a sawpit. The surfaces of timber panels covering outbuildings were rarely treated because the local slow-growing pine trees contained a high percentage of resin, which was a natural protection from decay and rot. At the same time, Prøsch noticed that, in the 19th and 20th centuries, the quality of timber used for constructions at Røros had degraded due to the dramatic deforestation process, caused by extensive smelting activities at Røros Copper Works, which demanded enormous amounts of wood. Even though the majority of the outbuildings restored by the Outbuilding Project were dated from that period, reaching as early as the first half of the 19th century, the dating is rather inaccurate as most of them also bore signs of constant repairs and could also contain older timber parts which had been reused. Nevertheless, according to Prøsch, the traditional building methods in Røros were alive until the middle of the 20th century. He indicated that the last example of a manual pitsaw being used is dated to the year 1954 at *Fjølburøasta* summer farm (Prøsch, 1999, 7, 9, 11, 20).

The antiqueness of a building tradition was not a self-sufficient virtue for Prøsch, who also presented some unfortunate examples of traditional building techniques used in the construction of outbuildings at Røros which did not pass the test of time. He mentioned the traditional use of clay and chalk mortar around chimneys which dissolved in the rain; therefore, the modern alternative – cement mortar – was recommended for reparations. Simultaneously, in other cases such as repair work for dry-stone foundations, use of cement mortar was criticized as it caused damage to the old constructions by expanding or shrinking due to shifting humidity and temperature. It was also indicated that cement mortar should not be used for foundations of wooden buildings at all because it traps moisture and leads to rotting of sill logs (ibid., 12). However, as depicted in the picture below and will be described further on, these recommendations were not followed thoroughly in Røros.



Figure 59. The modern solution - the concrete patched on foundations of the historical wooden building at *Kaffestuggugård*. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016)

Another traditional technique denounced by Prøsch was the established practice in the 18th century of plastering the inner walls of cowsheds to achieve better insulation, ease cleaning and make the room lighter. Plastering was carried out by covering the diagonally placed wooden laths with a mixture of lime and clay and finishing it with lime plaster. The traditional materials were later substituted with cement plaster. Nevertheless, despite the use of traditional or modern plaster, this still led to an unfortunate result, according to Prøsch, because such a construction prevented the flow of moisture. It was noted that most of the cowsheds in Røros, which were thereby upgraded, developed substantial damage as the inner side of the logs were rotting (ibid., 13).

Moreover, Prøsch was rather critical of the practical application of the ideal of “procedural authenticity” on the full scale, stating that the continuity of building traditions at Røros is

not possible because the tradition, in its most common sense, was broken in the 20th century. Interestingly, he does not mention the introduction of industrial building techniques, but points to the changing lifestyles caused by the gradually eradicating urban agriculture as the main reason for the rupture in traditional building methods. He even quotes Jokilehto, stating that *“so long as a tradition continues, construction may be maintained, repaired, rebuilt, repainted or redecorated respecting traditional forms and rituals; authenticity could be identified – if it is all possible – not so much in the originality of the material or form, but rather in the process”* (Jokilehto, 1994, quoted by Prösch, 1999, 18).

Looking from the present perspective, the proposition could be made that Prösch’s considerations were ahead of his time. The legacy of the Swiss chalet style was a natural part of Røros townscape for him as well as even more recent architectural additions, formed by the constantly developing field of building industry and, therefore, disliked by the field of heritage conservation. Even in 2004, he expressed his critique against “the beautification” of a transformer station in Røros, which originally was a concrete building from 1951 but lately has been stylistically adapted to the “true image” of Røros, by adding wooden weatherboarding on the façades and installing a saddle roof (Prösch, 2004, 77). His acknowledgement of industrial building materials and techniques, as well as changing architectural expressions as a part of the integral history of Røros, indicates another emerging paradigm within the field of heritage, which considers functionalism and the Swiss chalet style equal parts of the historical townscape.



Figure 60. The repaired façade of an outbuilding was evaluated as a good example of creating “added value” and “preservation by use” by J. Brønne (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 51). (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2009, p. 54).



Figure 61. The choice for contemporary windows clearly stating their date of origin, instead of copies of historical windows, is getting more popular in the old town centre of Røros (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).

Prøsch was also sincere in acknowledging that all interventions, performed according to the principle of “procedural authenticity” or not, lead to the loss of authenticity of that object in general. Therefore, two main rules were introduced as guidelines for the Outbuilding Project, which reflected the rationale of the Venice Charter: “- *minimum intervention and replacement*; - *repair having priority over replacement*” (ibid., 18). Interestingly, the imperative of using traditional workmanship in every single case of restoration was not indicated and the choice between the modern and traditional workmanship was left for an executive craftsman and a heritage manager to make. The main aim of reviving the lost building traditions at Røros was the expansion of range in those choices. Consequently, from a few above-presented examples, the proposition could be made that one of the main local initiators of the Outbuilding Project at Røros was not guided by complete refusal of modern building techniques, but rather the objective technical qualities of building materials, according to their way of usage, were considered to be of higher priority.

Interestingly, Hidemark, the founder of the paradigm of traditional workmanship, also claimed that the age of a particular building technology did not unquestionably equate to its high quality, which means that the medieval building techniques were not necessarily considered superior to later developments. According to Hidemark, perfection of traditional building technologies was reached at the beginning of the 20th century but then degraded after World War II as industrial building techniques were based on light structural constructions, supplemented with “*plastic membranes, carcinogenic mineral wool, sealing paints*; the so called ‘*construction*’ was finally decorated with brick imitating covering.

There should be a question raised: where could the technical morality be found today – such technical morality that could provide sensorially, sensually and visually logic construction?” (Hidemark, 1994, 7). According to Hidemark, the further development of industrial building techniques after World War II led to the loss of importance of the first component of the classical Vitruvian trinity: strength, utility and beauty (*firmitas, utilitas et venustas*) while the latter two were still applicable. The loss of strength (*firmitas*) of structures, however, resulted in degraded technical morality and their transience, meaning that to satisfy short-term needs (*utilitas*) only the external design (*venustas*) was included.

In line with Hidemark, Christensen specified that it was only in the 1950s that the traditional building techniques, based on historical principles, were fully abandoned for the first time, and the disruption was marked by the prevalence of glass wool used as insulation material. The spread of glass wool, in turn, caused overwhelming changes as notched-log constructions were completely overthrown by timber framework, not only in the construction of outbuildings but in residential houses as well. Christensen noted that even though the timber framing had been widely introduced, with the spread of the Swiss chalet style in dwelling constructions, mainly only entrance porches and verandas were half-timbered by then. The core of a dwelling house in the Swiss chalet style was still often notched from logs by hand as such construction was still considered the best insulator. Moreover, due to the prevailing tradition of reusing old timber, it often appeared that the cores of Swiss chalet style structures were composed from recycled logs, dated long before the final building was assembled. Consequently, it was even claimed that despite the fact that the Swiss chalet style was created in the spirit of the age of industrialism, these buildings were not entirely the products of industrial building production in Norway (Christensen, 1994, 69).

Thus, the difference between the original medieval wooden craftsmanship and the Gothic revival in the Swiss chalet style was not defined by the sharp shift from handmade craftsmanship to industrialized workmanship in Norway. As stated by Christensen, the *rationalization* of woodworking in the 19th century was based on the use of templates only, while decorations were still handmade despite the patterns becoming repetitive: *“much of the decorative work was performed during winter by using centre-bit and compass saw. It was much faster to produce the ornaments in such a way than working with a wood chisel and a knife”* (ibid., 71). Differently from the medieval stave churches, where every detail could have various and individual motifs, the Gothic revival decorations were rationalized by homogenization and standardization. The very same ideals of rationalization were later followed by functionalism even though the ideological programme of design differed. Christensen noticed that, even though functionalism disregarded the Swiss chalet style due to aesthetic repetition of historical styles, it failed to provide an authentic design of timber structures, consistent with the exceptional physical and aesthetic qualities of wood as a building material: *“The woodwork became neutralized, timber buildings started to resemble brick houses again, just as they used to look before the period of Swiss chalet style. Many Norwegian functionalist houses are examples of that”* (ibid., 79).

Another group of coeval critics of the Swiss chalet style, belonging to the *Lysakerkretsen* circle, composed mainly of metropolitan artists influenced by the English Arts and Crafts

movement and idealizing pre-industrial craftsmanship, also failed to recognize the above-stated qualities of Swiss chalet style architecture, which emphasized the exceptional qualities of timber as a building material by highlighting the structural parts of timber details with rich decorations, similarly to the original medieval architecture. In contrast, the revived classical styles (*sorenskriverstilen*) were preferred, and they aimed at imitating the classical design principles of masonry.

As noted by Christensen and Lars Roede, the Swiss chalet style, which was originally introduced by metropolitan architects, grew sufficiently trendy to become part of the popular tradition; thus, one of the most unnational architectural styles truly became part of the real and alive Norwegian tradition of building construction, first and foremost promoted by local master builders (Roede, 2014, 108; Christensen, 2014, 86; Christensen, 1994, 76, 80). Therefore, the following architects' disregard of the Swiss chalet style, which echoed in the field of heritage conservation as well, was primarily the expression of their disrespect to popular and, therefore, "poor" taste, embodied in the label of "gingerbread joinery" (*snekkerglede*). From the 1970s, when the first cases of recognition of the Swiss chalet style within the field of heritage conservation emerged, it was part of the general return to traces of common folk culture, which was evaluated not as a symbol of national heritage but as a manifestation of socialist issues (Christensen, 2014, 89). Consequently, the Swiss chalet style, which was mainly considered the heritage of 19th-century master builders, was slowly embedding itself in the national field of heritage conservation and finally flourished as a consequence of the newly created subfield of traditional workmanship in Norway, particularly in Røros, as carpenters gained a more significant position within the field of heritage conservation.

As illustrated above, the rationale for restoring *Volqvartzgården* back to the Swiss chalet style, led by Heinonen in the 1970s, was not yet commonly comprehensible (see *Seppo Heinonen's unnoticed revolution towards the recognition of Swiss chalet style*). As described by the craftsmen themselves working within the Outbuilding Project, the field of heritage conservation removed most traces of the Swiss chalet style from Røros because "these represented too recent architectural introduction into the vernacular style of Røros. When the style was introduced, it became too popular and therefore it was 'over represented' in Røros, in the conservationist view. The door is one of the few remaining examples of that style in the town now" (Os and Eggen, 2006, 141). The Swiss chalet style gate and door at *Volqvartzgården* were previously devalued by Vreim: "the gate and door were cheaply produced with angular bead-flush panelling (*staffpanel*) and fretsawn frames" (Vreim, 1944, 24). But, as a sign of protest against the common ideology within the field of heritage conservation in the 20th century, the restoration of the Swiss chalet style building elements at *Volqvartzgården* was initiated in 2004 because local craftsmen saw the very same gate and door as traces of a creative craftsman's experimentation, with thin saws and drills in order to produce more delicate and elegant building materials (Os and Eggen, 2006, 141). Due to the owner's concerns about the poor physical condition, the damaged parts were changed for new copies, made according to the historical means of production. This restoration project was one of the first works of the Outbuilding Project, published for the international public, which was also thoroughly described and depicted. The publication disclosed discussions between agents from various fields, which took place

during the restoration process, but was first and foremost intended as educating material for the further developing subfield of traditional workmanship. The solutions taken were based not only on the practical experience of craftsmen, but they also had to correspond to the national and international principles of heritage conservation as the new subfield of traditional workmanship was supposed to be composed from unique and novel types of “*heritage craftsmen*”, who could independently assess the principles of heritage conservation implemented in practice (ibid., 144).

Thus, the Swiss chalet style was finally recognized by the field of heritage conservation due to the input of “*heritage craftsmen*” as they could objectively trace the valuable footprints as signs of general technological development of carpentry, left by their preceding colleagues. However, the most important reason for the return to the Swiss chalet style heritage was to emphasize its neglect by leading architects within the field of heritage conservation. The celebration of carpenter’s delight (*snekkerglede*) as heritage was achieved first and foremost by the efforts of craftsmen themselves, though only after their *logic of practice* was finally recognized within the field of heritage conservation, and their position got more weight as the subfield of traditional workmanship was created.

“*The Swiss chalet style is the natural part of traditional buildings in Røros. This is in accordance with the Venice Charter from 1964*” (Borgos and Storsletten, 2014, 201) – this statement was recently made by the leading supervisors of the Outbuilding Project, a couple of decades after the first initiative of Heinonen to restore the Swiss chalet style façade took place in Røros. However, it was not yet clearly understood that even though the recognition of Swiss chalet style corresponded to the principle of historical equivalence, established by the Venice Charter of 1964, the very same principle also maintained that subsequent historical changes in the original material should be unselectively recognizable and, therefore, all new additions should be visible and readable for present and future generations. The Venice Charter from 1964, which was the product mainly of architects educated in the spirit of modernism, was opposed to the possibility of restoring a heritage object to any former state. However, the contrary principle of procedural authenticity, coined at the Nara Convention, ICOMOS International Wood Committee and employed by the subfield of traditional workmanship, aimed at the opposite: learning to make exact copies of the damaged parts of historical buildings, corresponding to the technological advances and stylistic preferences dominating in the historical period concerned. Consequently, the restoration of historical buildings was no longer just about visual reproduction, as was common during Vreim’s period (see *The discrepancy between what has been preached and what has been practised*); rather, the copies had to be reproduced using historical working procedures in order to be determined as authentic.

3.4 Training in reproduction of authentic copies

The above-described Medieval Project had a huge impact on implementing the Outbuilding Project in practice in Røros in its initial phase. Before the start of the Outbuilding Project in the winter of 1995/96, carpenters who had already participated in the national Medieval Project were invited to come to Røros for 10 weeks to give training in repairing notched-log historical buildings to 15 local craftsmen (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 51). The 15 chosen trainees were carpenters who had some embedded capital from before, i.e. they had already been working in the field of building construction as carpenters for some years. The teachers were arranged by *Riksantikvaren* while the managerial duties were carried out locally. It is worth mentioning that among the local organizers of these initial courses, there was also the above-discussed Røros Society of Crafts (*Røros Håndverkerforeningen*) (see *The formation of the exclusive "guild" of traditional craftsmen in Røros*) (Prøsch, 1999, 17). It indicates that initially this historical local organization, which also contributed to the cultural uprising in Røros at the beginning of the 20th century (see *The local efforts in continuity of technical craftsmanship*), also took part in the creation of the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros. However, as described above, further collaboration for the Outbuilding Project with this local historical association became rather complicated.

In order to gain more practice and knowledge in traditional workmanship, which was initially considered deficient in Røros, some local carpenters were also sent to other restoration sites in Norway; they also participated in study tours abroad, such as at *The Nordic Centre for Preservation of Crafts (Nordisk center til bevarelse af håndværk)* in Raadvad, Denmark. Carpenters from Røros helped to repair medieval log buildings in *Agder* and *Telemark*, guided by the head of the Medieval Project, Haslestad. As recognized by the leaders of the Outbuilding Project, the shared knowledge and experience with participants at the Medieval Project was especially valuable for the craftsmen's environment in Røros as no other educational alternative was available initially (Borgos and Storsletten, 2014, 195).

It seems that both the craftsmen's knowledge of medieval carpentry and the organizational structure of the Outbuilding Project were influenced by the Medieval Project. As indicated by Prøsch, the manager for heritage conservation at Røros at that time, it was actually Haslestad who was the actual leader of the Outbuilding Project during its initial phase of activities. Consequently, Haslestad was responsible for building up the organization from scratch, and that involved not only the arrangement of training, but also the establishment of routines for documentation of restorations as well as setting up the standards for methods and materials used (Prøsch, 1999, 17).

From the very beginning of the Outbuilding Project, the requirement was posed by the main financial donor, *Riksantikvaren*, to document every process of practical restoration because the documented material was supposed to be shared within the established subfield of traditional workmanship throughout the whole country. This extended to the requirement to document the managerial procedures and the delivery of building materials to create the possibility of transferring the same operational procedures to other locations

(Prösch, 1999, 4). The thorough documentation process also enabled the Outbuilding Project to be labelled a research activity.

Craftsmen were expected to reveal the history of heritage objects by tracing signs left by the tools of their professional forerunners. Thus, extensive courses were organized that encompassed the documentation of built historical objects down to the details of the craftsmanship applied.

Later on, the periodization of traditional workmanship was finally introduced throughout the courses, and the focus shifted from carpentry techniques, introduced with the help of the Medieval Project, to a wider range of various woodworking, masonry, smithery and painting techniques of different periods aimed at more diverse purposes. For instance, for nearly two decades, Days of Craftsmanship (*Håndverksdager*) were organized annually by the Røros Museum's Preservation Centre, in cooperation with the Outbuilding Project. The courses served interested participants from the general public as well as craftsmen who had already been working within the field of traditional workmanship on the local or national scale. The courses provided the possibility of expanding the network of attendants further within the fields of heritage conservation in general, and in traditional workmanship in particular. Participation led to a diploma, or if a final written report was provided by participants, they would get study credits, in cooperation with the bachelor program in Traditional Building Crafts and Technical Building Preservation, taught at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (formerly at the High School of Sør-Trøndelag) in Trondheim.

The courses, organized during the Days of Craftsmanship, contributed to elevating the institutionalized cultural capital of participants locally. Moreover, recently another opportunity to gain documented education within the subfield of traditional workmanship arose, arranged by Røros Museum's Preservation Centre, in cooperation with Innlandet Vocational School (*Fagskolen Innlandet*), providing education in preservation of historical buildings for carpenters, joiners, masons, painters and tinsmiths. The rationale for such vocational training lay primarily in the *Riksantikvaren* requirement that the training should be held at a vocational school in order for it to be eligible for state subsidies for restoration of listed historical buildings. Thus, the training system in the subfield of traditional workmanship gained a more transparent and structured character, by simultaneously ensuring the interests and the very existence of the field of heritage conservation itself.

Most importantly for this PhD research project, the above-mentioned Days of Craftsmanship were open to the general public. Thus, by applying the method of participant observation in 2011 and 2016, my own attendance at the Days of Craftsmanship extended my insight into the subfield of traditional workmanship. This participation allowed me not only to follow the official training programme, but also to take part in informal discussions and to observe the practices of the representatives of the subfield of traditional workmanship in action.

My attendance also enabled me to realize how broad and diverse the very concept of traditional workmanship is, encompassing not only spatial and chronological differences, but also similarities that are still sometimes narrowed down, seeking to claim territorial

dependency, social status, ethnic ownership. However, at the same time, it should be noted that the mentioned restraints contradict the simultaneously growing diversification of the subfield of traditional workmanship by extending periodization in all the areas of this subfield. For example, the annual courses in various traditional painting techniques, instructed by the painting restorer Brønne, did not just focus on the oldest types of surface treatment, based on local materials such as wood tar or cod liver oil. When I participated in the course on Traditional Surface Treatment (*Tradisjonelle overflatebehandlinger*) in 2011, I also observed training in more recent types of painting, such as with composition paint and linseed oil paint. These paints were introduced to Norway in the 18th century and contained ingredients such as rye flour and linseed oil – products that had traditionally been imported to Norway (Hodne, 1992, 48; Hodne and Honningdal, 2000, 99).



Figure 62. The display of diverse painting techniques taught at Days of Craftsmanship in 2011, varying in composition, historical periodization, source of origin, purpose, etc. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė in 2011, during the Days of Craftsmanship at Røros).

Periodization was also introduced in the specific area of joinery. For example, training in the reproduction of planes was arranged in 2011; in 2015, courses in the reproduction of floor planks and wooden shingles took place at Røros; and in 2016, woodworking courses focused on repairing doors by copying the historical techniques from the 18th and 19th centuries. Consequently, the focus of training in traditional woodworking was shifting from the use of medieval axes to a greater variety of working tools, such as the application of hand planes which were of a later origin. Thus, there was greater understanding of the concept of traditional workmanship, not only involving the static and local way of construction, but also the shifting nature of building techniques throughout history as well as the constant presence of foreign influences.

Consequently, the growing variety of training in the subfield of traditional workmanship has contributed to widening the range of choices for craftsmen to expand their cultural capital. At the same time, the growing diversity of crafts, practised and taught within the subfield of traditional workmanship, also indicates that traditional workmanship as such cannot be considered a homogeneous and static phenomenon any longer. Furthermore, the romanticized idealization of traditional workmanship as static and immutable heritage, belonging to some sterile and genuine ethnic group or a particular “golden” age in history, has gradually been dissolving because the woodworking traces from various periods of time have been recognized as distinctive and valuable *per se*. The question remains, however, if such a discovery comes as an unintentional outcome of the periodization of traditional workmanship, i.e. was the outcome unexpected by the representatives of the field of heritage conservation or by the representatives of the subfield of traditional workmanship in Norway?

It was during the woodworking course in 2016 that the information about the production of doors in the 18th and 19th centuries was acquired. The differing *logic of practice* was also revealed as having distinct standards that were based not on sensual nostalgia but on the practical needs and technical possibilities of the former centuries. The objective differences, shaped by differing measuring systems, also varying in space and time, were emphasized as shaping the distinct standards, and binding together the historical woodworking tools, the particular woodworking products, and even the final architectural dimensions. Moreover, some craftsmen, who had quite extensive experience within the subfield of traditional workmanship, revealed during the Days of Craftsmanship in Røros in 2016 that the longer they had been working with the historical buildings and woodworking tools, the more they got used to the historical measuring system, and gradually they withdrew the modern Norwegian yardstick (*tommestokk*), invented by a Swedish engineer in 1883 and indicating both the metric system (introduced to Norway in 1875) and the Norwegian yard scale (readjusted to differ from the Danish scale in 1824) (Hofstad, 2015). This example displays how extensive practice within the subfield of traditional workmanship gradually shapes the irregular habitus of a craftsman, making it so distinct from the contemporary craftsman’s rationale.



Figures 63, 64, 65, 66. Woodworking tools and timber products – parts of the same measuring system of the 18th century, differing from modern carpentry not only by means of production, but also due to distinct standardization (Photos taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė in 2016, during the Days of Craftsmanship at Røros).

However, when it comes to evaluations of aesthetic qualities of woodworking products, in this case the doors originating in the 18th century, rather subjective interpretations were presented during the guided tour of Røros, aimed at the participants at the Days of Craftsmanship in 2016. The informal discussions among the guided craftsmen, coming from various areas of Norway, revealed that their aesthetic judgements were grounded on a rather hostile *a priori* approach, directed against any traces of splendid baroque decorations as signs of external superficiality and foreign rupture at Røros. For example, the door of Hiort's funeral chapel, carved by the Swedish joiner Ljungberg (for a more detailed description, see *Svend Aspaas as the rural genius of practical artistry*), was depreciated by craftsmen as a provincial copy of poor quality, ordered by the local wealthy elite who were aiming to show off by creating a *meme* (cultural imitation) of baroque doors in Central Europe. It was noticed that the core construction of the door and the excellence in craftsmanship was inferior, especially on the back. At the same time, the observation was made that the poor quality was hidden under the subsequently attached, richly carved wooden embellishments on the front façade of the door. Thus, the visiting craftsmen aimed to prove that the decorative baroque style did not meet the pragmatic *logic of practice*, supposedly common to the local society, and therefore was seen as rather foreign in Røros, which still remains a symbol of pure Norwegian craftsmanship for the majority of representatives of the field of heritage conservation throughout the country.



Figure 67. A carpenter's observation of the attached wooden carving on the front façade of the main door at P. P. Hiort's funeral chapel. (Photos taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016)



Figure 68. The poor quality in craftsmanship was noticed on the back side of the same door. (Photos taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė in 2016, during the Days of Craftsmanship at Røros).

Keeping the above in mind, the question remains open about whether the training in reproduction of authentic copies, which has become a popular industry, cultivated by the field of heritage conservation, will fully include all the periods of traditional workmanship in its educational programme? There is a risk that the actual historical traces that represent the disfavoured foreign influences will be forgotten again, by selectively erasing them from the authorized heritage discourse within the subfield of traditional workmanship. In order to prevent selective historical memory, the challenge should be met in grounding the *logic of practice* for training in reproductions of these local copies that are considered lesser imitations of international styles.

It must be noted that the early signs of such a turn in the subfield of traditional workmanship are taking place locally, where an initiative aimed at reproducing a copy of “P. P. Hiort’s church”, part of the devastated baroque estate at Engan, has recently been taken up by a new generation of students in the subfield of traditional workmanship, trained at the above-mentioned programmes at NTNU and Innlandet Vocational School. The process of reproduction was demonstrated publicly at the Røros Museum’s Preservation Centre during the traditional local trade fair (*Rørosmartnan*) in February 2017. One of the participating groups of students presented the project as “*an attempt to build a copy or to recreate one version of Hiort’s church. [...] We are trying to reconstruct it with the most authentic working tools and working processes possible. [...] There are no standard solutions, which we are used to. So every time, there is a need to reset oneself to point zero, to think in a new way, and to study the original building thoroughly to understand the solutions, which were made back then. So, it is a very interesting process to try to reproduce something because you get closer to that craftsman, who had built it originally, to understand his way of thinking, and how the way towards a solution was found back then*” (Østby, 2017).

The interview demonstrated that the process of reconstruction of “P. P. Hiort’s church” was experienced as non-standard, i.e. not only differing from “modern” workmanship but also distinct from the solutions common to “traditional” craftsmanship. Therefore, both the exceptionally decorated appearance and the structural solutions of this building could be regarded as belonging to the same category of local traditional craftsmanship. The recent turn of the local subfield of traditional workmanship towards the exceptional buildings influenced by “foreign” architectural styles could be regarded as a symbolic continuation of the initiative taken by the local cultural elite for safeguarding the remains of the historical baroque estate. The original “P. P. Hiort’s church” was saved by local efforts when it was translocated to the open-air museum at Doktortjønna in 1949, with the hope of drawing the attention of the national field of heritage conservation (see *The open-air museum as a manifestation of the local significance*). Once again, in 1988, Ødegaard promoted the protection of the broader cultural landscape, not exceptionally in relation to the legacy of urban farming alone (Ødegaard, 1988, 28). “P. P. Hiort’s church” was returned to its original location in 1983 for that purpose. However, decades later, the original building is not found on the national list of heritage buildings, nor was the location where the former baroque garden used to be situated included in the extended area of the World Heritage Site in 2010.

3.5 Initiatives in the field of heritage conservation which ended up serving the field of building industry

Despite the controversy and diverse aesthetic evaluations of the “provincial” reproductions of baroque architecture as being foreign or integral components in the historical development of building traditions in Røros, the technical aspects, defining all trends within traditional workmanship, are supposedly grounded on more objective grounds. No matter which aesthetic trends a historical building was representing, its technical features were assumed to differ from modern buildings, constructed by contemporary building techniques; therefore, the reversed historical building methods, i.e. traditional workmanship, was supposed to be applied in repair work of heritage buildings. The creation of the subfield of traditional workmanship by the national field of heritage conservation was not based on a mere aim of restoring only the “traditional appearance” of buildings; rather, it must have been founded on more objective technical arguments, such as differing natural qualities of modern and historical building materials as well as ancient craftsmen’s knowledge on how to treat those building materials with respect to their natural qualities. As already mentioned before (see *The recognition of “gingerbread joinery” by the developing subfield of traditional workmanship*), Prøsch, one of the initiators of the Outbuilding Project in Røros, maintained that it was not the subjective aesthetic preferences, but rather the differing natural features of building materials and the historical building techniques concerned that should form the rationale of the principle of “procedural authenticity”, implemented by the newly created subfield of traditional workmanship.

At the same time, it must be noted that the principle of “procedural authenticity” was not a novelty; generated by the Outbuilding Project, the creation of the subfield of traditional workmanship was inspired by the paradigm shift within the international field of heritage conservation. On the other hand, the restoration principles of wooden buildings and wooden building details were also slowly maturing locally, but as they were practised by woodworkers as tacit cultural capital, they rarely reached the public arena. The documentation of restoration works was still scarce, and any other forms of explicit statements of restoration principles were not yet used by carpenters before the start of the Outbuilding Project in Røros. The woodworker Olaf Skevik at the Antiquarian Workshops did, however, on the exceptional occasion in 1994, explain the *logic of practice*, similar to the subfield of traditional workmanship, which was not yet created in Røros at that time.

Skevik highlighted the main difference between industrial and manual woodworking, not based on the aesthetic but rather technical criteria, by affirming that the industrial means of production does not take into account the natural qualities of wood as a building material. The differences of how wood as a building material is and was treated starts from the very beginning – the artificial cultivation of trees through industrialized forestry. He notes the following: “*Today a forest is partly fertilized in order to achieve a quick growth. The result of a rapid growth is reached, but that loose wood is cut before maturing with little or no heartwood. [...] The present forestry is too much oriented towards logging. A pine, according to the measurements of old days, was not mature for cutting before it turned 120–150 years old. Pine’s heartwood starts to develop when a tree is 30–40 years old and continues to grow proportionally with a tree. When a tree reaches great age, 120 years or more, the thickness of*

a tree does not increase, but heartwood is still developing. Therefore, an old tree of 150 years has a big portion of heartwood and a sturdy sapwood. Those kinds of wooden materials were used, for example, for windows. [...] Today, when all construction and production of wooden building materials became industrialized, there is no possibility of continuing with such a selective classification of materials” (Skevik, 1994, 45–46). Skevik revealed that previously all parts of a log were used for various appropriate intentions. For those building elements that were mostly exposed to weathering, slowly grown old timber was used, containing a great portion of heartwood. The use of heartwood helped to safeguard the wooden parts from rotting, but also enabled production of high-quality building elements in rather tiny dimensions which, in turn, influenced the overall design of a building.

The natural qualities of wood were not just appreciated in the production of windows; according to Skevik, the former woodworkers processed each panel board and flooring plank by planning them so that the right side would face outwards. Skevik also drew attention to traditional versus industrial mode of preparation of wooden building details: *“Earlier there was pine resin, which protected wood against moisture and rescued it from rotting. Today’s weapon against rotting is pressure impregnation. However, the fluids of pressure impregnation are soaked only as far as heartwood. It is full of resin, which does not let impregnation in. The impregnation companies do not want materials with heartwood! They are impossible to impregnate”* (ibid., 46).

Consequently, the main message of Skevik was that, by considering the natural qualities of wood, the durability of a wooden building was achieved. The possibility for recognizing these natural qualities, however, was seen as being tightly bound with the rather tacit and attached human relation to a material, which has been interrupted by the industrial means of production: *“Think about all the work which has been put into building it. All the materials, every tiniest moulding, were handled and sorted out by people who had knowledge in the qualities of these materials. Today a new building comes as a finished product on a truck, almost untouched by a human hand”* (ibid., 45). Thus, differently from today’s argument for heritage preservation, based on the rationalized calculations of embodied energy in heritage objects, the carpenter suggested taking into consideration the knowledge of materials, embodied in historical buildings.

It was claimed by Skevik that a centenarian window, if repaired properly, could be preserved for another 100 years, which was not the case for industrially produced windows. Consequently, Skevik drew guidelines for traditional workmanship within the field of heritage conservation in 1994, stating that the industrial means of production are considered unsuitable in restorations. The reasons for rejecting the industrial means of production were not based on aesthetic nuances, as emphasized before by historians of art or architects, but rather on differing physical qualities of industrially grown, prepared and produced wooden building materials.

Already in 1974, the local heritage conservation enthusiast Ødegaard expressed the need for collecting the replaced old building elements at *Malmplassen*, such as doors, windows, cornices, locks, hinges and other hardware accessories so that they could be reused in future restorations: *“The need for older type of materials for supplementation of damaged panel*

cladding, logs, etc. emerged during various reparation and restoration works. When old buildings are demolished in or outside the town, the building materials are thrown away or used as firewood’ (Ødegaard, 1974, 77).

As the previous chapters have shown, old building materials, even such exceptional elements as carved columns from the old church in Røros (see *The Enlightenment-inspired descriptions of Røros*), were reused for rather pragmatic building purposes in the 18th century. Moreover, as the mining industry flourished, and the local resources of timber became rather scarce, the reuse of building materials even became part of the local building traditions. The overall quality of wooden building materials, however, decreased as dimensions got smaller and timber logs got branchier and became thinner at the top as trees were growing up less densely. As noted by Prøsch, the quality of timber building materials decreased due to the above-mentioned reasons in the 18th and 19th centuries, and therefore even the structural constructions of outbuildings possessed traces of continuous additions, adaptations and repairs, made by various techniques in different periods (Prøsch, 1999, 20).

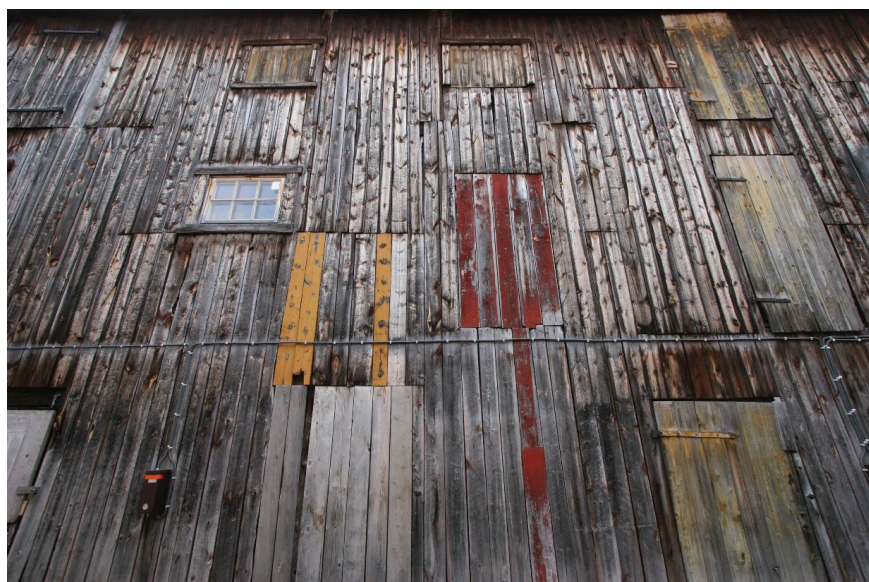


Figure 69. The domestic tradition of recycling at Røros nowadays, reached by bypassing the antiquarian ideals (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).

The limited timber resources at Røros led to the establishment of the traditional practice of splicing (*skjøting, spunsing*) and recycling, resulting in the joint collections of timber from various periods of time. During the dendrological analysis, conducted by the Outbuilding Project in 1995 at one of the barns on *Kjerkgata* street, various logs from 1638 to the very end of the 19th century were found (Prøsch, 2004, 76). Structural parts, such as notched logs, were traditionally spliced by installing new or old pieces of timber. Even the decorative additions were reused, usually by the “lower” classes, due to “social degradation” of historic

embellishments as they were considered old-fashioned by the local elite, for example in the case of *Aspaasgården* (see *Svend Aspaas as the rural genius of practical artistry*).

Thus, the tradition of recycling the replaced old building materials was caused by their “social degradation”, or as the result of deficiency of new building resources. However, as the availability of building materials improved quantitatively (at the beginning of the 20th century, around 50 different kinds of building materials were available locally while by the end of the 20th century their number reached 40,000 (Prøsch, 1999, 12)), it was realized that their quality no longer met the technical and aesthetic features of old buildings. The perception of modern building materials as incompatible with historical buildings gradually evolved within the field of heritage conservation. Moreover, it might be claimed that this perception was realized rather too late as no collection of withdrawn old materials or elements was assembled conjointly during the lengthy period of urban conservation in Røros, despite the above-mentioned precocious proposal, made by Ødegaard in 1974. Even though the local building tradition of recycling old building materials could be considered environmentally sustainable today, this historically established local practice was not revived either by the field of heritage conservation or by its newly established subfield of traditional workmanship, for example the Outbuilding Project. One of the interviewed leading craftsmen working within the Outbuilding Project at Røros confirmed that: “*We are not strongly focused on recycling. This was rather a preceding practice. We have placed much more focus on the recognition of qualities of those building materials that are withdrawn when seeking to install new materials of the same quality. Some common regulations are determined, ensuring that wooden materials should encompass 70% heartwood*” (Interview with local carpenter no. 1, 2009).

The splicing of new wooden parts in historical material has been criticized by Fjeldheim for being a rather modern practice, created by the Medieval Project and spread out by the newly created subfield of traditional workmanship, following the dogma of the modern field of heritage conservation, embedded by the Venice Charter of 1964, and expected to preserve as much of the original material as possible during any restoration works. Røros was presented as an exceptional example, where the splicing of logs became most common due to the longest and best-established subfield of traditional workmanship in Norway. According to Fjeldheim, the splicing of wooden elements shows the artistry in woodworking and aims to sustain the high social status of traditional carpenters today. Fjeldheim also believed that historically, such a practice could not be considered traditional as it was contradicting the *logic of practice*, by weakening constructions and being too time-consuming and, therefore, also too expensive: “*As in reality jointing techniques differ from those that were used traditionally, they cause a loss of authenticity. It could be claimed that in many cases the traditional reparations are completely absent. [...] The widespread splicing, which could be observed in many projects today, is time-consuming and therefore expensive. To change a whole log or to cover a whole wall with weather boarding in most of the cases would have been much more rational*” (Fjeldheim, 2008, 141).



Figure 70. The traces of splicing new log elements at Per Amundsagården (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).



Figure 71. The gradual recent changes of the damaged parts of panelling at Per Amundsagården (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).



Figure 72. The overall image of the inner yard of Per Amundsagården, “disturbed” by the bit-by-bit replacements of the decayed parts (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).

Thus, Fjeldheim, presently leading the “alternative public institution” of heritage conservation (*Fortidsminneforeningen*), criticized the prevailing practice, established by *Riksantikvaren*, for focusing too much on the preservation of the original materials by means of traditional workmanship, which, according to him, were not even always traditional. He based his assumptions on remarks by Lars Roede, an architect and museum curator, who introduced the term “museum panelling” (*museumspanel*) as an antiquarian, “materialist”, but rather untraditional practice of splicing weather boards, which hinders the transmission of visual authenticity of a whole façade (Roede, 2004, 39). However, it should be noted that, differently from Fjeldheim, Roede did not denounce the “materialistic” approach, but instead he denounced the uncritical and dogmatic cultivation of the principle of “procedural authenticity” since, according to his claims, neither traditional workmanship nor traditional materials necessarily ensured the durability of the original structures. On the contrary, Roede noticed that the application of traditional workmanship and materials often provided short-term results, and the subsequent constant repair work was considered more expensive today than in historical times when manual labour was much cheaper (Roede, 2010).

At Røros though, the tradition of economizing wood as a building material and the continuous recycling of building elements was proven as becoming part of the local building tradition while continuous antiquarian maintenance was ensured by creating a subfield of traditional workmanship, operating mainly on public funds. At the same time, in an attempt to reduce permanent repair work, the principle was adopted of only adding new high-quality timber elements to the old building material, which was believed to ensure the durability of buildings. In this way, the principle of recycling old building elements was abandoned while the ideals of environmental sustainability were restricted to what concerned the extension of the lifespan of historical buildings: “*The Uthusprosjektet [the Outbuilding Project] exemplifies the interrelation of traditional workmanship, use of regional resources, local supplies and limited transportation. Such factors have implications for the environment and contribute to a sustainable development. [...] Knowledge gained from the preservation work indicates that traditional building constructions and work techniques are highly resistant to damage and destruction caused by biological and climatic factors. This knowledge should be made part of general building enterprise*” (Prøsch, 1999, 44).

The use of new local materials rather than reused old ones was supposed to ensure the implementation of environmental ideals; therefore, a company, *Materialbanken*, was established alongside the Outbuilding Project in 1996, aiming first and foremost at boosting the local economy. As described by one of the initiators of *Materialbanken*, the growing national demand for “traditional” materials was one of the important factors for its establishment: “*The Uthusprosjektet [the Outbuilding Project] has several dimensions related to business and industry. Workers with special competence in restoration work are much in demand. Sale of traditional materials from our region resulted in the establishment of the Material Bank*” (ibid., 14). The *Materialbanken* at Røros was intended to serve not only local but also national interests, and therefore the founding of this company, as well as the Outbuilding Project, was enabled by the personal engagement of the minister of environmental protection, Torbjørn Berntsen (Haagenrud, 2008, 18).

Both *Materialbanken* and the Outbuilding Project served to strengthen the newly forming subfield of traditional workmanship locally and nationally, similar to other “banks” of building materials, established earlier by the Medieval Project. Various “banks” of building materials throughout the country were united as an alternative chain of supply for the subfield of traditional workmanship, providing different building materials depending on the natural conditions of the place where these “banks” were established, such as timber, sawn by a traditional sash saw, traditionally produced tar, woodworking tools and nails made by a smith, bricks, and cleaved, planed or sawn shingles (Bjørvik, 2009, 7). The national alternative chain of supply for the subfield of traditional workmanship solved the problem that was raised by Ødegaard in 1974, i.e. the complicated supply of building materials (both traditional and modern) that were unavailable locally: “*It could be useful to keep a storage of new materials in demand. Especially such materials which are not produced by local enterprises, for example birch bark for turf roofs, hooks for holding logs on turf roofs [ringvedkroker], paint pigments which are difficult to obtain at customary specialized retailers, etc., but also other types of materials, such as waterproofing membrane for turf roofs, asbestos cement (Eternit) of special quality, stain, linseed oil, remedies for anti-rust treatment and preservatives*” (Ødegaard, 1974, 77).

Materialbanken at Røros mainly provided pine heartwood materials not only locally, but also for such prestigious national restoration projects as the reconstruction of Haltdalen stave church, a national Norwegian gift for Iceland, in commemoration of the thousandth anniversary of the conversion to Christianity, and by recalling the first church built in Iceland by Olav Tryggvason in 1000. *Materialbanken* delivered heartwood pine timber to the reconstructions of medieval buildings and also to restorations of prestigious heritage buildings of high national value, dated to subsequent historical periods, such as Bygdøy Royal Estate (*Bygdøy Kongsgård*). Moreover, *Materialbanken* also supplied timber for constructions of modern buildings of national significance, such as Preikestolen Mountain Lodge (*Preikestolen fjellstue*). In the latter case of modern construction, there was weatherboarding of heartwood pine wood, treated with ferric sulphate “*in order to accelerate the aging processes of nature itself*”, and it was considered to be one of the most popular products from *Materialbanken* at that time (Haagenrud, 2008, 19).

The above-described example indicates that, over the course of time, *Materialbanken* started to mainly serve the large-scale building industry field, especially in terms of the way wooden building materials were treated. The latter case indicates that the company did not fully follow the initial specifications, indicated by the architect Larsen, one of the initiators of the formation of the subfield of traditional workmanship in Norway (see *The turn to traditional workmanship – the international causes and national effects*). Larsen emphasized and aimed at promoting the untreated heartwood pine wood as a suitable building material for weatherboarding of modern design and construction buildings because of the natural durability of such timber products. Interestingly, Larsen’s specifications of heartwood pine products for *Materialbanken* were based on traditional know-how by referring to Jon Bojer Godal (Larsen, 2005, 8), possessing the exceptional social and cultural capital within the subfield of traditional workmanship in Norway. In that way, effort was made to transfer the technical traditional knowledge about wood as a building material into the field of large-scale building industry, by creating fashionable architectural designs of façades of modern buildings. It appears,

however, that *Materialbanken* went in a different direction; even though the company primarily served the large-scale building industry, instead of the initially intended subfield of traditional workmanship, heartwood pine products were first and foremost available for the popular market of modern mountain cottage constructions, which could be classified as belonging to the same field of large-scale building industry but using rather romanticized and idealized images of “traditional” architecture.

As one of the craftsmen working on the Outbuilding Project complained: “*The boom of notched-log mountain cabins during the last 10 to 15 years was a much more important market for Materialbanken. Only 5–10% of its trade went to reparations, while 80–90% to constructions of new log cabins*” (Interview with local carpenter no. 1, 2009). The reasons for such neglect could be explained by the change in the ownership of the company. If *Materialbanken* was initially owned by Røros municipality, in the same way as the Outbuilding Project, the ownership was later shared with private forestry and sawmill enterprises that were focused on gaining larger economic capital instead of sustaining the company’s exceptional position within the subfield of traditional workmanship.

As the company’s ownership was taken over by private enterprises, the pine heartwood products were treated not as cultural resources but rather as popular commodities, providing economic capital mainly. As claimed by an interviewed representative of *Materialbanken*, the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros became a minor client due to too high expectations that were hardly realizable (Interview with a representative of *Materialbanken*, 2011). Thus, it was apparent that the *logic of practice* between the representatives of *Materialbanken* and the Outbuilding Project started to differ as these two enterprises became parts of two opposing fields – the field of large-scale building industry and the subfield of traditional workmanship, which still survives in Røros only under the guardianship of the national field of heritage conservation.

In 1999, *Materialbanken* was merged with the Association of Forest Owners (*Glommen*), and in 2005, the sawmill *Røes Sag* in *Vingelen* was also incorporated. Røros municipality at that time still owned 32% of the joint stock, but in 2014 *Materialbanken* was fully absorbed by the building industry field and became a constituting part of the private timber manufacturing company *Alvdal Skurlag*. Consequently, not only the initial idea of *Materialbanken* but the very company itself disappeared, proving the lack of autonomy of the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros and the need for further public administration and continuous governmental economic support of this subfield in Røros.

The case of *Materialbanken* demonstrates that an important component of the local subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros did not survive due to low demand for its products of restricted cultural production in the local open market. At the same time, the initial priorities and primary goals of *Materialbanken* were changed after the ownership of the company was transferred to the field of large-scale building industry, maintaining a different *logic of practice* and a differing composition of appreciated capital. The large-scale building industry field prioritized the raising of economic capital, and the heartwood pine (*malmfuru*) was used merely as a feature of its exceptional trademark, designated for a particular segment of clients in the open market, interested in mass-produced products but in their “traditional” appearance.

The endless efforts of the field of heritage conservation to prevent the constantly developing field of building industry influencing the transformations of historical buildings can also be seen in the losing fight for preservation of authentic windows in Røros. As described above, the Outbuilding Project was created as a reaction to social neglect and physical deterioration of outbuildings, hidden in the inner yards of urban farmyards in Røros, because the constant professional and economic support for Røros from the national field of heritage conservation during the second half of the 20th century was targeted at the maintenance of its “true” townscape, which was mostly represented by the main street-facing buildings in the historical town centre. The aesthetic antiquing of the historical centre in the first half of the 20th century also contributed to the creation of the trademark of the “Røros Window”, first and foremost promoted by the national field of heritage conservation at that time (see *The discrepancy between what has been preached and what has been practised*).

One decade after the Outbuilding Project was started, Prøsch warned that the situation had turned upside down – it was now the main residential houses that suffered most due to insufficient control from the field of heritage conservation: “*The main buildings have weak legal protection. The local development plan only safeguards the exterior of the protected buildings. [...] The situation in Bergstaden is such that while outbuildings are taken care of by proficient specialists under supervision of Riksantikvaren and the county municipality, the main buildings are left for owners and craftsmen, having no special competence in important issues of heritage conservation*” (Prøsch, 2004, 82). Furthermore, an observation was made that, in the case of dwellings, unregulated interior repairs and insulations of façades were performed with no reference to the historical styles or materials, and the new additions did not harmoniously interact with the authentic elements, both from an aesthetic and technical perspective. Prøsch objected to the prevailing practice at Røros of using mineral wool or fibreglass together with impervious membranes for insulation of historical buildings as there is long-term damage and physical deterioration of heritage objects due to such airtight decisions. Prøsch also noticed that, even in the case of external “restorations” of façades, which should have been performed according to the antiquarian regulations, such evasions as substitutions of original windows with fabricated “copies” are rather common: “*In addition, original windows, frames, cornices, hardware mountings, etc. are constantly removed and substituted with so called copies or innovative additions*” (ibid., 81).

The “*so called copies*”, as described by Prøsch in 2004, were mainly industrially produced by the local woodworking company *Røros Bruk AS*, which dates back to the end of the 19th century (see *The local efforts in the continuity of technical craftsmanship*) when *Bergstadens snekkeri* was established. In 2009, *Røros Bruk AS* was fused together with the *Sjøvold* company, a successor to another local historical woodworking company, *Røros trevarefabrikk*. Thus, by pointing to its longevity of existence, the company today aims to convince its clients that its products are “*built up on honoured traditions*” (<https://www.isola.no/assets/Norway/Brochure/Rorosbrosjyre2011.pdf>). The company claims to produce “*the original Røros casement windows*” (*Røros orginal koblet*) by following the local traditions of window-production because their external windows have “*real transverse crossbars*” (*ekte gjennomgående sprosser*), instead of the fake ones, imitating small window panes. However, differently from building elements delivered by *Materialbanken* and

the historical window-production techniques, *Røros Bruk AS* uses vacuum pressure impregnation instead of heartwood pine timber, and maintenance-free sealants (*fugemasse*) instead of traditional glazing putty (*kitt*) (<http://www.rorosvinduet.no/vinduer/koblet>). Moreover, the production of windows is no longer manual even though the company uses a picture of an elderly joiner making a window by hand in their advertising and instructional booklets (*Røros Vinduer og Dører*, <https://www.isola.no/assets/Norway/Brochure/Rorosbrosjyre2011.pdf>; <http://www.rorosvinduet.no/assets/Last-ned/Roros-vinduer-og-dorer-monteringsanvisning.pdf>). Simultaneously, however, *Røros Bruk AS* stated in the local newspaper that it had “*the most modern production line in Europe*” in 2009 (Hindklev, 2009).

Despite the above-mentioned discrepancies, it seems that the demand for windows and doors produced at *Røros Bruk AS* is high not only in the local but also national open market, especially in the construction of mountain lodges produced in the “traditional” style. As declared by the company itself: “*The Original Røros Window is the most used type of window at mountain cabins in this country*” (*Røros Vinduer og Dører*, <http://www.rorosvinduet.no/assets/Last-ned/Roros-vinduer-og-dorer-brosjyre.pdf>). Ironically, this is the very same branch of the field of large-scale building industry where *Materialbanken* ended up operating. In addition to the national scale, windows from *Røros Bruk AS* are a popular choice for the inhabitants of the historical town centre of Røros. According to the empirical data, gathered during the survey carried out in Røros historical town centre in 2011, most of the respondents who had replaced old windows with new ones in the period between 2006 and 2011 had chosen copies produced at *Røros Bruk AS* (Jarulaitienė, 2016b, 15; Jarulaitienė and Grytli, 2016, 83).

Their choices were justified by the external visual resemblance to the authentic windows that were replaced. The very process of producing copies, however, did not seem to concern the respondents, nor were they aware of the differences in *modus operandi* between the restricted production of the subfield of traditional workmanship and the mass production of the field of building industry. Thus, it was the fast manufacturing and low cost of mass-produced windows that determined their choice to the detriment of prolonged and therefore more expensive restorations of the authentic windows or the handmade, “procedurally authentic” replicas.

Consequently, the public field of heritage conservation had to intervene again in 2013, by launching a new Windows Programme (*Vindusprogram*) in Røros. The programme offered financial support from public funds of Røros municipality to make evaluations of the physical state of windows and calculate estimations of required actions to be taken as well as their costs. These calculations were made by craftsmen working at the Building Preservation Centre at Røros Museum while owners were left free to choose if these recommendations were to be followed afterwards. The national Cultural Heritage Fund (*Kulturminnefondet*), with its main office situated in Røros, relied on these calculations to provide financial support for the actual works recommended. The Windows Programme was another attempt of the field of heritage conservation to slow down the transformations of Røros that were driven by the open market economy.

Thus, it could be concluded that products in the subfield of traditional workmanship have not yet become common goods in the open market of Røros, even though the supply of such restricted cultural production was built up by the national field of heritage conservation.

Instead of “authentic” copies, a growing demand for “fabricated” imitations has been seen in the local open market. These “fabricated” copies imitated the traditional appearance, but they were industrially produced by the field of large-scale building industry because modern means of production were more cost-effective. Differently from the field of national heritage conservation, economic profitability is the most important indicator in the field of building industry; however, it is still unclear if the economic factor is the most important one for a potential consumer. As will be described further on, the choice for restricted or mass-produced products could also be determined by a varying composition of capital, possessed by an inhabitant or an owner of a historical building, despite the policies imposed or public financial support offered by the field of heritage conservation.

4 Kaffestuggu – the case of tacit revolt of the local subfield of traditional workmanship against the policies of the field of heritage conservation

The below-presented case of constructing an outbuilding in the “traditional” style at *Kaffestuggu* urban farmyard in Røros by the local welfare organization *Bergstadens Vel* appears to be another interesting example of how the subfield of traditional workmanship is operating in the conditions of the local open market economy, different from the governmentally regulated sphere of heritage conservation, continuously “correcting” itself according to the shifting antiquarian ideals by means of public finance.

During the in-depth study of the construction of a new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggu* urban farmyard, the patterns of power games were revealed between the field of heritage conservation and its own product – the subfield of traditional workmanship. However, the analysis of the case of *Kaffestuggu* disclosed rather tacit opposing dispositions, hidden behind the choices for corresponding material solutions.

The case also revealed how important the role of a private owner of a historical property is and that this owner’s decisions are very much preconditioned by the composition of capital that are possessed and prioritized. Therefore, the historical overview, depicting the background for the recent construction project, also proved to be necessary to be able to evaluate the positions of *Kaffestuggu* and its owner – the local welfare organization *Bergstadens Vel* – in the local community. Thus, in this chapter, two studies are presented: a historiographical description of the socio-economic circumstances which enabled or hindered the tangible changes at *Kaffestuggu*, and the following social impacts of the material metamorphosis.

The in-depth case study of a new outbuilding in *Kaffestuggu* courtyard was conducted using Pierre Bourdieu’s socio-anthropological categories, with the aim of revealing a rather tacit struggle between the field of heritage conservation and the subfield of traditional workmanship. The case study reveals how this struggle was provoked by the aspirations of the subfield of traditional workmanship to gain more autonomy from its founder – the field of heritage conservation – by obeying the opposite *logic of practice* which is driving the field of building industry.

4.1 *Bergstadens Vel* – “for the benefit and beautification of Røros Bergstad”

The roots of *Bergstadens Vel* can be traced back to the very beginning of the 20th century, when Ludvig Julius Saxe from Kvinesdal in Southern Norway, one of the first educated foresters in Norway, was employed as forestry inspector in Røros. His scope of interests was very broad: he served as a religious pastor, contributed to establishing the local financial institution – *Røros Sparebank* – and he also fulfilled active communal assignments in the fields of secondary education and tax commissioning.

In 1904, issues related to the pure physical state of common spaces and streets of Røros were raised at a meeting that was initiated by Saxe and where the most prominent “heads of the families” (*husfedre*) of the town were gathered. As a result of the decisions made at that meeting, the common spaces became illuminated with kerosene lanterns, and flagstone passages from the streets were laid thanks to financial support from the above-mentioned *Røros Sparebank*. *Bergstadens Vel* was officially established in 1907, and the first paragraph of the founding act stated that the aim of the association was “to work for everything that will be directed for the benefit and beautification of Røros Bergstad” (Grønn, 1947, 6).

The association comprised 114 members, and Saxe was appointed the primary chairman of *Bergstadens Vel*. The first active years of the association were targeted towards the initial directions set by Saxe, but gradually *Bergstadens Vel* got involved in a much broader range of activities. Grønn, the long-established chairman of the association, evaluated the first 40 years of *Bergstadens Vel* as especially active ones – many businesses were taken over by the association, such as *Kaffestuggu*, the local cinema, public baths and Røros Museum. *Bergstadens Vel* also worked intensively with the reinstatement of the historical seasonal trade fair. Income from the well-functioning businesses was used to help support the start-ups of *Bergstadens Vel* as well as for issues relating to the public interest of the town, such as the installation of water supply and sewage systems, the opening of the first local museum exhibition, the founding of Røros Museum Association, publication of a book on local history *Rørosboka*, and maintenance of the churchyard (Grønn, 1947, 12).

Despite the fact that activities of the association involved various fields, it was repeatedly emphasized that the initial aim of the organization – “the benefit and beautification of Røros Bergstad” – remained the fundamental goal for all the diverse enterprises. It was constantly maintained that the aim was to work towards the common interests of the community, which did not involve economic but rather aesthetic, cultural and sanitary purposes, and the financial capital served only as a means to the ends set.

The association managed to sustain its work despite the two World Wars and the rigours of the interwar period, especially between 1920 and 1929 when poverty prevailed and levels of employment reached extreme lows in Røros. During those years, the administration staff of *Bergstadens Vel* worked as volunteers, without any financial gain, but only because of “the huge interest and sacrifice of the association’s members” (Grønn, 1947, 13). Consequently, one could presume that the accumulation of economic capital was not the incentive for volunteers at *Bergstadens Vel*, but the members of this association would rather ensure a higher social status and social capital for those who belonged to this exceptional group of

devotees. While reflecting on the centennial activities of the association in 2007, the authors of the book on *Bergstadens Vel*'s 100th anniversary stated that during most of that time, *Bergstadens Vel* served as an association of locally renowned enthusiasts, mainly composed of “the middle-aged men who took the ruling positions in the association and, most importantly, were the persons possessing the central positions in the local community” (*Jubileumsberetning...*, 2007, 21). Thus, membership of *Bergstadens Vel* could be regarded as a measure taken to gain higher social capital in the local context.

This welfare association of the prominent local men seems to also have been united for the protection of their local collective cultural capital. Notably, in the above-mentioned anniversary book, there was a reminder about the plundering of local cultural values which took place in Røros at the beginning of the 20th century, made for the superficial sake of preserving the historical buildings by removing them from Røros. *Bergstadens Vel* reminded people about the translocation of *Aspaasgården* to Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum nearly 100 years ago – the fact that even encouraged Grønn (the longstanding leader of *Bergstadens Vel*) to establish the local open-air museum in Røros. The open-air museum at Røros, which was not welcomed by the national field of heritage conservation (Myklebust, 2014, 328), was a local responsive action taken and aimed at preserving local historical buildings if not *in situ* then at least in a nearby location (see *The open-air museum as a manifestation of the local significance*). Another form of protest was expressed 100 years later when Ødegaard designed a reconstruction project for *Aspaasgården* at Røros, and that work was financed by *Bergstadens Vel* (*Jubileumsberetning...*, 2007, 20).

The reconstruction of *Aspaasgården*, however, was not the initial idea of *Bergstadens Vel*. As informed by Ødegaard, the first intentions were expressed by the antiquarian O. H. Øverås from *Riksantikvaren* in his letter to Røros municipality sent in the 1970s, where he suggested returning the original building from Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum to Røros and, in case of the museum's disapproval, reconstructing its copy *in situ*. Ødegaard welcomed such a proposal and, according to him, so did most of the local inhabitants, guided by a sense of injustice. Probably the same motive united the members of *Bergstadens Vel* as well, but, simultaneously, they were also concerned with the organization's aim – “the beautification of Røros”. However, *Bergstadens Vel*'s criteria of beauty matched the aesthetic preferences in the field of heritage conservation only four decades later. The reconstruction of *Aspaasgården* was financed only in the 21st century when *Bergstadens Vel* recognized the antiquarian aesthetic ideals of Røros townscape, which were described by a representative of the local field of heritage conservation back in the 1970s: “The smithery building has never been a satisfactory substitute of *Aspaasgården* in the townscape – even if evaluated from the context of architectural norms of the 1930s. These transformations led to the situation that Flanderborg and the building on the western side of the river turned their backs to each other” (Ødegaard, 1978, 3).



Figure 73. On the right side of the picture - the smithery, built by Alf Skancke in 1936, after the main historical building of Aspaasgården was sold to Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum. (Photo taken by Kåre A. Jørgenvaag in 1946, Gunnerus - Spesialsamlinger ved NTNU Universitetsbiblioteket, J-137-3_01).



Figure 74. The same townscape after 65 years. The smithery was demolished after it went bankrupt in 1976. The outbuildings of historical Aspaasgården were reconstructed. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė in 2011).



Figure 75. Outbuildings in historical Aspaasgården under reconstruction. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė in 2009).

The below-presented in-depth case study of the construction of a new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* in the “traditional” style will reveal the very same transmission of aesthetic tastes from the field of heritage conservation to the local elite, possessing exceptional social and cultural capital and comprising the local welfare organization *Bergstadens Vel*. At the very beginning of the activities of *Bergstadens Vel* though, antiquarian factors did not determine which buildings were to receive financial funding from *Bergstadens Vel*. Therefore, even *Sangerhuset* – the most distinct example of the Swiss chalet style in Røros, which was considered inadmissible by the national antiquarian authorities and ordered to be demolished in 1978 – was saved by local efforts and finally even recognized by the national field of heritage conservation as a valuable object of heritage. *Sangerhuset* was finally listed in 1983 (Brønne, 2006b, 2). Locally, *Sangerhuset* received attention from *Bergstadens Vel* and the inhabitants of Røros not because of its architectural appearance, but due to its social importance and cultural significance for the town’s population. This was also the location where *Bergstadens Vel* organized its local cinema. The local initiatives for the preservation of *Sangerhuset* for social but not antiquarian purposes, however, led to unintended consequences. Surprisingly, in 1983, that building, as well as the Swiss chalet style in general, was suddenly recognized as an appropriate part of the historical townscape of Røros by the national field of heritage conservation for its aesthetic and antiquarian qualities.

By the end of the 20th century, *Bergstadens Vel* started to finance some projects aimed at purely antiquarian goals. For example, in 1998, a considerable part of *Bergstadens Vel*’s assets was presented to the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments (*Fortidsminneforeningen*) to purchase one of the oldest urban farmyards in Røros – *Rasmusgården*, for preservation purposes (*Jubileumsberetning...*, 2007, 11). *Rasmusgården*, a historic urban farmyard, inhabited by miners, was considered to be one of the most authentic examples of the town’s local building traditions by antiquarians due to the age of the main dwelling house, dated back to the end of the 17th century (Ødegaard, 1979). Consequently, the economic capital generated at *Kaffestuggu* by *Bergstadens Vel* directly contributed to the safeguarding of antiquarian values of Røros.



Figure 76. One of many public benches, donated by *Bergstadens Vel*, was located next to *Rasmusgården*. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).

4.2 The social impact of *Kaffestuggu* throughout history

Kaffestuggu is one of the most financially successful and long-lasting enterprises of *Bergstadens Vel*, the income from which has served to finance different communal demands, such as various local musical ensembles, and ecclesiastical and nursing services. To name just a few particular examples, the funds for the local retirement home were generated from the profits produced at *Kaffestuggu*; financial support was also provided for the town's Press Museum, Red Cross rescue services, and operation of the local cultural centre at *Sangerhuset*, as well as for the above-mentioned antiquarian projects.

Bergstadens Vel took care of the enterprise at *Kaffestuggu* for most of its centenarian existence, but the very beginning of the business stemmed from external initiatives which were absorbed and taken over by the locals in a short while. *Kaffestuggu* was opened in 1915 after the initiative of Borghild Vinje-Røen, Ola Meyer Øyen and Idius Nybø, who moved to Røros from Tynset in 1914 to establish dining services, after assistance from Breidablikk Youth Association (*Ungdomsforbundet Breidablikk*) and Tynset New Norwegian Language Association (*Tynset Mållag*) to raise economic capital for these organizations. A local governing board was established and headed by Grønn, who also led the newly established Mining Town's Welfare Society, *Bergstadens Vel*, at that time. Until 1924, *Bergstadens Vel* gradually bought the business of *Kaffestuggu* in order to serve the local interests (Grønn, 1947, 12–16).

Nr. 107 | Utkommer mandag, onsdag og fredag,
Koster kr. 2,00 kvartalet. Til Amerika
kr. 7,00 halvåret.

Bergstadens Vel's Kaffestuggu
er det hyggeligste møtested på Røros.



God mat
og kaffe

Radio
Aviser

Figure 77. The advertisement of catering services in a local newspaper: “Bergstadens Vel’s Kaffestuggu – is the most pleasant meeting place at Røros. Good food and coffee. Radio. Newspapers” (Fjell-Ijom, Nr. 107, 22nd of September 1937).

During most of that period when *Bergstadens Vel* took care of the business at *Kaffestuggu*, the manageress, Margitt Eggen, took all the responsibility for the catering. She started working at *Kaffestuggu* in 1921 and was awarded with a silver medal, presented by the national welfare association *Norges Vel* in 1957, for 32 uninterrupted years of service at *Kaffestuggu* (Grønn, 1957, 8). Soon after that, in 1974, *Bergstadens Vel* leased the facilities out. In 1977, the dining services were resumed under the same trademark but operated by *Røros Turisthotell* (*Jubileumsberetning...*, 2007, 11).

The cooperation between *Bergstadens Vel* and *Røros Turisthotell* has continued until today despite major physical changes in the facilities of *Kaffestuggu* made during its earlier history and more recent times. *Kaffestuggu* still serves as a lively host to local traditions – catering services are offered at *Kaffestuggu* during many of the local, national and even international events in Røros. At the same time, *Kaffestuggu* provides the possibility both to experience the traditional flavours and aromas and also use other senses to feel the authentic “genius loci”. “Where histories are created” (*Der historier skapes*) is a motto used by *Kaffestuggu* for advertising purposes today, aiming to shift the focus onto modern times and presently constructed narratives that are important enough to become stories that will be told in the future. However, the exceptional atmosphere and the distinct social status of *Kaffestuggu* in the local context was created by the very history of the place – it is its weight of past which makes it different from other caterers in Røros. On the other hand, “Where histories are created” promotes acknowledgement of the importance of the actual moment as part of the continuous flow of time, which is a crucial factor in the acknowledgement of the phenomenon of “living traditions”.



Figure 78. The advertising trademark of *Kaffestuggu* today – “Where the histories are created” (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).

4.3 The creation of the “true” streetscape of Bergmannsgata by antiquing Kaffestuggu’s main façade

Various sources provide contradicting information on when the main building at *Kaffestuggugård* was built. During most of its history, this urban farmyard was called *Dybdalsgården* according to the smeltery’s scribe, Peder Dybdal, who bought the property in 1748 from Anders Erichsen Røraas (Aspaas and Aspaas, 1974, 152). The current owner provides information stating that the building in its present form was built in the 1780s by Hans Olsen, the director of Røros Copper Works (*Kaffestuggu Historien*. <http://kaffestuggu.no/historien>). However, the detailed list of owners of this urban farmyard does not mention Hans Olsen at all, but it confirms that the building was built in the 1780s (Aspaas and Aspaas, 1974, 153). It should be noted, however, that there was another person with the same surname who owned *Dybdalsgården* from 1838 until the end of the 19th century – Knut Olsen, the general manager (*overstigeren*) of mines, the first mayor (*ordfører*) of Røros and even the so-called “father of Røros railway” (Berg, 2009). In 1922, *Dybdalsgården* was sold by the dentist Wilhelm Wexelsen to *Bergstadens Vel*, and it was he who stated that the buildings of this urban farmyard were built by K. Olsen between 1860 and 1870 (Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum, FTTf 1470–1472, 3).

The puzzling historical information about the date of construction of the main building at *Kaffestuggugård* is confusing for a rather simple reason: in 1849, the building was renovated under the ownership of K. Olsen. Under this renovation, some decayed parts of the building were replaced by new elements while the sound wooden parts were reused again: “During the last summer, the main building was torn down. On the same plot, a two-storeyed log building was rebuilt by adding new logs where it was necessary. A plank roof was covered with stone slates” (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32. Tilh. Overstiger Olsen*. 18th November, 1850). Consequently, the everlasting dilemma about whether the building had become new or remained old as parts of it were replaced could be traced to the philosophical dilemma of Theseus’s ship, introduced into the field of heritage conservation by Larsen and Hidemark (see *A reaction against Eurocentric international field of heritage conservation and modern practice of scientific restoration*). Thus, the question remains open about when the main building of *Kaffestuggu* was actually built and, therefore, as will be revealed further on, the following antiquarian endeavours to restore the original image of the main façade will appear rather misleading.

Even though the fire insurance report of 1850 does not mention in detail further changes made on the façade, nor does it provide information on the layout of the building, an assumption could be made that, during the very same reparation by dismantling in 1849, more noteworthy modifications were carried out. Besides the well-documented transformation of the roof, when the covering material was changed from boards, birch bark and turf (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32...1837*) to more modern stone slates (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32...1850*), presumably the windows on the main façade of *Kaffestuggu* were also upgraded technically and stylistically, as well as increased in number. A reconstruction of *Kaffestuggu* main building, drawn by Ødegaard in 1974, shows what the original building supposedly used to look like in the middle of the 19th century – the building before the renovation used to be much lower, and the windows were smaller in size and fewer in number.

The fire insurance document of 1800 confirms that the main living rooms, situated in the middle of the building on both floors, had two windows each while the smaller rooms on both floors had only one window each (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32...1800*). Bearing in mind that the owner of *Dybdalsgården* at that time and also the initiator of the renovation was the same person, K. Oldsen, a prominent leader of technical innovation, his property could have been among the first in Røros to gain characteristic architectural features that were considered technologically advanced.

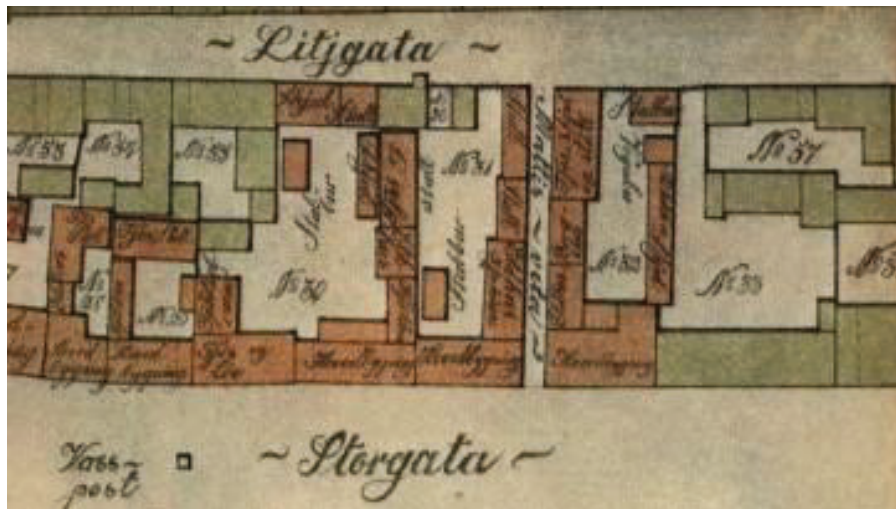


Figure 79. Dybdalsgården Nr. 32 - one of the few remaining urban farmyards, situated between two main streets and stretching along a narrow passage on its southern side. The historical centre is reconstructed to the supposed appearance in the middle of the 19th century (Drawn by S. Ødegaard, 1974, Rørosmuseet).

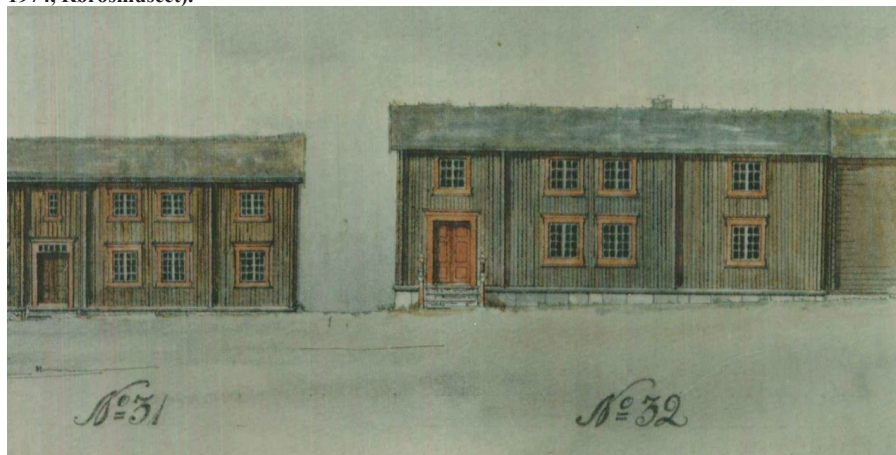


Figure 80. A reconstructed original façade of the main building of Dybdalsgården Nr. 32 facing Storgata (Drawn by S. Ødegaard, 1974, Rørosmuseet).

When the name as well as the function of *Dybdalsgården* were changed to *Kaffestuggugård* by another prominent and long-time owner, *Bergstadens Vel*, the premises were re-arranged, mostly seeking to adjust them to dining purposes. The main façade of the building now was used as a representative trademark of the catering services, and therefore attention was paid to its external appearance, aiming for a positive reception of its aesthetic qualities by the wider public. Thus, some time before 1944, the windows of the main façade, supposedly dated back to 1849, were changed following the recommendations of *Riksantikvaren*, to restore the original appearance of *Kaffestuggu*. According to Grønn, the leader of *Bergstadens Vel* at that time and who wrote the historical overview of *Bergstadens Vel*'s first 40 years, the above-mentioned restoration was generally welcomed: “everyone agrees that this is the most enjoyable dining location in Bergstaden” (Grønn, 1947, 19). It could be assumed, however, that Grønn was only thinking about the local residents of Røros when he said “everyone”, as in 1944, Vreim, the architect at *Riksantikvaren*, spotlighted the façade of *Kaffestuggu* which, according to him, still needed to be “corrected” by removing the Swiss chalet style awning over the entrance doors and the picket fence along the curb for the sake of “the house to get well incorporated into the true image of the town” (Vreim, 1944, 12).



Figure 81. The “original” main façade of Kaffestuggu which was considered “inappropriate” by antiquarians of that time – the windows were of too recent stylistic period as well as the awning in Swiss chalet style over the main entrance’s doors and the picket fence along the curb of the street (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, 1932, ©Rørosmuseet, RMU_252040)



Figure 82. The shifting of windows was welcomed by H. Vreim, but the front façade of Kaffestuggu main building still had to be improved. (Vreim, 1944, 11)

Vreim invoked the fictitious character of Bør Børson Junior, created by Falkberget, who sought to impersonate “*the form of local patriotism which produces ugly and boring towns*”. According to him, this type of local patriot is “*the pomaded nouveau riche, wearing a dress coat and a top hat. Due to his endless need to show off, he is constantly afoot. [...] The disciplined and cultivated simplicity then gives way to the troublesome and the importunate. It is satiated with the use of cement, the new diverse types of split panel boarding, toxic colours, the heterogeneity, which stands in highest contrast to the old homogeneity of shapes and structures*” (Vreim, 1944, 11–12). Vreim linked the fictitious character, who “*gave up traditions*” and “*did not appreciate his duties and responsibilities*”, to the “*dangerous and quite realistic*” tangible effects – “*after his traces, barbarism and all the cheap tinsel follow*” (Vreim, 1944, 11). For him, the personal moral postures were related to the taste of style, materials and workmanship chosen. The character of Bør Børson Junior, which was ridiculed by Falkberget, was well known locally as a person not to be resembled; this is why it was chosen as an example by Vreim to persuade the local inhabitants against the Swiss chalet style, which he personally disliked due to the break from traditional construction methods. It was derided as being cheaper and at the same time more pretentious and over-decorated.

Vreim noted the local counter-actions against “*the town patriotism of Bør Børson*” which was embodied in tangible expressions. He highlighted the positive example of *Bergstadens*

Vel as they “corrected” the façade of the main building at *Kaffestuggu* urban farmyard by restoring the visual appearance of windows. He also welcomed the initiative of *Røros Sparebank* for bringing back the image of the neighbouring house, which was “restored under the supervision of a proficient architect”. Vreim was concerned with restoring “the aesthetic and traditional look” of a row of three linked buildings on the main *Bergmannsgata*, comprising the mentioned *Kaffestuggu* and *Røros Sparebank* houses as well as the Royal Telegraph Company building (Vreim, 1944, 12). According to Vreim, the restored main façades of these buildings also brought back the true townscape of the end of the 18th century when social grading harmoniously materialized in the topography of the town: the largest urban town farms were inhabited by the town’s elite at that time and were situated on the east side of *Bergmannsgata*, followed by the buildings and their inhabitants (various professionals) on the west side of the street, and finally the smaller log buildings, occupied by the working class, ended the composition up the street. According to Vreim, these social differences were harmoniously incorporated into the townscape due to the fact that the same type of locally available materials were used for construction and maintenance of buildings – “no one would have understood if someone would break the tone” (Vreim, 1944, 10).

Consequently, the restoration of windows at *Kaffestuggu* main building to the supposed appearance of the end of the 18th century by *Bergstadens Vel*, done by a group of distinguished local men of honour, led to a positive evaluation by Vreim, not only as an appropriate architectural decision but also as a social initiative of local cultural elite, which hopefully would become an example to be followed by other inhabitants of *Røros*. *Bergstadens Vel* followed the recommendations of Vreim – even the Swiss chalet style awning over the main entrance doors was removed, probably in 1947, after approval from *Røros* municipality and encouragement by *Riksantikvaren* (*Røros* kommune. *Røros Bygningsråd. Brevet til Bergstadens Vel*. 24th April, 1947). After a few decades, the picket fence along the curb of the street was also removed.

However, as the above-displayed historical documentation and *Ødegaard*’s reconstruction of the supposedly original main building of *Kaffestuggu* have shown, the façade had never really been restored to its original state because the building itself as well as its elements had been given larger physical dimensions in the middle of the 19th century. Thus, during the so-called “restoration”, new small-paned windows, which originally were probably lower and certainly fewer, were inserted in the higher openings, which originally suited the stylistically different windows. In that way, a much more frequent and intense rhythm of the main façade was formed, which was echoed on the neighbouring building of *Røros Sparebank* by creating a common streetscape. Hence, the general appearance of the “restored” façade resulted not in the recovery of the historical truth but rather in mere “beautification” of *Røros* townscape, by following the aesthetic criteria determined by the national field of heritage conservation.



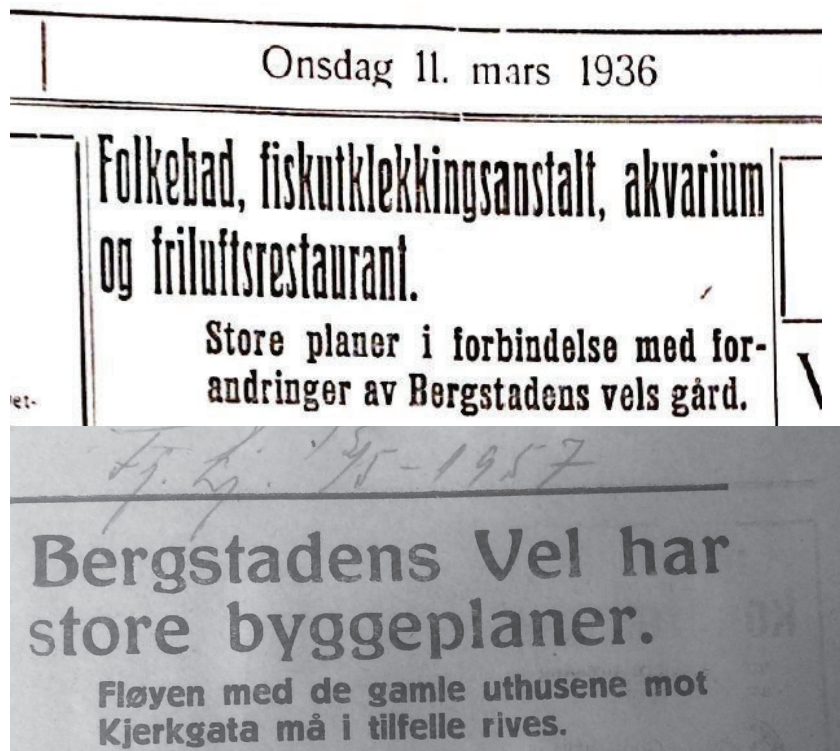
Figure 83. The rhythmical architectural detailing restored on the façades of neighbouring buildings of Kaffestuggu and Røros Sparebank. (Photo taken in 1976; authorship unknown. Rørosmuseet, Dp30)



Figure 84. Back to the “true image of Røros” – the restored front façade of the main building at Kaffestuggu urban farmyard. (Photo taken in 1982; authorship unknown. Rørosmuseet, Dp8)

4.4 Grandiose plans of transforming the backyard of Kaffestuggugård in the 20th century

If the front façade of the main building of *Kaffestuggu* was maintained by considering the antiquarian aesthetic ideals, determined by the national field of heritage conservation, the inner courtyard, as well as the interior of the buildings, encountered much more adventurous transformations throughout history, first and foremost aimed at gaining greater economic and higher social capital. *Kaffestuggugård* has been protected by the Planning and Building Act and, due to that reason, most of *Bergstadens Vel*'s applications for transformations of the interior or the inner courtyard were reviewed locally at Røros municipality while the representatives of the national field of heritage conservation were mainly only consulted regarding aesthetic matters of the exterior surfaces. At the same time, it should be noted that *Kaffestuggugård* was encircled by streets, i.e. public spaces, on three sides and, therefore, as will be described further on, the aesthetic and antiquarian qualities of rather innovative and modern-looking project proposals, which were continuously initiated by *Bergstadens Vel*, were rarely approved due to their incompatibility with the “true” image of Røros.



Figures 85, 86. The grandiose plans for transforming *Kaffestuggugård* have been initiated through the whole of the 20th century (Fjell-ljom, 11. mars, 1936; 15. mai, 1957).

A description and a simple layout drawing of buildings composing *Kaffestuggugård*, made by historian Wilhelm Lund, can be regarded as a point of departure in analysing the extensive changes frequently planned and rarely implemented at this urban farmyard during the 20th century and beyond. Lund was responsible for establishing a collection at Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum and was making records of historical buildings in Røros on behalf of the museum in 1917–1927. He also documented the translocations of a couple of buildings from Røros to Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum, such as *Tronshartgården* as well as the above-mentioned *Aspaasgården*.

Lund's description of *Kaffestuggugård* was based on his interview with the above-named dentist, Wexelsen, who was the last owner before the name and the function of *Dybdalsgården* was changed to *Kaffestuggugård* by the subsequent owner, *Bergstadens Vel*. Lund managed to document this urban farmyard in 1926, before the major changes were implemented. Even though *Bergstadens Vel* had bought the property in 1922, the catering services of *Kaffestuggu* were transferred there only in 1924. Until 1926, the main building still functioned as a two-storey residential house even though it underwent major physical transformations in the middle of the 19th century, whereas the use and physical state of other buildings in the urban farmyard remained mainly the same during the whole of the 19th century (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32...1850*).

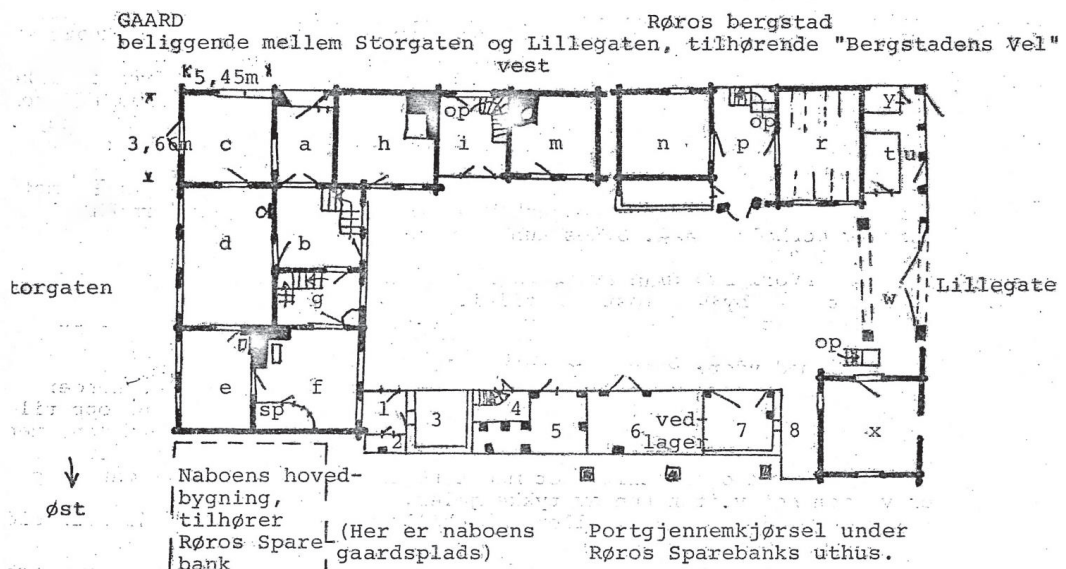


Figure 87. The layout of *Kaffestuggugård* drawn by W. Lund in 1926 (Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum, FTTf 1470-1472).

Next to the main dwelling, a separate log cookhouse was situated (*ildhus*) (marked by the letter *h* in the drawing below), with a built-in “chimney of stonemasonry in a characteristic type of *Bergstaden* (which was found in *Tronshartgården*, now located at Sverresborg in Trondheim)” (Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum, FTTf 1470–1472). The fire insurance reports reveal that this building was used as a laundry house, called “*bryggestue*” (Røros

kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32...* 1800; 1828) or “*bryggerhuusbygning*” (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32...* 1837). The fire insurance report from 1850 informs us that the laundry house was partly incorporated into the main building after the renovation in 1849 (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32...* 1850).

Afterwards, there was a two-storey farm-hand log building (*drengstue*) with an entrance, having two doors, one room on the first floor (letters *i* and *m*) and one more room on the second floor (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32...* 1828). Probably this building was upgraded in 1828–1837 because in the latter report, the building was given a higher evaluation by the loss assessor. It was indicated that the two-storey building had a loft, and the roof was covered with planks and stone slates, as opposed to the main building, which was still covered with turf roof at that time. The first floor continued to be used as servants’ hall (*borgstue*), equipped with soapstone stove, while the second floor was refurbished into an office, where “*walls and the floor were painted in oil paint as well as equipped with three-storeyed cast iron stove*”. Three of the five windows on this building were also upgraded, as they were supplemented with inner windows (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32...* 1837). The building was not changed in 1849, nor until 1926, when the additional information was supplied only by specifying that the log walls of the first floor were not covered by panels but were painted red (Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum, FTTf 1470–1472).

By the office was an outbuilding, which is the most important building of *Kaffestuggugård* in respect to the below-presented in-depth study of the “reconstruction” of the new outbuilding. The original outbuilding remained mainly unaltered through the whole of the 19th century. It was documented as having two cases of notched logs, which were connected in the middle by a corridor (*p*) in timber frame construction covered with planks. One of the two log cases (marked by letter *n*) was used as a stable, intended for three horses. It also had a timber-framed external hall (*sval*), with timber planked walls attached. The stable had one little window, but traces of a little opening (*glugge*) were also found in the same wall. Another log case (marked by letter *r*) functioned as a cowshed, suitable for ten cows. There was manure storage (*gjødselkjeller*) under the cowshed and, next to it, there was a room (*gjødselrum*, marked by letter *u*) with a way down to the underground manure storage. There was also an outhouse (*privat*, marked by letter *t*) attached, while the function of another room, marked by letter *y*, remains unclear. This whole annex was of timber frame construction, isolated from *Kjerkgata* by a plank wall. A staircase from the above-mentioned corridor led to a hayloft of timber frame construction on the second floor, which was a joint area over rooms *n*, *p* and *r* below, while it was not documented if there was a second floor over rooms *y*, *t* and *u*, and if it was incorporated into a common space under the same roof. Nevertheless, it was registered that the hayloft on the second floor stretched up to the ridge of a purlin roof, covered by stone slates in 1837 (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32...* 1837; Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum, FTTf 1470–1472).



Figure 88. The backyard of Kaffestuggugård remained mainly unchanged through the whole of the 19th century (Photo taken by Lund, Wilhelm (?), 1926, ©Rørosmuseet).



Figure 89. The gate, the outbuilding and the storage house of Dybdalsgården on the right-hand side of Kjerkgata. (Photographer unknown, 1890, ©Rørosmuseet, Ba.437_2)



Figure 90. The gate and the outbuilding of *Kaffestuggugård* at the back. At front of the picture is seen the procession in *Kjerkgata*, with historical “Røros cow” (“Røroskua”), which today is considered to be part of World Heritage by locals as a “threatened domestic race”, which should be defended from “foreign and undesirable species in Norway” (Krogh, Hans B., 2007). There is an annual “Røros Cow Day” (“Røroskuas dag”) arranged at the above-mentioned *Rasmusgården* (The author unknown, 1926-1933 (?), ©Rørosmuseet, PB006)

A gate into the backyard of *Kaffestuggugård* seems to have been changed more frequently during the 19th century. In 1800, it was mentioned that there was a loft above the gate, while in 1828 the gate is not mentioned at all. In 1837, a timber plank gate was installed while in 1850 it was noted that a new timber-framed loft was built on pillars above the plank gate. The same plank gate with a hayloft above was also documented in 1926 (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32*... 1800, 1828, 1837, 1850 Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum, FTTf 1470–1472).

A log storehouse on pillars, “*stabbu*” (marked by letter *x*), remained unchanged throughout the whole of the 19th century and through until 1926. It was recorded as a two-storey building, containing one room on each floor. There were two staircases – one inside and the other one outside the building, in its external front gallery (*sval*). The roof was recorded to be covered with planks and stone slates in 1837. It was documented throughout the 19th century that there was one large chest for flour and one smaller one for corn on the first floor. These two chests were included in the total calculation of the storehouse value.

Next to the storehouse, there was a timber-framed shed for a wagon (marked by number 8) with a hayloft above, constructed between 1828 and 1837. Its roof was covered with planks,

birch bark and turf. The shed remained the same in 1850 but was dismantled some time before 1926 as there was only an empty space, separated from the neighbouring farmyard by a plank fence, recorded at that time. Even though small spaces (marked with numbers 1–6) were described separately by Lund in 1926, they were always considered one building during the whole of the 19th century by loss assessors. Furthermore, its timber-framed construction with turf roofing and its main purpose – the storing of firewood – did not change during the whole of the 19th century.

However, as soon as *Dybdalsgården* changed its function and name to *Kaffestuggugård*, the physical transformations accelerated. Thus, it could be claimed that in 1926, Lund registered the historical state of somewhat original functional and physical features of each building at *Kaffestuggugård*, which were soon to be altered. The historical analysis revealed that the first major change at *Kaffestuggugård*, which transformed the backyard and its neighbourhood significantly, was the demolition of the original outbuilding, which took place between March and June 1936. It was the very same outbuilding, the later “reconstruction” of which is described in detail in the next section.

Moreover, the dismantling of the former cowshed and stable was not satisfactory for the ambitious plans of *Bergstadens Vel*; therefore, other buildings in the backyard of *Kaffestuggugård* were sought to be sacrificed as well: “*The architect Brekke from Trondheim has been visiting Bergstaden today and checking out the conditions under which the future transformations of Kaffestuggugård will be carried out. The old outbuildings on the corner of the street will be demolished, while the storage house will be handed over to Røros Museum*” (“Folkebad...” in *Fjell-ljom*, 1936, 1).

Interestingly enough, at the time when the grandiose plans of *Bergstadens Vel* were arranged, the association was led by Grønn, the very same person who also guided the establishment of the open-air museum in Røros (see *The open-air museum as a manifestation of the local significance*). Thus, it could be claimed that the aims for the creation of the local museum were not confined to the high-principled cultural and social ideals in safeguarding and cultivating the local identity only. The magnificent transformation plans of *Kaffestuggugård* reveal that the local museum also served as a means of eliminating the obstacles that hindered further development and modernization of the historical centre of Røros.

Consequently, a few months later, the site was almost prepared for new construction, because the old outbuilding was recorded as being dismantled: “*In Kaffestuggugård, the old outbuilding has been demolished and this place is intended for a new bathhouse*” (Røros kommune. Selskapet for Røros Bergstadens Vel. *Til Røros bygningsråd og Røros heredsstyre!* 4th June, 1936). After the demolition, the backyard of *Kaffestuggugård* remained open for some time because where the outbuilding used to stand was due to become a new driveway. The entrance into a notably modified *Kaffestuggugård* was expected to become wider as the plan was to serve a number of new enterprises: “*On the empty sites, there are plans of the association of hunters and anglers at Røros and its surroundings to establish a fish hatchery and an aquarium in the summer time. The water pump in the corner will serve this purpose. The plot of the storage house is very convenient*

for a new public bathhouse, while the rest of the backyard could probably be used as an open-air restaurant in the summer time. There are also further plans of transforming Kaffestuggu as well” (“Folkebad...” in *Fjell-ljom*, 1936, 1).

However, those grandiose plans of *Bergstadens Vel* were suspended from being fully implemented by Røros municipality. The suspensions were initiated by the local authorities and concerned those elements of the proposal related to the external public street spaces. First of all, a façade of the planned one-storey bathhouse was projected as being constructed from bricks or concrete, which was evaluated as aesthetically unsuitable in the streetscape of *Kjerkgata*: “By referring to the submitted project drawings, the building authorities note that the façade, facing *Kjerkgata*, is not quite satisfactory and propose to request the architect adapts the façade in such a way that it would respond to the style of the street” (Røros kommune. Røros bygningsråd. *Til Selskapet for Røros Bergstads vel, Røros*. 10th June, 1936). Disagreement was also expressed regarding the proposed widening of the narrow alley, *Lossius-veita* (presently called *Ertzscheiderveta*, in the course of history also named *Breidablikkveta*, *Rodeveta*, *Dybdalsveta* and *Aalumsveta* (Kjellmark, 2012)), which was an important factor in forming a new entrance into the backyard of *Kaffestuggugård* (Røros kommune. Departementet for de offentl. arbeider. *Regulering av Lossius-veita (“Rodeveite”) i Røros*, 1st July, 1936).

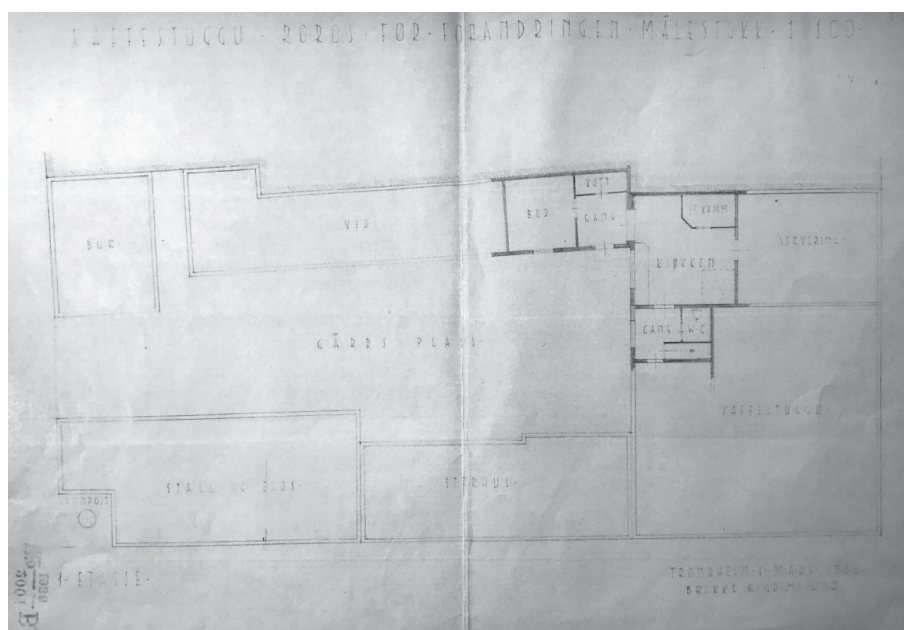


Figure 91. The layout of Kaffestuggugård before the intended transformations (Drawing by Brekke and Grimelund, 1936, ©Røros kommune).

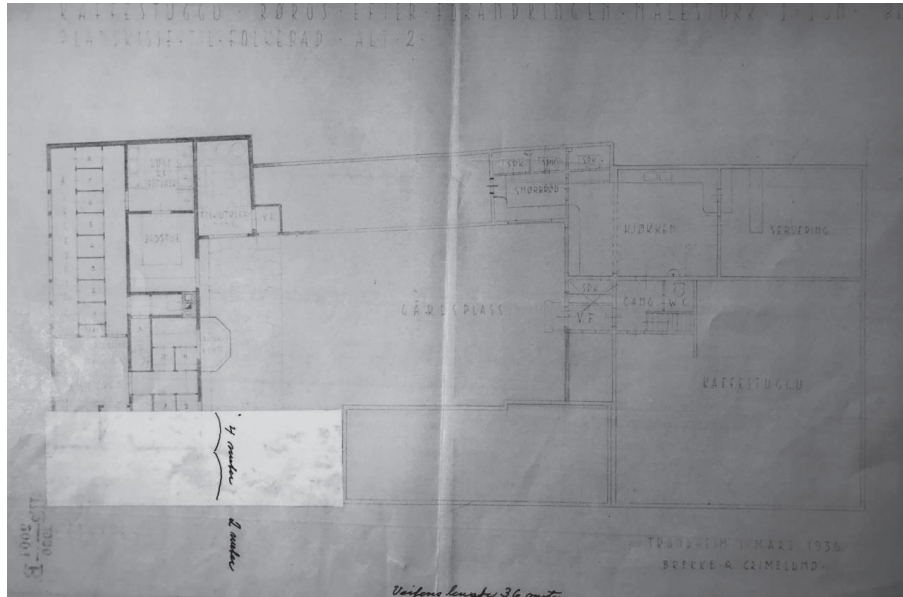


Figure 92. The layout of Kaffestuggugård with the proposed extension of the main building, new bathhouse, fish hatchery and an aquarium in the middle of the back façade of the new building. (Drawing by Brekke and Grimelund, 1936, ©Røros kommune).

Lastly, the grandiose plans for constructing a bathhouse at *Kaffestuggugård* were declined. *Bergstadens Vel* bought another building constructed in 1922 by Gustaf Engzelius – the so-called Lizard (*Øgle*), the name stemming from the original building in dragon style from the 19th century, which used to stand on that plot before (Kvikne, 1974, 388). *Bergstadens Vel* installed public bathhouse services in the basement and had plans for refurbishing other floors, which were used by *Røros-Tweed* weaving mill at that time, to establish a cinema there (“*Bergstadens nye folkebad...*” in *Fjell-ljom*, 1937).

It seems that *Bergstadens Vel* decided to continue only the catering services at *Kaffestuggugård*, though the former plans of extending the back of *Kaffestuggu* building were not totally abandoned. First, the backyard was equipped with a planked fence, accompanied with a copper gate in 1936, since the efforts to widen the narrow alley were not successful. Afterwards, the main building was updated to adapt the premises for a larger number of customers. In 1938, a sewerage system was installed and a fireplace mounted in. At the same time, the kitchen on the first floor was extended by adding an annex of 20m² in timber frame construction on the back side of *Kaffestuggu* building (*Byggeomeldelse...*, 1938, 1). The second floor was remodelled by arranging another new kitchen and an apartment for the manageress of *Kaffestuggu*. The dining rooms were redecorated in 1941 (Grønn, 1947, 19), but the historical analysis revealed that the main interior elements– the decorative pilasters – remained the same as they were documented in 1926.



Figure 93. The backyard of Kaffestuggugård, with a newly-planked fence and a copper gate installed. The outbuilding is already missing, but the back side of the main building was still unchanged at that time. (Photographer unknown, 1936-1938 (?), ©Rørosmuseet).



Figure 94. The celebration of fifty years confirmation. The photo of participants taken in front of the extended back façade of Kaffestuggu (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, 1943, ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.251530).



Figure 95. The dining rooms on the second floor, still decorated with the same pilasters which were documented in 1926 (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, 1961, ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.250694).



Figure 96. Pilasters – the main decorative features of dining room interiors – at Kaffestuggu preserved until today (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).

In 1957, *Bergstadens Vel* initiated the transformation of *Kaffestuggugård* again, this time with the help of Trondheimian architect Erik Guldal. The rest of the old outbuildings in the backyard were proposed to be demolished, together with the oldest storage house, by the leader of *Bergstadens Vel*, B. Reitan. However, after an objection expressed by other members of the association by referring to the storage house as a “landmark” (*severdighet*), which had become a popular sight among tourists, a compromise was made by suggesting the translocation of the old storage house to the local open-air museum at Røros (“*Bergstadens Vel...*” in *Fjell-ljom*, 1957). This shows that it was already the second time, after the proposal of 1936, that the open-air museum was considered a means of eliminating obstacles that stood in the way of modernizing *Kaffestuggugård*.

However, in 1957, Arne Nygård-Nilssen, the General Director of *Riksantikvaren* at that time, drew attention to safeguarding typical outbuildings in Røros *in situ* as an essential part of historic urban farmyards. In consequence, one year later, the regional department of the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments sent a recommendation for *Bergstadens Vel* to preserve the old storage house as an integral part of *Kaffestuggugård*. This was considered to be one of the first signs of the future Outbuilding Project, because the previously perceived “lesser” constructions were acknowledged as being equally important elements of the traditional townscape (Borgos and Storsletten, 2014, 194).

In 1961, the proposed changes to the backyard of *Kaffestuggugård* involved construction of a new annex to replace the old outbuildings in a row, bordering on the neighbouring parcel, which were supposed to be demolished. The new annex was to be built of timber-framed construction on concrete foundations. The walls were to be covered with an industrial type of “carpenter’s” panelling (*tømmermannspanel*) while *Isbjörn* cardboard, bitumen-impregnated timber fibre boards, 10 cm mineral wool and vapour barrier boards were to be used as inner components of the walls, which were also about to be panelled indoors (Røros kommune. Byggeomeldelse. Bergstadens Vels Kaffestuggu. 10th October, 1961). Interestingly, in that application, skylights were to be introduced on the back side of the main building, which can be seen in the drawing of a cross-section of *Kaffestuggu* below. The proposal was addressed to *Riksantikvaren* by Røros building authorities (Røros kommune. Utskrift av bygningsrådets møteprotokoll. Til Bergstadens Vel., 3rd November, 1961), but *Bergstadens Vel* affirmed that approval for installation of the skylights had already been provided by the architect at *Riksantikvaren*, Vreim (Røros kommune. Bergstadens Vel. Til Røros Bergstad Bygningsråd. 28th November, 1961).

Bergstadens Vel succeeded in accomplishing its plans in both constructing the new annex and installing the skylight window in 1961, and soon after, in 1973, an application for further transformation of *Kaffestuggugård* was delivered. This time, the extension of the back side of *Kaffestuggu* was intended to be enlarged further in order to create more space in the kitchen as well as in the main serving hall. This required the extension of the first floor as well as the digging of a new cellar (Røros kommune. Selskapet for Røros Bergstads Vel. Røros Bygningsråd. 9th April, 1973). The roof of the enlarged extension was supposed to be covered by asphalted cardboard (*asfaltapp*). Consequently, one could argue that most of the changes implemented at *Kaffestuggugård* in the 20th century

were carried out by using industrial building materials and technologies, even though those applications that were carried could be characterized as sustaining the aesthetically antiqued external appearance of façades, aimed at corresponding to the “true” image of Røros.

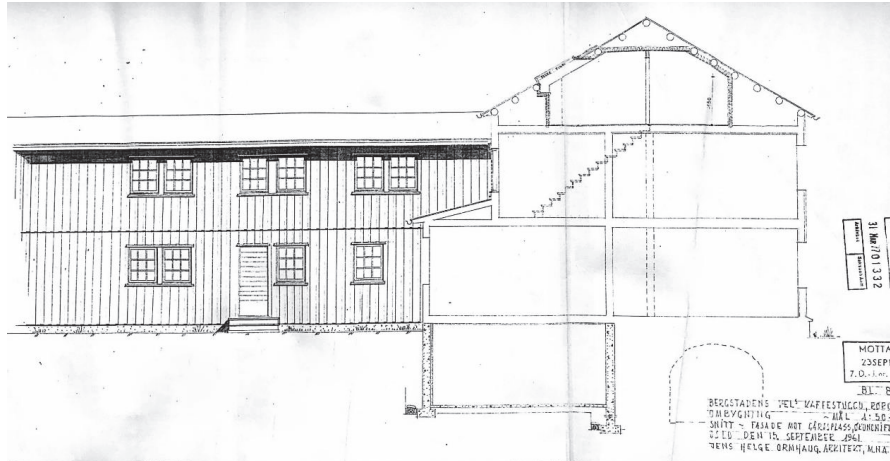


Figure 97. The front façade of the new annex, facing the inner yard of Kaffestuggugård and a cross section of the main building Kaffestuggu with a proposed skylight window on the back side of the roof. (Drawing by architect Jens Helge Ormhaug, 1961, Røros kommune).

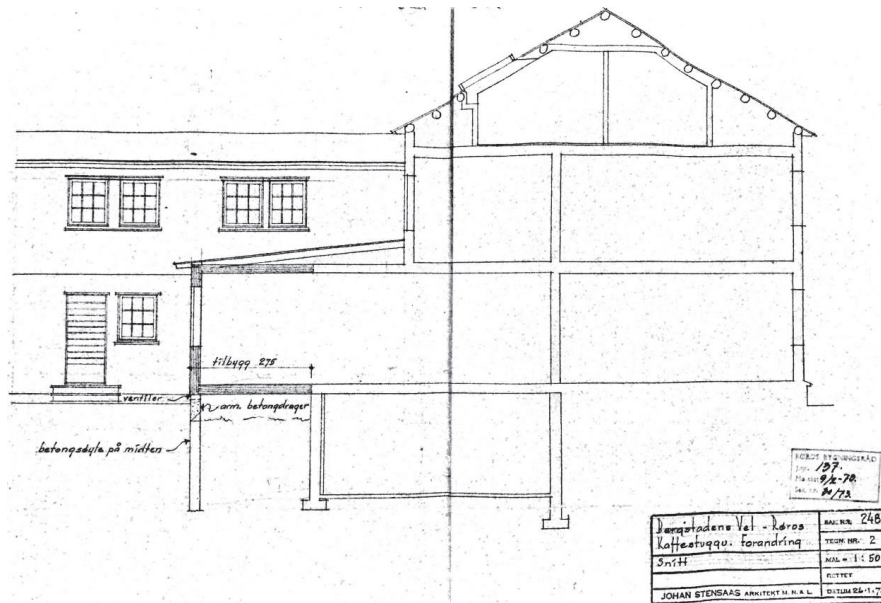


Figure 98. A cross section of the main building Kaffestuggu with the proposed enlargement of the former extension. (Drawing by architect Johan Stensaas, 1973, Røros kommune).



Figure 99. The modern annex, built in 1961, and the first floor of Kaffestuggu, extended in 1973. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2009).



Figure 100. Storage house (stabburet) – the original building remaining in the backyard of Kaffestuggugård, which Bergstadens Vel did not succeed in translocating to the local open-air museum in 1936 and 1957. (Photo by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).

In 1976, *Bergstadens Vel* delivered one more request to Røros building authorities to approve “a restoration of the planked fence around the courtyard”. The application letter went on to assure that “The project concerns the reconstruction of planked fence in its original form with a few minor changes. The design drawings are made in accordance with antiquarian authorities and therefore approved by them – by telephone with Mr Överås on the 2nd of June, and with architect Heinonen on the 3rd of June this year” (Røros kommune. Selskapet for Røros Bergstads Vel. Til Røros Bygningsråd. 8th June, 1976). This application was accepted by Røros building authorities and the representatives of the national and local field of heritage conservation, despite the fact that in implementing the project, the copper gate had to be demolished. It is important to note that the copper gate was still recent at that time – built between 1936 and 1938, after the dismantling of the original outbuilding at the backyard of *Kaffestuggugård* in 1936. However, even though the project was labelled as “restoration”, it should be noted that throughout the above-presented history of *Kaffestuggugård*, a plank gate had existed mainly accompanied with the old outbuilding, which, in turn, also served as a boundary for this courtyard. Moreover, mere reparation of the plank fence surrounding where the original outbuilding used to stand could hardly be called “restoration”, because the project did not aim to restore the original physical status, which had been lost by demolishing the original outbuilding. On the contrary, the project of 1976 aimed to sustain recently imposed changes. The decision on which recent changes were to be continued was of rather selective character and did not meet the ideals of the field of heritage conservation.

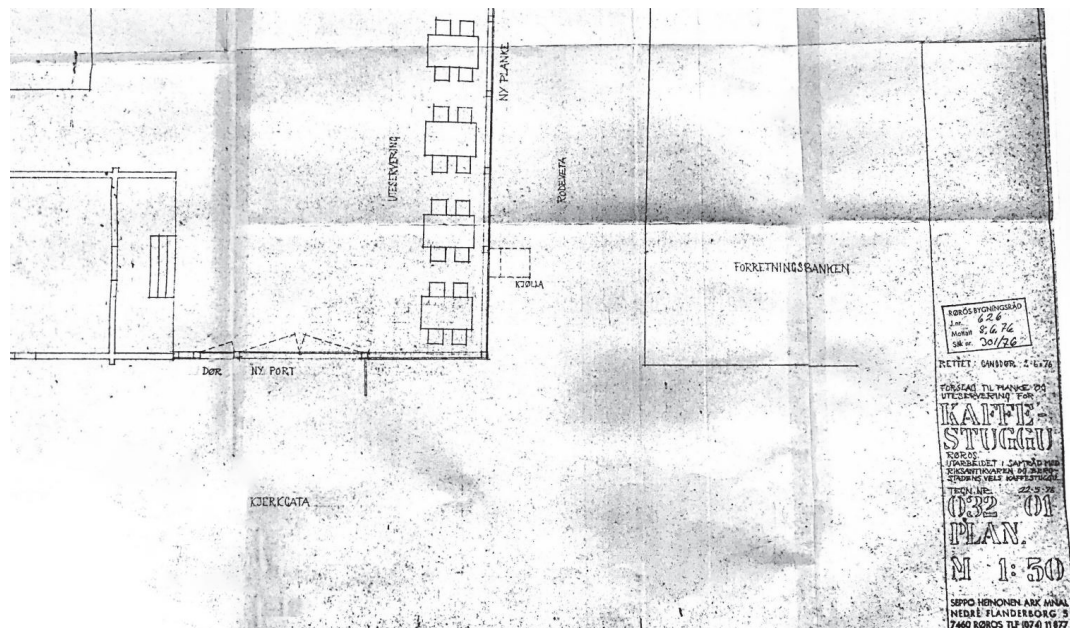


Figure 101. A renovation of the planked fence and the proposed installation of a new planked gate at *Kaffestuggugård*. (Drawing by architect Seppo Heinonen, 1976, Røros kommune).



Figure 102. The proposed new planked gate to the backyard of Kaffestuggugård. A new design for the public water kiln was also suggested. (Drawing by architect Seppo Heinonen, 1976, Røros kommune).

In 1977, some changes in the interior of the main building were made, concerning the remodelling of staircases between all floors of *Kaffestuggu* and the repainting of dining rooms on the second floor. Major transformations were introduced in the main catering hall as the prime purpose of this project was to enlarge the space of the dining room so that 110 instead of 90 visitors could be seated at once. One novelty was also introduced on the external façade as the main entrance to the café was intended to be translocated: “*the main entrance is moved back to the alley between Bergmannsgata and Kjerkgata – the place where the access to Kaffestuggu was originally situated*” (Røros kommune. Arkitekter Mnal Knut Eide og Tom Granlund til Røros Bygningsråd. 28th March, 1977). Moreover, an option of installing a window instead of the former main entrance to *Kaffestuggu* from *Bergmannsgata* was also introduced (Røros kommune. Tegninger av arkitekter Mnal Knut Eide og Tom Granlund. Plan av 1. etasje. 10th February, 1977). As the above-described historical development of transformations at *Kaffestuggugård* have shown, the changes proposed by Oslo-based architects in 1977 were obviously not a restoration to the original state of the main building, even though reference to its “*original state*” was made in their application meant to justify the proposed new conversions. For example, the loss assessment from 1828 clearly states that “*the main building with a loft was 24 alen-long, 10 alen-wide and 8 alen-high with an entrance from Storgaden. [...] The whole building is panelled and painted in red colour outside as well as inside on the first floor*” (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32. Eier Leutnant Struve.* 24th January, 1828.). Thus, the conclusion could be made that the justification for the proposed changes to the main façade of *Kaffestuggu* were not based on the analysis of the building’s history, and the claims of architects at this time were rather misleading. The historical study of physical transformations of *Kaffestuggugård* disclosed that the very notion of “restoration” was often misused to justify the proposed renewals, which did not aim to restore any former state of the object concerned, but rather wanted to conceal modern innovations by using labels that would meet the tastes and ideological requirements of the field of heritage conservation.

In other cases, efforts were made to restore the external appearance of lost or replaced authentic building elements; however, the process of production of these copies was rarely “traditional”, more often industrialized and did not correspond to the historical building techniques used when the original parts of the building were made. For example, in 1983, Røros building authorities were informed about the replacement of windows on the first floor of the main building, which was about to be executed by “*Sjøvold, working at Røros Trevarrefabrikk*”. Seeking to reduce the draught of the old windows, modern copies, instead of repairing the authentic windows, were recommended by the producer by assuring that “*the fabrication of those is carried out by Røros Trevarrefabrik, while the workmanship and appearance will be in accordance with those which will be replaced*” (Røros kommune. Selskapet for Røros Bergstads Vel. Til Bygningsrådet i Røros kommune. 18th June, 1986). It remains unknown how the process of industrial production at the local factory had changed since the windows were replaced some time before 1944, but neither the former “restoration” of the façade, carried out in the 1940s, nor the latter one, performed in 1983, reproduced the appearance of the original windows of the main building at *Kaffestuggård*. However, this reproduction could be considered “procedurally authentic” if the same industrial techniques of production were used while the aesthetically traditional factory-made windows, dated to the 1940s, were copied again by applying the same mechanized procedures. Such a rationale nevertheless contradicts the meaning of “procedural authenticity” in the sense of how it is perceived and promoted by the field of heritage conservation, which still links the logic of practice of “procedural authenticity” to the pre-industrial and handmade reproductions.

A subsequent attempt of *Bergstadens Vel* to “restore” façades by following the logic of practice, guided by antiquarian ideals, was seen in the repainting of buildings at *Kaffestuggård* in 1990. However, this attempt was rather unsuccessful as it caused disagreements with the first municipal antiquarian of Røros, Malisius. The owner of *Kaffestuggård* did not receive the full available subsidy from the local heritage authorities for painting the main building in the “wrong” colour – “*garish, synthetic light ochre, which does not belong to Røros*” (Røros kommune. Byantikvaren. Til Bergs. Vels Kaffestuggu. 11th December, 1990). The preliminary agreement with the town antiquarian in maintaining the same colour of *Kaffestuggu*, as well as in specifying the type of paint used before the start of “restoration”, was not followed by the painter and therefore only part of the expenses, such as the stain used for log walls as well as red paint, were compensated by public funds.

Interestingly, as has been revealed before, the local antiquarian Malisius, who was of foreign origin, was later accused by the representatives of the national field of heritage conservation as not being competent in considering which colours actually belonged to Røros, because his aesthetic preferences were characteristic of southern or middle Europe, which was explained by his foreign habitus (Andersen and Brønne, 2006, 47; also see *The strengthening of local managerial positions as a consequence of decentralization of the national field of heritage conservation in Norway*).

In 1993, *Bergstadens Vel* tried to introduce changes in the backyard of *Kaffestuggård* again by using such keywords as “restoration”, which was believed to open the doors to

acknowledgement from the representatives of the field of heritage conservation. This time it was again the issue of the planked fence, but if in 1976 the construction of a new fence was labelled as “*the restoration of its original form*” (Røros kommune. Selskapet for Røros Bergstads Vel. Til Røros Bygningsråd. 8th June, 1976), in 1993, the same fence was described contrarily: “*the inner yard of Kaffestuggu and the storage house facing Kjerkgata and along the alley towards Bergmannsgata is enclosed with a high and unsightly fence. The fence is recent, presumably 30 years old and does not have any antiquarian history [...]. The fence encloses the area and restricts access to the place, which, according to the administrative board of Kaffestuggu, should be open. That way the storage house, which is poorly used for business, could also draw more attention*” (Røros kommune. Kaffestuggustyret. Til Røros Bygningsråd, 26th May 1993).

The above-described application could be regarded not as another attempt at physical transformation of the courtyard of *Kaffestuggu*, but rather as a turning point for the further metamorphosis of the intangible value system and the *logic of practice*, supported by the owner of *Kaffestuggugård*. Hence, in 1993, the old storage house was finally acknowledged as a measure not only to gain cultural capital but also to attract financial gain for this welfare company. Finally, there was no suggestion of translocating the original storage house to an open-air museum as an obstacle for further development. On the contrary, the original storage house, as well as antiquarian values of this urban farmyard in general, were acknowledged as an integral part of *Kaffestuggugård* – history had become part of the present and a necessary condition for the very future of *Kaffestuggu*.

It could also be argued that, from this point of view, the subsequent projects, aiming at any form of further transformations of the courtyard, were designed by referring to the historical documentation more consistently and thoroughly. For instance, in 2005 a request to restore the historical copper gates at the backyard of *Kaffestuggu* was delivered which was supplemented with historical documentation. It was literally stated that the request concerned the restoration not of some uncertain, presumably “original”, state but rather of a particular historical condition of the courtyard, dated back exactly to 1936. The historical gate was accurately described according to the available historical records as well as the precise measurements of the remaining parts of the original gate. The copy of the copper gate, which was originally produced at the smithery of copper works by John S. Lien in 1936, was about to be reproduced by a local company by applying the principle of “procedural authenticity”, even though the historical process of production was not entirely “traditional” and involved the use of “modern” materials: “*the concrete pillars will be covered with hammered copper plates, in the most original workmanship available*” (Røros kommune. Kjellmark. Melding om tiltak. 7th June, 2005). Acknowledgement for such restoration works was issued by the local authorities of heritage conservation on one major condition: “*to assure that the quality of workmanship of a new gate will not be worse than that of the original*” (Røros kommune. Tillatelse til tiltak etter plan- og Bygningslovens §95 a, JFR. SAK §15 – Fasadeendring. 22nd June, 2005).

Thus, it could be claimed that the case of reproduction of the historical copper gate at *Kaffestuggugård* shows that there was a growing focus on the quality of workmanship and the very process of production within the local field of heritage conservation. Furthermore,

the notion of “procedural authenticity” was not narrowed down to the pre-industrial practices concerning only the “traditional” and manual ways of production, as was still common within the national field of heritage conservation. The representatives of the local field of heritage conservation at Røros at that time were concerned with the quality of reproduction in general – be it traditional and manual craftsmanship, or industrial and mechanized workmanship.



Figure 103. The planked fence, surrounding the backyard of Kaffestuggu. (Photographer unknown, 2004, The private archive of Bergstadens Vel).

At the same time, the idea of a reconstruction of the historical outbuilding at its original site started to evolve. The “*unsightly*” planked fence was about to be demolished while the old storage house was now considered an integral part of the proposed transformation, because the courtyard was supposed to be antiquated by reconstructing the original outbuilding in the historical style. However, differently from the previous attempts of *Bergstadens Vel* to antique the main façade of *Kaffestuggu*, this time the historical style was supposed to be obtained by historical means of production, i.e. *opus operatum* was assumed to correspond to *modus operandi*. Compliance with these two components was entrusted to the carpenters working within the environment of traditional workmanship at Røros, created with the help of the above-mentioned Outbuilding Project, and thus it was one of those rather rare cases when traditional craftsmen operated in the local open market on a fully private initiative.

4.5 The struggles of tastes – the differing intentions in the design process of a new outbuilding

The first sign of a growing interest in reconstructing the historical outbuilding could be traced back to 1998 when the above-mentioned local enthusiast of heritage conservation, Ødegaard, working at *Røros Prosjekt AS* at that time, proposed rebuilding the historical outbuilding. Ødegaard studied the insurance assessments of numerous urban farmyards at Røros and created a reconstruction map of the whole historical town, depicting its supposed appearance in the middle of the 19th century (see *S. Ødegaard's vision of the consolidated and strengthened local heritage management*). His design of the reconstruction of the outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* was based on historical data, especially as far as the external façades of the proposed new constructions were concerned. At the same time, he introduced a few recent constructional changes in the layout of his design, to consolidate the general appearance of the backyard of *Kaffestuggugård*. The differences between the supposedly accurate historical reconstruction and modern adjustments were clearly stated by Ødegaard in his project drawings.

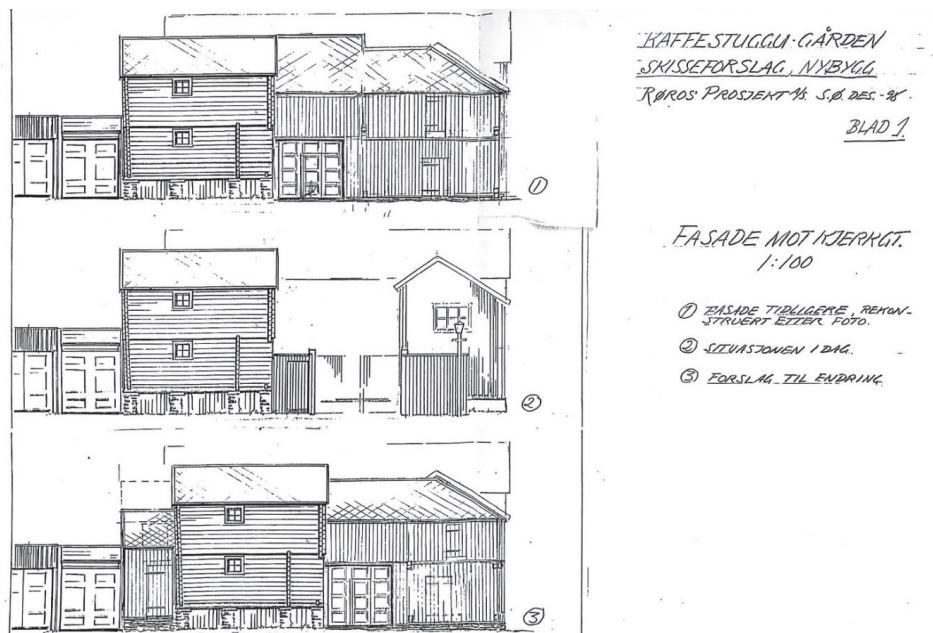


Figure 104. Façades of Kaffestuggugård, facing Kjerkgata: 1. The historical reconstruction, according to an archival photo; 2. The present situation; 3. The proposed changes. (Røros Prosjekt AS, 1998, Røros kommune).

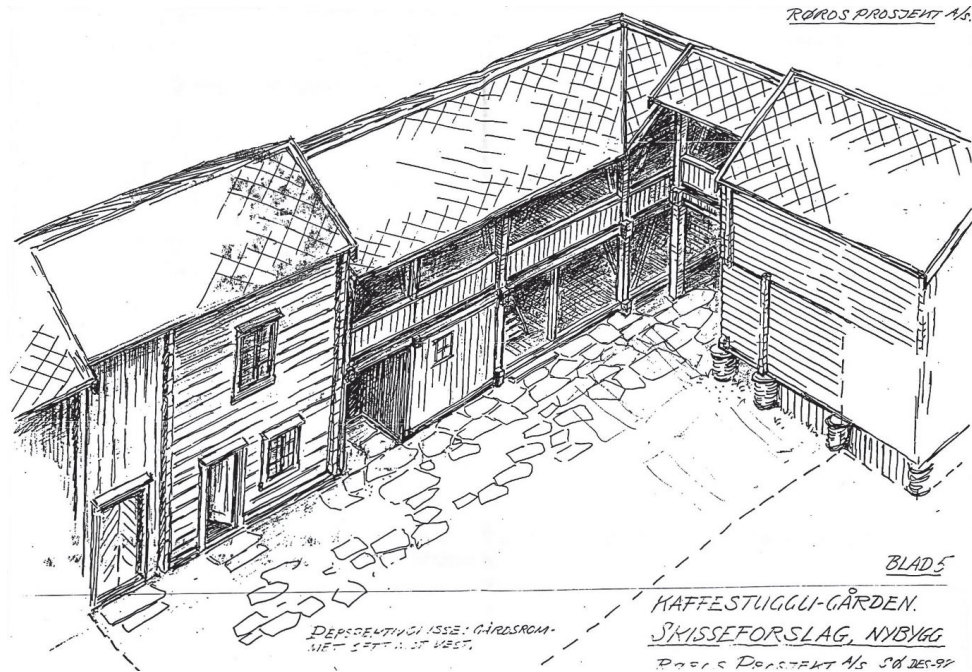


Figure 105. The proposed solution of an open façade, facing the inner courtyard of Kaffestuggugård (Røros Prosjekt AS, 1998, Røros kommune).

Later, in 1999, Ødegaard refined his project proposal by introducing small horizontal windows with shutters on all the façades facing the public spaces, instead of the previously suggested small-paned windows. The design of the entrance gate into the courtyard was also changed from being a copy of an elaborate gate with panel doors to a simpler and more utilitarian version of a planked gateway. Thus, the edited project proposal of 1999 was not that much concerned about reconstructing the exact original appearance of the historical outbuilding; instead, it was presented as a new infill architecture that would harmonize with its surroundings. Therefore, the proposed new outbuilding was designed in a simple and plain appearance, characteristic of the historical outbuildings at Røros. In fact, these arguments, expressed by Ødegaard in 1999, were recited later, in 2006, when *Bergstadens Vel* decided to revive the project of constructing a new outbuilding in the historical style and used the quote by Ødegaard as an argument:

“The new construction, facing the alley and the street, should gain a simple character of an outbuilding. There is no intention to copy or imitate the old outbuilding, but to create an expression in materials and shapes that would be experienced as harmonizing closely with the old storage house. This is the backside of the farmyard and that should be demonstrated. Contrarily to the painted façades with large windows, facing the streets, the storage house and the simple outbuilding will indicate the backyard of Kaffestuggugård and will create a special character. The traditional appearance, which could still be observed by looking at some outbuildings in-between the main buildings, was common in Røros until a few decades ago as well as in the area around Kaffestuggugård and

downwards. Seeking to provide the desired character to the façade, it will be necessary to reduce the use of windows. Nevertheless, in order to establish some kind of contact with the street, it is recommended to use openings in panel boarded walls, which could be closed with simple shutters” (Ødegaard, 1999, quoted in Røros kommune. Bergstadens Vel., Oppføring av nytt bygg i Dybdalsgården. “Kaffestuggu”, 25th May, 2006).



Kaffestuggugården. Skisseforslag: Nybygg m.v.
Målestokk 1:50
Røros Prosjekt as
Sept.-99.

Figure 106. The subsequently proposed version of a simpler façade of Kaffestuggugård towards Kjerkgata (Røros Prosjekt AS, 1999, Røros kommune)

The project proposal, delivered to Røros building authorities in 2006, was a private initiative. The newly provided project drawings were based on Ødegaard’s legacy but, at the same time, new solutions were suggested: the number of openings with shutters was increased and their dimensions enlarged, and some small-paned windows were reintroduced. The biggest novelty though was the refusal to include the wooden planked gate and the connected loft above it even though the former solution corresponded to the composition of the original outbuilding better. Instead of the accurate reconstruction though, a newly reinstalled copper gate was sustained, which was historically dated to the subsequent period and was first built after the original outbuilding was demolished. Thus, it could be claimed that the authentic copper gate and the original outbuilding had never stood simultaneously next to each other in history before.

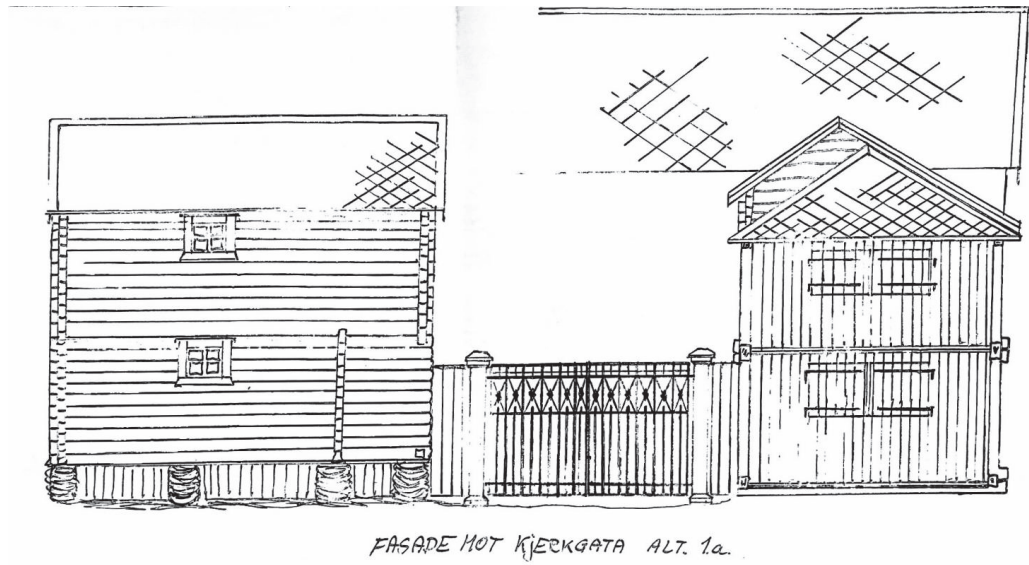


Figure 107. A combination of the reconstructed authentic copper gate and the new outbuilding, partly resembling the original one, was the innovation, proposed in 2006 (Drawing by J.M.N, 2006, Roros kommune).

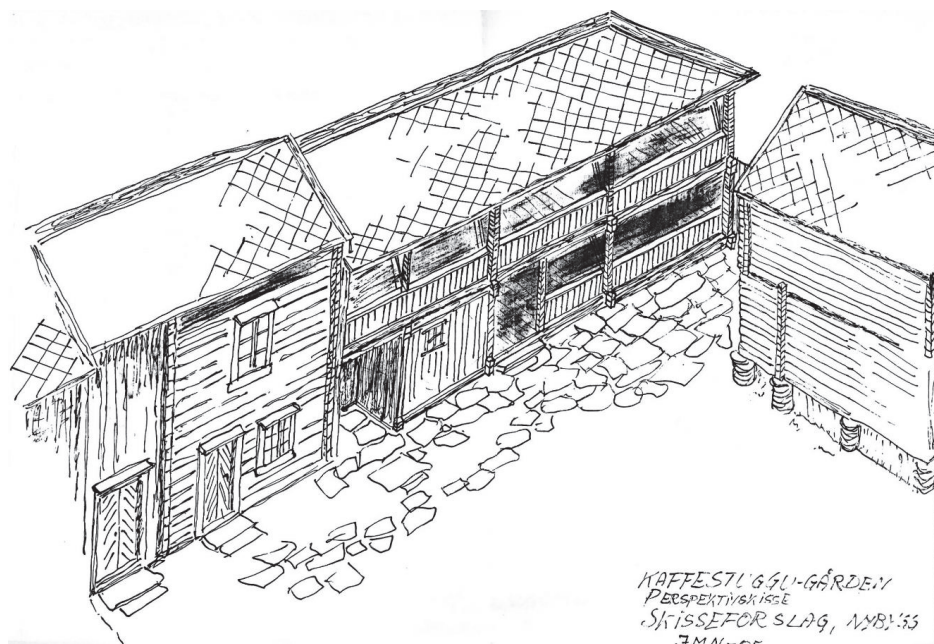
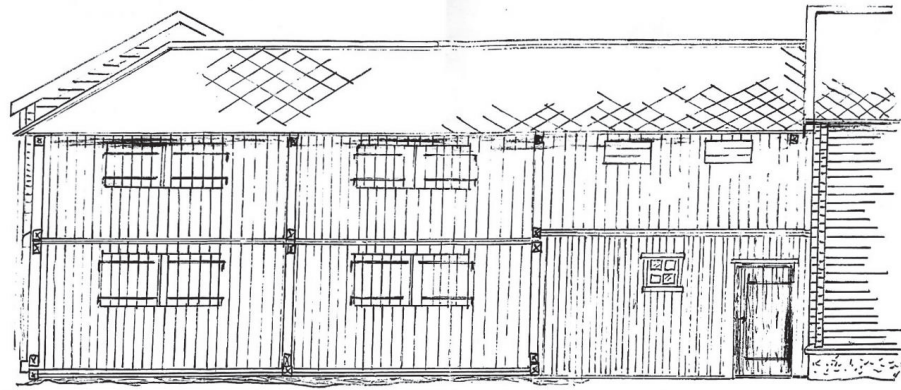


Figure 108. The proposed façade towards the inner courtyard of Kaffestuggugård was strongly influenced by S. Ødegaard's drawings (Drawing by J.M.N, 2005, Roros kommune).



FASADE MOT VETA

KAFFESTUGGUGÅRDEN. SKISSEFORSLAG
 MÅLESTOKK 1:50
 JMN-05

Figure 109. The façade of the new outbuilding towards the narrow alley (Drawing by J.M.N, 2005, Røros kommune).

However, as openly stated in the project description, the owner of *Kaffestuggugård* did not strive for an accurate reconstruction of the original outbuilding. The main aim instead was the revival of the traditional image of the backyard by stylistically adapting a new outbuilding to the remaining original storage house. Thus, finally the old storage house was considered a central point of departure in designing the new construction, and that shows a great shift in the value system of the private owner of *Kaffestuggugård* as well as the conversion of the comprehensible *logic of practice*.

Moreover, *Kaffestuggugård* was not restricted to the revival of its historical appearance only; the aim of applying traditional building techniques in order to obtain the traditional appearance of buildings was strongly emphasized. Therefore, the result was about to differ from the previous changes to the backyard of *Kaffestuggu* or Røros in general – to create antiquated images of new buildings, constructed using modern building techniques. This time the *opus operatum* in its traditional appearance was about to correspond to the *modus operandi* of the traditional workmanship. The project description, provided by a private owner, clearly described what kind of materials should be used in constructing the new outbuilding and how: “*The use of materials: Traditional load carrying construction, pillars and beams in whole pine tree. Covered with raw barn panelling (låvepanel) on the exterior. The roof covered with stone slates. Only toilets are isolated and heated rooms. Floors and walls of these rooms only are also lined with ceramic tiles*” (Røros kommune. Bergstadens Vel., Oppføring av nytt bygg i Dybdalsgården. “Kaffestuggu”, 25th May, 2006).

As explained by one of the representatives of *Bergstadens Vel* in 2009, “There is an idea that it should be used to beautify the town for the good of inhabitants. [...] It is more expensive than a modern house. All the logs were only manually prepared instead of being mechanically sawed. So, a lot could be saved. [...] But it was supposed to be built in the old style. Røros is so unique that there is no point building in plastic here, it should be built in wood” (Interview with one of the representatives of *Bergstadens Vel*, 2009). The quote clearly indicates that the choice of traditional appearance of the new outbuilding was directly linked to the traditional workmanship used to produce it. However, it should be noted that this project of constructing the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* was a non-public commission, aimed first and foremost at expanding the service space of the café by rebuilding the demolished historical outbuilding *in situ*. Even though the main goal of the project was to increase economic profit, one of the representatives of the welfare company, who owns *Kaffestuggu*, expressed a wish to build a building that would also bring cultural and symbolic capital to *Bergstadens Vel* in particular, and *Røros* in general.

The quote also illustrated what type of meaning was assigned to the objective of *Bergstadens Vel*, declared already in the founding act of this welfare association in 1907: “to work for everything that will be directed towards the benefit and beautification of *Røros Bergstad*” (Grønn, 1947, 6). As the above-presented historical study of transformations at *Kaffestuggugård* has shown, the term “*beautification*”, which is closely linked to the taste for a certain aesthetic expression, was perceived differently by the owner of this urban farmyard in various periods of time. Finally, the ideals of the subfield of traditional workmanship, which was created and largely influenced by the national field of heritage conservation, have been acknowledged in the private sector as well, at least by this local elite organization. The project proposal for constructing the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* has shown that this time the aesthetic preferences of the non-public initiator were associated with traditional materials and traditional workmanship.

Moreover, the interviewed representative of *Bergstadens Vel* has justified the choice for the traditional appearance as a common good, from which the whole town’s society would benefit. Consequently, it could be argued that, because of the emphasis laid on raising the cultural and social capital of the place, the restricted type of production was chosen. As described above, *Bergstadens Vel*, even though it was a private enterprise, it was first and foremost an exceptional welfare organization, operating in *Røros* since the beginning of the 20th century, and therefore its choice to use the products of restricted cultural production, provided by the subfield of traditional workmanship, was about to contribute to reaffirming the exceptional social and cultural position of the association within the local society.

However, the external evaluation of the project proposal, which was requested by *Røros* municipality in 2006, did not take into account the importance of the owner’s social and cultural position within the local community. Thus, the application was evaluated rather critically by the representatives of the County’s Antiquarian Office, by expressing their doubts about the compliance of the proposed design of the new outbuilding with its original appearance. First, the lack of provided historical documentation was emphasized, and disagreement with the creatively applied traditional workmanship was expressed. The new

outbuilding was supposed to become an exact copy of the original building, based on sound historical evidence, according to the representatives of the County's Antiquarian Office.

The concern of the representatives of the field of heritage conservation about the lack of historical documentation could be explained and justified as consistent adherence to the ideal of scientific restoration: "*We agree that a possible new building should have a character of a simple outbuilding, but that should be done on the basis of the former outbuilding, as reconstruction (tilbakeføring).*" However, the provided evaluation of what was considered "traditional architecture" at Røros by the external representatives of the field of heritage conservation causes some doubts. For example, the project proposal was criticized for its extensive use of windows on façades facing public spaces: "*on the grounds of the provided drawings, we are sceptical regarding all the windows, facing the street and the alley, because we think that it does not fit with the remaining outbuildings at Røros*" (Røros kommune. Hus. Nr. 32. Kaffestuggu. Oppføring av nybygg til bruk for uteservering. Uttalelse. 2nd October, 2006). However, the value assessment of 1846 mentioned that the original outbuilding had seven small windows (Røros kommune. *Branntakst. Gård Nr. 32. Eies og beboes av Overstiger Olsen*. 8th October, 1846), while the detailed description of Lund from 1926 indicates that there was certainly one window at the stable in the wall, facing the street, as well as some traces of the former opening (Sverresborg Trøndelag Folk Museum, FTTf 1470–1472).

Concern was also expressed by the representatives of the County's Antiquarian Office regarding the proposed roof construction: "*Presumably, the roof of the original outbuilding did not have hip roof (valmet tak) and we do not recommend that the possible new building would have it*" (Røros kommune. Hus. Nr. 32. Kaffestuggu. Oppføring av nybygg til bruk for uteservering. Uttalelse. 2nd October, 2006). However, as the above-presented historical analysis has shown (see *The grandiose plans for transformations of the backyard of Kaffestuggugård through the 20th century*), the original outbuilding had exactly that type of roof that the representatives of the County's field of heritage conservation opposed to.

Moreover, discontent about the private façade, facing inwards to the courtyard, was expressed: "*The inner part of the proposal and the way it is modelled makes the impression of being a gallery (svalgang). Such a solution is a foreign element at Røros and is rather associated with other parts of Norway, such as Gudbrandsdalen and Telemark. We would recommend finding other solutions*" (ibid.). There were even public accusations published, stating that the project proposal aimed to construct a new building without any features typical of Røros, but rather characteristic of other areas in Norway (Dalløkken, 2006, 24). The above-provided historical documentation confirms the expressed critique only partly – the original outbuilding was indeed closed from all sides by planked walls. However, the loft over the gateway, next to the original outbuilding, had an open space facing the inner courtyard on the second floor which was used as a hayloft (see *The grandiose plans for transformations of the backyard of Kaffestuggugård through the 20th century*). Thus, such an open solution was not a foreign element at Røros, but rather part of the original layout of *Kaffestuggugård* itself. A theory could be raised that the idea of repeating the solution of the open inner façade originated from that very loft over the gateway as the reconstruction of that loft was part of the initial proposal, designed by Ødegaard in 1998.

The design proposals were developed throughout the years, and the version of 2005 lost its primary idea. The scope of the new construction in the 2005 version was restricted but the initial design of the open internal façade remained.



Figure 110. The plans of constructing the new outbuilding ignited the public debate of what is the characteristic building tradition at Røros (Arbeidets Rett, 18. oktober, 2006).

Even though several design versions of the new outbuilding were created by various authors until the very end of the actual implementation, the legacy and influence of Ødegaard remained alive in most of those versions as his position within the local society was considered to possess exceptional cultural capital. However, it should be noted that due to the deviations from the initial ideas of Ødegaard in the 2005 version, further development of the project was temporarily suspended on the initiator's part in 2006 (Røros kommune. Vedr. planene for nybygg i *Dybdalsgården* (*Kaffestuggugården*). 23rd November, 2006), even though the building authorities in Røros had partly approved the project proposal. Permission was given to build restrooms, but the rest of the outbuilding, especially the façades facing the streets, had to be changed according to the above-described vision of the representatives at the County's Antiquarian Office (Røros kommune. Saksprotokoll: Søknad om dispensasjon fra reguleringsplan for oppføring av toalett og overbygd uteservering. Kaffestuggu. 19th October, 2006). If the authority of Ødegaard's legacy had unquestionably high value among the local residents of Røros, his initial project design did not gain that much trust among the external representatives of the County's Antiquarian Office, who persistently requested historical documentation and that the new outbuilding would be an accurate copy of the original one.

These requests were not willingly fulfilled by the initiator of the project at *Kaffestuggugård*, nor was the exact copy favoured by local society in general. During a public discussion arranged in Røros in 2006, aimed at presenting the new Outbuilding Project at *Kaffestuggugård*, the debate ended by raising a broader issue of which aesthetic preferences should be considered acceptable in future constructions in the historical centre of Røros in general. A representative of the urban planning department at Røros

municipality expressed an attitude that was rather common to most of the participants at the debate: “*Houses that are built today should not look like those that were built 200 years ago. They should look as if they were built today but at the same time they should fit into the surroundings*”. The architect Prøsch replied by specifying those criteria that determine if a new building can be considered a copy: “*They imply that the houses should look the same, would be built from the same materials and with the same building techniques. The new house in Kaffestuggugård should be similar to the house which stood there 100 years ago, but it should not be a copy*” (Østby, 2006). Thus, it could be summarized that the exact copy of the original outbuilding was not favoured by the representative of the urban planning department at Røros municipality, whose opinion corresponded to the views of most of the participants of the debate. Neither were representatives of the local field of heritage conservation interested in the accurate imitation of the original outbuilding. What was preferred by both local parties though was a creative adaptation of the “old style” in constructing the new outbuilding.

In 2008, efforts at reviving the new Outbuilding Project by the owner of *Kaffestuggugård* were resumed. By way of introducing alternative architectural design solutions, a local engineering company was involved. However, such a modernized alternative did not satisfy the responsible carpenter, who was hired as a master builder at the site of construction. As revealed during interviews, the responsible carpenter refused to construct the outbuilding as it was designed by the engineering company. According to the carpenter himself, the engineer’s project proposal did not specify if any kind of traditional workmanship should be employed and it was more applicable to modern design and industrial building methods (Interview with local carpenter no. 2, 2009).

As informed by the owner of *Kaffestuggugård*, all the responsibility for the implementation of the project was entrusted to the master carpenter, and in that way the approval for the owner’s preferences in the traditional style as well as traditional building methods was confirmed (Interview with one of the representatives of *Bergstadens Vel*, 2009). Such an assumption is made because the chosen master carpenter belonged to the environment of the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros and had a long-lasting practice of working within the Outbuilding Project. The master carpenter gradually incorporated his other colleagues from the subfield of traditional workmanship in the implementation of the project in practice. However, the responsible carpenter and his team did not confine themselves to mere execution of decisions, taken by the owner of *Kaffestuggugård* or the engineering company, which designed the last project proposal in 2008. As mentioned above, the master builder was not satisfied with the provided drawings and restarted the design process from the very start.

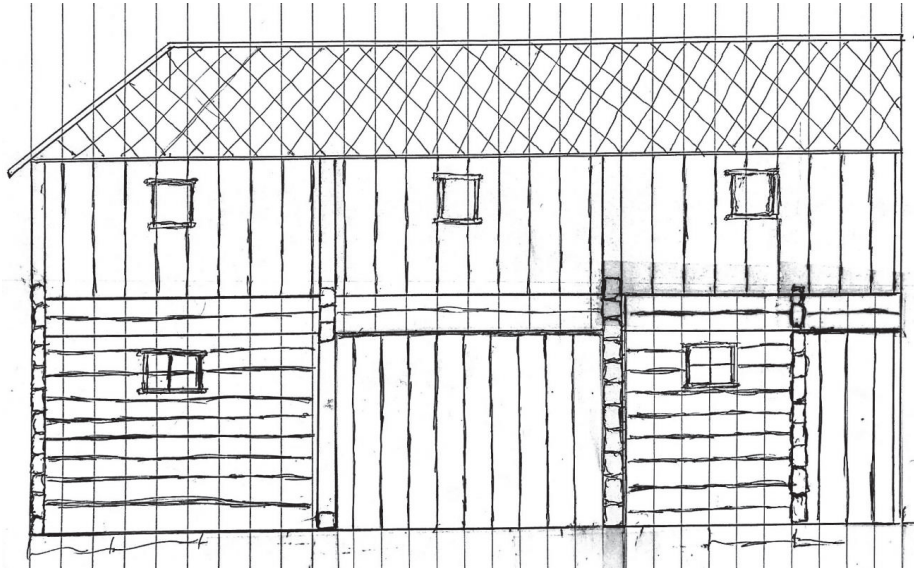


Figure 111. The façade of the outbuilding, facing the alley (Drawing by the master builder, 2008, The private archive of the carpenter).

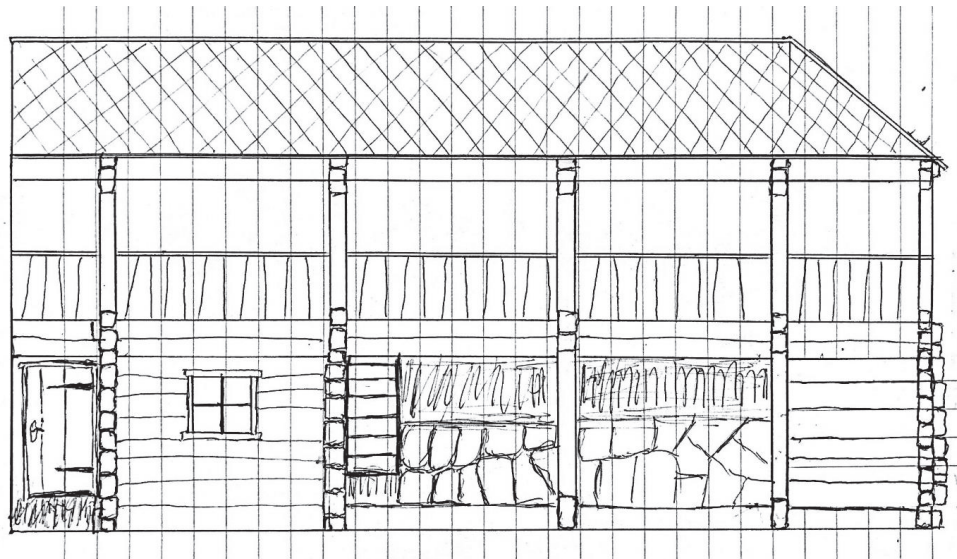
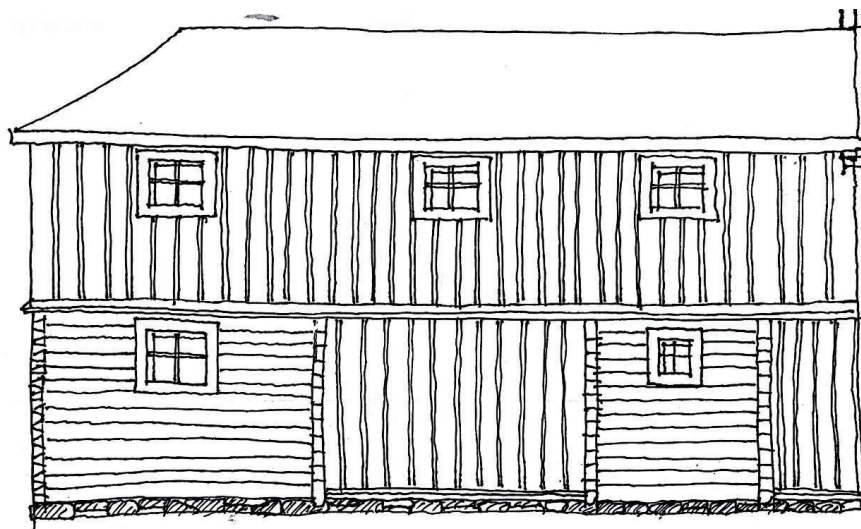


Figure 112. The façade of the outbuilding, facing the inner courtyard (Drawing by the master builder, 2008, The private archive of the carpenter).

Even though the drawings of the master builder were not professional enough from an architectural perspective, they provided more detailed information about the planned type of workmanship and materials to be applied in the future construction process. But even

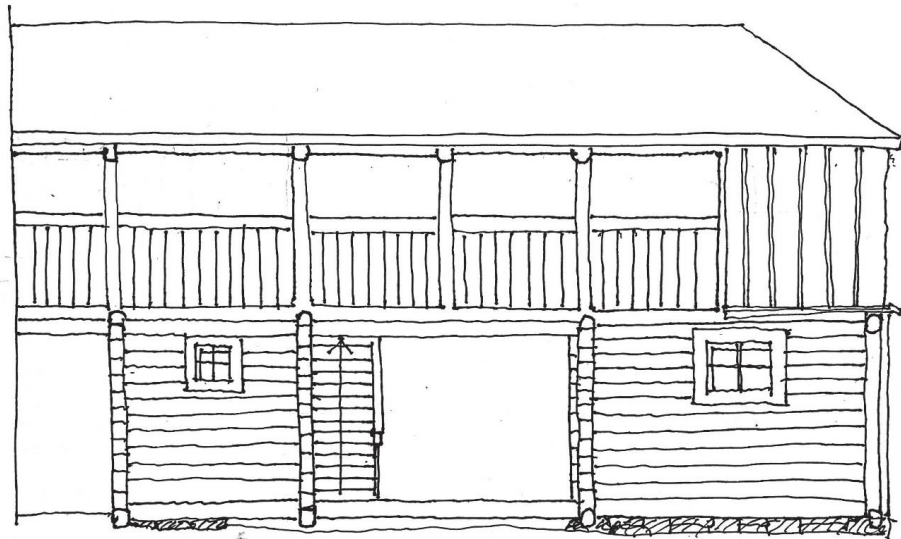
more importantly, by comparing all the preceding versions of the project proposal, the drawings of the responsible craftsman corresponded best to the layout of the original outbuilding despite the fact that the master builder was probably unaware of the historical documentation of *Kaffestuggugård*, existing in the archives and museums, as he did not mention them during the interviewing process, nor was historical data present in his personal project archive. Furthermore, Ødegaard's primary proposal and the subsequent versions, inspired by his initial plans, did not involve the layout of two log cases, connected with a planked corridor in between, even though that was the original solution, thoroughly described by Lund in 1926, and also mentioned in value assessments of the 19th century (see *The grandiose plans for transformations of the backyard of Kaffestuggugård through the 20th century*). It could thus be claimed that the project proposal, drawn by the master builder, did not fully follow Ødegaard's initial ideas and therefore resembled more the original layout of the historical outbuilding.

In order to be publicly presented, the drawings of the master builder were upgraded by a local architect so as to meet the architectural standards. The layout of the first floor, proposed by the master builder, was followed as well as his other major constructional proposals. Only some minor aesthetic corrections were introduced, such as small-paned windows, the number of which was also decreased in the final realized version.



FASADE MOT VETA .

Figure 113. The upgraded version of the initial proposal by the master builder (Drawing by the local architect, 2008, The private archive of the carpenter).



FASADE MOT GÅRDEN

Figure 114. The façade towards the inner courtyard of Kaffestuggugård was slightly adjusted by the local architect as well (Drawing by the local architect, 2008, The private archive of the carpenter).



Figure 115. The architectural drawing of the main façade towards Kjerkgata within its surroundings was additionally provided. The attention was also given to the details of specific types of traditional workmanship applied (Drawing by the local architect, 2008, The private archive of the carpenter).

In their evaluation of the final project proposal in 2009, the representatives of the County's Antiquarian Office complained again about the missing historical documentation on the original outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* and expressed doubt about the historical correctness of the initial plans proposed by Ødegaard. It was also claimed that this last project proposal resembled the very first design suggestion provided by Ødegaard, but the above-presented analysis has shown the inaccuracy of this statement (Røros kommune. Kaffestuggu. Oppføring av nybygg til bruk for uteservering. Ny uttalelse, 9th February, 2009). The layout of the first floor, composed of two log cases connected with a planked section, was newly introduced by the master builder, but it unintentionally retained very much of the original layout of the historical outbuilding.

Thus, it could be claimed that, differently from the representatives of the field of heritage conservation, a local carpenter, with his extensive experience within the subfield of traditional workmanship, did not need historical documentation to create a more accurate copy of the original outbuilding. The reason why the responsible craftsman did not invest any effort in finding and presenting the historical documentation on *Kaffestuggugård* may lie behind the fact that he used other sources of information for the accumulation of his cultural capital: he looked for traces of traditional workmanship in the remaining historical physical environment; he had practised that traditional workmanship for years; and he used his tacit knowledge as a point of reference in the further decision-making processes. Thus, his exceptional cultural capital, acquired in the course of participating in the long-lasting Outbuilding Project, was used in developing the design for the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård*. Consequently, the project proposal, drawn by the master builder, demonstrated his practical knowledge in traditional building techniques, which became part of his habitus and a natural part of his *logic of practice*. Thus, the final appearance and constructional features of the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* could be considered an output of restricted cultural reproduction and an expression of his habitus, formed over time by the accumulated exceptional cultural capital.

The final project proposal for the new outbuilding could also be considered an indicator showing that the carpenters, working within the Outbuilding Project at Røros, were acquainted with the local building traditions to such an extent that the outcomes of the contemporary traditional carpenter's work even unintentionally corresponded to the historical solutions taken by a craftsman who lived in the 19th century and built the original outbuilding. In that way, the exceptional cultural capital of the local traditional craftsman could also be reassured, because his tacit knowledge is otherwise difficult to examine or test. It should also be noted that the accurate correspondence of the original solution to the contemporary one, which was proposed by the local traditional carpenter, might be based on the simple fact that in this particular case at *Kaffestuggugård*, the historical and contemporary decisions were taken by carpenters, and their common profession dictates a distinct *logic of practice* which differs from that of architects, urban planners or antiquarians, who usually are responsible for designing new constructions nowadays.

Thus, the new outbuilding fitted smoothly into the traditional townscape of Røros and was not intended to signify by contrast that this was a new construction. For the very same reason, representatives of other above-mentioned professions, such as architects, urban

planners or antiquarians, were usually not happy about the “falsification” of history. For example, the County’s Antiquarian Office expressed discontent since they would have preferred to have seen either an exact copy, based on historical evidence, or a contrasting building in a clearly contemporary style, following the principle of historical equivalence, imbedded by the Venice Charter in 1964. The suggested architectural preferences also included the contemporary visual expressions created by traditional means: “*we have been wondering if it would be possible to build a new wooden construction in Røros. [...] There was one project in Kjerkgata, which provided a modern expression but with the help of traditional techniques, and it appeared to be very exciting*” (Interview with one of the representatives of County’s Antiquarian Office, 2010).

However, the interviewed representative of the local heritage conservation office conveyed a rather exclusively opposite intention, based on the mutual dependence between *opus operatum* (the new outbuilding in its traditional appearance) and *modus operandi* (the construction based on traditional workmanship). By referring to Gjestrum, who warned against the growing museumization of Røros with the objects of cultural heritage taken out of society’s usual life because they would not survive in the open market economy (Gjestrum, 2001), the interviewed local antiquarian approved the project for a new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* as an alternative way – an example of the embodied living traditions (Interview with the representative of Municipal Antiquarian Office, 2009). Thus, due to the rare opportunity and support from the local heritage conservation office, the local traditional carpenter’s cultural reproduction became possible. It could be concluded that it was only due to the exceptional standpoint of the local heritage conservation office that this exclusive project was finally implemented. As explained by Bourdieu, at certain moments in time, aesthetic ruptures could happen as the expression of the power that agents with special individual biographies hold within their respective fields, which equates with their capital (Bourdieu, 2005, 241). In other words, the differing choices of representatives belonging to the same field could be possible due to the exceptional personal setting. The high levels of acknowledged capital accumulated as well as the power positions occupied by those representatives with exceptional biographies within the field enabled the possibility for the solutions to be accepted, which otherwise would not even be considered possible by other conforming agents within that field.

It was more common for the representatives of the national field of heritage conservation to follow the ideals of historical equivalence, which disregarded the copying of traditional visual expressions as signs of nostalgia, rooted in psychological reasons (Hoem, 2004, 48). The enlightened representatives of the field of heritage conservation aimed to save the commoners from dangers of historic falsification, which were playfully described by Lowenthal: “*most people not only cannot tell originals from replicas, they are just as pleased with the latter. The copy reflects ‘the past’ no less than the original*” (Lowenthal, 1985, 295). If the replicas of damaged architectural details were approved as far as they concerned the restorations of heritage objects by the national field of heritage conservation, then reconstructions of entire buildings were ruled out by the principle of historical equivalence, which was somehow not valid in former cases or was applied in a contrary meaning (see *The discrepancy between what has been preached and what has been practised*). Moreover, the designing of new buildings was now mainly done by architects,

and completely deprived from craftsmen even though they used to hold that position and carry out those duties for centuries. Thus, keeping in mind the described distribution of professional responsibilities and spheres of influence as well as the valid ideological justifications within the national field of heritage conservation in Norway, the case of the construction of a new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* looks rather like a “black swan” example.

Lastly, it should be noted that the County’s Antiquarian Office finally conceded to the advocates of “poor taste”, and the construction of a new building in the “old style” was reluctantly approved in 2009 (Røros kommune. *Kaffestuggu. Oppføring av nybygg til bruk for uteservering. Ny uttalelse*, 9th February, 2009), because “*the majority of local population was not against it*” (Interview with one of the representatives of County’s Antiquarian Office, 2010). Even though social surveys were not made in order to prove the public’s positive opinion about the forthcoming new constructions at that time, the later results of a social survey carried out in Røros in 2011 confirmed the general approbation of the new constructions in the “old style” by most of the inhabitants in the historical centre of Røros.

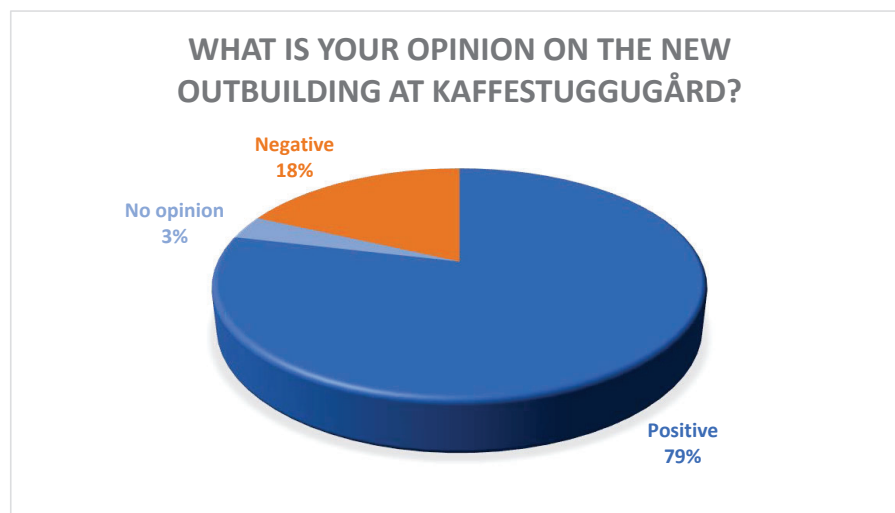


Figure 116. Most of the respondents at Røros expressed their approval of the new outbuilding at Kaffestuggugård in its traditional appearance. (The social survey at Røros, 2011)

Most of the interviewed residents in Røros supported the decision to construct the new outbuilding in the “old style” and to incorporate it harmoniously in the historical centre of the town. The worries expressed by the representatives of the field of heritage conservation that the commoners will be confused by the “old style”, which diminishes the historical readability of the building, seem to be rather exaggerated. The interviewed respondents could clearly discern that it was a new building, constructed in a traditional way to adapt to the historical surroundings: “*The outbuilding of Kaffestuggugård fits well in the streetscape. There should be such efforts made to combine ‘the new’ and ‘the old’*”; “*Those who were building the outbuilding at Kaffestuggugård were not thinking only about the old*

style; they were simultaneously thinking in a new way and that is fine” (Answers to open questions, social survey at Røros, 2011).

The preference for the traditional appearance were *a priori* regarded as indicators of poor taste, being determined by the sensual nostalgia mainly, with no rational justification (Hoem, 1994) by the representatives of the field of heritage conservation, which was heavily influenced by another field of architecture in the 20th century. However, it should be noted that, in the case of *Kaffestuggugård*, not only did most of the respondents with secondary education express their support for the new outbuilding in the “old style”, but so did the local elite, possessing more “refined” tastes determined by the highest level of cultural capital obtained. All the respondents with a university degree, who formed a minority in Røros in general, expressed positive opinions about the new outbuilding in its traditional appearance.

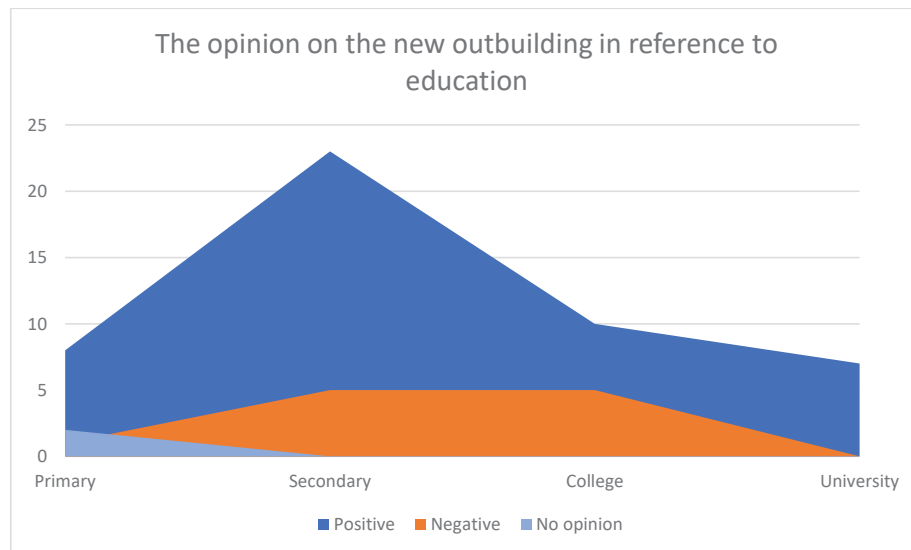


Figure 117. The distribution of tastes among local residents, possessing various degree of education (The social survey at Røros, 2011).

4.6 *The new outbuilding in the “old style” – a “procedurally authentic” pastiche*

In 2009, the representative of the County’s Antiquarian Office expressed their concern regarding the project proposal to build a new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård*: “*Even though the current version is based on the sketches drawn by Sverre Ødegaard, we have a suspicion that it is rather a pastiche than a reconstruction*” (Røros kommune. Kaffestuggu. Oppføring av nybygg til bruk for uteservering. Ny uttalelse, 9th February, 2009). Hence, as already mentioned, the authoritative field of heritage conservation followed the established policy of scientific restoration, created mainly by architects, educated in the period of the rise of modernism and rooted in the Venice Charter: “*any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp*” (The Venice Charter, Article 9, 1964). The modern conservation movement allowed only those restorations that were based on historical documentation; all other types of works founded on guesswork or presumptions instead of evident proof were obliged to look like modern additions so as to prevent falsifications of history. Thus, the interviewed representative of the County’s Antiquarian Office would have appreciated an exact reconstruction or a new building in modern design because the traditionally crafted outbuilding “*was hardly readable today for common people*” (Interview with one of the representatives of County’s Antiquarian Office, 2010). The doubts related to the historical justification of the project proposal, inspired by Ødegaard’s imaginative reconstruction, were therefore negatively termed a pastiche in a derogatory sense. However, it is important to note that no intention was ever expressed about reconstructing an exact copy of the original outbuilding by the initiators and developers of the project at *Kaffestuggugård*. The objective was to build a new building in the traditional appearance by using traditional materials and workmanship – by using the habitus of traditional craftsmen, acquired over a long period of time through experience in repairing historical buildings in Røros.

Thus, it could be claimed that the *logic of practice* of the subfield of traditional workmanship differed from the *logic of practice* of its creator, the field of heritage conservation, if the latter was thoroughly following the dogma of historical equivalence, rooted in the Venice Charter. Meanwhile, the notion of “pastiche” occupies the central position in this controversy. The principle of historical equivalence was promoted by architects, educated in the spirit of modernism, who saw any kind of imitation of artistic expressions, typical of bygone times, as being a pastiche in a negative sense. It was feared that: “*A world full of nearly-copies and fabricated reproductions could undermine our respect for the original, old heritage objects. It could grow into inflation of history*” (Hoem, 2004, 53–54). An architect’s professional achievements therefore were measured according to the innovativeness of that architect’s creations. Meanwhile, a mastery of craftsmanship was often evaluated by assessing the fulfilment of the ideas, designed by others. Thus, a craftsman did not strive for innovation *per se*, but rather for high quality in execution. Moreover, the subfield of traditional workmanship, which was represented by traditional craftsmen mainly, aimed, first and foremost, at perfection in repeating the patterns that originated previously. Therefore, a pastiche was the very goal of the subfield of traditional workmanship. Even though the subfield of traditional workmanship was created by the field of heritage conservation, the case of the rebuilding of the outbuilding

at *Kaffestuggugård* shows the fundamental misunderstandings and differing *logics of practice* supported by the representatives of the subfield of traditional workmanship and the field of heritage conservation.

If a pastiche was to be considered a definite intention of a traditional craftsman's activities, the quality of such reproduction could be verified by comparison of a fabricated piece to the original one. The better a copy was, the better the traditional craftsmanship skills. Such exceptional cultural capital could only be gained through extensive practice; therefore, a specific competence was also expected of the carpenters working with the Outbuilding Project at Røros for some decades. The owner of *Kaffestuggugård* showed full trust in the qualifications of the responsible craftsman and his team and did not supervise the construction procedures further. Consequently, differently from an otherwise common practice, the responsible carpenter was able to influence the design of the outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* as well, not just handle the process of construction.

The notching of logs started in the winter of 2008, even before the final approval was received from the building authorities in Røros in 2009. Therefore, the County's Antiquarian Office officially stated that their declaration was only provided as a matter of form (*proforma svar*) (Røros kommune. Kaffestuggu. Oppføring av nybygg til bruk for uteservering. Ny uttalelse, 9th February, 2009). Also, during the interview it was explained that this project was presented as a training exercise to the County's Antiquarian Office, carried out by a group of carpenters working within the Outbuilding Project. The logs were prepared beforehand and therefore the assembling of the ready-made wooden building elements *in situ* was done very quickly: "*They received permission or approval from us one day before the works were started. And the work progressed so quickly that the building was halfway finished when I visited the site after three days*" (Interview with one of the representatives of County's Antiquarian Office, 2010). It turned out that the carpenters had been practising notching logs for the outbuilding throughout the winter in the industrial premises of a nearby area of *Nordalen* in *Os*, as the intention was to finish the construction by 17th February 2009, when the traditional trade fair *Rørosmartnan* was about to be arranged (Høsøien, 2008). For the very same reason, the interviewed representative of the County's Antiquarian Office expressed his discontent "*caused by a feeling of being ignored in the discussions. It went too fast*" (Interview with one of the representatives of County's Antiquarian Office, 2010).

As was publicly declared, the notching of logs and the preparation of timber for timber-framed constructions were performed with historical tools and in a traditional way, which was common to that particular group of carpenters, who had already had extensive practice within the Outbuilding Project (Høsøien, 2008). However, as informed by one of the carpenters involved, the logs for the construction were not prepared in a fully "procedurally authentic" way. As the construction of the outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* was a privately financed project, some time-saving industrial solutions were applied as well: "*We have used some shortcuts, for example the logs – they were sawn first, dried out and only then hewn on their outside*" (Interview with local carpenter no. 1, 2009). Despite some "*shortcuts*" that were justified as being based on cost savings, the main aim was to demonstrate the exceptional cultural capital of local traditional carpenters, expressed in skilful

woodworking techniques, i.e. the preparation of logs which were manually hewn with a broad axe on the external façade.



Figure 118. The manual debarking of logs at Nördalen in Os (The photographer unknown, 2009. The private archive of the carpenter).



Figure 119. The hewing of external side of logs for the new outbuilding (The photographer unknown, 2009. The private archive of the carpenter).



Figure 120. The external side of sawn logs was also manually hewn to demonstrate the high quality of carpentry (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).

This type of restricted cultural production was also used as a tool to show that the field of heritage conservation could not have performed the same high quality of woodworking in the 1970s because no exceptional environment of traditional workmanship had been created at Røros at that time yet: *“Only good carpenters can hew logs in such a way. If a carpenter is not that good, the result might be different. If you examine the northwards-facing wall of Per Amundsagården, which is owned by the Society for Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments (Fortidsminneforeningen), you will see there some logs which were replaced in the 1970s. They tried to do something similar, but the logs appeared to be very slushy (sørpete). These logs were also sawn first and then hewn, but that was done by someone who could not do it properly. And now you can compare that example to Kaffestuggugård and you will see that one has to be very skilful to notice that the logs had been sawn first”* (ibid.).

The same interviewed carpenter admitted that, in other circumstances, such as during the publicly financed woodworking courses, only manual work was applied to hewing logs in a fully “procedurally authentic” way: *“When we have courses, so the meaning is to switch to fully manual production, and the round logs are hewn and notched then. We do it in a way which had been used to build most of the cowsheds before. We usually follow the rule that during the first two weeks, a chainsaw is forbidden, but, as a rule, that chainsaw becomes unnecessary during the last two weeks. [...] It takes time to become skilful in using hand tools and all that time a carpenter feels that backbone which provokes him to use that chainsaw... When new craftsmen are being trained, they need to be capable of taking that step backwards”* (ibid.).



Figure 121. Old hooked scarf joints (skrå hakeskjøter), visible on the external façade of the nearby standing historical “drengstue” at Kaffestuggugård (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).



Figure 122. A newly-reproduced hooked scarf joint (skrå hakeskjøt) in the outbuilding (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).

The carpenters also demonstrated their competence in various traditional log building constructions by playfully displaying different types of notched-log joints – from a tooth-edge joint (*kamlajt*), characteristic of the wooden buildings of the 19th century and suited for the log houses intended to be covered with panel cladding, to more local kinds of notched-log corners, which were typical of the area until the middle of the 19th century and were called flat joints (*kinnet flatlajt* at Røros, *sekskantlajt* nationwide).



Figure 123. Tooth-edge joints (kamlaft) (Photo by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).

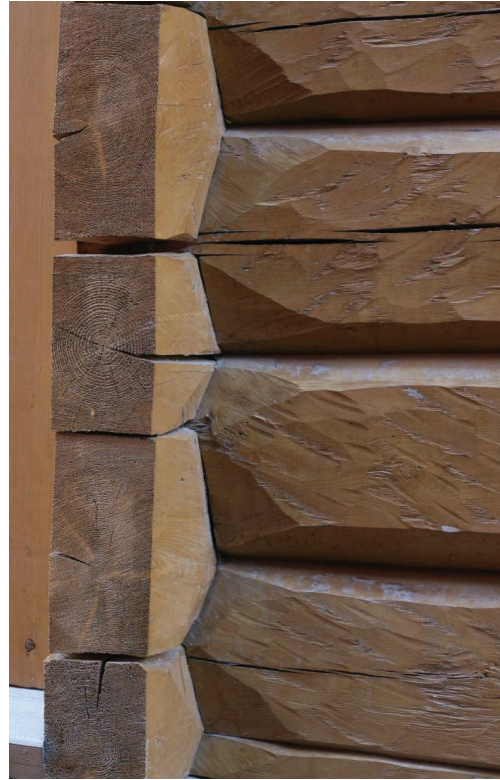


Figure 124. Flat joints (kinnet flatlaft) (Photo by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).

The construction project for the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* also provided another opportunity for traditional craftsmen to demonstrate in a tacit way their disagreement with the prevailing practices within the field of heritage conservation, when the modern materials and techniques are labelled as “traditional” with no reference to the actual historical building techniques at all. The examples of such false practices were witnessed in the post-war “restorations” of façades in Røros when the Swiss chalet style claddings from the end of the 19th century were removed and substituted with modern standard unplanned panelling (see *The “Vreimifization” of Røros 1937–1965*). As informed by the interviewed carpenter, those methods not only contradict the ideals of scientific restoration relevant to the field of heritage conservation, but they also do not correspond to the *logic of practice* of traditional workmanship either: “*The classical example at Røros is the substitution of Swiss chalet style cladding in the last 50 years when efforts were made in removing that style from the townscape of Røros. The modern, unplanned carpenter’s panelling in standard dimensions of 1 inch and 6 inches were usually chosen as the substituting material. These were wooden claddings, of course, but nothing more corresponded to the traditional carpenter’s panelling. In the first place, that panelling was introduced together with functionalism. But if you painted a house in the 19th century and that house was covered with unplanned cladding, you would have needed three times as*

much paint which was very expensive at that time. In such a case, you, as a craftsman, would simply get fired” (Interview with one of the representatives of County’s Antiquarian Office, 2010). Thus, an opposing statement was made in the craftsman’s tacit “language” by mounting uneven panel boards, which were sawn with a sash saw (*oppgangssag*) and afterwards planed manually. The wooden panelling (*vekselpanel*) of the new outbuilding was supposed to resemble the remaining original cladding of a nearby standing barn, the construction of which was also similar to the new outbuilding – the first floor was composed partly of notched logs while the rest of the construction on the first floor, as well as the entire second floor, was timber-framed.

As informed by the carpenter working on the construction of the new outbuilding, that type of wooden panelling created a distinct kind of external aesthetics, which bore the pride of traditional workmanship. The skilfully treated façades of the new outbuilding also served as a kind of advertisement to attract new private customers so that they could discover the exceptional aesthetics of such façades, differing from the common ones, characterized by the standard, modern carpenter’s panelling: *“once one gets into common traces, it is difficult to get out of that accustomed track, so either money, or a good example, which would be appreciated by private owners, could make a difference”* (Interview with local carpenter no. 1, 2009).

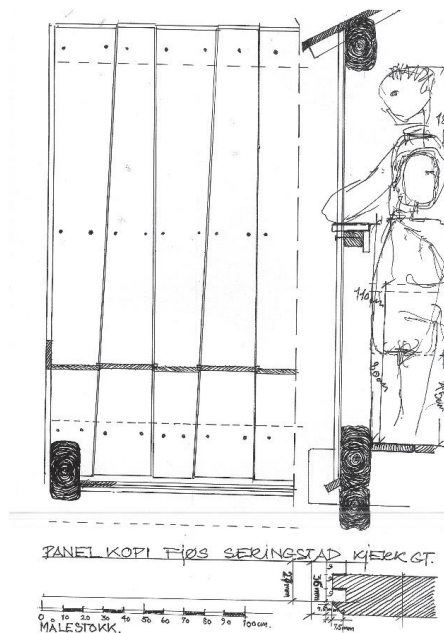


Figure 125. The design proposal of non-standard carpenter’s panelling (Drawing by a local architect, 2008, The private archive of the carpenter).



Figure 126. The measurements of the original panelling taken at the nearby-standing barn (Photographer unknown, 2008, The private archive of the carpenter).



Figure 127. The original façade of a barn, which was taken as a model for the new outbuilding (Photo by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2009).



Figure 128. The copy of panelling, produced in the “procedurally authentic” way (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).

The copying of non-standard panelling was an innovative and creative manifestation by itself, aimed at demonstrating the distinct professional attitude, differing from that practised by the field of heritage conservation. It was also used as a means of strengthening the autonomy of the subfield of traditional workmanship, by ensuring the alternative sources of income, stemming from the private open market instead of public funding. Therefore, acknowledgement of the restricted cultural production of the subfield of traditional workmanship was of such great importance: *“I have noticed that, when we got more credible in copying old panelling, that became noticed, and those richer owners of buildings did not choose the industrially produced alternatives that easily anymore. It might happen that a customer may wish to have a more credible piece of reconstruction in the future”* (Interview with local carpenter no. 1, 2009). Moreover, it should be noted that Outbuilding Project at *Kaffestuggugård* was a private commission and therefore marked a growing position of the subfield of traditional workmanship within the local open market of the building industry. But the greater autonomy came at a price – the representatives of the field of heritage conservation were suddenly feeling left aside.



Figure 129. The process of assembling the ready-made logs at the site (Photographer unknown, 2008, The private archive of the carpenter).



Figure 130. The final phase of the construction – the roof covering (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2009).

As has already been mentioned before, the public statements of the representatives of the County's Antiquarian Office expressed their objections for losing influence in the process of designing the new outbuildings. Also, the very process of construction went too fast to be controlled by the county's heritage authorities. The final building permission was received on 17th February 2009 (Rørørs kommune. Tillatelse til tiltak etter plan-og Bygningslovens §95 a, JFR. SAK §15 – Oppføring av nybygg til bruk av uteservering. 17th February, 2009), the very same day as the planned deadline for the new outbuilding. Probably such a hurry also influenced a faster and modern solution – to settle with concrete foundations, differently from the initially intended traditional stone groundwork. As a result of the changes introduced, a disagreement was expressed by the public authorities regarding the modern solutions taken during the process of construction: “The foundations were made from cast concrete and aesthetically they appear to be very disturbing” (Interview with one of the representatives of County's Antiquarian Office, 2010). The carpenters, however, decided to hide the concrete foundation with stone slates, and, at least externally, the façade looked like a common solution for Rørørs.

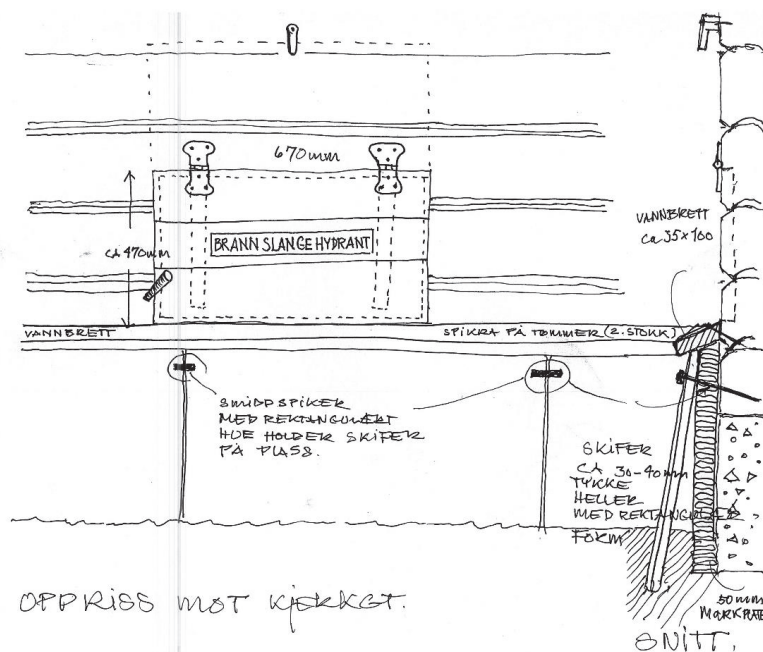


Figure 131. The traditional stone slates, hiding the concrete foundations of the new outbuilding at Kaffestuggugård (Drawing by a local architect, 2008, The private archive of the carpenter).



Figure 132. The aesthetic discrepancy between the smooth and straight concrete foundations vs. rough and variable surfaces with traces of manual woodworking (Photo by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2009).



Figure 133. The hidden concrete foundation under traditional stone slates, fastened with forged spikes (Photo by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).



Figure 134. A combination of red and yellow colours on the façades of the new outbuilding (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).

Another issue that sparked tensions between the representatives of the field of heritage conservation on one side and the carpenters speaking for the subfield of traditional workmanship on the other was the painted façades of the outbuilding. As already mentioned, the building was assembled *in situ* in the winter of 2009, but it had already been painted in the summer of the same year. The building was painted in yellow and red linseed oil paint following the training during the Days of Craftsmanship in August 2009. This time, despite the fact that educational activities were part of the process, which was often used as a mitigating circumstance to obtain approval from the field of heritage conservation, the representative of the County's Antiquarian Office reacted bitterly against the painting of logs as it was considered foreign to Røros: *"I oppose the choice of colour and the very fact that the logs were painted. It is not that bad if it is done only on the second floor, but there is no tradition in Røros of painting log cases. If someone chooses to build a house in a traditional way, that should be done consistently. [...] There wouldn't be any objections made if the choice were grounded on a historical painting analysis, but this is a new situation and I have not received any clear explanation why it should be painted in that yellow colour. An outbuilding should be painted in red composition paint, but the log cases should be left untreated. The logs should get grey and brown gradually. [...] Why didn't they use composition paint here? I can't understand that. It would have been great if courses in cooking the red paint had been arranged instead. It would have been more natural to use it than the purchased linseed oil paint. Why can't logs remain grey? If they can't here, where else could they? In mountain cottage areas (hytteland) across the country, belonging to traditional building industry (tradisjonsbyggeri); the use of Tyrilin has become common, and that is completely unnecessary for traditional buildings. I think*

we should get more patient to wait long enough until a house becomes brown or grey. But we are in a hurry. If we are so busy, why do we build these traditional buildings at all?” (Interview with one of the representatives of County’s Antiquarian Office, 2010).

The interviewed carpenter, however, referred to some historical examples of painted log cases in Røros and, therefore, he grounded the choice of painting the façades of the new outbuilding as a continuation of such a practice, which even though it was not common for the whole town, at least historically it was confirmed by some exceptional instances: *“In the case of a reconstruction, there is a broader range of choices available in comparison to restorations. Jon Brønne has found some remains of paint on the logs throughout the town. Usually, it was only wooden cladding which was painted, and these two building elements – the cladding and the paint – therefore are tightly linked to each other. But he also found traces of paint on the logs and the paint was not intended to preserve the wood but was rather used for aesthetical reasons – to show that the owner has some money, even though the wooden cladding was not yet affordable. Thus, usually only selective details are reproduced during reconstructions. And in the case of Kaffestuggu, the building was not even reconstructed in a true sense as it was a combination of elements, intended rather for modern functions”* (Interview with local carpenter no. 1, 2009).

Soon after, the painted logs of the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* was not an exceptional example in Røros any more. During the Days of Craftsmanship in 2015, the painted logs of *Stor-Magritt-stuggu* were restored according to the historical paint analysis and historical iconography, captured in a drawing by Haakon Schulz in the 1930s. Probably the aim was to restore the building to the state before the last restoration of 1973 (Aspaas, 1974, 248). Anyhow, in 2015, the cottage was lit up in a combination of ochre and red colours, but this time only composition or rye flour paint was used, with linseed paint applied to window and door frames as well as to the door itself. Such changes were quite significant in the townscape of Røros, and therefore the Days of Craftsmanship, reviewed by a local journalist, were accurately presented in the following way: *“The craftsmen change the townscape of Røros” (Håndverkere endrer på Rørosbildet)* (Høsøien, 2015). Thus, if the field of heritage conservation contributed largely to changing the townscape of Røros by removing the traces of the Swiss chalet style in the 20th century, the townscape of Røros was beginning to change again, but this time according to the *logic of practice* of the subfield of traditional workmanship, which did not always correspond to the dogmas and beliefs valid within the field of heritage conservation. The example of the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* shows that the local environment of traditional workmanship in Røros was getting more autonomous, while the traces of the activities of the traditional craftsmen were becoming more evident and recognizable in the townscape of Røros.



Figure 135. The traditional image of a cottage at Røros, with untreated log surfaces? (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).



Figure 136. The restored Stor-Magritt cottage (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).

The strengthening position of the subfield of traditional workmanship and its growing autonomy was also marked by the efforts of this subfield in reviving local historical building industries. The aim was to shorten the supply chain of required building materials that possess exceptional features and were therefore rather scarce and costly. Stone slate roofs, which were disregarded by the representatives of the field of heritage conservation in the 20th century, became an acknowledged part of the local building tradition but, until this recognition was achieved, the supply of stone slates in the open market had shrunk and the knowledge of how such roofs were previously covered became fragmented. Thus, efforts were made to revive the extraction of local roof slates in order to avoid the unfortunate situation that had already been experienced with the decreasing supply of high-quality timber, caused by the migration of *Materialbanken* to the field of building industry (see *Initiatives in the field of heritage conservation which ended up serving the field of building industry*). As explained by a local representative of the field of heritage conservation, “Our most important areas of activities are the maintenance and reparations, not new constructions. We built up the Outbuilding Project, we built up *Materialbanken* to increase the supply of building materials of high quality, first and foremost, for the reparation works. But it turned out the way that *Materialbanken*, which was initially owned by Røros Municipality and the Association of Forest Owners, was taken over by the latter. The result was that *Materialbanken* supplied building materials of exceptional quality for the constructions of new mountain cottages. We had been gradually left aside. We could not maintain such a high demand and, therefore, we were not that important even though we were the ones who created the very phenomenon. When *Materialbanken* moved away, we made a small local storage house and maybe we will try to repeat the process again, but this time we should be more focused on the side of heritage conservation. This time there should be precautions taken that the largest logs would not be supplied for fancy cottages as these logs are a restricted resource. They are not limitless and some day it might happen that a log of exceptional dimensions will be necessary for reparations of a stave church, and then it will not be available because the exceptional materials have been exploited for something else. So that is a dilemma, and we might end up in such a situation as well in terms of slate production. The production of stone industry went down and was bought up, so now it is owned by one or two companies. Thus, it reminds me very much of a monopolized situation” (Interview with the representative of Municipal Antiquarian Office, 2009).

Thus, the construction of the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* has offered a chance for training in those building techniques that are otherwise used rather rarely today. As mentioned before, the representatives of the field of heritage conservation disregarded stone slates as integral elements of the “true image” of Røros in the 20th century when they were still part of the mainstream building industry. Over time, this kind of building industry decreased but the traces of it remained, and now they were acknowledged as a legitimate part of the townscape of Røros. If the principle embedded in the Outbuilding Project was to be continued, the replaced slates would need to be replicated by the same means of production, which had by now become historical, i.e. the local production of slates was no longer maintained by the open market. Thus, covering the roof of the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* provided the rare possibility of testing out the local clay slates as they were chosen by the owner of *Kaffestuggugård* despite their lower quality, as compared to

stone slates from other areas in Norway. As the interviewed carpenter said, “*In comparison with the modern stone slates of good quality, these clay slates are of worse quality. The only reason to lay them is either to preserve the expression of such a roof, which was less common after the 1950s, or to fill this gap and keep the knowledge alive. [...] We want to have these kinds of slates available, so, to keep the numbers of production of local clay slates, we sometimes lay such roofs. It gives knowledge about the roofs, which are a little bit different, and builds up the know-how to handle those types of slates*” (Interview with local carpenter no. 1, 2009). Even though the locally produced slates were softer and much less durable, they were used by craftsmen during the construction of the new outbuilding in order to raise the cultural value of the project as being a site of training in traditional building techniques, as well as guaranteeing the further supply of restricted production of local stone slates.



Figure 137. The roof covering of the outbuilding at Kaffestuggugård with local slates (Photo by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2009).

As the above-presented picture shows, even though the local clay slates were chosen to cover the roof, the reason for that did not lie behind the purpose of repeating the entirely “*procedurally authentic*” method of construction. It was observed that the roof was insulated with mineral wool and a vapour barrier even though the second floor was left open. It should be noted that neither the modern industrial materials used for insulation of the roof nor the concrete foundations were left exposed. Even if the external surface was made to look similar, if only traditional materials and techniques were used, the above-presented observations show that the project cannot be labelled as being fully “*procedurally authentic*”. Moreover, as one of the interviewed craftsmen explained, the compromise in favour of modern needs, ensured by present-day industrial materials and

contemporary building techniques at *Kaffestuggugård*, is not an exception to the rule: “*and this is how it will always be when one tries to make a reconstruction, when one tries to focus on traditional workmanship. One should choose the elements which are preferred to be used for a particular type of building. [...] Seeking to apply an entirely procedurally authentic method is a little bit utopian. One has to take into account purely practical issues. If one tries to think in a way one did in the 19th century, it will be difficult to forget the common sense which one receives with the mother’s milk. So, there are only pieces that we are able to focus on, and also the variations of those pieces*” (Interview with local carpenter no. 1, 2009). The in-depth study of the use of traditional versus modern workmanship disclosed that even though craftsmen working within the subfield of traditional workmanship change their setting and become aware of the historical types of materials and techniques, the so-called “*shortcuts*” (*snarveier*) and “*little cheats*” (*jukse greie*) (Interview with local carpenter no. 1, 2009) are common while the external façades are certainly made to look traditional in appearance. That *logic of practice* was evident even during the execution of such an exceptional project as the rebuilding of the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* – authorized because it was labelled as being entirely “*procedurally authentic*”.



Figure 138. A window of the new outbuilding – as advertisement of the local factory, producing windows and doors in traditional appearance (see the chapter above “Initiatives of the field of heritage conservation, which ended up serving the field of building industry”). (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).

4.7 *The future of the townscape of Røros is in the hands of the empowered local traditional carpenter?*

The fact that the new outbuilding was constructed at least in traditional appearance, even though not in a fully “*procedurally authentic*” way, testifies to the growing autonomy of the subfield of traditional workmanship. Also, that the carpenters took part in the designing process, not just in mere execution of the decisions made by other professionals, shows a higher level of autonomy. Moreover, the in-depth study revealed that the autonomy of the subfield of traditional workmanship was believed to be ensured by sustaining tight connections with the local building industries, operating within the local open market and, in that way, the dependency on the national field of heritage conservation was reduced.

As depicted above, the traces of manual woodworking were emphasized on the external appearance of the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård*, which shows that the building was used as a means of highlighting the exceptional cultural capital possessed by carpenters operating within the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros. The extensive practice and extraordinary knowledge of historical building techniques not only ensured a higher level of autonomy from the national field of heritage conservation, but it was also used to strengthen the position of a local traditional craftsman in relation to other professions, such as urban planners, architects and even modern joiners, operating within the building industry in general. Even future urban planning in Røros seems to be very much influenced by traces of manual woodworking left by the representatives of the local subfield of traditional workmanship.

The case of the construction of the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* becomes repeatedly relevant and is constantly referenced in the light of ongoing discussions about possible future plans for transformations in Røros, such as *Plattingen* – the open public space on the other side of *Kjerkgata*. This open space had been part of a rather tight urban structure in the course of history where the buildings of *Mikkjil-Aspaasgården* used to stand. The oldest main building on this urban farmyard was demolished in 1930 when the new Henrik Grønn’s way was laid, and the other one was destroyed in 1970. The gapped space in the tight urban fabric, however, became an important public arena for various gatherings throughout history. Moreover, it formed a natural link to the *Kaffestuggugård* on the other side street. Due to this reason and the contrasting modern appearance of the recently proposed design of a new complex, the case of the traditional appearance of the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård* was revitalized and even used as a precedent in the public judgements about the future of the townscape of Røros.



Figure 139. The main buildings of the historical Mikkjil-Aspaasgården (Photo taken by Iver Olsen, date unknown, ©Rørosmuseet, RMUB.251136)

The developmental plans of *Plattingen* were supposed to be the biggest recent intervention in the historical urban centre after its inscription in UNESCO’s World Heritage List in 1980. The project was ordered by a private owner of the plot and designed by architects located in Trondheim. According to the responsible architect, “*It is exceptionally challenging to design at such a place as Røros. The building should not be a copy of other buildings, but it should be built on the analysis of Røros. It is a wound of the town, which should be healed*” (Lorentzen et al., 2016). The plans for the extensive complex of multifunctional buildings, however, were declined by the town’s municipality with reference to the negative public opinion of the project. However, local social surveys were not made on that matter; instead, the disapproval of the project was expressed publicly by some local inhabitants and the official representatives of the national institutions of heritage conservation. The latter, for example, criticized the recently implemented new complex of apartments near *Hitterelva* in *Øra* as having little in common with the local building traditions and warned against the worsening situation proved by the new grand plans for the even more centrally situated *Plattingen* in 2016. Such common excuses as “*reparation of the urban structure*” and “*alignment to modern times*” were named as “*extortionate language*” (*røverspråket*) used by developers and architects, and the whole project at *Plattingen* was defined as a “*45 metre-long, badly accustomed building in the heart of Røros, which, with its scale, rhythm and expression, violates the 400 years of building history*” (Fjeldheim, 2016).



Figure 140. The criticized urban development plans at Øra in Røros as having no links to the local building traditions (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2016).

Local representatives of the field of trade and industry, however, welcomed the plans for the new constructions at *Plattingen*. The newly proposed architectural design, as well as the above-depicted urban development project which was recently implemented at *Øra*, was evaluated as perfectly corresponding to their architectural taste. The intentions of the representatives of the local field of trade and industry were obviously guided by different priorities: “*Røros is much more than a tourist town and nobody wants for it to become a museum*”. Negative experiences were also disclosed by the representatives of the local field of trade and industry, regarding the uncertain and constantly changing *logic of practice*, followed by the field of heritage conservation, regarding the copies of historical buildings: “*There is a paradox that these actors, who have been developing their buildings over time, had received responses from Riksantikvaren that new buildings or additions in the centre of Røros should not be reconstructed as old buildings. It was then necessary to show clearly what the modern additions are. This principle has changed now and the old is supposed to be revived and preserved if the situation is envisioned in the right way. Therefore, clearer guidelines would be helpful*” (Slettum, 2016).

Simultaneously, louder and more numerous voices of opposition were rising in the local environment. But also the locals belonging to the opposition used the excellent occasion to remind people about the controversial previous cases of “beautification” of the urban townscape, at that time driven by the national authorities of heritage conservation and covering them under the term “restoration”. In addition, bitterness was expressed, caused by the constant rejections of local initiatives for reconstructing historical buildings in the “old style”. The main message transmitted by the local community was that the question of what local building traditions are should be discussed locally; they should resist external expertise and count on local opinion mainly: “*When Domus was developed further towards Hans Aasen Street in 1977, the owner wanted to reconstruct the streetscape with Vonheim and Oshauggården. But he was not allowed to do so at that time. The ‘wise men’ said that*

the new building should not be a copy of the old one. The architecture of new buildings should show that they are new and adjusted to modern building techniques” (Kjellmark, 2016). The possibility of filling the empty urban spaces was welcomed by the local author, but the infill architecture was supposed to correspond to the local building traditions. Most importantly, the question of what should be considered local building traditions had to be defined locally, not by anyone from outside.

Other similar local opinions were expressed publicly that also appreciated the restoration of the urban density at *Kjerkgata*. Moreover, according to the inhabitants of Røros, the new buildings at *Plattingen* were supposed to be reconstructed by copying not only the old main dwellings, but also outbuildings which formed an integral part of the historical urban farmyard: *“Build up the farmyard again as it was. In that way, the historical centre of Røros will be strengthened and the outbuildings (!), seen from Tufta, should be also taken care of”* (Andersen and Grønn, 2016).

Aiming at defending the local wishes of building copies instead of fancy modern pieces of architecture, public warnings were even raised against the representatives of the field of architecture in general: *“One should not put trust in the architect’s assessments of what should be considered as ‘correct’ architecture. It is enough to remember what kind of opinions the ‘leading architects’ had on ‘the wooden town Trondheim’.* In the 1930s, the wharfs (which are listed today) were proposed to be demolished and to be replaced by high blocks of flats next to the river and, as late as in the 1960s, proposals were made to demolish *Hornemannsgården* and *Svaneapoteket* at the central square to provide place for new high-rise blocks. In this specific case at Røros centre, there are no plans for demolishing wooden buildings or building high-rises, but the history calls for being critical over proposals of architects and their evaluations of suitable additions to the old and valuable wooden buildings” (Vintervoll et al., 2016).

The recent public discussion on the local building traditions of Røros highlighted and confirmed the patterns of power games and confrontations between the local and external influences when the representatives of various professional fields were involved. The corresponding power relations were also revealed during the in-depth study of the construction of the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård*. However, if the recent discussions on *Plattingen* became franker and more open, the analysis of the case of the new outbuilding in the “old style” at *Kaffestuggugård* disclosed rather tacit opposing dispositions hidden behind the choices for corresponding material solutions. The historical overview, depicting the background to the recent project of construction, also proved to be necessary to evaluate the positions of the national field of heritage conservation in general, and the subfield of traditional workmanship in particular. The influence of *Kaffestuggu* and its owner – the local organization *Bergstadens Vel* – in the local community throughout history was also important, and it should be taken into account. Lastly, exceptional circumstances were revealed that enabled the empowerment of local carpenters who influenced the tangible changes of one of the main streetscapes in Røros and created the precedent that would have an impact on the future metamorphosis of the town.

5 Urban conservation by vernacular historicism in Kokkola

5.1 *The dynamics of building traditions in the wooden town of Kokkola*

In line with Røros, the first informative written documentation on the historical construction techniques in Kokkola can be dated back to the age of Enlightenment. Moreover, comparison of the two towns could be based on the same historical sources, as in the case of descriptions of English mineralogist Edward Daniel Clarke, who arrived in Røros in 1799, after visiting Kokkola in 1798. Clarke was rather restrained, but telling, when describing *Gamla Carleby* as “*the last town of more consequence than any we had visited north of Gefle [Gävle in Swedish]. Some of the houses were painted red; a circumstance which it is proper to notice, because the gradations of civilized life are marked in this country by the increased or diminished number of the painted houses. Here, as usual, we observed two churches; one for the mercantile inhabitants; the other for the peasants*” (Clarke, 1819, 516). The mentioned old church for merchants in Kokkola was wooden at that time, and Clarke’s general description of wooden churches in the Ostrobothnia region is noteworthy as well: “*the old churches of the country now occur in every village, forming very picturesque objects: they are all painted red. It would not be easy to name any style of national architecture that they resemble; but in Switzerland, and the passes of the Alps, the ecclesiastical structures are, in many instances, formed after the same taste*” (ibid., 513).

The difficulty in describing the national style of wooden churches in the Ostrobothnia region recurred as the local identity of townspeople also became challenging for the visitor to define: “*In Ostrobothnia, the mixture, in the towns, of the Finns with the Swedes, and with the natives of other countries, prevents general remarks from being applicable to the manners and customs of the people. Literature is at so low an ebb, that it may doubted whether any traces of it can be said to exist north of Åbo. Books of any kind are seldom seen: there are no booksellers; nor is it possible to meet with a single copy of the works of the few celebrated authors Sweden has boasted, in any of the private houses. We sought in vain for the *Flora Svevica*, and *Flora Lapponica*, of Linnæus: we might as well have asked for the *Koran*, and perhaps we should have found it sooner*” (ibid., 518). Even though Clarke found it difficult to determine the local urban culture due to a mixture of nationalities residing in Kokkola, it was clear that the social urban composition was strictly structured, with the merchants at the top as their economic capital played the most important role.

At the same time, however, it should be noted that despite the observations of Clarke about the absence of signs of high cultural capital possessed by private inhabitants, Kokkola is known for its exceptional traces of cultural activities in the age of Enlightenment. It was home to one of the most prominent ideologists and the implementer of the Enlightenment ideas in practice, the local priest Anders Chydenius. His father, the local chaplain Jacob Chydenius, managed to deliver his thesis at *Åbo Academie* “*Om Gamla Carleby*” as early as in 1754 (Chydenius, 1884). It was the first thorough historical description of Kokkola used as a source of information for further studies by historians of architecture and thus by the field of heritage conservation in general (Korpela [1995], 38).

Differently from the Norwegian studies on heritage conservation in Røros, which commonly focused on and mainly rotated around the term of local “building traditions” (*byggeskikk*), coined by Eilert Sundt in the 19th century (see *The introduction of the concept of building traditions by Eilert Sundt*), research on the urban history of Kokkola was grounded on another concept of “building culture”, encompassing a broader and more diverse variety of building traditions, acknowledged as an integral part of the town’s character. Moreover, differently from the prevailing practice of the national field of heritage conservation in Røros, which considered preservation, maintenance and even creation of the homogeneity of the townscape as the very aim of its *logic of practice* (see *An external architect’s chase for the “true image of Røros”*), the historiographers of urban history of Kokkola emphasized the diversity of building traditions, influenced by foreign trade connections, as forming the exceptional cultural value of the town. According to Kristina Ahmas, a historian of architecture and director of the local museum, “*All types of human made constructions are considered as part of building culture. [...] The old building culture of Kokkola is varied and rich. This is another solid proof that the Gamlakarleby [the old equivalent for the present title of Karleby in Swedish and Kokkola in Finnish] experienced prosperity 200–150 years ago differently from the rest of Finland. The town became rich due to tar trade and shipbuilding industry*” (Ahmas, 1992, 6).

Thus, it could be claimed that both the local and national representatives of the authoritative heritage conservation field in Finland did not simply emphasize the national or local character of Kokkola, but they instead focused on evidence of foreign trade in the physical historical built environment and praised the diversity of various architectural periods as creating the exceptional qualities of Finnish coastal wooden towns. Constant change in a townscape was perceived as inevitable – physical features of urban built structures were regarded as expressing dynamics of prevailing social values, historic circumstances and architectural ideals, spreading across the national borders. The foreign architectural influences determined by the complicated political history of Finland, which first formed a common kingdom with Sweden and afterwards was incorporated into the Russian Empire in the 19th century, was also taken into account when describing the characteristics of architectural heritage of a Finnish wooden coastal town (*ibid.*, 150). Even the regular urban structure, which is considered the only distinctive feature of Finnish wooden towns and also characteristic of the historical urban composition of Kokkola, was explained as originating from abroad and was labelled as belonging to the “*Scandinavian Renaissance*” (Ahmas, 1992, 11).

The very phenomenon of a town in Finland is considered to be rather recent, and the medieval legacy with the characteristic irregular urban structures could only be found in such towns as Porvoo, Rauma and Ekenäs (Hagner, 1972, 10). It is important to note that these towns of medieval origin were also the first to receive special attention for singular medieval monuments by the field of national heritage conservation in Finland. As already mentioned above, the typically medieval focus also dominated the forming field of authorized heritage conservation in Norway (see *Why Røros was not the object of interest for Nicolay Nicolaysen?*). Interest in the medieval towns in Finland was expressed with the adoption of the Old Town Sector Rule by the Town Planning Act in 1932, which enabled

preservation of monumental urban ensembles and primarily medieval historical urban areas, which were declared to be “old towns” (Lehtimäki, 2006, 67). However, the first urban conservation plans for these medieval urban areas were adopted only in 1972 (Old Porvoo), 1979 (historical centre of Naantali) and 1981 (Rauma) (Riipinen, 1995, 12). Recognition of towns with grid plans from the 17th and 19th centuries followed, even though they were identified as the legacy of uniform urban policies of the Swedish Crown and Russian Empire when town planning was used as an effective means of sustaining the desired social order within towns and between towns and the countryside (Tuomi, 1995, 9–10).

Kokkola was established by royal decree on 7th September 1620, and was one of the towns on the coast of the Baltic Sea founded by Gustav II Adolf of Sweden. Kokkola developed together with other naval trade centres, forming the Ostrobothnia region when Finland was part of the Swedish Empire. Even though Kokkola originally possessed an irregular urban structure (Chydenius, 1884, 11), today the town joins other Ostrobothnian towns from the 17th century in being acknowledged as the pioneers of urban regularity, and they disclose the royal preferences of urban art, deriving from the Netherlands: “*The origin of this influence is clearly evident in the correspondence between the king and Simon Stewin, a leading Dutch town planner*” (Lilius, 1985, 155). By following the royal decree, Olof Bure, the Swedish town planner, carried out land surveying and drew relatively regular urban grid plans in accordance with the topographies of the chosen places. Many Finnish towns at that time were still planned with main streets and less significant alleys “*in the medieval spirit*”, while Kokkola, in turn, was distinguished as an exceptional example of the implementation of the Renaissance ideal because the longitudinal and lateral streets were of equal breadth and status (Ahlberg, 2005, 617; Lilius, 1985, 155).

The Renaissance ideal in urban planning was in essence fully embodied by the land surveyor Johan Persson Gädde (Jonas Persson Giedda) in 1665, after the great fire in Kokkola which had devastated the town one year earlier. Gädde followed the Renaissance ideals of urban planning, which were common to the whole of Europe at that time. Even though the aesthetic principles were highly elaborate and purified by calculating the same size of all plots and projecting straight street lines, they were precisely implemented in practice as well, indicating the mastery of the architect (Korpela, [1995], 19). The Renaissance harmony between the whole urban plan and its architectural details in Kokkola was reached by applying the proportions of 1/3 to 1/6, formulated already by Leonardo da Vinci (Ahmas, 1992, 12–13; Korpela, [1995], 152). Gädde’s urban design was almost fully implemented, and the urban structure remained mainly unchanged during the following centuries; moreover, a part of old Kokkola – Neristan, which is the object of the present study – is considered to have sustained the Renaissance urban dimensions, going back to the 17th century (Ahlberg, 2005, 619, 831).



Figure 141. J. P. Gädda's urban grid plan, which initially followed the Renaissance ideals and survived until today in Neristan, the northern, lower part of Kokkola (Karta öfver stadens plan, 1665. The National Archives of Finland, E56 8/1).

Another novelty that had been introduced by the Renaissance urban plan of Gädda in Kokkola was a broad type of urban blocks, which displaced the former narrow blocks. Differently from earlier narrow ones, new wide blocks were subdivided into two bordering rows of lots so that only the main dwellings were facing the streets while all the outbuildings were hidden around enclosed inner courtyards. Such a composition of lots reflected the prevailing urban planning ideals in the Finnish-Swedish Empire of that time, but, interestingly enough, it was also repeated in Røros, functioning as the copper mining centre for Denmark-Norway in the 17th century. In Kokkola, as well as in Røros, an urban lot was enclosed with a number of various outbuildings (shelters for livestock, barns and storage) in addition to the main building as it was necessary for burghers to breed livestock and to practise gardening besides their main activities within trade and handicrafts. Thus, the similar socio-economic conditions determined analogous physical solutions in urban environments across the borders of the 17th century

One more link between Røros and Kokkola was that both towns were founded and developed due to the exceptional privileges granted by the prevailing economic policy of mercantilism in the 17th and 18th centuries (see *Kongsberg and Røros – the artistic centres of mercantilism*). The system of mercantilism determined the growth of trade towns in Finland until 1770 (Lilius, 1972, 4) and reached its peak in 1765 in Kokkola when it received the staple right for international trade. As the international trade rights were granted, Kokkola became part of the forming commercial system, which developed in hand with the very urban institution in Finland. Staple towns qualitatively differed from rural-trade towns, as the former were able to accumulate higher levels of economic as well as cultural capital. As described by Lilius, “*Finland’s towns were divided into staple towns and rural-trade towns. This led to the creation of a hierarchical urban institution under which the staple towns, which were permitted to carry out foreign trade, in principle had greater opportunities to grow wealthy and to become more architectonically elegant than the rural towns which were limited to trading with peasants*” (Lilius, 1985, 154).

The urban composition of Kokkola in the 17th century was also heavily influenced by the royal decree on urban administration, which implemented the so-called Stockholm system, when either a building magistrate was appointed or two master builders were chosen by burghers in order to supervise ongoing constructions in the town. Even though the construction supervision was a duty of the magistracy as early as in the Middle Ages, its functions were more clearly defined by the decree of 1619 when such duties as supervision of street lines and divisions of plots were commissioned. If constructions of individual private buildings were not yet supervised by the magistrate, some cases were recorded when outbuildings, facing the streets, were instructed to be demolished in the 18th century (Lilius, 1985, 158). Thus, it was characteristic of “the era of great power” of the Finnish-Swedish Empire that architectural qualities of towns were integrated into the rationale of urban development (Ahmas, 1992, 10). Therefore, it is important to emphasize that the very identity of the old town of Kokkola was clearly identified and openly articulated as being based on the legacy from the era of the Finnish-Swedish Empire (Stenman, 1973).

The introduction of broad blocks not only served to restructure the urban environments, but it also changed the townscape of Finnish wooden towns: “*In this way the streets gained*

a new kind of architectonic value: streets were seen as autonomous, enclosed spaces which progressed in straight lines. The enclosed nature of the streets was increased by the fact that efforts were made to construct houses of the same length as the lot fronting on the street. Thus, adjacent houses were nearly end to end, and the entrance to the inner part of the lot was made through a covered portal. If the length of the house was shorter than that of the lot, a portal, and possibly a short fence, was left between the house and the end of the lot (the end of the next house). [...] As the streets were lined by single-storey wooden buildings, the street space of the 17th century can be described as having been low and narrow, and the street wall as correspondingly dense. Because of the uniformity of the type of dwellings, it is possible to characterize the town of the 17th century as a homogenous and uniform entity” (Lilius, 1985, 156).

The connection between the uniform urban structure of Kokkola and individual architectural expressions of each and every building, however, was not static in the course of history. The harmony between urban and architectural expressions achieved in the 17th century was influenced by European Renaissance ideals, but originally the first buildings in Kokkola were influenced by “local” building traditions at the initial stage of its urban development. Most of the first inhabitants in the newly established town in the 17th century were newcomers from the countryside and they transferred their habitual methods of construction (Chydenius, 1884, 8). One of the main features of the rural building tradition transferred to the urban environment was the construction of a number of outbuildings for different purposes on an urban plot (Korpela, [1995], 11). The one-storey buildings were still built on soil benches (Ahmas, 1992, 14), with no stone foundations at that time, the walls were constructed with notched logs, and saddle roofs were covered either with straw or birch bark, additionally overlaid with wooden boards. Part of these buildings were equipped with hearths and some of them with chimneys. The introduction of chimneys during the great power period of the Finnish-Swedish Empire influenced the installations of ceilings (Lilius, 1985, 159). Commonly, horizontal openings in walls were still made which were closed with wooden shutters. Membranes (stretched animal tissues) were used for such windows, while in the 17th century vertical windows with lead-framed glass in buildings owned by wealthier inhabitants began to spread (Mickwitz and Möller, 1951, 18). The historical records disclosed that two glaziers lived and worked in Kokkola in the 17th century (Söderström, 2002, 113–114).

Simultaneously, doubts were raised by architectural historians in Finland if the above-described corner cross-jointing techniques, which formed the basis of vernacular constructions, were of local origin. Some researchers maintain that they were imported from the Russian-Byzantine cultural sphere in the 9th century and remained in use until the 1930s (Nikula, 1999, 13). Regardless of their origin, the corner cross-jointing techniques were considered as forming the basis for further modifications in wooden urban buildings as well, even though they subsequently imitated all forms of imported European classicism. It was even claimed that *“the building methods in the towns and countryside were technically exactly the same. In fact, the town houses were often built by the peasants living in the vicinity of the towns. The buildings could be built in the forest area and then dismantled and taken by sledges during the winter to the town and finally lifted on to the foundation podium. Savings in unnecessary transportation of wood were made because*

there was no need to hew the logs on the final building site. Sometimes a wooden town house was assembled from the logs obtained from a dismantled house, and even whole buildings were transferred: a log house was easy to dismantle and re-erect somewhere else. The use of façade boarding would cover any imperfections and would give the building a more distinct and modern appearance” (Kärki, 1999, 106). Thus, representatives of the authorized heritage conservation field identified the Finnish building tradition as belonging to the architectural periphery until the first half of the 20th century as the aesthetic programmes were adopted from the centre of the Western cultural area, by creating illusions of masonry buildings in wood, enveloping the cores of the very same vernacular log-joining constructions. Efforts in reproduction of exteriors, distinct from the local rural tradition, were perceived as a sign of the newly formed bourgeois identity in Kokkola (Korpela, [1995], 24), which aimed at developing a more urban environment and did so by copying foreign townscapes. Consequently, the development of Finnish wooden architecture, until the rise of functionalism in the first half of the 20th century, was perceived as peripheral adaptations of changing European aesthetic programmes, adjusted to the northern natural conditions (Lilius, 1999, 10).

The development of wooden architecture in Kokkola also followed the same historical pattern. The very first buildings in Kokkola were single- or double-room cottages with simple layouts. The basic type of a single-room cottage had a room of the same width as the whole notched-log frame of that building. The double-room cottage, originating in the late medieval period, was more refined and had heated rooms on each side of an unheated entrance (Lilius, 1985, 159). Later on, a new fashionable Carolinian arrangement was also introduced, with a hall and a front room, in addition to a kitchen and chambers. Even though the Carolinian layout became widespread only in the 18th century, probably the oldest remaining example of a dwelling house in Kokkola, the house of *Wentin*, arranged in the Carolinian style, might have survived the town fire of 1664 and therefore might have originated in the first half of the 17th century. Additionally, the *Wentin* house also possessed other features characteristic of the Carolinian style: the beams of the ceiling were bent in order to create an image of vaults (Ahmas, 1992, 54; Wiirilinna, 1982). The Carolinian floorplan was first introduced by burghers who possessed higher economic capital, but later it was also replicated in the dwellings of craftsmen, albeit on a more modest scale (Ahmas, 1992, 14, 33). Thus, despite the idealistic Renaissance urban planning, which aimed at creating the unity of architectural expressions and urban structure, the historical records have proven that great differences in the standards of housing among various social groups was one of the main features of a Finnish wooden town. Moreover, “*the socio-architectonic diversification*” was also characteristic of the structure of a Finnish wooden town as larger houses of merchants and public officials were located centrally while smaller buildings of craftsmen and sailors were situated on the periphery of a town (Lilius, 1985, 159).



Figure 142. The remaining examples of simple single-room cottages in Kokkola (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).



Figure 143. The burger's dwelling with Carolinian floorplan (Wentin house), dated back to the first half of the 17th century (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).



Figure 144. The later example of the Carolinian layout was carried out by the ship owner Johan Rahm on his urban farmyard in the first half of the 18th century. The later asymmetry, however, was created in 1783 when an annex was added to the northern façade (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).

The development of building techniques evolved more rapidly in the social stratum that possessed higher economic and/or cultural capital. Another sphere of exceptional cultural production was that of construction of public buildings, which were important instruments in the competition with Vaasa town for getting a higher administrative position within the country (Ahmas, 1992, 55). One such exceptional example of wooden architecture, representing the town's ambitions for higher cultural status and therefore demonstrating more advanced building techniques of the 17th century, was the elementary school building. The school dates back to 1695/96 and is considered to be the oldest secular public building in Finland today (Lilius, 1985, 158). The design of the building was brought from Stockholm by Mayor Carl Forsman (Korpela, [1995], 27) and demonstrated the “modern” achievements of wooden Carolinian baroque architecture of the 17th century; it was a two-storey building, covered with a “manorial roof”² and supplemented with a roof lantern. Small, paned, vertical windows were also installed, and the doors were decorated with Classicist frames (Ahmas, 1992, 14, 55). As a matter of fact, the above-mentioned Carolinian floorplan and the rare examples of two-storey wooden houses are considered to be exceptional building innovations within the context of the whole country in the 18th century (Lilius, 1985, 161). The very fact that such remarkable examples of building techniques materialized in Kokkola shows that historical and socio-economic circumstances of the 18th century provided exceptional opportunities for restrictive cultural production.

² A manorial roof (*säteritak*) is a type of roof introduced in Stockholm by the French architect Jean de la Vallée and it spread throughout Sweden in higher-status manors from the middle of the 17th century.



Figure 145. The oldest profane public building in Finland, restored and functioning as part of the local K. H. Renlunds Museum today (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).



Figure 146. The only remaining two-storey wooden building from the 18th century (on the left side of the picture). The original building was built in 1748 and belonged to Ahla and Lassander families of merchants. It was covered with wooden panelling and was painted at the time when it was transferred to the location of local K. H. Renlunds Museum. The use of red paint was rather rare in the first half of the 18th century, and it was more popular in Helsinki. The spread of red paint was mainly influenced by the start of the industrial production of paint in Falun in 1750 (Lilius, 1985, p. 161, 169) (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).

The elementary school building has survived until today as the exclusive example of 17th-century architecture in Kokkola. Another wooden two-storey building of the 17th century could be the town hall of Kokkola, but there is no sound historical proof of it remaining. The wealthy burghers started to build two-storey wooden dwellings on their private initiative in the 1740s as a matter of fashion at that time but also due to more practical reasons: the shortage of space in the town centre. However, the *Lassander's* urban farmyard is the only example of a wooden two-storey building remaining from the 18th century (Ahmas, 1992, 14, 58).

The shift to the 18th century was marked by a succession of misfortunes in Kokkola. The end of the 17th century was distinguished by extremely cold temperatures that led to a bad harvest and fatal starvation in the town. In 1710, the plague spread, but most devastating was the Russian occupation of Kokkola during the Great Northern War (1700-1721). After two years of occupation, only 23 plots were left suitable for living while 138 urban farmyards were demolished. However, the town quickly recovered and more than 100 farmyards were rebuilt in 1728. From 1742, another Russian occupation plundered Kokkola for a year, after which the town was reconstructed again with newly built buildings of a much larger scale and more elaborate than ever before (Korpela, [1995], 30–36). The previously mentioned two-storey *Lassander's* urban farmyard is an example of the changed building traditions in Kokkola from that time.

Kokkola was further equipped with new public buildings in the second half of the 18th century, such as custom barriers and waterfront warehouses, which were part of the urban infrastructure serving the expanding foreign trade as Kokkola gained the rights of a staple town in 1765. Another novelty was that from the year 1776, all the public building projects were brought under the review of the Office of Chief Supervisor with the aim of “*improving the architectonic structure of the nation's towns*” by demanding public buildings be constructed of masonry (Lilius, 1985, 162). In Kokkola, however, the first masonry buildings started to be constructed at the beginning of the 19th century due to a private initiative of rich burghers. In 1806, the first building made of masonry was constructed by the merchant Anders Donner. In 1810 and 1813, the next three buildings of masonry were built by members of another local merchant family, the Roos. One of the latter-mentioned buildings, the *Roos* family's urban farmyard, is considered to be an exceptional example of a mixture of rococo and Gustavian classicism. It was designed in Stockholm under the influence of architect Jacob Rijf before the Finnish War of 1808–1809 between the Kingdom of Sweden and the Russian Empire (Ahmas, 1992, 21, 44). The building was covered with the most fashionable architectural element at that time: the mansard roof and oval windows on the second floor of the gable walls. The exceptional buildings signified the changing general socio-economic situation in Sweden-Finland, when King Gustav III aimed at replacing the system of mercantilism with economic liberalism, inspired by the French Enlightenment. A new type of a free town was slowly emerging that was more open to merchants and craftsmen who could gain citizenship from the magistrate and practise their profession without necessarily becoming members of the guild system (Lilius, 1972, 4).

The architectural elements typical of masonry were also transferred into the wooden constructions. During the Gustavian classicism period, revolutionary weatherboarding of wooden buildings was also introduced. Besides the technical reasons for protecting the core of a wooden construction, the main aim of such a novelty was to form an illusion of a building of masonry. During the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century, the weatherboarding varied in types, but all of them were still vertical. The illusion of a building of masonry was further intensified by adding elements such as the classical orders of columns and the frames of windows. At the beginning of the 19th century, the spectrum of paint expanded by including yellow ochre and light grey, which, in turn, strengthened the image of a plastered masonry façade.



Figure 147. Roosin talo (the Roos family's urban farmyard) dominated the townscape of Kokkola as long as the beginning of the 20th century (Photo taken by E. and A. Axelqvist, ca. 1900, National Board of Antiquities).



Figure 148. A two-storey building, constructed by the above-mentioned Donners family of local merchants in 1810, manifested the masonry principles of Neo-Classicism in wooden constructions (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).

Thus, during the period of Gustavian Classicism, richer burghers constructed two-storey buildings which were higher and more notable in the context of the surrounding townscape in order to emphasize their exceptional social status. These private initiatives, driven due to the accumulation of high economic capital, also introduced the spreading fashion and growing taste for architectural elements of masonry, which were gradually applied more broadly in the town, even in wooden constructions as the government “*propaganda on behalf of masonry structures was not carried out during the Gustavian period*” yet (Lilius, 1985, 169).

As observed by local architectural historians, the two-storey houses – the “high buildings” of the 18th century – indicated the exceptional social status and economic power gained by big businesses in the same way a skyscraper signifies today. The above-mentioned dwelling belonging to Donner was described as an example of the emerging disruptions in building constructions at that time and displaying the challenges in the realization of new fashionable architectural tastes by “*the old practice and traditional techniques*” (Korpela, [1995], 117, 150). As mentioned before, it was not just the size and layout of wooden buildings that changed; the traditional red paint also faced competition from lighter oil paints. Still another novelty was the roof tiles laid on the birch bark, which traditionally had been covered by wooden roof boards. Moreover, in some cases, even glazed Dutch tiles or tin plates were used for roofing. The interior of the merchants’ residences became more lavish as well due to the importation of foreign elements – besides the local tile stoves, faience stoves with brass hatches or Petersburg tile stoves were introduced. The walls in some residences were covered with French wallpaper, i.e. printed wallpaper,

interiors were decorated with plastered ceilings, and wall panels were made of mirrors, with semi- or fully French doors built in (ibid., 118).

It should also be noted that the introduction of two-storey masonry houses and two-storey wooden buildings, imitating masonry details, were concentrated in *Oppistan* (the “upper town”), the area south from the town’s church, inhabited by richer burghers, in contrast to *Neristan* (the “lower town”), populated by “*småfalket*” – various craftsmen and seamen. The titles of *Oppistan* and *Neristan* date back to the beginnings of the town and originally marked the altitude of the town’s territory – the “upper town” was more dry and, therefore, of better quality for constructions while the “lower town” endured overflows and was generally water-soaked. Thus, the geographical location and the physical qualities of the soil on which the buildings were constructed were closely related to the socio-economic status of inhabitants in each of the two urban neighbourhoods from the very foundation of the town of Kokkola. Moreover, preservation of these exceptional buildings, which disrupted the traditional building techniques, was often less successful due to the same socio-economic reason – *Oppistan*, for example, experienced more rapid changes over the years (Lillbroända, 2002, 3).

Thus, even if it is considered that the general urban composition of Kokkola sustained its uniform Renaissance character until the second half of the 19th century (Ahmas, 1992, 15), the above-presented descriptions testify that the traditional building techniques were not static and homogeneous, but rather dynamic and very much influenced by foreign architectural trends. As discussed above, the townscapes of *Neristan* and *Oppistan* were especially and even emphatically dissimilar as the architectural distinctions were assigned to mark social differences as well. It could be claimed that the imaginary architectural uniformity of the townscape, which was sought in the history of Kokkola by the representatives of the field of modern heritage conservation, became a physical reality only in the 19th century, with the invasion of the Empire style to Finland.

Even though the elements of Renaissance urban planning, embodied in Kokkola by the land surveyor Gädde in 1665, have survived until the present day, the majority of the historical buildings within that Renaissance urban model are dated to some later periods, mainly to the 19th century (Hagner, 1972, 52). It was another great town fire of 1860 which determined the biggest changes in architectural expressions of buildings in Kokkola. Moreover, not just particular buildings but also the whole urban plan was affected in the second half of the 19th century. Since the town fire of 1860, all the fire safety measures were considered of primary importance, and therefore larger open spaces were planned, wider streets laid, and fire breaks of planted vegetation introduced. The fire protection measures also conformed to the aesthetic programme of the Empire style. A new urban plan was drawn by the landscape architect Carl Axel Setterberg, who was a follower of the ideals of the Empire style and their main promoter in Finland, the German architect Carl Ludvig Engel, who came to Finland via St Petersburg. Setterberg's plan was approved by the Russian authorities in 1861 as the Grand Duchy of Finland became part of the Russian Empire in 1809.

The introduction of the Russian Empire Style to Finland was accelerated after the capital of the Grand Duchy of Finland was transferred from Turku to Helsinki in order to diminish the Swedish and increase the Russian impact on the country. In 1816, the new capital was planned anew by Swede Albrecht Ehrenström, under close supervision of Tsar Alexander I himself (Nikula, 1999, 16), while the above-mentioned architect Engel formed the iconic Helsinki Senate Square in the Russian Empire style, which gradually displaced the former neoclassical forms of the Gustavian period throughout the whole country. Simultaneously, the architectural expressions became more strictly regulated by local municipal authorities as all towns in the Grand Duchy of Finland followed a common building code from 1856 (Hagner, 1972, 12).

Thus, the changes in the townscape of Kokkola were influenced by the altering political and economic situation in Finland. Firstly, the architectural changes involved local public buildings as the autonomy of trade towns weakened the inland customs barriers, and customs posts were abolished. Secondly, by declaring the arguments for fire safety, new masonry-based public town centres were based on the principles of classicism (Lilius, 1985, 171, 173, 176). The major town hall of Kokkola was designed by the architect Engel in the Empire style as early as in 1837, which was a minor version of his profane buildings built in the main Senate Square of the capital (Ahmas, 1992, 35). The local adaptations of the Empire style ideals were spreading further into the local residential architecture and, in that way, the aesthetic programme of classical masonry dictated the stylistic development of wooden buildings. For example, the façade of the first floor of the town hall of Kokkola was rusticated by horizontally divided plaster in order to imitate ashlar masonry. This aesthetic model was transferred further into the residential wooden architecture by the introduction of grooved horizontal weatherboarding from the Russian Empire to the Grand Duchy of Finland in 1810 in order to mimic a rusticated façade of a masonry building. Starting with the new capital, the horizontal boarding spread slowly into the wooden urban areas throughout the country until it became a norm in the late 1820s to the early 1830s.



Figure 150. New fire breaks and guards were introduced in the main area of Kokkola in the 19th century according to the proposal of C. A. Setterberg (Projekt till Reglering Af Gamla Karleby Stads Afbrände Del. Planritningar öfver städerna i Finland, The National Archives of Finland).



Figure 151. The town hall of Kokkola, designed by the architect Carl Ludvig Engel in 1837 (Photographer and date unknown, National Board of Antiquities, HK10000:3344).

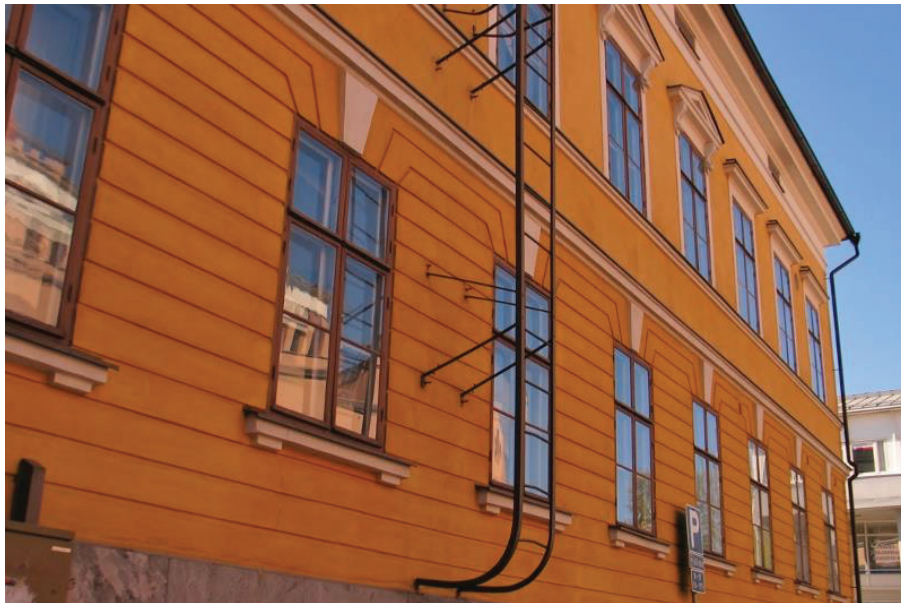


Figure 152. The façade of the first floor of the town hall of Kokkola was rusticated by horizontally divided plaster (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).



Figure 153. The imitation of masonry façade in the Empire style transferred to the wooden urban environment in Kokkola (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).



Figure 154. The image of ashlar masonry applied to wooden architectural details (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).

Government efforts to promote masonry constructions due to fire protective reasons determined aesthetic and even structural changes of wooden buildings. One of the most effective regulative principles was the introduction of a ban on two-storey wooden urban buildings; starting in Turku in 1805, this restriction was launched in almost all towns of the Grand Duchy of Finland by 1810. As the built two-storey wooden buildings could not be ordered to be demolished, a mansard roof was often sacrificed and replaced by saddle or hip roofs (Lilius, 1985, 177–178). Furthermore, the traditional layouts were altered because most of the rooms had to be situated on the first floor due to the lowered height of the second storey.

The main façade of such one-storey wooden dwellings was transformed according to new structural changes and aesthetic ideals of the Empire style. Wooden buildings were covered with broad horizontal panelling and painted in light colours to imitate masonry buildings. Large, six-paned windows were installed on main façades in strictly symmetrical order. The windows were left unframed or surrounded by neoclassical frames. The façades were often enclosed with pilasters on the corners, supported by narrow-profiled drip mouldings below and above. This basic framework of a wooden façade of the first floor was crowned by a decorative attic, with small horizontal windows, illuminating a lowered loft above (Ahmas, 1992, 22). In that way, an illusion of corner pilasters carrying the weight of an “architrave” was created. Finally, such a typical wooden building in the Empire style was preferably covered with a hip roof.

These fundamental structural changes in the construction of individual wooden buildings, introduced as fire protection measures, together with the transferred aesthetic ideals of the Empire style, established a greater homogeneity of general urban townscapes in the Grand Duchy of Finland. As wooden two-storey buildings were forbidden, the above-described model of a one-storey wooden dwelling in the Empire style became dominant in the Finnish townscape of the 19th century. The lowered wooden buildings and a new type of broad horizontal panelling formed a horizontal nature of streetscapes in general. Having rejected the high, narrow, compact and enclosed street walls, Finnish wooden towns became lower and sparser. In addition, as streets got wider and lots larger due to urban fire protection measures, the horizontal character of a street space was further emphasized. Lastly, the principles of the Empire style were even governmentally confirmed as binding norms by the general building code of 1856 (Lilius, 1985, 173, 178).

However, the changes in the planning of Kokkola introduced in the 1860s did not affect the remaining “lesser” wooden part of Kokkola, *Neristan*, to such a great scale as its counterpart, *Oppistan*. At that time, *Neristan* was inhabited by craftsmen and sailors, belonging to the lower stratum of society, and their earlier-built wooden dwellings from the past were often simply reshaped according to the above-presented building regulations and aesthetic ideals of the 19th century. At the same time, these altered one-storey wooden buildings with the Empire style façades were still filling the original Renaissance regular grid urban plan of *Neristan*, stemming from the middle of the 17th century. In that way, the neoclassical ideal of aesthetic uniformity and homogeneity was achieved even if the individual architectural and general urban components were dated as being a couple of centuries apart.



Figure 155. The façade of a wooden building in *Neristan*, decorated according to the principles of the Empire style (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).



Figure 156. An exemplary model of adaptation of Empire style in a wooden building supplemented with a preferable hip roof (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).



Figure 157. A streetscape of Neristan, influenced notably by Empire style façades (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).



Figure 158. The plastered notched log construction – a legacy of a new trend of Classicism as a counter-reaction to the emerging Swiss Chalet Style and other diverse historical styles at the beginning of the 20th century (Photo by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).



Figure 159. The ideological and aesthetic disruptions - sharp contrasts between the restrained Empire style and richly decorated window enframements demonstrated on the main façades of Neristan in the second half of the 19th century. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).

In the period from 1870 to 1890, the trends for more varied historical styles, displayed mainly on plastered façades, emerged in Finland. These variations of ornamentations were summed up under one common label of neo-Renaissance by historians of architecture in Finland, covering not a specific mode of historical construction but richly decorative façade dressings. It was claimed that Finnish architects of the second half of the 19th century, who were academically trained in neo-Renaissance styles, also found decorative Karelian vernacular wooden buildings more appealing and “national” than the Swedish-influenced wooden heritage in western Finland, despite the fact that the majority of Karelians were Russian Orthodox believers and not Lutherans (Ashby, 2006, 13, 60). Important socio-economic transformations were also taking place in the second half of the 19th century, which, in turn, influenced the established urban structures: the exceptional trade rights for towns were abolished in 1856 and thus the countryside was no longer physically and socially separated to such a high degree as before; a symbol of the town’s autonomy, a magistrate, lost its political power due to the municipal reforms in the 1870s; and even the education institutions were spreading beyond towns due to the emergence of elementary education in the 1860s (Lilius, 1972, 5).

Thus, in relation to the changed socio-economic urban structure and status in the second half of the 19th century, further aesthetic disruptions emerged in the orderly neoclassical urban environment of *Neristan*. The differing types of clapboarding and other architectural details revealed the following of either an aesthetic and ideological general programme or rebellious individual variations (Lilius, 1985, 177). If the preferences for rational and

international neoclassical elements were commonly embodied in the Empire style, the random instances of more decorative wooden elements demonstrated the growing tendencies towards National Romanticism. Besides inspirations from Karelian wooden vernacular buildings, allusions to the medieval churches of Finland were also revived in order to emphasize Finland's belonging to the Western, instead of Eastern, cultural sphere (Ashby, 2006, 74). However, in most instances, it was the Gothic Revival in Finland that was manifested in masonry architecture (Lilius, 1985, 185).



Figure 160. The architectural expressions of National Romanticism, stemming from the West, were mainly materialized in verandas of inner courtyards. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008)

According to local historians of architecture, the sporadic neo-Gothic wooden elements in *Neristan* materialized in small paned windows of decorated verandas on the back façades, hidden in private inner courtyards (Ahmas, 1992, 22). These verandas resembled more of a Swiss chalet style, which was introduced to Finland by architectural pattern books at the end of the 19th century as a vernacular alpine building in wood and was considered “*an expression of true, fresh nationality*” (the German architect Rudolf Gottgetreu was quoted by the Finnish architect Vilho Penttilä in 1894, Ashby, 2006, 35). However, eventually the Swiss chalet style became part of common Western culture, spreading across a number of nations in Europe and even across the Atlantic. Thus, due to the international character of the Swiss chalet style, suggestions were made to develop their own national wooden style in Finland, an equivalent to the Norwegian dragon style or Polish Zakopane style, the former inspired by medieval stave churches and the latter imitating regional highland architecture in Podhale. The vernacular buildings in the geographically isolated areas were considered unaffected by dominant classical Western high culture and, therefore, were referred to as “*true’ remnants of a national culture*” (ibid., 53).

Efforts were also made to develop an equivalent Finnish national style in wood by imitating the disappearing local outbuildings (*aitta* in Finnish). While these functional urban farm buildings were gradually falling out of use, their symbolic value was suddenly realized. Outbuildings were considered as possessing the basic features of essentially Finnish architecture while their links to Swedish or Norwegian storehouses were omitted.



Figure 161. The outbuildings, surrounding the inner courtyards, were recognized as remnants of purely Finnish national architecture at end of the 19th century (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).

However, the wooden architecture of National Romanticism in Finland was also influenced by advanced construction techniques, this time brought back from the United States of America. Finnish architects, aiming at creating the rational Art Nouveau programme, considered the notched-log building methods as being outdated, based on traditions only and not justified by technological science (Strengell, 1909, 23). The local historians of architecture, however, observed that timber frame constructions were suddenly acknowledged as being more rational and advanced despite the fact that previously they were mainly used for buildings of lesser value than dwellings, such as outbuildings, in most cases (Ahmas, 1992, 26). Despite that, the majority of wooden buildings in the National Romanticism style were mainly built in suburbs or as summer cottages in Finland while the urban Jugend buildings were built of masonry and on a much larger scale than wooden constructions. The new industrial buildings were also mainly brick constructions, and they were identified as examples of immediate delivery of technological building innovations from Europe and the United States of America by the mobile industrialists of that time (Nikula, 1999, 16).



Figure 162. The outstanding power plant in Jugend style, designed by architects Gustaf Strengell and Sigurd Frosterus. Built in 1906, next to Neristan in Kokkola (Photo taken in 1920, National Board of Antiquities, HK19571229)

Kokkola experienced a mixture of conflicting architectural and ideological trends in the second half of the 19th century, and that period is considered to be the final phase in the development of a “traditional” wooden town in Finland by architectural historians. Krister Korpela, a pioneer in the architectural history of Kokkola, described the second half of the 19th century as not only affected by the economic stagnation of the town, but also as the period of degradation in building activities. It was not just the new fire-related regulations, promoting masonry architecture, that were to blame – even modern wooden constructions at that time were depreciated: “*the sense of space, scale and proportions disappeared as ‘gingerwork joinery’ [snickarstilen] introduced board walls, tin-plate roofs and glass porches*” (Korpela, [1995], 2).

Kokkola also experienced socio-economic urban transformations due to massive urban industrialization at the beginning of the second half of the 19th century. The open immigration to towns as industrial centres resulted in the rise of a completely new class of urban citizens when the historical merchants and craftsmen, forming the guild system, were now outnumbered by a new class of industrial workers. The physical features of historical wooden towns also started to change dramatically due to the introduction of the general building code of 1856, which promoted masonry constructions in central urban areas. The masonry buildings also grew significantly in scale and interrupted the modest character of a Finnish wooden town. According to Lilius, “*This phenomenon was part of the breakdown of the tradition of the wooden town*” (Lilius, 1985, 178–179, 184).

5.2 The process of recognizing Neristan as a protected wooden urban environment

The development of Kokkola in the 20th century was marked by extensive urban growth. In 1909 a new urban plan was designed by the urban planner Lambert Petterson, which extended the area of Kokkola but left the old wooden urban environment of Neristan untouched. It was an innovative attitude, influenced by the ideals of urban development in the Jugend style (Ahmas, 1992, 24). It differed from the majority of town plans in Finland, designed by the previous generation, following the general building code at the end of the 19th century. As noted by historians of architecture, even Rauma was sustained as an old wooden town due to a lucky circumstance: its belated re-planning at the beginning of the 20th century when the Art Nouveau ideals, promoted by the Austrian architect and urban theorist Camillo Sitte, were flourishing (Lilius, 1985, 184).

According to Sitte, the natural and historical conditions of a particular town should be taken as points of departure in every urban planning process, and therefore rational urban grid plans were rejected by new artistic principles of urban planning. Sitte especially admired the irregular medieval urban structures and suggested studying picturesque old towns as they were aesthetically and functionally better in quality than those of the end of the 19th century (Jokilehto, 1986, 368). Sitte also inspired Giovannoni, one of the pioneers of international movement in urban conservation, by emphasizing the role of “minor architecture”, or “architectural prose”, as an important context and a means to emphasize singular, exceptional monuments (Jokilehto, 2011, 220). Giovannoni, the developer of the principle of historical equivalence, also responded to Sitte’s conviction by saying that the qualities of old towns could not be simply transferred to newly developed urban environments: *“In the field of city planning the limitations on artistry of arrangement have, to be sure, narrowed greatly in our day. Today such a masterpiece of city planning as the Acropolis of Athens is simply unthinkable.*



Figure 163. A new urban area of wooden residential buildings was developed around Mäntykangas water tower, built in 1921 (architect Selim A. Lindqvistin) (National Board of Antiquities, HK19660914:53).

That sort of thing is for us, at the moment, an impossibility. Even if the millions were provided that such a project would entail, we would still be unable to create something of the kind, because we lack both the artistic basis for it and any universally valid philosophy of life that has sufficient vigour in the soul of the people to find physical expression in the work. Yet even if the commission be devoid of content and merely decorative – as is the case with art today – it would be frightfully difficult for our realistic man of the nineteenth century. Today's city builder must, before all, acquire the noble virtue of an utmost humility, and, what is remarkable in this case, less for economic considerations than for really basic reasons” (Sitte, 1965, 249).

These “basic reasons” could be explained as residing in the link between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi* (the connection between a historical creation and a process of its creation), which is unrecoverable, according to Sitte, due to the changed “*universally valid philosophy of life*”. Thus, even though the urban plan of Kokkola undertaken by the architect Lambert Petterson continued the tradition of a wooden town, by developing a new urban area of wooden buildings (*Tallåsen* in Swedish or *Mäntykangas* in Finnish), these constructions in the Art Nouveau style signified not only their modernity in aesthetics, but also advances in wooden construction techniques. The urban structure of Mäntykangas also represented the artistic ideals of Sitte by refusing the tradition of rectangular urban composition and, instead, by adapting to the curves of the natural physical environment.



Figure 164. The main façade of K. H. Renlunds elementary school, designed by architects Ivar and Valter Thomé in 1907 and built in the new wooden urban area of Kokkola. “All the walls are built from upright, dried pine wood. That enabled to cover the walls without disruptions with wooden clapboards externally and wallpaper or painting internally. [...] Gamlakarleby must be congratulated that elementary school children will learn in modern and well-furnished facilities. That will certainly influence the progress of all the people, who will visit the school”(Thomé V., 1909, p. 115). (National Board of Antiquities, HK19590916:2).

Despite the advanced building techniques used in constructing the buildings in Mäntykangas at the beginning of the 20th century, today this wooden urban area is acknowledged as protected wooden environment by the National Board of Antiquities of Finland, along with the older Neristan area characterized by more “traditional” types of constructions. The urban and architectural ideals of the garden city movement, which originated as a counter-reaction to the extensive urbanization and industrialization in the United Kingdom, were brought to Finland by cosmopolitan architects, and embodied locally in Mäntykangas. This Art Nouveau urban area was acknowledged as worthy of preservation by the national authorities of heritage preservation due to the efforts of culturally engaged local enthusiasts and loyal residents, who retained their detached family houses for generations and “*did not get tempted by real estate developers*” (Viipula, 2017). It should be noted though that the local cultural elite broke the ice for preservation of wooden urban environments in Kokkola in advance, i.e. during the recognition of Neristan as urban heritage; the process was much more complicated and rather reactionary to the rapid urban growth in the second half of the 20th century.

Already in 1933, Kokkola was further expanded eastwards as a new town plan, drawn by the architect Birger Brunila, was enacted by encompassing the neighbouring urban entities. Consequently, in the 1930s and 1940s, mainly multi-storey, masonry buildings were built around the historical city centre, and the town gained a bold tone of functionalism. This time the aesthetic values, aimed at creating stylistically homogenous urban areas, was a primary goal, and therefore the height, façades, building materials, etc. of new constructions were regulated (Ahmas, 1992, 27–28). Due to a large number of villagers migrating to towns, the construction of multi-storey, masonry buildings in the very centre of historical areas was a common practice. The old wooden buildings were simply pulled down as worn-out obstacles to urban development. This devastating routine accelerated even more in the 1960s and 1970s when 30 buildings were demolished in Neristan alone, which constituted 10% of all built structures in that old wooden town centre (Lillbroända, 2002, 31, 40).

Moreover, in 1964, by the assignment of Kokkola town planning office, a new urban plan was proposed by the architect Lauri Silvennoinen, which aimed to modernize all of Neristan. The title of urban revitalization (*sanering* in Swedish) was given to that type of urban renewal, common to Nordic countries in the 1960s, which today is named an urban demolition plan (Lillbroända-Annala, 2010, 80). Proposals were submitted to merge the small rectangular lots into larger ones while the old wooden houses were to be replaced by massive tower blocks. Neither the natural physical conditions nor the existing built environment were taken into consideration while projecting urban environments in the logic of practice of functionalism. Besides the supply of housing for the growing number of town dwellers, another aim of such rationalization of the old urban environment was to build wide, straight roadways for transportation and traffic (Ahmas, 1992, 30). However, Neristan’s urban revitalization plan, following the ideology of rational functionalism, was of such a large scale and depended so much on social and economic prerequisites that it failed to be carried out due to a rather ironic reason, namely the “*unrealistic approach to social reality that many town politicians, planners and architects had*” (Kairamo, 1999, 21).



Figure 165. Neristan’s dissonant legacy – the “infill” architecture according to the ideology of the rational functionalism. The residents of the town centre were asked to sell their tiny plots cheaply and, instead, buy the tiny apartments in huge buildings, newly constructed in the merged plots. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).



Figure 166. The objections from some architects to such kind of urban revitalisation of Neristan were published already in 1972: “The fragment of a new townscape became a reality. The desired urban revitalisation does not favour everyone in the same way. Thereunder new constructions, there is the old town at waiting to get demolished. Many buildings are decaying – there is no point in maintaining them as urban revitalisation plans incline them to be dismantled. However, many of inhabitants will not profit from that. The demolition of usable dwellings will bring loss from the socio-economic point of view. There is an alternative to such kind of development – the existing urban environments and buildings can be used, renovated and improved” (Helander, 1972, p. 11). (Photo taken in 1981, National Board of Antiquities, HK19931028:2247)

The urban plan of Silvennoinen, however, was too late to be embodied in Kokkola, as the counter-reactions were emerging in the local, international and national sphere of culturally engaged elite. In 1964, the Archaeologic Commission (founded in 1884 and renamed the National Board of Antiquities (*Museiverket*) in 1972) initiated the “Build and Preserve” conference in Helsinki, where the need for protecting entire urban environments was discussed, but in practice, only the networks of streets and some exceptional monuments in historical urban areas were protected by the first preservationist town plans in Finland. The preservation was mainly defensive and focused on protection from demolition by a new legal instrument, the Building Conservation Act passed by the state in the very same year of 1964 (*ibid.*, 22). The preservationist system was still rather fragmented and intended for exceptional value monuments. It did not encompass the lesser historical urban environments yet as they were generally perceived as unwanted reminders of “backwardness” (Kärki, 1999, 108).

The previously mentioned old elementary school building in Kokkola is considered one of the typical examples of building preservation practice, cultivated by the Archaeologic Commission in the 1960s. The logic of building conservation by then was more reminiscent of the stylistic restoration of the external appearance in the heydays of a historical building when all the additions and modifications from the subsequent historical periods were simply pulled down. Even the horizontal weatherboarding from the 18th century was removed and replaced with vertical boarding, which was more typical of the 17th century. However, the new weatherboarding was produced by modern woodworking machinery (Kairamo, 1999, 22–23).

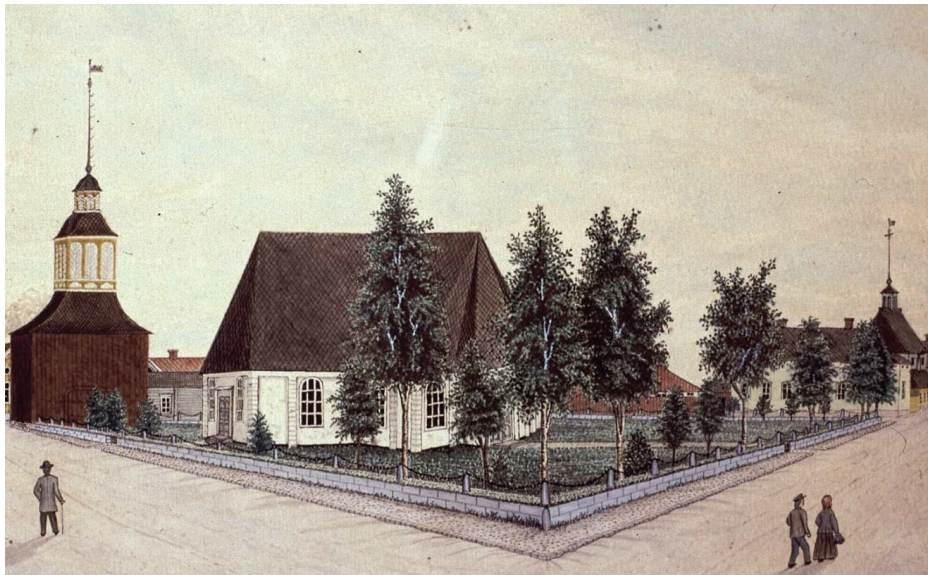


Figure 167. The original wooden church of Kokkola and the elementary school building on the right-hand side of the drawing. The façade of the school is decorated in two different colours – ochre on the first floor and grey on the second floor (Drawing by Conrad Sovelius, the 1870's, National Board of Antiquities, HK18971028:2).



Figure 168. The postcard depicting the elementary school in Kokkola (Photo taken by E. & A. Axelqvist at the beginning of the 1900's, National Board of Antiquities, HK10000:3320)



Figure 169. The façade of the former elementary school remarkably transformed in the second half of the 20th century (Photo taken by Kyytinen Pekka, 1960'ties, National Board of Antiquities, KK5596:10.KP.54).



Figure 170. The elementary school restored in 1964-1966 back to its former, pre-supposedly original, appearance. The above-mentioned neighbouring two-storey building, which used to belong to the Lassander family of merchants, was translocated as an integral part of K. H. Renlund Museum. (Photo taken by Kanerva Teuvo, 1972-1981, National Board of Antiquities, HK19920328B:173)

While the work of the Archaeologic Commission in the 1960s concentrated on fragmented remarkable monuments, the scope slowly widened in the next decade under the changing socio-economic circumstances. The important factor for enhancing national-level general interest in the historical wooden built environments was not based on the general acknowledgement of their cultural or historical significance but rather on the economic interests. As the energy crisis hit the country in the middle of the 1970s, the existing wooden buildings were identified as a means of reducing energy consumption. State financial support was offered for renovation of old wooden buildings; thus the preservation plans also helped to manage repair work investments. However, even though the Archaeologic Commission promoted the renovations through the urban preservation plans, more pressure could not be placed on the town municipalities in order to restore wooden buildings, according to the dominant logic of conservation practice of that time as the local authorities generally considered any preservationist ideology as a hindrance to urban development (Kärki, 1999, 107). The financial support programme prioritized heat insulation and was not concerned about the conditioned emergence of rot in the old wooden materials or the transformations of exteriors, such as new, indrawn windows and masonry foundations encased in concrete (Riipinen, 1995, 13).

Another unforeseen outcome of the energy-saving programme was that the designated financial subsidies usually did not cover the whole amount of the repair costs and, therefore, many inhabitants with lower economic capacity moved out of the historical

wooden districts and their old buildings were bought and renovated by representatives of the middle class, possessing greater economic potential. Even though the renovation of the existing built environment was expected to sustain the social structure of Neristan and, specifically, to defend the special group of elderly people, who composed a significant part of the inhabitants at that time (Jalkanen et al., 1972, 19, 22), the outcomes were contrary to expectations. The transformation of the qualitative composition of inhabitants of historical wooden urban areas was considered an additional unintended consequence of the state financial programme, which created the so-called “snowball effect” in the whole country (Lehtimäki, 2006, 67–68). At the same time, contradictory affirmations were made that there was a conscious state policy of “*recentralizing*” or “*urban reconstruction*”, aimed not at mere reconstruction of the physical state of buildings but rather at the socio-economic revival of the old town centres, by attracting the middle class in order to withhold the expansion of suburbs (Lillbroända-Annala, 2010, 89). While the strategic top-down approach focused on the implementation of the socio-economic policy, the recognition of historical urban districts as historically significant elements of the identity of wooden towns was emerging from the bottom up and was built up by the culturally engaged inhabitants who started an active local resistance campaign.

Back in 1935, a local hometown association, *Karleby Hembygdsförening*, was established and thereafter, under its leadership, the local open-air museum, *Karleby hembygdsmuseum*, was opened in the 1960s, next to the medieval parish church. The open-air museum encompassed not only a group of buildings gathered around the exemplary rural farmyard coming from the 19th century, but also the historical vicarage. Thus, this local open-air museum not only displayed the development of vernacular architecture and the rural traditional everyday life, but it also served as a memorial for one of the central figures of Finnish and Swedish history of the 18th century: the pioneer of democratic ideals in the age of Enlightenment, Anders Chydenius, the son of the previously mentioned Jacob Chydenius. A. Chydenius is known for his advanced but also radical ideas of that time, such as the critique of the political economics of mercantilism based on monopolies. Besides that, he contributed to the enactment of the Freedom of Press Act and sought to liberate the servant class by creating the open employment market. In line with King Gustav III, he also promoted the right for foreigners to practise their own religion. In 1770, A. Chydenius started working as a vicar in Kokkola, and in addition to all of his education- and development-related local activities, he was also occupied with the extension of the very same medieval parish church in Kokkola in 1786–1789. Moreover, in the manner typical of the period of Enlightenment, he was interested in the development of agriculture and sought to inspire the peasants by his own example; thus, he initiated the construction of a stone-and-brick outbuilding at his vicarage in Kokkola, which was a rather modern solution at that time. The outbuilding serves as an exhibition hall in the open-air museum displaying the achievements of A. Chydenius and presenting his Enlightenment ideals.



Figure 171. The medieval church, which was extended by A. Chydenius in 1786-1789. The open-air museum was established at the historical vicarage, next to this church, in the 1960's (Photo taken by Knapas Marja-Terttu, 1973, National Board of Antiquities, RHO8077:14).

At the end of the 1960s, a series of articles on old wooden buildings was published in the regional Swedish newspaper *Österbottningen*, led by interviews with the architect Krister Korpela, who was a pioneer in studying the historical wooden urban buildings in Kokkola after he published his thesis "*Stadsplan och byggnadsskick i Gamla Karleby stad 1620–1860*" in 1956 at the Technical College of Helsinki (Lillbroända, 2002, 52). These were the very first and therefore important steps made towards the acknowledgement of the wooden historical buildings in Neristan as heritage, worthy of preservation.

Furthermore, a local association of inhabitants, *Vi Neristassbor*, was established in 1949 that aimed to consolidate the Swedish community of Neristan, who self-identified as "*local patriots*" ("*Våra 'Neristassbor' tar vård om sina minnen*", 1949, 3). The rapid modernization of Kokkola's townscape provoked the opposing cooperation of the neighbourhood of Neristan, which was one of the main targets of functionalist urban revitalization. The collective defence was based on public presentations of the individual as well as shared memories about their historical urban environment. Nostalgic articles on the changing streetscape of Neristan, linked to the association, were published in local or regional newspapers.

The association promulgated not only oral or written memoirs, but also visual historical information. A large collection of photographs was gathered, which was later presented in local exhibitions for residents of Neristan and published in continuing volumes of the association's publication, *Minnenas bilderbok*.

However, despite the local initiatives and the local resistance to rapid urban renewal, which built the basis for the process of acknowledgement of Neristan as an object of urban heritage, the turning point in that movement was the international support through the coeval rise of the Nordic collaboration, *Den Nordiska Trästaden*. This Nordic cooperation started in 1968 and culminated in 1972 with the conference in Sandefjord, Norway, a town which was originally built from wood but lost its initial townscape due to rapid urbanization. In 1973, an exhibition in Kokkola was arranged that aimed at informing the local inhabitants about the international movement *Den Nordiska Trästaden* and illustrating what could be the consequences of the proposed urban renewal of the historical wooden Neristan (Lillbroända-Annala, 2002, 43–44). Moreover, the international collaboration *Den Nordiska Trästaden* served as enforcement for the national authorities of heritage conservation in inventory stock-taking of Neristan as well as of other historical wooden towns in Finland. The results of these stock-taking procedures were announced at the conferences of *Den Nordiska Trästaden* and published in the related working series.

The stock-taking revealed that almost half (47%) of Neristan's 350 wooden buildings at that time should have been categorized as being worthy of preservation, while another 19% were classified as recommended for preservation. However, the physical state of most wooden buildings was reported as being decayed and, therefore, "repairable" (*reparasjonsdugligt*) while residential buildings were considered as being in a better condition than outbuildings (Hagner, 1972, 53–54). It was declared that the most important purpose of the report was the promotion of an alternative to the general urban plan for Kokkola, delivered by the above-mentioned architect Silvennoinen in 1964. Particular alternative corrections to the rational urban renewal programme of functionalism were even proposed by the concerned local enthusiasts that followed more of an "environmental perspective" (*miljöbevaringssynpunkt*), which became especially relevant due to the energy crisis in the 1970s:

1. *The integrity of the area should be preserved by sustaining the character of a small town;*
2. *The general town plan should preserve those buildings and streetscapes which were considered as valuable by the Archaeologic Commission;*
3. *The general town plan should provide the opportunity for natural and slow renewal of building stock. The existing division of lots should be sustained;*
4. *Buildings should not change street lines and streets cannot be broadened;*
5. *The residential level should reach normal standards;*
6. *The modern needs, such as parking places, should be reconsidered in regard to the character of the area" (ibid., 55–56).*

Thus, a requirement was expressed that the quantitative composition of dwellers residing in the historical centre of Kokkola should not be changed by the process of urban renewal since the strategies of the real estate market evaluated the central location of Neristan only by referring to its exploitative potential and momentary financial gain enabled by the heightened supply of densified accommodation. From the opposing environmental perspective, the aim was to sustain the stabilized number of residents in Neristan, preferably reflected in the preserved physical character of "a small town". The critique was expressed towards the proposed urban renewal plan, which followed the logic of practice



Figure 173. The inventory stock-taking, carried out by the Archeologic Commission in 1971, revealed the approximate dates when historical wooden buildings were built and transformed. The analysis also involved the evaluation of recent constructions, most of which were marked by a blank background on the map and described as “the environmentally-disadvantageous buildings” (Jalkanen et al., 1972, p. 11).

The stock-taking, carried out by the Archaeologic Commission, served the purpose of gaining international attention but also functioned as an argument for grounding the logic of the environmental perspective, by emphasizing that the physical state of wooden old buildings should not be deliberately neglected in order to justify the demolishing of “slums” in the future. The state surveys of the sanitary and hygienic conditions in Neristan showed that despite the fact that 88% of dwellings had water supply and sewage installed, only 24% of these residential houses were equipped with a bath or a shower by 1972 (Hagner, 1972, 54–55). As mentioned above, such findings were also often used as an argument for urban renewal (*sanering*) plans while the alternative movement sought to promote the possibilities for technical “upgrades” of old building stock lot by lot and with lower costs instead of total renewal of entire urban areas.

The stock-taking data was also used as an empirical basis for the thesis by the architect Nils-Erik Stenman in 1973, which is considered another critical point in the process of heritagization of Neristan. First of all, Stenman introduced the very term of Neristan to the field of heritage conservation. Previously, this title of the area in the old town of Kokkola, composed of 12 blocks, was used in the local informal oral tradition only (Lillbroända-Annala, 2010, 17, 138). Thus, Stenman’s thesis presented the local public positions which

were common in the neighbourhood but were rather counteractive in the field of urban planning in the 1960s as the thesis was intended to provide the “*alternative urban planning proposal, which would involve those buildings, which could be serviceable and should therefore be preserved; the possibilities for new constructions and further urban development*”. It is important to emphasize the fact that the alternative urban plan proposal was about “*guarantee[ing] that the urban area is preserved as a living part of the town and that the urban structure, as well as social issues, would be approached in such a way that preservation would not become musealization*”. Thus, the proposal of Stenman did not rule out further urban development of Neristan, but aimed at rather slow and cautious transformation that would not diminish the “*artistic and historical significance of the existing building stock*”. Even though the architect did not further specify what exact actions should be taken in order to reach the indicated goals and which particular measures would help to sustain the artistic quality of old wooden buildings, he described more thoroughly how the appearance of new infill architecture should be regulated: “*the materials of façades should be controlled by town plan regulations, and measurements and proportions should be studied as well, in order that buildings would be adapted smoothly into the existing ensemble, would complement and patch it*” (Stenman, 1973).

The alternative urban planning proposal was not approved by the town authorities right away; however, it could be claimed that the general awareness of Neristan as a heritage site was already perceptible in public because the wooden urban area avoided major threats of destruction despite the absence of authorized regulations on urban preservation. Meanwhile, different from the Neristan situation, the neighbouring urban area of Oppistan continued to experience a changing streetscape at the end of the 20th century. If the safeguarding from threats of demolishing the oldest wooden dwelling in Neristan, entitled by its historical owner Johan Rahm, succeeded, the coincident destruction of other wooden buildings in neighbouring Oppistan could not be prevented. For example, despite the warnings by the local museum’s director that “*there is no substitute for the one that is genuinely historical*”, some buildings in the *Karleby* ensemble were sacrificed in order to build new facilities for the owner – the local church parish (Ahmas, 1992, 63; Lillbroända, 2002, 54). However, tension between the two sides was getting sharper, not only on the local but also on the national level; as an illustration, the prestigious national exhibition “Finland Builds” was accompanied by an alternative display, entitled “Finland Demolishes” in 1982 (Kairamo, 1999, 26).

Only in 1985, Neristan received legal protection, based on Stenman's proposal put forward in 1973 (Lillbroända-Annala, 2010, 91, 103). The legal protection was enabled due to the enacted national Building Protection Law (*Byggnadsskyddslag*) in 1985, after the extensive state administrative renewal by the newly created Ministry of Environment (Kairamo, 1999, 20). Neristan was safeguarded by the new town plan, which was prepared in 1982, and resulted in the protection of 200 (out of 280) culturally and historically valuable buildings in Neristan from demolition (Ahmas, 1992, 30; Lillbroända, 2002, 44). However, despite the introduced legal protection, 15 buildings disappeared between 1985 and 2002, and 30 new constructions were built in the area at that time (Lillbroända, 2002, 31; Lillbroända-Annala, 2010, 91, 99, 106). The new infill constructions, however, were supposed to be adapted to the historical environment more harmoniously than before. Therefore, analysis of the urban and architectural qualities of Neristan that complemented the new urban protection plan was published in 1983 on the initiative of architect Stenman, the head of the town planning department by that time. The aim of the analysis was to provide detailed information about Neristan, such as accurate drawings of all street lines, which were supposed to ensure a more harmonious adaptation of infill architecture.

The distinctiveness and homogeneity were emphasized as the main values of Neristan, which were supposed to be sustained. Simultaneously, however, concerns were again raised against the musealization of Neristan: *"this urban area was always changing and transforming so there is no point in shaping the area into something static. By taking into account the existing building stock, the infill buildings are allowed as long as they follow the current conditions – the size and form of new constructions should not change the character and architecture of the townscape."* (Stenman, Lampinen and Läspä, 1983, 2). However, as in Stenman's thesis from 1973, so in 1983, no detailed indications were provided for the particular appropriate choices of infill architecture: *"this analysis does not aim at giving a patent solution but concentrates more on reparation and restoration of the old. Every planner and the supervising authority can decide on how these indications should be applied on new and supplementing buildings"* (ibid., 5). Protection of the existing built environment was considered to be the most important task, and therefore compromising positions between musealization and urban development were suggested, such as new annexes to the main old dwellings, designed to accommodate modern needs (such as laundries and saunas), and conversions of outbuildings for residential purposes in order to sustain the historical composition of buildings on the property lots (ibid., 4).

It should be highlighted, however, that the analysis prepared by the town planning department requested that all the restorations of façades should reproduce the original forms to the highest degree possible, while the façades of newly constructed extensions were supposed to be covered up in the same historical styles and adjusted to the old buildings. Thus, not only was it considered appropriate to follow the principles of stylistic restoration as the logic of practice by the local authorities of heritage conservation, but this also applied to the antiquated exteriors of modern constructions, which helped to create the urban unity of historical styles.

5.3 The legitimization of reproductions in “the old style”

The workmanship in reproduction of the demanded historical styles was also specified by the analysis of 1983. In most cases, the requirement was declared for the correspondence between *modus operandi* and *opus operatum* in a particular historical style. At the same time, exceptions to the rule were allowed as long as modern techniques and materials were covered up in historical appearances. For example, the requirement was imposed that new chimneys should be built from bricks and covered afterwards by a tinsmith in “the old style”, which implied both a historical stylistic image and a means of reproduction. It was underlined that chimneys should not be assembled from prefabricated elements or made from metal; they should not exit out of the sidewalls, but rather through the ridges of roofs. On the other hand, it was acknowledged that cast *in situ* concrete is “the most natural” method for constructing foundations today. The foundations, assembled from blocks or elements, were supposed to be hidden by plaster. Even the external covering of foundations with stone slates was permitted, though they were acknowledged as “not traditional for the area” (Stenman, Lampinen and Läspä, 1983, 9). Façades were intended to be covered by wood and all the wooden exterior surfaces were supposed to be planed. Sawn surfaces were allowed to be used only on those exteriors that were painted in red composition (rye flour) paint,³ though window frames and mouldings had to be planed as well. Lastly, it should be mentioned that the use of pressure-impregnated wood was recommended for planking fences and gates, which simultaneously implied that the use of latex paint was not denied as this kind of modern paint was acknowledged as being the most suitable for impregnated surfaces (ibid., 14). In conclusion, it should be noted that the analysis from 1983, while complementing the urban preservation plan of Neristan from 1985, aimed at recreating the historical stylistic appearances, and the suggested means of reproduction did not always correspond to the historically accurate procedures.

As informed by the former urban planner, the preservation plan of 1985 and its complementary guidelines of 1983 formed a counter-reaction to the prevailing transformation of the built historical environment of an urban area in modern appearance. The common practice was that historical buildings were maintained only due to their pragmatic value of use; therefore, they were transformed by executing the functionalistic programme (“form follows function”) and by adding modernist architectural details in order to conceal the undesirable historicity of old wooden buildings. It was indicated that the prevailing practice in Nordic countries was the replacement of historical windows with industrially produced functionalistic “*husmorvinduer*” (Interview with former urban

³ In both cases of Kokkola and Røros, the red composition paint was considered a local traditional material, appropriate for restorations. Meanwhile *rödfärgen* is simultaneously acknowledged as “the most characteristic element of the image of Sweden and what is considered as typically Swedish” (Bäck, 2008, 144). Furthermore, conviction in the long-lasting tradition of the use of red composition paint was challenged by proving that it spread from towns to the countryside relatively late, only at the beginning of the 19th century, and the reason for its popularity was based not just on the aesthetic reasons, as red pigment created an illusion of more expensive red-brick masonry. The most important factor that influenced the prevalence of red composition paint was not the traditional practice, but the scientific evidence, provided in 1777, proving that red composition paint possessed conservative qualities that could contribute to preservation of wood in particular and to suspending the increasing deforestation in Sweden in general (ibid., 61–62; Rentzhog, 1988, 14).

planner no. 1, 2008), enabling the generally favoured modernization of historic façades so that they would correspond to the fashionable architectural styles. Other sporadic transformations were rather more drastic and one was pointed out as an extremely negative example in Neristan (see the picture below): “*that building was supposed to be painted, but it was covered with brown stain. It should have had some horizontal finishings below. And then windows, which were supposed to form the outward-most line of the façade, they are pushed inside. And moreover, they are replaced. [...] The house is from the 19th century, but it was raised up on the new foundations and lost its expression of what it actually is. Unfortunately, it happened before we started our campaign for Neristan. There should not be any possibility of treating a house like this anymore. What is traditional should be sustained instead. And if any kind of accident would happen or fire would break out today, it should not be possible for anything like that treatment of a house. Even if it would be reconstructed in an old style to such an extent that it could be called a pastiche, it would not look as bad as this building does today*” (Interview with former urban planner no. 1, 2008). This shows that the concern was raised that the transformation of a historic building by using contemporary materials and applying modern appearance threatens the identity of a historical building, and therefore a *pastiche* solution was recognized as a better choice of taste.



Figure 176. The transformation of the historical building in Neristan pointed out as an inappropriate example by the representative of the municipal urban planning department (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).

A *pastiche* solution was justified not only as long as it concerned a restoration within an existing built environment, but also a reconstruction of lost buildings, or a construction of new structures in historical areas. The differing and inappropriate preference for modern

architectural taste was considered the main threat to the maintenance of the historical urban character by the local representative of the field of heritage conservation: *“Even if you want to replace some parts of a building or to construct a new building, you should follow the proportions of old buildings. Windows should be small paned, the panel boarding of façades is supposed to be followed. [...] All wooden towns in Finland have burnt at least once, most of them a couple of times, while there were six town fires in Neristan one century after another and the town had to be fully rebuilt in the 19th century. But they had a sense for the appearance then. There was somehow the inner sense of how the building should look. They made the same roofs with the same angles; the height and proportions were quite good. It is not like that today anymore”* (Interview with former urban planner no. 1, 2008).

The interviewed representative of the municipal department of urban planning witnessed the altered tacit cultural capital not only among the present-day architects and real estate developers, but also among local craftsmen. Neristan was presented as a special handicraft area where shipbuilding activities were among the main types of trade reproduced. However, gradually the modes of production were industrialized and the tacit knowledge or joiners’ *habitus* of treating wood as a building material was transformed, resulting in the changed quality of tangible wooden products: *“The knowledge about how wood should be treated was present here. And that was very important. Thousands of large ships were built here during winter time, which were sailed and sold in summer. They used their money in building houses and the standards rose quite quickly. They were very knowledgeable in treatment of wood because wood has always been a natural building material here. [...] And while we are talking about building traditions, I should mention that smaller boats are built here now. There are two of the world’s best shipbuilding companies, producing small sailing boats today, such as Rolls-Royce or Bentley if you compare them to cars. One of them is called Swan Boats and the other one Baltic. And that is handicrafts of such high level as cabinetry, and there is this inner knowledge remaining among those people. And there is a positive side of it because they can build and renovate. But there is also a negative side of it as they think that they can do anything alone and any way they want. But our laws are written in such a way that it is determined that the one who draws and designs a house should have special education”* (Interview with former urban planner no. 1, 2008).

The power position of an architect was emphasized by the interviewee, promoting the supremacy of institutionalized cultural capital, acquired from an authorized education institution, over the embodied cultural capital, i.e. practical skills of a local carpenter. The respondent claimed that even though a local carpenter might possess tacit knowledge in handcrafting wooden products, he would not necessarily use it unless there is persistent demand from a client or an authorized professional: *“There are carpenters in the town who are capable of handicrafts. But usually it is the owner of the house under construction who instructs carpenters to forget all that and to build a ‘good’ modern house. In that way, the sense for quality disappears. And usually that is the main feature that makes every house different – these small details. [...] They are quite competent here in the town, but one must always demand that from them. You must always be persistent in explaining how you want the product to be produced and asserting that you will not accept anything else. The right contacts exist if you want a product to be made appropriately. There is a little company*

outside Kokkola, owned by a young guy, who carries out special work. Even though the products are not handcrafted, he uses machines to produce various profiles if someone wants to have an older type of model, such as doors, for example” (Interview with former urban planner no. 1, 2008). The quote confirms the previously described observation that local representatives of the field of heritage conservation in Kokkola did not accentuate the correspondence between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi*, and thus the use of modern industrial techniques was approved as reasonable means of reproduction of products in historical forms or modern constructions in antiquated appearances.

Another interviewed representative of the municipal department of culture confirmed that, despite the industrial modes of reproduction, reconstructions of buildings to match historical appearances were not only advised by the urban conservation policies, but they gradually became established practice, dominating the common sense of the local inhabitants today: *“if it would happen that someone’s house burns down, deliberately or accidentally, the owner must build just the same kind of house in its place. Modern homes may not be built anymore; a new house should be just like it was before. Even if you are building it from new wooden materials. And that is the idea – there is no use damaging your house or letting it deteriorate because afterwards you will need to build it again like it was before. [...] I do not think that someone could suggest that maybe we need new houses in that area. It’s totally out of the question, I think”* (Interview with representative of the municipal department of culture, 2008).

Meanwhile, on the national scale, conflicting ideals were raised, as for example, in 1974, when a seminar on restoration of building monuments was held on the fortress island of Suomenlinna that criticized the stylistic restorations based on some chosen historical “golden period” of the historical object concerned. Instead, it was recommended to reveal all different periods of the building restored. In 1985, another seminar was arranged at Suomenlinna, this time engaging the international community from ICCROM and ICOMOS, which condemned the very practice of reconstruction. In the *logic of practice* established by the Venice Charter in 1964, the maintenance of heritage objects was prioritized. Any reconstructions based on speculation, i.e. not scientifically proven, were ruled out, while any further technically necessary repairs were supposed to be made using modern materials and modern techniques in order to emphasize the distinction of authentic materials and traces of historical workmanship from the up-to-date interventions (Kairamo, 1999, 25, 27–28).

As described by the Finnish architect Maija Kairamo, it was not only the respective distance to the truly historical material which was the cause of such *logic of practice*, established by the international field of heritage conservation, but rather the belief in the superiority of modern technology and materials, and in their capability of ensuring the durability of heritage objects. The same belief, despite differing objectives, guided the above-mentioned national programme in Finland, caused by the energy crisis in the 1970s, when numerous old wooden buildings were merely insulated and simply repaired with ordinary, contemporary building materials, commonly available at that time (*ibid.*, 24). However, it was also the period when the negative effects of such practices and the incompatibility between modern solutions and historical methods of construction were

noticed. Cautions against the contrasting language of modern architecture were also expressed, which were often used as visual expressions of advances within the modern constructing techniques (ibid., 25). As early as 1978, Kairamo urged against the internationally promoted *logic of practice* in restoration of wooden buildings, stating that the faulty examples showed that, for example, the use of membrane-type waterproofing materials in old buildings prevented the natural “breathing” of wood and hastened its decay. She claimed that even the new timber parts, treated with inorganic or synthetic substances, penetrating deep into cellular tissue, stopped the natural drying of wooden materials. A more thorough look into the physiology of traditional construction was offered instead, and the return to the know-how of traditional skills, possessed by carpenters, was still alive in Finland at that time. At the same time though, a concern was raised due to the changed social conditions, which previously enabled the continuity of traditional workmanship, but now the constant reproduction of “do-it-yourself” vernacular architecture was spreading, which was sustained mainly by the representatives of the working class, who constructed their homes by themselves (Kairamo, 1978, 188).

When the authorities in the national field of heritage conservation realized that construction materials and techniques changed dramatically after World War II in Finland, and the subsequent neglect of historical building methods in many cases proved to accelerate damage to heritage objects, systematic efforts were made to create the subfield of traditional workmanship in the same above-described manner as it was done in Norway. For example, in 1996, in parallel to the “*normal training of craftsmen*”, special professional competence-based qualifications were initiated, which were intended to serve the field of heritage conservation: the vocational restoration masters within different specializations of carpenters, sheet-metal workers, painters, joiners, bricklayers and plasterers. The competence in reconstruction of heritage objects in practice was cultivated as they were required to “*master the tools traditionally used in building*” and, furthermore, “*to deduce age and cultural-historical value of structures from their materials and building methods*” (Hirvi, 1999, 42). In this way, deviation from the internationally established *logic of practice*, established by the Venice Charter in 1964, was legitimized by the national field of heritage conservation in Finland as the copying of historical styles by historical means of reproduction was authorized. Moreover, it was simultaneously claimed that the Venice Charter was not translated into Finnish until 1985 and thus it was available only to a small group of professionals, which indicates that international principles of restoration did not have an effect on the national field of heritage conservation in Finland more broadly (Kairamo, 1999, 23).

The alternative national programme, distinct from the mainstream ideology of the international field of heritage conservation, was strengthened by the general disappointment with progressive development. As faith in the superiority of modern technologies at the end of the 20th century declined, it was substituted with the return to traditional workmanship on the international scene as well, which promised more sustainable and ecological methods of construction and repair work (ibid., 28). It was affirmed that by the year 1999, the institutionalization of traditional workmanship within the field of heritage conservation in Finland had eradicated the former practice of using modern materials and techniques: “*The materials and building techniques established*

during the period of economic growth and mass urbanization are now being replaced by more careful repair techniques: traditional building materials are available and old handicraft skills are again deservedly valued. Nowadays, a central aim in the repair of old buildings is maintaining flexible methods that cherish traditional skills and materials” (Lilius, 1999, 9). The traditional workmanship was promoted further nationwide by establishing renovation centres in connection to local museums and educational institutions, which served as practical consultation points, information libraries and exhibition halls. Additionally, the renovation centres also served as repositories for the recycling and trade of old building materials (Mattinen, 1999, 40). The 1990s were considered the boom decade for interest in the revival of traditional workmanship in Finland when the demand for courses was so huge that it was difficult to find enough skilled masters to teach the traditional materials and methods. This knowledge was considered lost at that time due to the rapid urbanization and standard constructions, based on prefabricated elements. The restoration of vernacular buildings by application of traditional workmanship was expected to improve after the establishment of the permanent academic “*institute for building conservationists*” in Finland (Kovanen, 2002, 38).

One of the most commonly presented examples describing the shift in trends of restoration in Finland was the 18th-century wooden church in Sondankylä, which was re-restored in 1993–1995, as the former restoration, performed in the middle of the 20th century, was now considered faulty due to the use of modern industrial techniques. This time, such relearned methods as manually split wooden planks for weatherboarding and hand-cut wooden shingles for the roof were used by imitating the procedures, common previously in the 18th century. This particular example raised some discussions in the international field of heritage conservation as the principle of “historical equivalence” was as yet unsolved, and the following question remained unanswered: How will it be possible to distinguish between “genuine” historical material and traces of modern restorations by traditional means and materials in the future? (Jokilehto, 2006, 307).

Yet, on the national scene, a contradictory critique was expressed, complaining that the level of institutionalization and incorporation of traditional workmanship into the operative system of the field of heritage conservation was not sufficient in Finland by the end of the 1990s. It was argued that if the traditional workmanship had indeed been revived in Finland, this knowledge was shared mainly among specialists within specialized research centres and the authorities of heritage conservation. But, as most of the repair work in Finland was still performed by the inhabitants of historical buildings themselves, they were often confined to unprofessional, “do-it-yourself” renovations: “*The transfer of this knowledge to general practice, however, has been slow and the process still partly incomplete, and yet there is still continued development towards more insightful restoration*” (Kärki, 1999, 108).

Such amateurish renovations of historical buildings by private initiatives of owners and implementations by craftsmen with no institutionalized cultural capital within the field of heritage conservation, i.e. no professional education at the emerging building conservation schools, were considered fictitious and delusive. Their choices of taste were considered as requiring cultivation, correction and guidance by the professionals in the field of heritage

conservation: *“Inhabitants, new owners and users make daily decisions on use, management, repair and changes of buildings and sites which have an impact on the realization of preservation goals. Architecture in typical Finnish wooden residential areas can be described as anonymous, although with typical, local and historical details. These details are the results of the social and economic conditions of the past and are sensitive to stylising. This stylising occurs, however, in connection with all repairs of wooden surfaces, at least every 20–30 years. Too often this stylising takes the shape of a mish-mash of self-made historicism, with no reference to local characteristics, nor to history. The inhabitants’ good intentions should be guided to identify the qualities of local urban heritage, giving reference to good solutions”* (Lehtimäki, 2006, 76).

The above-presented quote of the architect Marianne Lehtimäki, working within the field of heritage conservation, indicates that wooden urban heritage in Finland is still mainly defined as traces of vernacular and local building activities. However, at the same time, the representatives of the field of heritage conservation have questioned the continuity of the essential element of that kind of heritage – its vernacularity. The continuous “do-it-yourself” repair work on wooden buildings and the vernacular choices of taste were now despised as *“self-made historicism”*, while the professional historicism was permitted as more scientifically proven, i.e. the authorized historicism was believed to reproduce more accurate and, therefore, legitimate copies of historical details.

It should be added that the question of professional historicism became topical not only in reference to restorations, but also in view of reconstructions and the building of new constructions in historical urban environments. The lack of scientific grounding has been observed as resulting in the inappropriate application of historicism for infill architecture: *“Unfortunately, however, many attempts to adapt new buildings into the old environments produced so-called ‘neo-old buildings’”* (Kairamo, 1999, 24). Therefore, the need was expressed for a thorough analysis of historical sites that were believed to lower the large number of unfortunate new additions: *“Guidance for infill architecture is usually based on formalistic argumentation, generally following the ‘rule of average’. Consequently, good examples of infill architecture are rare. Guidance of infill architecture should take into consideration present and past social structures of the area. The geographic and cultural history of place and typology, interpreted by proper analyses, could contribute as part of a checklist of approaches, and thus provide firmer arguments for well-grounded solutions and regulations”* (Lehtimäki, 2006, 77).

The below-presented pictures reveal how the process of adaptation of new infill architecture was developing in Kokkola and which particular historical elements were preferred for repetition on modern façades. The influence of the expanding power of the field of heritage conservation (i.e. the above-discussed urban conservation plan established in 1985 and the guidance lines on urban conservation practice drawn in 1983) remains uncertain in the actual design decision-making process as some of the construction projects had been accomplished beforehand. For instance, the centre for the elderly, which was built in the 1970s, was indicated as one of the fortunate infill examples in Neristan by the local representative of the municipal urban department. Besides the positive social value created, the design of the building was also evaluated as the project that received the architectural

prize in 1976: “the external façade is not the best, but at least it was popular and based on that, the let-alone policy was taken and unrestrained changes allowed” (Interview with the representative of the municipal department of culture, 2008).



Figure 177. The infill architecture of 1970's (the centre for the elderly) indicated the early attempts at adapting modern solutions to historical environment already before the urban preservation plan of Neristan was adopted in 1985 (Lillbroända-Annala, S., 2010, p. 88). (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008)



Figure 178. The infill architecture in Neristan, adjusted to the historical surroundings by applying wooden surfaces on façades as well as repeating the rhythm and composition of historical windows. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008)



Figure 179. The example of increasing adjustments of modern infill architecture by following the scale, forms and façades of historical buildings from the 19th century. The expressive details, such as restrained corner and frontal “pilasters”, were contrarywise indrawn and in that way the actual recency of the building’s design and construction was displayed. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).

5.4 The gentrification of Neristan in line with the prevailing taste for vernacular historicism and the amateurish practice of restoration

The above-presented visual material indicates that, in the case of Neristan, before the urban conservation plan was adopted in 1985, efforts were made to adapt infill architecture to the historical environment by using wood to cover the exterior or repeat the rhythm and composition of historical windows. Moreover, a thorough social study conducted in 2002 revealed that the urban conservation plan did not have much influence on the design process of the modern infill architecture, and, according to the local owners, it also did not have much of an impact on the practice of repair work. The social study showed that the only stakeholder, the authorities of the field of heritage conservation, perceived the urban conservation plan as highly significant. This controversy is important to note to better understand the process of how Neristan received such an exceptional cultural and social status, especially when all the social study informants agreed that the owners of historical buildings were the most important agents in the process of the general acknowledgement of Neristan as urban heritage. Furthermore, the continuous care of historical buildings is still acknowledged as being their own responsibility by most of the inhabitants of Neristan (Lillbroända, 2002, 73, 77).

It is also important to note that Kokkola remains rather unknown both in the international field of heritage conservation and in the field of tourism industry, and therefore urban conservation of Neristan was never stimulated by local aspirations for external cultural recognition or accumulation of economic capital. The interviewed respondents confirmed that: *“Neristan is not that well known. People in this area only know about it and we are proud about Neristan, but not very far from here. If you think about Neristan, it is not a tourist attraction; this is the place where people are living and working and that is a good thing. It is not made to be an amusement park or something like that. I am not accusing Rauma or Porvoo, but they are a little like that. Going a little bit commercial with their history. I do not know what is going to happen here when this Neristan brand gets bigger and bigger. But still, most of the houses are for living and the local businesses are suitable for the town; it is not too commercial”* (Interview with the representative of the municipal department of culture, 2008).

The economic aims in preservation of Neristan, however, could not be ruled out, but they were linked with the rising prices of real estate in the area, which contributed to forming the processes of gentrification through the common application of vernacular historicism: *“I think there is a circle, it could be either a bad or a good one. If the image of that kind of area is not good, people are not taking care of their houses and the image is getting worse. Little by little, it is ready for the bulldozers to come and push it away. But if the image is good, people are taking care of their houses and are getting more money while selling their houses. And then people are coming, who are interested in having just this kind of house and that means that it is becoming a prestige to live there. That’s what has happened in Kokkola and that’s why it is in good condition. In the 1970s, not so many people were interested in moving there, but now it is really difficult and expensive to buy a house there. It’s business in a way, which is important for the preservation of old houses”* (Interview with the representative of the municipal department of culture, 2008).

Even the public regulations, established to ensure urban conservation of Neristan, were not indicated as being that influential: *“We are trying to make Neristan a respected housing area, so that conservation would be coming bottom-up, not top-down. The museum is giving statements. If someone is trying to do something there, they need to ask permission from the museum first, therefore, the museum is doing this top-down work, but we are making the bottom-up work, so we are working in different roles for conservation of this area”* (Interview with the representative of the municipal department of culture, 2008). The interviewed employee at the museum, the institution, which is a local representative of the National Board of Antiquities in Finland, confirmed: *“We only have an expert role. And I have been talking for many years with planners and architects in the town hall, in the bureaucracy, about establishing a special bureau in this town, taking care of building conservation. But they do not see it the way I do. I think it is very important to have somebody specializing in building conservation, but those big guys, they do not see it the way I do. They do not understand that it is a very big issue and that it is a very delicate thing – the knowledge of how to conserve these buildings in Neristan or Mäntykangas. We have those lovely pearls we should take care of and that is a big thing, a very big thing. In Finland, however, we do not have a special institution in the bureaucracy at the municipal level that should be responsible for all that. We should have one. [...] We only provide*

some expertise, but the decision-making process is done somewhere else, it's a political group that decides in the case of an old building, whether it's going to stay and be conserved, or not. But we give an expert opinion. This is a normal procedure in Finland" (Interview with the representative of the local museum, 2008).

Consequently, even the representative of the local field of heritage conservation confirmed that neither the local museum nor the municipality influences the processes of reparation, reconstruction or restoration of a historical building in Neristan: *"the beauty of these old buildings is really totally dependent on the owners. The buildings are owned by people who really want to live there, who really appreciate their houses, who want to take care of them, who are proud of their environment. That's how it goes. For instance, the municipality of Kokkola has never given money to Neristan people or any other people who take care of these houses. Nothing! They can only depend on themselves"* (Interview with the representative of the local museum, 2008). Thus, it could be claimed that the process of gentrification in Neristan contributed to urban conservation without any major state interference either by public financial support or by strict regulations. The process of gentrification promised the gain of social and economic capital for every owner of a historical building in the area as long as the maintenance of the property, by applying the aesthetic ideals of vernacular historicism, was sustained.

The above-mentioned social study provided a more detailed description of how that *"self-made historicism"* was perceived by the local inhabitants. As far as it concerned new infill architecture, the dominant opinion was that the modern buildings did not suit the old urban environment unless the proportions were repeated and the *"old style"* was employed (Lillbroända, 2002, 81). At the same time, the understanding was expressed about how challenging it is to adapt new constructions to a historical environment that has differing measurement standards and already prevailing age patina. It was claimed that repairing is always better than constructing, and therefore suggestions were even made to transfer old wooden buildings from other locations into the existing empty plots of Neristan rather than fill them in with modern constructions. Even though some opposite preferences were disclosed, favouring contrasting modern buildings that expressively display the time flow in historical environments, such opinions were rather sparse. It should be added that, at the same time, inhabitants' *"self-made historicism"* was not grounded on the reversed *logic of practice*, attributed to the musealization of historical environments: *"efforts to revert to the original, for example to the 1830s, are the same as to artificially imitate 'authentic' conditions, some informants claim. That could be done in museums, but a home which is continuously used cannot become musealized. In such a case, we could not move around and could not touch anything there. That is the principle on which museums usually operate. There is a building in Neristan which was donated to the state after the last member of Drake's family died. Even here, the musealization did not achieve the reverse to the time when the building was originally built. Despite all that, the building today looks the same as it did when Märta Drake moved to the retirement home. The building bears traces of many generations and styles, all in harmony with each other"* (ibid., 79).

Hence, the above-presented quotes from the social survey reveal that the interviewed inhabitants were not following the *logic of practice* of the international field of heritage

conservation and its ideals of scientific restoration, which was often grounded on two opposite extremes: the contrasting modern infill architecture in historic environments or the musealization (i.e. conservation) of the already built heritage objects. The *rationale* of local engagement was situated somewhere in the middle between the two extremes described above. Transformations of both urban built environments and singular historic buildings were acknowledged by inhabitants on the same condition: changes were supposed to be harmoniously incorporated despite their inaccuracy of stylistic and/or technological development in the past or up-to-date construction methods and prevailing tastes. Consequently, many of such unprofessional interventions resulted in “*self-made historicisms*” because the principle of “historical equivalence”, which forms the foundation of both, even though simultaneously opposed to the *logics of practices* in the field of heritage conservation, did not seem to play a major role among inhabitants of *Neristan*.

If the preferences for vernacular historicism, which did not necessarily obey the principle of “historical equivalence”, were excused by local authorities of urban planning and heritage conservation as less harmful than modern alternatives, the local efforts in continuing the tradition of wooden constructions outside the old town area were criticized by the local municipal authorities due to their non-compliance with the very same principle: “*Most of the people in Kokkola are living in one-family houses and the problem is that the housing companies, the companies that are building houses, prefer to draw the outlook of these houses as farms or countryside buildings, it’s not made for a city. [...] Our housing companies, those factories, which are building houses, they are nowadays drawing the houses in a traditional way – it’s like a romantic idea of a countryside house of the 19th century. In one way, it’s new, and in another way, it looks old, but it’s not good in both ways. It’s not national either, it’s not what a Finnish country house looked like 100 years ago. And we do not know how to build a new wooden house in a town and people are bringing those old farm houses to the city and they are not suitable. [...] These are new houses and there is no idea to build 18th-century houses nowadays. We need 21st-century wooden houses for the towns*” (Interview with the representative of the municipal department of culture, 2008).

The local municipal authorities were complaining not only about historical falsifications that became so widespread in the outskirts of Kokkola, but they were also concerned about the rural character of these new constructions: “*the planning architect is wondering what to do with these things, he is against this trend, that the old farming houses are coming to the city. I do not know if he knows any good examples of the modern wooden houses in the town. But at least that’s what we need. [...] Our planning department was trying to make an international European Union project to find new architecture for wooden town houses, but it was not going through the European Union officials, so it did not start. But that’s a thing on the agenda now – how to build new wooden town houses*” (Interview with the representative of the municipal department of culture, 2008).

Hence, the interviewed representatives of the local municipality emphasized the need to sustain the urban character of the townscape, which would signify its distinctiveness from the countryside landscape, while the field of large-scale building industry satisfied the sentimental taste of urban inhabitants for new constructions, but in a rural appearance. On

the other hand, emphasis on the exceptionality of the urban image was laid by the representatives of local municipal authorities at that time, when Mäntykangas – a district created according to the alternative garden city ideology – was acknowledged as a heritage object by the field of heritage conservation. The question remains open, however, about whether the present-day vernacular taste for rural nostalgia, which became disliked by the local cultural elite in Kokkola, has been following the same rationale that justified recognition of the garden city of Mäntykangas as an important part of the town's history. Certainly, there is a differing correlation between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi* which should be highlighted: if the wooden district of Mäntykangas was raised by introducing innovative wooden architecture, built by correspondingly advanced construction techniques of the beginning of the 20th century, the contemporary vernacular historicism was blamed for creating pseudohistorical forms by means of modern building techniques.

Consequently, it could be claimed that the demand for historical architectural forms, either in rural or urban character, was increasing in Kokkola, and the local construction companies were fulfilling this demand through ordinary, i.e. contemporary, means of production as the subfield of traditional workmanship was not established by the state-financed field of heritage conservation. As no public financing system was supporting these companies, they often backed themselves up by serving both the market for large-scale and restricted cultural production, but by using the same present-day machinery tools and materials: *“We do not receive any support from the state; it is a fully private company. Most of the clients are private actors, not public institutions. [...] We assemble the old glass, but we do not pay for that. The old glass, however, is not as strong as the new one; therefore, it is much easier to work with the new glass. The machines we use are not very modern, but we no longer use only manual work either”* (Interview with a local glazier, 2011).

The interviewed representative of the local field of heritage conservation informed us that, despite the new education programme in Building Conservation at Seinäjoki University of Applied Sciences, which was supposed to initiate the formation of the subfield of traditional workmanship on the national level, no graduates were operating in Kokkola yet. The interviewee affirmed the observation that some construction companies were providing restricted cultural production in Kokkola not because of the request of the field of heritage conservation, but in order to meet the demand for vernacular historicism among the local inhabitants: *“There are many kinds of construction companies, but we are lucky to have in Kokkola a few companies specializing in conservation jobs. There are companies that have knowledge of how to conserve historic buildings. They are not educated in Seinäjoki. But they have the old workmanship knowledge”* (Interview with the representative of the local museum, 2008).

Thus, it should also be emphasized that these companies supplying restricted cultural production in Kokkola maintained their knowledge, i.e. their cultural capital, in the embodied, not the institutionalized form. These craftsmen did not possess academically qualified knowledge; their skills were rather gained by practice and were vernacular in their essence. As informed by the interviewed local craftsmen: *“We did not attend any*

courses. We have been practising this craft all life and have not learned that at some kind of courses. This is experience-based knowledge” (Interview with a local glazier, 2011). Old buildings were considered another local source of information about the historical building techniques; however, as noted by one of the initiators of urban conservation in Kokkola, the historical methods of construction observed on restoration sites have not necessarily been repeated according to the same historical logic of practice: *“It often happens in Neristan that the lowest log must be replaced. As a rule, the whole log is removed and therefore the corner joints, which are called salmon tails [laxstjärt] and that keep the wooden parts together, must be hewn. Usually, a small company is hired for that because special tools are needed in order to lift the building. Ordinary people do not possess such tools. And now lower logs are replaced in the majority of old buildings, and the replaced logs had rotten for some reason. The logs can be easily damaged if not treated properly. Today there are few who know that the log should not be placed directly on stones; one should use the birch bark in order to stop the transfer of moisture. The same with roof tiles. There are many of them here because as tar was shipped abroad, vessels were coming back with cargos of roof tiles. However, there has always been an underroof of birch bark beneath here. The old buildings were naturally built, and people had quite practical know-how. One could also use birch bark for windproof walls”* (Interview with former urban planner no. 2, 2008).

The interviewee demonstrated that private commissions to renovate old buildings were offered for companies as the owners did not possess the required means of reproduction; however, the hired craftsmen were believed to lack knowledge about historical building methods because the embodied type of cultural capital was considered inferior to the institutionalized type of academic knowledge: *“The sense for building materials is a difficult issue and I think that studies of that subject in higher education are insufficient”* (Interview with former urban planner no. 2, 2008).

These statements complement the findings obtained during the social survey in Neristan, indicating that most of the respondents considered the supply of traditional workmanship sparse whereas the demand for such services was high. Consequently, the social survey and interviews revealed that a number of renovations and restorations in Kokkola have been performed by the local inhabitants themselves (see *The distribution of preferences for traditional workmanship in three different socio-economic contexts of urban conservation*).

Furthermore, the findings from the fieldwork at Neristan were reinforced by a new movement for renovation of buildings in Kokkola, which has recently emerged under the title *Kokkolan Wanhat Talot – Rakkaudesta Remonttiin* (Kokkola’s Old Houses – Renovation with Love). The movement is promoted by the modern means of social media and driven by a new generation of inhabitants: local enthusiasts who declared their mission as *“the renovation of old houses by respecting the time of construction in order to increase the value of the old building stock in Kokkola”* (*Kokkolan Wanhat Talot*, <https://www.facebook.com/kokkolanwanhattalot>). Thus, the aim of the community was to promote further gentrification of the old urban areas by applying the principle of historical equivalence in a reverse sense, i.e. by justifying the restoration of historical forms.

However, differently from the previous local practice of renovations, the members of this movement declared that the restoration of historical forms is considered legitimate as long as it was performed by “*traditional and breathable restoration methods and materials*” (ibid.), i.e. when *opus operatum* correlated with *modus operandi*.

This relationship was not just grounded on scientific and technical arguments of breathability of historical buildings versus the modern construction techniques, the nationalistic motives hidden behind the selected circumscription of the notion of traditional building techniques or even the aim of raising the cultural and economic capital of inhabitants of old urban districts. The equivalence between *opus operatum* and *modus operatum* in Kokkola was also based on more subjective motives: the emotional personal relation to the process of renovation was emphasized, which assimilated the feeling of “love” (*Rakkaudesta Remonttiin*) to the use of historical building materials and techniques. And last but not least, the logic of practice of restorations was justified on the grounds of individual health of dwellers of old buildings. The members of the movement were the inhabitants who renovated their houses themselves and rationalized their domestic crafts as contributing to salubrious living conditions:

“The couple has restored the house from 1929 back to the appearance of the old building. Plastic and vinyl surfaces have been replaced by fibreboards, paper wallpapers and original wooden surfaces:

– There was an original wooden floor beneath the material of several centimetres. It’s full of nail holes, but it’s still wonderful.

– I covered all the wooden surfaces with linseed oil paint and beeswax. That way we achieved low-chemical surfaces; it is important for children. The basic idea is that we want a healthy house with healthy and traditional structures” (Store, 2018).

Interestingly enough, one of the initiators of the protection plan of Neristan in the second half of the 20th century has already rationalized the logic of practice of urban conservation by invoking the human link to the old town of Kokkola in parallel to the rationale of medical treatment: “*There is this rule, described by a dentist, which should be used – one should treat old built environments like teeth: they should be slightly maintained all the time, they should be taken care of to remain nice and good, you can miss some of them sometimes, but then the new copies of the old ones should be made. Otherwise, the whole will not function in the same way as before. All the teeth are a little bit different, just as humans are, and that is what constitutes a good townscape. If a tooth is infected dangerously, it should be pulled out and replaced by a new one. Attention should also be paid if you are ‘a nicotinish’, the yellow holes should be fixed then. In that way, I received a good explanation of how the town should be managed. And that was an interesting way to describe how these things should be connected”* (Interview with former urban planner no. 1, 2008).

The same rule of dentistry was valid not only for urban conservation, but also for the treatment of individual constructions. In particular cases when a neglected old building had to be removed, it was supposed to be reconstructed as a copy, according to the same orthodontic logic of practice: “*This building is a copy, but it is not certain how the original used to look either. They only tried to reconstruct it there; they even tried to make real*

stone foundations instead of concrete. That is what one should call a pastiche. But it is trying to complement the built environment by applying the dentist's principle. This is quite fine as it is, even though the original would have been better" (Interview with former urban planner no. 2, 2008).

It seems that the transfer of medical rationale to the field of heritage conservation was not a single local phenomenon. One of the famous private companies operating within the national field of heritage conservation in Finland also applied pharmaceutical notions to validate their practice: *"There is no such place where one could buy old building details in Kokkola, but there is a company in the southern part of Finland which is called Pharmacy for Buildings. They have a catalogue with numerous door handles, knobs, etc. Even special lamps. Of course, they make new products in old forms. This is the business which has been lasting for 20 years and which restarted the old things again"* (Interview with former urban planner no. 1, 2008). It should be pointed out that, if the field of heritage conservation validated the logic of practice of restoration as health-giving, a similar rationale justified the opposite actions – the extensive demolitions of historical urban districts in the 1960s, executed in the name of "sanitation".

The present-day campaign for renovation of old buildings in Kokkola was no longer focusing merely on the promotion of the very idea of urban conservation or architectural restoration; rather, the *Kokkolan Wanhat Talot* movement consolidated those enthusiasts who have already implemented the restoration projects in practice themselves. The medical terms, in turn, were not merely used to justify the logic of practice of heritage conservation; this time, the historical means of building construction and old buildings as such proved to be salubrious for their inhabitants. In this context, the concept of traditional building elements was often simply substituted by other notions, such as *"renewable natural resources"* or *"healthy building materials"* (Kärki, 1999, 111).

Consequently, the grounding of logic of practice of restoration on the benefits of health strengthened the personal involvement of inhabitants in the very process of restoration by applying traditional workmanship and promoted the taste for vernacular historicism in Kokkola. The inhabitants now hired professional companies for technically modern construction works only, whereas the traditional workmanship was practised by inhabitants themselves. The inhabitants usually engaged in domestic building crafts after building up their knowledge in historical building techniques through various local courses, by learning from local experienced carpenters or architects, and by following other inspirationally accomplished restoration projects. A couple involved in starting the *Kokkolan Wanhat Talot* movement and who renovated their house in Mäntykangas stated: *"We went through different courses and studied the basics of building construction. The books have been read by Panu Kaila (an architect who became known as a promoter of traditional buildings). The couple have done most of the renovation. Professionals were partly used for electrical connections and plumbing"* (ibid.).

Kokkolan Wanhat Talot became widely known in Finland as a new tradition was established of organizing gatherings every summer in Kokkola when the approved restoration examples were opened for the public. It could be claimed, however, that this

tradition could have had its origins as early as in the 1970s when the first enthusiasts of urban conservation managed to convince the organizers of the annual national Housing Fair to demonstrate the process of renovation of old buildings besides the generally displayed modern building constructions. During the 1975 Housing Fair organized in Kokkola, two small buildings under renovation were demonstrated as well as presenting the low costs of such projects, which resulted in the positive reactions of visitors, who became willing and felt capable of renovating their old buildings themselves: *“I thought that we should show the renovation of old buildings and how to prepare them, so we had two small buildings to display there, despite the enormous resistance. We have calculated how much it will cost to renovate them. We set those buildings and calculations up at the fair. And people were coming into these houses, observing the renovation process – the floor was removed, the insulation was added, the heating and water supply installed, so only the log frames were remaining. The people reacted in the following way: ‘I can perform such a renovation myself and could save so much money.’ In that way a bridge was laid out as people began to wonder about how they can preserve those buildings because otherwise it was common to think that restorations are so expensive, so expensive”* (Interview with former urban planner no. 1, 2008).

Another national Housing Fair was organized in Kokkola 36 years later, and simultaneously an alternative local seminar was arranged by enthusiasts with help from the local open-air museum (*Karleby hembygdsmuseum*) and Renlund’s museum. The seminar offered an opposing programme to the major event in Kokkola by presenting the old buildings and traditional building techniques as healthy, in contrast to the modern built products offered by the large-scale building industry. As declared in the programme, the seminar aimed at *“discussing various health-related issues, which emerge due to the construction methods, such as mould problems; houses that do not breathe; mechanical ventilation and the construction decisions. The idea for the seminar came from ‘doctor of houses’ architect Panu Kaila, who is leading the seminar”* (Terveet talot. Friska hus. 5–6.8.2011 seminaari). While the above-mentioned *“doctor of houses”* presented the positive physical qualities of old wooden buildings in his lecture *“The breathing house”*, an actual medical doctor spoke about the impacts of the indoor climate on health. On the second day of the seminar, a presentation on the process of production of traditional paints was displayed at the local open-air museum as well as a tour organized to visit the urban district of Linnusperä in Kokkola, where a private dwelling was newly built but with a historical appearance by using traditional methods of construction. It should be emphasized that this construction project was a private initiative and based on domestic efforts of a local family.

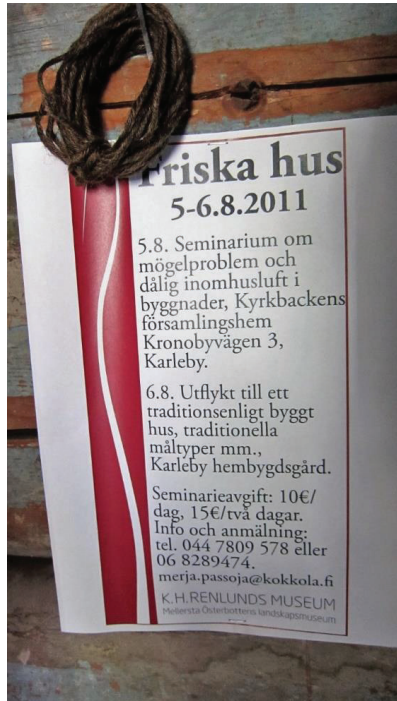


Figure 180. The seminar “A healthy house” advertised at the renovated Knappe’s house. During the Housing Fair in Kokkola in 2011. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).



Figure 181. The precise application of traditional workmanship at Linnusperä in Kokkola. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).



Figure 182. The equivalence between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi* reached at Linnusperä in Kokkola? (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).

During the national Housing Fair arranged in Kokkola in 2011, one restoration project was chosen to be included in the main programme of the event. Among several demonstrations of contemporary constructions, a tour of Neristan was offered and newly renovated “Knappe’s house” was presented. As declared by the official programme of the national Housing Fair, *“The fascinating supplementary object of the fair is ‘the house of Knappe’, a charming house built at the beginning of the 19th century. This object is located in Neristan, an old town of Kokkola. The house will be renovated according to old traditions”* (www.asuntomessut.fi/2011_kokkola). Thus, this exhibition object demonstrated an alternative logic of construction to the mainstream programme of the Housing Fair. The very fact that the varying approaches to building construction and renovation were displayed during the national fair indicated that interest in alternative housing solutions was growing among the organizers and the visitors of the exhibition.

Coincidentally, the presented renovation project of Knappe’s house happened to also have been chosen as part of the in-depth case study of Neristan. Observations were made during the restoration process of Knappe’s house between 2008 and 2011, which, in turn, deepened the findings of the social survey performed in Neristan and supplemented the conclusions reached after analysing the semi-structured interviews of actors relevant to the field of urban conservation in Kokkola. The in-depth study of how the traditional workmanship was used during the restoration process of Knappe’s house revealed the logic of renovation practice, i.e. the motivations behind particular decisions.

5.5 *The renovation into sweet-as-candy Knape's house*

The house of Knape was proposed as an object of closer study during the initial conversations with the local actors within the field of heritage conservation. The building also drew attention as the only wooden structure remaining but being in such a bad state of deterioration in an otherwise well-maintained urban conservation area. Natural questions and curiosity were arising, aimed at finding out why this building had deteriorated so badly in the highly cultivated urban context. The answers were expected to be influenced by naturally occurring, irregular socio-economic circumstances, which would be revealed through semi-structured interviews, along with more general tendencies, disclosed by the social survey conducted in Neristan.

Despite the well-preserved urban area of Neristan, the black swan case of the house of Knape indicated that urban conservation is a never-ending process. And, as displayed above (see *The gentrification of Neristan in line with the prevailing taste for vernacular historicism and the amateurish practice of restoration*), in respect to Finland, the process of urban conservation is dependent first and foremost on the choice of taste of a private owner. Even for the exceptional case of the house of Knape, plans to alter the building only started to take shape after a change in ownership. As remarked by the interviewed representative of the municipal authorities, *“There are some houses which are in bad shape and in need of a closer look or action from the owner. It was not that long ago, a couple of months before, when one of these houses was sold because the old owner was not able to save the old building. And, in fact, that was the house of Ernst Knape, a poet of Neristan, who was living there and writing his poems. His house was in a horrible condition and now it is sold to another person and that new owner is starting to get the house in a proper condition”* (Interview with the representative of the municipal department of culture, 2008).

Interviewees also disclosed that the fate of the house of Knape could have been different if other purchasers had the possibility to implement their rationale: *“The story is that the neighbour, who owns the next masonry large block of apartments, thought that Knape's house would be highly valuable in the future. People were aiming to buy the house when it was still in a relatively good shape, but he did not want to sell as yet. After the municipality made the requirement for the building to be renovated after it had been standing abandoned for 15 years, he was obliged to do something. He was selling only a tiny plot of land around the house, so not that many buyers were interested in it. However, two young businessmen wanted to buy it, to demolish it, and to build a new pastiche, i.e. a similar house. But that building would have been different. It [Knape's house] has the value as an object of cultural history – a poet was living there, whose name was Ernst V. Knape. He is well known there, in the town and Finland, but, of course, less in the world. It suits very well in the environment and there could have been the same dentist's principle applied to it. If one is too late to do something, then a new copy could be made. So, they wanted to demolish that building and form a new similar building, but a little bit higher. But then it would not be the same house anymore. It would no longer be Knape's house; therefore, it had to be renovated instead. The renovation, however, is much more expensive now, because the building is in such a bad shape. It should be dried out first because of the*

leaking roof. But it will be turned into a house again...” (Interview with former urban planner no. 2, 2008).



Figures 183, 184. The neglected house of Knape was dissonant to its urban surroundings and, therefore, urged to find the answers to its miserable fate already during the first fieldwork in Neristan (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2008).

The interviewees emphasized that the chosen object had an exceptional cultural historical value, which, however, was not perceived as profitable by representatives of the field of real estate, ruled primarily by the aims of raising economic capital. It is important to note that one of the pioneers who drew public attention to the miserable state of the building was the historian Pentti Virrankoski. Interestingly, he doubted the architectural value of the building, built in 1818, but urged the municipality and local community to take action in order to save Knape's house as a historical monument: *"From a purely architectural point of view, the house probably is not that valuable. But despite its historical value as a house of Doctor Knape, it is an element of Neristan's environment, which would be damaged if this old house is lost. Therefore, I appeal to the residents in Karleby to honour the memory of the exceptional citizen Ernst V. Knape and save his home from destruction"* (Virrankoski, 2005).

Virrankoski also appealed to Finnish society by emphasizing the patriotism of Knape, who led the opposition during the Russian oppression between 1899 and 1917, and who served as a doctor during the Finnish Civil War in 1918. Simultaneously, he considered it obvious that local Swedish organizations, such as the above-mentioned "Vi Neristassbor", would contribute to safeguarding the building because Doctor Knape wrote his famous poems in Swedish. Furthermore, the local elders remembered Knape personally as a highly honoured ophthalmologist, who welcomed people from all around the country at his office in his hometown of Kokkola from 1911 (Nyqvist, 1973).

Thus, the first initiatives in the process of heritagization of the neglected building were founded on the cultivation of its cultural capital, i.e. by raising public awareness of its historical value as a historical memorial for the prominent citizen, as well as presenting the building as collective heritage, i.e. an integral part of the historic urban environment. However, it should be emphasized that the first actions in actual safeguarding of the building started as a private initiative after a change in ownership of the house. The new owner had his own agenda, which was not based on revealing the historical qualities of the building as such, but rather on boosting the building's aesthetic value – *"it will become like candy"* the new owner promised. He explained further: *"I do not have any plans in restoring the house to its original condition [ursprungligt skick] with old-fashioned switches or installing the wires on the top of tapestry"* (Slotte, 2010).

As informed by the interviewed owner himself, the renovation of the building was not guided by any visual or written historical documentation: *"I have not seen any historical materials. No descendants of Knape's family are living in Karleby. I tried to contact some in the spring time but got the impression that no materials exist. [...] There are no pictures at the municipality either. The only pictures that exist depict what the building looked like before its present renovation"* (Interview with the owner of Knape's house no. 1, 2011). The new owner revealed that it was not the historical value but the economic gain that was the essential factor in buying the abandoned building: *"This is an investment project. It was so cheap. It is possible to earn from that. One should not go to minus"* (Interview with the owner of Knape's house no. 1, 2011).



Figures 185, 186. The drawings of the proposed renovation of the main and back façades of Knape’s house (The private archive of the owner).

The foresight of economic benefit from this renovation project of the old wooden building in such a bad condition stemmed from a special combination of capital possessed by the new owner. While representatives of the cultural elite did not consider the building aesthetically valuable, nor did the general population regard the worn-down building as “beautiful” at that time: “*The candy’ in Storgatan looks out completely soaked and sopped today. The house has stood uninhabited and abandoned for years, the painting is peeling off, the plastering, covering stone foundations, is falling apart, the profiles of mouldings around the windows and decorations on window frames have become blurred*” (Slotte, 2010). The new owner, however, saw the potential in “beautifying” Knape’s house due to his knowledge of craftsmanship and experience in the renovation of wooden buildings.

Being a lawyer himself, i.e. possessing a high degree of social, cultural and economic capital, the new owner of Knape’s house considered practising his embodied cultural

capital, i.e. “hands-on” woodworking as his hobby: “*My parents owned a timber company while my grandfather has been demolishing rotten wooden buildings in the town and building new wooden buildings instead. I had been observing him. I have always wanted to work with old buildings. One develops an interest when one understands how they are built and that it is not that easy – everything has some functionality. Everything was preferentially planned before doing anything. This is fascinating*” (Interview with the owner of Knape’s house no. 1, 2011). The new owner also confirmed publicly: “*I am going to do most of the craftsmanship myself. I enjoy old buildings and enjoy working with them*” (Slotte, 2010). Despite the differing rationale, the representative of the local field of heritage conservation also ensured that: “*even though he is a lawyer, the restoration of wooden buildings is his hobby and he is very anxious in saving old buildings and conserving them*” (Interview with the representative of the local museum, 2008). The lawyer has even earned public recognition due to his accomplished renovation projects: “*He can build, renovate and reconstruct. He has been translocating and reconstructing old buildings. The house in Villgatan, Karleby, is further evidence of his sense and knowledge in architecture [byggnadskonst]*” (Slotte, 2010). The amateur restorer’s competence in woodworking was built by actual hands-on renovation practice, but also acquired as embodied cultural capital from his childhood: “*I always got ten in handicrafts at school*” he admitted modestly, recognizing his talent in joinery and carpentry (ibid.).

Consequently, the worn-down Knape’s house did not appear to be in such a poor condition for the new owner: “*The building is in good shape and logs are mostly intact. Only parts of the lowest stocks must be changed. Now that the building has a new roof, there is no danger*” (ibid.). The lawyer, who was an experienced craftsman as well, first examined the structural solidity of the purchasable building to make sure that the physical qualities of the building elements were satisfactory or might be improved. The leaking roof was the initial part of the renovation project and had to secure the structure from further decay but did not necessarily have to protect the historical appearance of the building. In agreement with the representatives of the local field of heritage conservation, who were sharing the expenses only for this, a cheaper type of material was preferred for the roofing: “*The roof is covered with tin plates, which are not stylistically appropriate but were approved by environmental authorities who have been observing the renovation and even provided economic assistance by paying off half of the new roofing costs. The proper roofing material should be tiles, but the price for the tile roof turned out to be disproportionately high*” (ibid.).

Thus, during the first phase of renovation, the roofing type changed the external appearance of the building. However, original elements underneath the roof were left intact and, according to the new owner, their presence was the fundamental reason why the building survived many years of negligence: “*Most of the original birch bark was left intact – 10 layers of circa 5 cm thick birch bark. These layers essentially saved the house by guiding the water to run down the sides of the building. The house would not have existed without that birch bark. I have inserted birch bark on some spots underneath the roof cover, but not that thick. They used a lot of birch bark for this roof. The roof’s size is 160m² and ten layers would require 1600m² of birch bark, which means a lot of birches*” (Interview with the owner of Knape’s house no. 2, 2011).



Figure 187. The original structural part of the roof and the authentic insulating layers of birch bark were left intact under the newly-covered roof with tin-plates. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).

If the main part of the structure remained protected from water ingress by the internal layers of birch bark, one corner of the building on the second floor, however, suffered from damage caused by moisture. This was repaired rather creatively by the owner himself: “*Old logs from various places have been reused in order to fix the rotten corner*” (Interview with the owner of Knape’s house no. 2, 2011). This solution not only prevented the possible incompatibility of differing levels of shrinkage of new and old wooden parts, but also promoted the traditional rationale of reuse of building elements, which has been common in domestic carpentry, not only in Finland but also in Norway, as the above-presented case in Røros disclosed (see *Creation of the local subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros by the national field of heritage conservation*).

However, differently from the established subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros and the correlated legitimization of new reproductions of authentic copies, the absence of such a subfield in Kokkola determined an alternative logic of renovation practice. When asked if any special qualities of wood were chosen for repair work, the owner surprisingly replied: “*Old, fine wood from other demolished buildings was used for the walls, the front doors are also old, from a destroyed building. The four pieces of tiled stoves are from the upper old town. [...] I have been collecting everything. I have a lot of old wood, old roof tiles, stone slates and many other things at our summer cottage*” (Interview with the owner of Knape’s house no. 1, 2011). The owner was especially concerned with the reuse of old window frames, which were considered to possess even better physical qualities than modern ones: “*The old window frames are first-rate products. The material used today cannot equal the high quality that was used when Knape’s house was built*” (Slotte, 2010). Thus, the domestic carpenter was not that much concerned with “authenticity” of copies, but rather with the physical condition and economic value of the recycled old building

materials. The reuse of these old parts was not guided by their accurate correspondence to historical styles; rather, their old age and localness were considered to be sufficient criteria for the assembling. As informed by the owner, the amateur restorer: *“I am not sure how much money I have spent on the building. I try to recycle as much as possible and to reuse those things which would be thrown away by others. The remainders of concrete, left after the delivery, were brought from a concrete company, the front door is from Friis, the old ropemaking company, cast iron heating radiators come from cannonry at Beckbruket, the windows for the porch have been sitting at the rectory in Kelviå, one of the tiled stoves has been manufactured by a stove builder in the close neighbourhood. According to him, everything fits well in harmony as long as all the things are old and have local origins”* (Slotte, 2011).



Figure 188. The rotten corner was fixed with re-used logs from various demolished buildings. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).

The recycling of old building elements during the renovation of Knape's house was carried out fairly creatively. For example, the above-mentioned reused windows were intended for a completely new porch. The authentic veranda was replaced by a new porch with the approval of the local authorities of heritage conservation as it was considered to be non-original, but rather a later addition and, therefore, not protected as heritage. The new porch was designed according to the taste of the new owner, who, in turn, claimed that the appearance of the veranda was adapted to the shape of recycled windows from the old rectory: *"I got permission to take the porch away because it was not original, it was built later. It was not in a good condition either. [...] I did not make it look like the previous one, it was square-shaped and too high. I made a new one with stone foundations. [...] I had those windows from before and I had to make a porch for them because they looked very beautiful"* (Interview with the owner of Knape's house no. 1, 2011). The old curiosities were collected not only for the practical purpose of recycling, but their aesthetic qualities were also estimated by the amateur restorer, and they even influenced his design of the whole new annex to the historical structures of Knape's house. The appearance of the new porch, however, concealed its novelty, not only with the installed old recycled windows, but also with stone foundations and covering the porch with antiquated wooden cladding.



Figure 189. The old windows from the old rectory were re-used in the renovation of Knape's house. (Picture taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011)



Figures 190, 191. The creative adaptation of recycled windows in a newly-replaced porch on the back façade of the Knape's house. (Pictures taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2010, 2011).

The owner stated that the whole back façade and part of the gable wall were nailed up with new cladding. Even though the new cladding was made to look old, the boards were not accurately copied because, as informed by the owner, the old cladding was of different shapes and dimensions, and it would be too challenging to make these large alterations (Interview with the owner of Knape's house no. 2, 2011).

The wall of the back façade of Knape's house was not only newly clad, but it was also made thicker due to the added waterproof tar paper and windshield plates. The owner claimed that the main façade was treated with greater caution to sustain the historical streetscape in the urban conservation area of Neristan (Interview with the owner of Knape's house no. 1, 2011). The old cladding, windows and mouldings were left intact. However, even the main façade was handled with a considerable level of creativity as the building was painted turquoise blue, which did not have any historical justification: *"This blue colour was not used here before, no. It is not Gustavian blue. It is a modern colour. [...] The colour examination showed that the original colour of the house was light red, almost pink. But the municipal authorities and the representatives of the local field of heritage conservation did not want the building to be painted pink. I do not think that cultural heritage authorities have any opinion about the present colour, but the municipality might have as well as common people. But as I say, paint is living its life. There is not a single house in Neristan that has its original colour; you can change the colour of the house every week. If you demolish a house, it's gone forever, but paint can be changed"* (Interview with the owner of Knape's house no. 2, 2011).

Not only was the building a modern blue colour, but the type of paint used was also modern, and that choice was determined by the missing exceptional subfield of restricted cultural production: *"Another old house which I am living in is also an old log building and has the same blue colour. Ola's linseed oil paint was used at that time. I wanted to paint this house in Ola's linseed oil paint as well, but they had sold their machines by that time and could not mix that colour anymore, therefore, I have chosen Lappi oil paint"* (ibid.).

These quotes serve to highlight that the renovation project of Knape's house was guided by the amateurish taste for antiquated but not necessarily historically accurate solutions. As described above, building elements were not reused based on them belonging to a particular style in history, nor were the choices of the owner governed by typology of other coeval buildings in Neristan: *"I did not use any house in Neristan as an example to follow"* (ibid.). The owner of Knape's house was not that interested in stylistic restorations; he was rather more concerned with the physical compatibility of the old and newly added building materials. According to him, many old buildings in Neristan were restored or renovated in technically incorrect ways in Neristan, causing further physical deterioration of roofs insulated with polyisocyanurate (PIR) insulation boards, or log walls insulated with urethane foam. At the same time, the owner was self-reflective and acknowledged that his own renovation project could not be an entirely perfect example to follow: *"There are some buildings that could be used as a model – this house as well, for example, but not fully. I have installed gypsum panels and that should not be done in proper renovations of such old buildings. Nevertheless, they can be removed after all"* (ibid.). It was explained that gypsum panels were installed to provide the possibility for the famous Finnish designer Jukka Rintala to come from the capital and display his collection of wallpapers during the Housing Fair in 2011: *"I have done this so that Jukka Rintala may come with his collection of wallpapers. We intended to smooth out the walls and to hide electric wires underneath"* (Interview with the owner of Knape's house no. 1, 2011).

The exposition of Rintala's interior design revealed the very logic of renovation practice that was valid in the open market economy – no matter how idealized the renovation project might be, economic benefit is the crucial factor. Thus, the conversion of Knape's house into a background for an exhibition, created by a famous metropolitan designer, was intended as a means of accumulating elitist cultural and social capital in the local environment, which sequentially would become economic capital: *"It is all more like a social enterprise. And due to the fact that Jukka Rintala came into the picture, I have gained two stances – maybe we will sell it for the highest price possible"* (ibid.).

The local population, however, determined that the design installation was rather inappropriate in an otherwise well-appreciated renovation project at Knape's house: *"The house was restored in a proper way, old timber was reused, the quality of chosen paint is good, but now, when Jukka Rintala designed the interior, I do not like it at all"; "Knape's house is a little bit kitschy, that's what people are saying"; "The house looks nice from the outside, but I was disappointed with the interior because I had so many expectations"; "If you compare our house with Knape's house, you will see that they used a lot of modern materials. The outside of that house is good, but I expected to find the same style inside, and it was kind of a shame that they had to modernize the interior. They used tapestry on gypsum boards inside whereas we saved even the small doors and high doorsteps as they were made to keep rooms warm"; "The outside of the house is fine, but the interior is unfinished and it looks as if it were only a showroom for Jukka"; "A good and lovely job was made at Knape's house; however, I do not like how the interior was decorated, I think it does not match the old reused details of the house"; "The renovation project of Knape's house was fine because old and appropriate materials were used; however, Jukka's interior design and furniture do not fit the old house. On the other hand, it is good that it does not resemble an antique store"* (Answers to open questions, the social survey at Kokkola, 2011).



Figure 192. The renovated main façade of Knape's house on display during the Housing Fair in Kokkola in 2011 (Pictures taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2011).

As shown above, the modern interior design did not gain as many positive evaluations as the exterior of the renovated house. Only sporadic doubts were expressed which questioned the historicity of the choice of paint, for example: “*Knape’s house is well-restored, but the colour of paint ruined everything because it is not typical of the area*” (ibid.). However, most of the respondents of the social survey, as well as the local and international press, praised the taste of the owner: “*There is Knape’s house standing in Neristan. It is so beautiful that it is impossible to overlook it. It has almost bluish, greenish grey colour with white window mouldings. Both its style and stone foundations indicate that the building is old*” (Fagerholm, 2011, 44). “*Knape’s house – the glossy bluish greenish grey pearl in Neristan – is anyhow a delicious house and surely also good to live in*” (Slotte, 2011).

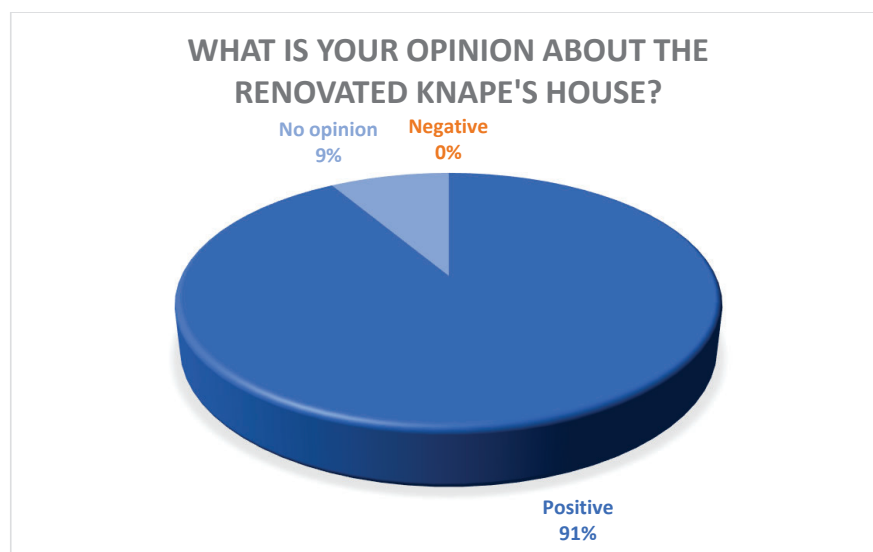


Figure 193. The social survey, conducted in Neristan in 2011, revealed the overall positive attitude towards the renovation project of Knape’s house.

The general positive evaluation of the renovation of Knape’s house by local inhabitants was very much grounded on their personal interest in raising the market value of their own property in Neristan: “*Knape’s house is a good and interesting example; it helps to market the old town of Kokkola*”; “*Protecting such buildings as Knape’s house helps to protect the old houses in Kokkola in general*” (Answers to open questions, the social survey at Kokkola, 2011). Both the professionals within the field of heritage conservation and the general public responders to the social survey associated the physical urban environment as “healthy” and even referred to the above-mentioned principle of dentistry, by emphasizing every singular building as an important integral part of the whole conservation area: “*One should do some regular reparations just like a dentist; we should be restoring constantly in order to maintain general health*” (ibid.).

The study shows that a high market value of well-maintained old buildings was the main factor in renovation, as a financial system or advisory practice was not created by the local

heritage conservation authorities. As indicated by the owner of Knape's house: *"I have not received any help from the municipality during the process of renovation. They were only interested in displaying the building during the Housing Fair; therefore, only girls from the municipality came and decorated the house with flowers. Nothing else"* (Interview with the owner of Knape's house no. 1, 2011). A significant number of respondents also said that, instead of representatives of the field of heritage conservation, they would have rather contacted and consulted local architects, the former initiators of urban conservation of Neristan, i.e. Nils-Erik Stenman and Krister Korpela: *"The work of cultural heritage institutions should be better; one should get more information on where an owner could restore wooden details and how the restoration works should be done. An owner who does not get any advice and does not have enough money has to do everything by himself even if one does not know how to"; "The institutions of heritage conservation are working fine, but they should know more about how the work should be done"; "Cultural heritage institutions could be better at providing information for owners"; "The work of institutions of cultural heritage protection is bad and I would rather consult Korpela or Stenman if I wanted to repair my house"; "We painted the frames with linseed oil in the same colour as before. We also called Korpela, a person who knows about old houses and how it should be painted"; "When we made a new balcony, we consulted Stenman about it"* (Answers to open questions, the social survey at Kokkola, 2011).

However, despite the absence of the established subfield of restricted cultural production of traditional workmanship and rather insignificant control by the authorities of heritage conservation in Neristan (see *The distribution of preferences for traditional workmanship in three different socio-economic contexts of urban conservation*), the ordinary inhabitants were familiar with the fact that the maintenance of old buildings requires exceptional cultural and economic capital, but simultaneously, they were also well aware of the economic benefits stylistic restorations might bring: *"A lot of people are repairing their houses themselves and do not use the services of traditional craftsmen, but then it is important to keep the same style"; "One should have a lot of knowledge and good finance to restore houses which survived for such a long period of time. It is also important to consider what suits the style of the building. The value of a house goes up if the style of a house is maintained"* (Answers to open questions, the social survey at Kokkola, 2011).

Thus, analysis of the socio-economic environment of Neristan revealed that a historical building became a valuable commodity in the open market in Kokkola. Moreover, it was commonly acknowledged that the price of a historical building depended on how the building was maintained. Consequently, the interest of the owner of Knape's house to gain the highest economic profit from his historical building led to an accurate renovation of his property. As disclosed above, even if the historically grounded solutions were not always applied during such amateurish renovations, the owner of Knape's house and the majority of the respondents to the social survey were conscious of the principles of stylistic restoration regardless of whether they were implemented in practice or not: *"We tried to save as much of the old parts as possible, but we cleaned the house stylistically and took away some details from the later periods. My sister is an interior designer and she planned a kitchen for us. We kept the original windows and used the same type of paint as before – soil paint. The work was done by local guys"; "We changed one big ugly window from the*

1960s to one which looks like other windows in the house. It was made according to our measurements by hand. We painted the frames with linseed oil, the same colour as before”; “One should use breathable materials instead of plastic in restoring old wooden houses. We wanted to live in this old area and we know that we will have to renovate a lot by ourselves. It is fine because we knew it when we bought the house. It was our choice. While renovating a house, one should always put the same type of panel and use the same colours for paint”; “The neighbouring house is a bad example – unnatural materials and plastic is used inside. It has been for sale for two years now. It’s quite expansive and done in a way that looks too modern”; “We are trying to make everything look old, we will reuse old doors inside. I do not like modern windows in old houses. If we live in Neristan, everything should not be just energy-efficient. My wife’s father has good hands, we both have been working with a spirit level. This restoration project has become my hobby”; “We restored the house in 1984, it was then repainted inside and outside. The whole new floor was laid using materials like the original ones and we were trying to copy as much of the original as we could”; “We painted our house five years ago with linseed oil paint because it was painted with latex paint 25 years ago and began to go rotten”; “My house was painted with linseed oil paint in the former colour, the new floor was laid, but old boards were reused”; “My house needed repainting because it was painted in latex, but it did not fit the wood; linseed oil should have been used instead” (ibid).

The presented in-depth analysis of the renovation project of Knapé’s house supported the more general findings obtained from semi-structured interviews and the social survey, conducted in Neristan. Despite the missing subfield of traditional workmanship and rather insignificant operation of the local field of heritage conservation, the urban conservation of Neristan has been functioning according to the principles of the open market economy. Well-maintained but usually amateurishly antiquated wooden buildings have become a desirable commodity after the gentrification process of Neristan when the inhabitants with a combination of high cultural and economic capital supplanted the former citizens: “*Neristan was the area where only drunk people lived, many houses were empty and owned by the town. Everything changed 12 years ago*”; “*I and my wife bought our house from my parents 30 years ago. Even 10 to 15 years ago this was considered to be a bad house, everyone wanted to have a modern building*”. Nowadays, living in Neristan is no longer an inevitability but a conscious choice, i.e. a choice of taste that signifies the high level of cultural and economic capital of its owner (see *The distribution of preferences for traditional workmanship in three different socio-economic contexts of urban conservation*).

6 Urban conservation by professional historicism in Trakai

6.1 *The autonomous formation of the urban patchwork of diverse building traditions*

Differently from Røros and Kokkola, the first written historical sources revealing information about the historical townscape of Trakai are dated much earlier than the scientific observations of travellers from the Enlightenment period. Trakai was depicted by foreign visitors in medieval times for rather different reasons. Trakai was an important military town of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and was first mentioned in the historical descriptions of Teutonic Order invasions in 1377 (Ivinskis, 1941, 139–141). Two medieval castles in Trakai were part of the defensive system against the Teutonic Knights, who crusaded “the last pagan” territories of Europe from their strongholds in Prussia and Livonia, despite the fact that Lithuania was christened in 1387, after the Grand Duke of Lithuania Jogaila became a Christian, married Queen Jadwiga of Poland and thus became King of Poland in the personal union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Moreover, his locative in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, cousin Vytautas the Great, funded the construction of a fortified Catholic church in Trakai in 1409 (Bučas, 2015, 50–51). The critical situation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was resolved after the Battle of Grunwald in 1410.

One of the detailed historical descriptions of the physical and social structure of the town of Trakai from that time was provided by the Burgundian knight Ghillebert de Lannoy in the year 1414: “While returning from Vilnius to Prussia through the kingdom of Lithuania the road first led to a big town of Trakai, which is baldly built with houses, entirely from timber, and not enclosed by any town wall. There are two castles, one of which is old-fashioned, with timber and earth fortifications on the side of a lake. Another castle is situated at the distance of a cannon gunshot. It is brand new, built from bricks in French style” (Potvin, 1878, 40). The described masonry Gothic castle was situated on an island in Lake Galvė and started to serve as a residency of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania after the military importance of the town declined. Sigismund II Augustus wanted to transform it into his summer residence and started reconstruction of the castle in the Renaissance style – archaeologists found stove tiles, which are similar to those found in the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania in Vilnius (Račkevičius, 2013, 13). Despite the military and political decline, Trakai remained the centre of the Voivodeship (the largest administrative division in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) and trading site mostly due to the multicultural urban environment, which customarily was created by the Grand Dukes of Lithuania.



Figure 194. Trakai depicted as a military stronghold at a close distance to Vilnius (Magni ducatus Lithuaniae... Radvila, Mikalojus Kristupas Našlaitėlis; Thomas Macovius (cartographer), Amsterdam, 1613. Archives of The Department of Cultural Heritage under the Ministry of Culture. F. 11, I. 5, f. 162, p. 21)



Figures 195, 196. The upper engraving of Vilnius depicts the Gothic and Renaissance urban landscape, surrounded by the town wall. Meanwhile, the townscape of Trakai at that time was dominated by a couple of masonry castles and a masonry parish church in the urban context of largely wooden constructions (Engravings by Tomas Makovskis, ca. 1600).

Already in 1323, the Grand Duke of Lithuania Gediminas informed the Pope about the devastating exploits of the Teutonic Knights, who acted not in the interests of the Catholic faith. Gediminas claimed that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was tolerant to all Christians, as well as practitioners of other religions, and invited foreign craftsmen and merchants of good will from the Holy Roman Empire to his newly established capital town of Vilnius. His grandson Vytautas the Great similarly created a diverse cultural environment in Trakai, but this time by bringing with him Tartar and Karaite families from the Crimean Peninsula for their excellent military, international commercial and translation services (Rodwell, 2003, 42). Neither Vytautas the Great nor his descendants forced them to decline their faith or ethnic traditions. The very same Burgundian knight recorded, “*A great number of Tartars are living in the town of Trakai and in its countryside. [...] The town is also populated by Germans, Lithuanians, Russians and a large number of Jews, who have their special language. This town belongs to the Grand Duke Vytautas*” (ibid., 41).

The described group of Jews in Trakai included not only representatives of the mainstream Rabbinic Judaism (Siaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė, 1999, 35), but also the Turkish-speaking followers of Karaite Judaism. Of all the non-Christian communities in Trakai, only the Karaites were granted exceptional living conditions. The Magdeburg rights were granted to all the Western Christians living in the town in 1409 (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 39), while the Karaites of Trakai acquired their own unique self-governance by receiving the Magdeburg law from the Grand Duke Casimir Jagiellon in 1441 (Siaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė, 2010, 72). Thus, the Christian Magdeburg law, which was the foundation of medieval urban development in Europe, was awarded to the Karaites for them to autonomously manage their social and legal self-governance within the town.

The Karaites of Trakai possessed a separate northern part of the town, the so-called Minor Town. They had received their own civic seal and a governor, designated and accountable directly to the Grand Duke. The local governor supervised his chancellery and civic treasury. The community of Karaites had their house of prayer (Kenesa) and a school, built by the end of the 14th century (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 47). Other non-Christian groups, such as Tartars and Jews, inhabited the central part of the present peninsula, which once used to be the biggest island in Trakai. A Tartar mosque stood in the western part until the beginning of the 17th century (Bučas, 2015, 136). The historical documents also recorded the existence of a Jewish synagogue in 1533 (Siaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė, 1999, 31). The first Christian jurisdiction in Trakai was established as early as in 1384, when the Russian community was located around the fortified Orthodox church and monastery in the southernmost part of the town (Lisauskaitė, 2003, 66). Lastly, as mentioned above, the representatives of Western Christianity resided in the largest part of the town (the Major Town), next to the parish church, which was built between 1409 and 1419 (Mickūnaitė, 2012, 94). Thus, in the 15th and 16th centuries, Trakai reflected the multicultural history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where various ethnic communities were freely practising their religions and traditions while participating in the common urban social and economic life (Bumblauskas, 2005).

The above-mentioned sanctuaries of different religions served not only as community centres; the earliest ones were strategically situated along the historical road, coming from

Vilnius, and even possessed elements of military architecture. As informed above, the town was not surrounded by a town wall but was rather protected by natural conditions: the lakes, which froze in winter time. The town of Trakai was formed as a medieval linear town, adjusted to the local natural topography and directed by different summer and winter roads from the capital.

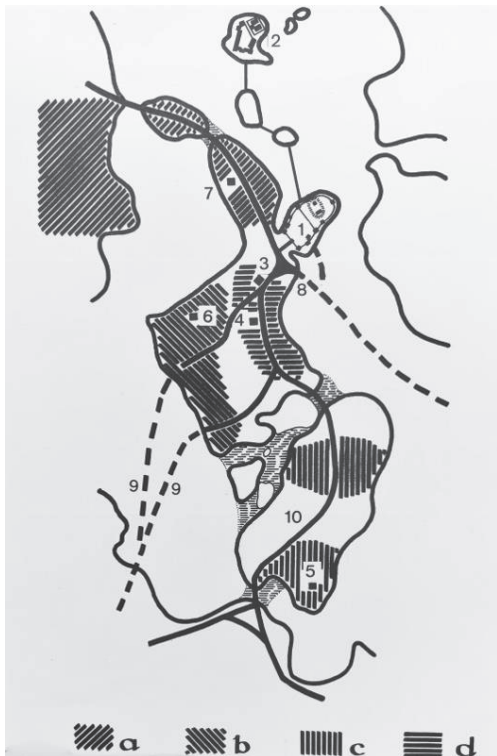


Figure 197. The linear town (15th century) developed by following the historical summer and winter roads (Nos. 8 and 9). The town constituted four largest ethnic and religious communities in Trakai (a – Karaites; b – Tartar; c – Orthodox; d – Catholic). The main sanctuaries were constructed along these axes for strategic reasons:

1. The oldest Peninsula Castle;
2. The Island Castle;
3. The historical Townhall and the nearby Market Square;
4. The fortified Catholic Parish Church;
5. The Orthodox Church of St. George and Monastery;
6. The Tartar Mosque;
7. The Karaites Kenesa.

(The retrospective drawing of Trakai. Archives of The Department of Cultural Heritage under the Ministry of Culture. F. 11, I. 5, f. 162, p. 19).

The townscape of Trakai was dominated by a few defensive and robust masonry buildings: the Gothic Western Christian parish church and two masonry castles. The architectural studies disclosed that this church and Trakai Island Castle were constructed from the same type of Gothic bricks (Jankevičienė, 2002, 151). Moreover, the uncovered frescos in the parish church also resembled the historical frescos of the castle as in both cases they were painted in the Byzantine style on a plaster of the same physical qualities around the 1420s (Mickūnaitė, 2012, 97). Recent archaeological excavations also revealed historical lime kilns and brickyards, dated back to the 15th century and found in the western part of the Minor Town, in close proximity to the Island Castle (Muralis, 2012, 571; Budvydas, 2006, 425–426). Not only were Gothic bricks with ingredients of chamotte, dated to the 15th to 17th centuries, found, but also various types of roof tiles: flat, curved and Dutch type (Lisauskaitė, 2013, 430).

The historical records and archaeological findings also disclosed that more masonry buildings were constructed in Trakai, but no physical traces of them were left on the surface of the town due to the immense destructions during the Northern Wars between Sweden and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1655–1660, and also with Russia in 1656–1658. The distinctive two-storey masonry town hall of Trakai, which was built in 1587 in the Gothic or Renaissance style, with a high tower, had been burnt during the wars in the middle of the 17th century, together with all the documents of the town's magistrate (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 92; Veževičienė, 2006, 360). A wooden Bernardine Monastery with a masonry Catholic Church of St Nicholas, built in the Renaissance style, also suffered the same fate (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 91). So did the Orthodox Church of the Nativity of Mary, dated back to the end of the 14th century.



Figure 198. The devastated urban landscape of Trakai (below the townscape of Vilnius), facing northwards, in the middle of the 17th century. (The Engraving by K. Schnops, 1666).

The exceptional sacral and civil masonry constructions were damaged during the wars in the middle of the 17th century, and the historical analysis recorded that some masonry dwelling houses in the town of Trakai were also damaged before the Northern Wars broke out. At least one masonry dwelling house, dated to the 15th to 16th centuries, was standing in the Minor Town, which belonged to the Karaites. A masonry manor house was also mentioned as being located in Trakai in 1540. However, most of the dwelling houses and even urban manors were constructed from timber at that time, which could have been purposefully determined by decree of the Sejm (i.e. the Parliament) of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1613, which wanted to prevent burgers constructing masonry buildings (with the exception of a magistrate) in order not to exceed the distinctive

splendour of the masonry estates of the nobility (Baliulis, 1972, 45). Consequently, even the voivode (the governor of a voivodeship) of Trakai Radvila Astikas had his residency built in wood around 1514, northwest of the Peninsula Castle (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 94). The archaeological findings have shown that this wooden residence had such elements of the Renaissance style as vase-formed stove tiles and flat roof tiles (Lisauskaitė, 2010, 392).

Thus, most of the rest of the burghers' dwellings were wooden and belonged to various religions and ethnic groups, and this diversity in turn was reflected in the appearance of the vernacular wooden architecture of the town (Lisauskaitė, 2003, 72). The scarce historical sources revealed that the central part of the Major Town was more densely populated, and therefore the plots of land were smaller. For example, the parcel belonging to a representative of the higher social stratum, the castle's scribe, encompassed a residential house with three rooms (kitchen, reception room and antechamber), and a barn with a porch, built on brick foundations. The common feature of all urban lots was that they were all enclosed by high fences with entrance gates, which served defensive purposes during the turbulent times in history (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 94). The archaeological findings also disclosed that the 16th- and 17th-century wooden residential buildings in Trakai were equipped with green-glazed, ornamented tile stoves (Lisauskaitė, 2012, 437; Aleliūnas, 1996, 363) and some were covered with Dutch type roof tiles (Lisauskaitė, 2011a, 438). During archaeological excavations, ceramic workshops were discovered in Kęstutis Street, to the southeast of the Peninsula Castle, where pieces of unused green-glazed tiles with floral decorations were found (Kvizikevičius and Vaitkevičius, 1997, 393). More ceramic workshops were located southwest of the Minor Town; they had been functioning from the 16th to 18th centuries (Piličiauskienė and Piličiauskas, 2008, 465; Juškaitis, 2007, 471).

Efforts were made right after the Northern Wars to rebuild the town. The reconstructed buildings varied greatly in their size and building techniques. Prosperous burghers' residential houses were recorded to have been standing in the Minor Town at that time. Historical sources depicted an exceptional urban plot in the urban territory of the Karaites as consisting of a coupled building, which faced the street endways, with a masonry reception room and a separate storeroom on that side, and a wooden reception room and a separate storeroom on the other side. Another building with a storeroom, a kitchen and an antechamber was located on the same lot, as well as a separate carriage storage, stables, a brewery, a cattle-shed, a bathhouse and a barn. A garden and a kitchen garden were recorded as being located on the very same lot in the Minor Town (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 122).

However, the rest of the town was rebuilt in a rather more modest character as the military and political significance of Trakai declined (ibid., 123). The buildings were rebuilt along the same axes, and therefore the medieval urban structure, determined by the local natural conditions, remained mostly unchanged. The human activity in the town had only caused the merging of two southern islands into a bigger one, but the historical central part of the town remained the same.

Most of the buildings, even the sacral and administrative ones, were rebuilt in wood afterwards, in the middle of the 17th century, but had the cellars constructed from field stones and bricks (Lisauskaitė, 1999, 451). The former wooden Karaite Kenesa and the wooden school were rebuilt again in timber in 1665. A new wooden Benedictine monastery was constructed next to the Peninsula Castle, while Dominicans settled in the territory of the devastated castle by invitation of Voivode Marcjān Aleksander Ogiński. The voivode, in turn, started to rebuild his new wooden manor, with masonry portico, in its former location, standing in close proximity to the Peninsula Castle (Lisauskaitė, 2010, 392).



Figure 199. The green-glazed flat tile found during archaeological excavations at the location of the former residency of Marcjān Ogiński. The tile depicts his coat of arms and capital letters MOWT: “Marcjan Oginski, Wojewoda Trocki “(The description provided by Budvydas, Ugnius; Abramenko, Deividas. Trakai History Museum, TIM GEK 804.)

The central part of the Major Town recovered after the wars in the middle of the 17th century much faster than the southern part of the town (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 121). The southern part of the town recovered only after another Great Northern War, which ravaged Trakai again in 1700 to 1721. From 1739 to 1750, a new baroque masonry Bernardine’s Church was built, while the monastery was constructed from 1774. At the same time, in 1779, Dominicans started to build their Classicist masonry church in the territory of the Peninsula Castle, according to the project drawings of architects Augustinas Kosakauskas and Martynas Knakfusas. The construction was not finished, but the Peninsula Castle was transformed into a court hall and a prison. The southernmost tower of the castle was reconstructed into a depository of the court’s archive and a treasury (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 127). The wooden town hall, which was rebuilt in the middle of the 17th century and then burnt down again at the beginning of the 18th century, had not been reconstructed again.

The 1790 inventory of Trakai displayed a great variety of 114 residential buildings, built in the town at that time. They were categorized according to their physical condition and the social status of their owners. The register mentioned two palaces in Trakai, 38 smaller manors (*dvareliai*), belonging to lower nobility and authorities, 44 burghers’ houses and 30 cottages. Palaces and smaller manors of lower nobility were situated only in the Major

Town, whereas 11 burghers' dwellings and 16 cottages were located in the Minor Town (Baliulis, 1972, 54–55). Only one masonry residential building was mentioned in 1754; all other residential buildings at that time were one-storey, wooden constructions, mainly covered with wooden roofs (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 130). The situation remained largely the same throughout the second half of the 18th century as only two masonry buildings in the town were recorded at the beginning of the 19th century, which belonged to the Karaite family Kobeckiai.

A typical small wooden manor was described as a coupled residential house with a reception room on one side, a kitchen on the other side of the house, and an antechamber with a storage room in the middle. A burgher's dwelling possessed similar features, but differed from small manors as it had fewer outbuildings in an urban plot. It was common to burghers' dwellings and small manors that new residential buildings were constructed while the old ones were still standing on the same plot. A detailed description of one such small manor, with new and old residential buildings, is dated to 1764: *“There are old entrance gates into the yard, covered with wooden shingles. A new manor house on the right side has four large windows, three doors. It is covered with wooden shingles and is equipped with green-glazed tile stove. Outbuildings are situated at the back of the courtyard – the old stables, a shed and a hay barn. On the left side of the yard, there is an old cottage with four small windows, grey tile stove and a separate bread baking oven. The cottage contains a living room with one window, an antechamber with a cellar, the beams of which were rotten”* (Baliulis, 1972, 102–103). The above-described small manor belonged to a nobleman, who used it as a temporary residence while attending the Sejm gatherings and court meetings in Trakai. The above shows that the 18th-century urban townscape was influenced by the social and economic capital possessed by the owners of residential buildings, i.e. small manors owned by noblemen constituted a considerable part of the urban composition, especially in the Major Town of Trakai.

Despite the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth-adopted Constitution of 3rd May 1791, which was the first of its kind in Europe and which extended political rights by including not only nobility (Bumblauskas, 2010, 181–183) but the bourgeoisie as well, the actual implementation was delayed because the Commonwealth was invaded and shared between the neighbouring Russian Empire, Prussia and Austrian Empire in 1795. The followers of the Constitution started a political uprising in 1794, before the last division of the Commonwealth, but the Tsarist army suppressed the rebels by taking Vilnius and burning down Trakai. The administrative structure of the Great Duchy of Lithuania was changed and readapted to the Russian Empire, but Trakai remained the centre of Trakai county. Already in the same year, an urban regulation project for Trakai was started to be designed by the Tsarist administration, which the local inhabitants refused to implement. The regulation plan was finished in 1801, but the realization was interrupted by the Napoleonic Wars (Lisauskaitė, 2011, 440). Napoleon Bonaparte attacked the Russian Empire in 1812, and the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was impoverished by the transiting army, with the death of one third of the burghers of Trakai (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 139).



Figure 200. The existing urban structure of Trakai in 1819. (Vilnius Regional State Archives, F. 1019, I. 11, f. 4043)

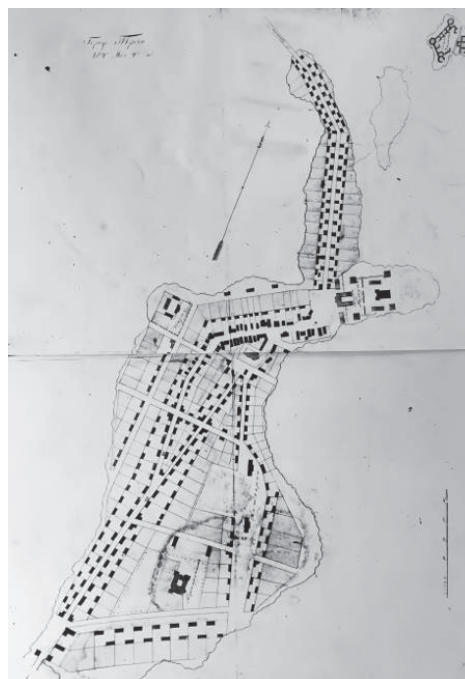


Figure 201. The fragment of the urban regulation plan of 1821. (Vilnius Regional State Archives, F. 9, I. -, f. 111)

The Tsarist urban regulation plan of 1801 reflected the political ideals of the Empire style, but it was criticized for being too square and inaccurate to the curved urban structure of Trakai, which had been historically developing rather independently, by adapting to the natural conditions and topography of that specific location (Tochtermann, 1935, 6). Thus, in 1821–1822, urban plans of the existing situation and a new regulation plan for Trakai were prepared by the county's land surveyor Ignotas Vrublevskis. The new plans aimed to transform Trakai into a typically Russian town of the beginning of the 19th century, but it failed again in adapting to the exclusive natural conditions. It was not just the landscape of Trakai that restricted implementation of the plan; the burghers also chose not to construct their houses according to the indicated architectural and urban standards. It was demanded that the plots of land should be divided equally, and the dwellings were supposed to face the street by the gable walls in the Minor Town and by the main façades in the Major Town. A catalogue of exemplary façades was published in 1809, which was in force in the whole of the Russian Empire. However, the representatives of the Tsarist administration complained that the local inhabitants were reconstructing and repairing their buildings without permission, according to their own individual needs. For example, they had often installed doors instead of one window on the main façade to reach customers more conveniently, and in that way the general appearance of the integral façades was changed. The Tsarist urban and architectural directive required that façades contain an uneven number of windows. Only a few colours were allowed for painting wooden buildings (Baliulis, 1972, 107). Despite the strict urban regulations, the locals kept on repairing their old wooden buildings, which were described by the regulative plan as already rotten and therefore ordered to be demolished. The burghers did not comply with the regulative

project even when they constructed new buildings along the main streets. Karaites were noted as especially disobedient because they kept on constructing their homes in a “*strange architectural style of the East*” (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 157–160). However, the best-known distinction of Karaite vernacular buildings, the three windows of the gable wall façade facing the street, was a sign of loyalty to the Grand Duke Vytautas. According to the Karaite oral tradition, Karaites did this so as to respond to the three windows on the gable of the Grand Duke’s Palace at Trakai Island Castle (Kizilov, 2015, 39; Nemeikaitė, 1999, 3).



Figure 202. The regulative urban plan of 1846 (Vilnius Regional State Archives, F. 9, I. -, f. 111)

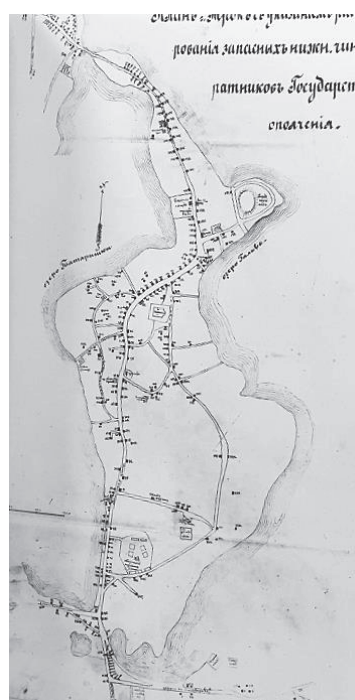


Figure 203. The actual urban structure of Trakai in 1912, which reminded more of the town as it was documented in 1821–1822. (Vilnius Regional State Archives, F. 1019, I. 11, f. 4043)

In 1846, another unsuccessful attempt by the Tsarist authorities was made to draw one more rigorous urban regulation plan for Trakai, which also failed to be implemented due to a differing logic of local practice of building construction and restrictive physical and natural conditions. This time, the urban regulation plan even aimed at transforming the main historical axes of the linear town in order to form stylistically appropriate straight quadrangles. The utopian character of Tsarist urban planning in Trakai was unsuccessful and it was finally proved by the actual urban plan, which was drawn in 1912 by the engineer K. Girdvainis.

The turbulent history of the 19th century left its traces on the main religious and administrative buildings in Trakai. In 1812, the Bernardine's Monastery suffered from the army of Napoleon I, and so did the Karaite Kenesa. The Catholic Church of St Nicholas was transformed into a prison and later demolished by the end of the 19th century. The Dominicans' Monastery and their church under construction suffered the same fate. The townscape of Trakai now was dominated by a new masonry Orthodox church, which was built in 1862–1863 on higher elevation terrain in the centre of the town and competed with the Catholic Parish Church (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 157–183).



Figure 204. The soldiers of the Napoleon army at the wooden, devastated dwellings in the central part of the Major Town of Trakai (The painting by Albrecht Adam, 1812).



Figure 205. The townscape of Trakai dominated by the fallen into ruins Island Castle and the religious buildings of three remaining confessions (The lithography by J. Oziębowski, 19th century).

The above-mentioned actual urban plans disclosed that the central part of the Major Town and the northern part of the Minor Town were more densely populated throughout the whole of the 19th century. The residential buildings in the Major Town (small manors and burghers' dwellings) were mainly one-storey wooden buildings, covered by half-hip roofs with wooden shag shingle roofing, as the above-presented drawing of the year 1812 depicted. A couple of wooden buildings of that type from the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century have survived until today. They are located next to the Catholic Parish Church and face the street that used to be the oldest road in the town, leading to the capital. The two wooden buildings, which are a few of the oldest wooden constructions in Trakai, belonged to the Catholic jurisdiction and housed a rectory and a parish school (Lisauskaitė, 2006, 353–356). The rectory, however, differed from the surrounding wooden constructions, because it was recorded as originally being a two-storey building, directly connected to the churchyard with a closed corridor, passing above the street. The passage led to the second floor of the rectory, where four rooms were situated. The building was recorded to have three rooms on the northern side, a big hall in the southern part, and a kitchen with a storage room and antechamber in the middle of the first floor. The rooms were equipped with tile stoves. The two-storey rectory was built in 1808 but was transformed from a two-storey building to a one-storey building with an attic in 1879. Notwithstanding, the corridor endured until the beginning of the 20th century (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 186; Kančienė, 1998, 75).



Figure 206. The restoration of the 19th century Rectory next to the Catholic Parish Church and the reconstruction of the closed corridor over the street (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2019).



Figure 207. Figure 207. The building from the 1810's – 1820's was used as a parish school, which was patronized by Vilnius University in 1803-1830. The present asbestos slate roofing hides the original roofing of wooden shingles beneath. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2019).

Another still-preserved 19th-century wooden building in Trakai was originally built by Dominicans in 1810 and thus had the architectural forms typical of the local wooden architecture of the Major Town. When the Monastery was abolished in 1864, the building was assigned to local police authorities. The building was transformed in 1895 into the Imperial Post Office, in accordance with the redesign by the architect A. Polozov, who added a closed, richly decorated wooden porch. In the 1930s, the façade gained an outstanding portico with Tuscan columns, instead of the wooden porch introduced during the Tsarist period. Today the building houses the administration of the Trakai Historical National Park (Lukšionytė, 1998, 76).



Figure 208. The former Imperial Post Office sustained some of its original architectural forms, typical of the beginning of the 19th century (i.e. half-hip roof), despite the continuous functional and architectural transformations throughout the turbulent history of the town (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2017).

The still-surviving remnants of the wooden architecture of the 19th century in the Minor Town are the most important buildings for the local Karaite community: the Kenesa and the school. The present wooden Kenesa was built around 1825, and it was the last surviving version of the constantly reconstructed house of prayer which was often burnt down during wars. It was last destroyed during the Napoleonic Wars in 1812. In 1824, the local community applied for a grant from the Tsarist administration to construct a masonry building, but not enough funds were raised at that time to fulfil the wishes of the local community. In 1825, a wooden Kenesa was built, but in 1894, the interior and exterior of the wooden building was plastered and thus the wooden logs were concealed. Moreover, the building was painted in 1903–1904, and the roofing of wooden shingles was replaced by tin plates (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 182; Dubinskaitė and Šmigelskas, 2015, 234).

The wooden Karaite school building also dates back to the beginning of the 19th century when the middle part of the construction was built above the remaining vaulted cellars. In 1894, the school was extended towards the main street and, at the beginning of the 20th century, towards the backyard (Puodžiukienė, 1998, 77). The three most visible façades of the school building were plastered and painted white for the same reason as Kenesa – to evoke the illusion of a masonry building.



Figure 209. The plastered log house of prayer was decorated with a tower in 1894 (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2010).



Figure 210. The nearby standing wooden Karaites' School building was built in 1894. The long building is adjusted to the natural terrain and the geometry of the plot of land (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2010).

Despite the individual monumental military and religious masonry constructions, the rest of the residential buildings in the Minor and Major Towns of Trakai in the 19th century were almost entirely built from wood, which was considered an inevitability rather than

the preferred choice. The physical state of the wooden buildings was rather humorously described as being miserable by an ordinary journalist who visited Trakai in 1845: “*The inhabitants did not renovate their homes to stay in full harmony with the ruins of the Trakai Island Castle*” (Kilka, 1845, 17–18).



Figure 211. The painting of Trakai from the second half of the 19th century, with romantic ruins of the Island Castle in the midpoint (Napoleon Orda. Lithuanian Art Museum, LDM G 15039/107).

Another coeval poet also described the discovered dissonance between the noble remnants of the monuments of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and a rather dull wooden commonness covering the historical town in 1857–1860: “*Trakai, the historical capital of the Great Duchy, today is only a miserable, small town. It is even hard to imagine that it is the actual county centre. There are 6752 inhabitants, one street, one market square, one Orthodox Greek Church, two Catholic Churches, Karaites’ Kenesa and 108 dwellings, two of which are masonry. All those dwellings are old and in a bad shape. Even the families of court officials live in those small, almost collapsing pine tree houses. The poor Karaites live in wooden old buildings of such a bad condition that it is even dangerous as the buildings might fall apart*” (Sirokomlė, 1989, 39).

At the dawn of Romantic Nationalism, the ruins of Trakai Island Castle became a place of attraction and adoration, while the surrounding wooden ruins did not cause the same nostalgic emotions and were often even left “unnoticed” by the coeval artists who admired the grandeur of the past. The first efforts to conserve and restore the Island Castle, which were undertaken in agreement with the Imperial archaeological commission but conducted on exclusively private funds, were interrupted by World War I (Mikulionis, 1980, 50–51).

Even though Lithuania restored its independence in 1918, the eastern territories of the country, including Vilnius and Trakai, were occupied by Poland, meaning the town

remained under the rule of another neighbour throughout the interwar period. During the first half of the 20th century, Trakai was struggling to recover after the devastation in 1915 by the German invasions. As the town became part of the Republic of Poland, it also lost its importance as the centre of the county and became an ordinary provincial town. Trakai somehow recovered only in the 1930s, in particular due to the cultural revival of the Karaite community. A Society of History and Literature of Karaites was established, and in addition, the Karaite community also financed the construction of the masonry Karaite Museum in Trakai (ibid., 209). The old ordinary wooden dwellings of Karaites also gained some attention at that time, but they were still described as being rather “*monotonic*” and “*primitive*” (Tochtermann, 1935, 8).

A total of 262 buildings were recorded as being located in the town in 1935, 251 of which were wooden (three of the wooden buildings were two-storey structures). The roofs were classified according to the materials used: 234 flammable roofs were found, 192 of which were covered with wooden boards/shingles (*gonty, gontai* – sawn pieces of wood) and 35 covered with shingles (*dranica, dronyčios* – made from hand-split softwood). The rest of the flammable roofs were registered as “*other type*”, and maybe those cases used sliced pieces of aspen, which is a more recent type of shake or shag shingles (*skiedros*). Of the 28 fireproof roofs recorded, 25 were covered with tin plates and three with roof tiles, the former type being indicated as a novelty in building construction. It was calculated that 64% of buildings in Trakai faced the street with a gable wall, 33% with a main façade, and 3% of the buildings were “irregular”. Furthermore, the researcher Jan Jerzy Tochtermann, who conducted the then-called anthropogeographic study of the town, maintained that: “*Dwellings could be classified as small buildings, constituted from a few rooms. Only the masonry buildings were larger. Some of the wooden buildings were clad fully or partly (usually the street facing façades). Many of buildings were decorated with ‘fine’ attachments in the Russian style, which were demonstrated on the window frames, entrance gates or porches. No masonry firewalls were found, which would separate wooden buildings. [...] Most of the buildings in the central part of the town were facing the street with a façade, as it was also typical of smaller villages, so that could be considered as a further development of rural constructions or the survival of rural traditions. On the other hand, it may have been a strategic way to obtain the largest commercial space along the street as these houses which faced the street with a gable wall occupied a smaller space in the street. This latter type of buildings though enabled the residential part to be hidden in the backyard*” (ibid., 8–10).



Figure 212. The “monotonic” and “primitive” dwelling, as they were drawn by Jan Jerzy Tochtermann in 1935 (Podlaska Biblioteka Cyfrowa, Kolekcja dziedzictwa dawnej Rzeczypospolitej).

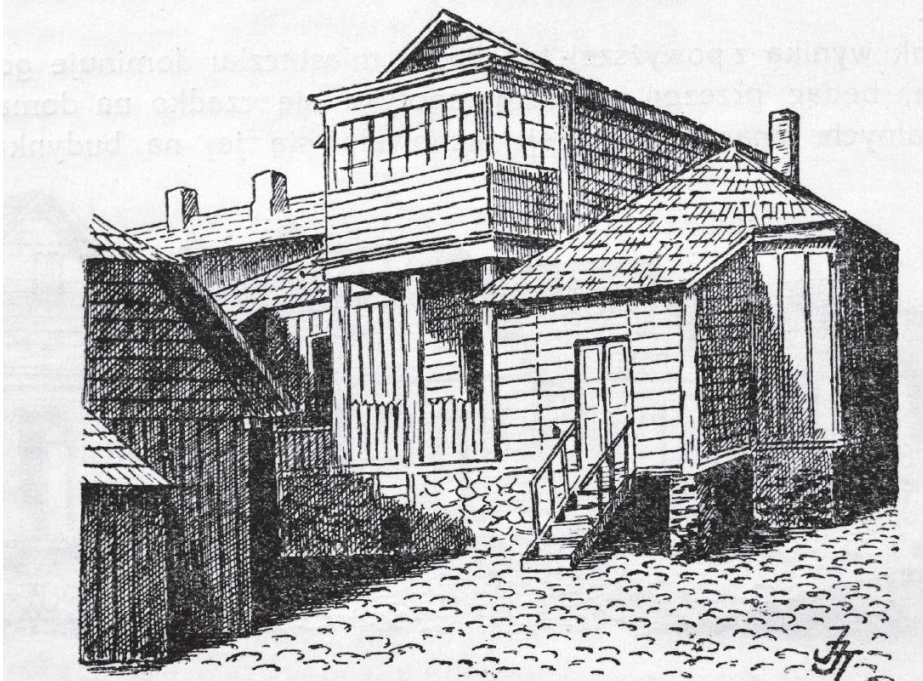


Figure 213. An inner courtyard depicted as a more interesting type of wooden architecture by Jan Jerzy Tochtermann in 1935 (Podlaska Biblioteka Cyfrowa, Kolekcja dziedzictwa dawnej Rzeczypospolitej).

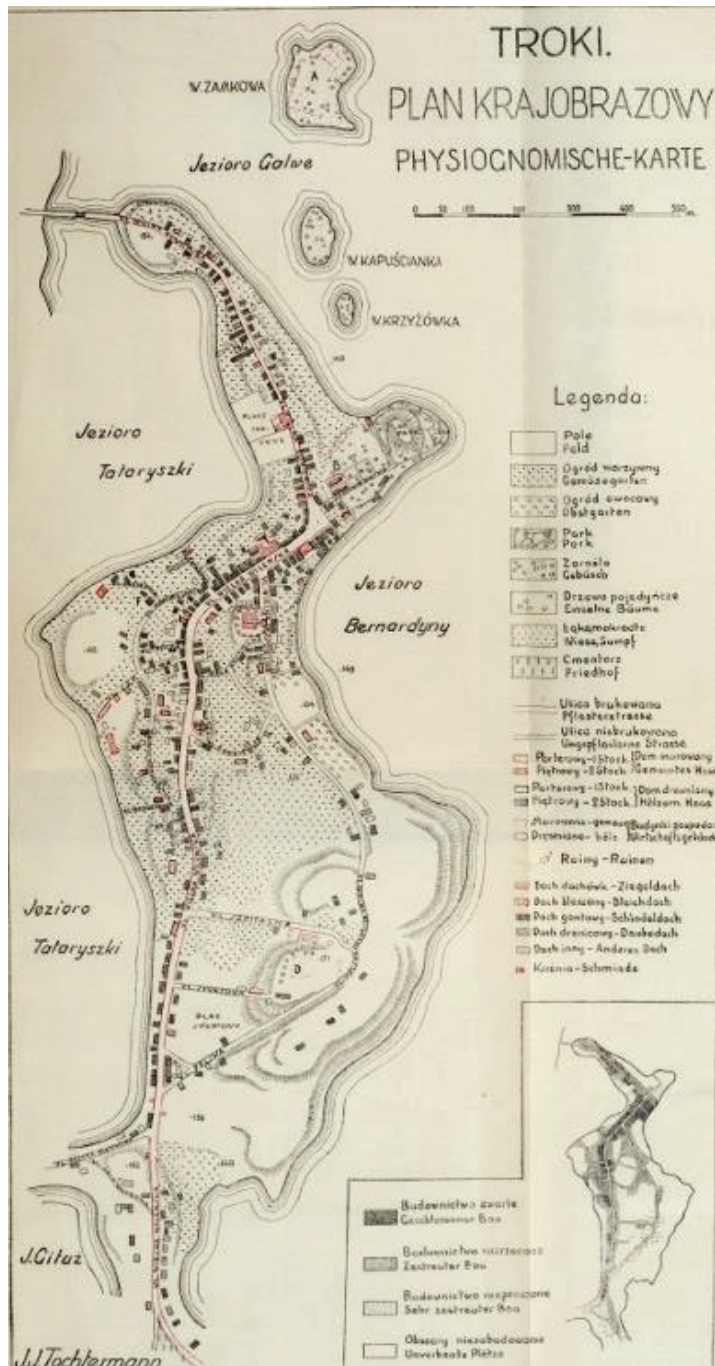


Figure 214. Podlaska Biblioteka Cyfrowa. Kolekcja dziedzictwa dawnej Rzeczypospolitej

Tochtermann visualized Trakai as a patchy mosaic, mainly consisting of two pieces – the northern and the southern parts. The densely built houses were seen as being concentrated in the central part of the Major Town, from the Catholic Parish Church to the Peninsula Island and in the northwest of the Minor Town. The whole southern part of the town was perceived as being more diffused. The northern part was praised as it avoided differences in elevations, and therefore it was used for gardening, while the southern part was underrated as being significantly lower and thus swampy and used for pastures (ibid., 12). The detailed map, drawn by Tochtermann in 1935, serves as a point of departure in understanding the variations of local building techniques used in Trakai.



Figure 215. The central townscape of Trakai captured before the outbreak of World War II (The drawing by W. Romanowicz. Archives of The Department of Cultural Heritage under the Ministry of Culture. F. 11, I. 5, f. 162, p. 100).

6.2 Soviet urban conservation through the principle of contrast and the aspirations for harmony with the pre-Soviet townscape after regaining national independence

Trakai was returned to Lithuania in 1939, but the whole country became occupied by Soviet Russia after World War II. Trakai experienced two town fires, in 1947 and 1949, but it was not just the physical environment that suffered during and shortly after the war; the town lost the population of Jews during the Nazi invasion, while most Lithuanians with acquired higher cultural or economical capital and those who resisted the Soviet occupation were violently deported to Gulag prison camps in Siberia by the Communist regime. Trakai, like the whole of Lithuania, was cleaned up and “collectivized” to enforce a modern Communist system with strictly centralized control.



Figure 216. The visual documentation of the Synagogue before its demolition (Photo taken by Stanislovas Mikulionis, 1966. Vilnius Regional State Archives, F1019, F. 11, f. 4066).

Trakai became the county centre again, but this time the town had to be transformed according to the ideology of one-party rule. In 1966, the county Communist Party committee building was built after demolishing the Jewish synagogue and the historical *Muhammadon* Street (Lisauskaitė, 2017). At the same time, the first state-controlled department store and the first block of six apartments were constructed. These were all masonry buildings which conformed to the common Soviet building standards and contrasted with the one-storey, old, wooden built environment of Trakai. A first general urban plan was prepared the same year, which in turn enabled the further modern development of the town. A large high school building with a stadium was built in the place of the Orthodox church. The central part of the town was supplied with a huge restaurant, which was built according to the design originally intended for another town in Lithuania. The same restaurant building style was repeatedly constructed in several other towns, becoming an exemplary model and contributing to forming the unifying townscapes in Lithuania (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 265–266). The restaurant building was dissonant to the historical environment, but the principle of contrast between the feudal and bourgeois past and the modern Communist future was requested by the ruling political ideology: “*its graceful silhouette, which contrasted the old surrounding buildings, towers of castles and mirrors of lakes, symbolizes the new town, rising above the silent kingdom*” (Medonis, 1968, 46).

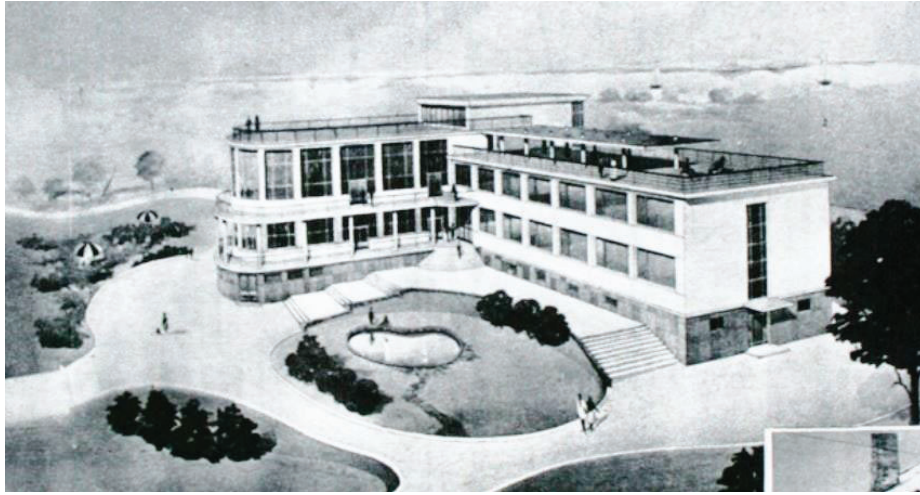


Figure 217. The restaurant “Galvé” was designed as part of recreational environment and by eliminating the historically-established urban surroundings (the project by architect B. Kazlauskas. *Švyturys*, 1961. No.4).



Figure 218. The dissonances in the townscape of Trakai, brought by modernistic buildings, were subsequently used as an argument for initiating the urban conservation in Trakai (Photo taken by Stanislovas Mikulionis, 1964. Vilnius Regional State Archives, F1019, F. 12, f. 19582).

Even though the northern part was newly paved with asphalt after the dismantling of the old stone paving in 1960, further means of urban modernization were not enforced. The previously depreciated “*primitive*” dwellings of Karaites were now classified as belonging to vernacular folk architecture and thus their “miserable” character was beneficial for testifying the everydayness of the suppressed classes. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (LSSR), as the country was called at that time, established the Trakai Landscape Nature Reserve, which involved the lakes and the ruins of castles. The reserve was intended to serve the new functional concept of Trakai as a recreational and sport centre (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 223). In 1962–1963, the northern part of the town, the historical Minor Town, was declared an architectural monument of local significance, as the Soviet system of monument preservation classified

the value of heritage by assigning a certain territorial domain of importance (Bučas, 2015, 57–59). In 1969, the value of the former Minor Town was enhanced because it was announced that it would become an urbanistic monument of state significance (Lisauskaitė, 2017). It encompassed a tiny part of Trakai, while the rest of the town was left behind for further urban regeneration.

Despite the above-mentioned declarations, the condition of wooden buildings in the urban conservation area was worsening as all the attention of restorers at that time was directed towards reconstruction of the Trakai Island Castle. The reconstruction of masonry castles was approved by the Communist Party because it was deludingly adapted to the political ideology of that time to witness the local resistance to Western Christianization.

Meanwhile, the remaining wooden buildings of Trakai kept on rotting and thus demonstrated the impoverishment of the suppressed classes by promoting the rejection of any nostalgic images of the country's past. Due to the further decay of wooden constructions, individual technical proposals for restorations were made by private initiative of the architect Stanislovas Mikulionis in 1969 which, in turn, stimulated preparation of the urban regeneration plan at the Institute of Monument Conservation, started in 1971. However, in the very same year of 1971, a competing new general plan for Trakai was proposed by the Institute of Construction Planning, which intended to treble the size of the town. The general plan was prepared according to functionalistic principles – the northern part was nominated as a Reserve of Historical Architecture and Ethnographic Monuments, which had its buffer zone in the historical centre of the town. The whole southern part of Trakai was considered worthless, and therefore suitable for further extensive urbanization. No considerations were made about the above-presented proposals for restoration; the decayed old wooden buildings were simply further demolished in the southern part of the town, and Soviet modernism continued to transform the townscape of Trakai (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 268).

A certain division was emerging among the professionals of architecture and civil engineering at that time. Many of them were tempted by the high social status of the profession under the Soviet regime. The architects worked under exceptionally advantageous conditions: they were not restrained by conflicting interests of the owners as the private ownership of property was forcefully abolished. There was no variety of customer either, only the totalitarian Communist Party; thus, they served the regime by creating “the modern world”. At the same time, an alternative group of architects was emerging who often chose the profession of an architect-restorer. The former architects, however, who were guarded by the Communist Party, reached a higher social superiority, possessed a decisive role and formed an exceptional “class” in an allegedly “classless” society. The promoters of “the modern world” favoured the principle of contrast as it allowed the novelty of the work of a Soviet architect to be highlighted (Purvinienė, 2003, 153–154).



Figure 219. The large-scale constructions next to the ruins of the complex of the Bernardine Monastery (Photo taken by Stanislovas Mikulionis, 1964. Vilnius Regional State Archives, F1019, F. 12, f. 19582).



Figure 220. The southern part of Trakai was undergoing the process of extensive urbanization, and the individual efforts did not manage to suspend the further rapid modernization (Photo taken by R. Vidugirytė, 1982. Vilnius Regional State Archives, F1019, F. 12, f. 19677).



Figure 221. The natural terrain overshadowed by a multitude of multi-storey uniform buildings in the style of Soviet Modernism (Postcard This is Lithuania... Trakai. The town surrounded by lakes. Photo by Juozas Polis)

Through the painless efforts of Soviet architects, the southern part of Trakai formed a sharp urban contrast to the old buildings of the town during the second part of the 20th century. At the start, the remnants of religious buildings were destroyed, following the political programme of atheism. The remaining bourgeois and feudal relics, such as wooden small manors from the 18th century, were also demolished to give way to the multi-storey blocks of flats in the uniform style of Soviet modernism (Lisauskaitė, 2017). These buildings followed standard models that were built in towns of various sizes in the Soviet Union. In that way, Soviet urban spaces were unified by deleting the unique character of each district, town, region or even nation. One could not recognize any differences between an ordinary “sleeping area” in a big city of Vilnius and a small town of Trakai as the functionalistic Soviet urban planning segregated the urban working and living spaces and thus created vast urban areas, stuffed with blocks of flats only (Purvinienė, 2003, 155).

The above-mentioned urban regeneration plan, which was started in 1971 by the Institute of Monument Conservation, followed the urban division of Trakai, enforced by the urban general plan. Thus, the authorities of the field of heritage conservation legitimized the modernization of the southern part of the town, which was later criticized as approval of the historically ungrounded separation of the Old Town of Trakai, which was built over with multi-storey buildings, and which were “*incompatible with the nature of Trakai and non-corresponding to the urban building traditions*” (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 269). The modern invasions were entering the appointed buffer as well as urban conservation zones and were grounded on the fact that even the legally protected old wooden buildings were rarely restored, conserved or repaired and thus were condemned for demolition. There were 290 wooden buildings in the old town in 1969, but the number decreased by 1981; also, as many as 183 wooden buildings of that time were registered as being in an “*emergency condition*” (ibid., 270).



Figures 222. The “emergency condition” of one of the wooden buildings on the Karaites’ street (Photographer unknown, 1970’s. Vilnius Regional State Archives, F1019, F. 11, f. 4102).



Figure 223. The very same wooden building in the Karaites’ street was successfully saved after renovation by establishing the restaurant, serving traditional Karaitian dishes (Photographer unknown, 1970’s. Vilnius Regional State Archives, F1019, F. 11, f. 4102).

The balance of power between the opposing groups of architect-developers and architect-restorers started to shift in the 1980s. A new general urban plan for Trakai was produced by the Institute of Urban Planning and Design in 1984–1985, which took into consideration the preservation of not only particular wooden buildings, but also urban ensembles of the remaining wooden historical constructions in the Minor Town as well as the Major Town. The general urban plan provided the possibilities of urban development beyond the historical urban territory, in the neighbouring southern and western areas. The following urban regeneration plan, prepared in 1984 by the Institute of Monument Conservation, enlarged the conservation area of Trakai Old Town southwards, by excluding only the quarters of the Soviet apartment blocks. All wooden buildings, despite their physical condition, were registered to be preserved. Moreover, reconstructions of former historical urban areas and buildings were encouraged to change “*the dissonant residential or public buildings, built after World War II*” (ibid., 273) and aimed at “*repairing the damages made by the former urban planning*” (Lisauskaitė, 2017). Emphasis was placed on the mutual relation between the masonry castles and the wooden town, which were now considered to be historically associated and therefore equally important by the representatives of the field of heritage conservation (Bučas, 2015, 61).

The local municipal authorities, however, favoured the general urban plan only and especially the part of it that included the further urban development of Trakai. The representatives of the field of heritage conservation were worried that the urban conservation plan of 1984 was about to face the same destiny as its former version of 1974. Therefore, additional steps were taken to establish the institution that would bypass the subordination to the urban administration: The National Historical, Cultural and Natural Park of Trakai (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 275–276).

During the political and economic *perestroika* within the Soviet Union, local initiatives were taken to recapture the whole of the Old Town of Trakai. In 1988, a public protest was called against further constructions of multi-storey buildings on the archaeological sites in the southern part of Trakai Peninsula, where the ruins of the Bernardine’s Monastery were situated and the remains of the Orthodox church and cemetery were found in 1981 (Lisauskaitė, 2017). Similar public protests were organized in other sacral places around Lithuania which were threatened by progressive building projects, all indicating the forthcoming end of the Soviet oppression (Purvinienė, 2003, 158). Such public demonstrations would have been impossible in the earlier decades of the Soviet regime because the participants would have faced severe consequences. However, in 1989, the boundaries of the Old Town of Trakai were expanded, and the status of urban and archaeological monument was granted to the whole Old Town of Trakai (Lisauskaitė, 2017).



Figure 224. The public protest of 1988 against further constructions of five-storey blocks of apartments on the archaeological sites in the southern part of Trakai evolved into the Sąjūdis Independence Movement of Lithuania (Photographer unknown, Alkas, 1988).

Trakai Historical National Park (THNP) was established in 1991, immediately after the independence of Lithuania was restored in 1990. A directorate of THNP was founded and a planning document was approved in 1993, which determined the principles of preservation and administration (Abaravičius, 2003, 6). In 2000, THNP made its first efforts to secure the urban preservation of Trakai not only on the national but also on the international level. UNESCO delegates were initially positive towards the inscription of Trakai onto the World Heritage List. However, after the inscription documents were presented, some doubts were raised about the southern part of the town, which was densely urbanized during the Soviet times (Bučas, 2015, 218). The nomination documents remained unchanged as the submitters for the nomination aimed to cover the entire historical town of Trakai, with all the drastic changes which occurred during the Soviet period of urban planning. The sharp Soviet urban contrasts were considered a negative but authentic part of the turbulent history of Trakai. The southern part of Trakai also embodied the long-lasting fight of the representatives of the field of heritage conservation against the radical and forceful Soviet urban planning ideals. The binary townscape of Trakai was determined by the former division of the historical town by the above-mentioned urban development and regeneration plans as these documents facilitated the conditions of drastic urbanization. Therefore, the same practice of the suggested repeated division of Trakai historical old town was considered an avoidable mistake by the representatives of the national field of heritage conservation. Consequently, Trakai remains indefinitely on the preliminary list of World Heritage Sites. Thus, the Soviet urban planning through the principle of urban contrast left its traces on the physical townscape of Trakai as well as

restricted the possibilities of ensuring the preservation of the remaining built urban heritage on the international level.

The necessity to elevate the urban conservation to the international level is again relevant in 2019 due to growing pressure on the historical Old Town of Trakai from another type of admirer of urban development through the principle of contrast: the emerged class of economic capitalists who own parcels of land on the picturesque lakesides or commercially attractive areas but are restricted by the THNP (Žemulis, 2007) and who want to demonstrate their exceptional economic status and distinction of taste, reflected in grandiose architecture, contrasting with the surrounding old wooden “slums” of the Old Town of Trakai. In 2018, THNP also initiated the suspension of a planned construction of a huge shopping centre in the Old Town of Trakai. The suspension was supported by a newly formed group of volunteer enthusiasts for the preservation of heritage conservation but was criticized by representatives of the local municipality for slowing the urban development in Trakai. Representatives of Trakai municipality expressed their discontent with the urban conservation of Trakai, restricting the constructions even on the sites of former huge Soviet buildings and, instead, permitting the construction of “*little huts*” only (Baronienė, 2018).

Moreover, further urban conservation of Trakai became even more complicated as a small group of parliamentarians initiated a judicial hearing which recognized the urban conservation plan of the Old Town of Trakai as legally invalid due to some minor procedural violations in the publication of the document in 1996. The above-mentioned Special Plan (the Old Town of Trakai. The Regulations for Preservation and Use, 1996) guided the urban conservation of Trakai for more than two decades, but was perceived as an obstacle for the rapid urban development by various interest groups. The unfavourable document determined strict urban and architectural guidelines for Trakai. The regulations were grounded on historical, social, archaeological and architectural surveys performed in 1994 to 1995. The architectural survey identified four typological categories of buildings: typical (“*traditional dwellings with rectangular outlines and gable roofs [...], constructed from notched logs and covered with vertical panel cladding. [...] The size of a typical building in visual townscape is mainly characterized by its width of 7.50 metres. The length of the building reaches 12–19 metres*”), unique (such as the above-mentioned Karaites’ Kenesa), neutral, and atypical to the Old Town of Trakai (Steponavičius, 2003, 117).

The Special Plan marked the zones within the Old Town of Trakai according to the concentration of corresponding categories of buildings. Seven different zones were identified, and the urban conservation therein was ranked according to the category of heritage objects concentrated in each area. The buildings and townscape in Zone A were ranked highest, and thus only the conservation of authentic sizes and forms of buildings was allowed. The fragmentary conservation and restoration of authentic sizes and forms of constructions was permitted in Zone B, while in Zone C, not only restoration but also reconstruction of lost heritage objects was enabled. Thus, the Special Plan aimed not only at urban conservation, but also at the reconstruction of the extinct townscape, which was damaged by Soviet urban conservation based on the principle of contrast. Moreover, the Special Plan authorized the modification of dissonant Soviet modernist buildings as they

were attributed to Zone F. Thus, during the first decades of independent Lithuania, the urban conservation was oriented towards correcting the mistakes of Soviet urban planning, by promoting professional historized solutions in limited volumes and restricted forms. However, this logic of practice of the field of heritage conservation was recently challenged as not satisfying the interests of the newly emerged class, which perceived the exceptional natural and cultural environment as a means of accumulating private economic capital.



Figure 225. The soviet buildings fell into Zone F or were approved to be modified as in the case of the restaurant “Nendrė” (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2017).



Figure 226. The Old Town of Trakai. The Regulations for Preservation and Use. (architect A. Steponavičius, 1996).

6.3 Establishing the restoration practice of using substitutes for historical wooden building elements

Analysis of Soviet urban conservation revealed that the architect-restorers, who constituted a subfield of heritage conservation within the larger field of architecture and urban planning in the LSSR, were allowed to engage in the restoration of the masonry castles in Trakai because this type of heritage did not fall into the category of ideologically precarious objects, at least in the beginning. In order to justify the restorations, the castles were presented as monuments of local resistance against Western Christianization. Consequently, a state institution for restoration of heritage was established in 1950, the so-called Scientific Workshop of Restoration (*Mokslinės restauracinės gamybinės dirbtuvės*). The workshop was also in charge of restoration of Trakai Island Castle, by order of the Council of Ministers of the LSSR. The first phase involved the conservation of the remains and fragmented restorations of the missing building elements, while the second phase included the restoration and reconstruction of the third floor of the castle palace (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 276).



Figure 227. The process of restoration and reconstruction of Trakai Island Castle. The restoration team was composed of (left to right) the “brigadier” Z. Morkevičius and the carpenters Petras Karpavičius and Vladas Karpavičius. (Photo taken by V. Bražas and M. Baranauskas, 1960. Central State Archives of Lithuania, 0-013246).

In 1960, a celebration of the first decade of the Scientific Workshop of Restoration was organized in the newly conserved and restored Palace of Trakai Island Castle, which drew the attention of the Communist regime in Moscow and was condemned as an unacceptable act of “*the reconstruction of historical monuments of mighty feudals*” (Čepaitienė, 2005, 198). The leaders of the subfield of heritage conservation were accused of making

“*political mistakes while forming the heritage list and regulating their protection*” (Central Committee of the Communist Party. *Regarding the Mistakes at The Committee of Architecture and Construction in the Organization of the Protection of Architectural Monuments*, 1961). As a punishment, the state financing of the subfield of heritage conservation was reduced, the architect-restorers had to withdraw from the subfield because they were charged with propagation of nationalism, and the very existence of the Scientific Workshop of Restoration was threatened. However, the local subfield of heritage conservation managed to survive the resentment of the ruling Communist Party in Moscow due to the diplomatic efforts of local party leaders (Glemža, 2002, 27), but further restoration of both castles in Trakai was limited due to the complicated political and economic situation. The restrictions were softened after the restoration of Trakai Island Castle was presented as one of the examples of the whole Soviet Union at the International Fair in London in 1964 where it was highly praised (Čepaitienė, 2005, 198). Thus, in 1966, the state financing of restoration and reconstruction of the castle was renewed (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 277).

Architect-restorers wanted to base the reconstruction of castles on extensive scientific analysis of building techniques and criticized the former studies of the castles, done by art historians, as being based on medieval architectural forms only. By contrast, the architect-restorers’ analysis of historical building traditions revealed that construction techniques of the castles were not static, but were changing over time. It was therefore recognized that the construction of castles was not a simultaneous process, but it was performed in stages. The studies of building techniques were complemented with scientific physical and chemical analysis, which identified that the size and form of bricks and the mode of bricklaying shifted during the construction of castles, and the physical composition of building materials – bricks and lime mortar – also changed. Interestingly enough, the study revealed that the structure of building materials differed, but not necessarily evolved during the process of construction. The analysis showed that bricks of the best quality and highest compressive strength were used during the second phase of construction of the Trakai Peninsula Castle. Moreover, the researchers compared the contemporary Soviet standards of building materials and the physical qualities of the actually produced bricks in the LSSR and concluded that modern bricks were of much lower quality than the historical ones (Levandauskas and Mikulionis, 1975, 121).

Gradually, a countrywide system of industrial production and supply of special building materials, intended for restorations and reconstructions, was established. Consequently, in the 1970s, the subfield developed into an autonomous field of heritage conservation. Local subdivisions of the Scientific Workshop of Restoration were established in various historical towns, including smaller ones: Kaunas, Klaipėda, Biržai, Kėdainiai, Telšiai and Trakai. Local Workshops were subordinated to the Monument Restoration Trust, which regulated the practical restoration and reconstruction work. In 1969, the Monument Conservation Institute was also established in Vilnius, which engaged in heritage research and project designing at heritage sites. Thus, a field of heritage conservation was created, which had strict hierarchical control, constituted by a group of professional architects, engineers and historians, possessing a high level of cultural capital, who became restorers by practice (Glemža, 2002, 29).

It should be noted, however, that the above-mentioned group of professionals did not engage in the actual hands-on restoration work; instead, they exercised the bureaucratic and regulatory practice of heritage conservation. The actions were performed by anonymous construction workers and producers of building materials, who were no longer called craftsmen as they were deprived of any decisive responsibility and thus of any significant power in decision-making processes. The workers were obliged to follow the instructions provided by the above-mentioned group of professionals and thereafter were also observed and controlled by those representatives of the superior institutions. Thus, the Monument Restoration Trust and Monument Conservation Institute were occupied with preparing the detailed directions for various conservation and restoration practices and descriptions for production processes and of building materials. The production processes were planned to be mainly industrial even though the forms of building elements were supposed to be reminiscent of their historical equivalents. All the instructions were strengthened by scientific evidence, so any form of non-institutionalized knowledge, such as embodied cultural capital, i.e. practical skills of craftsmen, was not taken into consideration. The historical studies of building techniques served the purpose of identifying the historical models to follow. However, even though the forms were copied, the process of production was “improved” and made more efficient by the industrial means of production. Thus, a craftsman once again was downgraded to a factory worker. The modern Soviet disciplines of architecture and civil engineering considered wood an unreliable and short-lived building material; therefore, the scientific evidence was invoked to justify the replacement of wooden building elements with more durable building materials.

The Scientific Workshop of Restoration was due to be based near Trakai in 1977 and 1982 (Monument Conservation Institute. *The Depot of Monument Restoration Trust at Trakai, Rūdiškės Road*, 1977; Monument Restoration and Designing Institute. *The Depot of Trakai Restoration Workshop*, 1982). In 1983, the Scientific Workshop of Restoration was opened at Trakai Peninsula Castle and served the restoration of the abutments of the towers of that castle (Baliulis, Mikulionis and Miškinis, 1991, 275). The administration of the Scientific Workshop of Restoration was located at the previously mentioned former Imperial Post Office, which was partly reconstructed according to the project of the architect Algimantas Grigaravičius in 1981 (Lukšionytė, 1998, 76). As noted before, the actual processes of production of building materials, restorations and reconstructions were strictly guided by common instructions, prepared in advance by the superior institutions within the field of heritage conservation.

For example, the instructions for reinforcement of wooden beams and roof constructions were prepared by following the *a priori* standards, determined by urban planning and architectural construction organizations in Moscow, St Petersburg (formerly Leningrad) and Kiev. Thus, Soviet modern building standards were transmitted through scientifically grounded but rather bureaucratic apparatus that was also applied to restoration work. For example, the authentic type of beam and joist material, i.e. wood, could be maintained in masonry residential buildings up to five storeys high. If a residential building was entirely built from wood, the authentic beam and joist material type could be sustained only if the

building was not higher than one storey. At the same time, wooden buildings that had been plastered were considered less flammable and therefore such two-storey constructions could maintain the authentic type of beam and joist material. Wood was considered not only a fire hazard, but also a fast-decaying material, and therefore every old wooden part that was joined with a new wooden part had to be disinfected, with specific antiseptic and fireproof blends. Moreover, it was suggested that the splicing of wooden beams and joists must be consolidated with steel elements (Monument Conservation Institute. *Methods for the reinforcement of wooden joists and beams, roof constructions*, 1981). A few years later, the leading engineers within the Monument Conservation Institute reprinted the instructions on how to replace wooden beams with reinforced concrete and, this time, no efforts were made even to translate the normative standards from Russian to the Lithuanian language (Monument Conservation Institute. *The replacement of wooden joists and beams with reinforced concrete*, 1985).

A similar logic of practice was also evolving in the sphere of the production of building materials used for restoration of heritage objects. Primarily, extensive historical studies of roofing materials were made to industrially reproduce the modern roofing tiles in their historical appearance (Monument Conservation Institute. *The detailed description of roofing tiles, intended for restoration*, 1984). Thereafter, four major types of roofing tiles were categorized and chosen for industrial mass production: the “monastic” roof tiles (of the 14th to 16th centuries); flat tiles (of the 16th to 17th centuries); the “Dutch” type of roof tiles (of the 17th to 19th centuries); and the “Marseille” type of roof tiles (of the 19th to 20th centuries). If the aim was to sustain the historical appearance of roofing tiles, the process of production, however, was supposed to become mechanized. The Monument Conservation Institute also suggested some “improvements” to the historical models and justified these modifications by blaming a human factor – the assumed incompetence among the tilers of roofs and the producers of tiles (Monument Restoration and Designing Institute. *The “Roof” Programme, The technical assignment for production of roof tiles*. 1990). The detailed normative standards were presented as a means for overcoming possible imperfections caused by the industrial and construction workers as they were deprived of any decisive role within the field of heritage conservation once again.

The roof tiles were reproduced to look like the old ones using industrial means, and this caused a discrepancy between the historized *opus operatum* and modern *modus operandi*. Some advanced modern solutions were also proposed to replace the clay material with glass to enable the introduction of more daylight (Monument Restoration and Designing Institute. *The “Roof” Programme, The technical assignment for production of glass roof tiles at Panevėžys glass factory*, 1991). Finally, it should be noted that, by following a similar logic of practice, such “precarious” roofing materials as wooden shingles were recommended to be exchanged with asbestos slates, which were supposed “to imitate” the historical wooden roofing. Representatives of the leading institutions of the field of heritage conservation proposed that the modern asbestos substitutes should be “widely used in the constructions of countryside buildings as well as in restoration works” (Monument Restoration and Designing Institute. *The “Roof” Programme. The technical assignment for production of asbestos roof tiles, imitating wooden shingles, at Daugėliai Industrial Combination*, 1991).

Such recommendations accelerated the use of asbestos slates in rural as well as urban wooden environments throughout the country and affected Trakai as well. Wooden shingles or shag shingles were displaced by modern fireproof asbestos materials at that time. It is important to note, however, that there were sporadic instances of preservation of historical roofing throughout the Soviet period on one condition though – when the roofing materials were fireproof. As the below-presented examples from Trakai Old Town indicate, while the historical tin-plate roofing was sustained, the wooden shingles were exchanged or often merely covered up by asbestos slates in the Old Town of Trakai. As a consequence of this logic of practice, the embodied cultural capital of craftsmen, i.e. their know-how in the production of wooden roofing materials, as well as other wooden building elements, was gradually disappearing. Another element that accelerated the process of losing the embodied cultural capital among craftsmen and dwellers of wooden buildings was the Soviet impersonalization of real estate and the absolute institutionalization of the field of heritage conservation. In that way, all responsibility for the protection of cultural heritage was monopolized by the state institutions, which were oriented towards application of highly technical and scientifically proven solutions to the disadvantage of fire-hazardous and decaying organic materials, such as wood. Thus, the management and formation of the logic of practice of heritage conservation was taken over by professionals with high academic cultural capital, while the implementation of heritage conservation was left for devalued “construction workers”, who were deprived of any critical thought and decision-making power.



Figure 228. The streetscape of Karaites' Street in the Minor Town of Trakai. The first building on the left side of the street is documented to be covered with tin-plate roofing, while the third one was still covered with wooden roofing (Photo taken by M. Sakalauskas, 1969. Vilnius Regional State Archives, F. 1019, I. 12, f. 19582).



Figure 229. The tin-plate roofing was sustained throughout the soviet period of urban conservation in the Minor Town of Trakai (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2010).



Figure 230. The first building on the right side is the same building, which was covered with wooden roofing as the above-presented historical picture depicted. The wooden roofing was changed for the imitation of clay tiles, while the fireproof asbestos slates from the soviet period were sustained (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2010).

As acknowledged by a chemist at the former Scientific Workshop of Restoration: *“Throughout the ages, the craftsmen tried to protect the surfaces of materials by using natural preservatives. The wooden surfaces were burnt, treated with wax, varnished or painted. Masonry buildings were plastered to protect masonry and painted to protect the plaster for aesthetical reasons as well. So, the traditional materials were used in building, reconstructing and conserving the historic buildings until the middle of the previous century”*. This knowledge, i.e. the embodied cultural capital of craftsmen, was no longer considered reliable by the field of heritage conservation in Soviet times. As the same chemist explained: *“In 1950 the Scientific Workshop of Restoration – the first institution of conservation in Lithuania – was established. Architecture researchers, constructors and art historians were employed there. The need and the idea to establish a separate department of technical research appeared. In 1970 the laboratory of chemical research was founded. Specialists of chemistry, physics, biology and technology of building materials worked in the laboratory. In 1972 the researcher groups of timber, monumental painting, and silicate materials were completed. During 20 years of its activities, the laboratory developed complex methods of research.”* The chemist explained that the scientific research was focused on the conservation of natural building materials by chemical substances to modify their organic qualities and to prolong their life: *“The Research Group of Timber did biological and microbiological research; identified the phytopathogenic origin of fungi; prepared the projects of timber conservation for every object under restoration. All the known materials and methods of antiseptics were tested and individually chosen for every object. [...] Practice had proved that not all the methods were suitable for timber conservation because of the high toxic level and the difficult method of application. The group developed the methods of impregnation and conservation of moss, tow, straw and reed roofs for the Lithuanian Skansen Museum. The group also dealt with the problems of conservation of historic architectural timber (Skansen buildings, Baubliai Museum, wooden crosses, etc.); biologically living wood (the Stelmužė Oak Tree) and archaeological timber (the Artillery at the Lower Castle in Vilnius)”* (Telksnienė, 2008).

As Lithuania gained its independence in 1990 and the country rapidly transited from Soviet socialism to capitalism, the Department of Technical Research was restructured and joined the newly established Centre of Cultural Heritage. Many of the professionals also joined private enterprises, but most of them failed to adapt to the new market conditions. The period of transition proved to be decades of disappointment for the representatives of the field of heritage conservation. There was a strong belief that, once the private ownership of real estate was restored, the market economy would independently self-regulate and fulfil the goals of the field of heritage conservation *per se*. The failed transition of the field of heritage conservation from the logic of practice based on restrictions to the logic of practice grounded on the promotion of the aims of the field of heritage conservation was pointed out as the main reason for this unsatisfying situation (Pilipavičius, 2006, 85). As private short-term economic gain often resulted in urban or architectural solutions that were in opposition to the ideals of the field of heritage conservation, financial support for choices preferred by the field was believed to change the conflicting situation between the private owners and the representatives of the public institutions of heritage conservation.

Representatives of the local field of heritage conservation confirmed that, if the Special Plan of 1996 managed to suspend the further rapid and conflicting urban development of Trakai Old Town for a few decades by imposing restrictions, then the national field of heritage conservation had failed to establish the enhancing system because no financial compensation for the preferred historized architectural choices was offered (Nemeikaitė, 2008). As described above, the 1996 Special Plan divided the old town into zones with differing levels of urban conservation and described the possible modifications to conserve, restore or reconstruct the “*traditional built environment and townscape*” of Trakai Old Town (The Old Town of Trakai. The Regulations for Preservation and Use, 1996). The Special Plan, however, focused mainly on the external appearance of buildings: the repetition of historical volumes, sizes and forms; the material authenticity was also addressed only as long as it concerned the exterior façades.

The construction of new buildings for the Fire and Rescue Services on Karaite Street in 1999 could be regarded as an example of practical implementation of the Special Plan. Representatives of the national field of heritage conservation approved the demolition of the wooden fire station, which was considered as “having little historical or architectural value”, because it was built after World War II. In turn, a modern “building of the 21st century” was constructed, while the exterior was intended to imitate the old wooden buildings with three windows on the main gable façade, covered with wooden cladding.



Figure 231. The new buildings of Fire and Rescue Services in Trakai were designed to remind of the old Karaites’ building traditions (The architectural project by the architect R. Grigas, 1999).

Procedural authenticity in conservation, restoration or reconstruction of buildings was not considered or regulated as no subfield of traditional workmanship had been created by the field of heritage conservation in Lithuania at that time. It should be noted, however, that singular attempts to apply procedural authenticity were emerging in the Old Town of

Trakai due to the private preferences of individual owners or local community groups. As emphasized by a representative of the national field of heritage conservation: *“Too few old buildings have been restored. Many of them are still neglected and therefore look rather bad. However, some positive changes have occurred recently. The house of the Karaites community has been restored as well as the former Karaites school. Old technologies were used during restorations of those buildings – the logs were notched and the roofs were covered with wooden shingles”* (Nemeikaitė, 2008).

As recorded in 1998, the Karaites Community House was a log building of the 19th century, covered with horizontal wooden weatherboarding on the main street façade, while the back-exterior walls were plastered and painted white. The original symmetrical main façade (with four vertical windows and one entrance door) was changed during the Soviet times when one of the windows was replaced by another door. A masonry annex was also attached at the back side, and the whole building was divided into smaller apartments at that time (Tarnauskienė, 1998a, 76–77). During the actual reconstruction of the building, the newly notched-log construction was left uncovered with panel cladding, but it was painted white instead. Thus, the building no longer looked how it did when it was documented in 1998. Perhaps the aim had been to make the Karaites Community House antiquated by creating an image of a more archaic building, because an uncovered log construction was considered the oldest type of wooden building in Trakai Old Town. Only one uncovered notched-log building was recorded in the northwest part of the old town in 2003 (Steponavičius, 2003, 117), but the reconstructed Karaites Community House increased the number of that category of constructions.



Figure 232. The antiquated façades of Karaites Community House in the Old Town of Trakai (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2017).

Even though the representatives of the field of heritage conservation introduced the notion of “*old technologies*” into the field’s vocabulary, the subfield of traditional workmanship was not created and, therefore, the logic of practice was not formulated. As acknowledged by an interviewed representative of the local field of heritage conservation in Trakai, the Special Plan of 1996 aimed to maintain the wooden townscape in a broad but rather superficial sense. It failed to specify what the notion of “wooden building tradition” involved and fused the historical heterogeneity of various wooden traditional constructions (Interview with representative no. 2 of THNP). The superficial notion of “wooden building tradition” also caused widespread repetition of historical architectural forms and sizes, but not the procedurally authentic means of production. This discrepancy between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi*, which representatives of the field of heritage conservation often believed had become overlooked, was noticed by the inhabitants of the Old Town of Trakai. As emphasized by an interviewed resident: “*They require roofing to be done with wooden shingles or tin plates but, even if those materials are used, they are often produced in a modern way, not according to the old technologies*” (Answers to open questions for the Social Survey at Trakai, 2011).

The social survey revealed that, despite the fact that the term “traditional workmanship” was rarely used by the interviewees, most of them perceived the historical and modern building techniques as distinct and mutually non-compatible. Thus, although the representatives of the field of heritage conservation often pictured the citizens as incapable of identifying the historicity of conserved, restored or reconstructed heritage objects, the social survey showed that the interviewed inhabitants of the Old Town of Trakai were fully aware of the differences between the historical and modern building materials as well as the varying means of construction. Moreover, the occurring inconsistency between the required *opus operatum* by the field of heritage conservation and the prevailing actual *modus operandi* in practice, i.e. when the historical forms were produced by modern means and materials, weakened the arguments in the field and motivated the public to disobey its requirements. The study showed that modern materials and methods of construction were often chosen only due to poor financial possibilities of private owners in the Old Town of Trakai. Nevertheless, such involuntary choices were explicitly described by them as being inappropriate though inevitable. According to an interviewed inhabitant of the Old Town of Trakai: “*The house was changed almost 100% during its history, two additions were built, the roof was changed during the Soviet times. The windows were changed in 1967. So, there is no high heritage value left as the building was rebuilt many times; there might be only a few original beams left. During recent repairs, we wanted to install wooden windows because they are much better, but they are very expensive as well, therefore we decided to install a few plastic ones. There is one original oak door left inside the building, and this is one of the best doors ever. The new oak doors would never be so good. [...] My father-in-law, who is 75 years old, was a good craftsman. He prepared wood for building a house for several years. He took care of trees already in the forest. When the trees were growing up, he would cut all the other plants around them He used to dry wood naturally, for longer periods of time. Today it is impossible to get wood of such good quality. New craftsmen work with new materials and new technologies. They might say that they are building according to the old traditions, but the very quality of wood has changed. It is not possible to grow your own tree for future constructions. Old craftsmen understood wood*

better; they used the northern part of the tree differently from the southern part of the tree. Timber used to dry out before constructions for at least 10 years. So, if I make repairs of my house, I will use modern materials, because there is no way one can get wood of such high quality as before to ensure that a construction would last as long as it did in the past' (Answers to open questions in the Social Survey at Trakai, 2011).

The owners were not able to use traditional techniques, not only because of the lack of high-quality wooden building materials available in the market, but also because of the limited supply of craftsmen possessing knowledge of traditional workmanship: *"We changed the exterior panel cladding in 1958 and then we were told by the working craftsmen that our house was built without any iron nails; only wooden pegs had been used in the past. There was no saw of any kind used in the past as well. Everything was done with an axe only. It would be amazing to build in the old style, but there is a shortage of such professional craftsmen. The materials now are also too modern"* (Answers to open questions, the Social Survey at Trakai, 2011).

Residents of the Old Town of Trakai claimed that they had been facing a challenge of finding craftsmen who would engage in restoration work. According to the interviewees, representatives of the subfield of the large-scale building industry were not interested in any restoration work as such activities require special knowledge and are time-consuming, i.e. profitless. The interviewees acknowledged that only the representatives of the subfield of restricted cultural production were capable of engaging in private restoration commissions: *"Construction companies do not understand what you are asking for if you want to reproduce a wooden window for an old house. Plastic windows are harmful for wooden buildings. Only an individual craftsman can produce products which are organic and suitable to the old wooden constructions"; "We do not have many good craftsmen. They are also very expensive due to a small market as the majority of Lithuanians prefer the ordinary standard products. It was difficult to find producers of special doors and windows. We found only one company, because others do not want to make special products and do not even know how to produce them. We left the original tin roof, which was laid in 1931, because it was still of good quality. The panel was not changed for 70 years as well, but we changed it by making copies of the original ones. The same profiled wooden cladding was used. The profiles were cut at a local sawmill. All the original beams were left intact as they were of good quality"* (Answers to open questions, the Social Survey at Trakai, 2011).



Figure 233. One of the few reconstructed buildings, which was rebuilt by using the notched-log building technique and historized external embellishments (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2019).



Figure 234. Even though one of the oldest residential buildings from the end of the 18th century in the Minor Town (Tarnauskienė, 1998b, 80) was renovated by using traditional materials and new windows, divided according to their historical prototypes, the modern modus operandum used in the reproduction of these new building elements was obvious (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2017).





Figures 235, 236, 237, 238. Even though the architectural forms in Karaitė Street were sustained, e.g. by maintaining the historical division of windows and wooden cladding, the new building elements differentiated because they were not produced by the same means of production as the replaced ones (Photos taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2010-2017).

Residents of the Old Town of Trakai mentioned only individual craftsmen who had been working with private restoration projects. It is important to emphasize that these craftsmen were operating in an open market. The subfield of traditional workmanship was not created by the field of heritage conservation through the means of public funding or subsidies. The subfield of traditional workmanship, however, was about to develop within the larger field of building construction due to the growing demand for special products and services after the restoration of independence in Lithuania, in the transition period to the capitalist socio-economic system. Consequently, the field of heritage conservation did not regulate the structure of the subfield of traditional workmanship and, therefore, the academic institutionalized knowledge in traditional workmanship was not a factor for the development of the subfield of traditional workmanship. However, due to the difficult socio-economic situation in the country throughout the transition period, the subfield of traditional workmanship was not fully established within the field of heritage conservation, nor within the large-scale building industry field in Lithuania.

Nevertheless, even though no system of traditional workmanship was well established, individual examples of the application of traditional workmanship were observed. However, it should be noted that in most of those cases, the practical experience in craftsmanship and the craftsman's embodied cultural capital was in greater demand by private customers. As described by the representative of the local field of heritage conservation, even if some efforts were made to promote the services of students at the specialized craft school of carpentry, roofing and joinery, *Sodžiaus meistrai*, in the nearby town of Rūdiškės, these attempts were not supported by any financial public contributions. Moreover, the offered advice encountered a general mistrust of the inhabitants towards the institutional command by the field of heritage conservation as well as a certain scepticism towards the inexperienced apprentices, possessing merely the institutionalized academic cultural capital, but not the durable practical experience (Interview with representative no. 2 of THNP). Consequently, the local craft school in Trakai failed to get established in the local market: *"The craftsmen in Rūdiškės gain knowledge and good craftsmanship skills, but cannot use them in Trakai"; "It is still possible to find good craftsmen who have skills in old building techniques, but those craftsmen have their knowledge transferred from older generations; it cannot be gained in educational institutions"; "I know one person living in the countryside, who has a talent and is very good at woodworking even though he does not have any education. That's just his nature"; "I know one good craftsman – he is an old man, self-educated, but he is always fully booked"; "We have a problem with the beams, because the lowest ones are rotten. I would ask one carpenter who knows how to work with wood to repair them. He is not educated, but has a talent"; "During the process of replacement of windows, we have learned that the original frames were of very good quality and therefore we decided to keep them. A craftsman made only new wooden sashes to fit into the old frames. That craftsman was self-educated"* (Answers to open questions, the Social Survey at Trakai, 2011).



Figure 239. The technologies of traditional workmanship being presented by a local craftsman during the restoration workshop at one of the ethnographic villages in Lithuania. This personal tool was actually used in practice, but such skills were rather marginalized by the field of heritage conservation as they represented the embodied, not institutionalized, cultural capital of local craftsmen. (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2015).

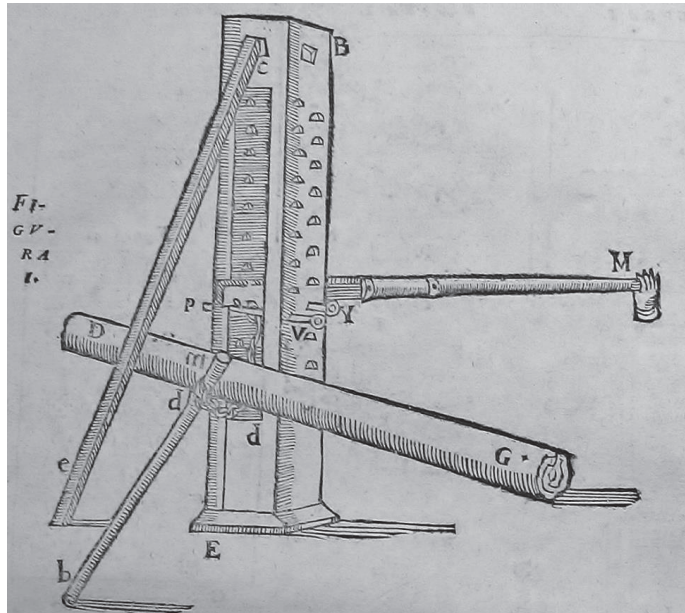


Figure 240. The historical tool for lifting wooden beams was introduced already in the 17th century by the architect Stanislaw Soliski in his book, which circulated in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy in Lithuania. (Soliski, 1690, 17)

The sporadic efforts to transform anonymous construction workers into master craftsmen – carpenters, joiners, roofers, etc. – with the elevated social status within the field of heritage conservation was ineffectual. Therefore, the conception of traditional workmanship within the field of heritage conservation remained rather superficial and focused on architectural notions of historized forms, sizes and volumes mainly. The focus on historized external architectural appearance was determined by the fact that the decision-making was dominated by architects, who had not only developed the Special Plan for the Old Town of Trakai of 1996, but were also responsible for the majority of the actual changes applied to historical buildings in the urban conservation area. As described by the representatives of the field of heritage conservation, the public officials possessed only advisory responsibilities, the principal decisions were taken by contracted architects, and the supervision was carried out by another public institution – the State Inspection of Territorial Planning and Construction. This is one of the reasons why the requirements,

established by the 1996 Special Plan for Trakai, and the physical outcomes were often contradictory. Moreover, the interviewees also revealed that architects themselves were ready to change their logic of practice, depending on the shifting circumstances, i.e. certain design projects led to reconsideration of their idealistic preconceptions (Interview with representative no. 2 of THNP).

During the last decade, the requirements of the Special Plan of 1996 ended up creating superficial, externally historized new buildings by replacing the old log constructions with concealed masonry reconstructions, covered up by wooden panel cladding. As described by the representatives of the local field of heritage conservation, if local residents could be persuaded to rebuild their wooden buildings using the same modes of production, it was often a contracted architect who preferred new historized buildings to be constructed from masonry or modern building blocks. When designing using modern materials, architects used the excuse that they were used to working with them (Interview with representative no. 1 of THNP). Thus, wood as a building material was rather unrecognized and disapproved of by most architects involved in wooden building projects in Trakai. In turn, the superficial urban conservation of Trakai Old Town created a paradox: while wooden buildings were plastered in order to create an image of masonry houses, nowadays, masonry constructions are covered up by wooden cladding to imitate wooden buildings (Interview with representative no. 2 of THNP).





Figure 241, 242, 243. The tradition of concealing log buildings with plaster in order to imitate masonry buildings was common in the Old Town of Trakai throughout history (Photos taken by M. Sakalauskas, 1969. Vilnius Regional State Archives, F. 1019, I. 12, f. 19582).



Figure 244. The plastered façades of log buildings dominated the Karaitė Street in the Minor Town of the Old Town of Trakai (Photographer unknown, 1963. Trakai History Museum, TIM GEK 11789/1)



Figure 245. During the last decades of urban conservation, a paradox emerged in the Old Town of Trakai – modern, but historized, masonry constructions were constantly covered up by wooden panel cladding (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė).

Lastly, it should be noted that despite the fact that concerned architects and representatives of the field of heritage conservation experienced failure in introducing traditional workmanship into the practice of heritage conservation, the procedural authenticity in the production of building elements, the restoration of heritage objects or the reconstruction of historical buildings was often prompted by the individual preferences of private customers. Some private clients opposed the very foundation of the logic of practice in the field of heritage conservation as they considered the principle of historical equivalence as being less important than the accurate reconstruction of procedurally authentic means of production *per se*: “No historic foundations were left even though the historical documents proved that a building was standing on this plot. Thus, we did not have to follow the measurements of the old house. The building was built from hand-hewn logs. It is popular today to build log buildings with round beams and to expose these notched-log constructions, but that was not a tradition in urban architecture, therefore we used hewn logs. Traditionally, the logs were sealed with moss, but as their use was forbidden and listed in the Red Book recently, we had to use oakum. However, it attracts birds. Oakum was traditionally used as draught-proof for window and door openings. The windows with glazing units were installed, but handmade iron handles were made by a blacksmith. The window frames were decorated with wooden carvings. Wooden shingles were used for roofing. We could install skylights according to the architect’s drawings, which were approved, but we decided not to use them in order to make the appearance of the building more authentic” (Answers to open questions, the Social Survey at Trakai, 2011).

Thus, it could be concluded that, besides the prevailing professional historicism, enabled by the field of heritage conservation and dominated by contracted architects in the Old Town of Trakai, sporadic instances of vernacular historicism were also appearing among the private owners of historical buildings. The logic of practice of vernacular historicism, however, differed from the professional one, because private initiatives did not prioritize the principle of historical equivalence, i.e. the accurate following of historical architectural forms, volumes and sizes. Private owners instead preferred the creative use of historical means of construction and production of building elements. And, similarly to the above-analysed instances of vernacular historicism in Røros and Kokkola, such private choices in Trakai were also voluntary, i.e. they were not financially stimulated by the field of heritage conservation.

6.4 Professional reconstruction of an image of Karaite architecture

The detailed analysis of the process of reconstruction of one of the buildings in the Minor Town of Trakai revealed how private preferences for vernacular historicism were professionally converted and finally approved by the local field of heritage conservation. The process also demonstrated how the voluntary choices for traditional workmanship had been combined with modern construction techniques through professional assistance of the contracted architect and thereafter concealed in such a way that the representatives of the field of heritage conservation did not detect the dissonance with the historical surroundings.

As mentioned above, the reconstruction of the dwelling and the outbuilding in the Minor Town of Trakai was a private initiative, driven by a member of the local Karaite society. According to the interviewed owner, it was not just a real estate project, but aimed to reconstruct the buildings to ensure the continuation of identity of the historical ethnic minority in Trakai (Interview with the owner of a reconstructed house in Karaite Street, 2011). It should be noted, however, that the project was not immediately approved by the representatives of the field of heritage conservation as the owner requested demolition of the original historic dwelling to give way to the new reconstructed building.

According to the Special Plan of the Old Town of Trakai of 1996, the original building in Karaite Street was assigned to Zone C, where the restoration of existing buildings was enabled, and this specific house was marked as eligible for renovation. The first two requests by the owner for the demolition of the old building and the reconstruction of a new dwelling were rejected by the national authorities of the field of heritage conservation in 2006 (Kultūros paveldo departamentas prie Kultūros ministerijos. Vilniaus teritorinis padalinys, 2006.02.20; Kultūros paveldo departamentas prie Kultūros ministerijos. Vilniaus teritorinis padalinys. 2006.11.22). However, as noted by the architect and one of the authors of the Special Plan of Trakai Old Town, the building in question had no architectural value. It was instead claimed that the old building, dated to 1930, “*was neither of old age, nor built by any valuable building technique*”. Also, it was declared that the building was assigned the protective rule due to its exceptionally small size, lowness and narrowness, and because it was treated as an urban component of the Karaite streetscape due to its “*origin, form and endways orientation towards Karaite Street*”. Thus, the architects at the local board of THNP recommended authorizing the reconstruction of the building in a slightly larger volume and slightly elevated height, by sustaining the proportions and the use of the same type of materials (Bučas, 2006).



Figure 246. The second house on the left side – the original notched-log construction, dated to 1930. The original roof was covered with wooden shingles (Photographer unknown, 1932. Trakai History Museum).



Figure 247. The original Karaite dwelling as documented before the demolition (Photo taken by Dainius Labeckis, 2007?).

The reconstruction of the buildings (the dwelling and the outbuilding) was approved by the national authorities of heritage conservation in 2008, after agreement had been reached to sustain the height, architectural form and angle of the roof of the original residential building. The physical condition of the load-bearing constructions was supposed to be analysed after their disclosure during the reconstruction process, but the poor state of the wooden building elements was already presupposed based on the *a priori* external visual inspection. However, a possibility was emphasized that the material authenticity of the reconstructed load-bearing construction would be sustained if only minor physical damage was found.

New concrete foundations were expected to be installed, while the stone foundation was added above the ground to antique the new construction. The existing enclosed veranda on the southern façade of the building was also redesigned, as well as the addition to the first floor on the northern side of the building. The façades were designed to become historized by adding the vertical wooden panel cladding and the cornice, which visually separated the floors externally. The new windows were supposed to be made from wood, according to the original sizes and their composition. The roofing of wooden shingles was also planned for reconstruction. The interior, however, was designed to be furnished using modern materials and the original plastering on wooden laths was not intended to be reproduced (The Reconstruction of the Individual Residential House, 2007).



Figure 248. The main façade of the redesigned residential house, facing Karaitė Street (The Reconstruction of the Individual Residential House, 2007. Trakai Historical National Park).

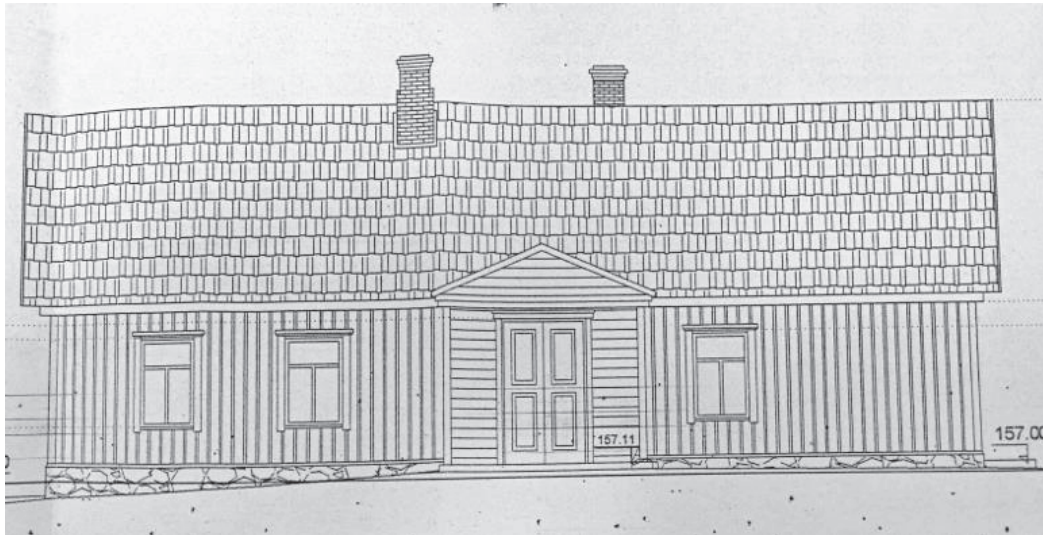


Figure 249. The southern façade of the redesigned residential house with a proposedly reconstructed enclosed veranda (The Reconstruction of the Individual Residential House, 2007. Trakai Historical National Park).

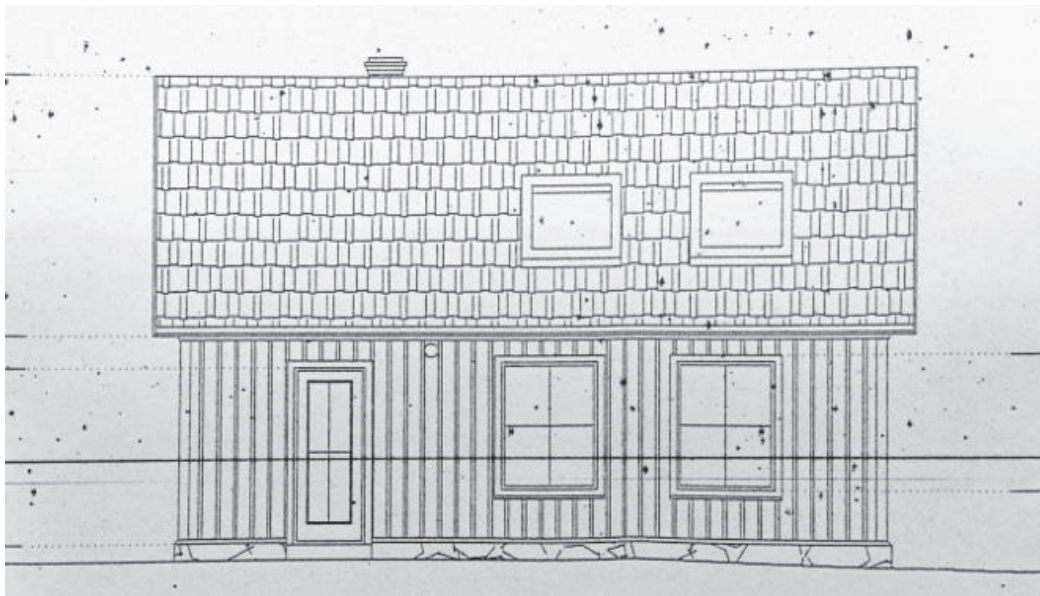


Figure 250. The harmonizing façade of the outbuilding was recreated by using wooden panel boarding, historized composition of windows, natural stone over ground foundations and wooden roofing.

According to the interviewed architect, the project proposal reserved the freedom of choice for the constructive material, depending on the outcomes of the physical analysis of the original material. However, the analysis revealed that the original logs of the dwelling house were rotten and infected by fungi as the building had been uninhabited for years; therefore, the on-site decision was made to build the residential house, as well as the outbuilding, from ceramic building blocks and thereafter to cover the buildings with wooden panel cladding, to make them appear historical. In that way, not only were the requirements of the field of heritage conservation for the preservation of the wooden townscape of Trakai met, but the modern fire preventive rules were also observed, which are especially strict about using wood as a building material in densely built urban environments. That way the compatibility between the unrelated logics of practices of two public fields (heritage conservation and fire services) was achieved, which was presented as one of the most challenging tasks for an architect nowadays (Interview with the architect of the reconstruction of the house in Karaite Street, 2011).

At the same time, as specified by the architect, reconstruction of an exact copy of the original residential building was not defined as the goal of the project; rather, the new constructions were only intended to harmonize with the historical urban surrounding: *“The buildings were reconstructed, they were adapted to the modern lifestyle, but by sustaining the local character, so that it would look Trakai-like and would not be dissonant with the environment”*. Simultaneously, the architect emphasized that the project also did not aim at another extreme, i.e. an artistic expression of an individual and innovative architectural design: *“The territory of the Old Town of Trakai is not huge and, in my opinion, there is no sense in introducing new creations. There are plenty of other spaces where an architect can unleash one’s creativity. It is also challenging enough to arrange everything so that a building would look natural. Architects tend every time to build monuments to themselves, but that is one of their biggest mistakes. That problem was indoctrinated by their schooling”* (Interview with the architect of the reconstruction of the house in Karaite Street, 2011). Thus, the interviewed architect, who had experience of working within the subfield of heritage conservation dominated by architect-restorers, perceived the urban environment as more important than his own artistic aspirations: *“I hope I have not damaged the Old Town of Trakai. I think that an architect succeeds when no one notices any changes made to a historical townscape. The changes should be as natural and invisible as trees in the woods. [...] Architects should seek more harmony because everything in the old environment was made according to some principles and proportions. The craftsmen had intuition or they had simply practised their craft to achieve a very high degree of excellence. Illogical or individual decisions were not made. In modern architecture, though, one can often find some constructions which have no rational grounding but are based only on some exceptional shape patterns”* (ibid).



Figure 251. The harmonious adaptation of the newly-reconstructed building into the streetscape of the Old Town of Trakai (Photo taken by Giedre Jarulaitiene, 2010).



Figure 252. The main features of the traditional Karaite architecture were reconstructed on the main façade of the reconstructed dwelling (Photo taken by Giedre Jarulaitiene, 2014).

The harmonious integration of the reconstructed residential house into the townscape of the Old Town of Trakai was not only sought by the architect, but also requested by his client. As explained by the interviewed owner of the reconstructed building, the local building traditions in Trakai were not formed and maintained by public regulations or some top-down restrictions throughout history. The interviewee emphasized that local building traditions were created on a voluntary basis, by following common features characteristic

of a certain community. Thus, the reconstruction project was likewise presented as a voluntary repetition of the historical architectural appearance, characteristic of the Karaite community: *“We wanted to reconstruct the old building, which was no longer suitable for living, because the wooden parts were rotten. We wanted to rebuild it according to the traditions that have been forming during history in Karaite Street. The buildings here had their own features. Not all of them survived, only some details from the 19th century are left. No one ever regulated how the buildings should be built by then; people constructed their houses according to their abilities and financial resources. They had built, renovated and reconstructed buildings in the course of history... Traditionally, the buildings were wooden, as well as their roofing. The buildings faced the main street endways, and those gable walls were equipped with three windows. [...] We liked this tradition and tried to build our new house similarly. It would have been much cheaper to construct a fully modern house, but we wanted to maintain some authenticity. We had installed all the modern engineering and communication equipment inside, but the exterior was supposed to look historical. However, there has been no financial mechanism established to fund the procedurally authentic constructions. Today they issue requirements, but have no possibilities of maintaining them. People can no longer build in the same way as they did two hundred years ago. The programme is incomplete”* (Interview with the owner of a reconstructed house in Karaite Street, 2011).



Figure 253. The façades of the reconstructed building were historized not only by following the architectural forms, typical of the Minor Town, but also by using such traditional materials on the exterior as wooden boarding and wooden roofing (Photo taken by Giedre Jarulaitiene, 2017).

The interviewed owner of the reconstructed Karaite residential house confirmed the findings that had already been discovered during the first phase of the study when the historical formation of the field of heritage conservation was revealed. Thus, as described above, the interviewed owner confirmed that the subfield of traditional workmanship was

not created by the field of heritage conservation. Nevertheless, private initiatives were taken to adapt some of the building elements, made using the traditional means of production, to historize at least the external appearance of new constructions. Moreover, such choices were not driven by financial gain; instead, they were unprofitable but still preferred as an expression of ethnic identity and belonging to the local historical community.



Figure 254. Such details of traditional craftsmanship as the separate air vents were considered as important components of the reconstructed building not only by the architect, but the owner as well (Photo taken by Giedre Jarulaitiene, 2017).

During the interview, the owner emphasized that the building materials made by traditional means of production were especially valuable, both in terms of economic and cultural worth. The owner was proud of the preference made to order copies of the original windows, which were reproduced by local craftsmen. The architect confirmed that the owner demonstrated exceptional interest in traditional workmanship because the reproductions of wooden windows were more expensive than the prevailing choices of installing mass-produced PVC windows, which loosely imitated only the composition of their historical wooden prototypes: *“It is impossible to force an owner to order the 19th-century or the 20th-century windows with separate air vent openings as it has been done in this specific case. That building was not even protected by the cultural heritage law; it was just another common urban unit. I had suggested the solution which was accepted because the owner had some experience from previous restorations of community buildings. Thus, the owner understood the difference and the value of such preferences”* (Interview with the architect of the reconstruction of the house in Karaitė Street, 2011).

As informed by the architect, the covering of the house with wooden panel cladding, adapted to the original sizes and forms, was initiated by the owner himself. The historical dimensions and composition of wooden boarding were sought to be copied. The mutual understanding between the architect and the owner regarding the original colour of the exterior was reached, even though a modern kind of paint was chosen (Interview with the architect of the reconstruction of the house in Karaite Street, 2011). The owner also emphasized that he had positive previous experience from the above-mentioned reconstruction of the Karaite community building, and therefore he contracted the same roofers to cover the roof with aspen shingles (Interview with the owner of the reconstructed house in Karaite Street, 2011).

The roofer who covered the reconstructed buildings with aspen shingles stated that even though the process of slicing aspen shingles is not manual, the machine for the reproduction of traditional roofing materials was a copy of its actual historical prototype. Such roofing became profitable and especially popular for work on restored or reconstructed buildings in the national parks of the whole of Lithuania, not only in THNP. Thus, even though the roofing company was based in Samogitia – one of the ethnographic areas of Lithuania – their aspen shingles were in high demand in other regions of the country, such as *Aukštaitija* and *Dzūkija*, as well as in the neighbouring countries. However, as described by the roofer, the shingles have been improved by modern antiseptic materials to ensure their durability (Interview with a roofer, 2011). Thus, even though this type of wooden roofing was considered to be traditional and local, it had some advanced upgrades and rather extensive diffusion.



Figure 255. The hand-splitting of pine shingles (*dronyčios*) at the restoration workshop in one of the ethnographic villages in *Dzūkija* region (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2015).



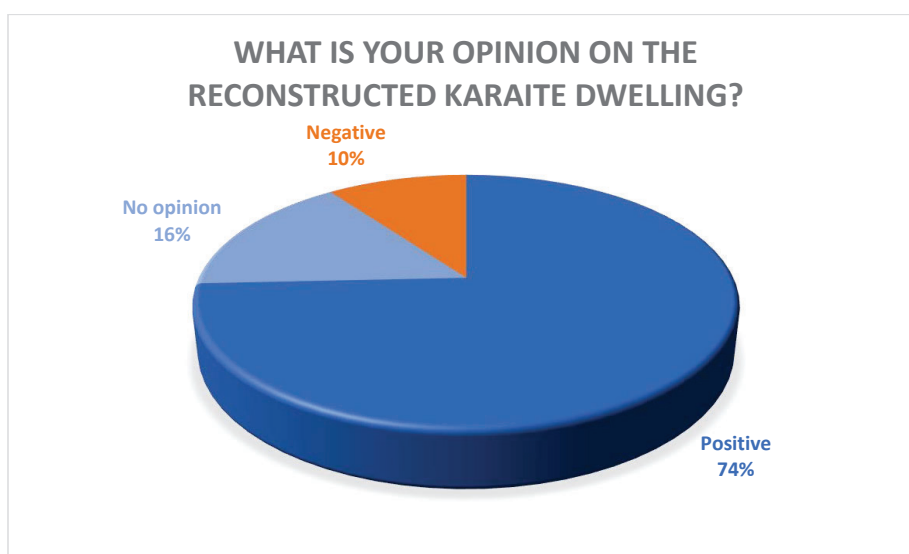
Figure 256. The manual slicing of shingles at the restoration workshop (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2015).



Figure 257. The old mechanical slicing of aspen shingles at the open-air museum in Samogitia (Photo taken by Giedrė Jarulaitienė, 2015).

It should be noted that the changed technological procedure for producing roof shingles also led to differing qualities of that building material, meaning that additional modern means for ensuring durability had to be combined. The time-consuming traditional method of hand-splitting pine shingles was no longer broadly reproduced, even though this method guaranteed a higher quality of shingle as the moisture flowed more quickly through the grooves, which appeared naturally during the process of hand-splitting. However, as the socio-anthropological study showed, those who were involved in the reconstruction process in Karaitė Street did not emphasize the importance of thoroughly following the historical accuracy of the way the historical roofing material was made as long as the final external appearance of a “traditional” roof was reproduced.

The social survey conducted in the Old Town of Trakai presented similar findings and disclosed that most local inhabitants evaluated the reconstruction of the Karaite residential building positively. At the same time, however, it should be noted that the percentage of sceptical and indifferent opinions was higher for the analysed case of reconstruction in Trakai compared with the above-described cases in Kokkola and Røros. The real answers to this question were hiding in the further explanations and were of a rather qualitative character.



Surprisingly, the positive evaluations of the project usually involved explanations that supported the demolition of the original wooden building. Thus, quite a number of local inhabitants were not fascinated by the process of reconstruction, as the representatives of the field of heritage conservation would expect. On the contrary, the positive evaluations were based on the opposite grounds – interviewees sympathized with the renewal project in the Old Town of Trakai as most of the respondents considered the old wooden buildings unsuitable for modern living standards.

The use of traditional techniques (e.g. wooden roofing) was evaluated quite positively by the interviewees, but at the same time the discrepancy between *opus operatum* and *modus operandum* was noticed: “*The authorities require roofs to be covered by wooden shingles or tin, even though those materials are often produced in a modern way, not according to the old technologies*”. The lack of applied procedural authenticity during the reconstruction process of the Karaite residential building was noticed by most of the respondents, and that determined their negative evaluation of the whole project. Consequently, the majority of the negative opinions were caused by discontent with the concealed use of building blocks, which were covered up by the wooden cladding. The misunderstanding of such logic of practice, tolerated by the field of heritage conservation, was expressed as follows: “*It is illogical to cover a block building with wooden panelling. But that was allowed by the authorities. It is difficult to build in the same way as it was done throughout history. There used to be Restoration Workshops in Trakai, but after the old craftsmen had left, the construction workers have been working only with new building materials in the same manner as*

playing with Lego blocks. They no longer possess the knowledge of how to restore old buildings. It is very difficult to find good craftsmen today” (Answers to open questions, the Social Survey at Trakai, 2011). Other respondents added to this opinion by emphasizing the false wooden image of the construction, built from clay building blocks.

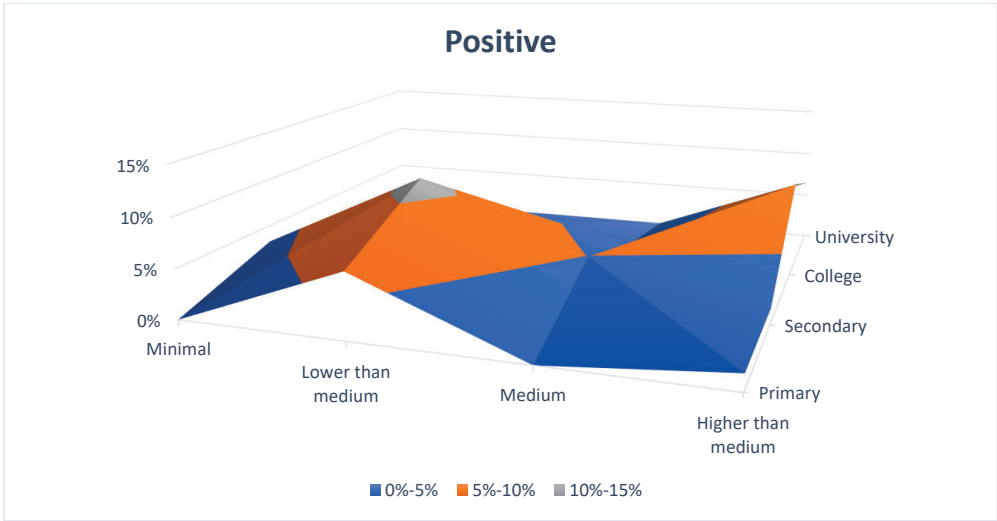
Consequently, the conclusion could be made that the greater number of respondents in the Old Town of Trakai were positive about the reconstruction project, on the condition that the compliance between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi* was achieved, i.e. if the procedural authenticity was maintained. However, differently from the representatives of the field of heritage conservation, the respondents were not that concerned about whether the reconstruction project was compliant with the principle of historical equivalence. The interviewees were much more interested in finding out if the reconstruction of the building was done using appropriate historical techniques and materials, or if the reconstructed structure became only a mould without the equivalent content.

7 The distribution of preferences for traditional workmanship in three different socio-economic urban conservation contexts

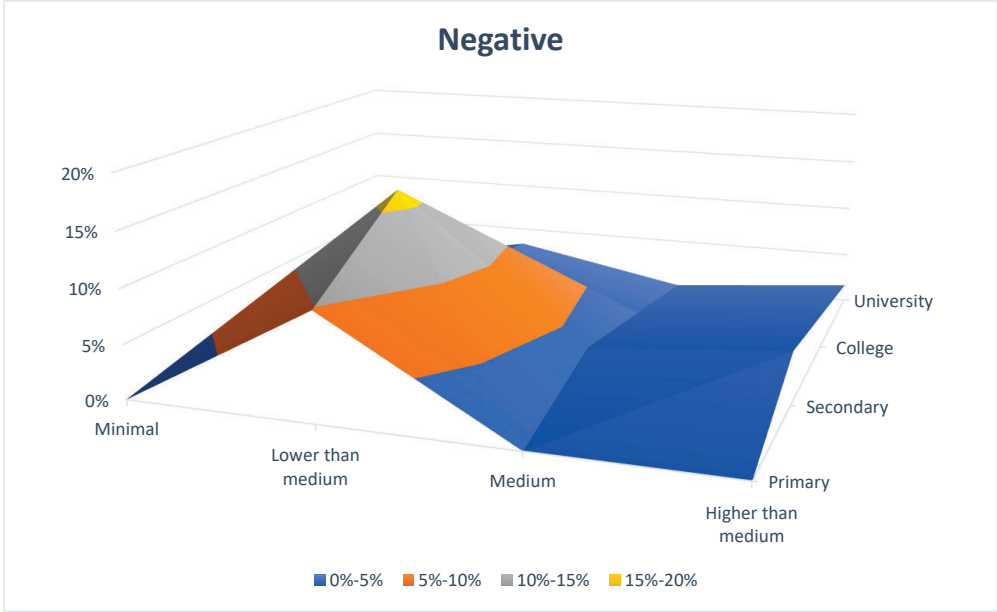
7.1 Why the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros failed to embed its autonomy

As the socio-historical and socio-anthropological studies have shown, the urban conservation at Røros was rather exceptional in comparison with the other cases of inquiry because a special socio-economic environment was created for the subfield of traditional workmanship by the national field of heritage conservation. Differently from the other analysed cases of urban conservation, the national field of heritage conservation created the supply of traditional workmanship in Røros, with the help of a significant public financing mechanism, and thus it aimed to regulate the practice of the subfield as well as sought to influence the choices of its customers – the owners of historical wooden buildings in Røros. The national field of heritage conservation sought not only to create the supply of traditional workmanship, but also to enhance the demand for traditional workmanship in this historical wooden town. In turn, the present social study was aimed at analysing if the public financing mechanisms contributed significantly to establishing both the supply and the demand for traditional workmanship in Røros, or if other socio-economic factors should have been taken into consideration.

In the social survey, 100% of all respondents confirmed that a high supply of traditional workmanship in Røros has been created. Moreover, 100% of the inhabitants who were directly involved with the Outbuilding Project while restoring their private outbuildings expressed positive opinions about the work performed. Even though the Outbuilding Project was considered to provide qualitative workmanship, almost half of all respondents admitted that they would rather not use services of the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros for repair work on their private buildings. Despite the continuous efforts of the national field of heritage conservation to promote the demand for traditional workmanship in Røros, by creating supply through the established special socio-economic conditions for its subfield of traditional workmanship, only 51% of all respondents expressed positive opinions about traditional workmanship in this historical town. The rejections were based on such reasons as slow work procedures and high costs of services, as well as impermanence of traditional materials or building details and a fictitious character of traditional workmanship in general.



Graph 1. The composition of capital possessed by the respondents with positive attitudes towards the products and services of traditional workmanship in Røros.



Graph 2. The composition of capital possessed by the respondents with negative attitudes towards the products and services of traditional workmanship in Røros.

Most of the repair work that was carried out in the last five years using some kind of traditional workmanship involved changing the windows. Most of the interviewed respondents who had changed the historical windows usually stated that “*the new ones were made to look the same as the previous ones*”. Nonetheless, after retrieving more detailed information about the exact type of window copies installed, it came to light that 100% of all those new copies of windows were in fact produced at the local industrial factory (see *Initiatives in the field of heritage conservation which ended up serving the field of building industry*) and were not made by traditional handicraft methods. This example clearly reveals how mass-production companies used the symbolic images of restricted production items to raise their economic capital. Moreover, it seems that the respondents were not concerned at all about the industrial products, seemingly in the traditional appearance, being “fake” copies, i.e. being produced by industrial means instead of being handcrafted, as long as these products of the field of building industry were produced locally. Therefore, by taking into account the above-presented social mapping of respondents’ preferences at Røros, the conclusion could be made that Bourdieu’s theory on how the field of large-scale production is operating to satisfy the demands of customers possessing lower levels of capital (see *Bourdieuian analytical lens*) proved to be applicable to the case of Røros.

The mapping of a social structure of the historical old town of Røros in relation to the distribution of opinions towards traditional workmanship showed that 65% of the residents possessed rather low educational capital. However, the accumulation of educational capital did not play such a crucial role in the acknowledgement of traditional workmanship in Røros as it did in the cases of Kokkola or Trakai – half of those residents who composed the majority of the local population (i.e. those who possessed low education capital from primary and secondary education) expressed positive opinions about traditional workmanship while the other half of the same group of respondents declared negative opinions. The distribution of choices among those residents with college and university diplomas was measured to also be almost equal.

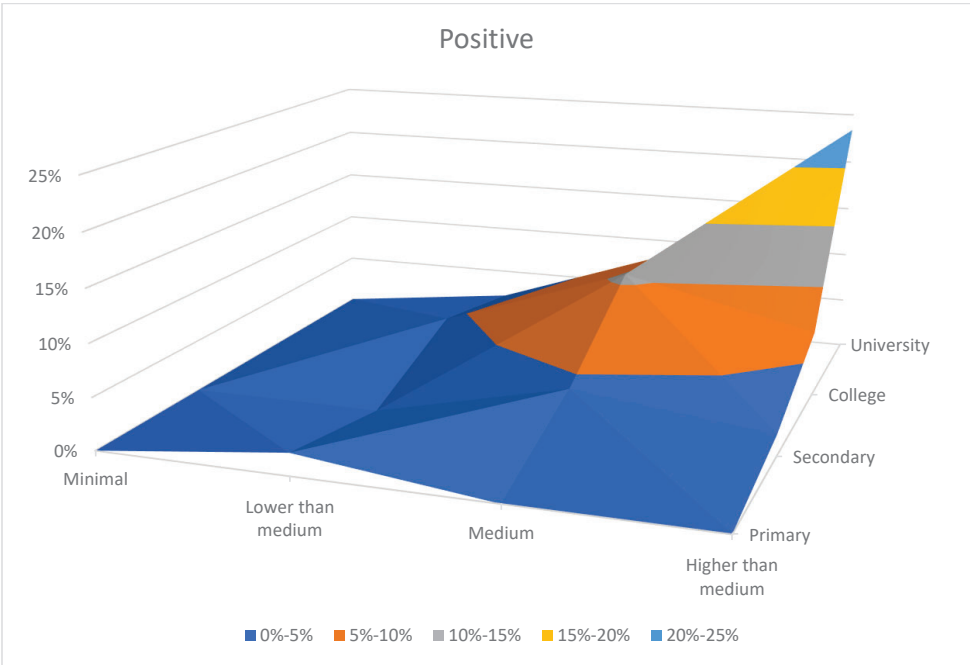
In Røros, the accumulation of economic capital was measured to be a more important factor in forming opinions about traditional workmanship. More than half of those residents who were earning who were earning the national average annual income or higher acknowledged the importance of traditional workmanship, and more than half of those who rejected the importance of traditional workmanship were earning lower than medium wages. Consequently, the monetary factor determined the distribution of tastes for and against the services and materials provided by the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros. The symbolic value generated by the subfield was not appreciated by most of the residents and this could be why the subfield of traditional workmanship failed to operate autonomously from the field of heritage conservation and therefore remained dependent on constant public financial support.

7.2 *The preferences for traditional workmanship as signs of gentrification in Kokkola*

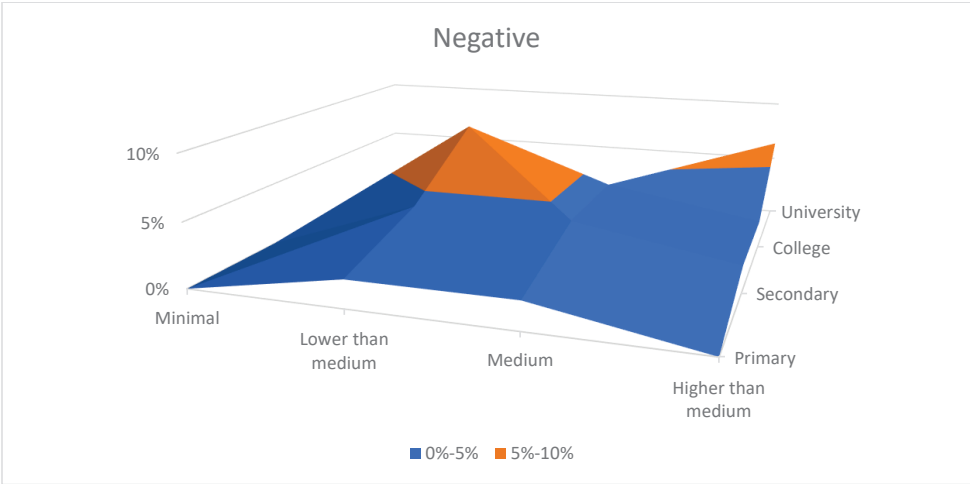
As the analysis of urban conservation of *Neristan* in Kokkola, Finland, displayed (see *The gentrification of Neristan in line with the prevailing taste for vernacular historicism and the amateurish practice of restoration*), this urban conservation area has gained a high status, transforming from a residential area for workers into a residential area for various professionals with high incomes. The fact that *Neristan* is inhabited by people possessing high levels of educational and economic capital was verified during the social survey. The social survey also confirmed the conclusions of the socio-historical analysis, which disclosed that the urban conservation of Kokkola was driven not only by public funds and regulations of the field of heritage conservation, but also by the private initiative of local inhabitants. Almost two thirds (64%) of all informants in *Neristan* have expressed positive opinions about traditional workmanship and this number surpasses the rates measured in Røros and Trakai. Most of the informants who had accomplished any renovation project of their old wooden house in the five years before the survey was conducted had used various techniques or materials of traditional workmanship. They had either repainted their houses with linseed oil paint instead of previously used latex paint or had removed windows dated to the 1960s and replaced them with handmade windows of more antique appearance by copying the historical originals. Some of the informants had even copied the original panels or had reused the old panels in the restoration of the façades.

The survey also revealed a great shortage of services and materials of traditional workmanship in the local market as only 13% of respondents considered the supply of traditional workmanship as being satisfactory. Due to the high demand for traditional workmanship and rather low supply of services and materials, the vacuum was filled by the local inhabitants themselves. The social survey showed that in many cases, renovation work was accomplished by the owners of old wooden houses regardless of whether their main profession was linked with any kind of construction industry.

The process of inquiry has highlighted the two-way relationship between the owners of old wooden houses and the authorities of heritage protection. Less than half of those informants who did any kind of repair work on their old wooden houses in the five years before the survey was conducted had contacted the local authorities of heritage conservation, but the majority of all the questioned informants evaluated the representatives of the field of heritage conservation positively. Critiques of the local authorities of heritage conservation mainly involved the lack of sufficient knowledge on traditional workmanship and the incompetence in providing practical advice and constructive consultations to the inhabitants of historical wooden buildings on pragmatic issues that emerged during actual repair work.



Graph 3. The composition of capital possessed by the respondents with positive attitudes towards the products and services of traditional workmanship in Kokkola.



Graph 4. The composition of capital possessed by the respondents with negative attitudes towards the products and services of traditional workmanship in Kokkola.

The social survey revealed that the accumulation of high levels of educational capital was the most important factor in determining positive opinions towards traditional workmanship in Kokkola, with 87% of respondents who expressed their preferences for traditional workmanship possessing college or university degrees.

At the same time, the survey revealed that the preferences for traditional workmanship in the open market conditions, when the use of traditional workmanship was not stimulated with any help of public financial mechanisms, created by the field of heritage conservation, was also influenced by high levels of economic capital possessed by the respondents. However, even though medium and higher personal incomes were earned by 87% of those informants who were quite positive towards traditional workmanship, the main factor for acknowledging traditional workmanship in Kokkola was the total accumulation of high economic and educational capital. Consequently, symbolic value created by sporadic traditional craftsmen found its customers among the multitude of highly educated inhabitants in Kokkola. The highly educated town dwellers' choice for restricted cultural production increased their cultural and social distinctiveness even more, while their economic capital could ensure continuous demand for skilled craftsmen in the town.

7.3 Traditional workmanship as an expression of ethnic distinctiveness in Trakai

The analysis of the development of urban conservation in Trakai (see *Soviet urban conservation through the principle of contrast and the aspirations for harmony with the pre-Soviet townscape after the recovery of national independence*) revealed that, if the general concern with the medieval masonry castles could be dated to the end of the 18th century, then the existing wooden buildings of Trakai caught the attention of the field of heritage conservation much later. They were first surveyed in the years 1994–1995, which led to the regulation plan of the Old Town of Trakai being approved in 1996. This Special Plan encompassed two areas, Minor Town and Major Town, which were inhabited by various ethnic and religious minorities. The historical wooden architecture of these areas differed, as did the present-day practice of restoration or reconstruction of the heritage objects despite the fact that common rules are applied and supervised by the THNP administration. As the study of a particular reconstruction case of a Karaite residential building (see *Professional reconstruction of an image of Karaite architecture*) displayed, there was a huge gap between the *logic of practice*, which guided the operations in the field of heritage conservation, and the preferences of local inhabitants. The social survey confirmed these findings as 82% of respondents expressed rather negative opinions about the local authorities of heritage conservation in Trakai.

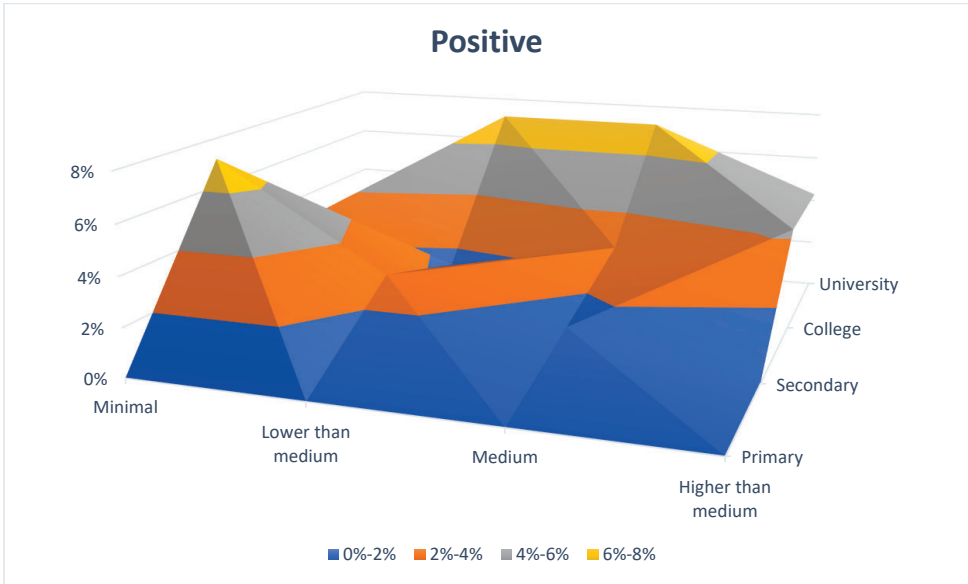
Differently from the disappointment with the local field of heritage conservation, the traditional workmanship was evaluated more positively by the respondents, indicating that the pre-industrial means of production and historical building techniques were not considered part of the agenda of the field of heritage conservation in Trakai. The study revealed that 43% of respondents expressed positive opinions about traditional workmanship, while the rest based their negative opinions on the following: the techniques and materials of traditional workmanship were considered short-term, outdated or fire hazards. Another interesting finding is that the percentage of positive recognition of traditional workmanship was higher among the residents of Minor Town, accounting for almost half of the respondents who inhabited this specific area of the Old Town of

Trakai. Moreover, more than half of those respondents who were positively disposed towards traditional workmanship were Karaites, and this finding presupposes the possibility of using traditional workmanship as an expression of their ethnic distinction.

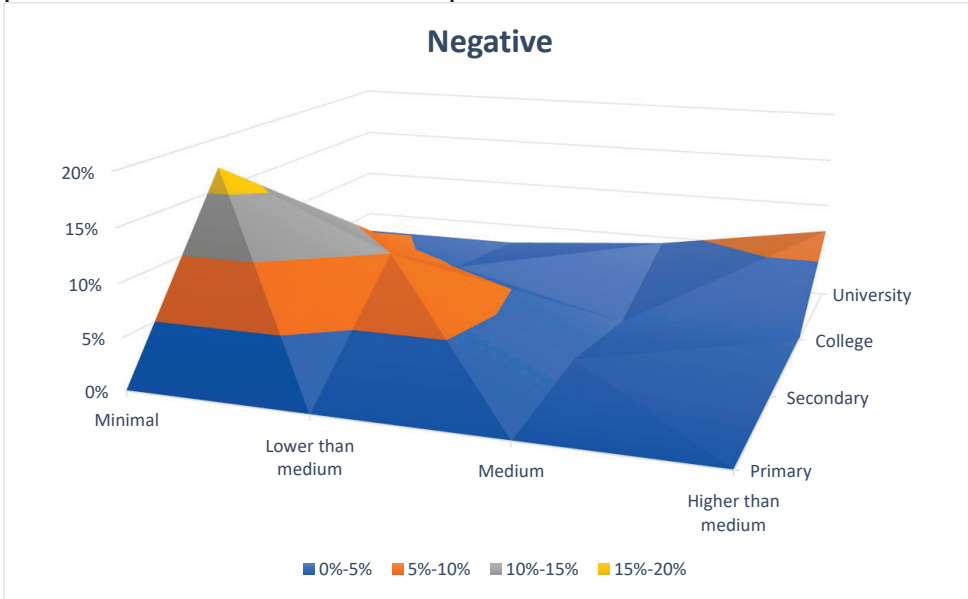
Consequently, despite the fact that Major Town and Minor Town were regulated according to the same legal instruments, the socio-historical analysis and the social survey revealed that they were regarded as being of different levels of significance in practice. The social survey showed that the highest percentage of inhabitants to have used traditional workmanship during any kind of repair work were the owners of the old wooden houses located in Minor Town. The survey also disclosed that while modern PVC windows were installed in 64% of renovated façades in Major Town, the percentage of such innovations was lower in Minor Town and did not exceed half of the cases. Moreover, while 70% of the repair work on roofs in Major Town were performed with modern materials, such as asbestos-free fibre cement, such cases were not recorded in Minor Town and all roof renovations were performed following the guidelines of traditional workmanship, i.e. by choosing tin-plate or wooden shingle roofing.

The social survey confirmed the observations made during the socio-historical study that the supply of traditional workmanship was rather low in Trakai. The survey affirmed that in these cases, when an owner was positive about traditional workmanship and was willing to use services or materials of restricted cultural production, senior craftsmen were hired who usually did not have any kind of approved special education. These craftsmen usually came from the countryside and practised their craft as embodied knowledge, learned early in life from their ancestors.

The social survey disclosed not only the uneven distribution of tastes towards traditional workmanship in the Old Town of Trakai, but also mapped a different social structure of the inhabitants. While more than half of all the residents in Minor Town had gained college or university diplomas, less than half of all the residents in Major Town possessed such high educational capital. Interestingly, the distribution of inhabitants with medium or higher income seemed to be the opposite: while 47% of inhabitants of Major Town possessed higher than medium economic capital, only 30% of inhabitants in Minor Town did. Consequently, the case of Trakai clearly indicated the importance of high levels of educational capital (i.e. cultural capital) for positive evaluation of traditional workmanship, while the possession of high economic capital did not have the same effect.



Graph 5. The composition of capital possessed by the respondents with positive attitudes towards the products and services of traditional workmanship in Trakai.



Graph 6. The composition of capital possessed by the respondents with negative attitudes towards the products and services of traditional workmanship in Trakai.

In total, 73% of all surveyed inhabitants in Trakai who had positive opinions about traditional workmanship possessed college or university degrees. These inhabitants were also the potential customers for the services and materials of traditional workmanship, but such cases were rather individual and sporadic and failed to create a constant major demand for traditional workmanship in Trakai, differently from the case of Kokkola. It should also be noted that the quantitative study confirmed that the services of traditional craftsmen were especially demanded by members of the Karaite community as it added symbolic value to their property and contributed to increasing their ethnic distinctiveness.

8 Discussion of the findings

This PhD study was initiated in order to test the hypothesis that national fields of heritage conservation develop demand for traditional workmanship by creating supply, i.e. by establishing the subfields of traditional workmanship. According to Bourdieu, a field within society constructs its own certain beliefs and values as a means of reinforcing the group's cohesion. Subsequently, the fields compete for the power in society to dictate what is legitimate. The taken positions are not static though; the fields strive to gain the highest degree of autonomy, and the level of it is defined by how much the field's structuredness is influenced by other fields (Webster, 2011, 43). Thus, the historiographical analyses of the fields of heritage conservation in the three chosen urban environments displayed dynamism as the structure of the fields of heritage conservation changed, as did the contents, while even such a fundamental notion as *heritage* was characterized by shifting criteria over time. The historiographical study revealed when, how and why the new accompanying concept of *traditional workmanship* was introduced by the fields of heritage conservation in the three different environments of urban conservation. In line with Bourdieu's evaluation of aesthetic choices as individual strategies for profit (economic or cultural) maximization, influenced by social positions and their varying trajectories (Gorski, 2013, 354), the social reasons for the emergence and the further shifting choices for varying classifications of the central notion of *traditional workmanship* were researched from different space and time perspectives.

Bourdieu elaborated on the concept of a field of cultural production which, in this respect, was equated to the field of heritage conservation, by explaining that its structure could be divided into two parts of *restricted cultural production*, which “*develops its own criteria for the production and evaluation of its products, thus achieving the truly cultural recognition accorded by the peer group whose members are both privileged clients and competitors*”, and *large-scale cultural production*, “*which submits to the laws of competition for the conquest of the largest possible market*” (Bourdieu, 1985, 17). Thus, the internal division of the field of heritage conservation, by emphasizing the role of its subfields, was also a useful methodological tool of the theoretical framework in researching the field, by highlighting the differing *logic of practice* and *modus operandi* of a *subfield of restricted cultural production* and a *subfield of large-scale cultural production*. According to Bourdieu, the level of autonomy of the field of cultural production is highly dependent on the subfield of restricted cultural production, i.e. when “*the symbolic relationship of forces is favourable to producers who are most independent of demand*” (Bourdieu, 1996, 217), and therefore the subfield of traditional workmanship was selected as the central object of research in analysing its role in the field of heritage conservation.

The main concern of this study was focused on the role of the subfield of restricted cultural production (i.e. the subfield of traditional workmanship), also due to its growing legitimizing power within the field of heritage conservation in the main case of this study – Røros in Norway. The study also aimed at evaluating the positioning of the subfield of traditional workmanship in differing socio-economic environments; therefore, the reference cases of urban conservation in Kokkola (Finland) and Trakai (Lithuania) were chosen in addition to Røros. The highlighted varying statuses of subfields of traditional workmanship in different space and time dimensions enabled the disclosure of the level of dependency of the subfield of restricted cultural production on the field of heritage conservation and vice versa, and therewith allowed the hypothesis to be

tested and the main research question to be answered: What is the role of traditional workmanship in urban conservation of wooden historical towns?

The main research question was subsequently divided into more detailed inquiries, which enabled the research to be implemented from multidisciplinary angles, by invoking historiographical, anthropological and sociological perspectives and employing diversified methods of research. The accumulation and analysis of multiple sources of evidence was considered to be one of the most suitable research strategies for a case study type of research (Atkin, 2008b). The attempt to track multiple lines and levels of causation to whatever extent practically possible was also promoted by Bourdieu, who saw the social world as an infinite manifold of causal interdependencies.

The flow of causal interdependencies was first and foremost studied from the historiographical or, to be more precise, the socio-historical perspective. As noted by the sociologist Philip S. Gorski, if mainstream historical discourse is often limited to a simple identification of a sequence of events, then Bourdieu's socio-historical explanations revealed causal conjunctions and identified causal patterns or sequences of events that recurred across different contexts, but at the same time rejected the grandiose aspirations for creating general social laws (Gorski, 2013, 356–358). In agreement with Gorski's interpretation of Bourdieu's socio-historical research strategy, this study also sought to detect the causal conjunctions in the field of heritage conservation which reappeared over time and across geographically diffused cases. Moreover, the study was not only aimed at covering a wide spatial and temporal breadth, but it was also enriched by displaying depth by invoking socio-anthropological analyses. Thus, the additional detailed anthropological case studies were targeted at the reconstruction of motives and the *logic of practice* that underly actions and judgements of various agents involved in practical implementation of principles of traditional workmanship with individual conservation objects in each of the three chosen urban conservation sites. Lastly, the conclusive social analysis enabled the detection and comparison of causal connections between the three cases of urban conservation in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai.

As the very structure of this study was arranged according to the research questions raised and the methodologies chosen to answer the inquiries, so are the findings presented and discussed below. Firstly, results of the historiographical research were displayed from all three cases of urban conservation, by highlighting the answers to the first group of research questions about the creation of the subfields of traditional workmanship by the national fields of heritage conservation in Norway, Finland and Lithuania. Parallel to that, the varying classifications of the notion of traditional workmanship were presented and explanations for particular validations discussed. Thereafter, the findings of detailed case studies were reviewed, by aiming not for a systematic comparison of findings but rather for the reassessment of socio-historical conclusions as the anthropological data revealed undisclosed, tacit motives, which were detected by lengthy participant observations and comprehensive interviews. Lastly, the findings were cross-checked again by further social analysis, which aimed at answering the third group of research questions about the level of demand for traditional workmanship in the three different contexts of urban conservation and possible reasons for the choices of the surveyed inhabitants of the historical wooden districts.

8.1 Conclusions of the socio-historical analyses

8.1.1 The state-created supply of traditional workmanship in Røros

The historiographical analysis revealed how the field of heritage conservation created the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros to serve its purpose of restoring, conserving or repairing historical constructions, by highlighting the importance of handicrafts versus industrial mass production. The socio-historical studies of urban conservation in Røros also disclosed that the very notion of traditional workmanship was not static, and the relationship between the handicrafts and industrial means of production were not always antagonistic, but rather fluctuating throughout history. If the term “building traditions” was associated with vernacular woodworking techniques for Eilert Sundt, then evolutionary industrial advances were included in the concept as long as they were of local, not foreign, origin. Nicolaysen, the patriarch of the Norwegian field of heritage conservation, considered the medieval notched-log construction to be a traditional type of building technique and devalued the decorative elements that imitated masonry architecture and were introduced into the wooden building traditions. Simultaneously, the industrial improvements of medieval crafts and the new Swiss chalet style were accepted by Nicolaysen to the degree that special features of wood as a building material were expressed. The creator of the public heritage conservation system in Norway, Fett, criticized his predecessor by arguing that the last creative period of “folk art” in Norway was affected by mercantilism in the 18th century which reached Norway from abroad and flourished within the framework of the corresponding decorative styles. Consequently, the focus of the field of heritage conservation on medieval heritage was questioned, and Røros was finally validated as an object of heritage.

After Røros had become acknowledged as urban heritage, it was soon elevated to a high status of national significance. Also, Røros served as a platform for strengthening the positions of the overruling professionals within the national field of heritage conservation, in the first place by Halvor Vreim, who aimed at recreating the aesthetic appearance of Røros when it experienced its golden age, under the control of the Copper Works. All the subsequent changes were regarded as damaging the “true” townscape of Røros. Thus, the period when Vreim implemented his urban conservation campaign in Røros was later named as “*Vreimifization*”, due to the fact that many of the original historical building details were replaced by historically unfounded substitutes. Vreim was accused of grounding his practice on the ideology of Viollet-le-Duc’s “stylistic restoration” by the present-day professionals within the field of heritage conservation who claim to be following the ideology of modern scientific restoration. However, it is important to note that the only obvious discordance of Vreim’s developed restoration theory from the dogma of scientific restoration was the principle of “historical equivalence”. While Vreim believed that the quality of workmanship depended on the ability of a carpenter to produce accurate copies of historical building elements, the Venice Charter, on the contrary, claimed that “*Replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence*” (Venice Charter, Article 12). The principle of “historical equivalence”, which was coined by the Italian architect and engineer Camillo Boito at the end of the 19th century in order to solve the conflicting ideologies of Viollet-le-Duc and Ruskin, was first and foremost favoured by modernist architects and enforced by the Venice Charter in 1964.

The historical analysis disclosed that the confusion regarding the principle of “historical equivalence” still prevailed alongside the further development of urban conservation in Røros, and it was even strengthened when the field of heritage conservation established its new creation, the subfield of traditional workmanship. The creation of the subfield was initiated locally by Sverre Ødegaard and aimed to emphasize the local character of Røros’s building traditions, while Seppo Heinonen’s pioneering initiatives to include the foreign, industrial, Swiss chalet style into the “true image” of Røros was still unnoticed at that time. However, the actual stimulus for strengthening the subfield of traditional workmanship by the field of heritage conservation was grounded on the negative reaction towards the *logic of practice* of modern scientific restoration, enforced by the Venice Charter. The international Nara Document on Authenticity primarily emphasized the importance of maintaining authenticity in traditions and techniques, while the national Norwegian field of heritage conservation went even further and rationalized the term “procedural authenticity” (*prosessuell autentisitet*) as “historically correct in relation to individual cultural monuments because it contributed to their maintenance by including necessary additions to correspond in the best way possible to the authentic components” (Balto and Dammann, 2004, 7). Thus, the historiographical study revealed that the internationally acknowledged principle of “historical equivalence” was not applied thoroughly by the representatives of the national field of heritage conservation: either it was interpreted contrariwise or it was about to become dismissed due to the growing significance of the subfield of traditional workmanship, as its *logic of practice* proved to contradict the ideology of modern scientific restoration, established by the Venice Charter.

The empowering of the subfield of traditional workmanship was fostered by the Outbuilding Project, launched in Røros in 1996, in consequence of the report by ICOMOS Norway led by Larsen which wanted to highlight the lack of applied traditional techniques in urban conservation of less significant outbuildings. The Outbuilding Project was intended to serve as a local practical implementation of the alternative rationale of the national field of heritage conservation, by emphasizing the *modus operandi* offered by the subfield of traditional workmanship. The Outbuilding Project took its origins from the Medieval Project and international collaboration, but soon “the medieval” was restricted to “the Norwegian” even if the nation-building effect was not consciously intentional (Fjeldheim, 2012, 116). Moreover, gradually even the international, the industrial Swiss chalet style – i.e. the Gothic revival in wooden architecture – was assimilated as part of the traditional Norwegian workmanship by strengthening the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros. Consequently, the industrial modes of production of the 19th century were validated and reclassified as being a legitimate part of the national building traditions by the field of heritage conservation.

If the industrial modes of production of the 19th century were finally legitimized as a proper *modus operandi* by the subfield of traditional workmanship and the field of heritage conservation, then the industrial products of the 20th and 21st centuries were considered of lesser value. The socio-historical study revealed that the urban historical landscape was perceived to become disturbed by those buildings, the appearance of which clearly indicated their recent historical origin, i.e. when contemporary *opus operatum* correlated with the contemporary *modus operandi*. The principle of historical equivalence, embedded in the Venice Charter of 1964, which formed the core of modern conservation, was not accepted in the practice of urban conservation in Røros, and therefore the subfield of traditional workmanship was created so as to realize the alternative *logic of practice* in the field of heritage conservation.

Simultaneously, however, the antiquated aesthetics produced by modern industrial means was still generally appreciated as being less harmful to the “true image of Røros” (Jarulaitienė, 2016) despite the efforts of the field of heritage conservation to raise demand for the created supply of the subfield of traditional workmanship. Moreover, the symbolic and legitimating power of the subfield of traditional workmanship grew and started to challenge its own creator, the field of heritage conservation, by increasing its autonomy and turning towards the large-scale building industry.

8.1.2 Gentrification as a catalyst for amateur traditional workmanship in Kokkola

The historical study of the urban conservation in Kokkola revealed that the concepts of “heritage” and “traditional workmanship” were also undergoing various phases of transformation throughout history. However, differently from the prevailing practice of the field of heritage conservation in Røros, which considered preservation, maintenance and even creation of homogeneity of the townscape as the very aim of its *logic of practice*, the historiographers of the urban history of Kokkola and the representatives of the Finnish field of heritage conservation emphasized the diversity of building traditions that emerged as a consequence of foreign trade connections, and thus formed the exceptional cultural identity of a town, contrary to the more local character of the countryside. Differently from Røros, Kokkola was not highlighted as possessing exceptional national features; rather, the focus was pointed towards evidence of foreign trade in its physical historically built environment. In particular, the physical traces of international relations were praised as creating the exceptional qualities of a Finnish coastal wooden town. Constant changes in the townscape were perceived as being inevitable, and physical features of urban built structures were regarded as expressing dynamism of the prevailing social values, historical circumstances and architectural ideals, spreading across the national borders. The foreign architectural influences determined by the complicated political history of Finland (the country which first formed a common kingdom with Sweden and afterwards was incorporated into the Russian Empire in the 19th century) were all taken into account when describing the characteristics of the architectural heritage of Kokkola. Even the regular urban structure that was considered the only distinctive national feature of the Finnish wooden town, attributable also to the historical urban composition of Kokkola, was explained as originating from abroad and was labelled as belonging to the “*Scandinavian Renaissance*”.

Despite the absence of emphasis on the national features of the urban heritage of Kokkola within the field of heritage conservation, the sustained focus on traditional characteristics was observed throughout most of the scope of socio-historical inquiry; however, “traditional” was not necessarily equated to “national” or “local” but was rather identified as being “pre-industrial”. Commonly, the second part of the 19th century was considered the final phase in the development of the “traditional” wooden town in Finland by the field of heritage conservation, due to new regulations promoting fireproof masonry architecture, and the prevalence of modern industrial wooden constructions. The physical features of historical wooden towns also started to change at that time due to the introduction of the general building code of 1856, which promoted masonry constructions in central urban areas. The masonry buildings grew significantly in scale and interrupted the modest character of a Finnish wooden town. Differently from the reasons that

motivated the urban conservation of Røros, the urban conservation plan of Neristan, one of the wooden areas in Kokkola, was a counter-reaction against the actual urban plans to revitalize the entire Kokkola, by following the ideology of rational functionalism. However, Neristan received legal protection in 1985, but that did not stop a number of historical buildings from disappearing in the urban conservation area. Thus, the socio-historical study revealed that the legal protection plan did not have much influence on the urban conservation of Neristan, nor on the practical architectural conservation of certain historical buildings. The research showed that the urban conservation plan was considered highly significant only by one group of interviewees: representatives of authorities of the field of heritage conservation. This controversy was important to note so as to better understand the process of how Neristan finally gained exceptional cultural and social status. Differently from the other case studies, most of the informants for the socio-historical analysis at Kokkola emphasized the owner of a historical building as the most important agent in the process of the general acknowledgement of Neristan as urban heritage.

Thus, it could be claimed that the process of gentrification contributed significantly to the urban conservation of Neristan, as opposed to major state interference by public financial support or a strict regulative system. The process of gentrification promised social and economic capital for every owner of a historical building in the area as long as the maintenance of their property, by applying the aesthetic ideals of vernacular historicism, was sustained. Thus, the aim of the local community was to promote further gentrification of the old urban area by applying the principle of “historical equivalence” in a reverse sense, i.e. by justifying the restorations of historical appearances. If the historical appearances were recreated by modern means of production during the second half of the 20th century in Kokkola, i.e. the historized *opus operatum* was produced by modern *modus operandi*, the situation started to change during the last few decades due to the growing interest in “traditional workmanship” among the inhabitants and owners of historical buildings. The changing attitude towards “traditional workmanship” was fostered by the altered composition of the term “traditional”, which was no longer merely associated with “pre-industrial” but also with “eco-friendly” and therefore “healthy”. Thus, the transformed definition of the term increased motivation among the general population of the urban conservation site to get engaged in voluntary architectural conservation themselves.

Consequently, the growing interest and the above-described socio-economic motives stimulated the formation of a new semi-organized local association, comprising local inhabitants and owners of the historic buildings in Kokkola. Hence, if the subfield of traditional workmanship was not formed by the field of heritage conservation in Finland, the first signs of such a subfield were observed as being established in Kokkola. Differently from the above-presented findings for the case study of Røros, where the national field of heritage conservation founded the subfield of traditional workmanship and played the crucial role in urban and architectural conservation, the subfield of traditional workmanship in Kokkola was about to be formed under the field of real estate or construction industry. Moreover, the process of the creation of the subfield was largely influenced by the growing demand among the local inhabitants of Neristan.

8.1.3 Outcomes of the industrialized Soviet modern urban conservation in Trakai

Even though Trakai in Lithuania has been identified as one of the national symbols of the country's constant historical struggles for independence, this association was principally confined to the Island Castle. Besides, if this exceptional monument was the first to draw the attention of enthusiasts in heritage, then the initial steps of heritage restoration were legitimized by officially declared alternative motives. As the socio-historical study revealed, the major activities of heritage conservation in Trakai started when the country was occupied by Soviet Russia; the reconstruction of the medieval Island Castle was justified by linking the reconstruction to the local resistance to Western Christianization, spread by the Teutonic Knights. However, the ruling Communist Party in Moscow perceived the initiatives in Trakai as based on nationalistic motives, so the Party threatened the members of local heritage conservation, who, according to the findings of the socio-historical study, were functioning as a subfield under the larger field of architecture and urban planning at that time.

The socio-historical analysis also showed that, in the end, the reconstruction of the Island Castle served as one of the impulses in creating the autonomous field of heritage conservation in Lithuania which was then guided by the paradigm of scientific restoration. The newly formed field of heritage conservation had strict hierarchical control, topped with a group of professional architects, engineers and historians of art and architecture, possessing high levels of cultural capital, whose major concern was the scientific analysis of material traces. The analyses were intended for designing the modern equivalents of historic materials, which were supposed to be made by industrial means of production. A countrywide system of industrial production and a supply of special building materials, intended for restorations and reconstructions, was established. Meanwhile, the producers of the materials and performing craftsmen were isolated from the legitimizing power. They were devalued to factory workers and builders, who were simply supposed to follow the instructions provided by members of a vast bureaucratic apparatus. Consequently, the field of heritage conservation did not aim to recreate the "traditional" *modus operandi*, plain imitations or historic material and building element equivalents, but these items were instead instructed to be made by industrial means of production. Subsequently, the new *opus operatum* differed from the historical materials because they were made by modern *modus operandi*, but such distinctions were not perceived negatively by the field of heritage conservation as the Soviet regime wanted to disconnect the modern social structure from all the historical forms of social order which were displayed as being oppressive. Thus, the principle of "historical equivalence", declared by the Venice Charter in 1964, was thoroughly embodied by the field of heritage conservation; the historical forms and modes of production were supposed to remain in the past and were not supposed to be repeated and reproduced, while all the necessary interventions were supposed to "*be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp*" (The Venice Charter, Article 9, 1964).

While scientific restorations of exceptional monuments were often justified by the motive of depicting the oppressing aristocracy and emphasizing its historical distance from the modern Soviet socio-economic structure, the restorations of modest wooden urban structures served the very same purpose: the "miserable" character of wooden buildings was supposed to prove the impoverished status of the suppressed classes. Consequently, even if the urban structure of the Old Town of Trakai was dominated by wooden dwellings and was classified as vernacular folk heritage in the Soviet urban regeneration plans, it was supposed to mark the historical distinction to the backward past. Thus, the restoration or conservation of vernacular folk architecture did not involve

the revival or maintenance of any kind of traditional *modus operandi*. Instead, the traditions were supposed to remain in the past while the new wooden parts for the restoration and conservation of architectural folk heritage were produced in the newly established Scientific Workshop of Restoration.

Thus, in Soviet times, the field of heritage conservation followed the *logic of practice* of scientific restoration and modern conservation. The embodied cultural capital of craftsmen, i.e. their tacit knowledge, was not considered a reliable source of information and their practical skills were not validated in order to be reproduced. The field of heritage conservation focused on scientific research while the practice was occupied with the conservation of building materials by modern chemical substances that would modify their organic qualities and prolong their life. All responsibility for the protection of cultural heritage was monopolized by the state institutions, which were oriented towards the application of scientifically proven industrial solutions instead of natural materials, such as wood which was perceived as a fire risk and a rapidly decaying organic material.

Lithuania regained its independence in 1990 and the country rapidly transitioned from Soviet socialism to capitalism, but the period of transformation also proved to be decades of disappointment for the representatives of the field of heritage conservation. There was a strong belief that once the private ownership of real estate was restored, the free market economy would automatically self-regulate and fulfil the goals of the field of heritage conservation *per se*. However, the field of heritage conservation struggled to be converted from the *logic of practice* based on restrictions to the *logic of practice* grounded on the promotion of the field's aims. Besides, the conversion was needed because the Soviet socio-economic system of state-owned real estate in the country was dismantled, and the role of a private owner was re-established. The newly formed national field of heritage conservation failed to form a stimulating system as no financial compensation for the preferred choices of the field were offered as in the case of Røros, nor was the objectified cultural capital, i.e. historical buildings, equated to exceptional economic capital that would have initiated the gentrification of historical wooden areas as in the case of Kokkola.

Nonetheless, the socio-historical study revealed that individual cases of restoration of wooden historical buildings were appearing in historical urban areas. However, differently from Røros, where the goals of the national field of heritage conservation were supposed to be implemented by creating the subfield of traditional workmanship, the sporadic instances of the revival of procedural authenticity in Trakai were made on private initiatives of individual owners of historical buildings or local groups of cultural minorities. After the independence of Lithuania had been restored, the wooden urban heritage of Trakai was finally recognized as bearing the multi-ethnic and multi-religious traces of the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, the principle of procedural authenticity was adapted fragmentally and individually in Trakai where the ruling *logic of practice* of professional historicism was established by the special urban conservation plan and focused mainly on the recreation of the pre-Soviet urban environment, i.e. the reproduction of historical exteriors in volumes, sizes and forms.

8.2 Assessing the socio-anthropological discoveries

8.2.1 The struggle of tastes: towards the autonomy of the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros

The in-depth socio-anthropological case study of the recent construction process of the new outbuilding in the *Kaffestuggu* courtyard disclosed struggles between the field of heritage conservation and its own creation – the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros. The struggles were rather tacitly expressed by favouring particular aesthetic appearances, i.e. *opus operatum*, carried out by specific *modus operandi*, while the preferred contrasting tastes signified the rising distinction between the field of heritage conservation and its subfield of traditional workmanship. Initially, the field of heritage conservation aimed at creating the subfield of traditional workmanship to serve its own aims: the craftsmen were supposed to confine their scope of practice to the restorations of legitimized objects of heritage. Meanwhile, reconstructions of entire buildings could only be acknowledged under exceptional circumstances and if comprehensive historical documentation was available. Any inexact imitation of a historical building was considered a scientifically ungrounded “pastiche” by the field of heritage conservation, which has been following the dogma of “historical equivalence”, rooted by the Venice Charter of 1964, and the *logic of practice* of modern conservation and scientific restoration.

Thus, the very fact that the private initiative won the crusade of tastes and succeeded in constructing a new outbuilding in its traditional appearance, even though it was not realized in a fully “procedurally authentic” way, proves the growing autonomy of the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros. The creative adaptation of a craftsman’s skill embodied the cultural capital, i.e. the carpenter’s practical skills, and the decorative traces of manual external woodworking, cut into façades of the new outbuilding at *Kaffestuggugård*, highlighted the new exceptional status acquired by those carpenters operating within the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros. The study revealed how a craftsman’s embodied cultural capital was institutionalized by the field of heritage conservation, but eventually turned out to challenge the field itself. Moreover, the extensive practice and extraordinary knowledge of the historical building techniques not only ensured a higher level of autonomy from the national field of heritage conservation, but the institutionalized cultural capital was also used to strengthen the social position of the “traditional” craftsman in relation to ordinary local builders practising the customary contemporary *modus operandi*. The socio-anthropological study displayed that the institutionalized cultural capital of the “traditional” craftsman was even used as a legitimating instrument in the process of designing the new construction after the decisions made by professionals of such related fields as urban planning, architecture and civil engineering were misrecognized.

Finally, the socio-anthropological analysis disclosed that the autonomy of the subfield of traditional workmanship was believed to be ensured by collaborating with the large-scale building industries and by operating within the open market in Røros and beyond, instead of functioning within the socio-economic boundaries defined by the field of heritage conservation. However, as the earlier findings of the socio-historical study showed, the previous single attempts of the subfield of traditional workmanship to operate in the open market economy resulted in the loss of its exceptional cultural and symbolic capital. The large-scale building industry has been functioning on a rather different *logic of practice*, guided by the distinctly validated combination

of capital, and mainly in response to the prevailing demand for mass-produced constructions that are “traditional” only in their exterior appearance.

8.2.2 The demand for vernacular historicism as a starting point for the formation of the subfield of traditional workmanship in Kokkola

As the above-presented findings of the socio-historical inquiry showed, the subfield of traditional workmanship was not created by the field of heritage conservation in Kokkola, and the field did not significantly impact the practice of heritage conservation in Neristan. On the contrary, the socio-anthropological analysis revealed that the neglected historical building chosen as an object for the in-depth case study was preserved mainly due to the private initiative of the new owner. The personal intentions were not simply aimed at obtaining economic benefits; rather, they simultaneously served the common purpose of the inhabitants of the urban conservation area. However, the historical accuracy was not followed during the process of renovation, and thus the objectives of the field of heritage conservation, which follows the principles of modern conservation and scientific restoration, were not fully employed. The renovation instead followed the alternative *logic of practice*, based on the principles of health promotion and environmental sustainability, for instance by creatively adapting the reused building materials and by ignoring the incidents of historic falsification. The owner of the chosen historical building and most of the interviewed inhabitants of Neristan expressed their preferences for the creative historicism rather than explicit and authentic contemporary architectural expressions.

The study showed that the combination of capital possessed by the new owner determined the outcome of the aesthetic preferences, i.e. *opus operatum*, and the means of production, i.e. *modus operandi*, applied. Cultivation of the embodied cultural capital in woodworking, which was inherited from the family, and the simultaneous possession of high institutionalized cultural capital conditioned the owner’s inclination towards exceptional products of restricted cultural production. Moreover, in this particular case, as well as in many other cases of renovation or restoration in Kokkola, the skills of restricted cultural production, i.e. traditional workmanship, were maintained and practised by the owners of historical buildings themselves. In particular, in this urban conservation area, a number of cases of voluntary involvement in the practice of heritage conservation were observed as the gentrification of Neristan resulted in the inheritance of the historic environment by new settlers. As described by Bourdieu, “*the taking over of the inheritor by his heritage, which is the precondition for the appropriation of the heritage (and is by no means mechanical or inevitable) takes place under the combined effect of the conditionings entitled by his position as inheritor and the educative action of his predecessors. (...) The inherited inheritor, appropriated to his estate, has no need to will, i.e. to deliberate, choose and consciously decide, in order to do what is appropriate for the interests of the estate, its conservation and enlargement. He may, strictly speaking, know neither what he is doing nor what he is saying and yet do nothing that is not consistent with the demands of the heritage*” (Bourdieu, 1981, 306).

During the field trips to Neristan, the local community’s growing interest in heritage conservation was observed. The first signs of the subfield of traditional workmanship were also appearing which were initiated by the private owners of historic buildings in Kokkola. Differently from the Norwegian case, however, the subfield was about to be created within the field of real estate or

even the field of building industry. The subfield was about to be formed by the local inhabitants and was intended to serve them as well as the demand for traditional workmanship, increased due to the personification of the urban historic environment and the association of the “traditional” with the “healthy” and the “personal”. In that way, the old buildings of the historic urban environment of Neristan were inherited rather individually, and the historical *modus operandi* was often applied as the embodied cultural capital of the owner himself.

8.2.3 Remnants of traditional workmanship as an accessory for the professional historicist façadisme in Trakai

The in-depth socio-anthropological analysis of a particular case of reconstruction of a historic wooden building in Trakai verified and supported the findings of the socio-historical inquiry, which revealed that the subfield of traditional workmanship was not established in Trakai, and the occasional applications of historical *modus operandi* in urban conservation were conditioned by the private initiative of local enthusiasts or members of local cultural minorities. The majority of the private heritage projects in the wooden historical urban area could be grounded on the motives to demonstrate exceptional cultural identity because Trakai has been a multicultural cluster in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania since medieval times. The restricted cultural production, provided by traditional workmanship, was, in turn, used as a means of indicating the cultural distinctiveness of the enthusiasts. The interest in manifesting the exceptional cultural identity was also evident in the reconstruction project in Trakai, which was chosen as a case of the in-depth socio-anthropological analysis.

However, as the study revealed, even though the initiatives in applying traditional workmanship were launched mostly due to private interests, the practical implementations were supposed to be formulated by the contracted architects and approved by the field of heritage conservation. As the socio-anthropological analysis showed, an architect played the decisive role in the process of planning as well as in the practical implementation of renovation, restoration or reconstruction projects in the historical urban environment of Trakai. Differently from Kokkola or even Røros, most types of transformations of historical built environment in Trakai, which involved not only the construction of new buildings but also the renovation of the existing architecture, required official documentation provided by professional architects and authorized approval from the local field of heritage conservation.

Thus, the urban townscape of Trakai was very much influenced by the tastes of architects as well as by aesthetic guidelines established by the official urban conservation plan of 1996 which was prepared by the same group of professionals. As the socio-historical research disclosed, the urban conservation plan of Trakai sought to recreate the pre-Soviet townscape, and therefore historical reconstructions were favoured. The reconstructions, however, were largely limited to copying historical external appearances, i.e. the pre-Soviet architectural forms and volumes. The detailed socio-anthropological analysis of one chosen reconstruction project in Trakai revealed that the antiquated exteriors of even new constructions conformed to the logic instituted by the urban conservation plan. Timber was no longer used as a construction material, but was merely applied as an external decoration due to the institutionalized cultural capital, which was gained by architects during Soviet times, when wood was ruled out as short-lived, a fire hazard and rapidly

decaying building material. Timber was rejected in the same manner as the participation of craftsmen themselves in the planning and designing processes of urban and architectural conservation.

The socio-anthropological study showed that the status quo of builders remained the same as during Soviet rule – they were still considered to be mere implementing workers, without any decisive power. Most of the craftsmen who had been practising traditional workmanship gained their know-how directly from their ancestors and had practised their skills in domestic operations or had been employed within the field of large-scale building industry. At the same time, the large-scale building industry also had builders who were organized into small-scale companies of industrial production and who sought to recreate historical building materials in greater volumes by more industrial means of production. However, neither the industrial production of historical building materials nor the special traditional woodworking skills possessed by the individual local craftsmen as their embodied cultural capital have been institutionalized or legitimated by the field of heritage conservation yet, meaning that their competencies have remained largely officially unrecognized.

The analysis of the chosen specific case of reconstruction of a wooden building in Trakai affirmed that the antiquated *opus operatum* was not fully reproduced by the historical *modus operandi*, and therefore the historized exterior of the building contradicted the principle of “historical equivalence”, the well-established international dogma of modern conservation and scientific restoration in the field of heritage conservation. Moreover, the investigated case of the reconstruction of the historical wooden building in Trakai revealed that the prevailing *logic of practice* within the field of heritage conservation did not correspond to the alternative interpretation of the principle of “historical equivalence”, which was detected in the process of the socio-historical and socio-anthropological analyses in Røros and Kokkola. Even though the professional historicism was generally preferred by the inhabitants of Trakai, as well as the contracted architects, modern industrial means of reproduction were usually applied for concealed constructions of buildings with historized exteriors. Thus, a paradox was revealed by the thorough study of the reconstruction case in Trakai: if the wooden buildings in Minor Town were often plastered throughout history, in order to raise the social status of their owners as masonry buildings were considered of higher value in the past, nowadays the new masonry and block constructions were repeatedly concealed by historized wooden façades. Moreover, such a discrepancy between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi* was carried out according to suggestions of architects and by permission of the local authorities of heritage conservation. Despite the occasional and individual local initiatives in applying traditional building techniques, the subfield of traditional workmanship was not created in Trakai, and historical building materials were usually confined to external use only. This discrepancy was largely determined by the prevailing architect’s taste for historicist façadisme and the superficial urban conservation plan of Trakai, which prioritized the antiquated urban townscape and disregarded compliance of the historized *opus operatum* with the historical *modus operandi* and the importance of the very architectural detailing for the general historical wooden streetscape.

8.3 Findings of the quantitative sociological investigations compared

8.3.1 Differing levels of demand for traditional workmanship in Røros, Kokkola and Trakai

The sociological analysis conducted in Røros revealed that, despite the continuous efforts of the national field of heritage conservation to promote the demand for traditional workmanship, by creating the supply through the established exceptional socio-economic conditions for its subfield of traditional workmanship, only 51% of all respondents expressed their general benevolence for the use of traditional workmanship in this historical town. The relatively low demand for traditional workmanship could be regarded as the reason why the subfield of traditional workmanship has so far failed to gain its autonomy from the field of heritage conservation. So, even though the socio-historical and socio-anthropological studies disclosed differing *logics of practice* and contrasting interpretations of the main principle of “historical equivalence” in the subfield of traditional workmanship and the field of heritage conservation, which largely follows the dogma of modern conservation or scientific restoration, the autonomy of the former has not been reached yet. If autonomy from the field of heritage conservation was believed to be achieved by entering the field of large-scale building production, some modifications of the legitimized distribution of capital would be required – the highly positioned cultural values would be obliged to be conceded in favour of raising the economic capital. Finally, there is a threat that the subfield of restricted cultural production might lose its exclusiveness and become a common large-scale cultural producer which, as the socio-historical study revealed, already occurred in the past when some parts of the subfield of traditional workmanship disassembled and dissolved into the field of mass-produced building industry.

The distribution of demand and supply of traditional workmanship in Kokkola was estimated to be the opposite of that detected in Røros. A shortage of supply of traditional workmanship was discovered because, as the socio-historical and socio-anthropological inquiries showed, the field of heritage conservation did not create the subfield of traditional workmanship there, nor did the field provide any financial assistance to the owners of historical buildings who preferred the application of historical building materials and the use of historical building techniques for the restoration of their property. However, despite the absence of any public financing mechanisms, the demand for such products and services of restricted cultural production proved to be relatively high – the social survey revealed that 64% of all informants in Neristan expressed a positive attitude towards traditional workmanship. Moreover, the lack of supply of historical products and exceptional services of historical building techniques resulted in the private owners of historical houses striving to learn the special skills from their ancestors and to apply the self-taught knowledge in do-it-yourself renovation projects. In the case of Neristan, the first signs of the formation of the subfield of traditional workmanship were observed, surprisingly developing under free market conditions, and it turned out to be the result of the collective identity, perceived as being exceptional and therefore manifested by the extraordinary taste for the restricted cultural production.

Lastly, the social survey in Trakai disclosed that 43% of respondents expressed their preferences for traditional workmanship. Even though the percentage was measured as the lowest of all the cases analysed, it could still be regarded as surprisingly high when considering the recent turbulent history and the present socio-economic situation in Lithuania. The comprehensive evaluation was

not limited to quantitative data alone; to understand the numerical statistics, qualitative information, provided by the socio-historical and socio-anthropological analyses, was also taken into account. Consequently, the low percentage of demand for traditional workmanship in Trakai could still be regarded as relatively high, bearing in mind the systematic negligence of traditional workmanship by the field of heritage conservation during Soviet rule as well as the failure of the national field of heritage conservation to establish the subfield of traditional workmanship after the independence of Lithuania.

Furthermore, as the socio-historical and socio-anthropological studies showed, the taste for traditional workmanship has been rising among individual private owners of the historic buildings in Trakai in the last few decades, as the ethnic diversity of historical cultural minorities, stemming from the centuries of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was publicly acknowledged and thus manifested. However, differently from the collective but private initiative of creating the subfield of traditional workmanship in Kokkola, the promotion of traditional workmanship remained rather individual and disorganized in the subfield in Trakai.

8.3.2 Explaining the reasons for the varying levels of demand for traditional workmanship

As already described above, the social survey was structured by following the Bourdieuan theoretical model that considered restricted cultural production as an exceptional subfield in which the tastes of producers and consumers were first and foremost determined by the levels of accumulated cultural capital, measured by the various types of educational assets, instead of economic ones. The subfield of restricted cultural production was set against the subfield of large-scale production, because the latter was regarded as being concerned with the quantity rather than quality of cultural production and because it valued economic capital above cultural capital. Therefore, the autonomy of the subfield of large-scale production was somewhat illusive because the subfield depended on the fulfilment of the demands of as many customers as possible. However, according to Bourdieu, the varying levels of cultural capital acquired were the main determinants for the division between the subfields of restricted and large-scale cultural production. Nevertheless, the producers and consumers in both of the subfields were following distinct strategies that were supposed to lead to the distinction within and between the subfields (Webster, 2011, 43).

The social inquiry conducted in Røros displayed a rather low demand for the products and services of traditional workmanship considering the fact that the respondents regarded the supply of traditional workmanship as being high. Consequently, the declared aspirations of the subfield of traditional workmanship in Røros to operate autonomously, i.e. under the socio-economic conditions of the free market, could be regarded as questionable because the low demand for the restricted cultural production would, according to the Bourdieuan theoretical model, result in a change to the structural combination of legitimized values and the submergence of the subfield of traditional workmanship into the field of large-scale building industry. In order to maintain the legitimized values of the subfield of restricted cultural production in the free market economy, a special market for exceptional cultural goods is required.

However, as the statistical calculations revealed and the sociological map of the old town of Røros displayed, most of the respondents to the survey possessed only primary or secondary school education. Thus, this finding could be regarded as one of the reasons why the exceptional cultural services and products of the subfield of restricted cultural production were not evaluated highly enough and why the supply of the subfield of traditional workmanship was dependent on constant financial support from the national field of heritage conservation. Interestingly, however, the social survey simultaneously revealed that the services and products of the subfield of restricted cultural production were more appreciated by the inhabitants who possessed greater economic capital. This finding leads to the questioning of the strict theoretical division of the subfields of restricted and large-scale cultural production as being based mainly on the levels of cultural capital obtained, and suggests the consideration of the joint composition of high cultural and high economic capital as the essential determinant for the extent of the taste for traditional workmanship.

However, the suggested theoretical adjustment in the case of Røros could be regarded as an exception from more general tendencies. The subsequent findings of the social survey conducted in Kokkola proves the Bourdieuan theoretical model by disclosing that a large number of highly educated inhabitants in Neristan determined the prevailing preference for traditional workmanship. The accumulation of high levels of cultural capital influenced their choices of taste, and the preferences were supposed to lead the local community to even higher cultural and social distinctiveness. However, high levels of economic capital alone did not play a significant role in the taste for traditional workmanship.

Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that the combination of high levels of both economic and cultural capital could have greatest influence for the creation of the local subfield of traditional workmanship in Kokkola. The organized private initiative was based on the accumulated high cultural capital of the inhabitants in Neristan and sustained by the substantial economic capital. Thus, the local subfield of restricted cultural production in Kokkola was forming as a do-it-yourself community, in which the self-taught producers were also the consumers of the services and products of traditional workmanship.

The implication could be made that the absence of high levels of combined cultural and economic capital among the respondents to the social survey in Trakai hindered the creation of the private local subfield of traditional workmanship. As mentioned above, even though the percentage of the demand for the restricted cultural production in Trakai was measured as being the lowest of all three cases of urban conservation analysed, the small number could have been influenced by the socio-economic situation in the past. Bearing in mind the turbulent recent history of the country, the percentage could still be regarded as rather high. Moreover, the social survey revealed that the percentage of respondents in favour of the restricted cultural production in Trakai was entirely dependent on the level of cultural capital possessed by the respondents. Considering that the national field of heritage conservation had not created the subfield of traditional workmanship in Lithuania when the demand for the products and services of the restricted cultural production was measured, the private initiatives to apply sporadic elements of traditional building techniques were not sufficiently strong to create an organized, local subfield as in the case of Kokkola. Thus, the conclusion could be made that only the combination of high cultural and economic capital could provide the appropriate socio-economic conditions for the private subfield of traditional workmanship to function in the free market economy.

8.4 Possible directions of further transformations in the field of heritage conservation

The socio-historical and socio-anthropological analyses of the three urban conservation sites displayed the shifting *logic of practice* of the national fields of heritage conservation as well as the differences in the subfields of traditional workmanship. Even in the case of Trakai, where the subfield of traditional workmanship had not been formed either by the national field of heritage conservation, as in Røros, or by private initiatives of local inhabitants, as in Kokkola, the fragmented applications of traditional workmanship were evaluated more positively when the workmanship was not considered part of the agenda of the field of heritage conservation in Lithuania as the differences between the two were noted by most of the respondents.

The analyses also revealed that, while the national fields of traditional workmanship had been transforming throughout history and reached international consensus through the common principle of “historical equivalence” and the practice of modern conservation, the local subfields of traditional workmanship have been operating on the grounds of the reverse interpretation of the same principle of “historical equivalence”. The *logic of practice* motivated the subfield of traditional workmanship to seek autonomy from the field of heritage conservation in the case of Røros, while in Kokkola it wanted to operate independently in the free market economy. However, as the evolution of the field of heritage conservation continues, further transformation should be directed towards closer collaboration between the field of heritage conservation and the subfield of traditional workmanship.

Critique of the principles and practice of modern conservation has been increasing even within the field of heritage conservation itself, due to the growing acknowledgement of the technological incompatibility between modern building technologies and physical qualities of historical buildings (see *The concept of “traditional workmanship”*). Thus, the application of products and building technologies of traditional workmanship has been defined as a solution to the issues emerging. More generally, the *logic of practice* of traditional workmanship has also been recognized as an instrument for ensuring culturally and environmentally sustainable development, as in the case of personalized urban conservation in Kokkola (see *The gentrification of Neristan in line with the prevailing taste for vernacular historicism and the amateurish practice of restoration*).

Consequently, the prevailing opposite interpretations of the principle of “historical equivalence” by the field of heritage conservation and the subfield of traditional workmanship remain an unsolved challenge. However, as the socio-historical and socio-anthropological studies showed, the subfield of traditional workmanship was gaining higher levels of autonomy from the field of heritage conservation, and one of the reasons for this detachment was revealed by the social survey: the subfield’s reverse version of the principle of “historical equivalence” was more broadly accepted by the respondents, and thus the taste for various forms of historicism prevailed.

However, the socio-historical and socio-anthropological studies also revealed that even though the taste for antiquated architectural forms was dominating among the inhabitants of urban

conservation areas, the correspondence between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi* was not broadly acknowledged as equally significant and could not be taken for granted. The in-depth case studies of architectural reconstruction and renovation in the three urban conservation areas displayed that even those projects labelled as following the principle of “procedural authenticity” were not fully historically accurate and scientifically grounded. The transformations were instead guided by the differing cultural capital of the various professionals or casual participants, such as owners, involved. Therefore, the reverse principle of “historical equivalence” was applied rather creatively and did not necessarily maintain the precise correspondence between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi*.

The field of heritage conservation remains to be challenged by repetitive cases, where “historical falsifications” were employed even by professionals within the subfield of traditional workmanship, and thus such transformations were approved by the majority of inhabitants of historical urban areas. On the other hand, if the field of heritage conservation is seeking broader social inclusion of local inhabitants and various professional groups in the decision-making processes of urban conservation, the democratization of taste is essential. Consequently, the field of heritage conservation is challenged to free up the strongholds of the monopoly of taste within architectural or urban heritage conservation.

Further steps would involve changes in the essential *logic of practice* of the field, namely the explicit acknowledgement of the contradictory interpretation of the principle of “historical equivalence” and the legitimization of the creative, instead of scientific, approach to transformation of the built environment. This kind of democratization of urban conservation was seen to be forming in Kokkola where the accumulated combination of high cultural and economic capital determined the prevailing taste for the restricted cultural production among the inhabitants of the urban conservation area, and, in that way, the correspondence between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi* was sustained by itself. Another direction was taken by the field of heritage conservation in Røros where, even though the alternative perception of the principle of “historical equivalence” was partially applied, the incompatibility between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi* was believed to be avoided only under the guardianship of the authorized professionals within the subfield of traditional workmanship, who were supposed to ensure the scientific correspondence between historized *opus operatum* and historical *modus operandi*.

It should also be noted that, in the case of further development of the field of heritage conservation in Norway, when the subfield of traditional workmanship continues to be used as an authorized instrument of controlling the correspondence between *opus operatum* and *modus operandi* in the projects of architectural or urban conservation, the very notion of “traditional workmanship” also raises some questions. As the socio-historical study revealed, the term “traditional craftsmanship” lost its initial meaning when the industrial modes of production in the 19th century were acknowledged as being part of local building traditions. Therefore, “craftsmanship” was replaced by “workmanship” because this notion involved not only handcrafted but also industrial building techniques. Nowadays, as the subfield of traditional workmanship is gaining a stronger socio-economic position, which is also ensured by the institutionalized cultural capital from various schools or even universities for practitioners within the subfield, the term “traditional” needs to be reconsidered as well. Education in “traditional workmanship” is no longer gained in traditional ways as embodied cultural capital but rather as scientific knowledge. Moreover, the subfield no

longer serves only as an executive body to the field of heritage conservation, but it also provides scientific expertise based on the studied historical building techniques, forms and materials. Thus, substitution of the notion of “traditional” with “historical” would not only openly describe the type of knowledge possessed by professionals within the subfield, but it would also establish the changed status of the subfield in relation to the field of heritage conservation.

8.5 Limitations and implications for future research

The aim of the present PhD research project was to analyse the relationship between the traditional workmanship and the field of heritage conservation within the sphere of urban conservation. The relationship was studied from different time and space perspectives, thus revealing varying and shifting types of linkages. The socio-historical perspective and the longitudinal fieldwork of socio-anthropological studies were beneficial for understanding the transformations in the role of traditional workmanship in the national fields of heritage conservation in three different countries. However, the final social analysis provided a rather static overview of the social mapping of all three chosen cases of urban conservation. Despite the provided broad and comprehensive statistical data, it was narrowed to a singular time section, and that could be considered an amendable limitation of this study.

Bearing in mind that the sociological analysis was grounded on the sociological model of Bourdieu, who provided the theoretical instruments to analyse socio-economic changes within society (Gorski, 2013, 6–9), the statistical data could be enriched by repeating the same social inquiries in all the chosen cases of urban conservation in order to reveal the changes within the social mapping, to identify the trajectories of the altering positions and the shifting distribution of taste for the products and services of restricted cultural production. Moreover, not only the changing demand but also the supply of the traditional workmanship could be reassessed in order to see the dynamics of the links between the subfield and the field of heritage conservation. The continued sociological study would also contribute to the evaluation of the indicated/projected possible directions of further transformations in the field of cultural conservation in general.

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9.3 Interviews

Røros:

- Interview with one of the representatives of *Bergstadens Vel*, 2009 (in Norwegian).
- Interview with local carpenter no. 1, 2009 (in Norwegian).
- Interview with local carpenter no. 2, 2009 (in Norwegian).
- Interview with a representative of Municipal Antiquarian Office, 2009 (in Norwegian).
- Interview with one of the representatives of County's Antiquarian Office, 2010 (in Norwegian).
- Interview with a representative of *Materialbanken*, 2011 (in Norwegian).

Kokkola:

- Interview with a representative of the local museum, 2008 (in English).
- Interview with former urban planner no. 1, 2008 (in Swedish).
- Interview with former urban planner no. 2, 2008 (in Swedish).
- Interview with a representative of the municipal department of culture, 2008 (in English).
- Interview with a local glazier, 2011 (in Swedish).
- Interview with the owner of the Knape's house no. 1, 2011 (in Swedish).
- Interview with the owner of the Knape's house no. 2, 2011 (in Swedish).

Trakai:

- Interview with a representative no. 1 of THNP, 2011 (in Lithuanian).
- Interview with a representative no. 2 of THNP, 2011 (in Lithuanian).
- Interview with the owner of reconstructed house in Karaite street, 2011 (in Lithuanian).
- Interview with the architect of the reconstruction of the house in Karaite street, 2011 (in Lithuanian).
- Interview with a roofer, 2011 (in Lithuanian).

10 Appendices

10.1 Appendix A - *The Questionnaire*

- 1. Is the supply of traditional workmanship high/low?**

- 2. Would you use the services of traditional workmanship? Yes/No**

- 3. What is your opinion about traditional workmanship? Positive/Negative**
 - 3.1. Could you name good/bad examples of reparations in the urban conservation area?
 - 3.2. Did you repair your house in the last five years? Yes/No
 - 3.2.1. If Yes, what kind of reparations were performed?
 - 3.2.2. If Yes, what kind of techniques and what kind of materials were used?
 - 3.2.3. If Yes, who implemented the reparations?
 - 3.2.4. If Yes, was a permission required? Yes/No
 - 3.2.5. How would you evaluate the role of local authorities of heritage conservation?

- 4. What is your opinion about the actual on-going urban conservation project (the chosen in-depth case-study in each of three wooden historical towns)? Positive/Negative/No opinion**

- 5. Information about a respondent:**
 - 5.1. Are you the owner of the building?
 - 5.2. How old are you? 18-29/30-49/50-64/65 and more.
 - 5.3. What is your nationality/ethnicity?
 - 5.4. What is your education? Primary/Secondary/College/University
 - 5.5. What is your profession?
 - 5.6. What is your average income? Minimal/Lower than medium/Medium/Higher than medium

10.2 Appendix B - The Map of Studied Urban Conservation Areas

