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# Histories of Architectural Conservation

Five Case Studies On The Treatment of Norwegian  
Vernacular Heritage Buildings Circa 1920-1980

Thesis for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor

Trondheim, November 2010

Norwegian University of Science and Technology  
Faculty of Architecture and Fine Art  
Department of History, Architectural Design  
and Technology



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Norwegian University of  
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For my parents



## Foreword

On my first visit to the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Røros, I was not impressed. To immediately set the record straight, I today list Røros as one of the most impressionable and impressive places I know. However, at the time, stepping out of the airport taxi, I was overwhelmed by the distinct *newness* of my surroundings. I needed directions and entered the nearest building where, waiting in line, I overheard the proprietor cheerily explain to the customer in front of me "... this is the heritage site of Røros, and we are therefore not permitted to do *anything* with our buildings." In assessing my immediate surroundings I had already concluded that the building in which I was standing, although obviously part of the historic fabric of the town, *had* undergone changes and that these were many, extensive and recent. What I was taking in visually, completely contradicted what I was hearing.

Buildings with a heritage status are frequently referred to as "museal", "ancient", "atmospheric", implying they are static, frozen in time, and that they embody and transfer history. Starting working in building conservation, my first observation was that buildings marked as "preserved" have been and are under constant change. It is often easier to date a building by its date of restoration than by the age or design for which it was listed. A second observation was that the changes made to heritage buildings are neither random, nor steered by a fix set of rules: in a building restoration or regeneration process, solutions are negotiable. A third observation was that disagreements which seem to arise from practical problems seem to disguise a clash of cultures which runs deeper than practical issues like financial considerations or where to place a new bathroom.

My visit to Røros marked the beginning of my work as a conservation officer for Røros municipality and, later, the county of Sør-Trøndelag, and over the following five years there were many similar experiences. Buildings, allegedly of high age and with statutory protection, displayed obvious signs of their contemporariness; house owners lamented decades of restrictions and tied hands while what I observed was the result of comprehensive adaptations over decades. The discrepancies in a historic building, between the material building "before", the material building "now", and the different ways the building was perceived in the "now" by different stakeholders, continued to baffle me.

This PhD project has given me the opportunity to delve into these matters; through five caseworks and a literature study I explore both the individual approach to the heritage building and the overall approach of building conservation which is the legacy of my

profession. While a driving force for this work is curiosity about the *processes* underlying changes to built heritage, I always, in the last instance, return to *the material building* and its physical transformation. This reveals the bias of my background which is that of the art- and architecture historian, trained to view a building first and foremost as a material object in time, an object to be experienced, assessed and evaluated, and a historic document for knowledge and interpretation.

As an antiquarian educated in the 1990s four issues of building conservation have been essential: ambition to preserve authenticity in its various aspects, questioning heritage values, the need to balance conservation with use and good function, and viewing the ecological aspects of building conservation. These issues are, in addition to my art history background and despite all intentions to make an unbiased inquiry into historical practices, necessarily a point of reference for the study.

This research has been made possible by a research fellowship at the *Høgskolen i Sør-Trøndelag*, HiST. I am profoundly grateful for HiST's funding, for their courage to accept an art historian into their engineering department, and for their achievement over the past decade to develop a comprehensive building conservation education. I also owe great thanks to *Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet*, NTNU, *Fakultet for arkitektur og billedkunst* for accepting my project into their research programme and for accommodation and support in the final writing phase. In addition to this I thank my employer *Sør-Trøndelag fylkeskommune* for granting leave of absence and also for patience and flexibility during the completion of the dissertation.

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I warmly thank August who shares my appreciation of historic architecture and puts theory into practice, and who at the last minute efficiently provided the floor- and site plans for the appendix, Marie for inspiration, encouragement and patience, and Camilla and Ruth for whose moral support throughout the process I am eternally in debt.

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“Historic preservation and adaptive reuse represent the highest form of recycling available.”

Robert A. Young *Historic Preservation Technology*, 2008, introduction p xi





# 1

## TOPIC AND RESEARCH DESIGN

### *Objective, approach, scope*

“Generally it is possible, when performed in a gentle manner, to place the old buildings in contact with the living life which they do not always now have, without damaging their value as a document on built history. (...) However, in the name of “modernization”, many outrages have been committed over the past 50 years from an aesthetic and practical point of view.”

Halvor Vreim and Harry Fett 1939<sup>1</sup>

“Building conservation is the management of change.”

Dag Myklebust 2003<sup>2</sup>

### **Introduction**

Buildings change, they are adapted over time to meet the needs of their users. This is not news. However, a building which is protected through legislation and preserved as cultural heritage is generally conceived as being protected from change. Yet heritage buildings undergo change too, even after they have been given statutory protection. If “preserved” buildings continue to change, what is it really that is being handed down to us as the built heritage of the past?

The history of building conservation in Norway has been the object of no more than a handful of publications. Professor and architectural historian Hans Emil Lidén’s anthology of Norwegian conservation, *From Antiquity to Cultural Heritage - Features of the History of Cultural Heritage in Norway (Fra Antikviteten til Kulturminne - trekk fra kulturminnevernets historie i Norge)* (1991) constitutes the first comprehensive overview of the cultural heritage movement in Norway from its beginnings up until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> Lidén’s book, which was based on readings of the annals of The Society for the Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments (*Fortidsminneforeningen*) for a series of lectures held at the Bergen University, does not claim to be a scientific dissertation, but aimed at initiating an academic discourse on

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<sup>1</sup> “I alminnelighet vil det være mulig, når det gjøres på en skjønnsom måte, å sette gamle hus i den kontakt med det levende liv som de nå ikke alltid har, uten å skade deres verdi som bygningshistorisk dokument (...). Under merket ”modernisering”, sett fra et estetisk og praktisk synspunkt, er det imidlertid gjort mange uhyrligheter de siste 50 år.” Fett and Vreim (1941) p 40-41

<sup>2</sup> “Kulturminnevern er administrasjon av endring”. Myklebust (2003) p 9

<sup>3</sup> Lidén (1991) p 5-6

the subject of Norwegian conservation history.<sup>4</sup> In the introduction, Lidén states that going deep into archival material, for example with the Directorate for Cultural Heritage (*Riksantikvaren*), was beyond the scope of the book. Also, the bulk of Lidén's 1991 publication is dedicated to conservation history before 1920; the time after 1920 is briefly summarized over the last 25 pages.

Inspired by Lidén's work, the dissertation at hand seeks to complement the history of Norwegian building conservation by exploring building conservation practice after 1920, and by studying more closely some fragments of the vast archival material which exists for Norwegian heritage buildings. While Lidén's work provides a good overview of the conservation of architectural monuments, the emphasis in this research is on 'anonymous architecture', also referred to as 'lesser buildings'<sup>5</sup> or vernacular architecture. This category represents the bulk of Norwegian built heritage, and is what people at large most frequently come into contact with, as part of their daily surroundings or as homes. The subject of this dissertation is therefore something which concerns us all. The primary task of Lidén's 1991 publication was to fill a lacuna in Norwegian cultural history by providing an overview of the development of Norwegian conservation.<sup>6</sup> The study at hand I hope may be seen as a continuation of the same task. To provide a foundation for the understanding and analysis of conservation practice in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this study begins with an overview of Norwegian building conservation, from its beginnings and into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This overview is largely based on Lidén's, which it does not seek to polemicize with but rather employ as an aid to establish a historical and theoretical foundation for the empirical study to follow.

A building is a primary historic source, a historic document which holds information on ways of constructing and ways of living; about material and social matters of the past.<sup>7</sup> The physical remnants of the changes made to a building document changing functions and needs, tastes or maybe financial standing of those who owned or used it. A building which has been *restored* within the framework of conservation interests represents a "staged" history, through the conscious choices made for the building as a historic legacy. In this case the building may hold information on the conservation professional's views on history, aesthetics or craftsmanship. Looking more closely at the process related to the treatment of heritage buildings can thus be a strategy to explore legacy of the architectural conservation profession,

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. pp 5-6

<sup>5</sup> Council of Europe (1975), Article 1

<sup>6</sup> Lidén (1991) p 5

<sup>7</sup> A point stressed by restoration architect and former City Antiquarian (byantikvar) for Oslo Hans Jacob Hansteen. Hansteen (1989)

as well as to convey the perspective of the dweller and user to better understand and meet the challenges of architectural conservation practice today.

The five case studies which constitute the empirical content of this research amount to vast, and at times meticulous, narratives for which I owe any thorough reader an apology. The number of cases reflect a wish to present what I consider the most common types - within the initial delimitation of wooden vernacular heritage dwellings - in terms of ascribed (or assumed) heritage value, type and time of statutory protection, and time and type of conservation “treatment”, as well as to show a variety of geographical and demographic settings. The *context of each case* is mapped out as a support for the reader who may not hold the background information which is common knowledge to the informed dweller, local, architect or antiquarian involved. The *detailed descriptions of buildings (noun) and building (verb)* are based on the premise that the significance and value of a heritage building is contained in the sum of its details, (if a building becomes cultural heritage only as it is perceived as such, the perception of detail is potentially as significant as the overall impression<sup>8</sup>). It also reflects a professional interest resulting from a decade of work as a building conservation officer. The *detailed accounts of processes* related to conservation treatment have aspired to be as accurate an account of the source material as possible, frequently employing quotes to relay the stakeholders’ different points of view. This is done with the aim of pinpointing factors, however small, which may have been decisive for the outcome of the conservation process, but also in acknowledgement of the fact that it may be necessary to consider all of the relevant arguments and actions in order to understand the result.

Together, the five case studies of this research cover architectural conservation practice in Norway throughout the time frame between circa 1920 and the early 1980s. The intention has been that each case should touch upon significant general themes in building conservation throughout this period. The case studies may also be read separately, as individual and self-contained narratives; examples of conservation practice at a specific time and place; or as illustrations of the culture, or cult, of architectural conservation at the point of intersection between professional idealism and the realities of everyday life.

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<sup>8</sup> The phrase “God is in the details” has been ascribed to and quoted by a number of artists, architects and architectural historians: Gustave Flaubert, Aby Warburg, Ernst M. Gombrich, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe.

## 1.1 OBJECTIVES AND ASSUMPTIONS (POINTS OF DEPARTURE)

### 1.1.1 Objectives and research questions

#### *Main objective*

The present work addresses the relationship between ideals of building conservation, and its practice in the form of restoration, regeneration or maintenance on wooden, vernacular homes in Norway. Within this typological frame, the study seeks to explore prevailing ideologies and strategies in building conservation, and whether and how these change over time. Crucial to this study is the assumption that conservation ideals, in the actual conservation process, were undermined by the need to compromise with other forces at work, especially in the case of buildings in daily use. The study seeks to identify factors which contribute to such compromises in five cases studies from different parts of Norway, in which processes of conservation treatment on heritage buildings performed between the 1920s and the 1980s are presented and discussed.

#### *Research questions*

This research focuses on the ideology and practice in conservation of vernacular built heritage. It is framed by one initial overall question: *Buildings which by definition are to be conserved as heritage, continue to change. Why and how?*

The general question above is guided by two more specific research questions:

- *How has vernacular built heritage in Norway been treated over time, and what factors or stakeholders have determined the result?*
- *Can the prevailing building conservation ideologies be identified in the case studies, and if so, how do they relate to the treatment as it was carried out?*

The term “treatment” is here to be understood as work on the building both within and beyond the boundaries of strict conservation practice. Such treatment can be labelled restoration, regeneration or rehabilitation, maintenance or even modernization, and is meant as that which

affects the design, layout, craftsmanship, and all aspects of authenticity of a heritage building.<sup>9</sup>

The first question implies an overall approach: how have heritage buildings been maintained, modified or restored, i.e. what is their history of treatment? What factors – prerequisites, interests and stakeholders – can be identified, and how have these influenced or determined the result of the treatment?

The second question approaches the field of built heritage from the angle of the building conservation professional. An assumption here is that the professional conservation community work by “codes” which are not easily communicated or clearly stated, or were not attempted to be communicated at all.<sup>10</sup> Is it possible, through the case studies, to identify the internal professional framework (ideology, standard or rules) of building conservation which came into play? And if so, to what extent was the heritage building treated according to these standards or ideals, i.e. what is the relation between ideal (theory), and practice in the context of the actual case?

#### *Outline of the dissertation*

The dissertation is segmented into three parts. The first part consists of two chapters. Topic, method and analytical framework are presented in Chapter One. In Chapter Two the main views on conservation and representative examples of conservation practice in Norwegian conservation history are presented in a chronological overview from the early 1800s up until circa 1920. This chapter is based on a study of contemporary literature and writings on conservation. This chapter may seem, as a background sketch, comprehensive. The contents are in large part based on available publications known to the Norwegian conservation community. These sources and their content are, however, not available to the non-Norwegian speaking reader. To provide a proper background for the prerequisites for Norwegian building conservation in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, an account of some detail seemed expedient. Such an outline is, to my knowledge, presented here in the English language for the first time.

The second part of the dissertation contains five chapters, each presenting a case study of conservation work on heritage buildings and built-up areas in Norway: Melhus vicarage; Solbergrekka in Kjerkgata, Røros; Rosesmuggrenden in Sandviken, Bergen; the farms

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<sup>9</sup> On authenticity in building conservation, see for example Feilden and Jokilehto (1998) pp 16-17 and 66-75, and Larsen (1995) pp 23-25

<sup>10</sup> Hans-Emil Lidén writes that the Norwegian professional conservation community before the 1970s were dominated by a small elite who did not attempt to formulate the value system which determined their choices and actions; this was based on ‘dannelse’ (education and intellectual ‘breeding’), or to communicate this to the general public. Lidén (1991) pp 76, 104; a point also stressed by Dag Myklebust, Myklebust (2003) p 12

Stensgård, Krogstad and Harildstad Søre in northern Gudbrandsdalen; and Sjøgata in Mosjøen, Vefsn. The five case studies comprise 19 individual buildings on 17 properties.

In the third part of the dissertation, the case study findings are discussed with regards to function, legislation, and building conservation ideals. An important aspect of navigating the influence and interests of the different stakeholders (or “actors”) is mapping the process of planning and executing treatment. The discussions attempt to distinguish between the premises (*rammebetingelse*) and influences (*påvirkningskraft*) of the factors which affect treatment. I will attempt to discuss the findings chronologically with regard to whether distinct shifts in treatment strategies can be defined.

### 1.1.2 Conceptual assumptions

The questions that I will look at in my research are general assumptions concerning the practice of architectural conservation.

*Conservation is the management of change*

A first assumption is that most heritage buildings seem, despite their status as ‘protected’ and ‘preserved’, to be under constant change; the first point of departure for this study is the acknowledgement that conservation is the management of change.<sup>11</sup> Contemporary heritage management today tends to use the terms “change management” and “stewardship” in place of “conservation” or “preservation”.<sup>12</sup> Some people may have the notion that what happens to all historic monuments and in all conservation areas is determined by conservation professionals alone, and that this always implies a status quo for the building, as is indicated by term “fredet” (see below), or even the phrase *musealt vern* (“museum-like conservation”), which is frequently used by laymen as well as professionals.<sup>13</sup> In reality *all* heritage buildings, listed, preserved or even museum buildings, are subject to change, from slow deterioration via material renewal to deliberate interventional alterations. The introduction of the terms “change management” and “stewardship” in the conservation profession indicates there is no illusion among conservation professionals today that once a building is given statutory protection it will remain unchanged. If a building is left to its own devices, natural decay will inevitably occur, however slowly, and even minimum conservation measures to prevent decay imply intervention on some level. More customary, however, is the incentive to

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<sup>11</sup> Myklebust (2003) p 9

<sup>12</sup> “Stewardship”, as in “administration” (*administrasjon*) or “management” (*forvaltning*). Myklebust (2003) p 9

<sup>13</sup> Architect and architect historian Karl Otto Ellefsen uses Venice as an example of museal conservation (“*musealt vern*”). In: Butenschön (2009)

change, to adapt and respond to the needs of the building and its users, which will continue after a building has acquired a heritage status and statutory protection. From the conservation professional's point of view, the desire and expectation is therefore to influence how the building is treated.

The Norwegian term for listed, "fredet"<sup>14</sup> is derived from the word for peace, "fred", implying there is to be minor activity or intervention, leading us to believe that the treatment of a "fredet" building is to follow such a course and, maybe, implying the "freezing of time".<sup>15</sup> Listing is the strictest form of statutory protection; however the term "fredet" is frequently used in daily language (by most, with the exception of the conservation community) also in reference to buildings with other forms of statutory protection.<sup>16</sup> "One is allowed to do nothing with this building" is a common statement; then, when changes do occur, they are often referred to as involving "...no change...", the façade, house or detail being "... exactly as previously", a sign that even the category "nothing" involves possibilities for action.<sup>17</sup>

"Change" concerns the material fabric of a building and how this endures or is altered over time. Change also concerns the altering use of buildings; varying functions (from home to shop to home), or the altering numbers or economic standing of the inhabitants at different times (as in gentrification processes). "Change" also occurs in the way a building is perceived, i.e. the values it is ascribed by different users, stakeholders or groups, over time. These aspects of change are related. In his work *Conservation in the Age of Consensus*, John Pendlebury pursues the contemporary premise that "heritage value" is not an intrinsic quality of an object or environment but is rather a historical and cultural construct. Pendlebury quotes Laurajane Smith (*The uses of Heritage*, 2006) as saying that the logical conclusion of this argument is that there is no such thing as material heritage; heritage is essentially a cultural practice and social process.<sup>18</sup> This study will explore building conservation, i.e. the treatment of heritage buildings, in its social and cultural context, in acknowledgement of the cultural and social relativism of heritage. However, while sociological and geographical studies of

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<sup>14</sup> Fredet: protected, preserved, listed. Ordnett (2009)

<sup>15</sup> The phrase "la meg i fred!" directly translated: "leave me in peace!" or "leave me alone". The term "frede" is also used to protect by law natural species threatened with extinction.

<sup>16</sup> The term "fredet" is the technically correct term for buildings protected under the Built Heritage Act, while the preservation plan paragraph in the Plan and Building Act uses "bevaring" as the term for protection ("regulert til spesialområde bevaring" = urban conservation area), derived from "bevare": protect, save, keep, preserve. Ordnett (2009). In the general public, the terms are often mixed, or may be coined into for example "totalfredet" ("totally listed"/"totally pacified").

<sup>17</sup> A common example is the replacing of old windows with new double or triple glazing look-a-likes.

<sup>18</sup> Pendlebury (2009) p 7

heritage practice do not focus on the technical and physical aspects of the material object, this study will explore process, values and meaning first and foremost in relation to the physical transformation of the building. The focal point will be on the alterations to the material fabric of the heritage building as a result of these driving forces.

#### *Historicity of the ideology of applied building conservation*

A second assumption concerning the practice of architectural conservation is that guidelines or professional ideals on how to treat heritage buildings and monuments have been (and are) vaguely defined and therefore open for negotiation. To understand the operational setting of building conservation, it seemed crucial to know more about its historical setting and theoretical foundation. The second point of departure for this study is that the conceptual framework of building conservation is rooted in its professional history. This viewpoint may be defined as *historicity*, i.e. viewing a phenomenon as an inextricable part of a historical course.<sup>19</sup> The basic arguments in discussions on what form of treatment to prescribe for a historic building rest on a tradition of action and have been structured by a framework of theory developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. John Earl supports such a notion, arguing that there is little new in building conservation:

“Very few really new issues are being discussed in the first decade of the twenty first century which were not being agonised over in the nineteenth century by the Scrape and Anti-Scrape factions, by Viollet-le-Duc, Ruskin, Scott, Morris and Lubbock and their contemporaries.”<sup>20</sup>

In the Norwegian context, art historian Dag Myklebust has reached similar conclusions.<sup>21</sup>

Austrian, British, French, German and Italian thinkers and practitioners have no doubt had an impact on Norwegian conservation, as most working principles of today echo their theories; however this influence must be attributed more to a general diffusion of ideas rather than to direct impact. My readings indicate that there were (and are) relatively few Norwegian spokespersons for conservation that specifically referred to authorities like Ruskin or Riegl. Norway’s *Riksantikvar* (National Antiquarian) from 1913 to 1946 Harry Fett was one of the few, publishing extensively on the subject of preservation and building conservation throughout his career; today Dag Myklebust and Hans Emil Lidén are two Norwegian

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<sup>19</sup> Historicity (*historisitet*), i.e. the understanding that the human experience of reality takes place within a historic context; a central concept in phenomenology and hermeneutics. (german: *Geschichtlichkeit*) employed by Martin Heidegger in *Sein und Zeit* (1927). Svendsen (2010); Wind (1987) pp 64-65

<sup>20</sup> Earl (2003) p xii; quoted in: Pendlebury (2009) p 27

<sup>21</sup> Myklebust (1988)



professionals who have published in the area of conservation ideology.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless the essential arguments and ideas of these theoreticians, both historically and today, no doubt constitute a common ground and point of reference in the mapping of arguments and actions concerning interventions on heritage buildings; even if they historically (before the 1980s) were seldom referenced by Norwegian professionals. To map conservation ideology as one of several factors influencing a heritage building over time, I needed to explore what conservation ideology was. This topic will be further explored in chapter 2.

*'Cultures of treatment' as a structuring category*

A third assumption related to the practice of architectural conservation is that, where there is conflict of interest between the different stakeholders in the treatment of a heritage building, there is also a clash of cultures. When a building is designated as heritage, the 'conservation' factor adds a new intention and a new dimension to the way the building is treated. The professional conservation community will influence, impose, interact, interfere with or contradict the way a building has been treated up to the point when it is defined as heritage. An example may be found in the case of a church, for centuries administered by the local community; repaired and adapted to shifting needs by use of technologies and materials at hand. From the point when the church is designated as heritage, its treatment will be monitored by the building conservation community, for example The Society for the Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments (*Fortidsminneforeningen*), or National Antiquarian (today the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, *Riksantikvaren*). The changes subsequently prescribed will be motivated by conservation or compromised by conservation. This may involve introducing technologies usually unavailable to non-heritage buildings (like cleaning lime-rendered walls with rubber paste), or prescribe the use of local materials and traditional technologies (cleaning lime-rendered walls with acid-free white bread)<sup>23</sup>, when for a similar building which has *not* been designated as heritage, one would most likely employ standard, industrially-produced building materials and power tools for repairs.

'Change management', 'stewardship' or 'conservation' imply, but do not define, what kind of ideal practice is involved; however, all indicate that there is a special regime of

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<sup>22</sup> Stephan Tschudi-Madsen's work *Restoration and anti-restoration* dealt comprehensively with major theories of building conservation, based not on Norwegian examples but a study of English ecclesiastical architecture. Tschudi-Madsen was Riksantikvar from 1978 to 1991. Tschudi-Madsen (1976)

<sup>23</sup> In the case of Ringsaker church in Oppland, it was initially advised by building conservationists to clean the interior walls with acid-free white bread to avoid damage to the lime-rendering. An alternative was found in a modern product where a film based on natural rubber (Rewah Monuclean) was applied to the walls which, when pulled off, had all dirt particles attached. Gilberg (2009)

responses to the “needs” of a building which has been marked as “heritage”. When the professional conservation community advises on how to treat a heritage building, it is assumed that there is an *ideal practice* for conservation, with arguments founded in conservation theory. It is further assumed that this ideal practice is no less dynamic than the general shifts in architectural trends or the building industry; they change over time. This study will explore these assumptions.

In decision-making on treatments of buildings, professional conservators never operate alone; especially with regards to buildings in daily use. Hence, their ideals are steered by many “conservation-external” factors. Or, seen from another viewpoint; while aging and use will continue to make its mark, the intention to preserve will interfere with the results. In the process of intervention on built heritage, be it “restoration”, “conservation” or “regeneration”, the various stakeholders are instrumental in the reaching of a compromise for the building.

In the attempt to grasp the practice that develops as a compromise of all the factors that influence how a building is maintained, adapted or restored, I have coined the term “culture of treatment”. For example, one might say that the moment an object or building is perceived as heritage, one culture of treatment is replaced by another culture of treatment, as the “heritage” stamp adds a dimension to the work done. The responses to the needs of the building and its users are now considered in relation to heritage value, which will most likely affect the results. The treatment form of ‘regular maintenance’ has since the Built Heritage Act of 1920 been described as acceptable care for listed buildings, requiring no authorization from the preservation authorities. However, the way building maintenance is carried out varies over time, and the term “maintenance” is used to describe a wide range of practices, including renewal of architectural material and detail. It may therefore be associated with risk to prescribe “regular maintenance” if the intention is to preserve the building’s authenticity in form and substance. In a process of treatment for a building, the various stakeholders may represent different cultures of treatment. How do these “cultures of treatment”, within the realm of building conservation, continue to change over time?

### **1.1.3 Points of departure**

Above I have described what can be put down as conceptual assumptions which are a platform for this study; these may be summed up in the following: 1) conservation is the management of change; 2) understanding the history of conservation as theory and as practice is necessary to assess the state, condition and values of the heritage buildings that are passed over to us; 3) conservation ideals interact with a number of other prerequisites or forces in a

process of building conservation practice to constitute a “culture of treatment”, leaving the “restored” or “treated” building as a compromise for an interplay of interests and possibilities.

To follow up and concretise these assumptions, I set up a list of ten *propositions* as points of departure for the study of conservation practice. Each proposition directs attention to something which is examined within the scope of study.<sup>24</sup> The list of propositions will constitute a grid framework to guide the approach to the case study material.

Ideal conservation practice:

- 1) The professional conservation community’s view of what is the ideal treatment (conservation practice) of a heritage building changes over time.
- 2) In the absence of an explicitly defined ideal conservation practice for vernacular architecture, ideal treatment of a heritage building according to the professional conservation community can be discerned by studying the process of the treatment of individual heritage buildings.
- 3) Ideal conservation practice is subject to negotiation in the treatment of heritage buildings.

Building conservation in a real-life context:

- 4) The view of what is the correct treatment of a heritage building varies between different stakeholders (carpenter, conservation officer, user or owner, architect, planner etc.).
- 5) Treatment of heritage buildings in daily use has been steered by conservation legislation and conservation policy.
- 6) Treatment of heritage buildings in daily use has been steered by legislation and the political framework in sectors other than conservation.
- 7) Treatment of heritage buildings in daily use is influenced by contemporary aesthetic preference, taste and trends.
- 8) Treatment of heritage buildings in daily use is at any given point in time influenced by contemporary usability standards; and for dwellings by contemporary standards of housing.
- 9) Treatment of heritage buildings in daily use is determined by financial considerations.
- 10) Treatment of heritage buildings in daily use is affected by available building technology and methods of craftsmanship.

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<sup>24</sup> Yin (2003) p 22

These propositions or preconceptions have influenced and steered the background research, as well as the reading and analysis of the empirical material of this study. To some extent the propositions represent “working hypotheses” against which the empiric material will be “tested”. This list of propositions will be revisited to structure the final closing discussion.

## 1.2 RESEARCH STRATEGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

### 1.2.1 Research strategy

#### *Case studies and histories*

The strategy for the research at hand is a combination of a literature review and case studies.<sup>25</sup> The research seeks to outline a topic and explain the treatment of designated historic buildings over the period 1920 to circa 1980. This is done through the study of examples of places and buildings. These examples constitute both case studies, and ‘histories’ (see below) of building conservation in practice.

The question of how to manage built heritage involves technological as well as sociological issues, and it is value-based. If assumed that ‘a building is not heritage until it has been conceived as such’, and that ‘conservation is the management of change’, built heritage is about people and about people-induced processes. This brings the study of managing or ‘stewarding’ (*forvalte*) built heritage close to social science. The technological aspects of building conservation, for example the longevity of building materials and agents of deterioration, can be examined and remedied with methods from the natural sciences like biology, chemistry and engineering. Aesthetics has been one of the driving forces for building conservation, which also makes conservation a theme for philosophy. Building conservation can be studied as history, which makes it subject to humanistic theory and method.

Why choose case studies as a research strategy? The case study is a tool for the social sciences, to research the ‘hows’ and ‘whys’ of a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context.<sup>26</sup> Authoritative textbooks on case study research begin by indicating that the method has a bad reputation. A prevailing notion about the case study, accordingly, is that it is considered lesser to objective and precise quantifiable and controlled methods. Robert Yin (2003) (historian and experimental psychologist) warns that case study research is considered

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<sup>25</sup> In his authoritative guide to social science research, Yin initially outlines five research strategies: experiment, survey, archival analysis, history and case study. Ibid. p 5

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p 1

to downgrade academic disciplines, “a weak sibling” among social science methods, and that the case study researcher must expect the method to be challenged and the research results underappreciated, while planner Bent Flyvbjerg (2001; 2005) constructs his insights on case study research as a defence against such ‘conventional wisdom’ on this method as that voiced by Yin. In the broad sense, knowledge produced from the in-depth social case study is concrete, practical and context-dependent, as opposed to the general, theoretical and context-independent knowledge of, for example, physics, which is rule-based. Through social science “proof is hard to come by (...) whereas learning is certainly possible”; Flyvbjerg’s objective is not to rule out the significance of rule-based, theoretical research or learning, but to repudiate the notion that this is the better approach: “... to make rule-based knowledge the highest goal of learning is regressive. There is a need for both approaches.”<sup>27</sup>

Building conservation is all about specific cases. ‘Building conservation’ should here be understood as distinct from the phenomenon of *cultural heritage*, “... a medium through which identity, power and society are produced and reproduced.”<sup>28</sup> Without the actual building there is nothing to preserve, maintain, assess, evaluate, experience or use. It is when a historic building is at the point of being designated, modified or in other ways treated, that its value(s), meaning(s) and entities are most acutely defined and tested. Therefore, to explore the phenomenon of building conservation, in its complexity, without implicating the object (the building), seemed impossible. Treatment (conservation, restoration, maintenance etc.) can be explored from a theoretical (Ruskin; Riegl), historical (Jokilehto, 1999) or technological standpoint (Fielden, 1994; Young, 2008). Statistics may say something about the technical state, costs, or illuminate people’s attitudes towards built heritage (Riksantikvaren, 1999; Pendlebury, 1999). However (unless one takes the standpoint of Plato in his cave allegory) the physical structure is at the centre of built heritage, with all this implies of stakeholders and process. It may be a ruin or a reproduction, even a memory or have been experienced through photography only; it may be explored in principle or as a phenomenon, but it is or was a physical entity in time.

To understand a process of conservation treatment, mapping out the context seemed required; distilling the motives of the stakeholders seemed essential, and going into some detail on the implications for the material building interesting. This was possible only through the study of concrete, well-documented examples. The empirical groundwork for this

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<sup>27</sup> Flyvbjerg (2001) p 422

<sup>28</sup> Pendlebury (2009) p 9. The social aspects of cultural heritage have been explored by for example David Löwenthal and Laurajane Smith.

dissertation is the study of buildings at five different general locations, comprising 19 buildings on 17 properties, and the treatment these buildings were subject to between 1920 and circa 1980. The case studies were chosen for their relevance for the chosen topic and objective. They share a number of common characteristics which will be discussed below, but were not primarily chosen for their comparative qualities with intent to generalize. Historically, buildings and built structures have been singled out as significant heritage and designated for being unique; for representing a significant phase or event in history, or for being a singular object or place of beauty. As such, each heritage building is unique, and potentially constitutes a unique case. In this sense the buildings whose treatment processes are discussed here are a series of single or unique, in-depth case studies.

The case study is used in the natural and social sciences with different objectives. In the study of natural phenomena what is generally sought (in the positivist tradition) is to establish fact, and generalize to establish scientific rule and law. Urban geographer and planner Bent Flyvbjerg argues that "...in the study of human affairs, there appears to be only context-dependent knowledge, which thus presently rules out the possibility of epistemic theoretical construction."<sup>29</sup> The material building, its general material and technical state and appearance, is at the centre of this study. This, however, does not imply the examination of isolated, specific technical processes of conservation (like for example the properties and behaviour of linseed oil paint<sup>30</sup>). The phenomenon of building conservation is the product of decision-making processes, ideals and visions, and is therefore a field of study for the humanities and social sciences, as much as for examinations of technological properties and the process of craftsmanship. For my purpose, a context-dependent case study was most appropriate.

#### *"Histories" as a strategy for conveying representation and reflexivity*

The case studies, or the themes common to them, are conveyed and are also to be read as *histories*. To research and present phenomena as histories reflects the acknowledgment that it is impossible to convey an absolute, empirical truth about reality. Geographer Karoline Daugstad selected the approach of writing histories when conducting a multidisciplinary study

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<sup>29</sup> Flyvbjergs arguments on why the conventional view of case studies is problematic are 1) that all expertise stems from in-context experience, i.e. that is how we learn ("case knowledge is central to human learning" 2005:422); 2) that social science depends on case study research, as there is no context-independent theory and therefore "nothing else to offer" (He here refers to a "reformed" Campbell (1975) in Flyvbjerg 2005:422) Flyvbjerg (2001) pp 129

<sup>30</sup> For example K. Karlsdotter Lyckman's 2005 published research *Historiska oljefärger i arkitektur och restaurering*.

of the Røros landscape, emphasising representation and reflexivity in the research by defining each theme or subject studied as one of many possible ways to analyze and understand the Røros landscape: "By reflexivity it is meant that the researcher is conscious that his or her research is one of many representations and not an objective registration of the landscape as it really is. The researcher must think through the premises for and the effects of their own research activity."<sup>31</sup>

Similar to that of the landscape, a building can also be viewed as a representation or construction of the "reality" of those who have dealings with it; it is many different things to many different people. The research at hand seeks to convey what some of these 'things', i.e. meanings, functions or values have been to some people. When studying buildings, one is not in the situation of potentially influencing the object of the study (in the way the presence of the anthropologist may affect the behaviour of the people they are studying or interviewing). By studying processes of treatment which occurred in the past, there is no potential for altering the course of action (which would have been a critical point if I, as a conservation officer, were to conduct a study of ongoing work in an urban conservation area through interviewing the different stakeholders). But even so, the researcher is not "outside the reality", viewing the building as an objective observer. Professional bias will steer observations, and which aspects of the empirical documentation are selected for analysis. In studying processes of treatment of heritage buildings, it is my wish to convey numerous viewpoints in relation to one object, allowing for different voices and perspectives. The representation of the objects of the study at hand is moulded by the professional perspective of the author; the histories of the childhood home or daily life in the building over time are very much part of a building's history but not essential to this research. Here, the building's *histories* are the histories of the buildings as *heritage*.

A study does not have to select the approach of either 'physical object' or 'meanings' of the object. Research can manoeuvre between the dichotomies of realism and relativism, objectivism and subjectivism to give new insight; part truths to illuminate a whole.<sup>32</sup> To grasp the phenomenon "the Røros landscape" the Daugstad report selected different 'histories' which interlace, and examined these through 'fields of study' (*studieområder*) which

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<sup>31</sup> Karoline Daugstad with reference to Comsgrove and Domosh 1993; Alvesson and Sköldbberg 1994. Daugstad, Grytli et al. (1999) p 18

<sup>32</sup> Daugstad refers to Demeritt's (1994) insistence that physical dimensions of landscape research cannot be denied but have been neglected in recent research, and to Cronon (1994) who argues for a dual approach to landscape research, where both the physical and the meanings read into the physical are examined. Ibid. pp 18, 19

represent these different histories.<sup>33</sup> Different ‘time frames’ (*tidsbilder*) were selected and then examined from different perspectives (fields of study) and conveyed through different histories. In this illustrative example of the study, the Røros landscape was studied both as a premise and as a result of the mining activity. Similarly, the heritage building can be viewed both as a premise for conservation and as a result of building conservation activity; as a home or as an object of meaning. It can be perceived as having symbolic value, beauty, or as a hindrance in the face of development. In this study, building conservation is the phenomenon which is examined, while the case studies are the histories. The transformation processes are illuminated from different perspectives as these were revealed in the casework for the process of treatment.

The case study can have value as a narrative or as a force of example; generalization is not necessarily an objective. Flyvbjerg notes that in-depth case studies may be difficult to sum up; that summing up or “findings” isolated from context and interpretation may in fact not be wished for.<sup>34</sup> “Keeping the case open” may, according to Flyvbjerg, be a better means, obtained by “allowing the story to unfold from the many-sided, complex and sometimes conflicting stories that the actors in the case have told me”, and “avoid linking the case with the theories of any one academic specialization. Instead (...) relate the case to broader philosophical positions that cut across specializations (...) allow the study to be different things to different people.”<sup>35</sup> Case studies which are relayed in a many-faceted and detailed way are often hard to summarize, and this may also not be the point.<sup>36</sup> Keeping the case open, through avoiding a strict theoretical framework when it is relayed, and including a mass of detail, allows more than one interpretation. The emphasis will then be on the case as *narrative*, demonstrating that it has value in itself (its intrinsic value), not only a means towards an end of conclusions or condensed findings.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p 19

<sup>34</sup> He here refers to Roth (1989), Benhabib (1990), Rouse (1990), White (1990), Mitchell and Charmaz (1996); and Lisa Peattie (2001:260), Flyvbjerg (2005) p 430

<sup>35</sup> Flyvbjerg (2005) p 430. Flyvbjerg uses his own study of urban planning and political and (as it turned out) oligarchic power relations in the Danish town of Aalborg as an example of many-faceted relaying of a case study: “I wanted the Aalborg case study to be particularly dense because I wished to test the thesis that the most interesting phenomena in politics and planning, and those of most general import, would be found in the most minute and most concrete of details.” Flyvbjerg here refers to “what Nietzsche calls discreet and apparently insignificant truth, which, when closely examined, would reveal itself to be pregnant with paradigms, metaphors and general significance.” Ibid. pp 425, 430

<sup>36</sup> Flyvbjerg argues summarizing can prove counterproductive; exchanging “true expertise” with “reduced formulas”, or “phenomenological detail” with “conceptual closure”. Ibid. p 431

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p 431



An objective of this research is that the case studies should be narratives and constitute histories in their own right, as well as providing relevant insights and perspectives into central challenges within the field of building conservation and heritage management.

### *Approach*

According to Robert Yin, *case studies* and *histories* are appropriate strategies for research defined by the questions “how” or “why” (as opposed to “what” or “who” or “where”); research which is more *explanatory* in the sense that it deals with “operational links needing to be traced over time” (as opposed to studies which are merely *descriptive*; or *exploratory* studies for developing a hypothesis as a grounds for further inquiry).<sup>38</sup> Yin delimits case studies to research dealing with direct observation of contemporary events where the investigator cannot manipulate behaviour or control events, while “the distinctive contribution of the historical method is in dealing with the “dead” past – that is, when no relevant persons are alive to report, even retrospectively, what occurred and when an investigator must rely on primary documents, secondary documents, and cultural and physical artefacts as the main sources or events”. When histories are done on contemporary events (which, according to Yin, is a possible approach) they begin to overlap with that of the case study.<sup>39</sup>

This study seeks to describe and to explain, both the buildings and processes underlying the alteration of these buildings. The questions “how” and “why” are the driving forces of the study; the descriptive is not limited to answering “who”, “what” or “how many” but seeking to map out the bigger context of “how”. The primary empirical source material consists of two entities: the building itself (the ‘artefact’), and written documentation concerning the buildings (‘documents’) from public archives and from those present owners who had collected written material about their homes. The selected cases are on the border between the past and the present. In the more recent cases, the stakeholders; the craftsmen, bureaucrats and owners (or the owners heirs, who were children at the time ‘treatment’ of their home took place), are still alive, and represent potential sources of information. I have chosen not to employ these ‘witnesses’ as sources for the research, and therefore not conducted formal interviews. I considered it an advantage to deal with material produced at the time of the actual ‘treatment’ process, and which is not a product of hindsight. In this sense I have ruled out source material which could be subject to active ‘manipulation’ or ‘control’.

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<sup>38</sup> Yin (2003) p 6

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. pp 7, 9

Yin defines the case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”; a history also deals with phenomenon and context, but “usually with non-contemporary events”.<sup>40</sup> According to Yin, a case study is not only a study whose primal tendency is that it ‘tries to illuminate decisions’ or merely ‘a choice of object to be studied’.<sup>41</sup> The characteristics of a typical case study inquiry are that it has many variables, “relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion”, and also “benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.”<sup>42</sup>

### 1.2.2 Research design

This research is a qualitative examination which looks into intentions and interpretations of the phenomenon of building conservation, as well as the factual treatment the buildings have gone through. Yin distinguishes five components of a research design that are of particular importance: questions, propositions, units of analysis, the logic linking data to propositions and criteria for interpretation of findings.<sup>43</sup> The research at hand poses the *questions* of what situations and ideas influence choices for buildings, what the ideals in the professional conservation community are and what effects this has on building conservation practice.

The *main proposition* for the research is that building conservation is affected by external factors which exist independently of whether the building is designated heritage or not: building codes, new technology, use or function, aesthetic preference; and that treatment (restoration, modernization, etc.) as a result is a compromise. This main proposition has been concretized in a list of ten points or propositions (Chapter 1.1.3). These are preconceptions more than developed theories and hint at the direction of the conclusions to the research.

The *main unit of analysis* is the examination of heritage buildings over time. The five case studies examine their treatment as heritage buildings, they are *embedded units of analysis*; that is, *illustrative examples*<sup>44</sup> of how building conservation has worked in real-life contexts for these buildings.

The approach of the research is qualitative case studies presented as histories. Interpretation and analysis is not intended to be conclusive; rather the aim is to provide *some*

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<sup>40</sup> Yin (2003) p 13

<sup>41</sup> Yin here refers to (Schramm 1971) and (Stake 1994), respectively. Ibid. pp 12, 18

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p 15

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. pp 21-25

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. p 25

answers to the research questions, to illuminate the problem (how and why designated buildings change). The five main case studies have been written up individually and constitute five chapters of the dissertation. Each chapter closes with a discussion where observations, analysis and interpretations are gathered. The discussions are structured in a similar but not equal fashion; steered more by the characteristic findings of the individual case studies than rigid data collection models.

The five case studies in this research are not uniform in time, space or type, but share a number of common characteristics which are the grounds for a structural compilation (*sammenstilling*; a juxtaposition, if not a downright comparison) of factors.

The final component of the research design is the compilation of findings. How to interpret the findings and eventual patterns which occur?<sup>45</sup> In the case studies such a pattern may for example emerge which renders the proposition “treatment of heritage buildings in daily use is steered by legislation and political framework in conservation” less valid than the proposition that “treatment of heritage buildings in daily use is at any given point in time influenced by contemporary standards in relation to housing”, if a significant number of cases demonstrate compromises where conservation legislation has been overruled in favour of other objectives. However, comparison of findings to distil patterns is not a main objective of this research. A limited amount of qualitative case studies will not provide statistical significance or objective truths about the phenomenon, nor is my goal to provide final conclusions or organize findings in patterns for testing. ‘Explanation-building’ is a more relevant analytic tactic to analyze findings<sup>46</sup> in a qualitative case study which is an investigation into a phenomenon. Findings can at best be defined as *tendencies* or *indications* to be discussed in relation to (and not, as such, ‘tested’ against) the initial research questions and propositions (although findings *may* result in new questions or propositions which are suitable for testing). The cases are illustrative examples, but also histories in their own right.

### *Validity*

The question of validity is crucial in testing the quality of a research design. One of the requirements of a valid case study is that it will produce similar results when duplicated. It is a goal that (in theory) a duplication of this research, with the same research questions, sources

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<sup>45</sup> Although Yin uses numerous examples from quantitative research in psychology and economics, his suggested approach to a research design does not require a rigid testing of patterns against, for instance, statistics: “One hopes that the different patterns are sufficiently contrasting that the findings can be interpreted in terms of comparing at least two rival propositions.” Yin (2003) p 27; see also chapter 5

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p 36, see also chapter 5

and design, should produce results which are similar and do not contradict its findings.

However, different approaches to the same case study material, by for example a different research field (sociology, a history of building technology, anthropology) would constitute different perspectives and therefore bring other, supplementing findings.

*Construct validity*, which Yin defines as “establishing correct operational measures for the concept being studied” to avoid unconscious display of subjectivity by the researcher, is achieved when the selected factors of the research design are appropriate for the study’s main objective. They must demonstrate that they are the ones which appropriately reflect the phenomenon as it has been defined; this means that the selection of factors and the empirical data that supports them must be properly explained and justified (as in: does my data give me the information I need or is it skewed or insufficient?) Relying on multiple sources increases construct validity.<sup>47</sup>

*Internal validity* is achieved when all relevant factors are considered in a case which establishes causality or when inference is made: “a case study involves inference every time an event cannot be directly observed”, as in analytic strategies like pattern matching or explanation building.<sup>48</sup>

*External validity* in a case study requires that one can *generalize* from it. Case studies rely on analytical (as opposed to statistical) generalization, where “the investigator is striving to generalize a particular set of results to some broader theory.” Such a theory must be tested in replicate studies to prove external validity or generalizability.<sup>49</sup> Flyvbjerg argues that in-depth case studies *can* be the basis of generalization, contrary to what he calls ‘the conventional wisdom of case study research’ which only sees generalization as a possibility when formally based on large samples such as statistics.<sup>50</sup> “One can often generalize on the basis of a single case”, Flyvbjerg claims, and continues “the case study may be central to scientific development via generalization as a supplement or alternative to other methods. But formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas ‘the force of example’ is underestimated”.<sup>51</sup> Yin is cautious about single case studies, warning that they are more open to criticism concerning their uniqueness and can weaken relevance and

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid. p 35, 36

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p 36

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. p 37

<sup>50</sup> According to Flyvbjerg, referring to authoritative works from the 1960s and 1980s (Campbell and Stanley 1966; Abercrombie et. Al. 1984), “the conventional wisdom of case study” sees the single case study as of no individual scientific value, but useful as a pilot study for forming a hypothesis which may then be tested on numerous cases to validate the findings; it also rejects that intrinsic knowledge of the single case may be of value. Flyvbjerg (2005) pp 420, 421, 425

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. pp 424, 425

validity. Single case studies demand a stronger argument and more careful selection than multiple case studies.<sup>52</sup> According to Flyvbjerg there are two viable approaches to generalizing from case studies. One is to make several studies "... so that judgement of their typicality can justifiably be made."<sup>53</sup> The other is to choose a strategic case, what Flyvbjerg refers to as strategic sampling; a case which can be expected to provide proof or falsification, show probability or improbability, or lend credence to or discredit a preconception or hypothesis.<sup>54</sup>

### *Case typology*

A *strategic case* is a case which provides either specific sought-after information or a lot of information on a given subject. In these cases, the random sample or representative case is not necessarily the most useful; according to Flyvbjerg "atypical or extreme cases often reveal more information because they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied." In-depth studies of strategically selected cases are likely to provide more information, and can therefore contribute to explaining the factors or phenomena as well just defining them (as in Yin's 'explanation-building', see page 19). A strategic case is an information-oriented case, selected for its validity; for what the informed researcher, from experience, hopes to find.<sup>55</sup>

In the category of *strategically selected, information-oriented cases* (as opposed to random selection, for representativeness and generalization), Flyvbjerg distinguishes between extreme, maximum variation, critical and paradigmatic cases. The extreme case uses drama as communication. Maximum variation cases are selected "to obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for case process and outcome, e.g. three to four cases that are very different on one dimension: size, form of organization, location, budget etc" while being similar in all others.<sup>56</sup> The critical case is one which for example may be grounds for falsification or generalization, a "most likely" or "least likely" example.<sup>57</sup> The

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<sup>52</sup> Yin (2003) p 54

<sup>53</sup> Anthony Giddens *The constitution of society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* 1984:328, quoted in: Flyvbjerg (2005) p 423

<sup>54</sup> Flyvbjerg lists Karl Poppers "All swans are white" claim which would be falsified by the observation of just one black swan; Galileo's paradigmatic repudiation of Aristotle's law of gravity by one experiment with lead and feather in a vacuum; and John Goldthorp et al.'s (1968-9) Luton study of working class identity in families with a "middle-class economy" as examples of single strategic cases which provide a basis for generalization. Ibid. pp 423, 424

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. p 425

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. p 426

<sup>57</sup> A case from the realm of building conservation the case of a specific type of modern housepaint where the paint was tested according to appropriate standards and released on the market; it took a real-life case to test and

paradigmatic cases are sought out and recognized on the intuition of the scientist and the scientific community; rather than being produced according to a standard, these set the standard. These cases "...highlight the more general characteristics of the societies in question" or use the case as a metaphor; one specific incident or phenomenon labels a whole society or institution. One case may fit into the characteristics of more than one of these four categories; the perspectives and conclusions in a case study may vary according to which categorical angle it is studied from.<sup>58</sup> Of Flyvbjerg's four types, the case studies of this research bear the closest resemblance to the maximum variation category.

This research is based on information-oriented in-depth case studies. The buildings which make up the case studies share a set of common or similar characteristics: they are all made predominantly of wood and are of similar (although not the same) age and category (anonymous architecture), and have a heritage status. Predictably, they also have characteristics which are different. For instance, although all case study buildings are designated, the type of legislation varies. Another variation in the case studies is the chronology: the processes of treatment which have been examined occur at different times, within the general time frame. The case studies are from different geographical areas and therefore also (from a local perspective) represent different building types. The cases have been strategically selected for both their common and their variable characteristics; common characteristics to justify typicality (wooden, 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings still dominate among Norwegian buildings that are listed or part of conservation areas), variables to 'test' the propositions (see page 10) in different settings.

Are in-depth case studies less objective than quantitative, hypothetical-deductive methods, and, if so, do they tend to verify the researcher's preconceptions? In quantitative research (in the form of statistics or questionnaires) bias arises in the choice of perspective, which is less likely to be questioned. Qualitative case studies are under closer scrutiny for subjectivity and bias and therefore more likely to be valid (as "absolute truth" is no quest for either). Flyvbjerg cites numerous experiences by himself and others where preconceptions are

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demonstrate its properties. The case can be said to be critical, as the building in question had demonstrated longevity in the wooden façade materials by surviving 100 years of weathering which is more than two-thirds of what is expected of wooden façade materials today; whereas five years after being painted, the wood behind the painted surface was in an advanced state of decay, due to the water resistance on the paint. The case demonstrated that this paint was not suited for log constructions without an inner membrane. The product was, after a trial, withdrawn from the market. Notes from lecture by Jon Brønne, Bye (2004) This example constitutes a critical case study, based on the hypothesis 'if this type of paint has damaged *this* wooden surface, which previous to being painted stood undamaged for a century, and where all instructions were followed in the painting process, this paint will most likely damage wooden surfaces in similar constructions under similar or worse climatic conditions.'

<sup>58</sup> Flyvbjerg (2005) p 427

falsified rather than verified during the performance of a qualitative case study. While statistics may provide superficial knowledge, qualitative case studies reveal complexities of context. In a qualitative case study “more simple forms of understanding must yield to more complex ones as one moves from beginner to expert.” Flyvbjerg proposes that cases for in-depth studies are frequently selected on the basis of what the researcher hopes to find, i.e. they are strategically chosen for their assumed information value. Flyvbjerg calls these information-oriented cases, as opposed to random selection cases (representative samples, as in statistics). Information-oriented case studies are selected on the basis of the experience or previous knowledge of the researcher. The critique of case study research which states that the researcher’s preconceived notions or assumptions will steer the outcome of the case study in a favoured direction, verifying the researcher’s prejudices, are countered by experience with case studies where falsification turns out to be the more frequent outcome.<sup>59</sup>

A case may be chosen for its assumed information value as a basis for generating a hypothesis, or for testing a hypothesis and generalizing. It may be chosen for its intrinsic value; because it is in itself interesting and “we need to learn about that particular case”. A case study can also demonstrate a value as an example.<sup>60</sup> Research involving qualitative research, whether based on single or multiple case studies, is appropriate for providing ‘exemplars’.<sup>61</sup> The case studies selected for the research at hand were chosen for their intrinsic value; all are objects and places of independent preservation interest; but also because they were likely to constitute relevant examples in illuminating the research questions.

### 1.2.3 Defining the topic

When exploring the theme of “built heritage and its treatment over time” with Norway as the geographical limit, selecting ‘strategic’ cases for in-depth studies was a challenge. The country comprises very different climate types and landscapes, as well as variations in building traditions. In pursuit of buildings for case studies there were 4 positive criteria that had to be met:

1. function: that the building was or had been in use as a home
2. general typology: that the building represent ‘anonymous’ or vernacular architecture

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<sup>59</sup> Flyvbjerg (2005) p 426-429

<sup>60</sup> Stake (1995) quoted in: Johansson (2000)

<sup>61</sup> Flyvbjerg employs the concept of ‘exemplars’ with reference to Thomas Kuhn, claiming that “a discipline without exemplars is an ineffective one”. Flyvbjerg (2005) p 432

3. building material: that the building's main building material is wood
4. heritage status: that the building was designated as heritage and subsequently given some form of statutory protection

A fifth criteria concerned treatment and the requirement that the building must have gone through some form of planned treatment, this being restoration, rehabilitation or maintenance, after its designation as heritage. The type of treatment was not further specified, nor was the criteria included on the main list, as at the outset of the case study it was not clear what I would find.

Geographically the selected cases represent different regions, and subsequently different climates, landscapes and building traditions. The overall case study delimitations are presented and discussed below.

#### *Function: the heritage home*

The initial criteria for case study objects was that they should be heritage buildings which were in daily use as homes at the time they were designated as heritage and during subsequent restorations. When the first Built Heritage Act was introduced in Norway in 1920, about 50% of the buildings that were subsequently listed were privately owned houses which had been built as dwellings, and which to a large extent were still in use as family homes.<sup>62</sup> This was also the case for the large number of urban conservation areas defined in the 1980s.

Heritage homes constitute both general and particular challenges in building conservation. They are under a regime of conservation ideals, they must meet the needs and requirements of their users, they are of a specific public interest and they are private, in ownership or use or both. They are a group of heritage buildings which is highly representative, which concerns the general public with regards to experience (*opplevelse*) and use (*bruk*); it is where the contact between the professional conservation community and the public is most acute, and it is where the potential for knowledge is at its greatest, considering the number of similar buildings which exist and are in use and do not have statutory protection (due to the large quantity).

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<sup>62</sup> Roar Hauglid *Bygningsfredningsloven og fredningsarbeidets stilling*, Robberstad (1969)



- The case studies are limited to heritage buildings which were built partly or wholly for residential purposes and which have been partly or wholly in use as private family homes.

*Typology: vernacular buildings*

The second criteria for the selection of case study objects was that they should represent a category of buildings referred to as either as vernacular or ‘anonymous’ architecture<sup>63</sup>, being buildings which were the product of regional building customs (*byggeskikk*) and where although the builder may have been known there was no architect. This is as distinct from monumental buildings and singularly unique buildings, either of the highly privileged or which had an official function (church, fortification), and where the architect or designer is well known.

A significant number of Norway’s heritage buildings belong to the category of vernacular architecture (e.g. the bulk of buildings registered in the SEFRAK project which ran in the 1970s, 80s and 90s), and where ownership and responsibility for the buildings are in the hands of private individuals. It is, as such, a building category which affects many people, but which receives little or less conscious attention and care from the public because they are less likely to be advertised as “monuments” by the tourist industry and used as symbols to display identity and local character. Perceived as part of a larger whole (an image, group, street, scene or landscape), the attention paid to individual vernacular buildings is often neglectful.

Traditional dwellings or homes include a range of building types and represent different eras and social groups. The oldest standing Norwegian buildings are medieval and include, in addition to stave churches and raised storehouses, a log banqueting hall which originally may have been a dwelling and, if so, is the oldest known standing dwelling in the country.<sup>64</sup> The oldest known dwelling type, the Iron Age long house (*langhus*) has only been reconstructed on the basis of archaeological finds<sup>65</sup>, while the most recent building and home to receive statutory protection as heritage is the privately owned Villa Busk by Sverre Fehn which was listed upon its completion in 1993.<sup>66</sup> In addition to this, open air museums collect

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<sup>63</sup> Anonymous architecture, *anonymarkitektur*”, as a term to describe the vernacular or ‘lesser’ buildings is used for example by Hamran (1981) p 103 and Nilsen (2003)

<sup>64</sup> The construction has been dated to ca 1250. Berg, Christie et al. (1997) p 91

<sup>65</sup> Ullanhaug near Stavanger, Borg in Lofoten and Hopsjø on the island of Hitra in Trøndelag are three places where Iron Age dwellings have been constructed on the basis of archaeological finds.

<sup>66</sup> Kiran (2010)

and exhibit buildings from all possible periods, including our own time.<sup>67</sup> The delimitation of ‘heritage homes’ in Norway automatically implies a delimitation of age, as the bulk of standing buildings which are designated *and* still functioning homes are predominantly 18<sup>th</sup> century or younger; if older, then rebuilt at this time to acquire their main form or character. Examples of buildings older than 17<sup>th</sup> century with a continuous dwelling function into the 20<sup>th</sup> century are extremely rare, and in these cases the older parts will by and large have been modified or constitute only minor parts of the standing building.<sup>68</sup>

Looking at buildings which are “heritage” and “home” today, we find them in the entire spectrum of economic classes, from the mansions of 18<sup>th</sup> century industrial magnates near Skien<sup>69</sup> and Trondheim’s trade bourgeoisie<sup>70</sup> to small simple tenant farmer dwellings, the pragmatic Sami earth hut (*gamme*)<sup>71</sup> or working class housing from the 1880s<sup>72</sup> or 1920s.<sup>73</sup> Within this vast material, I have narrowed down the topic to heritage homes by excluding buildings which are considered to be monumental or singularly unique works of architecture.<sup>74</sup> Buildings which are designed and built on the basis of tradition and craftsmanship may be defined as *vernacular*, or *generic* architecture or building. In vernacular buildings the builder is often known, and there may also have been craftsmen involved in the decoration of the building which have status of artist. A common feature is that there was no trained architect involved in the design of the building; the design is determined by the possibilities of regional building materials and adjusted to climate and functions, cemented over several generations.

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<sup>67</sup> The open air museums Heibergs collections at Maihaugen in Lillehammer, Norsk Folkemuseum at Bygdøy both have houses and decorated flats to demonstrate living in Norway up until today.

<sup>68</sup> Torvanger (2005) p 68, 71, 78-79, 91-92

<sup>69</sup> Ulefoss, Fossum etc. For an overview with pictorial splendour, see: Valebrokk, Risåsen et al. (1997)

<sup>70</sup> The grand panel architecture of 18th century Trondheim is presented and illustrated in for example: Kavli (1966); Fasting and Havran (1997); Andersen, Aune et al. (2006)

<sup>71</sup> The contrasts of economic legibility as reflected in building of rich and poor, of the historic building traditions of Norway’s different ethnic groups and of the tenant farms are briefly presented and discussed in: Christensen 1995 pp 236 - 251

<sup>72</sup> In the urban district of Grünerløkka, Oslo, result of a speedy brick-and mortar apartment block development from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to house working class families of the nearby Aker river factories, all exteriors of buildings surrounding the local park of Birkelunden were listed under the Cultural Heritage Act § 20 for “cultural heritage environments” (kulturmiljø) as one of 20 pilots for this paragraph. Riksantikvaren (2006)

<sup>73</sup> For example the 1917 garden city development plan by Morgenstjerne and Eide for the aluminium works at Høyanger in Sogn og Fjordane. The park was designated as cultural heritage in 1993. Egner (2003)

<sup>74</sup> A “clarification” of the word “architecture” for the Norwegian context can be found in a *Fortidsminneforeningen* report on themes and terms in building conservation published in 1980; a building is a piece of architecture where the “individual creative talent” of the architect and “solutions which lie outside of the traditional” are found. (“..uttrykk for individuell skaperevne” ... “.. tilfredstillelse av praktiske behov gjennom skapende virksomhet ut over benyttelse av tradisjonelle løsninger.” Boe (1980) p 5

- This study will focus on buildings which were built or acquired their main character in the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century, and which belong to the category of ‘anonymous’/vernacular architecture.

*Building materials: wood*

The shared characteristic feature of the bulk of Norway’s built heritage is that wood is the main building material, which brings about some specific challenges in terms of durability and material treatment. Wood constituted the main building material in many of the country’s historic town centres, villages and hamlets as well as in rural architecture, and is still a major building material today.<sup>75</sup> For the case study examples, wood is the major building material, used in (at least) the major structural and exterior parts of the building.

Wood was the most available building material and was suitable for the Norwegian climate, so imported architectural trends were interpreted in wood, merging with the local vernacular. Dwellings built prior to 1950 represent the major classifications of European styles since the Romanesque, while the type of construction and materials applied are relatively limited. Pine or spruce log constructions dominated before 1850. The occurrence of stone houses was rare, with brick or half-timbering mainly limited to the cities, but even here they did not dominate. Legislation to prevent fires introduced with a general Building Act in 1845, which applied to the cities, required stone or brick constructions. Although the use of brick exploded with the urban growth in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, brick housing remained a phenomenon of towns and cities. In the countryside, and also in the suburbs, wood still dominated as the main building material, and in the cities, brick was used in combination with timber structures. In the urban brick town houses and apartment buildings, wood was used for roof trusses and floor beams, dividing walls and floors, windows, doors and interiors, and often also the staircases (Oslo, Grünerløkka). For smaller buildings there are numerous examples of complete wooden structures hiding behind a rendered street façade in an attempt to meet fire regulations (Bergen, Nygårdshøyden); and in densely built suburbs wooden housing were still put up on a grand scale in the late 1800s (Trondheim, Møllenberg). This trend was finally aborted after the Aalesund fire in 1904; in 1908 legislation requiring fire-resistant building materials for cities *and* densely built areas was introduced. As a cheaper and efficient alternative to notched log construction, the half-timbered framework construction surged from circa 1860 with the introduction of industrial pre-fabricated housing, dominated

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<sup>75</sup> Edvardsen, Ramstad et al. (2010) p 5

for decades by the so-called Swiss Style.<sup>76</sup> This was the beginning of what may be said to have established a new vernacular wooden architecture or *byggeskikk* in Norway which continues today. This type of housing is not represented in the case study material, but the theme is relevant in relation to their treatment. This will be a recurring issue in the discussions of later chapters.

- This study concerns buildings where wood is the major building material.

#### *Legislative status*

The fourth criterion in the selection of case study examples was that the building has been designated and subsequently given statutory protection as heritage. *Designation* is here to be understood as the recognition of a building or object (what Feilden & Jokilehto refer to as a “cultural resource”<sup>77</sup>) as cultural heritage by an authority on conservation<sup>78</sup>; a status implying it worthy of preserving for posterity and which today is usually followed up by providing some form of statutory protection. When the first Built Heritage Act was passed in 1920, this marked the beginning of a formalized conservation for the built vernacular in Norway. Previous attempts at this had been limited to moving buildings to open-air museums and the odd agitation act on behalf of threatened buildings (this topic will be further discussed in Chapter 2).

Norwegian conservation legislation today distinguishes between listing of buildings or areas through Kulturminneloven (The Cultural Heritage Act of 1978, which replaced the 1920 Built Heritage Act and the 1905 archaeological Fornminneloven), and designation of heritage status through the Building Act, possible since the incorporation of a conservation paragraph in 1965, and continued with the revised Planning and Building Act of 1985.<sup>79</sup> For single buildings or monuments listing has been most commonly used to give statutory protection, while the Planning and Building Act is usually employed to protect urban areas.

When selecting objects for the case study I have not considered which legislation has been employed to provide heritage protection. The fundamental criterion has been that the building has been defined as heritage by an authority (the defining powers have shifted over

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<sup>76</sup> The system for monopolizing saws was abhorred in 1960, setting off a well of new business for production of building materials and the early pre-fab housing industry. The 1892 housing catalogue of Christian Thams in reprint Thams (1999); for the history of the Norwegian pre-fabricated house see: Sørby (1992)

<sup>77</sup> Feilden and Jokilehto (1998) p 3

<sup>78</sup> See *The professional conservation community* Chapter 1.3.1

<sup>79</sup> The current revision of the Plan and Building Act has abandoned the principle of the ‘conservation plan’ in favour of ‘areas of consideration’ (*hensynssoner*), at the same time opening up for preserving interiors, which was previously only possible through Bygningsfredningsloven and Kulturminneloven. Tviberg (2010)

Norway's 150 or so years history of conservation) and subsequently formally acknowledged as heritage through being given statutory protection. As heritage legislation has been revised and supplemented over the past century, and as it is relatively vague as to defining value or prescribing treatment defined as heritage, I have chosen to regard legislation as one of many factors which play into how buildings are treated rather than setting this down as a premise for selection and analysis of the case objects. I could then examine the role of legislation in relation to other factors, rather than confining casework to buildings with only one distinct type of statutory protection.

- This study will deal with built heritage regardless of the type of statutory protection used.

#### *Time frame for the processes of treatment*

The study focuses on treatment practices for designated buildings from the time legislation to protect buildings *in situ* was put in place with the implementation of the 1920 Built Heritage Act, after 1920, up until circa 1980. I chose to end the case study research period in the early 1980s for 3 reasons. The first is that the amount of documents concerning building permits and the management of listed and designated buildings increased significantly during the 1980s. Conducting archival research on each selected case study building up until the present day amounted to an insurmountable task. The second is that the time before 1980 for me constitutes 'history'; after the mid-1980s I was myself involved in building conservation activity and hence there was larger risk of bias in conducting my 'historical' survey if pursuing each building into the 1990s and 21<sup>st</sup> century. The third is "epochal": the new Cultural Heritage Act of 1978 introduced a new order in heritage management, and over the next decade there were significant changes to the politics and organization of heritage management. I perceive the era prior to 1980 to be formative of building conservation and heritage management. During the 1980s the experimental thinking and practice of the 1970s was institutionalized. I have chosen to explore the decades which preceded this.

#### **1.2.4 Conducting the case studies**

I set out to study more buildings than I thought I might need in order to deal with the main objective of the research. There were only two negative replies to my initial request to view buildings in the five case study areas. Two buildings were abandoned as possible case studies because the documentation on them proved to be too weak to be valid. Two buildings were

abandoned as possible case studies because the data collected from other buildings in the area proved to be abundant and were considered sufficient.

The 19 case study buildings which figure in this research have been visited, visually inspected externally and internally, and extensively photographed. Collaboration with the present owners was necessary, and a condition to use the buildings as case study objects. I have spoken to the present owners, posing questions about the buildings and their histories in relation to them. These conversations were not recorded and are not formally part of the research data. Much of the information I was given through these informants on the buildings' history and condition was however confirmed by archival documentation which strengthened its validity. I initially hoped to include interviews as a data collection strategy. I chose, however, to exclude interviews as a source material, because interviews were only possible for some and not all of the chosen cases. In the cases where interviews were possible, the distance in time between the interview and the main topic (the restoration process) varied greatly, and so did the memories and perceptions of the interviewed subjects. I chose instead to concentrate on the written source material which, although varying in quantity and quality from case to case, was relatively rich. The source material, which consists of applications for building permits, meeting minutes and correspondence between the different stakeholders, clearly gives voice to the different "actors". Their priorities, views and interests could be clearly identified.

Except for Melhus vicarage (where the archive material was stored in the building and which I subsequently visited several times), only a single visit was made to each building, including inspection of the interior and meeting the owner.

Being a good 'listener', an important skill in case study research, is also relevant when reviewing documents.<sup>80</sup> Finding the right documents and the relevant information is the obvious task, but also searching for the messages 'between the lines', or noting what is *not* written may gain important insights. The validity of such insight is liable to be challenged when dealing with historic material as corroborative sources may not exist. I have therefore been meticulous about citing my sources in detail, providing numerous quotes (always footnoted in the original language) when presenting both historic overview and empirical data, as well as in discussions.

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<sup>80</sup> Yin lists Question Asking, "Listening", Adaptiveness and Flexibility, Grasp of the issues being studied, and Lack of bias as the desired skills of the case study investigator. Yin (2003) p 60-62

### *Field work*

The field work on the actual buildings was prepared in the form of a chart. The purpose of the chart (a ‘questionnaire’ for the building which I filled in on inspection doing the visual survey) was to describe and identify the building focusing on the following characteristics:

- Construction history
- Adaptation-history of the building
- Design/style
- Building materials, their estimated age and technical condition
- Craftsmanship, traces of tools, surface treatment
- Room types, function and ‘standard’

Providing an assessment of the building ‘as it stands today’ was not the primary aim of the on-sight inspection; rather the information collected served the purpose of supplementing and confirming what the archival material could tell about the building’s treatment in the past. No fresh architectural surveys have been produced of the case study buildings, as this level of accuracy was not considered relevant for the purpose of this research. Informal conversations (*samtale*) with the present owners provided additional information which elucidated the information obtained through inspection.

### *Archive studies*

Some general information about each building was acquired before they were visited; collection of archival material was done afterwards. In the course of the archive studies, information from documents (building permit applications and correspondence, and fire insurance valuation documents) was compared to information obtained in the field. In some cases initial archive work with the municipal building archives led to further archive investigations (see below).

#### **1.2.5 Presentation of the case study areas**

This dissertation presents five case studies in five different locations, which comprise a total of 19 individual buildings. *Melhus vicarage*, consists of one single listed building in Melhus municipality in Sør-Trøndelag county; the second case study is of three buildings which are each set in a different rural farmyard context in Northern *Gudbrandsdalen* in the county of

Oppland; *Sohlbergrekka in Røros* is a row of listed buildings in an urban setting, also in the county of Sør-Trøndelag; *Rosesmuggrenden* is a sub-urban enclave and conservation area in Bergen in Hordaland county; and *Sjøgata in Mosjøen* is a conservation area in Vefsn, Nordland county. In each case 1-5 buildings have been closely researched with special attention to the general treatment they have received after being designated as built heritage, focusing on a major process of treatment they went through after being designated. The ‘treatments’ represent a chronological diversity, ranging from the 1920s to the early 1980s. The buildings themselves are typologically diverse, but have many common features and represent a relatively wide segment of Norwegian vernacular architecture within the timeframe 1750-1900. The cases have different geographical settings, with two coastal locations, one in south-western and one in northern Norway; two inland locations, one valley and one mountain; and one from the flat farming country near the Trondheim fjord.<sup>81</sup>

For area maps and floor plans of the individual case study buildings, refer to the appendix, for photographs, see the presentations of case study buildings in Chapters 3 to 7.

#### *Melhus vicarage*

Prestegårdslåna, the case study building and dwelling at Melhus vicarage, is a large notched and clad building dating back to the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was modernized in 1877-78, and restored in 1929 according to plans by the Trondheim architect Roar Tønseth. Prestegårdslåna was the main building on a large farm and still has a rural setting in the agricultural landscape of Melhus municipality near Trondheim. The building came under *Riksantikvaren* in the late 1910s, and was subsequently treated as ‘administratively listed’ (*administrativt fredet*).

The building type is characteristic of the regional farmhouse (*trønderlån*) but larger than average, and representative of the size, age and standing of buildings in the region which were typically selected for statutory protection through listing. As a vicarage, the building held both the private function of a home, and a semi-public function as a communal centre for the surrounding rural area. Because Prestegårdslåna was a state-owned building, the documentation on the building and its history is unusually rich.

#### *Gudbrandsdalen*

Five individual buildings located on three farms in the valley of Gudbrandsdalen have been selected as case studies: the dwelling at the farm Krogstad Øvre, the dwelling Stensgård, and

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<sup>81</sup> The 1999 national registration of valuable cultural landscapes in Norway (Nasjonalt registrering av verdifulle kulturlandskap), identify and typify Norwegian landscape types. Fylkesmannen (1992-)



three buildings at Søre Harilstad all of which are or have been full-time dwellings. The buildings were raised at different times during the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, listed in the 1920s or 1940s, and all underwent treatment in the form of restoration and modernization in the time frame between the 1930s and early 1980s. All are typical of the farms listed at this early stage of cultural heritage management: the homes of land-owning farmers whose interiors display century-old traditions of decoration and furnishing as documented by Eilert Sundt in the 1860s.

#### *Sohlbergrekka*

Sohlbergrekka is a row of buildings in Kjerkgata in the historic mining town of Røros, established in 1644 as the administrative centre of the copper mining activity which lasted until 1977. The Sohlbergrekka buildings constitute the dwellings of the urban farm complexes characteristic of Røros; cog joint and clad buildings which were the homes of the Røros farmer- and mine labourer families, and which date from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to mid 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Most of the buildings were modernized around the turn of the century. The five case study buildings in Solbergrekka were listed in 1923, and most buildings underwent restorations or modernizations in the time frame between 1940 and 1975, with a peak of activity in the 1950s.

Røros has an unusually high concentration of early listings and has endured a century of preservation interest, achieving international preservation status when designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1981. The buildings in Sohlbergrekka have many features typical of the region, as well as displaying local characteristics.

#### *Rosesmuggrenden*

Rosesmuggrenden is a hamlet of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings in Sandviken, a township of the city of Bergen. Inhabited by working class and craftsmen's families, the small-scale houses, densely built in an organic pattern of narrow alleys (of which *Rosesmuget* was one), were threatened by several urban planning schemes from the 1880s onwards. Guidelines which secured their further existence as a residential area were adopted by the municipality in 1958. Subsequently, a local residents group oversaw rehabilitation and maintenance work in the area, working to preserve the historic fabric. Rosesmuggrenden was one of very few pilot "conservation" areas in the country which pre-dated the 1965 Building Act (*Bygningsloven av 1965*), in which an area conservation paragraph was first introduced. The buildings display a

typical Bergen vernacular of its time; clad architecture with detailing inspired by the classic style, often referred to as the Bergen Empire Style (*Bergensempire*).

### *Sjøgata*

The area of Sjøgata is the oldest section of the town of Mosjøen in Nordland county, which developed as the local centre of the region based on fisheries, trading and crafts. The rows of buildings which line the street of Sjøgata combine commercial and residential functions; a parallel row of shoreline buildings along the river were for boats and storage of goods. The street buildings are cog jointed and clad, built or significantly rebuilt during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Initiatives to preserve the area were set off by a traffic plan presented in the late 1960s which proposed to eradicate several block sections of historic buildings. The four case study buildings, Sjøgata 26, 37, 41 and 47, are representative of the Sjøgata house with shop fronts on the ground floor and apartments on the first floor. All were rehabilitated during the late 1970s and early 1980s under the complete or partial supervision of a restoration architect.

Statutory protection for the Sjøgata area was achieved through a municipal conservation plan that was adopted between 1977 and 1981. The Sjøgata area was designated as an urban conservation area through activism which continued throughout the 1970s, partly driven by local forces, partly by *Riksantikvaren* and students and employees of the architecture department of N.T.H. (today NTNU).

## 1.3 STRATEGY FOR ANALYSIS

### **1.3.1 Identifying and exploring cultures of treatment**

Initially the word ‘restoration’ was used in this study to describe work performed on a historic, designated building. As the case material gradually revealed the variety of the work which the buildings had gone through, as well as the different ways in which the numerous terms to describe this work were employed by all stakeholders involved, the term “treatment” was chosen instead; this in an attempt to neutralize the content of ‘work performed on a historic, designated building’, and retain the specific meanings and implications of ‘restoration’. The replacement of the term ‘restoration’ with the term ‘treatment’ reflects the case study material: this study is not about the restoration or conservation of monuments, but

about buildings (which turned out to have been) in more or less continuous processes of ‘change’.

Factors which determine the conception and design, as well as the up-keep or “culture of treatment”, of all types of buildings may be grouped into technical, formal and cultural categories.

*Technical factors* which determine the physiology and physical change of a building can be put down as availability of building technology and materials, or physical entities such as the geology of the plot or the climate of the building’s location (for example, the 18<sup>th</sup> century building with locally produced slate stone foundations, repaired in the 1950s with poured cement).

*Formal factors* which influence the treatment of a building may be building regulations, heritage legislation and international conventions (for a listed building, heritage legislation may specify that no interventions may be done to wooden façade materials and wall construction, where general building regulations would require for example heat insulation (and fire protection) with potentially large interventions).

Then there are the *factors of taste or preference* which are determined by social or cultural practices and may be explained by class, gender, place or profession. Style, or the level of modernization the owners desire when ‘treating’ or ‘restoring’ their historic, heritage home, are parameters which may be linked to the technical (for example available building materials) or formal factors (for example heritage legislation) but which cannot be explained by these alone.<sup>82</sup>

“Culture of treatment” covers both principle and practice: physical adaptation to use and function, technical improvements and legislative requirements, intention to conserve or to restore, responses to stylistic trends, or maintenance to counter wear and tear over time. In choosing ‘treatment’ as the general defining term for intervention with a building, the main ambition of this study which was to explore “conservation ideology and practice”, was reworded to identifying “cultures of treatment”. This is attempted through describing ‘treatment’ of designated buildings over time and exploring their contexts to see whether there are tendencies towards patterns which may be identified and discussed.

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<sup>82</sup> For homes, one may argue that the ambition to express a personal or class identity is a strong deterrent. A study on peoples relationship to their homes in relation to personal tastes as opposed to architect design and rationale in Norway in the 1990s has been explored by Eli Støa in a PhD. *Boliger og kultur: norske boligfelt på åtti-tallet sett i lys av beboernes boligidealer*. Støa (1996)

### *The professional conservation community*

To distinguish between generic understandings and interpretations of historic buildings, and professional ideals the term professional conservation community is used. The term refers to the individuals and professionals who in all or part of their work are involved with building conservation and adhere to the codes, standards or 'rules of the trade'. "Conservation community" is used by Pendlebury in the U.K. context, which includes numerous non-governmental organizations with specialized tasks and interests in building conservation, as well as the conservation professional, which since the 1970s has been a growing group as conservation activity has become increasingly institutionalized: "Prior to the 1970s, this (the conservation profession) essentially consisted of a small and rather unfashionable grouping within the architectural profession."<sup>83</sup> This is a parallel to the Norwegian context; in Norway activity and 'membership' of the conservation community shifted during the 1970s.<sup>84</sup> For the Norwegian context there are two possible approaches to defining a conservation community: a broader definition which includes professionals as well as groupings, organizations and individual amateur enthusiasts including the dedicated owner of the historic house; and a stricter definition which includes professionals only.<sup>85</sup> The broader definition reflects the situation after 1970s. In the context of this research, where the case studies focus on the period before 1980, the narrower definition is most frequently used, phrased as 'the professional conservation community'. This was not a clearly defined group and recruited from different professions, where architects and art historians dominated before the 1970s. Generally it included members of official cultural heritage management, *Riksantikvaren* and the conservators of the county administrations and municipal conservation officers, architects with extensive practice as restoration architects, professionals (architects, antiquarians, ethnologists, historians, craftsmen etc.) of open air building museums, professionals who were active on Fortidsminneforeningen's boards and researchers and scientists specializing in building conservation. The professional 'codes' to which the community adhered to were not absolute, and intra-profession disputes were frequent, as will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

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<sup>83</sup> Pendlebury (2009) pp 125-

<sup>84</sup> See: Lidén (1991) pp 94-

<sup>85</sup> Parallel to this is the art philosopher George Dickie's definition of "the artworld", an institution without clearly defined borders but which Dickie suggests include artists, producers, museum directors, art critics –historians and –theorists, plus a dedicated audience. "...the core personnel of the artworld is a loosely organized, but nevertheless related set of persons...." Dickie (1974) pp 31, 34

## 1.4 SOURCE MATERIAL

### 1.4.1 Secondary sources

#### *Contemporary literature on conservation*

Several contemporary writers have been important in introducing themes and providing perspective on the topic. Art historians Hans Emil Lidén and Dag Myklebust and ethnologist Arne Lie Christensen are among the significant contributors to the philosophical and historical dimensions of Norwegian built heritage and its treatment. Their publications have been read extensively. Despite national and regional idiosyncrasies, Norway's conservation movement has very much been a part of a European trend, and cannot be treated without some reference to this. I have especially relied on the anthology of Jukka Jokilehto, and also used Norbert Huse and Wim Denslagen for the overview of the history of architectural conservation in Europe and the "western world". The writings of John Pendlebury have inspired thematic, methodological and theoretical angles for the research material. For further references please see the introductory notes on the sources in chapters 2-7, and the bibliography.

#### *Historical texts on Norwegian conservation*

The second chapter of the dissertation deals with the theoretical foundations and historical background of Norwegian building conservation up until circa 1920, and is based on a literature study. Lidén's work *Trekk fra kulturminnevernets historie i Norge* has been a guide through the maze of buildings, incidents and persons, and my historical review of Norwegian architectural conservation history traces his tracks. I have consulted a considerable amount of the historical texts which are relevant to the Norwegian history of building conservation, focussing on authors like the archaeologist N. Nicolaysen, the art historian Lorentz Dietrichsson and the architect H.M. Schirmer. Many of the historical texts do not deal with building conservation as such, but border the theme. This is for instance the case for sociologist Eilert Sundt, who is especially interesting as he was one of the early few who wrote distinctively about vernacular architecture. *Fortidsminneforeningen's* journals were issued annually from 1844 and have been of particular relevance to the Norwegian context.

Theory and history of building conservation after 1920 is primarily relayed on the basis of the case study archival material and *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annals. International charters on building conservation and national legislation have been part of the literature study for building conservation in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 1.4.2. Primary sources

##### *Archives*

Archive material constitutes the first group of primary source material for the case studies. This material has consisted of written documents whose authors were public officials or home owners. All the documents used were found in public archives and are available to the public.

The municipal building archives (*kommunale byggesaksarkiv*) have been the main source of documents concerning the individual buildings in the conservation areas for Røros, Rosesmuggrenden and Mosjøen case studies. Information on the individual buildings may vary a great deal, from simple sketches and two-line letters to comprehensive and detailed building application permits. If one considers building applications over the past century (the cities received legislation and “building codes” from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century and onwards<sup>86</sup>), the general tendency is that the amount of information increases over time, but especially during the 1980s.

The national archives (*Statsarkivet*) hold the files for state-owned buildings (for Melhus vicarage, *Prestearkivet*), and records of historic fire insurance valuations. *Riksantikvaren* manages its own archive (*Riksantikvarens arkiv*) on the premises of the current administration in Oslo, and has been consulted on all listed case study buildings. It holds case work, photographs, drawings and plans.

In the case of Melhus vicarage, all documentation concerning the building has been obtained and copied through a locally run documentation project (*Dokumentasjonsprosjektet*), which constitutes a private archive I have been fortunate to have access to. In addition to archival documents there are newspaper clippings, photographs and private correspondence. Most of the fire insurance valuations and maintenance appraisals (*åbotsforretninger*) for Melhus vicarage have been transcribed as part of *Dokumentasjonsprosjektet*, which has made the material accessible.

For Rosesmuggrenden I have had access to the files of the residents association *Rosesmuggrenden Velforening*.

For the case study building in Sjøgata I have had access to the private files of architect Dag Nilsen.

The archives of the museums Rørosmuseet, Gamle Bergen Museum and Vefsn Museum have also been consulted, and have provided information both on individual buildings and context.

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<sup>86</sup> See: Knut Einar Larsen *Eldre bygningslovgivning og byggebestemmelser*, Byggforsk (1989)

### *Historic photographs*

Historic photographs have been obtained where possible, and the photographs reprinted here have been collected mainly from these sources listed in the following. I have found relatively little photographic material of buildings in the municipal building archives. *Riksantikvaren*'s archive has an extensive archive of historic photographs of individual listed buildings, and also historic photographic collections (Mittet foto), and has been consulted for historic photographs of the listed case study buildings. The photographic collections of the Tromsø Museum, Vefsn Museum, Trøndelag Folkemuseum Sverresborg, N.T.N.U. University Library (Universitetsbibliotekets Billedsamling), Bergen University Library (Billedsamlingen ved Universitetsbiblioteket UBB) and the National Library (Galleri NOR, Nasjonalbiblioteket, which manages historic photograph collections of among others Anders Beer Wilse and Norsk Folkemuseum) have also been consulted, for historic photographs of the areas and individual buildings of the case studies. The private archives of Rosesmuggrenden Velforening did not contain photographic material. Dag Nilsen's files for Sjøgata in Mosjøen comprised extensive photographic material.

The historic photographs, both in the category of documentation by the antiquarian, and of postcards aimed at tourists, are primarily of house façades and street scenes. Although the photographic documentation in many cases is limited to the street façade of the building, this is also the common viewpoint; of the passer-by, the tourist, or the antiquarian on his or her first visit. The viewpoints selected also reveal the focus of interest of the photographer, be it for postcards, documentation of street life or the eyes of an architect or antiquarian.

In the *Riksantikvaren* archive the photographic material up until the 1970s is not extensive. With less expensive camera equipment and more resources in professional building conservation, the documentation increases from the late 1970s to include interiors and architectural detailing to a larger extent. The older photographs hold information about the physical alterations of the buildings which is crucial to this type of research.

### *Blueprints, drawings and maps*

The files on the buildings featured in this study found in municipal building archives in most cases include map sections, surveys and blueprints of floor plans and façades. This type of documentation was not found to be homogenous for the individual case study buildings but varied a great deal in scale and quality, depending on their purpose (urban planning, water pipeline, building permit), and the author: architect, engineer, craftsman and owner are represented as authors of surveys and plans found in the archives. Most blueprints and

drawings in the case studies have been retrieved from municipal building archives, some from museum archives and the private archives mentioned above, in addition to a significant amount which have been found in *Riksantikvaren*'s archive.

The area map sections printed in the appendix are sections from the Norwegian G.I.S. (Geographical Information System) online database.

#### *Site documentation*

The second group of primary source material has been the buildings. With the exception of Melhus vicarage, all are private homes today. Façade exteriors are part of a public space, while the garden or backyard façades and interiors are generally not accessible to the public. All buildings in the case studies were visually inspected externally and internally and photographed extensively with a high-resolution digital camera in the exterior and interior as a means of documentation. Photographs constitute the main site documentation. The photographs have been a working tool when studying the archival material for the buildings. I have kept the presentation of on-site photographic documentation of the private sphere of these buildings to a minimum as the interest to the research is limited, and out of consideration for the privacy of the owners.

A building holds a great deal of information for those who are determined to 'read' it. The information will vary according to who does the reading. A mycologist will search for insect- or fungi-induced rot in the building materials; a sociologist will see the patterns of use by the people who inhabit it; an engineer may focus on structural matters or fire safety issues; the neighbour might estimate the age, cost and cleanliness of the furnishings.

In the visual inspection of the buildings the objective has been to determine the construction mode and layout, which materials have been used in the building and how they were crafted (by looking for visible tool marks), and to get a general impression of the general standard of housing over time; to see how the building had been altered over time and how this had affected the original fabric of the building (see *Field Work* above). When the buildings are clad the construction mode is not immediately obvious, but most buildings revealed their construction by having one or several un-panelled sections or rooms, or through typical features like the cased box around a notched end (*laftekasse*). The profiling, size and finish of an exterior cladding will give information on how it was crafted, which gives an indication of its age. The layout and furnishing of rooms will give information on whether functions have been moved, and walls shifted to accommodate changing use.



The on-site documentation has been sufficient to compare with written documentation, existing plans and surveys, and to confirm, reject or reveal which of the older surveys were inaccurate, which plans were never carried out, and give information to what extent the authentic fabric of the building has been affected by the treatment it has endured over time.

## 1.5 TERMS AND THEMES

The question of how to treat a heritage building or monument navigates between passive and active approaches. John Pendlebury suggests that the practice of building conservation today is based on the restoration vs. conservation dichotomy of the “founding fathers”; “modern conservation” being a derivative of the conservation movement as voiced by John Ruskin and developed and promoted by William Morris and SPAB.<sup>87</sup> International documents issued by groupings in the professional conservation community, like the 1964 Charter of Venice, built to a large extent on the ideology of SPAB.<sup>88</sup> At the overall level there is a consensus of “rights” and “wrongs” in building conservation, and this consensus is embodied and expressed in a terminology. “...today’s practice on how the most central words and expressions are used within our profession varies from person to person and from one situation to the next (...) however, there is an intimate connection between fundamental views on conservation and use of vocabulary”.<sup>89</sup> This statement derives from a 1980 Fortidsminneforeningen seminar on central terms used in building conservation. Nine years later, Lars Roede, who was a member of the group, wrote in the introduction to the *Byggforsk* thematic sheets on building conservation: “It is difficult to exchange thoughts and ideas when the word ‘restoration’ turns out to mean something entirely different for a house-owner than for a professional antiquarian. It becomes especially challenging when the cultural heritage professionals among themselves seem to operate with different definitions for this and many other terms.”<sup>90</sup> It is therefore necessary for this work to define the meanings of the most essential terms as they will be used here. In the following section, a selection of the

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<sup>87</sup> Pendlebury (2009) p 18. SPAB: Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, founded in the U.K. in 1877 by architects “deeply concerned that well meaning architects are scraping away the historic fabric of too many buildings in their zealous ‘restorations’.” (quote from the SPAB website [www.spab.org.uk](http://www.spab.org.uk), July 2009)

<sup>88</sup> Pendlebury (2009) p 24

<sup>89</sup> The seminar report here refers to Norway and “other countries”, naming Italy, France and the United Kingdom. Boe (1980) p 1, 2

<sup>90</sup> Roede (1989) p 2

Norwegian vocabulary in building conservation relevant to the work at hand will be discussed, and the English language equivalents presented.

Most of the selected terms relate to building conservation in general and the act of treatment in particular, and they have a long standing in Norwegian building conservation and are still in use today. I have, where possible, consulted authoritative works from different decades to see whether meanings change over time. My main source of reference has been the report issued by Fortidsminneforeningen in 1980. There are two reasons for this; firstly it represents a “status update” of terms at approximately the same time as my case studies close, secondly this report does not only define but discusses the building conservation vocabulary. The authors are authorities in Norwegian professional building conservation, and later definitions, for example those presented in the Byggforsk (“Building research”) series, were based on this 1980 report.<sup>91</sup> The 1980 report, in turn, based much of its discussion on a vocabulary presented in a research report by the Research Council of Norway, NAVF, which discussed the need for building conservation research within the field of “humanities and environmental protection”, released the previous year.<sup>92</sup> This research report, from 1979, is therefore also frequently referred to. In cases where today’s definitions vary *Riksantikvaren*’s publications are used as a corrective; for definitions of English terms and phrases ICOMOS documents have been consulted, as well as the authors referred to below.

#### *Antiquarian*

The adjective ‘antiquarian’, *antikvarisk*, has been and is used to characterize built heritage and the act of working with built heritage, and still is, despite the fact that “age” is not necessarily a criterion for designating built heritage.<sup>93</sup> The 1979 NAVF research report established that “conservation work (*bevaringsarbeid*) is frequently referred to as ‘antiquarian work’ (*antikvarisk arbeid*).”<sup>94</sup> A Norwegian formal professional authority on building conservation since 1912 has been given the title *Riksantikvar*, the “National Antiquarian” (today the correct institutional name in English is the Director General of the Directorate for Cultural Heritage). *Antikvar* (an antiquarian; the noun deriving from the adjective “antiquarian”) was commonly used and is still used today for a person who works with cultural heritage and building

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<sup>91</sup> Roede (1989)

<sup>92</sup> NAVF (1979)

<sup>93</sup> One example in which age was not a criterion for a building being marked as built heritage is Sverre Fehn’s Villa Busk, which was listed upon its completion as an example of modern day architecture. However, the term *antikvarisk* maintains its relevance, also etymologically, in that it is irrespectively used to describe buildings and actions where the intention is to provide for a prolonged life and high age of objects involved.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* p 33

conservation in particular (although “conservation” or “heritage management officer”, “-consultant” or “-adviser” is now more common).

The root or prefix of antique<sup>95</sup> “ante” means “before”. The notion that *antikvarisk verdi* (antiquarian value) was not defined by age but by architectural quality (as proposed by Christian Norberg-Schulz in 1960<sup>96</sup>) was rejected in the 1980 Fortidsminneforeningen report on grounds that this definition was contrary to the etymology of *antikvarisk*. The report also rejected the commonly used phrase *antikvarisk arbeid* (antiquarian work or antiquarian conservation) on the grounds that *antikvarisk* here was employed as an antonym to “rehabilitation” or “regeneration” (*rehabilitering*) and therefore “... based on a misconception of the meanings embodied in conservation work”; i.e. conservation work as in Norwegian *byggningsvern* also includes the act of building rehabilitation, *rehabilitering*. The conclusion presented by Fortidsminneforeningen was that the adjective *antikvarisk* (“antiquarian”) is limited to that which refers to “that which is in possession of age value” (*aldersverdi*).<sup>97</sup> Roede defines the term “antiquarian value” (*antikvarisk verdi*) as a synonym for age value, and continues: “the term may also be viewed as a collective term for a group of values which is ascribed to an object because it is old.”<sup>98</sup>

In the context of this research, the term *antikvarisk* as adjective will be used as it occurs in the source material, in which case the reference to its source is made. The source material predominantly implies a definition of *antikvarisk* which corresponds to Roehde’s definition, i.e. as intimately associated with age value. The noun ‘antiquarian’ will be used as a title for professionals working specifically with building conservation, as a collective term, and insofar as it is the title which is used in the source material.

#### *Preservation or conservation*

*Bevaring*, of which the English “preserving” is a literal translation, is a common word in Norwegian, and is also used outside of building conservation when speaking about preserving (something): “When we use the term preserve (*bevare*) this comprises a series of different actions. *Bevaring* may comprise maintenance (*vedlikehold*), repair (*reparasjon*), re-building (*gjenreisning*), exposing (*frilegging*), reconstructing (*rekonstruksjon*), completion of unfinished buildings (*fullføring av uferdige bygg*), reproduction (copying) (*reproduksjon*

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<sup>95</sup> Antique (adj): “gammeldags/som gjelder antikken”/“that which is old or old-fashioned/belongs to the past.” Orndett (2009)

<sup>96</sup> Nordberg-Schulz (1960)

<sup>97</sup> Boe (1980) pp 4-5

<sup>98</sup> Roede (1989) p 2

(*kopiering*) and relocation (*flytting*).”<sup>99</sup> The terms *bevaring* and *vern* both translate into both “conservation” and “preservation”, as used in the U.K. and U.S. respectively, as general phrases used to describe the broad spectrum of activity of protecting and caring for heritage objects, buildings and places.<sup>100</sup> The 1979 NAVF research report gave a definition of *bevaring* as a more specialized activity: “...conservation (*bygningssvern*) implies preserving buildings as they are (were) without significant changes outside of technical repairs (...) without modernization or modification which may reduce the object’s value as a primary source of historical knowledge.” The terms *museal bevaring* (“museum-like conservation”) and *konservering* (“conservation”) were used to clarify this definition: “... museum-like conservation means the conservation of a physical condition independent of the building’s function as a context and medium for activity in the present”, this as opposed to “rehabilitation” or “regeneration” (*rehabilitering*) which allows for modification, adaptation and adjustments.<sup>101</sup> This specialized definition of conservation (*bevaring*) was challenged by Fortidsminneforeningen’s working group who defined conservation (*bevaring*) as a general and all-encompassing term, stressing its flexible meanings and generic use and rendering it unfit as a professional term for cultural heritage management and specialized activity.<sup>102</sup> The group pointed out that *bevaring* at one point became the antidote of restoration (*restaurering*) when the latter for many became synonymous with “destruction”<sup>103</sup>, and that it implied something which benefitted the buildings’ further existence; the group also stressed the reflexivity of the term in that *bevaring*, as in “active striving for an object’s further existence”, involved an interpretation of the past.<sup>104</sup> Roede’s definition may be considered conclusive: “Conservation (*bevaring*) is a superior term for the goals and intentions of building conservation. Conservation is a part of everyday speech, and has no specific meaning in the professional vocabulary. It says little about how to actually treat a building.”<sup>105</sup>

The verb *bevare* is used synonymously with *verne*; the literal translations of *bevare* are “protect, save, keep, preserve”, and of *verne* “protect, defend, shelter”.<sup>106</sup> Today *vern* is

<sup>99</sup> Nordberg-Schulz (1960), quoted in: Boe (1980) p 7

<sup>100</sup> Compare for “conservation” as used in Pendlebury (2009); and “historic preservation” in Young (2008)

<sup>101</sup> NAVF (1979) pp 29, 33, 102-103

<sup>102</sup> Boe (1980) p 7

<sup>103</sup> This historical reference may be exemplified with Samuel Higgins statement on “restoration” in 1871: “It is futile to say that this treatment of our cathedrals is for their preservation for it renders them not worth preserving”, as quoted in: Tschudi-Madsen (1976) p 63

<sup>104</sup> The “interpretation” aspect of *bevaring* was put forward as a quote of Kåre Sveen in *Dugnad* 3-1975 p 27.

Boe (1980) p 7

<sup>105</sup> Roede (1989) p 2

<sup>106</sup> Ordnett (2009)

the term used to assert legislative protection of a building.<sup>107</sup> *Bygningsvern* translates into both “building conservation” and “building preservation”. Whether the correct translation of *bevaring* and *vern* to the English language is “preservation” or “conservation”, and what the distinction is, has been much discussed. Fortidsminneforeningens 1980 report on the use of terms in building conservation referred to a 1977 ICOMOS meeting where, in reference to the use of “conservation and restoration of historical monuments” in The Venice Charter, it was advised that “an enquiry should be undertaken among English-speaking specialists to see whether “conservation” or “preservation” should be used here.<sup>108</sup> The Fortidsminneforeningen committee observed that there seemed to be a tendency to use “preservation” as the superior and overall term, and concluded that *bevaring* should be translated as “preservation”, and *konservering* as “conservation”.<sup>109</sup> This conclusion was disputed by Norwegian colleagues, who demonstrated that “conservation” was the superior and more comprehensive term with reference to contemporary practice in the U.K.<sup>110</sup> In the introduction to (former Norwegian *Riksantikvar*) Stephan Tschudi-Madsen’s work *Restoration and Anti-Restoration*, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner wrote: “Preservation deals with individual buildings, conservation with areas. Preservation in that sense is old, conservation recent.”<sup>111</sup> This is an interesting theoretical distinction, but does not describe the way the terms are actually used today. For buildings, *bevaring* and *bygningsvern* are used in everyday language to encompass all sorts of treatment where the aim is to preserve, and are accepted by the professional conservation community to also include rehabilitation and restoration, as in adapting a building to a function and restoring dignity; in addition they are overall terms for conservation including the conservation of buildings.

The term *bygningsvern* was introduced in Norway by Professor Staale-Sinding Larsen at N.T.H. in the early 1970s, and has since become the most prevalent term to describe the phenomenon of working for, with and on built heritage, rendering phrases like *fortidsminnesvern*, *fornminnevern*, *vern av fortidsminnesmerker* obsolete for buildings.<sup>112</sup> The

<sup>107</sup> Torvanger (2005) p 94

<sup>108</sup> ICOMOS summary report from the Ditchley Park meeting 18-20<sup>th</sup> of May 1977, Annex III p. 3, quoted in: Boe (1980) p 9

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. pp 10, 16

<sup>110</sup> U.K. references were Allan *Dobby Conservation and Planning* (London 1978), Geoffrey Young *Conservation Scene* (Hammondsworth 1977), where “conservation” is used for practice on built-up areas, plus John Harvey *Conservation of Buildings* (London 1972) where “conservation” is used for practice on individual buildings. Comment typed and signed L.B. (Lyder Braaten) 27.10.1980 onto Fortidsminneforeningen’s report (Boe 1980) and added to this file in the Riksantikvaren library.

<sup>111</sup> Sir Nikolaus Pevsner quoted in: Tschudi-Madsen (1976) p 7

<sup>112</sup> Grytli (2010) p 6 The dictionary translation of *fornminne* is “relic” or “antiquity” and was used in the first Norwegian legislation for the protection of cultural heritage, the 1905 *Fornminneloven* and its 1951 revision *Lov*

new terminology anticipated the broader movement of saving and using a larger part of the built heritage in the environmental and residential movement of building conservation the 1970s. The NAVF 1979 research report gave a comprehensive definition of *byggningsvern*, stressing the multiple purposes and interests of building's protection and use: "Whole or partial protection (*beskyttelse*), care (*pleie*) and maintenance (*vedlikehold*) and functional adaptation (*brukstilpasning*) of buildings or sites generated from the assessment of the building as a recourse; aesthetic, social, economic, antiquarian etc.; *byggningsvern* comprises buildings in all dimensions from single buildings to many buildings and landscapes in context (built environment, cultural landscape)".<sup>113</sup> *Byggningsvern* includes both the administrative and opinion-shaping activity of building conservation, and treatment<sup>114</sup>; an all-encompassing definition, as opposed to for example architectural conservation which is exclusively professional activity which concerns the physical treatment of the building. *Byggningsvern* literally translates into the English "building protection" or "building conservation".<sup>115</sup>

The inconclusiveness of the definitions and translations of "conservation" and "preservation" is to some extent reflected in the text. In the context of this research the term "historic preservation" and "conservation" or "building conservation" are used synonymously as a translation for the phenomenon of preserving cultural heritage as a translation of *vern*. "Conservation" or "building conservation" is also used in reference to the act of *byggningsvern*: protection, care and maintenance and functional adaptation or heritage buildings. *Bevaringsområde* is translated as "conservation area" with reference to current practice in the U.K.<sup>116</sup>

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*om fornminner*. This legislation targeted what we today would define as archaeological material; artefacts and structures from before the Norwegian reformation (1536), mostly subterranean. The term *fornminnevern* was common in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century to describe the act and institution of preserving such relics for posterity. The literal translation of *fortidsminne* is "past memory"; the dictionary translation is "antiquity, monument of the past, ancient monument" A clarifying definition was provided by Lars Roede in 1989: "In preservation it is usual to consider all expressions of ways of building no longer in use as *fortidsminner*". *Fortidsminne* is however seldom used today as a term when speaking of built heritage. The literal translation of *fortidsvern* is "past protection" or "protection of the past". Fortidsminneforeningen's 1980 terminology group declared the term a "linguistic absurdity" and advised that its use be avoided. Orndett (2009); Roede (1989) p 3; Boe (1980) p 9

<sup>113</sup> NAVF (1979) p 104

<sup>114</sup> Roede (1989) p 3

<sup>115</sup> Vern (subst.n): protection, safeguard, preservation. Orndett (2009)

<sup>116</sup> See for example texts by John Pendlebury.

### Conservation

“Conservation”, from latin “conservare” (*bevare*) is coined from the Latin preposition “cum” which means “with” and the verb “servo” which means to watch, observe, guard, save or spare; defined as: “...the treatment which an object must undergo to prevent, stop or deter deteriorating processes which over time will alter, damage or destroy it.”<sup>117</sup>

The Norwegian use of conservation, as in *konservere* (v), *konservering* (n), *konservator* (n), is narrower than the English “conservation” and refers to the technical aspects of the conservation process, explicitly used to describe the processes and interventions to conserve and consolidate paintings or objects.<sup>118</sup> When used to describe treatment of buildings, *konservering* implies a restricted type of treatment: “Konservieren heist, die Integrität des Kunstwerkes absolut zu respektieren, --“. <sup>119</sup> The goal for *konservering* is to preserve a building or object with a minimum of alteration, but at the same time implies an active intervention (for example the use of a consolidating agent).<sup>120</sup>

The English “conservation” is used both in the narrower, technical sense as in Norwegian *konservering* and as a broader equivalent of the Norwegian *bevaring*. For a discussion on the distinctions between the use and meanings of “conservation” versus “preservation”, see *bevaring*.

### Regeneration

The term ‘regeneration’, which in the context of cultural built heritage most closely translates into Norwegian *rehabilitering*, is closely associated with the treatment of heritage buildings; its use and the practice it implied endorsed by the professional conservation community. The term seems to have been introduced in the 1960s.<sup>121</sup> Regeneration of buildings implies that functional aspects of today’s use and architectonic unity are given priority over preserving original features: “Building conservation (*byggningsvern*) (...) involves reconditioning buildings (*sette bygninger i stand*) for a specific purpose or use, maintaining the overall

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<sup>117</sup> Aase B. Sjøvold, 1978, quoted and endorsed in: Boe (1980) p 10

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. pp 10-11

<sup>119</sup> H. Althöfer *Theorie und Geschichte der Restaurierung*, ICOM, Venice 1975, quoted in: ibid. p 9

<sup>120</sup> *Konservator*, “conservator”, has developed as a professional title for museum employees (also for those who do not work with the preservation of objects), while *teknisk konservator*, “technical conservator”, is the profession of conserving paintings, objects and textiles, in English often called “restorers”. When the counties established positions for professionals in heritage management and building conservation (which the state encouraged from 1962 onwards these were given the title *fylkeskonservator* (county conservator). Some counties have retain this title today, although the tendency since the 1990s has been to award neutral titles like “advisor” (*rådgiver*) or “konsulent” (consultant) which give less indication as to the field or profession in which the employee is to advise or consult on. Roede (1989) p 3; Boe (1980) p 10, 11; Gaukstad (2005) p 140

<sup>121</sup> Use by Kerstin Gjesdahl Noach in a journal article in *Teknisk Ukeblad* in 1965. Boe (1980) p 16, 17

architectural character (*arkitektonisk helhetskarakter*), but without strict requirements of preserving original components, contexts and use. Regeneration (*rehabilitering*) also involves reclaiming lost dignity”; it may also imply adaptations which were not compatible with intentions to preserve.<sup>122</sup> This definition was delivered in the 1979 NAVF report, which was critical of experience of rehabilitation practice on historic buildings, and called for caution: “Regeneration of homes (*boligrehabilitering*) in the cities is regularly carried out with the infliction of such great modifications that architectural components in the building’s interiors and exteriors are destroyed. In certain cases buildings are rehabilitated following such different principles that the overall character of the area suffers.”<sup>123</sup> There was recognition that modern building codes and standards could be difficult to reconcile with building conservation principles: “Demands on the technical and fire-prevention standards of buildings may cause difficulties for a successful rehabilitation. Building legislation and building codes however provide significant leeway for manoeuvres in regeneration, even for wooden built environments, and both building authorities and fire prevention authorities are today open to taking cultural, social and economic considerations into account.”<sup>124</sup>

Fortidsminneforeningen’s terminology group sought a more precise definition which could be used in building conservation with a positive meaning, and which excluded every type of undesired treatment implicated by housing “improvements”, or *utbedring*, which by many was used synonymously with *rehabilitering*. *Utbedring* (“renovation, repair”<sup>125</sup>, “improvement”) was in 1980 the politically correct term for housing improvements, adopted by the National Housing Bank Husbanken and the ministry of internal affairs Kommunaldepartementet.<sup>126</sup> According to the Fortidsminneforeningen group, *utbedring* included treatment of buildings which could not be perceived as positive from a building conservation perspective.<sup>127</sup> The group stressed that *rehabilitering* implied restoring dignity to a building as well as necessary technical improvements, and proposed the following definition: “Repair and reconditioning (*istandssettelse*) of a building for a present use and/or to correct neglected maintenance (*vedlikehold*), where the aim must also be to preserve (*bevare*) as much as possible of its antiquarian value (*antikvarisk verdi*) and architectural qualities; and restoring (*gjenvinning av*) lost dignity.”<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> NAVF (1979) p 105

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. pp 43-44

<sup>124</sup> NAVF (1979) pp 43-44

<sup>125</sup> Ordnett (2009)

<sup>126</sup> Boe (1980) p 16

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. p 15 This definition was repeated in: Roede (1989) p 3



*Rehabilitating* implies upgrading housing standards, as opposed to “maintenance” (*vedlikehold*) which seeks to uphold an existing standard. In the context of this research the term “regeneration” and “rehabilitation” are used synonymously in translation of the Norwegian “rehabiliterer” according to this definition, or as it otherwise occurs in the source material, in which case the source reference will be provided.

### *Restoration*

The Latin *restaurare* means to rebuild, renew (*gjenoppbygge, fornye*), *restitution* a re-establishment of a former condition.<sup>129</sup> The use of “restore” or *restaurere* in Norwegian building ranges from a narrow definition considered the professional and correct one: “complete or partial re-establishment of an previous situation”<sup>130</sup>, to a wider definition which corresponds with historic practice, and reflects the common contemporary understanding as “... any large reconstruction or repair of an older building with the intention to preserve (*bevaring*) and “improve” (*forbedring*)”<sup>131</sup> Lars Roede observed that “the restoration term is one of the oldest and most ambiguous in building conservation”, and that its generic use, outside of professional building conservation, is frequently as a synonym for pure modernizations where there has been no intent to preserve.<sup>132</sup>

Former *Riksantikvar* Arne Nygård-Nissen wrote that: “In general restoration involves bringing a building back its original design (*opprinnelige form*), or the form of a later stage if the circumstances indicate that this is the best solution.”<sup>133</sup> Halvor Vreim, first antiquarian with *Riksantikvaren*, wrote: “When it is commonly stated that an old house must be restored, there is little information in this. Usually what is meant is repair with a desire to modify to meet practical demands, or both. Some also mean what is correct, which is to seek to restore a building “back to its original form and appearance”, and in everyday language this is the correct explanation for the term restoration.”<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid. p 18

<sup>130</sup> NAVF (1979) p 105

<sup>131</sup> Boe (1980) p 19

<sup>132</sup> Roede (1989) p 3

<sup>133</sup> Nygård-Nilssen (1951) pp 25-27

<sup>134</sup> “Når det i alminnelighet sies at et gammelt hus må restaureres, er det gjerne lite opplysende. Som oftest menes istandsetting, ønsket om forandringer for å imøtekomme praktiske krav, eller begge deler. Enkelte mener også det rette, det å søke ført et forandret hus ”tilbake til opprinnelig skikkelse”, som kort og populært sagt er den riktige forklaring av begrepet restaurering.” Halvor Vreim *Fossesholm ved Øvre Eiker – en antikvarisk istandsetting* Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1952) p 50

Here the term restoration is used to mean “complete or partial re-establishment of an earlier situation”, which is the understanding endorsed by the preservation community. When quoted or referenced the term has the meaning intended in the original context.

### *Reconditioning and repair*

The verb *istandsette* is given the dictionary translation “repair”, its alternative mode *sette i stand* translates “to recondition, repair, enable, refit”.<sup>135</sup> *Istandsette* is a general term which implies a careful strategy for treatment with little intervention or modification of the original structure. It usually refers to the overall work on a building, as opposed to the specific repair of isolated building components or damaged areas. In Norwegian *reparasjon* (“repair”) is defined by Lars Roede as “...reconditioning (*istandsettelse*) after damage or decay”<sup>136</sup>; this implies a close relation between the two terms *istandsettelse* and *repair*. The Norwegian conservation community, especially *Riksantikvaren* representatives, used the term *istandsettelse* frequently when speaking of treatment of listed buildings, among which vernacular buildings dominated.<sup>137</sup> Halvor Vreim distinguished between *istandsetting* and *reparasjon* (repair), and between *istandsetting* and *restaurering* (restoration), explaining: “In connection with reconditioning (*istandsetting*) small elements of restoration or reconstruction of singular details may occur. Still it will be natural in practice to call the work at large a reconditioning (*istandsetting*), improvement (*utbedring*) or repair (*reparasjon*).”<sup>138</sup> Vreim considered the three terms synonyms, the two latter however somewhat more limited in their meaning, referring to specific tasks or parts of the house, whereas *istandsetting*, as a more overall term, referred to the complete treatment of the whole building. Before the 1970s *istandsetting* seems to have been the preferred term in the vocabulary to describe treatment for heritage buildings. During the 1970s *rehabilitering* came into frequent use for the broader spectrum of heritage buildings, especially those which were designated through listing but through the Building and Planning Act, and buildings subject to urban renewal programs.

In the context of this research, *istandsetting* will be translated with “reconditioning”, and its meaning is to be understood as corresponding to Vreim’s definition. It will be used as it occurs in the source material, in which case a reference will be provided.

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<sup>135</sup> Ordnett (2009)

<sup>136</sup> Roede (1989) p 3

<sup>137</sup> For example: Fett and Vreim 1941; Nygård-Nilssen 1958; Svendsen 1972

<sup>138</sup> “I samband med istandsetting kan et lite innslag av restaurering eller rekonstruksjon av enkelte detaljer forekomme. Allikevel vil det i praksis som regel være naturlig å kalle arbeidet i sin helhet for istandsetting, utbedring eller reparasjon.” Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1952) p 50



## 2

### NORWEGIAN PERSPECTIVES

#### *Scientific, artistic and realistic approaches in conservation*

“... this Treatise can however be of some Significance for the Scholars, who wish to know something of our old Sagas, of even greater Significance for our own Countrymen and Scholars in General, and above all for the Citizens of this Country and this City, for whom it first and foremost is written, (...)”<sup>1</sup>

Gerhard Schøning in the introduction to his work on Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim, 1776

“O People of Norway! Do not forget the proud Temple in its Old age!

Its Remains still defy the Storm of Time, – O save it, save it before it falls asunder!

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O Temple dotard! Dare the Poet foretell – that sometime the bright Day will rise

That will see Thee standing in rejuvenated Glory – surrounded by Future Hope and Past memories?”<sup>2</sup>

Conrad Nicolai Schwach on Nidaros Cathedral, 1835

“On the whole it is probably difficult for most people in our functionalistic times to understand the passionate discussion on purely professional questions which filled the press with huge headlines and detailed accounts. Even though the polemic acquired a strong personal character, it is obvious that all things related to the cathedral were followed with lively interest in wide circles.”<sup>3</sup>

Restoration architect Gerhard Fischer on the debates surrounding Nidaros Cathedral, 1965

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<sup>1</sup> “I Følge heraf tilstaaer jeg gjerne, at dette Skrivt kan ei være af synderlig Betydenhed for Folk i Almindelighed uden for Fæderenlandet, af mindre for en Italiener og Spanier, allermindst for en Chineser, Tørk, Africaner eller Americaner; (...) kan dette Skrivt dog være af nogen Betydenhed for de Lærde, som ville viide noget om vore gamle Sager, af endnu større for vore egne Landsmænd og Lærde i Almindelighed, og aller mest for dette Lands og denne Stads Indvaanere, for hvilke det fornemmelig er skrevet, (...)”. Schøning (2004)

<sup>2</sup> “O Norges Folk! Forglem ei heller Du - Det stolte Tempel i dets Oldingalder! Dets Levning trodser Tidens Storm endnu, - O red den, red den før den sammenfalder! ---- O Tempelgubbe! Tør vel Skjalden spaae - at nogetid den lyse Dag oprinder, Der seer Dig i forynget Glands at staae - Omstraalt af Fremtidshaab og Fortidsminder?” The last word, *fortidsminne*, is also the term for ancient monument. In the invitation for the subscription (“subskripsjonsinnbydelsen”) for the publication “Thronhjems Domkirkes Historie og Beskrivelse i kort Udtog”, compiled for the purpose of salvaging the cathedral. Schwach (1838). The author, Conrad Nicolai Schwach, was considered a fine poet in his time and was a representative of the literary experiments of the new and independent Norway. Schwach (1838)

<sup>3</sup> “I det hele vil det vel for de fleste i vår funksjonalistiske tid være vanskelig å forstå den lidenskapelige diskusjon om rent faglige spørsmål som fylte dagspressen med kjempeoverskrifter og detaljerte utredninger. Selv om polemikken etter hvert fikk et sterkt personlig preg, er det klart at alt som angikk domkirken, ble fulgt med levende interesse i vide kretser” Fischer (1965) (introduction).

### *Introduction*

This chapter outlines the conservation movement in Norway, from the first known efforts in cataloguing and documentation over 400 years ago, via the conservation and restoration enterprises of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to the institutionalization of cultural heritage in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The purpose is to provide a context for conservation of vernacular or “anonymous” architecture in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which is the main topic of this research. This category was little noted in historic preservation during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a period primarily concerned with monuments and sacred architecture. The principles of architectural conservation were applied to the treatment of churches, castles and monuments; only towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are examples of vernacular architecture being repaired and restored as built heritage found, with the establishment of the first private building collections.

The passages quoted above recount the documentation, rescue and restoration of, Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim (*Nidarosdomen*). The following chapter is not about cathedrals. It is based on the assumption that, in order to distil and interpret ideas and ideals on building conservation and restoration in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, some perspectives on the foundations of historic preservation are required. When dealing with architectural conservation in Norway it is difficult to avoid Nidaros Cathedral, here written about by the 18<sup>th</sup> century historian and scholar Gerhard Schønning who first wrote its history, the 19<sup>th</sup> century poet and lawyer Conrad Nicolai Schwach who agitated for its restoration, and lastly the architect and archaeologist Gerhard Fischer, who worked with its conservation and restoration from circa 1940 and into the 1970s. Just as significant as the cathedral of Cologne (Køln) was to Germany<sup>4</sup>, the restoration of Nidaros Cathedral, Norway’s gothic cathedral and national sacred monument (*nasjonalhelligdom*), was the most widely debated restoration of a built monument from the moment when the idea to restore it was presented in the 1830s, until the restoration was formally declared completed in 2001. In Gerhard Schønning’s time Nidaros Cathedral was largely a ruin but for scholars it represented a significant source of historic knowledge. Schønning’s 370 page manuscript on the history of the church, published in 1776, is representative of the Norwegian era of enlightenment; the poet Schwach’s praise of its beauty and symbolic values, 60 years later, of romanticism.<sup>5</sup> By this time concern was being

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<sup>4</sup> The completion and restoration of the 13<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> century Cologne Cathedral was executed between 1823 and 1880 and involved cultivation of medieval design at the cost of later additions and furnishings in other styles, which were removed. The restoration was model for many restorations in Germany and Germanic counties. Jokilehto (1999) pp 116-119

<sup>5</sup> Other known representatives for the era of Enlightenment in Norway were topographic writers like Gunnerus, Scønning and Strøm, and the Bergen born poet and playwright Ludvig Holberg who disseminated critical thinking, rationality and, despite his preference for Copenhagen to provincial Norway, inspired a generation of

voiced about its condition. The remains of the church were about to collapse, and a campaign to restore it, as a national monument, resulted in state funding from the year 1869. By this time restoration plans had already been presented and rejected, and a discussion along the lines of *restoration* versus *conservation* was running. The priorities and sympathies relating to the restoration of Nidaros Cathedral were thoroughly and publicly discussed, making the case both a precedent for and expression of the restoration ideology and technological solutions of its time. As a restoration of a grand monument in stone, this is the Norwegian example that is most comparable with the grand schemes of European architectural conservation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, from which the ideological schools for the treatment of monuments stem. The Nidaros Cathedral restoration debate (the “personal polemic” that restoration architect Gerhard Fischer referred to in 1965) culminated in the years 1909-1930 with discussions on the design of the nave and west front, where the issue of the *artistic* versus *scientific* restoration approach was central.

In 1920, the first Built Heritage Act was passed in Norway. With this act it became, for the first time, possible to ascribe legal protection to privately owned buildings *in situ* through listing. By this time the National Antiquarian’s office of *Riksantikvaren* was already in place, assigned to map, assess and, in turn, manage listed buildings. During the course of only two years from when the Act was implemented on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1921<sup>6</sup>, a list of over 800 buildings had been compiled which were eligible for listing.<sup>7</sup> The new listings introduced a range of new factors in conservation. No longer exclusive to architectural monuments, medieval ruins or museum relics, historic preservation now formally included a range of building types. 50% of the freshly listed buildings were homes, and the challenges of preserving a past while still living the life of the present became more immediately felt, especially with regards to treatment. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, conservation in Norway had been advocated by a few individuals. The attribution and treatment of built heritage had, likewise, been dominated by these same “learned” (*dannede*) individuals, some of them autodidacts in the field of conservation, some architects who had trained abroad. Around the year 1900 a new generation of professionals with a different education and a different of priorities “took over” and began to work for conservation which was better organized, with formal authority.

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Norwegian patriots to question Danish rule, thus laying the grounds for Norwegian independence. Norwegian independence from Denmark and the ratification of the constitution in 1814 set off a quest for symbols of national identity, and the government grant for Nidarosdomen’s restoration was a response to the argumentation of its significance as national sanctum (*nasjonalhelligdom*) Helle, Kjeldstadli et al. (2005) Volume 7, pp 111-

<sup>6</sup> Bygningsfredningsloven (1920) § 14

<sup>7</sup> Torvanger (2005) p 69

This new generation built on the heritage of their predecessors, bringing their education as architects and art historians into the field of building conservation.

This chapter has four sections, where the first three aim to be descriptive, and the fourth presents a discussion. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> sections give a summarized and largely chronological overview of building conservation in Norway before 1900, including accounts of the architectural conservation of significant monuments. The theme of the 3<sup>rd</sup> section is historic preservation in Norway in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, with an emphasis on the events which led up to the first legislation to protect profane built heritage in 1920, the starting point for the case studies. In the 4<sup>th</sup> section, principles of architectural conservation are discussed in relation to sections one and two, in anticipation of the case studies presented in chapters 3 to 7.

#### *A note on the sources*

This chapter is based on a literature study. Writings by 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century art historians, architects and archaeologists who studied and worked with built heritage have been consulted. Many original texts have been consulted both for Norwegian and European history and building conservation theory. For an overview, the writings of Hans-Emil Lidén and Jukka Jokilehto have been important. The reports from The Society for the Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments (*Foreningen for Norske Fortidsmindesmærkers Bevaring*, later re-named "*Fortidsminneforeningen*") which were published annually from the year 1845 constitute an important part of this source material. Harry Fett who was *Riksantikvar* from 1913 to 1946 was a prominent voice in his time, well travelled and internationally oriented. He published extensively and is an important source for historic conservation during this period. The European and international scene is referred to insofar as it is considered linked to the approaches and practice in Norwegian conservation.

Art historian Hans-Emil Lidén has provided a comprehensive history on conservation in Norway. He himself describes his book, *Fra Antikviteten til kulturminne – trekk av kulturminnevernets historie i Norge* ("From antiquity to monument – features of conservation history in Norway") (1991), based on a series of lectures held at the University in Bergen in the early 1990s, as an overview which left much to be explored. Lidén's perspective was to place conservation history in the context of a general history of ideas. His main source material was the annals of *Fortidsminneforeningen*, and he noted that unpublished material

from the archives of the *Riksantikvaren* was beyond the scope of the study at that time.<sup>8</sup> In 2005 Lidén made a new contribution to the history of Norwegian cultural heritage history with a biography of the archaeologist and *Fortidsminneforeningen* chairman of many years Nicolay Nicolaysen (1817-1911), probably the most prominent figure in conservation in Norway in the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: *Nicolay Nicolaysen – et blad av norsk kulturminneverns historie* (“NN – a Page in the History of Norwegian conservation”). Lidén defines this as a “professional biography”, commenting that while Nicolaysen left little behind that bears witness to his personal life, his professional life was well documented through his writings and his work as an archaeologist and leader of many restoration projects.<sup>9</sup> An earlier, much smaller, yet significant publication on Norwegian cultural heritage in a historical perspective was restoration architect and architectural historian Håkon Christie’s *Festschrift* for Gerhard Fischer’s 70<sup>th</sup> birthday in 1960, which, although lacking high scientific pretensions, constituted an early history of building conservation in Norway.<sup>10</sup> A parallel text to Lidén’s, on building conservation in the museum sector, is Tonte Hegard’s study on the history of the open air museums *Romantikk og Fortidsvern* (“Romanticism and Preservation of the past”).<sup>11</sup> Art historian Dag Myklebust, whose work on values in conservation in the 1980 cemented the anthropocentric view of conservation which had developed throughout the 1970s, provides philosophical perspectives. His numerous writings include an incisive study on the restoration history of national monuments: *Akershus Slots Restaurering 1895-1922* (“The Restoration of Akershus Castle 1895-1922”) and *Tre restaureringer sett i historisk perspektiv* (“Three restorations in a historical perspective”).<sup>12</sup> Other significant studies on conservation and its history in the last decades have been undertaken by: art historian Åse Moe Torvanger in the overview *Fredede og bevaringsverdige bygninger og anlegg* (“Listed and preserved buildings and complexes”), part of the anthology *Kulturminnevern – lov, forvaltning, håndhevelse* (“Preservation – legislation, management and implementation”); architect Lars Roede through numerous journal articles; and ethnologist Arne Lie Christensen with extensive writings on conservation and on Norwegian vernacular architecture including

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<sup>8</sup> Lidén (1991) pp 5-6

<sup>9</sup> (“en faghistorisk biografi”) *ibid.* p 6.

<sup>10</sup> Lidén (2005) frequently refers to Christie.

<sup>11</sup> The book, published in 1984, was based on her 1982 *magister* dissertation. Hegard is also the author of the monography *Hans Aall – mannen, visjonen, verket* which explores the significance of one person for conservation and restoration in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Hans Aall, the founder of the open air museum Norsk Folkemuseum in 1902 and its leader for 52 years. Hegard (1984)

<sup>12</sup> *Akershus Slots Restaurering* is Myklebust’s unpublished *magister* dissertation. *Tre restaureringer sett i historisk perspektiv* is a chapter in *Kulturarv og vern – bevaring av kulturminner i Norge* and compares the restorations of Akershus Castle and Nidarosdomen. Myklebust (1979); Myklebust (1988)



the authoritative work *Den Norske Byggeskikken – hus og bolig på landsbygda fra middelalderen til vår egen tid* (“The Norwegian Vernacular – houses and dwellings in the countryside from the Middle ages to our own times”).<sup>13</sup> *Norges Kunsthistorie* (“Art History of Norway”) was for many years the major reference work for Norwegian architectural history. This has been supplemented recently by *Norsk Arkitekturhistorie – frå steinalder og bronsealder til det 21. hundreåret* (“Norwegian architectural history – from the stone- and bronze ages to the 21<sup>st</sup> century”) by Siri Lexau, Per Jonas Nordhagen and Nils Georg Brekke, which moves beyond the traditional art historian’s presentation (which deals with buildings as works of art, the people who conceived them and the internal development of design) to include the vernacular (architecture without architects) and aims to provide a social and historical context for architectural history.<sup>14</sup>

As Norway’s closest neighbour geographically, linguistically and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, politically, there were and still are definite cultural ties to Sweden, including in the field of conservation. Significant recent contributions to the study of this field have been made by Ola Wetterberg in *Monument og Miljø – perspektiv på det tidlige 1900-talets bygnadsvård i Sverige* (“Monument and environment – perspectives on building conservation in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Sweden”), Victor Edman in a comparative and chronological professional biography of the three prominent 20<sup>th</sup> century restoration architects Sigurd Curman, Erik Lundberg and Ole Hidemark in *En Svensk Restaureringstradisjon – Tre arkitekter gestaltar 1900-talets historiesyn* (“A Swedish Tradition in Restoration – Three architects give shape to the 20<sup>th</sup> century’s view on history”), and Mia Gejer on the development of professional heritage management in Sweden in *Makten over monumenten – restaurering av Vasaslott 1850-2000* (“The power over the monuments – the restoration of Vasa Castles 1850-2000”), where she explores the restoration of state-owned monuments.<sup>15</sup> These studies are not discussed here but constitute relevant perspectives and parallels to the study of the treatment of historic monuments and buildings in Norway.

This chapter deals with Norway and includes only occasional and brief references to the circumstances abroad. The European context was none the less significant, as an obvious premise for many of the ideas and practices which were rooted here, including both general cultural and philosophical trends and those more specifically tuned towards heritage and

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<sup>13</sup> Torvanger (2005); for Lars Roede see for example *Gamle Aker Kirke*, (“Old Aker Church”), *1920-årenes Fredningsarbeid* (“Listing of buildings in the 1920s”) and *Kopi og original – flytting og autentisitet* (“Copy and original – moving and authenticity”); Roede (1982); Roede (1982); Roede (2003); Christensen (1995)

<sup>14</sup> *Norges Kunsthistorie* edited by Berg (1981); *Norsk arkitekturhistorie* Brekke, Nordhagen et al. (2003)

<sup>15</sup> All three are doctoral dissertations, the latter two revised and published as books. Wetterberg (1992); Edman (1999); Gejer (2007)

building conservation. The cultural influence of Germany was strong in Norway, particularly in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Norbert Huse's *Denkmalpflege* has been my main source for the internal conservation history for this period in the German-speaking parts of Europe.<sup>16</sup> Wim Denslagen's *Architectural Restoration in Western Europe* has been a work of reference on ideology and practice in restoration of the great European monuments in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, while Jukka Jokilehto's *A History of Architectural Conservation* has provided the framework for the understanding of this large field of study in a historical and global context.

For the compilation of this chapter I am indebted to all of the above-mentioned authors.

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<sup>16</sup> Huse (2006)

## 2.1 ASPIRATIONS IN CONSERVATION 1650s-1850s

“... to seek out, examine and maintain Norwegian ancient monuments, especially those which shed light upon the people’s artistic skill and workmanship in the past, and to make these artefacts known to the general public through depictions and descriptions.”<sup>17</sup>

Statutes of The Society for the Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments, § 1 (1844)<sup>18</sup>

### 2.1.1 Mapping and making of a past

The question of origins has numerous possible answers. For the purpose of this discussion, the cult of historic preservation and architectural conservation in Norway can be said to be rooted in scholarly explorations of the country in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The monuments and places which were documented at this time keep recurring in the publications by 19<sup>th</sup> century antiquarians and archaeologists, and in this sense form the basis of the profession(s) of cultural heritage. A related phenomenon was the collections of artefacts or even buildings<sup>19</sup>, which developed into modern day museums, including open air museums, which for scientific or sentimental reasons are another origin of historic preservation.

#### *Compilation of history by royal decree*

In the compilation of a history of built heritage one early and prominent figure who is mentioned both by Christie and Lidén, was Ole Worm (1588-1654).<sup>20</sup> Worm was professor at the Copenhagen University during the reign of King Christian IV, at a time when history became a tool for legitimizing the entity of the State, and scientific disciplines had been established in institutions under the protection of the monarchy.<sup>21</sup> The scientific, and maybe ideological, interests of the monarchy lay in recording the country’s history of events, not in the monuments themselves. Worm concentrated his studies on the pre-Latin Nordic written language of *runes*. Thus, the monuments on which these were written, menhirs, crosses and in

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<sup>17</sup> “... at opsøke, undersøge og vedlikeholde norske fortidsmindeknærker, især saadanne, som oplyse folkets kunstfærdighed og kunstsans i fortiden, samt gjøre disse gjenstande bekjente for almeenheten ved afbildninger og beskrivelser.” Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853) p 13

<sup>18</sup> Love for Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindeknærkers Bevaring, § 1 (1844). Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853)

<sup>19</sup> When the country home and farm Bogstad was built in 1769, the owner had the old timber dwelling which stood on the plot moved and re-erected in the park garden; in the 1790s the “English park” was developed further with false ruins and rustic buildings staged for beauty and experience of the landscape. Hegard (1984) pp 14-15

<sup>20</sup> Christie (1960); Lidén (2005)

<sup>21</sup> Worm was professor of pedagogy, Greek, physics and medicine. In Sweden Johannes Bureus (1568-1652) was appointed *Riksantikvar* (National Antiquarian) by King Gustav II Adolf in 1630. Worm and Bureus addressed similar tasks, to study and collect antiquities of their respective kingdoms. Lidén (1991) p 11

some cases buildings, became objects of interest, whereas mounds, for instance Iron Age burial mounds, which held little information, were not registered.<sup>22</sup> By royal decree, Worm commissioned research travels in Norway in 1622 and 1625 to collect runic inscriptions and Danish monuments, the stated purpose being “to record all houses which may help our Danish *historias* to explain and *antiquitates gentis nostræ* to deduce ...”.<sup>23</sup> To this end, travels in Western Norway were undertaken by Jonas Andersson Skonvig, a priest’s son, who sketched “antiquities” and copied runic inscriptions.<sup>24</sup> At this time, the only legislation designed to protect physical objects was the Crown’s right by the Danish Law of King Christian V to valuable artefacts found in the ground which were considered ownerless.<sup>25</sup> The 27-page manuscript includes sketches of only a few buildings, the church in Moster and Kinn, and Bergenhus Fortress (*Bergenhus festning*, the remnants of King Håkon IV Håkonssens (1217-1263) residence), but mentions others like Lyse and the rural district of Borgund, which were to arouse the interest of later historically-oriented travellers. Skonvig comments on grave stones and inscriptions, but it is the structures in the background, the ruins of Lyse monastery and the stave church in Borgund, that two hundred years later would become designated monuments. Lidén observes that in being frequently revisited, Skonvig’s route became normative from the perspective of the first conservationists, consequently influencing the survival of the monuments that were found along it.<sup>26</sup>

#### *Historic-topographic works and “antiquarian observations”*

In Norway the 18<sup>th</sup> century was the great age for topographical expeditions and studies of nature, culture and history, echoing the ambitions of the Swedish botanist Carl von Linné. Skonvig’s travels are early examples of the topographical explorations which characterize the

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. Worm’s interest in the history of Denmark-Norway induced him to have the Lutheran priest and topographer Peder Claussøn Friis’ translate the Icelandic poet Snorre Sturlasons (1179-1242) *Heimskringla*, the saga of the Norwegian Kings, which was published in Copenhagen in 1633. An edition of *Heimskringla* illustrated by well-known artists of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Norwegian neo-Romanticist movement (among them Erik Werenskiöld and Gerhard Munthe) was published in 1899, boosting Norwegian self-esteem as a preliminary to the independence of 1905.

<sup>23</sup> “.. registrere alt huis som kan tiene til vores danske historias at enodere og antiquitates gentis nostræ at deducere”. Danish history here refers to the history of the entire kingdom of Denmark-Norway. Worm’s letters had the seal of the King and were sent to all bishops in the kingdom of Denmark – Norway. Andersson and Steinnes (1972) p 9

<sup>24</sup> Skonvig travelled the entire Bergen diocese, as far north as Giske in Sunnmøre. The 27-page manuscript, reprinted in facsimile in Andersson and Steinnes (1972), was the first and most comprehensive of six commissioned by Worm, whereof four were Skonvigs. The other two were from the diocese of Stavanger and Oslo-Hamar. The manuscripts provided the main sources for Worms major work on runes in 1643, a publication which has awarded him a posterity as founder of *runology*. Ibid. pp 10, 12-13, 28

<sup>25</sup> Lidén (1991) p. 15 Earthfound objects like these were labelled *danefø*, which holds a similar meaning to the legal term *bona vacantia*.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p 13

scientific endeavours of the Enlightenment. In 1784 the Danish historian P. F. Suhm published excerpts from Skonvig's manuscript, making it available to the learned public of Denmark-Norway a century after it was written.<sup>27</sup> Suhm was co-founder of *Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab i Trondheim* (Royal Academy of Science) with bishop J.E. Gunnerus and Gerhard Schøning (1722-80) in 1760. Schøning, who is considered the most significant historian of 18<sup>th</sup> century Norway<sup>28</sup>, was to be the author of the first monograph of a historically significant monumental building, a 370-page manuscript on the Trondheim cathedral, published in 1762. In 1773-75 he travelled Norway at the Crown's expense with a commission to register buildings, structures and artefacts significant to the understanding of the country's history.<sup>29</sup> He covered the counties of Trøndelag and Hedmark, stopping in Røros, Gudbrandsdalen, Romerike and Akershus, and described nature, industry and customs, in addition to artefacts like unearthed weapons and tools, burial mounds and menhirs, gravestones and stone crosses, fortifications, ruins and buildings including dwellings. Schøning's writings include little information on the historic, built vernacular but his descriptions of artefacts and more monumental buildings were comprehensive. Lidén comments on the fact that Schøning described practically all churches in the county of Trøndelag, including the post-medieval ones, and also notes an attention to "folk-culture" or generic culture which was probably inspired by Rosseau.<sup>30</sup> Lidén suggests that Schøning was instrumental in bringing about the first legislative protection of a built structure: in 1773 the St. Mary Church in Gran was preserved by royal decree, so that it "...as an innocent Antiquity for Posterity may persist, and be maintained by all church owners". Schøning had a drawing made of the church in 1772, and Christie and Lidén speculate on whether the drawing attracted the attention of the king and that Schøning thus contributed to it being saved.<sup>31</sup> Another significant topographer of the Norwegian Enlightenment was Hans Strøm. His work *Physisk og Oeconomisk Beskrivelse over Fogderiet Sundmøre* ("Physical and economic description of Sundmøre", 1762-68) is typical of 18<sup>th</sup> century comprehensive descriptive natural and cultural geography, covering subjects like meteorology, zoology, fishery, trades and geography. Strøm, in the role of priest, public servant and learned man also advised on

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<sup>27</sup> Andersson and Steinnes (1972) p 12

<sup>28</sup> Archaeologist Øystein Ekroll states this in the preface of the transcribed edition. Schøning (2004)

<sup>29</sup> Lidén (1991) p 16

<sup>30</sup> With a reference to Norwegian historian Halvdan Koht, *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> The church, *Mariakirken* in Gran, Hadeland in Oppland, is one of two juxtaposed medieval stone churches commonly called "The sister churches", the larger one was *Nicolaikirken*. One was considered superfluous with the congregation of the 1770s. The drawing of the church in 1772 was made by Christopher Lübecke, as part of Schønings registration work. Christie (1960) p 1; Lidén (1991) pp 17-18

the restoration of the medieval Giske church.<sup>32</sup> In 1781 a historical-antiquarian description of Hardanger written by the priest Gjert Henriksen Miltzow (a student of Ole Worm) and revised by Marcus Schnabel, another priest, was published posthumously by Strøm.<sup>33</sup>

*Stiftsamtmann* (“County Governor”) Christie’s travels in the Bergen district, the “eccentric” Martin Friedrich Arendt’s (1773-1823) runic research and Lorentz Diderich Klüwer’s (1790-1825) widespread cataloguing during the years 1810-17 fall into the category of “antiquarian” travels purposefully targeted towards historically significant buildings and objects.<sup>34</sup> Klüwer’s manuscripts, titled *Antikvariske Iagttagelser* (“Antiquarian observations”), and sketches of monuments were published by the Royal Academy of Science (*Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab*) in 1823 under the title *Norske Mindesmærker* (“Norwegian Monuments”), a work which was reissued regularly. As a military officer and cartographer he not surprisingly had a bias in favour of fortifications.<sup>35</sup>

These writers travelled throughout large parts of Norway, between them covering the southern, western and middle regions (we can include the Swede Carl von Linné, who visited Rørstad and Tørrfjorden in Nordland, and Røros), marking places, buildings and structures which were to be the focus of attention of the antiquarians and conservationists of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Schøning, along with his contemporaries, was written off by modern university-based historians of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and his works replaced with those of P.A. Munch and Rudolf Keyser, but experienced a renaissance in the 20<sup>th</sup> century through the reprint of the manuscripts from his travels.<sup>36</sup> Despite the lapse into disfavour in certain academic circles during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Schøning was frequently referred to by 18<sup>th</sup> century antiquarians, a fact commented on in the preface to the 1910-edition:

“If it must be asked, whether a collected edition of this travel description is now considered to be required, then it must be admitted, that a great part of the information on certain themes which it contains has been exploited most comprehensively by later writers.”<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Molvær (1997)

<sup>33</sup> Lidén (1991) p 15

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. p 18

<sup>35</sup> Klüwer (1960)

<sup>36</sup> Øystein Ekroll in: Schøning (2004) (preface). In 1903 Schøning’s Travels to Røros were published, and in 1910-1924 the Travels 1773-5 were reissued by the Royal Academy of Science upon the 150-year anniversary of the original publication. Schøning’s travels in Hedmarken were published in 1942, and finally the Travels 1773-75 were reprinted in 1979.

<sup>37</sup> Preface by K. Rygh (1910) in Schøning (1979) p VIII. Rygh mentioned Kraft and Nicolaysen as some of these writers. Readings of the Annals of Fortidsminneforeningen confirm this; here especially Nicolaysen frequently refers to Schøning

### 2.1.2 Romanticism and identity

The European Romantic Movement of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century contributed strongly to the interest in the monuments of the past. The movement spread in Norway due to strong cultural ties between the Nordic and German-speaking countries. One of the movement's greatest Norwegian exponents, the painter Johan Christian Dahl, was a lifetime resident of Dresden, Germany.<sup>38</sup> With romanticists like Goethe the approach to monuments changed, and the descriptive approach of writers like Schøning gave way to increased sentiment and the subjectivity of experience. In Norway the movement for the conservation of historic monuments developed at this time with the romantic painter J. C. Dahl as a prominent figure; he was among the founders of the Society for the Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments, *Fortidsminneforeningen*, in 1844. Dahl's commitment to saving and restoring monuments in the 1830s and 40s had strong national romantic overtones, and he was strongly inspired by contemporary German initiatives.<sup>39</sup> During the *second* half of the century the conservation movement became organized and was characterized less by agitation and sentiment and more by a positivist scientific approach; at least on the surface. There was a devotion to collections, typology and chronological ordering of artefacts and monuments. Restoration projects were undertaken in a scientific manner and criticised if this was not the case. Whether based on sentiment or science, a driving force behind historic preservation was the quest for a national identity, which comes across in the rhetoric used in writings on matters of built heritage.

#### *National identity*

The event which definitely sparked the interest in the history of Norway as a nation was the approbation of a Norwegian constitution in 1814, initiated during the shift from the dependency on Denmark to the union with Sweden which followed the Napoleonic wars. In the words of architect Håkon Christie, who worked extensively with medieval monuments throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century:

“... the events of 1814 (...) appealed to the conquest of the forgotten Norway, to the past glory of the Middle Ages when Norwegian kings led the country forth, just like the heads of other states.”<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Malmanger (1981) pp 156-

<sup>39</sup> Lidén (1991) pp 25-30, 56

<sup>40</sup> Christie (1960) p 1

In 1825 a museum of history was founded in Bergen by President of the Norwegian Parliament (*Stortinget*) W. F. K Christie. Christie was one of the key men behind the Norwegian Constitution, a fact which may illustrate the ideological link between the political and the cultural, and the importance of a national built heritage in the building of a nation.<sup>41</sup> From 1837 to 1847, the Bergen Museum published the annual journal *Urda, et norsk antiquarisk-historisk tidsskrift*, (“Urda, a Norwegian Antiquarian-Historical Journal”, “Urda” is a derivate of *Urðr*, goddess of destiny who represented the past in pre-Christian Nordic mythology), as the first regular Norwegian scientific publication about heritage, monuments and artefacts.<sup>42</sup> (By this time *Den antikvariske forening i Bergen*, “The Antiquarian Society of Bergen”, had been established.<sup>43</sup>) In *Urda* papers on the Norwegian Iron and Middle Ages, burial mounds, coins and rock carvings, were presented and discussed, often in relation to the activities and collections of the Bergen Museum.

Mid-century historians like Rudolf Keyser (1803-1864) concentrated on studying medieval Norway, a time of political independence; the objects the conservationists singled out represented the same phase. Throughout the century, conservation was caught in an undercurrent of rising national awareness, a tendency which (in retrospect) seems to have increased towards 1905 when political independence was achieved. The anchoring of a national Norwegian identity in Iron Age and Medieval culture was reflected in the first museum collections and efforts at conservation: the first material objects of historic preservation were stave churches, medieval royal fortifications and archaeological artefacts. The advent of historic preservation is often linked to the rise of a national self-awareness<sup>44</sup>; however, its first advocates met with strong local resistance, and their aspiration towards national history was inspired by similar activity abroad

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<sup>41</sup> Wilhelm Friman Koren Christie (1778-1849) was secretary during the assemblies in Eidsvoll during which the Constitution was drafted in 1814 and elected president of the first Norwegian Congress later the same year. He is given credit for maintaining the Constitution in the negotiations with Sweden and the forced political union that followed. The Bergen Museum was an ambitious and pioneering project comprising natural history, cultural history and archaeology and over the next century built up collections and a scientific activity which constituted an important basis for the establishment of the Bergen University in 1946. Fossen (2010)

<sup>42</sup> Christie and Bishop Neumann were driving forces in this publication and authored a majority of the articles in the first prints, whereas industrialist Aall was among those who contributed financially. The first publication dealt with the following topics: “On superstitions and antiquities, on the grave of King Balder, and coins in the museum, the Gulating (Gula assembly/thing), rock carvings, on Norwegian fisheries of the past, a byzantine painting which belongs to the museum, on the church at Kind and findings of antiquities in Norway especially Bergen diocese, findings at Bergenshus fortification 1831-33, catalogue on Nordic antiquities from the Christiania university collection (part one), on houses in Bergen judicial office (“laugmannsembede”), coins and burial mounds, and “instruction on the easiest and most accurate way to examine old burial grounds”. *Urda* (1837-1847), 1837 publication.

<sup>43</sup> *Den antikvariske forening i Bergen* is referred to in: Sagen (1840)

<sup>44</sup> Torvanger (2005) p 62



*The Romantic Movement and the contribution of J. C. Dahl*

An important figure in importing the idea of historic preservation to Norway was the painter Johan Christian Dahl (1788-1857), considered one of the most significant exponents of the Romantic Movement in Norway. Based in Dresden, Germany, where he had his studio and professorship at the Art Academy of Dresden and Leipzig, he was also a prominent figure in his birth town of Bergen. Like his colleague, the painter Johannes Flintoe, Dahl undertook “antiquarian travels”, visiting Bergen, Telemark, Hardanger, Sogn and Fjell where he collected motifs for his paintings, paintings which in many ways defined the national romantic spirit of Norway. Dahl painted the landscapes of western Norway, and included the odd stave church or old, secluded farm buildings. In Dahl’s paintings the miniscule buildings and people emphasise the wild grandeur of nature, and mystique, feeling and composition overrule the accuracy of the depictions, as is typical of this period. The Romantic Movement’s perception of Norwegian nature, monuments and vernacular architecture influenced a whole generation of architects: in giving these themes attention, it paved the way for more scientific and methodical studies on these subjects, romantic depictions giving way to measured drawings and surveys. The fact that in Dahl’s paintings we find generic architecture as integrated elements in the natural landscape is significant. With him, traditional and *common* buildings were defined being uniquely Norwegian, and thus became part of the project of building a Norwegian national identity.<sup>45</sup>

On Dahl’s initiative, several of the medieval wooden stave churches were documented and presented as monuments for the first time. The German-Norwegian artist and architect Frantz Wilhelm Schiertz came to Norway in 1836 to draw stave churches for Dahl, and Schiertz’s architectural student Georg Bull surveyed and depicted 20 stave churches from 1852 (11 of which were later demolished).<sup>46</sup> Schiertz illustrated J.C. Dahl’s work on Norwegian stave churches which was published in Germany in 1837 under the title *Denkmale einer sehr ausgebildeten Holzbaukunst aus frühesten Jahrhunderten in den innern Landschaften Norwegens* (“Monuments of an exceptionally developed Art of Wooden Building from the earliest Centuries in the innermost Landscapes of Norway”).<sup>47</sup> Dahl committed himself to the conservation of monuments through political agitation in his birth

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<sup>45</sup> In his paintings, he set a standard for the national followed up by the next generations of painters with Tiedemand and Gude, Theodor Kittelsen and Gerhard Munthe.

<sup>46</sup> Torvanger (2010)

<sup>47</sup> His drawings were later criticised by architects for being “inaccurate”. Dahl and his generation did not set out to be realistic in depiction of the actual scene, but the different elements that made up the scenes were subject to scrutiny. Dahl for instance made numerous studies of clouds, a collection housed in the Bergen Billedgalleri. Dahl’s generation was the first generation to seek out their scenes and paint out of doors, thus breaking with the academic landscape tradition of the studio which had prevailed since the Renaissance.

town Bergen, and was one of the first to submit plans for restoration of a monument in the country. In 1839 (200 years after Skonvig's drawing for Ole Worm) Dahl and Lyder Sagen surveyed Bergenhus Fortress, "revealing its medieval origins" during their efforts.<sup>48</sup> Dahl subsequently delivered a sketch for a reconstruction in which the buildings were to serve as the town's official banquet hall. In a manifesto in the early 1840s, Dahl strongly emphasised the medieval core of the fortress and appealed to national and historic patriotism, putting Bergenhus Fortress forward as the legacy of:

"...the great men of state and church, who in war and peace were the leading stars of their era and the honour of the Nation, shall once more tread alive before us from their long-forgotten past.... Their names shall bring joy and comfort to the Nation."<sup>49</sup>

With his initiative regarding Bergenhus Fortress, Dahl initiated a debate which in turn led to restoration works which would continue for over a century.

The monuments which were considered significant in the era of romanticism and nationalism corresponded largely with the ones identified by the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century scholars. From the 1830s, there was a focus on preserving the material remnants of this past. This happened with the establishment of museum collections and the efforts of a few individuals like J. C. Dahl's proposal for Bergenhus Fortress, and Conrad Nicolai Schwach's campaign to restore Nidaros Cathedral. Towards the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century conservation work took on a more organized form with the founding of The Society for the Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments.

#### *The Society for the Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments 1844-*

J.C. Dahl was instrumental in founding *Fortidsminneforeningen* in 1844, his greatest legacy in the field of preservation (although he is generally better known as a painter), and a number of prominent members of society volunteered their time and money to its cause.

*Fortidsminneforeningen's* activity was not, like the few previously established museums and collections, limited to collecting artefacts or publishing typologies. Founded on the same idea

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<sup>48</sup> Christie (1960)

<sup>49</sup> "...de store mænd i stat og kirke, i krig og fred, der har været deres tidsalders ledestjerner og Nationens hæder, træde atter levende frem for os fra deres længstforsvundne Old ... Deres navn skulle glæde og trøste nationen." J.C. Dahl, quoted in: *ibid.* p 1

as contemporary German societies<sup>50</sup>, its agenda was broad and came to include a range of activities from archaeological excavations to architectural conservation and restoration.

“The Preservation Society’s (*Fortidsminneforeningen*’s) cause is: to seek out, examine and maintain Norwegian ancient monuments, especially those which shed light upon the people’s artistic skill and workmanship in the past, and to make these artefacts known to the general public through depictions and descriptions. The society will therefore, within the limits of its means, support travels in the Fatherland and promote publications for the achievement of the above-mentioned purpose.”<sup>51</sup>

Lidén sums up *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s work in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as: 1) collecting “antiques” and artefacts 2) surveys and registrations of buildings, predominantly those medieval in origin or style 3) archaeological surveys 4) publishing 5) acting as consultants on the restoration or demolition of medieval monuments 6) managing *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s property.<sup>52</sup> To further its stated cause, in 1844 *Fortidsminneforeningen* asked *Kirkedepartementet* (the state Church department) to issue a circular to the clergy, requesting

“...information on the state and age of those remains of ancient art which are still to be found in the respective districts, if possible accompanied by detailed descriptions of the artefacts’ state and information on the fate which they may expect to meet.”<sup>53</sup>

This indicates the status of the society and its close ties to the official administrations of the country. Over the next fifty years *Fortidsminneforeningen* was to function as the foremost advisor to the state and the public in matters of conservation.

A review of *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s annals from the year 1845 gives an impression of the state of things in this initial phase of organized heritage management. It is reported that the excavations of the medieval convent at the island Hovedøen near Christiania (Oslo) received most of the *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s funding. This project would be a priority for

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<sup>50</sup> Dahl had written to convince his friend the painter Joachim Frich of the necessity to found a Norwegian society for the preservation of ancient monuments based on the German Königliche Sächischen Alterthums-Vereins where he himself was member. Lidén (1991) p 30

<sup>51</sup> “Foreningens formaal er: at opsøke, undersøge og vedlikeholde Norske Fortidsminnesmerker, især saadanne, som oplyse Folkets Kunstfærdighed og Kunstsands I fortiden, samt gjøre disse Gjenstande bekjendte for Almeenheden ved Afbildninger og Beskrivelser. Foreningen vil derfor, saavidt dens Midler tilstrække, understøtte Reiser i Fædrelandet og befordre Udgivelsen af Værker, sigtende til overnævnte Øiemeds Opnaaelse.” The first paragraph in the statutes for *Fortidsminneforeningen*, ratified December 16<sup>th</sup> 1844. *Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkere* (1845-1853) p 13

<sup>52</sup> Lidén (1991) p 36

<sup>53</sup> “..inhendte oplysninger om beskaffenheden og Elden af de levninger a oldtiden kunst, hvilke endnu maatte forefindes i den respective embedsdistricter, ledsaget saavidt mulig av detaillerede beskrivelser over gjenstandenes iværende forfatning og underretning om den skjebne, som antages at forestaae dem”. *Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkere* (1845-1853), 1845 Annal, p 4

the society in the coming years. The 1845 annal contains a report from such a tour of Norway by the painter Joachim Frich<sup>54</sup> [Figure 32], who reported on the medieval ruins of Hamar cathedral, the stave church of Borgund, burial mounds by Hundtorp, Hove farm “where a temple of Thor and later Gudbrand’s farm was situated” (the connection with Norse mythology and Saga writings was what deemed the place interesting<sup>55</sup>), ancient burial stones, and decorated building elements and furnishings in pre-reformation churches.<sup>56</sup> Frich’s listing provides an inventory of types of monuments, buildings and objects of which *Fortidsminneforeningen* especially sought information:

“Curious Church Buildings of Stone and Wood, of the latter especially the so called Stave Churches – with their Decorations of Paintings and Carvings, as well as old Inscriptions with Runes or Latin letters; Church Inventories, Altars, Depictions of Saints, Church Bells, Censers, Cases for Relics, carved Chairs and Such Objects; old and curiously-shaped buildings, both Dwellings and Storage Buildings with their Decorations and Carvings – remnants of old Buildings, that may provide information on the Art of Building in the Middle Ages, such as Church Ruins with ornamentation – old Furnishings and Domestic Objects of Stone, Wood or Metal, such as Chairs, Tables, Armoires, Chests, Drinking Vessels; Menhirs and stones with Runic inscriptions, Stone Crosses and old Grave Stones, curious Burial Mounds and Stone Formations; Objects, found in Burial Mounds, such as Urns, Weapons, Tools, Jewellery or Amulets and the like, all Objects, preserved from Ancient times (*Oldtiden*), Coins, Bridal Jewels, Parchment letters with seals.”<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Joachim Christian Frich (1810-48) was a painter and the youngest of J. C. Dahl’s “circle” of students. He illustrated a substantial part of *Norge fremstillet i tegninger* (1846-48) (“Norway illustrated”), a collection of landscape and -town depictions later reissued with German and English texts. Frich shifted between the topographic, romantic and decorative. Among his greater assignments was interior decoration at *Oscarshall*, the neo-gothic royal summer residence designed by his co-member in *Fortidsminneforeningen* Nebelong. Malmanger (1981) pp 198-99. Frich also published *Norske Nationaldragter* (1847), a presentation of Norwegian folkloric costumes, another contribution to the National Romantic Movement.

<sup>55</sup> Snorre’s *Heimskringla* tells the story of Dale-Gudbrand, chieftain of Hundtorp and how he was Christianized by *Olav den Hellige* (St. Olav) and raised a church to commemorate this. SNL (2010)

<sup>56</sup> “Antikvariske bemærkninger paa en reise gjennem Hedemarken, Gudbrandsdalen, Romsdalen og Søndmør ved Frich” Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853), 1845 Annal, pp 8-11

<sup>57</sup> “Mærkelige Kirkebygninger af Steen og Træ, af siste slags især de saakalte Stavekirker – med dertil hørende Forziringer av Maleri og Snitværk, samt gamle Indskrifter med Runer eller latiske Bogstaver; Kirke Inventarium, Altere, Altertavler, Helgenbilleder, Kirkeklokker, Røgelseskar, Reliquiekasser, Kalke, Døbefonter, Døbefade, udskaarne Stole og denslige Sager; gamle og i formen mærkelige Husebygninger, baade Vaaningshuse og Stabbure med deres Forziringer og Indskrifter, - levninger af gamle Bygninger, der kunne give oplysning om Bygningskunstens Standpunkt i Middelalderen, saasom Kirkeruiner og ornamentter derhen hørende – gammelt Husgeraad af Træ, Steen eller Metal, saasom Høisædes-stole og andre Stole, Borde, Skabe, Kister, Drikkehorn og andre Drikkekar, Kjelder og deslige; Bautastene og Stene med Runeindskrift, Steenkors og gamle Gravstene, mærkelige Gravhøie og Steensætninger; Sager, fundne i Gravhøie, saasom Gravurner, Vaaben, Redskaber, Smykker, Afgudsbilleder eller Amuleter og lignende sager, samme slags Gjenstande, bevarede fra Oldtiden, Mynter, Brudesmykker, Pergamentsbreve med segl.” ”Fortegnelse over antiquariske Gjenstande, angaaende hvilke Foreningen til norske Fortids Mindesmærkers Bevaring i Sørdeleshed ønsker sig Oplysninger meddeelte” *Inventory over antiquarian artefacts which the society especially seeks information*, *ibid.*, 1846 Annal, p 13

This “list”, printed regularly in *Fortidsminneforeningen’s* annals from 1846, sums up the sphere of interest of the conservation community in the mid-1800s. Artistic skill and workmanship was emphasized as a criterion for objects of interest on the 1846 “list”; *Fortidsminneforeningen’s* executive committee had several members who were artists, and both artists and architects were employed by *Fortidsminneforeningen* to survey buildings and artefacts. This must have contributed to the focus on artistic qualities in the selection, attribution of historic significance, and depiction of such objects. The late Iron Age (the Viking era) and Middle Ages, when Norway had been politically independent, were of particular interest and the essence of the nation’s history was believed to be found here. The exploration and documentation of runic inscriptions continued in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, two centuries after Skonvig and Worm first worked on the subject. There was an emphasis on religious artefacts and churches, but it is noteworthy that “Dwellings” and “Storage Buildings”, building types which represent vernacular architecture, were already mentioned in the 1846 “list”. However, with the exception of a few richly decorated storage buildings, vernacular buildings did not receive much attention before the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The emphasis within the sphere of vernacular buildings on dwellings and storage buildings (implicitly in rural areas), however, remained; as demonstrated in the selection of buildings listed according to the first Built Heritage Act of 1920. In the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, only building remains and objects which could be attributed to medieval times, in actual age or form, were of interest. Few actual medieval buildings had survived. Dwellings or cottages (*vaaningshuuse, husebygninger*) and storage buildings (*stabbur*) were noteworthy in so far they represented medieval building traditions. For the painter Frich the vernacular buildings of Gudbrandsdalen where he travelled in the 1840s, mainly 17<sup>th</sup> century and younger<sup>58</sup>, were of little interest as monuments:

”Gudbrandsdalen owns a great deal of monuments of the past, which however consist more of weapons and inventory, than of buildings.”<sup>59</sup>

Fifty years later the buildings Frich dismissed would be defined as the first “monuments” of Norwegian vernacular architecture, and would come to dominate the buildings listed after 1920.

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<sup>58</sup> Engen (1992)

<sup>59</sup> ”Gudbrandsdalen eier en heel deel fortidsminnesnærker, der dog mer bestaar i vaapen og husgeråd end i bygninger.” Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853), 1845 Annal, p 9

*Fortidsminneforeningen* had identified registration, documentation and publication as prioritized working areas. The *Fortidsminneforeningen* Annal (*Årbok*), issued regularly from 1845, was the most available and representative source of information for conservation ideology and action in Norway in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

*Fortidsminneforeningen*'s work during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century continued with the purchase of "curious" buildings, archaeological excavations, documentation and publication and discussions on legal protection of ancient monuments, as well as involvement with several ground-breaking restorations.

### 2.1.3 Fortidsminneforeningen asserts its position

*Fortidsminneforeningen*'s official position, which had been initiated with the request for collaboration with the church ministry for collecting information of monuments, was cemented from the year 1858 when it received Government grants, placing the archaeologist Nicolay Nicolaysen in the position of Antiquarian of the State with an official licence to dig.<sup>60</sup>

#### *Nicolay Nicolaysen and Fortidsminneforeningen*

Nicolaysen's name figures very prominently in the society's history. He began his career as an archivist and this influenced the society's work during his forty-nine-year reign, holding the presidency from 1851 to 1899. Nicolaysen authored a series *Norske Fornlevninger* ("Norwegian Remnants of the Past") from 1861-1866 where registered finds from prehistoric times and the Middle Ages were presented. Between 1860 and 1880 *Fortidsminneforeningen* published *Norske Bygninger fra Fortiden* ("Norwegian Buildings from the Past") which was a selection of their surveys of medieval churches with comments by Nicolaysen. The publications did little to discuss or provide historical context; according to his biographer

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<sup>60</sup> The initiative for this official status was Nicolaysen himself, who on behalf of *Fortidsminneforeningen* wrote Kirkedepartementet in 1856 suggesting the establishment of an "Inspektørpost over Fædrelandets Fortidsmindelmerker" (position of Inspector of the Father country's antique monuments), referring to similar establishments in Denmark and Sweden. Initially the idea was that such an Inspector also was to supervise the country's antiquities collections - Vitenskapselskapets (the Science Academy) in Trondheim and those of the Bergen Museum and Oldsakssamlingen at the Christiania University. After realizing the Department might present this task to the manager of Oldsakssamlingen (a position held by the historian Rudolf Keyser), *Fortidsminneforeningen* hastily stated that these collections were of no consequence to such a position, and the Department gave the society's executive committee the authority to chose a person for such a position, upon which Nicolaysen was immediately voted for. The financial contribution of the Government was the salary of this position, effective from 1858. In 1861 Nicolaysen received permission to perform antiquarian surveys and excavations on the property of the State by royal resolution. From 1866 an additional sum for travel was granted by the Storting after an ultimatum by Nicolaysen where he declared his resignation if not given the proper funds for which to fulfil his professional duties. Lidén (2005) p 49, 196

Lidén, Nicolaysen was more interested in collecting, registering and presenting historic monuments and artefacts than deeper studies and research.<sup>61</sup>

With a royal resolution in 1861 allowing the National Antiquarian to survey and excavate state property, *Fortidsminneforeningen* had to some extent succeeded in their ambition that the Norwegian state must take care of cultural heritage which was the State's own property.<sup>62</sup> There were however no serious attempts to push for legislation to preserve monuments on private property until towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nicolaysen was a political conservative and opposed interfering with the privilege of property ownership. Action for conservation was largely determined by threats of demolition, and the few selected *cause célèbres* showed a bias towards pre-reformation monuments (1536). As persuasion and agitation had their limitations as means to save monuments from the demands of a rapidly changing society, part of *Fortidsminneforeningen's* activity became acquiring threatened cultural property.<sup>63</sup> Through this strategy of rescue-through-purchase, *Fortidsminneforeningen* had by 1860 acquired 14 monuments, consisting of 8 churches, 2 monastery ruins, 1 burial mound, 1 menhir and 2 cottages.<sup>64</sup> The medieval stave churches dominated the activity of *Fortidsminneforeningen* during the first decades of its existence.

In Nicolaysen's career, Lidén distinguishes between the "Dahl-course" of *Fortidsminneforeningen's* work during the first twenty years of its existence, where the concern was the medieval, national monuments (he suggests Nicolaysen was inspired by the pre-reformation-oriented research of leading historians Keyser and Munch), and a phase after 1860 where Nicolaysen acquired a position of state-funded antiquarian and became increasingly involved with archaeological excavations. By this time a generation of historians were emerging who took interest in the post-reformation era and the themes of "Danish rule" (*dansketiden*), the "Battle of the Swedish/Norwegian union" (*unionsstriden*) and "peasant culture" (*bondekulturen*). When Nicolaysen reported to *Fortidsminneforeningen* in 1845 after a visit to Bergen, he described medieval buildings and ruins and two rococo-inspired structures, then concluded: "...now I believe I have counted all which is to be found in

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<sup>61</sup> Lidén (1991) p 44

<sup>62</sup> Lidén (2005) p 49, 196

<sup>63</sup> 1880 was the first year the Government granted a sum for the acquiring, restoration and maintenance of "old, remarkable buildings" ("gamle, mærkelige bygninger."). The sum, 1500 NKR, was not increased till 1889. By the year 1894 it had increased to 4000 NKR. Ibid. p 197

<sup>64</sup> The cottages are Aadlandstuen paa Stordø (presented in the 1873 annal p 145, and Landsviksstuen i Herlø presented in the annals for 1884 p 117 and 1888 p 189. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1888), appendix, p I

Bergen of architectural interest from the past.”<sup>65</sup> Lidén observes that Nicolaysen did not generally follow the new thematic interests of the new generation of historians, although he did collaborate with them on the publication *Historisk Tidsskrift* (“Journal of History”) issued from 1869. Instead Nicolaysen devoted his time to archaeology.<sup>66</sup> This conclusion is not without nuances. Nicolaysen played a part in founding *Kunstindustrimuseet* (The Museum for Arts and Crafts) in Oslo in 1876, whose task was also to collect “folk art”. He also worked to establish a building collection at Bygdøy and it was due to him that buildings dating from the time after the reformation were moved there between 1881 and 1888.<sup>67</sup> Lastly, Nicolaysen supported the position that Akershus Castle (*Akershus slott*) should be restored as a monument of King Christian IV and not a medieval structure. This was mainly because of the castle’s lack of preserved medieval elements, which, however, in his view also generally diminished its value as a historic monument. Art historian Dag Myklebust ascribes the lack of effort to preserve Akershus Castle in the 19th century to Nicolaysen’s disinterested description of it:

“The main reason our preservationists did not interest themselves in Akershus Castle before late in the 19th century is therefore to be found in Nicolaysen’s perception of what time had left for his generation to see of Medieval Akershus. Which was next to nothing.”<sup>68</sup>

Upon the finalization of *Norske Fornlevninger* in the mid 1860s, Nicolaysen considered his work with the study of medieval monuments to be complete:

“... as such, all the old Churches in the Land which are of archaeological interest have been examined and in part or in their entirety surveyed and drawn.”<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> The two rococo-inspired structures were the western entrance gate to the Korskirken cemetery, and a ‘private house’ positioned between Mur- and Smørsalmenningen built in 1770-80 by the builder of Damsgaard. “... saa troer jeg at have opregnet alt, hva der findes i Bergen af arkitektonisk interesse fra fortiden.” Nicolaysen in his report from travels in Western Norway. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853), *Annal* 1846-47, p 17

<sup>66</sup> Lidén here names Ernst Sars, Michael Birkeland, Ludvig Daae and Oluf Rygh. Nicolaysen cooperated with this group in starting the journal *Historisk Tidsskrift* in 1869. Rygh was manager of the University’s collection of Nordic antiquities (Universitets Samlinger af Nordiske Oldsager), published *Norske Oldsager* and *Norske Gaardnavne*. Lidén (1991) p 56; Svendsen) p 33

<sup>67</sup> Lidén (1991) p 55. 57; Hegard (1984) pp 39-

<sup>68</sup> Myklebust refers to Nicolaysen’s description of Akershus Castle in the overview of Norwegian monuments published as *Norske Samlinger, udgivne af et Historisk Samfund i Christiania* (første bind 1852 s 633-5). Myklebust (1979) p 17

<sup>69</sup> “... saaledes ere nu alle de gamle Kirker i Landet undersøgte og i sin Helhed eller delvis aftegnede, forsaavidt de frembyde nogen arkæologisk Interesse...” Nicolaysen in Fortidsminneforeningen’s *annal*, 1865, quoted in Lidén (1991) pp 55-57



That conservation, especially for post-reformation monuments, is deemed to have suffered during the last decades of Nicolaysen's reign is no surprise given the attitude he expressed here. However, Lidén credits Nicolaysen with an effort to link conservation and research which since has been unparalleled in the Norwegian history of conservation.<sup>70</sup>

The latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a time of massive demographic growth, technological innovation and social change, and conservation had meagre resources. Limiting and focusing action was imminent. As Håkon Christie observed,

“The Society for the Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments did not have many allies in its battles, and their annual publications for the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are distressing to read.”<sup>71</sup>

Still, a number of restoration projects were initiated from the 1850s and onwards.

*Fortidsminneforeningen* was actively involved or associated with the majority of these. As antiquarian for the State, Nicolaysen was the official advisor of the Church Ministry on matters concerning conservation, a dual function through which he had his say in all matters concerning restoration of monuments.

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid. p 58

<sup>71</sup> Christie (1960) p 2

## 2.2 BUILDING CONSERVATION ACTIVITIES CIRCA 1850 – 1900

“The Question of what the Building’s appearance was, as it stood at the height of its Power, is undeniably of interest, but is undoubtedly of little or no practical relevance, as I believe that the Church, at least with respect to the Exterior, neither should nor will be reconstructed in the Shape, which it originally may be assumed to have had.”

Nicolay Nicolaysen on Nidaros Cathedral, 1860<sup>72</sup>

### 2.2.1 Restoration activity for monuments and churches

Early attempts at restoration projects, including one by J. C. Dahl for Håkon’s Hall (*Håkonshallen*) in Bergen and a first draft for Nidaros Cathedral by the German architect Heinrich Ernst Schirmer remained on paper. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century restoration work was undertaken for a number of national monuments, and managing these became an important part of *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s work. Between 1850 and 1900 projects were led by professionals like the archaeologist Nicolay Nicolaysen, engineer Christian Christie and architect Peter Blix. The latter two were involved with restoration planning and design, while Nicolaysen was initiator, administrator and expert advisor.<sup>73</sup> Both *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s own restoration projects and those outside of the society’s realm were related in their annals. Frequently the reviews provide sufficient information to allow for an analysis of the intentions behind the treatment, as will be described below.

The first restoration works undertaken were of stone structures (Dahl’s initiatives to restore Bergenhus Fortress and Håkon’s Hall). Although J. C. Dahl worked for historical awareness as well as the saving of the stave churches from the 1830s onwards, stone structures tended to be considered of higher status. The first large project *Fortidsminneforeningen* engaged in was the excavation of the ruins of Hovedøen convent. This was an archaeological task, supervised by the architect and *Fortidsminneforeningen* member Johan Henrik Nebelong. The most ambitious restoration project in Norway in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the restoration of Nidaros Cathedral, the coronation church for King Karl Johan

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<sup>72</sup> “Disse Spørgsmaal om hvorledes Bygningen saa ud, da den stod i sin Velmagt, har unegtelig sin Interesse, men ere maaske til liden eller saa godt som intet praktisk Nytte, fordi jeg tror, at Kirken, i det minste, hva det Ydre angaar, verken bør gjengives eller vil blive gjengivet de Former, som den oprindelig maate antages at have havt.” Nicolay Nicolaysen commented on the restoration plans of H.E. Schirmer in *Fortidsminneforeningens* annal 1860, quoted in Lidén (1991) p 50

<sup>73</sup> “One must therefore assume that Nicolaysen, the authority of the day when it came to old buildings, from the beginning also advised on the restoration work.” Hegard, on the reconstruction of Hovestua at Bygdøy, 1881, see chapter 2.2.2 and Figure 32. Hegard (1984)

in 1814 and a monument of national historical significance. Nidaros Cathedral's restoration was state funded; several others were privately initiated. The first restoration of a built monument in wood was that for Heddal stave church 1849-51 (if we disregard Dahl and Schiertz's relocation of Vang stave church to Poland in 1842).

There were various approaches to "restoration", in the broad sense of the term, ranging from the conservation of the ruins of the Hamar Cathedral to the historical and stylistic restorations of Bergenhus Fortress or the stave churches of Hopperstad or Fortun (Fantoft). On the work on monuments performed during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, restoration architect Håkon Christie wrote in 1960:

"At this time, a successive number of the great restorations tasks were addressed, and even if posterity has found much to criticise in the way these were solved, at least they demonstrate a growing interest in old buildings."<sup>74</sup>

Among the medieval monuments which underwent restorations in Norway at this time were *Gamle Aker Kirke* (Old Aker Church), Nidaros Cathedral, the cathedrals of Stavanger and Bergen and a number of stave churches. They represent different approaches to restoration and reflect different principles, spanning a timescale of over fifty years.<sup>75</sup> A selection of examples will be briefly presented in the following. As well known and much discussed projects in their time, these must have constituted references with regards to treatment for 20<sup>th</sup> century antiquarians and restoration architects.

#### *Ascribing significance – Old Aker Church*

Whether or how a monument was to be restored was justified by its significance or value, and by the state it was in. What values were ascribed to heritage buildings or monuments in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century? Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, texts describing monuments (notably *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annals) tended to refer to "historic" and "artistic" (*kunstneriske*) qualities; "historic" as distinct from archaeological, and "artistic" in the sense of aesthetically worthy or pleasing. Both characteristics were employed by the architect Heinrich Ernst Schirmer in the discussion about the conservation of Old Aker Church [Figure

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<sup>74</sup> Christie (1960) p 3

<sup>75</sup> Stavanger Cathedral was restored, including a part reconstruction, after plans by architect Wilhelm von Hanno, who revised his plans in 1866 according to a critique by Nicolay Nicolaysen. Bergen Cathedral was restored by Christian Christie from 1880 onwards, "gothicizing" the church by removing all post-reformation elements, although this comprised only interior furnishings and decorations and not the structure itself. Lidén (1991) pp 53-53

1-2]. Schirmer had designed a new church in its place and argued for the demolition of the medieval stone structure. He had already established himself as architect for the Nidaros Cathedral restoration and thus had some standing in these matters. According to Schirmer the church, although old, carried no historic legacy and had no art-historical value, being “crude, dark and depressing on the Soul”, and would for the same reasons not be suitable as a protestant church room, nor did he consider that it could “be a pretty or in artistic respects a peculiar and remarkable ruin.”<sup>76</sup> Age was not considered a sufficient reason to preserve the church from the expert architect’s point of view when the monument did not hold relevant symbolic historical value, and was not pleasing to the eye. The archaeologist Nicolaysen however argued to preserve the church and succeeded in convincing *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s executive committee to intervene. His resolute stand in the matter contributed to his being elected president of the society in 1851. Aker church was later restored.



Figure 1-2: Old Aker church in Oslo before (left) and after the restoration (right). The restoration was completed in 1861 according to the design by Schirmer and von Hanno. Survey by P. Holtermann 1852, and undated photograph. (Riksantikvaren archive)

<sup>76</sup> “Kirkens Interesse som historisk Monument indskrænker sig dertil, at man af dens Bygningsmaade kan slutte at den maa være meget gammel. Medens ingen historiske Minder knitter sig til denne Kirke om hvilken, saavidt mig bekjendt Landets gamle Historie beretter, har den heller ikke nogen Kunsthistorisk Værd.” Schirmer stated the old stone church would not serve as a protestant church, being ”raat, skummelt, nedtrykkende paa Sjælen”, nor “blive nogen smuk eller i kunstnerisk Henseende nogen mærkværdig Ruin.” Schirmer on Aker church, quoted in: Christie (1960) p 2

In the discussion about Old Aker Church various contradictory concepts of historical and aesthetic value were expressed. Schirmer's view seemed to be coloured by contemporary taste in architecture. He could not see that the church had any utilitarian value; he disregarded any "historical values", and stated that it would not even make a pretty ruin. Nicolaysen on the other hand represented a more scientific approach where the historical significance of the church was something to be discovered, and where this mattered more than the any experience of beauty that the church inspired. Both continued to practise in preservation, and the aesthetic and archaeological trends continued to exist side by side. The architect Schirmer strived towards stylistic and aesthetic perfection, whereas the archaeologist Nicolaysen seemed to be more interested in the facts of the building's age and its value as a scientific artefact.

#### *The stave church restorations*

J.C. Dahl's efforts to save the stave churches marked the beginning of a long-lasting battle to save these medieval monuments. In 1851 a new Church Act required all churches to provide seats for a minimum of 3/10 of the parish's registered population.<sup>77</sup> The landslide of church demolitions which followed included a large number of medieval stave churches.<sup>78</sup>

*Fortidsminneforeningen* had already written to all dioceses in 1844, expressed their grave concern on the matter of historic churches, but their request to be notified of plans to demolish or severely alter them resulted in only patchy information being provided.<sup>79</sup>

"*Den Mærkelige Stavekirke paa Ryen*"<sup>80</sup>, Heddal in Telemark, was the first church to be restored under the reign of *Fortidsminneforeningen* [Figures 3-7]. The restoration was carried out by builder P. Hansen according to a design by the Danish architect Johan Henrik Nebelong, who was engaged by *Fortidsminneforeningen* and the parish.<sup>81</sup> The church was large<sup>82</sup>, complicated and had been altered over time. The Nebelong/Hansen restoration paid little heed to recent additions in the interior, and also replaced many original medieval parts.

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<sup>77</sup> Around the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was a marked increase in birth-rate and life-expectancy in the country, coupled with a religious awakening largely led on by laymen. The 1851 Church Act was presented to counter the increasingly independent religious life as well as the population growth.

<sup>78</sup> The estimates on how many stave churches have existed range from 750 to circa 2000. Today 28 are preserved, in varying states of authenticity. Tschudi-Madsen (2010)

<sup>79</sup> Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853), 1852 Annal, p 7

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 1949 Annal, p 3

<sup>81</sup> The owner of the church, referred to as Halvor Olsen Ingrav, and the congregation had raised funds for the restoration (1200 and 800 "spesiedaler" respectively) and asked *Fortidsminneforeningen* to take on the role of builder. *Opplysningsvesenets støttefond*, a state-run fund for property of the church, also contributed financially. Ibid., 1850 Annal, p 3

<sup>82</sup> It is the largest of all known stave churches in Norway Heddal, measuring 8x20 meters without the external gallery. Anker and Havran (2005) p 168

Nebelong's design attempted to correct previous stylistically inappropriate errors and at the same time accommodate the present-day needs of the congregation with a design that provoked J. C. Dahl into referring to the restored church as a "wretched Pastry Temple".<sup>83</sup> Lidén ascribes the unsuccessful restoration to Nebelong's lack of experience in this line of work and poor knowledge of the stave churches in general. This was also no easy task, and *Fortidsminneforeningen* expressed doubt that the church could be properly restored as a monument and at the same time be made fit for use.<sup>84</sup> As Lidén points out, what were judged as mistakes in the Heddal restoration served as a "lesson" for Nicolaysen and as a reference in subsequent restoration works managed by the society of which Nicolaysen was president, and others in which Nicolaysen had dealings as the official advisor for the Church in matters concerning restoration, the Nidaros cathedral being the most significant example.<sup>85</sup>

After surveying the church in February 1849, Nebelong reported to the executive committee of the society that the church was "highly worthy of a restoration", and that this was a matter of urgency due to its ramshackle state. He argued that the restoration should be "complete, as a restoration in part only would lead to its ruin." According to Nebelong "architecturally insignificant additions" which "disfigured" the interior had to be altered, for instance the lowering of the loft and the columns supporting this, which "displayed a style which was estranged from the original".<sup>86</sup> Nebelong here referred to the secondary ceiling and the newer columns supporting it. The depiction of the interior in a painting by Adolph Tiedemand from 1847 has a similarity to Schierz's drawing from a decade before [Figure 9].<sup>87</sup> Nebelong designed a new ceiling to expose the capitals on the columns, which depict human heads, and allowed for clerestory windows.<sup>88</sup> He proposed placing an organ over the

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<sup>83</sup> Dahl in a letter dated 1852, "...however such a wretched Pastry-Temple I could never have imagined" (".. dog et slikt elendig Conditor-Tempel havde jeg ej kunne ahne.."), quoted in Lidén (1991) p 31

<sup>84</sup> Lidén (1991) p 31 with reference to: Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853), 1851 Annal, p 4

<sup>85</sup> Lidén (2005) p 126

<sup>86</sup> "Kirken befindes i høi Grad at fortjene en Restauration, og da den næsten er faldefærdig er det paa høi tid at foretage den. Den bør være fuldstændig, da en restauraion delviis blot vilde lede til forkvakling. Ved undersøgelse af kirkens indre fandtes her forskjellig senere tilsætninger, som ved en restauration først maatte forandres. Saaledes er loftet nu anbragt meget lavere end oprindelig har været tilfældet, da søilerne forsættes omtrent lige saa høit ovenover samme. Ligesaa er der i midtskibet og i choret anbragt søiler, bestemte ti at understøtte det nuværende loft, men som vanzire skibet og ere uden betydning i architektonisk henseende, ligesom de ogsaa vise en fra den oprindelige fremmed stil." Nebelong's description in: Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853), 1949 Annal, pp 4-5

<sup>87</sup> Anker and Havran (2005) pp 174-175

<sup>88</sup> "Da skibets søiler ovenover det nuværende loft – der hvor hovedtagets blælker hvilk – ende i kapitæler i form af menneskehoveder, vilde loftet ved en restauration passende kunne anbringes sammesteds. Naar dette skjeer, kunne vinduer i syd, nord og vest anbringes i en passende høide om sideskibenes tag, hvor ved kirken vil beholde et smukt og rent lys." Nebelong's description in: Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853), 1849 Annal, p 4

chancel arch, with statue niches on each side. The galleries he argued to keep, as seating for the congregation would otherwise be insufficient, but he suggested to raise them and place them behind the columns to make them less visually dominating.<sup>89</sup>

In J. C. Dahl's 1837 publication on the stave churches, Heddal is depicted by Dahl's student, painter and architect Franz Wilhelm Schiertz, with multiple turrets, roof surfaces and pointed gables, an external roman-arched gallery (reminiscent of Borgund's) and shingle thatch and siding [Figure 4]. Apart from the small-paned windows in the first clerestory (windows were not introduced before the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries), the image was that of the medieval stave church. Nebelong's expressed intentions for the exterior of Heddal stave church indicate certain sensitivity to the existing situation:

"As far as the churches exterior is concerned, it is obvious that much has been added, in different periods. Such are the turrets and the exterior galleries, although these must in some later built churches have been original, they have here been added. However, when these must be from older times, and give the church a picturesque image, as well as have practical use, they should according to my opinion not be removed."<sup>90</sup>

Nebelong's conclusion that the gallery was secondary was probably deduced from the fact that its construction obscured a fine, carved portal. The shingle cladding he did not deem original, but proposed to keep it as it "seemed useful enough and was to no disfigurement"; the exterior was therefore not altered, other than to fit new windows."<sup>91</sup> The shingles, gallery and turrets, although probably repaired and maybe reconstructed over the centuries, were elements of the medieval design, but Nebelong ascribed these to later phases.

In 1850 the builder P. Hansen, who had been recommended by Nebelong for the job, reported on the progress of the restoration that "that which had been derelict had been removed": with the exception of the external gallery, the roof and tower structure was

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<sup>89</sup> "Paa den fjerde Side, i Øst, kunde over Chorbuen et lidet Orgel anbringes og ved siden af samme Nischer til upostle eller andre hellige statuer. Da Gallerier i Kirken ikke kunne undværes uden at Pladsen bliver for indskrænket, har jeg tenkt at bibeholde disse, dog saaledes, at de løftes betydelig høiere og anbringes indenfor Søilerne, i stedet for som nu udenfor, hvorved disse er blevne skjulte." Nebelong's description in: *ibid.*, 1849 *Annal*, p 4-5

<sup>90</sup> "Forsaavidt kirkens nærværende ydre angaaer, da kan det temmelig tydelig sees, at den har faaet mange tilsætninger og det til forskjellige Perioder. Saaledes ere Taarnene og Svalgangene, skjønt disse sidste maaste ved nogle senere opbyggede kirker have været oprindelige, her tilsatte. Da imidlertid alle disse Tilsætninger skrive sig fra en ældre Tid, og Give kirken et malerisk udseende, ligesom de have sin praktiske nytte, bør de efter min Formening ikke borttages, det skulde da være en deel af svalgangen paa de steder, hvor den afbryder og skuler et smukt udskaaet portal, t fr. ved Choret." *Ibid.*, 1949 *Annal*, p 4

<sup>91</sup> "Skjælbeklødninge, skjønt den heller ikke synes at være oprindelig, bør ogsaa bibeholdes, da den gjør fin nytte og ikke er til noget vanzir (...) Det uvendige skulde saaledes ved restaurationen ikke modtage andre forandringer den de, angbringelsen af nye vinduer vilde medføre.." *Ibid.*

finished; most of the roof shingled and tarred, and details like crosses, gutters and roof ridge half way complete.<sup>92</sup> The description indicates that these elements were renewed, presumably with copies of what was discarded. For the interior it was specified that the ceiling and choir were complete, “all new columns in place and the old ones repaired”, and that the aisle was completed with the exception of the niches on the side of the choir, the galleries and the floor.<sup>93</sup> A list of materials indicates that a significant part of the structure was renewed. The interior was to be completed the coming winter (the report was given in December 1850), and Hansen listed the remaining work for the following summer 1) the exterior with choir turret, 2) external galleries and 3) roof shingles, 4) exterior decorative details (“akroterion”) and 5) tar and paint, and finally 6) procure sculptures for the choir niches.<sup>94</sup>

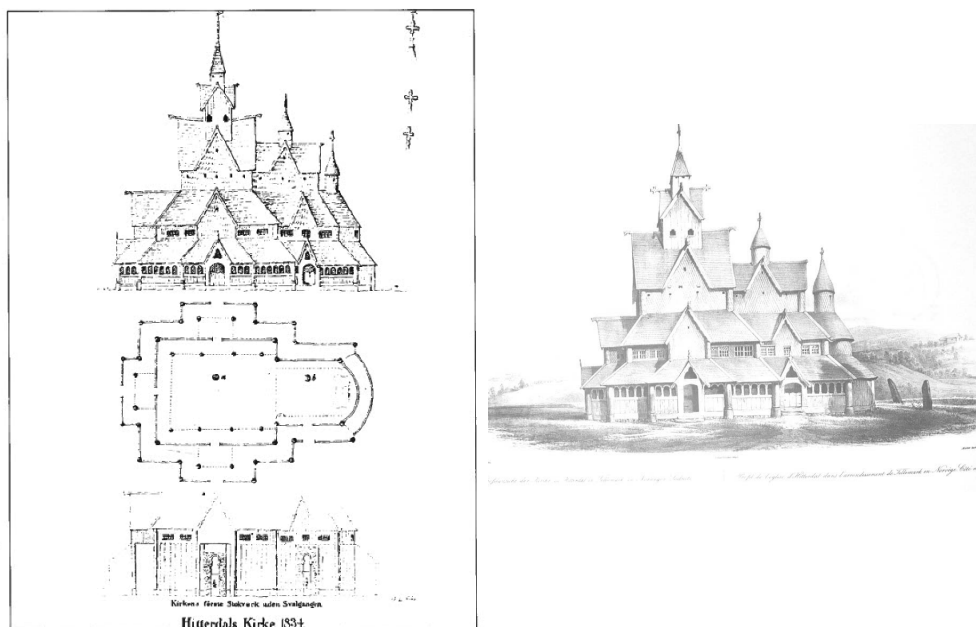


Figure 3-4: Heddal stave church, Telemark. Drawing by J. Flintoe, apparently first published in “Collections for the Norwegian People’s Language and History” (*Samlinger til det Norske Folks Sprog og Historie*) in 1834 (left); Drawing by Schiertz (right) for J. C. Dahl’s stave church publication, 1837. (Fortidsminneforeningen, Riksantikvaren archive)

<sup>92</sup> “Det brøstfældige er nedbrudt og bortskaftet, tagværket og taarnets afbinding samt tagklædning af hovedpartiet, undtagen svalgangen, er færdig. Den største deel af taget over skibet er spaanlagt, ligesaa taarnet, der tillige er tjæret, saa at det er i complet stand. Korsler, draaberender, mønekvarv og vindskeer ere for den halve deel anbragte”. Hansen’s report on Heddal quoted in: *Ibid.*, 1850 *Annal*, p 4

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> ”1) At nedbryde og opføre chorpartiets taarn og tag, 2) at opføre svalgangen, 3) udføre spaantækningen, 4) forfærdige manglende korsler, vindskeer m v, 5) besørge maling og tjæring 6) samt endelig anskaffelse af de paatænnkte hellige statuer i chorvæggens 4 nischer. *Ibid.*, 1850 *Annal*, p 5-6





Figure 5-6: Heddal stave church, drawing by P. Hansen August 1851 (top) of the newly restored church, and photograph by Domenico Erdmann from 1934 or 1936. P. Hansen's drawing of the newly restored church was presented in Fortidsminneforeningen's annual publication of 1851. (Fortidsminneforeningen, Domenico Erdmann©Riksantikvaren, both Riksantikvaren archive)



Figure 7: Heddal stave church. (Undated photograph: TOMHAW ©Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvaren archive)



Figure 8: Heddal stave church after (top) Gudolf Blakstad's restoration in the late 1940s, presented in Fortidsminneforeningen Annal 1950. (Photograph unknown, Fortidsminneforeningen, Riksantikvaren archive)

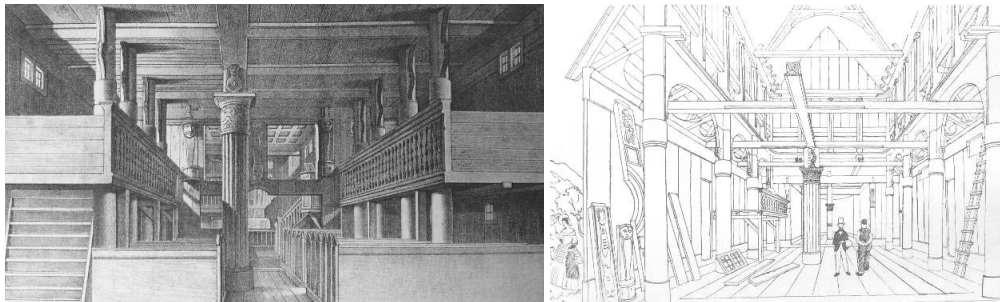


Figure 9-10: Heddal stave church interior. Schiertz's depiction for J. C. Dahl's stave church publication, 1837 (left); Drawing by G. Blakstad envisioning the restoration in 1850: "...at the point when the post-reformation interior was taken down and the original interior revealed." (Fortidsminneforeningen, Riksantikvaren archive)

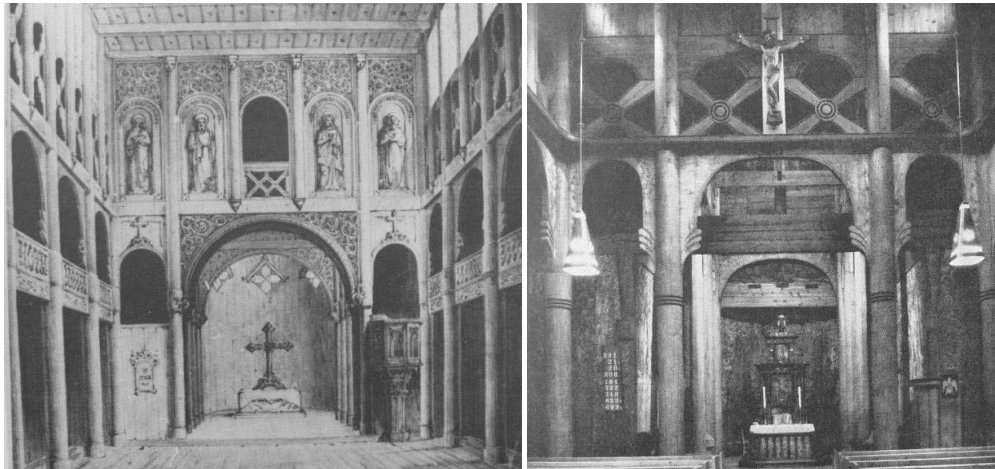


Figure 11-12: Heddal stave church, Nebelong's plan for the interior, 1849 (left); the interior photographed after Gudolf Blakstad's restoration. (Fortidsminneforeningen, Riksantikvaren archive)

A report on the restoration in *Fortidsminneforeningen's* 1851 Annal declared the restoration complete, supplying a list of discrepancies between Nebelong's plans and the work performed. This list reveals that Hansen's drawing, showing the interior after the restoration, was not an accurate depiction of the actual situation. The sculptures, shown on display in the niches, were for instance never actually put in place.<sup>95</sup> Hansen's drawing depicts the chancel arch as a perfect semicircle, whereas it was built as a suppressed arch (as it remains today). According to Hansen, this change was made because the ceiling, if built as high as Nebelong had designed it, would have interfered with an essential structural beam (directly above the arch, this must have been an original beam) and with the roof rafters, which intersected with the wall at a point below the plane of the planned ceiling.<sup>96</sup> (If this is an accurate explanation, it proves that Nebelong's survey of the church was inadequate beyond doubt.) To restore the interior without a lowered ceiling, as Hansen had proved was the situation in medieval times (pointing out old decorations above the ceiling level), was not an option as this was "regarded to be in conflict with the interests of the congregation", which was also an issue with the seating galleries and windows, both considered necessary for further use of the church.<sup>97</sup> *Fortidsminneforeningen's* executive board (which at the time consisted of the historian Rudolf Keyser, landscape painter Joachim Frich, chamberlain (kammerherre) Chr. Holst,

<sup>95</sup> Anker and Havran (2005) p 174

<sup>96</sup> Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853), 1951 Annal, p 7

<sup>97</sup> "... men å ikke ha loft antatt uforenelig med menighetens interesse, og av hensyn til kirkens fremtidige brug lage gallerier og nye vinduer." Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853), 1951 Annal, p 4

Nicolaysen and the architect P. Holtermann<sup>98</sup>) in retrospect expressed their doubts on a restoration which also set out to accommodate modern-day use:

“The Board has already from the first day raised considerable Doubt as to whether it would be possible, with reasonable success, to reach the double Prospective, to have the church restored as an Ancient Monument as well as accommodating it to regular Use. During the course of this Work one has frequently been made to feel the Weight of this Doubt.”<sup>99</sup>

The Heddal restoration was severely criticised both in its own time and by posterity, in terms of craftsmanship, degree of modification, and design. In 1853 it was reported that the newly restored stave church was suffering from roof leakage and “a devouring fungus”; another builder was contacted for a survey, and Nebelong and “that conductor” of the restoration, Hansen, were criticised for “sloppy execution of craftsmanship.”<sup>100</sup> A large amount of original material in the interior, staves, wall panels and “knees”, (*bueknær*) had been discarded and replaced. According to Lidén, the disposal of original materials to such an extent cannot have been necessary, but was more likely motivated by the wish for a more modern room. When the interior was finished it had, Lidén observes, a certain classicistic character with its painted ceiling, seating gallery, new windows and niches reserved for sculptures.<sup>101</sup> The latter was a stylistic feature which belonged to the Late Empire Style<sup>102</sup> and the height of fashion at the time. Nebelong’s design for the interior was followed through; although builder in charge Hansen pointed out that the interior had originally had an open loft with decorated rafters, not a lowered ceiling.<sup>103</sup> Leif Anker refers to Nebelong/Hansen’s restoration of Heddal as one of the country’s first national-romantic interiors, a relevant observation when viewing the restoration in the context of architectural history rather than the history of architectural conservation.<sup>104</sup> This was the first restoration of a stave church *per se*.

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<sup>98</sup> Peter Høier Holtermann (1820-1865), Norwegian architect educated in Berlin, Germany, designed numerous factories in an exposed-brick neo-gothic style as well as churches in various medieval styles. He is otherwise known for the restoration and modernization of Bogstad Manor, near Oslo. The main house garden steps and outbuildings in the Swiss Style remain of Holtermann’s Bogstad restoration.

<sup>99</sup> “Direktionen har allerede fra først af næret væsentlige Tvivl, om det lod sig gjøre nogenlunde fyldestgjørende at naa det dobbelte Maal, at faa Kirken som Fortidsmindesmærke restaureret og derhos vel indrettet til stadig Benyttelse. Under Arbejdets gang har man meget ofte maattet føle disse Tvivls Vegt.” Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853), 1851 Annal, p 4

<sup>100</sup> “en fortærende sopp”; “vedkommende konduktør”; “skjødesløse udførelse af rent handverksmessige ved restaurationen”. Ibid., 1853 Annal, p 10

<sup>101</sup> Lidén (2005) pp 125-126

<sup>102</sup> This is noted by Leif Anker: “Skulpturnishene var i tråd med senempirens idealer, et originalt bidrag til stavkirkearkitekturen.” Anker and Havran (2005) p 174

<sup>103</sup> Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers 1845-1853; Lidén 2005 pp 123, 125

<sup>104</sup> Anker and Havran (2005) p 174

Nicolaysen, who as president of *Fortidsminneforeningen* was forced to defend it, met the critics by referring to the immaturity of the architect, stating Nebelong's survey and knowledge of the building type had been insufficient.<sup>105</sup> Nicolaysen agreed with the criticism of the interior, but found few faults with the exterior which had been less altered.

Under threat of conversion following the Church Act of 1851, another stave church, Borgund, was rescued in 1865 through action from *Fortidsminneforeningen*, who convinced *Stortinget* to contribute to funding a new parish church in place of altering the old one. Borgund was considered the most original of the stave churches, "displaying almost all its original forms". In its restoration these "original forms" were displayed to best effect when all post-reformation fixtures and elements were removed, according to Lidén, leaving the building "an empty shell".<sup>106</sup>

In 1877 the Bergen branch of *Fortidsminneforeningen* had discussed having Hopperstad stave church moved to Bergen and re-erected by the Bergen Museum, and the question was raised again in 1882, probably inspired by the re-erection of Gol stave church at Bygdøy for King Oscar II's collection.<sup>107</sup> Instead Fortun stave church, which was considered of lesser antiquarian value, was moved, re-erected and restored at Fantoft near Bergen on the initiative of a private patron. The timing of the move of Fortun/Fantoft (1883) was coordinated to precede the planned moving of Hopperstad in order to give the carpenters the necessary training for Hopperstad. The moving of Hopperstad was however never carried through; it was restored *in situ*, while Gol and Fortun were relocated to new sites and restored there.

When restored, the stave churches of Hopperstad, Gol and Fortun were modelled on Borgund, despite their different origins and the highly dissimilar contexts of how they were saved. Gol stave church was planned to be demolished and *Fortidsminneforeningen* was allowed to purchase the medieval components of the church with the proviso that they were removed from the original site. Gol was moved and reconstructed at Bygdøy where the royal building collection of King Oscar II was founded on Nicolaysen's initiative, later *Norsk Folkemuseum*.<sup>108</sup> In the Hopperstad stave church, restored by Blix, additions from the 18<sup>th</sup> century were removed from the church and sold as building materials.

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<sup>105</sup> Lidén (2005) p 126

<sup>106</sup> "...fremviser næsten alle sine oprindelige former..." *Fortidsminneforeningen* stressed this in their plea to the *Storting* to have the church saved. Lidén (1991) p 47

<sup>107</sup> Hegard (1984) pp 227, 232

<sup>108</sup> The king granted the site for the church and financial aid when the re-erection threatened to bankrupt *Fortidsminneforeningen*. *Fortidsminneforeningen* subsequently bestowed the church on the king. Lidén (1991) p 47

*Fortidsminneforeningen* bought the church for half price after it had been stripped, not having succeeded in raising the 1200 kroner that were initially demanded.<sup>109</sup> This complicates the interpretation of what happened; was the removal of later additions the will of the architect to restore the church to a purely medieval design, or a random turn of events? The stave church of Fortun was bought on a private initiative, moved and re-erected near Bergen with new exterior elements modelled on various stave churches.<sup>110</sup> All these three are examples of restoration as historical reconstruction, the first two with a scientific (and historical-ideological?) approach, and the latter more historic-aesthetic, in a process which was quick (disassembling the church and loading the building components onto boats was done in only six days) and lacking in documentation.

In the years following the Heddal restoration a great number of stave churches were surveyed at *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s expense by the architects Georg Andreas Bull and Christian Christie. Among these were several that were later demolished, and these surveys are the only existing pictorial documentation. Bull had become actively involved with *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s work after presenting them with a set of his drawings of Håkon's Hall in the Bergenhus Fortress complex in 1852 [Figure 15]. In these drawings, or surveys, Bull had omitted the newer part of the building. There was an obvious value assessment in this approach; Bull only drew the parts he considered essential to the building as a monument. According to Hans Emil Lidén, Bull's "survey" represented an improvement in comparison to the architect Schiertz's stave church drawings for J.C. Dahl. Schiertz had included newer parts of the building but provided no comments, which made it difficult to distinguish older and newer parts.<sup>111</sup> These are both early examples of depictions which seemed more concerned with framing the "medieval spirit" of the monument (despite their attention to detail), than an attempt at understanding the building as it had become over time. Bull's survey implies an adherence to stylistic unity; he did not acknowledge the building as it stood. The Bergenhus Fortress complex and Håkon's Hall were later heavily restored, and Bull's drawings make it difficult for posterity to understand what the building actually looked like at the time. A debate on stylistic restoration versus conservation, which flourished in other European countries, was also highly active regarding the treatment of the Norwegian churches and other monuments.

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Bjerknes (1942)

<sup>111</sup> Lidén (1991) p 40

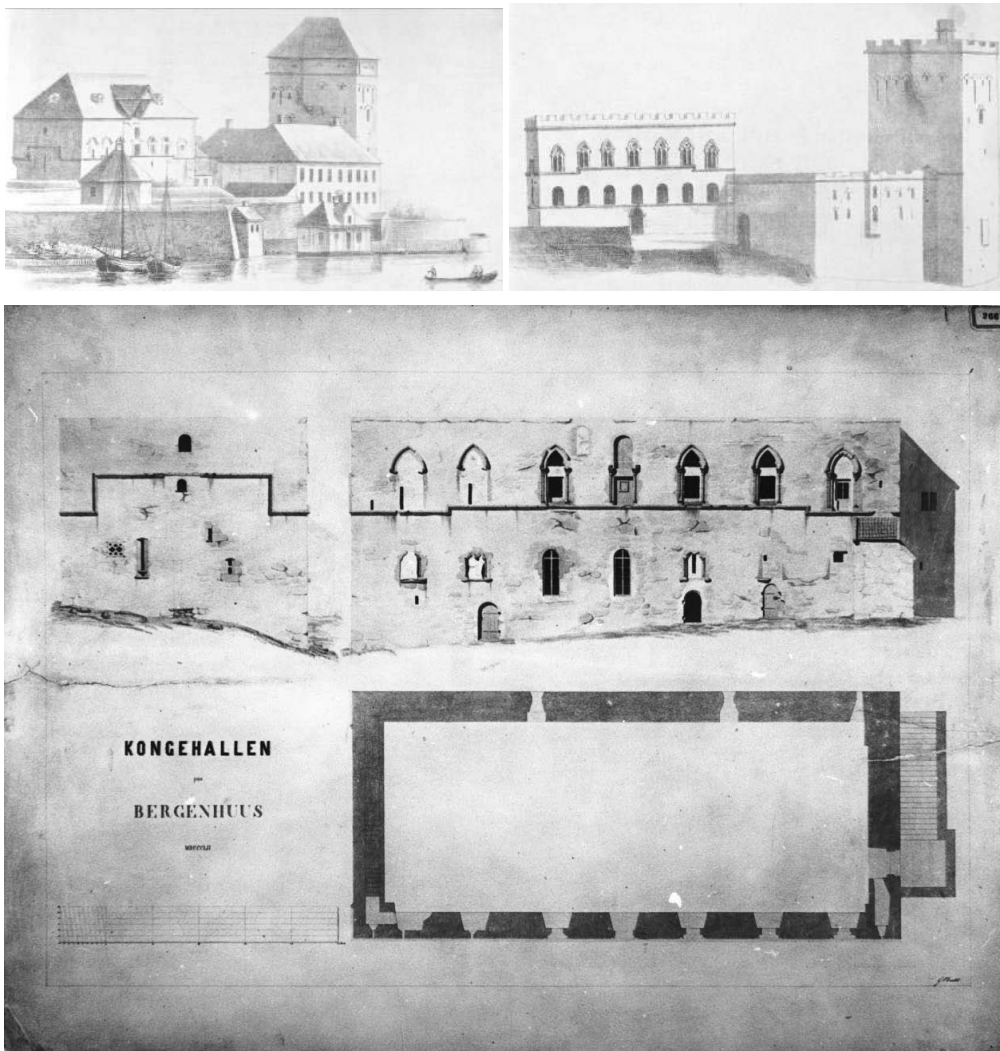


Figure 13-15: Bergenhus Fortress (Bergenhus festning). Drawing (top left) and restoration proposal (top right) by J.C. Dahl; Survey by G.A. Bull (bottom) presented to Fortidsminneforeningen in 1852. Bull only depicted the parts of the building he perceived as medieval. (Fortidsminneforeningen, Riksantikvaren archive)

### *Bergenhus Fortress*

In 1880 Christie collaborated with architect and engineer Peter Andreas Blix (1831-1901) on the restoration of Håkon's Hall, part of the Bergenhus Fortress for which the painter J. C. Dahl had submitted restoration designs 40 years earlier [Figure 13-14]. Dahl had proposed a flat roof, but close examinations of the building had revealed traces of a stepped gable and a saddle roof, a design supported by a city view from 1580 which Nicolaysen had referred to in



1846.<sup>112</sup> The engineer Christie pursued scientific principles in the restoration, based on “principles of building archaeology”, extensive archaeological surveys and extensive knowledge of the medieval style. Christie’s restoration, especially of the interior, was not considered a success when it was completed in 1894.<sup>113</sup>

#### *Hove church*

Blix and Christie can be said to represent leading views on the restoration of monuments in Norway during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. An interesting appendix to the assignments of *Fortidsminneforeningen* is the private restoration project Blix initiated for the medieval stone church of Hove in Vik, Sogn in 1883 [Figure 16-17]. The church, superfluous after a new church for the parish had been erected in 1877, came to Blix’s attention when he was offered to purchase it as a source of building materials for the Håkon’s Hall restoration. Blix bought the church and restored it as he saw fit, removing the existing renaissance interior and designing a new one which was Romanesque in style and in his view more consistent with the church’s medieval origins, although there were no traces in the church of such an interior.<sup>114</sup> In this private restoration project Blix imposed his image of the ideal medieval sacred room onto a ruin at his disposal, basing his designs not on research and knowledge but on an acquired professional aesthetic. This project may be written off as an unscientific stylistic restoration of the sort criticized not only by adherents of Ruskin (for being a restoration) but by supporters of Viollet-le-Duc’s philosophy (for being un-scientific). But it can also be viewed as a precursor to the new approach to restoration which emerged in Norway after the turn of the century, when the hegemony of scientific principles of restoration would give way to a new approach, based less on science and more on artistic feeling (see chapter 2.4).

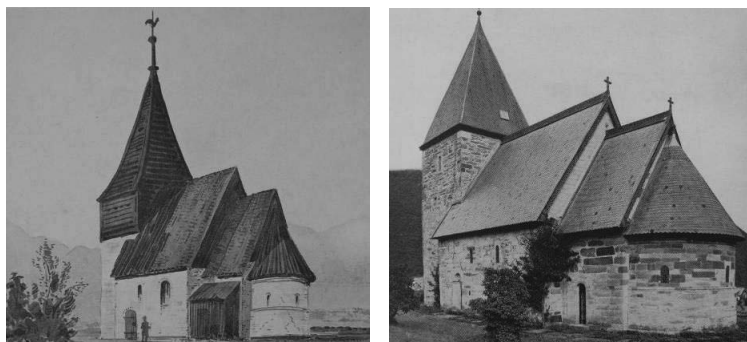


Figure 16-17: Hove church, Vik, Sogn, before (left) and after Blix’s restoration. (Photograph: unknown)

<sup>112</sup> Christie (1960) p 2

<sup>113</sup> Lidén (1991) p 53

<sup>114</sup> Christie (1960) p 4. Blix was buried inside the Hove church.

### *Nidaros Cathedral*

The restoration of Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim has been the largest project of its kind in Norway, from the first attempts at restoration designs in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century to when the restoration was declared completed in 2001 [Figures 18-24]. Restoration plans were subject to public debates in the 19<sup>th</sup> and in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Distinct phases in restoration planning and execution can be defined according to the restoration architects responsible; the first being Heinrich Ernst Schirmer (1842-1871), who was followed by Christian Christie (1872-1906), Olaf Nordhagen (1909-25) and Helge Thiis (1930-).<sup>115</sup>

The cathedral, estimated to have been built between 1153 and 1320, had by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century been damaged by fire six times and was partly rebuilt in the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>- and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Schøning described the history of the cathedral and its present state in his 380-page manuscript in 1762.<sup>116</sup> At this time the cathedral's nave was in ruins, and the rest of the structure characterized by centuries of alterations. Over the next century the church underwent only minor repairs. In the 1740s it had been given a new interior in the baroque style which was toned down when the cathedral underwent an interior refurbishment for the crowning of Karl Johan in 1818. With the election of Nidaros Cathedral as the coronation church its status as a national monument was affirmed. Shortly afterwards, discussions about its restoration began. J.C. Dahl proposed a re-erection as early as the 1820s. In 1833 the matter became acute when the ceiling of the gothic 12<sup>th</sup> century octagonal chapel began to crumble.<sup>117</sup> In 1835 the Prussian art historian Alexander von Minutoli visited Trondheim, and, probably inspired by the interest in medieval architecture and restorations in continental Europe (Cologne 1823), he engaged several prominent people, among them the architect for the royal castle Linstow, the lawyer and poet Conrad Nicolay Schwach and J.C. Dahl, in issuing a small publication, "*The History of Trondheim's Cathedral and its Description in Brief*".<sup>118</sup> The 38-page pamphlet included suggestions for a restoration and inspired the founding of a restoration committee. On the recommendation of the architect Linstow, the Church Ministry engaged the young German architect Heinrich Ernst Schirmer, who prepared his first restoration plan for Nidaros Cathedral in 1842.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Brochmann, Tschudi-Madsen et al. (2010)

<sup>116</sup> *Beskrivelse over den tilforn meget prægtige og vidberømte Dom-Kirke i Thronhjem: egentligen kaldet Christ-Kirken* ("Description of the very magnificent and famous Cathedral in Thronhjem; now called the Christ-Church") Schøning (2004)

<sup>117</sup> Brochmann, Tschudi-Madsen et al. (2010)

<sup>118</sup> *Thronhjems Domkirkes Historie og Beskrivelse i kort Udtog*. Hamran (1981) pp 91-92

<sup>119</sup> Lidén (2005) p 127

Schirmer's first restoration scheme was based on a superficial survey, and was severely criticised by J.C. Dahl who called it vandalism. It proposed a full reconstruction of the ruined nave, western façade and towers, and involved demolishing part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century chancel and moving the remaining medieval octagonal high chancel closer to the reconstructed parts.<sup>120</sup> The inexperienced architect was subsequently sent around Europe to study medieval architecture. Upon his return he continued his studies and survey of the cathedral in 1843-45. He presented a plan in conjunction with the coronation of Oscar I in 1847, suggesting the restoration of the chancel's arcades using lime and plaster rendered brick (the cathedral's main building material is locally quarried soapstone), referring to English restoration practice. The coronation was cancelled however and these plans dismissed.<sup>121</sup>

Schirmer produced a new plan for a full restoration in 1851 for the nave, west front and towers with extensive use of soapstone and marble. As advisor to the Church Ministry (*Kirkedepartementet*) and the country's leading authority on such matters, Nicolaysen visited Trondheim in 1855 with historian P. A. Munch to study the cathedral's building history and archaeology.<sup>122</sup> He published his views on the restoration in a series of articles in the news publications *Aftenbladet* ("the Evening Post") in 1855 and *Illustrert Nyhedsblad* ("Illustrated News Magazine") in 1859, and proposed that the architect von Hanno take over Schirmer's assignment. Nicolaysen strongly opposed to the lack of scientific evidence for Schirmer's restoration proposal.<sup>123</sup> At the same time, Nicolaysen stated that all "clutter" in the interior which dated from after the reformation must be thrown out. This was also to some extent done; in collaboration with his partner architect von Hanno, Schirmer decorated the church's interior for the crowning of Carl XV in 1860 and many of the 17<sup>th</sup> century furnishings (chairs, benches and galleries) were thrown out. In 1869 Schirmer, this time acting alone, delivered a proposal for the complete restoration of the eastern, standing parts of the cathedral; plans far more comprehensive than the ministry had commissioned.<sup>124</sup>

From 1869 the cathedral was regularly included in the government's budget, and this year marks the beginning of the actual restoration work. A workshop of specialized craftsmen

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> It has been suggested that Schirmer's reason for choosing brick was that this was more costly than local natural stone at the time. Hamran (1981) p 92

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Lidén (1991) p 49

<sup>124</sup> Nicolaysen prescribed that all Rubbish from after the reformation was to be torn out: "Skramleri fra den senere Tid rives ut." *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, autumn 1859. Schirmers plans were presented in a costly government-sponsored publication *Thronhjems Domkirke, utgivet efter foranstaltning af den norske Regjering* in 1859 (where P. A. Munch had written the building's history), and were thus very much subject to public scrutiny; the overall effect of the publication however was that support for a restoration as such was strengthened. Hamran (1981) p 93

was established the same year in Trondheim. Schirmer began the restoration work in the chancel and chancel chapels (*kapittelhuset, Johanneskapellet, korbuen*). Accused of taking artistic liberties, Schirmer was soon replaced by engineer and architect Christian Christie, who had served time on the restoration board alongside Nicolaysen.<sup>125</sup> Between 1858 and 1865 Christie had travelled Norway making surveys of all medieval stone churches for *Fortidsminneforeningen*, an undertaking which had provided him with a solid point of reference for the task at hand.<sup>126</sup> Like Schirmer, Christie travelled Europe to study medieval architecture and restorations. He began by restoring the chancel in a high-gothic style, replacing the baroque turret with a pointed medievalist “helmet”. The rest of the chancel, which had partly collapsed and been replaced with solid, rendered walls in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, was restored to as a gothic elevation between 1877 and 1890. The restoration was an engineering challenge; reinforcements were made to foundations and the gothic elevations, and the roof. Steel was used to strengthen the roof in the southern aisle. The solid walls of the chancel aisle were subsequently taken down and proved to contain a great number of medieval building elements including remains of the triforium and clerestory, clues on the basis of which a new elevation was designed.<sup>127</sup> The next two phases of the restoration, the transepts (1890-1903) and the nave (1903-1930) were both planned by Christie but only in part overseen by him. The transept’s restoration involved removing 17<sup>th</sup> century elements (the 1666 brick gable was taken down and rebuilt in soapstone) and reconstructing the interior on the basis of archaeological finds. For the exterior of the cathedral no references of the situation before the 1531 existed, and Christie designed a tower dimensioned according to the estimated strength of the foundations in which low height was compensated for by a tall, pointed turret, completed in 1901. The nave was at this time still a ruin, and many, among them Nicolaysen, wished to preserve it this way. Christie proposed a reconstruction of the elevation based on archaeological finds. Convinced that the reconstruction would happen on a historically sound basis, the plan was approved by the restoration committee and the *Storting* in 1905, and the arcades were completed for the coronation of King Haakon VII in June 1905.

The debates over Nidaros Cathedral demonstrate different approaches to *restoration*. Architect H.E. Schirmer delivered 5 restoration proposals: 1841, 1847, 1851, 1860 (interior, with von Hanno) and 1869 (with von Hanno). Schirmer’s plans were severely criticized by

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> During the summer of 1860 Christie surveyed twenty seven churches in western and middle Norway going as far north as Trondenes by Harstad in Troms county, delivering thirty one drawings to the society upon his return. Article in the *Fortidsminneforeningens* annal 1860 p 101, quoted in Lidén (1991) p 38

<sup>127</sup> Indahl (2010)

J.C. Dahl and later by Nicolaysen for not paying enough heed to the existing building. Schirmer had initially proposed to demolish it in part, and was considered too artistically liberal in his new “old style” designs (“...i den Gamle Stil”), not basing his restoration on the historic evidence; in 1847 he had for instance proposed to use brick and plaster to reconstruct the chancel, with reference to contemporary restoration practice in England.<sup>128</sup> Schirmer’s intention in 1851 was “a complete Restoration” (...) “of the church in its complete original beauty.”<sup>129</sup> After Schirmer’s first proposal, J.C. Dahl influenced the Government to include in the budget proposition that no parts of the original church must under any circumstance be demolished. Nicolaysen opposed the notion of a complete restoration on a general basis, but argued that each individual building must be studied thoroughly, and the restoration architect must restore the building based on scientific evidence, “exactly as it was”; it was not sufficient to build “a cathedral in medieval style or closer to an English cathedral from the 13<sup>th</sup> century; but we want the church with the specific and *individual form*, which our Forefathers built in Trondheim.”<sup>130</sup> The engineer Christie demonstrated such a specific and scientific approach, and soon replaced Schirmer as restoration architect for Nidaros Cathedral. Schirmer’s approach to restoration was *artistic*, more freely based on his concept of medieval design (which according to J. C. Dahl and Nicolaysen was lacking). The archaeologist Nicolaysen’s approach to the cathedral restoration was clearly *scientific*. Nicolaysen did not deliver restoration designs; his recommendations however also carried elements of the principle of *l’unité de Style*, albeit on different a different level than Schirmer. Schirmer wanted “a complete restoration of original beauty”; Nicolaysen dismissed all building parts and interiors which were younger than the reformation (1536) as rubbish, but defended the conservation of the “more impure forms of style added before the time of the reformation” which Schirmer had proposed to remove.<sup>131</sup> Nicolaysen argued for respecting a monument’s individual form, but also its individual style, so that beauty and truth could fuse: “Nothing is artistically beautiful without being True; that the Design shall merge with and be an Expression of the Thing’s Intention”.<sup>132</sup> Lidén ascribes this view to German architectural

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<sup>128</sup> Hamran (1981) p 92

<sup>129</sup> Schirmer, quoted in: Lidén (1991) p 50

<sup>130</sup> “. aldeles, som den var... (...) en Kathedral i middelalders stil eller endu nærmere en engelsk Kathedral fra det 13. Århundre, men vi ville have den Kirke med den bestemte individuelle Form, som vore Forfædre opførte i Trondhjem.” Nicolaysen, quoted in: Lidén (2005) pp 127-129

<sup>131</sup> ”Heller ikke kan det bifalles, (...) at man under restaurationen af aattekantens skulde borttage de urenere stilformer, som hidrøre fra tiden før reformationen...”. Nicolaysen in Fortidsminneforeningens Annal for 1860, quoted in: Lidén (1991) p 50

<sup>132</sup> “Intet er kunstnerisk skjønt uden at det er sandt, at Formen skal smelte sammen med og være et Udtryk for Tingens Bestemmelse.” Nicolaysen quoted in: Lidén (2005) p 129

theory, K.F. Schinkel and probably also “the young Gottfried Semper”. He defines Nicolaysen’s view of architecture as *technological rationalism*, a view which was promoted by the German polytechnic universities and Semper, and by Viollet-le-Duc. Lidén notes that Nicolaysen referred to both Semper and Viollet-le-Duc on many occasions, and had in all likelihood studied their main works.<sup>133</sup>



Figure 18: Nidaros Cathedral seen from the north in 1661, etching by Maschius.

Figure 19-20: Nidaros Cathedral seen from the northwest, photograph taken before the 19<sup>th</sup> century restoration (following page, top) and H.M. Schirmer’s revised restoration proposal from 1851 (following page, bottom). (Photograph by M. Selmer, Bergen and illustration from *Kristkirken i Nidaros* by H.M. Schirmer 1885)

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid. p 175



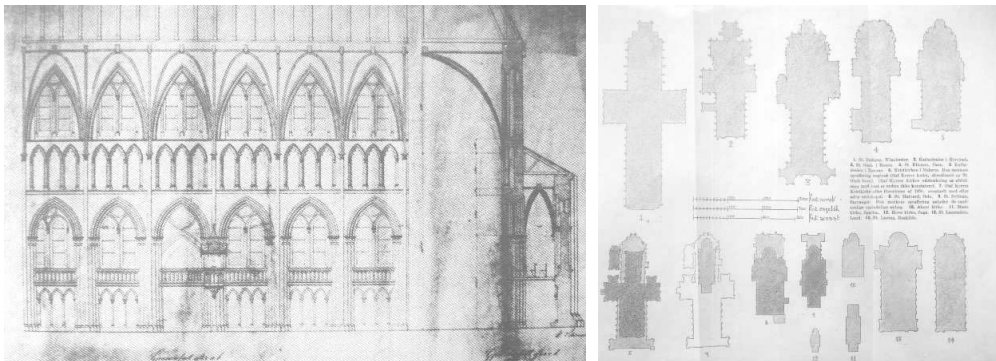


Figure 21-22: H.M. Schirmer’s first design for the restoration of Nidaros Cathedral’s nave, 1846 (left); Floor plans of English and French cathedrals and Norwegian churches (right), likely based on information Schirmer collected during a study trip to England and Normandy in 1843, taken to increase his knowledge of medieval ecclesiastic architecture in 1843.<sup>134</sup> The depicted cathedrals are, top row from left: St. Svithun in Winchester, Hereford, St. Ouen, St. Etienne, Bayeux. Nidaros Cathedral bottom left. The smallest floor plan is Hove church in Sogn. From *Kristkirken i Nidaros* by H.M. Schirmer 1885

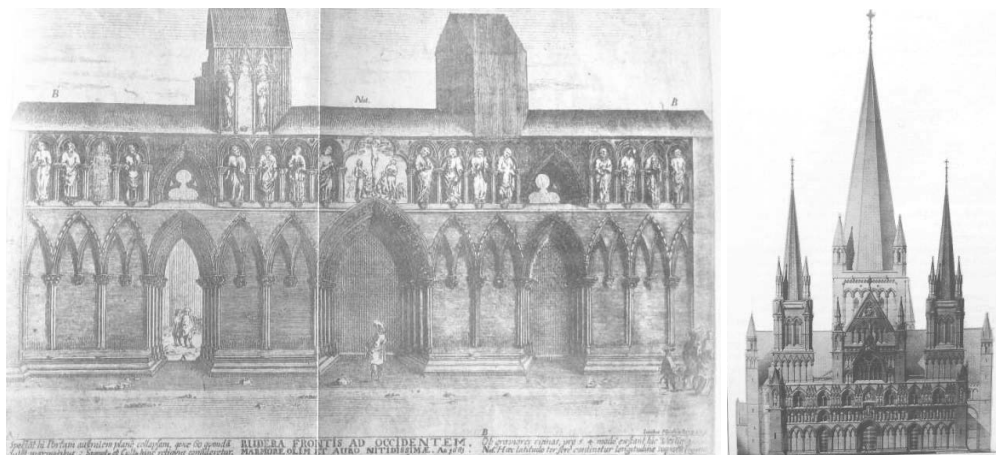


Figure 23-24: Nidaros Cathedral west front (left) in etching by Maschius 1661 in heliotypic print, published in *Kristkirken i Nidaros* by H.M. Schirmer (1885); Restoration proposal by Christian Christie from 1903 (right).

The principles of scientific restoration and unity of style dominated “authorized” restoration practice in Norway in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The authority was the archaeologist Nicolaysen, and the Reformation continued to constitute a severe demarcation line in conservation activity throughout his reign at *Fortidsminneforeningen* and as National antiquarian until the turn of the century. A number of restorations carried out as more private initiatives, like the medieval churches of Hove and Fortun, represented a more creative and artistic approach along the lines of stylistic or historical restoration, also aimed at recreating, through interpretation,

<sup>134</sup> Bjerkek (2010)



medieval architectural style. The emphasis on pre-Reformation monuments resulted in post-reformation additions, alterations and interiors of these monuments being removed in the course of their treatment as heritage objects. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the capacities of the small Norwegian conservation community were limited to saving fragments of the oldest surviving structures, a big enough task in the light of the drastic social and economic changes the country underwent during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially from the 1850s onwards. Vernacular architecture, predominantly represented in post-reformation buildings, was given attention when expressing what was considered a medieval mode of building; otherwise this built heritage was not within the scope of what the conservation community would or could handle.

### **2.2.2 Conservation and restoration of built vernacular heritage before 1900**

While fortifications and, in part, sacred architecture in Norway was built in stone, vernacular buildings were with few exceptions made of wood. Wood being a less durable material than stone, only a limited number of medieval wooden structures had survived into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, significant among these the stave churches. Vernacular buildings were predominantly younger, belonging to the period after the reformation in 1536.

#### *Fortidsminneforeningen and the built vernacular*

As mentioned above, *Fortidsminneforeningen's* list of particularly interesting artefacts (*“Fortegnelse over antikvariske Gjenstande...”*) which was first printed in the 1846 annal, included “old and curiously-shaped buildings, both Dwellings and Storage Buildings with their Decorations and Carvings...”<sup>135</sup> *Fortidsminneforeningen* did not report on any examples from this category in their annals the following years. Lidén observes that Nicolaysen as chairman must have been aware of the whereabouts of interesting post-reformation buildings, and that the idea of salvaging examples from this category “must have matured in him” but that the challenge of the private ownership of these buildings made conservation an unattainable goal as a principle.<sup>136</sup>

Nicolaysen published relatively little on vernacular buildings. Of almost one hundred publications, only two exclusively deal with standing vernacular buildings: *Hvorledes det Norske Beboelseshus af Træ får et Nationalt Præg* (“How the Norwegian wooden domestic house attains a national character”) in *Teknisk Ukeblad* (“Technical Weekly”) in 1884, and

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<sup>135</sup> “gamle og mærkelige husebygninger, baade vaaningshuse og stabbure med deres forziringer og indskrifter...” Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853), 1846 Annal, p 13

<sup>136</sup> Nicolaysen principally opposed any intervention on proprietary rights. Lidén (1991) p 55

*Om den gamle bygningskikk i Solær og Østerdalen* (“On the old building customs in Solær and Østerdalen”), published in 1881. With these publications a segment of the Norwegian building portfolio had been singled out. Emphasis on certain types from particular geographical areas would in turn influence both the selection and the treatment of vernacular “monuments”. A significant 19<sup>th</sup> century contribution to the study of vernacular buildings was the architectural surveys published in the series *Norske Bygninger fra Fortiden and Kunst og Haandverk fra Norges Fortid* (“Norwegian Buildings of the Past and Art and Crafts from Norway’s historic past”) by *Fortidsminneforeningen*, with comments by Nicolay Nicolaysen. The first publication in these series depicted only churches, whereas the second included vernacular buildings.<sup>137</sup>

#### *Eilert Sundt and the built vernacular heritage*

Eilert Sundt’s contribution to the field of architectural history is based on his studies of living conditions in his own contemporary society. Sundt’s focus was people’s living conditions, sanitation and health issues; his role part scientist, part moralist and philanthropist. He made long research travels in the southern, western and central parts of Norway. Sundt’s descriptions included houses and furnishings, building materials, layout and facilities of buildings, as well as their use; his descriptions were an eye witness account of a material culture which was becoming extinct with the land reforms, population growth, industrialization and urbanization of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He stated at one point that he never travelled to study a building as such; his interest and professional field was the social life which unfolded within them.<sup>138</sup> However, it was his collection of writings on “building customs” for which he coined the term *byggeskikk* (“building custom”), he became most known for.

Sundt’s travels began about the same time as the great modernization of Norwegian farming, where farm land was parcelled and redistributed to devise a more rational land-use, was implemented.<sup>139</sup> Most farms still had traditional lots, and in the first years of his trips Sundt could report that he seldom encountered new buildings in the Norwegian countryside.

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<sup>137</sup> District physician Eilert Støren (1860-1929) who wrote of vernacular architecture in Trøndelag and Møre is also mentioned in this short article. Berg(**no date**) p 25

<sup>138</sup> “One place he states that he has never travelled as much as a mile with the intention of studying a building. His interest was in the life which was lived within these buildings” H. O. Christophersen writes in the preface to the 1976 edition of *Om bygnings-skikken på landet i Norge* (“On the customs of building in rural Norway”) Sundt (1976) pp VII-IX, 5.

<sup>139</sup> The massive changes in the Norwegian countryside in the middle and latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was named *Det store hamskiftet*, a term coined by author Inge Krokann for a history journal article in 1942. Brekke (2010)

He described how he came to recognize a system of traditional building with predictable regional variations on common themes. In his first “account of morality” (*sedelighetsberetning*) in 1857 Sundt described “Løkkre-stua”, a 18<sup>th</sup> century (1769) dwelling from Sják in Lom, Gudbrandsdalen, which he had visited five years previously, arguing that ways of life and sanitary conditions were determined by the customary ways houses were built (*byggeskikk*). *Fortidsminneforeningen* subsequently had the house surveyed by engineer Christian Christie. Christie’s drawing was printed with Sundt’s first article on vernacular architecture for the journal *Folkevennen* in 1861, and is one of the first (if not the first) vernacular buildings to have been surveyed in Norway.<sup>140</sup> In a passage on Løkkrestua, Sundt explained how he came to recognize that traditional building was ruled by certain repeated features:

“The example from the Løkkra-dwelling thus shows us, as you will have understood, a fixed custom; but since then it was found repeated in the whole of Gudbrandsdalen, and beyond, as far as this same building-custom rules. There is a connection here: each item’s placing in the living room depends on the building custom, and vice versa; one can sometimes deduce the building custom in an area by noticing the arrangement of these small things. I cannot say how astonished I was when I first became aware of and realized this housing custom.”<sup>141</sup>

Based on these observations, Sundt created the first classification system for vernacular dwelling houses in Norway, a building typology which is still valid. Sundt recognized six elementary types of traditional dwellings based on the plan/layout and use of the rooms and named after the regions in which they occur: the *jærsk*, *mandalsk*, *nedenæsk*, *thelemarksk*, *akershusisk* and *trøndersk* “dwelling plan” (*stueform*), as well as *Jutulstue*, which he called “the great-grandmother” of the *throndhjemsk* type. His typology was otherwise determined by elements like the placing of the hearth/fireplace, windows, chimney, number of storeys, additions, the direction of external cladding (if there was cladding), as well as furnishings. He also made observations on the chronology of these features which helped date the buildings, a task in which he otherwise referred to sources like Schøning, Strøm, Arentz, Keyser, “the

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<sup>140</sup> Eilert Sundts travels and researched were funded by a government grant. His writings were published as “sedelighetsberetninger” (“accounts of morality”) and in Folkeopplysningssekelskapet’s journal (the public education society) *Folkevennen* of which he was respectively president and editor from 1856 and 1858. Sundt (1976) p VII-VIII

<sup>141</sup> “Exemplet fra Løkkra-stuen viser os da, som man vil have forstået, en fast skik; men siden gjenfandt sig den hele Gudbrandsdalen ud igjennem, og endnu videre, så langt som den same *bygning*-skik hersker. Der er sammenheng her: hver tings plads i stuen afhænger af bygningsmåden, og omvendt kan man stundom slutte sig til bygnings-skikken i en bygd ved at agte på disse anordningens småting. Jeg kan ikke sige, hvor jeg blev forundret, da jeg første gang blev opmærksom på og opfattede denne hus-skik.” Ibid. p 9

investigator of the Norse antiquity” (“*oldtidsgranskeren*”) Nicolaysen (a contemporary he did not always agree with) and the journal *Urda* (see below). Sundt did not pay the same heed to out-buildings, but built a classification of the different types of “storage buildings” (“*forrådshuse*”) which he put in a separate category from dwellings, and included comprehensive plans of whole farms to illustrate the custom of “one-house-per-function”, a custom which he realized was declining in his own day.<sup>142</sup>

Sundt himself did little to directly further the cause of conservation, although he was a member of the *Fortidsminneforeningen* board from 1858 to 1862. Still, his work was a major contribution to architectural history and, in turn, to conservation, despite the fact that this was a by-product of his main task, which was to document and in turn improve living conditions for the poor. His work was significant for building conservation because it focused on a previously little studied topic, the vernacular, which antiquarians and architects in turn included in the built heritage portfolio. Lidén characterizes Sundt’s approach as Darwinian; he was more interested in developing his theory on the evolution of building types than in preserving their material remnants.<sup>143</sup> Although Sundt claimed not to have been interested in the historical, architectural or aesthetic aspects of the buildings he studied, he did comment on the beauty of the “irregularities” of them, and the way they were in harmony with the natural surroundings.

“Several times I travelled through Gudbrandsdalen, and was always amused by looking at the houses and clusters of buildings at the farms: I saw nothing but irregularity, but the variations in the irregularities suited, I thought, so exquisitely the natural landscape, as in the drawing fig. 1 (...) And it struck me, that these irregularities’ characteristic beauty rather became more beautiful, the more I was trained in detecting the rule and order, which lies hidden therein.”<sup>144</sup>

True to his calling, Sundt saw beauty as closely linked to, or maybe as a consequence of, the logic of use and function.

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid. pp 224, 27, 41-43, 233, pp 46-48

<sup>143</sup> Lidén (1991) p 54

<sup>144</sup> “Flere gange reiste jeg igjennem Gudbrandsdalen, og altid morede det mig at betrakte husene og husklyngerne på gårdene: jeg så ikke andet end uregelmæssighet, men uregelmæssighetens afvexlinger passede, syntes mig, så fortræffeligt til naturomgivelserne, som i tegningen fig. 1. (...) Og det forekom mig, at hin uregelmæssighetenes eiendommelige skjønhed heller blev skjønnere, jo bedre jeg blev øvet i at øine den regel og orden, som ligger halv skjult derunder. Sundt (1976) pp 1-3

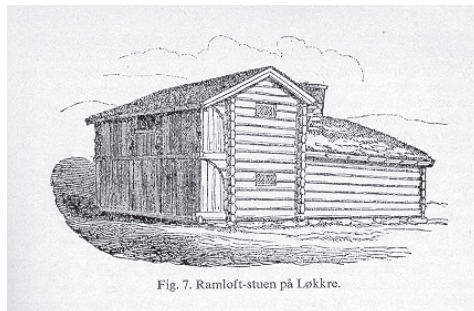


Fig. 7. Ramloft-stuen på Løkkre.

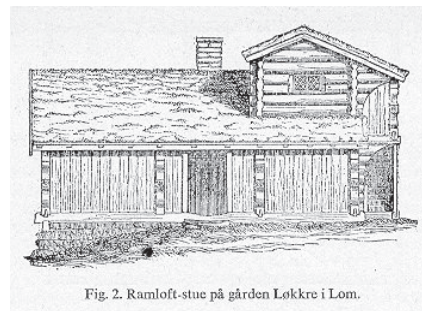


Fig. 2. Ramloft-stue på gården Løkkre i Lom.

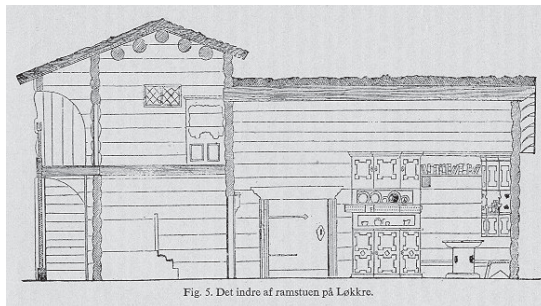


Fig. 5. Det indre af ramstuen på Løkkre.

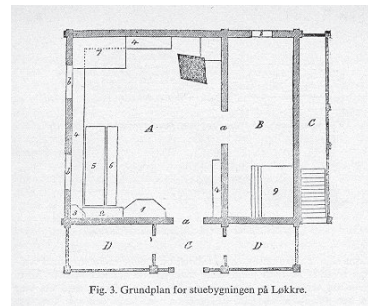


Fig. 3. Grundplan for stuebygningen på Løkkre.

Figure 25-28: Løkkre-stua, façades, section and plan. Drawings from the 1862 publication of Eilert Sundt *Om bygnings-skikken på landet i Norge*. Løkkrestua was later moved to Anders Sandvig's collection of buildings at Maihaugen in Lillehammer, today an open air museum. (Registreringssentral for historiske data, UiT)

### *Building collections and open air museums*

A significant act for preserving vernacular buildings is the establishment of building collections and open air museums. The building collection at Bygdøy was the precedent for the open-air museum *Norsk Folkemuseum*. The collection came about through Nicolaysen's communication with King Oscar II's chamberlain in connection with the moving of Gol stave church.<sup>145</sup> Nicolaysen had made a plan for the building collection in 1881, which would comprise examples of different ancient building types. This plan was not followed in detail, but three vernacular buildings were purchased, a storage building (*stabbur*), a open-hearth house (*røykstue*) and a raised storehouse, moved and re-erected there. With the stave church they comprised King Oscar II's building collection. Among these were buildings which were younger than the reformation; however they were old building types, as the intention had been

<sup>145</sup> Nicolaysen was the one who suggested Bygdøy as the new site for the Gol church to save it, and contacted the chamberlain to request that the King purchase the building, restore it and put it on display. The King already had plans for a building collection, something Nicolaysen may have been acquainted with. Gol stave church was reerected at Bygdøy in 1884. Hegard (1984) pp 37, 39

to collect medieval building types; this had been the specific wish of the King.<sup>146</sup> Preserving post-reformation buildings was also not a priority for the medievalist Nicolaysen, although *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s series *Kunst og Haandverk fra Norges Fortid...* (Art and crafts from Norway's past...) issued from 1881 which Nicolaysen edited and co-authored, did present examples of post-reformation, vernacular buildings in addition to the medieval monasteries and churches.<sup>147</sup>

Nicolaysen organized the moving of buildings to Bygdøy, and was also the authority on restoration for the project. Tonte Hegard presumes that the storage building at King Oscar II's collection, Berdalstabburet, was restored by carpenter Jacob Torstensen under his supervision, and that he approved of the result. The building was used to exhibit objects, and sky-lights were mounted in the ceiling to provide daylight.<sup>148</sup>

The open-hearth house from Kjellerberg was restored in 1887 by Torstensen who unlike Nicolaysen had seen the building *in situ*. The building had been purchased on the word of the local vicar, who had vouched that this was the oldest example of this building type in the district, but it had not been surveyed before it was moved. Nicolaysen was not present during its restoration, and was not content with the "new additions" it had been given by Torstensen. Torstensen for his part claimed to have restored the building exactly as it was before, but said that he had been forced to renew part of a wall and gallery as *in situ* it had been joined to another building.<sup>149</sup>

Five building collections opened in Norway before 1905: King Oscar II's collection at Bygdøy, Thomas Heftye's private collection of old farm houses at Frognerseteren, Anders Sandvig's collection in Lillehammer, Gert Falch Heiberg's collection in Amble, Sogn, and *Norsk Folkemuseum* at Bygdøy which opened in 1902 as an extension of King Oscar II's collection.<sup>150</sup> *Fortidsminneforeningen* had since it was founded purchased churches and ruins for conservation; now vernacular buildings were included in the portfolio. The Bergen branch of *Fortidsminneforeningen* (*Fortidsminneforeningens Bergensavdeling*) took ownership of 5 vernacular buildings after 1873, among them Finnesloftet which was acquired in 1891 with a signed agreement to preserve it on site. Some were moved out of necessity within their geographical context, but under the auspices of *Fortidsminneforeningen* vernacular buildings

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<sup>146</sup> King Oscar 2<sup>nd</sup>'s wish was to collect "other remnants from medieval times, namely a storage building, a smoke-hole dwelling and a rune stone" (...andre Levninger fra Norges Middelalder, navnlig et Stabur, en Røgstue og en Runesten."). Letter from chamberlain to King Oscar 2<sup>nd</sup> Holst, quoted in: *Ibid.* p 43

<sup>147</sup> Lidén (1991) p 44

<sup>148</sup> Hegard (1984) p 43

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* p 51

<sup>150</sup> The date of the founding of the museum was December 19<sup>th</sup> 1894. *Ibid.* pp 16, 39-

were also moved from the countryside to the city of Bergen in connection with an attempt to establish a museum park at Bergen Museum. All of these buildings had medieval features in their carving, timber and/or fire-places <sup>151</sup>

One of the buildings acquired by *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s Bergen branch, Finnesloftet in Voss, was restored back to its presumed original appearance between 1891 and 1895 according to a plan by architect Johan Meyer. A medieval wooden banqueting hall (which had been surveyed by Georg Andreas Bull for *Fortidsminneforeningen* in 1853), it acquired a completely new exterior through the restoration, with the construction of a new gallery (*sval*) with carvings [Figure 33-34]. The rooms were used to display collected historical artefacts including an old church interior; this was however criticized by Håkon Schetelig in 1905 as compromising the architecture of the building, and was later removed.

The buildings which were preserved through purchase, either as single objects to be preserved *in situ* or to be moved to building collections (for example, the storage building/*bur*, open-hearth house/*røykstue* and banquet hall/*gildehall*), were chosen for their age and aesthetic appeal. The museum collections endeavoured to represent the different types of medieval buildings. Nicolaysen believed medieval building types had been common to the whole country, and that regional characteristics for building had developed later. When Nicolaysen prepared a list of storage buildings which had been surveyed by *Fortidsminneforeningen*, he gave them simple characteristics, of either “plain, common”, “good” or “pretty”. In the quest for good examples many buildings were discarded as being too altered; however very few buildings had not been subject to modification. The goal of restoration was to re-create the original building as a characteristic type, but as documentation could be scarce, much was left to the restoration architect, antiquarian advisor, or carpenter to decide. In addition, modifications were made to accommodate new uses, as exemplified by Berdalstabburet's exhibition room with skylights. <sup>152</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Ådlandstua in Stord was bestowed on *Fortidsminneforeningen* in 1873, in 1934 it is moved and became a full-time museum building; Landsvigstua in Herdla was acquired by *Fortidsminneforeningen* in 1884 who had as a premiss that the building would be preserved on site; in 1895 the Fjellskålnes loft from Hosanger, moved to Bergen Museum park the year after but taken down in 1900 and stored before being moved back near its original site in 1949 where it became a museum building; the Lødve loft from Voss was acquired in 1908 and moved to a new site in Voss. Ibid. pp 221-232

<sup>152</sup> “Simpel”, “god”, “smuk”: characteristics of the storage buildings which had been surveyed by *Fortidsminneforeningen* in letter from Nicolaysen to Holst. Ibid. pp 43, 223, 263



Figure 29: Early depictions of Norwegian vernacular buildings by painters of the romantic era (I). Storage building from Bolkesjø, Telemark by Adolf Tiedemand, published in the first *Fortidsminneforeningen* annal, 1845. Eilert Sundt described this as “the unusually beautiful storage building, which the painter *Tiedemand* saw at the farm *Bolkesjø* i *Tinn* i *Thelemarken* and from there moved into one of his paintings”.<sup>153</sup> The reference was the painting *Norsk Juleskik* (1846). (Fortidsminneforeningen, Riksantikvaren archive)



<sup>153</sup> “...det usædvanlige vakkre stabbur, som maler *Tiedemand* så på gården *Bolkesjø* i *Tinn* i *Thelemarken* og derfra flyttede ind i et af sine malerier.” Sundt (1976) p 35



Figure 30 (previous page, bottom): Oscar II's building collection showing from the left the open-hearth house from Kjelleberg, Gol Stave church, the Hove dwelling and the Bredal storage building, all restored when rebuilt to demonstrate different medieval building prototypes. Illustration from the publication *Bygninger fra Norges Middelalder hvilke Hans Maj. Kong Oscar den Anden har ladet flytte til Bygdø Kongsgaard* published in 1888. (Norsk Folkemuseum)



Figure 31-32: The Bredal storage building's interior (left), xylographic print circa 1885, fitted with skylights to provide daylight for the exhibition of the museum objects, illustration from the publication *Bygninger fra Norges Middelalder hvilke Hans Maj. Kong Oscar den Anden har ladet flytte til Bygdø Kongsgaard* published in 1888. Early depictions of Norwegian vernacular buildings by painters of the romantic era (II): Davigens Præstegaard i Nordfjord by Joachim Frich (right) from *Norge Fremstillet i Tegninger*, Chr. Tønsberg (1846-48). (Norsk Folkemuseum; and ©Digitalarkivet 2000)

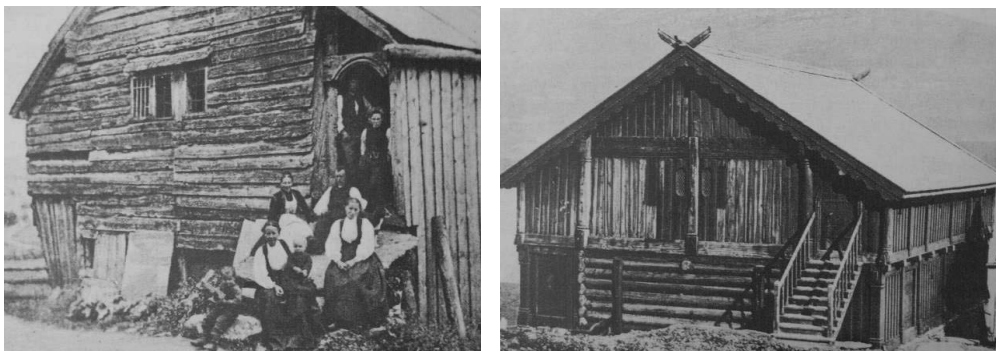


Figure 33-34: Finnesloftet, acquired on the initiative of the Bergen branch of Fortidsminneforeningen and preserved and restored *in situ*. (Postcards from Riksantikvaren's archive)

### *Historic buildings and academic research*

Norway acquired its own university in 1811, the Kongelige Frederiks Universitet in Christiania, while in Bergen and Trondheim academic research was centred on the museum collections. Research on material history; historic structures and artefacts, was pursued by a handful of scholars in history, archaeology and art history. From the 1880s there was a marked shift of interest from medieval to post-reformation history. This brought vernacular

architecture, anticipated as worthy of study only by Eilert Sundt, into the realm of academic research.

The first Norwegian art history professor Lorenz Dietrichson (1834-1917) acquired a position with the University in Christiania in 1875.<sup>154</sup> He had trained in Sweden and Italy, but stated he felt an obligation to study and lecture on the art history of Norway and pursued this, although he gained far more success and public interest with his lectures on Greek art than with his Norwegian material.<sup>155</sup> His first publication on Norwegian art history was a work on wood carving in 1878.<sup>156</sup> This was followed by a number of works on the established Norwegian monuments, the stave churches, and the “art-archaeology” of Nidaros Cathedral. His 1893 German edition of the Norwegian Stave Church publication *Die Holzbaukunst Norwegens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (“The Art of Wooden Building in the Past and the Present”) contained supplementary chapters on the Norwegian vernacular, and on contemporary Norwegian wooden architecture. For the chapter on the Norwegian vernacular Dietrichson relied on other sources, among them Eilert Sundt, as he himself (as he stated in the introduction) had had little time to delve into the subject.<sup>157</sup> Dietrichson worked through the chronology and typologies of Norwegian domestic architecture, from the iron-age “long-house” which was the multi-purpose dwelling for people and animals of the Viking era, via the medieval open-hearth house (*årestue*) to the dwelling house of the early 1800s, for which he notes the influence of rococo and classicism in the rural vernacular. He mentioned types presented by Sundt, like *Ramloft*, *Opstue* and *Barfrøstue* (log buildings with second-storey additions on the side, centre and front of the ground-storey) and committed several paragraphs to the raised storehouses and storage buildings (*stabbur*) with special decorative features, providing aesthetic evaluation of the artistic work. Also included was a chapter on the dwellings of the Norwegian kings, of whom even in Dietrichson’s time there were few traces. The emphasis however was on dwelling houses and on raised storehouses, with examples

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<sup>154</sup> The professoriate was personal, established at the University of Christiania in 1875 after lobby work from the author Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and professor of philosophy Marcus Jacob Monrad. Dietrichson had previously unsuccessfully attempted to get a position at the University in Christiania, but was engaged as conservator at the newly established National Museum (*Nationalmuseet*) in Stockholm, Sweden, and was later appointed Professor of Art History at the Stockholm Academy. Guleng (1996) p 106

<sup>155</sup> Mai Britt Guleng attributes this to the general opinion on antique art after Winckelmann, in which Greek art was perceived to be the aesthetically superior. Ibid. pp 110-111

<sup>156</sup> *Den Norske Treskjærerkunst, dens Oprindelse og Udvikling*, where Dietrichson provided interpretation and context for material previously published by Nicolaysen. Ibid. p 112

<sup>157</sup> Dietrichson lists the following sources on the Norwegian vernacular: Eilert Sundt (1858), R. Keyser (*Nordmændenes private Liv I Oldtiden* in “Efterladte skrifter” bdII, 2, S. 38-54); Nicolaysen (*Kunst og Håaandverk fra Norges Fortid*, Christiania 1881-1890), as well as Hannibal Hoff (*Om Oldtidens Bygningsformer*), Corn. Stenbloch (*Om de gamle skandinavers vaaningshuse, in Athene*, Copenhagen 1814) and Valthyr Gudmundsson (*Privatboligen paa Island i Sagatiden samt delvis i det øvrige Norden*, Copenhagen 1889). Dietrichson and Munthe (1893) p 101

from Østerdalen, Gudbrandsdalen and Telemark, and the Bergen area. The typological approach was based on the placing of the fire-place, and was also chronological with the open-hearth as the oldest type, the intermediate types being the smoke-oven and the open fireplace, and the iron oven or stove as the youngest, was based on Sundt. Dietrichson's contribution was the emphasis on ornament and aesthetics. The art historian Dietrichson devoted a separate chapter to ornamentation, heavily emphasising "medieval forms" and operating with a simple art-historical chronology of Gothic (medieval before the year 1600) and Renaissance (after 1600). Here he discussed influence from abroad and described decorative elements on the buildings (*beiteski, stendere, stabber, gavslpisser, bjelker*) and ornamented decorations on wooden furniture and objects (*treskurd*, which he also referred to with the German term *Kerbschnitt*).<sup>158</sup>

According to Lidén, a "program" for the research and conservation of post-reformation peasant culture and buildings can be credited to historian Yngvar Nielsen and his publication "*Træk af den norske bondestands Kulturudvikling i de siste 300 år, from 1881*".<sup>159</sup> Nielsen (1843-1916) worked for Kristiania University's ethnographic collection (*Norsk Etnografisk museum*) from 1877 to 1916 and as professor of geography and ethnography at the Kristiania University. His publication was initially a series of lectures, and is nowadays considered part of the foundation of the subject of ethnology.<sup>160</sup> Nielsen travelled extensively in Norway to collect artefacts (costumes, jewellery, furniture and carved objects and utensils) for the museum and he also made observations of buildings. Tonte Hegards observes that he was the first to voice the idea of a museum for buildings when he wrote from travels in Setesdal in 1879:

"It would be of interest if some of these old buildings could be preserved. The dwelling at Kvestad is for sale. It has been offered to me, but I do not know how money could be provided to purchase it. It would be of great scientific and national interest, if one in Kristiania could have collected original old dwellings from the different regions, where such are preserved in their original forms."<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid. pp 101-122, 124-127

<sup>159</sup> Lidén (1991) p 57

<sup>160</sup> Upon the death of history professor Ludvig Daae in 1877, Ole Rygh was asked to manage the ethnographic collection at the University, a position he accepted on the terms of being given an assistant. This assistant was Yngvar Nielsen, who since became the manager and "...forandret de etnografiske samlinger fra et raritetskabinett til et betydningsfullt museum med vitenskapelige mål for sin virksomhet". Svendsen) p 33

<sup>161</sup> "Dersom nogen af disse gamle stuer kunde bevares, vilde det have stor interesse. Stuen på Kvestad er til salgs. Den er mig budt; men jeg ved ikke, hvorledes det skulde kunde opdrives de fornødne penge til at købe for. Det vilde have stor videnskabelig og national interesse, hvis man i Kristiania kunde faa samlet originale gamle stuer fra de forskjellige landsdele, hvor saadanne end uere bevarede i sine oprindelige former." Yngvar Nilsen in letter from Setesdalen, printed in *Morgenbladet* 1879 and published as a book in 1880, quoted in: Hegard (1984) p 239

Nielsen's attempt to expand the collection of Norwegian artefacts at the ethnographic museum stalled in 1883, and what he had collected was transferred to *Norsk Folkemuseum* in 1906. At this turn of the century *Fortidsminneforeningen* had worked for conservation *in situ* for over 50 years, but for vernacular architecture conservation through purchase presented itself as the most secure method of rescue; the open air museums were the solution for research and education on historic building types in their "original forms". This situation was however not the status quo, and was soon challenged by a new generation of professionals.

## 2.3 LEGISLATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION

”Within its *own* circle an old dwelling, storage building, a raised storehouse in Telemark, Valdres and Numedal, in Hallingdal, in Gudbrandsdalen, Setesdalen, Hardanger in Sogn, in Romsdalen and Trønderlag, or wherever in the country, is of the same enlightening and instructive nature, as the remains of an old marble temple in ancient Greece, or the remains of an old building in Rome.”

Herman Major Schirmer, 1900<sup>1</sup>

”... but the main point of any modern perception of history is the idea of development (...) the Society’s (*Fortidsminneforeningen*’s) scope was in the beginning tied to medieval monuments, the ruins and churches. Later the farmers’ buildings were included, but only those which represented the oldest forms (...) Today more recent structures are threatened, they are in private ownership, often situated in the centre of towns on valuable plots, and there are few tools (to preserve them). Only campaigning, direct purchase, and in the last resort, documentation before destruction.”

Harry Fett 1913<sup>2</sup>

### 2.3.1 The turn of the century and a turn of events

After the turn of the century there was a marked shift in Norwegian building conservation which concerned both legislation and organization, and the ideology of architectural conservation.

#### *The Fortidsminneforeningen coup in 1898*

On the event of *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1894, Nicolaysen summed up its achievements in a pamphlet which Hans Emil Lidén describes as “strangely lacking in perspective”.<sup>3</sup> Nicolaysen had been blamed for being too one-sided in his concern for the monuments of the Middle Ages, silently accepting what was increasingly conceived as a loss of post-reformation monuments. Herman Major Schirmer (1845-1913, son of Nidaros Cathedral’s first restoration architect H.E. Schirmer) followed Nicolaysen as leader of

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<sup>1</sup> ”Innen *sin* krets er en gammel stue, et bur, et loft i Telemark, Valdres og Numedal, i Hallingdal, i Gudbrandsdalen, Setesdalen, Hardanger i Sogn, i romsdalen og Trøndelag, eller hvorsomhelst i landet, av samme opplysende natur, som levninger av at marmortempel i det gamle Hellas, eller med rester av en gammel bygning i Rom.” Schirmer (1900)

<sup>2</sup> ”...men kjernepunktet i enhver moderne historisk opfatning er utviklingstanken. (...) Foreningens virkefelt var fra først av knyttet til de middelalderske monumentene, ruinene og kirkerne. Senere kom bondebebyggelsen til, men da blot den som represserte de eldste ma former. (...) I dag er det nyere ting som er truet, de er i privat eie, ligger oftge midt i byene på verdifulle tomter, og det er få virkemidler. Bare agitasjonen, det direkte indkjøp og i siste innstans dokumentasjon før riving.” Fett (1913) pp 22-23

<sup>3</sup> Lidén speculates whether Nicolaysen’s lack of perspective was due to his age (77) or his ”matter-of-fact” attitude. Lidén (1991) p 55

*Fortidsminneforeningen* after what was virtually a coup d'état in December 1898. In 1891 H.M. Schirmer had established *Yngre Arkitektforening* ("Young Architect's Union") with a group of his students from the *Tegneskolen* (*Den Kgl. Tegneskolen i Kristiania*, "The Royal Drawing Academy in Christiania). This group constituted the core of the opposition in the uprising against the board of *Fortidsminneforeningen* and its leader Nicolaysen in December 29<sup>th</sup> 1898, claiming that care of *standing buildings*, from medieval times *and onwards* must be *Fortidsminneforeningen's* most important task. Schirmer's biographer Øistein Parmann writes: "Supported by the survey material they had acquired, they launched a campaign against *Fortidsminneforeningen's* exaggerated concern for burial finds"<sup>4</sup> Schirmer criticised Nicolaysen for being one-sidedly concerned with archaeology and pre-reformation heritage, and he also perceived Nicolaysen's conservatism as a hindrance to get proper legislation for the protection of built heritage. This controversy in *Fortidsminneforeningen*, also referred to as "the palace revolution", resulted in Nicolaysen losing the chair to Schirmer without forewarning and instead being distinguished as Honorary Member. Two prominent members of the old board, Lorenz Dietrichson and Johan Meyer, chose not to run for re-election, and the board was, like Nicolaysen, replaced.<sup>5</sup> The new board was literally a younger generation (the average age of the board members was lowered by 20 years), and now consisted mainly of architects; in addition to this, Harry Fett made his entrance on the scene of Norwegian conservation as secretary to *Fortidsminneforeningen*.<sup>6</sup>

#### *Schirmer and the "national culture of building"*

H.M. Schirmer had trained in his father's office, with F.M. Schiertz (who surveyed stave churches for J.C. Dahl) and at the Dresden Bauakademie (in 1866-68).<sup>7</sup> He was therefore well acquainted with 19<sup>th</sup> century conservation efforts and restoration practice, but his interests led him to become the spokesperson for new ideas in architectural conservation. With Schirmer the "national culture of building" (*den nasjonale bygningskultur*) became a distinct field of interest, as opposed to the 19<sup>th</sup> century's emphasis on monuments and ecclesiastic architecture. Schirmer asserted his influence as teacher at the art academy *Tegneskolen i Kristiania*<sup>8</sup> from 1873 to 1912, and between 1895 and 1912 took his students on trips to the

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<sup>4</sup> Parmann (1986) p 40

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p 42

<sup>6</sup> Myklebust (1994) pp 115-116

<sup>7</sup> Bjerkek (2010)

<sup>8</sup> Tegneskolen i Kristiania was established in 1818, from 1882 named Den kongelige Tegne- og Kunstscole i Christiania, today Kunst og Håndverksskolen. Schirmer taught building (*bygningsslære*) 1873-84, and was headmaster of the ornamentation class (*ornamentlære*) from 1884-1912. Ibid.

Norwegian countryside to survey historic buildings.<sup>9</sup> Schirmer's objective for these travels was to find inspiration in traditional buildings for the architects of the future under the motto "insight is a condition for the original production."<sup>10</sup> At the same time, his focus on the historic vernacular also facilitated a shift in interest in the field of conservation, and his work was significant for building conservation and research, as well as for contemporary architecture.<sup>11</sup> According to antiquarian and art history professor Anders Bugge, Schirmer's teaching brought on an "awakening" in the field of building history research.<sup>12</sup> Schirmer's expeditions with students to survey old farm buildings were, as he himself wrote, made possible by "the stalwart railroad which Engineer Fleischer has built through the valley".<sup>13</sup> The "valley" Schirmer referred to was Gudbrandsdalen, which he characterized by a higher synthesis of nature and culture in its antiquity and tradition:

"...the antique Lom (...) there rests the dignity of tradition and history over these farms and all their houses, which have grown together with the people and nature."<sup>14</sup>

Gudbrandsdalen was obviously selected for the particular qualities of its buildings, but his reference to the railway is also interesting; through being connected to the capital city by this means, Gudbrandsdalen was accessible in a way which many other interesting areas of the Norwegian built vernacular were not. This was no doubt of consequence in the definition and, later, designation of "typical" Norwegian vernacular built heritage.<sup>15</sup>

As chairman of *Fortidsminneforeningen's* board Schirmer worked actively for the conservation of buildings, including in the museum sphere. One of his first actions was to respond to a request from Gert Falch Heiberg to aid the conservation of his family's collection

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<sup>9</sup> "These survey trips were made in the early summer, beginning with Frognerseteren and Tanum church, ending in Tofte at Dovre (...) at the beginning there were 14 participants, before the Building Class (bygningsskassen) was discontinued in 1912 over one hundred." Parmann (1986) p 40

<sup>10</sup> "...indsikt er betingelsen for den originale produksjon." Schirmer (1900)

<sup>11</sup> Schirmers agenda to use built heritage as an inspiration for the modern architect and create a new national culture is not the issue here, but he is generally more acclaimed for this role than for his work in conservation. The breakthrough of his thinking is attributed to the architectural competition for "Kongevillaen" in 1907, where the bulk of the contestants were obviously inspired by Norwegian rural vernacular as taught by Schirmer. Schirmer headed the jury for a home of the freshly inaugurated Norwegian royals, and among the contestants was his student Arnstein Arneberg who won 2<sup>nd</sup> prize. This competition marked the introduction of the stylistic phase in architecture in Norway known as "Det nye Norge" in which Norwegian 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century adaptations of baroque features were mixed with the British cottage style and German "Heimat"-style architecture, executed in wood and sold under the pretext of a national style. Parmann (1986) p 43

<sup>12</sup> Anders Bugge quoted in: *ibid.* p 39

<sup>13</sup> "den staute bane, ingeniør Fleischer har bygget gjennom dalen" Schirmer (1900)

<sup>14</sup> "det antikke lom ... der hviler tradisjonens og historiens ærværdighet over disse gaarde og alle deres hus, sammenvoxede med folk og natur." Schirmer (1900)

<sup>15</sup> The surveys made by the over 100 students Schirmer took on his trips between 1895 and 1912 contributed to form the basis of Riksantikvaren's archive. Skeide, Mathisen et al. (2009) p 16

of cultural artefacts and buildings, a request Nicolaysen previously had rejected. Collaboration between Schirmer and Heiberg ensued, where Schirmer advised Heiberg on the acquisition of historic buildings and Heiberg was supervisor of *Fortidsminneforeningen's* buildings in the Sogn district.<sup>16</sup> Schirmer was also advisor to the dentist and building collector Anders Sandvig whose private collection of buildings in Lillehammer later became the open-air museum Maihaugen. However the idea of moving buildings to museums as the only means of preserving them was by now being challenged; already in 1903 Holger Sinding-Larsen, one Schirmer's students and collaborators in the 1898 coup<sup>17</sup>, had stated that "...we must get away from this preposterous mania of relocating buildings to museums, to open air museums..."<sup>18</sup> Schirmer's advisory activity for the museums must in this light be viewed as condoning building collections as a supplement to and not substitute for conservation *in situ*.

As part of his project to promote traditional architecture as national architecture, Schirmer had Eilert Sundt's work on rural building customs reissued in the year 1900. Nicolaysen and building historians of his day like Lorenz Dietrichson did occasionally refer to Sundt, but Schirmer was the one to restore Sundt as the "Father of the vernacular" (*byggeskikkens far*).<sup>19</sup>

Schirmer's work was essential in exposing the vernacular in general and Gudbrandsdalen specifically to the next generation of conservationists, who implemented the Built Heritage Act in 1920. By this time Gudbrandsdalen was considered the heart of traditional Norwegian vernacular, and buildings from this region were heavily represented in the first selection of listed buildings.

#### *Establishment of the National Antiquarian's office*

When Nicolaysen retreated from the position of National antiquarian in 1904 no immediate replacement had been found, and over the next decade *Fortidsminneforeningen* worked to establish a position of "Riksantikvar". In 1906 the regional museums had taken over complete responsibility for archaeological research and excavations, which meant that the work field of *Fortidsminneforeningen* would be concentrated on standing buildings and monuments. At the same time *Fortidsminneforeningen* was vested with formal authority by the state, and began a

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<sup>16</sup> Hegard (1984) pp 153-55

<sup>17</sup> Tschudi-Madsen (2010)

<sup>18</sup> "...For vi maa jo engang komme bort fra denne vanvittige Flyttemani til dagligt til Museer, til Friluftsmuseer." Architect Holger Sinding-Larsen in a letter to Herman Major Schirmer in 1903, quoted in: Hegard (1984) p 11

<sup>19</sup> Sundt (1900).



process of reorganization. This included working to establish a state antiquarian, preferably placed within the realms of the state administration, who could collaborate with *Fortidsminneforeningen* to preserve the country's great variety of monuments:

“... to take care of the country's architectural monuments of any kind, especially dwellings and buildings, fortifications, walls or ramparts and the like, or remains thereof.”<sup>20</sup>

In 1909 *Fortidsminneforeningen* voted that, if a *Riksantikvar* position was established this person would have an automatic place on *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s board as a member appointed by the Ministry. Dag Myklebust observes that this reinforced the ties between the private, non-profit organization *Fortidsminneforeningen*, which received state funding, and the state authorities.<sup>21</sup> H.M. Schirmer was the first to hold the post of *Riksantikvar* after the position was established in 1912. Schirmer died shortly after taking office and was succeeded by art historian Harry Fett, one of Schirmer's supporters during the “palace revolution”. A student of Lorentz Dietrichson and well travelled, Fett brought the perspective of the art historian and contemporary European ideas to the field of conservation. He assumed the position of *Riksantikvar* in 1913 and held it until 1946, retiring the same year as his Swedish colleague Curman, with whom he also had close professional ties. Fett wrote and published frequently over the course of his career, assuming the role of campaigner as well as administrator in the field of art, history and architectural conservation.

*Riksantikvaren*'s initial task was to work for the conservation of medieval ruins and buildings, historic churches, and also built heritage which was in the possession of the state. These categories had legal protection through their age or were potentially possible to preserve on account of being state owned (see below). *Fortidsminneforeningen* could then work for the conservation of heritage which had no formal protection, i.e. everything else. With their district branches *Fortidsminneforeningen* represented a vast network. In the beginning there was an idea that this network would grow with a steady increase in local branches to constitute a countrywide net of watchdogs who could work with documentation and conservation locally.<sup>22</sup> This was not realized to the extent of the vision, but

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<sup>20</sup> “at varetage landets arkitektoniske mindesnerker af enhver art, særlig boliger og bygninger, befæstninger, mure eller volde og lignende samt levninger deraf.” *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s Annal 1909, p 161, quoted in: Myklebust (1994) p 143

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Lidén (1991) p 65

*Riksantikvaren* continued to work closely with registration and monitoring of built heritage during the coming decades.<sup>23</sup>

In 1913 Harry Fett published a pamphlet which constituted a program for conservation upon his assuming the office of *Riksantikvar*. Three significant factors can be extracted from the text, which signify a new orientation in conservation work. The first is a broader definition of “built heritage” including new categories of buildings, structures and objects; the second a shift in the value assessment of built heritage which included an increasing emphasis on the utility value of a building for contemporary society. The third was new ideas for restoration practice, which will be commented on further in section 2.4.

#### *New categories of monuments*

Harry Fett acknowledged the shift in the definition of what constituted heritage and in this way made a final break with the medievalist focus of Nicolaysen:

“The term (monument) has itself been significantly extended. From ruins and medieval churches, to a comprehensive historical view (..) The conservation of monuments of the past comprises all periods of art history which have come to an end, the last one being the period up to 1870.”<sup>24</sup>

Fett extended the “age limit” for monuments up to 1870; this with reference to Germany, “where the new state passed legislation to designate monuments from before the time of the union”.<sup>25</sup> Fett had written his thesis on baroque architecture, a style previously largely disregarded among architects and conservationists, as demonstrated in Nidaros Cathedral’s restoration where Nicolaysen included the baroque in the “rubbish” which must be removed from the interior. In the new and extended definition of built heritage Fett included “... old town houses, town complexes, manors, farms and homes of public servants or state officials (*embedsmenn*)”.<sup>26</sup> These building types were all post-reformation and included vernacular architecture, both rural and urban. The extended categories of monuments constituted a “leap of faith”, considering the fact that only decades before the consensus on what a designated

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<sup>23</sup> Torvanger (2005) p 67

<sup>24</sup> “Selve begrepet (minnesmerke) har i den senere tid blitt sterkt utvidet. Fra ruiner og middelalderkirker til et omfattende historisk syn. Dette har i vor tid gjort vernespørsmålet meget vanskeligere, idet det nu ikke lar sig negte at man ofte støter sammen med andre viktige samfunnsinteresser, som ogsaa har sin ret, som det maa tages hensyn til (...) Vernet av fortidsminnesmerker strekker sig til verker fra alle avsluttede kunstperioder, den siste av disse regnet henimot 1870..” Fett here referred to German legislation (see below)” Fett (1913) pp 7-8

<sup>25</sup> “...etter forbilde fra Tyskland, der den nye staten lovfestet rett til vern av minnesmerker fra før samlingen”. There is no further reference to the specific act. Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> “...gamle byhus, bykomplekser, herregårder, bondegaarder og embedsgaarder å landet.” Ibid. p 9

monument could be was limited to those which could be dated to (or as a type represent) the time before the reformation in 1537. Many historic buildings from post-reformation times were at this time under threat: “(in this category) old state officials’ homes and public buildings, significant cultural heritage values have of late been lost.”<sup>27</sup> Two main themes which represented Norwegian pre-industrial material cultural history were distinguished: “farmers’ culture” (*bondekultur*) and “public servant’s culture” (*embedsmannskultur*):

“When we speak so much of peasants’ culture and state officials’ culture, it is because both represent something which is finished. They ceased to exist at about the same time – in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as the railway and industrial activity dissolved the differences between town and country and democracy did away with the distances between the upper class authorities and common people.”<sup>28</sup>

The building types implied by Fett’s “cultural” categories were the finer timber buildings of the rural vernacular and public servants’ homes (*embedsmannsarkitektur*), a label which overlapped with “clad architecture” (*panelarkitektur*), a contemporary term for 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings which simply referred to their façade construction, and became widely used as cladding became more common, first in towns and cities and gradually also in rural areas throughout the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In “clad architecture” the influence of European styles of architecture was evident, but gradually came to be considered as “Norwegian” as the more rustic farms of the rural vernacular.<sup>29</sup>

The book *Slekten fra 1814* (“The 1814 Generation”) by art historian Carl Wille Schnitler which was published in 1911 was significant in promoting a new category of buildings to the portfolio of built heritage. The title “The 1814 Generation” referred to the generation which facilitated Norwegian independence from Denmark, where state officials/public servants (*embedsmenn*) like priests, doctors and lawyers, wealthy trading families and industry owners represented the powerful and influential layer of society. Schnitler put forward the idea that the growth in Norwegian trade and industry over the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century had resulted in an economic and cultural growth which culminated in the constitutional independence of 1814. He presented the architecture, style and culture of the public servants’ homes (*embedsmannsgårdene*) from this era, including monumental

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<sup>27</sup> “gamle embedsgårder og offentlige bygninger, her er i den senere tid betydelige kulturhistoriske verdier forsvunnet.” Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> “Naar vi taler saa meget om bondekultur og embedsmanskultur, er det I grunden, fordi begge dele er noget avsluttet. De ophørte omtrent samtidig – i midten av 19. aarh., efterhaanden som jernbanen og industrien utvisket forskjellen mellem by og land og demokratiet ophøvet avstanden mellem øvrigheten og almuen.” Bugge (1919) p 93

<sup>29</sup> Torvanger (2005) p 64

buildings by known architects as well as anonymous buildings which may be defined as related to or part of the Norwegian vernacular. With this book, the neo-classic and Empire Style “clad architecture” (*panelarkitektur*) of Norway was for the first time comprehensively presented, treated as a legitimate part of Norwegian history, and talked about as aesthetically pleasing. In linking the style and culture of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century to constitutional independence, Schnitler could appropriate this as a *Norwegian* style: “... finally we have a good style which is our own...”. With this he raised the status of neo-classicism, a style which had been disregarded by 19<sup>th</sup> century antiquarians, rendering it worthy of being preserved.<sup>30</sup>

A 1922 publication by *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett, *Merkurs kunstnere* (“Mercury’s artists”) complemented Schnitler’s book by putting forward private homes from the same period, the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>31</sup> In a lengthy and poetic account drenched with references to Greco-Roman mythology and French history, Fett linked classicism in architecture with the virtues of industry, the quest for beauty, knowledge and freedom, marking buildings erected during the economic expansion of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century in Norway as the precedent of Norwegian democratic institutions and the beginning of a “national awakening” of the arts and cultural life:

“We had then no princes in the areas of politics, art or intellectual life, no castle, no government or university, but we managed to create an environment of quality, with a rich and nuanced character, we created the old merry Norway from Lindesnes and far up towards Findmarken. High up in the remote mountain valleys there was a new life and a stronger beat of the pulse. As has been attempted to be proven there was poetry and creativity, one founded institutions which were to be “models” for other countries, one dreamt of a Norway as native country of giants, the country was explored, town houses, state officials’ homes and farms were raised and filled with art and life, the songs of social life sounded through the bright, handsome rooms to express the happy community feeling. The entire country became one single large “Norwegian party”. (...) We do not have a Norway filled with unique, struggling, anguished people. One had another ideal of forms – not that of the late Middle Ages or the 17<sup>th</sup> century’s baroque, but classical and humanely versatile (...) even the time of the depression elapsed in a distinctively manly fashion, with a reinforcement of the classical ideals.”<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> “...endelig har vi en god stil som er vår egen...” Schnitler and Danbolt (2005)

<sup>31</sup> Fett (1923) pp 15-

<sup>32</sup> “Vi hadde dengang ingen fyrster paa politikken, kunstens aller aandslivets omraade, ingen slotte, intet storting eller universitet, men vi formaadde at skape et kvalitativt, eiendommeligt, rikt og nuanceret milieu, vi skapte det old merry Norway fra Lindesnes og langt op mot Findmarken. Høit op i de avsides fjelddaler følges et nyt liv og et sterkere pulsslag. Som det er søkt paavist blev der digtet og skabt, man bygget op institutioner som skulde være ”modelle” for alle andre land, man drømte om et Norge som kjæmpers fødeland, landet blev opdaget, byggaarde, embedsgaarde og bondegaarde reistes, fyldtes av kunst og liv, selskapsangene lød gjennom de lyse, vakre stuer som gitt uttrykk for den glade fællesfølelse. Hele landet blev et eneste stort ”norsk selskap.(...) Vi har ikke et Norge fylt av sære, kjæmpende, forpinte mennesker. Man hadde et andet formideal –

In his 1922 piece, Fett presented examples of country houses and homes of the wealthy, works of Norwegian baroque and classicistic Louis Seize architecture but also workers' housing from the same period. [Figure 35-36] By association, Schitler contributed to raising the status of classicistic "clad-architecture" onto an equal footing with the national "rural culture" (*bondekultur*). Fett chose a similar strategy, closely aligning architecture and style with the economic and cultural growth of Norway which culminated in a nation mature enough for constitutional independence in 1814. With this, the ideals and aesthetics of 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century architecture were brought into the realm of that which could be appropriated, valued and preserved. A great number of the buildings Schitler presented in this work were subsequently listed.<sup>33</sup> *Slekten fra 1814* ("The 1814 Generation") was thus was an important basis for defining the Norwegian profane architectural heritage in the formative stages of the institutionalized conservation activity of the 1910s, -20s and -30s.

Fett emphasized three important areas to work with from a conservation perspective: remains from pre-historic and early historic times, sacred and profane architectural heritage including interiors, and artistic works and crafts products with scientific or historical significance.<sup>34</sup> This perspective comprised archaeology, monuments, works of architecture and vernacular buildings, interiors and objects in public and private ownership, and museums. Fett continued to mention yet another field which had come into conservation: that which concerned the picturesque (*det maleriske*) in landscapes and built environments:

"...the picturesque... which must be seen in connection with the modern aspirations towards "the protection of the landscape"."<sup>35</sup>

This was again with reference to Germany, where the landscape protection aspect had been included in the legislation. Fett indicated that the purely artistic value of monuments was becoming increasingly significant as opposed to historical value which until now had dominated. He also spoke of "local value", and brought nuances into the evaluation of monuments or buildings stating that they could not always be assessed from a general

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ikke senmiddelalderens eller det 17. aarhundredes baroke, men klassisk og menneskelig alsidig. (...) Selv depressionstiden forløp utpræget mandig med sterk stramning av de klassiske idealer." Fett (1923) pp 94-95

<sup>33</sup> Both Lidén and Stephan Tschudi-Madsen point out that the selection of public servants' architecture (*embedsmannsarkitektur*) for listing in the 1920s and 1930s, which again made up a significant part of state-owned listed buildings, was based on *Slekten fra 1814*. Lidén (1991) p 78; Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, postscript in: Schitler (1989) p 497

<sup>34</sup> Fett presented the categories as equals, which can maybe be attributed to his art history background, maybe to his "modern views" where neither age nor "high art" itself constituted an automatic place high in a hierarchy.

<sup>35</sup> ".det maleriske ... som maa sees i forbindelse med de moderne bestræbelser i retning av 'landskapets beskyttelse.' Fett (1913) p 8

perspective but must be evaluated in the context of the “the local cultural tradition of their origin”.<sup>36</sup> This hierarchy of ascribed values from national to local was to be reflected in the 1920 Built Heritage Act.



Figure 35-36: Norwegian neo-classicism in architecture. Fossum hovedgård (left) built in the Empire Style and attributed the Danish architect C.F. Hansen; Louis Seize style summer country house Gulskog near Drammen built in 1804, listed in 1923 and today a museum building (right). Both were homes; the owners wealthy due to ancestry, trade and industrial enterprise. These two buildings were presented in Harry Fett’s 1922 piece, where he also presented photographs of workers’ housing from industrial complexes. (Photograph MB 2007)

#### *A new role for built heritage – the “use” aspect*

Fett distinguished between “dead” monuments which were to be preserved as such, and “living”, which had a practical purpose in our time and therefore could be put to active use.<sup>37</sup> This implied a more dynamic relationship between conservation and society at large. Fett was highly aware that the new and extended definition of heritage objects complicated conservation matters, and a deliberate stress of what function built heritage could have was a means to counter the potential for conflict:

“... one cannot deny that our concerns often come into conflict with other important interests of our society which also have their rights and must be considered. (..)”<sup>38</sup>

In arguing for conservation, Fett encouraged the reader to acknowledge cultural value as well as economic value, and see these in relation to one another.

<sup>36</sup> “Dertil ser man at den lokale betydning sterkt fremheves ” (...) “...sin bygds kulturtradisjon.” Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> “De Døde minnesmerkene, som skal bevares ... og de Levende, som har praktiske formål for vår tid”. Fett here referred to The 6th International Architectural congress in Madrid in 1904 where this distinction had been made and a resolution passed, stating that repairs for use must be done in the style of the building to preserve it’s unity. Ibid. p 18

<sup>38</sup> Dette har i vor tid gjort vernespørsmålet meget vanskeligere, idet det nu ikke lar sig negte at man ofte støter sammen med andre vigtige samfundsiinteresser, som ogsaa har sin ret, som det maa tages hensyn til (...)” Ibid. pp 7-8

“Every day old values are threatened; daily these disappear under the same more or less well founded argument: the requirement of progress. (...) one is reluctant to be seen as one which is against Progress (...) However it must become part of our consciousness that our good old buildings are part of our national assets as well as museums and art collections, as water falls and forests. The conflict always arises at the moment when the public or private owner wishes to break down or rebuild the old monument. This is naturally usually motivated by economics. A house is an “object of value”. But consider that the owner is made richer by a hundred or thousand kroner, but all the rest of us become culturally impoverished. Consider if the State by demolishing a building, deprives the nation of a significant cultural value. How to achieve a decent balance...”<sup>39</sup>

When Fett spoke of “our good old buildings” as “assets” in 1913, he referred both to their value as heritage, and their use value. The “use” factor also had implications for treatment. The churches were monuments in which the “use” factor, from the beginning, had implications for their restorations, as demonstrated in the case of the Heddal in the 1850s where compromises were made to accommodate the church’s continued function as a congregational church. With the new emphasis on the rural vernacular and “clad architecture” (*panelarkitektur*) from the turn of the century and onwards, “living” monuments in use came to include a large number of buildings in daily use, including farms and homes. Over the next decades *Riksantikvaren* continued to argue for “activating” built heritage. Prior to the ministry’s approbation of the first listings in 1923, *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett gave a series of newspaper interviews where he made a point of showing examples of conservation through appropriate use.<sup>40</sup> In a 1938 pamphlet for the conservation of Bergen’s wharf (*Tyskebryggen*), Fett proposed restoration and new use as an alternative to demolition, presenting a vision which was by and large realized over the decades.<sup>41</sup> He presented similar arguments for finding appropriate and new uses for heritage buildings when writing about Røros a year later (see Chapter 5).<sup>42</sup> In 1958 Fett’s successor as *Riksantikvar* Arne Nygård-Nilssen stated:

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<sup>39</sup> “Daglig trues gamle verdier, daglig forsvinder disse under det samme mer eller mindre godt begrundede argument: utviklingen kræver det (...) ”man vil jo så nødigg ha ord paa sig for at staa imot utviklingen”. .... ”Thi det maa komme ind i bevisstheten at vore gode gamle bygninger, de er et av vore nationale aktiva likesaa vel som museer og kunstsamlinger, ja som fosser og skoger .... Konflikten oppstår altid i det øieblik den offentlige eller privat eiere vil nedbryte eller bygge om det gamle kulturminde. Man gjør det selvfølgelig i de fleste tilfælder av økonomiske grunde. Et hus er en ”verdigenstand”. Men sæt nu at eieren blir nogen hundrede eller tusen kroner rikere, men alle os andre blir kulturelt fattigere. Sæt at det offentlige ved at rive en bygning, berøver nationen en betydelig kulturverdi. Hvorledes bringe en rimelig balance ind.” Ibid. pp 9-10

<sup>40</sup> Torvanger (2005) p 71

<sup>41</sup> Fett argued against redevelopment plans from 1934 and 1936 which involved replacing the early 18<sup>th</sup> century conglomerate of wooden storage- and trades buildings with brick structure. Fett (1938)

<sup>42</sup> Fett (1939)

“.. it is not at all the case that the owner is prevented from improving a listed building (...) Everywhere in the world one has to realize that buildings which have been raised under quite different economic and social conditions, must be modified if they are to remain in living use (...) Even in the case of listed buildings one cannot disregard the fact that people of today have different requirements in terms of hygiene and comfort than in the past. Bathrooms and Water Closets cannot be rejected, neither can the modernization of the kitchen, to mention some examples. In many cases, it is an accommodating attitude in these matters, and assistance to plan such and other alterations, which has saved buildings from being demolished.”<sup>43</sup>

The buildings of “rural culture”, “clad architecture” and “state official- or public servant architecture” (*bondekultur, panelarkitektur, embedsmannsarkitektur*) were the new challenge in conservation practice. They were the national heritage as well as being buildings in daily use. For these, a compromise had to be made between the principles of restoration and conservation and the needs and wishes of a contemporary function or a private owner and user.

In the 1920s historic architecture was still considered to be a significant source of knowledge and inspiration for contemporary architects, and architectural history was part of the architect’s education. One could claim that the focus in historic conservation coincided with the contemporary view on architecture. Around the turn of the century Herman Major Schirmer had sought out rural Norwegian building culture as an inspiration for a national architecture. In the 1910s and 20s, historic wooden “clad architecture” and the monumental masonry buildings raised for the young Norwegian state during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were considered more appropriate as role models for contemporary architecture than the unclad timber- and grass roof buildings Schirmer had worked with.<sup>44</sup> *National* architecture was no longer the goal; the architects now recognized *regional* and local historic architecture and built vernacular heritage as role models for new buildings. The inspiration from old classicistic styles for the architects of the 1920s was twofold; Bergen and Trøndelag, for instance, developed different styles of classicism in the 1920s distinctly modelled on regional types, very noticeable in less monumental buildings and homes. On the other hand classical architecture constituted an appropriate transition to modernism. According to art

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<sup>43</sup> “.. det slett ikke er tilfelle at en eier er avskåret fra å gjøre noe med et fredet hus. (...) Overalt i verden er man nødt til avfinne seg med at hus som er bygget under ganske andre økonomiske og sosiale forhold, må forandres hvis de fremdeles skal være i levende bruk. (...) Selv i fredede hus kan man ikke se bort fra at folk har andre krav til hygiene og bekvemmelighet enn før. Bad og vannklosett kan ikke avvises, heller ikke modernisering av kjøkkenet, for å nevne noen eksempler. I mange tilfelle er det imøtekommenhet på dette punkt, og positiv hjelp med å planlegge slike og andre forandringer, som har reddet hus fra å bli revet.” Nygård-Nilssen (1958) pp 2-5

<sup>44</sup> The royal castle, the stock exchange and national bank, university and hospitals etc.; Åse Moe Torvanger in: Holme and Eriksen (2005) p 64



history Professor Kari Hoel, Schnitler's *Slekten fra 1814* ("The 1814 Generation") was used as a "book of recipes" for architects in the 1920s. She also argues that Schnitler's endorsement of Norwegian classicism was a contribution to "the search for modernism" in Norwegian 20<sup>th</sup> century architecture.<sup>45</sup>

### 2.3.2 Management and monitoring

With the establishment of a new *Riksantikvar* office, two tasks were given first priority: getting an overview of the country's built heritage and acquiring proper tools of legislation, routines and funding for managing and monitoring heritage buildings and monuments.

#### *Legislation*

The first Norwegian legislation to protect historic buildings had come into effect with the Church and Graveyard Act of 1897, which had formally introduced the element of control of the demolition or reconstruction of churches which *Fortidsminneforeningen* had been actively working for since 1852.<sup>46</sup> Archaeological finds and buildings older than the reformation were given protection with *Fornminneloven* in 1905, and the task of surveying and excavating archaeological finds formally allocated to the regional science museums.<sup>47</sup>

As newly instated *Riksantikvar*, Harry Fett saw it as one of his major tasks to secure legal protection of built heritage. In 1913 he called for legislation for the proper protection of cultural property owned by the state or municipalities, but also delivered the prescient warning that "The privately owned property is also something which we must soon take a stand on".<sup>48</sup> *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s former leader, the conservative Nicolay Nicolaysen, had been against any interference with private property; according to him, only the state itself could be instructed to assume responsibilities for heritage, for what was its own property, or through purchase.<sup>49</sup> Harry Fett belonged to the new generation of conservationists who had collaborated on dethroning Nicolaysen, partly over the matter of legislation. Fett defined "old-liberalism with the strong assertion of the individual's rights" as belonging to the thinking of

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<sup>45</sup> Hoel (1998)

<sup>46</sup> On account of the 1851 Church Act which made smaller historic churches obsolete, *Fortidsminneforeningen* wrote to all dioceses (*stiftsdireksjon*) in 1852 requesting to be notified of demolition plans. This gave few results, but in 1870 the Church ministry required to be notified in such cases. With the 1897 Church and Graveyard Act (*Lov om Kirker og Kirkegårder*) this practice was segmented as a law, and no church could be altered or demolished without the ministry's permission. Lidén (1991) p 45

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* p 61

<sup>48</sup> "Det privateide er noe vi også snart må ta stilling til." Fett (1913) pp 11-12

<sup>49</sup> This view was presented in *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s *Annal* for 1870, p 176. Lidén (1991) p 62

the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>50</sup> He was well versed in European legislation and discussed various ways of protecting cultural property, for instance the principle of treating all cultural property including privately owned property as national property (Turkey 1884, Greece 1834 and 1899, Romania 1892), expropriation (Hungary 1881, France 1887, Italy 1902, Bern, Neuschâtel, Hessen-Darmstadt 1902), classification and control through legislation (France), and protective legislation which differentiated between privately owned and public property (Italy). German laws for rural and urban landscape protection (Preussen 1902 and 1907 “against the disturbance of the landscape image and architecturally significant sections of towns” and “which shows consideration towards preserving the appearance of old streets and squares”<sup>51</sup>, and Sachsen 1909 “.. against deterioration of town and countryside”) were also mentioned.<sup>52</sup> Fett considered the French and German laws as the most relevant models for Norwegian legislation.<sup>53</sup> In 1913 Fett stated that the Scandinavian countries were lagging behind, but in 1916 he published a new piece where the new Danish legislation (*Bygningsfredningslov*) was presented as the obvious example for a Norwegian Built Heritage Act.<sup>54</sup>

The same year, 1916, *Fortidsminneforeningen* began to draft a Norwegian law following a request from *Storting* representative Hroar Olsen, and two years later *Riksantikvaren* delivered a proposal which was almost identical. Hans-Emil Lidén suggests that the vandalism to cultural heritage of the European First World War, and all the state-imposed restrictions on the people during the war years, prepared the political foundation for legislation to protect built heritage which would be imposed on private property. The Danish cultural heritage act of 1916, which was inspired by French legislation, served as a model for the first proposal. These were based on a graded system of A and B listings, and stated that buildings could be listed for their artistic and historic value. German legislation which protected landscapes and urban built environments, streets and squares, had been promoted by Harry Fett previously, but was not discussed or implemented.<sup>55</sup> *Fortidsminneforeningen* proposed an “age limit” for 100 years, enabling buildings older than 100 years to be listed. Harry Fett was of the opinion that that buildings from the “Late Empire” (“*sen-empiren*”), a style phase from circa 1850-70, had to be included. This implied making an exception to the

<sup>50</sup> “gammel-liberalisme med den stærke hævdeelse av individets ret” Fett (1913) p 11-12

<sup>51</sup> Preussen 1907 “mot forstyrrelse av landskapsbildet og arkitektonisk viktige partier i byer” and Sachsen 1909 “mot forringelse av by og land.” Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> “der tar hensyn til bevaringen av gaters og pladsers gamle utseende” ”mot forringelse av by og land” Fett (1917) p 79

<sup>53</sup> Fett (1913) p 12

<sup>54</sup> Fett (1917)

<sup>55</sup> Lidén (1991) pp 72-75

100-year rule, and incidentally corresponded with the “age limit” of German legislation, which was 1870.<sup>56</sup> Fett’s suggestion to make exceptions from the 100-year rule was incorporated, but the reference to style (“Late Empire”) was rephrased as “more recent times” (“*senere tid*”) in the final text.<sup>57</sup>

Both the drafts and the final version of the Norwegian Built Heritage Act, *Bygningsfredningsloven av 1920* or *Lov om Bygningsfredning*, dealt with buildings only. Buildings and interiors of *artistic and historic value* could be listed; an addition was made to enable listing buildings of *local value* after a proposal from the Church ministry. Buildings younger than 100 years could be listed in special cases, otherwise the age limit of 100 years applied. *Bygningsfredningsloven* placed responsibility to maintain listed property with the owner. The owners had the right to economic compensation for extra costs inflicted by antiquarian repairs. Initially, state-owned buildings were to be eligible for listing according to *Bygningsfredningsloven av 1920* in the same way that privately owned buildings were; this provision was however omitted after protests from the Ministry of Defence (*Forsvarsdepartementet*). It was argued that it was unnecessary and possibly also unconstitutional for the state to vest this type of authority on itself. As a result state owned buildings of historic value were registered by *Riksantikvaren* and treated as listed without the formality of legally recording the decision, and subsequently referred to as “administratively listed”.<sup>58</sup>

A separate act to protect the environs of monuments, *Lov om Fredning av Historiske Steder* (The Act on the Listing of Historical Places), was passed in 1921. The background for this was a number of incidents where building and industrial activity had come in conflict with monuments of national historic value (a new barn by King Haakon’s burial mound, a lime quarry near Moster church). This legislation was aimed at an exclusive type of heritage; “only places of remarkable historic and monumental character” could be listed.<sup>59</sup> This act was not applied to any great extent and was of little significance.<sup>60</sup>

Harry Fett had, as early as in 1910, advocated urban areas as potentially worthy of conservation.<sup>61</sup> Provisions to list built environments or landscapes were not included in the 1920 *Bygningsfredningslov*, and legislation for building and planning did not facilitate

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<sup>56</sup> Fett (1913)

<sup>57</sup> Roede (1982)

<sup>58</sup> Lidén (1991) p 75

<sup>59</sup> “Paa listen kan kun opføres pladser av fremragende historisk og monumental karakter.” *Love og legater – Lov om fredning av historiske steder* Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1923) pp 261-262

<sup>60</sup> Lidén (1991) p 74

<sup>61</sup> Fett (1910)

conservation. In the 1930s, 40s and 50s several battles were fought over the conservation of built environments, especially in urban areas. When Oslo ratified guidelines for building in 1956 (*Bygningsvedtekt for Oslo*) *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* succeeded in getting a clause included which allowed them to assess all plans in the immediate vicinity of buildings or built complexes of cultural historic value.<sup>62</sup> These guidelines also opened the possibility of adopting “special provisions” for such boundary areas. A few similar experiments to provide legal protection for built environments within the current planning and building legislation were tried in the 1950s (see chapter 6). These were locally adopted and enforced, partly with *Riksantikvaren*'s help, and varied a great deal in their form.

Proper national legislation for the conservation of historic areas was introduced with the Building Act, *Bygningsloven*, of 1965. Now it became possible to preserve built environments by reference to a specific clause of the Act on conservation (§25.6 *spesialområde – bevaring*), a clause which was maintained in the new Planning and Building Act (*Plan- og Bygningslov*) of 1985. *Bygningsfredningsloven* remained a law for individual buildings until the section on “area listing” (§ 21; altered to § 19 *områdefredning*) was introduced with the new Cultural Heritage Act, *Kulturminneloven*, first ratified in 1978. The area listing paragraph was aimed at protecting the surroundings of listed monuments and buildings, and not at built environments as such; this intention was fulfilled with a revision in 1992 after which *Kulturminneloven* authorized the listing of “cultural environments” (§20 *Kulturmiljøfredning*). *Kulturminneloven* of 1978 replaced both *Fornminneloven*, which had been revised in 1951, and *Bygningsfredningsloven* of 1920.

The authority to propose a list of buildings and to manage these buildings according to *Bygningsfredningsloven* was placed with a special committee, *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* (DAB), which consisted of one lawyer, one architect, two others who were knowledgeable about buildings (*bygningskyndige*), and with *Riksantikvaren* as a fifth and regular member. *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* represented the formal authority on listing and management of listed buildings until it was dissolved with the implementation of *Kulturminneloven* in 1978.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Bygningsvedtekt for Oslo. ”spesielle vedtekter”. *Det antikvariske arbeid 1956*. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1957) p 155

<sup>63</sup> Torvanger (2005) p 66

### *Implementation of the 1920 Built Heritage Act*

Mapping historic buildings had been a priority of *Riksantikvaren* since the office was established. The photograph collections of H.M. Schirmer and of Professor Johann Meyer (1860-1940) were incorporated in *Riksantikvaren*'s archive in 1918.<sup>64</sup> An active *Fortidsminneforeningen* member since the 1880s, Meyer took his students of architecture at *Norges Tekniske Høgskole* (N.T.H.) on survey trips in rural areas in the spirit of Schirmer, initially on bicycle.<sup>65</sup> Meyer had published extensively on the Norwegian rural vernacular, and his work contributed to defining "built heritage" as it was reflected in the first listings.<sup>66</sup> To provide the basis for listings according to the new act, registration work was intensified. In 1918 the theologian and cultural historian Anders Bugge was given a position with "the Antiquarian Administration" ("*Den Antikvariske Administrasjon*"), *Fortidsminneforeningen*; two years later he became part of *Riksantikvaren*'s staff.<sup>67</sup> The first categories of buildings to be mapped were churches, fortifications and "public servants' architecture" ("*landets embedsgaarde*"), including the vicarages.<sup>68</sup> *Bygningsfredningsloven*, the Built Heritage Act, was ratified in December 1920, and procedures for listing began in 1921. Letters were sent from *Riksantikvaren* to district officials throughout the country, sheriffs (*lensmenn*), municipalities, organizations and especially the regional branches of *Fortidsminneforeningen*, as well as a network of individuals, requesting assistance in identifying potential objects for listings, more specifically buildings preferably older than 1830-40.<sup>69</sup> The result was an overview of privately owned historic buildings and built complexes which were presented in

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<sup>64</sup> Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1919) p 241

<sup>65</sup> The railway which connected Trondheim to Gudbrandsdalen (Dombås) and Oslo opened in 1921. Prior to this the architecture students from N.T.H., coming from Trondheim, crossed Dovre on bicycle for survey trips in Gudbrandsdalen. Grytli (2010); Parmann (1986) p 51

<sup>66</sup> Meyer had surveyed buildings for *Fortidsminneforeningen* since the 1880s. He became professor at N.T.H. in 1910 professor in form, ornaments, and architectural history with emphasis on old Norwegian art of building in wood. A main work is the series *Fortids kunst i Norges bygder*. Lidén (2010)

<sup>67</sup> Anders Bugge (1889-1955) was hired by *Fortidsminneforeningen* as antiquarian in 1918; in 1920 he started to work for *Riksantikvaren* where he left in 1936 to become Norway's third art history professor after Lorenz Dietrichson and Carl W. Schnitler, at the Oslo University. As antiquarian Bugge initially worked with registering the inventory of churches, later mapping profane and vernacular buildings. Bugge wrote "Indberetning fra Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd om gamle norske husbygninger", an inventory of vernacular historic buildings based on the suggestions for buildings up for listing, comprising 1080 pages and published in *Fortidsminneforeningens annals* from 1923-32. *Riksantikvar Arne Nygård-Nilssen* wrote in Bugge's obituary in 1955: "outside the field of specialists this production is not acknowledged for the main work it actually is, something which is explained by the fact that it was published anonymously." *Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers* (1956) pp 1-9

<sup>68</sup> *Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers* (1919) p 15-16; Bugge (1919); *Statens gamle bygninger* *Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers* (1935)

<sup>69</sup> In the letter two categories were specified; buildings which were of had been public property and in use by for instance a district recorder (*sorenskriver*, *fogdegaarde*, *chefsgaarde*), typically "public service" buildings (*embedsmannsgaarde*); or buildings which were in private ownership, like old farms with utilities buildings, old inns, old industrial plants (*industrielle anlegg*) etc. Torvanger (2005) p 66

*Fortidsminneforeningen's* annals from 1923-32. Many of these buildings were subsequently listed, the first in 1923. In the early 1940's there was a new round of listings of privately owned buildings based on the mapping of the early 1920s. Listed buildings in state ownership were presented the same way in *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annals of 1933 and 1934 under the caption *Statens Gamle Bygninger* ("The State's Old Buildings").

Riksantikvar Harry Fett made a series of newspaper interviews prior to the Ministry's approbation of the first lists in 1923. He stated that the listings "aim to preserve types which are characteristic", of the different regions, and of rural and urban areas. Around 300 owners received letters stating that their property had been listed in 1923, and *Riksantikvaren* estimated that listings in Norway would over time reach a total of about 1300 individual buildings.<sup>70</sup> There was in other words a belief that a final selection of significant built heritage could be made, and that this job was half completed. Historian Lars Roede points out that the lists demonstrate that age and beauty in buildings were considered more important than typological and regional characteristics.<sup>71</sup> In his 1913 publication, Fett proclaimed four significant qualities which defined a "monument" (*mindesmerke*): historical value, value for the understanding of art and culture of the past, scenic value of place or landscape, and significance for the present in the areas of art or technology and that which may have an educational effect on craftsmanship.<sup>72</sup> The essence of this definition was historic and aesthetic value. In the early 1940s about 120 new listings which had been prepared in the 1930s were ratified by the Quisling government. Among these were several properties in Røros.<sup>73</sup> In 1969 the *Riksantikvar* of the day Roar Hauglid presented the results of *Riksantikvaren's* listings policy. By this time 1750 buildings had been listed. Half of these were dwellings, the rest were raised storehouses (*stabbur*) and a small number of other types of utility buildings. Three hundred buildings were to be found in the cities, while the majority was in rural farming areas, mostly inland.<sup>74</sup> Few listings had been made since the 1940s, and the lists were beginning to be considered unrepresentative of the country's built heritage. On the occasion of *Fortidsminneforeningen's* 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary, architect and board member Kristian Bjerknes (1901-1981) called for greater attention to the built heritage which now had reached the "age limit" of 90-100 years; buildings which, as he wrote, his generation had condemned as insignificant but which now deserved to be considered as part of the built

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid. pp 66-69

<sup>71</sup> Roede (1982)

<sup>72</sup> Roede (1982) p 23; Fett (1913) p 7

<sup>73</sup> Vestad (2006)

<sup>74</sup> Hauglid ; Roede (1982); Roar Hauglid *Bygningsfredningsloven og fredningsarbeidets stilling*, in: Robberstad (1969)

heritage portfolio. This included architecture of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century historic revival, “good” examples of the Swiss Style and “Dragon Style”, as well as monuments from the industrial era and public institutions like schools and hospitals. Bjerknes also stressed the importance of preserving built environments, but saw this as a task better attended to by use of the conservation clause in the 1965 Building Act than *Bygningsfredningsloven*, and that should be handled by the local branches of *Fortidsminneforeningen* in collaboration with the municipalities.<sup>75</sup> Between 1950 and 1980 around a total of 100 new listings were ratified countrywide. These included old roads and industrial structures, public institutions and dwellings not associated with agriculture or traditional trades, which was new, and demonstrated a slightly broader selection than previously.<sup>76</sup>

*Bygningsfredningsloven* was revised in 1975, the 100 year-rule removed and paragraphs for the protection of the surroundings of listed buildings as well as built environments introduced. A paragraph which allowed for “temporary listing” of threatened objects was also a new tool for the conservation authorities.<sup>77</sup> These innovations were continued in the *Kulturminneloven*, which replaced *Bygningsfredningsloven* and *Fornminneloven*, implemented from 1979. The new legislation was followed by a new national policy for listing which was applied from the mid 1980s. This aimed at being more inclusive of all segments of society and at demonstrating the diversity of physical cultural heritage. Age and artistic or architectural value were now only two of many categories for defining built heritage.<sup>78</sup> The objective for listing was now “to preserve a representative selection of buildings and other cultural heritage of different types from different eras and geographical areas with ties to all segments of the population.”<sup>79</sup>

The registrations and surveys of H.M. Schirmer, Meyer, Schnitler and Bugge formed the basis of the first listings. According to *Bygningsfredningsloven*'s § 1, buildings were listed for being of “exceptional historic or artistic value” (*særlegt kunstverd eller historisk verd*). When the selected buildings were presented in *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s publications the descriptions were brief, including age, style and some mention of the “finer” interiors. The

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<sup>75</sup> Kristian Bjerknes *Et Jubileumssønske Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers* (1970) pp 4, 8, 10-11

<sup>76</sup> Vestad (2006)

<sup>77</sup> Lidén (1991) p 95

<sup>78</sup> In the publication with the title “preservation values and criteria for selection” (translated) Lisen Bull (Lisen Roll) lists *representativeness, uniqueness, age, architectonic value, environmental value, authenticity* and *historic* (as in connection to historic person or place) *value*. Bull (1987)

<sup>79</sup> “målet med fredningsarbeidet er å bevare et representativt utvalg bygninger og andre kulturminner av forskjellig type fra ulike tidsepoker og geografiske områder med tilknytning til alle lag av befolkningen.” This view was presented in budgets and directives and has been implemented since the late 1980s. Torvanger (2005) p 91

architects Schirmer and Meyer conveyed the artistry and craftsmanship of the buildings they surveyed. The way the listed buildings were described and surveyed provided the clues to their ascribed value, to be interpreted by the antiquarians and restoration architects who were to manage and monitor their treatment.

### *Management and monitoring*

From 1913 *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett worked to persuade the state to care properly for its own built heritage. Churches were the only category of “public” building for which antiquarian monitoring was authorized by legislation. Fett worried about state-owned profane buildings, and also the vicarages:

“The large group of monuments in State ownership, over which the conservation authorities have no control, is a different matter (...) This applies to the State’s profane buildings, the Customs Office, the Military, the Archbishop’s complex (...) Recently the Church Department has sought to make some antiquarian considerations in the treatment of the vicarages, and one may be hopeful that the considerable destruction of cultural value throughout the country to some extent will be reduced.”<sup>80</sup>

In the case of the vicarages, Fett managed to establish a partnership with the church ministry whereby *Riksantikvaren* would be consulted on plans for the vicarages, which seems to have been put into operation in the period 1916 - 18 (see Chapter 3). In 1918 *Riksantikvaren*’s staff only included three experts, including Harry Fett, and had not yet been provided with fixed office premises.<sup>81</sup>

Between 1920 and 1978 the authority to manage and monitor listed buildings in private ownership was placed with an Antiquarian Board for Buildings, *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd* (DAB). Formally it was DAB who approved alterations and grants for listed buildings, based on *Riksantikvaren*’s recommendations. According to *Bygningsfredningsloven*’s § 6 owners of listed buildings were required to report plans for repairs and modifications which went “beyond regular maintenance” (“*vidare enn vanlegt vedlikehald*”) to DAB eight weeks before work was started, so as to acquire a permit. If possible, the building in question was visited by an antiquarian from *Riksantikvaren*’s office.

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<sup>80</sup> “Annerledes er det med den store gruppe kulturminuenter i statens eie, hvorover de antikvariske myndigheter ingen kontrol har. (...) Det gjelder statens bygninger av profan art; toldvesenet, militæretaten, erkebispegården (...) I den senere tid har kirke departementet under behandling av prestegaardene i nogen grad søkt at ta antikvariske hensyn, og man maa kunne gjøre sig haab om, at den sterke odelæggelse av statens kulturverdier uover landet i nogen grad maa kunde innskærkes” Fett (1917) p 77

<sup>81</sup> *Det Antikvariske Arbeide – direktionens og Riksantikvarens aarsberetning for 1918* Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1919) p 231



From the late 1930s to 1964 this antiquarian was Halvor Vreim (1894-1966). Vreim was a trained carpenter, and began his professional career at *Norsk Folkemuseum* where he was responsible for surveying, moving and re-erecting historic buildings on the museum premises. He studied under art history professor Carl Wille Schnitler. His training and work experience gained him membership of *Norske Arkitekters landsforbund* (the National Association of Norwegian Architects) in 1936, and in 1937 he was employed with *Riksantikvaren* where he acquired the title of First Antiquarian (*førsteantikvar*) in 1948.<sup>82</sup> Under the caption “*Det Antikvariske Arbeid*” (“The Antiquarian Work”), *Riksantikvaren*, *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd* and *Fortidsminneforeningen* published a common annual report in *Fortidsminneforeningen’s* annual, listing the places and travelling days of *Riksantikvaren’s* antiquarians and providing an overview of the activity and priorities of *Riksantikvaren’s* office. As First Antiquarian (*førsteantikvar*), Vreim was each year reported to have “...inspected and supervised most of the repair work and restorations of listed buildings and other profane buildings”, a task which required 60-75 travelling days a year.<sup>83</sup> From the late 1930s to 1964, Vreim was *Riksantikvaren’s* representative in all cases concerning privately owned listed buildings, and involved in all cases concerning restorations and repair (in so far these works were reported to *Riksantikvaren*). Vreim was also examiner at the N.T.H. school of architecture for in the 1950s and 60s, advisor to *Norske Museers Landsforbund* (the National Association of Norwegian Museums), a board member of *Bøndernes Bygningskontor* (the Farmers’ Construction Office) and district state architect for Hallingdal from 1949.<sup>84</sup> Vreim published several books on Norwegian wooden vernacular. After Vreim retired in 1964, the number of antiquarians from *Riksantikvaren’s* office involved with the monitoring and management of listed buildings generally increased (according to Arne Berg, Vreim was substituted by 10 people when he retired<sup>85</sup>). *Riksantikvaren’s* office was the secretariat for *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd*, and for many years Halvor Vreim held the post of secretary. Vreim’s exceptional position in the day-to-day management of listed buildings up until the 1960s and his role of “writing antiquarian” justifies a prominent place in the history of architectural conservation in Norway.

*Riksantikvaren’s* funding for repairs and restoration was, initially, scarce and scattered. In 1918 *Opplysningsvesenets fond* (“The Foundation for the Board of Knowledge”

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<sup>82</sup> Berg (2010)

<sup>83</sup> “besiktiget og ført tilsyn med de fleste istandsetingsarbeider og restaureringer av fredede og andre verdslige bygninger”. *Det Antikvariske Arbeide*, Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1954)

<sup>84</sup> Berg (2010)

<sup>85</sup> Berg (2005)

– see Chapter 3) granted a yearly sum for restorations of church interiors which enabled *Riksantikvaren* to hire the painter Domenico Erdman (1879-1940) as an expert advisor and restorer.<sup>86</sup> As a general rule costs for maintenance and repairs of listed buildings were tax deductible. Due to the economic recession of the 1920s *Riksantikvaren* was not granted regular funding for listed buildings with the ratification of *Bygningsfredningsloven*, as *Riksantikvar* Arne Nygård-Nilssen reflected on in a later piece:

“The Built Heritage Act was ratified in 1920, just before the economical recession began. The result of this was that the grant which the Act presumes was not provided. For many years the Act was purely an Act of agitation, which is not to say that it was of no use, but it was not as effective as it could and should have been.”<sup>87</sup>

Matters improved for listed buildings when *Riksantikvaren* received an annual sum from the surplus of National Lottery Fund *Pengelotteriet* from 1934-35. Throughout the second world war the annual sum was between 12 000 and 20 000 kroner; in 1957 it was 90 000 kroner, and the sums for each individual project varied from 100 to 33 000 kroner.<sup>88</sup> When restoration activity for privately owned listed buildings soared from the mid 1930s this was also due to special state unemployment grants provided by the Ministry for Social Affairs (*Sosialdepartementet*). This extra funding was managed by *Riksantikvaren*, who supervised the repair and restoration of a number of listed buildings in 1930s and 40s by employment work teams.<sup>89</sup> Regular annual funding from the state budget for listed buildings was provided from the 1950s. The principle of grants for privately owned listed buildings was found in *Bygningsfredningsloven*, where it was stated that “imposed antiquarian extra costs” and especially challenging repairs and restorations should be covered by the state. Arne Nygård-Nilssen, who succeeded Fett as *Riksantikvar* in 1946, said that the value of the building as cultural heritage (*kulturminne*), its state, and the owner’s economical situation were the three factors which were considered when granting funding.<sup>90</sup> The stated intention was that state

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<sup>86</sup> “Man har iaar faat en fast bevilgning av Oplysningsvæssenets Fond til Sakkyndig bistand ved restaurering av kirkeinteriører.” Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1919) p 231

<sup>87</sup> “Loven om bygningsfredning ble vedtatt I 1920, like før den økonomiske nedgang satte inn. Resultatet ble at den bevilgning som loven direkte forutsetter, ikke ble gitt. Det ble i mange år en ren agitasjonslov, hvilket ikke vil si at den ikke gjorde nytte, men den ble ikke så effektiv som den kunne og burda ha blitt.” Nygård-Nilssen (1958) pp 2, 9

<sup>88</sup> Nygård-Nilssen (1958) pp 9-10

<sup>89</sup> Fett and Vreim (1941)

<sup>90</sup> Nygård-Nilssen (1958) p 10

funding would apply to the repair and restoration of historic fabric, while conversions and upgrading of the housing standards must be the owner's economic responsibility.<sup>91</sup>

*Riksantikvaren* and *Fortidsminneforeningen* shared office premises and worked closely together, which is evident from the fact that all new listings were published in *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annals from 1923 to 1935.<sup>92</sup> Management and monitoring was initially centred on these two institutions; *Fortidsminneforeningen* continued to build its local branch network, and some municipalities took on responsibility for historic conservation through appointment of experts (Oslo established a position of municipal conservation officer, *byantikvar*, in 1956), or isolated conservation activity in the form of local plans aimed at conservation.

#### *The conservation of urban environments*

In the 1950s a number of conservation schemes for historic urban areas were debated and fought over. In Gamle Stavanger and in Rosesmuggrenden, Bergen, plans to preserve whole historic town quarters were developed on private initiative and adopted by the municipalities in 1956-57 and 1958 respectively (see chapter 6). In general, however, conservation remained weak in the face of social and industrial development. This situation began to transform somewhat in the decade following the Building Act in 1965, with which the municipal authorities acquired a tool for conservation.

With regards to planning, a shift in urban planning policy in favour of conservation happened during the 1970s in Norway, but the change was gradual and not without conflict. The lack of contact between planners and developers, and the conservation community, was discussed in a *Fortidsminneforeningen* meeting of the relevant parties in 1962, and as a consequence a comprehensive registration of valuable historical buildings and areas was begun in Bergen, intended as an aid for planners. The significance of this work was the inclusion and emphasis on built environments, as opposed to just individual buildings.<sup>93</sup> The first conservation area under the 1965 Building Act was Øvrebyen in Kongsvinger where planning began in 1966. A characteristic of the conservation paragraph of the Building Act was its emphasis on local historical significance and "area character", and the possibility for development and renewal within the conservation area. Demolition of historic buildings within the area was forbidden, but protection was limited to the exterior of the buildings. In

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<sup>91</sup> As demonstrated in the case of Gammelstuggu, Stensgård (Chapter 4). Letter from Riksantikvaren to owner's lawyer May 4th 1983 *Stensgård, gnr 14 bnr 1, Elektrisk Installasjon Riksantikvaren\*Archive (1941-2001)*

<sup>92</sup> Torvanger (2005) p 67

<sup>93</sup> Lidén (1991) pp 91-92

the management and monitoring of conservation areas professionals were required.<sup>94</sup> The official authority on antiquarian matters was *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd*; in practice *Riksantikvaren* was involved on some level in the management of conservation areas, but in practice the day to day providers of professional advice were local experts or the county conservation offices (*Fylkeskonservator*), established in all counties from 1962 to 1981.<sup>95</sup>

As a reinforcement of post-World War II urban development, modernist town planning received a seemingly strong tool with the 1967 Sanitation Act (*Saneringslova*) which was designed for the renewal of whole blocks or areas. The legislation, however, had proved inflexible, inefficient and unsuitable in those cases where only housing improvements were desired.<sup>96</sup> In 1976 the Sanitation Act (*Lov om sanering av tettbygde strøk*) was replaced by the Urban renewal Act (*Lov om fornying av tettbygde strøk; Byfornyelsesloven*). Under this new legislation cities could initiate urban renewal programs including historic areas in collaboration with the State Housing Bank (*Husbanken*) which provided leasing schemes, and developed standard requirements for rehabilitation.<sup>97</sup>

In 1972, 42 wooden towns and environments were registered through the project *Den Nordiska trästaden* (Nordic Wooden Towns), a collaboration between ICOMOS and architecture schools and *Riksantikvar* offices in five Nordic countries. At the closing conference, “wooden urban towns” was launched as a theme for Norway for the upcoming European Architectural Heritage Year (*Arkitekturvernåret*) in 1975.<sup>98</sup> These events marked the beginning of a new and expansive phase for the conservation of wooden urban heritage in Norway. What had been achieved for Gamle Stavanger, Rosesmuggrenden, and with Øvrebyen in Kongsvinger, Skudneshavn and Lærdalsøyri using the conservation clause of the 1965 Building Act (*Bygningslov*) became widely accepted practice through activism in the 1970s. Efforts to preserve historic urban environments were partly motivated by historic conservation, partly by a general need for inexpensive housing and a general critique of modernist town planning.<sup>99</sup> The idea of conservation of historic urban environments through revitalization, born in an alliance of interests between activists and conservationists, was gradually adopted by the authorities to become an official policy, on the level of urban planning and of individual buildings.

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<sup>94</sup> The plan and subsequent management of the conservation area has been analyzed by art historian Oddbjørn Sørmoen. Sørmoen (1994) p 9

<sup>95</sup> Gaukstad (2005) p 140

<sup>96</sup> Work to develop this legislation began already in 1961. Kittang (2006) p 151

<sup>97</sup> Kittang (2006) pp 159-160

<sup>98</sup> Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers, Berg et al. (1974) pp 10, 35, 175

<sup>99</sup> Kittang (2006) pp 154-155

## 2.4 BUILDING CONSERVATION PRACTICE IN NORWAY – CONTEXT AND CRITICISM

“They were so gloriously confident.”

Harry Fett on 19<sup>th</sup> century restoration architects in 1913<sup>100</sup>

The treatment of monuments and historic buildings in Norway reflects the tendencies and trends of architectural conservation in Europe. For 19<sup>th</sup> century church restorations we find arguments similar to those that were presented in the *restoration versus conservation* debates in the era of Sir Gilbert Scott, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, John Ruskin and, later, William Morris. The ruins of, for example, Hovedøen convent and Hamar Cathedral were subject to conservation as ruins, while the ruined tower of Avalsnes church on the other hand was transformed from ruin to a complete church building, re-invented as a medieval structure. Those stave churches which could be saved were restored; not from a state of ruin, but to obliterate additions and modifications made after medieval times. Some of these restorations were “artistic” and pragmatic, like Heddal, *Fortidsminneforeningen’s* fledgling restoration project. This restoration was not based on documentation; the architect freely applied his own ideas and taste to the building, making many compromises in order to meet contemporary functional requirements. Blix’s restoration of his medieval church at Hove, 20 years later, also exemplifies artistic restoration. While the Heddal restoration was more a result of inexperience on the hand of the architect, the Hove restoration was a deliberate choice where the architect’s vision of a medieval room took precedence over what the room was, or evidence of what it had been (a vision which could be fully realized, no doubt due to the fact that the church was the private property of the architect). The restoration of Gol stave church was based on evidence, not however from Gol church but from Borgund, which was considered to be the best preserved of the stave churches and therefore became a model for many stave church restorations. The restoration of Nidaros Cathedral under Christian Christie was the most distinct example of the scientific approach to restoration. Christie is acknowledged to have adhered to the ideas of Viollet-le-Duc and Sir Gilbert Scott in carrying out a scientific restoration which aimed for a unity of style.<sup>101</sup> Christian Christie was an engineer and, like Viollet-le-Duc, applied modern technology where it was considered necessary. Under Christie, the partly ruined medieval structure was reconstructed; parts were

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<sup>100</sup> Fett (1913) p 15

<sup>101</sup> Indahl (2010)

designed on the basis of archaeological evidence and meticulous studies of historic sources, combined with comprehensive knowledge of medieval architecture to create analogies where evidence was lacking. In Nidaros Cathedral post-reformation additions, turrets and interiors were removed to cultivate the medieval architecture according to the idea of unified style; however, all medieval phases were respected. This outcome was by no means certain, as the early restoration proposals by H.E. Schirmer also compromised medieval parts of the building. Nicolaysen, an adherent of scientific restoration, criticized both the Heddal restoration and Schirmer's proposals for Nidaros Cathedral for not paying heed to the evidence of the building's archaeology.

For the sake of chronology, one could characterise the phase 1830-1860 as the fledgling phase of historic conservation and architectural conservation in Norway. The propagators of conservation were recruited from various professions, with artists, architects, archaeologists and medievalist historians setting the framework. Most early proposals for architectural conservation were "artistic", with Heddal stave church and the first Nidaros Cathedral restoration proposals as examples. There was however no immediate link between the artist as conservation activist and artistic restoration. J.C. Dahl had already advanced a "conservation" standpoint in matters of architectural conservation before 1837. Around 1860 post-reformation history became interesting to a new generation of historians. Nicolay Nicolaysen, by this time National Antiquarian, devoted more and more of his time to archaeology. Architectural conservation increasingly became the domain of architects and the occasional engineer, with the art historian as a bystander.<sup>102</sup>

The majority of the examples presented here are restorations which can all be attributed the ideological standpoint of restoration as historical and stylistic reconstruction, as advocated by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, and criticised by John Ruskin, then modified by Camillo Boito and, later, Aloïs Riegl. This does not, however, mean that there was a constant consensus for this approach in the Norwegian milieu at the time. The debates reveal different views on both the politics and practices of conservation.

### *Conservation*

Restoration of monuments had critics from an early stage. In France, Victor Hugo spoke out against interventive repairs of a medieval church (the 15<sup>th</sup> century church Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois) in 1839; seven years later, also in France, the reconstruction of the tower of the

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<sup>102</sup> Lidén (1991) pp 56-57

Abbey church of Saint-Denis was deemed to be a humiliation of the monument: “We would rather that this monument be destroyed (...) ... There are many who would prefer death to dishonour!”<sup>103</sup> In Norway the painter J. C. Dahl took a similar critical stand towards the restoration of monuments. These ideas preceded the ideas promoted by John Ruskin (1819-1900), whose criticisms of contemporary restoration practice in England were widely influential in his time, and whose identification of values and significance of historic buildings provided “a foundation for modern conservation philosophies”.<sup>104</sup> Ruskin saw a monument as unique, created in a given context at a given point in time, and argued that genuine material remnants of a building or monument were the only true heritage: “...Restoration... means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. ... Do not let us talk then of restoration. The thing is a Lie from beginning to end.”<sup>105</sup> Ruskin argued for conservation of historic monuments, buildings, and also built environments (ancient cities) and landscapes.<sup>106</sup> He propagated a conservative and non-interventive approach to their treatment: “I must not leave the truth unstated, that it is again no question of expediency or feeling whether we shall preserve the buildings of past times or not. *We have no right whatever to touch them.* They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us. (...) Neither does any building whatever belong to those mobs who do violence to it.”<sup>107</sup> Ruskin denounced reproduction, imitation and interventive repairs, but advocated maintenance, to avoid the necessity of restoration<sup>108</sup>: “Take proper care of your monuments, and you will not need to restore them. A few sheets of lead put in time upon the roof, a new dead leaves and sticks swept in time out of a water-course, will save both roof and walls from ruin.”<sup>109</sup>

German-based Norwegian artist and conservationist J.C. Dahl was critical of the way churches and monuments were restored, and the cultivation of one style and historic phase of a building at the expense of later additions: “On the repairs of Churches and public Buildings one is always inclined towards emphasizing the accomplishments of one Era at the cost of the Other, causing way more Damage and barbarism than that which the Ravages of Time ever

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<sup>103</sup> “Ce monument-là, nous aimerions mieux le voir détruit que déshonoré comme i lest; il y a beaucoup de gens qui préfèrent la mort à la honte”. A.N. Didron *Flèche de Saint-Denis*, *Annals Archéologiques* 1846, quoted in: Jokilehto (1999) p 138

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* p 175

<sup>105</sup> John Ruskin, *The lamp of memory, The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1<sup>st</sup> edition 1849), quoted in: *ibid.* p 175

<sup>106</sup> Jokilehto (1999) p 180; Ruskin (1989) p 198

<sup>107</sup> Reproduction of the second edition of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. Ruskin (1989) p 197

<sup>108</sup> Jokilehto (1999) p 180

<sup>109</sup> Ruskin (1989) p 196

caused.”<sup>110</sup> Dahl’s views anticipated Ruskin’s and there is evidence that Dahl read Ruskin at a later stage.<sup>111</sup> The obvious inspiration for Dahl and the early Norwegian conservation movement was Germany and German romanticism which was oriented towards defining and recounting national history, and inclined to see all things as part of a larger totality. Dahl resided in Dresden and no doubt based his idea for *Fortidsminneforeningen* on *Königl. Sächsischen Altertums-Vereins* in Dresden where he was member (the preambles of the two societies were almost identical).<sup>112</sup> His view of historic monuments or artefacts was the artist’s and he could not see them merely as sources of knowledge or objects of use. Dahl was set against archaeological excavations on the grounds that this called for both the demolition of the monument and the landscape it was placed in.<sup>113</sup>

Dahl considered art and science as connected and mutually inspiring, and so argued to preserve objects and buildings as they were, *in situ*, above treating them as specimens which could be removed from their context (the building or monument in the landscape was also the recurring theme in his paintings) and worked to inspire *feeling* for monuments. To teach the people about the values that lay in their historic roots he considered drawings more effective than long written dissertations; hence the form of the publication on the stave churches which mostly consisted of drawings.<sup>114</sup> Dahl was involved actively in several conservation projects, and in some he consented to a more interventionist approach. When all attempts failed to save Vang stave church in its original site, it was sold and moved (to Brückenberg, now Bierutowice in Poland) on Dahl’s initiative in 1844. His aspirations to restore Håkon’s Hall as Bergen’s pride and showcase involved a plan to redesign the interior in the neo-gothic style, “... with Alterations accommodating the Taste and Requirements of our Times, however so that the old Spirit and Character is everywhere revealed through the modern Forms, and thus dominates.”<sup>115</sup> Lidén characterises this as “a view of restoration which is quite modern and ‘ahead of its time’”, while Wexelsen, who has closely studied Dahl’s activity on historic monuments, argues it shows “an attitude towards the subject of restoration which is still

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<sup>110</sup> Ved istandsætning af Kirker og offentlige Bygninger er man altid tilbøielig til at hæve en Tids Frembringelser paa den andens Bekostning, og paa den Maade er mere Skade og barbarie skeet end den Tidens Tann nogensinde anrettede” Dahl in a letter to Andreas Faye in 31/7-1837, quoted in: Wexelsen (1975) pp 56-57

<sup>111</sup> This is pointed out by Einar Wexelsen, who found the name of Ruskin on one of Dahl’s book lists, dated 1844. Wexelsen suggests that the book in question may have been *Modern Painters*, published in 1843, which also deals with historic conservation. Ibid. p 57

<sup>112</sup> Wexelsen (1975) pp 46, 54

<sup>113</sup> Lidén (1991) p 28

<sup>114</sup> Wexelsen (1975) p 54-55

<sup>115</sup> “..gives med vore Tidens Smag og Fordringer overensstemmende Forandringer, dog saa at den gamle Aand og character overvalt abenbares igjennem de modernere Former, og bliver den herskende.” J.C. Dahl, invitation for the restoration of Håkonshallen 1841, quoted in: Lidén (1991) pp 27, 29



ambiguous.”<sup>116</sup> But Wexelsen also concludes that Dahl was an advocate of the conservation approach to treating monuments. In most cases Dahl argued against examination, excavation and restoration which modified and interfered with the monument as it stood.

Early attempts at conservation in its basic form were endeavours to protect the Hamar Cathedral ruins from further dilapidation. *Fortidsminneforeningen*, still in the first decade of its existence, wrote to the owner of the ruins of Hamar Cathedral: “The ruins of Hamar Cathedral were partly in use in a most inappropriate manner, namely as a Path for Swine, and one made the Offer to enclose the ruins with an appropriate fence at the cost of the Society, and inquired in the form of a letter (...) whether the owner would have any objection to a registered document which required the farm to not destroy or disturb the ruins.”<sup>117</sup> This request, which was also an early attempt to use legislation for the protection of monuments, recalls the appeal of John Ruskin: “Watch an old building with an anxious care, guard it as best you may, and at any cost; from every influence of dilapidation. Count its stones as you would jewels of a crown; set watches about it as if at the 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.”<sup>118</sup> The ruins of Hamar Cathedral were later subject to consolidation with varying degrees of success. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century a protective glass casing was constructed. This was controversial but has arrested the accelerating deterioration of the remains of the stone structure, according to many an “unsightly aid”, which has been much discussed.

Ruskin’s ideas on conservation and historic buildings were adopted by William Morris (1834-96), who was influential both in the conservation and the English Arts and Crafts movement. Morris promoted craftsmanship as it had been executed in medieval times as a counterweight to industrial production, and his company Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & co., “Fine Art Workmen in Painting, Carving, Furniture and Metals” took commissions to repair historic buildings. He gradually took the stance that successful repair was difficult even with the employment of traditional craftsmanship; the work of the original craftsman could not be translated, imitation was forgery, and the patina and age value of the building was lost.<sup>119</sup> In

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<sup>116</sup> ”et restaureringssyn som er helt moderne”; ”forut for sin tid” Lidén (1991) pp 29, 30; “en ennå uklar holdning i restaureringsspørsmål.” Wexelsen (1975) p 58; Wexelsen (1973)

<sup>117</sup> ”Ruinerne af Hamars Domkirke for en del benyttedes paa en højst upassende maade, nemlig til Svinesti, og man fremsatte Tilbud om for Foreningen regning at indhegne ruinerne med et passende Stakit, og forespurte i brev (...) om ejeren vilde have noget imod, at der ved et thinglyst dokument paalagdes gaarden en forpligtelse til ikke at ødelægge eller forstyrre ruinerne.” Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1845-1853), 1853 *Annal*, p 5

<sup>118</sup> Ruskin (1989) p 196, also quoted in: Jokilehto (1999) p 180

<sup>119</sup> Jokilehto (1999) p 185

1877 Morris founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) as a counterweight to restoration. Since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century England's historic churches had been restored as part of an ecclesiastical "awakening", and the conservation movement strengthened itself in protest.<sup>120</sup> Jokilehto considers SPAB's manifesto to be "the formal basis of modern conservation philosophy", and singles out two important identifying factors: firstly, that one should not protect only one style or phase of a historic building but take into consideration the building as it existed in the present; secondly, that restoration, imitation and relocation of a building contributed to loss of authenticity which diminished its value. SPAB promoted maintenance ("daily care") and "conservative repair" for historic buildings, and elaborated on their method in *Guidelines*, published 1903, and the handbook *Repair of Ancient Buildings* in 1936.<sup>121</sup> Both Ruskin and SPAB's writings and ideas were influential outside of England, in their own time, and in providing an ideological framework for ideas in building conservation. Their ideas were also referred to and reflected in Norwegian historic building conservation practice.

#### *Scientific restoration*

When publishing on the theme of restoration in *Annales archéologiques* in 1845, the French architect Jean-Baptiste Lassus (1807-1857), inspector for the restoration of monuments in Paris and a collaborator of Viollet-le-Duc, voiced a strict methodological approach to restoration: "When an architect is in charge of the restoration of a monument, he has to acquire (scientific) knowledge. Consequently, the artist has to step aside completely, forget his tastes, preferences and instincts, and must have as his only and constant aim to conserve, consolidate and add as little as possible, and only when it is a matter of urgency. With almost religious respect he should inquire as to the form, the materials and even to the ancient working methods since the exactitude and historic truth are just as important to the building as the materials and the form."<sup>122</sup> By the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century much knowledge had been acquired about medieval structure and style. This new confidence, combined with the tools of modern technology and attitude of positivist philosophy, brought about a belief that a building could be restored and missing parts reconstructed correctly on a scientific basis.<sup>123</sup> A successful restoration was a question of studying the history and archaeology of the dilapidated or

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<sup>120</sup> See: Tschudi-Madsen (1976)

<sup>121</sup> Jokilehto (1999) pp 185-186

<sup>122</sup> Quoted in: Jokilehto (1999) p 139

<sup>123</sup> Lidén (1991) p 49; Jokilehto (1999) p 137

damaged building with sufficient meticulousness and method. Viollet-le-Duc was an exponent of both scientific and stylistic restoration.

In Norway Nicolay Nicolaysen, although no restoration architect himself, was an authority on the treatment of monuments in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Lidén suggests that Nicolaysen was initially inspired by J. C. Dahl's conservation-oriented views on the treatment of monuments, but soon came to defend the practice of scientific restoration.<sup>124</sup> In the introduction to an 1854 booklet presenting 5 medieval wooden churches Nicolaysen wrote: "It concerns our monuments of this kind much more than those of other countries, that their original forms are hidden beneath all sorts of additions and complications from a later age. If one through depictions is to get a clear impression, of what one really wishes to see in the object, this must be portrayed not as it appears, but as it originally can be shown to have been, after the concealing veil has been removed."<sup>125</sup> This statement was a defence for restoration; however, the archaeologist Nicolaysen argued that new designs must be based on evidence and placed great emphasis on documentation of the historical structure. This may be attributed to his profession, in contrast to architects trained in the creative, functional and aesthetic aspects of buildings. The restoration of Nidaros Cathedral under engineer Christian Christie from 1872-1899 had elements of conservation but was predominantly a scientific restoration, based on close examination and thorough analysis of the documentation at hand. "One removed later additions, and interpreted marks on the remaining walls. Architect Christian Christie reconstructed the original parts. The objective was the recovery of past glory", restoration architect Håkon Christie observed a century later, characterizing his colleague and namesake as "a sharp building historian and consistent believer in the principle of historical reconstruction (*det historiske rekonstruksjonsprinsipp*)."<sup>126</sup> Lidén calls Christian Christie's work on Nidaros Cathedral "what can safely be characterized as some of the best restoration work of 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe."<sup>127</sup> He attributes this to the fact that all the existing, original parts of the church were preserved where this was structurally possible and were

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<sup>124</sup> Lidén here refers to Einar Wexelsen, who likened Dahl's restoration ideology with Ruskin's. Lidén (2005) p 121; Wexelsen (1973)

<sup>125</sup> "Det gjelder vore mindesmerker af denne slags i langt højere grad, end noget andet lands, at deres oprindelige former skjule sig under alskens tilsætninger og forvanskninger af en senere tid. Skal man derfor ved afbildninger kunne faa en klar forestilling om, hva man egentlig ønsker at se i gjenstanden, maa denne fremstilles ikke som den tilsyneladende er, men som den viser sig oprindelig at have været, efterat det tildækkede slør er borttaget." The booklet presented Heddal, Ringsaker, Reinlid, Hurum and Lomen churches and was illustrated with plates by G. Bull. Nicolaysen (1855)

<sup>126</sup> Håkon Christie mentions the restoration of Bergen Domkirke (Bergen cathedral) by architect Peter Blix as an example of a similar approach. Also here later additions and stylistic alterations were removed and the church restored consistently in the gothic style. Christie (1960) p 2

<sup>127</sup> Lidén (1991) p 52

allowed to retain their aged look, and to Christie's thorough routines for documentation by photography, survey drawings and casts.<sup>128</sup>

In his analysis of the stave churches, Dietrichson categorized the churches partly based on chronology, partly typology. He based his research on comparisons of Nicolaysen and Bull's drawings with his own observations and extensive studies in *Riksarkivet* (The National Archive). Dietrichson regarded accuracy in documentation to be of great importance for restoration and did not criticize restorations which were well researched and argued if, provided that they, in his opinion, succeeded in re-establishing an essential type, but he was critical of liberal interpretations. Dietrichson spoke of the "Original Character" and the "Nature" of a building (using the German "Wesen") in a way reminiscent of Eugène Viollet-le-Duc's ideal types or "completeness".<sup>129</sup> As an expert Norwegian architectural historian and critic, Dietrichson was a typical exponent of the 19<sup>th</sup> century ideal of scientific and stylistic restoration. By the time he published his synthesising work on the stave churches, many of them had been restored or moved, or both, and a large number of them had been demolished. Dietrichson considered the restoration of Borgund, where 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century additions had been removed and window openings were closed, a success: "It belongs to *Fortidsminneforeningen* and has been restored by them, so that one through this church gets the best notion of an original stave church."<sup>130</sup> The Gol stave church had been restored and partly reconstructed with Borgund as model after it was moved to Oscar II's collection at Bygdøy. Dietrichson did not criticize the restoration, but listed the original parts and the new parts which had been added or replaced through the restoration, stating that this would be of interest since the church was much visited.<sup>131</sup> He delivered a harsher critique of Fortun (Fantoft), a privately owned stave church moved to Bergen and more imaginatively restored there in 1884; the columned walkway "rather unhappily re-established" without a reliable model.<sup>132</sup> The Fantoft restoration was a stylistic restoration, based on a vision of what the

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<sup>128</sup> This is a paraphrase of instructions which Nicolay Nicolaysen wrote for Christian Christie in 1872. Quoted in: *ibid.* pp 52-

<sup>129</sup> See Footnote 302 below

<sup>130</sup> Dietrichson and Munthe (1893) pp 61-62

<sup>131</sup> The description of original and new parts was based on the documentation of the architect Hansteen, who had been responsible for moving the church from Gol to Bygdøy. The original parts were the inner columns and elevations (arches and triforium-crosses), the corner staves, the upper and lower lintels (*stavlegje*), and part of the roof construction. Parts or sections which were new or altered in the restoration were panels, moved from the roof of the porch ("Blochhaus"/*våpenhus*) where they had been reused and reinstalled in the choir, revealing decorations from 1652; the ridge turret (*takrytter*), modelled after Borgund's, but guided by existing notches, peg holes and arch motives in the Gol church. *Ibid.* pp 67, 71

<sup>132</sup> "Während einer zwischen 1665 und 1722 vorgenommenen Restauration ist der ganze Laufgang verschwunden und ist jetzt ziemlich unglücklich mit freistehenden Säulen ohne Balustrale wiederhergestellt." *Ibid.* p 57

completed building could have looked like but without much research to prove it. Models for the exterior had been taken from different stave churches to create an eclectic whole.<sup>133</sup>

*Fortidsminneforeningen's* early stave church restoration for Heddal (1849-1854), planned and executed by Nebelong, was part stylistic restoration, part modernization. J.C. Dahl discarded the result and called it "a wretched Pastry Temple".<sup>134</sup> [Figure 5-7] Dietrichson regretted that the restoration had happened at a premature stage, before there was sufficient knowledge of this architecture: "Regretfully this (the restoration) happened at a time when the Nature of the stave churches discovered through the studies of the following years was not yet available. The result was that one of the richest and most beautiful of the stave churches served as a test piece and had much of its old character compromised".<sup>135</sup> The complexity of the task and lack of experience of the restoration architect had led to modification of original medieval building components. Gudolf Blakstad, who restored the church again after World War 2, observed that corner posts had for example been axed to halve their size.<sup>136</sup> Post-reformation additions and furnishings were removed. Nebelong's task had however not only been to repair and restore the church, but also to improve its functional qualities as congregational church. *Fortidsminneforeningen's* board had, for example, insisted on a lowered ceiling to accommodate the churchgoers despite the fact that this would conceal the newly discovered medieval carved rafters. Utility, therefore, had already been present as a premise for the restoration in this early example of the treatment of a historic monument.

Heddal was restored once more in the late 1940s according to plans by architect Gudolf Blakstad, with *Riksantikvaren's* antiquarian Halvor Vreim as consultant. Nebelong's additions were removed, and elements which had been replaced under Nebelong were

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<sup>133</sup> Fortun stave church (undated but first mentioned in 1323) was surveyed by architect G.A. Bull in 1854, who did not depict the later additions and modifications to the church such as the timbered chancel from 1666, the west tower from 1651, interior gallery and wooden vaulted ceiling from 1689, or the windows; these elements were not considered a legitimate part of the medieval architecture of the building. The church was also painted by J. C. Dahl. Fortun was planned demolished when a new and larger church was built in 1879, like the stave churches of the neighbouring communities Sogndal, Hafslo and Årdal; here the timber of the old churches had already been sold. J. C. Fortun was sold to Konsul Gade, disassembled and transported by boat to Bergen and re-erected here under supervision of architect Joachin Mathiesen and A.Lorange (1847-1888), lawyer-turned-archaeologist and conservator at Bergen Museum who was also Gade's son-in-law. According to Kristian Bjerknes the models for the restoration of the tower and ridge turret were Borgund, while Urnes and Vangsnes and Hopperstad (also modellen on Borgund) inspired the design of the external galleries. The gable motifs over the west entrance were modelled after drawings made by Bull of the Stedje stave church, the northern entrance gable a copy of Heddal's. The remaining 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century features were removed when the church was taken down and restored. Bjerknes (1942)

<sup>134</sup> J.C. Dahl, 1852, quoted in: Lidén (1991) p 31

<sup>135</sup> "Indessen ist es zu bedauern, dass dieselbe zu einer Zeit geschehen musste, als das Wesen der Stabkirchen noch nicht durch die Studien der folgenden Zeit erschlossen war. Die Folge war, dass die schönste und reichste der Stabkirchen als Probestück gedient und vielfach ihren alten Charakter engebüßt hat". Dietrichson and Munthe (1893) p 64-65

<sup>136</sup> Blakstad and Munthe-Kaas (1950) p 20

replaced again. This time the building's archaeology and knowledge of the stave church structural system was employed. Nebelong had used glue to piece wood together to achieve the desired form and dimension; this time emphasis was placed on retrieving materials of the correct large dimensions, traditional carpentry, and correct surface treatment. Blakstad was severe in his criticism of Nebelong's restoration "... the church was maltreated and a forgery as it stood. It confused our understanding of a Norwegian stave church, and the interior was a wretched performance of architecture. In these terms, a restoration was justifiable."<sup>137</sup> Blakstad's restoration of Heddal in the 1950s was a scientific restoration where the intention was to cultivate the medieval architecture of the church, based on a concept of stylistic unity.

#### *Stylistic or historic restoration*

With reference to its etymological roots, Stephan Tschudi-Madsen made the assumption that the original meaning of "*restaurare*" was "to strengthen with pales anew", in other words a military and architectural term connected with the art of fortification.<sup>138</sup> The usual understanding of the concept "restoring" in connection with building work in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was repairs and improvements. In 1755 Samuel Johnson defined "restoration" in his Dictionary of the English Language as "the act of replacing in a former state. To give back what has been lost or taken away." Tschudi-Madsen writes of "restoration" in England in the early phase of the Gothic revival: "It not only indicated repair; the notion had overtones of religious responsibility, it was a question of salvage", rescuing churches from "ruin and profanity (...) in one church a steam engine had been installed, in another a quarter of the nave had been turned into a school class-room".<sup>139</sup> The meaning of restoration, to repair, re-establish, shifted when restoration became an architectural movement", Tschudi-Madsen wrote with reference to Prosper Mérimée's 1845 definition: "By restoration we understand the conservation of that which exists and the recreation of that which has definitely existed."<sup>140</sup> This marked the beginning of the *Unité-de-Style* movement. The French restoration architect Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) gave a definition of restoration in 1866, much quoted since: "The term Restoration and the thing itself are both modern. To restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair, or to rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of

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<sup>137</sup> "Kirken var skamhugget og et falsum slik den stod. Den forvirret våre begreper om en norsk stavkirke, og interiøret var tarvelig som arkitekturprestasjon. Under disse forhold var en restaurering forsvarlig." Ibid. p 14

<sup>138</sup> Tschudi-Madsen (1976) p 14

<sup>139</sup> From *the Ecclesiologist* in the 1840s, quoted in: Ibid. p 32

<sup>140</sup> "Par restauration nous entendons la conservation de ci qui existe et la reproduction de ce qui a manifestement existé". Prosper Mérimée's 1845, quoted in: Ibid. p 15

completeness which may never have existed at any given time.”<sup>141</sup> For Viollet-le-Duc “completeness” implied several things; that the product of the restoration was a fully completed building (as opposed to a partly ruined one), that it was a building which was uniform in style, and that this style was executed to ideal perfection. Restoration according to the concept of “*Unité-de-Style*” meant applying the style of one phase only, out of many possible phases of the building’s existence. It also meant designing adaptations in accordance with the historic style of the building as a whole. Viollet-le-Duc advised to “suppose oneself in the position of the original architect”.<sup>142</sup> Through his writings and commissions as restoration architect Viollet-le-Duc was extremely influential in Europe, to the point that he became “practically a symbol of the restoration movement”.<sup>143</sup> As opposed to earlier times when repair and re-establishment was done in the period’s own language of form, restoration as an architectural movement meant to restore a building “in the style which is proper to it”.<sup>144</sup>

Over the course of the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century “restoration” became an increasingly negative word associated with destruction and bad taste.<sup>145</sup> By the turn of the century (1900) stylistic or historic restoration was heavily criticised by the new generation of conservation professionals. In Sweden the catch-phrase “less style, more art” was coined and Verner von Heidenstam’s publication *Modern Barbarism* promoted ideas founded on Ruskin, blazing the trail for a new practice for the treatment of historic monuments and buildings.<sup>146</sup> In Norway, Lorenz Dietrichson had expressed admiration for Viollet-le-Duc, whom he referred to as one of his era’s great scientists. He obviously did not ascribe responsibility to Viollet-le-Duc for the fantasy historic reconstructions of European castles or churches, or consider him to have inspired such ideas on restoration as were manifest in the Fantoft restoration, which Dietrichson had openly criticised. Dietrichson respected Viollet-le-Duc, while complaining about the next generation of restoration theorists like Riegl. Harry Fett, Dietrichson’s student, endorsed Riegl’s ideas, but also admired Viollet-le-Duc. Fett referred to him as “an illustrious talent who is now condemned”, obviously distinguishing between the scientist Viollet-le-Duc and the dilettantes of “the mania of historical restoration” who

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<sup>141</sup> “Le mot et la chose sont modernes. Restaurer un edifice, ce n’est pas l’entretenir, le réparer ou le refaire, c’est le rétablir dans un état complet qui peut n’avoir jamais existé à un moment donné.” Viollet-le-Duc *Dictionnaire raisonné* 1854-68 VIII p 14, quoted in: Jokilehto (1999) p 151

<sup>142</sup> Viollet-le-Duc, 1854-68, VII:31, quoted in: Ibid. p 154

<sup>143</sup> Ibid. p 141

<sup>144</sup> “dans le style qui est lui proper”. Viollet-le-Duc *Dictionnaire raisonné* 1854-68 vol VIII 1866 p 14, quoted in: Tschudi-Madsen (1976) p 24

<sup>145</sup> Ibid. pp 16-17

<sup>146</sup> Heidenstam (1859-1940) was a Swedish poet and Nobel Prize winner (1916). Edman (1999) p 22

emerged in his wake. “They were so gloriously confident” was Fett’s characterization of 19<sup>th</sup> century restoration architects.<sup>147</sup>

When Fett analysed the development of architectural conservation since 1870 he distinguished between what he referred to as “politically willed” restorations (especially by the German nobility), and a growing opposition to the methods of restoration architects by artists and scientists, concluding that the opposition is now becoming the official mainstream. “From being an opposition of artists and scientists towards the restoring architects, the official conservation community in Europe is increasingly united in the understanding that our task is to be found in other areas than that of purposelessly creating medieval *coulisses* with banqueting halls and watchtowers.”<sup>148</sup> Fett mentioned Ruskin, Morris and, more recently, Debio, as part of this opposition, and referred to publications like the French *L’amis des monuments et des arts* which took a firm stand against “restoration”, and “*de tyske stenografiske beretninger*” (“the German shorthand accounts”) and *Tage für Denkmanpflege*, published by A. Oechelhauser in Leipzig (1910), as sources for new ideas in architectural conservation and cultural heritage management.<sup>149</sup> The “problem” of restoration continued as a theme for discussion in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: In a pamphlet from 1928, *Verneproblemer fra den antikvariske administrasjon* (“Conservation problems from the antiquarian administration”) Fett summed up the years of *Riksantikvaren*’s existence, pointing out challenges in conservation. He requested caution in for example the restoration of churches: “one must be careful not to over-restore, so that the old and genuine disappears amidst all the new finery.”<sup>150</sup>

Stylistic restoration is sometimes distinguished from historic restoration where there is a deliberate emphasis on documentation as the basis, i.e. on the scientific preparations and reasoning. The method has been attributed to the Italian restoration architect Lica Beltrami (1854-1933) who was a student of Boito but also inspired by French restoration practice (he is referred to as the first modern restoration architect in Italy). In practice, however, the differences are not easily defined.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> “...en lysende begavelse som nå dømmes..”; “...den historiske restaureringsmani...”; “De var så herlig sikre...” Fett (1913) p 15, 19

<sup>148</sup> “Fra å ha været en opposisjon fra kunstnere og videnskapsmænds side likeoverfor restaurerede arkitekter har nu det officielle fortidsvern i Europa stadig mer og mer faat forstaaelsen av at vor tids opgave ligger paa andre felte end hensigtsløst lage sig middelalderlige kulisser med festsaler og vakttaarner.” Fett here mentioned oberbaurat Schäfer’s reconstruction plan for Heidelberger Castle as an example. Ibid. p 17

<sup>149</sup> The *Tage...* printed reports on annual meetings in conservation from 1900 and onwards where education, restoration principles, local efforts and legislation were discussed. Ibid. p 18

<sup>150</sup> “man må være forsiktig med å overrestaurere, så det gamle og ekte forsvinder i all den nye stas.” Fett (1928) pp 213-214

<sup>151</sup> Jokilehto (1999) pp 205-206



### *Stylistic restoration - which style?*

During most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, medieval buildings were the ones to be acknowledged and treated as historic monuments, in Norway as in Europe at large. In Norway this view was broadened towards the end of the century by including some examples from farming culture, however it was still the oldest medieval “types” which were considered interesting. Post-reformation architecture was appropriated as objects for conservation after the turn of the century.

The young Norwegian nation had applied the “universal” classicism of the day when erecting the first stately buildings (1814-1830s), a classicism that overlapped with a gothic revival, imported to Norway by architects educated in Germany. As in Germany, there was in Norway an endeavour to express national identity through architecture; in Norway increasingly so towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, an idea which fell in with the notion of historic preservation, and restoration. In the 1890s, H.M. Schirmer recovered Norwegian 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century wooden inland vernacular, both as objects for conservation and as inspiration for a new national style. By 1920, the architecture of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century was included as part of the national heritage, classicism and also prominent examples of the gothic revival (Grosch’s Basarhall) were defended in the name of conservation. The styles of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were not considered as heritage objects; they were not old enough or considered “Norwegian” or beautiful enough and these views prevailed for decades after the implementation of *Bygningsfredningsloven* in 1920. This view of architecture had implications for restoration: additions and modifications to monuments and buildings were removed according to the principle of stylistic unity, to recover and restore the building in its appropriate style.

In the 1840s “The new Wooden Style” (“*Den nye Træstil*”) which in Norway was popularly known as the Swiss Style was introduced and adopted by Norwegian architects, with H. D. F. Linstow and Heinrich Ernst Schirmer among its first promoters. The Swiss Style was associated with the Gothic Revival and inspired by contemporary German practice.<sup>152</sup> It was considered appropriate for the Norwegian climate, and because it was a style for wood, as opposed to all previous influential styles which were for stone, it was easily adapted to Norwegian modes of building, and initially associated with the Norwegian vernacular. When Eilert Sundt designed a model house in 1854 to demonstrate modern hygienic living standards, it was in the Swiss Style.<sup>153</sup> [Figure 39] The Swiss Style became

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<sup>152</sup> Hamran (1981) p 104

<sup>153</sup> Sundt (1976) pp 93-

extremely popular in Norway in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Contributing to its rapid propagation was the Norwegian railway, whose stations were largely designed in the Swiss Style.<sup>154</sup> It became a builders' style, the style of the new mechanized carpenter shops and was adopted by the prefabricated housing factories from the 1860s. As its popularity increased, the Swiss Style became increasingly unpopular among architects. While architects moved on to new styles (from circa 1890-1920 the dragon style, Art Nouveau, neo-baroque cottage style and neo-classicism) people continued to build or modernize their houses in the Swiss Style, in some places as late as the 1940s. What had began as an easily adaptable "national" style in the 1850s ended up as a despised symbol of a degenerate mode of building and contrary to all good Norwegian building traditions.

After the turn of the century, the Swiss Style was dismissed alongside eclectic historicism as the worst expression of taste. *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett conveyed this view in 1913: "In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a loss of original stylistic power, and in our time architecture has been the victim of it more than any other art-form. It has, in response to the wishes of the public, attempted to speak the languages of all ages. The only language it did not know was its own one."<sup>155</sup> Fett used his criticism of the general "decay in taste" in historicist architecture to call for a new restoration ideal. By the 1920s the Swiss Style and historicist eclecticism was enemy number one of antiquarians, an attitude which survived well into the 1970s.

In the 1950s and 60s a large number of churches were restored in Norway, to the point that the phenomenon later was characterized as "the wave of church restorations", with removal of Swiss Style and historicist elements as one common consequence.<sup>156</sup> In Kristian Bjercknes' restoration of Kaupanger stave church in the 1960s, the neo-gothic elements from the 19<sup>th</sup> century modernization were removed to cultivate the medieval character of the church. Original surfaces and elements were exposed. There was no model for the exterior, and Bjercknes designed a new and subdued wooden exterior which was completely free of ornaments, and which was considered more appropriate for the medieval church.<sup>157</sup> [Figure 37-38] Ethnologist Ragnar Pedersen writes: "even if the church restorations during these years were often justified with antiquarian terms, it must in retrospect be considered

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<sup>154</sup> The architect Georg Andreas Bull designed 60 wooden railway stations in the Swiss Style between 1863 and 1872. Torvanger (2010)

<sup>155</sup> "Det ligger i det 19<sup>th</sup> århundrede et tap av original stilkraft, hvorunder arkitekturen i vor tid mer end nogen anden kunstart har lidt. Den har efter publikums ønske forsøkt at tale alle tiders sprog. Kun sitt eget eiet den ikke." Fett (1913) p 19

<sup>156</sup> Pedersen (2000)

<sup>157</sup> See: Mehlum (2004)

reasonable to claim that they were as much a form of aestheticizing. Certain stylistic expressions and periods had a higher status than others. This provided legitimate grounds for restoration or stylistic replication.”<sup>158</sup> For buildings listed after the implementation of the Built Heritage Act (*Bygningsfredningsloven*), it was an objective to rid them of all visible influence of modernizations done between circa 1860 and 1910-20. By the 1920s, styles and modes of building from before 1850 were included among the appropriate historic styles, while remnants of the Swiss Style and eclectic historicism were obliterated in restorations of historic buildings and monuments.

Eclectic styles and especially the Swiss Style strongly influenced Norwegian vernacular building, both for new buildings and modernizations of old, during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and up until the 1930s. Architects and antiquarians considered the trend a degeneration of traditional building, due in large part to its “foreignness”; a paradox considering the initial embracement of the Swiss Style as an appropriate style for the Norwegian climate and way of life by 18<sup>th</sup> century architects. Halvor Vreim, who handled vernacular buildings for *Riksantikvaren*, advocated restoration of buildings which had been rebuilt in eclectic and Swiss Style design. Stylistic restoration was in other words also encouraged for historic vernacular buildings; this practice seems to have dominated the treatment of Norwegian historic generic architecture in the greater part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



Figure 37-38: Kaupanger stave church after Stockfleth’s modernization in 1862 (left); in 2010 with the exterior it obtained from Kristian Bjerknæs’ restoration in 1952-64 (right). Bjerknæs based the new exterior on paintings and drawings from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century which showed that the church had been clad with wooden planks. The exterior work was carried out in 1964 in the second phase of the restoration.

(Photographs unknown©Riksantikvaren; MB 2010)

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<sup>158</sup> Pedersen (2000) p 71

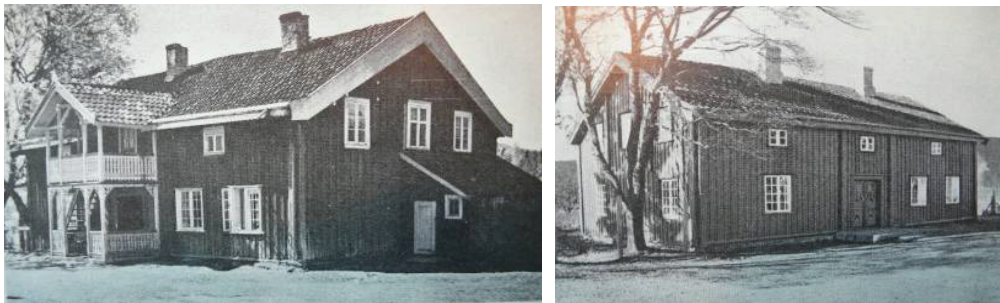
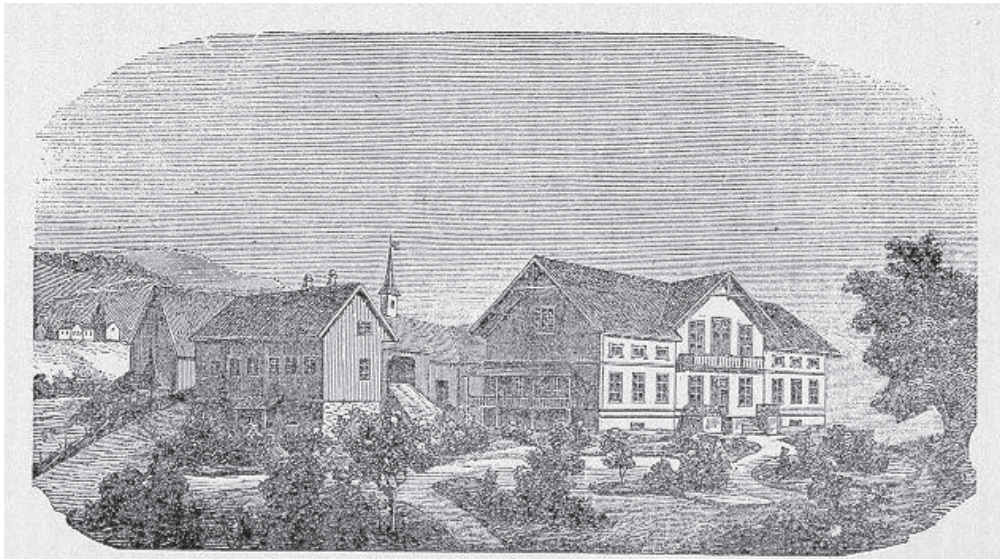


Figure 39-41: The Swiss Style. “The farm Hof in Aker” (top), the main building designed by architect Bull (Georg Andreas) which in 1862 was put forward by Eilert Sundt as an exemplary practical and sanitary modern dwelling: “probably the handsomest and definitely the most fully equipped building, which I have seen on any farm.”<sup>159</sup> Below, the dwelling at Olberg, Krødsherad before and after its 1930s restoration. “The house is supplied with a veranda in the Swiss Style, partly new windows, incorrect gable boards, a tilted roof plane so that it leaked, and incorrect colour treatment”, Riksantikvaren’s Halvor Vreim commented in a piece published in 1939 *Fortidsvern og Ungdomsarbeid* (Conservation and Youth Work). His statement demonstrates the professional conservation community’s general attitude towards the Swiss Style at the time. (Registreringsentral for historiske data, UiT; photographs unknown©Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvaren archive)

### *Building conservation and national identity*

It is commonly asserted that the interest in preservation and restoration of monuments in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was closely linked to Norway asserting itself as a young nation.<sup>160</sup> As the historic

<sup>159</sup> “måske det smukkeste og og ialfald det mest fuldstændigs og omhyggeligt udstyrede hus, som jeg har truffet til at se på nogen bondes gård”. Sundt (1976) pp 93-94

<sup>160</sup> Torvanger (2005) p 62

overview in this chapter demonstrates, the conservation movement, if it indeed deserves such a name, in Norway in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was not a large and organized movement. It was the collected work of a few individuals whose success at conservation depended on their individual resources, intellectual and economic, and their ability to acquire support through agitation and relevant connections. As a phenomenon it was founded on imported ideas. Through J.C. Dahl it explicitly linked to German practice; Dahl's work on the stave churches was published in Germany, in German. It cannot be claimed that there was a broad public interest in *Norwegian* architectural history in the years preceding Norwegian political independence in 1905: Dietrichson's lectures on Norwegian vernacular in Oslo at this time were notably less popular than his lectures on Greek and Roman antiquity.<sup>161</sup>

The standard for "monuments" was set by a European practice, as were the principles for their treatment. The interest in history, also national history, was part of a common European movement. The discovery and restoration of monuments and buildings in Norway in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was about the recovery of a cultural identity and building on symbols of the era prior to Danish Rule (1536-1814), but it was inspired by European practice in general and German in particular.

The Norwegian quest for an individual cultural identity started out with Nordic culture as a common denominator: scientific research into history, archaeology and architecture were undertaken in the belief that Nordic culture had a common root, "*forn-nordism*".<sup>162</sup> Attempts were made to develop a new Nordic architectural style, building on the foundation of traditional designs and customs (*byggeskikk*). When Nicolaysen discussed the term "National" in his 1884 article on architecture and building he implied "Nordic"<sup>163</sup> and Dietrichson called himself a "Scandinavist"<sup>164</sup>; meanwhile the first open-air museum in Norway was established by the Swedish king. Cultural ties between the Nordic countries superseded national separatism throughout a large part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Only around the turn of the century did this acquire political overtones, evident with the extra funding that was granted to the establishment of a National Historical Museum in Christiania in 1904 and Oseberg Viking ship excavations in 1905. It was not coincidental that these demonstrations of national cultural history happened around the time that Norway gained full political independence in 1905. At

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<sup>161</sup> Guleng (1996)

<sup>162</sup> Forn-nordism: the culture and language of the geographical area which today is Norway, Sweden, Iceland and Denmark until the end of the Viking era, also known as norrön or north-Germanic. Dietrichson and Curman (Swedish Riksantikvarie) are both considered to belong to this loosely defined group or "movement". See: Grandien (1987)

<sup>163</sup> Nicolaysen (1884)

<sup>164</sup> Guleng (2010)

this point Norwegian built heritage could not be described as part of a common European phenomenon of cultural formation or breeding (*dannelsesprosjekt*); it had acquired national symbolic significance.

As cultural heritage became part of the political agenda and was gradually more broadly appropriated, the necessary preparations for institutionalization of heritage management were made. An attempt at a national style in architecture was launched by the Norwegian Arts and Crafts movement close to the turn of the century, to a large extent to be based on Norwegian historic building customs. Norwegian architects and artists, who had been educated in Germany during the greater part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were increasingly orienting themselves towards the U.K., and the new generation of architects applied the ideals of the English Arts and Crafts movement to motifs from Nordic and Norwegian medieval art and architecture to produce their designs. It was in this spirit that H. M. Schirmer sought inspiration in the 18<sup>th</sup> century wooden vernacular architecture in *Gudbrandsdalen* as he searched of a national style. The “archaic” buildings here were considered to be a continuation of the medieval traditions.

The most marked figure in building conservation and heritage management in Norway during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Harry Fett, continued within the context of a European tradition. Posterity has defined him as humanist (*dannelseshumanist*) and a European more than an ardent defender of the “national”.<sup>165</sup> Fett was trained in Europe, travelled widely and was well acquainted with contemporary ideas in art and architectural conservation. Despite the differences in types of monuments, the ideas and practice of architectural conservation in Norway have many parallels with contemporary practice in other European countries; this is evident in the endeavours of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and continued in the 20<sup>th</sup> century with Fett.

#### *Philological restoration*

The debate on restoration versus conservation continued in the European professional conservation communities after the turn of the century, with opinions diverging into a “historical school” for those who defended restoration at the cost of newer historic evidence and aging elements, and a “modernist school” which argued to maintain the historical integrity of buildings. The “modernist” approach was most evident in their approach to additions. These must be made in the style of the day and not in historic styles or in an

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<sup>165</sup> Aas (2003)

attempt to imitate the building's original style. William Morris, Camillo Boito and Cornelius Gurlitt were promoters of such "modernist" views. Art historian Georg Gottfried Dehio (1850-1936) introduced and developed the modern conservation approach in German-speaking countries. Dehio was of the opinion that historic buildings must be treated in a scientific and not an artistic manner, and that conservation took precedence over restoration. In publications in 1901 and 1903 he argued for a new approach to educating professionals in building conservation as he did not trust that architects could subdue their creative inclinations when faced with a historic monument; the treatment of historic buildings constituted a science of its own.<sup>166</sup> In Italy the concept of philological restoration *Restauro filologico* was developed by Tito Vespasiano Paravicini (1832-99) who, influenced by Ruskin and SPAB, criticized official restoration practice in Italy; and further developed by Camillo Boito (1836-1914).<sup>167</sup> Trained in the historicist tradition of stylistic restoration, Boito became a promoter of modern ideas about conservation and developed a policy for treatment of monuments and historic buildings, which was synthesised as a charter in 1883 and adopted by the Italian administration for heritage management, of which he was a part. The charter for philological restoration (first compiled in 1883, revised in 1893) stated that a historic monument contains information about the past, and must not be falsified as this would disturb, distort or destroy its documentary value. Rules for the treatment of a monument were set accordingly. It was important to retain original surfaces, and respect historical stratigraphy; alterations and additions were valid parts of the monument as a historical document. In the case of repair or reconstruction of missing parts these must be visibly different, with additions designed in a contemporary style but respectful towards the historic structure and not too contrasting. Documentation during the process of treatment was essential, and inscribing the date of the repair or modification was recommended. When revising the charter in 1893 Boito added a suggestion to exhibit fragments of the original monument which had been removed or replaced within the context of the monument for transparency and increased educational value. Within the framework of philological restoration Boito distinguished between an archaeological, pictorial and architectural approach which applied to classical, medieval and Renaissance architecture, respectively. The archaeological approach was the strictest with regards to intervention and transparency, whereas under the architectural approach it was possible to justify replacements of decayed

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<sup>166</sup> Jokilehto (1999) pp 196-198

<sup>167</sup> According to Jokilehto the analogy between philology and conservation derives from the Latin definition of monument as "inscription" or "document". Ibid. p 200

elements, removal of later additions if these had little historic or aesthetic value, and even stylistic completion. Boito was critical of Viollet-le-Duc's ideas and his restorations, but also of Ruskin whom he (mis-) interpreted as a ruin-romanticist, missing the recommendations to repair, to maintain and consolidate.<sup>168</sup>

In Norway, discussions on Nidaros Cathedral touched on themes similar to those which inspired Boito's "charter" on philological restoration. Nicolaysen had criticised Schirmer's plans for a stylistic reconstruction of Nidaros Cathedral for not being based on evidence, and for misinterpreting the church's "individuality".<sup>169</sup> One major problem was Schirmer's plans to remove late medieval elements of Nidaros Cathedral, to cultivate the oldest and "purest" medieval forms. Nicolaysen commented: "...it cannot be advised (...) that one in the restoration of the octagon remove the less pure stylistic elements belonging to the time before the reformation, unless retaining these should be damaging to the building, as these do also belong to the history of the church, which one must seek to preserve for posterity."<sup>170</sup> For Nicolaysen, all medieval traces were of interest and he did not adhere to stylistic restoration which favoured one of many medieval periods or styles. In this respect he was not an adherent of "*Unité-de-style*"; his approach to restoration was purely scientific. Nicolaysen was primarily interested in medieval architecture, and the idea of retaining non-medieval elements from after the reformation would not have occurred to him. Nicolaysen's defence for the different building stages of the cathedral was limited to the time before the reformation, and his appeal to remove all post-reformation "clutter" in the interior a viewpoint which was not questioned at the time. There was at the time a general disregard for the baroque and rococo styles, and these were not "revived" as historically or artistically interesting until Wölfflin's work *Renaissance und Barock Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien* published in 1888.<sup>171</sup>

The restoration of Akershus Castle, or rather the discussions and plans concerning its restoration, provide examples of different restoration strategies as well as different views on history. The castle, like many of the monuments, had a long and complex building history, with many significant historical phases represented: "... a medieval fortress rebuilt as a

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<sup>168</sup> Ibid. pp 201-203

<sup>169</sup> See Chapter 2.2.1

<sup>170</sup> Nicolai Nicolaysen, 1860: "Heller ikke kan det bifalles (...) at man under restaurerionen af aattekantens skulde borttage de urenere stilformer, som hidrøre fra tiden før reformationen, med mindre deres bebeholdelse vilde være skadelig for bygningen, thi disse former høre jo ogsaa med til kirkens historie, som man maa søge bevaret for efterkommerne". FNFBs Annal 1860, quoted: in Lidén (1991) p 50

<sup>171</sup> Denslagen (1994)



renaissance castle.”<sup>172</sup> After various experiments on paper reinventing Akershus Castle in many possible phases of its medieval history, historian Yngvar Nielsen, in 1886, launched the idea of restoring it as it was when inhabited by King of Denmark-Norway Christian IV. Nielsen argued that this was the most characteristic and best preserved phase of the castle’s long history, and that the castle was an important and unique piece of architecture in Norway from that era. When Nielsen proposed to restore Akershus Castle he did not solely promote the time of Christian IV, but suggested that different epochs were entitled to be preserved in the complex monument, “A restored Akershus Castle would be a Monument from different Centuries that in Norway would be without Equal.”<sup>173</sup>

Dag Myklebust observes that this was an explicit expression of the principle of “historical restoration”. Restoration according to this principle, also referred to as the principle of equivalency, or philological restoration, aimed at demonstrating different phases of a monument’s history, not showing it as a stylistically uniform and ideal expression of one historic era, but as it evolved over time. In 1963 Stephan Tschudi-Madsen suggested that this principle was introduced to Norway by Harry Fett in 1899 when he summed up the discussion of the Akershus Castle restoration in the pamphlet *Akershus Slots Gjenreisning. Et lidet post-festum Skrift* (“The rebuilding of Akershus Castle. A small *post-festum* pamphlet”). Myklebust rejects this proposal with reference to Einar Wexelsen’s proposition that J. C. Dahl expressed similar thoughts in the 1840s when airing views on the restoration of Nidaros Cathedral.<sup>174</sup> Wexelsen demonstrated that Dahl’s conservation standpoint included the defence for additions in the rococo style, which was “most despised” in his time, and that Dahl defended the idea that each era of the building has its legitimate right to be preserved, and that this made the monument more interesting.<sup>175</sup> This places J.C. Dahl within the ideological framework of both conservation and philological restoration. On these grounds, Dag Myklebust argues that the three mainstream ideologies of treatment of monuments; restoration, conservation and historic equivalency, have more or less coexisted from the beginning of conservation activity in Norway in the 1830s.

In Norway new ideas in historic preservation and treatment of monuments around the turn of the century (1900) were demonstrated in a shift of emphasis from monuments to an extended portfolio of built heritage; from a dominance of stylistic and scientific restorations in

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<sup>172</sup> Myklebust (1979) p 7

<sup>173</sup> “Et restaureret Akershus vil blive et Mindesmærke fra forskjellige Aarhundreder der i Norge ikke vil have sin Mage.” Nielsen in *Aftenposten* nr. 14, 9/1-1886, Nielsen published a series of articles on the subject of Akershus restoration in *Aftenposten* (nr. 5, 5/1-1886; nr. 9, 7/1-1886; nr. 14, 9/1-1886). quoted in Myklebust (1979) p 20

<sup>174</sup> Wexelsen 1973:135-37 and 140-45 as referred in Myklebust (1979) p 21

<sup>175</sup> Wexelsen (1975) p 56

19<sup>th</sup> century practice to an ideal based more on the artistic liberty of the architect. Preserving “age value” was endorsed in theory; in practice stylistic preference overruled “new styles” in 20<sup>th</sup> century restorations, much in the manner of 19<sup>th</sup> century restorations, the difference being that the styles discarded were different ones. A building’s age and modifications over time could be put on display in a restoration, as opposed to choosing one phase only, to display a building frozen in time, in a unity of time and style. Changes and interventions made could now show they were contemporary, imitating past styles to perfection. These phenomena were correlated with a shift in the view on history, where the idealistic understanding of history was replaced by a more realistic view on the course of history where empiricism and criticism of sources had become increasingly significant methods, and where the idea of progress was essential. This is how Swedish architectural historian Victor Edman explains the shift in ideology of conservation in Sweden, using Sigurd Curman (Swedish National Antiquarian, *Riksantikvar*, from 1923-1946, art historian and restoration architect) as a representative for conservation practice and perceptions of architecture and built heritage.<sup>176</sup>

*“Age value” and authenticity*

John Ruskin argued to preserve historic fabric of historic buildings; the genuine building, as it had become over time. This contributed to the picturesque and sublime qualities of the object, and enhanced the experience. Sir Gilbert Scott, in 1850, stated that “an authentic feature, though late and poor” was worth more than an earlier, finer but restored one, but did not practise as he preached; to him original design was more important than original material.<sup>177</sup> Most of his restorations were completed according to principles of stylistic unity.

According to Jukka Jokilehto, building conservation in the 20<sup>th</sup> century inherited much from the 19<sup>th</sup> century but also had a distinct identity of its own; romanticism and historicism were concluded, while Riegl represented a new critical approach.<sup>178</sup> Modern conservation theory, Jokilehto argues, has a basis in Alois Riegl’s (1857-1905) analysis of heritage values. His work *Der moderne Denkmalkultus, sein Wesen, seine Entstehung* was published in 1903, commissioned by the Austrian conservation services which were under reorganization.<sup>179</sup> Riegl distinguished between intended monument (“*gewollte Denkmal*”, for example obelisks, statues or stelae) and unintended monuments (“*ungewollte Denkmal*”, monuments of art and

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<sup>176</sup> Edman (1999)

<sup>177</sup> Jokilehto (1999) pp 162-163

<sup>178</sup> Aside Riegl, Panofsky, Wittkower and Argan are also mentioned; they will however not be discussed here. Ibid. p 213

<sup>179</sup> Jokilehto (1999) p 215

history).<sup>180</sup> He identified unintended monuments as something which had existed since the Renaissance, the historical value of monuments as significant in 19<sup>th</sup> century thinking, and *age value* as the most modern value of a monument. He categorized age value, historical value and intended memorial value as memorial values, distinguished from the present day values “use value”, “art value”, “newness value” and “relative art value”. Historical value referred to the a particular stage of the monument’s existence, while age value referred to the moment as it had become over time, with its stratigraphy and patinated surface.<sup>181</sup> Historical value in a monument would accordingly justify a restoration to cultivate one stage of that monument’s history; Riegl implied that such restoration was an outdated idea. In terms of treatment, placing significance on age value could justify conservation or philological restoration; both principles which took the monument or building’s existence over time into account.

Towards the end of his life, art history professor Dietrichson (he held the position of university professor till his death in 1917) complained about the new generation’s concept of *l’art pour l’art* which paid more head to the artistic than to archival and archaeological studies of monuments. Dietrichson mentioned Viollet-le-Duc among the significant professionals of his own generation and feigned bafflement at new names like Riegl: “I must frequently remind myself, that while the Gods of this Age are called Trygowsky or Wickhoff, Alois Riegl or Furtwängler, the studies of my youth were at a time when names like Viollet-le-Duc and Gottfried Semper, Carl Schnase and Franz Kugler were the first stars of the at the time relatively new science of art theory. I must think carefully to understand, that Heinrich Brunn was my teacher 50 years ago.”<sup>182</sup> The positivist research on monuments was challenged by a theory of perception. The Hegelian view of cultures as developing, rising and falling to be replaced by new cultures, was challenged by the philosophical view of history and cultures as continuous and interactive. The theories of Alois Riegl and Cornelius Gurlitt (1850-1938) contributed to new ideas on historic preservation and the treatment of historic material culture. Culture and styles which had previously been considered “degenerate” were included

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<sup>180</sup> In the Norwegian context, menhirs and burial mounds which had interested scholars, ‘antiquarian travellers’ and archaeologists from the time of Ole Worm, would belong to the category of ‘intended monuments’, and also the obelisk raised near Haugesund in 1872 to commemorate Harald Hårfagre, while churches, fortifications and the buildings which were eventually listed would have been categorized as ‘unintended monuments’.

<sup>181</sup> Jokilehto (1999) p 216

<sup>182</sup> “Jeg er stadig nødt til at erindre mig selv om, at mens Tidens Guder nu heder Trygowsky eller Wickhoff, Alois Riegl eller Furtwängler, fald min Ungdoms studier i en tid, som betegnedes av navnene: Viollet-le-Duc og Gottfried Semper, Carl Schnase og Franz Kugler, den da forholdsvis nye kunstvidenskabs første Prøneser. Jeg maa tænke mig om for at forstaa, at Heinrich Brunn for 50 år siden har været min lærer”. Dietrichson’s reflections on the changes in the art history profession in the manuscript ”Drømmen om Rom” (U.B., Oslo, ms8 674 unpaginated but marked II) quoted in: Guleng (1996) pp 121-122

in the realm of art and architectural history.<sup>183</sup> Harry Fett had travelled in Europe in the 1890s and was “well acquainted” with contemporary ideas on art history and historic preservation, and referred to Riegl in an overview of restoration philosophy in a 1913 publication.

In 1987 *Riksantikvaren* listed authenticity as one of several significant criteria for ascribing heritage value to a building or structure.<sup>184</sup> The concept, although not unambiguous, has since been openly stressed as an important concept in Norwegian cultural heritage management. According to my readings the phrase “authenticity” was not specifically used in Norway in relation to built heritage before the 1970s. The term “age value” was, however, frequently used in reference to original or old material, by for example Harry Fett, and inferring a similar meaning. The requirement of authenticity in form and materials was set down as a Eurocentric but general principle for architectural conservation in the 1964 Venice charter. It was a common denominator in architectural conservation practice in Europe, especially during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Jokilehto, the guidelines of the Venice charter were not new; they were a collection and validation of prevailing ideas in building conservation.<sup>185</sup> The Norwegian conservation community today differentiates between different types of authenticity, such as substance, materials, design, process and context.<sup>186</sup>

#### *Use value, restoration and pragmatism*

Restoration of a building as a monument was a theoretical problem; in most cases some kind of assessment of utility value entered the equation. In his *Dictionnaire* (1854-68) Viollet-le-Duc stated that “the best means of preserving a building is to find a use for it, and to satisfy its requirements so completely that there shall be no occasion to make any changes.”<sup>187</sup> The practical consequence of his thinking was that he designed complete restorations and reconstructions for the monuments for which he was commissioned, including the

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<sup>183</sup> Riegl lectured on baroque art from 1895 when this was still considered a degenerate style. He also explored and raised the status of late roman art which had been labelled as representative of the fall of the empire, Relevant publications are Riegl’s “Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie” (1894) which displays an interdisciplinary view of art, “Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik (1893) where “Kunstwollen” was considered present in both “high” and “low” art , along with the more obvious “Die Moderne Denkmalkultus” (1903) where he presents a system for evaluating material heritage, introducing the concept of Age Value which implied a massive critique of the Restoration practices of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Sorensen (2009)  
<sup>184</sup> Bull (1987)

<sup>185</sup> Jokilehto here refers to Professor Renato Bonelli who expressed this view in a critique of the charter in 1964. Jokilehto (1998) p 229

<sup>186</sup> Autentisitet: opprinnelighet eller ekthet [...] omfatte[r] form, konstruksjon, materialer, overflatebehandling, bruk og miljøsammenheng (kmt). *Ordnøkelen - tesarus for kulturminnevern* Riksantikvaren (2010)

<sup>187</sup> ”D’ailleurs le meilleur moyen pour conserver un edifice, c’est de lui trouver une destination, et de satisfaire si bien à tous le besoins que commande cette destination, qu’il n’y ait pas lieu d’y faire des changements.” Viollet-le-Duc, 1854-68 VIII:31, quoted in: Jokilehto (1999) p 154

transformation of ruins to functioning buildings. The English restoration architect George Gilbert Scott (1811-78), who designed and restored over 800 buildings, took a pragmatic middle viewpoint in the restoration debate. By distinguishing between 1) ancient structures as testimonies of the past and 2) ancient churches (his restoration work primarily involved churches) which were in use and testimony to God's glory, Scott could advise conservation for the first and restoration for the second.<sup>188</sup> He did not reject Ruskin's principles of conservation, but attempted to consolidate these with his own thinking. Later Scott extended his categories, dividing historic architecture into 1) antiquities, 2) ruins, 3) buildings in use and 4) fragments (of old buildings in newer buildings) (1862).<sup>189</sup>

In the Norwegian context, use value was, as previously discussed, a consideration factor in the early stave church restoration of Heddal, and was also a relevant aspect of the Nidaros Cathedral restoration: to restore its function as a monumental place of worship which would accommodate a large number of people was an under-communicated yet decisive point in the restoration debate; conserving the ruined part, as a ruin, was never an option. With the extended monument portfolio following the 1899 "coup" in *Fortidsminneforeningen*, a more principled standpoint in the matter of adaptation for use was required. In 1913 Harry Fett made the distinction between "dead" and "living" monuments, the latter buildings and structures which could be activated and put to use.<sup>190</sup> The buildings which were listed following the 1920 Built Heritage Act were predominantly vernacular buildings in use, many as homes, placing them in the category of "living" monuments. In 1928 Fett concluded that "the new heritage conservation focuses on life; it shall belong to life and be a part of life."<sup>191</sup>

A conservation philosophy for vernacular or "anonymous" architecture was not a theme for wide discussions in the conservation community. These buildings were mostly privately owned buildings in use, and discussions on principles took on a less academic and more pragmatic character. *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett occasionally disclosed his views on restoration; his 1913 piece is perhaps the one which most clearly demonstrated how well versed he was in contemporary ideas about architectural conservation. On the whole, however, Fett was more taken up with promoting the idea of conservation, and agitating for saving actual historic buildings, than going into detail about how to treat them. On account of him being such a productive writer, it is perhaps surprising that he never wrote a coherent piece on the subject of architectural conservation, neither for monuments nor generic

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid. pp 161-162

<sup>189</sup> Ibid. p 181

<sup>190</sup> Fett (1913) p 18

<sup>191</sup> "det nye fortidsvernet er blitt livsinstillet, det skal tilhøre livet, være en del av livet." Fett (1928) p 214

architecture. The question of how listed buildings should be treated was not part of *Riksantikvaren's* remit; there was no policy, only a general encouragement to maintain, find appropriate use, and modify within reason.<sup>192</sup> Fett seldom provided examples, which makes it difficult to determine his exact standpoint in these matters. The following comment on the treatment of church interiors is perhaps the most obvious reference to the authenticity of objects and buildings. With polemic wit Fett called for some restriction in cases of adaption for practical use: "God cannot be worshipped too practically. God can at times be rather impractical."<sup>193</sup>

Halvor Vreim presented his views on this topic through a series of written pieces published in *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annals. These, along with what happened in practice, are the best evidence of a stated philosophy for treatment of historic generic architecture for the decades following *Bygningsfredningsloven's* implementation in 1920. As *Riksantikvaren's* representative, responsible for listed secular buildings, Vreim represented the mainstream know-how of the professional conservation community. In 1952 Halvor Vreim gave an account of what was presented as "an antiquarian repair" (*en antikvarisk istandsetting*) in a piece on Fossesholm, where he had been in charge of repair works, and where he voiced his fundamental views on repairs, additions and restoration of the type of building he mostly worked with, profane historic wooden buildings.<sup>194</sup> Here he warned against the popularity of amateur restoration: "Restoration has become dangerously popular, but repair and technical improvement are most definitely preferable and quite necessary for each house which is to be preserved. The most important element of conservation is not neglecting regular care and maintenance."<sup>195</sup> Giving a building back its original state in its entirety was not possible; however, restoration could be a viable solution for the sake of the building's aesthetic or historic relevance. Vreim emphasized the importance of respecting age values, but when worn out elements had to be replaced, the copy must be exact in colour, character and shape, as

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<sup>192</sup> Interview with Harry Fett (1923), quoted in: Torvanger (2005) p 71; Nygård-Nilssen (1958)

<sup>193</sup> "Gud kan ikke dyrkes så altfor praktisk. Gud kan til sine tider være ganske upraktisk." Fett (1928) pp 212-213

<sup>194</sup> The building in question was Fossesholm in Øvre Eiker, Buskerud; a farm of the "farmer's aristocracy" of Østlandet with a turreted baroque well house and a large wooden main building from circa 1770. Repairs had been ongoing since 1928. The main notched building was large, 50 meters long, with a hipped end roof. The exterior was clad with vertical cladding and there were rich wooden mouldings around doors and windows. Despite its size, the building had many similar features to the "common" vernacular mode of building in Norway, and its repair can be seen as exemplary to 1950s standards of treatment of profane, historic buildings. The interiors were, according to Vreim "quite damaged" ("Ganske sterkt maltraktert"), but could be *restored*, "within the framework of repair" ("visstnok stort sett innen rammen av istandsetting.") Vreim had only praise for the craftsmen working with Fossesholm. Halvor Vreim *Fossesholm ved Øvre Eiker – en antikvarisk istandsetting*. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1952) pp 49-70

<sup>195</sup> "Å restaurere er farlig populært, men istandsetting, teknisk utbedring er avgjørt å foretrekke og helt nødvendig ved ethvert hus som skal bevares. Det aller viktigste ved bevaringen er at den jevnlig vedlikeholdsmessige pleien ikke forsømmes." Ibid. p 50

well as in craftsmanship and technical properties: "... the respect for age values is of importance (...) the requirement of likeness is of vital importance (...) It does not infrequently occur during an inspection of a weaker work that one is comforted in that the new is "almost alike the old". The difference between a professional and common assessment can be significant", Vreim observed.<sup>196</sup> Vreim considered the new and industrialized working methods of the building trade a problem: "Because of in part radical changes to the old craftsman's tradition in later times it is not always easy to have building components produced which are exactly like the old in form and character". Another challenge was the scarce availability of traditional building materials like birch bark or curved red roof tiles, beams or planks in large dimensions, clay; "... which nobody can or will use anymore"; or forged nails "... but it is justifiable to use cut nails".<sup>197</sup> Vreim also commented on the incompatibility of traditional buildings and modern building standards: "Today one requires frost free and properly drained foundations which were previously unknown", and conceded to achieving the visual character by covering the concrete wall with a veneer of natural stone masonry (*natursteinsforblending*), "one must here be satisfied if one can achieve the correct character in exterior, visible parts, a character which corresponds with the old and irregular surface with its special technique and effect. In other words it is here a question of achieving a correct appearance and not the correct building technique according to antiquarian standards."<sup>198</sup> Simplifications to traditional ways of building were made: "A new and alien element is the copper fittings in the gutter, now made of three wooden planks, but it was a technical necessity. Previously the gutter was no doubt carved from large timbers." When copying old building components, the finish was important. To achieve the correct look for planed surfaces (Vreim was here speaking of mouldings), Vreim recommended hand-planing, as machine planed (*kutter-høvlet*) surfaces tended to look "lifeless". Vreim also criticized the machine-worked surfaces of current metal fittings, complaining that the traditional blacksmith trade was becoming extinct.

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<sup>196</sup> "respekten for aldersverdier er viktig (...) kravet om likhet er antikvarisk overordentlig viktig (...) Det hender ikke sjelden under inspeksjon av svakere utførte arbeider at en strøstes med at det nye er "nesten lik det gamle". Avstanden mellom faglig og vanlig vurdering er ofte stor." Ibid.

<sup>197</sup> "På grunn av til dels radikal forandring gav den gamle håndverkstradisjonen i senere tid er det ikke alltid lett å få laget detaljer til et hus helt lik de gamle i form og karakter"; "Men det er forsvarlig å bruke klipt spiker." Ibid. pp 51-55

<sup>198</sup> "Det kreves nå frostoffrie og drenerte fundamenter som var ukjent før (...) her må en nøye seg med å få den rette karakteren i utvendig synlig deler, en karakter som svarer til den gamle ujevne murflaten med sin spesielle teknikk og materialvirkning. Her er det altså spørsmål om få et riktig bilde og ikke antikvarisk korrekt byggeteknikk." Ibid. p 55

Vreim stressed quality of craftsmanship in repairs, maintenance and restoration. Most listed buildings had the characteristic of being buildings of high quality craftsmanship. He discouraged attempts to aesthetically improve historic buildings, by those “unskilled” in antiquarian matters, “architects or others”; if performed on a listed building this was comparable to forgery.<sup>199</sup> Vreim’s view was that the sustainable tradition which craftsmen in earlier times were part of, allowed them a freedom in aesthetic expression which did not lead to a stylistic breach. Architects and craftsmen were now outside this tradition, and should subordinate their artistic expressions to the historic building by being sensitive and knowledgeable.<sup>200</sup> Vreim was concerned with antiquarian values in historic buildings, by which he meant the original *old* parts of the building. For *repairs* Vreim prescribed copying the building parts which needed renewal due to wear and tear, stressing that the parts should ideally be crafted in a traditional way, or as a compromise given a traditional finish. Generally there should be a high quality of craftsmanship. For *larger additions and comprehensive alterations*, a contemporary design, which nevertheless showed consideration for its surroundings, was recommended. For *smaller additions*, a design which was more traditional and subordinate to the existing building was advised. *Restoration* was a solution for buildings which had been “unfortunately altered” and Vreim claimed, in 1952, that “in the latter day one had from an antiquarian point of view become more cautious in promoting restoration.”<sup>201</sup> Restoration did not increase the antiquarian value but the aesthetic value of the building, improving the totality of its surroundings. Vreim stressed the importance of beauty as an important “frame” for living life.<sup>202</sup> Restorations implied “completion” and “alteration” of the existing, and it was always a challenge to achieve the correct design, “strictly speaking it always goes wrong.”, but increasing the aesthetic value was a valid priority.<sup>203</sup> As far as possible, one should keep within the boundaries of repair and reconditioning (*istandsetting*). Vreim stressed the importance of restoring based on fact and not indications. Conserving existing building components seems to have been a goal, in principle, if they were original in relation to the desired age and style or the building, and if

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<sup>199</sup> “...antikvarisk ukyndige, enten det er arkitekter eller andre, fristes iblant til å komme med forslag til forbedringer som menes å gi penere hus.” Ibid. p 57

<sup>200</sup> “... å gjøre arbeidet i den form som huset bar bud om.” Ibid. pp 57-58

<sup>201</sup> “... ved restaureringsoppgaver har en som nevnt med et uheldig forandret hus gjøre (...)

I senere tider er en ut fra det antikvariske syn blitt mer og mer varsom med å fremme restaurering.” Ibid. pp 58-59

<sup>202</sup> “Til det kommer verdien det vakre har som ramme om det levende liv.” Vreim here added that, for churches, the sacred character was weakened by recent radical alteration. The question of re-establishing the emotional force of these surroundings was a critical motive when planning church restorations. Ibid. p 59

<sup>203</sup> “...strengt tatt blir det alltid galt.” Ibid. p 59



the condition was sound.<sup>204</sup> Windows were renewed in their entirety or in part.<sup>205</sup> Newer building parts could be kept when documentation of the original was lacking: “It is more honest to keep it, scientifically *in salvo*, than to go ahead with a restoration which will more or less be a fraud.”<sup>206</sup> Technical improvements were made where considered necessary; for example adding tarred roof sheeting as a base for roof tiles when re-laying; the old under-roof was retained beneath the new under-roof. In practice, pragmatism overruled the ideal of the hand-crafted finish: “... it was absolutely necessary to use machine planed building materials for the cladding and windows. The new mouldings are exactly the same as the old ones. After the house has been painted, it is not easy to see that all mouldings have been machine planed. But one will probably be able to notice that the new, exterior window fittings have been made with the aid of a stamping press, artistically this is an obvious weakness, but they have been fastened with the correct nails. At Fossesholm it would not have been possible to complete the repairs without resorting to industrially-produced building components. One must sometimes yield to practical difficulties” Halvor Vreim wrote in 1952.<sup>207</sup>

#### *“Artistic” restoration*

The restoration of the west front of Nidaros Cathedral was at the centre of the heated debate on restoration in Norway in the 1910s and 1920s. The essence of the discussions was whether one should follow principles of scientific restoration as established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or accept a freer artistic approach as demonstrated in the proposition which architect Olaf Nordhagen delivered in 1914. Nordhagen had incorporated existing medieval elements of the cathedral’s west front, but instead of a medieval-style design deduced from scarce archaeological and historical evidence, he abandoned the idea of a reconstruction and proposed a west front which was inspired by medieval architecture but distinctly 20<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>204</sup> Here exemplified with the cladding of 18th century Fossesholm; all cladding was replaced on the southern wall, on the remaining walls repairs were sufficient. “På søndre vegg matte panelingen, brede underliggere og smale profilerte overliggere, og alt listverk fornyes. På de øvrige veggene klarte det seg med reparasjoner.” Ibid. p 66

<sup>205</sup> At Fosseshold most casements were renewed, some frames repaired and some renewed. Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> “Det er bygningshistorisk mer hederlig å beholde den, vitenskapelig *in salvo*, enn å gå til restaurering som i større eller mindre grad ville ha blitt et bedrag.” Vreim, on the newer cornice at Fossesholm which was retained as no documentation existed of the original’s design. Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> “... var det helt nødvendig å bruke maskinhøvling til de nye trematerialene, vinduene iberegnet. Profilene er blitt nøyaktig lik de gamle. Etter at huset er malt, er det ikke lett å se at alle profiler er kutterhøvlet. Derimot kan en nok se at de nye utvendige vindusbeslag er lagete ved hjelp av astanse, kunstnerisk er det en opplagt svaket, men de er festet med den riktige spiker. På Fossesholm ville det ikke ha vært mulig å få gjennomført istandsetningen uten å ty til industrielt preget framstilling av bygningsledd. En må av og til bøye av på grunn av praktiske vansker.” Ibid. pp 66-68

in its design.<sup>208</sup> Harry Fett advocated similar ideas (here with regards to the restoration of church interiors); with reference to his Swedish colleague Sigurd Curman he advised “a healthy and purposeful effort towards the modern understanding of art”, combined with “assertion of the scientific requirement.”<sup>209</sup> An artistic approach to restoration was voiced by *Riksantikvaren*’s expert on decorated interiors and painter Domenico Erdman, when discussing the restoration of church interiors: “... because it is deteriorated and distorted, it must also be renewed and augmented. But as the main goal must be to preserve the colours as they have been rendered by time, the work must, so as not to be bereaved of its character and spirit, be performed neither by a craftsman nor a theatre painter, but by an artist who has been trained for the purpose.”<sup>210</sup> When discussing treatment on monuments in his 1913 essay, Harry Fett asked “How do we approach restoration today, with our own style or the original style of the building?” Fett provided some general answers on the subject of restoration in his own time: “the old has the right as far as it can be asserted (...) whereas the new which is introduced, must not attempt to do as the old ... but it requires artistic tact and historical tact, and the individuality of the artist must not be ruled out.”<sup>211</sup> Fett referred to Sweden’s new generation of conservationists, and also quoted William Morris on modern works, stating “these must be executed modestly and simply using good materials and proper craftsmanship, freely and consistently with modern work.”<sup>212</sup> Fett wrote this in 1913, just after the Arts and Crafts movement’s heyday. Quality craftsmanship as a requirement for built heritage management and restoration architects can be traced in individual cases up until the present day.

### *Conservation through relocation*

Physical context has been a recurring theme in historic preservation. Moving buildings has a direct impact on the substance of the building: there is a risk of damage during disassembly

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<sup>208</sup> Lidén (1991) pp 67-68

<sup>209</sup> “..en sund og maalbevist stræben henimot moderne kunstopfatning” combined with “hævdelse av de videnskabelige krav...” Fett (1913) p 32, quoted in: Lidén (1991) p 68

<sup>210</sup> “... fordi det er forvitret og forvansket, må det også fornyes og forøkes. Med da *hovedofr-maalet bør være at bevare farverne saaledes som de er levnet av tiden* kan arbeidet, for ikke at berøves baade karakter og stemning, utføres verken av haandverker eller teatermaler, men kun av en kunstner, som utdannes i dette øiemed.” Domenico Erdman *Gammelt kirkeinventar og dets behandling – danske restaureringsmetoder*. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1913) p 79

<sup>211</sup> “det gamle har retten så langt den kan hevdes ... mens det for det nye som kommer ind, må ikke eftergjøre det gamle ... men det kreves kunstnerisk takt og historisk takt, og kunstnerens individualitet må ikke utelukkes” Fett (1913) p 20

<sup>212</sup> “Hvor moderne arbeider er nødvendig, der skal dette blir gjort enkelt og fordringsløst av godt materiale og håndverksmessig forsvarlig utført fritt i overensstemmelse med moderne arbeide.” Harry Fett quoted William Morris (1887) who here spoke of Medieval buildings. Ibid. pp 16-17

and reassembly, and the new setting may involve exposing the building to a different climate. In addition the historical and educational context is affected. The first examples of conservation of vernacular buildings were through purchase, predominantly to be moved to form part of building collections. The ideal of conservation *in situ* was not new to the 20<sup>th</sup> century; when *Fortidsminneforeningen* acquired Finnesloftet it was with a clause in the contract that the building should remain where it was. Before the *Bygningsfredningsloven*, Harry Fett complained that purchase for relocation was the *only* tool in building conservation. The possibility to preserve buildings *in situ* was one of the motivations for the legislation; with legal protection, buildings could be kept in their original built context or landscape, and without disrupting their substance by disassembling them. From the time of its foundation, *Fortidsminneforeningen* worked to preserve buildings on site. It can be argued that the idea that buildings (insofar as they were to be preserved) should be preserved in their original context has been the prevailing ideal in the conservation community since its early 18<sup>th</sup> century beginnings, and that this ideal was cemented with the Built Heritage Act, *Bygningsfredningsloven*, in 1920.

Listing did not guarantee conservation on the original plot; there are several examples where the Antiquarian Board for Buildings (*Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd*, DAB) did not succeed in preventing listed buildings from being moved on account of conflicting development plans. A final option for conservation *in situ* of a listed building if an owner resisted was expropriation according to §5 of the 1920 Built Heritage Act, in which case the state would take ownership. In most cases the buildings in question were not expropriated but negotiated to be moved to a different plot, or to an open air museum. Rather than enforcing the law, pragmatic solutions were negotiated. Vreim, in his time as an employee at *Norsk Folkemuseum*, presented a case of a listed and relocated building in *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s 1934 annal. The building had been neglected in its original spot, and finding a new and more appropriate environment took precedence over conservation of the listed building in its original environment: “*stuen stod klemt mellom nye hus, slik at det av den grunn også vare en fordel å få den vekk*”; care was taken that the new setting was appropriate with regards to landscape type, terrain, placement of the building and built context.<sup>213</sup>

One significant open air museum established after the 1920 Built Heritage Act was *Gamle Bergen Museum* (Old Bergen Museum). Plans to establish a city museum for Bergen had been cultivated since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; however after the museum opened in the

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<sup>213</sup> “*stuen stod klemt mellom nye hus, slik at det av den grunn også vare en fordel å få den vekk*” Halvor Vreim *En barfrøstue som er reddet*. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1936) pp 53-58

1940s it was comprised of buildings which were planned to be demolished (but not listed buildings). Parallel to his task as museum director here, architect Kristian Bjercknes put forward the idea of preserving built environments *in situ* throughout the 1950s and 60s. Gustav Brosing, Bergen city patriot, cultural worker, photographer and compatriot of Bjercknes in the conservation of Rosesmuggrenden (see Chapter 6) argued to move the buildings of the Bryggen wharf to *Gamle Bergen Museum*: “Only by being incorporated in an “Old Bergen” and restored to its original appearance with tilt cargo booms etc. will Bryggen reclaim its cultural historic value.”<sup>214</sup> At this time, Brosing generally supported moving historic buildings to make way for urban development: “Where a listed building stands in the way of the town’s modernization and progress practically, it should give way.”<sup>215</sup> These views were not endorsed by the professional conservation community of the 1950s. Generally the idea of preserving buildings *in situ* was not set against conservation in museums; both solutions served a purpose.

#### *Brief Summary*

This chapter set out by outlining the beginnings of a Norwegian conservation movement and its development, with emphasis on the period preceding the timeframe of the case studies. The proposition is that the events and practices described and discussed here constituted a common experience and knowledge of the Norwegian conservation community by the time the Built Heritage Act (*Bygningsfredningsloven*) was passed in 1920. From around 1850 a selection of architectural monuments were restored according to scientific and artistic principles: While prominent professionals like J.C. Dahl and Nicolay Nicolaysen expressed views consistent with the “conservation” line voiced by John Ruskin and, later, William Morris, in practice the treatment of monuments amounted to restoration, some according to strict scientific procedures, others by freer association and qualified guesswork. After it was founded in 1844, The Society for Preservation of Ancient Monuments (*Fortidsminneforeningen*) was the major organized force in conservation activity in Norway. Vernacular architecture was within *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s sphere of interest from this time, but beyond the scope of active salvage and conservation work. The first vernacular buildings to be treated and restored as historic monuments were dwellings and storage buildings acquired to demonstrate a Norwegian medieval style of building. This work

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<sup>214</sup> “Først ved å bli innlemmet i et “Gamle Bergen” og restaurert i sin opprinnelige skikkelse med vippebommer og hoper etc. vil bryggen få sin kulturhistoriske verdi tilbake.” Johnsen (1937 - 12 - 16)

<sup>215</sup> “Hvor et fredet bygg stenger for byens reguleringsmessige modernisering og utvikling i praktisk retning, der bør det fredede bygg vike plassen.” Johnsen (1937 - 7 - 30) Biographical note: Martens (1973)

proliferated from the 1880s. Some of these buildings were preserved *in situ*, most moved to open air museums. Around the turn of the century, a surge of enthusiasm for a new “national style of building” drew on more recent Norwegian vernacular architecture as a role model. A new generation of architects and art historians on *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s board included post-reformation architecture, both urban and rural vernacular, as potential objects for conservation. The corresponding goals of establishing a National Antiquarian’s Office and the tool of legislative protection for monuments were achieved in 1912 and 1920, respectively.

With the new and broadened definition of architectural heritage which developed between the turn of the century and 1920, new strategies for conservation were needed. Where strict selection, purchase and relocation had previously been tools for the protection of “lesser” buildings, conservation through use was now the overall strategy to enable conservation of the new categories of heritage buildings. A significant number of the buildings listed in the 1920s were homes. The treatment of such buildings, at the point of intersection between dwelling and cultural heritage, is the object of the empirical study which follows.

### 3

## MELHUS VICARAGE – VERNACULAR OF PUBLIC SERVICE

### *Maintenance, modernization and restoration 1802 – 2002*

“The architects of our old buildings are usually quite unknown. Only seldom can we point to a house and say what architect built it. We are in a more difficult position than other countries, as there has here never been an office for public building commissions. The buildings offices in Copenhagen officially had nothing to do with Norway. They refused to take on work up here.”

Architect Arno Berg, 1925<sup>1</sup>

The vicarages existed at the point of intersection between the private and public spheres. In addition to being the home to the vicar and his family, the vicarages also performed important functions for the local community outside of the immediate priestly duties.<sup>2</sup> Ownership of the buildings was complicated at best, but whether owned by church, state, congregation or, later, the foundation *Opplysningsvesenets Fond*, there was always a “public” interest. Especially in rural areas, the vicarage could be the only place used for representational purposes. Because of its historic significance as mediator between the authorities and the local community, and despite its obvious private character as a home, I have classified the vicarage as a building stemming from public service. As architects were scarce in Norway before the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, public commissions were given to military engineers, or local builders who merged stylistic trends and academic building rules with local ways of building.<sup>3</sup> Most vicarages from before the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century were designed and erected by such local builders,<sup>4</sup> and predominantly display *vernacular* building traditions (see Chapter 1.2.3).

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<sup>1</sup> ”Vore gamle bygningers arkitekter er som oftest ganske ukjendte. Kun en sjelden gang kan vi peke paa et hus og si hvilken arkitekt der har bygget det. Vi er vanskeligere stillet end andre land, da her aldrig har været noget embede for den offentlige byggevirkksomhet. Bygningskontorene i Kjøbenhavn hadde officielt intet med Norge at bestille. De negtet at ta paa sig noget arbeide her oppe.” Antiquarian Arno Berg in a journal article on Civil Architecture in 17<sup>th</sup> century Norway, in *Fortidsminneforeningens* Annual for 1925. Berg (1927) p 2

<sup>2</sup> Historically, it was customary for vicarages to provide a meal for people in need; they were open as a shelter from bad weather before and after service, and bound by law to take in travellers. The vicar performed certain official duties like collecting taxes (*tiende, landskyld*). Illiteracy was common well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the vicarage was consulted as a centre of learning. The vicarage was also a centre for schooling, through the confirmation service and the common school for children (*allmueskolen*) in the time before the 7 year public school (*folkeskolen*) was established in 1889. Flokkmann (1974) p 103; Thune (2009)

<sup>3</sup> Hamran (1981) p 7

<sup>4</sup> Flokkmann (1974) p 112

Prestegårdslåna<sup>5</sup> is an 18<sup>th</sup> century vicarage, the main building on the vicar's farm at Melhus in the Nidaros diocese, and was listed as part of a countrywide effort to preserve state-owned built heritage in the 1920s and -30s. As a building type, Prestegårdslåna typically displays the regional building tradition, its special status as a vicarage is revealed only by its size, which is above average, and fine interiors. It was built and maintained by local craftsmen but twice rebuilt according to architects' designs, most recently in a comprehensive restoration in 1929 which gave it the appearance it has kept until today. In one aspect Prestegårdslåna is a vernacular building, but also belongs to the group of public service buildings where the architect was not known. This chapter examines the treatment of Prestegårdslåna from the time it was first built in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and into its first decades as a listed building.

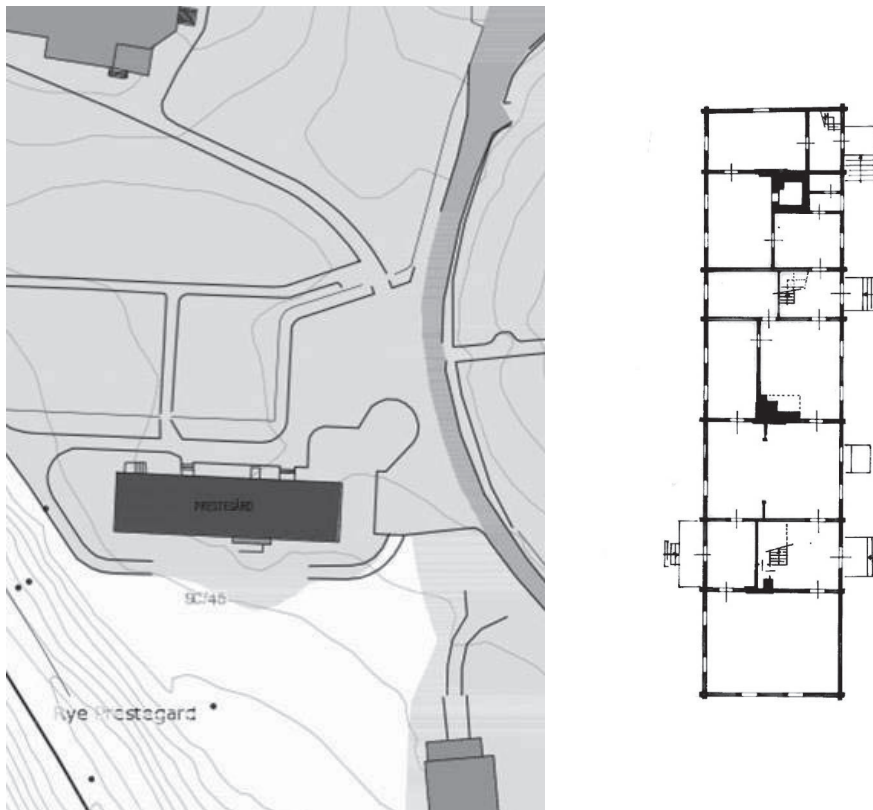


Figure 1-2: Melhus vicarage, site plan (left) and floor plan (right), (August Schmidt)

<sup>5</sup> *Prestegårdslåna* is the local name for the dwelling at Melhus vicarage. The etymological of the coined word informs the reader that this is a vicar's building (vicar="prest"), that it belongs on a farm ("gård"), and that the building type is a *lån*, a long and narrow building typical of the Trøndelag, Møre and Nordland regions.



Figure 3-4: Prestegårdslåna, south façade (left) and north façade and west end gable (right). (Photographs by Kristine Kaasa Moe ©Stiftelsen Prestegårdslåna)

The origin of Prestegårdslåna’s status as a historic building was a new direction in conservation. Since the turn of the century, voices had argued for the conservation of non-monumental buildings. Churches, medieval buildings and archaeological finds had been subject to monitoring by the conservation community; with the 1920 Built Heritage Act it became possible to ascribe heritage status to secular buildings built after the reformation. The vicarages had a complex history of ownership which was resolved in 1897 when the state, through *Opplysningsvesenets Fond*, formally took on complete ownership of all vicarages.<sup>6</sup> The historically significant state owned buildings were recorded but not formally listed, as it was considered unnecessary that the state should give its own buildings statutory protection; rather it was expected that the state should be a role model in conservation. State owned buildings were supervised by *Riksantikvaren* at the same level as privately owned, formally listed buildings.<sup>7</sup> The vicarages, a geographically and typologically diverse group, constituted a large proportion of all state-owned buildings, and made up a significant number of the first listings.

At the time Prestegårdslåna in Melhus was built, few trained architects practised in Norway. When the preservationists documented the architectural legacy of Norway it was necessary to include “anonymous architecture”, where the designer or builder was not known. Architect and antiquarian Arno Berg published an essay in 1923 which presented “...our rich but for the large part quite anonymous private building enterprises..” from the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>8</sup> Berg’s article presented monumental public buildings or structures where the

<sup>6</sup> Flokkmann (1974) p 116

<sup>7</sup> Torvanger (2005) p 87

<sup>8</sup> Berg worked at Norsk Folkemuseum when this piece was written. He later became Oslo’s first city antiquarian (1956-60) Roede (2009)



designer was unknown, or was not a trained architect.<sup>9</sup> This was also the case for the bulk of the country's vicarages; they were "anonymous architecture" in the sense that their designer was not named. The age, size, style and condition of the vicarages varied greatly; overall they ranged from monumental structures which were obviously influenced from abroad, to buildings of purely local character. But more often than not, the vicarages display a combination of contemporary architectural style and local building traditions. These were the first points of entry for trends from the outside world, making them obvious role models for the community.

The rich documentation on building maintenance at Prestegårdslåna give unique insights into traditional treatment practices, as well as the subsequent modernization and restoration. Therefore the building history which happened *before* what may be defined as "conservation treatment" (i.e. how the building was treated after its designation as built heritage) is included in this chapter, as a reference for "traditional treatment". Finally, the 1929 restoration under architect Tønseth will be presented and discussed as an example of 1920s restoration practice.

#### *A note on the sources*

Being buildings owned by the state and used by representatives of the state bureaucracy, the vicarages have an unusually well documented history compared to listed buildings in private ownership as they were subject to routine public appraisals, and all documents were collected in the vicar's archive (*Prestearkivet*). Significant for this study are fire insurance valuations (*branntakster*) and maintenance appraisals (*åbøtsforretninger*), settlements overseen by public officials like district recorders (*sorenskriveren*) to decide if compensation was to be paid by one vicar to his successor in the case of neglectful maintenance of buildings<sup>10</sup>, and correspondence, blueprints, bills and paperwork concerning the modernization in 1878 and the restoration in 1922. The written sources for this chapter consist of documents from Prestegårdslåna's archive, an archive compiled by the organized support group for the

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<sup>9</sup> Berg's piece was based on studies in Danish and Norwegian government archives. In his article he mapped a series of 17<sup>th</sup> century public building projects and their designers which were military officers, builders or Danish architects, mentioning Akershus fortress, *Tollboden* in Kristiania (Oslo) and various storage facilities, among them *Magasinbygningen* for the silver mine in Strømsø (Drammen). He noted that after the ratification of the Norwegian Constitution in 1814, the circumstances changed with all the fresh building commissions, and one acquired an individual Norwegian architect profession with Linstow, Grosch and Schirmer in the lead. Berg (1927) p 30

<sup>10</sup> Hongset (1977 - 6 - 18) p 552-3



Figure 5: Melhus vicarage and Prestegårdslåna with the medieval Melhus church. In 1733, it was reported that the church was in good condition, and that it was owned by the vicar.<sup>11</sup> In 1756 the vicar was chided for neglecting the church.<sup>12</sup> In 1873 the Melhus church was again reported to be in excellent condition, with only a minor roof repair undertaken recently.<sup>13</sup> Two years later the condition was reported to be very bad, and that it had been so for many years, with unstable foundations on one side which had caused one wall to shift.<sup>14</sup> Architect Digre's commission for Prestegårdslåna in 1875 supposedly included an assessment of the church.<sup>15</sup> The medieval Melhus church was demolished in 1889. *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett wrote of the destruction of Norwegian medieval churches in general, using Melhus and Orkdalen churches in Trøndelag as examples: "We sacrifice millions to restore the cathedral, while at the same time the genuine heritage which we own in the same style is destroyed"<sup>16</sup>, "The cathedral" referred to being Nidaros Cathedral (see Chapter 2).  
(Painting by Meyer, dated 1795/96. Reproduced with permission)

<sup>11</sup> "Kirchen ejes af pastore, og fantis i god stand." Visital 15. februar 1733, Visitasprotokoll (Bishop of Trondheim) 1732-1770; transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) p 164

<sup>12</sup> "... der sees en uforvarlig forsømmelse hos Kirke-Ejeren Laur: Hess (?) i at holde Krike-Bygningen ved lige; ti et Vindøje i Døbe-Huset er aldeles ude; .." Visital 15. februar 1756, Visitasprotokoll 1732-1770 fra Trondhjems biskop. Ibid. p 169

<sup>13</sup> "Melhus Kirke er i upaaklagelig Stand. Taget har erholdt en liden reparasjon." Udskrift af Visitasprotokol for Nordre Dalernes Provsti ... Visital 24th September 1873; box 691 I.2d.3 Melhus vicar archive, Statsarkivet Trondheim. Ibid. p 136

<sup>14</sup> Visital 26th September 1875; box 691 I.2d.3 Melhus vicar archive, Statsarkivet Trondheim. Ibid. p 139

<sup>15</sup> "Med Hensyn til Regningen var det Arkitektens mening, at Beløpt skulde deles mellem Kommunen og meg, og er da vistnok Inspektionen af Kirken deri iberegnet." Letter from vicar J. H. Berg to Hr. J. Skjerdingsstad 2nd October 1875 (of Melhus municipality), box 691 I.2d.3 Melhus vicar archive, Statsarkivet Trondheim. Ibid. p 142

<sup>16</sup> "Vi ofrer millioner paa at restaurere domkirken, mens samtidig som det egte som vi har av samme stil, ødelægges." (...) "domkirken" was Nidaros Domkirke in Trondheim. Fett (1910) pp 76-77

conservation of Prestegårdslåna, *Prestegårdslånas venner*, through their documentation project *Historiedokumentasjonsprosjektet*.<sup>17</sup> This archive is housed at Prestegårdslåna and consists of copies of all known records concerning the property, a significant proportion of which were retrieved from *Prestearkivet* (the clerical archives) at *Statsarkivet i Trondheim* (the regional state archives in Trondheim).

### 3.1 PRESERVING MELHUS VICARAGE: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Melhus vicarage has a history which dates back to medieval times, while the building history of Prestegårdslåna began in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. As property of the church and state, the vicarage's history has been well documented over time. This section begins with a brief geographical and historical background of Melhus vicarage, followed by a sketched outline of the conservation history of the vicarage; this to provide a relevant context for the presentation (chapter 3.2) and discussion (3.3) of how Prestegårdslåna has been treated as cultural heritage.

#### **3.1.1 The Melhus valley and the vicar's farm**

##### *Geographical context and historical significance*

The Melhus valley has a rich, documented history, including a mention in the saga literature (the Saga of Snorre). The rural area and parish was named after the Melhus farm which comprised many properties on the rich farming land of the Melhus valley, including the property which was the vicarage from the 16<sup>th</sup> century and onwards. The vicarage was a close neighbour to the old Melhus church, but little is known about its buildings before the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when Prestegårdslåna was built. Placed prominently on the top on a plateau in clear view of its surroundings, the 12<sup>th</sup> century Melhus stone church survived the 14<sup>th</sup> century landslide which shaped the valley bottom topography and landscape. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Melhus farm and vicarage was one of the largest farms in the Melhus valley.

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<sup>17</sup> The archival material is presented and commented in two unpublished volumes: Moe 2007, and Rugelsjøn 2007 (transcript of documents). Archivist Bjørg Rugelsjøn has transcribed all handwritten documents in the State Archive, and Master of Arts Kristine Kaasa Moe has been responsible for collecting and cataloguing all documentation concerning Prestegårdslåna, and organized and reflected on these in the History and Documentation Project for Prestegårdslåna (*Historiedokumentasjonsprosjektet*). The project was initiated by the Prestegårdslåna Foundation (*Stiftelsen Prestegårdslåna*).



Figure 6-7: The vicar's farm at Melhus and the new church built in 1892 (left) and Prestegårdslåna, with utilities buildings between them. These photos must be the ones acquired by vicar Anders Hovden upon request from *Riksantikvaren* in 1919. (Photographs ©Riksantikvaren)

Strategically situated on the major north-south route near Trondheim, the Melhus vicarage also functioned as a guest house for travellers. Gerhard Schøning visited the vicar's farm at Melhus: "From Flaa I travelled to Melhuus precinct...", in 1775, and described the nearby Melhus church ("Close to this..."), the farm produce and the topography, mentioning menhirs and the burial mounds which adorned the landscape, witness to the "...great and renowned Men or families" which had inhabited Melhus "in the Past".<sup>18</sup>

The old Melhus church was ultimately demolished to be replaced by a new and bigger church in 1892, grossly altering the surroundings of the Melhus vicarage. After World War II,

<sup>18</sup> Fra Flaa reiste jeg til Melhuus præstegaard..."; ("Tæt hos denne..."); "...store og anseelige Mænd eller familier"; "i fordum Dage" Schøning 1773-5 Schøning (1979) pp 230, 235

the focal point of the settlement shifted, and expanding commercial and administrative activity north of Melhus church formed the basis of a new community centre.<sup>19</sup>

#### *The vicar's farm at Melhus*

On the vicar's farm at Melhus, no traces of medieval buildings remain, as the farm buildings were successively replaced over the centuries. The vicar's farm has over the past three hundred years gone from a one-house-per-function system, via rationalized farming with a single utilities building, to full separation between the agricultural, domestic and clerical functions. In 1739 the farm consisted of fifteen buildings (17 if the 3 "fæ-huse" (animal houses) which were built together are counted separately), 3 of them new (*våning*, *stabbur*, *herrestue*), 10 in a state of decay or needing repairs. One of these new buildings was a new dwelling, built to relieve the old dwelling which considered unfit for living in:

"...concerning the Old Dwelling, this was during the Inspection found to be quite derelict, rotten and of no use; But Mr. Christen Lyster has let another Dwelling be built, consisting of Sitting Room, Kitchen, Bedchamber, Larder and Lofts, with adequate Cellars;..."<sup>20</sup>

The new dwelling described here constitutes the oldest part of the current Prestegårdslåna, the middle section, and is estimated to have been built in 1720-22.<sup>21</sup> In 1870 there were eleven buildings on the vicar's farm at Melhus, including the gazebo and the outhouse [Figure 8]. Much of the vicar's farm land was sold in 1890, and the reduction of farming land and modernization of farming operations account for the fall into disuse and ultimate demolition of the older utilities buildings.<sup>22</sup> In 1959 the farmland was sold and the buildings taken over by Melhus municipality. The older utilities buildings, now superfluous, were demolished.

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<sup>19</sup> Thorsnes (2010); Riksantikvaren (1996 - 3 - 7) p 4

<sup>20</sup> This recapitulation of events is from 1739, from the Åbot after the death of vicar Christen Lyster: "... og da, for det første, hvad VaaneHuuset dend gamle Angaar, da befandtis dend ved Besigtelsen, at være gandsche forfalden, opraaden, og til jngen nytte; Men derjmod har Sl: hr: Christen Lyster ladet af nye opsætte eet andet Vaanehuus, bestående af Stue, Kiøken, Sengekammer, Spiskammer og Loffter, med behørig Kielder under: *Besiktigelsesforretning* 16<sup>th</sup> April 1739, tingbok nr. 1B (1736-1743) for Gauldal sorenskriverembede, 1A02, fol. 155a, transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) pp 2-4

<sup>21</sup> Moe (2007) p 3

<sup>22</sup> Moe (2007) p 5. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century money economy took foothold in rural areas and the rationalization of farming demanded increased investments in equipment and buildings. Most vicarage farms had tenant farmers, but investments did not balance with profits and farming became a liability for many vicar farms. The sale of farm land at Melhus vicar farm coincided with a massive land use change-over at vicar farms countrywide. Flokkmann (1974) p 115-116

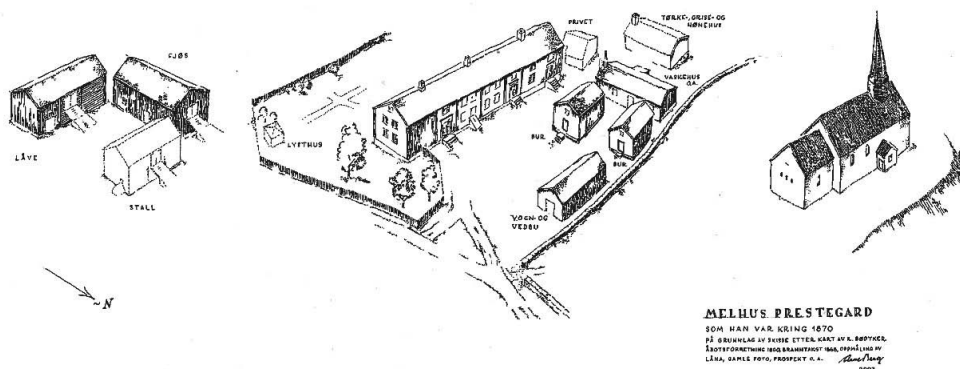


Figure 8: The vicar’s farm at Melhus in 1870. The 1868 fire insurance valuation for the vicar’s farm at Melhus mentions the following buildings and their locations in relation to Prestegårdslåna: “Timber Storage building, a Timber Animal house, a Timber Barn, a Woodshed and a Wagon Shed; a Fence surrounding the Garden, also a Gazebo; Wagon and Woodshed; Scullery and Brewhouse; Drying- Cooking and Henhouse.” The stable belonged to the congregation and was not insured before 1877. The “Lokum” (outhouse) and “Hønselhus” were placed 7 ½ Alen from Prestegårdslåna’s west end. Dotted contours indicate that the placement of the building is uncertain or that the buildings were considered “worthless” (“*værdiløst*”) and therefore not insured.<sup>23</sup> (Drawing by architect Arne Berg, 2003, reconstructed on the basis of 1860 map by R. Bødker, appraisals, fire insurance valuations, surveys, old photographs and prospects. Reproduced with permission)

Prestegårdslåna was vacated by the vicar in 1959, and subsequently let out to tenants. In 2002 there were only three buildings on the vicar’s farm at Melhus, Prestegårdslåna and two buildings built *after* 1870.

Historically, a priest or vicar’s home was a farm. In catholic times the church was directly economically responsible for this property, whereas after the reformation these farms were run or leased by the vicar and his family and the income they brought was part of the vicar’s wages. The condition of the buildings on the farm was determined by each farm’s financial position, dependent on the competence of the tenant farmer and the initiative of the vicar and any private fortune at his disposal.<sup>24</sup> At Melhus vicarage the financially resourceful Peder Pedersen Lycke, vicar of Melhus from 1740-57, extended Prestegårdslåna in two

<sup>23</sup> “Stabur af Tømmer; Stabur af Tømmer; et Fæhus af Tømmer; en Laavebygning af Tømmer; Vedskur og Vognremisse; et Stakitverk om haven samt et i Haven opført Lysthus; Vogn og Veedbod; Stør og Gruehuus; Tørke- Grue og Hønselhuus. Branntakst 26<sup>th</sup> August 1868 (Fire Insurance Assessment 1868) from Melhus lensmannsarkiv, Branntakstprotokoll 1 (1846-1862), Statsarkivet i Trondheim; Branntakst 29<sup>th</sup> December 1877 (Fire insurance assessment), Melhus lensmannsarkiv. Branntakstprotokoll 1 (1846-1882), Statsarkivet i Trondheim; transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) pp 131-133, 149

<sup>24</sup> Horgen (1999)

directions.<sup>25</sup> With this extension, the oldest section, built in 1722, acquired the length it has today. There tended to be a complicated arrangement for the division of responsibility between the vicar, the congregation (peasantry) and tenant farmer, which affected the various buildings' state of maintenance. Since before the reformation, a system had been established whereby the congregation erected buildings on the vicar's farm for their own use, and they were responsible for maintenance and repairs of these buildings. Such buildings could include a *borgstue* (the "folk" or common room), a *herrekammer* (where the bishop and his closest followers would stay when visiting the vicarage), an *almuestue* (a common room for gatherings and where visitors of lesser importance and locals could spend the night), and the *stable*, which at a vicar's farm always provided accommodation for more horses than the farm owned in case of visitors.<sup>26</sup> In Prestegårdslåna the rooms included *herrestuen* and *borgestuen* (also called *almuestuen*), both joined under the same roof as the vicar's home; the former constituted the eastern end of the building, the latter the western end. The congregation was responsible for the maintenance of these rooms in Prestegårdslåna, and also the stable.

The sharing of building maintenance responsibilities between the vicar and the congregation could result in strange deals. In 1758 there was a quarrel over three rooms in Prestegårdslåna: *Forstuen*, *Cammeret* (*Bispekabinettet*) and *Borgestuen* [Figure 9]. The congregation disputed that they were responsible for redecorating *Cammeret* (the bed chamber next to *Herrestuen*). It was decided that the maintenance of these rooms was to be shared between the congregation and the vicar in the ratio  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ; one wall was even shared between the two parties:

“... that of the Wall which unites both the Rooms, each should maintain half.”<sup>27</sup>

The tenant farmer was a third party with responsibilities for the daily running of a vicar's farm, and with responsibilities for the buildings. At Melhus, the tenant farmer's family lived in the west end of Prestegårdslåna. The division of responsibilities for the buildings between vicar, tenant farmer and congregation could cause dispute, and had consequences for the state of the buildings.

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<sup>25</sup> Moe (2007) p 4

<sup>26</sup> Flokkmann (1974) pp 105-106

<sup>27</sup> “... at den Væg som foreener begge stuerne bør, af enhver vedligeholdes den halve del..”. Åbot 1802. Transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) p 23

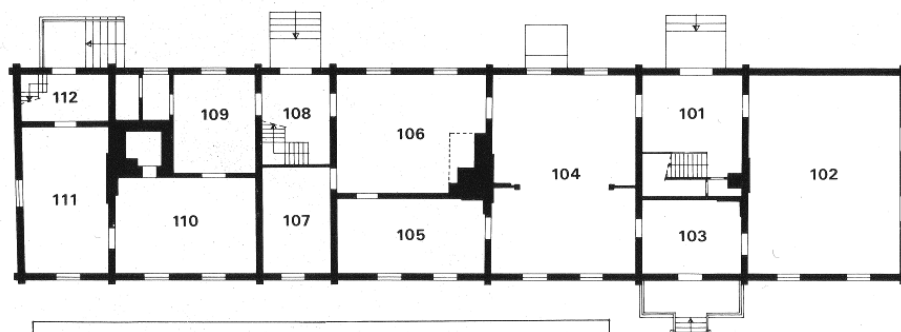


Figure 9: Floor plan of Prestegårdslåna from 1982 printed in *Riksantikvaren's* publication *Fredede hus og anlegg*. The oldest part of the building is the mid section with rooms 104, 105, 106, 107 and 108, built 1720-1722. The building was extended lengthwise in both directions in 1744: to the east with the following rooms on the ground floor: 101 (*Forstuen*), 102 (*Herrestuen*) and 103 (*Bispekabinettet*); and to the west with the following rooms on the ground floor: 109 (*Storhuset*), 110 (*Forpakterstugu*) 111 (*Borgestuen/Almuestuen*) and 112 (*Vestgangen*). Prestegårdslåna was always two storeys high, and the extensions were on both floor levels. The plan is incorrect in one aspect; the first veranda was built in the year 1900 and the entrance to the veranda and garden was always from room 104, not 103 as is shown here. (P. Tandstad ©Riksantikvaren)

During the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century these obligations of the congregation had in many places been taken on by the municipalities. At the vicar's farm at Melhus, the municipality took over the congregation's maintenance duties in 1874, which meant they were now responsible for the eastern, and part of the western section of Prestegårdslåna.<sup>28</sup> This new division of responsibilities lasted until 1908, when the state formally took ownership of all parts of all buildings at the vicar's farm.<sup>29</sup> This was authorized by a government resolution from 1897, which had dissolved the system of shared responsibilities for the buildings of the countryside clergy. The maintenance duties (*åbetsplikt*) of the congregations were to be taken over by the state, which took on full ownership of the vicarages through the trust for the management of church property *Opplysningsvesenets Fond*, "The Foundation for the Board of Knowledge".<sup>30</sup> The vicar still ran the farm, in most places with a tenant farmer, but now dealt with only one owner, *Opplysningsvesenets fond*, when negotiating for maintenance and improvements of the

<sup>28</sup> "... at den Kommunen tilhørende part ogsaa paa samme bliver repareret." Letter from J. H. Berg to Melhus Formandskap 19th May 1874; 691 I.2d.3 "M. F. J.N° 37/74. M. P. JN° 26/74 Melhus vicar archive, Statsarkivet Trondheim. Ibid. p 138

<sup>29</sup> January 1<sup>st</sup> 1908. This was stated in the Åbot of October 22nd-24th 1906. Moe (2007) p 29

<sup>30</sup> OVF: "Opplysningsvesenets Fond: "The Foundation for the Board of Knowledge" a name with roots in a wording in the Norwegian Constitution, § 106: "Both acquisition sums as well as earnings of the to the clergy's beneficiary property shall be used to the best of the Clergy and for the promotion of knowledge. The mild foundations property shall only be of use for their benefit" ("Saavel Kjøbesummer som Indtægter af det Geistligheden beneficerede Gods skal blot anvendes til Geistlighedens Bedste og Oplysningens Fremme. Milde Stiftelsers Eiendomme skulle blot anvendes til disses Gavn." Flokkmann (1974) p 116



buildings. The Church Act of 1959 removed farming from the vicars' responsibilities and terminated the vicars' residential obligation.<sup>31</sup> For the vicar's farm at Melhus, the 1959 act induced the final division of farmland and vicarage, and ended the two hundred year history of Prestegårdslåna as a vicar's residence. The land was sold, the buildings taken over by the Melhus municipality and the vicar moved, against his will, in 1960; Prestegårdslåna was subsequently partly let out and partly left uninhabited.<sup>32</sup> The municipality, since the 1959 Act responsible for accommodating the vicar, had built a new and smaller modern house for this purpose. This signified a new and less authoritative role for the vicar and vicarage; the vicar's home was now a private home without official functions; and was an expression that a different standard of housing was required. Prestegårdslåna was outmoded as a home; it had since early in the century been considered too large and, by some of the vicars, draughty and uncomfortable.

#### *The Trøndelag vernacular*

Prestegårdslåna is a representative of the building type referred to as a *trønderlån*, a typical dwelling on farms in Trøndelag and Mid-Norway.<sup>33</sup> The farmyard at Melhus vicarage in the 19<sup>th</sup> century [Figure 8], now gone, was typical for the region, with the utilities buildings organized around a roughly square courtyard. The animal buildings were placed in a separate square courtyard at some distance from Prestegårdslåna, probably due to lack of space as Prestegårdslåna was situated relatively close to the church, and because of Prestegårdslåna's representational functions. One did not have to travel through the animal courtyard to reach the main entrance of the vicarage. The utilities buildings were not always organized this way; in a painting of Melhus vicarage from 1796 the main access road passes through the courtyard, with Prestegårdslåna on one side and a large utilities building on the other [Figure 5].

Organizing farm buildings around an open square courtyard became common in Trøndelag during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, frequently in connection with re-allotment and agricultural reform, and this feature has since strongly characterized the farms in the region. Prior to this, the principle of organizing farms was one-house-per-purpose, which was practised more or less throughout the country. The buildings on these older or poorer farms were, according to some 18<sup>th</sup> century historical sources, small-scale and gave a disorganized impression, referred

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<sup>31</sup> Horgen (1999)

<sup>32</sup> Moe writes this in the overview of vicars of Melhus. Moe (2007) pp 5, 35

<sup>33</sup> Dahle, Grytli et al. (2005)

to as peasant-like and mean.<sup>34</sup> The vicar's farm at Melhus is documented to have had numerous buildings in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, but gradually the farm buildings were organized in a uniform courtyard with fewer buildings to fill the same functions.

From the 18<sup>th</sup> century and onwards it became customary to erect the farmyard's main building, the dwelling, with two storeys instead of one. Existing dwellings were extended by adding an extra floor or adding logs to the timber to convert a loft into a full-height storey.<sup>35</sup> The buildings were also elongated, frequently to accommodate the farm's *kårbolig* (for the farmer's parents), in a separate unit. The extension lengthwise could be an existing house moved in from elsewhere which was linked to a standing building; both later clad as one uniform building. Overall, this constituted the characteristic *trønderlån* which is a long and narrow building with rooms organized in a long, single, and in the larger examples, partly double, file. Prestegårdslåna was constructed in two stages, 1720-22 and 1744, but it always had a "loft", that is two storeys.

The custom to extend the building lengthwise was noted by Eilert Sundt in 1854, who categorized the *trøndersk* floor plan separately as one of four main plan types found in the Norwegian vernacular.<sup>36</sup> According to Sundt, the morphology of the *trønderlån* was chronologically determined; a notched box was the initial and oldest section; this had a clad, half-timbered framework entrance to one side. When extended, one or more notched boxes were erected at one or both ends<sup>37</sup>, the size of a notched box was limited by the length of the tree trunk. The additions could be a freshly notched box, or part of an older building which had been disassembled and moved. A *trønderlån* often had several entrances.

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, exterior wooden cladding of dwellings became the custom for those who could afford it, and in Trøndelag this was with few exceptions vertically positioned.<sup>38</sup> The exterior cladding created a smoother surface for architectural effect and was, if affordable, painted in the "classical" white.<sup>39</sup> Windows were placed rhythmically in

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<sup>34</sup> Shøning remarked upon in his travels in Trøndelag. Schøning (1979)

<sup>35</sup> This is commonly found to have been done. Eilert Sundt wrote in 1862: "A farmer of 60 in the parish of Holtålen could remember a time, when there in the parish was no more than one loft-dwelling. Now however there are loft-dwellings everywhere except on small and poorly rooms." Holtålen is a parish in Sør-Trøndelag. A documented reference of the heightening of a building is the listed dwelling at Hanshuus in Midtre Gauldal municipality. Sundt (1976) p 107; Hegard (1986)

<sup>36</sup> Sundt (1976) p 103

<sup>37</sup> Sundt defined these rooms as *nystue* if they were square and used as sitting rooms; *langkammer* if they were of a smaller and rectangular size, in which case they would be chambers. Ibid. p 108

<sup>38</sup> Exterior panelling became increasingly common during the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when sawed building materials were made more available due to the technology of the *vassag* (water-powered saw). Providing wind- and weather shielding of the timber construction, it was also an architectural feature.

<sup>39</sup> The colour white was associated with classical architecture since Winckelmann; in Norway the small towns of the southern coastline are characterized by wooden, classicistically detailed architecture, painted white when

twos, symmetrically flanking entrance doors, which could be placed in the central axis of the building although this does not seem to have been a strict rule. In the *trønderlån* interior, the row of rooms was connected by equally positioned doors, creating an *en filade* effect. The size of the rooms varied according to the average length of the materials, and the rhythm of the façade was determined by this rather than by calculated, architectural symmetry. The classicism of the *trønderlån* exterior was underscored by architectural details in mouldings (dentil moulding, grooved pilasters and semi-columns, occasionally architraves, consoles, entablatures), always concentrated around windows and, especially, doorways. These classical features in the floor plan, façade and silhouette became deeply rooted in the traditional regional way of building. Halvor Vreim described the style of Trøndelag buildings (“*trønderstil*”) as harmonious, dignified, beautiful and balanced; the interiors well proportioned.<sup>40</sup>



Figure 10: The development of the floor plan in Trøndelag vernacular according to Eilert Sundt. The three-room type, the paired room type with an added *nystue*; the paired room type with an added “long chamber” (*langkammers*), and lastly the double unit, where the addition was in fact a separate unit (for the older generation) with a separate entrance and, in this case, no internal connection. (Eilert Sundt, Digitalarkivet)

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white titan and sink paint replaced the more expensive led paint and made the previously high-status colour affordable. Jon Brønne in: Drange, Aanensen et al. (1996)

<sup>40</sup> Vreim (1964) pp 3-5

The 18<sup>th</sup> century, the century when Prestegårdslåna was built and obtained its present day design, was a phase of economic and cultural flourish for the Trøndelag region. Trondheim (frequently referred to as “the Empire Style city”) and Røros were centres of gravity where continental style and culture was reinterpreted in the wooden architecture commissioned by families who were making their fortunes in fisheries, trade and in the mining industry. The wealthier farms of the countryside were notably influenced by the baroque and classicism of urban architecture, although application of stylistic exterior seldom went beyond windows, doors and mouldings. The general layout and form of buildings was rooted in a vernacular tradition. Melhus Prestegårdslåna falls within the type of wealthier 18<sup>th</sup> century farm dwellings in Trøndelag, a type prominent in the listings of the 1920s.<sup>41</sup>

The breakthrough and consolidation of classicism in the vernacular of Trøndelag was no doubt due to its close vicinity to the two centres of trade and industry in the region. Through the buildings of the elites of Trondheim, and partly also of Røros, European trends in architecture were introduced to surrounding rural areas. Due to fishery, forestry and trade privileges, Trondheim experienced a “Golden Age” towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century; for Røros, mining activity peaked at the start of the Napoleonic wars and fostered a close contact with Europe through a reliance on both foreign industrial competence and trade. The most monumental building in Røros, its late 18<sup>th</sup> century church, was given distinct neo-classical features; the larger wooden street buildings were also finished at this time, clad and with classicistic detailed door and window mouldings. In Trondheim, monumental wooden town “palees” were built in the city, and country houses (*lyststeder*) on the farms outside of the city’s borders, all in the classicising baroque and later the Louis Seize style.<sup>42</sup> The style of the wealthy influenced the vernacular of the region; Halvor Vreim described the stylistic influence from town to countryside in the following manner:

“Beyond the circle of large farms in Strinda (the vicinity of the city of Trondheim), “Culture” was in the hands of the peasants.”<sup>43</sup>

The classicism of Trøndelag was the result of a strong economic upsurge when the style was the height of fashion; eventually classicism and Empire Style became part of a national project with Hans Ditlev Frantz von Linstow’s designs for the royal castle, and Christian

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<sup>41</sup> Svendsen, Christie et al. (1982); Hegard (1986)

<sup>42</sup> Dahle, Grytli et al. (2005)

<sup>43</sup> “Utenfor kretsen av storgårder i Strinda var “Culturen” i bøndenes hender.” (Strinda, neighbouring parish to Trondheim where the wealthy had farms and country houses) Vreim (1964) p 5

Heinrich Grosch's Stock Exchange and National Bank in Kristiania (Oslo).<sup>44</sup> One may speculate as to why elements of classical style continued to have such a foothold in Trøndelag's regional architecture.<sup>45</sup> In the historical overview for the presentation of listed buildings in Sør-Trøndelag, Lars Roede made a note of the *trønderlån*'s conservative classicism with regards to later stylistic influence:

"The classicistic exterior got such a foothold in the region of Trøndelag that this style was never quite marginalized by the Swiss Style, as it was in other parts of the country. Well into the present century the vernacular way of building retained its classical character. The Swiss Style sometimes showed its influence when a roof was re-laid, or when a small entrance or veranda was added."<sup>46</sup>

The association between classicism and the vernacular of Trøndelag has been strong among architects and antiquarians. This had consequences for both the selection of buildings for designation as cultural heritage, and the conservation strategies as practised by trained architects and antiquarians.

#### *Between the monumental and the vernacular*

Did anything characterize the vicarages architecturally, as a group? As noted at the beginning of this chapter, vicarages would often display both contemporary architectural design and local building traditions. A minority of the vicarages were designed by known architects individually or as type drawings. The majority were built according to the region's vernacular, except that the buildings were bigger and the stylistic features more elaborate.

As the property of one owner, the church and, since the reformation, the state, the vicarages were subject to common administrative arrangements. There were scattered attempts at regulating the design of the vicar's farms. A 1589 clergy meeting gave advice on vicar's farms: "The vicars shall adorn their Vicarages with sufficient buildings and attend to them. But these Buildings must not be too peasant-like and poor and should not be of disorderly disposition, but preferably if the land allows for it, be organized in a Square to face the Sun ... and have an appearance which is worthy of vicars."<sup>47</sup> In 1835 a catalogue of

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<sup>44</sup> Lindstow travelled in Denmark and Germany and saw the architecture of C.F. Hansen and K. F. Schinkel. Hamran (1981) pp 31, 37-38

<sup>45</sup> Art historian Sverre Krüger discusses this phenomenon in the essay *Trønderlåna - en arv fra Akropolis og lokal bygningstradisjon*. Krüger (2000)

<sup>46</sup> Architect Lars Roede in the introduction to *Fredede hus og anlegg i Sør-Trøndelag*. Hegard (1986)

<sup>47</sup> "Presten skal pryde sine Prestegaarde med tilstrekkelige bygninger og vedligeholde disse. Men disse Bygninger maa ikke være altfor bondeaktige og fattigslige og ikke ligge i Uorden, men helst hvis Hensynet til

exemplary vicarage building designs was prepared by the agriculture school manager (*landbruksskolebestyrer*) Jacob L. B. Sverdrup on behalf of the Ministry of Church Affairs. The stated intention was counter deficiencies in the vicarages' architecture and state of maintenance which was rooted in the "... insignificant progress of the Art of Building in Norway", and Sverdrup's neo-classical (Empire Style) designs did inspire numerous vicarages throughout the country.<sup>48</sup> Despite this the vicarages remained a diverse group. With regards to style, the bulk of Norwegian vicarages found their form in the 18<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, within the style range of classicism (baroque and rococo, Louis Seize and Empire Style); the stylistic influence was found in details (windows, portals and roof design) more than in layout, which was more rooted in regional traditions.<sup>49</sup> In general vicarages were among the finer building specimens in a region, which reflected the official and representational function of the state official's home. In many local communities the vicar was the only public servant and in this respect the vicarage was a public institution, a local centre for culture and learning; in rural areas the place where the local met with the world. The significance of this function of the state official's home was stressed by art historian Carl Wille Schnitler in 1911:

"Because the state officials' homes in the countryside from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century were home to a large – not to say the largest – segment of the country's highest education and breeding and were among the strongest cultural forces in the country."<sup>50</sup>

Schnitler's account evoked an image of the vicarage as a place for breeding and higher learning; in reality the vicarages, before the specialized institutions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, also attended to more prosaic and earnest matters like care for the poor, advice on legal or money matters for laymen, and education. An account of the bishop's visit to Melhus in 1737 reported that the schoolmaster was useless with drink (but the youths were found to be

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Grunden tillader det, være bygget i Fiirkant saa at de er vendt mot Solen ... og har et udseeende som er presterne værdig". Declaration from a meeting of the clergy in Bergen in 1589, quoted in: Flokkmann (1974) p 107

<sup>48</sup> "...Bygningskunstens ubetydelige fremgang i Norge inntil de nyeste tider", statement by The Church Ministry. The architectural designs of Sverdrup were in more or less reproductions of drawings made by Lindstow, architect to the Royal Castle, in 1829 in a pure neo-classical Empire Style. Ibid. p 114

<sup>49</sup> Bugge (1919) pp 100-102

<sup>50</sup> "For embedsgaardene paa landet rummet i slutningen av 18de aarh. og fremdeles i den tidsalder, som her foreligger, en stor - for ikke at si den største – del av landets høieste dannelse og av de sterkeste drivende kulturkræfter i landet" Schnitler (1989) p 130

somewhat improved, presumably since the last visit)<sup>51</sup>; in 1750 there was no schoolmaster (“presumably because of the congregation’s obstinacy”)<sup>52</sup> whereas in 1753 it was noted that the sexton administered the teaching of the local youths.<sup>53</sup> In the same year it was related that the poor were attended to using money collected by the congregation.<sup>54</sup> In Melhus, building a regular school was not seriously considered until 1839.<sup>55</sup> Apart from providing education and social services, the vicarage was also the point of entry for innovations and new trends, including those of style and architecture, which were merged with the local vernacular. Anders Bugge, who registered historic buildings for *Riksantikvaren*, wrote in 1919 that, among the state officials’ homes, the vicar’s farms were closest to the local vernacular:

“The vicars had a unique position among the state officials, and the vicarages demonstrate a similar special standing in relation to the state officials’ homes in general. The vicars were more closely associated with the local farmers than their colleagues, the district recorders and officers, were. And so they had the opportunity to inflict a deeper influence on their culture. A similar influence may be observed in the *vicarages*. Their method of building and style was always closer to the local vernacular of the farms than was the case with the other state officials’ homes – which is also why the vicarages to a larger extent came to influence the way the farms were built.”<sup>56</sup>

A similar notion of the position of the vicarages and vicar’s farms as a group between the monumental and the vernacular was put forward by Swedish ethnologist Sigurd Wallin in 1918, who described this as a problem because this group of buildings for this reason continued to go unrecognized as potentially significant cultural heritage objects.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> “Ungdomen fantes noget forbedret – Dend ved seeneste visitation antagne skolemester ved navn Christen Larson var for druchenskab ubrugelig.” *Visitat. Dom. QvinQvag: 1739, Visitasprotokoll 1732-1770* (Fra Trondhjems biskop); transcribed in: Rugelsjøen (2007) p 167

<sup>52</sup> “Skolemestre ere der ingen, som vel meget kommer af Meenighedens gjenstridighed”. *Visitat. 29. januar 1790, Visitasprotokoll 1732-1770* (Fra Trondhjems biskop). *Ibid.* p 168

<sup>53</sup> “..Skolemestre ere endnu ingen, saasom Klaakerne vel synes nogenlunde at kunde overkomme Ungdomens Undervisning, naar de vare flitige og Menigheden villig til at tage imod dem”. *Visitat. 1732-1770* (Fra Trondhjems biskop). *Ibid.* p 8

<sup>54</sup> “Fatige besørges af Blok-Penge ... saasomt nogen Fatig og Sengeliggende anvistes til et Legg, den da meget velvillig antages og omhyggelig besørges”. *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Melhus church initiated an application to apply for a loan from Opplysningsvesenets Fond to build a school. Letter to the Church ministry from curate Dahl (Til Kirke og undervisningsdepartementet fra res. Kap. Dahl) 14th March 1839, Nidaros bispearkiv pk. nr. 43; transcript in: *ibid.* p 175

<sup>56</sup> “En særstilling blant embedsmændene indtok prestene og en lignende særstilling viser prestegaardene i forhold til embedsmandsarkitekturen for øvrig. Prestene kom bl.a. i nærmere berøring med bønderne end sine standsfæller sorenskrivere, fogederne og officererne. Og dermed hadde de anledning til at øve en mer dyptgripende indflydelse paa deres kultur. Et lignende forhold kan man iagttage for prestegaardernes vedkommende. Deres byggemaate og stil laa altid bondegaardenes en grad nærmere end tilfældet var med de andre embedsmandsboliger – hvorfor de ogsaa i desto højere grad kom til at virke som mønster for bønderne.” Bugge (1919) p 93

<sup>57</sup> Wallin (1918)

### 3.1.2 Documentation and conservation of the vicarages

Prestegårdslåna is representative of vernacular architecture of Trøndelag, and it is also representative of the architecture of the State Officials (*embedsmannsarkitektur*). Vicars were state officials (*embedsmenn*), and for the early 20<sup>th</sup> century antiquarians and historians who laid the grounds for the first listings, this group in Norwegian society historically represented education and “high culture”. Like the rich pre-industrial farmers’ material culture, (*bondekultur*), the state officials’ architecture and aesthetics were singled out to be documented and preserved.<sup>58</sup>

#### *Disuse and decay*

Despite the relatively high status of the state officials’ homes and their alleged exemplary role for building in the local community, the buildings were not always maintained in an exemplary way. The shared responsibility for the vicar’s farm buildings contributed to their decay, which by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was becoming a noted problem. Accounts from the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century exist of inhabitants’ complaints with regard to lack of functionality, impractical floor plans and the low technical standard of vicar’s farm buildings. By this time many of the buildings on the vicar’s farms were considered outdated, including the dwellings. The bulk of the vicar’s farms were rebuilt or remodelled between 1770 and 1810 and were approaching a hundred years of age by the 1890s.<sup>59</sup> Schnitler wrote in 1911:

“The old state officials’ homes were built for quite different circumstances than today’s. The consequence has been, that most of them of late have either been significantly reduced or sold, and the military and civil state officials moved to the cities, - or that the old buildings, which still are in use, often shown themselves to be of too large and patriarchal a design to accommodate the contemporary state officials’ position and tasks.”<sup>60</sup>

With the establishment of municipalities and public schooling and the general changes in Norwegian society, the role of the vicarages shifted during the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century from representational and semi-official cultural institutions to private homes. With fewer functions for the community the buildings became too large and impractical for modern requirements.

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<sup>58</sup> Bugge (1919) p 93

<sup>59</sup> Flokkmann (1974) pp 116-

<sup>60</sup> “De gamle embedsgaarder var indrettet med Ganske andre forhold for øie end nutidens. Følgen har været, at for det første de allerfleste av dem i den senere tid enten er blit betydelig reducet eller helt bortsolgt og de militære og civile embedsmænd bosat i byene, - eller at de a selve de gamle bygninger, som endnu er i bruk, oftest har vist sig altfor stort og patriarkalsk anlagt til at passe for embedsstandens stilling og opgaver i vore dage.” Schnitler (1989) p 129



Towards the turn of the century there was an obvious tendency that old vicarages were demolished and replaced by smaller, modern villas, heavily modernized, or left in a state of accelerating decay; the system of shared maintenance responsibilities contributing to the latter. The ruling to transfer *all* maintenance responsibilities for the vicarages to *Opplysningsvesenets Fond* in 1897 was an attempt to solve maintenance problems; however this seems to have unleashed a landslide of demolition of old vicarages, especially 17<sup>th</sup> century buildings.<sup>61</sup>

### 3.1.3 Legislation and monitoring

For advocates of historic preservation the demolition and modernization of the old vicarages became a cause for concern. The first notable appeal to preserve buildings on vicar's farms came in the aftermath of the 1897 church act in the form of readers' letters in newspapers and journals.<sup>62</sup> In 1911 *Stiftsamtmann (Fylkesmann)* Hroar Olsen, who a few years later was one of the driving forces for a Built Heritage Act, wrote an article in the art journal *Kunst og Kultur* ("Art and Culture") calling for both conservation of vicar's farms, and more aesthetically appealing new buildings on these same farms.<sup>63</sup> Two years later the freshly instated *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett remarked that the historic state official's homes (*embedsmannsgårdene*), a group to which the vicarages belonged, were in general under threat: "here, in recent times, significant cultural historical values have disappeared."<sup>64</sup>

#### *Registration and documentation*

During the first years of its existence, *Riksantikvaren* sent out letters to all vicars in the country, inquiring about their vicarage's architecture and its age. In 1919 art historian Anders Bugge published a journal article titled "Old vicar's farm culture lost during the last generation" where he expanded on the historic significance of the vicar's farms as centres of culture and learning, as well as pointing out the architectural value of this group.<sup>65</sup> Bugge, *Riksantikvaren's* employee and responsible for the nationwide registration of historic buildings in preparation for the first Built Heritage Act, began his work with registration of vicarages which had been lost, and continued over the next years with a registration of standing vicarages.

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<sup>61</sup> Flokkmann (1974) p 116

<sup>62</sup> Norske Intelligenssedler 1903 nr 76, Aftenposten 5.2.1906. Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> *Staten og vore gamle kulturminde: prestegaardene*. Olsen (1911)

<sup>64</sup> "...her er i den senere tid betydelige kulturhistoriske verdier forsvundet". Fett (1913) Fett 1913 pp 24-25

<sup>65</sup> *Tapte prestegaarde under den siste memneskealder*. Bugge (1919)

“One has also begun to review the state officials’ homes in the country. Firstly, the task was to collect the traditions relating to the old vicarages which over the last generation have been altered, before the traditions became extinct. This material has uncovered significant information on our entire building traditions. There are plans next year for a regular grant to ensure the survey of the standing vicarages as well, and to plan for their conservation. Owing to the state of maintenance of our vicarages, if no changes are made, the time will soon come when we no longer own an old vicarage.”<sup>66</sup>

*Riksantikvaren* had been assigned the task of supervising state-owned buildings of historic interest, but the documentation, routines and capacities of the office did not meet the demands required. *Riksantikvaren* applied pressure to the Ministry of Church Affairs to prevent the loss of state owned buildings. Harry Fett specifically mentioned the vicar’s farms in the 1917 publication “The protection of our cultural values”:

“Lately the Ministry of Church Affairs has, in its treatment of the vicar’s farms, to some extent sought to take antiquarian issues into consideration, and one may hope that the forceful destruction of the state’s cultural values throughout the country will, to some extent, be reduced.”<sup>67</sup>

Melhus vicarage received their letter of inquiry for the national registration of vicarages in 1916, addressed to Vicar Anders Hovden and signed *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett.<sup>68</sup> Hovden responded with information about Prestegårdslåna’s age and size. The building dated back to 1746, he wrote (this dating was later proved to be wrong), and measured 38.90 metres by 8.95 metres. It had two storeys and 18 rooms, including two kitchens and a small cellar. Hovden also mentioned that the house had been fitted with new plank cladding, windows and slate roofing in 1876, and closed his letter with a personal assessment of Prestegårdslåna’s architectural value:

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<sup>66</sup> “Man har likeledes iaar begyndt gjennemgaaelse av landets embedsgaarde. Det gjaldt først at faa samlet traditionerne om de prestegaarde som i den siste menneskealder er nedreet før traditionerne er forsvundet. Bearbejdelsen av denne materiale har skaffet frem meget betydelige opplysninger for hele vor gamle bygningsskik. Det er planer oppe om til næste aar at de at faa en fast bevilgning til gjennemgaaelse ogsaa av de bestaaende prestegaardeog planlægge arbeidet for deres bevaring. Saaledes som vedlikeholdet av vore prestegaarde er ordnet vil utvilsomt, hvis ingen forandring hermed sker, den tid snart være inde at vi ikke længer eier nogen gammel prestegaard.” *Det antikvariske arbeide*. Direktionens og Riksantikvarens aarsberetning (Riksantikvaren’s annual report) for 1918. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1919) pp 240-241

<sup>67</sup> “I den senere tid har Kirke departementet under behandling av prestegaardene i nogen store grad søkt at ta antikvariske hensyn, og man maa kunne gjøre sig haab om , at den sterke ødelæggelse av statens kulturverdier utover landet i nogen grad maa kunde indskrænkes”. Fett (1917)

<sup>68</sup> Hongset (1977 - 6 - 18)

“It is ugly and cheaply painted yellow. It is one of those (...) long, ugly buildings (...), such as the houses here are on every farm.”<sup>69</sup>

Hovden’s experience with living in Prestegårdslåna was negative and he did not appreciate the building’s architecture; his correspondence and his children bear witness to this.<sup>70</sup>

### *Listings*

The main building at the vicar’s farm at Melhus, Prestegårdslåna, was registered with *Riksantikvaren* in 1916 as part of their national registration of historic vicarage buildings. At about this time an agreement was reached between *Riksantikvaren* and the Ministry of Church Affairs that *Riksantikvaren* was to be informed of plans to alter or demolish historic vicarage buildings in order to give their assessment.<sup>71</sup> Prestegårdslåna was included among the vicarages which *Riksantikvaren* aimed at monitoring and preserving, this is evident from the correspondence on the restoration in the 1920s. According to the present listing document for Melhus vicarage, the register of administratively listed state owned buildings was formalized in 1938<sup>72</sup>; by this time, however, most had been treated as listed for a long time, as the case of Prestegårdslåna demonstrates.

In 1935 *Riksantikvaren* and *Fortidsminneforeningen* published an overview of all vicarages of cultural historic value in their annual register of buildings considered for administrative listing. The overview was based on Anders Bugge’s registrations on behalf of *Riksantikvaren*.<sup>73</sup> The length of the building descriptions varied. No specific assessment of the various buildings’ value was included; this must be interpreted from the main characteristics. Prestegårdslåna was included with a brief description, obviously written some years before as it mentioned a “major repair” in 1876 but failed to mention the restoration in 1929. The entrance door mouldings of a “simple Late Empire type” were mentioned along with the “grand” ground floor room with wainscotting and an upstairs room with pilastered wall panels. The account was accompanied by a photograph of the building taken before the 1929 restoration.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> “Er styggt og billigt gulmåla. Er av desse (...), lange, stygge (...), soleis som huse er her paa kvar gard.” (Some of the words in this hand-written letter are illegible). Hovden (1916 - 6 - 3)

<sup>70</sup> Moe (2007) p 92

<sup>71</sup> Fett mentioned this in 1917 as a fairly recent arrangement. Fett (1917) p 77.

<sup>72</sup> Riksantikvaren (1996 - 3 - 7)

<sup>73</sup> *Statens Gamle Bygninger* Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1935)

<sup>74</sup> “den store sal”; “...enkel senempiretype.” The photograph had a caption incorrectly stating that this was Meldal prestegård. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1935) pp 156-167

### *Monitoring*

In a letter to *Riksantikvaren* in 1919, Melhus' vicar Hovden made assurances that Prestegårdslåna was still standing:

“No, it is not the case that this soon to be 100-year-old ramshackle of a building has been torn down (...) The buildings on this farm are nothing special. Here are two storage buildings which are of the most common type.”<sup>75</sup>

Apparently rumours that Prestegårdslåna had been demolished had reached *Riksantikvaren*, who had written to Hovden to acquire information on the matter. Hovden in his reply denied this, and suggested that a misunderstanding had occurred and Prestegårdslåna been mistaken for the chaplain's farm (*kapellangård*) which had been demolished 12-13 years ago. The wording in Hovden's letter indicates that *Riksantikvaren* had shown interest in the other buildings at Melhus farm, to obtain a picture of the built context of Prestegårdslåna.<sup>76</sup> In this letter Hovden included photographs of Prestegårdslåna [Figure 6-7] which are still on file in *Riksantikvaren's* archive. This letter is the first evidence that Prestegårdslåna, registered with *Riksantikvaren* two years previously, was being monitored by the conservation authorities.

In 1921, when restoration of Prestegårdslåna was in the planning stage, the Ministry of Church Affairs consulted *Riksantikvaren* on the matter. *Riksantikvaren* advised that a “competent architect” was engaged for the task.<sup>77</sup> This exemplifies the “antiquarian considerations” Fett referred to in his 1917 piece, which were now taken with regards to the treatment of the vicarages, and that a routine of consulting *Riksantikvaren* had been established. *Riksantikvaren* was involved in the discussions on Prestegårdslåna's restoration throughout the 1920s.

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<sup>75</sup> “Nei, det er nok ikkje so vel, at denne gamle snart 100 år gamle rønna av ei hovedbygning er nedrive (...) Husa her paa garden er ikkje noko sers med. Her ere it paar stabbur av dei mest sedvanlege.” Hovden (1919 - 1 - 29)

<sup>76</sup> *Riksantikvaren's* archive does not contain a copy of *Riksantikvaren's* letter to Anders Hovden.

<sup>77</sup> Kirkedepartementet (1922 - 4 - 3)

### 3.2 TREATMENT OF PRESTEGÅRDSLÅNA

From the time of its construction in 1720-22, Prestegårdslåna has been subject to four major modifications. It was extended in the 1740s and the 1820s, modernized in 1877 and restored in 1929. Aside from this, the treatment of the building can be characterized as maintenance, repairs and minor alterations and improvements. The documentation on the building constitutes a complex puzzle which provides answers to many but not all questions concerning the building history relevant to the present topic. When did Prestegårdslåna acquire the exterior which the restoration in 1929 attempted to recreate? And what did the architect Roar Tønseth know about the history of the house before planning the restoration?

The first section of this chapter gives an account of the various stages of the building's construction and maintenance history until planning began for its modernization in the early 1870s. The second section of the chapter gives an account of the modernization which was executed in 1877-78 and the treatment that followed, up to the point when the restoration plans were initiated in 1921. "Treatment", which will be described below, includes building standard improvements, constructive repairs, exterior façade treatment, stylistic features and floor plan alterations. In the third and main section of the chapter, the planning and execution of the 1929 restoration will be presented.

#### 3.2.1 Construction and maintenance 1722-1877

##### *The early house*

The oldest section of Prestegårdslåna was raised sometime between 1720 and 1722.<sup>78</sup> It took over the function of vicar's residence from an existing house but was apparently not built on the same site, as this older house was reported to have been torn down after Prestegårdslåna was built.<sup>79</sup> During these first years, Prestegårdslåna consisted of the "Sitting room, Kitchen, Bed-chamber, pantry and lofts, with proper cellars"<sup>80</sup>; rooms which constitute the middle

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<sup>78</sup> The date of building was proposed by Olav Hongseth (a local teacher who lived in Prestegårdslåna in the early 1960s) who deduced that the vicar Christen Henrichsen Lyster (1677-1738), who was vicar at Melhus between 1719 and 1738, built Prestegårdslåna shortly after his arrival in Melhus in 1719. Lyster had the means to do so, and the buildings which constituted Melhus vicar farm at the time of his arrival were probably in poor condition, considering that the army of Carl Gustav Armfeldt had housed here the previous year, which must have involved harsh treatment. Hongseth (1977) p 555.

<sup>79</sup> The older dwelling was still standing in 1739, when it during a viewing of the farm was found to be in a derelict state" while a new house, which today constitute the older parts of Prestegårdslåna, was informed to have been raised and paid for by Lyster: "... hvad VaaneHuuset dend gamle Angaar, da befandtis dend ved Besigtelsen, at være gandsche forfalden, opraaden, og til jngen nytte; Men derjmod har SI:hr: Christen Lyster ladet af nye opsætte eet andet Vaanehuus...". *Besigtelsesforretning 16th April 1739. Tingbok nr. 1B (1736-1743) for Gauldal sorenskriverembede, 1A02, fol. 155a*. Transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) p 2

<sup>80</sup> "... bestaaende af Stue, Kiøken, Sengekammer, Spiskammer og Loffter, med behørig Kielder under". Ibid.

section of Prestegårdslåna today. The walls were notched timber, 13 metres in length.<sup>81</sup> No pictorial representations of Prestegårdslåna in this early stage are known. A painting from 1795 depicts Prestegårdslåna with a jamb-walled upper storey and hipped roof [Figure 5]. By this time it had been extended and clad; this happened in the 1740s and 50s.

In 1744 extensions were built onto the western and eastern ends of Prestegårdslåna. Parts of these additions were rooms which the congregation was responsible for. The congregation lacked the initiative to repair their old buildings which were free-standing. The vicar Peder Pedersen Lycke, who was a wealthy man<sup>82</sup>, took it upon himself to build new rooms for the congregation, as extensions of the vicarage.<sup>83</sup> The 1744 extensions to the vicarage were three rooms to the east and three to the west, with lofts. The eastern section contained one large room referred to as *Herrestuen* (“the master’s room”) which was for the use of the congregation (*almuen*), the “bishop’s chamber” (*bispekabinettet*) and an antechamber and loft rooms. The western section contained a scullery (*størhus*), a kitchen for the tenant farmer, a *borgestue* or *drengestue* where farm workers were served, and loft rooms.<sup>84</sup> With these extensions, Prestegårdslåna acquired its present length of 37 metres, with new functions merged with the residential function of the building and built under the same roof.<sup>85</sup> Both extensions were notched, log constructions, added, lengthwise onto both short ends of the existing building as was traditional for a *trønderlån*. Prestegårdslåna now had three distinct functions: the vicar’s residence in the middle section; the congregation’s rooms in the eastern end, and rooms for the congregation, farm workers and the tenant farmer in the western section.

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<sup>81</sup> *Prestegårdslåna* was extended from 13 to 37 metres in length during the residence of Vicar Peder Lycke. Moe (2007) p 18

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* p 4

<sup>83</sup> The existing *Herrestue* was a separate building, erected by Lyster in the early 1720s but was already in poor condition. When the congregation failed to repair their buildings, Lycke took the matter into his own hands. Previously separate buildings, the new *Herrestue* and *Borgstue* were built as extensions to the vicarage, a solution which was unpopular with the congregation. Moe (2007) p 17, based on *Åbottsforretning 1742 and 1758*

<sup>84</sup> The use of the rooms varied over time; in 1758 the widow of priest Lycke was assigned rooms in the *Borgestue*. (Later this section constituted the tenant farmers apartment) *Åbot “Anno 1758 dend 11te Iulii”*. Rugelsjøn (2007) p 12

<sup>85</sup> “... the two of the Congregation concerned House Buildings, namely the *Herrestue* with BedChamber, as well as the *Borgestue*, have with the Parish Vicar’s buildings common corners/walls, and are attached under a common roof”: “... de 2de Almuen vedkommende Huuse Bygninger, nemlig *Herrestuen* med *SengeCammer*, saavel som *Borg-Stuen*, have med de Sogne-Præsten ellers tilhørende Bygninger felles Nov, og under et Tag Sammenheffede.” Description in *Åbot “Anno 1758 dend 26de September”*. *Ibid* p 17

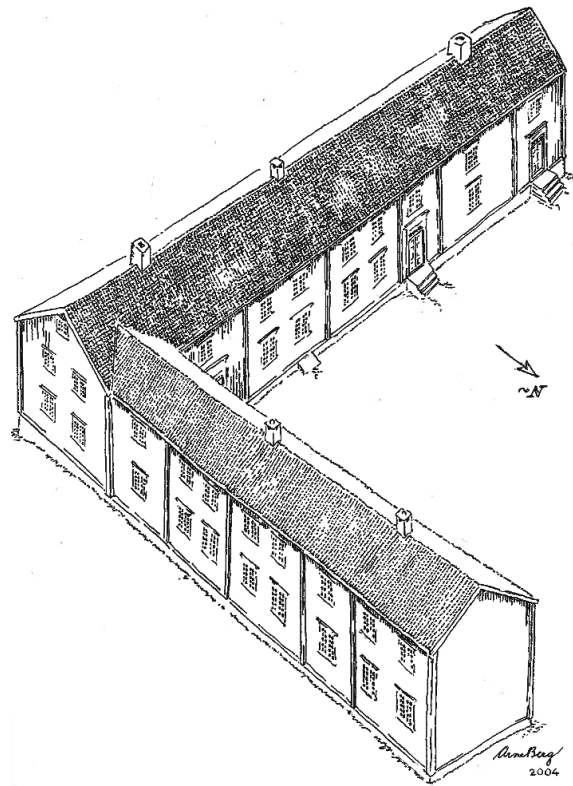


Figure 11: Temporary extension to Prestegårdslåna circa 1820. “Prestegårdslåna i Melhus. Prost Peder Schjelderup Nissens overbygning teikna ut frå “Besiktigelses og taxatjens forretning.... 17<sup>DE</sup> DEC. 1821” Architect and building historian Arne Berg illustrated Nissen’s extension on the basis of the fire insurance valuation description, which is quite detailed. The extension was built after 1814 and gone by 1828. Its existence explained the absence of windows on the eastern section of the northern wall of Prestegårdslåna, which were removed when the extension was built and never reinstated. Recent examinations have revealed door openings in their place, behind the cladding and interior wall panels. Wing extensions on *trønderlån* were not unusual. Skårvoll vicarage in Støren is one example. Whether it was inspired by Prestegårdslåna in Nissen’s time is not known. (Arne Berg, 2004. Reproduced with permission)

#### *A temporary extension 1814-1828*

In 1814 a new extension to Prestegårdslåna, built as a new wing, is mentioned for the first time.<sup>86</sup> The extension was built by the vicar Peder Schjelderup Nissen, who resided at Melhus vicarage in the period 1814-1826<sup>87</sup>, and was referred to as his private property, built using his

<sup>86</sup> Åbot 16th April 1814. Ibid. p 86

<sup>87</sup> Moe (2007) p 4

private funds.<sup>88</sup> No traces of this building remain today, except the curious lack of windows on the eastern part of the north façade of today's building, where the two buildings were connected. The extension matched Prestegårdslåna in size, about 22 metres long (against Prestegårdslåna's total length of 37 metres) and two storeys tall.<sup>89</sup> The building was later referred to as belonging to Vicar Angell, Nissen's successor, and was removed by him before the year 1829.<sup>90</sup> It was probably taken down and sold; moving notched buildings was not unusual, the building materials being easily dis- and reassembled. [Figure 11]

### *Repairs and maintenance*

Why did Nissen build a new home? He may have found Prestegårdslåna lacking; after the building was reconstructed in 1744 only about a decade passed before complaints about its comforts arose. In 1753 the Trondheim bishop, after a visit to Melhus, had declared that "the vicarage at Melhus farm was well, but not comfortably built".<sup>91</sup> In 1758 several deficiencies were listed; the walls of the newly constructed east section were bulging, and the foundations of the equally new west end were found to be very unstable, unsettling the walls and causing breakages in the notched joints.<sup>92</sup> In 1799 the vicar Hans Steenbuch wrote that Prestegårdslåna was repaired and in good condition, but the 140-page maintenance appraisal (*abot*) from 1802, only three years after, registered a number of severe faults found with the building<sup>93</sup>: the southern wall had shifted, requiring a vertical spruce post (*lask*) to be mounted indoors, the notched corners of the building needed to be made air-tight with moss and planks<sup>94</sup>, the floors in *Størhuset* (the cookhouse) needed repairs and the foundations rendering<sup>95</sup>, while a number of windows were described as "rotted", "useless", "draughty" or

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<sup>88</sup> "... af nye opbyggede HovedBygning paa præstegaarden der er hans private Ejendom." Branntakst 17th December 1821. Rugelsjøen (2007) p 89

<sup>89</sup> The Fire valuation documents state the building measured 39 ¼ x 12 ¼ x 9 9/8 (height). 9 1/8 is the correct height according to architect Arne Berg who studied the documents in 2004. Ibid. p 90

<sup>90</sup> "... den I sidste Taxtforretning omhandlede Bygning, Sognepræst angell tilhørende, er bortflyttet af eierren og saaledes ikke lægere existerer.." Branntakst 13 th October 1837 (Fire Insurance Assessment 1837). Ibid. p 92

<sup>91</sup> "Præste-Gaarden Melhus er Vel, men ikke bequemelig bygt." Visitas 18. Februar 1753, Fra Trondhjems biskop: Visitasprotokoll 1732-1770. Ibid. p 8

<sup>92</sup> Moe (2007) p 18

<sup>93</sup> This discrepancy is noted by Moe. Ibid. p 20

<sup>94</sup> "Den sydlige Lang-Væg paa Størhuset, har paa forskjellige Steder begivet sig, hvilket fordrer for betydeligere Skade at afværge, at en Stok indkiles fra Syllen indtil Raften inden i Huuset (...) Hertil medgaar en Granstok; 3 Jernbolter. De flere Bolter, som behøves tages af den lille indkilede Stok som nu findes."; "Naaverne i Bygningen fandtes utætte. Dertil vil udfordres Mose, (...), samt 8 bord a 5 alen (...) hvilke igiennemskiæres og anvendes i de 8de underste Naaver (...) og 4 Bord til de øverste naaver likeledes igiennemskiæres (...)" Åbot 25th January 1802. Transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) p 54,56

<sup>95</sup> "Udspækning rundt om heele huset"; rendering with lime, clay and sand. Ibid. p 53



“not worth keeping”, some were to be replaced, some repaired.<sup>96</sup> In 1814 there were still issues with the building. The timber walls in *Herrestuen* and *Borgestuen* again needed to be sealed.<sup>97</sup> This had either not been attended to after 1802, or what was done had not been successful at preventing draughts. The maintenance assessment from this year, which was about the time Nissen’s extension was constructed, stated that numerous repairs were required. Floors and floor-beams were described as “poor”, “unserviceable”<sup>98</sup>, “useless” or “tolerable”.<sup>99</sup> Foundations needed repairs, *Størhuset* had no floors and other floors were uneven, windows were “open and in disrepair” (*åpne og brystfældige*) and walls needed air-tightening. The roof was in bad shape and was recommended to be renewed.<sup>100</sup>

Numerous repairs and smaller improvements were made after the maintenance assessments in 1802 and 1814. The general state of Prestegårdslåna cannot have been found to be satisfactory for Nissen as he chose to build a new wing. Nissen did have improvements done in Prestegårdslåna as well<sup>101</sup>, which indicates that this section was also in use, but the extension had all the functions of a house in itself and it is likely that he resided here. Nissen’s successor Carl Frederick Musæus had a lot of work done on Prestegårdslåna, which upon delivery in 1830 suffered from “significant deficiencies.”<sup>102</sup> In 1837, a decade after Nissen’s extension was removed, repairs had been made and Prestegårdslåna was described in a positive manner, as “old but well maintained”.<sup>103</sup> The building obviously had its particular problems, like draughty rooms and unsound foundations in the west end; it also required maintenance on a regular basis. Prestegårdslåna’s qualities as a house and home seem, however, to have been perceived differently by different people. The descriptions vary grossly over such short spans of time that they must have been rooted in subjective experience rather than in the state of the building’s fabric.

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<sup>96</sup>“utette”, ”I cassabel Tilstand”, “Man fandt vinduerne i begge Sengekammerne forradnede og uduelige”. Åbot 23 rd January 1802. Transcript in: Rugelsjøen 2007 pp 48, 49

<sup>97</sup> Borgestuen’s interior is panelled today. The requirement to air-tighten the walls in 1814 indicates that they were at the time still exposed timber. Åbot 16th April 1814. Ibid. p 85

<sup>98</sup> “maadelig”, “utjenelige”. Åbot 16th April 1814. Transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) pp 85, 86

<sup>99</sup> “uduelige”, “tolerable”. Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> The roof of *Størhuset*, the west end, was considered the worst and recommended renewed in its entirety, “utjenelig saa det af nye maae omlægges”. Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> A theory has been proposed that Nissen was responsible for the architecture of the large sitting room “Hovdenstova”, which originally consisted of two, alternately three rooms. Moe (2007) p 46

<sup>102</sup> “...led av saa mange betydelige Mangler ved hans Ankomst i 1839...” Branntakst 13 th October 1837 (Fire Insurance Assessment 1837), document in Sokneprestarkivet “ 98. ad STAN JN° 561-38. B??? 345/37 2, transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) p 92

<sup>103</sup> “Bygningen der er gammel men godt vedligeholdt, blev af Laugrettet værdsat for 600 Spd.” Ibid.

What characterized Prestegårdslåna before it was modernized in 1877, and when did it acquire this form and design? The length, width and main frame of Prestegårdslåna's floor plan was established in 1744 and remained unaltered.

*The wall construction*, of notched logs, was regularly in need of adjusting and sealing for draughts.<sup>104</sup> The type of wood used for construction was not mentioned, but for repairs pine was the material used for logs, and spruce for vertical posts (*lask*).<sup>105</sup> Already in 1758 it was noted that foundations of the west end had settled, causing breakage in the notched corners. Extensive repairs were required here; alternatively the foundations could be rebuilt from the ground up.<sup>106</sup> The shaky foundations in the west end were further damaged by the extensive weight of the large hearth in *Størhuset*.<sup>107</sup> The foundations of Prestegårdslåna were repaired and rendered several times, with locally quarried stone, lime, clay and sand.<sup>108</sup>

The *roof and roofing material* of Prestegårdslåna changed over time. The types of roofing material can be documented fairly accurately, whereas the documentation on the history of the roof construction is not conclusive. The oldest known pictorial depiction of the Melhus church and vicar's farm, a painting by Meyer from 1795 or 1796, showed Prestegårdslåna as a one-and-a-half storey building with a hipped end roof; the slanting gable is clearly visible above the roof of the *bur*, or storage building [Figure 5]. 19<sup>th</sup> century photographs show Prestegårdslåna with a saddle roof; a hipped end roof is not mentioned in any known historical document; nor have marks been found in the fabric of the building showing that the upper storey was elevated. Hipped end roofs were not unusual on 18<sup>th</sup> century buildings in the region; the closest example for Prestegårdslåna was the neighbouring property, comparable in age and standing.<sup>109</sup> The only document which mentions alterations to the roof construction of Prestegårdslåna is a letter which described how the walls in the west end were raised by two logs, and that new gables and new purlins were fitted in this section in 1798.<sup>110</sup> The same letter stated that Prestegårdslåna had been "fully repaired" (*satt i*

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<sup>104</sup> Åbot 20<sup>th</sup> January 1802, transcript in: *ibid.* pp 26, 30

<sup>105</sup> Wood for repairs was referred to as fir (Furetreer), spruce (granstokk) timber (tømmer), bottom log (syll).

*Ibid.* pp 11-12, 54

<sup>106</sup> Åbot "Anno 1758 dend 11te Iulii". *Ibid.* p 12

<sup>107</sup> Moe (2007) p 18

<sup>108</sup> "... at sætte perpendikulair, at udspekke og indkile, hvortil medgaar ½ Faun Steen a 5rd Favnen med Værdie, Brydning og Kiørsel (...) Til Udspekning og Kalkslagning vil medgaae 1 Tønne Kalk a 2 ort, samt Leer og Sand (...) udkile de Huller som i Muren findes". In 1840 the repair of foundations with lime was required. Åbot 21st January 1802; Åbot 23rd April 1840. Transcripts in: Rugelsjøen (2007) pp 31, 52, 95

<sup>109</sup> Fiskaa (1954)

<sup>110</sup> "...2 Omfar optømret med 2 nye Røster paa Størhuset samt nye Aaser..." The reference is to a document dated 12. November 1799 (Statsarkivet) in which Vicar Hans Steenbuch mentioned repairs done "last year" ("i fjor"). This was mentioned again in the maintenance assessment in 1802: "2 Omfar optømret med 2 nye Røster paa Sørhuset samt nye Aaser. Nyt Troe og nyt Næver Tag over Størhuus og Kiøkken Døren". The upstairs

*full stand*) in the same year. This could mean that the west end was the first section to acquire the height and form which Prestegårdslåna has today, or that it was the last section to be raised; the rest of the roof already having been elevated as part of the “full repair” the building had gone through. It is possible that the painting is inaccurate: Prestegårdslåna was depicted with one homogenous roof, not with different heights and roofing for the different sections, but the painter may have ‘improved’ the painted version of Prestegårdslåna. On the basis of the letter and the uncertain evidence of the painting, one may propose that the roof of Prestegårdslåna was reconstructed, the height of the building increased and a hipped end roof replaced with a saddle roof, between 1795/6 and 1798.



Figure 12-13. Lystersalen (left) in the oldest part of Prestegårdslåna, named after the vicar Christen Lyster who had this section built in the 1720s. Examination of the wall panels revealed their original colour as dark green<sup>111</sup>; an incision in the ceiling boards indicated a previous staircase at the far end of the room. This may have been removed in 1877, when the room according to written sources “extended”. The door (right) is the larger of two early 18<sup>th</sup> century doors found in the west end. Its likely origin is the oldest section of the building, maybe between *Hovdenstova* and *Bispekabinettet*. It was temporarily reused as an exterior door to a utilities building.<sup>112</sup> (Photograph NIKU 2003; MB 2009)

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chamber (later named Peder Lycke’s room) has a double floor which is a curious feature; one of these floors may be the new floor put in by Steenbuch referred to as “nyt Gulv indlagt i Størhuuskammeret” in the 1802 Åbot, raised at the same time the ceiling was raised. Moe (2007) p 20; Rugelsjøn (2007) p 37

<sup>111</sup> Winnes (2004) p 8

<sup>112</sup> Moe (2007) p 40



Figure 14-15: The west end, exterior (left) and section of wall in the upstairs clothes chamber (right) viewed from the interior (right). In 1758, only 14 years after the west end (with *Borgestuen* and *Størhuset*) was built, its foundations were considered so unsound that taking apart and reassembling this whole section was considered. In 1814 it was noted that the outer stairs (far left in left-hand photo) were timbered; today they are stone.<sup>113</sup> By the stairs to *Størhuset* a hole in the wall was observed in 1802, which would require “planks and nails”.<sup>114</sup> This hole was still there in 2000, when it was discovered that the entire log wall section had been subject to a serious fungal attack. In the clothes chamber (right) a fossilized fungus was found, likely produced by the leakage which was described in 1802. About 50% of the wall timber was renewed after the year 2000. (Photographs MB 2007)

The oldest roofing materials which can be documented for Prestegårdslåna are birch bark and sod with grass. The need to repair the sod roof was described in 1802, in 1814 and in 1840.<sup>115</sup> In 1840 gutters (*6 tagrender à 2''*) and slate tiles, to weigh the sod down (*torvheller*), were mentioned for the first time.<sup>116</sup> Prestegårdslåna was in 1846 still thatched with birch bark and sod.<sup>117</sup> In 1868 the middle section was described as having a wooden plank-and-shingle roof.<sup>118</sup>

We do not know what *façade materials* and *surface treatment* Prestegårdslåna had during its first 40 years. In 1758 it was noted that the southern and western exterior walls needed to be clad.<sup>119</sup> The walls may up until then have been exposed timber, or had cladding

<sup>113</sup> Åbot 16th April 1814, transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007)85, 86

<sup>114</sup> Åbot 25th January 1802 p 116 transcript in: *ibid.* p 59

<sup>115</sup> A leak, “dråpefall”, over Ytre Kjøkkengang and *Størhuset* in 1802 must have been allowed to develop before being repaired. The exterior wall and wall dividing these rooms was in recent years discovered to have been severely damaged by rot, and a fossilized fungi was found in the upstairs clothes chamber. The cause of the rot was the leakage noted in 1802. Åbot 25th January 1802 transcript in Rugelsjøen 2007 pp 54, 87; The description of the dråpefall in 1802 suggests that the damage and the fossil date back to this time, observed by Moe (2007)

<sup>116</sup> Åbot 23rd April 1840. Transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007)p 95

<sup>117</sup> Branntakst 8<sup>th</sup> October 1846 (Fire Insurance Assessment 1846). *Ibid.* p 98

<sup>118</sup> Only the vicar’s section was mentioned. ”... tækket med Bordtag og Spaanetække.” Branntakst 26<sup>th</sup> August 1868 (Fire Insurance Assessment 1868) from Melhus lensmannsarkiv, Branntakstprotokoll 1 (1846-1862), Statsarkivet i Trondheim. *Ibid.* p 130

<sup>119</sup> Åbot “Anno 1758 dend 11te Iulii”. Transcript in: *ibid.* pp 11, 12

which needed to be replaced. It is not known when cladding was mounted, but the painting from 1795/6 shows Prestegårdslåna's southern façade fully clad with vertical boarding. From the maintenance assessments we learn that the entire west end had been faced with *new* wooden cladding and painted by 1802.<sup>120</sup> If the use of "new" implies the existence of an "old" cladding, it may be assumed that the first generation of cladding was being replaced, which means a clad façade could date back to immediately after 1758, or before. The first time the building's colour was mentioned was in the maintenance assessment from 1837 when Prestegårdslåna was referred to as painted in a red colour<sup>121</sup>; in 1846 it was painted yellow.<sup>122</sup> So based on the painting and written documents, it can be suggested that Prestegårdslåna's façades were clad after 1758 and that it was painted, initially painted red, later yellow. Both colours have been found with pigment analysis of segments of preserved cladding.<sup>123</sup>

The two oldest windows which are preserved in Prestegårdslåna today are of a small-paned type, a taller window on the ground floor of the west end gable and a smaller one in the loft of the east end gable. Meyer's 1795/6 painting shows Prestegårdslåna's south façade with approximately the same number and size of windows it has today, whereas the upper storey has only four windows. These were small; three of them were placed in the so-called *Steenbuch* salon, and the 1802 maintenance assessment document confirms this fact.<sup>124</sup> Many of Prestegårdslåna's windows were repaired or replaced after 1802. Frames and exterior mouldings were subject to wear and tear and more frequently discarded, whereas indoor mouldings, glass panes and fittings were used for making new frames and sills.<sup>125</sup> Old windows were also auctioned for re-use elsewhere.<sup>126</sup> The windows were fitted with moss, and shutters were recommended for the "conservation" of the windows, and were to be painted brownish red.<sup>127</sup> Presumably Prestegårdslåna had shutters on many if not all windows in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>128</sup> In 1868, six different window types were recorded in

<sup>120</sup> "...; nye Bordklædning og Maling paa Størhuset". Åbot 1802. Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> "rødmalet" Branntakst 13. oktober 1837. Ibid. p 92

<sup>122</sup> "gulmalet" Branntakst 8<sup>th</sup> October 1846 (Fire Insurance Assessment 1846). Ibid. p 98

<sup>123</sup> Winnes (2004); Winnes (2005)

<sup>124</sup> Vicar Hans Steenbuch who resided in Prestegårdslåna from 1757-1800 had this room, above Herrestuen, decoated. Moe (2007) p 19. It was previously referred to as without furnishings ("uden indreeding"). Åbot "Anno 1758 dend 11te Iulii", Rugelsjøen (2007) p 11

<sup>125</sup> Åbot 25th January 1802, transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) p 53; Moe (2007) p 20

<sup>126</sup> "Man ble enige om at prost Korg skulle motta ethvert av de gamle kasserte vinduer for 2 rd 2 ort pr. fag", on windows in the 1802 Åbot, summary in: Rugelsjøen (2007) p 82

<sup>127</sup> "For at conservere vinduerne udfordres Vindusluger (...) Til Vindue og dør udfordres 5 sække Moese (...) Mahling med brunrødt, Olie." The old windows, one door and an oven were to be auctioned off. Åbot 20th January 1802, transcript in: ibid. pp 27, 29.

<sup>128</sup> Window shutters (Luger for Vinduerne) were mentioned in 1758 and also in 1802. Åbot "Anno 1758 den 26de September"; Åbot 1802. Transcript in: ibid. p 18; Moe (2007) p 20

Prestegårdslåna's middle section.<sup>129</sup> This demonstrates that Prestegårdslåna, before its modernization in 1878, was not as homogenous as its 1920s restoration design would indicate.

#### *Summary (1772-1877)*

Prestegårdslåna, the main building on Melhus vicarage, acquired its floor plan and layout when the oldest section, built in 1720-22, was extended in two directions in 1744, reaching its present length of 37 metres. The vicar resided in the middle section, the eastern section contained the more official rooms, a congregational room *Herrestuen* and the bishop's chamber which was used when prominent persons visited the vicar. The west end comprised a scullery, *Storhuset*, common rooms for the congregation and the farm workers, and rooms for the tenant farmer. The vicar and the congregation maintained different sections of the building, and the eastern and western sections which primarily were the congregation's responsibility seem to have presented the greater maintenance challenge. The north façade had three entrances, reflecting the different functions of the building. The façades were clad partly or fully, probably after a recommendation made in a 1758 maintenance appraisal. In 1837 the building was reported to be painted red, in 1846 yellow. Prestegårdslåna was built with two full storeys. There are indications that the building was raised by two log heights and the roof reconstructed circa 1798, a former hipped roof replaced with the present purlin saddle roof; the sources on this reconstruction are not, however, conclusive. The oldest documented roof of sod on layers of birch bark had been replaced by wooden shingles by the year 1868. There were six different varieties of windows in the façade at this time. The maintenance assessments give the impression of a building subject to a high level of wear and tear, and the evaluations of the building vary a great deal. It was described as "fully repaired" in 1799, whereas assessments from 1802 and 1814 describe numerous faults including draughts and dilapidated floors. In 1814 the residing vicar built a new house as a right-angled extension to Prestegårdslåna, which indicates that he did not find Prestegårdslåna fit to live in. This addition was taken down and moved before 1828; in 1837 Prestegårdslåna was stated to be "old, but well maintained".

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<sup>129</sup> This description concerned the middle section, which was the vicar's part of the house. "The house has Eight windows had 20 panes and another eight had 16 panes; one window had 12 panes, a half-window had 10 panes, two windows have 24 small panes two windows with 12 panes, in each light..."; "Huset har 22 Vinduer nedenunder, hvoraf 8 Fag med 20 Ruder 8 Fag med 16 Ruder 1 Fag med 12 Ruder ½ Fag med 10 Ruder 2 Fag med 24 smaa Ruder 2 Fag med 12 ruder, i hvert Fag ...). Branntakst 26<sup>th</sup> August 1868 (Fire Insurance Assessment 1868) from Melhus lensmannsarkiv, Branntakstprotokoll 1 (1846-1862), Statsarkivet i Trondheim, transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007)p 131

### 3.2.2 Maintenance and modernization 1870-1920

In 1871 the residing vicar at Melhus vicarage, Hans Jenssen Blom, wrote to the Bishop imploring that a new vicarage was built, and was granted travel to Christiania to discuss the question with the Ministry of Church Affairs.<sup>130</sup> This initiated discussions about Prestegårdslåna's fate which, in the first phase, resulted in comprehensive works on the building which were executed in 1877-78. These did not, however, conclude Prestegårdslåna's fate; the arguments over its qualities as a home repeated themselves over the decades which followed. In this phase between 1878 and 1920 minor improvements were made but the building's problems were, according to its inhabitants, not resolved.

#### *Surveys and plans 1871-1877*

Vicar Hans Jenssen Blom's initial request was to have Prestegårdslåna demolished and replaced with a new vicarage. He described Prestegårdslåna as damaged, old and not worth saving:

“...so damaged by Rot and Age, that it must be considered beyond saving (...) a new Main Building on the Vicar's Farm must be built as soon as possible.”<sup>131</sup>

The idea of demolishing Prestegårdslåna did not gain support; an extensive modernization was decided upon instead. By 1875 Trondheim architect Johan Digre had delivered a cost estimate for a “major repair” (*hovedreparasjon*).<sup>132</sup> Digre's plans for Prestegårdslåna were comprehensive and cost-intensive; the vicar referred to the “... horrible cost estimate”, asked the municipality to share the costs, and was rewarded with a generous loan for his part of the building. The municipality had already taken over responsibility for western and eastern sections from the congregation the year before<sup>133</sup>, and now demonstrated responsibility for

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<sup>130</sup> Correspondence between Blom and Bishop C. Petersen 9th and 11th August 1871; box 691 I.2d.3 Melhus vicar archive, Statsarkivet Trondheim; transcript in: *ibid.* p 134

<sup>131</sup> “...saa beskadiget af Raaddenhed formedelst Ælde, at den maa ansees for kassabel (...) ny Hovedbygning paa Prestegarden maa opføres med det Allerførste.” Letter from vicar Hans Jensen Blom to bishop in Thronhjelm 10th October 1870. Blom requested that this statement be added to the protocol from the bishop's visit September 14<sup>th</sup> the same year. Quoted in: Moe (2007) pp 25, 67.

<sup>132</sup> “Hovedbygningen er inspiceret af en Arkitekt, der er indkommen med Bemærkninge roeg Overslag til en af ham for nødvendig anseet Hovedreparation.” *Visitas* 26th September 1875; box 691 I.2d.3 Melhus vicar archive, Statsarkivet Trondheim; transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) p 140

<sup>133</sup> “...et forfærdeligt Overslag”. Letter from vicar J. H. Berg to Hr. J. Skjerdingsstad 2nd October 1875 (of Melhus municipality), box 691 I.2d.3 Melhus vicar archive, Statsarkivet Trondheim; transcript in Rugelsjøen 2007 p 142. The vicar was granted a loan for 4000 kroner for the work on his section of the building, a generous estimate considering the final cost for this section turned out to be only 2600 kroner; the municipality granted the sum for the congregation's part; Moe (2007) p 25

the vicars section as well, which had previously been a matter for the vicar and the state. But the different sections of the building still formally had their different owners and served different purposes, a scenario which influenced its treatment.

The 1875 survey from the Trondheim architect Johan Digre was the first involvement of an architect in the treatment of Prestegårdslåna. Son of Jacob Digre, Johan Digre formed part of the Digre “architect and builder dynasty” which also produced pre-fabricated wooden housing, furniture and, from 1878, their own building components: doors, windows, mouldings and decorative elements, all in the fashion of the day.<sup>134</sup> The “major repair” in 1877-78 included interior work and a modernization of the façade which altered Prestegårdslåna’s appearance in line with contemporary standards of design.

#### *Modernization 1877-1878*

Architect Digre’s modernization plans for Prestegårdslåna were assessed by the county board (*Herredsstyrelsen*) in December 1875, who at the time concluded that the following work was to be done: the southern and eastern exterior walls were to be fitted with new windows and new cladding. One of the old windows and the interior doors from *Herrestuen* were to be re-used in the west end, otherwise the floor beams and sill log were to be renewed in *Borgestuen*. New gutters and weatherboards were needed for the whole building. In two rooms (*Bispekabinettet* and *Kontoret*) the interior panelling was to be removed, the walls made airtight and the panelling reinstated.<sup>135</sup> Dealing with draughts, renewal of unsound floors in *Borgestuen* and roof maintenance were the major objectives of the works. The new façade design included new and larger paned windows, new mouldings and sections of horizontally positioned wooden boarding under the windows.

An extensive repair and modernization was carried out two years later, based on this initial description; this is confirmed by the fire insurance valuation in 1877.<sup>136</sup> The exterior cladding was removed and log walls were repaired, straightened and strengthened.<sup>137</sup> New cladding, vertical with horizontal boarding under the windows, was fitted on all exterior walls

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<sup>134</sup> The Digre firm bought its first saw- and planning mill in 1862, and started their own carpentry factory in 1878; previous to this, building components for their housing had been procured from various Trondheim carpenters. The firm took orders for new housing and restoration (“*baade Nybygnings- og Restaurationsarbeider*”) in Trondheim and environs. Digre (1903)

<sup>135</sup> Meeting of Herredstyrelsen Melhus, Flaa, Leinstandens og Høilandet på Melhus Præstegård 11. December 1875, box 691 I.2d.3 Melhus vicar archive, Statsarkivet Trondheim. Transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) pp 143-144

<sup>136</sup> Branntakst 07th December 1877 (Fire insurance assessment), Melhus lensmannsarkiv. Branntakstprotokoll 1 (1846-1882), Statsarkivet i Trondheim. Ibid. pp 145-147

<sup>137</sup> “Panelingen udvendig aftaget, og Tømmervæggene udbedrede, opskruede og rettede samt forsynede med Oplængder”. Ibid.



except the northern wall where older cladding was partly re-used.<sup>138</sup> The house was painted with three layers of paint on the exterior; new water boards and new gutters were mounted on “iron hooks”, and 23 new cross bar windows and a new outer entrance to the basement were fitted. Some maintenance work had been carried out shortly before Digre delivered his plan; in 1874 the new vicar Johannes Henrik Berg had the foundations rendered with clay and lime (complaining they had been in a terrible condition since his arrival - he resided here from 1872 to 1877<sup>139</sup>). In 1877 repairs to the foundations were performed again, either to correct or complete the recent work.

Interior work in 1877 included renewal of floors, wall panels and ceilings in several but not all rooms. Two rooms were sealed against draughts: the wall panels on the walls with windows were removed and the timber caulked (*drevet*) before the panels were remounted.<sup>140</sup> All except two floors had been taken up and a number of floor beams were replaced; five rooms had new floors laid, while in the remaining rooms existing floors were reinstated. Six doors were replaced, the rest repaired.<sup>141</sup> The doors are assumed to have been delivered from one of the two larger housing and carpentry firms in the region who were major suppliers of prefabricated wooden housing and building components, either O. Digre in Trondheim or Chr. Thams in Orkdalen.<sup>142</sup> Considering Digre’s role as architect, it is likely that the building components were supplied by or through Digre’s building firm. Some alterations were made to the floor plan of the house; *Lystersalen* was “extended” (*utvidet*) which may mean that a staircase was removed from this room at the time [Figure 12].<sup>143</sup> A new staircase was built in the west end (*Ytre Kjøkkengang*). The 1877 fire insurance valuation states that part of the west end, previously used by the congregation<sup>144</sup>, was now closed off from the rest of the house with no internal connection. *Storhuset* “... wherein a small, masonry Milk Chamber and

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<sup>138</sup> ”ny paneling paaslaaet hovedsagelig af nye Materialier”. Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Moe (2007) p 5

<sup>140</sup> The description is not detailed, it is merely stated that walls were to be “sealed” (“væggene tættes”). The sealing material was likely oakum (*drev*), there is no mention of cardboard paper at this time. Rooms which were mentioned sealed in this manner were Bispekammeret and the room above bispekammeret (Meeting minutes from December 11<sup>th</sup> 1875), and Hovdenstova/Rødstuen. Ibid. p 25

<sup>141</sup> “.. resten udbedrede.” Branntakst 7. desember 1877. Transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) p 146

<sup>142</sup> Moe (2007) p 43

<sup>143</sup> Architect Digre’s ”Forklaring” (explanation/report) 30<sup>th</sup> April 1878 informed that the dining room (*Lystersalen*) had been extended. The interpretation that this involved removing an existing staircase is based on Kristine Kaasa Moe’s investigations. Removal of a staircase in this room would explain the incision in the ceiling panelling in the western end of the room and could mean that the room was extended to include area of the former staircase, and new ceiling boards joined to close its opening. Moe (2007) pp 25, 26

<sup>144</sup> Borgestuen/Almuestuen and the loft (*Tausloftet*) plus the entrance and western staircase. Branntakst 29<sup>th</sup> December 1877 (Fire insurance assessment), Melhus lensmannsarkiv. Branntakstprotokoll 1 (1846-1882), Statsarkivet i Trondheim, transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) pp 148-149

behind this a Chamber” (this “chamber” was *Forpakterstugu*) was included in the description of the vicar’s section.<sup>145</sup>

In 1877 the west end was described as roofed with wooden planks and shingles like the rest of the building.<sup>146</sup> Slate was laid on top of the wooden shingles in 1878.<sup>147</sup> A non-flammable roofing material was required for safety purposes, to reduce the fire hazard from sparks from the railway.<sup>148</sup>



Figure 16: Floor plan of Prestegårdslåna from circa 1900.  
(Unsigned and undated drawing from *Prestearkivet*, reprinted in Moe, 2007)

After the modernization Prestegårdslåna presented itself in a new style. The building retained the distinct form and layout of the *trønderlån*, but the window sections were a break with the tradition from before 1850, subtly but clearly modelled according to the modern Swiss

<sup>145</sup> “.. hvori et lidet muret Melkekammer og derbagom et Kammer”. Branntakst 07th December 1877 (Fire insurance assessment), Melhus lensmannsarkiv. Branntakstprotokoll 1 (1846-1882), Statsarkivet i Trondheim, transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) pp 145-146

<sup>146</sup> Branntakst 29th December 1877 (Fire insurance assessment), Melhus lensmannsarkiv. Branntakstprotokoll 1 (1846-1882), Statsarkivet i Trondheim. In a Synsforretning October 22-24 1906 it was demanded that the shingle roof under the slate was fixed. Rugelsjøen (2007) pp 148-149; Moe (2007) p 29

<sup>147</sup> Branntakst 18. November 1907 (Fire Insurance Assessment) quoted in: Moe (2007) p 26

<sup>148</sup> The Trondheim-Støren railway was opened in 1864. Three utilities buildings were given slate roofs in 1897, among these the smaller “stabbur” which was placed the farthest to the west, probably for the same reason. Hegard (1986) p 273; Moe (2007) p 29

Style.<sup>149</sup> Considering the family relationship of the architect, it is likely that the Digre firm delivered the new cladding, doors and windows for Prestegårdslåna's modernization. The new slate roof was also typical for the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Frequently the roof constructions were altered to accommodate slate as it required a sharper angled saddle roof than sod roofs; this was not, however, done in Prestegårdslåna's case. Here, the slate was placed with the shingle roof as an under-roof; also not an unusual solution. The written documentation does not convey opinions on the chosen style at the time. When we learn that Vicar Ulrik Neumann deemed the building "excellently restored" ("*udmerket restaurert*") in 1891 (see below) we can only assume that aesthetics were included in the assessment.



Figure 17: Prestegårdslåna after the 1877 modernization, south façade. The veranda was built in 1900. It was accessed from the main sitting room *Hovdenstova*. (Photo ©Riksantikvaren)

#### *Maintenance and minor works 1880-1920*

In the decades following the 1877 modernization, Prestegårdslåna was subject to maintenance and smaller improvements. In 1891 residing vicar Ulrik Neumann reported Prestegårdslåna to be in excellent condition, despite its age:

“Main building circa 160 years of age, but excellently restored through a State loan in 1876-1877.”<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> The early example of Swiss Style architecture in Norway was H.D.F. Linstow's guardrooms at the Royal Castle in Kristiania, erected in the early 1840s. Here the wall sections below the characteristic large windows were emphasized in a different design, a feature which became typical of the Swiss Style. This same principle of design was used for Prestegårdslånas's façade in the 1870s. Hamran (1981) p 104

<sup>150</sup> “Hovedbygning ca 160 år, men udmerket restaureret ved Embedslån af 1876 i 1877.” *Oplysninger om Melhus sogneprest-Embede* 29. Desember 1891 quoted in: Moe (2007) p 27

The maintenance assessment from 1883 had only mentioned minor works; paint and repair of wallpapers and window fittings. We learn that the gutters needed tarring, and that the exterior panelling was to be touched up (“*flækkes*”), whereas water board and the lower part of the windows in the exterior were to be “brushed or painted once”.<sup>151</sup> By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century life in Prestegårdslåna was moving into the modern age.<sup>152</sup> In the 1890s a new cooking oven, a sink and running water were installed in the kitchen; the water, it turned out, was not suitable for drinking.<sup>153</sup> In 1900 an all-wooden veranda was built with entrance from *Rødstua* (or *Hovdenstua* as it was later labelled), a sitting room facing the south.<sup>154</sup> A maintenance assessment in 1906 listed a number of maintenance measures to be carried out, including rendering of the foundation wall, exterior paint, tarring of the gutters and repairs to the (under-) roof shingles, and repair of the middle chimney. Cement was introduced as a new building material in the treatment history of Prestegårdslåna to joint the slate slabs on the steps to the west end entrance. In 1914 electricity was installed for light and cooking but not for heating. Between 1910 and 1920 all rooms on the ground floor except the entrance (*Forstua*), kitchen and cabinet (*Bispekabinettet*) had linoleum floors put in. During this decade the veranda (*altan*) was renewed.<sup>155</sup>

After the turn of the century the complaints about Prestegårdslåna increased, and once again the idea of building a new vicarage was promoted. The 1906 assessment described Prestegårdslåna as draughty. The problem of draughts was repeated in 1913; cold rooms and a number of deficiencies with the building were now pointed out, an indication that Prestegårdslåna, 36 years after its modernization, was no longer considered “excellently restored”.

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<sup>151</sup> “stryges eller males én gang”. That a distinction was made between “brush” and “paint” could indicate two options for treatment, brush or “stryging” with pure linseed oil to saturate the wood and regenerate the surface, increasing its water-repelling qualities; or paint or “male” a new layer with pigmented linseed oil paint. Åbottsforretning 7. May 1883, Melhus sokneprestarkiv, Statsarkivet i Trondheim; transcript in: Rugelsjøen (2007) pp 153-154

<sup>152</sup> Grytli and Støa (1998)

<sup>153</sup> This information is based on letters written by Neumann and by his successor Reinhold Siewers Ulstad found during a search in “Riksarkivet i november 2006”. Moe (2007) p 28

<sup>154</sup> The 1907 Fire Insurance Assessment described this to be of wood and having wooden steps onto the garden. Moe (2007) p 29

<sup>155</sup> Ibid. p 31

“The Vicar Hovden has strongly argued for the necessity of building a new main building. The existing house is rather large and does in no way look derelict, a fact which no doubt has influenced the relatively high fire insurance. But the building is still in many ways unsatisfactory. (...)”<sup>156</sup>

The decreasing popularity of Prestegårdslåna as a home after the turn of the century has many possible explanations. A new standard of living comfort was becoming possible for the middle class through new building methods and technological innovations, and architectural ideals had changed; the long and narrow “*trønderlån*” was considered too large and impractical:

“... long and narrow with rooms lacking depth and with very small cellar rooms, the building is not very comfortably furnished”.<sup>157</sup>

One of the arguments presented in favour of replacing Prestegårdslåna with a new building was its placement on the plot; with lengthy façades facing north-south there was maximum climate exposure to the prevailing north-westerly winds of the Melhus valley.<sup>158</sup> The issue of draughts was raised by many of Prestegårdslåna’s inhabitants, but none so frequently or avidly as the vicar Anders Hovden who lived here with his family from 1910 to 1920. Hovden complained incessantly about the living standards in Prestegårdslåna, which he referred to as “the icehouse” and said of the farm upon his departure in 1920 that “...the old scrap buildings should probably be demolished.”<sup>159</sup> That the personal viewpoint of the different residents coloured the assessments must be taken into account when considering the state of the building at different times. Hovden had a new vicarage designed in 1916 which demonstrates his ideal for a contemporary dwelling; a neo-baroque style two-storey building with an almost square floor plan fitted with modern conveniences like spacious, sitting rooms, an indoor bathroom and a kitchen with modern appliances and (we must presume, drinkable) running

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<sup>156</sup> “Sogneprest Hovden har med styrke fremholdt nødvendigheten av nybygning. Huset er temmelig stort og ser ingenlunde forfaldet ut, hvilket forhold øiensynlig har hat indflydelse paa den relativt høie branntakst. Men det er allikevel i flere retninger lite tilfredstillende (...):“ Synsforrening 23. september 1913. Ibid. pp 30-31

<sup>157</sup> “.. lang og smal med værelser uten tilbørlig dybde og med yders knapt kjælderrum er bygningen heller ikke bekvemt indredet”. Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> “...at bygningen under et kaldt klima med overordentlig sterk dalsno kan være alt andet enn trivelig til vinterbruk. Og stormen faar saa meget større magt, fordi husets længde-akse ligger tvers paa dalretningen.” This was a valid observation, as the tradition in middle and western Norway was to place buildings with the smaller end façade facing the weather, often with a wall with no windows. Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> One of Hovden’s ten children, Øystein Hovden, has recounted his fathers reference to Prestegårdslåna as “ishuset”; “Desse gamle skrothusa burde i grunnen rivast ned, ...”. Letter from Anders Hovden to Gafseth 17th August 1920. Moe (2007) pp 31, 91

water.<sup>160</sup> Hovden's successor Martin Hollum also complained about cold rooms and draughts, and soon moved out to live in another house during the winter.<sup>161</sup> These were the preliminaries for a new phase of major improvements for Prestegårdslåna, which implied both a modernization and a restoration.

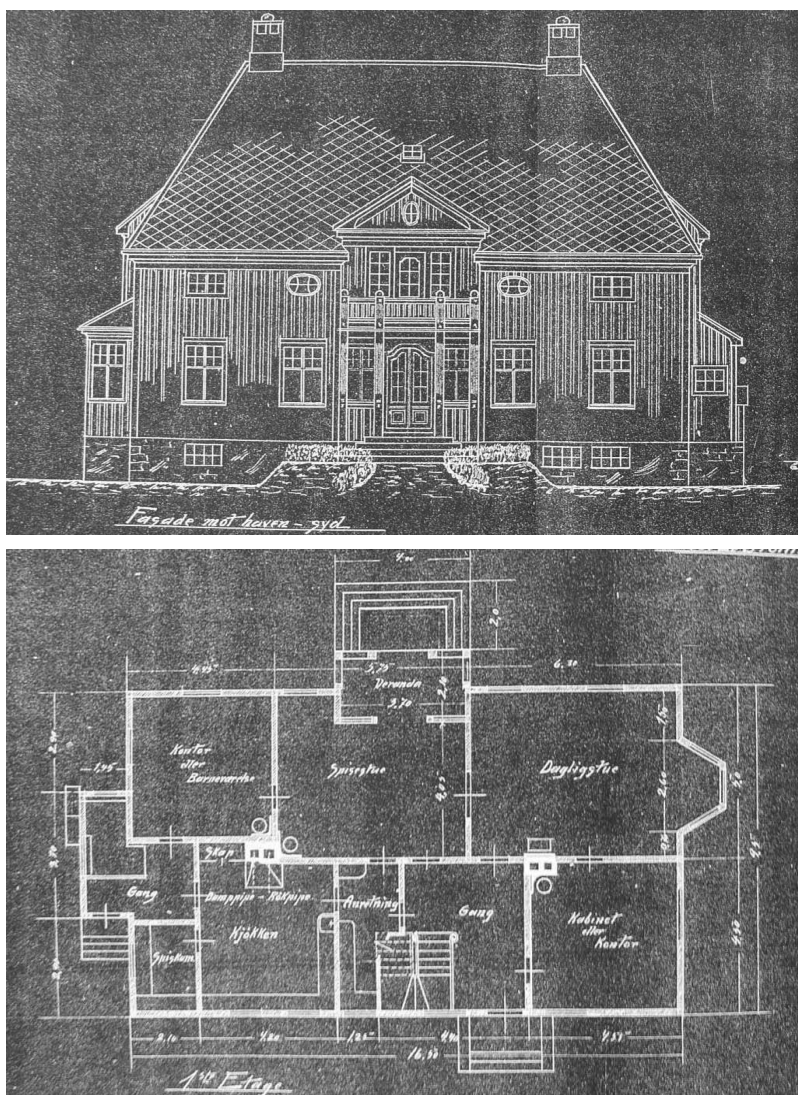


Figure 18-19: “Melhus Prestegård, hovedbygning”. Plans for a new Melhus vicarage commissioned by Vicar Anders Hovden who resided at Melhus vicarage in Prestegårdslåna between 1910 and 1920. (Blueprints from Prestegårdslåna's archive, signed Arentz)

<sup>160</sup> The blueprints for this new vicarage, which was never built, are in Prestegårdslånas archive. Moe (2007) p 31

<sup>161</sup> Letter from the vicar to the Church and Education ministry (KKD) requesting economic compensation to cover expenses for renting another house during winter. The request was accepted by the diocese with reference to the generally known fact that Prestegårdslåna was especially cold and draughty, and the knowledge that there had been much illness in the vicar's family. Hollum (1923 - 6 - 20); Stiftsdireksjonen (1923 - 7 - 18)

### *Summary 1870-1920*

After a suggestion from the residing vicar at Melhus vicarage in 1871 to demolish Prestegårdslåna, the Ministry of Church Affairs allowed for comprehensive works which were executed in 1877. This included the repair and caulking of the timber walls, renewal of most of the façade cladding and windows, and interior works on floors, walls and ceilings. Roof work was done the following year; a new slate tiles were mounted over the existing wood shingle roof which was kept as an under-roof. The intention of the work was to improve the housing standard of the building and maybe also bring it up-to-date aesthetically; the façade was altered according the contemporary fashion, with larger windows and new mouldings. The work done on Prestegårdslåna in 1877 can be characterized as a modernization but much of it was also repairs. Cladding, floorboards and doors were partly renewed, partly reused. Apart from the roof slate no new types of building materials were mentioned in 1877-78, but after the turn of the century cement and linoleum were introduced, as well as running water (not for drinking) and electricity (not for heating). These innovations did not meet demands for modern comforts and in 1916 the residing vicar commissioned plans for a new dwelling. This was not built, but constituted an argument for a new comprehensive modernization.

### **3.2.3 Repair plans and restoration 1922-1929**

The restoration of Prestegårdslåna in the 1920s was initiated by the residing vicar Martin Hollum. A number of parties were involved in the process. With the endorsement of the regional church authorities *Nidaros Stiftsdireksjon*, the Melhus vicar Martin Hollum contacted the Ministry of Church Affairs to further plans for “building a new utilities building as well as erection of a new building or restoration of the old main building at Melhus Vicarage”; Hollum in other words wished to modernize the vicar’s farm in its entirety. The Ministry of Church Affairs wrote to inform *Riksantikvaren* of the plans in 1921, who recommended that a competent architect be commissioned to plan a restoration.<sup>162</sup> The young architect Roar Tønseth was chosen, and prepared a survey and a restoration plan by July 1922. Tønseth was educated at *Norges Tekniske Høgskole* (N.T.H.) in Trondheim, where he finished in 1919. He studied under Professor Johann Meyer who included surveys of the region’s historic vernacular as part of his curriculum. During the 1920s Tønseth designed a number of

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<sup>162</sup> “opførelse av ny landbruksbygning samt opførelse av ny eller restaurering av den gamle hovedbygning på Melhus prestegård”. I have not found Riksantikvaren’s letter but it is referred to: “... av Riksantikvaren i hans, blant sakens dokumenter, vedliggende skrivelse av 18. oktober f.å. anførte finner å kunne bemyndige landbruksingeniør Arentz til å engagere en dyktig arkitekt i Tronhjem til å undersøke og opmåle den gamle hovedbygning på prestegården og utarbeide den fornødne plan (tegning, beskrivelse og omkostningsoverslag) til restaurering av samme.” KUD (1921 - 10 - 7); Kirke departementet (1922 - 4 - 3).

buildings in neoclassical style before turning to functionalism after 1930, however throughout the 1940s his designs are considered to display influence from the regional historic vernacular of Trøndelag. Closely associated with the building conservation community in Trondheim through his uncle, Roar Tønseth performed several surveys of historic buildings in Trøndelag County. In 1922 a number of these, including his survey of Prestegårdslåna, were mentioned in *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annual publication.<sup>163</sup>

Correspondence for Prestegårdslåna shows that the builder, O. Marstein, contributed to the assessment in the planning stage and the construction. The restoration was overseen by agricultural engineer Arentz, who was the man-on-site for the Ministry of Church Affairs.<sup>164</sup> Due to issues with funding the restoration was not executed until 1929 and was not as comprehensive as originally intended. The work done included interior modernizations and various repairs including rebuilding the veranda, in addition to the re-facing of the exterior; this was to tackle the draughts but also involved a stylistic alteration.

#### *Prestegårdslåna's condition circa 1920*

The quality and state of Prestegårdslåna at this time can be derived from the written statements of the parties involved in the restoration, especially from the planning stage. The architect Tønseth supported the residing vicar, who expressed that the building was inhabitable during the winter months:

“... one must admit that the vicarage is not suited for living in during the winter, as the walls are very exposed and especially the sitting rooms, which receive the impact from the weather coming down the valley from the south.”<sup>165</sup>

“... when it blows, and it often does here in Melhus, then paper flies, along the walls and the floor (...) it is a health hazard to live here in the winters and I am not exaggerating.”<sup>166</sup>

Three survey drawings and eight photographs by Tønseth constitute the only documentation of the building's state directly prior to the restoration [Figure 20, 22].<sup>167</sup> Tønseth consulted

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<sup>163</sup> Tønseth's uncle was Nils Ryjord, architect at the Nidaros Cathedral restoration from 1898 until his death in 1926. Ryjord's colleague, restoration architect Olaf Nordhagen was leader of Den Trondhjemske Avdeling of Fortidsminneforeningen in the 1920s. *Det antikvariske arbeide, Aarsberetning. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers* (1923) p 261; Håpnes (2009)

<sup>164</sup> The Church ministry acted for the foundation Opplysningsvesenets fond who was the formal owner.

<sup>165</sup> “... idet man maa si at prestegaarden ikke er skikket til vinterbolig, utsatte som veggene er og mest følelig i opholdsrummene som ligger meget utsat for strokket fra sud. Langs efter dalen.” Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21)

<sup>166</sup> “når det blåser, og det gjør det ofte her i Melhus, saa fyker papir, som langs med veggen bak over gulvet (...)”...det går på helsen løs at bo der om vintrene jeg overdriver ikke.” Hollum (1922 - 7 - 27)



the builder O. Marstein, who delivered the following assessment of Prestegårdslåna: the timber construction was of varying quality with the west end being the worst built, with walls out of plumb, the notches of poor craftsmanship and timber of varying sizes used randomly.<sup>168</sup> Marstein also criticized the 1877 restoration. No attention had been paid at the time to straightening the walls properly or making the house airtight; only the exterior cladding was straight; an exterior lying up to 6” from the timber wall in some places, with the result that the new 1877 windows were fitted outside of the actual wall construction.

“In this cavity, which has openings both above and below, there will be a lively circulation of air, and with the frequently occurring southern wind it is not surprising that the house is characterized as very draughty.”<sup>169</sup>

It was the builder’s opinion that both the exterior cladding and the windows from 1877 were in good condition, but that a complete re-facing was required because of the gap between the timber wall and the cladding. In addition to this, he stated, the window casings and mouldings were very ugly (*slemme*) and only few doors in the building were worthy of being reused; the interior, in his opinion, had to be entirely redone.<sup>170</sup> The architect Tønseth also passed aesthetic judgement on the windows from 1877:

“The windows, which are rather new, are cut in an unfortunate manner into the wall panels below (this reference must be to the indoor wall panels in *Hovdenstova* or *Lystersalen*), and contribute on the whole to greatly spoil the character of the building. The windows are also not properly air-tight. One must allow for the replacement of about half of the doors.”<sup>171</sup>

The foundations were known to be unstable, Marstein stated, and had previously caused shifting in the load-bearing walls. Although presently considered in relatively good shape,

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<sup>167</sup> The photographs and drawings were enclosed in Tønseth’s letter to Arentz. Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21)

<sup>168</sup> Tønseth consulted Marstein to ..”... å komme til klarhet i bygningens forfatning og den vei utbedringsarbeidet bør foregaa”. Letter from Tønseth to Arentz July 21<sup>st</sup> 1922. Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21). “Den sidst byggede del er den daarligste ... enkelte stokker er raatt tilhugget. Naavene er haandverksmessig daarlig utført ... tømmeret er brugt uten nogen omtanke store og små stokke rom hverandre”. Letter from the builder to architect Roar Tønseth. Marstein (1922 - 6 - 23)

<sup>169</sup> “I dette hulrom, som baade neden- og oventil har aapninger, vil der gjerne bli en livlig luftsirkulasjon, og med den hyppige forekommende sønnvind er det ikke forbausende at huset karakteriseres som meget trækfuldt.” Tønseth conveyed these opinions from Marstein in a letter to Arentz. Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21)

<sup>170</sup> Letter from the builder to architect Roar Tønseth. Marstein (1922 - 6 - 23)

<sup>171</sup> “Vinduene, some er forholdsvis nye, skjærer sig paa en eheldig maate ned i den underliggende fyllings ramte (this reference must be to the indoor wall panels in *Hovdenstova* or *Lystersalen*), og bidrar i det hele taget mye til at spolere bygningens preg. Det er heller ikke sørget for forsvarlig tætning omkring vinduene. Man maa gjøre regning med at ca halvparten av dørene maa utrangere.” Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21)

they were not up to the standards required in case of a “major repair”.<sup>172</sup> In Tønseth’s opinion the new cellar which was planned under the west end required new foundation walls.<sup>173</sup> Arentz, who claimed to have examined the foundations more thoroughly, concluded that although the foundation wall in several places began 50-80 cm below ground the foundations were not fully reliable; the foundation soil of the plot was not of the best sort either.<sup>174</sup> The roof was “not worth saving” according to Marstein, but in his opinion the slate could be reused.<sup>175</sup> Tønseth claimed that the wooden roof construction (*takverket*) was in good shape, but commented that the under-roof was laid with small gaps between the planks (this could have been intentional, for airing the roof) and suggested laying an additional under-roof on top of the existing one as the cheapest solution. Tønseth also claimed that the ceiling above *Hovdenstova* (where two rooms had been merged) was slanting and needed to be fixed to the roof truss.<sup>176</sup> The builder was convinced that a complete repair job would cost less than building a new house, due to Prestegårdslåna’s large size.<sup>177</sup>

#### *Roar Tønseth’s restoration proposal 1922*

Roar Tønseth surveyed the building, signed the drawings in June 1922, and had blueprints for the restoration ready a month later.<sup>178</sup> He proposed new windows for the entire building (a total of 43 windows including the gables), small paned with casings in a neo-classical design. Two out of three of the entrance doors and exterior door casings on the northern wall were to be kept, although Tønseth expressed a wish to replace the casings with casings of a more regional character.<sup>179</sup> The timber walls were to be adjusted and straightened to plumb (*i lodd*), made air-tight and lined with building paper inside and out. The existing exterior wood cladding was to be re-used with the exception of the horizontal sections beneath the windows; these were to be replaced with vertical weather boards (*tømmermannspanel*).<sup>180</sup>

Aside from a few new functions, *the floor plan* was not subject to any major alterations. A new and larger cellar was to be furnished as a washing and ironing room, a larder and a potato storage room. It was proposed to move the vicar’s office which had been

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<sup>172</sup> ”hovedreparasjon.” Marstein (1922 - 6 - 23)

<sup>173</sup> Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21)

<sup>174</sup> Arentz (1922 - 7 - 29)

<sup>175</sup> ”kassabelt” Marstein (1922 - 6 - 23)

<sup>176</sup> Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21)

<sup>177</sup> Letter from the builder to architect Roar Tønseth. Marstein (1922 - 6 - 23)

<sup>178</sup> Prestegårdslåna på Melhus: survey drawings by Roar Tønseth June 1922; floor plan and façade drawings by Roar Tønseth July 1922. Tønseth (1922 - 6)

<sup>179</sup> ”Som det vil fremgaa av tegningene er portalene beholdet med det vilde være ønskelig at faa de erstattet av ... trønderisk særpreg”. Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21)

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

in the bishop's chamber (*bispekabinettet*). Hollum suggested using the larger *Herrestuen* room as an office and waiting room, which would require dividing up the room, but was convinced by the architect's alternative proposition to move these functions to the west end instead.<sup>181</sup> Tønseth claimed it would be a shame to divide the large sitting room "*salen*" (*Herrestuen*), and argued for preserving the architecture of the three panelled rooms on the ground floor with reference to their aesthetics and representational function:

"In the sitting rooms and the dining room there are beautiful wall panels which are useful. The large sitting room has been kept as one room, as its beauty would be compromised by sectioning, and also one should attempt to preserve such a grand room at the vicarages (...)." <sup>182</sup>

The vicar's office was planned to be placed in the west end instead, with *Størhuset* converted to a front waiting room with a W.C., and a *safe* fitted where the old hearth was. With the vicar's office moved from the "bishop's chamber", this room could become a garden room with doors onto the terrace.<sup>183</sup> Tønseth expressed approval for the classical interiors of all the panelled rooms and proposed no alterations to these, except moving the garden door from *Hovdenstova* to the Bishop's chamber.<sup>184</sup> The wall panels in these rooms were the only parts of the interior that Tønseth sketched, for either the repair or renewal of those damaged in 1877, when new and larger windows were fitted, and to complete the section which had been taken out to accommodate a garden door in 1908. It was suggested to partly renew the surfaces of some of the interiors, but a bathroom was the only new room to be constructed. The main kitchen for the vicar's residence was to be in the middle section in the same room as it had been before, but with new cabinets and fittings. Upstairs, the room above the kitchen was divided into a bathroom, entrance and bedroom, the wiring and plumbing concealed in the new kitchen cabinets below. An extra W.C. was suggested to be placed in the basement; the sewage pipes led to a planned septic tank.<sup>185</sup> Tønseth thought it necessary to lay new

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<sup>181</sup> Hollum (1922 - 7 - 27)

<sup>182</sup> "I sal, stue og spisestue er det vakre paneler i felter som er anvendbare (...) Salen er bibeholdt dad et vakre rum vilde bli ødelagt ved en delning, og dessuten bør man vel forsøke at bevare et saadant festrøm paa prestegårdene." Hovdenstova, Lystersalen, Herrestuen and Bispekabinettet were the rooms with interior wall panels. Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21)

<sup>183</sup> Tønseth wrote on the floor plan "ikke optegnet i facade" – not on facade drawings. Tønseth's floor plan from 1922 must have been the basis for the plan presented in the Riksantikvaren publication *Fredede hus og anlegg* (1983) because here the terrace doors are shown as leading out from bispekabinettet. This was, however, never the case as Tønseth's suggestion to move the doors were never realized.

<sup>184</sup> "Brukbare fotpaneler finnes ogsaa på kontor og soveværelse over dette." Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21)

<sup>185</sup> Interestingly enough, the Church Ministry (KD) was assumed to not accept the installation of a water closet because of the high cost involved. Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21); Arentz (1923 - 11 - 13)

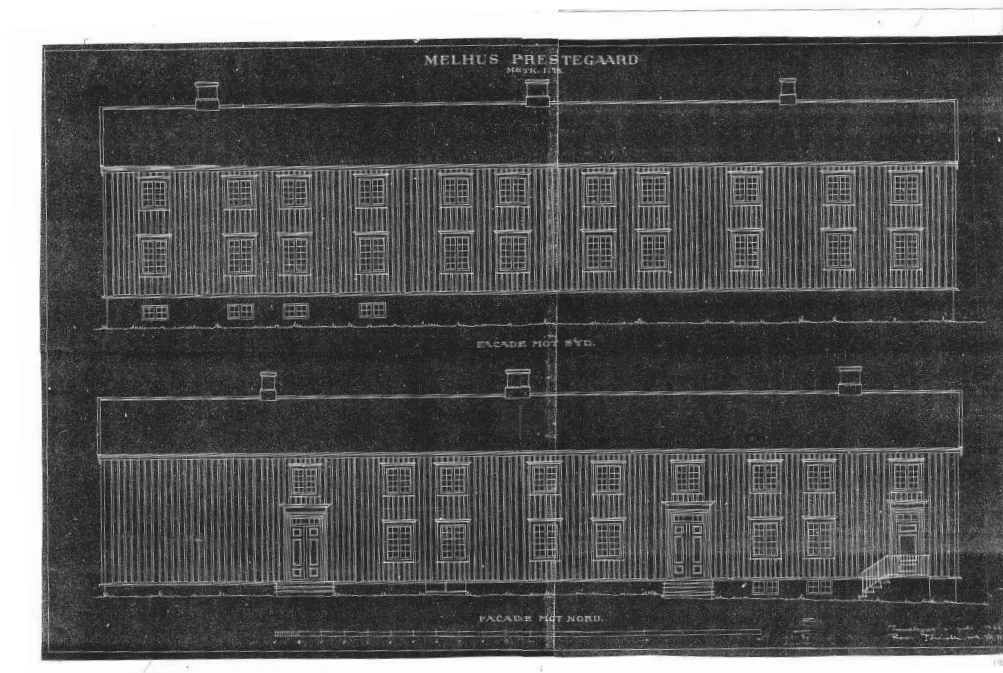
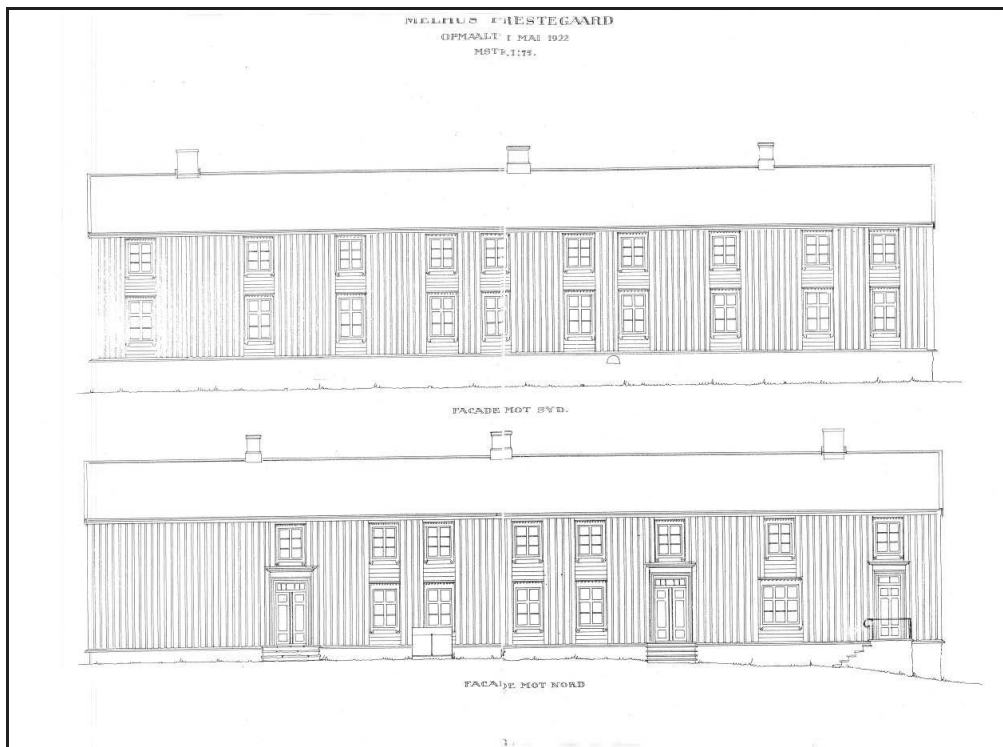


Figure 20-21: Tønseth's 1922 survey (top) and restoration plan for the façade (bottom) 1922.  
(R. Tønseth 1922. Blueprints from Prestegårdslåna's archive, reproduced courtesy of Stiftelsen Prestegårdslåna)

MELHUS PÆSTEGAARD  
 OPMAALE TIL MAJ 1922.  
 MST 6175.

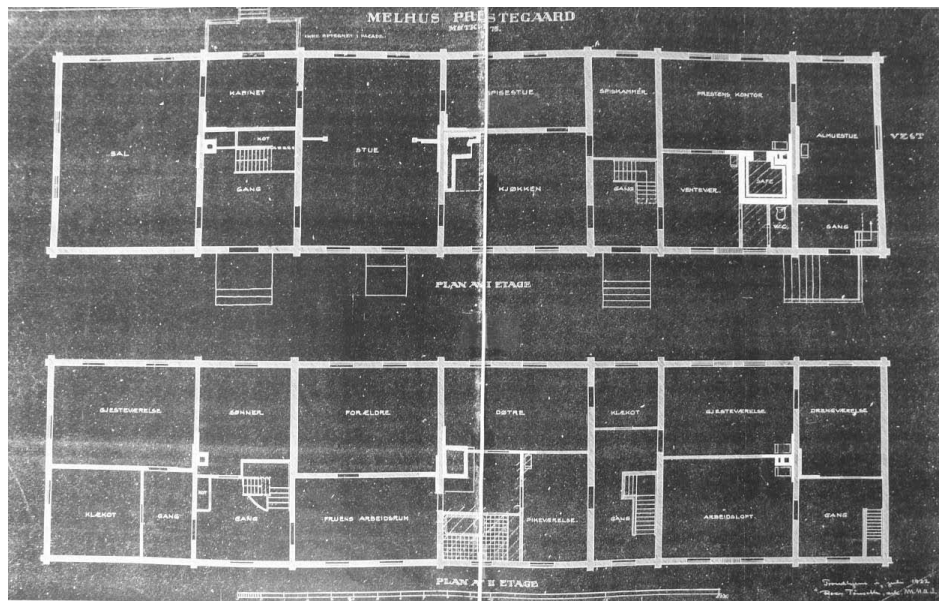
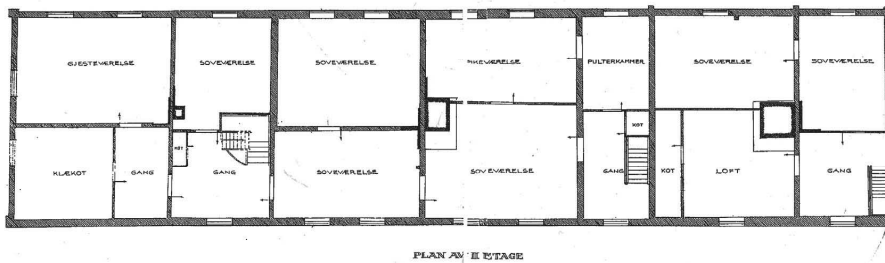
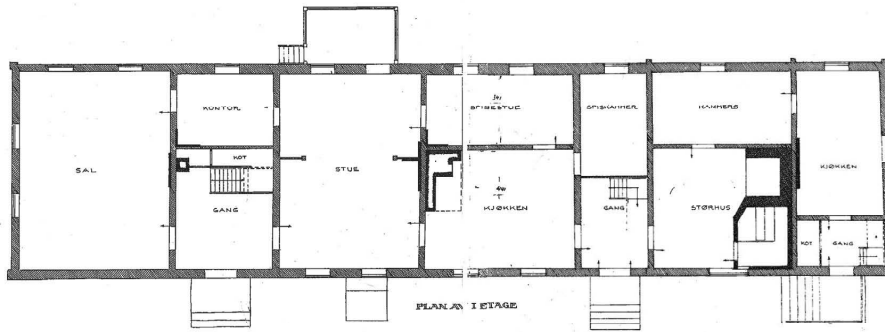


Figure 22-23: Prestegårdslåna floor survey (top) and plan (bottom) from May and July 1922, R. Tønseth. The basic principle of the plan was to rotate functions; the only constructive intervention was a new door opening to accommodate the upstairs bathroom (*Pigeværletset*) and *Storhuset's* hearth which was planned as a safe for the vicar's office. These interventions were not followed through. (Prestegårdslåna archive, Statsarkivet)

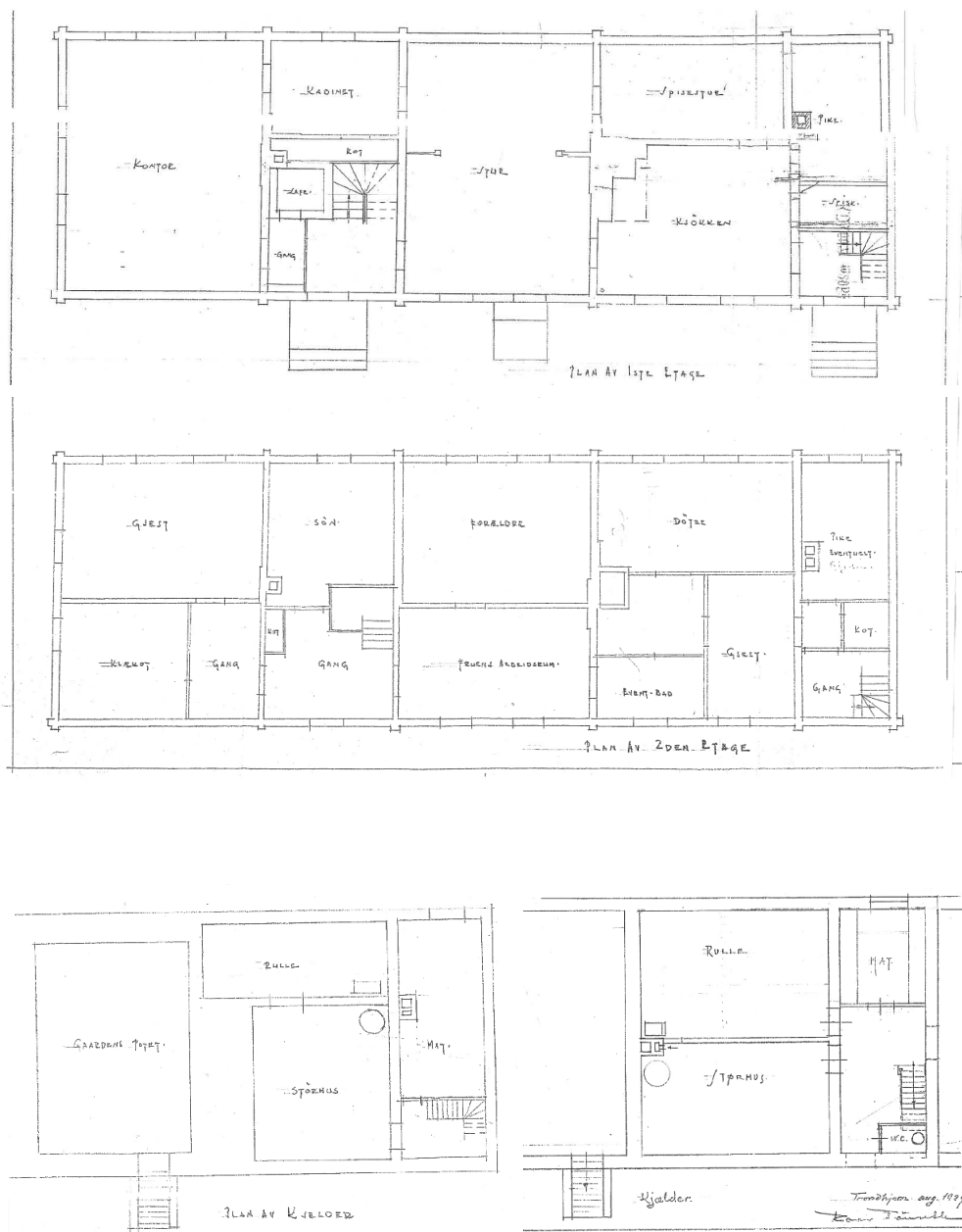


Figure 24-26: Prestegårdslåna, reduced restoration plan excluding the west end by Roar Tønseth, 1929 (top); plan for the basement (bottom) which shows the existing potato storage and the new rooms (left) and alternative plan for new basement with an extended potato cellar and new foundations for the entire section (right). (R. Tønseth, August 1929. From Prestegårdslåna's archive, reproduced courtesy of Stiftelsen Prestegårdslåna)

floors in some rooms on the ground floor and provide these with insulated sound board/double floor (*stubloft*). He proposed to re-use the planks from these floors as loft floors, covering the existing floors with a layer of building paper in between.<sup>186</sup> Tønseth commented that some ceilings were “mounted in an unbecoming fashion”, and suggested that if new floors were mounted in the upstairs rooms, the ceilings below could be removed to expose the beams.<sup>187</sup>

The restoration plans had been developed in agreement with the vicar<sup>188</sup> who stated that, although there was an excess of rooms, the building being what it was, he was content with the architect’s arrangement.<sup>189</sup> Tønseth’s plan in 1922 involved putting the entire building to use. The middle section and the west end, which at the time had no internal connection [Figure 16], were to be reconnected on the ground floor. On the question of Prestegårdslåna’s size and length, which was to the object of much discussion over the following years, Tønseth diplomatically defended its conservation when delivering his 1922 restoration proposal:

“As the drawings reveal, only small alterations have been made in the floor plan as well as in the façades. The building may seem unnecessarily long and ungainly, but seen in the context of the church and the utility buildings it gives the complex a firmness which is of high value.”<sup>190</sup>

An early estimate by the architect for the job, at this point referred to as “repair work”, was 40-50 000 kroner.<sup>191</sup> Agricultural engineer Arentz found the estimate unreasonable, and proposed to shorten the building to reduce costs. Claiming that Prestegårdslåna with its 37 metre length and 324 square metres of floors was twice the size of a regular home, Arentz held the opinion that the west end could be sacrificed without much compromising the total visual effect of the building complex.<sup>192</sup> The suggestion to shorten the building was not taken into account in this first planning phase.

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<sup>186</sup> ”I enkelte rum i første etage maa gulvene utskiftes og forsynes med stubbgulv og fyld.”; ”Det kan bli tale om at anvende de utskiftede første etages gulvbord ovenpaa loftsgulvet med et paplag imellom.” Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21)

<sup>187</sup> “I enkelte rum er der anbragt underloft paa en skjæmmende maate. Lægger man et nyt gulvbord-lag ogsaa i anden etage (med pap) saa kunde man beholde de synlige bjelker.” Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21)

<sup>189</sup> Hollum (1922 - 7 - 27)

<sup>190</sup> “Som det av tegningene vil fremgaa er den saaavel i planen som i facader kun foretatt smaa forandringer. Bygningen kan synes unødig lang og ulænelig, men set i sammenheng med kirkene og uthusene saa gir den anlegget en fasthet som er av stor verdi.” Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 21)

<sup>191</sup> “... uten at foreta vidløftige undersøkelser ... anslagsvis at taksere reparasjonsarbeidet til 40 à 50 000 kr.” Letter from Tønseth to Arentz. Tønseth (1922 - 7 - 23)

<sup>192</sup> Arentz (1922 - 7 - 29)

### *The job specification 1922-1923*

In 1922-23 Tønseth delivered job specifications, tender and estimates for much of the work to be done on Prestegårdslåna.<sup>193</sup> These papers provide many details as to which materials and building methods were to be used for repairing and restoring a two-hundred-year-old listed building.

As the basement was to be extended, the *foundation* and basement walls were to be partly reinforced, partly replaced. The existing foundation walls were of dry stone with clay and lime rendering.<sup>194</sup> Tønseth proposed poured cement exterior walls on a crushed-stone foundation (*kultfundament*), cautioning not to eke out the concrete too much with stones. For the interior of the basement Tønseth prescribed poured cement or rendered brick walls (“*bretskuring*” for *Størhuset*; for the other rooms “*rapping*”), and for the floors 10 cm of concrete on a 15 cm foundation of crushed stone (*kult*) floor; and exterior steps to the basement of poured cement covered with slate flagstones. Precautions against moisture were to be taken with proper pipe drainage of the ground surrounding the house, tar (*stenkulltjære*: anthracite tar) impregnation of the exterior foundation walls below ground and double tar paper insulation; above ground, rough cast. New basement doors were pine and were to be prime coated “before leaving the factory”.<sup>195</sup> For woodwork in the basement, including the staircase, windows, doors, shelves, benches and bin (*binge*) it was demanded that all work be of “first class craftsmanship”, this was stated in the 1922 tender written for woodwork for the basement, which included estimates for plumbing and paint jobs.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Some estimates were delivered to the Church ministry (Kirke og undervisningsdepartementet) alongside the restoration blueprints in July 1922. In October 1923 Tønseth was working on new estimates after adjusting the restoration plans, based on calculations by local firms. Søberg Cementstøperi delivered an estimate for foundations (4351,50), Bygmester Jon Stenseth of Hovin, a neighbouring community, had delivered an estimate for woodwork (9063 kr), Samsom Fabrikker were to provide all wood materials (11214,70 kr); otherwise estimates were given for tinner work by Gustav Olsen, Melhus (730 kr), foundation work, masonry and rendering not including the basement by John Stenset (1446 kr), plumbing (3300 kr,) paintwork (4338,70 kr), electrical fittings (300 kr) and ovens( 600 kr). Carpenter Stenset’s had restored Støren Prestegård (vicarage) and Tønseth referred to him as a man considered skilled at “that sort of work” (“.. som bland andet har utført restaureringsarbeidet ved Støren prestegaard, og som er anset som en meget dygtig mand til den slags arbeide...”). In a derelict condition around the turn of the century, Støren Prestegård was upgraded in 1906-07 following plans designed by landbruksingeniør (farming engineer) G. Arentz in 1905. This “restoration” left the early 19<sup>th</sup> century building with a greatly altered exterior and modernized interior. Støren Prestegård was listed (administrativt fredet) alongside other vicarages in the early 1930s. Tønseth (1923 - 9 - 13); Tønseth (1923 - 10 - 9); Søberg (1923 - 10 - 11); Samsom (1923 - 10 - 23); Tønseth (1923); Tønseth (1923 - 10 - 28); Hegard (1986) pp 263, 264

<sup>194</sup> The åbot and fire insurance assessment documents specify the materials but not the building methods.

<sup>195</sup> Tønseth (1923)

<sup>196</sup> “... førsteklases haandverksmæssig maate”. The estimate for the paint job was 4338,70 kr; for plumbing which included water and sewage, septic tank, oven for heating water, bathtub,w.c.and sinks was for 3470. Kr. 440 was subtracted from the total for the reuse of old materials. Tender. Usignert (1922 - 7 - 23)



For the *exterior walls* Tønseth stipulated the removal of interior and exterior wood cladding (“522 m<sup>2</sup> of timber walls are to removed outside and inside”), the walls were to be straightened and sealed (“*dytte*”) against draughts, insulation paper mounted outside and building paper mounted inside.<sup>197</sup> The old cladding was to be reused, but a specific amount of new weatherboards procured for “replacement of poor materials.”<sup>198</sup> At this stage over 60% of the old (1877 and older) exterior cladding was planned to be re-mounted and reused.<sup>199</sup> In the job specification Tønseth wrote that the weatherboard cladding should be removed gently.<sup>200</sup>

The specification for *painting* the exterior cladding was for 333m<sup>2</sup> old panel boards and 220m<sup>2</sup> new panel boards.<sup>201</sup> The paint job specification included painting old and new woodwork in the interior, interior and exterior doors, and windows.<sup>202</sup>

Tønseth’s proposal for *the interior* did not involve constructive interventions or alterations of the disposition of the rooms, only the function. The vicar proposed to have the dining room (*Lystersalen*) extended at the kitchen area’s expense, but Tønseth opposed this, arguing that moving the load-bearing wall, extending the roof beams and reworking the wall panels made this task too costly.<sup>203</sup> Tønseth specified that the walls were either to be panelled with regular wooden cladding (*vekselpanel*) or beadboard (*staff*), or papered with reel paper or burlap. Regular wooden panelling was offered as the most appropriate and reasonable solution.<sup>204</sup> New cornices and skirting boards were also specified (although not for which rooms); the rooms with dado wainscotting and wall panels were to be kept as they were, while the remaining rooms were to be newly panelled with the exception of the upstairs *Arbeidsloftet* (*Gutungloftet*) where the timber could be left exposed. Tønseth dismissed the idea that the wallpapered rooms, for instance *Forpakterstugu*, which was rendered with clay to provide a suitable surface for wallpaper, be kept intact: “This method of crafting we cannot keep...”.<sup>205</sup> The ground floor was to receive new clay-insulated double floors; the first floor

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<sup>197</sup> “522 m<sup>2</sup> tømmervegg skal avtages panel ut- og indvendig (...) Væggene skal opprettes og dyttes forsvarlig, påføres isolationspap utv. Og uldpap indv. Hvor paa det gamle panel påsættes.” Tønseth (1923 - 10 - 9)

<sup>198</sup> Tønseth (1923)

<sup>199</sup> Estimate, Usignert (1922 - 7 - 23)

<sup>200</sup> “Det gamle panel maa avtages paa varsom maate”. Tønseth (1923)

<sup>201</sup> The specifications for the new wall panel planks for the exterior were 3/4 “x 6” sleeper (underligger) and 1” x 6” lintel (overligger). Samsom (1923 - 10 - 23)

<sup>202</sup> Estimate, Usignert (1922 - 7 - 23)

<sup>203</sup> Tønseth (1923 - 10 - 28)

<sup>204</sup> “...disse rum maa da enten gis et panel (vekselpanel) eller trækkes med strie og maskinpapir paa ruupanel. Antagelig vil det første vise sig hensigtsmæssigst og rimeligst.” Tønseth (1923 - 10 - 9)

<sup>205</sup> “Denne utførelsesmaate kan vi ikke bibeholde...”. The west end was excluded from the final and reduced 1929 restoration plan, and nothing was done to Forpakterstu where the clay rendering today is intact, although in a state of deterioration which it may also have been in Tønseth’s time. Tønseth (1923 - 10 - 9)

new one-inch wooden floors on building paper mounted over the existing floors, the sound boards made up of planks re-used from the old roof sheathing.<sup>206</sup> It was proposed to reuse the old ground floor in the attic, on top of the existing floor.<sup>207</sup>

The *roof* was to be renewed (the stated size of the roof surface was 410 m<sup>2</sup><sup>208</sup>). The old slate was to be re-laid with new wooden sheathing, tar paper<sup>209</sup> and laths (*lekter*).<sup>210</sup> Gable boards, the exterior wooden cornice concealing the gutters typical of finer buildings in the region, and the tinwork on roof and gutters, were all to be renewed.<sup>211</sup> In October 1923 Tønseth suggested that red, curved brick tiles be used for the main building:

“... red tiles... undoubtedly more in character with the building...”<sup>212</sup>

Tønseth proposed that the slate from Prestegårdslåna’s roof could be re-used for the (new) utilities building.<sup>213</sup> The new *windows* were to be made according to detailed specifications:

“The windows are to be crafted according to specified drawings, of heartwood knot-free pine with 2” casings and exterior mouldings, according to the existing window on the western short-end wall”.<sup>214</sup>

Tønseth suggested that the windows from the 1877-modernization could be sold.<sup>215</sup> In Tønseth’s proposal new windows were to be fitted in the entire building, including in the west end. The west end’s large three-compartment windows from 1877 were to be replaced with two smaller windows to restore a more traditional rhythm to the façade [Figure 20-21]. In addition one new window opening was to be made on each floor on the western part of the southern wall.<sup>216</sup> With this Tønseth would restore a stylistic uniformity to the façade and the alternating rhythm of paired and single windows which is typical of the Trøndelag vernacular.

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<sup>206</sup> “Det gamle takbord brukes til stubbegulv”. Tønseth (1923)

<sup>207</sup> Tønseth Tønseth (1923 - 10 - 9)

<sup>208</sup> Tønseth (1923)

<sup>209</sup> 45 rolls of Fjeldhammers, 7 kg was specified in a 1923 estimate. Samsom 1923 - 10 - 23

<sup>210</sup> Tønseth (1923 - 10 - 9)

<sup>211</sup> “Kassegesims ... vindskier ... takrende med solide kroker samt bordtakbeslag, nedløpsrør, pipebeslag.”

Tønseth (1923)

<sup>212</sup> “rød krum tegl... utvilsomt er mere i bygningens karakter...” Tønseth (1923 - 10 - 28)

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> “Vinduene utføres efter specialtegnning av malmen kvistfri furu med 2” karmen og utv. Klædninger, slik som det nuværende vindu paa vestgavlen.” There were twenty sized 1,5 x 1,40, twenty-two 1,15 x 1,15 and two 95 x 1,85. Thirteen of the twenty larger and thirteen of the twenty two smaller windows were to be delivered with inner windows without mullions; the glass classification was **B**. Tønseth (1923)

<sup>215</sup> “.. (de gamle vinduer kan muligens sælges)”. Tønseth (1923 - 10 - 9)

<sup>216</sup> “..åpning for nye vinduer i prestens kontor og bakenforliggende rom samt rommene i annen etasje over disse.” Ibid.

### *Assessments of the restoration plan*

The correspondence concerning the restoration plan from 1922 indicates that the standard for the works had been agreed jointly by Vicar Martin Hollum, architect Tønseth and the builder Marstein. In August 1922 *Riksantikvaren* received the blueprints for assessment<sup>217</sup>, and found them recommendable:

“Mr. Tønseth’s plans for repairs of Melhus vicarage one can recommend (...) It is a characteristic building of Trøndelag, which, at its time, with the old county church, constituted a wholesome cultural setting.”<sup>218</sup>

*Riksantikvaren* did not go into detail about the design for the exterior; the only comment concerned the replacement of wooden materials:

“One can of course not conclude as to how much of the woodwork should be replaced, and how the walls should be treated in the interior.”<sup>219</sup>

*Riksantikvaren* also recommended a survey of the interior by “hr. Erdmann” (*Riksantikvaren*’s decorative painter and conservator Domenico Erdmann) in the case of an interior restoration. Vicar Anders Hovden had sent *Riksantikvaren* a photograph of Prestegårdslåna in 1919, which means they knew what the building looked like, but probably little else. Originals of Tønseth’s survey drawings were requested for *Riksantikvaren*’s archive, along with photographs for future reference.<sup>220</sup> There is no evidence that Prestegårdslåna was visited by *Riksantikvaren* representatives in connection with the restoration.

Tønseth’s 1922 restoration plans were also highly recommended by the Nidaros diocese,<sup>221</sup> but the Ministry of Church Affairs, however, clearly indicated that the restoration

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<sup>217</sup> “Saken oversendes RA til uttalelse, med landbruksingeniør Arenz påtegning av 29 f.m. har man mottatt en sak angående spørsmål om restaurering av hovedbygningen på Melhus Prestegård. Samtlige sakens dok. oversendes, 18 bilag, hvoriblandt 8 fotografier og 6 tegninger.”. December 1923 a set of revised floor plans were sent; the alterations here were slight, such as moving the location of the W.C. on the vicar’s request. KUD (1922 - 8 - 4) ; Tønseth (1923 - 10 - 28)

<sup>218</sup> “Hr. Tønseths planer for reparasjon av Melhus prestegård kan man anbefale. (...) Den er en karakteristisk trøndergård, som i sin tid, sammen med den gamle fylkeskirke, dannet kulturanlæg.” *Riksantikvaren* (1924 - 1 - 9)

<sup>219</sup> “Selvfølgelig kan man ikke her ha nogen formening om hvormeget av treverket bør erstattes og hvordan veggene i det indre bør behandles.” *Ibid.*

<sup>220</sup> In their letter *Riksantikvaren* expressed their general frustration with the fact that survey drawings of vicarage buildings were spread in several different offices. *Ibid.*

<sup>221</sup> *Stiftsdireksjonen* (1923 - 11 - 17)

would be too costly. Ambitions had to be lowered.<sup>222</sup> Costs continued to be an issue in the following years. The Ministry of Church Affairs complained that the building activities on the vicar's farms in general were too grand. There was no proposal to fund the restoration of Prestegårdslåna in the *Storting* proposition for 1924, and the Ministry of Church Affairs subsequently ordered the plans to be minimized. Only the most necessary work was to be done to make the building habitable, they stated, and recommended that the bathroom and W.C. be left out of the plans.<sup>223</sup>

#### *The "reduced restoration plan" 1924-25*

As a response to the signals from the Ministry of Church Affairs, in 1924 Tønseth reworked the plans reducing costs. The façade restoration and heat insulation of the outer walls was still part of the plan, for two walls, the southern and eastern. Roof gutters and eaves and foundations were to be repaired. Interior work however was reduced, and plans to move the vicar's office to the west end section (*Størhuset* and *Forpakterstugu*) were to be postponed until there was funding to perform necessary work on the foundations and the cellar. The exterior façade restoration still included the west end: Tønseth insisted that "four openings for windows are to be included"; these openings were in the west end section.<sup>224</sup> The "reduced restoration plan" ("*reducert restaureringsplan*") from 1924 was presented as a minimum solution to make Prestegårdslåna habitable during the winter at a cost the ministry could accept. The vicar proposed that building a new house would probably be less expensive, but architect Tønseth defended a restoration as a more cost-efficient solution. Tønseth argued for a step-by-step approach where the complete restoration according to the 1922 plans could be achieved, over time, and the vicar informed the Church department:

"Speaking of the main building, I can after conferring with the architect confirm, that building an entirely new vicarage will not involve less expense (...) Architect Tønseth has therefore kept to the thorough restoration plan, which was reduced last autumn, but such that this will be executed successively."<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> "...at der ikke vil kunne bli spørsmål om å anvende 43000 kroner av offentlige midler til dette byggearbeide". KUD (1923 - 12 - 1)

<sup>223</sup> KUD (1924 - 5 - 31)

<sup>224</sup> "paasætning av 4 stk. aapninger for vinduer skal medtaes". Tønseth (1924 - 10 - 2); Tønseth (1924 - 9)

<sup>225</sup> "For hovedbygningens vedkommende kan jeg efter konferanse med arkitekten oplyse, at det ikke godt kan bli tale om at slippe billigere fra det med at bygge helt nyt (...) Arkitekt Tønseth er derfor blit stående ved den grundige restaureringsplan, som blir inn-(skrenket?) i fjor høst, men således at denne gjennomføres succesivt." Hollum (1924 - 10 - 6)

In 1925 county agronomist (*fylkesagronom*) Næsgård, supplied additional arguments and suggestions for cost-reductions. Næsgård replaced Arentz as the Ministry of Church Affairs' representative *in situ* and as such he represented the owner. Næsgård agreed that insulation and wind-proofing was necessary. Doing this from the exterior only would be the more cost-efficient solution. Adding wall insulation from the inside of the building would require removal of the sitting room wall panels, and avoiding damage to these was a good thing, he argued. Næsgård could find no good reason replacing the 1877 windows which he considered in sound condition:

“The windows in the building are not very old and in good condition and I can therefore find no sensible reason for replacing them now, even if they do not quite meet the architectural requirements of the day. They (...) should of course be kept as long as they are useful. Only when they no longer are of service, will the replacement of the windows in the style of the building come in question.”<sup>226</sup>

Tønseth argued that fitting new windows and repairing and heat-insulating the outer walls were operations which demanded mutual adjustments, and that it was therefore rational to do this simultaneously. He did agree to omit having the exterior walls aligned, which was part of the original restoration proposal.<sup>227</sup>

#### *Discussions on shortening the building*

County agronomist Næsgård also proposed to the church authorities to have the building shortened. He argued that by excluding the tenant farmer's part of the building from the restoration plans, costs could be reduced by one third.<sup>228</sup> Prestegårdslåna's length was an issue both with the former vicar Anders Hovden, and with Næsgård's predecessor, the agricultural engineer Arentz, who in 1922 had already proposed to remove a section of the building to cut the costs of a restoration.<sup>229</sup> The tenant farmer resided in the west end section of Prestegårdslåna, but plans to build a new and separate dwelling for the tenant farmer had been discussed for some time.<sup>230</sup> In 1925 there was a new maintenance appraisal of

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<sup>226</sup> “Bygningens vinduer er ikke verst gamle og i god stand og jeg kan derfor ikke finne noen fornuftig grunn for utskifting nettopp nu, selv om de ikke helt tilfredstiller nutidens arkitektoniske krav. De (...) bør selvfølgelig stå så lenge de er brukbare. Først når de ikke lenger kan gjøre tjeneste er utskiftning av vinduerne i stil med bygningen forøvrig aktuelt.” Nesgaard (1925 - 10 - 24)

<sup>227</sup> Part of Tønseth's comment to the 1925 Synsforretning. Tønseth (1925 - 11 - 4)

<sup>228</sup> “Blir forpakterleiligheten kappet av vil forslaget kunne reduseres med yderligere en tredjedel!”. Nesgaard (1925 - 10 - 24)

<sup>229</sup> Arentz (1922 - 7 - 29)

<sup>230</sup> Vicar Martin Hollum had applied for 8500 kroner in October 1920 to build a new tenant farmer's house. Hollum (1929 - 10 - 31)

Prestegårdslåna. Næsgård was on its committee (all committee members were local), which concluded that it would be a good idea to dismount and move the west end section to set it up as a separate house for the tenant farmer:

“...if the main building is to be restored under the condition that a separate tenant farmer’s house is built, it is not to be recommended to do this in any other way than that the current tenant farmer’s quarters be severed from the main building and either be relocated to a different plot and reconstructed as the tenant farmer’s dwelling, or be sold.”<sup>231</sup>

The appraisal committee otherwise supported the planned improvements and restoration, deeming comprehensive work quite necessary as the house was cold and draughty and lacking “all necessary basement rooms.”<sup>232</sup> Shortening the building would not, the committee argued, affect the historical value of the building:

“Such a severing of the main building is also natural as the building from the beginning was raised in three parts. And that such a severing of the building therefore be of consequence to its historical value as an object of restoration, is incomprehensible.”<sup>233</sup>

Tønseth did not agree to this:

“... as previously mentioned in the letter of 27/7-22, I will not recommend shortening the western section.”<sup>234</sup>

He agreed that by excluding the repair of the west end foundation walls, costs could be reduced by 3000 kroner (to a total of 25 000).<sup>235</sup> As the west end was the part of the building with the worst foundations, this left it to face a more uncertain future.

The discussions on the fate of the west end continued well into the actual execution of the restoration work. In Tønseth’s job description from May 1929 the west end was still

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<sup>231</sup> “...skal hovedbygningen restuareres under forutsætning av særskilt forpakterbolig, kan man ikke nabefale det paa annen maate enn at den nuværende forpakterleilighet skjæres vekk fra hovedbygningen og enten flyttes og opføres som forpakterbolig paa et mere hensigtsmessig sted, eller at den sælges...” County agronomist Jens Næsgård was also “synsmann”, and headed the committee which was to assess the building in the assessment (*synsforretning*) held in October 1925. Nesgaard, Loddgaard et al. (1925 - 10 - 22)

<sup>232</sup> “De nødvendige kjellerrum mangler helt, likesom huset er kaldt og trækfullt...” Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> “En saadan avkapning av hovedbygningen vilde ogsaa falde naturlig forsaavidt som bygningen ogsaa fra først av er opført i 3 dele. Og at en saadan avkapning derfor skal kunne øve noen indflytelse paa bygningens historiske verdi som restaurasjonsobjekt, kan man derfor ikke innse.” Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> “som tidligere nevnt i skrivelse av 21/7-22 vil jeg fraråde en avkortning av den vestligste del.” Tønseth (1925 - 11 - 4)

<sup>235</sup> Tønseth (1925 - 9 - 22)

included, to be repaired and restored along with the rest of the house.<sup>236</sup> There were no new functions here, the vicar's office would not be moved here (to *Størhuset* and *Forpakterstugu*) but to *Herrestuen* in the east end<sup>237</sup>; the vicar's farmer still lived here.<sup>238</sup> A grant for the restoration of Prestegårdslåna was given by Stortinget in April 1929 for a total sum of 10 000 kroner<sup>239</sup>, and work was started shortly after. In May 1929 Tønseth wrote *Riksantikvaren* for an opinion on the question of demolishing the west end:

“This western section which is now proposed to be demolished – it is quite surely the oldest (...) Personally I am of the opinion that one cannot be careful enough when it comes to severing the old Trøndelag dwellings as this usually contributes to destroying the whole farmyard (...) But in this case there is also the additional fact that all the buildings in the farmyard have taken flight from the main building..”<sup>240</sup>

Tønseth conceded that 320 square metres of floor space was too much for one family, and pointed out the loss of context implied by establishing a new utilities building outside the present farmyard. His present proposal, Tønseth wrote, was to place the vicar's office in the east end. He also mentioned that the local community was alert to the question of Prestegårdslåna.<sup>241</sup>

*Riksantikvaren* protested against the plans to shorten Prestegårdslåna. Scarcely two weeks after Tønseth's letter *Riksantikvaren* replied. The matter of the west end had been discussed in *Fortidsminneforeningen's* executive meeting, and there was general agreement to oppose the plans:

“... it would be regrettable if Melhus vicarage, which is one of the largest and most characteristic farms in Trøndelag, is severed (...) Even if it at the moment seems somewhat unreasonable to keep such a large

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<sup>236</sup> The timber walls in the old Størhus were to be repaired, insulated with woollen cardboard sheeting (*uldpan*) and subsequently panelled in the interior. The safe which initially was planned placed here (Tønseth 1922) in Størhuset was excluded from the job but the hearth and baking oven were to be demolished. Tønseth (1929 - 5 - 22)

<sup>237</sup> “Med de nye isolationsmaterialer er det meningen at gjøre salen (*Herrestuen*) lun, slik at den kan brukes til kontor.” Tønseth (1929 - 5 - 27)

<sup>238</sup> The same tenant farmer family lived in the west end from 1923 to 1948 when the new tenant farmer dwelling was completed. Moe (2007) p 94

<sup>239</sup> The descriptions of the building being so cold and draughty that paper flew around when the wind was strong outside were included in the government proceedings. Stortinget 1929/1930; KUD (1929 - 4 - 19)

<sup>240</sup> “Denne vestre del er det som nu foreslaas revet – den er ganske sikker den ældste (...) Personlig er jeg av den mening at man neppe kan være forsiktig nok naar det gjælder avkapning av de gamle trøndergaarder da dette som oftest bevirker en ødeleggelse av det hele (...). Men her jo tilføidet det, at alle gaardens huse for øvrig er paa flugt bort fra hovedbygningen.” Tønseth (1929 - 5 - 27)

<sup>241</sup> Tønseth (1929 - 5 - 27)

building, a demolition here will, besides destroying the entire character of the building, hardly constitute any financial gain.”<sup>242</sup>

*Riksantikvaren's* argument that a demolition would destroy a fine building's character was strengthened by the provision of a long-term perspective on the functional aspect of the building:

“One never knows what there will be use for in the future at an old vicarage.”<sup>243</sup>

The Ministry of Church Affairs declared the question of demolishing and moving of the west end postponed for the time being, and decided on a contract for:

“... the entire work completely finished with the exception of the western section of the building (...) The question of taking down and relocating the western end section (the tenant farmer's quarters) should not be dealt with at present.”<sup>244</sup>

The advice to shorten Prestegårdslåna by demolishing or moving the west end section was repeated as late as in September 1929, by the same assessment committee who had looked at the building in 1925:

“... one will argue that one sees it as the best and least expensive arrangement that the part of the building which is presently the tenant farmer's quarters is taken down and reconstructed in the vicinity of the utilities building, and recommends that this be done as soon as possible.”<sup>245</sup>

The tenant farmer was due to move out of the west end section of Prestegårdslåna; a new utilities building was being built on the farm south of the vicarage's old farmyard, and it was concluded that there should be a separate tenant farmer's dwelling closer to this new building.

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<sup>242</sup> “.. det vilde være beklagelig om Melhus prestegård, som jo er en av de største og mest karakteristiske gårde i Trøndelag, kappedes av. Selv om det i øieblikket kan synes litt urimelig å beholde en saa stor hovedbygning, så vil dog en nedrivning her foruten å ødelegge hele bygningens karakter neppe bety nogen særlig økonomisk vinning.” *Riksantikvaren* (1929 - 6 - 10)

<sup>243</sup> “Man kan jo heller aldrig vite hva der i fremtiden vil bli behov for p'en gammel prestegård.” *Ibid.*

<sup>244</sup> “...det hele arbeide i full ferdig stand med undtagelse av bygningens vestre del (...) Spørsmålet om nedrivning og flytning av hovedbygningens vestre fløi (forpakterboligen) bør foreløpig utstå inntil videre.” *KUD* (1929 - 6)

<sup>245</sup> “..man vil fremholde at man anser det som den bedste og billigste ordning at den del av hovedbygningen som nu anvendes til forpakterbolig skjæres fra og flyttes og opføres i nærheten av landbruksbygningen, og anbefaler at dette utføres så snart som mulig.” *Synsprotokoll for prestegården i Gauldal prosti 26/9-1929, attending fylkesagronom Jens Næsgaard med gaardbrukere Magnus Lodgaard og Ole stav som synsmenn og deltagelse fra sogneprest Hollum/Branntakst av gårdens bygninger. Nesgaard, Lodgaard et al. (1929 - 9 - 26)*



Also, the municipality was renouncing their right to “*almuestuen*”, which implied that the west section was losing its present functions.<sup>246</sup>

The restoration was followed through for the middle and eastern sections of Prestegårdslåna according to Tønseth’s plans. No new blueprints were made; the blueprints from 1922 were followed with the modifications of the “reduced restoration plan” from 1924-25, and a new job specification from May 1929. The west end section was simply omitted from the restoration.

#### *Restoration proposal and execution 1929*

The restoration of Prestegårdslåna was executed in 1929. Tenders were put out for the various trades involved in May 1929, and the first payouts from the ministry were made the same month.<sup>247</sup> Tønseth delivered a comprehensive job description for the restoration work for Prestegårdslåna in May 1929, and with the exception of work described for the west end this was followed as planned.<sup>248</sup>

According to Tønseth’s job description the building’s old *foundations* were to be taken down, and new, frost free walls on crushed stone base erected.<sup>249</sup> Reuse of stone from the old foundations was acceptable.<sup>250</sup> The foundation walls below ground were to be rendered with cement and to have “Goudron, Inertol or a similar approved material” applied, and ditches for crushed stone were to surround the building for proper drainage.<sup>251</sup> As the west end was omitted from the restoration plans, the foundations here were not renewed. In his 1922 plan Tønseth had placed the new basement in the west end section, but now a smaller new basement was dug out under part of the middle section of the building instead (under *Lystersalen* and the kitchen/*Kjøkkenet*). According to Tønseth’s description new floor beams were to be fitted in the rooms above the basement. The specification was for 5”/8” beams, 60 cm intervals with double floors and dry clay filling; the lower plane of the under-roof with re-used materials. There was no internal connection between the older basement under *Hovdenstova* and the newer basement, which was under *Lystersalen* and the kitchen.

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<sup>246</sup> ”det anføres at kommunen gir avdald paa bruk av almuestuen, at videre at forpakter med sine folk ikke kan bli boende i hovedbygningen som nu, idet avstandet til fjøs og stald blir vel 100 m.” Tønseth (1929 - 5 - 27)

<sup>247</sup> Tønseth (1929 - 5 - 27)

<sup>248</sup> Tønseth (1929 - 5 - 22)

<sup>249</sup> ”Kultfundamenter skal overal gaa 15 cm ut på hver side av grunn- og kjellermurer. Murene utføres som vanlig kultbetong i blandingsforhold 10:7 med 20% kult”. Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> “Det er intet til hinder for at støpe murene så langt kulten rækker og saa mure med Trondhjemshulmur (a double, airlock brick wall) over. Det er god forutsetningen at telgstensburenes høide blir det samme huset rundt.” Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> “...goudron, inertol eller lignende, godkjent materiale.” Ibid.

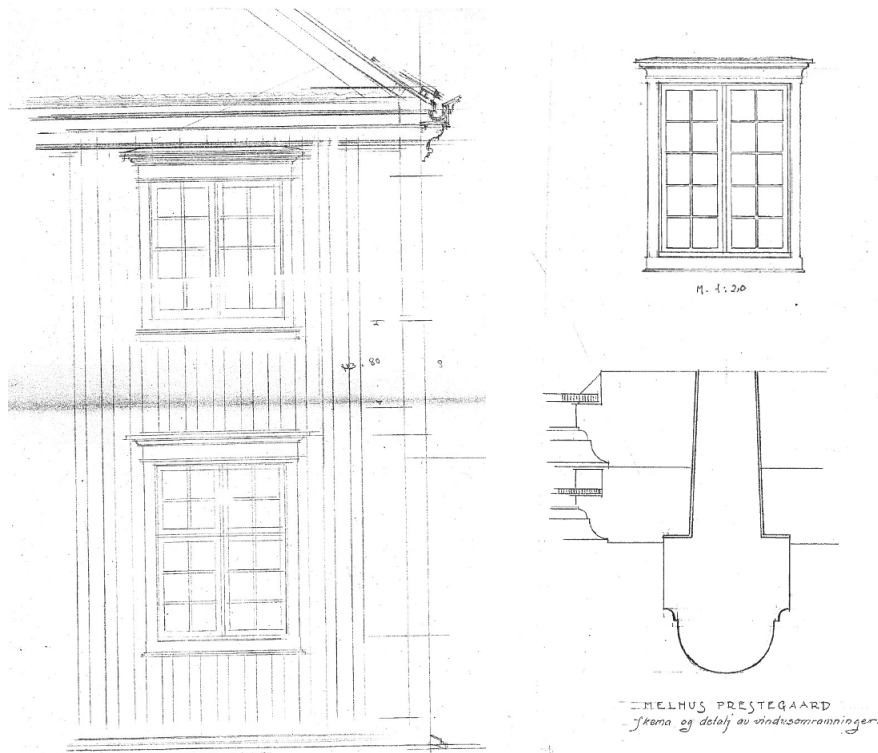
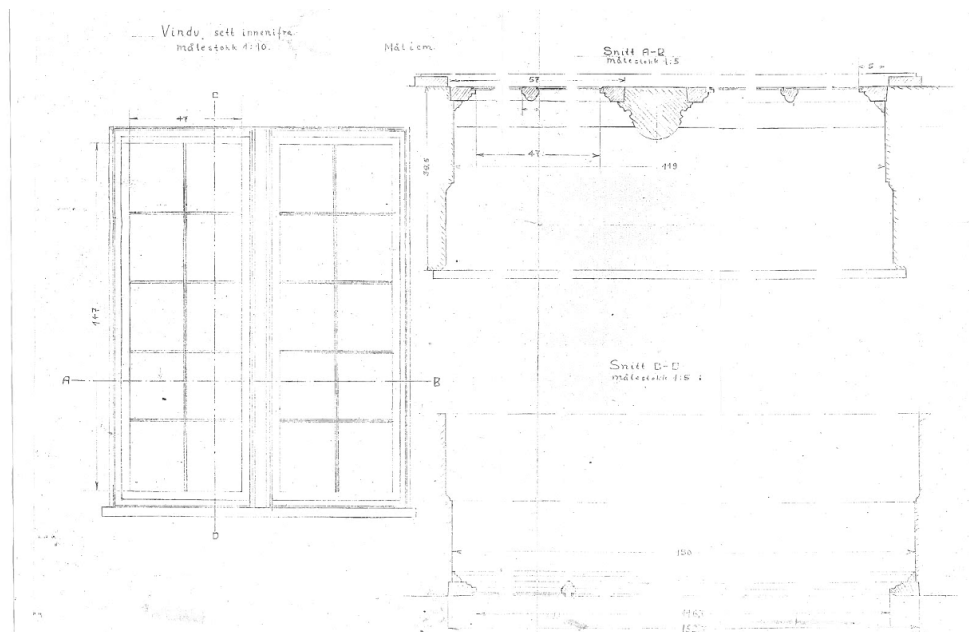


Figure 27-28: Detailed, undated survey of old window signed Sverre Hollum who was vicar at Prestegårdslåna in the 1920s (left); drawings of gutter details and windows for Prestegårdslåna by Roar Tønseth (middle and right). (Prestegårdslåna's archive)

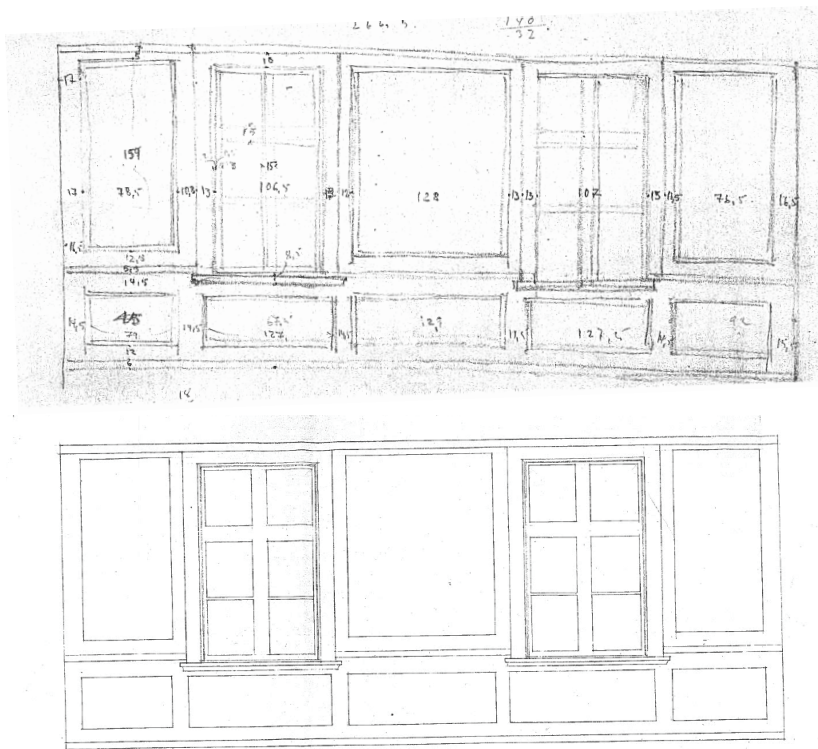


Figure 29-30: Survey of indoor wall panels and windows, before the 1929 restoration. Tønseth argued to replace the windows from 1877, complaining that they were too large and cut into the indoor panels, were not fitted and sealed properly and that they were draughty. (Prestegårdslåna archive)



Figure 31: *Hovdenstova* where two rooms were joined during Vicar Anders Hovden's residency between 1910 and 1920. In 1929 the southern wall was fitted with new doors to the veranda which were disguised as windows to complete the image of a dadoed wall. The bottom panels can be removed, and the open space behind them filled with heat insulation material. (Photograph MB 2005)



Figure 32-33. *Herrestuen* (left) was the congregation's responsibility until 1908. Originally with exposed timber walls, the room was frequently described as draughty. Panels were mounted during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the ceiling in 1877-78 when the whole building was modernized. The room was proposed to be divided but architect Tønseth argued against this. It was last painted in 1929 for Tønseth's restoration.<sup>252</sup> The bishop's chamber (right) was the shared responsibility of the vicar and the congregation during the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Over time this room has had the function of bedroom, office, sitting room and kitchen. In 1922 Tønseth proposed to fit the doors leading onto the terrace here, but these plans were abandoned. (Photographs MBY 2005)

The north façade now had two basement entrances with stairs. The wooden stairs from the veranda to the garden were replaced with stairs of poured cast cement. Tønseth specified that outer stairs were to be built on frost-free foundations, and stairs and walls rendered with rough cast ("*skvætpuss*"). The lower stairs (for the main entrance and the basement) could be built as dry stone wall and filled with crushed stone. For the *façades* the plan from 1922 was repeated. New weather boarding was estimated at 204m<sup>2</sup>, while reused boarding amounted to 326m<sup>2</sup>; these to be stripped and painted with two layers.

*Doors in the exterior* were not renewed; the door blades, portals and mouldings from 1877 were kept but repaired, to be puttied (*sparklet*) and painted with two layers of paint. Tønseth had proposed new and more appropriate mouldings for the exterior doors in 1922, but this plan was apparently abandoned.

The *roof* was not re-laid in 1929. The slate roof was kept, and details repaired and renewed. The job description specified zinc gutters with galvanized hook fastenings.<sup>253</sup> The wooden weatherboards and the casing of the eaves were to be renewed, and the weatherboard joints covered with lead sheathing.<sup>254</sup>

Indoors a number of rooms were freshly panelled with vertical boarding; new floors and new linoleum was laid according to plan but this was the extent of the interior renewal of

<sup>252</sup> Winnes (2004) p 21

<sup>253</sup> the mountings of "Apolloplater nr 24, overbaandene of galvanized 5/16" Swedish "rundjern". Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

surfaces; new interior doors seem to have been put in except the veranda door and the basement doors. Tønseth specified that wall panels were to be treated with oil-based stain (*beises*), ceilings with exposed beams whitewashed (*hvittes*). The old dados and wall panels in the representational rooms were kept and painted (*Herrestuen, Bispekabinettet, Hovdenstova, Lystersalen* and *Kontoret* upstairs, while remaining rooms were to be clad:

“Where the rooms do not yet have wall panels, new wall cladding will be mounted in the interior.”<sup>255</sup>

Kitchen, dining room and sitting rooms (90m<sup>2</sup>) floors were to have linoleum covering “after old linoleum had been removed”. The dining and sitting room floors were to be taken up for inspection of the floor beams, and new wooden floors laid as the existing ones were considered too worn down to constitute a foundation for linoleum. The floors in *Bispekabinettet* and *Herrestuen* were apparently also to be taken up, as for these rooms impregnated seaweed mats were prescribed as floor insulation, held in place by tar-impregnated rough plank panels towards the ground, which was to be dug out sufficiently to allow for the required work.<sup>256</sup> The kitchen was fitted with new cabinets and sink, and a new upstairs bathroom was installed (in *Pigeværelset*), with a bathtub and an electric heater.<sup>257</sup> Tønseth’s 1929 job specification also describes the removal of the baking oven and its large chimney in *Storhuset*, and floor repairs here. This work, being in the west end, was never executed.

*Heat insulation and cladding of the exterior walls* was described in detail. Windows and logs were to be thoroughly lined. The lining material is not mentioned but hemp fibre (*stry/dytting*) has been found on the premises. The walls on the southern wall of the house and the large room in the east end, *Herrestuen* or *salen*, were lined with impregnated seaweed mats and “the best sort of impregnated building paper”.<sup>258</sup> Horizontal battens placed a metre apart were to aid alignment of the crooked timber wall and prevent vertical air streams (straightening the timber wall itself had been abandoned after 1922 as part of the negotiations to reduce costs). Tønseth’s job description included “new exterior cladding, 3 coatings (...) old exterior cladding stripped and 1 coat of paint..”<sup>259</sup>. *Prestegårdslåna* was accordingly

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<sup>255</sup> “Hvor rummene ennå ikke har fyllingspaneler, blir nye klædninger at anbringe invendig.” Ibid.

<sup>256</sup> ”impregnerte tangmatter”; ”panelet skal smøres på med tjære”. Ibid.

<sup>257</sup> Various receipts; bill from Albert E. Olsen efft. Maskinforretning. Olsen (1929 - 10); Diverse (1930)

<sup>258</sup> ”På særveggen samt omkring sal skal der paasættes impregnerte tangmatter – for øvrig beste sort impregnert forhøningspapp.” Tønseth (1929 - 5 - 22)

<sup>259</sup> ”nytt utvendig panel 3 strøk (...) gammelt utvendig panel skrapning og 1 strøk.” Ibid.

painted, in a red colour; the west end section however was not and remained yellow. [Figure 39]

Tønseth wrote a detailed job description for the new *windows*. Crack- and knot-free first class dried pine materials were to be used for the frames, which were lined with woven weather strips mounted in the welts.<sup>260</sup> Tønseth specified dovetailed frames and tenon and mortised mullions, glued with “the best sort of bone glue and strong pressure when drying”, and knots covered with shellac. There were to be no hammer marks, and all nails fitted in bored holes were to be plugged. The specifications for the details were for brass fittings and galvanized hinges and corner irons, the latter applied a coat of red lead (*mønje*) on the underside before being mounted.<sup>261</sup> The new windows were double glazed (*koblet*), designed by Roar Tønseth. There is also a survey of a window which must be the 18<sup>th</sup> century window in the west end, signed “Sverre Hollum” [Figure 27]. New windows were fitted in the centre and eastern sections of Prestegårdslåna. The new windows were somewhat smaller than the 1877 windows and adjustments to interior wall panels were required. The west end (*Størhuset, Forpakterstugu, Borgestuen/Almuestuen* and the rooms above) plus the attic were excluded from the restoration. There is no indication that anything was done to either the windows here, the 18<sup>th</sup> century window in the west end gable or the west end windows from 1877.

Tønseth requested that one builder took responsibility for the various jobs for better coordination of the various trades. The contractors *Moum and Stenseth* had recently built the new utilities building on Melhus vicarage farm, which was to their credit, and Tønseth recommended them for the Prestegårdslåna restoration contract.<sup>262</sup> The tender and correspondence concerning the 1929 restoration repeatedly referred to first class craftsmanship; this requirement was also part of a signed contract between the contractor and vicar Hollum, who formally assumed the role of builder.<sup>263</sup> A number of bills were presented for restoration work at Prestegårdslåna in October 1929, a sign that the work by this time was drawing to a close.<sup>264</sup> Both interior and façade modifications had been carried through; in December 1929 the old windows of Prestegårdslåna were advertised for sale in the local newspaper.<sup>265</sup> The architect’s bill was sent to the ministry for settlement on February 1<sup>st</sup> and

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<sup>260</sup> ”Naar vinduene er ferdig malt anbringes i falsene vævede tætningslister.” Ibid.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> (*Tiltakshaver*) Tønseth 1929 - 6 - 6

<sup>263</sup> ”Arbeidet skal utføres førsteklases haandverksmessig i nøie overnestemmelse med de av arkitekt Tønseths utarbeidede tegninger og anbudsdokumenter samt iht forelagte kondisjoner (a standard contract) og skjema og detaljtegninger som senere maatte bli entreprenøren forelagt.” Hollum (1929 - 7 - 17)

<sup>264</sup> Stenseth (1929 - 10)

<sup>265</sup> ”På Melhus prestegård er en del brukte vinduer (krysspost) til salgs. Utvendig karmmå 1,15x1,80m, ruter 16x19tommer. Dessuten en dobbeltdør med vindu av samme størrelse.” Bladet-Gaula (1929 - 12 - 18)



Figure 34-35: Only two 17<sup>th</sup> century windows are preserved in Prestegårdslåna's façades. The fire insurance valuation from 1868 described six different sizes of windows, including these two. The larger window (left) which has 20 panes, is placed in the west end gable wall, in *Borgestuen*. It was moved from *Herrestuen* and reused here in the 1878 modernization. Roar Tønseth used this window as a prototype for his restoration design. The smaller window has 12 panes and is placed in the loft section of the east end gable. Both windows are hinged on the mullion. The remaining windows in Prestegårdslåna are from 1878 or the 1929 restoration. (Photographs Kristine Kaasa Moe; MB 2009)



Figure 36-37: 18<sup>th</sup> century window in Prestegårdslåna in the west end gable (left), moved here from *Herrestuen* and reused in "*Almuestuen*" in connection with the modernization in 1877 and the only larger window from before 1877 is preserved in the building. Double glazed (*koble*) window from the 1929 restoration (right) designed by architect Roar Tønseth, likely modelled after "*Almuestuen*"'s. (Photographs MB 2009)

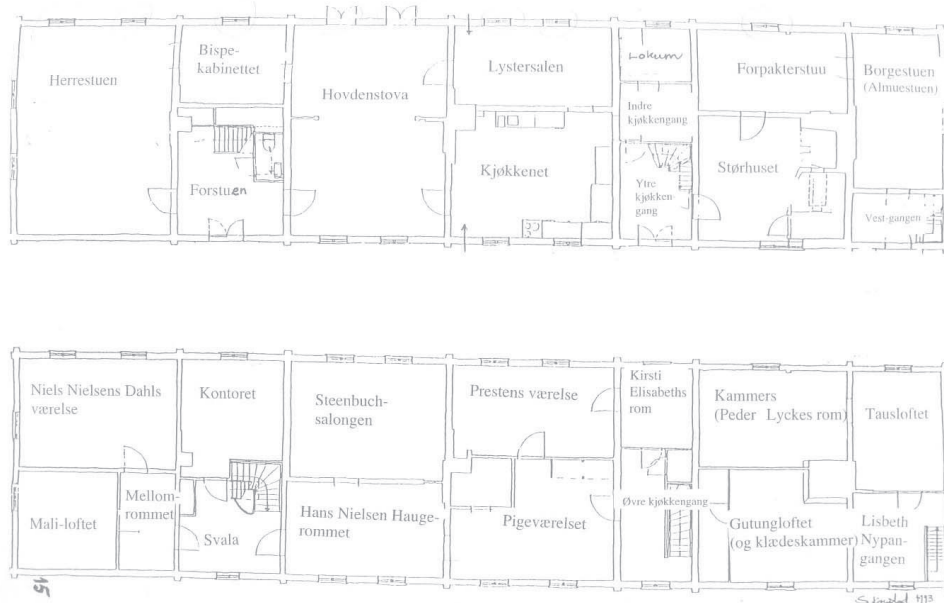


Figure 38: Prestegårdslåna survey by Solveig Kornstad. (S. Kornstad, 1993. Prestegårdslåna archive)

2<sup>nd</sup> 1930.<sup>266</sup> The total cost of the restoration came to circa 24 000 kroner, which was a little lower than the final estimate.<sup>267</sup> In 1933 the building assessment committee (*synsforretning*) concluded that the restored sections of Prestegårdslåna were “in excellent condition.”<sup>268</sup>

#### Summary 1920-1929

By 1900 the improvements made to Prestegårdslåna in 1877 had been deemed outdated and negotiations on Prestegårdslåna’s future and fate began. After two decades of discussion involving several vicars, the Ministry of Church Affairs and the county agriculture authorities, the question of building a new vicarage was abandoned, and it was instead decided that Prestegårdslåna should be restored and improved. At the outset of the 1920s restoration, Prestegårdslåna was considered too large and inconvenient a building for a modern family home and was also repeatedly characterized as unattractive, because of its length (“*uskjønt lang*”) and its windows from the modernization in 1877. *Riksantikvaren* was briefed on the decision to restore and modernize Prestegårdslåna, and advised that a competent architect was

<sup>266</sup> Prestegård (1930 - 2 - 1)

<sup>267</sup> The final total estimate of the restoration work was 25 000. Work on the building came to 18705,59 while the architect’s fee was 2494,83. Rent for the vicar’s lodgings during the restoration, the garden, fire cabinet (“*brannskap*”) and interest were added. *Redegjørelse - prestegårder*, Stortinget (1931/1932)

<sup>268</sup> “Den restaurerte delen av bygningen er i utmerket stand” The fire insurance value was set at 65 000 kroner. Loddgaard, Stav et al. (1933)



set to the task. The young architect Roar Tønseth who was closely associated with the building conservation community in Trondheim, was commissioned to prepare plans for Prestegårdslåna's restoration. Tønseth's plan, which included a complete façade restoration and interior modernizations, was presented in 1922 and was found acceptable both by the residing vicar, and by *Riksantikvaren* who was asked to give an assessment. Due to problems with funding the plan was subject to cuts in 1924-25, and postponed. The idea to shorten Prestegårdslåna by removing the west end section to reduce the costs had been presented already in 1922, by the Ministry of Church Affairs' advisor; this was repeated both in 1925, and in 1929 when the restoration work finally began. Both architect Tønseth and *Riksantikvaren* opposed severing the building in this manner. The conclusion was that the west end was omitted from the restoration and left in the state and style it had acquired in 1877. Repairs and improvements were carried out for the rest of the building with contemporary building materials like cement, seaweed heat insulation wall mats, and linoleum. Interior work involved a reorganization of room functions and the instalment of modern conveniences such as a bathroom, water closet and a new fitted kitchen, while representational rooms with wall panels from before 1877 were deliberately preserved through Tønseth's plans. The façade was restored to the style it had before the modernization in 1877, based on one remaining older window. Small-paned, double glazed windows replaced the large single-glazed windows from 1877, and most of the cladding was also replaced. Fitting new windows was justified by the existing windows' poor functionality, craftsmanship but also aesthetics; there was agreement between architect, builder and commissioner that the windows from 1877 were architectonically inappropriate for the building.

### 3.2.4 Melhus vicarage after 1929

#### *Repairs and maintenance after 1929*

Prestegårdslåna's roof had not been re-laid in 1929; the slate roof from 1877, with the wood shingle roof as an under-roof, remained. Roof leakages were reported in 1937<sup>269</sup> and again in 1940, the given reason being that the slate rested on "merely an old, sparse wooden under-roof" without tar paper.<sup>270</sup> In 1942 a grant was given for re-laying the roof.<sup>271</sup> The vicar and

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<sup>269</sup> Synsforretning 12<sup>th</sup> November 1937, Loddgaard, Stav et al. (1937)

<sup>270</sup> "Årsaken ligger i at under skifertaket er det bare et gammelt glissent bordtak (uten papp)", Loddgaard, Skjetlein et al. (1942)

<sup>271</sup> KUD (1942 - 8 - 20)

the county agronomist Nesgaard agreed that the new roof be made steeper by 0.6 metres.<sup>272</sup> Their theory was that the slight angle of the saddle roof was contributing to the leakage, and Næsgaard argued the building's appearance would not be affected significantly.<sup>273</sup> Nesgaard suggested keeping the purlin roof construction (*åstak*), and adding onto this.<sup>274</sup> In 1947 the repair had still not been carried out because of material shortages following World War II.<sup>275</sup> In 1955 both the slate and the under-roof was in such bad shape that a major repair (*hovedreparasjon*) was considered necessary with extensive replacement of slate and new gutters.<sup>276</sup> The roof repair was finally executed in 1964-65. The roof pitch does not seem to have been altered. The existing roofing was removed and the shingle under-roof replaced with tar paper.<sup>277</sup>

Little has been altered in the interior of Prestegårdslåna since 1929. During World War 2 a number of rooms were requisitioned by the German occupiers, and in 1947 floors and staircases were reported to be worn down due to this use.<sup>278</sup> The 1955 maintenance assessment (*synsforretning*) stated that little had been done. A request was made to insert two windows in *Herrestuen*, which functioned as the vicar's office, and two corresponding windows upstairs (this request had also been made previously); however, this was not followed through.<sup>279</sup>

Prior to the 1929 restoration Prestegårdslåna was yellow. The walls of the restored sections of Prestegårdslåna were painted red with the 1929 restoration, the mouldings and windows white and the doors a darker colour. The west end section remained yellow. The

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<sup>272</sup> In a letter from county agronomist Næsgård to Melhus vicar John Aune in October 1942, Nesgaard mentions that the vicar had proposed to heighten the roof, and Nesgaard agreed arguing that the existing roof had a pitch suited for sod thatching but that slate required a steeper roof, suggesting that the present pitch contributed to the leakage. Nesgaard suggested raising the pitch by 0,6 metres to a total height of 2,9 metres from eaves up. A job specification has been found in the Prestegårdslånas archive, specifying a heightening of the roof by 0,6 metres to 2,9 metres total from eave to roof ridge, supports that this was indeed the plan but as the specification is undated it is not known whether this idea was still valid in 1965, which is when the roof job was executed. The specification presupposes reuse of the slate and that the mid-gables be taken down "...røsterne over alle midtvegge rives ned til rafthøgde.." As far as we know this was never done. Nesgaard (1942 - 10 - 31); *Arbeidsbeskrivelse - Melhus Prestegård - omrøsting av nytt tak på hovedbygningen* ((Udatert))

<sup>273</sup> "Jeg tror ikke bygningens utseende vil tape noe ved dette." ... "Vedlagte riss antyder gavlens utseende før og etter omrøsting." (The drawing had not been found). Nesgaard (1942 - 10 - 31)

<sup>274</sup> "Det vil være 1 ny ås på hver side og taksperrene må påføres eller erstattes med nye. Vedlagt riss antyder gavlens utseende før og etter omrøsting." Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> Borten (1948 - 1 - 17)

<sup>276</sup> Borten and Bredeli (1955 - 10 - 7)

<sup>277</sup> According to Moe the roof was re-laid in 1965-1965, and the slate used is from the quartzite slate quarry in Alta, Finnmark. There is no written documentation to support this. Moe (2007) p 34

<sup>278</sup> Borten (1948 - 1 - 17)

<sup>279</sup> Borten and Bredeli (1955 - 10 - 7)

building was painted white some time after 1956 and remained so until 1976, when it again painted yellow.<sup>280</sup>

#### *The built context of the farmyard*

After the 1920 restoration, the utilities buildings on Melhus vicar's farm were gradually becoming obsolete and were found in various stages of decay. In a pamphlet from the Melhus Municipality Jubilee in 1937 the vicar's farm at Melhus was mentioned with the comment

“.. with the exception of the cowshed and main building (Prestegårdslåna), the farm buildings are very old and in parts very worn.”<sup>281</sup>

In 1933 both storage buildings were referred to as being in good condition<sup>282</sup>, whereas in 1947 the smaller storage building was in bad condition, the northern exterior cladding “rotting at the bottom, and the room full of vermin”, while the larger *stabbur* was beginning to ail.<sup>283</sup> Both storage houses were planned to be moved at this time, the smaller one closer to the new tenant farmer's house as he was the one using it.<sup>284</sup> In the maintenance assessment from 1955 the larger storage building was described as “... rotting from below and in a very poor state...” It was suggested that this be replaced with a new one to comply with the vicar's needs, with possible reuse of the timber; obviously it was still useable.<sup>285</sup> The drying house was deemed beyond repair, the shed (*rulle og -vedbu*) still useful although a little worn and in need of paint, while the wagon shed was deemed “useful” (German occupants had used this building as a stable during World War 2; now there were plans to convert it to a garage), and the newer utilities building, which was built outside the old farmyard, was deemed in good shape but requiring an extension.<sup>286</sup>

In 1957 plans were launched to extend the Melhus church burial grounds which would require the demolition of all utilities buildings in the western section of the farmyard, and the west end of Prestegårdslåna.<sup>287</sup> These plans were firmly advised against by

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<sup>280</sup> Hongset (1977 - 6 - 18) p 557

<sup>281</sup> “...med unntagelse av fjøs og låne er gårdens hus meget gamle og delvis nokså medtatt”. Kommunejubileet-pamphlet (1937)

<sup>282</sup> Synsforretning 1933: Begge stabburene anføres å være i god stand. Loddgaard, Stav et al. (1933)

<sup>283</sup> “mindre bur i dårlig stand, nordkledning nedentil råttent og huset er fullt av utøy. ... det større stabbur begynner å blir dårlig.” Borten (1948 - 1 - 17)

<sup>284</sup> Ibid; Borten and Bredeli (1955 - 10 - 7)

<sup>285</sup> “... råttner nedenfra og er svært dårlig.” Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Synsforretning 1947 and 1955. Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> The plans were initiated by the Melhus parish during the time of vicars John Aune and Ola Røkke, the latter in service here from 1957 to 1968. Moe (2007) p 5; Riksantikvaren (1957 - 11 - 7)

*Riksantikvar* Roar Hauglid, who characterized the vicar's farm at Melhus in the following manner:

”With reference to institute leader Erland (...) *Riksantikvaren* must clearly advise against the compromise of this vicarage by the extension of the burial grounds. The farmyard is a very characteristic old Trøndelag farm with a large main 18th century building, probably dating back to 1746. It was somewhat altered through a major repair in 1876, but has nevertheless maintained its old character with many fine old details in the interior. The vicarage also has value as it stands in close connection to the church. It provides context and shelter to the area. Without the vicar's farm with the old building, the church would be left quite exposed and desolate.”<sup>288</sup>

A year later landscape architect Karen Reisted at the Ministry of Church Affairs delivered new proposals to extend the burial grounds. Here an alternative extension to the north of the church was mentioned<sup>289</sup>; the matter was however not concluded. *Riksantikvaren* delivered a new statement in December 1958, declaring that the listed main building and the two storage buildings must be preserved through careful repair, and that this included the west end:

”The listed main building, raised in 1746 and altered in 1876, and the two storage buildings should undoubtedly be preserved by careful repair. Preserving the main building's western extension is strongly called for, as it in a forceful and convincing way belongs in the image of the beautiful and characteristic group of buildings.”<sup>290</sup>

The Ministry of Church Affairs argued that since they could not take on the financial responsibility of maintaining all the buildings in the farmyard in the future, they could also not oppose plans which demanded the removal of these buildings:

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<sup>288</sup> Letter from *Riksantikvar* Roar Hauglid to the ministry (KUD). “Under henvisning til telefonkonferanse med byråsjef Erland (...) må *Riksantikvaren* bestemt frarå at denne prestegård på noen måte blir berørt av spørsmålet om utvidelse av kirkegården, Tunet er et meget karakteristisk gammelt trøndertun med en svær hovedbygning fra 1700-tallet, muligens helt fra 1746. Den ble noe forandret ved en større reparasjon i 1876, men har allikevel beholdt sin gamle karakter med mange, fine gamle detaljer i interiørene. Gårdsanlegget har som helhet sin særlige verdi også i forbindelse med kirkebygningen. Det gjør hele billedet rikere og lunere. Uten prestegårdstunet med de gamle hus ville kirken bli liggende temmelig naken og ribbet igjen.” Ibid.

<sup>289</sup> Letter from garden architect Karen Reisted, KUD, to vicar Ola Røkke November 1958, KUD 1958 - 11 - 29. A sketch of the farm from 1958, originating from *Riksantikvaren*'s archive, shows the main building, 2 storage houses and utilities buildings marked (5 – rulle, vogn og vedbod) and (6 – vogn og vedbod). The main building was fenced in this sketch. Reisted (1958)

<sup>290</sup> ”Den fredede hovedbygning, bygd 1746 og forandret 1876, og de to stabbur bør utvilsomt bevares ved hjelp av en skjønnsm istandsetting. Bevaring av bygningens tilbygg mot vest er meget ønskelig da det i sterk og overbevisende grad hører med til bildet av den vakre og karakteristiske husgruppe.” *Riksantikvaren* (1958 - 12 - 18)

”The Department can under the present conditions not take on the repair and conservation of the entire vicarage farmyard as it now stands, and can therefore not go against the planned extension of the burial grounds southwards.”<sup>291</sup>

The ministry therefore ultimately conceded to the demolishing of the utilities buildings although they requested that the smallest *stabbur* be spared; however this was ultimately also taken down.<sup>292</sup>



Figure 39: The north façade of Prestegårdslåna and the old farmyard photographed from the tower of Melhus church in 1937/38. The restored section was painted red, while the west end section which here is the right hand side of the building remained yellow, and retained its windows from 1877. The utilities buildings; wagon shed, wood shed (*rulle og -vedbu*), two storage buildings and drying house; were demolished after Melhus municipality took ownership of the vicarage in 1959. *Riksantikvaren* protested, but arguments that the buildings were too costly to maintain won. The new utilities building, in the background, replaced the older barn, cowshed and stable. In 1948 a new dwelling for the tenant farmer was built south of the utilities building.

(©Trøndelag Folkemuseum)

<sup>291</sup> Letter from the ministry (KUD) to Riksantikvaren January 1959. ”Dep. Kan etter forholdene vanskelig påta seg istandsetting og bevaring av hele prestegårdstunet I sin nåværende skikkelse, og finner da ikke å burde motsette seg den omsøkte kirkegårdsutvidelse mot syd. KUD (1959 - 1 - 26)

<sup>292</sup> Moe (2007) p 34

*Continued discussions on the west end of Prestegårdslåna*

The question of the west end was not resolved with the completion of the restoration in 1929. A member of the maintenance committee (*tilsynsmann for synsforretning*) wrote the Ministry of Church Affairs on the matter of moving the west end in March 1930. After their next review of Prestegårdslåna in 1933 the committee recommended that the west end section was moved. The committee members were the same as they had been in 1925 and in 1929 and their opinion had not changed.<sup>293</sup> That *Riksantikvaren* had opposed this measure was not taken into account. The members of the assessment committee were not of the opinion that relocating the west end would compromise Prestegårdslåna's aesthetic or heritage value; rather they questioned whether the building possessed such values at all:

“It has been implied that the main building's cultural value and appearance would deteriorate with the removal of this one section. It would really be very interesting to hear whether someone could inform on wherein the antiquarian value of this building actually lies.”<sup>294</sup>

Architect Roar Tønseth, although personally opposed to removing the west end, pushed for progress in the matter. In a letter to the ministry in January 1930 he expressed hopes that a decision would be made shortly regarding the unrestored part of the building, as its present condition had a disgraceful effect on the whole.<sup>295</sup> The vicar opposed the plans to relocate the west end, with both aesthetic and practical arguments:

“...for me it is not the antiquarian concern which weighs, but there is a chance of uneven walls, and I will not completely disregard the aesthetic aspect. By demolishing the tenant farmer's section the kitchen steps will end up at the far end of the house, which in my view will give the house a disfiguring appearance.”<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> “Forpakterboligen ... bør flyttes”. Tilsynsmann Loddgård wrote the Church ministry on the matter of moving the west end in March 1930. The assessment committee members were local farmers and county agronomist Jens Næsgård. Loddgaard (1930; Loddgaard, Stav et al. (1933)

<sup>294</sup> “Det har vært antydnet at hovedbygningens kulturelle verdi vilde forringes, likesom dens utseende vilde tape sig med at en del av huset fjernes. Det skulde virkelig være interessant å høre, om nogen kunde oplyse om hvori den antikvariske verdi ved denne bygning egentlig består.” Loddgaard (1930)

<sup>295</sup> “... det var ny bare at ønske at der on ikke for lang tid vilde bli truffet en avgjøelse med hensyn til den del av bygningen som staa urestaurert for holm forholdet er nu virker det skjæmmende.” Tønseth (1930 - 1 - 8)

<sup>296</sup> “For meg er det ikkje det antikvariske omsynet som veg, men det er høve til å få kvelv (søkk), og eg vil heller ikkje sjå heilt burt frå det estetiske. Ved å riva paktarbustaden, vil det etter mit syn verka sterkt skjemande for den gamle, statelege hovedbygningen å få kjøkentroppa heilt på enden av huset.” The letter is not signed but headed The Vicarage (Prestegården), authored by Vicar John Aune or on his behalf. Prestegård (1946 - 3 - 27)

In 1946 a member of the maintenance committee (synsmann Loddgård) wrote the Ministry of Church Affairs to, again, argue to shorten Prestegårdslåna:

“.. Is it correct that the separate sections represent the antiquarian value, or is the main building valuable as a whole unit? I am merely pointing out the facts, but acknowledge that we lack the terms by which to judge the antiquarian significance of the building (...) the way of building for larger dwellings with 2 entrances, and the kitchen steps close to the corner of the building, is not unusual for this region. In our area there are several such examples of old buildings, which are in use today, and have been built this way.”<sup>297</sup>

In 1947 the tenant farmer was still living in the west end, which was characterized as “pitiful”, and a new tenant farmer’s dwelling was under construction.<sup>298</sup> There is no indication that *Riksantikvaren* was involved in the continued discussions on Prestegårdslåna in the 1930s and 40s.

A new building assessment was made in 1956 on the occasion of new legislation concerning the vicarages, *Prestegårdsloven*.<sup>299</sup> The Act established that the vicars’ primary function was to serve the church and released them from the obligation to run the vicar’s farms. A direct consequence of this was a series of new vicarages, built as single family homes countrywide. In Melhus it was decided to build a new dwelling for the vicar, and the vicar moved into new lodgings nearby in 1960.<sup>300</sup> The Ministry of Church Affairs sold the vicar’s farm at Melhus to Melhus municipality in 1959. The sale comprised Prestegårdslåna, utilities buildings and approximately 1 ¾ acres (7 mål) of land. Conservation of Prestegårdslåna was one of the conditions of the sale. The Ministry of Church Affairs requested that Melhus municipality “as far as possible” comply with *Riksantikvaren*’s wishes.<sup>301</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> “.. er det så de enkelt ebygningsdele (3 seksjoner i låna) hver for seg representerer den antikvariske verdi, eller er det hovedbygningen som samlet enhet? Jeg bare peker på de faktiske forhold, men erkjenner å savne betingelser for å kunne dømme om den antikvariske betydning (...)bygningstypen for større våningshus med 2 innganger, og kjøkkentrappen nær ved hjørnet på langsiden, er ingen ukjent stilart her i distriktet. I vår bygd kan der påvises flere eldre bygninger, der benyttes den dag i dag, som er oppført og innredet nettopp etter denne type. Letter to the ministry. Loddgaard (1946 - 3 - 27)

<sup>298</sup> ”Den delen av bygningen forpakteren bor i er svært skral. Men når det nu bygges ny bolig er det ikke mer å si om den ting.” Synsforretning 1947, Borten (1948 - 1 - 17)

<sup>299</sup> Åbets-og-synsforretning (1956 - 9 - 25)

<sup>300</sup> According to Moe, Røkke did not wish to move from Prestegårdslåna into new lodgings. Moe (2007) pp 5, 34-35

<sup>301</sup> “Det er en forutsetning at den nåværende prestebolig blir bevart, og at det lå langt det finnes mulig blir tatt hensyn til det som er uttalt av Riksantikvaren.” A copy of Riksantikvaren’s letter of December 1958 was enclosed with the Church ministry’s letter to Melhus municipality. KUD (1959)

Correspondence shows that Prestegårdslåna continued to be treated as listed in the 1970s under the surveillance of *Riksantikvaren* and the county conservation office. In 1977 Melhus municipality renewed their proposal to demolish the west end of Prestegårdslåna to effectuate the previously planned extension of the burial grounds. The municipality questioned the formal status of the building, and claimed that the west end had been exempt from the agreement made with the Ministry of Church Affairs to preserve Prestegårdslåna on the sale in 1959.

“In the municipality’s deed to the property, recorded 20. 11. 1959 by the Department for Church and Education, the following is stated: ‘The main building at the vicarage with the exception of the western section, which has been in use as quarters for the tenant farmer, shall be preserved by the buyer.’ ”<sup>302</sup>

The formal status of Prestegårdslåna after the sale in 1959 was in other words not clear. *Riksantikvaren* informed the municipality that Melhus Prestegårdslåna had not been formally re-listed according to the Built Heritage Act when sold, as was normally the case with administratively listed state-owned buildings, but that this now would be considered.<sup>303</sup> The controversy over the extension of the burial grounds and demolition of the west end continued into the 1980s and led to the founding of *Prestegårdslånas venner*, a local society working for the conservation of Prestegårdslåna.<sup>304</sup> Prestegårdslåna was at this time no longer inhabited. In 1991 the municipality voted to use the Prestegårdslåna garden as burial ground and initiated ground work, in reaction to which the County Conservation Office (*Sør-Trøndelag fylkeskommune*) declared the house and grounds temporarily protected under the Cultural Heritage Act.<sup>305</sup> Prestegårdslåna was formally recorded as listed according to the *Kulturminneloven* (the Cultural Heritage Act of 1978) in 1996, “as it stands” including the west end section, and the surrounding garden.<sup>306</sup> The present listing (1996) states the intent to preserve the building’s architectural value in its context within the landscape and with the church. The building’s value assessment, treatment guidelines, a brief formal history and the

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<sup>302</sup> ”I kommunens skjøte på eiendommen, som er utstedt 20. 11. 1959, av Kirke og undervisningsdepartementet, er det sagt følgende i forbindelse med prestegårdslåna: ”Prestegårdens hovedbygning med unntak av vestre del, som har vært brukt som forpakterbolig, skal bevaras av kjøperen.” ” Formannskap (1977 - 6 - 24)

<sup>303</sup> Riksantikvaren (1977 - 6 - 30)

<sup>304</sup> Moe (2007) p 35

<sup>305</sup> Sør-Trøndelag Fylkeskommunen signed a resolution to temporarily list Prestegårdslåna (Vedtak om midlertidig fredning) September 26th 1991. The resolution was appealed against by the Melhus municipality but upheld by political vote in Sør-Trøndelag fylkeskommune, and by Riksantikvaren June 1<sup>st</sup> 1992. Riksantikvaren (1996 - 3 - 7) pp 6, 7.

<sup>306</sup> Melhus vicarage was listed according to § 15 (the building) and § 19 (the context or surroundings). Letter from Riksantikvaren to Melhus Formannskap 7<sup>th</sup> March 1996 *Melhus Prestegård, gnr. 90 bnr. 45 – Melhus kommune. Vedtak om fredning med hjemmel i Lov om Kulturminner § 15 og § 19, jfr. § 22. Ibid.*



bureaucratic discussions concerning its formal status are recounted in the listings document. With regard to treatment, material authenticity and the use of traditional methods and materials for repair is stressed.<sup>307</sup>

#### *Summary – after 1929*

The discussion on demolishing the west end of Prestegårdslåna did not end with the restoration in 1929 but was repeated in the early 1930s, 1940s, late 1950s and finally in the 1980s. The motive for demolition was originally redundancy and aesthetics; from the late 50s the need to extend the burial grounds became an additional motive. The formal relisting of Prestegårdslåna in 1996 concluded the discussion, and this time the entire building was listed “as it stands”, with its two different styles, with a buffer zone to protect its context within the landscape.

### 3.3 DISCUSSION

When the restoration and modernization of Prestegårdslåna was at its initial planning stage in 1922, the building had a 200-year history of treatment which was well documented. The work on Prestegårdslåna in 1929 introduced several new factors into the treatment history of the building. As part of the national venture to register and list public servants’ architecture (*embedsmannsgårder*) and vicarages, Prestegårdslåna now had a formalized heritage status. This implied antiquarian supervision, and consideration for the historic and aesthetic significance of the building was also required. During the treatment in 1929 a range of new building materials were introduced in the building. The restoration and modernization was provoked by the resident’s desire for a modern home. The number of stakeholders involved in the decision-making process was high, and they represented different interests.

#### *Stakeholders*

In the restoration process of the 1920s there was initially agreement between the owners, users, architect, and conservation authorities (*Riksantikvaren*). *Riksantikvaren*’s initial advice to procure a competent architect was followed, and they endorsed Roar Tønseth’s restoration plan. The correspondence from Tønseth concerned the practical matters of the restoration

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<sup>307</sup> Ibid.

process; the recipients were the residing vicar (Hollum), the owner's representative (Arentz), the appraisal committees (who also represented the owner and consisted of men from the local community), and the builder (Marstein). The trust for the management of church property *Opplysningsvesenets fond* was a disinterested owner, at the time administered by the Ministry of Church Affairs<sup>308</sup>, who were concerned with budgets and left other considerations to their local managers. The latter on the other hand had strong opinions and argued strongly for them, in opposition to *Riksantikvaren* and the architect's advice. The first contentious issue arose when *Riksantikvaren* was presented with the proposition to demolish the west end. The Ministry of Church Affairs settled on a compromise at the time which soothed both parties but postponed the controversy; by deciding not to demolish the west end but also not to restore it, it became an eyesore, and part of the local community, who showed increasing interest in the fate of Prestegårdslåna, continued to argue for its demolition.

#### *Modernization*

The main objective for the treatment of Prestegårdslåna was to improve its qualities as a home; this is evident from the process leading up to the restoration plan, including the complaints from the residing vicars about its state and qualities to support the appeals for funding. Over the centuries, the opinions of the qualities of the building as a house and home had not been unanimous; taste and subjectivity evidently played into the appraisals. Different vicars passed diverse verdicts on its standard within a limited time frame, some very positive on the subject of the building's comforts, others pressing for its demolition.

Prestegårdslåna's modernization in 1877 was initially well spoken of, but after the turn of the century there were complaints and in 1913 the residing vicar proposed to demolish the building and replace it with a new vicarage. Those involved in the 1929 restoration, architect, builder and user, did not rate the 1877 work a success. New standards and ideals on housing including the comforts of electric light and heating, running water and the utilitarian layout and aesthetic of the single family home (inspired by the garden city cottage) had been introduced during the four decades since the 1877-modernization. The 1877-modernization was also criticized for being of poor quality; instead of improving heat insulation, the fitting of the cladding and new windows had increased the draughts.

In sum, the discussions and plans for Melhus vicarage in the decades after the turn of the century proved that Prestegårdslåna was by no means conceived as a satisfactory dwelling

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<sup>308</sup> Flokkmann (1974) p 120

in 1920. The vicar Hovden dismissed Prestegårdslåna along with the entire local building tradition; it was ugly and he wanted a modern house. He referred to the city, inferring that housing here had the desired higher standard, and he had a new vicarage designed, demonstrating his requirements: the vicarage was now more of a private home than a place of representation; a more compact living space with the comforts of privacy. Electricity, running hot and cold water, water closet and bath took precedence over monumentality and representational functions. As the role and tasks of vicars had changed over the past century, so did the requirements of a vicarage, along with changing ideals and possibilities of housing standards.

In 1929 Prestegårdslåna was modernized with respect to its kitchen, bathroom and heating, with improved draught-proofing, heat-insulation and double glazing. The goal was to bring the building up to present-day housing standards. Tønseth's first floor plan design from 1922 included a water closet and bathroom in the cellar rooms; however in order to cut costs the ministry demanded that an indoor water closet was omitted. When interior works were finally executed in 1929, the bathroom and water closet were built in-house, no doubt an improvement compared to the previous suggestions. The development shows that "modern comforts" like these were not a matter of course. Draughts had been an issue since the house was first built, but while these had previously been tackled with simple, traditional methods (hemp/oakum (*drev*), moss, wooden strips and planks), in the 1920s a new material and system was now introduced with seaweed mats fitted between the timber and exterior cladding. Concrete and linoleum were also new materials to the building, introduced after the turn of the century and extensively used in 1929.

### *Craftsmanship*

Prestegårdslåna is the building in this case study which has the best documentation of treatment *before* it was designated a heritage building, and is therefore also the building where changes in use of building materials, maintenance practice and craftsmanship is best documented. A very limited number of materials had been used up until the turn of the century (1900): pine and spruce wood, sod, birch bark, natural stone and slate, clay, lime, forged iron for nails and window fittings, glass, putty (made of chalk and linseed oil) and linseed oil paint. The documentation of Prestegårdslåna's treatment over time recalls a building which was subject to wear and tear, and which needed repair to the foundations, roof and windows at intervals of 10 to 30 years. In 1877 an architect was for the first time involved in work on the building, and an overall aesthetic and technical rehabilitation was discussed as

opposed to, previously, repairs and maintenance. Before 1877 Prestegårdslåna was a result of two distinct building phases, smaller modifications and continuous repair; more of a conglomerate of a building than the vision of Tønseth's restoration plan.

The antiquarians convey a somewhat idealized image of the region's vernacular. *Riksantikvaren's* Halvor Vreim praised the order and simplicity of the historical *trønder* farm buildings, summing up the essence of the built vernacular (*byggeskikk*) as the anonymously crafted design tradition carefully formed over generations. The most monumental *trønderlån* date from the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and were by the 20<sup>th</sup> century considered as significant contributions to Norwegian architecture by architects and antiquarians: "The Trøndelag farm achieved the simple and the grand, what we may call the dignity of the everyday. Even if the creative force is anonymous, this dignity does not come from nothing. Behind this are generations faithfully toiling away with a humble attitude towards the task at hand, and respect for the traditions of design, without this having restrained any demonstration of surplus talent."<sup>309</sup>

Tønseth was specific in the 1920s that the craftsmanship of the restoration must be of high quality. The technical specifications were detailed. Most windows and part of the exterior cladding was renewed; some cladding was reused however and the 1877 windows sold, which means that technically sound materials were re-used and not discarded, but if replaced then for aesthetical reasons. The ambition for quality in craftsmanship and materials seems to have been common trait for antiquarians and restoration architects; this was a concern voiced repetitively by Halvor Vreim. Quality of craftsmanship was obviously a criterion when selecting heritage buildings (the 1920 Built Heritage Act required historic and artistic value), and quality craftsmanship was required when these buildings were subject to treatment as heritage. This demand was made regardless of whether the treatment was restoration or modernization; a minimum requirement was for the heritage building to be subject to high quality craftsmanship. This ideal seems to be recurring in the treatment of built heritage in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a legacy of the arts and crafts movement early in the century.

#### *Use value*

Prestegårdslåna was a functioning home and community centre; this fits the category of 'living' rather than 'dead' monuments (see Chapter 2.3.2). There were few resources to

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<sup>309</sup> "Det er i trønderanlegget nådd opp til det enkle og store, det vi kan kalle hverdagens verdighet. Selv om den skapende hånd er anonym, kommer ikke det av seg selv. Bak det står slektsledd i trofast virke og med ydmyk innstilling til oppgavens løsning og respekt for nedarvet form, uten at det har lagt bånd på evner med overskudd." Vreim (1964) pp 3-4

document and meticulously conserve, and an acceptance by the conservation community for modification. Boito had made similar distinctions (between ancient, medieval and newer monuments) where the youngest monuments were more or less exempt from the otherwise strict scientific guidelines of philological restoration (see Chapter 2.4). “Use value” was key for this category of ‘monument’; for Prestegårdslåna this was stressed both by the conservation community in defence of its conservation (the west end), and by the choices made in the process of its modernization.

### *Restoration*

After 1877 Prestegårdslåna was referred to as “restored”, however this did not imply a heritage status or elaboration on a previous style. At this time the building was modified and modernized to improve comforts and upgrade technical standards, and the exterior was rebuilt according to the contemporary modern Swiss Style. In 1929 Prestegårdslåna underwent a restoration as a heritage building, with the intent to recreate its assumed pre-1877 appearance. The restoration architect had been recommended by *Riksantikvaren*, who also approved of the plans. In the documents on the first listing in the 1920s, no elaboration was made on the historic value of buildings listed and there was no specification of how they should be treated, but each building was given a brief description when the lists were published in *Fortidsminneforeningen’s* annals in the 1920s and 1930s. The Built Heritage Act gave ‘historic and artistic value’ as general criteria for the early listings, and geographical diversity and typological representativeness were also driving forces in the mapping and selection process (see Chapter 2.3.2). Through the description and correspondence regarding the building (circa 1916-mid 1930s), it is evident that *Riksantikvaren* placed value on Prestegårdslåna as a monumental farm building, characteristic of the region. The historic setting in relation to the (old) Melhus church was considered significant, and the representational rooms with panelled interiors were mentioned with appreciation, this is evident from the presentation of Melhus vicarage in *Fortidsminneforeningen’s* Annal in 1935.

In the 1920s, restoration architect Roar Tønseth gave few indications as to how he assessed Prestegårdslåna aesthetically or what he conceived as its historic or cultural value; his reference to *Hovdenstova* as “beautiful” was exceptional. However his comments on the windows and door casings demonstrate his disapproval of the aesthetic of the 1877 modernization, and an awareness of the historic regional vernacular. Tønseth’s suggestion in 1922 to use red brick tiles for the roof was made with no historic reference to the house itself (it never had brick tiles) but rather conveyed the general knowledge that red brick roof tiles

were a typical feature of the regional tradition, albeit for 18<sup>th</sup> century buildings in the towns where fire protection measures were required, and the architecture of wealthier farms inspired by this. There were several buildings of the same size and standing as Prestegårdslåna in and around the nearby city of Trondheim. Slate, despite being a building material of national origin, was linked to the “Swiss Style” and newer buildings, and generally considered a lesser material aesthetically, unsuitable for historic buildings. The restoration of Prestegårdslåna in 1929 was not based on documentation of the building other than Tønseth’s 1922 survey. A window from before 1877 existed and this was most likely used as model for new windows. A study of the written sources reveals that the building had a less regular appearance before 1877 than Tønseth’s vision: from the time the first section was built in the 1720s Prestegårdslåna had been enlarged and remodelled several times before it acquired its overall present form which has not been altered after the late 1820s. Details like roofing materials and windows continued to change and in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century the building had half a dozen types of window simultaneously. While the Ministry of Church Affairs in the 1920s referred to Prestegårdslåna’s “*restaurering*” (restoration), architect Roar Tønseth called the exterior work “*reparasjon*” (repair), and distinguished this from the “interior restoration” (*interiørrestaurering*).<sup>310</sup>

It was taken for granted both by *Riksantikvaren* and the restoration architect that the façade must be restored. This overruled arguments that the 1877 windows were technically sound and could be reused to save money. The Swiss Style was a despised style; this viewpoint was generally expressed by architects and antiquarians at the time, and also by the builder at Prestegårdslåna. Buildings of the Swiss Style were too young to be considered as built heritage, and Swiss Style modernizations were not considered significant contributions to the building’s architecture which were worthy of being preserved. The result was stylistic restoration; a likely, slightly schematic reproduction of the assumed former appearance; an envisioning by the architect of the style phase and historic era the building was to represent: neoclassicism and Empire Style architecture. In the 1920s Norwegian architects designed new buildings in a neoclassical style. The relationship between classicism in heritage buildings and new architecture was reciprocal; architects were inspired by old buildings of neoclassical style; old buildings were preserved for being (or having been) neoclassical, and restored in a neoclassical stylistic unity, after which they bore more resemblance to modern day architecture than a recreation of their original and more diverse appearance. Halvor Vreim

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<sup>310</sup> Kirkedepartementet (1922 - 4 - 3; Tønseth (1929 - 3 - 27)

commented on the *Trøndelag* clad architecture as a model for modern architecture: “On the whole, Trøndelag has significant examples of clad architecture. When one discussed where to establish the Norwegian technical university (N.T.H.), this was referred to as of importance for the education of architects. As mentioned, it is the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> which constitutes the second great era of building, aside from the Middle Ages.”<sup>311</sup>

As an architect and the antiquarian’s trusted envoy Tønseth placed much significance on the façade restoration and the visual effect of this, and he defended a complete façade restoration throughout the discussions about the west end and whether this should be left out of the restoration or demolished. Arguments on aesthetics and historically correct design did not, however, dominate the discussions in general. They focused on costs and the improvement of housing standards. Tønseth himself never referred to Prestegårdslåna’s listed status or its historic value. When arguing for certain solutions, he based his reasoning on practical matters, usability and, occasionally, aesthetics.

Restoring the façade to a classical 18<sup>th</sup> century design was both a correction of the “error” of the 1877 modernization, and in accordance with the aesthetic preference of the architect of the day. The result was considered a great success by all parties; the conservation community only regretted that the west end had been excluded.

Unintentionally, Prestegårdslåna today stands as an example of a philological restoration, and is a pedagogical and ‘readable’ example of a building’s physical development over time. Two phases of the building’s stratigraphy are clearly visible, 1877 in the west end, and 1929 in the middle and eastern sections of the building; and when studying the building in detail, physical remnants of the former phases are also legible.

#### *Function and status*

A distinct and curious feature of Prestegårdslåna’s history is the treatment of the west end, a section of the building which it was proposed to demolish in the 1920s, 1940s and, most recently, in the 1980s, and which was excluded from the restoration in 1929. Three significant factors were at play here; repeated maintenance problems, lack of “ownership” and shifting

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<sup>311</sup> “Sett i store sammenehng har Trøndelag panelarkitektur som i tydelig grad teller. Under diskusjonen om stedsvalg for Norges tekniske høgskole ble dette, ved å velge Trondheim, pekt på som en side av betydning for arkitektutdannelsen. Som det er sagt er siste halvpart av 1700-årene og første del av 1800-årene den andre store periode i norsk byggekunst ved siden av middelalderen.” Vreim presented larger buildings in Trondheim and the Trøndelag region in this article, among others Lerkendal, Lade, Bakke, Ferstad, Leangen, Sundnes (Inderøy), Gjesvål (Orkdal), Vibe (Ogndal) and Bjartnes (Verdal), all with variations of classical baroque or Louis XVI style detailing. All these buildings were listed in the 1920s, and considered to have stylistically inspired the regional vernacular. Vreim (1964) p 6

purpose. From when it was extended in 1744, Prestegårdslåna served three functions, and maintenance responsibility was shared between the vicar and the congregation. The west end section was originally the responsibility of the congregation, then the municipality and finally, in 1907, the state, when *Opplysningsvesenets Fond* formally took over management of all buildings on all vicarages countrywide. By this time the west end of Prestegårdslåna was treated as “ownerless”; it no longer served a purpose for the congregation nor the vicar, and its function as home for the tenant farmer was under debate as a new and separate house seemed to be the preferred solution to improve his living conditions. Around the turn of the century (1900) there was no internal connection between the west end section of Prestegårdslåna and the remaining part which was the vicar’s premises; these were in fact separate buildings under the same roof, and the west end section was becoming obsolete. Its lesser status was underscored by a history of maintenance issues (especially with the foundations) since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The owners (the county agronomist who represented the interests of *Opplysningsvesenets Fond* and the municipality who took ownership after 1959) proposed to relocate or demolish the west end section, arguing that this was the economical solution, as well as a ‘natural’ solution for the building; the west end section was, after all, a separate section of the building. Relocating the west end would, according to the appraisal committee in 1925, not interfere with Prestegårdslåna’s historic value.

The professional conservation community, represented by *Riksantikvaren* and the restoration architect Roar Tønseth, argued to preserve the entire building on the grounds of its ‘character’ (1929), from the vantage point of the building as a piece of architecture. The strategy to preserve it was however to focus on its potential use; this was an ulterior motive for conservation of the building in its entirety. Tønseth proposed to move the vicar’s office to this section (1922) while *Riksantikvaren* stated that “one could never know what there might be need for in an old vicarage” (1929), referring to the need for space. Despite the recurring theme of removing the west end section, Tønseth retained his plan to also have this section restored. This may have been another strategy to preserve it; there would be less pressure to demolish this section if investments were made, and this would also raise its status. The compromise to omit the west end section was steered by economy and the owners and funding parties. No final decision was agreed upon to preserve it; rather it survived due to lack of initiative to demolish it. This is demonstrated by the continued suggestions to demolish it. After the restoration of Prestegårdslåna in 1929 the west end section was visually separated from the rest of the building retaining its appearance from the 1877-modernization, a state which did not improve its status with the owners, users or the local community.



### *Legislation*

Was the status of an “administrative listing” of consequence for Prestegårdslåna’s treatment? Flokkmann writes: “It must be said that this owner (*Opplysningsvesenets fond*) has shown little consideration for antiquarian matters. One could have expected that *Riksantikvaren* was consulted on the reconditioning of the 191 vicarages from the 1933 lists. But it has been incidental whether antiquarian authorities have been involved.”<sup>312</sup> 1933 was the year the list of vicarages was published in *Fortidsminneforeningen’s* annal; the lists of vicarages were however compiled by 1920 (see chapter 2); Prestegårdslåna was registered by *Riksantikvaren* in 1916, and with this a formal communication was established. The following year *Riksantikvaren* struck a deal with the Ministry of Church Affairs to be contacted in cases concerning the vicarages. *Riksantikvaren’s* first monitoring task for Prestegårdslåna was in 1918, and they were consulted by the Ministry of Church Affairs at the outset of the restoration planning in 1921 to deliver an assessment of the plans. The building was in other words at this time being treated as a listed building. Another question however is what influence *Riksantikvaren* had in the matter of buildings which were listed, whether administratively for state-owned property, or according to the 1920 *Bygningsfredningslov*: in principle, these were to be treated equally<sup>313</sup>. If the owner of a building in the latter category refused to comply with the law, the final tool to save the building was expropriation by the state (§5). This was of course not an option for administratively listed buildings, as the owner here was the state; also, the capacity of this paragraph was little tested. Negotiation and persuasion remained as the viable tools of the professional conservation community, along with the passing of time and lack of initiative of the opposing party to execute desired modifications. This, however, was also the case for buildings which were recorded listed under the 1920 Built Heritage Act (see chapter 4). That Prestegårdslåna was *administratively* listed was not of consequence when it was restored and modernized in 1929, or influential in the discussions preceding or immediately following this treatment; the building was treated as a listed building like other listed buildings in its time.

The real weakness of the protective legislation for Prestegårdslåna was revealed with the change of ownership in 1959 (from the Norwegian state by the Ministry of Church Affairs

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<sup>312</sup> “Det må vel sies at denne eiermannen (Opplysningsvesenets fond) har hatt lite til overs for antikvariske hensyn. En kunne ha ventet at riksantikvaren alltid var blitt rådspurt ved istandsetting av av de 191 prestegårder på fredningslisten fra 1933. Men det har vært tilfeldig at antikvariske instanser har vært innblandet.” Flokkmann (1974) p 120

<sup>313</sup> The system of administrative listing has since the 1950s gradually been replaced by more formal legislative measures for protection. For more comprehensive historic overview discussion on today’s practice today regarding state-owned heritage buildings, see: Gaukstad (2005); Torvanger (2005) p 81

and *Opplysningsvesenets Fond*, to Melhus municipality). Only Prestegårdslåna was administratively listed, but when the proposal to demolish the farmyard came up in connection with the sale, *Riksantikvaren* advised to preserve the utilities buildings and keep the farmyard intact. The legislative tools were, however, not strong enough to prevent their demolition. A formal agreement which followed the sales contract between the municipality and the Ministry of Church Affairs ensured that Prestegårdslåna would be preserved in the future, but with the exception of the west end. This agreement can not have been assessed by *Riksantikvaren*, who was strongly opposed to shortening the building. Prestegårdslåna was also treated as listed after 1959, but the formality of the status was questionable as administrative listing only applied to state owned buildings, and the building was now in the hands of the municipality. This was why the question of the west end came up again as late as the 1980s. Prestegårdslåna's heritage status was finally clarified formally in 1992 when the entire building was listed according to the Cultural Heritage Act of 1978 'as it stands' including the west end section and the surrounding area, i.e. in its immediate context.

#### *Closing comments*

The restoration and modernization of Prestegårdslåna in 1929 is the earliest example of treatment of a heritage building within the time frame of the case study (1920-1980). The planning began the year after The 1920 Built Heritage Act was implemented, and is as such a very early example of a vernacular building being treated under the auspices of *Riksantikvaren*. *Riksantikvaren* was not directly involved; administratively listed buildings were assumed to be handled appropriately by the state, but indirectly, through their correspondence and through architect Roar Tønseth, who came recommended by *Riksantikvaren* and acted as an envoy for antiquarian interests. Necessary modifications to upgrade the housing standard of Prestegårdslåna (heat insulation, double glazing, modern sanitary rooms) were not questioned. The professional conservation community considered certain adaptations necessary and useful compromises in conservation. In his public appearances during the first round of listings in the early 1920s *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett encouraged continued and new use of built heritage, and this attitude was also endorsed by his successor Arne Nygård-Nilssen (see Chapter 2.3.1).

For Prestegårdslåna, the incentive to upgrade the comforts of the house became a tool for the restoration of the façade where the Swiss Style elements from the 1877 modernization were removed in favour of a reconstruction of the building's assumed former appearance in a neo-classical style. The architect placed much importance on the façade restoration, arguing

to maintain the plans for a complete exterior façade restoration, even if the west end section of the building was excluded from interior modernization due to lack of funding. Tønseth also worked hard to find a use for the west end section, placing the vicar's office here, as a means to save this section from relocation or demolition, and in defence of its exterior restoration. Conservation of the entire building (and not only two-thirds), conservation through use, and complete façade restoration to remove all traces of the 50-year-old Swiss Style modernization, were promoted by the professional conservation community in the case of Prestegårdslåna in the 1920s, reflecting ideals of architectural stylistic unity and preference (of the neo-classical over the Swiss Style) and a pragmatic approach to conservation through allowing improvements of the building's usability.

### THREE GUDBRANDSDALEN FARMS - THE RURAL VERNACULAR

#### *Relocation, restoration and modernization 1930 - 1980*

“In the most remote communities of Norway, under the mountains of Jotunheimen, Dovre, Filefjeld and Telemark, the traces of the country’s old culture are easiest to find. There, the transitions in the areas of the arts and craftsmanship constitute unbroken chains from the early Middle Ages and into our own time.”

“... at most farms the requirements of today have ruthlessly intervened and torn apart the beautiful image without replacing the well-considered purposefulness, durability and beauty of the old with something other than the most spiritless and often short-lived objects of use. As recently as the 1860s the old spirit still ruled over the timber buildings and all its equipment, over the farmer’s attire as well as over all home-made tools. But later there has everywhere occurred a great deterioration, until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which once more demonstrates signs of an ascent.”

Johan Meyer (1909)<sup>1</sup>

“... But Oppland is in this context first and foremost Gudbrandsdalen. As everyone knows, this is the valley of valleys with a treasure of old building culture like no other.”

*Riksantikvar* Arne Nygård-Nilssen (1957)<sup>2</sup>

After having been studied in the 1850s and early 1900s as expressions of the “archaic” Norwegian building, the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century farm buildings of Gudbrandsdalen became synonymous with “Norwegian vernacular”, and were well represented on the first listings. Predictable, nurturing farmland, stable social conditions along many freeholder farms enabled accumulation of moderate wealth on a relatively large number of farms. Innovation in farming and modernization of farm estates had made little impact on the countryside here, compared to central farming areas (planes of Trøndelag, Østlandet or Jæren). The traditional vernacular

<sup>1</sup>“I Norges mest avsondrede bygder opunder Jotunheimens, Dovres, Filefjelds og Telemarkens fjeldmasser der er sporene av landets gamle kultur lettest at finde. Der danner overleveringen paa kunstens og haandverkets omraade en ubrutt kjede fra den tidlige middelalder og helt frem til vore dage.” (...)“... paa de fleste gaarde har nutidsfordringene grepet hensynsløst ind og sønderrevet det vakre billede uten at kunne erstatte det gamles vel gjennomtænkte hensigtsmæssighet, holdbarhet og skjønnhet med andet end de mest aandforlatte og oftest usolide nyttegenstande. Saa nær vore dage som i 1860-årene hersket endnu den gamle aand over tømmerbygningen og alt dens utstyr, over bondens dragt som over al hjemmegjort redskap. Men senere er der overalt intraadt en voldsom synken, indtil i 20de aarh. igjen her og der viser sig tegn til en begyndende stigning.” Architect Johan Meyer (1909) in the preface to the volume Lom og Skjaak in the book series “*Fortids Kunst i Norges Bygder*”. Meyer (1977) p 5

<sup>2</sup>“Men Oppland er i denne sammenheng først og fremst Gudbrandsdalen. Som alle vet, er dette dalenes dal med en rikdom av gammel bygningskultur som ingen annen.” Nygård-Nilssen (1958) p 34

architecture, seemingly little influenced by modern styles and inventions of the industrial revolution, appealed to architects in search of a genuine Norwegian building design on which to base a new national architecture. The most influential of these architects was Hermann Major Schirmer: teacher, *Fortidsminneforeningen* leader and Norway's first *Riksantikvar* in 1912.

The farms of *Krogstad Søre*, *Stensgård* and *Harildstad Søre* are situated in the northern part of the county of Oppland and Gudbrandsdalen, the valley which runs northwards from Lillehammer as part of the main road from Oslo to Trondheim. On the Krogstad and Stensgard farms the main dwellings were listed as individual buildings, respectively in 1923 and 1941, while on Harildstad Søre all buildings were listed in 1924, with the intent to preserve the entire farmyard building complex. All these buildings have been subject to repair and alterations since the time of their listing. This chapter examines the background for the designation of buildings in Gudbrandsdalen in general, and presents the treatment which five buildings (contained in the three case studies) were subject to after they were listed. Lastly the treatment of these buildings is discussed in relation to prerequisites, motives or ideals, and process.



Figure 1-2: "Heidal Harildstad Søndre Foto Schirmer". Schirmer students at Harildstad Søre (left), and Søndre Harildstad presented as an example of a repaired listed building in an article by Harry Fett and Halvor Vreim (right), *Fortidsvern og ungdomsarbeid* from 1941 with the caption: "In this farmyard all buildings are repaired. New foundations and to some extent basements. Walls and roofs repaired."<sup>3</sup> (Photographs unknown©Riksantikvaren)

#### *A note on the sources*

The high number of early listings in Oppland reflects the fact that this county and especially Gudbrandsdalen was given a significant part to play in the formative years of the history of

<sup>3</sup> "I dette inntunet er alle husene satt i stand. Nye grunnmurer og delvis kjellere. Vegger og tak reparert." Fett and Vreim (1941)

Norwegian building conservation. It was therefore of great interest to include Oppland as part of the case study material for this study.

The initial requirement for the Gudbrandsdalen case study was to find buildings which were representative of the type first listed here in the 1920s and 1940s.<sup>4</sup> The *treatment history* of each building was not known to me before I visited them for the first time. These histories are not to be automatically viewed as representative for listed buildings in Norway in general; each story is individual. For example, listed buildings in general met with a gentler fate than Krogstad Søre.<sup>5</sup> The case of Stensgård turned out to have some similarities to Krogstad in its treatment history; both buildings had been moved after they were listed. At Harildstad Søre the buildings seem little changed; the farmyard today still comes across as “archaic”, and invokes a similar awe of the past as that of Schirmer’s sepia photograph. With the intention of providing a more nuanced documentation of the treatment of listed buildings in Gudbrandsdalen, the farm of Harildstad Søre was therefore included as an additional case.

The source material for the treatment history of the case study buildings has been collected from *Riksantikvaren’s* archive and consists of correspondence and case work, photographs and blueprints. Since the time span for this investigation is prior to 1980 I did not find it necessary to consult the Oppland county council archive. Documentation of work on the buildings after circa 1980 is to be found at the county council of Oppland but *Riksantikvaren’s* archive also contains much of the case work.<sup>6</sup> Where I refer to building treatment which occurred after 1980, the source is case work material from *Riksantikvaren’s* archive, and field work observations.

For a historic overview of the documentation and representation of the Gudbrandsdalen built vernacular circa 1850-1920, the works of Eilert Sundt, Hermann Major Schirmer and Johan Meyer have been studied. Schirmer’s work was covered by Øistein Parmann in *Herman Major Schirmer og Tegneskolen – et stykke norsk arkitekturhistorie*, and a selection of his students’ drawings from Gudbrandsdalen’s farms has been recently published.<sup>7</sup> Among the more recent scholars who researched the vernacular buildings of Gudbrandsdalen we find

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<sup>4</sup> The buildings were visited in 2008 on a survey trip initiated by Oppland county (fylkeskommune) as part of the project “Fredningsgjennomgangen” and which I was fortunate to be allowed to join.

<sup>5</sup> The point of reference here is Arnfinn Engen’s book “Freda hus og anlegg i Gudbrandsdalen” which briefly presents all the listed buildings in the county of Oppland up until 1992. Engen (1992)

<sup>6</sup> The authority to manage privately owned listed buildings was delegated from Riksantikvaren to the county councils (*fylkeskommunen*) in 1979. Riksantikvaren and the county conservation authorities communicated closely. In the years following the delegation it was common practice that Riksantikvaren received copies of all decisions reached by the county conservation offices regarding not only listed buildings but also conservation areas. Holme and Eriksen (2005) p 14

<sup>7</sup> *Schirmers elever i Gudbrandsdalen*. Skeide, Mathisen et al. (2009)

architect and researcher Arne Berg, former *Riksantikvar* Roar Hauglid and historian Arnfinn Engen, county conservation officer (*fylkeskonservator*) in Oppland whose summarized presentation of Oppland's listed buildings has been a valuable source of reference. These researchers invariably drew their information from local sources, for example, local historian Iver Kleiven is frequently quoted by the authors listed above.<sup>8</sup> In a 1999 Master's thesis, ethnologist Anne Sætren analysed the restorations of four Gudbrandsdalen listed farm complexes.<sup>9</sup> Sætren applies the ideas of David Lowenthal to argue for nostalgia as the driving force in building conservation decision-making. The documentation provided in her thesis provides an interesting reference for the work presented here. My main source of reference for treatment ideals in the conservation community has been *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annals, where restoration architects and antiquarians including Halvor Vreim and Harry Fett frequently published accounts of their work, and which included annual reports from *Riksantikvaren* and *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* (see Chapter 2).

The present owners of the case study buildings have been interviewed on site or by telephone. The interviews were informal. Since all the farms are family farms, the treatment processes were witnessed or participated in by the present owners or their relatives, and some interesting information did come up during the interviews. Interviews are, however, not a certified method in this study. Information thus obtained can therefore be referred to but is not used as the basis for arguments in the discussion.

#### 4.1 PRESERVING GUDBRANDSDALEN'S VERNACULAR: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

The vernacular architecture of central southern Norway was "discovered artistically" and depicted by romantic painters in the 1830s and -40s. In the 1850s Gudbrandsdalen and its side valleys were documented by Eilert Sundt; then gradually "discovered" by the antiquarians towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The phrase "archaic" was used by Hermann Major Schirmer to describe the landscape and buildings. Schirmer took his students from *Tegneskolen i Kristiania* on trips to survey buildings during the summers; later (from 1910) Johan Meyer did the same with his architecture students from *Norges Tekniske Høiskole*. Gudbrandsdalen was conveyed as the setting for a Norwegian ideal: the independent farmer.

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<sup>8</sup> Representative for Ivar Kleivens (1854-1934) work is *Gamal bondekultur i Gudbrandsdalen: Lom og Skjaak* (1915) ("Old farmer's culture in Gudbrandsdalen: Lom and Skjaak). Bjørkvik (2009)

<sup>9</sup> *Den lomske fredningen: en analyse av fire bygningsfredningsaker fra Lom*. Sætren (1999)

Its status as an image of Norway was reflected in the listings. Since the implementation of the 1920 Built Heritage Act, the county of Oppland is still the region with the highest number of listed buildings, totalling 446 distributed over 95 properties (1992), with a marked centre of gravity in Northern Gudbrandsdal.<sup>10</sup>

The various professionals, artists, historians, architects, sociologists and others, who travelled in Gudbrandsdalen since the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were attracted by the conservatism of the culture and the artistry and craftsmanship of the wooden vernacular. This is demonstrated in the imagery evoked by architect and Professor Johan Meyer and the quote with which this chapter begins. In retrospect the attention and approach to this region's vernacular can be viewed as part of a national project, where in the wake of national political independence, a national identity was explored and became rooted in a traditional rural culture. The architects who visited Gudbrandsdalen and its vernacular around the year 1900 did not only do so in order to document a building tradition of the past. Deciphering tradition to create a new national architectural style was equally important. These architects paved the way for the conservation efforts and listings of the early 1920s and 1940s.<sup>11</sup>

#### **4.1.1 The historic vernacular of Gudbrandsdalen**

##### *Geographical context and historical significance*

As a region, Oppland county is characterized by rich farming land, forestry and high altitude summer pastures; it comprises the mountain massifs of Dovre, Rondane, Jotunheimen and Huldreheimen and the main road between Oslo and Trondheim which runs through the valley of Gudbrandsdalen. The name Gudbrandsdalen also defines a district, the northern part of which includes the current municipalities of Skjåk, Lom, Vågå, Sel, Dovre and Lesja, and Nord-Fron. Skjåk municipality, where Krogstad and Stensgård are located, is part of Ottadalen, a side valley of Gudbrandsdalen; while Søre Harilstad in Sel municipality lies in Heidal, a side valley south of Ottadalen. The open air museum Maihaugen is located in the regional centre of Oppland, Lillehammer.

In the introduction to his book *Freda hus og anlegg i Gudbrandsdalen* ("Listed buildings and farms in Gudbrandsdalen"), historian Arnfinn Engen proposes a set of characteristics of Gudbrandsdalen's vernacular architecture to explain what initially drew the interest of conservationists to this region. The dry climate here is optimal for the conservation

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<sup>10</sup> Engen (1992) p 5

<sup>11</sup> A large number of the buildings presented in Meyers book series *Fortids Kunst i Norges Bygder* were listed in the 1920s and 1940s.



of wooden structures; there were rich forests to supply good building materials, and on the farms there was usually an economic surplus which provided the means for developing a building tradition of high quality craftsmanship.<sup>12</sup> The region thus had an ample supply of centuries-old, wooden buildings of a conservative agrarian culture; buildings with details and inventory displaying a rich decorative tradition.

#### *Characteristics of Gudbrandsdalen farms and vernacular buildings*

Most Gudbrandsdalen farms were built on sloping ground or hillside terraces and had a site organization which was more or less the same from medieval times up until around 1800<sup>13</sup>, when a phase of more comprehensive agricultural modernization began. The modernizing process was institutionalized with the first Land Use Act, *Utskiftingsloven* of 1857, which set off a massive movement of re-allocation of farm land. A second phase of farm land rationalization was implemented after the Second World War. Generally, the main aim was to redistribute land into larger, consolidated units which could be exploited more efficiently. The consequence of this was often restructuring of farmyards and demolition or moving of buildings.

The most frequently found organization principle of pre-industrial Gudbrandsdalen farms were cluster- (*klyngetun*), double- (*totun*) and square (*firkantun*) farmyards. The double farmyards had one domestic yard around which dwellings and storage buildings were grouped, and one utilities farmyard for animals.<sup>14</sup> A pre-industrial farmyard could consist of several single farms as a result of generations of dividing the farm between heirs. The term cluster does therefore not only refer to a cluster of houses but also a cluster of farms. The number of buildings on a farm could become high, and frequently there was more than one dwelling on each farm. When a new house was built the old one was kept for summer living or as a dwelling for the older generation or relatives, while in some districts there was a winter house and a summer house and the family would move according to the season.<sup>15</sup> The oldest type of farm had one building for each function. With modernization of the agricultural sector larger farms began to join several utilitarian functions under the same roof, a phenomenon which took hold and developed further with land use legislation.

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<sup>12</sup> Engen (1992) p 9

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p 14

<sup>14</sup> In multi-function farmyard (*flerbrukstun*) a domestic yard (*inntun*) and a utilities yard (*uttun*) would be separate. The two Kvarberg farms in Vågå, Øvre and Nedre (upper and lower Kvarberg) are surviving examples of the cluster farm, on which seventeen out of a total of sixty buildings survived into the 20<sup>th</sup> century to be listed in 1923. On Kvarberg Nedre eight and on Kvarberg Øvre nine buildings were listed in 1923. Ibid. pp 167-173

<sup>15</sup> The practice of moving house according to the season was noted by Eilert Sundt. Sundt (1976) p 31

A high number of Gudbrandsdalen farms are of medieval origin, although the buildings themselves are generally newer. The oldest known dwellings are 17<sup>th</sup> century but have the three-room plan types with the entrance onto the main room, an *akershusian* plan type defined as a basic form of dwelling by Eilert Sundt:

“And this floor plan not only describes the few “ramloft” dwellings, which still exist, but presents to us the basic form, which can still be found in most buildings in *Gudbrandsdalen* today, and which obviously once dominated on a much broader scale.”<sup>16</sup>

Of medieval buildings in Gudbrandsdalen there are ten still standing, of which all but one are of the type *loft*, a high status building used for storage and, on the upper level, guest-accommodation. The Medieval *lofts* have some characteristics which differ from buildings dating from after the Black Death (During the Black Death Gudbrandsdalen’s population was halved and building and new enterprise came to a halt. Due to the massive setback this represented, the Black Death is frequently used as a cut-off point for dating), but share many with the *lofts* of later dates. Medieval and later lofts have many common features. Dating can be done by looking at the notching technique; for example the Finndal notching (*Finndalslftet*) is only known before the Black Plague or, in medieval buildings the wall timber was notched (tenoned) into a mortise in the door frame (*beiteski*), whereas later the “*beiteski*” is notched into the timber. The medieval buildings also have characteristic decorative detailing like concentric circles and diagonal braces (*andreaskors*).<sup>17</sup> The *lofts* are invariably two-storey cog-joint log buildings worked with high quality materials, with richly decorated external galleries called *sval*. The high level of craftsmanship on the *lofts* and their relatively “light” use made them prioritized for conservation both within the tradition of the farm, and for the first professional conservationists.

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<sup>16</sup> “Og denne grundtegnning gjælder ikke blot for de få ramloft-stuer, som ere til nu for tiden, men fremstiller for os den grundform, som endnu den dag idag kan gjenfindes i de allerfleste stuebygninger i *Gudbrandsdalen*, og som kan skjønnes en gang i tiden at have hersket i en langt større vidde.” Sundt here compared and found similarities between the *ramloft* type dwelling at Løkkre in Lom, later moved to Maihaugen museum, with other Gudbrandsdalen buildings he had visited. Sundt developed his theories based on observations, informants and deductions, using descriptions from the Saga literature and previous historic writers like Arendt (see Chapter 2.1.1) to construct a chronology. This chronology did not specify dates; rather Sundt used phrases like “the first settlers” (“de første rydningsmænd”), “the modest beginnings” (“de noisome begyndelse”), “the changes and developments over a thousand years” (“de tusindårige udviklinger og forandringer”, “already in the times of St. Olaf and long before...” (“allerede på Olaf den Helliges tid og længe før”). Ibid. pp 5, 30-34; Engen (1992) pp 13, 14

<sup>17</sup> For further reading on the wooden medieval buildings in Norway, see the comprehensive six-volume publication: Arne Berg *Norske Tømmerhus frå mellomalderen*. Engen 1992 pp 12-13, 112-113; Berg (1989)

Traditional dwellings, named *stugu* in the Gudbrandsdal region, had a layout which was almost invariably based on the same floor plan type, the three-room *akershusian* floor plan. There are examples of the three-room plan type from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries; two open-hearth (*årestue*) dwellings from Gudbrandsdalen at the Maihaugen museum were initially believed to be of medieval origin, but subsequently concluded to be of a later date.<sup>18</sup> Examples of the one-room plan type are known, but their survival is exceptional. With the development from open fireplaces to chimneys, two-storey dwellings became common in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century; Engen mentions the vicar's farm at Øyer farm, dating from 1590, as a very early example of a two-storey building. One storey buildings were frequently enlarged or moved and incorporated in new buildings, and few survived into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup>

The *notched timber construction* system, which came to dominate vernacular building in Norway is amply demonstrated in Gudbrandsdalen where outer walls were usually not clad. In Gudbrandsdalen notched constructions first occur in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, at which time the structures of the farms changed from multi-function one-unit buildings to multi-unit farms with single-function buildings. Notched constructions were preceded by *langhus*, long houses, with roofs supported by earth-fast posts, comprising rooms for humans and animals under the same roof. Coin finds in the first excavations in the Gudbrandsdalen region to investigate Iron Age (800-1050 BC) settlements in the 1930s, led to theories that notching was first used in large 11<sup>th</sup> century buildings combined with post-lintel structures. This theory was later challenged by Roar Hauglid who argued that the great wall lengths of the long houses and the use of posts were inconsistent with notched houses, which were much smaller units. Hauglid proposed that notching spread from urban settlements where it was known from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, to the rural areas in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century at the time of the disintegration of the Old Norwegian family society (*ættesamfunn*) when the need for large houses dwindled, to be replaced by multi-unit farm structures where "warm" buildings were notched. According to Hauglid notched constructions would therefore first have been introduced to Gudbrandsdalen in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, a theory which seems to have been confirmed by archaeological finds in the 1980s.<sup>20</sup> There are few standing medieval buildings in the region; most are 18<sup>th</sup> century or younger, but the tradition of the notched construction system is a continuous development. Of buildings built entirely in the *stave technique* only churches are known. There are four stave

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<sup>18</sup> This conclusion was put forward by Roar Hauglid (Riksantikvar 1958-77) who did his doctorate in 1950 on the decorative traditions of Gudbrandsdal wood-carving and carpentry, in *Maihaugens to årestuer*. (Fortidsminneforeningens Annual 1962). Engen (1992) pp 14-15

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. pp 14-15, 59-63

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. pp 11-12, 30.

churches still standing in Gudbrandsdalen, dating from circa 1180-1250. The first known church in the area to have been built using a notched technique is the fisherman's chapel from Øyra in Fåberg (re-erected at Maihaugen) from 1459, by which time notching was in common use for vernacular architecture.<sup>21</sup>

Generally for traditional, pre-industrial building in rural areas, materials, building types and construction systems were relatively stable over centuries. In Gudbrandsdalen, notched log timber was the general construction system for buildings which needed to be insulated, like dwellings or animal housing, and also for older barns. The stave construction technique was used for the external galleries found on *lofts* and dwellings. Aired utilities buildings were constructed in timber frame and clad. Utilities buildings from before 1600 are not known, as these were “.. buildings which were quickly worn down or required remodelling”. Modes of roof construction have also been used to derive a building chronology; the region's medieval buildings had simple roof truss constructions where the trusses rest on one ridge purlin or are supported by side purlins (*sperretak*). From the 17<sup>th</sup> century the purlin roof construction (*åstak*), dominates. The main building materials were pine and spruce; other species were used for specialized functions like the highly durable juniper for roofing details. The roofing material was sod and grass or slate on moisture-proofing layers of birch bark, while foundation walls were of natural stone. As is characteristic of vernacular architecture generally, Gudbrandsdalen's buildings were made of locally found materials, most often optimally applied for function and duration through centuries of testing use.<sup>22</sup>

The fireplace was a significant part of the interior and interested antiquarians and historians both for chronological and aesthetic purposes. Eilert Sundt had used the type and placing of the hearth/fireplace/oven both as chronological and typological points of reference. The placing of the hearth oven was also an object of study for Roar Hauglid, who discussed and partly contradicted previous research.<sup>23</sup> While other parts of the interiors in listed buildings were modernized, efforts were made to preserve the fireplace, as the cases of both Krogstad and Skjåk demonstrate.

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<sup>21</sup> In Gudbrandsdalen the stave churches of Vågå, Lom, Ringebu and Garmo (at Maihaugen museum) have survived. All were built in the late 12th century. After the 15<sup>th</sup> century notching became the usual construction for churches, as in the extension of Heidalen stave church in 1531, Lom church in the 1660s and Garmo in 1730. When however the Vågå and Ringebu churches were enlarged in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the stave construction system, otherwise not known to have been used since before the black plague, was employed for the additions. Ibid. pp 12-13

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. pp 14-17

<sup>23</sup> The study *Hus, peis og billedved* was published in Fortidsminneforeningens annual. Hauglid and Engelstad (1956)

### *Decorative traditions*

Wood carving of structural elements on a building was characteristic of Gudbrandsdalen decorative traditions. *Dølaskurd* on portico galleries and doorways on dwellings, storage buildings and *lofts* were maintained and thus survived over centuries due to the status, craftsmanship and continuity of function of the buildings. A tradition of interior decoration of carving and painting was also strong in Gudbrandsdalen. Influenced by the continental styles, the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century painters of these regions created a local variety of baroque and rococo ornamentation. Architect and professor Johann Meyer commented on how stylistic influence from abroad made its mark despite the geographical remoteness of the “*..trange fjelddale..*” (“narrow mountain valleys”):

“One must wonder at the fact that the European culture, with its shifting cultural currents, is also demonstrated here.”<sup>24</sup>

Gudbrandsdalen buildings generally displayed international influence, not in their architecture or floor plan or façade but in carved details on the exterior (for example the *sval* or portico) and carved and painted interiors.<sup>25</sup> Johann Meyer had focused on such details when documenting buildings in Gudbrandsdalen and Telemark early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and many of the buildings he documented were listed in the 1920s and 1940s. Ironically Meyer, part of the generation in search of a “national style” in architecture and a Norwegian historic vernacular, had in his attention to detail conveyed the parts of the building which most displayed European influence. Although adapted to local materials and techniques and the skills of the individual artists, the international came into play in the decorative traditions which so defined Norwegian style, and through listing became part of the national built heritage.

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<sup>24</sup> “Man maa mer undre sig over, at dog Europakulturen gjør sig gjeldende ogsaa her, med sine skiftende kulturstrømme.” Meyer (1977) p 5

<sup>25</sup> In buildings with owners of higher social rank, the entire architecture of the building could demonstrate external influence; such buildings were however the exceptions. The vicarage farm of Vågå Gudbrandsdalen is one such example; it was given an unusual symmetrical façade with a centred, portico entrance. Arnfinn Engen suggests the vicar’s travels abroad inspired this design. The Vågå vicarage is today at the Maihaugen Museum, an example that buildings salvaged for preservation in museums were not necessarily the one which best represented common building traditions. Rather it was frequently the odd or exceptionally fine building specimens which were selected for this purpose. Engen (1992) pp 15, 313-315

#### 4.1.2 Documentation and conservation of Gudbrandsdalen's built heritage

When Gudbrandsdalen's built heritage was first "discovered" around 1900, antiquarians and architects frequently spoke of it with reference to a continuity of traditions from the middle ages into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Johan Meyer, for example, praised the artistry and craftsmanship of the buildings for displaying... "an unbroken chain from the early Middle Ages and into our own time..." (see above). The 19<sup>th</sup> century historian Yngvar Nielsen however pointed out that the dominating traditions of Gudbrandsdalen had originated in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, listing dress, music and decorative arts including a rich wood carving and painting tradition. As related above, the vast majority of "old" buildings which survived into the 20<sup>th</sup> century were not medieval but 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. While praised for its "archaic" (medieval) presence, Gudbrandsdalen's vernacular was also acknowledged as a legitimate part of Norway's post-reformation history. The interest in the Norwegian built vernacular in general and Gudbrandsdalen's in particular signifies a new turn where the conservation community began to bring the buildings of "newer times" (post-reformation) and common buildings into the realms of conservation.

##### *The legacy of the Middle Ages*

The conservation community had, from the time of *Fortidsminneforeningen's* early years shown interest in what Lidén refers to as "... the more monumental buildings of the farmers' culture". The painters of the Romantic Movement had depicted Norwegian rural life and buildings from the 1830s onwards, and from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century vernacular buildings were occasionally surveyed for *Fortidsminneforeningen* (see Chapter 2.2.2). Until around 1900, the interests of the Norwegian conservationists mainly focused on buildings and artefacts from medieval times. Post-reformation buildings, to which most standing vernacular buildings belong, were only exceptionally addressed as objects of interest. When the historian Rudolf Keyser lectured on the Norwegian vernacular building tradition in the 1840s he focused on pre-historic and medieval buildings and limited himself solely to written sources, descriptions from the Saga literature. *Fortidsminneforeningen's* leader and National Antiquarian Nicolai Nicolaysen's interest in the vernacular was also concentrated on the time preceding the reformation, focused on which ancient forms could in some way be attributed to medieval or pre-historic traditions. But contrary to Keyser he believed that information could be obtained by studying contemporary rural culture and buildings and not only literature.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Lidén (2005) pp 54-55

Gudbrandsdalen was, with Telemark, a favourite region for 19<sup>th</sup> century conservationists. On the rare occasions when vernacular architecture was documented and published, the buildings would be from here. Of Gudbrandsdalen farm buildings documented by *Fortidsminneforeningen* in the 1860s, Bjølstad in Heidal and Håkenstad and Sandbu in Vågå were studied by Nicolaysen and published in *Fortidsminneforeningen's* series *Kunst og Haandverk fra Norges Fortid*.<sup>27</sup>

Eilert Sundt was the first person to publish a more thorough study of the Norwegian vernacular based on a comprehensive study of standing buildings. Sundt, who travelled in Gudbrandsdalen for the first time in 1852, researched living conditions in rural areas and through this work described the buildings and interiors from the perspective of how they framed and influenced ways of life. As such, he studied the physical buildings and not just their representations in historic literature. On the basis of his observations of building mode, floor plans and interiors, he constructed a typology and chronology of vernacular buildings. His major finding was that building design was determined by underlying rules which had developed slowly over centuries. While Nicolaysen treated historic vernacular building as *static*, looking at newer buildings only from the vantage point of what they could reveal about medieval buildings, Sundt described typological developments over time and into his own time.<sup>28</sup> Sundt documented regional characteristics in the Norwegian vernacular; more importantly, he noted that the customary and established ways of building were undergoing change in his own time.<sup>29</sup>

Hans-Emil Lidén discusses the fact that it was Sundt and not the antiquarian Nicolaysen who founded the research on traditional Norwegian vernacular building, attributing Sundt's success to the comprehensiveness of his studies and to his evolutionary perspective:

“Sundt's explanatory model was acknowledged to widely because it was in accordance with one of the most characteristic ideas of its time – the Darwinian idea of *evolution* – that each design has its origin in a previous and older design.”<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> The series *Kunst og Haandverk fra Norges Fortid* was published between 1881 and 1891 by Fortidsminneforeningen as a supplement to *Norske bygninger fra Fortiden* which had dealt with churches and castles (see Chapter 2.1.3). In *Kunst og Haandverk...* survey drawings of buildings in central and eastern valleys were printed with Nicolaysen's commentary. Engen 1992 p 9; Lidén (2005) p 59

<sup>28</sup> Lidén (2005) p 56

<sup>29</sup> Introduction (Christophersen) in: Sundt (1976) p VIII

<sup>30</sup> Lidén (2005) p 69

Sundt demonstrated a link between medieval and post-reformation building tradition, but also followed the lead into his own time to observe that the physical remains of this continuity was threatened. Sundt himself was no conservationist, but as a result of his reference to the Løkkre dwelling, *Fortidsminneforeningen* had it surveyed as one of the first vernacular post-reformation buildings, in 1860. Løkkre was a building of one storey with a two-storey section in one end which was of special interest to Sundt as it had a floor-plan which Sundt characterized as an “original design” (*ur-form*), but also as it represented a transitional type between the one- and two-storey building, as well as being an unusual type which was becoming extinct.<sup>31</sup> The building was later moved to Maihaugen open air museum; one of many examples of how scientific interest and documentation preceded conservation through salvage or designation. Nicolaysen was also instrumental in salvaging vernacular building specimens for open air museums (see chapter 2.2.2). Nicolaysen was first and foremost an archaeologist and conducted few studies of vernacular architecture. Also, as Lidén points out, Nicolaysen was an efficient surveyor but seldom treated the material he collected scientifically. Sundt’s study of the vernacular was more comprehensive and more analytic, and in this respect the 19<sup>th</sup> century roots of the study of the historic vernacular are found with him rather than with Nicolaysen.

This chapter was introduced by architect Johann Meyer and a quote which focused on the continuity in building tradition from medieval times to early 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the circle associated with *Fortidsminneforeningen*, Meyer stood as an intermediary between Nicolaysen’s archaeologically oriented generation and the younger generation of architects and art historians who succeeded his reign from 1899, represented by Hermann Major Schirmer and the young Harry Fett (see Chapter 2.3.1). Stressing the continuity between the Middle Ages and post-reformation built vernacular may have legitimized the inclusion of the post-reformation vernacular in the sphere of conservation for Nicolaysen’s generation, who would have needed convincing. The new generation had embraced more modern thoughts on conservation and new theory from abroad. By 1899 Harry Fett had already written a series of critiques on the restoration of Akershus Castle, condemning the removal of the more recent layers of the castle’s history to display and restore the oldest parts.<sup>32</sup> Fett had read, amongst others, Riegl and Wölfflin, and embraced the principles of age value and historic equivalency,

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<sup>31</sup> Sundt also had a survey made of the main building in Gjesling-Sandbu, Vågå in Gudbrandsdalen. Sundt (1976) pp VIII, 4-6, 25

<sup>32</sup> See *Akershus slotts restaurering 1895-1922*, Myklebust (1979)



including post-reformation architecture in his sphere of conservation interest. Through the older Schirmer and his travels to Gudbrandsdalen, the vernacular became a part of this sphere.

#### *Rising status of historic vernacular architecture*

While Sundt credited the post-reformation vernacular as a cultural expression worth documenting, the architect Herman Major Schirmer was the one to promote its artistic and aesthetic qualities (see Chapter 2.3.1). Sundt had commented on the orderliness and prettiness of Gudbrandsdalen farms, but at the same time blamed the backward ways of living in rural areas for the population's poor sanitary and moral state. Schirmer had Sundt's work published anew, promoting him as the groundbreaking researcher on vernacular architecture. In Gudbrandsdalen Schirmer sought to find the foundations on which to build a new, national style in architecture; an architecture free from the experimental historicism of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Gudbrandsdalen had been made accessible from the capital through the new "trustworthy railway", a fact Schirmer himself pointed out and which made it a convenient travel goal for his Kristiania drawing school class.<sup>33</sup> Lidén comments that neither Sundt nor Nicolaysen referred to contemporary European writings on vernacular buildings, referring to the international trend inspired by the "national" architecture presented at the Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations in 1851.<sup>34</sup> None the less Schirmer provided a rich documentation of the built vernacular of the region, inspiring interest, and singling it out for conservation.

Johan Meyer, professor of *Norges Tekniske Høyskole* (N.T.H.) in Trondheim, also travelled Gudbrandsdalen during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to research the work *Fortids Kunst i Norges Bygder* published in 19 volumes from 1908-42. The publication presented vernacular architecture of the country's various regions, in drawing, text and photography. Meyer was professor at N.T.H. at a time when historical styles, by now including the stylistic expressions of the Norwegian vernacular, were an essential part of the architect's education. In the works of Johan Meyer, the emphasis was on the artistry and craftsmanship in details, interiors and furniture. Meyer's texts evoke images of a hard-working and noble people with reverence for craftsmanship, beauty and God, bound by tradition and highly in tune with the natural elements. Meyer has later been accused of naïve

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<sup>33</sup> Among Schirmer's students were Magnus Poulsson, Arnstein Arneberg and Erik Glåsmodt, later influential architects who all in their early years of practice were, following Schirmer's intentions, openly influenced by Gudbrandsdalen's historic vernacular. Engen (1992) p 9

<sup>34</sup> Lidén (2005) p 69

enthusiasm in his presentations of the rural vernacular by among others Anders Bugge, who nonetheless obviously used Meyer's documentations as a basis for the first listings.<sup>35</sup>

“...But also nature itself has collaborated. Anyone who struggles alone against sleet and storm through the desert of the cliffs and suddenly finds himself amongst green hillsides, while the spring sun shines on mountains and glaciers, and the noise of the grand river joins the choir of birds and bells, he must especially be influenced by the overwhelming forces of nature, so that his emotional life is deepened. Thus the artistic talent is awakened and renewed from generation to generation....”<sup>36</sup>

Schirmer and Meyer both emphasised the oldest and most elaborate buildings, the main buildings and the high-status storage buildings on wealthy farms, selected for their picturesque qualities.

Hans-Emil Lidén credits Sundt with the ethnological approach to studying the built vernacular which was adopted by the museums, by for example Gisle Midttun, Hilmar Stigum and also by Halvor Vreim.<sup>37</sup> Midttun and Stigum wrote from the vantage point of the open air museum; Vreim also began his career as a museum worker, spending fifteen years at *Norsk Folkemuseum* at Bygdøy before becoming *Riksantikvaren's* antiquarian. The ethnological approach to building research was pursued in the research programme *Norske Gardstun* (Norwegian farms) run by The Institute for Comparative Cultural Research from the 1940s onwards.<sup>38</sup> In the introduction to the series, architect Arne Berg describes his method which consisted of compiling old maps and legal documents and comparing these to oral information from the elderly people on the given farm. Berg observed that the most accurate accounts were memories recounted from the informants' childhood “between the age of five and *folkeskulen* [primary school]”:

“... when one recalls throwing a snowball at Old Knut from the corner of the storage building when he was chopping wood by the main dwelling, then this must have been placed two metres to the right etc...

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<sup>35</sup> Meyer's critics were Odd Brochmann and Anders Bugge. Lidén (2010)

<sup>36</sup> “...Men også naturen selv har virket med. Den som snart ensom stræver frem mot slud og storm gjennom klippemassernes ørken og snart legger veien i de grønne lier, mens vaarsolen lyser over fjeld og fonn, og storflommens brusen klinger i kor med fugelsang og bjeldeklang, han maa i særlig grad paavirkes av naturkræfternes vælde, saa at følelseslivet utdypes. Dermed vækkes og fornyes den kunstneriske evne fra slegtled til slegtled ...” Meyer (1977) p 5

<sup>37</sup> Lidén (2005) p 70

<sup>38</sup> *Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning* were active in the 1940s, 50s and 60s, the research conducted here resulting in a number of volumes. The study of vernacular architecture was part of the Institute's project of documenting Norwegian pre-industrial society. For information the project relied on a network of local historians all over the country. Halvor Vreim was engaged to write a piece on summer farms, but according to Arne Berg this material is lost. Berg (2005)

... a more accurate specification than this can hardly be required. <sup>39</sup>

On the basis of this type of information, Berg made reconstruction drawings of pre-industrial buildings, farms and farmsteads. Berg's contribution to research on pre-industrial rural vernacular architecture was significant. Berg documented and reconstructed vernacular buildings from the whole country, visualizing and conveying them in detailed drawings. By the time the first volume was published, most of Berg's informants were already deceased; the eldest of which had been born in the 1850s. During the period of Berg's research, a number of the buildings on the farms Berg visited were demolished or moved. <sup>40</sup>

#### 4.1.3 Legislation and management

The buildings presented in the Gudbrandsdalen case study were all listed under the 1920 Built Heritage Act in the early 1920s and -40s. Halvor Vreim was involved with restoration work on all case study buildings from the late 1930s into the 1960s, and is therefore the person most frequently referred to here. As *Riksantikvaren's* representative Vreim represented the official practice on restoration and heritage management of this time.

##### *Listings – from an artistic to an ethnological approach?*

The valley of Gudbrandsdalen was well represented in the initial listings in 1923 with 78 listings. A few of the listings comprised whole farm complexes, while in most cases one or two buildings were listed, mostly main dwellings and storage buildings. Most of the farms (64) were from the northern region of Gudbrandsdalen, "Norrdalen". This area was thoroughly documented by Schirmer and Meyer and there is a clear correlation between these

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<sup>39</sup> "... når en forteller om å kaste snøball på GamleKnut fra hjørnet på buret der han sto og hugde ved våningen, så matte da denne ha stått to meter til høyre osv. ... mer nøyaktig angivelse enn dette kan neppe etterspørres.." Berg (1968) (Introduction)

<sup>40</sup> According to Arne Berg himself, Harry Fett is to have said to "...you shall draw the whole of Norway" ("*De skal tegne hele Norge*") to him when presented his reconstruction sketches for the first time. Arne Berg first came in contact with Riksantikvaren during field work in Røros for his architectural studies at NTH in 1939. Berg worked for Byarkitekten (the city architect) in Oslo in the 1940s and for the partnership Arne Arneberg and Magnus Poulsson, at the time working on each their prestigious restoration project, Akershus Festning and Nidarosdomen. They disagreed greatly, Berg recalls, although their disputes seldom reached outside of the office doors. In 1949 Arne Berg began to work for Norsk Folkemuseum at Bygdøy with responsibility for the museum buildings and to document buildings as they were added to the collection. He also edited Fortidsminneforeningen's Annual, and worked for "Norske Gardstun." Berg (2005)

documentations and the listings. The listings were almost exclusively buildings built between 1750 and 1850.<sup>41</sup>

In 1940 there was a nationwide revision of listings and *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* (DAB) suggested an additional nine farms to be listed in Gudbrandsdalen. Three of these were smallholder farms, a group previously not well represented in the listings, which focused heavily on buildings from the upper social strata.<sup>42</sup> All previous listings had been wealthier, freehold farms, and the revision was a small contribution to balance the rigid emphasis of preservation on the artistic farmers' culture (*bondekultur*) to represent the built vernacular heritage.<sup>43</sup>

The listings in the early 1940s were a slight corrective in the sense of representative selection, towards an ethnological and not purely an artistic approach. Another revision of the list was proposed in 1957 but never followed through. Between 1967 and the 1980s, 13 additional farms in Gudbrandsdalen were listed, in addition to four which were automatically listed for age and eight vicar's farms which were technically re-listed after being sold out of state ownership. Of the 95 properties listed in 1992, two thirds were listings from 1923, and 88 were farm buildings. In his overview of listed Gudbrandsdalen buildings historian Engen writes:

“The total of listed buildings is as such not representative of the building culture of the valley. One may claim that some of the best of craftsmanship and cultural historic value has been preserved through listing. But from for example the point of view of social and economic history, this is a tilted disposition.”

Engen continues to mention summer farms, industrial complexes and institutions or important infrastructure like the railway lines as deficiencies in terms of what was and was not listed in 1992, calling for a revision of the list.<sup>44</sup>

Buildings on Gudbrandsdalen farms were initially listed for their historic and artistic value. Despite later attempts to be more inclusive in the assessments for listing, the lists were in 1992 not considered representative of Gudbrandsdalen historic buildings.

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<sup>41</sup> A total of 85 farms were suggested listed by Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd in May 1922, when the list was ready for Gudbrandsdalen. For Lesja and Dovre, and to a great extent also Vågå and Heidal, the listings equal buildings mentioned by Meyer. Engen (1992) p 10

<sup>42</sup> Eight of the suggested listings were followed through, one rejected. The three smallholder farms were listed. Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> In this perspective it is interesting to note that Arne Berg, who by this time was at the beginning of his career, was vividly interested in documenting all aspects of built culture, including fishery, hunting, sami culture etc.

<sup>44</sup> Engen (1992) pp 10-11

## 4.2 TREATMENT OF LISTED DWELLINGS ON THREE FARMS IN GUDBRANDSDALEN

The Gudbrandsdalen case study comprises five buildings on three farms, Krogstad Søre, Stensgård and Harildstad Søre. The documented treatment of these buildings after they were listed in the phase circa 1920-1980, will be presented and discussed in the following section. Krogstad and Stensgård are both situated in Skjåk in Northern Gudbrandsdal, each farm has one individually listed building. On Harildstad Søre all older buildings in the farmyard are listed, among them the three dwellings which are included in the case study. The treatment history of the buildings will be presented first. The following discussion will focus on three themes: prerequisites, conservation ideals and process of the treatment the buildings were subject to.

### 4.2.1 The relocation of Krogstad Søre, Skjåk 1943-1959

In 1923 one building on Krogstad Søre was listed, a small house built as the main dwelling on the farm in 1769. The building was at the time of its listing part of a complete farmyard, still in operation and with older utilities buildings intact.

*Riksantikvaren's* listings from Sjøk mentioned Krogstad by name and cadastral number only, which was the normal procedure for listings in the 1920s. No statement was prepared about the building's heritage value. However, three rooms in the listed Krogstad building were richly decorated by the well-known wood carver Rasmus Olsen Brandserbakken in 1811; according to Engen this decorated interior was decisive in selecting this building for listing.<sup>45</sup> It was described by Johan Meyer in 1909 in the illustrated work *Fortids Kunst i Norges Bygder*. Meyer described the rooms as "... a typical example of a well-situated Skjåk inhabitant's home dating from around 1814."<sup>46</sup> Meyer's choice of 1814 as the year of reference was not accidental; the cultural history of a freeholder farmer was thus linked to the Norwegian constitution, and a small hillside dwelling assigned national significance by association.

#### *The old Krogstad dwelling*

In the early 1800s the Krogstad dwelling would have appeared as a one-storey *stugu* with what Eilert Sundt would have defined as an *akershusian* floor plan. The plan consisted of

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<sup>45</sup> Rasmus Olsen Brantserbakken was born in 1767. He did finer carpentry and wood carving, and also made decorative iron fittings. The listing of Krogstad was recorded July 21st 1923. Engen (1992) pp 87-89

<sup>46</sup> Meyer called Brantserbakken by his nickname "Blaasaren". Ibid.

three rooms, one larger room with two adjoining chambers, where the main entrance from outside was directly onto the larger room. In the region of Gudbrandsdalen the larger room is commonly referred to as the sitting room (*stugu*), the larger of the side rooms the chamber (*kleva*) and the smaller the water-chamber (*vasskleva*). The interior had fixed furnishings according to tradition, with a bench (*blandstampbenk*) and cupboard (*framskåp*) directly to the right side of the entrance, benches along the walls which frame a free-standing table, and a fireplace in the corner directly opposite the entrance. The larger chamber at Krogstad was fitted with a fireplace, which according to historian Arnfinn Engen was unusual.<sup>47</sup> The main room had a fixed *fatskap*, a cupboard for plates, by the fireplace, and the larger chamber a built-in cupboard which also could be opened from the main room. The ceiling of the larger chamber was decorated with a stencilled pattern, whereas the smaller chamber had profiled wooden ceiling panels fitted in a herringbone pattern and the initials LTSK 1811 carved between the beams. The doors and cupboard were decorated in Norwegian rose painting. The main entrance door was renewed at a later date, before 1943.<sup>48</sup> Both painting and woodwork revolve around the decorative motif of the acanthus plant, which is the significant element in rose painting.

When Johann Meyer described Krogstad Søre in 1909 he only mentioned the interior of the three decorated rooms, providing no description of the exterior of the house. The building is believed to have originally consisted of the three decorated rooms only.<sup>49</sup> In 1901 an addition was built which included an extra half storey, plus rooms on the ground floor joined to the old section by a narrow hallway.<sup>50</sup> This addition may, according to the owner, have replaced a previous addition.<sup>51</sup> Also a traditional three-room plan with fixed furnishings, the 1901 addition was likely an older building which was moved and rebuilt here [Figure 7]. The windows and foundations were renewed in connection with the building of the addition which means that the Krogstad dwelling, as it stood when it was listed, had received its exterior appearance in 1901. The windows had detailing typical for modernizations in the Swiss Style, the window panes fewer and larger than what was previously common, and with simple decorative mouldings similar to those produced at the industrialized wood workshops. *Riksantikvaren's* antiquarian Halvor Vreim described the house for the first time in 1943 (he

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid. pp 87-88

<sup>48</sup> Vreim (1943 - 6)

<sup>49</sup> The volume of *Fortids kunst i Norges Bygder – Gudbrandsdalen – Lom og Skjåk* was published in 1909. Meyer's drawings of the interior at Krogstad are dated the same year.

<sup>50</sup> Engen (1992) p 87

<sup>51</sup> Information from the present owner, October 2008.

referred to it as *Systuen*) commenting briefly on the condition of the foundations and the roof, noting that the windows were new, and otherwise assessing the interior to be “good”:

“The house, which has one storey, has a central hallway and sitting room on each side. Along the back of the house are narrower chambers. On the tall foundation wall there is cement, and the house has new windows. The southern rooms have good interior fittings, crafted by Brantserbakken. However the bed has been removed and the door replaced. The roof is in poor condition and it must be assumed that the lower logs on the back wall are rotten.”<sup>52</sup>

This memo, written in July 1943, is the first documentation of dealings with the building by *Riksantikvaren*, as the responsible professional organization for listed buildings, twenty years after it was listed.



Figure 3-4: Krogstad site plan (left) and floor plan (right), (August Schmidt 2010)



Figure 5-6: Old Krogstad, farmyard 1953. Only the main building with the carved interior by a known wood-carver, was listed in 1923. (Photographs unknown©Riksantikvaren)

<sup>52</sup> “Huset som er på en etasje har gang i midten og en stue på hver side. Mot baksiden er smalere kammer. Utenpå den høye grunnmuren er støpt med sement, dessuten er det satt inn nye vinduer i huset. Søre stue har god innredning, utført av Brantserbakken. Senga er dog tatt ut og det er satt inn nyere inngangsdør. Taket er dårlig og det må antas at den eller de nederste stokkene på bakveggen er råtne.” Vreim (1943 - 6)

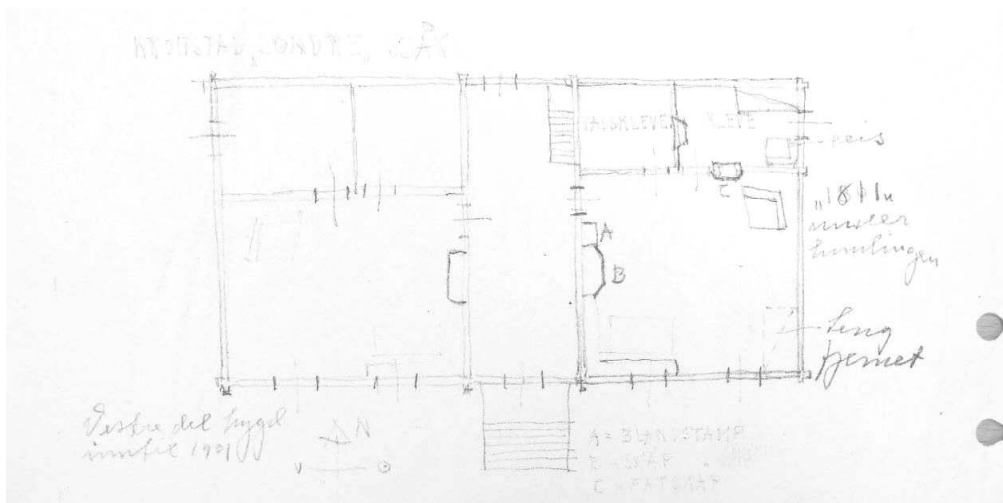


Figure 7: Krogstad, floor plan of the building before relocation “Krogstad Søndre, Sjøk” with comments ‘western section added 1901’; “1811” on the ceiling; ‘bed removed’. The western section, also a traditional three-room plan with fixed furnishings, was most likely an older building moved here: in both sitting rooms the cupboard was outlined. Weak pencil sketch by Halvor Vreim, not dated. (©Riksantikvaren)



Figure 8: Photograph from the Krogstad case file with the caption “vestre stue” (western section) in Halvor Vreim’s handwriting. The photograph is identical with a photograph by Johan Meyer from 1909 which shows the carved and painted interior from the farm Kvåle, Skjåk. (Riksantikvaren, original photograph at *Norsk Folkemuseum*)



### *Relocation 1951-1956*

In October 1951, land consolidation required the relocation of Krogstad and the buildings to be moved within four years “..from the old farmyard to new land below the village road”.<sup>53</sup> The goal of the consolidation was to rationalize the arable land of four farms (Kummen, Teigen, Brandsar and Krogstad).<sup>54</sup> The foreman of the land consolidation office at Lillehammer had addressed *Riksantikvaren* a month earlier to inquire whether there were listed buildings on any of these farms. Halvor Vreim signed the response from *Riksantikvaren*, stressing the importance of preserving listed buildings *in situ* :

”Mister land consolidation foreman will already be familiar with the importance the antiquarian authorities place on preserving listed buildings on their old plots.”<sup>55</sup>

The land use authorities in turn stated that although they were fully aware of the importance of preserving listed buildings where they were built, it would in this case be impossible to carry out a rational land consolidation without moving the house.<sup>56</sup> The land consolidation act, which had recently been revised (*Jordskiftelova*, 22 December 1950), was an efficient tool: “During re-allocation the court is free to act as it sees fit. Rights of use can be abolished; the removal of houses and roads may be enforced.”<sup>57</sup> The decision to move the listed building was never challenged in court; instead a negotiation was initiated, with the owner, *Riksantikvaren* and *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd* (DAB) and the land consolidation office as parties.

The Krogstad dwelling was in use; in the early 1950s the owner described the building as old, inconvenient and unfit for modern standards of living.<sup>58</sup> In January 1953 the owner invited *Riksantikvaren* to come and inspect the building and discuss solutions with regards to

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<sup>53</sup> “...flyttes fra det gamle tun og ned til nye tomter nedenfor bygdeveien.” The deadline for relocating the buildings was set to October 1st 1955. Land consolidation or *jordskifte* was an ongoing process of rationalizing farming encouraged and induced by the authorities. The process took up pace from 1857 when a new law on land consolidation was ratified; by the 1870s only 13 percent of the farms maintained the old strip farming system. After the Second World War new efforts were made to further rationalize farming. Low birth rates had led to a post-war labour deficiency, and with the political objective of welfare for all, production per capita had to be increased through larger production units in farming and fishing, and shifting the surplus workforce to the process industry. Owner (1953 - 1 - 22); Helle, Kjeldstadli et al. (2005) Volumes 8 pp 123-124; 11 pp 210-211

<sup>54</sup> Svenneby (1951 - 9 - 28)

<sup>55</sup> “Herr utskiftningsformann vil fra før være kjent med den betydning de antikvariske myndigheter legger i at fredede hus bevarer på sine gamle tomter.” Letter to *Gudbrandsdal Jordskiftekontor*, Vreim (1951 - 10 - 22)

<sup>56</sup> “En er fullt ut oppmerksom på betydningen av at fredede hus bevarer på sine gamle tomter, men i dette tilfelle ville det være umulig å få gjennomført en rasjonell skifteplan uten nevnte husflytting.” Svenneby (1951 - 11 - 15)

<sup>57</sup> Falkanger (2009)

<sup>58</sup> Owner (1953 - 1 - 22)

the notified re-location. The owner stressed the financial and practical challenges which moving the building would involve, and expressed wishes for a two-storey house in the new farmyard.<sup>59</sup> The old building could, the owner proposed, be sold to accommodate all parties:

”The question must supposedly therefore be whether buyers for the cottage can be found, who would be interested in re-erecting it as it now stands.”<sup>60</sup>

*Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd* would not endorse selling the building. Instead DAB granted 5000 Norwegian kroner to relocate the building in the owner’s new farmyard on the grounds that a plan for moving and re-erecting the building was presented and approved by them.<sup>61</sup> The owner, who was quite young at the time, recounts in an interview that he was given a deadline of three years to relocate buildings after the re-allocation. One of these years he spent doing military service. There were many buildings on the original Krogstad farm; some, he says, were burned, others sold. He was set against moving the dwelling because he reasoned this would be a challenge financially.<sup>62</sup> The re-location of the listed building was carried out in 1956, three years later. During the intermediate time, several solutions were considered and discussed.

#### *Modernization 1956-1959*

In a letter written by Halvor Vreim, *Riksantikvaren* proposed that the newer part of the listed building be “rearranged” to meet with modern standards, and declared it acceptable to add a full upper storey to increase the number of rooms:

“The hallway and western part of the building, which is from 1901, can be refitted to accommodate contemporary housing standards. To acquire more rooms, especially bedrooms, an additional storey may be added onto the entire building if desired.”<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> “. gammelt og så uhensiktsmessig at det ikke svarer til de krav man nå må sette til en bolig på et gårdsbruk.” Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> “Spørsmålet må vel derfor helst bli om det kan skaffes kjøpere av stuen, som kunde være interessert i å få den oppført igjen som den nu står.” Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> A grant of this size required the owner to sign a legally binding agreement to preserve the building. In this case Vreim wrote: “When a grant the size of 5000 kroner is given, the owner is required to sign a preservation agreement (“fredningsavtale”).” Vreim (1953 - 3 - 4)

<sup>62</sup> Information from the present owner, October 2008

<sup>63</sup> “Gangen og vestre del av bygningen, som stammer fra 1901 kan ominnredes slik at det svarer til aktuelle krav. For å få flere rom, særlig soverom, kan om ønskes hele huset påbygges.” Vreim (1953 - 3 - 4)

At this stage, in March 1953, the owner indicated a wish to move and re-use only the newer part of the building; the addition which dated from 1901.<sup>64</sup> A new lot for the older part of the listed building could be provided in the new farmyard, but moving it was thought to cost more than the sum granted by DAB. The owner declared it beyond his means to have the building moved, and shifted the responsibility to *Riksantikvaren* and DAB: "It must then be up to You to have the house moved."<sup>65</sup> Halvor Vreim responded with a note that he would visit the farm on "April 16<sup>th</sup> 1953 at 1300 hours."<sup>66</sup> Vreim met with the owner (the owner's guardian, as it turned out) and a builder. He agreed that moving the building would in fact be more costly than the grant promised by DAB, and concluded that the solution was a question of money.<sup>67</sup> The 1953 grant from *Riksantikvaren* and DAB was increased from 5000 to 8000 Norwegian kroner to move the listed building.<sup>68</sup> The conditions for the grant to move the building were that the three original rooms, which were described as "well preserved", were to be "preserved in their current form" and the fireplaces rebuilt "in their old form, and in the same place in sitting room and chamber as previously."<sup>69</sup> The entrance hallway and the 1901 addition could be converted to modern standards, and an addition built to accommodate more bedrooms.<sup>70</sup> Vreim suggested that the building could be fitted with new windows similar to those the building had before 1901.<sup>71</sup> Insulation of the floors was stated to be acceptable, but the old floorboards were to be re-used to the greatest possible extent.<sup>72</sup> At this stage it was presumed that the whole building would be moved and subsequently restored and modernized.

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<sup>64</sup> "... jeg må dessverre meddele at jeg ikke makter å flytte denne gamle stuen til den nye byggetomt for gården. Jeg går ut i fra at det bare er den gamle stue øst for midtgangen som er fredet, slik at jeg har anledning til å flytte stuen vest for gangen" Owner (1953 - 3 - 18)

<sup>65</sup> Det må da i tilfelde stå til Dem å få denne flyttet." Owner (1953 - 3 - 18)

<sup>66</sup> Vreim (1953 - 4 - 13)

<sup>67</sup> Memo signed Halvor Vreim, April 1953 and cost specification from builder Rolv. O. Ramstad, May 1953, for 10.412,71 kroner for the taking down and rebuilding of the listed house at Krogstad. The specification lists the materials cement, 60 m. 7" lafteplank, bjelker (beams), 330 m gulvbord (floor boards), Stubbloftslekter, stubbloftsfill (laths, insulation), 4 fag vinduer dobb. (4 windows double glazed); the work list showing that the foundations were to be poured cement, the exterior panelling new, the floors insulated, the fire places reconstructed (probably with stone laid in cement as no other binding material in mentioned). The specification did not include "anything above the ceiling" (".. er det ikkje medteke i overslaget noko over himling"). A note from the owner quoted an estimated additional 2.200 kr for beams, plank roof, tarred cardboard sheeting (takpapp) and cement roof tiles. Vreim (1953 - 4); Ramstad (1953 - 5 - 8); Owner (1953 - 5 - 8)

<sup>68</sup> Conditions stated in letter from DAB, March 1953. Vreim (1953 - 6 - 5); Vreim (1953 - 3 - 4)

<sup>69</sup> "... det godt bevarte stuerom og kleve og vasskleve til høyre for gangen bevarer i sin nåværende skikkelse. Som en vil forstå må peisene under oppsettingen av huset etter flyttingen settes opp i sin gamle skikkelse, og på den samme plass i stue og kleve som før." Vreim (1953 - 3 - 4)

<sup>70</sup> "Gangen og den vestre del av bygningen, som stammer fra 1901 kan ominnredes slik at det svarer til aktuelle krav. For å få flere rom, særlig soverom, kan om ønskes hele huset påbygges." Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> "Det regnes med at huset forsynes med samme sort vinduer som var før de nåværende ble innsatt." Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> "Golvene i de tre nevnte rom kan selvsagt isoleres på vanlig måte, men den gamle golvplank nyttes i størst mulig utstrekning." Ibid.

In 1954 the planning had advanced, and the owner had now abandoned the idea of moving the whole house. Declaring that the 1901-part of the building was in worse condition than previously judged, the owner proposed to relocate only the old section with the rooms from 1811. These were to form the basis around which he wished to build a modern timber frame addition, a solution which would spare him costs and give the owner "...the floor plan I require."<sup>73</sup> The owner turned to *Riksantikvaren* for help to design a new house in the traditional style:

"Could you give me free help to draw this house so I can have the best possible "style-of-the-valley" (*dølastil*) in the exterior."<sup>74</sup>

In the first instance *Riksantikvaren* declined to design a new house; the owner had to supply the required blueprints for their approval. On request from the owner Vreim gave a number of recommendations for the new building, which included the three old rooms.<sup>75</sup> Vreim advised that the same type of window was used on the entire house, but stated that he would also consider the possibility of using different types of windows for the old and new part. Vreim also promised to consider plans to insert a window in the former windowless smaller chamber, *vasskleven*.<sup>76</sup> Vreim required exterior wood lintel and sleeper cladding, specifying "as broad boards as possible" but would accept that they were not planed. Lastly, Vreim consented to using a half-timbered construction and not timber logs for the walls in the new parts of the house.<sup>77</sup>

Blueprints for a new house, which was designed by the regional agronomist, were sent *Riksantikvaren* in November 1954. The plans showed a house with two storeys 15 metres long, which was the same length as the old house.<sup>78</sup> With the exception of the three old rooms which had timber walls, a half-timbered construction was proposed. *Riksantikvaren's* recommendation to use small-paned windows for the entire building had not been followed, and the plans showed large-paned windows for the new parts of the house. The owner

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<sup>73</sup> "... få den inndelinga eg vil." Owner (1954 - 8 - 26)

<sup>74</sup> "Kan Dykk gje meg fri hjelp til å teikne dette huset, slik at eg kan få best mogleg dølastil utvendig." "Dølastil" is a local term for stylistic features of buildings and crafts in Gudbrandsdalen. Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Vreim (1954 - 8 - 28); Owner (1954 - 8 - 26)

<sup>76</sup> "Huset bør ha ensartede vinduer. Om ønskes kan sendes forslag som viser andre vinduer i husets nordre (vestre) del, end i søndre med de rom som skal bevares." Vreim (1954 - 8 - 28)

<sup>77</sup> "Utvendig regnes med tømmermannskledning av så brede bord til over- og underliggere som det med rimelighet kan skaffes. De kan være uhøvlet." Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Herredagronom Trygve Bakken. Owner (1954 - 12 - 16)

explained that this choice was made on the assumption that small-paned windows were not very practical:

”One assumes that it today is of little practical use to employ small paned windows in the house at large such as are used in the old rooms.”<sup>79</sup>

Vreim assessed the first blueprints of the new house in November 1954, concluding these “...suffered from certain deficiencies concerning the plan and exterior design.”<sup>80</sup> He repeated his recommendation to choose small-paned windows for the entire building to achieve a harmony in the house design, stating that it was “...not unusual in our time to use small-paned windows in new houses.”<sup>81</sup> Vreim further recommended a windbreak porch, and commented that three bedrooms were too small and on the general lack of closet space.<sup>82</sup> A veranda on the north end of the house was suggested to be removed and replaced by an “airing niche” in conjunction with the upstairs hallway.<sup>83</sup> Vreim focused on the exterior design, but also on practical matters which would concern any architect in the planning stage of a new house.



Figure 9: Krogstad søre, 2008. The boarding removed, exposing 1950s type wind-proofing on the 1811-section of the building. Vreim had strongly recommended that this section was to be left with exposed timber. Initially this was the case, but apparently not for long. (Photograph MB 2008)

<sup>79</sup> “En går utfra at det etter nåtiden er lite praktisk å bruke så små ruter i huset forøvrig som i den gamle stuen.” Owner (1954 - 11 - 24)

<sup>80</sup> With reference to letter from the owner dated November 19th and blueprints (letter signed Nov. 19th and 24th is the same, as both dates are written on this letter). ”Den lider av visse mangler med omsyn til planen og den ytre utforming.” Vreim (1954 - 11 - 29)

<sup>81</sup> “Det er ikke ualminnelig i vår tid å velge smårutete vinduer i nye hus. På Krogstad bør det utbetinget gjøres for å få harmoni i bygningens utforming.” Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> ”Vedrørende planen burde det helst vært vindfang for inngangsdøren, og i soverom 1, 2 og 6 er ikke plass til en eneste seng. (...) Det mangler skap i alle soverommene og i kjøkkenet.” Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> ”Verandaen mot nord bør sløyfes. I stedet kan det velges en luftensje i tilskutning til gangen i 2. etasje.” Ibid.



Figure 10: Krogstad, new house, first house concept, T. Bakken 16/11-1954, original scale 1:100. (Riksantikvaren archive)

In February 1955 Vreim referred to a new set of blueprints, which seem to have been prepared at *Riksantikvaren's* office: "As the suggestions from county agronomist (NN) for the main building are less than satisfactory, new blueprints have been prepared which have been approved by *Den Antikvariske Byningsnemd.*"<sup>84</sup> This second concept was according to Vreim much improved on functional matters. A closed porch entrance was included "...to avoid draughts directly into the hall...", and on top of the entrance a small veranda had been added "... for the airing of clothes"; a larder had been omitted "... out of concern for heating..." and minor adjustments had been made to the disposition of the rooms "...for functional furnishing and cupboard space in the rooms."<sup>85</sup> In the concluding note regarding the design of the new building, written in February 1955, Vreim stated *Riksantikvaren's* final specifications. The exterior boarding must be 1" thick, and "...as broad as could be procured, within reason", and must not be planed. The sleepers (*underliggere*) around the windows and doors should be fitted in such a way that actual mouldings were rendered superfluous. Mouldings over doors and over and under windows were to be "...simple capping consisting of one-inch thick boards." The veranda balustrade was specified to be 1" x 7" boarding spaced with 5 cm openings. The beams of the old rooms, Vreim assumed, must be suspended from the attic. Exterior walls, capping boards and eaves were to be painted, "...in an attractive red colour...", the exterior of the windows white.<sup>86</sup> The windows in the new section had double glazing; Vreim recommended that the inner glass pane was whole and not divided by glazing bars.<sup>87</sup>

The discussions did not end with *Riksantikvaren's* approval of the second set of blueprints. Vreim had required that the building was to be roofed with rectangular slate from Otta region's main quarry, so-called Gudbrandsdalskifer.<sup>88</sup> The owner requested permission to use cement roof tiles, Skjåks-stein ("Skjåk-stone") which were less expensive.<sup>89</sup> As a response to this request *Riksantikvaren* promised an additional grant of 2000 Norwegian kroner, "... not only to salvage the old rooms, but also because it gives a grounds on which to

<sup>84</sup> "Da forslaget fra herredsagronom (N.N.) til hovedbygning er mindre tilfredstillende, er utarbeidet nye tegninger som er godkjent av Den antikvariske bygningsnemd." Neither the county agronomist's blueprints or the blueprints here referred to were to be found in the case file. Vreim's wording however indicates that the new concept was prepared at *Riksantikvaren's* office. Vreim (1955 - 2 - 11)

<sup>85</sup> "... for ikke å få kald luft direkte inn i gangen...", "for lufting av klær" "... av omsyn til oppvarmingen...", "...brukbar møblering og skaplass i rommene..." Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> "... så brede bord til over- og underliggere som det med rimelighet kan skaffes." "Underliggerne skal gå inn på sidene av vinduskarmer og dørkarm, slik at det ikke blir egentlige lister her." "Enkle vannbrett av 1" tykke bord."; "hengverk"; "...i en pen rød farge..." Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> "... .. da denne bare koster ca. fjerdeparten af skifer." Owner (1955 - 6 - 1)

place certain demands on the design of the whole building”, including the use of slate for the roof.<sup>90</sup> According to the owner (2008), *Riksantikvaren* granted him 1500 kroner for *Ottaskifer* (slate from the Otta quarry) for the roof; this cost 17-1800 kroner new, the owner instead acquired used slate of the same type at a more reasonable price.<sup>91</sup> *Riksantikvaren* opposed the owner’s wish to use a section of the basement as a garage.<sup>92</sup> The required terrain intersection would visually disturb the appearance of the house.<sup>93</sup> A garage was built despite *Riksantikvaren*’s objection, under the old section, and with the entrance on the front façade of the house under the windows in the old *stugu*. Vreim discovered this when visiting the building site in May the following year (1956), by which time construction was well under way.<sup>94</sup> Vreim’s approach to this less desired turn of events was to give advice on the details of the garage; how to clad the garage door with appropriate boarding; to paint it in a colour which would make it blend in with the foundation wall; and to remove the cast cement screen roof which protruded above the garage entrance, assuring the owner that this was no longer a requirement from the Fire Insurance Company and would not result in a higher insurance premium.<sup>95</sup> He requested that the foundation walls be rendered with an uneven lime plaster and brushed.<sup>96</sup> These new and adjusted requirements were set down as conditions to be met before grant money could be paid.<sup>97</sup>



Figure 11-12: Krogstad under construction in 1956 showing the new cast concrete basement (left) with the garage doors and the notched case with the three rooms; and from the opposite angle (right) with the new addition and visible signs that the old construction was repaired with new sills and back wall logs fitted. (Photographs: Halvor Vreim ©Riksantikvaren)

<sup>90</sup> ”... ikke bare gjort for å redde gamle rom, men også fordi det gir et selvfølgelig grunnlag for å kunne stille bestemte krav til bygningens hele utforming.” Vreim (1955 - 6 - 4)

<sup>91</sup> Information from the present owner, October 2008

<sup>92</sup> Owner (1955 - 6 - 1)

<sup>93</sup> Vreim (1955 - 6 - 4)

<sup>94</sup> Vreim (1956 - 5)

<sup>95</sup> Riksantikvaren (1956 - 10 - 18)

<sup>96</sup> ”Det ble også sagt at muren må påføres ujevn puss av kalkmørtel, skjepuss som koster.” Vreim (1956 - 5)

<sup>97</sup> Riksantikvaren (1956 - 10 - 18)





Figure 13-14: Krogstad in 1958. The new house envelopes the section from 1811, still under construction (left) and finished with windows and paint and a car in the new garage (right). Vreim initially rejected the plans to place the garage under the 1811 rooms; he also wanted the 1811 section left exposed, but it was clad shortly after the house was finished. His request that the whole house was given small-paned type casement windows was also ignored; the owner wanted a more modern window type and Vreim's preferred type ended up being used for the 1811-section only. (Photographs: Halvor Vreim ©Riksantikvaren)

#### *Restoration 1956-1959*

In the final conditions from *Riksantikvaren* for “New main building with three old rooms, Krogstad”, as Vreim titled his memo written in February 1955, the three old rooms were to be re-erected “...exactly in their old shape”.<sup>98</sup> From the interior perspective, this was also carried out. The only alteration was a new window in the previously windowless *vasskleven*.

*The log walls* had been completely disassembled for the move. When re-erected on top of the new cast cement foundations at Krogstad Søre, old damaged logs were replaced with fresh timber.<sup>99</sup> There were discussions to add an extra sill, as the sill on the eastern wall was somewhat lower lying than the rest.<sup>100</sup> The owner expressed a wish to cover the old, log-timbered section with the same type of plank cladding as the rest of the house.<sup>101</sup> Vreim objected to this:

“... the old timber walls should, as shown on the approved drawings, stand unclad in the interior as well as on the exterior (...) ... the old shall be visible as part of a listed building and because it is a fortunate element in the exterior of the house.”<sup>102</sup>

<sup>98</sup> “... settes de tre om, stugu, kleve og vasskleve, opp nøyaktig i sin gamle skikkelse.” Vreim (1955 - 2 - 11)

<sup>99</sup> “Medtatte veggstokker som måtte være, erstattes med friske tømmer.” Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> “Det kan muligens være nødvendig å legge inn et nytt omfar under veggene i de gamle rom, for å få samme høyde på grunnmuren som under langsiden og vestsiden til husets nye del.” Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> “...å få klede også den gamle del med same sort panel som i den nye del.” Owner (1955 - 6 - 1)

<sup>102</sup> “.. de gamle tømmerveggene bør, så som vist på de godkjente tegningene, stå upanelt utvendig som innvendig (...)”.. det gamle skal tre fram som en del av et fredet hus og fordi det gir et heldig innslag i husets hele eksteriør.” Vreim (1955 - 6 - 4)

The timber wall, which had previously been made air-tight with traditional moss, was now instead fitted with layers of glass fibre padding on Vreim's recommendation. If the walls were allowed to sink freely, Vreim stated, this measure would insure that the walls were free of draughts even without exterior wooden cladding.<sup>103</sup>

*The windows* in the old rooms were required to be of a small paned type. Since the house had all its windows changed in 1901, it was thus implied that by "...old shape" Vreim referred to the situation prior to 1901; the 1901 windows were to be discarded. Initially Vreim had, as mentioned above, advised that small-paned windows be used on both the old and new parts of the building. The owner did not want this, and instead asked permission to fit the old rooms with large-paned windows like the rest of the house; he feared that the old part otherwise would stand out as less attractive.<sup>104</sup> This request was not met, and the old and new parts of the building were given different type windows, which for Vreim was an acceptable compromise. Vreim specifically requested that the windows in the old rooms were single-glazed;<sup>105</sup> while the rest of the house had double glazing according to modern standards. For the old rooms, the pre 1901-type windows had to be specially produced. On Vreim's instructions windows and mouldings were copied from Nordre Stugu in Øvre Skjåk<sup>106</sup>, a nearby listed building from 1764 with a decorated interior very similar to Krogstad.<sup>107</sup> The windows for the old rooms at Krogstad were crafted as small-paned with puttied glass and had carved mullions with an acanthus leaf motif. Vreim was not happy with the window mouldings, but blamed the carpenter's shop and not the owner, who according to Vreim "...wished all things done in the best manner possible".<sup>108</sup>

*Interior and furnishings* were in need of some repairs. In the larger chamber, a section of the wall panels were in a state of decay, as was the timber wall behind it (the photograph of the house re-erected in 1956 shows that several lengths of log timber were replaced at the back of the house). According to the owner, Vreim was sceptical of replacing these panels, as he doubted the profile could be successfully copied. Today the new panels are placed at the gable wall of the smaller chamber. Only a few wall panels were replaced; the profile

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<sup>103</sup> "Med de gode tettemidler, vatt eller Eekem laftevatt, en nå har, vil nakne tømmervegger også bli tette uten panel. Men det må passes på at veggene får synke fritt." Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> "Skal det brukes små ruter i de to klevaene er en redd for at huset vil få et mindre pent utseende mot nord og øst." Owner (1954 - 11 - 24)

<sup>105</sup> Vreim (1955 - 2 - 11)

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> The interior of Nordre Stugu at Øvre Skjåk was carved by Ole Olsen Teigeroen also called Skjåk-Ola, who was at the height of his fame in the 1780s. Meyer (1977) pp 16,24; Engen (1992) p 82

<sup>108</sup> "Vinduene i de nye rammene var dårlig profilerte. Det skyldes snekkerfabrikken og ikke eieren. Han ønsker alt gjort på beste måten." Vreim (1956 - 11)

mouldings especially copied.<sup>109</sup> The entrance door to the main room was not original; Vreim noted this in 1943. The previous door was taller, while the present door was made as a copy of the original door as it would have been from 1811 until it was changed, probably in 1901. (The present owner recounts that his late mother sold the old door for 50 kroner. He also recounted that Halvor Vreim initially did not want a copy of the old door to be made; however when he saw the result he was pleased.<sup>110</sup>)

*Surface treatment* was done according to *Riksantikvaren's* specifications. The exterior logs were not to be painted, whereas the windows here could be painted white on the exterior. On the inside, the windows were to be painted with "...the same colour as the doors which lead to the side chambers"<sup>111</sup> The walls were green; a dado (*brystning*) was marked with red paint directly on the timber.<sup>112</sup> Vreim sent the owner colour samples in December 1956, specifying what powder pigment to use for each colour.<sup>113</sup> In April 1959 Vreim announced a visit to Krogstad where he would be accompanied by restoration assistant Ove Quale from *Riksantikvaren's* office. For their visit he requested that a local painter was present, and that the required pigments and materials were ready so that sample colours could be tested on site.<sup>114</sup> Quale then advised the local painter on the painting of the interiors of the old rooms.<sup>115</sup> The floors were to be given a layer of rapidly drying oil and matt floor varnish.<sup>116</sup> The ceilings were not painted over but left as they were.

*The old fireplaces* had been taken down to be rebuilt in the relocated house. Vreim gave instructions on their re-building, emphasising that the design as well as the surface treatment must be copied for visual effect, but also stressing re-use of the old materials. Between the sitting room fireplace and the wall onto the side chamber fireplace there was a half-metre open gap to accommodate a new cement chimney.<sup>117</sup>

Halvor Vreim generally expressed satisfaction with the new building at Krogstad, when he assessed the work in November 1956, and again in 1959 when the house was nearly completed. By the end of 1956 the old rooms had been rebuilt on new foundations and the new addition was built, including the roof construction. The new sections of the building were

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<sup>109</sup> Information from the present owner, October 2008.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> "...med samme farge som på dørene fra stugu til klevene." Vreim (1955 - 2 - 11)

<sup>112</sup> Vreim (1956 - 11)

<sup>113</sup> Vreim (1956 - 12 - 12)

<sup>114</sup> Vreim (1959 - 4 - 15)

<sup>115</sup> Vreim (1959 - 4)

<sup>116</sup> "Golvene strykes med hurtigtørkende olje og mattlakk." Vreim (1956 - 11)

<sup>117</sup> "Da peisen i den gamle stuen jo er plassert ca. 0,5 m. fra veggene skulle ikke betongfoten verken komme i veien eller virke skjemmende på utseendet." Owner (1954 - 11 - 24)

clad with “...broad, nice looking boards” as Vreim had requested earlier; he added that the façade design had been kept simple to avoid “...the abuse of details”, and if the windows and fireplaces were correctly executed, the total result would be fully satisfactory.<sup>118</sup>

“The exterior of the building will be better than any new or recent house in Skjåk and Lom.”<sup>119</sup>

When Vreim inspected the site in April 1959 only a few tasks remained before the new dwelling at Krogstad Søre was completed. The interior of the old rooms was still to be painted, and the bed, which Vreim upon his first visit had noted was missing from the fixed interior of *stugu*, had yet to be made. Vreim approved how the restoration of the three old rooms, the chimneys and the windows had been carried out, and expressed dissatisfaction only with the window mouldings. On the exterior, work on the surface remained; the slate roof tiles had been acquired but had not yet been mounted; the foundations needed rendering and the exterior had yet to be painted.<sup>120</sup>

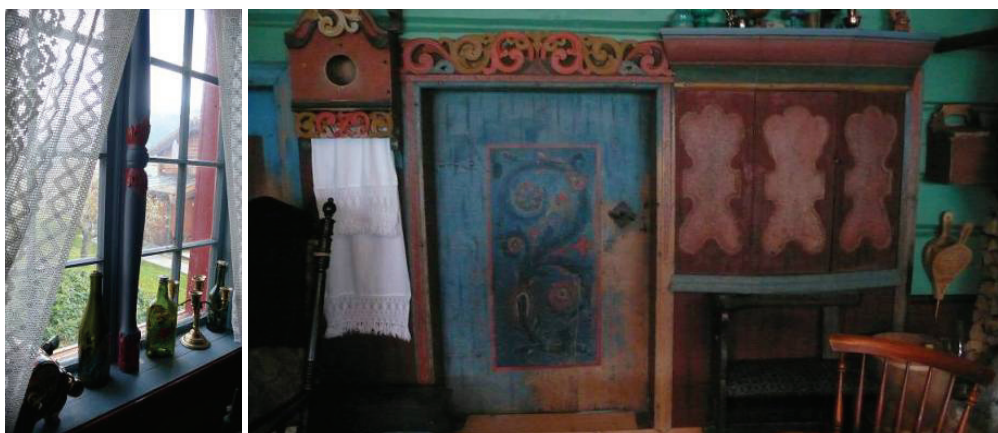


Figure 15-16: The interior, Krogstad Søre: window and door to the larger chamber. The windows had been changed in 1901. In 1956 the older type with the decorative crafted mullions was reconstructed on the basis of a similar room in a nearby farm. The walls were painted in the late 1950s by a local painter and the owner on the instructions of *Riksantikvaren*'s restoration assistant. Decorated surfaces were not repainted. (Photograph MB 2008)

<sup>118</sup> ”Utvendig kledning er av brede, pene bord. For å unngå misbruk av detaljer er utformingen enkel (...) hvis vinduer og peiser blir riktig utført, vil resultatet bli helt tilfredsstillende.” Vreim (1956 - 11)

<sup>119</sup> “Bygningens ytre vil bli bedre enn noe annet nytt eller nyere hus i Skjåk og Lom.” Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Vreim (1959 - 4)



Figure 17-18. Interior of the *stugu* with cupboard, main entrance and door to the smaller chamber before (top) and after reconstruction. This section of the house was completely disassembled, rebuilt with *laftevatt* (fabric chinking) instead of moss between the timber logs. The interior was restored by a local painter on the instructions of *Riksantikvaren*'s restoration assistant Ola Quale. The wall paint, green, is from the late 1950s, based on the original colour. The doors and fixed furniture do not seem to have been touched. The rooms are an integral part of the house in 2008, but not in daily use. Right: (right). Photo Halvor Vreim ©Riksantikvaren (Archive B123). Photo MB 2008



Figure 19-20. The old fireplace in the Krogstad *stugu* (left) and the new fireplace as it was reconstructed in 1956 (right). Vreim's specifications were: "Even if the new chimney is placed behind the fireplace, the fireplaces must not be altered upon reconstruction. This also relates to the character of the rendering of the overmantel. As much as possible of the old stone is to be re-used."<sup>121</sup> The photo of the room before the relocation shows that an iron stove had been fitted by the old open fireplace, with a hazardous stack penetrating the wooden ceiling. These furnishings were not included when the room was reconstructed; it was restored to a previous phase. In the right hand corner can be glimpsed the bed fixed to the wall, which was noted missing by Vreim upon his first visit, and reconstructed after the building was moved. Under this room the owner built his basement garage, with the entrance gates directly under the window. (Photographs: Halvor Vreim ©Riksantikvaren, and MB 2008)

### *Funding*

The total sum granted by *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* (DAB) was 10 000 Norwegian kroner. Half of the sum, 5000 kroner, was paid out to the owner in November 1956, before the work was quite completed.<sup>122</sup> An additional registered conservation agreement was required by *Riksantikvaren*, (*tinglyst Fredningsavtale*), a usual practice in cases where larger grants for restoration work had been made.<sup>123</sup> Another 4000 kroner was paid in February 1957 upon the completion of the old rooms which were part of the original listed buildings, with fireplaces, ceiling, windows and window mouldings in the old rooms. The remaining 1000 kroner was to be withheld until the work was entirely finished.<sup>124</sup> This was paid out one month after Vreim's inspection in April 1959 to help the owner complete the final tasks on the building.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>121</sup> "Selv om pipa er plassert bak peisen må denne og peisen i kleven ikke forandres under oppsettingen. Det gjelder også karakteren i pussen som peiskappene er forsynt med. Mest mulig av den gamle stein brukes på nytt." Vreim (1955 - 2 - 11)

<sup>122</sup> Vreim (1956 - 11 - 14)

<sup>123</sup> The agreement was sent for registration with the District Recorder, *Nord-Gudbrandsdal sorenskriverembede*, in November 1956. Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Owner (1956 - 2 - 8); Vreim (1957 - 2 - 4)

<sup>125</sup> Vreim (1959 - 5 - 19)

### *Krogstad after 1959*

The 1958 façade photograph of Krogstad shows the house in a near completed state. The old section of the house has exposed timber, while the remaining building was boarded and painted red, while the windows and trimming were white. In the 1950s the owner had expressed a wish to insulate and mount boarding on the exterior of the whole building. Vreim objected to this in a letter in 1955, claiming that the timber must remain exposed in the exterior, and there is no evidence that he later approved otherwise. In 1956 Vreim expressed contentment with the work which had been done on the timber walls: “There is really no fault to be found with the reconstruction and repair of the old timber walls.”<sup>126</sup> At some point after the 1958 photograph, the owner mounted wind-proofing and boarding on the exterior timber walls of the three old rooms. The house was eventually painted white and the windows red, which was the reverse of the 1950s colour scheme.<sup>127</sup> [Figure 14, 22] There is no evidence that *Riksantikvaren* was consulted on these matters.

The façade work observed in 2008 included new windows in all parts of the house except the three old rooms. The new windows were wooden with insulated glass, pivot hinges and mock glazing bars. Exterior mouldings and trimming was Swiss-Style inspired, while a terrace on the south side of the building had been given a design reminiscent of the post and lintel porticos of traditional Gudbrandsdalen dwellings.<sup>128</sup>

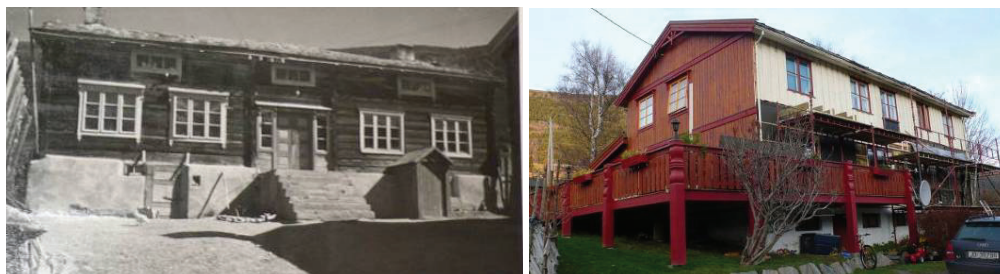


Figure 21-22: Krogstad photographed in 1953 in its old plot before the oldest section was relocated (left). The rest of the building was probably demolished. Krogstad undergoing modernization in 2008 (right). The photos both show the same façade although from slightly different angles; the old rooms are in the right hand part of the building. (Photographs Halvor Vreim ©Riksantikvaren and MB 2008)

<sup>126</sup> “Det er egentlig ikke noe å utsette på oppsettingen og istandsettingen av de gamle tømmerveggene.” Vreim (1956 - 11)

<sup>127</sup> There was no documentation of these changes in Riksantikvaren’s archive. The wind-proofing sheet was of an older type, exposed during façade rehabilitation in 2008. During this renovation the exterior was completely renewed, with the exception of the windows in the old section.

<sup>128</sup> The work which was in progress in 2008 had not been assessed by the county council, as is required for work on all listed buildings. One could pose the question whether the exterior from the 1950s, whose design was strongly promoted and applauded by the conservation authorities at the time through Halvor Vreim, would in 2008 have been considered worthy of preserving in its material authenticity as a significant contribution to the building’s history.

### *Summary*

When the main building at Krogstad was listed in 1923, there is little doubt that the part of the building with “historical and artistic interest” (as the Built Heritage Act specified as grounds for listing), was the three oldest rooms with a decorated interior from 1811. But since no specifications were made which stated exactly what the listing comprised, the designation formally implicated the entire house including an addition from 1901. Twenty years after the listing, the Krogstad farm became a candidate for agrarian re-structuring, which implied that the farm had to be re-established on a new plot. *Riksantikvaren* were overruled by the agrarian authorities in the discussions over the destiny of the listed building; it had to be moved. The owner expressed no interest in the building which he stated to be outdated and in bad shape. He proposed selling it, a suggestion *Riksantikvaren* opposed. Instead, negotiations began to have the building re-erected in a new plot, a process which was concluded when the three rooms from 1811 were moved to become a section in a new and modern home.

The Krogstad house received a substantial grant from *Riksantikvaren* and DAB’s fund for listed buildings. This was a restoration grant but also a tool to steer the process of reconstruction and the design of the new house. Relocation, and of one section of the building only, was not what the conservation authorities wanted, but it was accepted, apparently without discussions on matters of principle.

The design of the 1956 Krogstad building which incorporated the old rooms was, as a whole, typical of Norwegian single-home architecture in the 1950s: an oblong two-storied clad building on in some places high concrete foundations, with a gentle saddle roof and almost square windows. Following Vreim’s wish, the old section had exposed timber. Vreim had proposed small-paned windows for the whole house, and lower foundations. The owner argued to have more modern windows and a full basement with a garage, and also built the house this way, against Vreim’s advice. Still, Vreim expressed satisfaction with the result, and applauded the simplicity and neutrality of the details like the wooden wall cladding and mouldings, which he himself had specified. He applauded the lack of “abuse of details”, stating the house was better than any other new building in the valley. Not long after the house was completed the old timber section was wind-proofed and boarded, and *Riksantikvaren* was not consulted on the matter. Earlier in the process Vreim had claimed that exposed timber was a significant demonstration that this was a listed building.



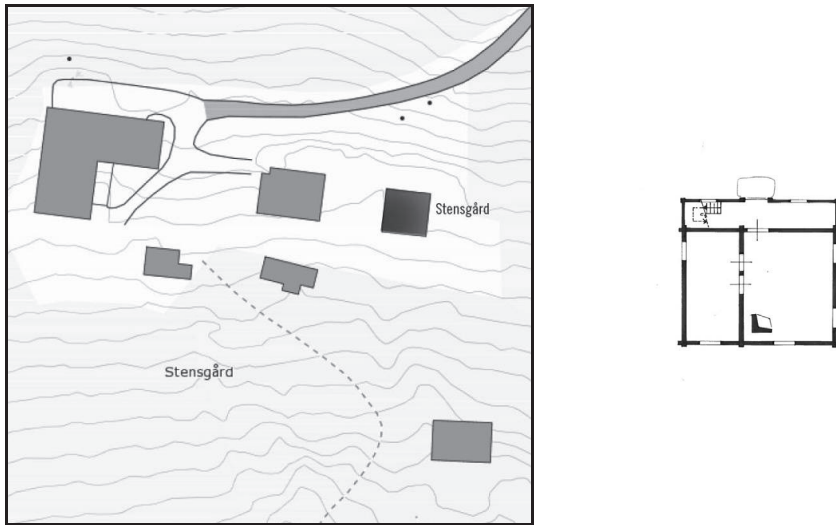


Figure 23-24: Stensgård site plan (left) and floor plan (right), (August Schmidt 2010)

#### 4.2.2 Gammelstua Stensgård, Skjåk 1941-1978 (2001)

The listed old main dwelling at Stensgård is one of the larger main buildings on Skjåk farms from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was listed as a single building in 1941. A photograph from Stensgård by Johan Meyer from 1909 shows the old dwelling situated in the close proximity of two other buildings, a second younger dwelling and, close to the southern end wall, what was most likely a utilities building. None of these exist today; the younger dwelling was replaced by a new house in 1986. Two older storage buildings (*bur*) which have been built together are the only other buildings in the farmyard which still remain from this time. Three 19th century utilities buildings elsewhere on the property still stand, including a smithy and small mill.<sup>129</sup>

##### *The old Stensgård dwelling*

The old Stensgård dwelling has not been accurately dated. It was originally a one-storey building, and parts of the building are said to be from the 17th century. A representative of the Maihaugen museum suggested that a known church builder named Ole Rasmussen Hole may have been the builder of Gammelstua at Stensgård, a piece of information which has since not been verified nor disputed.<sup>130</sup> The dwelling is known to have been rebuilt in 1774, which is most likely when the building attained its current size. This date is carved in the ridge purlin

<sup>129</sup> The listing was registered/recorded October 8<sup>th</sup> 1941. The Meyer photograph, from Riksantikvaren's archive, is not dated but probably from 1909 when Meyer surveyed Stensgård. Engen (1992) pp 80-81

<sup>130</sup> Letter from De Sandvigske Samlinger – Maihaugen December 6<sup>th</sup> 1979 *Besiktigelse av bygningsarbeider på Steinsgard, Skjåk*. Riksantikvaren (RA-) Archive

(*mønsås*) of the house along with the initials of Christen Hanssen Stensgård, who took over the running of the farm in the 1760s.<sup>131</sup>

The building was erected as a notched log construction, extended over two storeys with a saddle roof. The roof was grass-thatched in Meyer's 1909 photograph. The main façade has a two-storey *sval*, a portico or external gallery. The Stensgård *sval* has carved posts on each corner and at the entrance. Such galleries are characteristic architectural elements of the northern Gudbrandsdalen vernacular. Historian Arnfinn Engen writes:

"The galleries we find on the old dwellings in Northern Gudbrandsdalen are maybe their most characteristic element (...) the best galleries have been designed with a strong and sure sense of style. It is in the design of the galleries that we find the fine combination of the aesthetic and practical."<sup>132</sup>

As was also the case with Krogstad, no statement on Stensgårds's significance or value was prepared to explain why it was listed. We can assume that the relatively large size of the building, along with the elaborately carved features of the *sval*, were aesthetic and architectural features which were considered significant. Another feature is the presence of a large soapstone fireplace in the main room. Johann Meyer drew the Stensgård fireplace in 1909 and published the drawing in *Fortids kunst i Norges bygder* as an example of the many "...well crafted soapstone fireplaces which are found on almost every farm in Skjåaaak."<sup>133</sup> For Meyer, the fireplace was one of the elements crafted with care, skill and artistry, making it worthy of documenting. Both the fireplace's artistic element and its documentation by Meyer contributed to the building's status as an object for listing.

The ground floor plan of old Stensgård consisted of one large room and two smaller chambers, *klever*, to the side. This was a typical *akershusian* plan, according to the typology of Eilert Sundt. The rooms on the upstairs level were accessible from the gallery. In the large downstairs room the large, decoratively crafted soapstone fireplace adorned the south-eastern corner. Meyer dated the fireplace to 1770. The builder was in this case not known, but Meyer mentioned one local oven-builder (*ovnsætter*) who was renowned for his skill at the time.<sup>134</sup> The room also contained a cupboard carved by a known local carver.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Engen (1992) p 80

<sup>132</sup> "Svalene og svalgangen vi finn på dei gamle våningshusa i Nord-Gudbrandsdal er kanskje dei elementa som mest karakteriserer desse husa (...) dei beste svalene er laga med ei sterk og sikker stilkjensle. Nett i utforminga av svalene finn vi ei fin samansmelting av det estetiske og det praktiske." Ibid. p 23

<sup>133</sup> "Velgjorte klæberstenspeiser træffes næsten paa hver gaard i Skjaak." Meyer (1977) p 30

<sup>134</sup> "En særlig dygtig ovnsætter var Ola Nilsen Rudser (Vangsbakken)". Ibid. p 35

<sup>135</sup> The cupboard was carved by Ola Bræk (1749-1833). Engen (1992) p 80

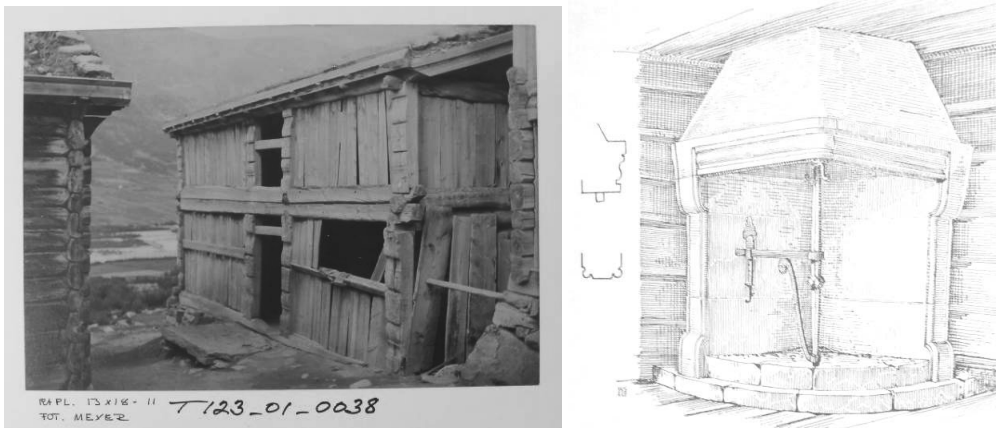


Figure 25-26. Stensgård, photograph by Johan Meyer of the exterior in 1909 (left) and drawing of the fireplace also by Johan Meyer, 1904. (Riksantikvaren archive; original drawing at *Norsk Folkemuseum*)

In Meyer’s 1909 photograph the gallery was a closed plank wall with openings. A photograph from 1925 [Figure 25] captured the gallery fitted with three windows, and a door in the previously open entrance. The house had also been wired with electricity. Otherwise the building had not been visibly altered on the exterior; the windows in the notched section of the building were of the small-paned type which was common in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the reflections in the photograph show that the panes had the uneven surface typical of hand crafted glass. There is no evidence that the building was further altered between 1925 and the early 1940s, which means the 1925 photograph shows the building as it must have appeared at the time it was listed.

Architect and antiquarian Halvor Vreim wrote a short description of the old Stensgård dwelling in 1940:

“Steinsgard in Skjåk. It has two storeys with a gallery on the front façade. The log walls are said to be 17<sup>th</sup> century, while the roof probably is from 1774. The year is inscribed on the purlin. In the gallery walls windows have been fitted.”<sup>136</sup>

This note was written at the time the building was up for listing. It was based on given information; Vreim at the time expressed that he did not know the name of the owner. In May

<sup>136</sup> “Steinsgard i Skjåk. Den har to etasjer med svalgang på framsida. Tømmerveggene er visstnok fra 1600-årene, mens taket antagelig er fra 1774. Årstallet står innskrevet på mønsåsen. I svalveggen er innsatt vinduer.” Note signed H.V. February 1940. RA archive

1956 Vreim filed the following description of the building, this time based on his own observations:

“It has two storeys, a gallery along the front façade , a protruding second storey at the back, a sitting room and two chambers. Upstairs there are two rooms. The largest is furnished. The other room is furnished and partly clad. In the main room there is the fireplace and a cupboard (*framskap*), not of the best. In the interior there is otherwise little of interest. The house is constructed from large timber. The log ends are oval and conical. O.J. Ødegår presumes that it was built by Kristen Bråkje, born 1599, deceased in the 1660s. If this is the case, this accounts for the timber walls and purlins and sections of the gallery. The house has a dilapidated roof, the foundations are damaged by frost and the bottom log under the upper gable wall is below ground. It is not listed.”<sup>137</sup>

This was the first recorded visit by a *Riksantikvaren* employee to Gammelstua. There is no mention of whether the building was inhabited at the time. According to the present owners (2008) the building stood uninhabited “after the war” (Second World War).<sup>138</sup> After Vreim’s visit there was no documented contact with *Riksantikvaren* over the next ten years. There is also no indication that the building received any form of treatment during this time.

#### *Repair plans 1967*

In 1967 the owner applied for a grant to perform necessary repairs on the building.<sup>139</sup> This was the start of a process which was concluded a decade later with the reassembly of the building a few metres east of its original plot. Moving the building was not originally part of the plan. A cost estimate from 1969 which was prepared by a local builder on behalf of the owner, proposed only repairs. This work plan targeted the roof and foundations, which were those parts of the building Vreim had commented on as being in bad shape in 1957. The planned treatment in 1969 was to build new concrete foundations and a new, insulated roof to replace the existing sod roof which must have been the same roof Meyer photographed in

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<sup>137</sup> “Den har to etasjer, svalgang langs framside, sprang i bakveggen, stuerom og to klever. I 2. etasje er to rom. Det største er innredet. Det andre er innredet og delvis forsynt med faspanel. I hovedrommet står peisen og et framskap, ikke av de beste. Innvendig for øvrig er lite av interesse. Huset er bygd av stort tømmer. Laftehodene er ovale og koniske. O.J. Ødegår antar at den er bygd av Kristen Bråkje, f. 1599, d. 1660 årene. I så fall gjelder det tømmerveggene og takåsene og litt av svalgangen. Stuen har dårlig tak, grunnmuren brytes av telen og svilla under øvre gavlvegg ligger i jorda. Den er ikke fredet.” Note from Halvor Vreim May 1956 *Stugu, Stensgård, Skjåk. Eier: Per Stensgård*. The last sentence is curious. “Svalgangsbygningen på Steinsgård” was suggested listed in 1940 and letters were sent out to *lensmannen* (the District Sheriff) and *ordføreren* (the Major) in Skjåk in March 1940 to notify that the building was suggested for listing, as was the standard procedure. By 1941 no reply had been received (Letter from Riksantikvaren signed H.V. (Halvor Vreim) to *lensmann* in Skjåk *Steinsgård* 1941); yet the building was recorded as listed October 10<sup>th</sup> 1941. RA archive

<sup>138</sup> Conversation with present owners at Stensgård, October 2008.

<sup>139</sup> According to the owner this process was started in the early 1960s. Ibid.

1909. The foundations were to be clad with natural stone above ground for visual effect. The owner wanted slate roofing, while *Riksantikvaren* wanted a new sod roof, laid on *Eternit* fibre cement boards.<sup>140</sup> They could provide a grant for repairs the next year, but no work was begun on the building. In 1972 new cost estimates were prepared by the owner to show that the sum granted in 1970 was no longer sufficient to begin work because of cost increase. When a *Riksantikvaren* representative visited the building in October 1975 it was concluded that "...restoration is urgent".<sup>141</sup> In February the following year *Riksantikvaren* prepared a report where necessary measures for the building were discussed. It was suggested that the building might have to be taken down in connection with repairs, and also proposed that solutions for a new kitchen and bathroom were designed to make the building more functional:

"...it is possible that the building may be put to use as an additional dwelling, but whoever is to reside here, it must be considered whether it would be practical in connection with an eventual dismantling and reconstruction of the building (...) to sketch plans for the fitting of a kitchen and a toilet."<sup>142</sup>

This is the first time dismantling of the building is mentioned, for the sake of performing repairs. There were suggestions that the building might find use as a home for the retired farmer (*kårbolig*). Although there were no definite plans for the use of the building, *Riksantikvaren* and the owner still entered into a dialogue to upgrade the standard. The following discussions demonstrate that, from *Riksantikvaren*'s point of view, putting the building to use for the owners was the best guarantee for its continued existence.

#### *Relocation 1978*

In 1978 the listed old dwelling at Stensgård was taken down to be repositioned on the property some metres to the east. The reasons the owner gave for wishing to relocate the entire building were difficult soil mechanics. He also wanted more space between the two dwellings on the farm, Gammelstua which stood inhabited, and the younger dwelling which had been modernized in the 1950s and where he himself lived. *Riksantikvaren* agreed that the building could be moved "one house width" to the east. This would trigger necessary repairs, of which the building was increasingly in need. *Riksantikvaren* later wrote:

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<sup>140</sup> Cost estimate from builder J.R. Sveen January 28th 1969. RA archive

<sup>141</sup> "Restaurering haster". *Rapport fra Gudbrandsdalsreise October 20. and 21st 1975*

<sup>142</sup> "...det kan være mulig at huset blir tatt i bruk som kårbolig, men uansett hvem som kommer til å bo der, bør det vurderes om det kan være praktisk for eventuell nedtaking og nyoppsetting av huset (...) å skissere løsninger for innredningen av kjøkken og toalettrom" *Rapport fra befaring* Feb. 21st 1976, sign. Inger Ullern. RA archive

“From the early 1970s there were several alarming reports that the owner of Steinsgård let the listed building fall into disrepair. In 1975 the purlin was close to falling down. The roof had large, open holes after the wooden under-roof and sod fell onto the floor of the upstairs rooms.”<sup>143</sup>

While Vreim’s description from 1957 merely noted the roof and foundations were “bad”, the account from 1975 describes a building in a state of advanced decay. *Riksantikvaren* granted a sum to ensure that the building was secured before the owner took it down; subsequently they agreed to cover the cost of “full exterior repair” of the building.<sup>144</sup> The poor state of the building over time must have contributed to acceptance for relocating the building, which was not an ideal solution from a conservation point of view, and to the fact that *Riksantikvaren* also contributed financially to the process.

#### *Restoration 1978-80*

The old Stensgård dwelling’s log construction was disassembled and rebuilt on new foundations as planned, a few metres east of its original plot. A “full outer repair” included replacement of wooden building parts, the fitting of a new roof, plus the crafting of new windows. The gallery was also taken down and must also have undergone repairs, although this is not mentioned in the correspondence or cost estimates.

*The foundations* for the building were made of cast concrete underground, with visible sections in natural stone, and accommodated a full cellar.<sup>145</sup>

*The main construction* of the building had been dismantled log by log, and was reassembled with decayed logs replaced by fresh ones. These new logs were the sills and part of the eastern wall. (One of the sills, the owner recounts, was quite hollow, and the shell of the old log was used to cover a fresh log; this is still visible.<sup>146</sup>) Between the logs glass fibre insulation *laftevatt* was used, as a substitute for the traditional moss.<sup>147</sup> Most floor beams were replaced. Insulation was placed between the storeys where there had previously been

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<sup>143</sup> “Fra begynnelsen av 1970-årene innløp flere alarmerende meldinger om at eieren på Steinsgård lot fredet hovedbygning forfalle. I 1975 var mønsåsen i ferd med å falle ned. Taket hadde store åpne hull etter at bordtro og torv falt ned på 2. etasjes gulv.” Letter from Riksantikvaren to owner’s lawyer May 4th 1983 *Stensgård, gnr 14 bnr 1, Elektrisk Installasjon*. RA archive

<sup>144</sup> Letter from Riksantikvaren to the owner November 27th 1980 *Utbeteling av tilskott*; “full ytre istandsettelse (...) Vi regner med å bekoste gjennomføring av råbygget inkludert ny grunnmur, mens innredningen blir eierens sak”. Letter from Riksantikvaren to the owner March 3rd 1982 *Kompensasjon*. RA archive

<sup>145</sup> The builder’s description of the foundations are poured concrete, with natural stone facing the exterior above ground. Letter from builder to Riksantikvaren July 11th 1978. RA archive

<sup>146</sup> Information from the present owner, October 2008

<sup>147</sup> *Kostnadsoverslag for gjenstående restaureringsarbeide på fredet hovedbygning* March 1st 1979 from owner addressed Riksantikvaren. RA archive

clay insulation<sup>148</sup>; a total of 49 rolls of Glava glass wool insulation were used for the building<sup>149</sup>



Figure 27-28: Photograph Stensgård ca 1925-30 “S.S.” (top) and 1978 (bottom). (Riksantikvaren archive; unknown ©Riksantikvaren)

*The roof* was re-laid with sod. The old roof material which consisted of a wooden plank under-roof, several layers of birch bark and earth and grass, was removed.<sup>150</sup> All purlins were replaced with fresh logs with the exception of two, and a new wooden under-roof

<sup>148</sup> Information from the present owner, October 2008.

<sup>149</sup> *Kostnadsoverslag for gjenstående restaureringsarbeide på fredet hovedbygning* March 1st 1979 from owner addressed Riksantikvaren. RA archive

<sup>150</sup> Information from the present owner, October 2008.

mounted. According to the present owner the roof was then insulated with 5cm *Isopor* expanded polystyrene boards and covered with tar paper and textured polypropylene plastic sheet as an underlay for the earth roof.<sup>151</sup> Birch bark was mounted where it was visible, “alongside the gable boards and the sod-hold.”<sup>152</sup> The gable bargeboards and sod-holds were newly crafted.

New *windows* were specially crafted for the whole building. According to the owner, the windows which were discarded were slightly larger than the present ones, and had an extra inner frame which could be mounted for winter.<sup>153</sup> The owner ordered new windows which were assessed and in the first instance not accepted by *Riksantikvaren* on the grounds that the design was not close enough to the existing windows. The builder subsequently wrote and agreed to make windows which were to be “... as close to the originals as possible.”<sup>154</sup> The new windows were described as “double glazed with small panes”, in all 13 were ordered.<sup>155</sup> The exterior mouldings were new, their design not based on the previous ones which the 1925 photograph show to be quite plain. The mouldings were, according to the owner, “...something the carpenter came up with.”<sup>156</sup>

*The fireplace* was to be reconstructed in its previous design with a new chimney. The original soapstone elements of the jambs and mantel were reused. Whether stone materials from the overmantel were re-used, is not documented in *Riksantikvaren*'s case file. The design of the fireplace today is similar to the original, although the overmantel has a rounded shape whereas in Meyer's 1909 drawing the surface is slanted but in a straight line.<sup>157</sup> *Riksantikvaren*'s archive contains no photographic documentation of the new interior or the fireplace.

The discussions recorded regarding *the gallery* concerned the entrance doorway and where to place the internal staircase. The owner wished to fit a new door in the doorway and *Riksantikvaren* accepted this on the grounds that the opening was already fitted with a door. A reversion to the situation which Meyer documented in 1909, where the gallery was open to the weather, was never discussed. The stairs inside the gallery had been dismantled with the

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<sup>151</sup> Knotted polypropylene sheets or *knotteplast* are a common underlay for sod roofs today. Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> “..langs torvol og vindskier..” Letter from owner to Riksantikvaren December 6th 1979. RA archive

<sup>153</sup> These windows were not the building's original, which were supposedly smaller. At one point the building had stained glass windows which were sold to the Maihaugen museum. Information from the present owner, October 2008.

<sup>154</sup> “så nær opptil de opprinnelige som mulig...” Letter from builder to Riksantikvaren July 11th 1978 *Grunnmur og vinduer*. RA archive

<sup>155</sup> “koblet m små ruter”. *Kostnadsoverslag for gjenstående restaureringsarbeide på fredet hovedbygning* March 1st 1979 from owner addressed Riksantikvaren. RA archive

<sup>156</sup> “... noe snekkeren fant på.” Information from owner, Stensgård October 2008

<sup>157</sup> Riksantikvaren note *Befaring 4. september 1980*. RA archive



rest of the building, and were to be rebuilt in the same place as previously. As such, they blocked a section of the notched wall where a previous doorway at one time had been closed off by fitting log timber in the opening to complete the wall. The owner expressed wishes to re-open this older doorway. *Riksantikvaren* declared that preserving the staircase, which was part of the “old fittings” was essential and rejected this proposition.<sup>158</sup>

The relocation and repairs of the old Stensgård dwelling in 1978-80 was done by a local builder and the owner, who fitted doors and windows, mounted mouldings and rendered the fireplace. *Riksantikvaren* expressed satisfaction with the result as a whole, declaring the work had been “executed in a very satisfactory way” upon visiting the building in 1980.<sup>159</sup> The work which was done on the old Stensgård dwelling in 1978-80 can be described as repairs with elements of modernization; the latter with regards to the relocation, the new full basement, improved heat insulation and a retrofit of the electrical system, and use of materials like glass wool, plastic sheeting and concrete.

### *Funding*

The first sum *Riksantikvaren* granted for the repair of the old Stensgård dwelling was 6000 Norwegian kroner. This was in 1970, and based on a cost estimate for necessary repairs. In 1972 the cost estimate was stated to be 34 000 kroner, and the owner stated that the grant would not be a sufficient contribution.<sup>160</sup> Work was postponed, and when a new estimate was prepared in 1976 the estimated costs for repairs had risen to the sum of 77 000 kroner.<sup>161</sup> In 1978 the decision was made to repair the building and at the same time relocate it onto new foundations. For this *Riksantikvaren* gave an initial grant of 10 000 kroner for initial repairs to secure the building. A second grant was then promised for the reassembly and for necessary repairs, after the building had been taken down by the owner. *Riksantikvaren*'s grant covered the cost of laying the roof, and the making of windows and indoor floors. Having agreed to cover the cost of “full ytre istandsettelse” of the building, the total sum of *Riksantikvaren*'s grant amounted to 433 000 kroner.<sup>162</sup> When the owners through their lawyers filed an

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<sup>158</sup> ”Dersom tilbakeføring av tidligere inngangssituasjon medfører at nåværende gammel innredning i svaler (f.eks trapp) ikke kan brukes, er dette et argument mot at døra flyttes tilbake.” Letter from *Riksantikvaren* to owner January 30th 1980 *Inngangsforhold i fredet bygning*. RA archive

<sup>159</sup> “...utført på en svært god måte.” *Riksantikvaren* note *Befaring 4. september 1980*. RA archive

<sup>160</sup> With this grant, a preservation agreement (*fredningsavtale*) had to be signed. Letter from owner to *Riksantikvaren* June 24th 1972 *Vedr. Hovedbygning på Stensgård, Skjåk*. RA archive

<sup>161</sup> *Rapport fra befaring* February 21st 1976, sign. Inger Ullern. RA archive

<sup>162</sup> Letter from *Riksantikvaren* to the owner November 27th 1980 *Utbeteling av tilskott*; “Vi regner med å bekoste gjennomføring av råbygget inkludert ny grunnmur, mens innredningen blir eierens sak”: Letter from *Riksantikvaren* to the owner March 3rd 1982 *Kompensasjon*. RA archive

additional claim to cover the retrofit of the electrical system (the old electrical wiring was from before 1925), claiming this must be considered part of what could be defined as “full outer repairs”, *Riksantikvaren* refused. The owner stated that *Riksantikvaren* must take on the formal responsibility of builder, a claim that was rejected. Although the cost of the relocation and repairs had been covered almost entirely through a public grant, the owner was also the builder and the responsible party for closing the accounts, *Riksantikvaren* explicitly stated.<sup>163</sup>



Figure 29-30: Stensgård relocated on new foundations, concrete underground and natural stone above, in 1978-80 (left) and in 2008. (Photograph unknown©Riksantikvaren and MB 2008)

#### *The built context of Gammelstua*

When work on the old Stensgård dwelling was finished in 1980, this was the only 18<sup>th</sup> century building which still existed on the farm, the other six buildings were from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the farmyard there was the younger dwelling from 1892, the two storage buildings (*bur*) and a stable. Outside the farmyard there was a smithy (*smie*), a small mill (*bekkekevern*) and a grain drying hut (*tørrstuggu*). These buildings had no statutory protection. At the time of the listing of Gammelstua in 1941 its context was not mentioned. In 1980 *Riksantikvaren* advised Stensgård’s owner to apply for grants for necessary repairs of the 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings on the farm, which indicates that the conservation authorities now viewed the context of the listed building as significant.<sup>164</sup>

When the old Stensgård dwelling was repaired after decades of accelerating decay, there were no immediate plans to inhabit the building; instead the owners launched plans to build a new dwelling in the farmyard. In 1981 *Riksantikvaren* was consulted and rejected blueprints from prefabrication housing firm Nøkkelhus.<sup>165</sup> [Figure 31] New blueprints were

<sup>163</sup> Letter from Riksantikvaren to owner’s lawyer May 4th 1983 *Stensgård, gnr 14 bnr 1, Elektrisk Installasjon*.

<sup>164</sup> Brev from Riksantikvaren to the owner June 9th 1980 *Restaurering av bygninger*. RA archive

<sup>165</sup> “Nøkkelhus” blueprints signed A.H. 24.1.81. RA archive

prepared in 1984, this time by a firm of architects in Oslo, which proposed demolishing the 1892-dwelling and building a new house in line with the two storage buildings.<sup>166</sup> This farmyard layout was not acceptable to *Riksantikvaren*, who signalled that the storage buildings would be listed if necessary to prevent them from being moved, rebuilt or otherwise compromised. The house design itself was however considered appropriate. The architects had proposed the concept of a *ramloft*, a building with a one-storey main section joined with a two-storey gabled section.<sup>167</sup> The plans were reworked so that the *ramloft* house was to be built as an extension of the existing 1892 dwelling, not a new house in a new plot. The first blueprints for this solution showed an extension in the direction of the listed building [Figure 32]. If carried out, this would revoke the desired effect of more space between the buildings, which had been a heavyweight argument for having the listed building moved in the first place! *Riksantikvaren* opposed, and argued that the extension to the 1892 dwelling must be placed on the opposite side of the 1892 dwelling, away from the listed building.<sup>168</sup> The plans were reworked again to accommodate this objection, and the extension was placed on the reverse side.<sup>169</sup> The local building authorities disapproved of the concept of building an addition to the old building:

“The building authorities will not approve the planned building. Finds it too ugly, rather wishes to demolish the old building and build a new house. Wants a *ramloft* dwelling – but nicer looking”.<sup>170</sup>

Against *Riksantikvaren*'s advice, but without further protest the 1892 dwelling was eventually demolished and a new house erected. This was the preferred solution of both the owners and the local building authorities.

#### *Modernization (1990 – 2001)*

In the early 1990s, the next generation on the farm moved into the building and further plans for Gammelstua were made. These plans will not be discussed in detail here, but paraphrased to conclude the ‘history’ of the listed building.

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<sup>166</sup> Situation plan (copy) with comments by FL 25/4-84. RA archive

<sup>167</sup> Façade and plan blueprints (copy) “Hus Vågå skisseforslag” 15.3.84. Terjesen Kjellstad Horn arkitekter mnal.

<sup>168</sup> Letter from Riksantikvaren to owner May 13<sup>th</sup> 1985 *Nytt våningshus*. RA archive

<sup>169</sup> Blueprints (copy) Hus Stensgård Plan, snitt, fasader 1:100 Terjesen Kjellstad Horn 4.6.84 .

<sup>170</sup> “Bygningsmyndighetene vil ikke godkjenne den foreslåtte ombyggingen. Synes det er for stygt, vil heller rive det gamle og la bygge et nytt på det gamles grunnmur. Ønsker ramloftstue – men penere”. Note from a telephone conversation between Riksantikvaren's representative and Teknisk Sjef, Skjåk, Oct. 24<sup>th</sup> 1984. RA archive

Gammelstua was inhabited from the mid 1990s, and for this purpose a bathroom and running water were fitted in the basement<sup>171</sup>; this was, however, no satisfactory long-term solution, especially as there was no internal staircase in the building. The different levels of the building were reached through the gallery which had an outdoor temperature. To bring the building up to the living standards of a young family, two alternative propositions were discussed: conversions within the boundaries of the existing building, or a larger addition [Figure 33]. One proposal involved building a separate section joined to the listed dwelling by a small, closed passage. Although this solution would visually affect the context of the farmyard and building, it was endorsed by the conservation authorities as it would prevent larger modifications in the fabric of the listed building.<sup>172</sup> The other proposal involved conversion and heat insulation of the gallery to make this an integral part of the living space. This plan was initially rejected by the conservation authorities. Following the rejection, the organizations *Norsk Kulturarv* and *Foreninga for eigare av Freda Hus i Nord-Gudbrandsdal* filed a complaint on behalf of the owners. The complaint was on a point of principle, arguing that the conservation authorities' reasoning for the rejection was insufficient and that not enough effort had been made to respect the owner's wishes. The letter also criticised the conservation authorities for proposing solutions without being asked, and which were not wanted. After a meeting on site with all involved parties a compromise was reached, and the plans were executed on the condition that all modifications to the building were to be *reversible*. Insulation of the gallery required dispensation from the 1978 Cultural Heritage Act (§15a), and this was finally given on the grounds that the building needed to be in use.<sup>173</sup>

“...it is the wish of conservation authorities that it should still be possible to use the house as a dwelling and that it should meet satisfactory contemporary requirements for housing.”<sup>174</sup>

The county stated that the solution of insulating the gallery did not necessarily preclude an eventual future addition to the building, but recommended that the family test the present solution before making further plans. An insulated gallery would provide the house with an internal stairway to reach the basement and upper storey. A bathroom was installed in the

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<sup>171</sup> Information from the present owner, October 2008.

<sup>172</sup> The conservation authority which dealt with these plans was the Oppland County. The documentation present in Riksantikvaren's archives documents that the county consulted Riksantikvaren in the matter.

<sup>173</sup> Letter from *Norsk Kulturarv* and *Foreninga for eigare av Freda hus i Gudbrandsdalen* to Riksantikvaren; Letter from Oppland fylkeskommune to the owner September 2<sup>nd</sup> 2001 *Stensgård, gnr. 14, bnr 1, Skjåk kommune, vedr. klage/ny søknad om dispensasjon etter knl. §15A*. RA archive

<sup>174</sup> “...det er ønskelig fra vernemyndighetenes side at bygningen fortsatt skal kunne brukes som bolig og ha en tilfredsstillende standard etter dagens krav.” Letter from Oppland fylkeskommune... Ibid.

upstairs part of the gallery, and for wall insulation sheets of building paper, 10 cm of Glava glass wool insulation, plastic and inner wood panels were added to the inside of the previously un-insulated wooden cladding. The exterior panel itself was renewed; a new upstairs window in a previous opening inserted, and the existing door replaced with a new insulated door. The gallery had been largely renewed when the building was moved in 1978; new exterior cladding was now required to be smooth (in effect planed) and without surface treatment<sup>175</sup> (inside the main downstairs room the owners removed paint from the walls to expose the natural wood<sup>176</sup>). The lightweight wall which had separated the two chambers was removed to accommodate the new kitchen.



Figure 31-33: Adaptation architecture. Proposition for a new house in the farmyard at the Stensgård farm from 1981 by the housing firm Nøkkelhus (left). This solution involved demolishing an existing dwelling from 1892, neighbour of the listed building. The alternative presented in 1984 (centre) was to extend and rebuild the existing 1892-dwelling. The extension was designed in traditional *ramloft* style to fit with the historic farmyard and listed building, design by architect Horn April 4<sup>th</sup> 1984. The listed Stensgård building was newly repaired but not inhabited at the time when these plans were discussed. Proposal for an addition to Gammelstua from 2001 (right) endorsed in principle by the county conservation authorities. The signature on the drawing is illegible. (Riksantikvaren archive)



Figure 34-35. Stensgård farm in the 1970s (left) with Gammelstua to the left, the dwelling from 1892 centre and the two joined storage buildings to the right. Stensgård farm in 2008, Gammelstua to the left, the new *ramloft* dwelling, centre, and a newer utilities building to the right. (Photographs unknown@ Riksantikvaren; MB 2008)

<sup>175</sup> "...glatt, ubehandlet panel". . Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> The owners the walls were painted in a bright green colour which was not original to the room; between the logs there were fillings of cemented sand, flour and linseed oil. The paint was attempted removed with lye and sanding; and in the end succeeded with a cow hoof grinder. Information from the present owner, October 2008.

### *Summary*

The main building at Stensgård, Gammelstua, is assumed to be 17<sup>th</sup> century in part, but in design this is mainly an 18<sup>th</sup> century building which acquired its present form in 1774. The building had been documented by Meyer for its craftsmanship and age, and was eventually singled out for listing, as an individual building. Like Krogstad, no specifications followed its listing in 1941. The other buildings on the Stensgård farm at the time had been rebuilt or renewed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the early 1950s, the listed building was reported to be in need of repair; in the late 1960s it was uninhabited and in a state of accelerating decay. In 1978-80 the building was taken down and restored. On the owner's request, it was reassembled on a plot "one building's width" to the east, on new concrete foundations. *Riksantikvaren* covered most of the costs. The building was left uninhabited after the restoration, while the owners built a new home within the farmyard. Despite its relocation the building had not altered in appearance significantly since it was listed in 1941. The treatment in 1978-80 comprised repairs and restoration but did not include major modernizations. Around the year 2000 the old Stensgård dwelling was modernized in parts of the interior and is now the family home of the farm's younger generation.

The Stensgård dwelling is an example of a building which was left in a state of advancing decay since it was listed. The building stood uninhabited for half a century, and this no doubt contributed to this situation. Around 1970, *Riksantikvaren* could not offer sufficient grants to amend the situation, and the owner did not have the funds or incentive to repair a building which had no function or purpose. Dialogues between the owners and the conservation authorities had been attempted about once every decade since the listing, initiated by both parties but with no result before 1978. At this time the building was still in a repairable state, but had been left to decay. The facts no doubt contributed to *Riksantikvaren's* willingness to negotiate having the building moved, as well as making a significant financial contribution when the owner finally showed initiative.

By this time the conservation authorities showed more interest in the built context of the listed building. This manifested itself in threats to list the old storage buildings on the farm to avoid them being altered or moved, and involvement in the placing and design of new buildings within the context of the farmyard. Despite the time and money invested in the building by the conservation authorities, the results of their efforts were compromises. The conservation authorities did not approve of moving Gammelstua but in the end accepted the owner's wish to do so; they opted for a rehabilitation of the younger, neighbouring dwelling to preserve some of the built context, but had to see this building demolished in favour of a

new dwelling. The owners, on the other hand, were forced to invest time, work and also some money in a building they did not initially need nor see the value of. They also had to go through negotiations with the authorities on where to place and how to build their new home, on their own property.

In the 1990s Gammelstua again became a building of permanent residence. It was partly modernized after the year 2000 and is today (2010) inhabited by the next generation on the farm, who express consciousness of its qualities as a historic building.

#### 4.2.3 Søre Harildstad, Sel 1960-1980

Harildstad Søre belongs to the larger and richer farms which were listed as building complexes and not for the artistic or historic significance of a single building or room. The farm is of medieval origin and the farmyard structure may go this far back, while the buildings are from the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>177</sup> The buildings were organized around two yards, one for people and dwellings, *tomgard* or *inntun*, and one for animals and utilities buildings, *nautgard* or *uttun*. In 1899 the double farmyard counted sixteen buildings, eight of which belonged to the people's yard. The farm was listed in 1924.<sup>178</sup> When *Riksantikvaren's* representative Halvor Vreim wrote about Harildstad Søre for the first time in 1937, he commented:

“Here we find one of the good old farms where houses and utilities buildings still stand well preserved, enclosing their separate yards.”<sup>179</sup>

Today there are a total of seven standing buildings left on the farm Harildstad Søre. The utilities buildings belonging to the animal's farmyard are gone, with the exception of a stable. The other preserved building is free-standing, alternatively referred to as an *eldhus*, a baking house, or *karstugu*, a house for farm labourers.

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<sup>177</sup> Engen (1992) p 228

<sup>178</sup> The listings were registered November 13<sup>th</sup> 1924. Ibid. p 228

<sup>179</sup> “Her er en av de gode gamle gårdene hvor innhus og uthus ennu star godt bevart rundt hvert sitt tun.” Note signed H.V. September 1937 *Søndre Harildstad i Heidal*. RA archive

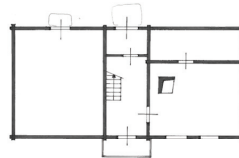
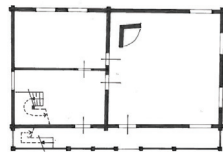
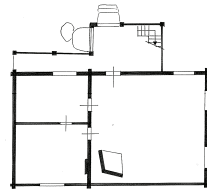
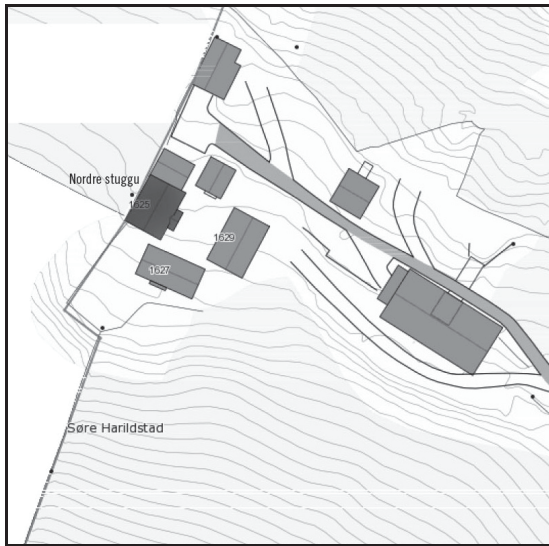


Figure 36-39: Site plan (top left), floor plans Nordre Stugu (top right), Søre Stugu (bottom left) and Nedre Stugu (bottom right), (August Schmidt 2010)



Figure 40: Søre Harildstad in 2008, the peoples' farmyard from the viewpoint of the stable. (MB 2008)



### *The old buildings at Søre Harildstad*

In the peoples' yard at Harildstad Søre, three out of the five listed buildings are dwellings.

*Nordre Stugu*, the northern dwelling, was built in 1780, and was repaired or completed in its present form in 1802; this based on dates found carved onto the building.<sup>180</sup>

A two-storey notched timber structure with a saddle roof, it was built with a two-storey open gallery, a *sval*, on the long wall facing the yard. This gallery was combined with an extra entrance gallery (*inngangssval*) for the stairway. The galleries were decorated with carvings on the wall planks and around the entrance doorway and gable. The main roof was made of birch bark and sod, the gallery roofed with slate. The ground floor consisted of one large main room with an entrance doorway directly onto the gallery and two side chambers, each with doors onto the main room; an example of an *akershusian* floor plan. The stairway between the ground floor and upstairs rooms was placed in the gallery, an un-insulated and partly open timber frame structure.

*Søre Stugu*, the southern dwelling, was also built as a two-storey notched timber building with an *akershusian* floor plan, a sod saddle roof and a richly decorated façade gallery. It was built in 1773 and finished in its present form in 1805 according to the dates carved onto a ceiling beam and door frame.<sup>181</sup>

*Nedre Stugu* was built in 1805, below the northern and southern dwellings, enclosing the yard from the west, the entrance facing the peoples' yard and its back towards the valley.<sup>182</sup> Like the two other buildings, this was built as a two-storey notched timber building and given a sod saddle roof. *Nedre Stugu* was a combination of a storage building and a dwelling or *føderådshus*<sup>183</sup>, with a floor plan which reflected this dual function. Two notched structures were divided by a central entrance hall. The northern room was for storing grain, while the southern rooms contained a dwelling unit. The stairway between the two storeys was in the hall, where a door at the back led onto a small outhouse addition. Only the sections which were inhabited were fitted with windows, none facing the inner farmyard.

In addition to the three dwellings, two food storage buildings in the peoples' yard at Søre Harildstad were listed, *aurbu* and *stabbur*. The *aurbu*<sup>184</sup>, an early 19<sup>th</sup> century two-

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<sup>180</sup> Engen (1992) p 228

<sup>181</sup> Ibid. p 229

<sup>182</sup> Ibid. p 231

<sup>183</sup> *Føderåd* was the right to living quarters, food and "a decent burial", an agreement which could be registered with the courts. A *føderådshus* was inhabited by previous owners, seniors, distant family members or tenants. SNL (2009)

<sup>184</sup> *Aurbu* is a Gudbrandsdalen name for a food storage building, often used for small buildings with an earth floor which could be partly below ground, but with an upper storey which was called *aurloft*. The *aurbu* at Harildstad is rather large, 4x6 metres, built above ground and with plank wooden floors. Red. (2004)

storey food storage building, was shoulder to shoulder with Nordre Stugu with a closed gallery façade. The *stabbur*, a late 18<sup>th</sup> century two-storey notched building, formed the eastern wall in the rectangular, semi-closed peoples' farmyard.<sup>185</sup> The notched timber stable, built around 1800, was listed as the only remaining building in the outer farmyard.<sup>186</sup> A small house north of the peoples' yard which is referred to as an *eldhus* by Arne Berg and *karstugu* by Arnfinn Engen was also listed. The building may be early 18<sup>th</sup> century but has been rebuilt.<sup>187</sup>

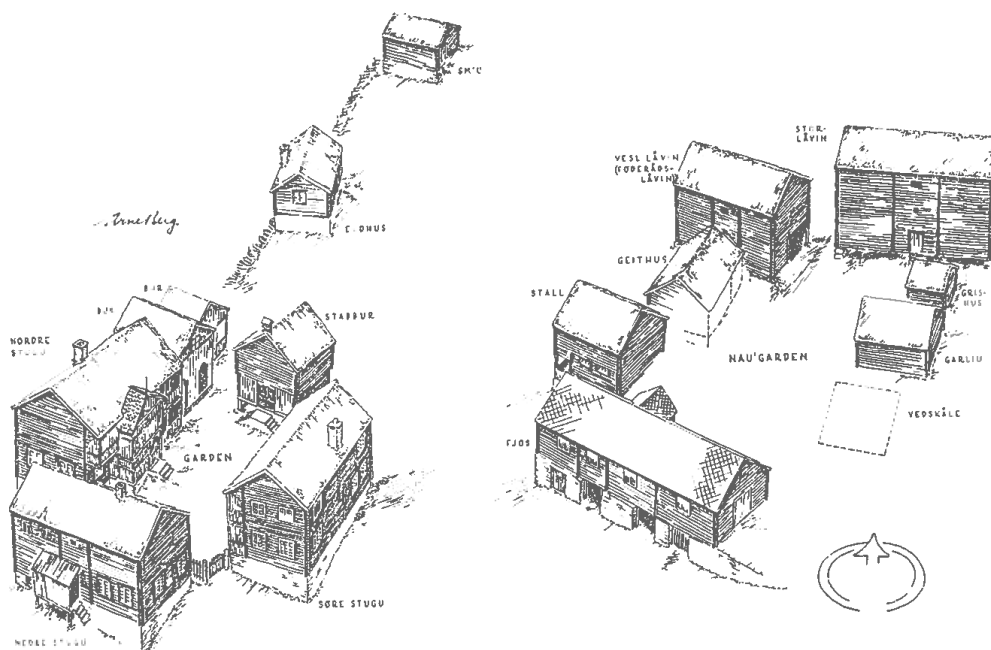


Figure 41: drawn reconstruction of Harildstad Søre as it was 1899, Arne Berg 1943 (Riksantikvaren archive)

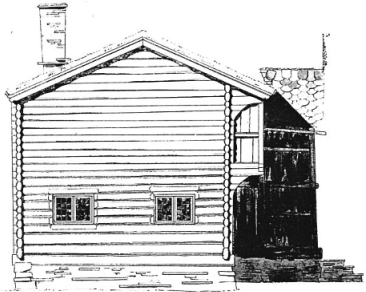
Figure 42-44 (following page). Survey drawings 1899 by Schirmer's students 'Søndre Harildstad Hedalen Gudbrandsdalen, fra Nordre Stue, Schirmer Samlinger' by Karl Guetler 21-6-99 (top left); Sonja Lier 21-6-99 (top right); Sonja Lier 19-6-99 (bottom). (Riksantikvaren archive)

<sup>185</sup> Engen (1992) p 231

<sup>186</sup> Report from inspection survey by Riksantikvaren February 22<sup>nd</sup> 1976. RA archive

<sup>187</sup> Engen (1992) p 231; Drawing by Arne Berg 1943 RA archive

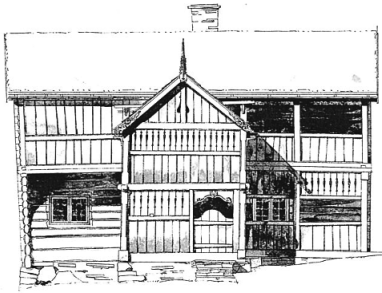
Næringslivet i Sjøen  
Aften Sjøen



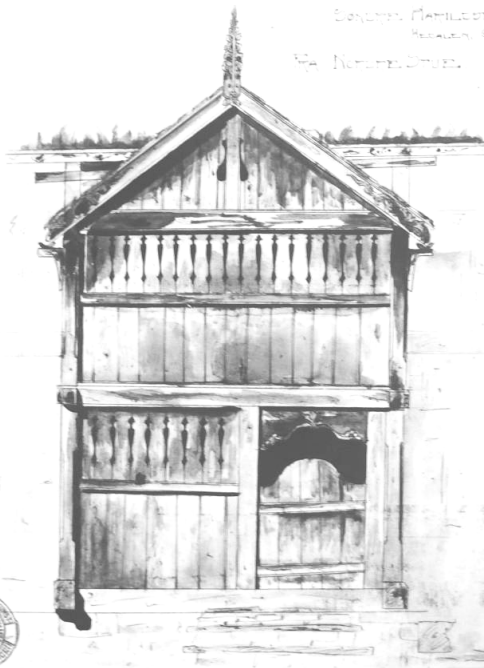
SØNDEL. HÅTILLOTTAD  
HESGÅLEN, SØNDRE-ØSTFELLEN  
FRÅ NORDRE-ØSTFELLEN.



1:5



SØNDEL. HÅTILLOTTAD  
HESGÅLEN, SØNDRE-ØSTFELLEN  
FRÅ NORDRE-ØSTFELLEN.



1:30





Figure 45-46. Nordre Stugu photographed by Johan Meyer in the 1920s (top) and Halvor Vreim in 1938 (bottom), aurbua with the closed gallery is next to Nordre Stugu. (Meyer, Neg. N.T.H.; both Riksantikvaren archive)

### *Repairs and maintenance 1938-1976*

In May 1938 Vreim made an inspection trip to Northern Gudbrandsdalen, and wrote a report for four buildings at Harildstad Søre, three dwellings and a storage building “*Aurbua*”.<sup>188</sup> In this report Vreim noted failing foundation walls, some wood decay in sills and the owner’s wish to establish a new brewing facility, which could be placed under Søre Stugu if a new and larger basement was built here. Works were subsequently planned and carried out the same year on *Søre*, *Nordre* and *Nedre Stugu* with financial support from *Riksantikvaren* through a state employment scheme.<sup>189</sup> In 1966 an application for grants to repair the roof of the storage building, and repair floors and renew upstairs windows in *Nordre Stugu* was filed with *Riksantikvaren* but rejected on the grounds of the owner’s financial situation. *Riksantikvaren* was not much involved with repairs on the listed buildings until the mid 1970s when state employment scheme funding was once again channelled into the repair of listed buildings in Gudbrandsdalen. With this funding at their disposal, *Riksantikvaren* made a disposition of 120 -150 000 kroner for the buildings at Søre Harildstad.<sup>190</sup> Eight men worked on the stable, *Søre Stugu* and *Nedre Stugu* under leadership of civil agronomist Einar Holen in 1976.<sup>191</sup> At the same time, a new house was planned for the tenant farmer, close to the farmyard. *Riksantikvaren* objected on the grounds that this would disturb the historic and architectural environment, and when discussions escalated filed a case for an area-listing (*områdefredning*), with the intent to preserve “one of the finest built cultural images in Heidal”.<sup>192</sup> As an alternative to building a new house, *Riksantikvaren* encouraged adaptation and modernization of the listed dwellings instead, arguing that modernization in itself called for few compromises:

“The house (*Nordre Stugu*) may not meet with contemporary housing standards, but this is easily corrected.”<sup>193</sup>

The farmland at Harildstad Søre has been let to a tenant farmer since 1967.<sup>194</sup> The three dwellings at Harildstad Søre have been inhabited up until our time, but not continuously.

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<sup>188</sup> Vreim, May 1938. RA archive

<sup>189</sup> Letter to owner jrn 298-B-1938 *Søndre Harildstad*. RA archive

<sup>190</sup> Letter from Riksantikvaren to Miljøverndepartementet January 21st 1976 *Harildstad søre, Heidal i Sel – Søknad om fradeling av tomt for boligbygg*. RA archive

<sup>191</sup> Report from inspection survey by Riksantikvaren February 22<sup>nd</sup> 1976. RA archive

<sup>192</sup> “...en av de fineste bygningskulturelle bilder i Heidal”. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Miljøverndepartementet January 21st 1976 *Harildstad søre, Heidal i Sel – Søknad om fradeling av tomt for boligbygg*. RA archive

<sup>193</sup> “Huset (*Nordre Stugu*) oppfyller kanskje ikke dagens moderne bokrav, men dette er lett å rette på”. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Miljøverndepartementet January 21st 1976. RA archive

After a hereditary change in ownership, *Søre Stugu* was left uninhabited for some years. *Nordre Stugu* housed the tenant farmer until the mid 1970s after which it stood empty for some years. *Nedre Stugu* housed relatives of the owner until the 1970s. Today both buildings are let out to visitors and tourists, while *Søre Stugu* is the home of the present owner.

Below the treatment history of the dwellings at Harildstad Søre will be presented thematically according to which parts of the building were treated.



Figure 47-48. Søre Stugu (left) and Nedre Stugu (right) at the lower end of the farmyard, with Søre Stugu to the right and Nordre Stugu to the left. (Photograph MB 2008)

The *floor plans and functions* of the three dwellings have only been moderately altered since the buildings were listed. The repairs on *Nordre Stugu* in 1938 mainly concerned structural issues, and the layout and use of the building was not altered. Vreim even explicitly stressed that the outhouse at the back of the house be put back into place after the repairs were completed.<sup>195</sup> In the following decades *Nordre Stugu* was inhabited but had no modern bathroom or kitchen facilities, although there had been running water and electricity since before 1940; a water closet was installed on the upper floor in 1967.<sup>196</sup> In February 1976 a *Riksantikvaren* representative described the ground floor main room as “...a very beautiful room, but also very cold...” after a visit to the farm in the month of February.<sup>197</sup> The owner had taken the initiative to modernize the building<sup>198</sup>, and later the same year *Riksantikvaren* presented a plan for the interior, prepared by their own architects (“... our architects have also presented a thorough plan for the modernization of *Nordre stugu*.”).<sup>199</sup> The main feature was

<sup>194</sup> With the exception of “... a couple of years” in the mid 1980s. Information from owner; telephone conversation September 2009

<sup>195</sup> Report signed H.V. May 1938 *Heidal 1- Søndre Harildstad i Heidal*. RA archive

<sup>196</sup> Information from owner; telephone conversation September 2009.

<sup>197</sup> “...et meget vakkert rom, men også meget kaldt”. Riksantikvaren’s representative Inger Ullern after an inspection survey in February 1976) described as Report from inspection survey February 22<sup>nd</sup> 1976. RA archive

<sup>198</sup> Information from owner; telephone conversation September 2009.

<sup>199</sup> “... våre arkitekter har også fremlagt en fullt utarbeidet plan for modernisering av Nordre stue.” Riksantikvaren called a meeting with the owner and tenant farmer (at Riksantikvaren’s office) to discuss the planned modernizations and priorities with regards to the grant at disposal. Letter from Riksantikvaren to owners

to include the adjacent storage building *Aurbua* in the living space, which was to be made habitable through inserting windows, insulating the floors and mounting new interior panelled surfaces. A “modern kitchen” and “spacious washroom” were thus made possible. The plan [Figure 49] included an interior staircase from a downstairs sitting room to upstairs bedrooms. The old larger sitting room and the gallery were not to be altered.<sup>200</sup>

The 1976 plan was not carried out. Instead, in the 1990s, the old kitchen in the front downstairs chamber was modernized, and a bathroom fitted in the upstairs rooms.<sup>201</sup> An indoor staircase was never made; the staircase in the open gallery is still the only connection between the two floors. *Søre Stugu* had its basement enlarged in 1938. In 1958 an additional window was inserted in the gable log wall of the house when an upper storey room (*rammen*) was divided; this to provide additional sleeping quarters.<sup>202</sup> The building was modernized and “somewhat rebuilt in the interior”<sup>203</sup>, as part of a larger job which also included repairs of the old structure, and which was finished in 1982. The basement was enlarged (again) and a new washroom was fitted here. On the ground floor, an interior wall was set up to divide a room in the northern end of the house. Originally two chambers, the original plank wall here had been removed sometime in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century to create one big kitchen. When the next generation owner decided to divide the room once more to separate the entrance area from the kitchen, the wall was put up slightly to the west of where the original wall had been, which necessitated moving the window, an interior alteration which thus had consequences for the façade.<sup>204</sup> The treatment phase for *Søre Stugu* which was concluded in 1982 also included changing the windows in the building. *Nedre Stugu* also had a basement fitted in the 1930s; otherwise no alterations were reported before 1946. At this point the owner notified *Riksantikvaren* that rooms previously not used for living quarters were to be made habitable. This required openings in the outer log wall for three new windows. In 1970 the house was described as cold and draughty, and did not have bathroom facilities or W.C. In 1976 one of the upper-storey bedrooms was converted to a bathroom and W.C., the hallway insulated and the internal staircase renewed, all on *Riksantikvaren*’s suggestion.<sup>205</sup>

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March 24<sup>th</sup> 1976 *Bruk av sysselsettingsmidler på Søre Harildstad*, and letter from Riksantikvaren to Forpakter March 3<sup>rd</sup> 1976 *Sel Harildstad Søre i Heidal Istandsettelse av bolig*. RA archive

<sup>200</sup> The architect’s proposition was enclosed in the letter. Letter from Riksantikvaren to Forpakter March 3<sup>rd</sup> ... Ibid. RA archive

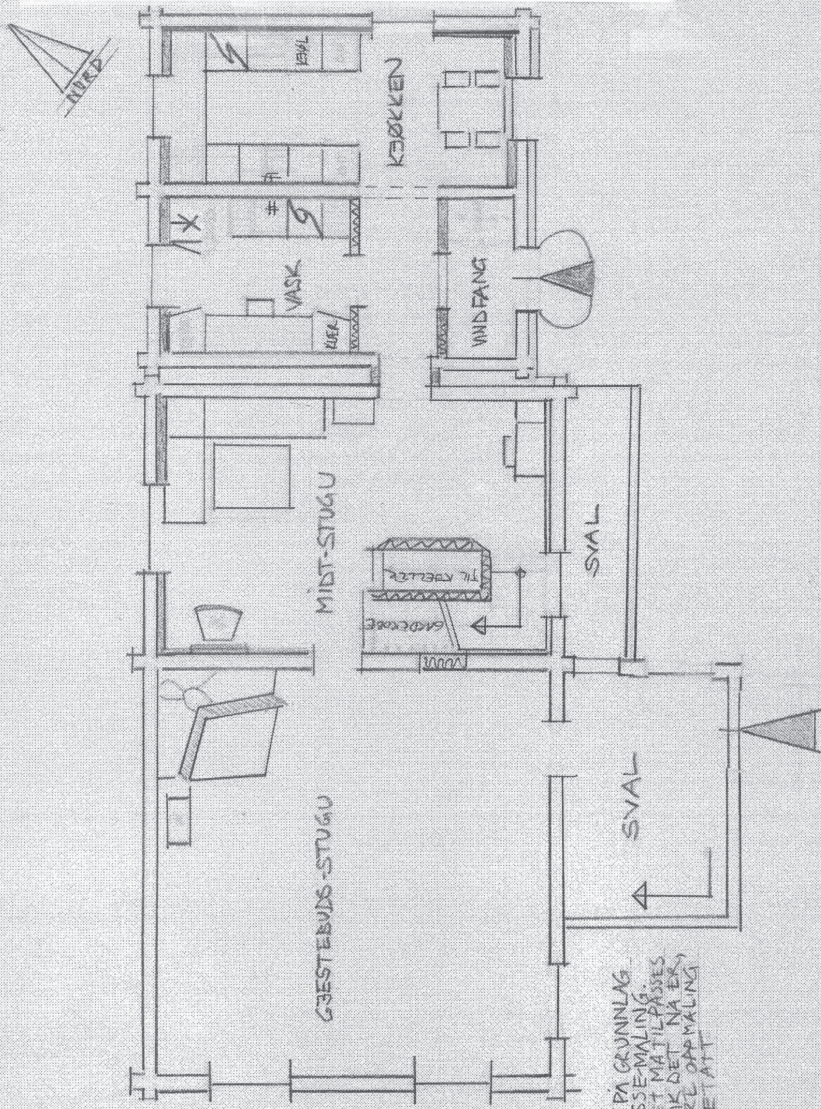
<sup>201</sup> Information from owner; telephone conversation September 2009.

<sup>202</sup> Letter from owner to Riksantikvaren March 26<sup>th</sup> 1958 *Ad den søndre hovedbygning*. RA archive

<sup>203</sup> ”Dette huset vart istandsett og noko ombygd innvendig like etter 1980.” Engen (1992) p 229

<sup>204</sup> Information from owner; telephone conversation September 2009.

<sup>205</sup> Letter from owner to Den antikvariske bygningsnemnd ved Riksantikvar Harry Fett November 11<sup>th</sup> 1946 and to arkitekt Vreim January 17<sup>th</sup> 1947. RA archive



TANKER OM FORSLAGET:

BUA OST FOR NORDRE STUGU ER TATT I BRUK TIL INNGANG M. VINDFANG VASKE-ROM M/DUSJ OG KJØKKEN M/SPISEPLASS. GÅSTEF-INNGANG S.L. SVÅL BEHOLDNES. DET BLIR DYPE DORSMYG - SOM I TRONDER-LPNA - FRA KJØKKEN INN TIL BAGGIG-ROM OG MIDT-STUGU. DØR DERFRA TIL DEN STASELAGE GAMLE STUEN BEHOLDNES. I "MIDT-STUGU" GÅR TRAPPEN OPP - MED GARDEROBE UNDER (KJELLER-TRAPP ER KLEDD INN - GJERNE FORSEG-GJORT SOM ET FRAMSKAP.) HER KAN SETTES PEISOVN TIL DEN GAMLE PIPEN. HER KAN OGSÅ BLI PIPE TIL KJØKKEN, I KOSTESTAP. GOLV OG VEGGER ISOLERES OG KLÆS. I DET NYE KJØKKEN KAN VINDU MOT TUN INNESSETTES I NY ISOLASJONS-VEGG. HER, OG BRYSTING UTVENDIG KLÆS SOM DE GAMLE BU-DØRER, OG DEN NYE KJØKKEN-INNGANGSDØR DOOR-OMRAMMINGER BEHOLDNES SÅ DØR BEVARER SITT PREG MOT TUNET. DET KAN VÆRE MULIG Å RO I HUSET UNDER UTBEDRINGSARBEIDENE.

SØRE HARILDSTAD B125  
HEIDAL I SEL KOMMUNE  
NORDRE STUGU & BU  
PLAN AV 1. ETASJE  
11.1.1982  
SKISSEMÅT DISKUSJONSSØG 26.02.82  
RIKSANTIKVARENS KONTOR I ULLEN

NB! TEGNET PÅ GRUNNLAG AV SKISSEMÅLING. FORSLAGET MÅ TILPASSES HUS ET SLIK DET NA ER. NÅR MERE OPPMÅLING ER FORETATT



Figure 49 (previous page): Plans to modernize Nordre Stugu at Harildstad Søre in 1976 prepared by Riksantikvaren's office. The idea was to convert the storage building *Aurbua* and include it in the living space. These plans were never carried out; instead more moderate alterations were made to the building in the 1980s. (Riksantikvaren archive)

*Foundations* were the main target for the work done at Harildstad Søre in 1938. Both *Nordre* and *Nedre Stugu* had foundations which were in bad condition. Vreim suggested that these needed to be renewed with foundations extending down below the frost-line. *Søre Stugu* had sound foundations, but Vreim proposed that they be renewed all the same to accommodate a new brewing house for the owner. Vreim specified new foundations of cast concrete faced with a wall of natural stone: "...faced in the exterior with common irregular stone so as to achieve an appearance like it presently has."<sup>206</sup> The foundations of all three dwellings were renewed in 1938 under the supervision of Halvor Vreim. *Søre* and *Nordre Stugu* are described as being fitted with concrete and stone foundations; for *Nedre Stugu* we know that a new basement was made and the walls repaired, although no details are documented in the case file.<sup>207</sup> The foundations of *Søre Stugu* were repaired again in 1976, again as part of a state funded employment programme which targeted listed buildings. The year before, *Riksantikvaren* reported that the foundations and sills of *Søre Stugu* were in a



Figure 50-51: Søndre Stugu. "Ungdomsopplæring i arbeid" ("Youth training at work") State employment grants used to repair listed buildings. Work on the foundations of Søndre Stugu at Harildstad Søre in 1938 were prescribed and inspected by Halvor Vreim. (Photographs Halvor Vreim ©Riksantikvaren)

<sup>206</sup> "...forblendes på utsiden med vanlig uregelmessig sten slik at dens utseende blir som nu." Report signed H.V. May 1938 *Heidal 1- Søndre Harilstad i Heidal*. RA archive

<sup>207</sup> There are later references that a basement for *Nedre Stugu* was dug in the 1930s, described as "being accessible from the outside only". Whether the new basement was made in connection with the repairs and Riksantikvaren's involvement in 1938 or earlier is not clear. RA archive



Figure 52-53: Nordre Stugu “The new foundations under the northern dwelling” (left) and Nedre Stugu (right) photographed by Vreim in 1939. On both buildings the foundations were repaired. The photo of Nordre Stugu was presented in the piece *Fortidsvern og ungdomsarbeid* in *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s 1939 annal with the caption “House lifted and provided with new foundations and bottom logs. The old stone re-used, but with reinforcements at the back.”<sup>208</sup> (Riksantikvaren archive)

derelict state<sup>209</sup>, and repairs became part of a larger job which included the extension of the basement for a washroom and a boiler for central heating, replacement of the ground level floors and modernization of the kitchen.<sup>210</sup> Under the house an old food storage room lined with large slabs of slate had been preserved and *Riksantikvaren* decided that this must not be compromised by the new enlargement.<sup>211</sup> The structural interventions of the foundations work in 1976 included laying a concrete “crown” to strengthen the existing stone foundations, and an iron bar positioned under the floors lengthwise under the house to stabilize it. The new basement was lined with 5cm Siporex porous concrete boards, while the walls of the old cellar, which were lined with old large slabs of slate, were given the support of a new wall. The new basement walls were partly poured concrete, partly Leca light-weight concrete elements; the latter for a section only so that one could more easily make an opening here for a future outdoor entrance.<sup>212</sup> The foundations of *Nordre Stugu* were also assessed in this report, and it was noted that they had shifted and would have to be jacked into place.

*The timber structures* of the houses were assessed by Vreim when he visited the buildings at Harildstad Søre in 1937. He noted that vegetation and moisture was a general

<sup>208</sup> “Hus løftet og forsynt med ny grunnmur og sviller. Den gamle sten benyttet, men med stop på baksiden.” Fett and Vreim (1941) p 41

<sup>209</sup> Report from Riksantikvaren October 18th and 19th 1975 *Rapport fra reise i Gudbrandsdalen den 18. og 19. oktober 1975*. RA archive

<sup>210</sup> Letter from Riksantikvaren September 4<sup>th</sup> 1973 *Harildstad søre, Heidal, Sel commune* RA archive

<sup>211</sup> Report from inspection survey by Riksantikvaren February 22<sup>nd</sup> 1976. RA archive

<sup>212</sup> Report *Søre Harildstad* not dated or signed but clearly referring to works done in 1976. The author is probably on site manager Einar Hole. RA archive

problem for the sills<sup>213</sup>, and the timber in the northern gable wall of *Nordre Stugu* was specifically referred to as needing repairs.<sup>214</sup> This wall was repaired shortly afterwards but Vreim was not content with the result, and commented that this section would disintegrate again because of the close proximity of the wooden log wall to the ground.<sup>215</sup> Problems and repairs of timber constructions are documented again in the 1970s. In 1976 the floor and beams in the middle hall, *midtgangen* in *Nordre Stugu* (this must refer to the upper storey as the ground floor section has no hall) was reported to be damaged. The beams here were replaced and new floors layered with 15 cm heat insulation material, on top of which the old floor planks were fitted. At the same time, the ground storey floors were insulated from the basement side.<sup>216</sup> The work done in 1976 was executed as part of the employment programme overseen by *Riksantikvaren*, and also included *Søre Stugu*. In 1973 a fungal attack had been reported for this building (what type of fungus is not specified). The damaged area was believed to be limited to the kitchen floor, which belonged to the part of the northern side of the house under which there at the time was no basement.<sup>217</sup> When the floors were taken up in the kitchen and the neighbouring chamber or *kleve* it was discovered that this floor was completely destroyed by fungi. The sitting room floor was also described as being in bad condition with opening cracks to the outside between the floors and outer log walls. New floors were laid with 15 cm insulation under the floor boards. The *Søre Stugu* gallery was also repaired in 1976, the ground floor section dismantled and a sill replaced, while the upstairs section was jacked into place to straighten a buckle which had developed over time.<sup>218</sup>

*The roof of Søre Stugu* was re-laid in 1955 by the owner. The wooden under-roof was repaired and covered with tar paper, on top of which a layer of birch bark was added. Old birch bark was re-used and supplemented with new birch bark, as a foundation for the sod roof. This repair was done on the owner's initiative and later reported to *Riksantikvaren*, with questions on how to repair the roofs on the remaining buildings.

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<sup>213</sup> Report signed H.V. May 1938 *Heidal 1- Søndre Harilstad i Heidal*. RA archive

<sup>214</sup> Note signed H.V. September 1937 *Søndre Harilstad i Heidal*. RA archive

<sup>215</sup> Report signed H.V. May 1938 *Heidal 1- Søndre Harilstad i Heidal*. RA archive

<sup>216</sup> Report *Søre Harilstad* not dated or signed but clearly referring to works done in 1976. The author is probably on site manager Einar Hole. RA archive

<sup>217</sup> Report from Riksantikvaren October 18th and 19th 1975 *Rapport fra reise i Gudbrandsdalen den 18. og 19. oktober 1975*. RA archive

<sup>218</sup> Report from inspection survey by Riksantikvaren February 22<sup>nd</sup> 1976 Riksantikvaren\*Archive (1956-1976); Report *Søre Harilstad* not dated or signed but clearly referring to works done in 1976. The author is probably on site manager Einar Hole. RA archive

“As it was there was unfortunately no time to confer with *Riksantikvaren* before the work was carried out, but I assumed that any other roofing material than sod would be out of the question.”<sup>219</sup>

The owner reported the roof of *Søndre Stugu* to be quite water-proof, but questioned whether it would be possible to use Eternit instead of birch-bark for the sod roofs on *Nordre* and *Nedre Stugu*, which were also in need of repair.<sup>220</sup> The use of Eternit was recommended by Vreim, who advised that the periphery of the roof plane was fitted with tar paper and birch-bark for visual effect.<sup>221</sup> The re-roofing of *Nordre* and *Nedre Stugu* was likely done using Vreim’s recommended method; the material evidence of this no longer exists as the roofs of all three dwellings were re-roofed in the 1990s with hard plastic sheeting (*knotteplast*) and sod.<sup>222</sup>

*Windows* have largely been renewed on all three listed dwellings. *Søre Stugu* was fitted with a new window opening in the north gable wall in 1958 when a room was partitioned for an extra bedroom.<sup>223</sup> The remaining windows in *Søre Stugu* were changed in 1982 in connection with the major repairs done on the building from 1976 to 1982, this against the wishes of *Riksantikvaren* who opted for restoring the existing older ones.<sup>224</sup> The 1982 windows all have double frames which are hinged on the outer frames. In 1966 the owner proposed to change the windows in *Nordre Stugu*, partly for aesthetic reasons:

“In the northern dwelling the windows have been replaced and these spoil the house.”<sup>225</sup>

The windows here referred to were larger paned windows (3x2 panes), probably dating back from around the turn of the century; the owner wished to exchange these with a small-paned type consistent with the other buildings. The windows today are double glazed (double framed) with small-paned putty glass in the outer frame, of a type that was common in the 1980s. *Nedre Stugu* originally had a limited amount of windows, as half the building was for storage only. In 1946 the owners asked *Riksantikvaren* for advice on making new window openings in the upper storey section of the southern part of the building. The rooms here,

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<sup>219</sup> “Som dette var blev det dessverre ikke tid til å konferere med Riksantikvariatet før arbeidet blev utført, men jeg regnet med at det ikke kunne bli tale om noget annet enn torvtak under nogen omstendighet.” Letter from the owner to Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd Aug. 6<sup>th</sup> 1956 *Ad sore stugu på Søre Harildstad i Heidal*. RA archive  
<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>221</sup> “Av hensyn til virkningen langs takkantene avsluttes eternitten ca 10 cm ovenfor torvvolene og ca 15 cm inn fra cindskiene. Eternitten skjøtes ut med beste sort asfaltapp og 5- lag never over.” Letter from Riksantikvaren signed Halvor Vreim August 13<sup>th</sup> 1956 *Harildstad, søndre, Heidal*. RA archive

<sup>222</sup> Information from owner; telephone conversation September 2009.

<sup>223</sup> Letter from owner to Riksantikvaren March 26<sup>th</sup> 1958 *Ad den søndre hovedbygning*. RA archive

<sup>224</sup> Information from owner; telephone conversation September 2009

<sup>225</sup> “I nordre stue har det i sin tid vært skiftet vinduer og de innsatte skjemmer huset.” Letter from the owner to Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd March 24<sup>th</sup> 1966 *Søknad om støtte til husreparasjon*. RA archive

previously uninhabited, were to be converted to living space. The proposal was to place two windows on the gable wall and one on the long wall facing southwest.<sup>226</sup> This was also done [Figure 54-55]. There is no indication that the conservation authorities objected or commented on this measure.

The need for a new *chimney* in *Søre Stuggu* was mentioned by Vreim in 1938.<sup>227</sup> In 1976 the chimney here is mentioned again; a new chimney in Leca lightweight concrete elements was to be built for the central heating system, to replace the old chimney.<sup>228</sup> The chimney in *Nordre Stugu* had been discussed a few years previously; it was however not suggested that this be replaced, but filled and rendered, and strengthened with iron rods as the chimney had a slight slant. It was also proposed to line the chimney with Isokærn which was a modern fire-proof product.<sup>229</sup> Which of these proposals were followed through is not documented in the case file.



Figure 54-55: The farmyard in 1938 (left) and 2008 (right) with Nedre Stugu on the left hand side, the Nordre Stugu gallery centre and Søre Stugu to the right. The upstairs windows in Nedre Stugu were fitted after 1946. *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemnd* was consulted on the matter. (Photograph Halvor Vreim 1938 ©Riksantikvaren and MB 2008)

<sup>226</sup> Letter from owner to Den antikvariske bygningsnemnd ved Riksantikvar Harry Fett November 11th 1946 and to arkitekt Vreim January 17th 1947. RA archive

<sup>227</sup> Report signed H.V. May 1938 *Heidal 1- Søndre Harilstad i Heidal*. RA archive

<sup>228</sup> Report from inspection survey by Riksantikvaren February 22<sup>nd</sup> 1976. RA archive

<sup>229</sup> Filled and rendered: *utspeket*. Letter from Riksantikvaren September 4<sup>th</sup> 1973 *Harilstad søre, Heidal, Sel commune*. RA archive

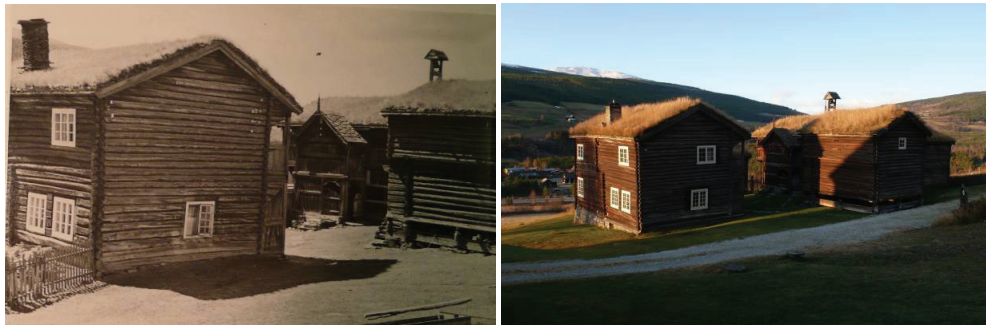


Figure 56-57: Søre Stugu photographed by Halvor Vreim in 1938 (left) and in 2008 (right). The north gable wall of Søre Stugu has one window only, a casement window with 2x4 panes in each frame. The open frame reveals that the hinges are fastened to the mullion. The visible part of the eastern wall shows three casement windows which have 3x3 panes slightly larger and newer than the north window which is consistent with late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century window types. The north gable wall was fitted with a new upstairs window in 1958. The opening of the downstairs gable window was enlarged and a new window placed slightly farther to the west in 1982 to accommodate a new interior wall dividing the big kitchen. (Photograph HV©Riksantikvaren; MB 2008)



Figure 58-59. “Søre Harildstad Sørstua under restoration March 1976” (left), and in 2008 (right). The ground floors of Søre Stugu were replaced after a fungal attack in the northern section of the house. The gallery was partly dismantled and the sill replaced. The sill log was replaced in 1976. The surface of the new log has surface tracing of axe work and seems to have been tinted to blend in with the old wood. The windows were renewed in 1982. (Photographs unknown ©Riksantikvaren and MB 2008)

### *Funding*

The repairs which were done on *Søre*, *Nordre* and *Nedre Stugu* at Harildstad from 1938 were largely sponsored by an employment programme for training workers. Through the programme state funds were put at Riksantikvaren’s disposal, and “significant repair works”

last war”<sup>230</sup> Halvor Vreim was *Riksantikvaren*'s coordinator. In 1959 an application from the owner to repair the roofs at Harilstad Søre was rejected by *Riksantikvaren* on the grounds that the owner's income was high. Grants at the time were given on the basis of a means test. The rejection resulted in a written dispute. The owner stated that, as no funding was provided, no further advice on the repair of the listed buildings was required either:

“The letter (...) is enclosed and returned, as I for the future will have no need for neither instructions nor be implored to initiate work on the buildings.”<sup>231</sup>

*Riksantikvaren* replied promptly specifying the legislative grounds for their actions, and notifying an inspection.<sup>232</sup> The dispute had no further consequences. In 1967 a grant of 3000 Norwegian kroner was given for the repair of all the dwellings but this was not used. The owner renewed the application for a grant in 1972; however no grant for treatment was given until 1976.<sup>233</sup> With funding provided through a new national employment programme, *Riksantikvaren* was then able to provide 120 000 kroner for the “repair and modernization” of listed buildings at Harildstad Søre. The funds were used for the foundations of all dwellings, and cellar, walls and floors of the northern section of *Søre Stugu*. The funding was part of an employment programme for Oppland county; state funding which *Riksantikvaren* had at their disposal for repairs of listed buildings. *Riksantikvaren*'s grants were to be used for repairs and restoration and not modernizing the standard of a building; however in the case of Harilstad Søre money was promised for modernization to solve another problem for the conservation authorities, namely the disturbance of the cultural landscape.<sup>234</sup>

#### *The built context*

In the 1920s Harildstad Søre was still a complete double farmyard complex, as documented in Johan Meyer's photograph [Figure 45]. After the 1920s the buildings outside of the inner, or people's, farmyard gradually disappeared, either being demolished or moved, probably as

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<sup>230</sup> “.. like før og i begynnelsen av siste krig, for offentlige midler utført betydelige istandsetningsarbeider”. Vreim referred to Nedre Stugu as Kårstuggu. Letter from *Riksantikvaren* to owner October 20<sup>th</sup> 1959 *Søre harildstad, Heidal*. RA archive

<sup>231</sup> “..Skrivelse (...) følger vedlagt tilbake, da jeg for fremtiden ikke har noe behov for hverken instruksjoner eller henstillinger om å sette arbeidet i gang.” Letter from owner to *Riksantikvaren* October 10<sup>th</sup> 1959 *Harildstad søndre i Heidal*. RA archive

<sup>232</sup> Letter from *Riksantikvaren* to owner October 20<sup>th</sup> 1959 *Søre Harilstad, Heidal*. RA archive

<sup>233</sup> Letter from owner to Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd November 10<sup>th</sup> 1972 *Søknad om støtte til husreparasjoner*. RA archive

<sup>234</sup> “...for 1976 avsatt kr. 120 000 – 150 000 kroner til reparasjon og modernisering...”. Letter from *Riksantikvaren* to Miljøverndepartementet January 21<sup>st</sup> 1976 *Harilstad søre, Heidal i Sel – Søknad om fradeling av tomt for boligbygg*. RA archive

they fell out of use and into decay. There are two exceptions, the *karstuggu/eldhus*, a building which already by the 1920s had been heavily modified [Figure 36], and the stable which was restored with funds from *Riksantikvaren* in the late 1970s. There is otherwise no documentation in *Riksantikvaren's* archive of the disintegration of the outer, or animal's, farmyard.

In 1976 there were discussions about building a new home for the tenant farmer near the farmyard. *Riksantikvaren* objected to building a new house in the vicinity of the farmyard, as this would visually disturb the well preserved built environment. Instead they encouraged and took an active role in designing a modernization of *Nordre Stugu*. This attempt had a double mission: to secure the continued habitation of a listed building, and to prevent the intervention of a new house in the vicinity of the listed buildings complex. *Riksantikvaren* threatened to file a case for area conservation (*områdefredning*) in 1976 to prevent the building of a new house near the farmyard. After negotiations between *Riksantikvaren* and the owners, a new tenant's house was built in 1978, farther away than originally planned, about 100 metres south of the old farmyard.<sup>235</sup>

As Harildstad Søre was listed as a built complex in 1924, it is an example that the conservation community from the beginning stressed the significance of complete built environments. However, many of the utilities buildings at Harildstad Søre which were documented in the 1920s later disappeared; the listed buildings comprised the people's farmyard with dwellings and storage buildings. Most effort was put into the repair and maintenance of the buildings here, where three out of five buildings were dwellings. The exception is the timber stable, which was also listed from the beginning and which was thoroughly repaired in the mid 1970s. By this time it had become customary for *Riksantikvaren* to assess whole environments and explicitly require consideration for the surroundings of listed buildings. The means to preserve them had improved with the possibility of conservation of built environments (*områdefredning*), and with the dispensing of grants. The effort to put existing listed houses into use resulted in compromises to achieve modern living standards, as *Riksantikvaren's* suggestions to convert the dwelling *Nordre Stugu* and the storage building, Aurbua, demonstrate.

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<sup>235</sup> Riksantikvaren\*Archive (1941-2001)



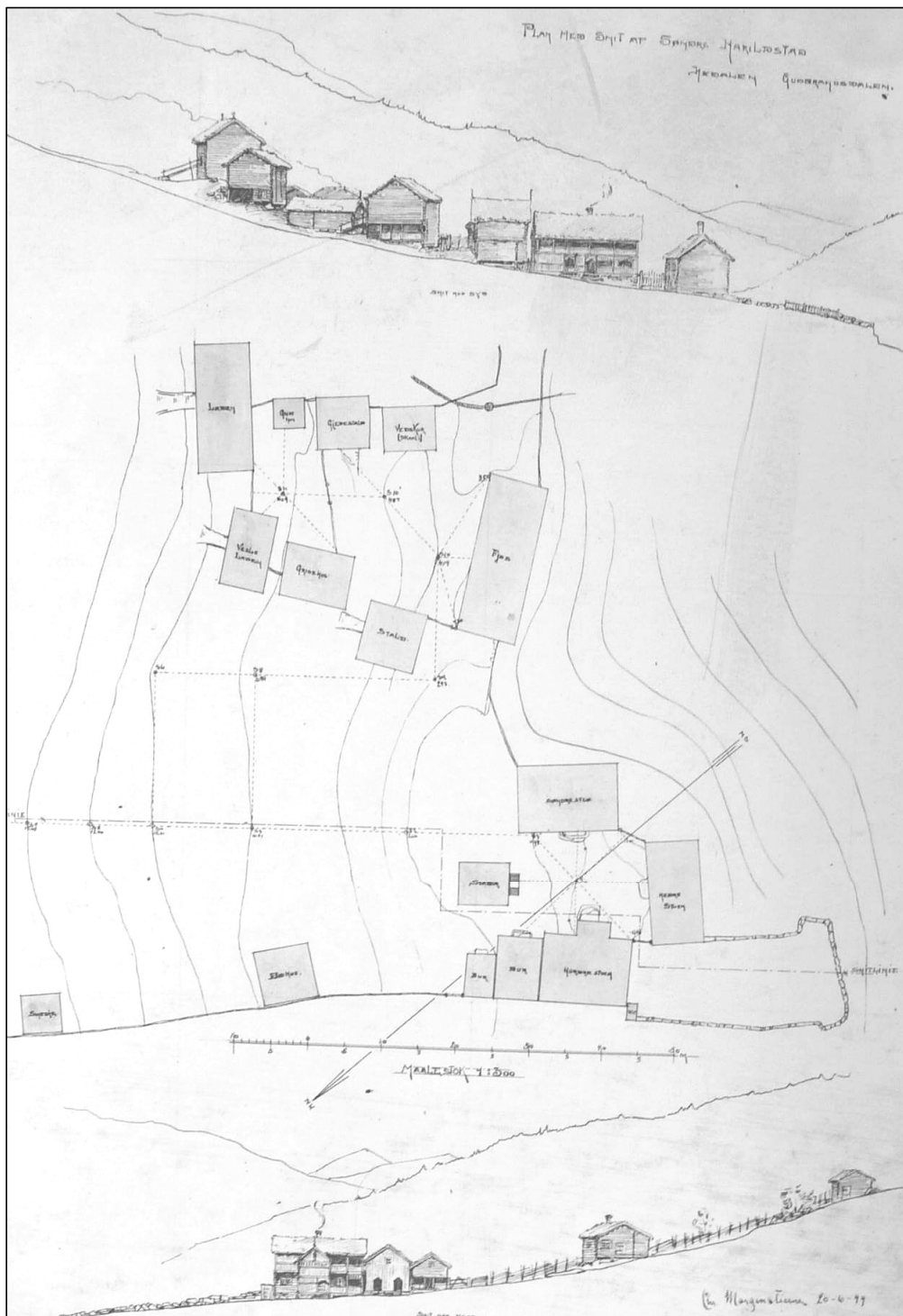


Figure 60: 'Plan med snit, Søndre Harildstad, Heddal, Gudbrandsdalen. Chr. Morgenstjerne 20-6-99'. Plan and section, Søndre Harildstad. (Riksantikvaren's archive)



Figure 61-62: Søre Harildstad photographed from the north west in 1899 (top) and by Johan Meyer in the 1920s (bottom). During the interval between these photographs a smaller storage building disappeared. The *eldhus/karstuggu* was repositioned and rebuilt, the gable turned 90°. (Riksantikvaren archive)

### *Summary*

The treatment of the listed buildings at Harildstad Søre since the time of their listing can be characterized as maintenance, repairs and modernization in the sense of moderate adaptation to contemporary living standards. *Riksantikvaren* was regularly consulted, and twice involved in larger repairs, in the late thirties and mid seventies. The foundations of the buildings were a recurring issue and were repaired on the three dwellings in 1938 and again in 1976. The owner renewed the roofs himself in the late 1950s, using the traditional sod roof expecting this to be the correct thing for listed buildings, and experimenting with underlays of tar paper and birch bark. *Riksantikvaren's* Halvor Vreim recommended the modern material Eternit as a foundation for sod roofs and this was probably used for two of the three buildings.

The tenant farmer lived in *Nordre Stugu*, a building which did not have modern bathroom or kitchen facilities, and which was described as cold. After a new home for the tenant farmer was built in 1978, *Nordre Stugu* was left standing empty for some years (from the early 1980s the house has been let to visitors and tourists).<sup>236</sup> *Riksantikvaren* had actively participated in developing plans for apartments in *Nordre Stugu* and *Aurbua*, intended for the tenant farmer. The work that was actually carried out on *Nordre Stugu* in 1976 was less interventionist than these plans proposed, involving heat insulation of the floors. There was no conversion of *Aurbua*. In the years 1980-1982 there were renewals in *Nordre*, *Søndre* and *Nedre Stugu* which involved fitting new double glazed windows, new kitchens and some interior panelling.<sup>237</sup> The new windows were generally copies of an older type.

## 4.3 DISCUSSION

The social function of the five buildings in the Gudbrandsdalen case study was dwelling. This function, as well as the condition of the buildings determined their treatment: changing housing standards induced modification, discontinued habitation, or both, after the time of their listing in the early 1920s and early 1940s.

### *Stakeholders*

The Gudbrandsdalen case study buildings were all listed according to the 1920 Built Heritage Act with *Riksantikvaren* as the formal authority on conservation matters. Halvor Vreim was

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<sup>236</sup> Information from owner; telephone conversation September 2009.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

*Riksantikvaren's* representative and concerned with all buildings from the 1930s to the 1960s; after this *Riksantikvaren's* representatives increased in number and the case workers changed more frequently. Formally it was *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* (discontinued in 1978) who dealt with all cases of listed buildings. *Riksantikvaren* was a regular member and Halvor Vreim acted as secretary from 1937. The buildings in question were rural and agricultural properties and the agriculture authorities could be a party in negotiations for the listed buildings. The owners were also the users; in addition to this, tenant farmers laid down conditions in the discussions of building treatment. The case file correspondence shows active participatory debate from the owners, as well as from *Riksantikvaren's* representatives. Interests were diverging in all cases; in some more than others. Negotiations between the conservation authorities and the owners gravitated around degrees of intervention, use and usability. Achieving the goal of daily use required compromise by all parties, and the conservation authorities lost many battles, conceding to terms which were in conflict with the listing and with acknowledged building conservation ideals such as conservation *in situ* or the conservation of historic substance and design.

#### *Modernization*

The owner of Krogstad expressed no interest in his listed building, which he considered outdated and in derelict condition, and proposed to sell it when moving the farm. *Riksantikvaren* opposed this, and opted to have the building relocated to the new plot to continue its function as the farm's main dwelling, a solution the owner claimed was not financially viable. *Riksantikvaren's* representative Halvor Vreim conceded to several compromises in the negotiations that followed. First the idea to move the entire building was abandoned, and only the three oldest rooms were moved. When the owner built a garage in the new basement below the old rooms, strictly against Vreim's instructions, Vreim's response was to give advice on how to minimize the visual impact by minor corrections to the structure. The recommended window type was used only for the old rooms; for the new part of the building a similar looking but more energy-efficient type was recommended but the owner chose a more modern looking window type. Lastly, Vreim had specified that the old rooms were kept with their timber exposed. Photographs indicate that this was initially done; however, remains of plastic sheeting and cladding show that this part of the building must have been clad shortly after Vreim's last inspection of the finished house in 1959.

At Stensgård, the main building stood empty for half a century (circa 1940-1990) after it was listed. When the owners finally demonstrated the initiative to repair it in the late 1970s,

*Riksantikvaren* conceded to having the house moved (on the property), and also covered most of the costs for both relocation and repairs. No investments were made to upgrade the housing standard by the owner or by *Riksantikvaren*. In the first instance the repair did not result in the building being inhabited; instead the owners built a new house next to it. After recent interior modernization, the listed building at Stensgård is today the home of a young family.

At Søre Harildstad, *Riksantikvaren* conceded to and also drew up the plan to modernize *Nordre Stugu* and the neighbouring *Aurbua*, which implied significant interventions with the interior of both buildings. Raising the standard of this building could avert the building being abandoned as a dwelling for the sake of a new house; in the end however the house was vacated in favour of a new dwelling. It was later (in the 1980s) fitted with a modern kitchen and bathroom and extra heat insulation, and is today let out.

### *Craftsmanship*

The five housing units which constitute the Gudbrandsdalen case study were all traditional wooden structures (17<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> century) with notched log wall constructions, dry stone foundations and sod roofs. They were crafted by hand, and originally a limited number of materials were employed (wood, stone, glass, forged iron). The accounts from the 1930s, 50s and 70s of treatment for the case study buildings all describe or prescribe the use of contemporary standard materials in the treatment. Much of the work done on the five Gudbrandsdalen case study buildings can be categorized as repairs, but some also falls into the category of maintenance. Roofs and foundations are critical parts of a building, and all the case study buildings had new foundations made in the 1950s or 1970s. When work on foundations was done, the opportunity was invariably exploited to make larger and more functional basements (Søre Harildstad 1930s, Krogstad 1956, Stensgård 1978) Both Vreim and his successors at *Riksantikvaren* agreed with the use of cast concrete foundations, glass fibre insulation and cement roof tiles, both for repairs and additions or improvements.

At Krogstad, the log walls of the 1811 rooms were reassembled in 1956 with the use of glass fibre insulation instead of the traditional moss. This was done on Halvor Vreim's advice. Glass fibre insulation was also used to insulate the floors at Stensgård in 1978, and at Harildstad Søre at about the same time. For the roofs the owner at Harildstad Søre used birch bark under his sod roof in the 1950s, with modern tar paper as an extra security against moisture. Halvor Vreim advised that sod roofs were laid with an under-roof of corrugated Eternit asbestos cement tiles or plates, a common solution for historic buildings in the 1950s. The pamphlet Roofing with corrugated Eternit and sod (*Tekking av tak med bølget Eternit og*

*torv*) was written by Halvor Vreim and distributed to owners of listed buildings upon demand.<sup>238</sup> The life expectancy for a traditional sod roof was 30-50 years. When Vreim advised on the use of Eternit in the 1950s, this was a modern material (production of Eternit started in Norway in 1946) with a high expected service life. Experience demonstrated that Eternit was sensitive to moisture and temperature change. Breakage caused leakages, and production was phased out when the dangers of asbestos, which was prohibited in 1978, became apparent. At Harildstad, all roofs were re-roofed with Eternit and sod in the 1950s, and re-roofed with plastic sheeting (*knotteplast*) and sod in the 1990; following the traditional frequency for relaying sod roofs. Today, birch bark is frequently used when re-laying roofs on historic buildings.<sup>239</sup> The foundations of the “new” Krogstad building, the relocated Stensgård and the repaired *Søre* and *Nordre Stugu* at Harildstad *Søre* were all cast concrete. With the exception of the first, the walls were faced with natural stone above ground to achieve a traditional visual image. Repairs on *Søre* Harildstad in 1976 were also done with concrete when a crown was cast on top of the dry stone wall to keep it in place. Corrugated Eternit tiles were used as an under-roof for sod. The importance of finding the correct coloured Eternit tiles was stressed when this was used as a substitute for slate roofing. Concrete foundation walls were faced with natural stone at Harildstad in the 1930s and at Stensgård in the 1970s. The importance was placed on achieving a correct, traditional appearance; modern materials were used, but not displayed.

A usual and regular repair common to notched constructions was the replacement of damaged logs. This was done at Krogstad (1956), Stensgård (1978) and *Nordre* (1938) and *Søre Stugu* at Harildstad *Søre* (1976-82). In the two first cases the buildings were entirely dismantled, while *Nordre* and *Søre Stugu* were repaired with the house standing; at *Søre Stugu* only the gallery was dismantled for access. Windows were not repaired. In all cases existing windows were replaced with new double glazed windows which imitated a previous type, the replaced windows discarded.

In the Krogstad case when the owner refused to move and restore the old house, a high quality design and craftsmanship was part of the compromise for the new house to become an acceptable frame for the old rooms. Halvor Vreim was as involved with the design of the new section as with the reassembly of the old one. Detailed advice was given on both the new design and the detailing; planks must be broader than standard, the roofing material in

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<sup>238</sup> The owners at Harildstad received such a booklet in 1959. Letter from Riksantikvaren to owner October 9<sup>th</sup> 1959 *Nordre Stugu, Søre Harildstad, Heidal*, booklet enclosed. RA archive

<sup>239</sup> Prøsch (1999)

accordance with tradition. The materials and building methods were contemporary. Vreim required high quality materials and a high level of craftsmanship in the treatment of these listed buildings, with regards to both reconditioning and repairs, and for the modern section and components.

Since the 1990s there has been increasing stress on the use of traditional materials in all aspects of restoration. The maintenance of traditional crafts is an important aspect of this; not only the buildings but the crafts need to be preserved or ‘stewarded’. The international conservation community has acknowledged and promoted ideas of traditional crafts and materials in the *Nara Document* or *Principles for the restoration of timber structures* adopted by ICOMOS.<sup>240</sup>

#### *Use value*

In 1939 Halvor Vreim wrote of owners of listed buildings in general: “It is where there are few old buildings left that the work to save them is most difficult. Where everyone lives in an old house, there is less of a need to build new ones. But in a district where most have built new houses, the ones who do not have new houses dream of this, even if it is more natural, practical and economical to repair and maintain the old buildings in such a way that it is comfortable to dwell in them. The dream of a building something new results in the neglect of the old building, whose value and usefulness is increasingly reduced, and it becomes less and less attractive and healthy as a dwelling. When a man discards the old house, it is often a result of pure lack of independence, and not out of real need, as one might think. Supporting his decision is a form of vanity, and slogans like “impractical” and “uneconomical” are steadily put forward uncritically when something is to be destroyed or demeaned.”<sup>241</sup> Vreim wrote this after working in Gudbrandsdalen on the repair of listed buildings with employment-creation funds, and sums up the reasoning behind use as conservation strategy. Vreim’s strategy was to “enlighten” owners to see the aesthetic qualities and use value of their own property, a moral quest and an ambition which did not always succeed.

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<sup>240</sup> Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage (1994)

<sup>241</sup> “Det er der hvor det er lite at redningsarbeidet er vanskeligst. Når mann efter mann bor i sine gamle hus, er det mindre behov for å bygge nytt. I en bygd eller et distrikt derimot hvor de fleste har fått nye hus, går de som ikke har det, og drømmer om å bygge, selv om det er mer naturlig, praktisk og økonomisk å sette i stand og pleie de gamle bygninger slik at det er trivelig å bo i dem. Drømmen om å bygge nytt gjør at den vedlikeholdsmessige pleien vanskjøttes verre og verre, huset reduseres mer og mer i verdi og brukbarhet, det blir utriveligere og utriveligere, usundere og usundere å bo der. Når en mann kasserer det gamle hus, er det ofte utslag av pur uselvstendighet, og ikke av reelle behov, som en skulle tro. Bak det hele står en slags form for forfengelighet, og slagord som ”upraktisk” og ”uøkonomisk” føres stadig på en ukritisk måte i marken når noe skal raseres eller forsimples.” Fett and Vreim (1941)pp 39-40

Two particular challenges in securing the continued function of designated dwellings are demonstrated in the Gudbrandsdalen case studies; they were rendered superfluous, undesirable, or both. A 19<sup>th</sup> century farm could have several dwellings for generations of family members and farm workers. After World War 2 the number of workers needed to operate a farm was significantly reduced through land use rationalization and mechanization. Due to both redundancy and preference old dwellings were left out of use on the farms in the post-war era.<sup>242</sup>

Stensgård, Krogstad and *Nordre Stugu* at Søre Harildstad were either close to or completely vacated in the 1940s, 1950s or 1970s respectively. The farms as such were continuously operational and inhabited, but in all cases the families expressed a preference for a new and modern house and rejected the idea of renovating an old one. At Krogstad continued use of the dwelling was secured in 1956 through active intervention by *Riksantikvaren*, when a section of the old listed building was re-erected as part of a modern house. In 1978 *Riksantikvaren* covered the costs to relocate and repair Stensgård, encouraging modifications to bring the listed 18<sup>th</sup> century building up to modern housing standards. This had a delayed effect; the owners at the time preferred to build a new house, but the next generation on the farm moved into the listed buildings in the early 1990s. All case study buildings demonstrate a willingness from the conservation authority *Riksantikvaren* to compromise in order to keep listed buildings inhabited.

From the time of the establishment of the *Riksantikvar* office in 1912, the conservation community insisted that built heritage was not only relics of the past. Harry Fett argued extensively for the potential in finding the appropriate use for the buildings to make them meaningful in the present. In 1912 Fett conveyed the idea of distinguishing between “dead” and “living” monuments<sup>243</sup>; in 1928 he demanded that the Norwegian state must set an example in finding appropriate uses for their historic buildings: “What will be their use? It has often, most recently by *Fylkesmann* Hroar Olsen, been suggested that the public seek to make use of these old buildings for representational purposes.”<sup>244</sup> Fett must here have been referring to a piece Olsen published in *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s annal for 1927-28 under the

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<sup>242</sup> The shift in population from countryside to town and city has been continuous since the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. The tendency experienced a boost after World War Two with the rationalization of farming. Norway today has a large amount of building floorage or m<sup>2</sup> per capita. A contributing factor to this number is the number of farm buildings which have survived from a time when farms were run by a great number of people. Statistisk\*Sentralbyrå (2005)

<sup>243</sup> Fett (1913) p 18

<sup>244</sup> “Hvad skal de brukes til? Det er oftere, senest av fylkesmann Hroar Olsen, slått til lyd for at det offentlige søker mest mulig å gjøre en for Staten representativ bruk av disse gamle bygninger.” Hroar Olsen was a member of Den Antikvariske Bygningnemnd. Fett (1928) p 215



caption “Cultural monuments in Use” (*Kulturmonumenter i Bruk*).<sup>245</sup> Olsen in his turn quoted Anders Bugge from 1923: “One can hardly find a better way to preserve the architectural monuments of this country, than by finding for them a representational function.”<sup>246</sup> Initially this view was strongly promoted by the professional conservation community (for example Harry Fett, Anders Bugge, Wilhelm Swendsen and Hroar Olsen) targeting state-owned property. The state should, they argued, take on responsibility as a good role model in conservation.<sup>247</sup>

With the 1920 Built Heritage Act, the challenges of conservation were extended into the realm of private property. For the dwellings, which up until the 1960s constituted about 50% of all listed buildings, a continued use as housing was the obvious function.<sup>248</sup> That use could compromise conservation was acknowledged and accepted by the conservation authorities, as *Riksantikvar* Nygård-Nilssen stated in 1958 (see Chapter 2): “.. it is not at all true that the owner is prevented from improving a listed building (...) Everywhere in the world one has to realize that buildings which have been raised under quite different economic and social conditions, must be modified if they are to remain in living use (...) Even in the case of listed buildings one cannot disregard the fact that people of today have other requirements in relation to hygiene and comfort than in the past. Bathrooms and Water Closets cannot be rejected; neither can the modernization of the kitchen, to mention some examples. In many cases, it is an accommodating attitude in these matters, and assistance to plan such and other alterations, which has saved buildings from being demolished.”<sup>249</sup> Regarding Harildstad Søre, *Riksantikvaren* wrote, in 1976: “From the 1930s the State, through *Riksantikvaren*, has provided significant resources to preserve the listed buildings in Heidal and have them repaired. On the whole, the owners here still use their magnificent 18<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>245</sup> Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1927-28) pp 1-16

<sup>246</sup> ”Man neppe på bedre måte kan verne om de arkitektoniske monumenter landet eier, enn ved å skaffe dem en representativ anvendelse.” Anders Bugge, 1923, quoted in: Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1927-28)

<sup>247</sup> See for example: Olsen (1911); Fett (1917); Bugge (1919); Olsen (1927); Swensen (1940)

<sup>248</sup> Roar Hauglid in: Robberstad (1969)

<sup>249</sup> “..at det slett ikke er tilfelle at en eier er avskåret fra å gjøres noe med et fredet hus (...) forandringer kan foretas når de utføres på en slik måte at Den antikvariske bygningsnemd mener de kan godkjennes (...) overalt i verden er man nødt til å avfinne seg med at hus som er bygget under ganske andre økonomiske og sosiale forhold, må forandres hvis de fremdeles skal være i levende bruk (...) Men selv om et hus skal tjene samme formål som det er bygget for, for eksempel å bo i, kan det være nødvendig å gå med på forandringer. Selv i fredede hus kan man ikke se bort fra at folk har andre krav til hygiene og bekvemmelighet enn før. Bad og vannklosett kan ikke avvises, heller ikke modernisering av kjøkkenet, for å nevne noen eksempler.” Nygård-Nilssen (1958) pp 2,4-5.

buildings, piously repaired and improved for modern living (...) It is not good for such houses to be uninhabited.”<sup>250</sup>

The catchphrase “conservation through use” (*vern gjennom bruk*) has been much used in recent years; it is for instance the vision of the foundation *Norsk Kulturarv* (Norwegian Heritage) which was established in 1993.<sup>251</sup> This case study demonstrates clearly that this philosophy has been at the core of Norwegian built heritage management since the implementation of the 1920 Built Heritage Act. Appropriate use was a strategy for conservation, as much as it was the necessity or wish of the owner.

### *Restoration*

Of the five buildings in this case study, only the old rooms at Krogstad went through a restoration proper. The four other buildings had not been significantly altered during the century prior to their listing, and were generally repaired with the intention of preserving their present appearance. At Krogstad, the exterior was completely altered with the construction of the new house, but the interior and windows of the three old relocated rooms were restored with the reuse of as much of the original material as possible. The attention to detail was high with regards to copying old window forms, and surface treatment and pigments were carefully selected to achieve the right colours. The walls were, however, reassembled using glass fibre strips between the logs for heat insulation instead of traditional moss; this was recommended by Vreim and proves his confidence in this modern building material. Vreim and restoration assistant Qvale strived to achieve a room which visually was as close to the original 1811 room as possible. This was done on the basis of careful documentation. Missing original furniture like the wall-mounted bed was reconstructed, while more recent furnishings like the stove and stack or chairs and tables were not put back into place when the room was finished. Where new wall panels were made, these were carefully crafted with the same width as before, and the decorations copied. Whereas the old panels were visibly hand planed, the new ones made for Vreim’s 1956 restoration were not; this is clearly noticeable in raking light.

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<sup>250</sup> “Helt fra 30-årene har staten gjennom Riksantikvaren nedlagt betydelige midler på å verne de fredede gårdsanlegg i Heidal og sette dem i stand. Stort sett bor ennå brukerne her i sine praktfulle 1700-talls-hus, pietetsfullt satt i stand til moderne beboelse (...) Det er ikke heldig for slike hus å stå ubeboet.” Letter from Riksantikvaren to Miljøverndepartementet regarding Harildstad Søre, January 21st 1976  
Riksantikvaren\*Archive (1956-1976)

<sup>251</sup> “Norsk Kulturarv is a non-governmental (ideell) foundation whose goal is to work for preservation of cultural heritage through sustainable use. The foundation’s motto is “conservation through use”. (Norsk Kulturarv er ein ideell stiftelse som har som formål å bidra til vern av kulturarven gjennom berekraftig bruk. Stiftelsen har som motto: Vern gjennom bruk”. Norsk\*Kulturarv (2009)

Vreim did not comment on this, but in a similar situation (machine planing (*kutterhøvling*) building components for repairs and restoration at Fossesholm) he presented industrial fabrication of building components as a compromise: "...it would not have been possible to complete the repairs without resorting to industrially-produced building components. One must sometimes yield to practical difficulties"<sup>252</sup> This indicates that hand planed panels for the interior of Krogstad would have been the ideal solution. In general, paint, materials and tool worked surface treatment were according to the standards of the 1950s, not 1811, but Vreim required a high level of craftsmanship. For this interior Vreim would not concede to guess-work; when documentation was insufficient, a carefully adapted but distinctly modern design was preferred (the door). For Vreim this was a deliberate choice and reveals a principled stand to restore only on evidence.

The Krogstad building was initially planned to be restored (no doubt this would have involved replacing the 1901 windows with a small-paned type, similar to the type Vreim later prescribed for the new house). The incentive to restore, in the sense of removing part of the stratigraphy of the building to reveal or recreate a former style, was came from the fact that the building had undergone modernizations in the past seventy or so years. Vreim wrote: "Under the label of "modernization", from an aesthetic and practical point of view, many aberrations have been committed during the past 50 years. A flood of great sins have ravaged the old buildings of this country. Out of some kind of sudden swing in the pendulum of taste, roofs and walls have been altered, verandas have been built, entrances and windows have been fitted which have a different size and design than previously – and people think this is progress!"<sup>253</sup> These "big sins" the antiquarians saw it as their task to repent and remedy through restoration. When this was not possible, the solution was to assimilate the architecture into the traditional design, but with plainer detailing, so as to reveal its actual age.

### *Relocation*

*Riksantikvaren* opposed the idea that Krogstad old house was sold and thus potentially moved to another farm or a museum. Moving the building to the new plot assigned by the agrarian authorities was however acceptable for *Riksantikvaren*, if not for the owner who expressed he would rather be rid of the building. The building was relocated as part of a re-allocation of

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<sup>252</sup> "Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1952) p 68

<sup>253</sup> "Under merket "modernisering", sett fra et estetisk og praktisk synspunkt, er det imidlertid gjort mange uhyrligheter de siste 50 år. En flom av store synder har herjet landets gamle bygninger. Ut fra en slags smaksmessig reaksjon er ofte tak og vegger forandret, det er bygget til verandaer, bislag, og det er satt inn vinduer med andre forhold og en annen størrelse og inndeling enn før – og folk tror det er fremskritt!" Fett and Vreim (1941) p :41

land and kept its name; however, only the oldest part of the building was moved; it was not relocated in its entirety. That section of the dwelling which was exempt from relocation dated back to 1901, but it was a traditional log structure and *Riksantikvaren* originally wanted the entire building relocated. The fact that part of the building was as young as 50 years at the time, however, probably contributed to the fact that *Riksantikvaren* accepted the demolition of this newer section as a compromise.

Krogstad was not the only building to be moved due to re-allocation of land in Gudbrandsdalen in 1954. In *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annual publication for this year it was reported that the listed dwelling at Forr in Sør-Fron had to be moved, and as the owner had no interest in old buildings, another owner had been found offering a suitable location. A listed dwelling in Lesja was instructed by *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemnd* (DAB) to stay rooted on its original spot, “preserved on the plot and in the context of which it is an intimate part.”<sup>254</sup> That relocation and reconstruction was funded by *Riksantikvaren* was no standard procedure. In Harlaug in Heidal several listed buildings were to be demolished due to modernizations in farming. DAB received applications for grants for those which could be salvaged, but these were turned down because of the extensive plans for relocation and modifications involved. In the county of Oppland repairs and modernizations were in progress on ten old and listed dwellings in 1954; one of these had not been reported to DAB and had been performed without permission. The same year three old dwellings from this region were planned to be moved to the Valdres Museum. DAB had assessed the plans, but do not report their conclusions.<sup>255</sup> In the annual report from *Riksantikvaren* and DAB for the year 1956 (written by Vreim, who was also DAB’s secretary), there was a brief statement that “The work to incorporate the three old rooms in the new building at Krogstad in Skjåk has been started, and colours have been examined for the painting of the rooms.”<sup>256</sup>, with no comment to indicate any controversy in the decision to relocate part (and only part) of the listed building.

Moving Stensgård in 1978 was a lesser compromise; the entire building with the exception of the foundations was moved “one house’s width” within its farmyard. The farmyard itself was not intact and no other buildings were listed, which means there was no defined built environment to preserve. *Riksantikvaren* expressed no objection to Stensgård

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<sup>254</sup> “...bevares på den tomt og i det miljø de er en intim del av.” Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1955) p 209

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.

<sup>256</sup> “Arbeidet med innbygging av tre gamle rom i den nye bygning på Krogstad i Skjåk er påbegynt, og det er satt opp farveprøver for maling av rommene.” Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1958) p 178

being moved, but the initiative to do so was the owner's. It is likely that the process of decay of the listed building had come so far, that when the owner showed the initiative to have it repaired, *Riksantikvaren* willingly conceded to the owner's wish.

Most contemporary writings indicate that when listed buildings were moved, this was as a last resort. Arne Berg wrote an article in 1939 *Når så gale må vere at hus må flyttast* ("When it has come to the point when houses must be moved") which discussed the issue of moving buildings from an antiquarian's perspective, concluding that the best solution was to preserve buildings in their original environment.<sup>257</sup> Harry Fett in 1941 stated that open air museums had been necessary at one point, but was now no longer a viable solution for preserving buildings: heritage buildings should not endure the interventions of relocation but be put to use in their original context.<sup>258</sup> Vreim had his professional background in the museum sector and had worked with relocation of buildings, and designed plans for several open air building museums.<sup>259</sup> This did not necessarily make him more likely to approve of relocation of listed buildings: "The conservation of buildings in museums cannot relay an impression of our culture of building, neither nationally nor locally, however many buildings are moved to museums. Aside from the fact that the life has gone out of them, they stand there loosely and lonely without contact with their district, their environment, without their natural relation to other buildings, without harmony with the nature which has influenced them so much, unable to convey their knowledge about building materials and the way these have been used under local climatic conditions and other factors which play into the whole design of the house." Vreim wrote in 1939.<sup>260</sup> The 1920 Built Heritage Act presupposed that listed buildings were to be preserved *in situ*. In a piece for *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annual Vreim described the relocation of a listed *barfrø* as a happy solution; the background was that the building's original environment had changed much and the building become outdated and derelict (see chapter 2). This example was however unusual. *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annals in the 1940s, 50s and 60s present a number of cases where buildings, listed or otherwise, were sought to be preserved *in situ* but moved to museums when efforts failed; this was however a last resort and not a desired practice. Many of the buildings which were moved to Gamle Bergen Museum stood in line to be demolished. These were considered to be of considerable

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<sup>257</sup> Berg (1951)

<sup>258</sup> Fett and Vreim (1941)

<sup>259</sup> Berg (2010)

<sup>260</sup> "Den museale bevaringsform vil ikke kunne gi et bilde av vår bygningskultur hverken nasjonalt eller lokalt sett selv om det blev flyttet aldri så mangs hus. Foruten at livet i dem er borte, står de der løst og ensomt uten kontakt med lendet, uten miljø, uten naturlig sammenheng med andre hus, uten harmoni med den natur som de er så sterkt preget av, det det de forteller om tilgang på materialer og måten de er brukt på under stedlige klimatiske og andre forhold som spiller med ved husets hele utforming." Fett and Vreim (1941) p 34

historic value but few were listed. Also in Trondheim there are examples of listed buildings being moved to *Trøndelag Folkemuseum Sverresborg* in the 1940s, 50 and 60s after long battles and negotiations to preserve them *in situ*.

In retrospect, one may ask why *Riksantikvaren* in the case of Krogstad did not succumb to supporting having the building sold, and moved to, for example, Maihaugen museum. The decision to relocate the building was irrevocable; the owner was not interested in preserving it and the addition and windows from 1901 (which at the time, was fairly recent) diminished the antiquarian value of the building as a whole. This section from 1811 could have been preserved, and made available to the public, at a museum. But for Krogstad, the option of a museum was never discussed. *Riksantikvaren*, through antiquarian Halvor Vreim, made it a first priority to keep the house within the same farm and as a functioning home, even if the building had to be moved. The old Krogstad dwelling may have been preserved in its entirety, either in a museum or in its original built and environmental context with a severed connection to its former function as a dwelling on the Krogstad farm. In this case, however, the use aspect for the building won over the ideal of conservation *in situ*, in a compromise endorsed by both the owner and the conservation authorities.

#### *Adaptive architecture*

In the case of Krogstad the old rooms were restored to their early 19<sup>th</sup> century origins while the new addition, which in fact surrounded the older rooms, contained a modern living space in the style of 1956. Once *Riksantikvaren* had conceded to the fact that the building had to be moved, and that only the three oldest rooms were possible to salvage, much effort and funding was put into giving the addition a good housing standard, as well as an appropriate design. In the process, *Riksantikvaren's* Halvor Vreim commented on a variety of matters, including lack of closet space and the roofing material. Vreim acted the role of both antiquarian advisor and new house architect, with great attention to detail in the restoration of the old, but also the design of the new. When the house was completed Vreim deemed it “the best new house in the area”. In this particular case Vreim voiced strict principles for the restoration of the old part of the building, acting the part of building conservator, while for the new section he was an architect, concerned with function and appropriate aesthetics.

Adaptation architecture was addressed in the case of Krogstad and Stensgård. In the case of Krogstad (1956) but also in the case of Stensgård (1980 and 2001) the issue of adapting the style of new additions or neighbouring buildings to the designated building came up. In the 1950s, a traditional overall form but modernist in plan and layout and free of

decorative details was preferred (Krogstad). A generation later, a more elaborate interpretation of the local vernacular was displayed with the new *ramloft* house at Stensgård, which was to be placed close to the listed building (1980). In both cases a compromise between the historical surroundings and contemporary architectural trend was evident, but interpreted in different ways, the first by an antiquarian and architect (Vreim) the latter by the owner. On one level the Krogstad addition corresponded with the requirement later worded in the Venice charter, article 13: “Additions cannot be allowed except in so far as they do not detract from the interesting parts of the building, its traditional setting, the balance of its composition and its relation with its surroundings.” In the case of Krogstad, the “interesting parts of the building” were the rooms from 1811.

### *Legislation*

The Gudbrandsdalen case study buildings explicitly demonstrate the influence of three legislative measures, the 1920 Built Heritage Act, its substitute the 1978 *Kulturminneloven* (Cultural Heritage Act) and the Land Use Act. The Built Heritage Act of 1920 did not require specification of listed buildings beyond “artistic and historic value”. The definition of value was formally placed with *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemnd* (DAB), and all applications to modify listed buildings were discussed in this forum. The Krogstad house, despite having been listed as a building (and not “three rooms”), was preserved only in part. When giving an overview of *Riksantikvaren*’s work and involvement over the past decades in the management and repair of listed buildings, Nygård-Nilssen explained how repairs and modernizations could also provide opportunity to restore “exteriors and especially important parts of the interiors”. The initial plan for Krogstad was to restore the entire building, but as the owner had no interest in the building, the conservation authorities conceded to restoring only a part of it, the interiors from 1811, as these rooms were such “especially important rooms”. The remaining part of the building, which was from 1901, was, as a compromise, deemed dispensable. The conclusion of the Krogstad case demonstrates that the 1920 *Byggningsfredningslov* was not a strong act: what was implied by “conservation” (as in *fredning*) was a negotiable term both within and outside the professional conservation community.

In the Krogstad case, the 1920 Built Heritage Act was compromised by the Land Use Act. The legislation for modernizing farming was strong, and could in principle instruct the moving of buildings, roads and borders in order to gain the optimal property structure for farming. The strength of the agrarian legislation versus the Built Heritage Act of 1920 was

here not put to the test; *Riksantikvaren* sought negotiation rather than confrontation to achieve their interests.

#### *Monument versus context*

When *Riksantikvaren* advised Stensgård's owner to apply for grants for necessary repairs of the non-listed 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings on the farm in the 1970s it is evidence of a more active approach towards built context. Also, by this time the late 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings had acquired a certain age value. Through distance in time the 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings were now more closely affiliated with the 18<sup>th</sup> century building; they had become part of the historic context of the listed building, rather than a contemporary context which stood in contrast to it. In 1975 the Built Heritage Act was replaced, the new legislation introducing listing of surroundings of listed buildings and of built environments (*områdefredning*, June 13<sup>th</sup> 1975, §2b last section). This was a new instrument for the conservation authorities. Now built environments and surroundings could be preserved with completeness as the explicit purpose. In 1976 *Riksantikvaren* threatened to file a case for area conservation (*områdefredning*) of Harildstad Søre in order to have the new tenant farmer dwelling placed at an appropriate distance from the listed farmyard, as "neither Building Act, Land Use Act or act of concessions will in this case give any reasonable grounds for refusing this" (a building application)."<sup>261</sup> The statement indicates not only that the legislation had been expanded to include environments and surroundings but also that it had been strengthened and was a tool to steer development in the vicinity of listed buildings where other legislative tools failed. It also gives the impression that *Riksantikvaren* acted on a firmer authority when refusing to submit to competing interests of the community (*samfunnsinteresser*). Between 1980 and 2008 discussions between the owners of Stensgård and the conservation authorities were related to the built context of the listed building rather than the building itself. This demonstrates, maybe not a new focus, as the professional conservation community had expressed interest in preserving buildings in their original environment and context since the Built Heritage Act was introduced, but rather a new capacity and confidence in cultural heritage management, based on its having a larger administration and broader acknowledgement in the population at large.

The 1975 revision of the Built Heritage Act to include a paragraph to list surroundings preceded the new Cultural Heritage Act of 1978. Since 1973, *Riksantikvaren* had been placed

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<sup>261</sup> "Verken bygningslov, jordlov eller konsesjonslov vil i dette tilfelle kunne gi noe rimelig grunnlag for å nekte det." (en byggsøknad). Letter from Riksantikvaren to Sel kommune *Harildstad Søre – Søknad om nybygg* Riksantikvaren\*Archive (1956-1976)



under the Ministry for the Environment; this was now the highest authority in cultural heritage management, and listings must in the last instance be approved by them.<sup>262</sup> The new tie to the Ministry for the Environment was symbolic as well as consequential for a shift in designation *practice* from ‘object’ to ‘context’.

### *Closing comments*

All five case buildings were upgraded with regards to housing standards within the time frame of the study. The form of designation in this case was listing according to the 1920 Built Heritage Act, the strictest (and up until 1965 only) form of legislative protection for post-reformation buildings. Even so, the modifications and adaptations were in part comprehensive. They varied greatly from building to building, comprising relocation, extensive repairs, maintenance, housing standard improvements and restoration.

The themes which have come up in the case studies, relocation, restoration, additions and modernization in the form of addition, adaptations and material use, are all dealt with in the 1964 Venice Charter. There is no evidence that Vreim was familiar with the charter as such; he did not refer to it in any of his writings. Hans Emil Lidén writes that the Norwegian conservation community was little concerned with international affairs until the 1970s; however his close colleague Harry Fett had many international connections and travelled abroad. There is little to show that Fett and Vreim had very different ideas on the treatment of designated buildings, rather there was a pragmatic division of responsibilities. The Venice Charter declared the ideal standards for the treatment of monuments but also of “lesser buildings”, which implicates the vernacular or “anonymous” architecture. Although it was composed with monuments like the Acropolis or Chartres and not with small-scale, wooden farm dwellings in mind, the principles communicated by Vreim and his successors at *Riksantikvaren* are variations on similar themes.

The importance of regular maintenance<sup>263</sup>, a central issue for Ruskin and Morris, was stressed by Vreim. The Venice Charter also stressed the importance that monuments have a “socially useful purpose”, as long as “the modification demanded” did not change the “lay-out or decoration” of a building. The Charter spoke of a “change of function”. A modification of a building from an old-fashioned to a modern home was not a change of function as such, but

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<sup>262</sup> Lidén (1991) p 95

<sup>263</sup> “It is essential to the conservation of monuments that they be maintained on a permanent basis.” Article 4, The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, adopted by the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, Venice 1964 (Venice Charter). ICOMOS (2003)

the implications can be the same.<sup>264</sup> The Norwegian conservation authorities endorsed and frequently encouraged active use of historic, listed buildings and accepted necessary and sometimes drastic modifications. Regarding the latter in the case study material, this was as a result of owners' strong wishes, but was in the end accepted by the conservation authorities as a compromise to prevent demolition or that the building fell into disuse and abandonment.

The Venice Charter's stand on the relocation of monuments was clear; only safeguarding or other issues of paramount, national importance could justify moving a building in whole or part.<sup>265</sup> The relocated buildings in this case study were moved as a last resort for safeguarding.

The Krogstad case, originally intended by *Riksantikvaren* to be a restoration, was after the treatment largely a new building, in a new setting. The new section was given a distinctly contemporary design with subdued detailing and décor, bearing "a contemporary stamp", as required in the Venice Charter article on "restoration".<sup>266</sup> Antiquarian Vreim attempted to remedy the situation by moulding the new parts of the building into a form which fitted in with the surroundings, "not detracting from the interesting part of the building"; as in Krogstad's case the 1811 interior was the object of interest, the new building "balancing the composition and relation with the surroundings" (in Krogstad's case the general traditional style of the valley), was an early example of adaptive architecture, more than a stylistic restoration.<sup>267</sup>

The use of materials demonstrated by treatment of both listed and preserved buildings throughout the case study period embraces modern materials, whether out of necessity or preference is not always clear. Optimism on behalf of new building materials is evident (in Vreim's promotion of Eternit and Eelkem *laftevat* (fabric chinking)), as in the later wording of Article 10 of the Venice Charter in 1964: "Where traditional techniques prove inadequate, the consolidation of a monument can be achieved by the use of any modern technique for conservation and construction, the efficacy of which has been shown by scientific data and

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<sup>264</sup> "The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose. Such use is therefore desirable but it must not change the lay-out or decoration of the building. It is within these limits only that modifications demanded by a change of function should be envisaged and may be permitted." Article 5, *ibid*.

<sup>265</sup> Article 7, *ibid*.

<sup>266</sup> "Restoration (...) It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument." Article 9, *ibid*.

<sup>267</sup> "Additions cannot be allowed except in so far as they do not detract from the interesting parts of the building, its traditional setting, the balance of its composition and its relation with its surroundings." Article 13, *ibid*.

proved by experience.” In this way, the Venice Charter is also a child of its own time, the post-war future optimism on technological innovation.

When Gammelstua at Stensgård was modernized after 2001, the conservation authority gave their authorization on the grounds that the building should be in daily use. A condition for all accepted modifications to the building was that they had to be reversible, and *Riksantikvaren* wrote in 2001: “...any listed building is unique and demands individual treatment. If there are needs to alter the buildings, the main principle is that changes are made so that they are as reversible (...) It is initially easier to accept additions than physical interventions with the listed buildings (...) the decisions must be based on an analysis of the value of the object and of what the “limit of tolerance” of the object is considered to be, in relation to conserving the authenticity of the object and through this its documentation value.”<sup>268</sup> This statement from *Riksantikvaren*, an extract from a conclusive letter on the case, reflected the fundamental values that underpinned Norwegian conservation management in the new millennium.<sup>269</sup> The letter also stressed that conservation management aimed at dialogue to find solutions which could accommodate architectural and cultural heritage values as well as the owner’s needs. The emphasis on use and dialogue, authenticity and reversibility is characteristic; for the 1950s, use, design and craftsmanship seem to have been the corresponding priorities.

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<sup>268</sup> “... hver fredet bygning er unik og krever individuell behandling. Dersom det er behov for å gjøre endringer, er hovedprinsippet at endringer skal utføres slik at de i størst mulig grad er reversible (...) Det er i utgangspunktet lettere å kunne akseptere tilføyelser enn fysiske inngrep i de fredede bygningene (...) beslutningene skal bygge på en analyse av det aktuelle kulturminnets verdier og hva som anses å være det enkelte objektets ”tålegrense” sett i forhold til å skulle ivareta objektets autenticitet og derigjennom også dets kildeverdi.” Letter from Riksantikvaren to *Stiftelsen Norsk Kulturarv* October 8th 2001 *Stensgård, gnr 14, bnr 1, Skjåk kommune – vedr. klage på fylkeskommunens vedtak etter kulturminneloven §15A.* RA archive.

<sup>269</sup> For reference, see Riksantikvaren (2001)

## 5

### RØROS – SERIAL LISTING OF URBAN VERNACULAR

#### *Restoration, modernization and adaptation 1920-1975*

“It is not really pretty here, in the customary sense of the word, but this place grips our senses in a strong and immediate way, like a fairy tale.”

“The antiquarian and aesthetic care of a densely built community, a town swarming with life, growth and development, is a complex task.”

Halvor Vreim, 1944<sup>1</sup>

The Røros case study buildings constitute a homogeneous group, representative of the main dwellings of the urban farms characteristic of the mining town of Røros, today a world heritage site. The buildings stand in close proximity to one another, neighbouring the 18<sup>th</sup> century Røros church, Røros' primary landmark, and enclosing a square which today goes under the name of *Sohlbergs plass* (Sohlberg Square). The denomination derives from the painter Harald Sohlberg who famously depicted this street scene in 1903. The case study buildings were listed during the first rounds of listings after the ratification of the 1920 Built Heritage Act, in the early 1920s and 1940s. *Riksantikvaren* was an active participant in the discussions on their restoration, rehabilitation and modernization, which were continuous but reached a peak of activity in the 1950s. *Riksantikvaren*'s representative Halvor Vreim was responsible for *Riksantikvaren*'s case work and had an advisory role for all vernacular buildings, within which Røros had a high priority. As a “writing antiquarian”, Vreim represents several decades of antiquarian idealism and applied practicality in the history of Norwegian historic building conservation. The documentation of the treatment history of this group of buildings constitutes the source material for the Røros case study.

#### *A note on the sources*

In this case study seven listed buildings in Røros are examined. The sources for the study were the buildings themselves, which have been surveyed, and all available documentation on the buildings' history and restoration processes. The main source of archival documents has

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<sup>1</sup>. ”Det er i grunnen ikke pent her oppe, i vanlig forstand, men det griper våre sanser på en sterk og umiddelbar måte som et eventyr.” (...) ”En antikvarisk og estetisk pleie av et tett bebygget og tettbefolket samfund, byen med yrende liv i vekst og utvikling, er en sammensatt oppgave.” Vreim (1944) p 95

been the Røros municipal building archive. The archive at *Rørosmuseet* (the Røros museum) and *Riksantikvaren*'s archive have also been consulted.

The buildings of this case study were the first in the country to be listed as a “streetscape”, not individual monuments. This makes their case unique, although the buildings themselves are representative of a widespread building tradition. The buildings are not identical but share a number of characteristics. Their construction, notched and half-timbered, is of wood, they are two-storey-buildings with a saddle roof and juxtaposed gables. The street façades are made of wooden cladding, and colourfully painted. All were built as homes and have that function today. Each property was a town farm with outbuildings circling a courtyard, which was originally reached through a gate from the street.



Figure 1-2. Aerial view of Røros 2003 (left). Røros historic town has a baroque plan in which a larger street has a faux perspective with the Copper Mine Director's house as a monumental backdrop in the widest section. The case study area Sohlbergrekka (right) is found in the upper section of the smaller street, Kjerkgata (“Church Street”) or Litj-gata (“Little Street”). As in Røros, wood also constitutes the main building material in many of the country's other historic town cores and hamlets, as well as in rural architecture. As a historic wooden townscape, Røros has both unique and representative values. (Photograph Dag Nilsen; MB 2007)

## 5.1 PRESERVING RØROS: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

### 5.1.1 The historic environment of Røros

#### *Geographical context and historic significance*

The town of Røros was founded on the discovery of copper ore in 1644. Centre of a vast area within which the king had secured rights to all mineral deposits, the town represents 333 years of copper mining activity, which ended 1977. Today Røros refers both to the larger geographical and administrative unit of Røros municipality, and to the small town of Røros, the administrative centre of the current municipality and the historic mining town, administrative and geographical centre of the area within which mining resources were exploited by Royal decree from the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century. The term “*Bergstad*” (the mining town) is still applied, as in *Røros Bergstad*, or just “Bergstaden” (the *bergstad*). After the mining company lifted its monopoly on the sale of goods around 1850, local business flourished and changed the street scene. At the same time industrial carpentry was established as a sideline business for the small town. Private enterprise and carpentry fuelled a makeover for the town towards the year 1900, when every other house was done up in the popular “Swiss style”. While previous styles were designed for stone and adapted locally to wood, this was a style created for wood, which contributed to its popularity. Loved by the people and hated by the architects at the time, it still characterised Røros in the early 1920s. The town’s economy fluctuated with the copper prices, and Røros was in a recession for decades following the metal market collapse after World War I. This recession largely contributed to the conservation of the town, but at the same time contributed to the fact that, by the end of World War 2, a large number of houses were severely outdated and in poor shape. While the inhabitants were set on survival, the antiquarians’ task was to oversee the survival of material remnants.

#### *Topographic and antiquarian descriptions of Røros*

Descriptions of Røros are almost as old as the town itself. In 1734, ninety years after copper was discovered and the town established by royal decree, the Swedish botanist Carl von Linné wrote of Røros after his visit that this was a rather small town, with simple, one-storey houses and no gardens. While 18<sup>th</sup> century writings on Røros were mainly scientifically oriented, descriptions from 19<sup>th</sup> century authors were more romantically inclined and displayed a greater national awareness, showing more interest in the aesthetic qualities of the town and its

setting.<sup>2</sup> With the paintings of Harald Sohlberg the picturesque qualities of Røros were captured and relayed to a wider audience. “The picturesque” was one of the most important criteria for heritage in the early 20th century.<sup>3</sup> There are speculations as to whether Sohlberg’s paintings, displayed in the National Gallery shortly after their completion, were the sole grounds for the 1923 listing of the buildings depicted in them.

The most interesting of the increasingly numerous writings on Røros in the 20th century are, for our purposes, those of authors who were actively involved in the conservation of Røros. These include the architects Georg Eliassen and Halvor Vreim and art historian Harry Fett, all first generation employees of the *Riksantikvaren*’s office. In a short article, published in 1927 in “Norway – journal for our country”, Vreim introduced Røros like this:

“When one comes out of the big, dark Røros railway station, one meets a small community built on a modest scale, the result of battles between a barren, unpredictable climate and man’s own irrepressible ambition and perseverance”.<sup>4</sup>

Harry Fett, who was Norway’s first *Riksantikvar*, wrote a pamphlet on Røros which shows an interesting mixture of poetry and pragmatism. He enthused over the picturesque qualities of the street scenes yet seemed sensitive to the poverty-ridden town’s uncertain future. Fett proposed a combination of economic and aesthetic improvement to the town, with tourism as part of the cure.<sup>5</sup>

Fett’s colleague Eliassen criticised the way the locals treated their heritage by following the fashionable fads of the decorative “Swiss style” and being disrespectful of the buildings’ original architectural qualities.<sup>6</sup> This line of thinking was followed by Vreim in his 1942 essay “The cultivation of a townscape” in which he lamented the decay in both maintenance and taste, providing practical advice on how to improve the buildings of Røros in accordance with the town’s “true character” and “true image”.

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<sup>2</sup> Daugstad, Grytli et al. (1999)

<sup>3</sup> Picturesque, painterly or scenic. See: Fett (1913) p 7; Fett (1939)

<sup>4</sup> Vreim (1927) p 342

<sup>5</sup> In: *Glück auf: en bergstadspreken på Røros*. Fett (1939)

<sup>6</sup> In: (“The Røros of the Future”) *Fremtidens Røros*. Eliassen (1939)

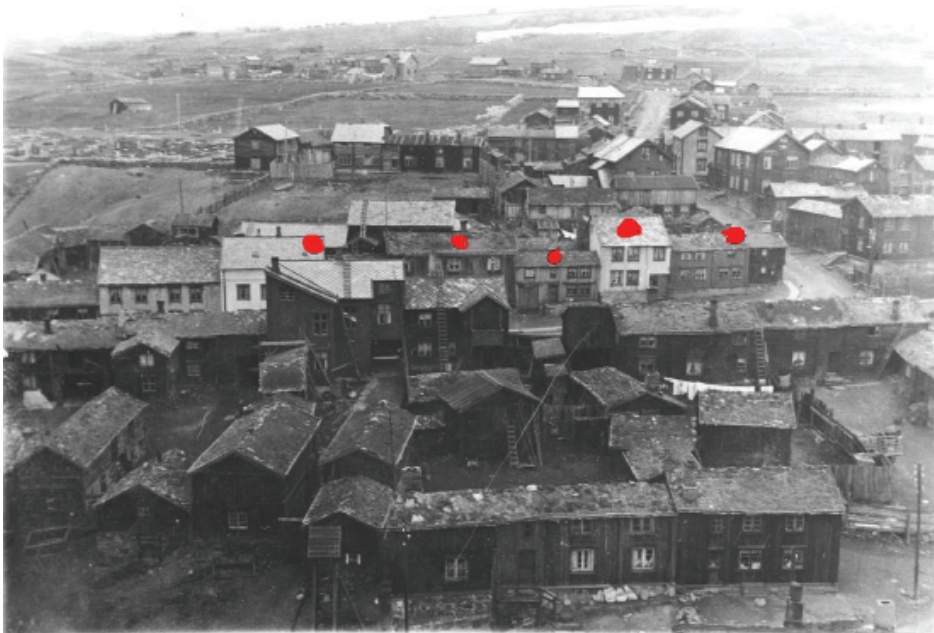


Figure 3: Røros at the time the Sohlberg Square buildings (marked with dots), were listed. Note the town farm courtyard structure. (Photograph Johan Skjervagen 1925, reproduced courtesy of the Røros Museum.)



Figure 4: Smog from the smelting hut in the centre of Røros town in the 1950s. (©Trøndelag Folkemuseum)





Figure 5: “Røraas 1853, C. M. Schult, T.hjem”. (NTNU UBiT Billedsamlingen)



Figure 6: *Etter snestorm* (“After the snowstorm”) Harald Sohlberg in 1903. The buildings were often referred to as Sohlbergrekka, the Sohlberg row, after his painting. Five of the buildings were listed in 1923. Harald Sohlberg (1869-1935) lived in Røros from 1902-1907. (©Nasjonalgalleriet)

### 5.1.2 Conservation activity in Røros before 1950

#### *A changing scene*

Røros experienced changes in its economy between the 1880s and around 1910 which altered the image of the town. As the mining company (Røros Kopperverk) gradually lifted its trade monopoly, commercial activity became a part of Røros town life and a number of the street houses were rebuilt to accommodate small shops.<sup>7</sup> During the same period many street façades were renewed in the Swiss Style, introduced to Røros with the Røros railway, which opened in 1877.<sup>8</sup> This renewal of Røros buildings was, in retrospect, viewed by antiquarians like Eliassen, Fett and Vreim as a threat to the original Røros. In the years between the two World Wars (1918-1939) Røros was in economic recession, which also brought about stagnation in the building industry. The tradition of town farming was taken up to be continued throughout the Second World War and buildings were repaired and reused. In this sense the recession was, although at the time generating stagnation and decay, simultaneously instrumental in conserving the Røros town farms and individual buildings into post-war times<sup>9</sup>, by which time strategic samples of the town's architecture were under legislative protection.

The shared characteristic feature of the bulk of Norway's older built heritage is wood as the main building material, which brings about some specific challenges in terms of durability and material authenticity. The challenges of preserving Røros have shifted between decay and the threats of insensitive modernizations. Today the challenge of conservation is achieving a sensitive material and urban growth in a functioning community striving to balance modern living, job security and the influence of tourism with the responsibilities of administering a heritage site. As this case study will reveal, this complex set of challenges is not new.

#### *Conservation efforts for Røros*

The era of antiquarian and aesthetic cultivation of Røros was initiated during the Second World War with a generous grant from the German-instated Prime Minister Vidkun Quisling, a fact which is little known (Lidén 1991). Among the early planned restorations was the former administrative building of the Røros Copper Mine, "Bergskrivergården", a grand 18th century building which was stylistically restored away from its "Swiss style" façade back to

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<sup>7</sup> Ødegaard, Hektoen Øveraas in: Christie and Hinsch (1983) p 14

<sup>8</sup> Glåmos station is preserved as an authentic Swiss Style building and is today listed. The station building at Røros station has been 'restored', many of its original Swiss Style elements removed.

<sup>9</sup> Ødegaard (1973) p 23

its neoclassical origins, a model which set the standard for later restorations of street façades in Røros.<sup>10</sup>

Restoration works in the post-war era in Røros were supervised by the *Riksantikvaren*'s representative Halvor Vreim. Vreim grew up in Telemark, a region where log-building and decorative traditions are strong, and initially trained as a carpenter. After receiving a degree in architecture he worked at the open air building museum in Oslo, before becoming *Riksantikvaren*'s main architect working with listed buildings. Vreim was an expert on all aspects of wooden vernacular architecture and wrote several books on the subject. He was active on the Røros scene until his death in 1966.

The buildings in Sohlberg Square in Røros had been listed in the first round of listings after the first Built Heritage Act was passed in 1921. The act provided no guidelines for the treatment of listed buildings. The general criteria for listing were "historic and artistic value". What this constituted and how to preserve it were not specified in the listings documents, in which descriptions of the listed object were brief if there were any. For Sohlberg Square, the letters sent to the owners in the event of the listing of their properties in 1923 offer a short description of the houses which gives a small clue why they were considered significant: "Five houses above the church, on the hill, which constitute a street scene especially characteristic of the town, while the buildings at the same time are good examples of the town's building typology".<sup>11</sup> The picturesque aspect seems to have been a stronger motive for listing, more so than the value of each individual house; Røros was frequently referred in the context of "*gamle karakteristiske bypartier*" (old, typical areas of town).<sup>12</sup> There seems to have been little conservation activity in Røros in the years following the listing, but interest was boosted when *Riksantikvaren* and *Fortidsminneforeningen* held a large meeting here in 1938.<sup>13</sup> Harry Fett presented a vision for the conservation of Røros in a speech held at the meeting, "*Glück Auf*"; subsequently printed in *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s annal and as a separate booklet. Following the meeting there were discussions between *Fortidsminneforeningen*, *Riksantikvaren* and *Den Gamle Bergstad* (The Old Mining Town society) to restore Sohlbergrekka:

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<sup>10</sup> Vreim (1944) pp 15-17

<sup>11</sup> Note dated April 3rd 1923 with the caption "Hus nr. 267. 23-I". RA archive

<sup>12</sup> Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1941) p 152

<sup>13</sup> Daugstad, Grytli et al. (1999)

“And also, in collaboration with the society The Old Mining Town (*Den Gamle Bergstad*), work has been taken up to restore the familiar “motif of Sohlberg.”<sup>14</sup>

Surveys performed by architecture students in 1939 must have been considered a part of this initiative [Figure 19, 27, 39-40]. There is no further archival documentation on a restoration plan (I have found none in Røros municipal archive, the archive of the Røros museum or *Riksantikvaren*'s archive). The work which was done on the buildings which constituted “*Sohlberg's motif*”, “the motif of Sohlberg”, in the 1940s and 1950s was all initiated by the owners, and any suggestion for the treatment of the buildings from the conservation authorities was in response to this, rather than in anticipation, as will be related in detail later in this chapter.

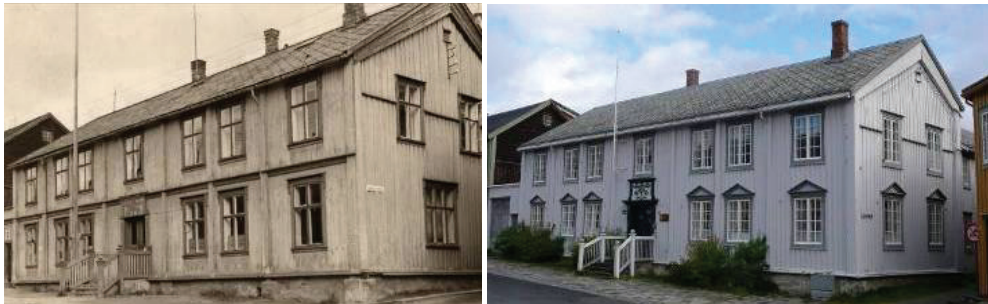


Figure 7-9. The monumental “Bergskrivergården” in Røros was stylistically restored back to its neoclassical origins following a design by the architect Tycho Castberg from the 1940s (top). Photograph of the building before the restoration, reprinted from Vreim’s 1942 article (bottom left), showing the building “done up” in the popular Swiss Style, before the restoration. “Bergskrivergården as it once was and at will be according to the restoration proposal by Tycho Castberg” Halvor Vreim wrote in his piece *Pleien av et Bybillede* (1944). Bergskrivergården in 2007 (bottom right). (Tycho Castberg, Riksantikvaren archive; photograph Unknown ©Riksantikvaren; MB 2007)

<sup>14</sup> “Dessuten er det i samarbeid med foreningen Den gamle Bergstad tatt op arbeide for å restaurere det bekjente “Sohlbergs motif”” Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1941) p 152

### *Conservation values*

The mountain mining town of Røros in Norway was designated as a World Heritage Site in 1980 under the criteria III, IV and V.<sup>15</sup> As well as being a preserved historical townscape, Røros is acknowledged to be an illustration of an important technological phase in European history and a demonstration of a complex system of resource exploitation. An application for re-listing as World Heritage has been submitted to include prior omissions. The town's street pattern and a substantial proportion of Røros' traditional wooden dwellings and farm buildings have survived, and although surrounded by more recent developments the town itself is relatively undisturbed. ICOMOS states that this gives Røros a rare if not unique quality in the Nordic region (ICOMOS 2003). Although the heritage of Røros is made up of a complex system of buildings, structures and landscapes, only the actual town was entered on the World Heritage List. The site is now facing a re-nomination to include prior omissions.

#### **5.1.3 Legislation and management**

Røros was recognized early on as a place of artistic and antiquarian interest, as demonstrated by Solberg's paintings. Plans to establish a museum in Røros were propagated in the 1920s, and a museum committee acquired land immediately outside of Røros town centre in 1936 and had several buildings moved here.<sup>16</sup> The idea of an open air museum was however quickly abandoned in favour of efforts to preserve the town *in situ*, which became a possibility with *Bygningsfredningsloven*, the Norwegian Built Heritage Act of 1920. Listing did not always prevent individual buildings from being moved, disassembled or rebuilt, but legislation did place them under the influence of *Riksantikvaren*, and processes of conservation are well documented.

### *Listing buildings in Røros*

Descriptions of Røros had always stressed its scenic qualities, and the first listings proved that antiquarians also regarded the whole town as significant, not only its individual buildings. In the first rounds of listings in the early 1920s, Røros was highly represented. Both buildings of a more monumental character and smaller scale vernacular buildings were selected. The

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<sup>15</sup> Criteria for category (a) sites (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared; (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history; (v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change. UNESCO (2010). See also Feilden and Jokilehto (1998) pp 6-

<sup>16</sup> Ødegaard (1973) p 2

Sohlbergrekka listings are an example of the latter; five buildings listed in a series for the conservation of a street scene. Listing of buildings according to the 1920 Built Heritage Act was executed in two main rounds in 1923 and the early 1940s. The buildings in this case study, Kjerkgata 52, 54, 56 and 60, were listed as a group in 1923; the same five buildings were depicted in paintings by the Norwegian neo-romantic painter Harald Sohlberg in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Two buildings facing them in Sohlberg Square, Kjerkgata 57 and 59, were added in a new round of listings two decades later. In 1923 eight properties were listed; the five buildings in Kjerkgata, Bergmannsgata 30, Perstuggu and Aasengården. The selection of buildings for listing was not further explained by *Riksantikvaren* or *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd*. Aasengården was in the listings document referred to as the birth place of Hans Aasen who first found copper and therein laid the foundation for the town of Røros; the listing included all buildings on the farm, which is in the vicinity of Røros town. Perstuggu is one of the smallest buildings in Røros, originally situated in the “suburb” of Nedre Flanderborg but moved in 1943, 20 years after its listing, to become part of the small building collection of *Rørosmuseet* (the Røros Museum). The late 18<sup>th</sup> century Bergmannsgata 30 (Per Amundsagården) was characteristic of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Røros vernacular, with small paned Empire windows, unclad log timber façade walls and a stone roof, all features which were becoming extinct in the Røros of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> In their report from Røros, printed in *Fortidsminneforeningen’s* annal of 1930, *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* mention about 40 buildings and properties of antiquarian interest, an indication that the ambitions for conservation were higher than reflected in the 1923 listings. In 1940, a total of 35 properties in Røros were listed; many of which had been presented in DAB’s publication of 1930. 19 of the 1940-listings included all buildings on the property (dwelling and utilities buildings), the rest were selected single buildings listed without their built context.<sup>18</sup>

The owners of buildings on Sohlberg Square were informed of the listing of their property by way of a letter from *Riksantikvaren* with the following brief wording:

“One is permitted to honourably inform You that Your house has been listed. Please find enclosed a copy of the Built Heritage Act, and allow for the reference of the following statement regarding your listed property: “Five houses above the church on “Hauan”. Together with the church, these constitute a street

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<sup>17</sup> Per Amundsagården has an exceptional conservation history; as the owner contested the listing, the building was reassembled two years after its listing and stored at Norsk Folkemuseum, Bygdøy, for half a century before being re-erected on its previous plot in 1972 on a grant from Fortidsminneforeningen who took on ownership and administration of the building. The building’s interlude in storage stalled its development; and with Fortidsminneforeningen as owner the façade and interiors were meticulously restored to an early 19<sup>th</sup> century situation in 1972. Christie and Hinsch (1983) pp 46-48, 102

<sup>18</sup> Listings document, *Hus approbert til fredning på Røros* 3. april 1940. RA archive

image which is especially characteristic of the town, while at the same time being good examples of the town's buildings."<sup>19</sup>

Whether the owners in Røros had been briefed on the work with the listing of buildings and told that their homes were a part of the proposal before they received their letters is not known. The owners in Sohlbergrekka relate that the initial news of the listing of their property came from the district sheriff (*lensmannen*), one of the public servants who played a key role locally in compiling the initial lists of buildings for *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* for consideration and subsequent legislative protection under the Built Heritage Act. One owner in Sohlberg Square replied formally to the listing, informing *Riksantikvaren* that there was no reason why the building should be listed and asking that the listing be annulled as the building recently had undergone major repairs

“...so that it does not have any remains or its original appearance.”<sup>20</sup>

This was a relevant observation and significant in relation to both the value assessments of Røros by the antiquarians, and the treatment they recommended. This property was not the only listed Røros property which had been repaired or modernized; since the 1880s the town had been through a process of visual alteration. The antiquarian's strategy was to restore the town in the strict literal and professional meaning of the word; to undo recent mistakes and recreate the previous image of the town. The new legislation was a tool with which to work for the time being, in practice being as much a tool for restoration and visual repair as for actual conservation of existing situations.

After the large round of Røros listings in 1940, single unit listings have been made, including Sangerhuset (built 1907) and Apotekergården (built in the 1830s) in 1983 and Sleggveien 3 after the year 2000. Significantly, the object of the more recent listings has been to preserve architecture of a more recent date than the date, style and character of the buildings of the early listings. In addition to the formal listings, the area of Malmplassen including a number of historic buildings and constructions from Røros Kobberverk was

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<sup>19</sup> ”Man tillater sig i ærbødighet at underrette Dem om at Deres gaard er opført paa fredningslisten. Samtidig tillater man sig at oversende Dem et eksemplar av loven, og referere nævnte uttalelse om Deres gaard: ”Fem huser ovenfor kirken paa ”Hauan.” Sammen med kirken danner de et gatebillede som i særlig grad er karakteristisk for byen, samtidig som husene selv er gode typer paa byens bebyggelse”.

Kristiania den 3. april 1923, Letter 3rd April 1923 from Riksantikvaren to Røros owners of listed buildings. RA archive

<sup>20</sup> ”...slik at den ikke har nogen av det oprindelige utseende tilbake.” *Kjerkgata 52*, letter 7th May 1923. RA archive

placed under protection through acquisition by the state when Røros Kobberverk closed in 1977. The total number of single unit buildings listed according to the Built Heritage Act in Røros today is 79, divided onto 42 properties. As part of the re-nomination as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the whole historic town of Røros is proposed to be listed under the current *Kulturminneloven's* (Cultural Heritage Act) §20.<sup>21</sup>



Figure 10-11: Sangerhuset (left) was long considered “worthless in an antiquarian context” (...lenge ansett som verdiløs i antikvarisk sammenheng...) and was sold in 1978 with the prospect of demolition; there had, however, been interest in its conservation since the early 1970s and the building was listed in 1983. Bergmannsgata 30, also called Per Amundsagården (right), was among the first to be listed. It appears with an antiquated exterior; it has however been subject to extensive physical overhauls to reach its present state. (Photographs MB 2007)

### *Management*

Halvor Vreim was very present in the building conservation work in Røros during the 40s, 50s and 60s. He was *Riksantikvaren's* case worker on listed buildings in this phase, and was also involved in work on paving and street lights, to improve the general image of the town. The formal authority in matters concerning buildings listed according to the Built Heritage Act was *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemnd* (DAB), a body authorized by the Built Heritage Act, where *Riksantikvaren* was a permanent member, and where Halvor Vreim was secretary from 1937 onwards. Another significant grouping involved with the management of historic Røros and listed buildings was *Samordningsnemnda* (The Coordinating Committee). Predominantly a local group, its purpose was to assess and monitor conservation work and function as a mediating link between the local community and *Riksantikvaren*. The members were ‘resource persons’ from the municipality, *Rørosmuseet* and *Riksantikvaren* (Vreim). The local building authorities, involved in all matters related to building in Røros, initially

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<sup>21</sup> Christie and Hinsch (1983); Askeladden Database, Riksantikvaren (2010); Anker (2001)



consisted of one municipal engineer working part time, while also chairing of the municipal building committee of elected councillors.

Røros was a priority for *Riksantikvaren* in the 1940s and 50s.<sup>22</sup> *Riksantikvaren*'s work in Røros concerned both individual listed buildings and the conservation of "old characteristic street scenes", including the 1940 initiative to "restore the well known Sohlberg's motif" in collaboration with the local *Den Gamle Bergstad*.<sup>23</sup> This initiative followed the Røros museum meeting and publications by Harry Fett and Georg Eliassen the previous year, and was further elaborated on in Vreim's journal article *Pleien av et bybillede*. In the *Fortidsminneforeningen* annual for 1940, *Riksantikvaren* announced that 'the restoration of Sohlberg's motif' had begun; what tasks this specific statement referred to is not mentioned.<sup>24</sup> There are examples of plans to restore and modernize Røros buildings drawn by Vreim's himself, although the initiatives for work on buildings in Røros came from the owners.<sup>25</sup> Modernizations were executed according to plans made by the owner or prepared by other architects, while *Riksantikvaren* and Halvor Vreim gave their instructions and encouraged façade restorations in the process.

In 1954 Halvor Vreim prepared a work plan for common area issues: aesthetically improving sidewalks and streets; hiding electric cables; finding historically correct street lighting fixtures; and developing a comprehensive development plan for Røros which would take care of antiquarian interests. From 1954-55 an annual grant was given for these tasks (100 000 kroner), to improve the overall image and aesthetics of Røros as a historic place, and with the exception of the area plan, Vreim's scheme was carried out as planned over the following years.<sup>26</sup> There are several indications that *Riksantikvaren* viewed the work in Røros as a pilot for urban conservation. In the early 1940s Halvor Vreim wrote:

"Other towns (than Røros) are or will be subject to the active practical-antiquarian interest (...) The experience won in one place, will benefit work on the next, even if the tasks must be adjusted to local conditions. Of vital importance is to establish the psychological foundation for how to approach the task."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Nygård-Nilssen (1958) p 103

<sup>23</sup> Annual for 1940, Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1941) p 152

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Garmakerstugu, Mørkstugata 20 (1940) according to: Christie and Hinsch (1983)

<sup>26</sup> Vreim's guidelines for this work were dated Sept. 1954 and included a cost estimate. Ødegaard (1973) p 28

<sup>27</sup> "Andre byer (enn Røros) er eller vil komme til å bli gjenstand for den aktive praktisk-antikvariske interesse (...) Erfaringen som er vunnet på én plass, kommer til gode for arbeidet på den neste, selv om det må avpasses etter de stedlige høve. Det gjelder ikke minst å få lagt til rette det psykologiske grunnlaget for måten å gå frem på." Vreim (1944) pp 23-24

Vreim was aware that experience gained through conservation work in Røros concerned both object and process.

## 5.2 TREATMENT OF LISTED BUILDINGS IN SOHLBERGREKKA

The 1923 listings document did not refer to the buildings in Sohlbergrekka either by cadastral number, address or individual name, but as “Five houses above the church at “Hauan”<sup>28</sup>, underlining the status of these buildings as “anonymous” vernacular architecture. Each property was a town farm with utilities buildings circling a small courtyard originally reached through a gate from the street. The listed buildings were the main dwellings; the utilities buildings were not listed. The listed buildings of Sohlbergrekka shared a number of characteristics of construction and appearance, but were not identical. In 1930 the typical Røros house was described in *Indberetninger fra Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* (“Accounts from DAB”) in the following manner:

“The typical Bergstad house is a two-storey, notched timber building with a low upper storey. In one end there is a gateway which leads into the courtyard, and alongside the gateway there is a hallway, usually with plank walls in the ground floor section, with a door facing the street (next to the gate), a door at the back onto the courtyard and a door leading to the sitting room, where one plank wall divides the room to provide a side chamber. (...)”<sup>29</sup>

The description continued with room dispositions and examples, all mentioned notably with exterior detailing in the late Empire Style (*semempire*) All buildings in Sohlbergrekka had some if not all of these characteristics at the time of their listing. They had already at the time been rebuilt in various ways, altered in relation to their original façades and layout.

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<sup>28</sup> Kristiania den 3. april 1923, Letter 3rd April 1923 from Riksantikvaren to Røros owners of listed buildings. RA archive

<sup>29</sup> “Det typiske bergstadshus er et to-etasjes laftet tømmerhus med lav overetage, i den ene enden er der en gjennomkjørsel, ”portrummet”, ind til gaardspladsen; ved siden av ”portrummet” løper en gang, som oftes med bordvægger i underetagen, med dør ut til gaten (ved siden av porten), med dør i den anden ende ut til gaardspladsen og med dør ind til stuen, hvorav der ofte ved en letvæg er avdelt et kammers (...)” *Indberetning fra Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers* (1931) pp 129-136



Figure 12-13. Sohlbergrekka in 1903 (top) and 1914 (bottom). The building to the far right in all photographs is Kjerkgata 60. (Photograph Anders Beer Wilse 1903 ©Norsk Folkemuseum, reproduced with permission. )



Figure 14-15: Sohlbergrekka, postcards, not dated. (Photograph Mittet & co, UbiT NTNU Library; postcard by Normann, not dated ©Nasjonallbiblioteket. Reproduced with permission.)

### 5.2.1 Kjerkgata 52 (house number 262)

Kjerkgata 52 was listed in 1923, in the listings document identified as one of “...five houses above the church at Hauan”.<sup>30</sup> The listing was questioned by the owner on the grounds of its newness:

“From the sheriff here I have received notification that my dwelling in Røros Bergstad – house nr. 262 – has been listed according to the Built Heritage Act of 3/12-1920. That this has happened I can find no reason for, as the building about 4 years ago underwent a major repair so that nothing of its original appearance remains, whereupon I request the Board for Listing that it be removed from the list.”<sup>31</sup>

The property was re-listed in 1944, this time the whole complex including utilities buildings was placed under the protection of the Built Heritage Act.<sup>32</sup> The two-storey clad house was repaired and modernized with the advice of *Riksantikvaren*'s Halvor Vreim and supported by a *Riksantikvaren* grant. In this process interior modernizations were made, and the façade was renewed in its entirety, its wood cladding, windows and mouldings replaced.

#### *The old Kjerkgata 52*

A house on this property was mentioned in 1747.<sup>33</sup> The street façade of Kjerkgata 52 depicted by Harald Sohlberg in 1904 had five windows and a gateway entrance (a type bearing similarities to Kjerkgata 58 before its conversion into a shop, but larger and with a distinctly taller second storey); the windows were paired and the vertical casing of the notched corners between the gateway section and the main body of the building distinctly visible. Sohlberg depicted the building as being red. In the black and white photographs from 1903 and 1914 the building had a corresponding dark colour [Figure 12-13]. The street house and dwelling went through a “major repair” (*hovedreparasjon*) in 1919 which involved increasing the height of the upper storey and eaves. Photographs from the 1920s and onwards show the street façade in a light colour, possibly white.

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<sup>30</sup> The listing was recorded April 23rd 1923. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>31</sup> “Fra lensmanden hersteds har jeg mottatt meddelse om at mit våningshus på Røros Bergstad – hus nr 262 – er opført på gredningslisten iflg. lov om bygningsfredning av 3/12-1920. At så er skjedd kan jeg ikke finne noen grund for, da bygningen for ca 4 år siden undergikk en hovedreparasjon at den ikke har noget av det oprindelige utseende tilbake hvorfor jeg henstiller til fredningsnemden om at den må bli strøket av fredningslisten.” Letter from owner to Hr. Harry Fett, Kristiania May 7<sup>th</sup> 1923. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>32</sup> Letter from Riksantikvaren to owners February 19th 1964, Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>33</sup> Settlement (*skifte*) after smelter Esten Arnesen Slette. Volume 4, Rørosboka (1942) p 308



Figure 16-17: Kjerkgata 52 site plan (left) and floor plan (right), (August Schmidt 2010)

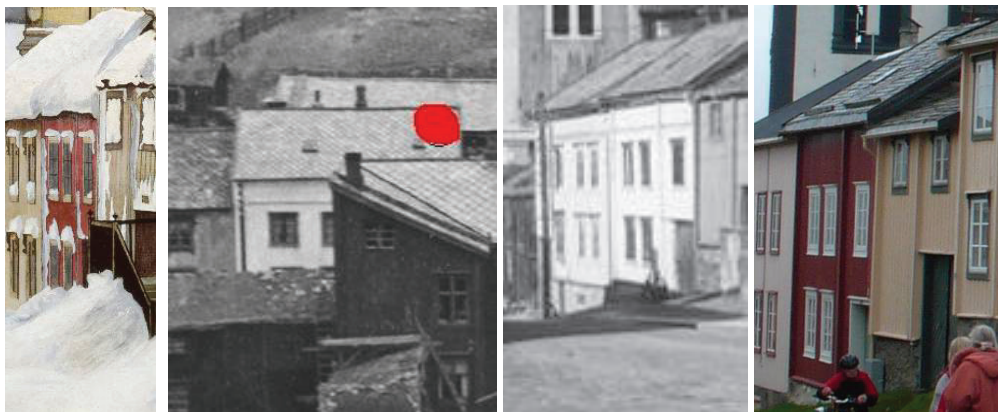


Figure 18: Kjerkgata 52, from left, in Solberg's 1904 painting and Skjervagen's 1924 photo, an undated postcard from the 1950s, and in 2007. In Solberg's painting the façade is red with dark window frames; by 1924 the wooden façade had been painted white. The restoration in 1964 reinstated Solberg's colour scheme, red and white, on new cladding and windows. By 1965 the slate roofing had been exchanged for Eternit slate tiles.

#### *Modernization and restoration 1964-65*

The house and street façade went through a restoration and modernization in 1964.

*Riksantikvaren's* Halvor Vreim provided the description for the job after a meeting with the owner on sight in 1963, sending this to the owner and directly to a builder for a cost estimate.<sup>34</sup> The grant from *Riksantikvaren* equalled the builder's cost estimate for exterior

<sup>34</sup> Letter from Riksantikvaren, Halvor Vreim, to the owner *Forandring og istandsetting av gatefasaden m.m. på Stuggu, matr. Nr. 262 Kjerkggt., Røros* October 19th 1963. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

work.<sup>35</sup> Vreim's specification for façade works included removal of existing wooden cladding in the façade, to be replaced by un-planed broader (7/8" lintels), moulded cladding (*tømmermannskledning*) mounted on thick building paper (*Isbjørn kraftpapp*); air-tightening of the timber was also recommended. The capping board at the base of the wall was to be 1 ½" thick, and was to cover and extend over the foundation wall. The moulding (*hulki*) lining the top of the cladding immediately below the eaves was to be dismantled, preserved and reused in the same place. The cladding on the gate was also to be replaced; the new cladding was to be un-planed.<sup>36</sup> The new windows were modelled on the old ones with a centred mullion and three panes in each window frame, the cladding treated with red tint (*beis*), the windows and window mouldings painted white and the gate green.<sup>37</sup> Vreim assumed that inner windows, opening onto the interior, would be mounted in addition to the exterior frames. "Old Røros window mouldings" were recommended for the exterior.<sup>38</sup> The initial goal was to repair the old slate roof by replacing broken slate tiles. New wooden details on the roof, gable weather boards and planks to cover the roof pitch ("*kåpe*" over *mønet*) should, Vreim recommended, be treated with a "conservation fluid which provides a dark tint."<sup>39</sup> The new, un-planed façade cladding was recommended to be painted with a foundation and two coats of paint; the basis for the choice of colour, Vreim stated, was Sohlberg's painting from 1903.<sup>40</sup>

Vreim's specification was delivered to the owners along with the prospect of a grant from *Riksantikvaren*. Restoration grants required the owners to sign a listings agreement, a formality when grants were given which did not alter the status of the building, which in this case was already listed (twice). Rather a listings agreement confirmed the building's status as listed and required the receiver of the grant to keep the building insured and to rebuild it in its old form in the case of fire, or re-pay the granted sum of money.<sup>41</sup> In this case, the signing of such an agreement caused a dispute; the owners were of the understanding that only the exterior was listed, and that the interior must be theirs to decorate and modernize in a suitable and practical manner:

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<sup>35</sup> Cost estimate from builder, December 14<sup>th</sup> 1963; Letter from Riksantikvaren/Vreim to owners July 2nd 1964. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>36</sup> Memo from Riksantikveren, Halvor Vreim, – *Beskrivelse September 1963*. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>37</sup> Record, typed. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>38</sup> "...gammel Rørosbelistning." Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> "... strykes med et konserveringsmiddel som gir en mørk tone." Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> "The owner must always keep the buildings fire-insured for a decent sum. If the buildings are destroyed by fire or so damaged that they cannot be repaired, the grant of kr (...) must be returned to the State, Riksantikvaren. (...)" Frednings-avtale (Listings agreement form) and letter from Riksantikveren/Vreim to owner February 19th 1964. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

“The National Antiquarian is allowed to rule and decide over the façade and the image of the street, the colour of the walls and the windows. The interiors we, as homeowners, want to have the right to decide on ourselves and arrange practically according to our own housing requirements and wishes.”<sup>42</sup>

The owners also claimed to not have been informed of the re-listing of 1944 which included the utilities buildings. The dispute seems to have been resolved in a meeting between Halvor Vreim and the owners in March, and plans to modernize the interior were treated with goodwill by *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* shortly afterwards.<sup>43</sup> Propositions for heat insulation and a modern kitchen were favourably viewed by the conservation authorities; conditions and advice for the work in the interior were conveyed by Vreim. It was assumed that the floor beams had to be replaced, but the “old, handsome, broad floor planks” were to be removed and replaced after the required heat insulation had been put in place. Existing, old floor mouldings were also to be reused. The old floor could, Vreim wrote, be *slipes*, a treatment which would give a beautiful surface. If new floor boards were a necessity these had to be broad (7” minimum) to match the “exceedingly handsome broad cladding on the walls”, and *Riksantikvaren* offered to cover excess costs for broader cladding.<sup>44</sup> The kitchen was also to be modernized (a new wash-bench and workbench installed) and Vreim recommended floor insulation; here however no strict conditions to preserve existing surfaces were set:

“In the kitchen one can use regular, narrow cladding, as the existing cladding here is a narrow cladding. If desired, one can mount hard wall sheeting.”<sup>45</sup>

Antiquarian Vreim also battled Swiss Style and standard historicist elements in the interiors, a plain modern surface was preferred to the decorative elements of the past 70 or so years.

In 1965 the roof and walls of four utilities buildings (stable, cooking house and shed, stable and cow-shed) and the kitchen section at the back of the house were repaired. The owner had plans to partly demolish the utilities building and replace them with a new

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<sup>42</sup> “Riksantikvariatet får råde og bestemme over fasaden og preget i gatebildet, farge på vegg og vinduer. Det innvendige vil vi som huseiere ha selvbestemmelsesrett over og for vårt vedkommende innrette bomessig mest praktisk.” Letter from owner to Riksantikvaren February 24th 1964, Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>43</sup> Letter from Riksantikveren/Halvor Vreim to owner March 9th 1964. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>44</sup> “... den overordentlig pene panel av brede bord på veggene (...)...de gamle pene, brede golvbordene...(...) Prisdifferensen mellom den nevnte bredden av golvbord og vanlige smale standardbord som måtte bli vil bli dekket.” Letter from Halvor Vreim to owners *Forandringer innvendig i ”stuggu” matrnr 262 i Kjerkgat Røros* March 10th 1964. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>45</sup> “I kjøkkenet kan velges vanlig smale standardbord, for her er veggkledning small staffpanel. Om ønskelig kan det på panelen legges hårde byggeplater.” Ibid.



structure, but accepted that the existing listed buildings must be repaired on the condition that *Riksantikvaren* provided financial aid. *Riksantikvaren* recommended materials and surface treatment; zinc flashing (*beslag*) for the base of chimneys and “seams” between buildings, and rusty brown, square Eternit tiles for the roof.

“According to the Norwegian Eternit Factory’s quality assessments and experience, the mentioned roofing material is durable, but one does not wish to see this used on low-lying buildings where the roof is in plain view from street level as the choice of Eternit here constitutes an eye-catching breach of tradition.”<sup>46</sup>

Clay rendering (*rapping*) on the cow-shed was replaced with wood cladding and this was recommended to be treated with iron-vitriol tint. Both this memo and the description of the treatment of the house written by Halvor Vreim the year before, closed with a general recommendation of quality craftsmanship:

“The work must be accomplished according to satisfactory standards of craftsmanship.”<sup>47</sup>

“All work must be executed nicely and with a pleasing level of craftsmanship, including the air-tightening of the windows.”<sup>48</sup>

The costs were covered by a *Riksantikvaren* grant.<sup>49</sup> Vreim commented on the work in a letter to the owners, noting that about one third of the slate tiles had “an aggressive yellow colour” when it should have been rust coloured in its entirety, and advising that sink fittings (*beslag*) were painted in a dark grey colour to blend in with the old timber walls.<sup>50</sup> Two listings agreements were signed by the owners and recorded with the registrar, one for the restoration grant for the dwelling and one for the grant for the utilities buildings; this was a formality in

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<sup>46</sup> “Etter Norsk Eternit Fabriks kvalitetsvurdering og de erfaringer en har skal nevnte tekkemateriale være holdbart, men en vil nødig se det brukt på lavere hus hvor taket er lett synbart fra gata fordi valg av Eternit her betyr et iøyefallende tradisjonsbrudd.” Letter from Vreim to owner March 14th 1964, Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>47</sup> “Arbeidene utføres håndverksmessig tilfredsstillende.” Memo from Halvor Vreim May 1964, Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>48</sup> “Alt arbeide utføres pent og i det hele håndverksmessig hyggelig, medregnet dytting av vinduer. Memo from Riksantikveren, Halvor Vreim, – *Beskrivelse September 1963*. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>49</sup> Letter from Riksantikvaren/Vreim to owners October 23<sup>rd</sup> 1965. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>50</sup> Correspondence September-October 1965. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

all cases for all buildings receiving restoration grants, regardless of their former conservation status.<sup>51</sup>

The façade was painted in 1984, the costs of paint (*Demidekk Rørosrød*) covered by *Riksantikvaren*.<sup>52</sup>

### *Summary*

*Riksantikvaren's* 1983 publication *Fredede hus og anlegg* claims that Kjerkgata 52 was restored and modernized in 1952 following a proposition from architect Johan Stensaas. Documentation shows that the dwelling was in fact modernized in 1964, followed by repairs to the utilities buildings in 1965. The former acquired new façade cladding, roofing and windows in the process. Both jobs received grants from *Riksantikvaren*; the question of signing a new listings agreement (a standard procedure when grants were given) caused dispute over the extent of the listing. The owners were of the understanding that only the façade's exterior was listed, and claimed authority over the interior to modernize and decorate according to their own wishes and 1964 standards. The listed status of the utilities buildings was also questioned, the owners claiming this was unknown to them. The dispute seems to have been resolved and the necessary documents signed for works to proceed and grants to be paid out, Vreim and *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* raising no objection to the insulation of the floors and modernization of the kitchen, or the façade renewal. *Riksantikvaren* provided grants of amounts equalling the cost estimates for the exterior work on the house and the work on the utilities buildings, also offering to cover the extra costs of broader floor boards compared to regular ones in the case that the old floor needed replacing.

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<sup>51</sup> Letter from *Riksantikvaren*, Halvor Vreim to Gauldal sorenskriverembede March 20th 1964 *Tinglysning av fredningsavtale*; letter from *Riksantikvaren*, Halvor Vreim to Gauldal sorenskriverembede February 1st 1965. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

<sup>52</sup> Receipt; correspondence June-November 1984. Kjerkgata 52 file, RA archive

### 5.2.2 Kjerkgata 54 (house number 263-264)

Kjerkgata 54, a mid 19<sup>th</sup> century house and the largest building in Sohlbergrekka, underwent a façade renewal in 1954-1955 which was criticized by *Riksantikvaren* and *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd*. The alterations were frowned upon, and the case provoked a discussion between all the parties on procedures in the management of listed buildings.

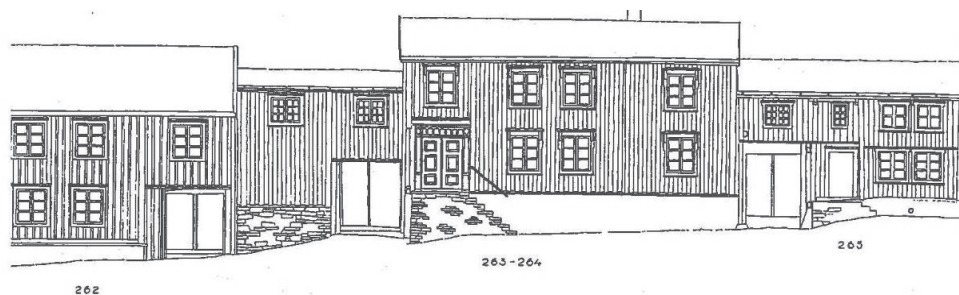


Figure 19: Façade survey of Sohlbergrekka “Bygningar i Kjerkgata” by Sonja Christie, Fredrik Christian Mohn at N.T.H.’s course for architecture students in September, 1939. At this time Erling Gjone was docent in “art of older Norwegian building” and responsible for the survey excursions. From the left: Kjerkgata 52 (262) Kjerkgata 54 (263-264), Kjerkgata 56 (265). Original scale 1:50. (ANTON database ©UBiT, NTNU Library)

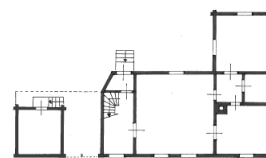


Figure 20-21: Kjerkgata 54 site plan (left) and floor plan (right), (August Schmidt 2010)

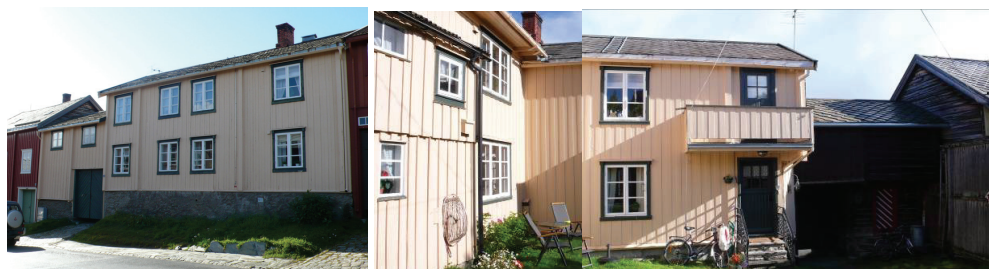


Figure 22-24: Kjerkgata 54 in 2007, street façade (left), backyard façade with extension connected to utilities buildings (centre) and backyard façade with balcony, gate, loft and *stabbur*. The buildings circle a closed courtyard. (Photographs MB 2007)

### *The old Kjerkgata 54*

According to the local history source *Rørosboka* (The Røros Book) the property was first mentioned in 1763. The current house facing onto the street was, according to *Rørosboka*, built by the owner who took over the property in 1855.<sup>53</sup> This building activity resulted in the neighbouring plot (cadastre number 264) being incorporated into the property in 1857; this year has subsequently been put forward as the building year. Other sources state 1875 as the date of building.<sup>54</sup> This may refer to a reconstruction or even interior refurbishments rather than a new building. A son of the household, John Guldal, was a carpenter by profession, and it seems reasonable to assume that he stamped his mark on the buildings, either during his father's ownership or his own.<sup>55</sup> (As a carpenter, Guldal must have been responsible for numerous construction works and façade alterations in Røros during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.) By the time carpenter Guldal gave up his ownership, the main building had been listed.<sup>56</sup> The next owner of Kjerkgata 54 was, again according to *Rørosboka*, "concerned with farming only", which may explain why little happened with the street house in the 1920s, 30s and 40s, during his ownership. The next generation, however, had the incentive to modernize the building, and a number of alterations are documented from 1954 onwards.<sup>57</sup>

The main building had a two-storey extension at the back, placed at a 90 degree angle, and joined to the utilities buildings which frame the courtyard.

The building is depicted on a series of older postcards and photographs, a significant source of information on the façade as it stood from the time it was built (1857 or 1875) until its renewal in 1954.<sup>58</sup> On this basis, the exterior prior to the renewal can be described as follows: a building with tall foundations, two full storeys and a saddle roof, the façade faced with vertical wood cladding and painted and marked casings for the notched joints (*laftekasser*). The entrance doorway, reached by slate stone steps, had a classical style portal. The windows were placed rhythmically, the central two paired; the frames hinged to the central mullion [Figure 23]. The window mouldings were of a Late Empire Style type

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<sup>53</sup> (Ingebrigt Guldal) "...bygget opp gården som den i dag eksisterer." Volume 4, *Rørosboka* (1942)

<sup>54</sup> The owners informed that the building was built in 1875, with no further reference to the source of this date. Letter to Røros Bygningsråd from owner 26th January 1957. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>55</sup> John Guldal formally took over the building after his father in 1905. Guldal was one of the founders of Røros Trevarefabrikk, in 1873; incidentally Guldal was one of the first to employ modern machinery in his carpenter shop in Røros. Volume 4, *Rørosboka* (1942)

<sup>56</sup> The building was listed 23/5-1923. Tinglysningsskriv, Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

<sup>57</sup> The deed to the property was transferred to Guldal's farmer son-in-law in 1926. The next owner, also a family member, received the deed to the property in 1961. Volume 4, *Rørosboka* (1942)

<sup>58</sup> The owners' photograph was sent to Riksantikvaren after a request for documentation in connection with plans for modernization and repairs. The same photograph was printed in *Norges Bebyggelse*. Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

(*senempire*). The two windows in the gateway loft section were small-paned, an indication of that they were older. The foundation wall of the house was rendered, with an ashlar pattern traced on the surface, whereas the foundation wall of the storage building (south of the gate entrance) was slate stone with no rendering. The steps, built in slate stone like the foundations, had traces of rendering; by 1953 most had worn off. The early photographs show the steps with a wooden railing, which was removed before 1953. In 1924 the building still had a sod roof; by 1953 the sod roof on the house had been replaced with a slate roof, while the adjacent gateway loft and storage building still had a sod roof.<sup>59</sup>

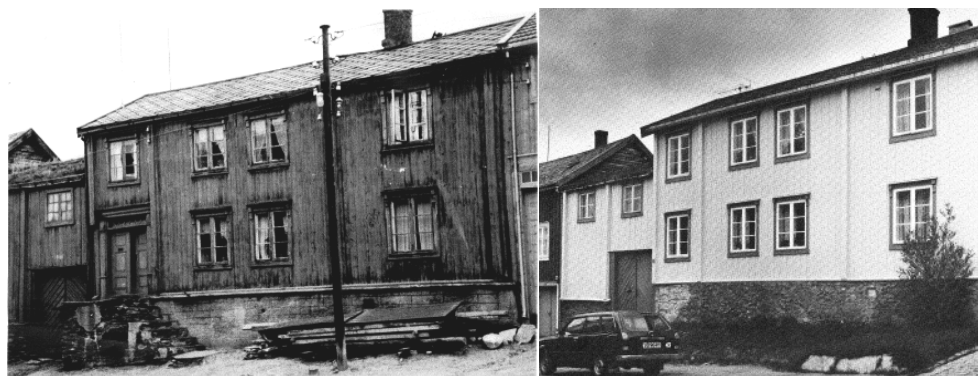


Figure 25-26. Kjerkgata 54 circa 1953, photograph provided by the owner in 1953, from the Røros municipality case file. In 1954 the building's cladding and windows were replaced, the street entrance closed off and the steps removed, and the foundation wall repaired with the application of a different type of rendering. Right: Kjerkgata 54 in the early 1980s as it was presented in *Riksantikvaren's Fredede hus og anlegg. Røros*. (Photograph Ukjent, Røros municipal building archive; Anne Wintherthun ©Riksantikvaren)

#### *Modernisation and restoration 1954-55*

In 1954 the exterior cladding on Kjerkgata 54s street façade was removed, to be replaced with new cladding. *Riksantikvaren's* representative Halvor Vreim became aware of these alterations when visiting Røros in September 1954. Vreim wrote to the owner immediately following his site visit:

”One is permitted to remind you of the fact that your house is listed. No alterations must therefore be made without the approval of the plans by *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd* and the local building authorities. Grants for exterior repairs may be applied for, including house paint. Works are then required to be performed in such a manner as to not alter the character of the building. The reason this

<sup>59</sup> The slate roofing *is said* to have been done in the mid 1930s, with the slate resting directly on the wooden under-roof. Whether there was cardboard sheeting is not mentioned, but it is known from Røros outbuildings that slate could be placed directly on the wooden under-roof without a cardboard sheeting or birch bark layer. Information given by Jon Holm Lillehjelten, Rørosmuseet (the Røros Museum) in 2007.

letter has been posted is because I did not find you at home today. For applications for grants a cost estimate from a renowned builder is required.”<sup>60</sup>

Vreim commented that at this point “repairs had begun, but not the alterations”, the “alterations” being the removal of the main entrance doorway and front steps.<sup>61</sup> He requested that the work was halted so that plans could be drawn up and properly assessed. Work on the building, however, continued against Vreim’s requests. Vreim viewed the façade alterations as critical:

”This has to a large extent reduced the architectural and antiquarian value of the building.”<sup>62</sup>

The case was treated as a matter of principle by *Riksantikvaren* and *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd*. Not only were the alterations to the building considered unacceptable, but the incident also revealed weaknesses in management and communication between the various bodies involved. In 1955 *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd* asked the Røros building council to give an account of their dealings with the case, and requested blueprints to illustrate the changes which had already been made.<sup>63</sup> The owner had, it turned out, presented his plans to the local building council in September 1954, which was about the time they were executed:

“a) replacement of windows with the same type as previously, b) mounting of new exterior cladding, 1” and 3/3”, planed and moulded; c) the rendering of the foundations after removing old layers of rendering; d) the removal of the tall (and according to the owner very dangerous) street steps; e) replacing the street door with a window of the same type as the rest of the building.”<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> ”Med dette tillater en seg å minne om at deres hus er fredet. Det må derfor ikke foretas forandringer uten at planer er godkjent av Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd og bygningrådet. Det kan søkes om bidrag til hjelp for utvendig istandsetting, innbefattet maling av huset. Arbeidet forsettes da utført slik at husets karakter ikke forandres. Når dette brevet sendes er det fordi jeg ikke traff dem hjemme i dag. For å kunne ta standpunkt til bidragsspørsmålet innsendes omkostningsoverslag fra anerkjent byggmester.” Brev til eier fra HV for DAB 6/9-1954. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>61</sup> ”...istandsettingen er begynt, men ikke forandringene”. Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> ”Dette har i sterk grad svekket husets arkitektoniske og antikvariske verdi” Letter to Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet, not dated but signed HV; the same letter addressed to Kommunal- og Arbeidsdepartementet (kontoret for bygnings- og brannvesen) from Den antikvariske byggningsnemd 10th January 1956. Kjerkgata 54 files, RA archive and Røros municipal building archive, respectively.

<sup>63</sup> Letter from Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd to Røros Bygningråd, kommuneingeniøren, 2nd February 1955; reminder from Den antikvariske Byggningsnemd to Røros Bygningråd 15th April 1955; Letter from Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd to Røros bygningråd, kommuneingeniøren 3rd December 1955 where “descriptions of the reconstruction of the listed building” (“forandringsarbeider som er utført på det fredede hus”) are requested to be posted in time for Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd’s treatment of the case December 19th. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>64</sup> ”a) innskifting av vinduer av samme type som før, b) påsetning av nytt utvendig panel 1” over og 3/3” underliggere, dimensjonshøvlet og pløiet; c) påkastning av ”kule”-puss på grunnmuren etter først å ha fjernet

No blueprints had been produced to illustrate the alterations. *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd* met in December 1955 to discuss Kjerkgata 54 as a problematic case in principle.<sup>65</sup> Plans for the alterations had not been presented according to the Building Act (§§ 125 and 131) nor presented to DAB, which was required for listed buildings.<sup>66</sup> According to the Built Heritage Act (§11) the local building authorities were responsible for informing DAB “what it needed to know.”<sup>67</sup>

An extensive correspondence followed where accusations and blame were levelled at all parties. The municipal engineer wrote a letter of explanation to *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd* on behalf of the Røros building council, informing them that they had acted in good faith. The owner had claimed to have obtained architect Vreim’s permission for “points a, b and c” (replace the exterior cladding, windows and foundation rendering), during one of Vreim’s visits on site. The municipal engineer (who was also foreman of the building council) had brought to the owner’s attention that “points d and e” (removing the entrance doorway and steps) possibly would be in conflict with *Riksantikvaren*’s wishes. The building council had not acted further, having perceived that the owner was prepared to take the responsibility if this indeed turned out to be the case. The municipal engineer had further requested that the owner provide window mouldings which were identical to the previous ones. The owner had conceded to this and altered his order.<sup>68</sup> The letter of explanation closed with a reflection on the challenges the local building administration had in general, and with listed buildings specifically:

“... I repeat my request for guidelines for the management of single listed buildings in Bergstaden .... *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd* will surely be surprised at the informal way in which this matter has been treated, but the Building Council must in this respect ask you to consider that the leap from a primitive buildings management – which right up until the end of the recent war could approve a pencilled sketch on a piece of brown paper as a plan for a house – to a fully accomplished buildings administration is a large one, and that its tasks – such as they now are – cannot be performed by one man who has maybe only 1/6<sup>th</sup> of his time at his disposal for this task, in addition to a number of other obligations. One has now reached the situation where permits are applied for in the case of most types

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den gamle, delvis avskallede puss; d) vekkkrivning av den høie (og efter eierens skjønn meget farlige) gatetrapp; e) erstatning av gatedøren med vindu av samme type som de øvrige.” Letter 9th December 1955 from Røros Byggningsråd to Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>65</sup> Letter to Kommunal- og arbeidsdepartementet (kontoret for bygnings- og brannvesen) from Den antikvariske byggningsnemd 10th January 1956. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>66</sup> Building Act (Bygningsloven) §§ 125 og 131; Built Heritage Act (Lov um bygningsfredning frå 3. desember 1920) § 6. Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> “...det som den kan ha gagn av å vite.” § 11 Lov um Bygningsfredning 1920 (Built Heritage Act 1920)

<sup>68</sup> Letter 9th December 1955 from Røros Byggningsråd to Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemnd. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

of buildings are applied for, but for various reasons it has been difficult – despite repeated advertisements in the local newspapers – for builders as well as owners to grasp the full implications of the requirements to apply for building permits.”<sup>69</sup>

Kjerkgata 54 was discussed by *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* in a meeting on 20th December 1955, where it was agreed to “send the owner a sharp letter, and to report the case to the Department (*Kommunal og Arbeidsdepartementet*) or to the Røros town council”.<sup>70</sup> Vreim subsequently corresponded with a law professor to clarify issues regarding sanctions against the owner and the local building council.<sup>71</sup> A listed building had been altered without a building permit (“*freda hus er endra uten planer*”) and the local building council had taken no steps which had resulted in a building permit application or blueprints being sent to *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd*, nor had they halted work until matters had been clarified with same.<sup>72</sup> The “sharp letter” from *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* to the owner of Kjerkgata 54 was written by Vreim. In this letter Vreim attempted to explain the premises of built heritage and built heritage management:

“Those buildings which are listed, represent common values for society, and the listing implies that no alterations must be performed without the consent of the conservation authorities. The purpose of this provision is to acquire a professional weighing of the interests of the private owner and the interests of society, and to enable the conservation authorities to deliver professional advice and guidance on how the owner’s plans can be put forward in the best manner possible in the cases where the owner acts within the law. (...) When plans to modify listed buildings are presented, the conservation authorities go to lengths to accommodate the wishes of the owner.”<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> “...retningslinjer for de enkelte fredede bygninger i Bergstaden. Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd vil sikkert forundres over den selsomme og uformelle behandlingsmåte, men bygningsrådet må i denne forbindelse be Dem erindre at spranget fra et primitivt bygningsvesen – som helt til slutten av siste krig kunde godkjenne blyantriss (planskisse) på gråpapir av prosjekterte trehus – til en fullt utbygd bygningsadministrasjon er stort, og at dens oppgaver – slik byggingen har artet sig i de senere år – ikke kan skjøtes av en man som kanskje bare har ca 1/6 part av sin tid ved siden av alle andre pålagte oppgaver) disponibel for dette formål. Man er nå kommet så langt at de aller fleste type bygninger blir anmeldt (vedlagt tegninger) men av forskjellige grunner har der vært vanskelig – til tross for gjentatte averteringer i stedets aviser – å få så vel byggherrer som håndverksmestre til å fatte rekkevidden av anmeldelsesplikten.” Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> “... å sende eieren et skarpt brev, samt innrapportere saken til departementet eller formannskapet”. Letter to Professor Knut Robberstad, Smestad from Halvor Vreim 6/1-1956. Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

<sup>71</sup> Ibid; reply from Robberstad to Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd 7th January 1956. Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

<sup>72</sup> It was here referred to the Built Heritage Act § 11 (see above). Letter to Professor Knut Robberstad, Smestad from Halvor Vreim 6/1-1956. Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

<sup>73</sup> “De bygninger som er fredet etter loven om bygningsfredning, representerer samfundsmessige verdier, og fredningen medfører at det ikke må gjøres forandringsarbeid på dem uten samtykke fra den antikvariske bygningsnemd. Formålet med denne lovbestemmelsen er at det skal skje en sakkyndig avveining av eierens private interesser og de samfundsmessige interesser, og, at den antikvariske bygningsnemd skal kunne gi sakkyndig råd og rettleiding om hvorledes eierens planer skal kunne fremmes på beste måte i de tilfelle hvor



The owner was warned with reference to the legal text (*Lov um Bygningsfredning* § 13) which allowed for the prosecution of owners of listed buildings who acted in conflict with the law:

“The Board (DAB) must make it very clear that if there later is action which goes against the provisions of listing, it will proceed according to Act’s § 13, which calls for punishment when the law is compromised..”<sup>74</sup>

Vreim described the façade alterations of Kjerkgata 54 in a severely critical manner, referring to the qualities of Sohlbergrekka which were now endangered:

“But what has here been done the Board (DAB) disapproves of. .... With the radical reconstruction which has been performed here, this cultivated house has acquired an ordinary appearance, and the antiquarian value has been lessened. This is especially grave as Your house is an important part of a mostly well preserved and harmonious wall in a street which is not only the main street of Røros, but also – through the depiction by artists and in literature – the most well-known in Røros.”<sup>75</sup>

The case was closed in January 1957. The municipal engineer wrote to the owner with a final request for blueprints:

“... as *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd* is now discussing the matter with the Department, the building council now finds it necessary to remind you of your promise to have plans drawn up, for example for the street façade and for the ground floor plan.”<sup>76</sup>

The owner immediately responded, providing blueprints and a written account. Introducing it with an apology to Røros building council that the case may have placed them in a difficult position, the owner continued by explaining that he had seen it as his duty to maintain (“*vedlikeholde*”) the building to the best of his ability, and was not aware that a building

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eieren stiller seg lojal til loven (...) Når det kommer inn planer om forandring av fredede hus, strekker nemda seg så langt som mulig for å imøtekomme eierens ønsker.” Letter to Professor Knut Robberstad, Smestad, from Halvor Vreim 6th January 1956. Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

<sup>74</sup> “Nemnda må uttrykkelig gjøre dem oppmerksom på at hvis det senere blir handlet i strid med bestemmelsene, vil det bli gått fram etter lovens § 13, som setter straff for overtredelse av loven.” Letter 10th January 1956 from DAB/Vreim to the owner. Kjerkgata 54 files, RA archive/ Røros municipal building archive

<sup>75</sup> “Med det som her er gjort må nemda misbillige. .... Med den radikale ombygning som er foretatt, har dette kultiverte hus fått et ordinært preg, og den antikvariske verdi er forringet. Dette er spesielt forkastelig fordi Deres hus er et viktig ledd i en stort sett velbevart og harmonisk vegg i en gate som ikke bare er den mest trafikkerte, men også – gjennom kunstnerisk avbildning og litteratur – den mest kjente å på Røros ... .” Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> “.da den antikvariske bygningsnemnd nå har tatt saken opp med Departementet, ser Bygningsrådet sig nødsaget til på ny å minne dem om deres løfte om å få utarbeider tegninger, f eks omfattende fasaden mot gaten samt 1. etasjes plan”. Letter to the owner from the Municipal Engineer in Røros, January 18th 1957. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

permit was required.<sup>77</sup> The work which had been carried out was renewal of exterior cladding and windows which were “of the same type as the previous ones”, and to remove the staircase and entrance door from the façade, replacing the latter with a window. The reason for removing the entrance and staircase was explained in detail. This entrance was seldom used and the door leaked cold air in the winter, and the plan was to convert the hallway to a bedroom. The steps were in a derelict state, worsened, the owner claimed, by the street work with water and sewage during the summer of 1950 when ditching had unsettled the foundations. Since the steps lacked railings they were a hazard for children playing, in addition to being a visual hindrance when manoeuvring a horse and cart out of the gateway.

”These facts were explained to Mr. Vreim during his visit here on September 4<sup>th</sup> 1954. This he has either not heard (or understood) as none of his letters mention this with one word (...) Mr Vreim has not during his visits to this place made the least effort to contact me. Even though he, on several occasions, easily have done so. His position as a public servant calls for entirely different behaviour.”<sup>78</sup>

The letter closed with this criticism of Vreim. All planned work had been executed from September 1954 and onwards, the final incident being the removal of the front steps, which were removed during the winter of 1954-55.<sup>79</sup>

#### *Treatment 1955-1980*

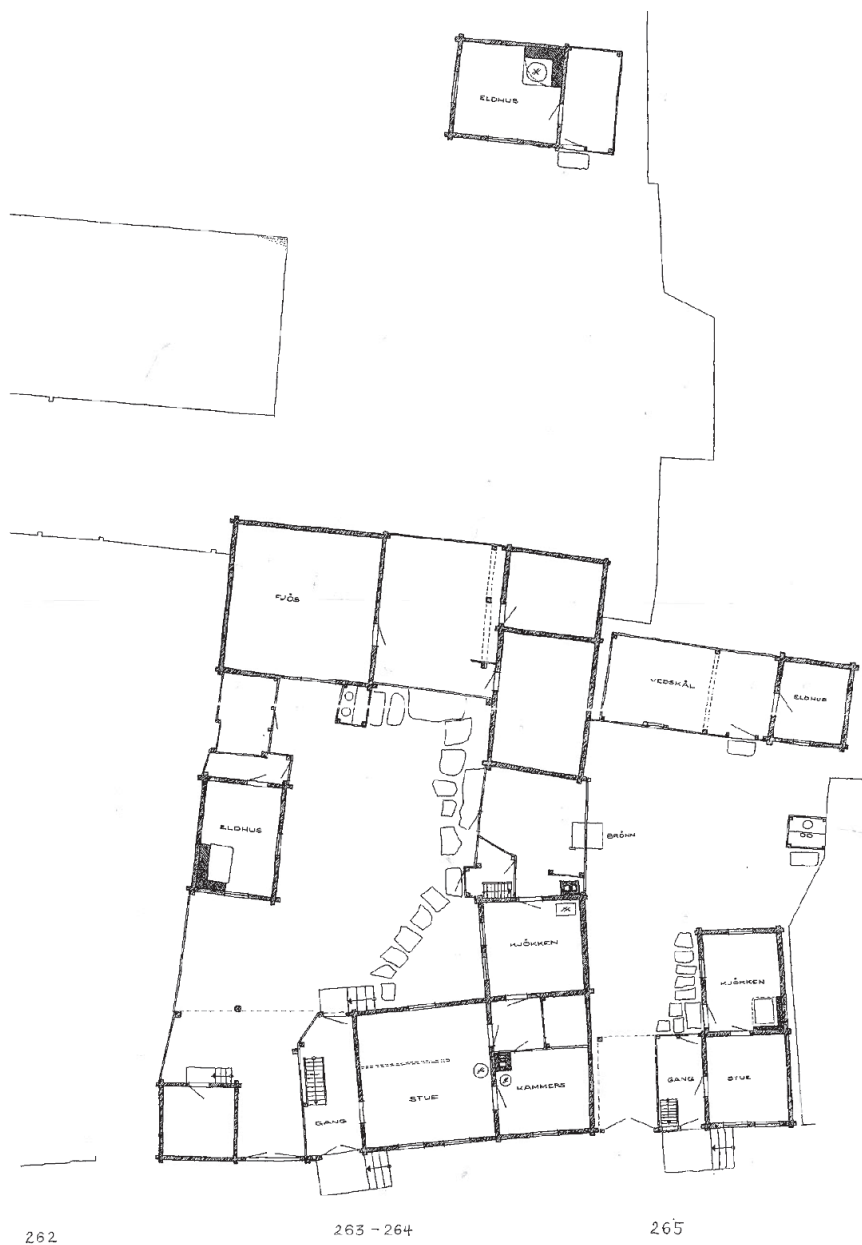
After the façade controversy in the mid fifties there was no building activity recorded for Kjerkgata 54 for almost a decade. The plans from the mid 50s had included converting the main entrance hallway into an extra sitting- or bedroom, the entrance door being closed off.

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<sup>77</sup> ”Jeg beklager at jeg i denne saken kanskje har satt Røros bygningsråd i forlegenhet.” Letter to Røros Bygningsråd from owner 26th January 1957. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>78</sup> ”Disse fakta ble forklart til Hr. Vreim under hans besøk her 4. september 1954. Dette har han enten ikke hørt (eller forstått) da ingen av hans brever nevner det med ett ord (...) Hr. Vreim har ikke ved sine besøk på stedet gjort det minste for å komme i kontakt med meg. Skjønt han, ved flere anledninger, lett kunde gjort dette. Hans stilling som off. tjenestemann skulde betinge en helt annen oppførsel” In the letter the photograph of the street facade of Kjerkgata 54 was enclosed. It was also informed that the house was first built in 1875. Letter to Røros Bygningsråd from owner 26th January 1957. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.



KJERKGATA, RØROS

Figure 27: Kjerkgata 54 (nr 263-264) and Kjerkgata 56 (nr 265), survey September 1939 by Bernt Skottum, N.T.H. survey excursion. In Kjerkgata 54 a new house was built on the premises of two joined properties after 1857. The façade was renewed in the 1950s, but the building was otherwise preserved. The dwelling in Kjerkgata 56, a more modestly sized house, did not “survive” the modernization in the 1950s, but was replaced with a new house. (ANTON database ©UBIT, NTNU Library)

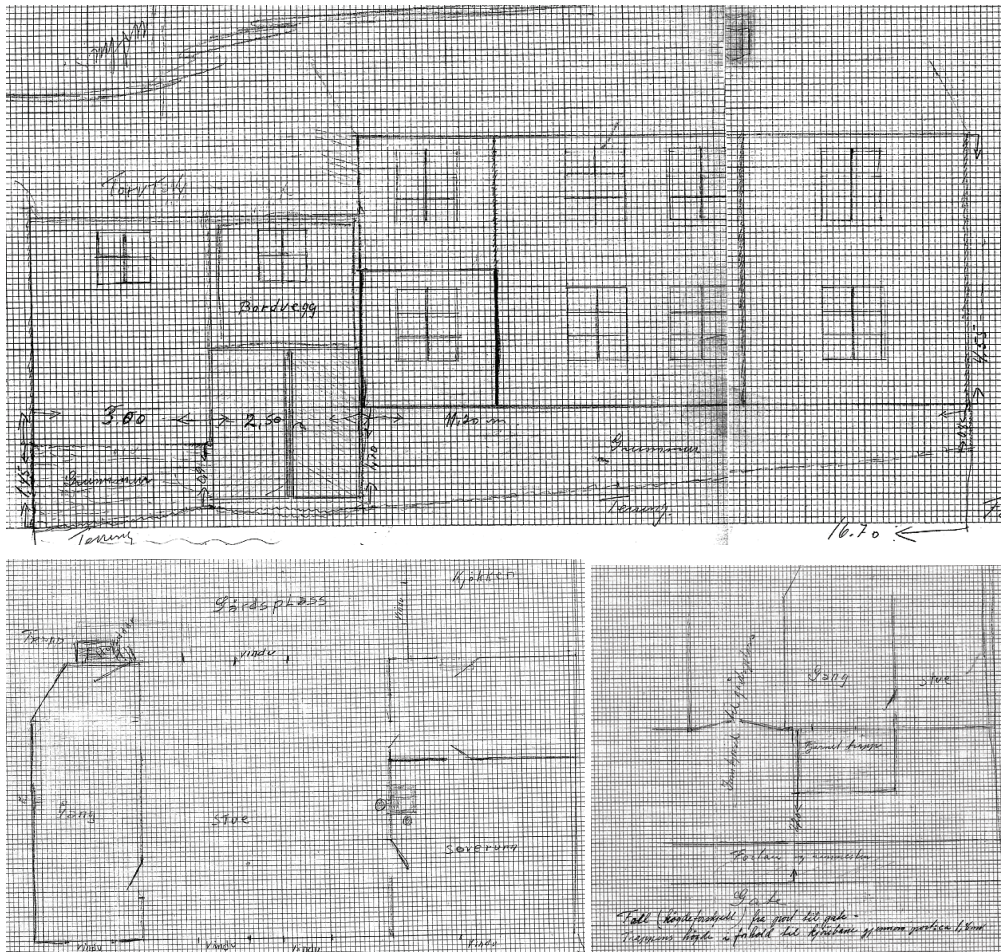


Figure 28-30: Façade drawing (top), floor plan (bottom left) and plan detail of entrance area (bottom right), the latter with the captions “Height difference between top of steps and road surface of gateway entrance 1.8 metres” and “removed staircase” (“fjernet trapp”). The drawings are not signed or dated, but were likely handed in by the owner upon the building council’s request. (Røros municipal building archive)



Figure 31-33 (previous page): Kjerkgata 54 foundations and gate entrance. Before the 1955 restoration the foundation walls had a rendered surface with a pattern traced to imitate ashlar, which was deteriorating as shown in the 1953 photograph (left, section). Ashlar patterned rendering was not approved of by Vreim who associated it with the late 19<sup>th</sup> century way of building not appropriate for the historic buildings of Røros (he commented on this in his piece *Pleien av et bybillede*). The owner repaired the foundations with modern cement *kulepuss*. This was also criticized by Vreim, who encouraged the owner to remove this and restore the foundations using a smoother lime-cement rendering, but to no avail. The gate was renewed and the gateway foundations repaired with no alteration to the design in 1973 with a *Riksantikvaren* grant. The gate in 2007, façade (centre) and from the viewpoint of the gateway (right). (Photograph Mby 2007)

No work had been done in the interior, but in 1964 a building application was filed for new interior walls, thermal insulation and a new interior staircase. On the second storey, above the new courtyard entrance, a balcony was planned, which was also built [Figure 24].<sup>80</sup> At about the same time the question of surface treatment of the foundations came up.

In 1963 *Riksantikvaren*, still represented by Halvor Vreim, wrote to the owner with a detailed description for rendering. The modernization in 1954 had included the foundations, which had been treated with cement rendering (*kulepuss*), a method Vreim regarded as “unfortunate”:

“... as you will recall we have discussed the question of rendering the foundations to cover the unfortunate cement rendering below the house...”<sup>81</sup>

Vreim advised the removal of the present cement rendering, and instead treating the foundation walls with a smoother lime-cement rendering.<sup>82</sup> There is no evidence, either on file or on the building itself, that Vreim’s recommendations were followed.

The courtyard cooking house (*eldhus*) was planned to be demolished in 1967. This building, which was not listed, was subsequently torn down. An application for a permit was filed with the local building authorities with an enclosed sketch; there is no archival reference that *Riksantikvaren* reviewed the case.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Application from owner to Røros Bygningsråd 10th April 1964; printout from the protocol of Røros bygningsråd (same date). Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>81</sup> ”som det vil erindres har vi drøftet spørsmålet om å dekke den skjemmende sementrapping på den høye grunnmur under stuggu ...” Letter from Vreim 26th May 1964 to Builder Leif Skjevdal, Røros. Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

<sup>82</sup> ”Den lite heldige sementrapping på grunnmuren mot gata påføres kalkmørtel tilsatt litt sement. Godt blandet kalkmørtel i forhold 1:3 tilsettes tørrblandet sement og sand også i forhold 1:3. Det hele eltes omhyggelig. Den ferdige mørtel påføres grunnmuren som rapping, skjepuss som koster, men den skal ikke være så ujevn og opphakkert som sementrappingen er”. Letter from Riksantikvaren/Vreim to owner September 1963. Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

<sup>83</sup> Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

In 1973 the gateway foundations were reconstructed with natural slate stone on a new cast cement floor foundation, the gate itself replaced with a replica.<sup>84</sup> The work on the gate and foundations was financially supported with a grant from *Riksantikvaren*.<sup>85</sup>

Roof repairs on the main building were executed in 1976, with financial support from *Riksantikvaren*. The main building's slate roof from the 1930s was, according to the owner, causing condensation in the eaves, walls and ceilings.<sup>86</sup> The owner's suggestion to re-lay the roof with "Onduline cladding"<sup>87</sup> was rejected by the local building council, who reasoned that *Riksantikvaren* would find this material unacceptable. *Riksantikvaren* recommended slate or square Eternit tiles which were "...darker and thicker than the standard type".<sup>88</sup> The fact that these materials were more costly than the one initially suggested by the owner, was the grounds for the grant. In conclusion, the owner re-used the old slate on the street façade roof, but this time with building paper and a ventilation space, while the courtyard roof was laid with Eternit tiles. Gutters were not renewed but repaired.<sup>89</sup> Judging from the correspondence, the reuse of slate was motivated by financial rather than antiquarian considerations.<sup>90</sup>

### Summary

The façade of Kjerkgata 54 was rebuilt in 1954 without a building permit. *Riksantikvaren*'s representative Halvor Vreim communicated with the owner before work was completed; however no heed was paid to Vreim's advice and requirements. The case resulted in a long drawn out discussion about the practices of managing listed buildings in Røros, documented in extensive correspondence in the period 1954-1957. Poor communication between the parties concerned and the authorities, the lack of building plans and permits and insufficient guidelines for the treatment of listed buildings were the chief challenges addressed through the example of this case.

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<sup>84</sup> The owner had described the old gates as "barely hanging on their hinges" ("de gamle henger snart ikke på hengslene"). Letter to Røros Bygningsråd from owner 26th Jan. 1957. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal archive

<sup>85</sup> The size of the grant was circa 6700 NKR, of which two thirds were paid directly to the mason. Letter from *Riksantikvaren* 16th January 1973; receipts etc. Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

<sup>86</sup> Information from Jon Holm Lillehjelten, the Røros Museum (2007)

<sup>87</sup> Onduline is bitumen-based corrugated roofing, according to the Norwegian distributor on the Norwegian market since 1945. Onduline (2010 - 1 - 17)

<sup>88</sup> "Eternit som er mørkere og tjukkere enn den vanlige standardtypen." Letter from owner to Røros Bygningsråd 1st December 1975; Letter from *Riksantikvaren* to owner 3rd May 1976. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>89</sup> "Takarbeider takrenner og spillblikk, takbeslag, arbeider med gamle nedløp: rørvinkler og nedløpsrør med utkast". Receipt from Ole Salvesens Eft. Blikkenslagerforretning, Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

<sup>90</sup> Application from Architect Seppo Heinonen to *Riksantikvaren* 17th March 1975; Printout from protocol Røros Bygningsråd 20th June 1975; Letter from owner to "Den antikvariske bygningsnemd i Røros" 1st December 1975; letter from Seppo Heinonen to *Riksantikvaren* 5<sup>th</sup> November 1976; various receipts. Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

The alterations to the building involved renewing the façade cladding and windows and removing the main entrance door and front steps on the street façade. The door was replaced with a window similar to the rest, i.e. double glazed windows (*koblet*) which were similar to the previous windows in size and general design. Vreim characterized the alterations as having diminished the antiquarian value of the building and transformed a “cultivated” house into something “ordinary”.

### 5.2.3 Kjerkgata 56 (house number 265)

The dwelling in Kjerkgata 56, recorded as having been built in 1857 after the merger of two neighbouring properties, was subject to an extensive modernization in 1952. The treatment of the building in 1952 was recorded as a restoration.<sup>91</sup> The modernization was planned by the Trondheim architect Johan Stensaas who presented the first blueprints on behalf of the owner in 1950, and gave rise to discussions between the owner, the local building authorities and *Riksantikvaren's* Halvor Vreim. Negotiations concluded with a reworked design which was accepted by Vreim although he did not find it satisfactory. The plans were followed through shortly after the building permit was issued in 1952, and the house has not been significantly altered since then.

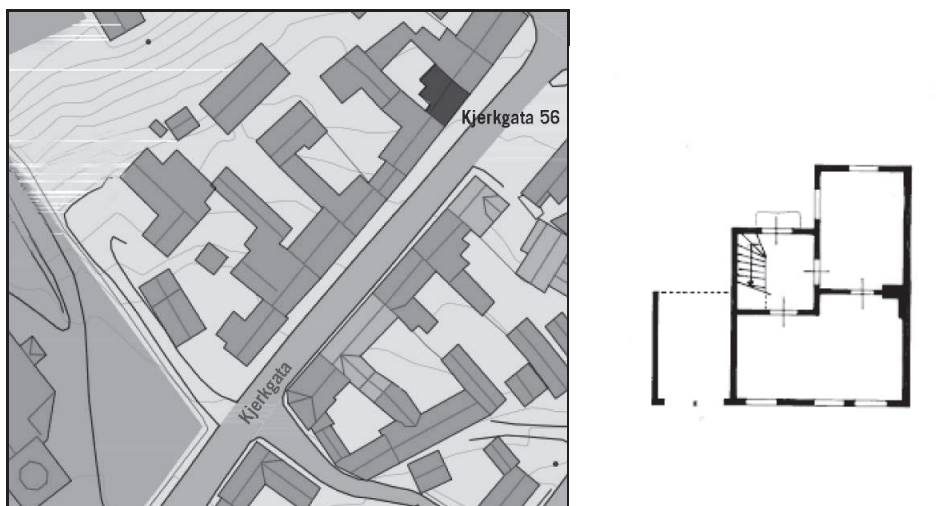


Figure 34-35: Kjerkgata 56 site plan (left) and floor plan (right), (August Schmidt 2010)

<sup>91</sup> Christie and Hinsch (1983)



Figure 36-37: Kjerkgata 56, street façade (left) and backyard (right). (Photographs MB 2007)

### *The old Kjerkgata 56*

The history of the property of Kjerkgata 56 can be traced back to 1742, when a fire insurance valuation was done, documenting the existence of a house here called Hermannsgården, named after its owner Herman Olsen. This property (number 262 in the land register) changed owners in 1857 and was merged with the neighbouring property (number 265), and according to *Rørosboka*, the authoritative work on Røros local history, a new house was built here around this time.<sup>92</sup> The fire insurance valuation gives a relatively accurate description of the dwelling in 1857, a two-storey timber building with a floor plan measuring 8 ½ by 6 ½ ells and 5 ¼ ells tall, on the ground floor one sitting room with an oven (*Blikovn*) and one hallway with a staircase leading up to the upstairs *sval*, a gallery or merely a “cool room” leading onto an upstairs loft room (*røstueloft*), also with an oven. At the back of the house there was a kitchen extension with a 5 by 4 ½ ell floor plan and 2 ½ ells tall with a full (*grunmmurt*) chimney. The house had a total of four window lights (*4 fag kittvinduer*) and seven doors. The roof was made of wooden boarding (*bord*), birch bark and sod.<sup>93</sup> An older copy of the valuation document is on file in *Riksantikvaren*'s archive.

Early photographs [Figure 38] show a building significantly lower in height than its neighbours Kjerkgata 54 and 58. The façade was clad with vertical cladding and a vertical casing between two sections. The ground floor comprised a gateway entrance, a street door to the house reached by low stone steps and two windows, and the upstairs storey four windows,

<sup>92</sup> Volume 4, *Rørosboka* (1942) p 311

<sup>93</sup> The floor plan was ca 30 m<sup>2</sup> including the kitchen addition (one ell = 0,6265 metres). Transcribed fire assessment valuation from August 7<sup>th</sup> 1857 describing the utilities buildings as "... one along the west side of the courtyard situated row of buildings of Timber 21 ¼ Ells long, 6 ¼ Ells wide and 2 ¼ Ells tall consisting of 1 cowshed ..., 1 Cooking house wherein a Chimney and another ole Cowshed, has little Window and 4 doors... The utilities buildings were taxed at 45 Spd, the dwelling 30 Spd. ("... en langs Gaardsrummets Vestside anlagt eenetages Huusrække af Tømmer 21 ¾ Alen lang, 6 ¾ Alen bred og 2 ¼ Alen høi bestaaende af 1 fjøs med Skure, 1 Ildhuus hvori en Skorsten og atter et gammelt fjøs, har lidet Vindue og 4 døre. Uthusbygningene ble taksert til 45 Spd, boligen 30 Spd.") Kjerkgata 56 file, RA archive



of three different designs. The gateway entrance lead onto a courtyard framed by neighbouring buildings on the sides and a row of utilities buildings at the back.

*Riksantikvaren*'s representative Halvor Vreim described the property like this in 1940:

“Driveway entrance, walk-through hallway and sitting room next to each other, and in the courtyard section a kitchen extension has been built. The house has two low storeys, is plank clad facing the street and the roof is laid with sod.”<sup>94</sup>

Vreim's description from 1940 and the survey prepared by Berent Skottum [Figure 27] correlate with the description of the building in the fire insurance valuation's description. This indicates that the building was not significantly altered between 1857 and 1940.



Figure 38: Sohlbergrekka, undated photograph. Kjerkgata 56 is the second building from the right, as it was before it was demolished and replaced with a larger house. (Photograph unknown ©Riksantikvaren)

<sup>94</sup> ”Innkjøringsport, gjennomløpende gang og stue ligger på rad og på gårdssiden er tilbygd et kjøkken. Huset er på to lave etasjer, panelt mot gata og taket er tekket med torv.” Memo signed Halvor Vreim. Kjerkgata 56 file, RA archive

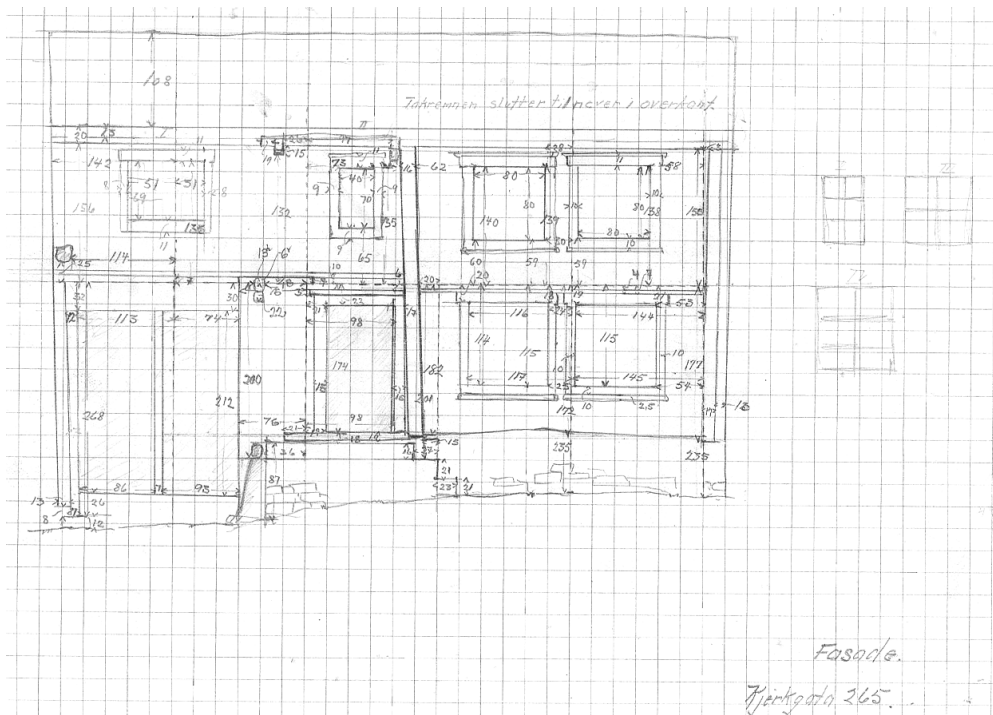


Figure 39: Kjerkgata 56 (265) survey by architecture students at N.T.H. unsigned and undated. Street façade. Filed with surveys performed September 1939. (ANTON database ©UBiT, NTNU Library)

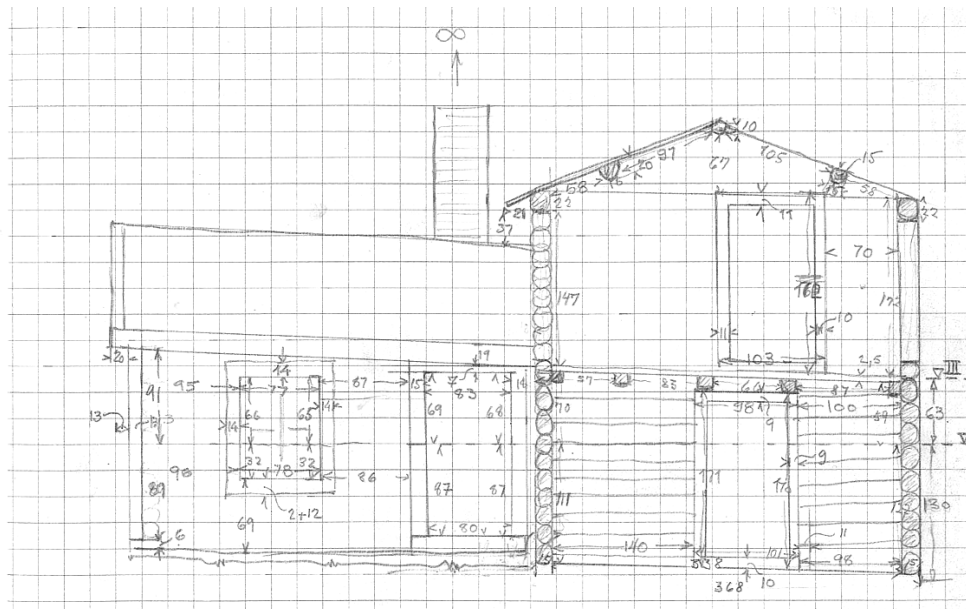


Figure 40: Kjerkgata 56 (265) survey by architecture students at N.T.H. unsigned and dated. Section. Filed with surveys performed September 1939. (ANTON database ©UBiT, NTNU Library)

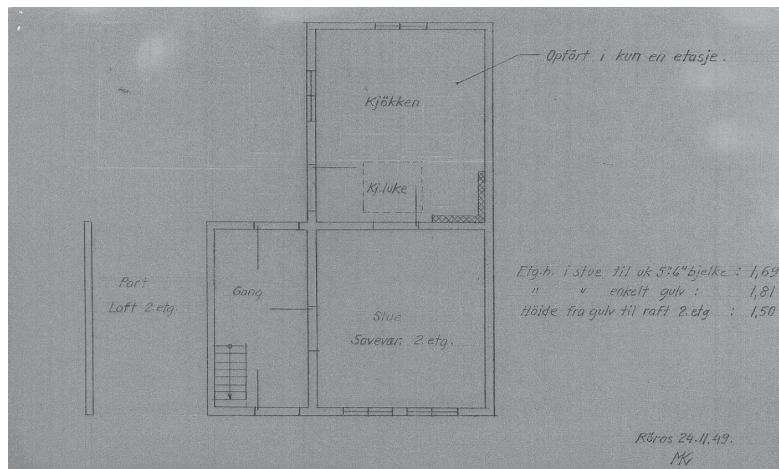


Figure 41: Survey of Kjerkgata 36 from 1949 signed MK (Magne Kverneng, Røros municipality) with explanatory notes on ceiling heights. The floorage of the dwelling was approx. 30 square metres including the kitchen extension which was one storey only. Kjerkgata 56 file. (Røros municipal building archive.)

#### "Reconstruction" and "restoration" 1949-1952

Kjerkgata 56 was listed in April 1923 as "...one of five buildings on Haugan above the church, along with Kjerkgata 52, 54, 58 and 60".<sup>95</sup> It is known that Halvor Vreim visited Røros in 1939 (the first year of his permanent position with *Riksantikvaren*) and it is therefore possible that his 1940 description of the building was based on an on-site inspection.<sup>96</sup>

The first building activity on the property since its listing was recorded autumn 1949, almost three decades after its listing, when there was communication between the owner and local building authorities on the question of modernization. The municipal engineer made a new survey of the building November 24<sup>th</sup> 1949, and wrote *Riksantikvaren* the next day on the owner's behalf, listing the plans for the building.<sup>97</sup> It was proposed to establish a basement, lift the building from ground level placing it on taller foundation walls, and to increase the ceiling height in both storeys to 2.25 metres; the owner also wished to replace the street façade entrance doorway with a window and establish a new entrance to the house from the courtyard, reached through the gateway. For the interior it was suggested to merge the sitting room and entrance hall on the ground floor, and to establish an extra bedroom in a new addition to the kitchen extension; a new chimney was also part of the plan for modernization

<sup>95</sup> The listing was registered twice: April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1923 and again October 16<sup>th</sup> 1941. Kjerkgata 56 file, RA archive

<sup>96</sup> Vreim received a permanent position with *Riksantikvaren* July 1<sup>st</sup> 1939. *Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers* (1941) p 141

<sup>97</sup> Survey floor plan and façade 1:50 signed MK (Municipal Engineer Magne Kverneng); letter to *Riksantikvaren* 25/11-1949 *Fredet gård nr. 265 I Kjerkgata* signed MK. Kjerkgata 56 file, Røros municipal building archive.

of the dwelling. Vreim responded, formally on behalf of *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd*, requesting blueprints for the proposed alterations, and recommended the Trondheim architect Johan Stensaas for the job.<sup>98</sup> Vreim then wrote to architect Stensaas in person, requesting on the owner's behalf a plan for a "restoration".<sup>99</sup> The owner for his part had requested a statement from the district physician to support the plans:

"As NN, owner of house nr. 265 at Haugene, now plans to alter his ramshackle house, I have on his behalf sent an application to *Riksantikvaren* to acquire their permission. NN mentions Your promise to deliver a statement regarding the house before you left Røros."<sup>100</sup>

Stensaas delivered the first set of plans in February 1950, and these complied with the owner's wishes on most accounts. The old entrance door was replaced with a window and the two front rooms, the sitting room and entrance, joined as one room; a new basement was planned, ceiling heights on the ground floor were increased and the house, with an extension designed along its entire width towards the courtyard, equipped with a full upper storey which would increase the total height of the building by almost one metre.<sup>101</sup> The façade design represented a stylistic unification. The windows had the same place and rhythm as the old façade but the large-paned windows were to be replaced with new windows of a small-paned design; the gateway entrance door blades were panelled in Stensaas' design, to replace the previous plain door blades, and the *sopraporta* was given a new decorative design. The new façade cladding consisted of broader wooden boards than previously and did not have the horizontal band marking the division between the two storeys of the old building, but the vertical casing of the notched ends in the façade which marked the sectioning of the rooms was present also in the new design. Stensaas' plan represented a complete façade renewal. It would, in theory, allow for the conservation of the outer timber walls on the ground floor; details were, however, not mentioned and whether parts or fragments of the existing construction were to be preserved or not was not discussed, nor mentioned by either Vreim or Stensaas.

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<sup>98</sup> Letter from Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd, Halvor Vreim, to Røros Bergstad kommune, kommuneingeniøren December 8th 1949. Kjerkgata 56 file, RA archive

<sup>99</sup> "Etter oppdrag fra eieren ... med anmodning om at de utarbeider en plan for restaurering av denne gård." Letter From DAB/Halvor Vreim to Herr. Ark. Johan Stensaas *Fredet gård nr. 265 i Kjerkgata* .14/12-1949. Kjerkgata 56 file, Røros municipal building archive.

<sup>100</sup> "Da NN, eier av hus nr. 265 på Haugene, nå akter å forandre sitt skrøpelige hus, har jeg på hand vegne innsendt et andragende til Riksantikvariatet for å opnå tillatelse til dette. NN nevner at de lovt å avgi en uttalelse ang. huset før De forlot Røros..." Letter to Distriktslege Petersson, Rakkestad, signed MK 6/12-1949. Kjerkgata 56 file, Røros municipal building archive.

<sup>101</sup> Blueprints Johan Stensaas 25th February 1950. Kjerkgata 56 file, Røros municipal building archive.



Figure 42: Kjerkgata 56. Survey signed MK (Magne Kverneng) 1949. (Røros municipal building archive.)



Figure 43: Kjerkgata 56, the new façade by architect Stensaas “Gård nr. 265, 25.2.1950”. Original scale 1:50. The eaves of the neighbouring buildings are marked in Stensaas’ blueprint, showing that both of the neighbouring buildings were taller than his proposal for Kjerkgata 56. When the building was constructed, however, the heights were increased so that Kjerkgata 56 is today taller than its neighbour Kjerkgata 54. This was not done according to Stensaas’ plan, in which he worked hard to keep the height to a minimum. (Røros municipal building archive.)

The architect had explained his intentions for the building design in letters to the municipal engineer, claiming that lifting the ground floor level would be “exceedingly difficult to achieve”, inquiring whether the indoor heights on the ground floor were 1.69 or 1.79 metres, and suggesting that plans for an extra bedroom over the kitchen extension were discarded, as this would make planning easier, the latter most likely a reference to the uneven roof planes of his solution [Figure 45].<sup>102</sup> The municipal engineer endorsed the owner’s plans and confirmed that draining surface water and packing snow were problematic for this property, and also argued for the necessity of an extra bedroom at the back of the house:

“A bedroom over the kitchen is demanded, as there is one person in this house who is ill! This is probably a difficult task, but you will be sure to receive a star in your book from *Riksantikvaren* when you accomplish it.”<sup>103</sup>

Stensaas sent his blueprints for the reconstruction of Kjerkgata 56 to *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd* in March 1950 with a letter explaining his intentions. The façade wall, he explained, was to be increased by a mere 80 cm in comparison to the old building, and the roof was designed with the aim of preserving the impression of a narrow building from the standpoint of the junction further up the street (by Korsvegen, where Kjerkgata ended with Kjerkgata 60). The new design aimed to preserve the image of the old building in scale and detail:

“...to keep as much as possible of the old character of the house in the wall facing the street (...) the small window in this façade will naturally seem somewhat purposeless from the interior but I find it important to keep it.”<sup>104</sup>

The letter concluded with the assumption that the building codes (*Bygningsloven*) in this case must be employed “with certain moderation”.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> “ytterst vanskelig å gjennomføre” ... “det ville lette planene”. Letter from Stensaas to the Røros Municipal Engineer 8<sup>th</sup> January 1950. Kjerkgata 56 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>103</sup> “Soverrom over kjøkken kreves, derav 1 syk i dette hus! (...) Dette er nok en vanskelig oppgave, men du får sikkert en stjerne til i Riksantikvariatet når du greier det.” Letter from the Municipal Engineer to Stensaas 18<sup>th</sup> February 1950, plot sketch 18<sup>th</sup> February 1950 enclosed. Kjerkgata 56 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>104</sup> “...beholde mest mulig av gårdens gamle preg når det gjelder fasaden mot gaten (...) det lille vindu i hovedfasaden vil naturligvis virke noen umotivert i interiøret men det forekommer meg å være nokså viktig å beholde det.” Letter from Stensaas to Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd 15<sup>th</sup> March 1950, Kjerkgata 56 file, RA archive

<sup>105</sup> “...med et visst måtehold.” Ibid.

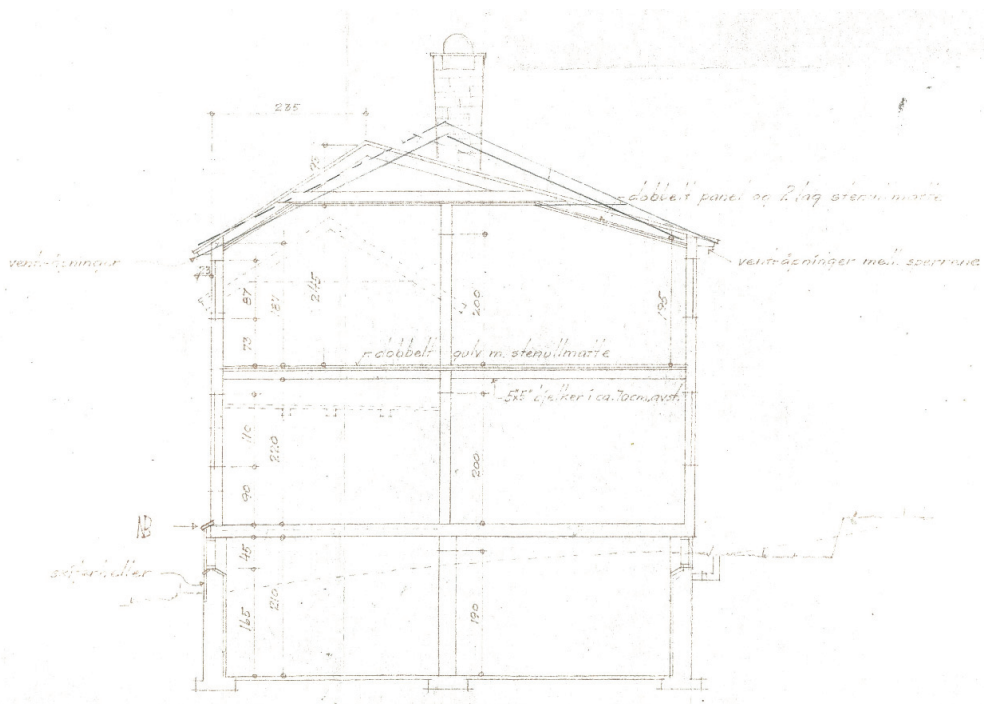


Figure 44. Kjerkgata 56, section. The imprint of the old structure is shown, enveloped by the new building. The height of the rooms was a central issue in the discussions between *Riksantikvaren*, the architect and the municipal engineer, the latter communicating on behalf of the owner. The sitting room of the old building was 1.69 metres high under the beams and 1,81 metres from floor to ceiling, while the ceiling on the upstairs room was 1.50 metres at its lowest by the façade windows. The blueprint clearly demonstrates the raising of the beam section between the downstairs and upstairs rooms and the new higher roof. The new building was doubled in depth over two storeys, but Stensaas designed an asymmetrical roof angle to give the impression of a narrow building when seen from Kjerkgata. Superimposed on this roof angle is a line tracing a centred ridge; this may have been added later, by Stensaas or by the municipal engineer. A centred ridge would make the building taller on the whole, and this was how the house was built. (Architect J. Stensaas; 25/2-1950, Røros municipal building archive)

The building application, in which the project was defined as “reconstruction of wooden home”, was handed in to the Røros Building committee in June 1950, signed by architect Johan Stensaas. The plans were reported to have been approved by *Riksantikvaren*.<sup>106</sup> The ground floorage of the existing building was given as 28m<sup>2</sup>, to be increased to a total of 57m<sup>2</sup>. New indoor heights were 2.20 metres under the beams and 2.35 metres under the ceilings, as no rooms would be “lower than the minimum required by law”.<sup>107</sup> The structural design of

<sup>106</sup> Building application for Kjerkgata 56, 1950. Røros municipal building archive.

<sup>107</sup> “... under lovens minimum”. Building permit for Kjerkgata 56, June 1950. Røros municipal building archive

load-bearing walls was described as 4” wooden frame with four layers of cladding and four layers of building paper (*fire lag papp, fire lag panel*); the basement foundation wall was to be insulated with tar paper on the exterior and wooden fibre boards (*treullplater*) on the interior. Here a washroom, water closet and storage rooms were planned.<sup>108</sup> The new foundation walls were to be covered with slate tiles facing the street, the ceilings insulated with rock wool mats (*stenullmatter*).<sup>109</sup> The municipal engineer enclosed an endorsing statement:

“When the author last winter inspected the house for the sake of carrying out a survey, I gained insight into how much a repair is due here. The house is very old, badly maintained (possibly because of the listing), draughty and also crowded for the relatively large family. If anyone should be allowed to rebuild a house that is hazardous to health, it must in the first instance be NN (the owner).”<sup>110</sup>

The local building committee granted the permit on the condition of *Riksantikvaren’s* approval.<sup>111</sup> Vreim had accepted reconstruction of the listed building; in a letter to the architect dated March 1950 Vreim approved “addition and extension of the house onto the courtyard.”<sup>112</sup> In a letter to the leader of Røros Town Council (*Formannskapet*) Anders Kvikne (who was also the leader of *Samordningsnemnda*), Vreim explained the conservation authority’s views on the matter and the reasoning behind the approval of the reconstruction:

“Before the plan for the extension was treated by *Den Antikvariske Bygningenemnd*, the following statement had been made by District Physician H. Pettersen: “with the small dimensions that (NN’s) house has, I would consider it totally irresponsible if he shall not be permitted to rebuild his house because of the listing.” Especially because of this statement, and that other aspects of this building make it less appropriate as a dwelling, Nemnda (DAB) found that it had to approve the plan dated 22.2.50 from

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<sup>108</sup> Building application for Kjerkgata 56, 1950. Røros municipal building archive.

<sup>109</sup> Kjerkgata 56 blueprint, section 1:50 Johan Stensaas 25/2-1950. Røros municipal building archive

<sup>110</sup> “Da undertegnede sist vinter gjennomgikk hele gården for å måle den opp, fikk jeg innblikk i hvor påkrevet en reparasjon her var. Huset er meget gammelt, dårlig vedlikeholdt (muligens pga fredningen), trekkfullt og dessuten trangt for den relativt store familie. Skal noen få bygge om en sundhetsfarlig gård, må det i første omgang bli (denne eier).” Municipal engineer Magne Kverneng’s endorsement of the building application 1950. Røros municipal building archive

<sup>111</sup> Building application stamped 13th or 19th June 1950. The papers are signed, not dated; Statement from the Municipal Engineer (MK) to Røros Bygningsnemnd 22/6-1950; Resolution from Røros Bygningsråd Case 2 29/6 1950, printout. Røros municipal building archive

<sup>112</sup> “Forslaget av 25/3 1950 til påbygging og utvidelse av huset mot gårdsplassen godkjennes.” The blueprints in Røros municipal building archive are dated 25/2-1950. Whether the date is misspelled in Vreim’s letter or another set of blueprints exist does not come to light. Handwritten note addressed to Stensaas signed H.V. 3/4 1950. Kjerkgata 56 file, RA archive



the architect (...). Out of consideration for the street wall and conditions of the building itself the architect has restricted the height.”<sup>113</sup>

While the conservation authorities had been reluctant to approve the radical reconstruction of Kjerkgata 56, the owner in general expressed his agreement with the architect’s proposition; this with the exception of the building height which he considered too low. The architect had attempted to keep the height of the house to a minimum but this would, the owner argued, cause problems with drainage and snow. The whole courtyard would have to be lowered to accommodate the low foundation walls, and since the roof would continue to be lower than its neighbours, there would be problems with packed snow on the roof, and the requirement of a tall chimney (“maybe 3 metres tall”) was impractical and a high maintenance solution.<sup>114</sup> The owner’s comments about the plans were presented in a letter to *Riksantikvaren* in October 1950, months after the building permit had been issued, as grounds for economic compensation.<sup>115</sup>

#### *Funding*

The owner described his old house as “exceptionally derelict” and estimated the cost of “reconstructing and restoring” the building to be no less than 28 000 kroner, arguing that the disadvantages of having to follow the instructions of the conservation authorities regarding the building’s height entitled the project some financial support from *Riksantikvaren*.

*Riksantikvaren* was applied to for a 4500 kroner grant.<sup>116</sup> Vreim authored the reply from *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd*, pointing out that although this was not a restoration a sum of 2500 kroner could be granted on the condition that the work was executed in a “satisfactory” manner:

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<sup>113</sup> ”Før forslaget til anbygging ble behandlet av den antikvariske bygningsnemd forelå følgende uttalelse fra distriktlege H. Pettersson ”med de små dimensjoner ...hus har vil jeg anse det for helt uforsvarlig om han ikke skal bygge om sitt hus på grunn av fredningsbestemmelser.” Særlig på grunn av dette utsagn, og at andre sider ved huset gjør det mindre skikket som bolig, fant nemda å måtte godkjenne forslaget av 25.2.50 fra arkitekten (...) Av hensyn til bildet av gateveggen og forhold i selve huset har arkitekten holdt høyden nede.” Letter (draft) from DAB/Halvor Vreim to Formanskapsmedlem Skoleinspektør Anders Kvikne Røros *Hus nr 26\ Kjerkgat.* Røros 7/6-1951. Kjerkgata 56 file, RA archive

<sup>114</sup> According to the municipal engineer’s survey the height difference between Kjerkgata 56 and the neighbours was 1,2 metres (south) and 1,7 metres (north).

<sup>115</sup> Typed letter from owner to Riksantikvaren 25/10-1950. The same letter is filed in Røros municipal building archive, which indicates that the Municipal Engineer wrote the letter for the owner. Kjerkgata 56 files, RA archive and Røros municipal buildings archive

<sup>116</sup> ”.. omgås jeg planer med å ombygge og restuarere mitt våningshus some er usedvanlig dårlig.” Ibid.

“The plan from architect Stensaas which *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* found it necessary to approve, out of consideration for the use value of the building, is not a restoration but to a significant degree a modernization (...) despite this one finds due to the circumstances to be able to suggest that some financial aid is granted for carrying out the approved plans ... .”<sup>117</sup>

Correspondence between the owner, municipality and *Riksantikvaren* indicates that a loan application to The Norwegian State Housing Bank (*Husbanken*<sup>118</sup>) was rejected as the bank had doubts about whether the restored building would meet their required housing standards.<sup>119</sup> *Husbanken* informed themselves about the consequences of listing by requesting a transcript of regulations for listed buildings, and received *Bygningsfredningsloven* from *Riksantikvaren*.<sup>120</sup> The municipal engineer prepared a statement on behalf of the local building council to support the application with regards to both the urgent need for action and the quality of the project.

“Regarding your listed house in Kjerkgata, the building council has previously strongly recommended that a building permit was given, as the house was in such a state that it must be deemed a health hazard to live there (...) The building council is convinced that the house will be just as good as a new house.”<sup>121</sup>

This was apparently to no avail as later a different bank was mentioned as having approved a loan application.<sup>122</sup> This bank raised the question of the listing’s validity, having been informed that the property was no longer listed, and requested that *Riksantikvaren* formally remove the charge (*heftelse*) now that loans had been granted for the building’s “restoration and extension”.<sup>123</sup> *Riksantikvaren* retorted that the bank had been misinformed; the listing was valid, and that plans had been approved “for alterations of the house to provide a fully

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<sup>117</sup> ”Forslaget fra arkitekt Stensaas som Den antikvariske bygningsnemd fant å måtte godkjenne, ut fra omsynet til husets aktuelle bruksverdi, er ikke restaurering, men i vesentlig grad en omlegging (...) til tross for dette finner en på grunn av omstendighetene å kunne foreslå at det til hjelp for gjennomføring av de godkjente planer bevilges osv.” ... arbeidet utføres på en tilfredstillende måte...” Letter to owner signed Halvor Vreim and Arne Nygard-Nilssen 9/11-1950. Kjerkgata 56 file, RA archive

<sup>118</sup> Den Norske Stats Husbank, established March 1946 to aid reconstruction after World War 2. SNL (2010)

<sup>119</sup> Letter from MK (Røros Municipal Engineer) to owner 11/8-1952, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>120</sup> Brev fra DAB, Halvor Vreim to Den Norske Stats Husbank 29. juli 1952. Kjerkgata 56 file, RA archive

<sup>121</sup> ”Når det gjelder Deres fredede gård i Kjerkgata, har Bygningsrådet tidligere på det beste anbefalt at byggetillatelse måtte bli gitt da gården var i en slik forfatning at det måtte ansees som meget sundhetsfarlig å bo der. (...) Bygningsrådet er forvisst om at huset vil bli like bra som et nytt hus.” Letter from MK (Røros Municipal Engineer) to owner 11/8-1952. Kjerkgata 56 file, Røros municipal building archive.

<sup>122</sup> Letter from Noregs Småbruk- og bustadbank, Trondheim office, to Riksantikvaren 4/8-1952. Kjerkgata 56 file, RA archive

<sup>123</sup> ”... From what one understands through the telephone conversation with (...) Riksantikvaren has now deleted the beforementioned listing.” (“... Etter hva en forstod ved en telefonsamtale med (...) har Riksantikvaren nå frafalt de foran nevnte fredningsbestemmelser.” Ibid.

adequate home”.<sup>124</sup> Upon receiving the grant the owner had been asked to sign a Listings Agreement for the land register (*fredningsavtale*).<sup>125</sup> This was a regular procedure at the time in cases where *Riksantikvaren* granted financial aid for listed buildings, nonetheless implying that Kjerkgata 56 was to retain its legal protection as a listed building, despite the fact that the historic dwelling was to be replaced with a new structure.

In March 1952 new plans for Kjerkgata 56, prepared by architect Stensaas, were approved by Røros building council, with reference to *Riksantikvaren* having accepted the project.<sup>126</sup> In comparison to the 1950 proposition the basement was smaller; the steps placed in the kitchen at the same spot where the steps to the cellar of the historic building were placed. The basement steps were placed in the same spot as the steps to the old cellar in the historic building (the old cellar steps were in fact the only part of the historic structure which was preserved). The total size of the building was reduced; the practically quadratic floor plan of the 1950 proposition altered to an approximate L-shaped plan with the kitchen as an addition facing the courtyard. A new element was the balcony which faced the courtyard, providing a roof over the entrance which in the 1950 proposition was placed in the covered gateway.<sup>127</sup>

The historic dwelling on the Kjerkgata 56 property was demolished and a new building erected in its place in after a building permit had been issued in March 1952.<sup>128</sup> The design followed architect Johan Stensaas’ 1952 propositions and 1950 façade design with few exceptions; the building’s height was not according to the blueprints but taller, the original plan for an asymmetrical saddle roof with a narrower roof plane on side of the street façade was not realized, and the façade detailing was simpler than Stensaas’ proposal. The vertical casing to indicate a transecting notched wall and façade basement windows were omitted in the final execution. The decorative *supraport* gateway motif was executed as designed but altered later. Natural stone walls from the old cellar and axed floor beams still exist under the kitchen section; these are the only visible and known remnants of the historic structure.

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<sup>124</sup> ”.....til forandring av huset som vil gi en fullt ut brukbar bolig.” Responding letter to Noregs Småbruk- og bustadbank from Riksantikvaren/Halvor Vreim 7/8-1952. Kjerkgata 56 file, RA archive

<sup>125</sup> Letter from owner to Halvor Vreim and Arne Nygård-Nilssen 9/11-1950. Kjerkgata 56 file, RA archive

<sup>126</sup> Printout from Røros Bygningsråd 28/3-1952. Architect Stensaas had prepared a new set of blueprints dated 23/2-1952. Kjerkgata 56 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>127</sup> Judging from the archival material no new blueprints were prepared for the façade.

<sup>128</sup> A building permit was first issued by the municipality in 1950. In 1952 new plans were presented; these were approved in March the same year. Printout of meeting in Røros Bygningsråd 27/3-1952. Kjerkgata 56 file, Røros municipal building archive



Figure 45-46: Kjerkgata 56, backyard façade, alternative plans for reconstruction. The altered proposition of 1952 was the basis for the reconstruction, although it became taller than Stensaas' plans proposed. Courtyard façade 25/2-1950 (left); courtyard façade 23/2-1952 (right); Architect Johan Stensaas. (Røros municipal building archive)

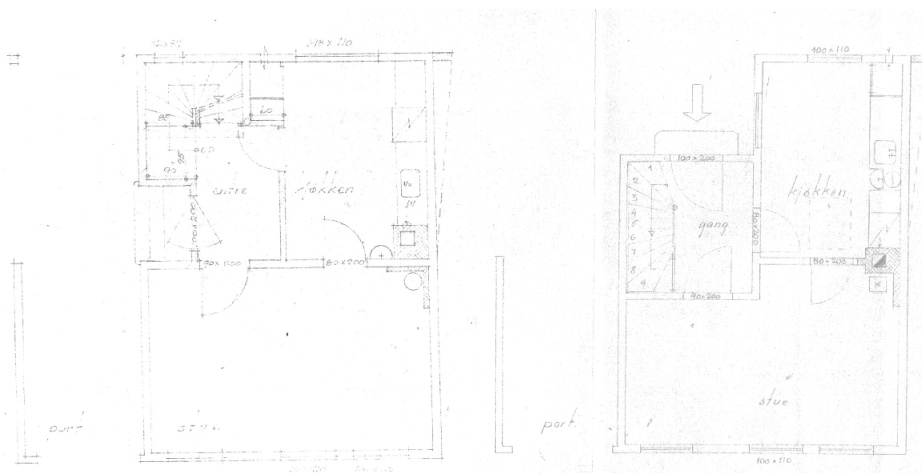


Figure 47-48: Kjerkgata 56, ground floor plan for “reconstruction of wooden home” by Johan Stensaas, from 1950 (left) and 1952 (right). The plan from 1950 included a full basement and a new staircase at the back of the house. The structural timber wall which in the old building divided the entrance and sitting room, was removed. The depth of the sitting room was the same for the old and new building which meant that this may have been preserved; however it seems that all parties at this point agreed on the plan to construct an entirely new building in the place of the historic structure. The altered proposition of 1952 was the basis for the reconstruction, although it became taller than Stensaas' plans proposed. . (Architect J. Stensaas, 25/2-1950; 23/2-1952. Røros municipal building archive)

### *Summary*

The first initiative to modernize the Kjerkgata 56 after its listing came in 1949. Plans for the 1857 building were presented to *Riksantikvaren* by the municipal engineer on the owner's behalf, and involved increasing ceiling heights, closing off the entrance door from the street and replacing it with a window, and adding an extra bedroom. Trondheim architect Johan Stensaas was given the task on the recommendation of *Riksantikvaren's* representative Halvor Vreim. Two alternative floor plans were presented, in 1950 and 1952, the latter plan with less floorage. The 1950 floor plan had features in common with the floor plan of the old building but proposed a new full basement; whereas the 1952 plan differed more from the old building but proposed to preserve the existing basement and basement entrance. There was only one façade design, from 1950, and this was followed when the house was built, along with the 1952 floor plan. Although the treatment of the building, i.e. the proposed alterations, were consistently referred to as “reconstruction”, “restoration” and “addition”, it was clear to all parties that the historic structure would not be preserved but replaced with a new house. Stensaas' plans were approved by the local building council and by *Riksantikvaren*. *Riksantikvaren* granted the project 2500 kroner.

### **5.2.3 Kjerkgata 58 (house number 266)**

The dwelling was listed in 1923 as one of five buildings in Solbergrekka.<sup>129</sup> Some time after the listing in 1923 the ground floor was redesigned as a shop, and a series of alterations to the building ensued as the business adapted to shifting needs. The upstairs was maintained as living quarters throughout. The shop premises were reverted to residential status after 1975 following a design by architect Seppo Heinonen. The treatment of Kjerkgata 58 was not characterized by one major reconstruction or restoration but by a series of smaller adaptations and alterations in the floor plan and façade.

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<sup>129</sup> The listing was registered 23/4-1923 and 16/10-1941. Kjerkgata 58 file, RA archive. When the listing was re-recorded in the 1940s the records state that the listing included the “entire complex”, without specifying which buildings on the property were included. Kjerkgata 58 file, RA archive



Figure 49-50: Kjerkgata 58 site plan (left) and floor plan (right). (GIS; August Schmidt 2010)



Figure 51-52: Kjerkgata 58 street façade (left) and courtyard façade (right). (Photograph MB 2007)

### *The old Kjerkgata 58*

The property of Kjerkgata 58 was first mentioned in public documents in 1762, then again in 1820 in a sales contract where the new owner was committed to build a new dwelling.<sup>130</sup>

Like its neighbours in Sohlbergrekka the property was a town farm, with the dwelling facing the street and the utilities buildings circling a courtyard at the back of the house. The utilities buildings were partly connected to the dwelling in the southern wing, partly free standing. A separate animal- and hay building was placed at the back of the courtyard, and a storage shed on the northern end of the property on the opposite side of the street, in Haugagløyten.

The oldest known description of the dwelling is the 1857 fire insurance valuation. The dwelling was small, consisting of one timbered room with an oven, an entrance hallway and

<sup>130</sup> Volume 4, Rørosboka (1942)

two half-timbered plank clad storage rooms of 17 ¾ ells by 5 3/8 and 2 ¾ ells tall. There was one window and a total of four doors recorded, of which one was fitted with a lock. All of the buildings had plank roofs, laid with birch bark and sod.<sup>131</sup>

The building was rebuilt, probably before the turn of the century; the early photographs (from 1903, 1914 and 1924) [Figure 3, 12-13] do not correspond with the description from 1857 but show a tall façade with five windows and a large gateway entrance, and a cropped saddle roof. The gate was replaced and the gateway entrance lowered between 1903 and 1914; during the same period the roof was re-laid, with the sod being replaced with slate. In 1904 Harald Sohlberg depicted the façade and windows in yellow; 20 years later the street façade had been painted in a light colour, maybe white.

The dwelling was recorded as listed in 1923.<sup>132</sup> The listing of Kjerkgata 58 was recorded again in 1940, this time the listing included the “whole complex”.<sup>133</sup> The photograph from 1925 [Figure 3] documents the house in the state it was in close to the time of its first listing.

#### *Alterations 1924-1976*

The first record of *Riksantikvaren* dealing with Kjerkgata 58 is a brief note from Halvor Vreim in 1940, describing the dwelling in one sentence:

”The house has a low loft section with plank cladding and tall steps onto the street.”<sup>134</sup>

Vreim’s description reveals that the building already had gone through façade alterations since the time of its listing seventeen years previously; the building had no front steps in the 1924 photograph. The “tall steps” Vreim mentioned must have been built sometime between 1924 and 1940. Other sources mention that there were shop windows in the façade here in the 1930s. The steps, shop window (s) and new entrance door then represent the first alterations

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<sup>131</sup> ”... aftermentioned with Cladding, Birch bark and Sod thatched Buildings, namely: One in East and West with the one side facing the Street situated Gabled dwelling of timber wherein 1 one-storeyed Iron Stove, Entrance hall, to storage rooms of clad framework, 17 ¾ Ells long, 5 3/8 Ells wide and 2 ¾ ells tall, with one window and four doors whereof one with a lock...”; (“... efternævnte med Bord, Næver og Jord tækkede Bygninger, nemlig: En i Øst og Vest med den ene ende mot Gaden anbragt Røststue av tømmer hvori 1 entasjes Jernkakkelovn, Forstugang, to boder av bordkledd bindingsverk, 17 ¾ alen lang, 5 3/8 alen bred og 2 ¾ alen høy, med ett fag vinduer og fire dører hvorav en med lås...”). Transcribed fire valuation assessment 7/8-1857 “...on the Widow of Johannes Nielsen Kjeldsbergs Kirsti Jørgensdatters, owner and dweller of No 266.” Kjerkgata 58 file, RA archive

<sup>132</sup> Christie and Hinsch (1983) p 60

<sup>133</sup> Register form for Askeladden, 2007. Kjerkgata 58 file, RA archive

<sup>134</sup> ”huset har lav loftsetasje med tømmermannskledning og høy fritrapp mot gata.” Memo by Halvor Vreim 1940. Kjerkgata 58 file, RA archive

which the façade went through after the building was listed, a consequence of the use of the ground floor as a shop area.<sup>135</sup> Photographs show that the first set of steps, which were wooden with a wooden banister, was replaced with steps in cast concrete [Figure 14]. None of these alterations, made during the first two decades after the building was listed, were recorded with the building authorities or *Riksantikvaren*,

Plans to close off the gateway entrance were submitted in November 1946, the object was to enlarge the premises by converting the gateway space and including this in the shop area. This time an application was filed with the local building authorities. The plan involved lowering the floor in the entire shop and redecorating the rooms to make the shop “more modern and hygienic.”<sup>136</sup> The building application was accompanied a sketch illustration of the plans [Figure 54]. The local building council would not issue a building permit before proper blueprints had been made.<sup>137</sup> Two years later the plans were approved, with reference to new blueprints signed E. Solberg. This second set of drawings has been lost but the description conveyed that the shop entrance and steps were now to be moved from the centre to replace the gateway entrance.

“I will take the liberty to inform you that the façade facing the street will be altered as the present gateway is being closed and instead the entrance door and steps will be moved here.”<sup>138</sup>

The façade alteration therefore involved closing off the gateway entrance, and placing new steps and the shop entrance here. The old shop window and entrance door were replaced by one large shop window. The old façade cladding, a broad plank type (*tømmermannspanel*) was replaced with a narrower lath type cladding (*lektepanel*). The new façade was smooth; the vertical casing of the notches was not repeated in the new façade, which indicates that the inner dividing wall between the gateway and house had been removed, partly or entirely. The wording of the building council’s resolution included an offer “to apply to architect Vreim to

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<sup>135</sup> Undated and unsigned registration form. Kjerkgata 58 file, RA archive

<sup>136</sup> “...så det hele blir mer tidsmessig og hygienisk”. Letter from owner to Røros Bygningsråd, 26<sup>th</sup> November 1946. Kjerkgata 58 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>137</sup> Printout of Røros Bygningsråd’s meeting 9th December 1946. Kjerkgata 58 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>138</sup> “Jeg vil i samme anledning få opplyse at fasaden mot gaten blir forandret i og med at den nuværende port blir igjenbygd og i stedet kommer der inngangsdøren m/ trapp.” Letter from owner to Røros kommune, Bygningsrådet 12th July 1948. Kjerkgata 58 file, Røros municipal building archive





Figure 53: Solbergrekka, Kjerkgata 58 to the right with wooden front steps, which Vreim described as “tall free steps” in 1940. In 1948 a building permit was issued to close off the street gateway entrance in favour of larger shop premises. The photograph predates this façade alteration. (Photograph, undated ©Trøndelag Folkemuseum)

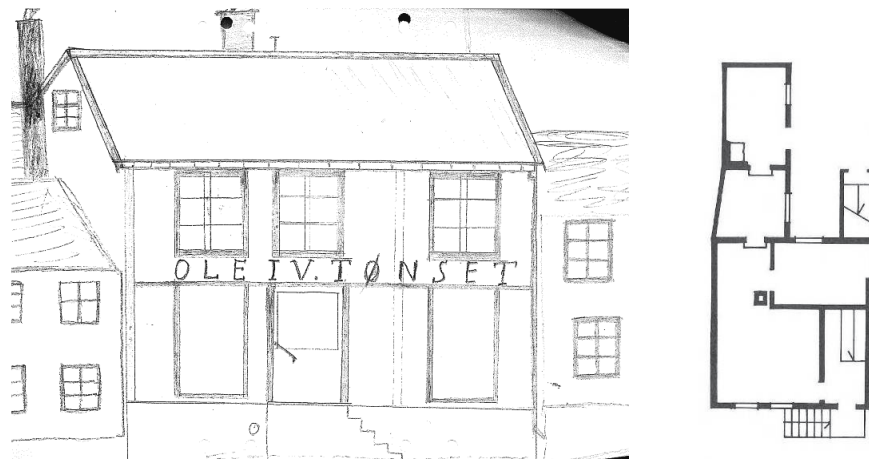


Figure 54-55. Kjerkgata 58 façade sketch (left) and floor plan (right), floor plan by P. Tandstad 1982. The sketch was submitted to the local building authorities in 1946 to illustrate plans to extend the shop premises on the ground floor by closing the old gateway. In 1948 a permit for the conversion was given by the local authorities, based on new drawings by E. Solberg where the shop entrance and steps were moved from the centre of the façade to the gateway entrance (this second set of drawings was not included in the case file). (Røros municipal building archive; P. Tandstad, Riksantikvaren archive)

propose a façade design”<sup>139</sup>; but there is no indication that Vreim, who was *Riksantikvaren* and *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd*'s only advisor on Røros matters at this time, was involved in the façade alteration of 1948.

In 1960 *Riksantikvaren* was for the first time involved in discussions on the façade of Kjerkgata 58, when the owner applied to the Røros building council to replace the existing windows of the upstairs with more modern single-paned framed windows:

“As the present windows in the upstairs storey of my building are in a derelict state and must be replaced, I permit myself to apply to the building council to use large-pane windows instead of the present mullioned ones.”<sup>140</sup>

The building council voted to approve the plans on the condition that *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd* agreed.<sup>141</sup> DAB clearly advised retaining a traditional design with mullioned glass for the new upstairs windows. The local building council voted in support of DABs opinion and put this down as a requirement.<sup>142</sup> In their assessment of the window change in number 58, DAB, in their letter authored by Halvor Vreim, took the opportunity to reflect on the façade design in general:

“To replace the present windows in house nr 266 with large-pane windows will most definitely conflict with the guidelines which are laid down regarding the aesthetic maintenance of Røros buildings. It must therefore be firmly discouraged. (...) When requiring that the old window type must also be used in the future, this is not merely out of consideration for the house in question. There is also the need to consider the consequences this may have for other buildings, if this very bad window design should be used in house nr. 266, which is unfortunately already characterized by a somewhat weak appearance.”<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Printout of Røros Bygningsråd's meeting 27<sup>th</sup> August 1948. Blueprints referred to by E. Solberg were not found in the archival material. Kjerkgata 58 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>140</sup> “Da de nuværende vinduer i 2. etg. i min forr. gård er i meget dårlig forfatning og må utskiftes, vil jeg tillate meg å søke bygningsrådet om at jeg får benytte hele vinduer i to fag, istedet for de nuværende som er delt i tre ruter a to fag.” Letter, illustrated, from owner to Røros Bygningsråd 23/5-1960. Kjerkgata 58 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>141</sup> Letter from Røros Bygningsråd to Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd 27/6-1960 *Hus nr. 266 ved Korsveien*. Kjerkgata 58 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>142</sup> Printout from Røros Bygningsråds meetings 24/6-1960 and 22/8-1960; Letter from Bygningsrådet to owner 29/08-1960. Kjerkgata 58 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>143</sup> “Å erstatte de nåværende vinduer i hus nr. 266 med rammer som har uopddelt glass, vil avgjort være i strid med de retningelinjer som det arbeides etter, når det gjelder den estetiske pleien av hus på Røros. Herfra må det derfor bestemt frarådes at vinduer med uopddelt glass velges i de nye (...) Når en må hevde at den gamle vindustypen fortsatt brukes er det ikke alene av hensyn til det ene hus. Det er all grunn til å regne med de konsekvenser det kan få for andre hus, hvis den høyst dårlige vindusform med en rute i rammen skulle bli innsatt i hus nr. 266, som dessverre preges av en noe svak utforming fra før.” Letter from Riksantikvaren sign. Halvor Vreim to Røros bygningsråd, Røros 2nd July 1960. Kjerkgata 58 file, Røros municipal building archive

The roof, which was described as a sod roof in 1857, was a century later the first building in Sohlbergrekka to have a sheet metal roof (corrugated iron, or Eternit, plates).

In 1968 a building application was filed proposing to revert the downstairs shop premises to a living apartment. The shop area, which measured around 40m<sup>2</sup>, was to be partitioned into one sitting room, a bedroom and an entrance hallway, while the attached office would be converted into a kitchen. No change was planned for the exterior street façade with the exception that the entrance door, “somewhat worn”, would be replaced with a new door. A courtyard entrance doorway was to be replaced with a window.<sup>144</sup>



Figure 56-57: Kjerkgata 58, two alternatives for the upstairs windows in 1960. *Riksantikvaren* opted for the traditional design (right). (Røros municipal building archive)

The conversion of the shop to an apartment, and thus the reversion or restoration of the building as a dwelling, was completed in the second half of the 1970s following a façade design by architect Seppo Heinonen [Figure 60]. The façade restoration was initiated by *Riksantikvaren* representatives and the committee for the European Architectural Year (*Komiteen for Arkitekturvernåret*). The architect’s stated intention was:

“...to redesign the abovementioned street façade in the direction of the original façade, and so that it harmonizes better with the other buildings in Sohlbergrekka.”<sup>145</sup>

<sup>144</sup> Letter from owner to Røros municipality 5/10-1968. Kjerkgata 58 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>145</sup> “...å omarbeide overnevnte gårdsfasade mer mot den opprinnelige fasaden, og slik at den bedre harmonerer med de andre husene i Solbergrekka.” Letter and blueprints from Architect Seppo Heinonen to Røros bygningsråd 16/10-1975 and building permit. Kjerkgata 58 file, Røros municipal building archive

Heinonen's façade design involved replacing the windows, steps and entrance door. The large ground floor shop window would be removed; instead two casement windows with triple paned frames were to be placed here. This was the window type already employed in the upstairs apartment. The new steps would be concrete or stone with slate slab steps and a wooden banister, and the new entrance door a panel door with a porthole. The lath type cladding of the exterior was not replaced with a different type but repaired and supplemented, while windows and doors received new mouldings in an "Empire Style" (*empire*) design.

A sequel to the façade restoration executed in 1975 is found in a letter from the owner to *Riksantikvaren* in 1986, in which the performance of the door was extensively described and criticized. According to the author the work had been done in great haste ("... due to the European year of architectural conservation and visits by royalty and other authorities..."), which had affected the quality of the work.<sup>146</sup> The new entrance door, which had been made by Antikvarisk Verksted at the Røros museum, was poorly insulated and had cracked, deformed and peeled. The door had recently been repaired once by the workshop that originally made it; the owner now forwarded the invoice to *Riksantikvaren*; who paid.<sup>147</sup>

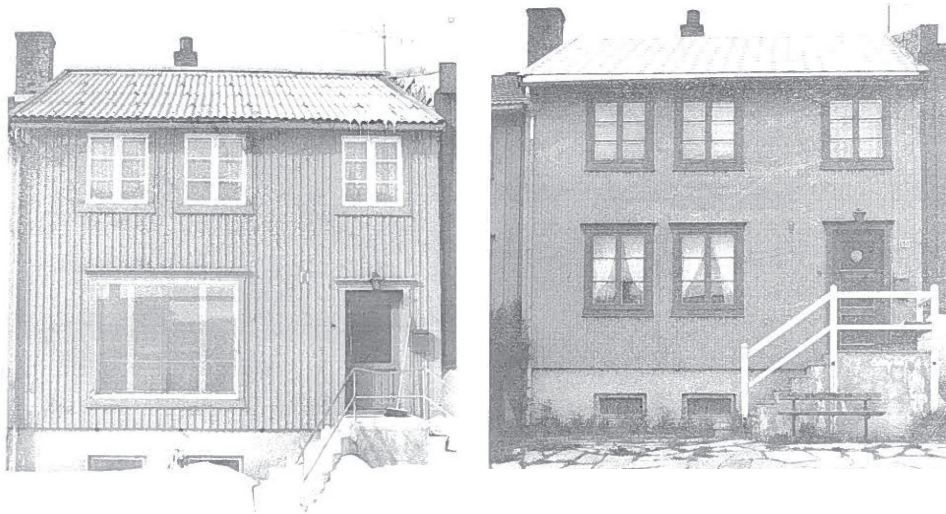


Figure 58-59: Kjerkgata 58 before and after the façade restoration planned in 1975. Photo Seppo Heinonen 1976 (left) and A.W. 1982. (Riksantikvaren archive)

<sup>146</sup> ("... på grunn av arkitekturvernåret og det forestående besøk av kongelige og andre autoriteter ...") Letter from the owner to Riksantikvaren 31/10-1986. Kjerkgata 58 file, RA archive

<sup>147</sup> The letter informed that a new, insulated double door with frame and threshold would amount to 4500 NKR: Riksantikvaren paid the invoice for repair of 2580 NKR. Handwritten note on the file in Riksantikvaren's archive: "... it looks like we are obliged to pay." ("... det ser ut som vi er forpliktet til å betale.") Kjerkgata 58 file, RA archive



Figure 60: Design for the façade of Kjerkgata 58 by architect Seppo Heinonen, 1975, entrance door, original scale 1:20 (left) and street façade, original scale 1:50 (right). The design involved new windows and mouldings, a new entrance door and new steps and banister. (Riksantikvaren archive)



Figure 61: postcard from Røros, circa 1980? The façade of Kjerkgata 58 had been rebuilt according to Heinonen's design by this time (Photograph: Normann, postkort published by Normanns Kunstforlag, 1972/Owner: Nasjonalbiblioteket)

### *Summary*

During the decade or so following the listing of Kjerkgata 58, the street façade underwent changes to accommodate the business function of the ground floor area. When the building was listed the street façade had five windows and a gateway entrance, the entrance to the building was from the courtyard. After 1923 the street façade was altered by the replacement of two windows with one larger shop window and one entrance door. The latter was reached by wooden steps, soon to be replaced by a cast concrete staircase. These early alterations were made without formal correspondence and permits from the building authorities or *Riksantikvaren*. In 1948 the local building council authorized a conversion of the ground floor to include the gateway section in the shop area and the comprehensive façade alterations implicated by the new use. An offer by the Røros building council to include architect Halvor Vreim in the design process was not taken up by the owner, and there is no indication that *Riksantikvaren* were involved before the modification had been completed. Halvor Vreim later characterized the façade as “weak”. Vreim, in 1960, would not endorse plans to exchange the upstairs windows for a new and modern type, claiming that such alterations were against the aesthetic guidelines which one strived to follow in management of Røros, and that such a change would set a precedent. In 1968 the owners applied to reverse the ground floor function, converting the shop premises to living space. A new façade was designed by architect Seppo Heinonen in 1975 on the initiative of *Riksantikvaren* representatives and the council for the European Year of Architecture. The reconstruction of the façade was completed according to Heinonen’s design but not immediately; the final detail, the new front steps, were in place by 1982.

#### **5.2.4 Kjerkgata 60 (house number 267)**

The dwelling in Kjerkgata 60 is the last of the “five buildings above the church at Haugan”, the row of buildings listed in 1923 and frequently referred to as Solbergrekka after Harald Sohlberg’s well known paintings.<sup>148</sup> By the time of the listing, Kjerkgata 60 had already been altered from Sohlberg’s depiction; photographs show that the street façade was renewed between 1913 and 1924. In the 1940s the owner presented plans to modernize the house, and in 1954 the plans were carried through. The building has later been generally conceived

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<sup>148</sup> The listing was recorded 23/4-1923. Tinglysningskort; Memo 3rd April 1923, unsigned with the caption ”Hus nr. 267. 23-I”. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive



Figure 62-63: Kjerkgata 60 site plan (left) and floor plan (right). (August Schmidt 2010)



Figure 64-65: The street façade of Kjerkgata 60 as it was presented in the Riksantikvaren publication *Fredede hus og anlegg* in 1983 (left); courtyard façade (right). Photograph Anne Winterthun, Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvaren archive; MB 2007)

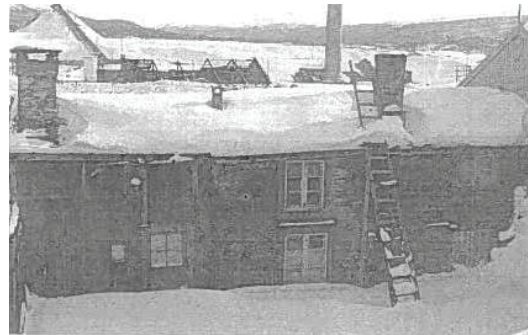


Figure 66-67: Kjerkgata 60, street façade (left) and courtyard façade (right) at the time of the 1954 modernization. These were the photographs Vreim requested Samordningsnemda to take in his letter of 11/2-1954. The façade had been rebuilt in two phases; the southern and centre sections between 1914 and 1924, the northern section after 1924; during the course of which the front entrance was removed, the walls clad with narrow boards and, out of the nine windows, seven changed to match the two larger windows on the ground floor of the southern section. (Photo by: unknown; Riksantikvaren archive)

as having been “heavily modified” in the 1950s (the building was described this way in *Riksantikvaren*’s 1983 publication *Fredede hus og anlegg*<sup>149</sup>); it was in fact demolished in 1954 and a new building designed by the Trondheim architect Stensaas constructed in its place.<sup>150</sup> *Riksantikvaren* and *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd*, represented by the architect and antiquarian Halvor Vreim, were involved in discussions on the project throughout the process.

### *The old Kjerkgata 60*

According to *Rørosboka* a new house was built on the property of house number 267, later Kjerkgata 60, in 1859, replacing an old house which was demolished.<sup>151</sup> This is the most accurate dating of the building which Harald Sohlberg painted in 1904 and which was listed twenty years later. Visual depictions of the building provide detailed information of the street façade from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to 1954.

The building was the motif in two Sohlberg paintings, “After the snowstorm” from 1903 [Figure 6] and “From Røros, Lillegaten” from 1902 [Figure 73]. The paintings depict the building from two different angles. The paintings give the impression of a building in three sections. The southern section had a façade wall of unclad notched timber with larger windows while the central and northern sections were clad with red vertical cladding, displaying smaller windows and an entrance in the central section. On the northern wall a timbered gable was displayed above the clad wall; visible ends of construction beams indicate that this section was otherwise a framework construction. The corner of the building was canted on the ground floor section to improve visibility for traffic at the crossroads. The windows were largest in the southern section; four larger paned windows faced the street (two 2x3 pane windows on the ground floor; two 2x2 pane windows in the upper storey), coloured with white frames and red mouldings, while the central and northern sections had a total of three smaller single-framed windows painted in a light colour (ochre, grey or white). The entrance was placed in the central section; a fish-bone patterned door reached by a timbered staircase with a wooden banister. The foundation walls were of natural stone in the northern section, while the section south of the staircase conveys the impression of rendering or being covered with slabs of slate. The single plank gable capping board was cut vertically at the

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<sup>149</sup> Undated and unsigned registration form from Riksantikvaren’s archive, likely research for the book *Fredede Hus og Anlegg*. Christie and Hinsch (1983) p 65; Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>150</sup> The case of Kjerkgata 60 is presented in Trond Eide’s thesis on architectural conservation from Arkitektthøyskolen i Oslo. Eide (1990)

<sup>151</sup> Volume 4, *Rørosboka* (1942) pp 313-314



eaves, which again were lined with birch bark; a natural stone chimney with the top covered by a slab of slate was also depicted.

The 1903 photograph [Figure 12] shows the southern section with the unclad timber wall, window design and wooden staircase depicted in Sohlberg's painting. In front of the steps there was a hydrant and paving of slate slabs.

The 1914 photograph [Figure 13] shows the same section of the building, clad with narrow plank cladding, painted in a dark colour. Two windows had been inserted in the place of the entrance doorway, similar to the existing ones on the southern section (2x3 panes); the wooden staircase had been removed.

The photograph taken from the chimney of the Røros smelting hut in 1925 [Figure 3], shows the whole façade. The cladding of the southern and central section was new and of a different type and hue than the northern section's cladding, which had a different colour tone. This indicates that the northern section had not been altered since 1903 like the two other sections.

The building was photographed again during the winter of 1954-1955 [Figure 66-67], from the street and the courtyard. This documentation reveals that the northern section by now had acquired cladding and new windows to match the rest of the building, the street façade now complete with the same type wooden cladding of narrow, phased (*avfaset*) boards and a total of nine similar type windows with Swiss Style mouldings (characterized by the clover motif and the saw-moulded consol carrying the water-board), rhythmically paired. All window mouldings were painted in a light contrasting colour, making them stand out clearly against the darker wall cladding. The photograph of the courtyard façade indicates that the windows here were of the same type. The street façade wall displayed vertical casings to indicate the underlying construction of three building sections, while the north end gable still seems to have exposed timber. Foundation walls were rendered, the saddle roof laid with sod or slag; with birch bark visible at the eaves. Two chimneys were visible, both on the courtyard side of the roof, the northern one in natural stone, and the southern one in brick. It is clearly visible that the façade wall of Kjerkgata 60 was not exactly aligned with its neighbour Kjerkgata 58 but set back by some 20-30 cm; it was also distinctly narrower and of lower height. Georg Eliassen made a survey of the building in 1945.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Hegard 1983:65. Georg Eliassen (1880-1964), a practicing architect and member of Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemd, was the leader of Fortidsminneforeningen's board at this time (1929-1951). Christie and Hinsch (1983) p 65; Torvanger (2010)

*Rejection, “restoration” and reconstruction 1944-1955*

The first request to modernize the building came in October 1944 when architect Johan Stensaas wrote Riksantikvaren on the owner’s behalf:

“...if any alteration of this house will be approved by *Riksantikvaren* at all.”<sup>153</sup>

The owner had use for more rooms and greater ceiling height.

“Only the sitting room, the room above it and the kitchen is now useful, and the height under the ceiling beams in the sitting room is 1.85 metres. The height in the kitchen is 1.90 metres, and the height of the upstairs interior wall is 1.40 metres”.<sup>154</sup>

Stensaas proposed two different approaches for modernization of the building. The first presumed to “keep intact” the exterior of the building, but increase the ceiling height by “0.50 cm” (0.5 metres must be the intended unit) and construct a one-storey extension in the courtyard, where the roof plane would simply be lengthened by a continuation of the existing roof at the same angle.<sup>155</sup> The second proposition would involve increasing indoor ceiling heights and the roof level, the latter by 70-80 cm, bringing the roof ridge up to the level of the neighbour Kjerkgata 58.<sup>156</sup> Stensaas’ two proposals from 1944 were discussed in *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd*, who recommended that work be continued on the basis of the first alternative. DAB’s comments clarify that this alternative proposed to preserve the standing building (supplementing it with an extension at the back), altering the interior only. DAB expressed a preference for the first alternative, proposing some modifications. The raising of the ground floor ceiling and beam section would render the upstairs rooms useless as bedrooms or sitting rooms, and DAB suggested that one room downstairs (presumably the room with the “broken” corner in the northern section) be allowed to keep its current height to make the room above suitable for a bedroom:

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<sup>153</sup> “...om overhodet noen forandring av denne gård vil bli godkjent av Riksantikvariatet.” Letter from Architect Johan Stensaas to “Riksantikvariatet ved herr arkitekt Halvor Vreim” 14/10-1944. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>154</sup> “Bare stuggu, kjøkken og stugguloft er nå brukbare, og den fri høyde under takbjelkene i stuggu er 1,85 meter. Høyden i kjøkken er 1,90 meter, og rafteøyden på stugguloftet 1.40”. Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> “.. beholde uforandret...” Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

“If the owner wishes, the height of the corner sitting room can be kept. In this way the room above can become an appropriate bedroom. The rest of the loft may then be used as a room for drying clothes and for storage.”<sup>157</sup>

Enclosed in DAB’s letter were drawings by architect Georg Eliassen, illustrating DAB’s suggestions to modify Stensaas’ plans [Figure 68].

For the exterior of the building, it was presumed that windows and exterior cladding would be replaced. The removal of the existing façade was not mentioned in DAB’s letter, but it was advised that new façade elements were given a traditional design.

“One must assume that for exterior cladding and window mouldings traditional local designs are used.”<sup>158</sup>

The owner interpreted DAB’s response as a rejection of his plans to “...build on the premises, or more correctly put, to restore my house.”<sup>159</sup> A year after DAB discussed the plans for Kjerkgata 60, he wrote *Riksantikvaren* to argue for his case. A plan based on the continued existence of the old building was of no interest, he stated; the architect’s second alternative had been the only viable option:

“... I want to build in a feasible and economical manner. Only then will I achieve full use of the plot with sunlight in both kitchen and bedroom. Mr. Eliassen’s plan does not provide this (...) The houses are so old and frail, that they in no way meet the demands of a contemporary house. The building council and the health authorities will surely make statements in favour of my restoration plan. The authorities must understand, that a burden has been placed upon me with the listing of my house, which interferes with my private life in such a way, that its effect is both economically unviable and depressing”<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> “Om eieren måtte ønske det kan høyden i hjørnestuen beholdes som den er. På den måten kan det på loftet bli et brukbart soverom. Loftet for øvrig vil kunne brukes som tørke- og oppbevaringsrom.” Unsigned draft of letter to Architect Johan Stensaas, Trondheim, in the handwriting of Halvor Vreim 12/4-1945. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive.

<sup>158</sup> “En kan regne med at det til utvendig kledning blir brukt over og underliggere med sikkert stedlig og at vindusomrammingene gis en god tradisjonell utforming.” Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> “Som kjent er det min forutsetning å bygge på tomten eller rettere sagt restaurere min gamle gård.” Letter from owner to Riksantikvariatet 30/4-1946. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>160</sup> “... jeg vil bygge slik at jeg blir tjent med bygningen. Da først får jeg full nytte av tomten med rikelig sol både i kjøkken og soverom. Det får jeg ikke med nr. Eliassens utkast (...) Husene er så gamle og skrøle, at de på ingen måte fyller kravet til en bolig, der hører nutiden til. Bygningsråd og helseråd vil sikkert uttale seg til fordel for min plan for restaureringen. De offentlige myndigheter må forstå, at her er det lagt en byrde på meg ved fredningen av min gård, som griper inn i mot privatliv på en slik måte, at det virker nedsettende både økonomisk og deprimerende.” Ibid.

Halvor Vreim authored *Riksantikvaren's* response, claiming that Stensaas' had presented two alternatives but not mentioned that one was preferred over the other. Vreim repeated the conservation authority's preference for Stensaas' first alternative:

“In reality, the plans of architect Georg Eliassen are based directly on the first set of plans from architect Stensaas, which we supposed you would also have preferred, not the least because one then has the most of the rooms in the house on one level, which must be considered a significant advantage.”<sup>161</sup>

Vreim's letter from 1956 was the last piece of correspondence on the matter for eight years. The planning process came to a halt, and nothing was done with the building. In February 1954 the case was reopened when the same architect, Johan Stensaas, sent *Riksantikvaren*, through First Antiquarian Halvor Vreim, new plans. Also, this time the plans were referred to as a “restoration”.<sup>162</sup>

Stensaas acted on behalf of the owner, referring to a meeting held in Røros the previous year, an indication that the plans had been discussed *in situ* with Vreim beforehand. In essence Stensaas' plans involved building a new house which was both broader and taller than the existing dwelling:

“The width of the house has been increased in the direction of the courtyard, and regarding the height of the building, this has been reduced to what I would consider a minimum.”<sup>163</sup>

Vreim, as *Riksantikvaren's* representative, received the plans and put them up for discussion in *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* (where he was secretary), referring to the project as a “modernization”. He also sent the plans for assessment in *Samordningsnemda*, a local group based at *Rørosmuseet* with a coordinating function in matters concerning the town's listed buildings, and at the same time asked them to provide photographs of the building.<sup>164</sup> Both

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<sup>161</sup> “I virkeligheten bygger arkitekt Georg Eliassens tegninger direkte på arkitekt Stensaas forslag nr. 1, som vi mente også de hadde foretrukket ikke minst fordi en da får de fleste av husets rum liggende på samme golvhøyde, noe som må ansees for å være en påtakelig fordel.” Unsigned draft of letter to owner in Halvor Vreim's handwriting 19/6-1946. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>162</sup> “... oversender hermed planer for restaurering av denne gård.” Letter from Johan Stensaas/owner to Riksantikvaren 9/2-1954 (sign. Johan Stensaas, Trondheim) *Ang. Gård nr. 267, Røros*. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>163</sup> “Gårdens bredde er økt innover i gårdsplassen, og når det gjelder høydene, er disse i det ferdige bygget knappet ned til det som jeg vil anse for å være minimum”. Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> “...moderniseringsforslaget ...”. Letter from Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd signed Halvor Vreim to Samordningsnemda 11/2-1954. Kjerkgata 60 file, Røros Museum archive

organizations accepted the plans, DAB without further justification or comment<sup>165</sup>; *Samordningsnemda*, the local coordination group for conservation matters, with a warm recommendation:

“Samordningsnemda has no reservations in recommending that NN may restore his house according to the plans provided by architect Johan Stensaas. We would gladly see Stensaas’ plans put forward as a model for other restorations in the area.”<sup>166</sup>

*Riksantikvaren* thanked *Samordningenemda* for their evaluation of the project, but called for caution regarding the use of standardized blueprints where modernizations of listed buildings were concerned:

“One is permitted in this respect to mention that the modernization of listed buildings should not be performed according to a standard template. Each task of this kind should be given individual consideration.”<sup>167</sup>

The neighbours however did not immediately accept the plans, claiming that the increase of the building’s width in the direction of the courtyard would block out the sun from rooms in Kjerkgata 58. The background for this discussion was not the building itself. Although the plans for Kjerkgata 60 were for a distinctly broader structure than the existing one, the question which was discussed at this point was not the size of the new building but where it would be placed. The existing Kjerkgata 60 was set 20-30 cm further back from the street demarcation in comparison to its neighbour, number 58. The Røros building committee had accepted that the new building could be built in alignment with its neighbours.<sup>168</sup> However, after this decision had been reached, Stensaas continued to argue to keep the old demarcation line. This would place the street façade of the new Kjerkgata 60 where the existing one was, shifting the whole structure further into the courtyard; hence the neighbour’s concern. The

<sup>165</sup> “Den antikvariske bygningsnemd finner å kunne godkjenne forslaget av 7/2-1954...”. The façade drawing on file with Rørosmuseum and the Røros municipal archive is dated 7/2-1952, while the floor plans and section are dated 7/2-1954. Letter from DAB (signed Arne Nygård-Nilssen, Halvor Vreim) to Arkitekt Johan Stensaas 27th March 1954. Kjerkgata 60 file, Røros Museum archive

<sup>166</sup> “Samordningsnemda har ingen betenkning med å anbefale på det beste at NN får restaurere sin gård i samsvar med de tegninger arkitekt Johan Stensaas har laget. Vi så gjerne at Stensaas’ tegninger ble lagt til grunn – som mønstertegninger – også for de andre restaureringer i strøket.” Letter from Rørosmuseum, Samordningsnemnda to Riksantikvaren 27/2-1954. Kjerkgata 60 file, Røros Museum archive

<sup>167</sup> “En tillater seg i denne sammenheng å nevne at modernisering av fredede hus ikke bør utføres etter mønstertegning (typetegninger). Hver enkelt oppgave av denne art bør gis en individuell løsning.” Letter from Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd to Samordningsnemnda 27/03-1954. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>168</sup> “Bygget tillates fremflyttet til den byggelinje som indikeres av den nedenforliggende husrekke.” Printout of Røros Bygningsråds meeting 16/7-54. Kjerkgata 60 file, Røros municipal building archive

neighbour closed his protest by pointing out that the term “restoration” was not appropriate for the project:

“P.S. The expression restoration of a listed building is not correct when a new building is raised from the ground up with new materials.”<sup>169</sup>

All parties were obviously aware that the “restoration” and “modernization” of the Kjerkgata 60 dwelling involved the construction of an entirely new building.

The building project (*byggemelding*) for the dwelling in Kjerkgata 60 registered with the building authorities on July 7<sup>th</sup> 1954 was described as a “new house” with a 160m<sup>2</sup> of floorspace shared between two separate apartments, each with sitting rooms, kitchen, two bedrooms and bathrooms with water closets. In addition there was a full cellar with laundry rooms and storage space. The construction mode was described as “light American framework” construction (*amerikansk lettreisverk*). The ceiling heights on the ground floor apartment were 2.20 metres, and 2.40 metres in the upstairs apartment, except along the street façade wall where the height began at 1.65 metres. Outer walls were to be insulated with 10 cm rock wool mats, with sawdust and wood shavings between the floors, the roofing material Eternit slate tiles.<sup>170</sup> It was put down as a requirement by the building authorities that the foundation walls of the new building were not allowed to be taller than the old building’s.<sup>171</sup> Included was the construction of a wall for fire-prevention purposes against the neighbouring property Kjerkgata 58, in accordance with contemporary building codes.<sup>172</sup>

Figure 68 (next page): Kjerkgata 60, plan for addition and restoration by architect Georg Eliassen “For fredningsnemden Oslo april 1945 G.E.”. Clockwise from left situation and plan, street façade, section, backyard façade, and northern gable (centre), original scale 1:100. The plan was a modification of one of architect Johan Stensaas’ two alternatives to modernize the building; in this alternative the existing building was planned to be preserved, the ground floor rooms enlarged by raising the ceiling, as illustrated in the section drawing where the existing and new beams were marked. (Riksantikvaren Archive)

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<sup>169</sup> “Ps. Utrykket restaurering av fredet hus er ikke det riktige all den stund at det opføres som nytt helt fra grunnen av med ny material”. Letter from neighbour to Kjerkgata 60 to Røros Bygningsråd 14/8-1954. Kjerkgata 60 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>170</sup> Building application dated 7/7-1954. Kjerkgata 60 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>171</sup> Printout of Røros Bygningsråd’s meeting 16/7-1954. Kjerkgata 60 file, Røros municipal building archive

<sup>172</sup> Brannforskriftene kapittel 19. Ibid.





Figure 69-70: façade designs for Kjerkgata 60 (architect Stensaas referred to the plans as a “restoration” in his letter to *Riksantikvaren*): street façade (upper left) northern gable wall (upper right) courtyard façade (bottom left). Figure 70, the section (bottom right, inserted) showing the new house, and the outline of the old dwelling marked with dots. Architect Johan Stensaas 7/2-54. (Røros municipal building archive)

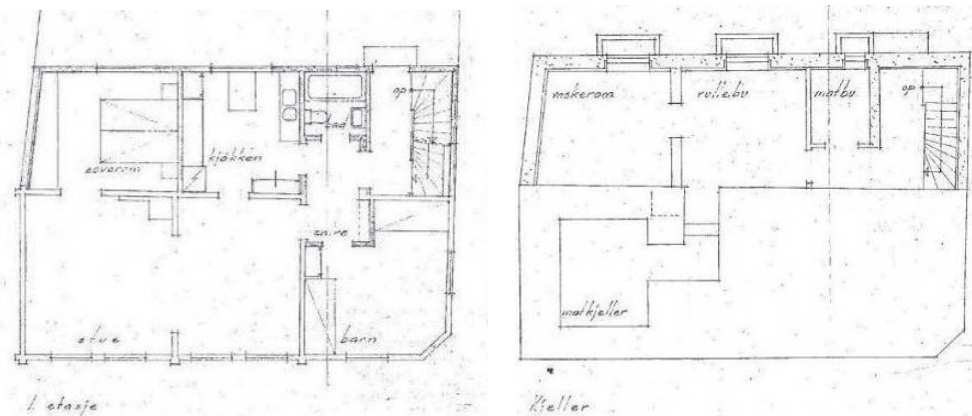


Figure 71-72: Kjerkgata 60, floor plan of the new house. Ground storey (left) and basement (right). Upstairs there was a separate apartment which replicated the layout of the ground storey: two bedrooms, two sitting rooms, modern kitchen and bathroom. Georg Eliassen’s and Stensaas’ room plans for the ground floor were almost identical; Eliassen based his on the existing building, Stensaas’ a new house. Stensaas’ plan doubled the floorspace by accommodating a full upstairs apartment, which must have been a winning argument for the owner. Architect Johan Stensaas 7/2-1954. (Røros municipal building archive)



Stensaas had designed an oblong building, of the same length as the old Kjerkgata 60, and a saddle roof with the same pitch, but with the body of the building almost double its width. The exterior was clad with vertical cladding, the panel boards broader than the old Kjerkgata 60 had. The façade facing Kjerkgata had ten windows, as opposed to the previous nine, but paired in a similar fashion. Vertical casings between each pair suggested a division of the façade into three sections. The casement windows had glass panes smaller than those of the older building, with 2x4 panes in each frame in the downstairs section, 2x3 upstairs. The northern gable wall was equipped with two regular and four small windows, whereas the old building had no windows on this wall. Windows in the backyard were triple framed, but with the same type of frames as in the street façade. Mouldings on windows and door were given no profiles or carved details; the wooden door blade of the entrance door was however given a distinctive check design (slightly different from the existing door today which has a herringbone design); this was hinged to open onto the indoors. The new building was given a diagonal canted corner, a feature copied from the old building but whose practical purpose to improve the sightline for traffic at the crossroads was still relevant.<sup>173</sup> With the exception of the use of saw dust and wood shavings as insulation, which was generally not permitted in the densely built town area, a building permit was granted and the building erected according to Stensaas' design.

### *Funding*

In 1955 the owner applied to *Riksantikvaren* for a grant for the "restoration" of Kjerkgata 60, referring to the fact that the building had been erected according to the architect's design, a design approved by *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd.*<sup>174</sup> *Samordningsnemda* endorsed the owner's application for a grant, stating that the owner had shown interest and cooperation in the process:

"NN has, as opposed to others in the area, shown interest and respect for our work. He could probably (and surely without financial risk) he claims, have taken up an offer to open a shop in one of the corner rooms, but would not, if he could finance the building in other ways, contribute to the degeneration of the area."<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> "I henhold til Bygningslovens §69 brytes bygningens hjørne mot "Metningen" slik at lengden av "diagonalen" blir 1,50 m (bare 1. etg.)". Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> "... stonad til restaureringen av min gård." Letter from owner to Riksantikvaren. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>175</sup> "NN har, I motsetning til andre I dette strøket, synt interesse og repsekt for vårt arbeid. Han kunne godt (og sikkert uten risiko) sier han, ha gått med på et tilbud om innredning av butikk i hjørnerommene i bygget, men

*Riksantikvaren* granted the project 3000 kroner. In a letter signed by Halvor Vreim of March 29<sup>th</sup> 1955, *Riksantikvaren* explained that no higher amount would be appropriate considering that *Riksantikvaren's* grants were aimed at the restoration and repair and not the modernization of listed buildings.

“One has naturally not been able to consider the size of the grant on the basis of the cost of building, as these plans to a significant extent relate to a modernization of the house (...) Certain aspects of the work may fall under the classification of restoration. To support this aspect of the work, one has gone as far as possible.”<sup>176</sup>

The owner expressed his disagreement with both the size of the grant and *Riksantikvaren's* reasoning. He argued that the project had been significantly influenced by the building's listed status, without which an entirely different and more profitable modernization would have been possible. Situated at one of the busiest crossings in the town, Kjerkgata 60 had potential as a business property, the owner stated, but an offer from the cooperative grocery store had been turned as the height restrictions implied by the listing prevented the construction of proper premises. The disadvantages following the listing included delay in planning processes, extra costs and future loss of income. The letter closed with a reference to a recently broadcasted radio programme where *Riksantikvaren* (Nygård-Nilssen) had spoken about the management of listed buildings under the caption “The face of the town” (*Byens ansikt*):

“...what was stated here about the modernization of old buildings I found to be a support for my own conditions: that the house has been given the modernization that is natural in a restoration, but by no means in such a way as to spoil it.”<sup>177</sup>

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han ville, dersom han kunne greie finansieringen på annen måte, ikke være med på å ødelegge dette strøket.” Letter from Samordningsnemda 18/2-1955 signed Andr. Kvikne og Johan Falkberget. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>176</sup> En har selvsagt ikke kunnet vurdere bidragets storleik på grunnlag av byggeutgiftene, da de i vesentlig grad er uttrykk for en ren modernisering av huset (...) Visse trekk ved det utførte arbeide kan sies å komme inn under begrepet restaurering. Til støtte for denne siden av byggearbeidet har en med det nevnte beløp strukket seg så langt som det er funnet forsvarlig.” Letter to owner from Riksantikvaren or Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd 29/3-1955 signed Halvor Vreim og Arne Nygård Nissen. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>177</sup> “...det som her bl.a. ble uttalt om modernisering av de gamle bygninger fant jeg måtte være en støtte for min forutsetning hva mitt eget hus angår, at huset er gitt den modernisering som må falle naturlig ved en restaurering, men ikke sådan at den på noen måte er gått ut over eller skjemet denne.” Letter from owner to ”herr Riksantikvaren” 3/5 (5/5)-1955. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

*Riksantikvaren*, in a letter signed by Halvor Vreim, increased the grant from 3000 to 6000 kroner in response to the owner's complaint, stating that there were particular factors regarding this modernization which allowed for this but adding that the case would not establish a precedent. Vreim would not concede to the owner's understanding of appropriate treatment for a listed building:

“Without conducting polemics it must be mentioned that the wording in our letter of March 29<sup>th</sup> covers the facts. One dares in this context to mention that *Riksantikvaren*'s statement in the programme on “The face of the town” has been somewhat misunderstood.”<sup>178</sup>

In connection with the grant, an agreement that the building was listed was formally recorded, with the owner's signature.<sup>179</sup> This procedure was routine at the time; such agreements were signed and recorded for all private property which received restoration grants from *Riksantikvaren*, regardless of their prior conservation status. The practice seems to have dwindled and stopped completely with the passing of the new Cultural Heritage Act in 1978.<sup>180</sup> The irony of the Kjerkgata 60 case is that the dwelling on this property remained listed; not only was the listing not annulled when the old building was demolished (like the case of Mørkstugata), but a new listings agreement was signed for the new structure at the time of its completion in 1955.

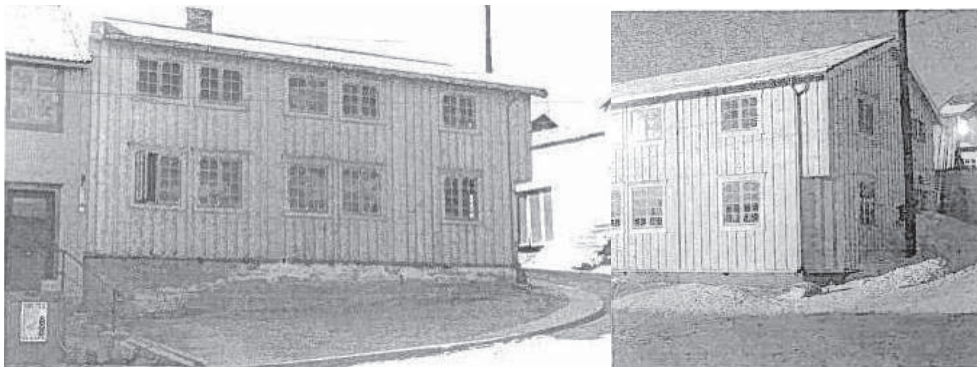


Figure 73-74: Kjerkgata 60. Documentation from 1955 when the new house on the plot was finished.  
(Photographs Halvor Vreim ©Riksantikvaren)

<sup>178</sup> “Uten å ville føre polemikk må nevnes at det som er nevnt i vårt brev av 29. mars, dekker de faktiske forhold. En tør i denne sammenheng nevne at Riksantikvarens innlegg i programmet om ”byens ansikt” er blitt noe misforstått.” Letter from Riksantikvaren to owner 29/9-1955 signet Halvor Vreim. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>179</sup> Letter from owner to Riksantikvaren 10/10-1955; Letter from Riksantikvaren to Gauldal Sorenskriverembede signet Halvor Vreim 13/10-1955. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>180</sup> This has been confirmed by Riksantikvaren's legal advisors in 2009.



Figure 75: Painting by Harald Sohlberg 1905. (©Nasjonalgalleriet, reproduced with permission)

### *Treatment after 1955*

After the construction of the new dwelling, which was completed by August 1955<sup>181</sup>, no activity is recorded in Kjerkgata 60 before 1967, when a new fence was built to enclose the courtyard. The owner had discussed the matter with Vreim, who had suggested the chosen solution; a tall, closed plank wall against the street. The plank wall replaced an older fence which according to the owner was old and not in harmony with the rest of the property.<sup>182</sup>

In the event of the European Architectural Year (*Arkitekturvernåret* 1975), the owner asked for advice on exterior paint and colour. A colour scheme for Røros and extra grants were referred to. The building had, the owner wrote, last been painted in 1967; red with grey windows and mouldings.<sup>183</sup>

### *Summary*

Kjerkgata 60 was in *Riksantikvaren's* publication *Fredede Hus og Anlegg* (1983) described as an extensively modified building with an old timber core which was extended in 1954 with a courtyard addition accommodating a new bedroom, kitchen and entrance, and conversion of the old cooking house (*eldhus*) to a bedroom and bathroom and the staircase moved to the new addition.<sup>184</sup> The correspondence and plans regarding treatment of the dwelling in Kjerkgata 60 documents that the old structure, built in 1857 and listed in 1923, was in fact demolished in 1954-55 and replaced by a new house which stood completed by August 1955. Plans to modernize the dwelling were initiated by the owner who hired architect Johan Stensaas in 1944. Stensaas sketched two alternatives for modernization, the first involving a courtyard addition and façade renewal, the second a reconstruction where the existing building would be replaced with a similar but larger building, and corresponded with *Riksantikvaren* and *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* on the owner's behalf to negotiate a solution. *Riksantikvaren* declared a preference for first alternative, and had a modified version of these plans drawn up by Georg Eliassen (architect and member of *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd*), which were presented to the owner as a viable solution. The owner however was set on Stensaas' second alternative and interpreted *Riksantikvaren's* response as a

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<sup>181</sup> Letter from Røros municipality to owner 16/8-1955. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>182</sup> Application to build a fence October 1967; receipt signed by Riksantikvaren. Kjerkgata 60 file, RA archive

<sup>183</sup> Present Municipal Conservation Officer (Kulturminneforvalter) Torbjørn Eggen has relayed that the building was ceremonially painted by Gro Harlem Brundtland visiting as minister of the environment, which in case must have been in 1975. Documentation in Rørosmuseet's archive relays that house paint was granted in 1983-1984 by Rørosmuseet, at the time were local advisors on antiquarian matters. Letter from owner to Riksantikvaren 27/5-1975. Kjerkgata 60 file, Røros Museum archive

<sup>184</sup> The information, obviously incorrect, is in the process of being updated in Riksantikvaren's new database for listed buildings Askeladden. Christie and Hinsch (1983) p 65

rejection of the project. The planning came to a halt, nothing was done to the building and the case rested until 1952. This year Stensaas made new façade designs for Kjerkgata 60, and the following year a meeting between Stensaas and *Riksantikvaren*'s Halvor Vreim was recorded, on site in Røros. In 1954 the plans were formally sent to *Riksantikvaren* for approval (the floor plan was signed Stensaas, February 1954), and filed with the local building authorities. This time *Riksantikvaren* approved the plans without comment, and the owner subsequently applied to *Riksantikvaren* for financial aid. Vreim pointed out that the project in question was predominantly a modernization, with only a few aspects which could be defined as a restoration. Modernizations were outside the remit of the grants, but a smaller sum was awarded nonetheless, Vreim stressing that this was an unusual situation and would cause no precedent. The sum was increased after the owner listed the financial and practical disadvantages of owning a listed property. The finished building held two apartments with modern facilities, the building an enlarged version of the old one and with a similar disposition of windows, but with more neo-classical detailing. As a matter of procedure, the dwelling in Kjerkgata 60 was formally recorded as listed after having received a *Riksantikvaren* grant, the new dwelling retaining the status of a listed building.



Figure 75-76: Mørkstugata 14 and 18 (Smed-Embretgården), before and after restoration of Mørkstugata 14, to the left in both photographs. This was listed in 1940 and demolished and replaced with a replica in 1952-53, by permission of the local building council. The cases of Mørkstugata 14 and Kjerkgata 54 gave rise to extensive correspondence between the local building authorities and *Riksantikvaren* on the management and treatment of listed buildings. Vreim called the new building 'an ugly and alien element in the Røros environment...', *Pleien av et bybillede*, 1944. Mørkstugata 18, centre-right in both photos, was according to *Fredede hus og anlegg*, restored and modernized according to plans by architect Erik Guldahl in 1956. (Photograph unknown ©Riksantikvaren)

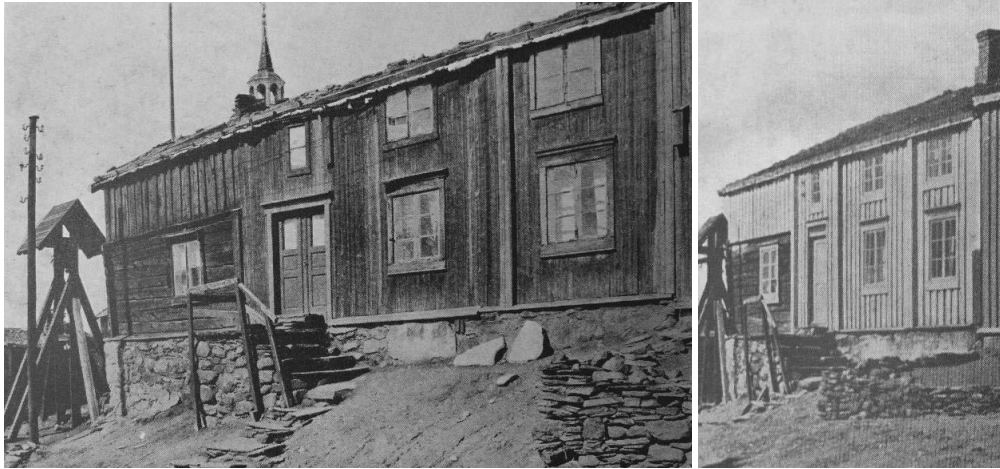


Figure 77-78: Examples of façade restorations presented by Vreim, Garmakergården in Mørkstubakken, before restoration (left) “...with cladding lacking in character, inappropriate windows and showing lack of maintenance” and “...after the repair (*istandsettingen*)” (right). From *Pleien av et bybillede*, 1944. (Photograph unknown ©Riksantikvaren)

### 5.3 DISCUSSION

Røros has been considered of antiquarian interest for over a century, with 7 properties listed in 1923. As a long-standing tourist attraction, the visual image of the town was well documented over the years; photographs however (reproduced elsewhere in this text) demonstrate how this image has been under constant change. For the five listed buildings in this case study, these changes happened under the regime of conservation.

#### *Stakeholders*

Halvor Vreim was involved in all processes of treatment for the listed case study buildings in Sohlbergrekka during the 1940s, 50s and 60s. As *Riksantikvaren* representative Vreim had vernacular architecture as his specialized task, and Røros was a priority.<sup>185</sup> All plans for listed buildings were assessed by *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd* who according to the case study material took an active approach to Røros, in one case delivering a proposal for restoration and addition (Kjerkgata 60), and in 1954 challenging the local building authorities to be more

<sup>185</sup> This is evident from the relative frequency of his visits here, recorded in Fortidsminneforeningen’s annuals, Riksantikvaren’s ambition to restore the town’s image initiated in the late 1930s, and the relative size of the economic support for listed buildings, and for the town at large with annual sums for restoration of Røros’ image from 1954 onwards. Ødegaard (1973) pp 26-

restrictive (after the incident with, among other listed buildings, Kjerkgata 54). The cases studies exemplify some house owners who argued their own case, others who received aid from the municipal engineer; he played a central and apparently influential part in building matters. In two cases the state national Housing Bank (*Husbanken*) was involved, and in one case the District Physician. Both these instances were influential in the treatment of the buildings, in practice delivering the decisive arguments for their demolition. It was understood that financial aid to improve housing standards would only be provided by *Husbanken* for building a new structure and not for repair and reconditioning; the District Physician declared a listed, historic building unfit for habitation. In the cases where an architect was involved, this took the form of a coordinating role between the owner and conservation authorities, but demonstrating loyalty to the owner's wishes. Architect Johan Stensaas was recommended by *Riksantikvaren*, and in one case Vreim was the person to arrange the assignment.

The substantial amount of planning documents on the Sohlbergrekka buildings testify to excellent communications between all parties involved. In his letters to the Municipal engineer, Vreim frequently referred to buildings that needed care, as such taking an active approach to their improvement. Although Vreim prescribed maintenance and restoration for the listed buildings, all work for the case study buildings in Sohlbergrekka was initiated by the owners themselves. The correspondence shows that Vreim visited Røros two or three times a year during the 1950s, and that he initiated contact with the owners during his visits. Correspondence was at times frequent, with letters answered the day after they were received; at other times response was called for after months, even years; this both on the part of *Riksantikvaren* and DAB, and the local building authorities.

#### *Modernization*

After their listing, little work was done on the buildings in Sohlbergrekka before 1950. This was mainly due to the recession and the war; although the municipal engineer suggested that the listings were to blame for the lack of maintenance. In the examination of the five buildings which make up the Røros case, the 1950s turned out to be a decade where much was done with the buildings. The work involved both minor and major alterations to the buildings, from the design and materials used in façades and roofing, to new layouts of floor plans and sections, construction, heat insulation and bathrooms.

For the dwellings of Kjerkgata 56 and 60 the initial plans were to restore and recondition the buildings, while the final result was construction of a new house. Chief



arguments to demolish the historic structures were their size and condition; both buildings were small and had low ceiling heights, lower than the requirements of the building codes<sup>186</sup>. This obviously made it more difficult to argue for their conservation. It also posed greater challenges in terms of modifying them to accommodate contemporary building standards. *Riksantikvaren* and *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemnd* had solutions for these challenges, but could not convince the other parties. The owners resisted preserving the historic structures, with support from the local building authorities. The arguments put forward were related to health and economy, but the ulterior motive was evidently a general wish for a new and modern house.

For Kjerkgata 56, the miniscule scale and derelict condition of the historic structure were posed as arguments for the case of “restoration”. Halvor Vreim was consulted before any plans were produced, and Vreim recommended architect Stensaas on the assumption that this was a restoration and rehabilitation task, and not the radical reconstruction it turned out to be. In this case the municipal engineer in Røros demonstrated a strong involvement, producing an initial survey of the old house, completing the building application form and conducting correspondence on the owner’s behalf. He made a case in the building council for recommending that the owner be allowed “to repair his tiny, fragile and derelict house, wherein five people lived, one seriously ill”, and procured a statement from the District Physician which declared the existing building a health hazard. In his notes on the case, Halvor Vreim referred specifically to the statement from the district physician who deemed the house a health hazard: an argument like this, from a public official, was obviously something the conservation authorities paid heed to. The Housing Bank’s reluctance to provide a loan for a ‘restoration’, evident through the correspondence (where the bank was assured that the house would “be as good as new”), contributed to the case of the owner who wanted a new house in place of the old one. In the end the conservation authorities could not prevent demolition. Their tool was to recommend the further use of an architect and to grant 2500 kroner in order to position themselves to be able to influence of the design of the new house.

The modernization of Kjerkgata 60 was executed two years after Kjerkgata 56, and, in the same manner, demolished and replaced with a new structure. The architect was the same, for the second time Johan Stensaas designed a new structure to replace a listed building. The

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<sup>186</sup> According to a local expert restoration carpenter Arild Bjarkø many houses in Røros Bergstad were heightened with a couple of log heights, which was a traditional method, in the 1950s and 60s; apparently the listed Aasengården was among these. Information from Bjarkø, Røros (2007)

first initiative to modernize Kjerkgata 60 had been taken in the late 1940s. Stensaas, also the architect then, had proposed two alternatives; the first a new larger structure in the place of the old one, the second a restoration which involved some modification to the old structure and an addition at the back. This second alternative had been approved by *Riksantikvaren*, who offered their ideas to further improve the design in the form of drawings by Georg Eliassen, an architect on the board of *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd*. *Riksantikvaren* did not comment on the alternative to build a new house. The owner, set on building a new and larger house, let the case rest. When reapplying to build in 1954 he presented a new house as the only option, arguing that the limitations that the listing put on the property were causing distress and losing him money. Eliassen's and Stensaas' plans for the ground floor were almost identical; Eliassen based his on the existing building, Stensaas a new house. Stensaas' plan doubled the floorspace by accommodating a full upstairs apartment, which must have been a winning argument for the owner. The support from the local building council for Stensaas' new house in Kjerkgata 60 was so strong that they proposed the design should become a model for modernizations on other historic and listed buildings in Røros. Vreim objected and stated clearly that this case must not set a precedent, but in the face of the enthusiasm for the project and the owner's undisguised resentment for the old house, did not argue further for the alternative restoration plan. There was discrepancy in the perceptions and ideals of the owner, the antiquarian, and public opinion (in this case represented by the local building authority). The former had a vision of a new home and claimed the right to decide about his private property, while the latter two were intent on compromise but with different interpretations as to what would constitute a good compromise. The building council was content with a reproduction which showed likeness, the antiquarian bargaining for a less interventionist façade restoration and addition to the original structure.

*Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd* approved the plans for both Kjerkgata 56 and 60 and even granted the project funds; however, both the approvals and grants were given against their professional advice and better judgement, and DAB stressed that particular reasons came into play and that these cases were no cause for a precedent to be set. The grants from *Riksantikvaren* were given partly to steer the "aesthetic improvement" of Bergstaden's image, but also in acknowledgment that the state had some obligations to the owners, and in the last instance to ensure the use of an architect for an appropriate new design when conservation failed. In one case *Riksantikvaren's* grant was more likened to a social service than a restoration grant; a demonstration that building conservation (or in this case reconstruction) was a balancing act between community or public, and private interests. With both Kjerkgata

56 and 60, the new structures were modified between drawing board and execution, the built structures taller and ornamented with less façade detailing than planned. These modifications were not assessed by the building or conservation authorities.

Kjerkgata 54 went through an interior modernization in the 1950s initiated by the owner, where Vreim and the local building authorities became involved after work had begun. Vreim put much effort into the discussions with the owner to steer the process in the desired direction; however his request that the stone façade steps and entrance were preserved was not paid heed to. The owner removed them because the front entrance no longer served a purpose, without a building permit or permission from *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd*.

Was there a principled stand from the conservation authorities in these cases? Vreim argued extensively against the removal of the front stairs in number 54, but conceded to the complete demolitions of 56 and 60 without much debate. Number 54 was rather large and well fitted for its time, and Vreim expressed admiration for its style and beauty. One explanation for the discrepancy in Vreim's handling of these different cases was a case of façadism versus pragmatism in its most extreme form; it was more realistic to win a battle over a minor aesthetic dilemma (the steps) than to win a fight over the safeguarding of the smaller and poorer houses. These had also been more severely altered over time, which means the aesthetic rewards for the antiquarian's "ideal image" were lesser, whereas the social grounds for renewal were significant. When conservation stood in the way of an agenda of social improvement, the antiquarian seems, although unwillingly, to have stepped back.

### *Craftsmanship*

When Vreim criticized the modernizations of façades of Røros buildings performed between 1880 and his time, he focused on craftsmanship as well as style; both contributed to what he and his colleagues considered a vulgarization of the buildings.<sup>187</sup> Vreim drew on an anthropomorphism, where he described the older image of Røros' buildings as disciplined and cultured, reflecting the character of those who built them: strong, competent and reliable people, faithful to duty and tradition. The contrast was personified the literary character Bør Børson jr.<sup>188</sup>, who, like the buildings which were modernized in Røros in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was "importunate and wearisome", with a "boundless need to show off, in the footsteps of

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<sup>187</sup> "forflatet og forsimpler". Characterization of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century modernization of Røros buildings by Arne Nygård-Nilssen. Nygård-Nilssen (1958) p 104

<sup>188</sup> By Røros author Johan Falkberget (1879-1967), who described life in Røros and the copper mines in a series of novels.

which follow frills and furbelows and barbarism”<sup>189</sup> Vreim continued to describe the modernizations in terms of building materials and design:

“...there is a excess in the use of cement, in new and splintery types of cladding, sawed decorations in protruding mouldings, windows and doors in poisonous colours, a non-uniformity which is a grim contrast to the old homogeneous design and structure.”<sup>190</sup>

As one of the most flexible and versatile of building materials, cement was “easily abused”.<sup>191</sup> Vreim set machine-made and slightly-dimensioned building components (as in “splintery”), and extensive use of mass produced decorative elements and the modern material cement (foundations, steps and sidewalks are mentioned) in contrast to the solidity of the hand crafted, traditional older structures and façades.

Vreim himself gave detailed advice on maintenance and repairs, and was frequently in direct contact with owners or carpenters to give instructions, at times quite detailed, on materials and methods. Vreim accepted modern building materials: cast concrete in place of natural stone and clay and lime mortar and Eternit roof tiling in place of slate, but was careful that the result should be in accordance with a ‘pre-1880s’ appearance of the building.

#### *Use value*

The work that Vreim and *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemd* primarily encouraged in Røros was exterior restorations, which implied removing windows, cladding and mouldings of recent modernizations and replacing them with older types. When *Riksantikvar* Nygård-Nilssen summed up work on listed buildings in Norway over the past decades in a long article printed in *Fortidsminneforeningen’s* annal of 1958, he stressed the connection between “reconditioning” (*istandsetting*) and “living use” (*levende bruk*).<sup>192</sup> A great deal of the work done in Røros was characterized as “restorations in connection with modernizations”, and Sohlbergrekka was mentioned specifically.<sup>193</sup> Small and inconvenient rooms and low ceiling heights were especially challenging:

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<sup>189</sup> “... anmassende og påtrengende” ” med grenseløs trang til å briljere, i hvis fotspor flitterstasen og barbariet følger” Vreim (1944) pp 11-12

<sup>190</sup> “... det er fråtset i bruken av sement, i nye flisente varierende panéltyper, utsaget mønster i utstikkende listeverksender, vindus og dørtypen og giftige farver, en uensartethet som står isterkeste motstetning til den gamle ensartede utforming og struktur”. Ibid. p 12

<sup>191</sup> “... lett for å bli misbrukt.” Ibid. p 29

<sup>192</sup> Nygård-Nilssen (1958) pp 4-5

<sup>193</sup> “... restaurering sett i sammenheng med modernisering.” Ibid. p 103

“But at the same time one must unfortunately take into account the use of the buildings. The average height of people has increased considerable since these houses were built, and now a ceiling height of 1.90 can be somewhat scant. They can also be small and inconvenient in other ways.”<sup>194</sup>

It is likely that this was written with reference to Kjerkgata 56 and 60, both under completion when Nygård-Nilssen wrote this summary; the phrasing “...unfortunately take into account the use of the buildings” based on the for *Riksantikvaren* undesired result of the negotiations on how to treat these two buildings.

*Riksantikvaren*'s general attitude towards use and usability of listed buildings was positive at the time: modernizations, for instance modern bathrooms and kitchens, “could not be rejected”, and experience had demonstrated that “an accommodating attitude” towards such improvements had saved many buildings from being demolished; “changes can be made in many ways”, *Riksantikvar* Nygård-Nilssen wrote.<sup>195</sup> For *Riksantikvaren* modernizations to increase the use value were considered both decisive and desired in building conservation, when executed “their way”, i.e. according to their specifications. One Røros example was put forward as exemplary, Garmakergården (Mørkstugate 20), which had gone through a façade restoration and had an addition made at the back side of the house [Figure 77-78]:

“Here the floor plan of the house has been almost doubled and the lofts have acquired greater ceiling height without disturbing the street façade in any other way than providing correct windows and cladding and characteristic paintwork.”<sup>196</sup>

Garmakergården's restoration was performed in 1940 following plans by Halvor Vreim.

Vreim himself commented Garmakergården like this:

“The owner wanted great changes but after collaboration in a mutual understanding we have succeeded in solving the question in a practical and hygienic manner, in a way which satisfies both the demands of the owner and the conservation community.”<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> “Men samtidig må man dessverre ta hensyn til at husene skal brukes. Gjennomsnittshøyden på menneskene er øket adskilling siden disse husene ble bygget, og da kan 1,90 m under taket bli litt snaut. Små og ubekvemme kan de være på andre måter også.” Ibid. p 104

<sup>195</sup> Riksantikvar Nygård-Nilssen when speaking of the repair of listed buildings in general: ”Bad og klosett kan ikke avvises, heller ikke modernisering av kjøkkenet, for å nevne noen eksempler (...) Forandringer kan gjøres på mange slags vis ...” Ibid. p 5

<sup>196</sup> ”Her er husets grunnflate nesten fordoblet og loftsrommene har fått større høyde uten at hovedfasaden mot gaten er forandret på annenmåde enn at den har fått riktige vinduer og godt panel med karakterfull maling”. Ibid. pp 104-105

<sup>197</sup> “Her (...) ønsket eieren store endringer men etter et forståelsesfullt samarbeid, har det lyktes å løse spørsmålet praktisk og hygienisk, på en måte som tilfredsstillende både eierens og fortidsvernets krav”. Christie and Hinsch (1983) pp 86-87; Vreim (1944) p 14

The work done on Garmakergården closely resembled the proposition for Kjerkgata 60 prepared by Georg Eliassen: according to the professional conservation community in the 1940s and 1950s, these were exemplary compromises of conservation and use for a small-scale, vernacular wooden designated dwelling.

### *Restoration*

The professional conservation community's involvement in building matters in the houses of Sohlbergrekka must be viewed in the light of the ambition to restore "the true image of Røros". This "true image" or "character" of Røros was, according to antiquarians Fett, Eliassen and Vreim, founded in a tradition of craftsmanship, uniform use of materials and building components, order and sobriety. Similar ways of living and moderation in the demands on life characterized the buildings, streets and alleys, and the town as a whole. Vreim wrote:

"A similar way of living and earning one's living is the basis for similar houses, with similar heights and scale. The tradition of craftsmanship, use of similar materials and windows helped keep the design pure (...) the modesty of living is reflected in the buildings, streets and alleys, and in the town as a whole (...) Many common features tied it all harmoniously together. One cannot understand how there could be anything to break the tone. It was typical of the towns of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and especially of Røros." <sup>198</sup>

The "true image" of Røros was the town in the appearance it had acquired between the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>199</sup>; the buildings expressed the local vernacular in structure; in detail they were influenced by neo-classicism: Louis Seize and the Empire Style. This was generally a prosperous time for the mining industry, exemplified in the neo-classical church, built in 1784, for which Vreim expressed great admiration.<sup>200</sup> Neo-classical architecture had been greatly promoted by Vreim's art history professor Carl Schnitler (see Chapter 2.3.1). Also, a preference for classical architecture was not unusual for the architects of Vreim's generation, who spent the formative decade of their professional life in the neoclassical style fad of the 1920s. The acquired, professional aesthetic taste and judgement influenced the antiquarian's decisions on what to discard and what to promote.

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<sup>198</sup> "Ens levesett og erhverv gir forutsetningen for like hus, like etasjehøider og felles skala. Håndverksmessig tradisjon, ensartet bruk av materialer og vinduer hjalp til å holde klare linjer i utformingen (...) måteholdet i livskravene preger hus, gater og veter og byen som helhet (...) Mange felles trekk bandt det hele harmonisk sammen. En kan ikke skjønne at det var noe som brøt tonen. Det var typisk for 1700-årenes byer og spesielt for Røros." Vreim (1944) pp 76-78

<sup>199</sup> Ibid. p 8

<sup>200</sup> Vreim (1927) p 381

According to Vreim, the visual deterioration of the Røros image began in earnest in the 1880s.<sup>201</sup> This “deterioration” was the way of building characteristic of the Swiss Style, introduced to Røros when the railway opened in 1877. Characteristic of the new style was the availability of building components, which were fabricated at the new mechanized carpenters’ shops in numbers and at a price which made façade renewals and new homes available on a significantly broader scale than previously. There are a number of criticisms of the Swiss Style and its negative impact on the Norwegian countryside vernacular and mode of building, written in the 1930s and 1940s.<sup>202</sup> Around the turn of the century (1900) it was the critics of historicism and the adherents of the Arts and Crafts-movement who voiced such criticism, and soon it was the general attitude among professional architects and in the professional conservation community that the Swiss Style represented an aged and impractical mode of building. Despite being considered dated among architects, the Swiss Style survived in vernacular architecture well into the 1930s.

Vreim proposed to restore “the true image of Røros”, arguing that “the individual must sometimes be subordinated for the sake of the whole”.<sup>203</sup> Architect and member of *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd* Georg Eliassen gave the prescription for this restoration of Sohlberg’s motif in his 1939 piece *Fremtidens Røros*:

“With the exception of the lowest buildings, the houses have been altered and repainted. By restoring doors and window frames and changing the colours the street can more or less retain its former character, known from Sohlberg’s painting.”<sup>204</sup>

Eliassen’s, Fett’s and Vreim’s publications from 1939 and 1944 and the annual grant for common area measures from 1954 onwards constitute a *Riksantikvaren* policy for Røros: façade elements were recommended to be restored to the previous appearance, and newer buildings were recommended to be rebuilt to blend in with the older Louis Seize and Empire style façades<sup>205</sup>; and paving, lighting and street furniture in the common area was improved. Vreim’s plans for the common area involved improvements which were not based on a former

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<sup>201</sup> Vreim (1944) p 22

<sup>202</sup> See for example: *Bygdene på Vestlandet ødelegges systematisk av en upraktisk og skjæmmende bebyggelse* (“The countryside in Western Norway is being systematically destroyed by impractical and disfiguring buildings”) by Johan Lindstrøm and *Sveitsarstilen på bygdene* (“The Swiss Style in Rural Areas”) by Arne Berg. Lindstrøm (1935); Berg (1947)

<sup>203</sup> Halvor Vreim with reference to Laugier’s *Essais sur l’Architecture* (1753) and the demands of homogeneity and unity for the rococo city. Vreim (1944) p 36

<sup>204</sup> “Undtatt de laveste hus er bygningene forandret og malt om. Ved restaurering av dører og vindusrammer og ved ommalning kan gaten stort sett få igjen den gamle karakter, kjent fra Sohlbergs maleri.” Eliassen (1939) p 5

<sup>205</sup> Ødegaard (1973) pp 28-32; Vreim (1944) p 12

appearance but what was considered aesthetically appropriate for Røros (for example the street paving). Façade colours were significant in the antiquarian and aesthetic care of Røros, and for Vreim Sohlberg's painting of Sohlbergrekka was an ideal reference:

“From Sohlberg's well-known picture from the time immediately after 1900 we get an impression of the bold, bright colour scheme which belonged to the old clad architecture. This and the coexistence of the blackened timber and the red, yellow or white windows with its refreshing and gay effect, we can still see amongst all the sloppy and muddy colours which to a large extent characterize the freshly clad house façades ... A colour restoration may be performed as maintenance, and it is a question of taste and planning more than of finances, where the owners must submit to one common will focusing on the overall impression... To make and perform such a plan is a task for an artist, but must be done based on the colour scheme and technique which has previously been used in Røros and on the basis of profound knowledge of colour use in the different style periods.”<sup>206</sup>

Grain technique painting and the colour white were in the Røros context synonymous with a degeneration in taste. Vreim commented that white became fashionable at about the time the ideas on hygiene were promoted by Eilert Sundt (1869), and concluded that as the virtue of cleanliness became stronger, aesthetic taste weakened. The totality of the work was referred to as “antiquarian and aesthetic care” of the town's image, while work on the individual houses was pronounced as “restorations”, as well as “modernization” or “aesthetical and environmental repair”, depending on the nature of the treatment.<sup>207</sup>

How did *Riksentikvaren* envision the desired façade restorations in Røros, and were the results in accordance with the antiquarians' ideals? When Vreim described Kjerkgata 60 in the early 1940s, he used the terms “common”, “splintery wooden cladding” and “shabby mouldings” to describe its façade, recently renewed with building components inspired by Swiss Style architecture. Vreim recommended different cladding, mouldings and colours for the exterior for the house to fall into “the true image of Røros”.<sup>208</sup> A decade later the house was demolished and replaced with a new structure twice the size. The new house was built

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<sup>206</sup> “Vi får av Sohlbergs kjente bilde fra tiden like etter 1900 et inntrykk av den dristige, klart lysende farveskala som hørte til den gamle panelarkitekturen. Det og samspillet i de svarte tømmerveggene med røde, gule eller hvite vinduer som virker så friskt og muntert, kan vi ennå skimte mellom all den slappe og grumsete koloritten som for en stor del preger de nypanelte husveggene ... En fargerestauring kan drives frem som vedlikehold, og er et spørsmål om smak og plan mer enn økonomi, der eierne må underordne seg én vilje som har totaliteten som mål ... Å lage og gjennomføre en slik plan er en kunstners oppgave, men må gjøres på grunnlag av den fargeskala og malerteknikk som har vært brukt på Røros tidligere og på grunnlag av kjennskap til de ymse arkitekturperioders farvebruk.” Vreim (1944) pp 14-16

<sup>207</sup> “... estetisk og miljøbetonet istandsetting.” Ibid. p 12

<sup>208</sup> “simpelt”, “den flisete staffpanelingen”, “de tarvelige vindusomrammingene”; “det sanne bilde av Røros” Ibid. p 23



according to architect Stensaas' design which was an interpretation of the historic architecture of Røros in a modern building. Stensaas' building has, in retrospect, been described as an early example of adaptive or harmonizing architecture.<sup>209</sup> Although architectural features were generally altered according to Vreim's wishes, the result was not what Vreim or *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemnd* had attempted to achieve. Georg Eliassen's alternative proposal from 1946 represents the compromise which *Riksantikvaren* considered acceptable: in this the old structure was to be preserved, the façade renewed based on (part of) its previous appearance and an extension to the house built at the back. A close reading of the case has demonstrated that the strongest forces behind this result were the persistence of the owner to build a new house, and the massive support for Stensaas' plans from the local building council on the grounds of the miniscule size and low housing standard of the historic structure. Although Vreim and *Den Antikvariske Byggningsnemnd* recognised the need to replace the existing façade with a new and more stylistically correct one, they did not consider replacing the whole structure acceptable as a restoration: for this case Vreim specifically used the word modernization.

When *Riksantikvaren* in *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annal for 1939 announced that "the restoration of Sohlberg's motif had begun", this signalled an active approach to restoration of Røros; all evidence however indicates that the initiatives to restore (or modify) the façades and buildings of Sohlbergrekka came from the owners. The owners' motivation was to upgrade housing standards, not to restore façades. *Riksantikvaren* and Vreim steered the process to the best of their abilities to preserve the structures and restore the façades. The alternative plan to restore Kjerkgata 60 prepared by Georg Eliassen in 1946 as a response to that of architect Stensaas was the most active and direct attempt from *Riksantikvaren* to intervene in the process; otherwise advice on the spot, grants and the advice to use an architect were the tools employed by *Riksantikvaren* to achieve the goal of "image restoration". In none of the five cases of Sohlbergrekka did *Riksantikvaren* succeed in achieving the result they considered ideal; all were compromised by the interests of the owners to modernize interiors and renew and "simplify" the façades' appearance.

In the years around 1970 there was a generational change in the conservation work in Røros. Vreim worked with Røros until his death in 1966, and one of his successors at *Riksantikvaren* was Ola Hektoen Øverås. Sverre Ødegård at *Rørosmuseet* became an authority in the local conservation work, but went to great lengths to avoid involvement in specific

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<sup>209</sup> Adaptive or harmonizing architecture = *tilpasningsarkitektur*. This analysis is put forward by Trond Eide in *Bevaring i teori og praksis*. Eide (1990)

casework. Architect Seppo Heinonen became a connecting link between owners, local authorities and *Riksantikvaren*. His design for the façade of Kjerkgata 58 in 1975 was funded by *Riksantikvaren*. Numerous modifications of the façade and indoor plan had made a restoration to a specific point in time impossible, and architect Seppo Heinonen's "restoration" was to aesthetically improve the façade in the event of the European Year of architecture in 1975. In practice, this work was a continuance of *Riksantikvaren*'s work to restore the "real image of Røros" in the 1950s.

### *Legislation*

Degrees of modernization were influenced by the contradictory approaches of different authorities. The Housing Bank granted loans according to contemporary standards for new housing, impairing the antiquarians' arguments for restoration in favour of demolition and reconstruction. *Bygningsfredningsloven* was a weaker tool than today's legislation (*Kulturminneloven*) and did not always prevent demolition although that was the implied intention of the act (§§ 5, 6).

For Kjerkgata 56 and 60, both cases where listed buildings were demolished, correct procedure was followed. The conservation authorities were presented with plans and assessed these before a building permit was issued, and the building council gave their permissions only in the case of DAB's approval, which they did give. *Riksantikvaren* chose a strategy of argument and not the authority of legislation, and in both cases conceded to compromises which equalled defeat. In the case of Kjerkgata 54, a minor modification compared to its neighbours Kjerkgata 56 and 60, correct procedure had not been followed. The façade renewal of Kjerkgata 54 brought on a discussion between *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd* and the Røros municipality on the principles of management of listed buildings, a discussion where *Riksantikvaren* sought legal advice and also involved the Ministry (*Kommunal- og arbeidsdepartementet*). *Riksantikvaren* complained about Røros municipality's treatment of listed buildings in general, and for Kjerkgata 54 in particular

"... it is not the first time the Røros building council goes about applying the law in such an irresponsible manner."<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> "... det ikke er første gangen Røros bygningsråd omgås loven på en uansvarlig måte." It was further referred to § 11 of the Built Heritage Act where it was stated that the Building Councils shall report to Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnda what is beneficial ("...bygningsrådet skal melde til Nemda det som den kan ha gagn av å få vita"). Letter to Professor Knut Robberstad from Halvor Vreim 6/1-1956. Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

The case here referred to was Mørkstugata 14 (*matrikkel* 49), a listed 18th century building which had been demolished in 1952 without DAB's knowledge.<sup>211</sup> [Figure 75-76] The building council later admitted having acted beyond their area of expertise in this case when reaching the following conclusion:

“(Røros building council) ... has nothing against the abovementioned house, when it is rebuilt in 1952, being demolished and reconstructed as a standard American post and lintel construction.”<sup>212</sup>

The building council explained that the reason the building had been demolished was that the Housing Bank would not accept repair when this implied reuse of old building materials, and that this was “not such a strange decision as the house was from 1708”.<sup>213</sup> The solution to demolish the listed building and build a new similar building in its place had, in this perspective, seemed acceptable to the building council, as what they described as “small alterations” to the building according to them “did not affect the exterior”.<sup>214</sup>

The cases of Kjerkgata 54 and Mørkstugata 14 were described in *Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd's* request for advice from the Ministry as to how to handle listed buildings in Røros. The example of Mørkstugata 14 had given the signal that any listed building could now be demolished without further consequence, a presupposition which was both unfortunate and false, DAB reported. Solutions to modernize an existing building however were negotiable:

“It can with reference to this be mentioned that the Board (DAB) goes to all lengths possible to comply with the wishes of the owner when it comes to proposals to improve listed buildings.”<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> The listing was subsequently annulled, while the utilities building, also listed in 1940, retained its status.

Christie and Hinsch (1983) p 83

<sup>212</sup> “(Røros building council) ... intet har imot at overnevnte hus ved ombygning sommeren 1952 blir revet helt ned og bygd op igjen i vanlig lett amerikansk bindingsverk.” Røros Bygningsråd resolution 15/4-1952 quoted in: Letter from Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd/Halvor Vreim to Kommunal- og arbeidsdepartementet (kontoret for bygnings- og brannvesen) 10/1-1965. Røros municipal building archive; RA archive

<sup>213</sup> “... ikke så rart da huset var fra 1708.” Letter from Røros Bygningsråd to Kommunal og Arbeidsdepartement 13/2-1957. Røros municipal building archive

<sup>214</sup> “...i amerikansk bindingsverk (...) i parantes bemerket gjaldt nevnte små forandringer ikke eksteriøret.” Letter from Røros Bygningsråd to Kommunal og Arbeidsdepartement 13/2-1957. Røros municipal building archive

<sup>215</sup> “Det kan i denne sammenheng nevnes at når det fremmes forslag om forandringer av fredede hus strekker nemda seg så langt som den finner det forsvarlig for å imøtekomme eierens ønsker.” Letter from Den Antikvariske Bygningsnemnd to Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet 10th January 1956. Kjerkgata 54 file, RA archive

The Røros building council explained that the lack of respect for and control of listed buildings had financial reasons:

“The building council finds reason to mention that the main reason the owners seek to avoid the provisions of the listing is financial. The compensations are minimal and the houses not fully up to standard.”<sup>216</sup>

The case of Kjerkgata 54 revealed communication problems between the local building authorities and *Riksantikvaren*, but also between the municipal building authorities and the local *Samordningsnemnda*. The municipal engineer complained to *Riksantikvaren* about not being informed on work with listed buildings in general, and Kjerkgata 54 in particular:

“...I am under the impression that *Samordningsnemnda* has received certain instructions from you, or more correctly detailed guidelines for the individual buildings, The building council, which to a much larger extent is exposed to the realities that exist on the ground, should also naturally be acquainted with these descriptions. ... I have requested by telephone of *Samordningsnemnda* a copy of such a description but have yet not succeeded. As the foreman of the building council I permit myself to bring to your attention the question of improving cooperation and therein save time and avoid unnecessary irritations in a matter which already is not simple.”<sup>217</sup>

There is no evidence that *Riksantikvaren* responded to this request and produced the set of “instructions” referred to, nor that such instructions had been prepared; (the guidelines prepared by Halvor Vreim in 1954 dealt primarily with common area issues and must have been well known to the municipal engineer, so it is apparent that this was not what was referred to).

The correspondence between Røros municipality and *Riksantikvaren* on cooperation continued until 1957, when Røros municipality through both local newspapers notified the

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<sup>216</sup> ”Bygningsrådet finner for øvrig grunn til å nevne at hovedårsaken til at enkelte eiere søker å omgå fredningsbestemmelsene, i første rekke ligger på det økonomiske område. Erstatningene blir minimale og boligene heller ikke fullverdige. Ut fra fredningsmessige hensyn må derfor Bygningsrådet få uttale at det bifaller den utvikling som saken synes å ta ved at utenbys folk kjøper slike fredede hus og innreder dem til feriesteder”. Letter from Røros Bygningsråd to Kommunal og Arbeidsdepartement 13/2-1957. Røros municipal building archive

<sup>217</sup> ”... jeg har herunder fått forståelsen av at Samordningsnemnda fra Dem har fått visse instruksjoner, eller kanskje rettere sagt utførligere retningslinjer for de enkelte gårder, beskrivelser som bygningsrådet, som i langt større utstrekning utsettes for påkjenninger ute i marken, selvsagt også burde ha kjennskap til.... Jeg har telefonisk anmodets Samordningsnemnda om en avskrift av førstnevnte beskrivelse uten at det ennå har lyktes. Som formann i Bygningsrådet tillater jeg mig herved å gjøre dem oppmerksom på forholdet for om mulig få samarbeidet inn i bedre baner og derved spare tid og undgå unødige irritasjoner i en sak som fra før heller ikke er så enkel.” Letter from the Municipal Engineer (kommuneingeniøren) to Riksantikvariatet 9/12-1954. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

public that enforcement of the Building Act's §131 would, from now on, be stricter; this seems to have closed the discussions for the time being. The notification applied to all buildings but stemmed from the irregularities with managing listed buildings, directly provoked by the case of Kjerkgata 54.<sup>218</sup>

### *Closing comments*

In the building applications the works on the buildings in Sohlbergrekka are referred to as restorations and modernizations. It seems clear that, for the applicants, improvement of living conditions was the main purpose of the works undertaken. The antiquarian's motive was aesthetic improvement and quality in craftsmanship, but with an understanding of practical needs and demonstrating a will to go to great lengths to compromise. Vreim had given both general and specific advice on the aesthetic improvement of Sohlbergrekka, in his published writings as well as in the case work. Although these dwellings were subject to extensive treatment during Vreim's Røros reign, the advice Vreim provided in each specific case was partly or completely ignored. What Vreim would have consented to, we only know specifically for Kjerkgata 60, where *Riksantikvaren* came up with their own alternative proposal for a façade restoration and backyard addition in which the existing structure was preserved; this proposal was however rejected by the owner who wanted a new house.

The case study material crystallizes the problems and challenges of managing change in two main areas: there is always room for interpretation and the interpretations made are decisive for the destiny of the house; and that there are conflicting interests among the stakeholders, and therefore also conflicting interpretations of what "conservation" implies, and the treatment involved. Vreim discarded façades that were recently built and argued to alter historic buildings through aesthetic improvement in accordance with a "true image". In this he took on the role of the restoration architect and his expressed attitude can be written off as a defence for stylistic restoration; however it must be kept in mind that what he expressed such eagerness to discard were, at least at the time of his earliest writings, fresh modernizations in a widely popular prefabricated style and, to his knowledge, of poor material quality. Self-scrutinizing conservationists today will easily find parallels in current examples.

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<sup>218</sup> "Bygningsrådet har for øvrig per 21/1 1957 på nytt i Bergstadens begge aviser innskjerpet Bygningslovens 131", ("The Building council has by 21st January 1957 again in Bergstadens two newspapers notified a more restrictive practice regarding the Building Act's §131") the Municipal Engineer wrote on behalf of the Building Council 13<sup>th</sup> February 1957. Letter from Røros Bygningsråd to Kommunal og arbeidsdepartementet 12/2-1957. Kjerkgata 54 file, Røros municipal building archive

Norwegian art historian Hans Emil Lidén (1991) points out that conservation in the early days was based on unwritten rules known only to an inside elite; an understanding based on academic breeding rather than argument, making it a mystery for “people in general”. In 1953 the Røros building committee requested guidelines for the treatment of listed buildings, but received no response. Today an answer would certainly involve the concept of “authenticity”. The Venice Charter relates authenticity in the restoration process to substance and to context (§9), and also establishes the principle of continuity (§11) which calls for respect for all phases of a monument’s history, while the Nara Document acknowledges authenticity in new materials, form and craftsmanship. These concepts of authenticity are implemented as guidelines managing Røros built heritage today.

## 6

### PRESERVING THE ROSESMUG HAMLET – URBAN VERNACULAR

#### *Care of a built environment 1958 - 1988*

“... our cities have yet to be discovered artistically, while the easel has been planted in every other birch grove throughout our vast country.” (.....) “As is well known, the people of Bergen envelop their city with love and respect, and the city also has an amusing and singular character which it is of the essence to preserve. Here, we still find *Citizens*.”

Harry Fett on Kristiania and Bergen, 1910<sup>1</sup>

Rosesmuggrenden is one representative of numerous enclaves of densely built, wooden dwellings in the city of Bergen, a legacy of the city’s long history and rich wooden building tradition.<sup>2</sup> Rosesmuggrenden is unique in that it has an unusually long history of active conservation involvement, formalized with an early attempt at protective legislation of an urban environment. This was done through a set of management guidelines which were ratified in 1958, before the conservation of *built environments* was specifically authorized through legislation. This chapter examines the background of the conservation plan, describes restoration and maintenance practices in the area from the late 1950s to circa 1980, and discusses the implications of conservationist involvement for the treatment of the buildings.

In 1910 *Riksantikvar*-to-be Harry Fett, already a prominent voice in conservation matters, railed about the general lack of sensitivity and awareness of the significance and aesthetic qualities of historic urban areas in his book *Om fortids og nutids huse og villager I by og bygd bykunst og byregulering m.m.* (“On houses and villas of the past in cities and the countryside, urban art and town planning etc.”) By the 1950s some initiatives had been taken to preserve enclaves, streets or areas with older buildings in some Norwegian towns and

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<sup>1</sup> “Vore malere reiser alle til Vaage, Telemarken eller Jæderen Faa har endu opdget byen, og naar undtages nogen Akerselvbilleder, er vor by endu kunstnerisk uopdaget, men staffeliet har vært plantet i anden hver bjerkeli i vort utstrakte land.” (...) “Bergenserne omfatter som bekjendt sin by med kjærlighet og respekt, og byen har ogsaa et morsomt og egenartet præg som det gjelder at verne. Der bor endu borgere.” Harry Fett in a collection of essays published in 1910. Fett (1910) pp 46-47

<sup>2</sup> Rosesmuggrenden (the Rose Hamlet), in this case constituted by a series of ”smug”, or ”smau” (Bergen vernacular), narrow and often winding street, pathway or alley that criss-cross the main street system. Rosesmuggrenden is in the sources used synonymously with Rosesmuget, Rosesmauet and Rosegrenden, referring alternately the street name and to the hamlet which also includes Fjæregrenden, Bakersmuget, Vinkelsmuget and the little open square where Rosesmuget ends and verges on Sjøgaten. Architect Kristian Bjerknes used *Rosesmuggrenden* as the comprehensive term for the hamlet and “conservation” area, see for instance Bjerknes (1956)

cities.<sup>3</sup> These were all without proper statutory protection as historic built environments. In the 1950s legislation with this specific aim did not exist; it was possible only through listing individual buildings within the Built Heritage Act (as in the case of Solbergrekka in Røros or Bryggen in Bergen) or by evasive use of planning regulations (see below). When the conservation of Rosesmuggrenden was put on the agenda in the early 1950s a solution in the latter category was sought. The initiative came from a group led by the architect Kristian Bjercknes (1901-1981). A practicing restoration architect and museum professional, Bjercknes was instrumental both in the process of preparing the area plan, and in the subsequent management and monitoring of the Rosesmuggrenden area. His museum work also involved building conservation; Bjercknes was the first director of the open air museum *Gamle Bergen Museum* (“Old Bergen museum”) where recreations of Bergen’s wooden heritage were being constructed with buildings which were candidates for demolition; a position he held until his retirement in 1971.<sup>4</sup> The 1958 plan for Rosesmuggrenden’s small-scale 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century wooden dwellings was a pilot case of statutory protection of an entire urban neighbourhood *in situ*, and was the first example of its kind in Bergen. It was the closest alternative to an area conservation plan one could manage with the planning legislation at the time.<sup>5</sup>

#### *A note on the sources*

The primary case study material for this chapter consists of papers from the residents’ association *Rosesmuggrendens Vel (Velforeningen)* and documents from *Bergen Byarkiv*, the municipal building archive, the *Kristian Bjercknes archive* within *Bergen Byarkiv* and the archives of *Gamle Bergen Museum*<sup>6</sup>. Four buildings have been studied closely with reference both to archive material and to on-site documentation. The papers from *Velforeningen* turned out to be an interesting source of information, giving detailed information about maintenance and repairs on the various houses and providing a unique insight into the day to day living and management of the area. *Velforeningen*’s archive includes meeting minutes and annual reports, newspaper clippings and copies of documents from the conservation plan process. Photographs have also been a source of information on the history of building in the area. Photographs from the 1920s and 1950s are reproduced courtesy of the Bergen University’s picture collection UBB (*Universitetet i Bergens Billedsamling*). The *Gamle Bergen Museum*

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<sup>3</sup> In the 1950s Fortidsminneforeningen’s Annual printed “Towns which preserve their built environments” (*Byer som verner sitt kulturmiljø*), presenting Skudneshavn, Sandefjord, Stavanger and Fredrikstad.

<sup>4</sup> Indahl (2010)

<sup>5</sup> The 1958-guidelines are today (2010) are still operational, incorporated in the current area plan (*kommunedelplan*) for Bergen’s township Sandviken. Schulze (1958 - 5 - 28; Bergen\*kommune (2002 - 2 - 2)

<sup>6</sup> From 2005 this museum is part of the consolidation *Bymuseet i Bergen* (Bergen city museum)



archive also included some photographic material, and surveys and plans for some of Rosesmuggrenden's buildings. Kristian Bjerknæs left behind a number of publications, the most notable his doctoral thesis *Gamle Borgerhus i Bergen* ("Old Citizen Homes of Bergen") from 1961. *Bergen Byarkiv*, the *Gamle Bergen Museum* archive and *Velforeningen* contain a number of manuscripts from Bjerknæs' hand. Bjerknæs' texts, both published ones and drafts, are featured here both as a source of information on the conservation process, and as a cited source for the documented history of the Rosesmuggrenden and Sandviken area.<sup>7</sup> The geographer Tone Wesenberg has documented the morphological growth and planning history of Sandviken in her 1984 thesis, which has been useful for providing an overview of the planning history of the area. *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annals have been a resource for the conservation community's perspective on historic urban environments.



Figure 1: Bergen tourist map from 1909 with Sandviken to the north and Rosesmuggrenden (section A5), Bryggen (D and E5), Ytre Markevei, Nordnes (E3), Bergenhus (C and D4) and Oscarsgate (E and F6).

<sup>7</sup> For further information on the career of Kristian Bjerknæs, see Carolyn Ahmer's PhD on *Bergensskolen* (the Bergen School) in architecture. Ahmer (2003)

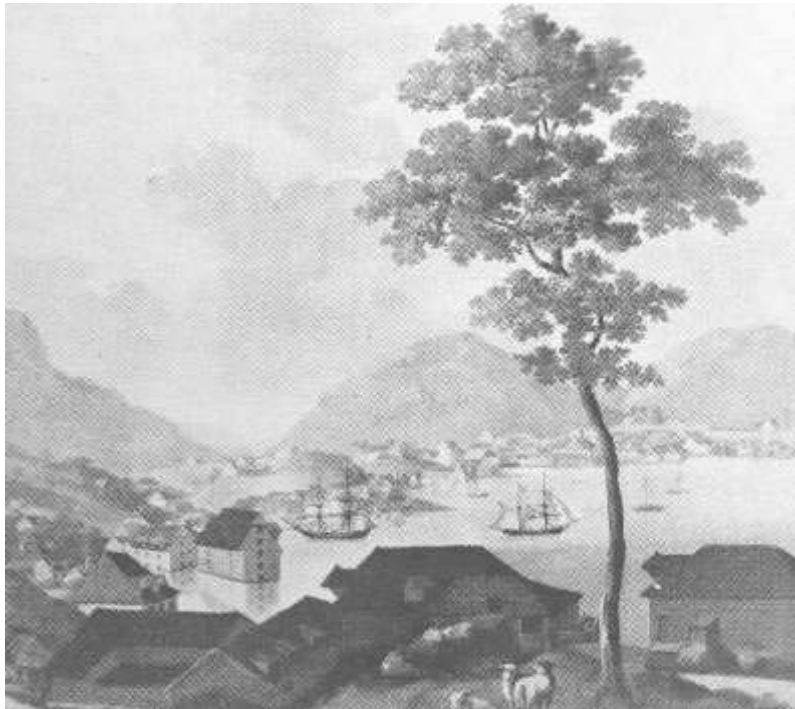


Figure 2. Old Sandviken from Kristian Bjerknes' "Det gamle Sandviken og Rosesmuggrenden", printed 1956.

#### 6.1 PRESERVING ROSESMUGGRENDE: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

There are several factors which were decisive in precisely Rosesmuggrenden becoming an early example of what we today would define as an urban conservation area. A general tendency to view the urban vernacular as a significant part of a historical legacy to be materially preserved had been emerging for decades. Rosesmuggrenden's local historic significance, combined with a location outside the high-pressure urban development zone of the city centre, made it a suitable target. The conservation community tested different strategies to meet the challenge of preserving old, small-scale buildings in the face of rapid urban growth. The "strategy" for Rosesmuggrenden included strong personal involvement, creative use of planning legislation and homeowners' participation.

### 6.1.1 The historic environment of Sandviken

Rosesmuggrenden is an enclave of wooden buildings in Sandviken (“Sand-bay”), a residential area and industrial port immediately north of the city centre of Bergen. Although its history of settlement can be traced further back, the bulk of Sandviken’s older historic buildings are 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century; a conglomerate of wooden structures serving a multitude of functions whose physical existence was threatened by Bergen’s urban expansion from the 1870s and onwards.

#### *Geographical context and historical significance*

While urban life flourished in central Bergen in medieval times, the adjacent Sandviken remained agricultural for centuries due to the geographical delimitation of Rotfjellet (see map [Figure 1], B4 and B5). During the upswing of trade and fishing in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, storage houses (*brygger*) were built along the shoreline. Rope factories (*reperbaner*) required flat or sloping terrain and divided Sandviken’s narrow stretch of land lengthwise (in 1766 there were four), above these Bergen’s wealthy built their country houses (*lystgårder*) on the green hillside (for example Kristinegaard [Figure 1], square A6). In 1870 Sandviken was still partly agricultural; buildings were concentrated in hamlets to allow for agriculture and horticulture. The hamlets developed parallel to the shoreline; homes for shipmates and fishermen, ferrymen, rope factory workers’ and carpenters’ families.<sup>8</sup> Previously the property of the crown, the entire Sandviken was from circa 1650 owned by one family, the Garmanns. Plots were leased, not sold, and development could therefore be controlled, which accounts for the structure of the hamlets. Kristian Bjerknes proposed that this unity of ownership had made Sandviken a properly developed “micro-society”; the one land owner acting as regulating force “long before the city had a planning department”.<sup>9</sup> Bjerknes wrote:

“The development which had begun in 1600 was brought to a halt when the country houses (*lyststedene*) were introduced. Around 1800 Sandviken had acquired its form, and the time that followed did not bring many changes. In the 1830s the Empire Style put its mark on most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century buildings, while at

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<sup>8</sup> In 1761 there were 32 homeowners in Rosesmuggrenden, among them a baker, a shoemaker, two widowed washerwomen and two tavern owners. There were several “grender” or hamlets in Sandviken, from the south Grendsegrenden, Fæstergrenden, Fjæregrenden (today only partly preserved and a part of Rosesmuggrenden), Pyttergrenden and other hamlets which were not named. Bjerknes (1956) pp 10, 20

<sup>9</sup> (“...lenge før vi fikk reguleringsråd”). Bjerknes stressed this explanation for the development of Sandviken in numerous oral and written presentations in the 1950s and -60s, identifying this as a unique characteristic of the area. Unpublished manuscripts by Kristian Bjerknes; Bjerknes (1956)

the same time the hamlets grew and new small houses were added (...) Sandviken retained its character (*sine karakteristiske trekk*) into our time.”<sup>10</sup>

These “characteristic features” of the early 19th century built environment were what Bjerknes, in the 1950s, saw as valuable and worthy of conservation. Some of the grander individual country houses had been designated through the 1920 Built Heritage Act, for instance Kristinegaard (Christinegård) near Rosesmuggrenden, and Elsero (later the starting point for *Gamle Bergen Museum*) which were listed in 1927.<sup>11</sup> In the 1950s Rosesmuggrenden, a built environment consisting of “anonymous” architecture was, as one of the first in the country, targeted for conservation.

#### *Area development prior to 1950*

The hamlets of Rosemuget and Fjæregrenden consist of densely situated wooden dwellings, typical of Bergen’s vernacular as it developed as housing clusters with winding streets and narrow lanes in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1870 Bergen municipality purchased the Garman family’s property and Nye Sandviksvei was extended around Rotfjellet, which placed Sandviken in the face of urban expansion and modern planning requirements.<sup>12</sup> The old, wooden hamlets of Bergen (like Rosemuget and Fjæregrenden in lower Sandviken, Skuteviken by the Bergenhus fortress, and the Nordnes peninsula) were considered unsanitary traffic obstacles and fire hazards by both 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century planners. In the 1910s however, planners however took a different approach and were prepared for a compromise between development and conservation.

The Building Act for Bergen, of 1848, required area planning, but so far smaller isolated areas had been regulated, only just keeping up with building activity.<sup>13</sup> Garmannsgate, in the vicinity of Rosesmuggrenden, was regulated as an individual street in 1873. The first effort at a comprehensive plan for Sandviken came in the 1880s. In 1887 a proposition for an extensive grid plan for Sandviken was presented, rejected in favour a more general plan in 1888 which focused on arterial roads and broad common areas (*allmenninger*), a traditional feature in Bergen urban planning whose purpose was fire prevention [Figure 3-4]. Following contemporary European planning trends, the 1887 plan had employed the design of straight wide streets and rectangular blocks to meet the needs of a growing city with

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<sup>10</sup> Bjerknes (1956) pp 11-12

<sup>11</sup> Riksantikvaren (2010)

<sup>12</sup> Bjerknes (1956) p 12

<sup>13</sup> Bergen had its own building and planning legislation from 1830, replaced by a new Bergen building act in 1848 which was revised in 1857 and again in 1875. Byggforsk (1989)

modern standards of infrastructure and hygiene. The street layout did little to adapt to local topography, and implied demolition of existing older built environments. Both plans generally failed due to their rigidity of layout and the implied costs, and are only traceable in some smaller individual area plans adopted before the turn of the century. The regular housing block of Sandvikens Torvgate was developed in 1889, but Rosesmuggrenden was not affected. A wider Garmannsgate was also included, but this had been planned already in 1873. The area immediately east of Sandviksveien (Ekrengaten, Görbitzgate, Aad Gjellesgate), which consisted mostly of open land, was developed in the 1890s following an adjusted version of the proposed 1888-grid, while existing buildings in the Rosesmuggrenden area made development here more of a challenge. A revised development plan from 1898 superimposed a grid on Rosesmuggrenden, with wide straight streets criss-crossing between Sandvikstorget, Sandviksveien and Sjøgaten, and proposed a 38 metre wide building-free zone between the shoreline warehouses and Rosesmuggrenden. However, a general halt in new developments after the building market crash in 1899, induced by the new building acts for Bergen and Kristiania, ensured the survival of most of the old wooden buildings in Rosesmuggrenden into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup>

In 1911 a new development plan for Sandviken was drawn up, which demonstrated a greater sensitivity towards the landscape and existing building structure. While the 1888 and 1898 plans had presupposed that Rosesmuggrenden would be demolished, the 1911 plan only affected individual buildings on the outskirts of the area; Bakersmuget, Fjæregrenden and the lower parts of Garmannsgate on the borders of the square Sandvikstorvet and along Sjøgaten, and part of Elvegaten. Otherwise the old wooden buildings of the hamlet were not affected by street development. The architect behind the plan, Olai Schumann-Olsen at the town planner's office (*Stadskonduktørens kontor*) was also a prolific photographer whose 1924 publication *Bergens-Billeder* ("Bergen Scenes") brought the picturesque qualities and specific local character of these urban quarters to the attention of a larger audience.<sup>15</sup> Schumann-Olsen was educated in Germany and his plans demonstrate an influence from the more adaptive and aesthetic approach to urban planning.<sup>16</sup> Both Schumann-Olsen's education and historical interest must have inspired consideration for Rosesmuggrenden.

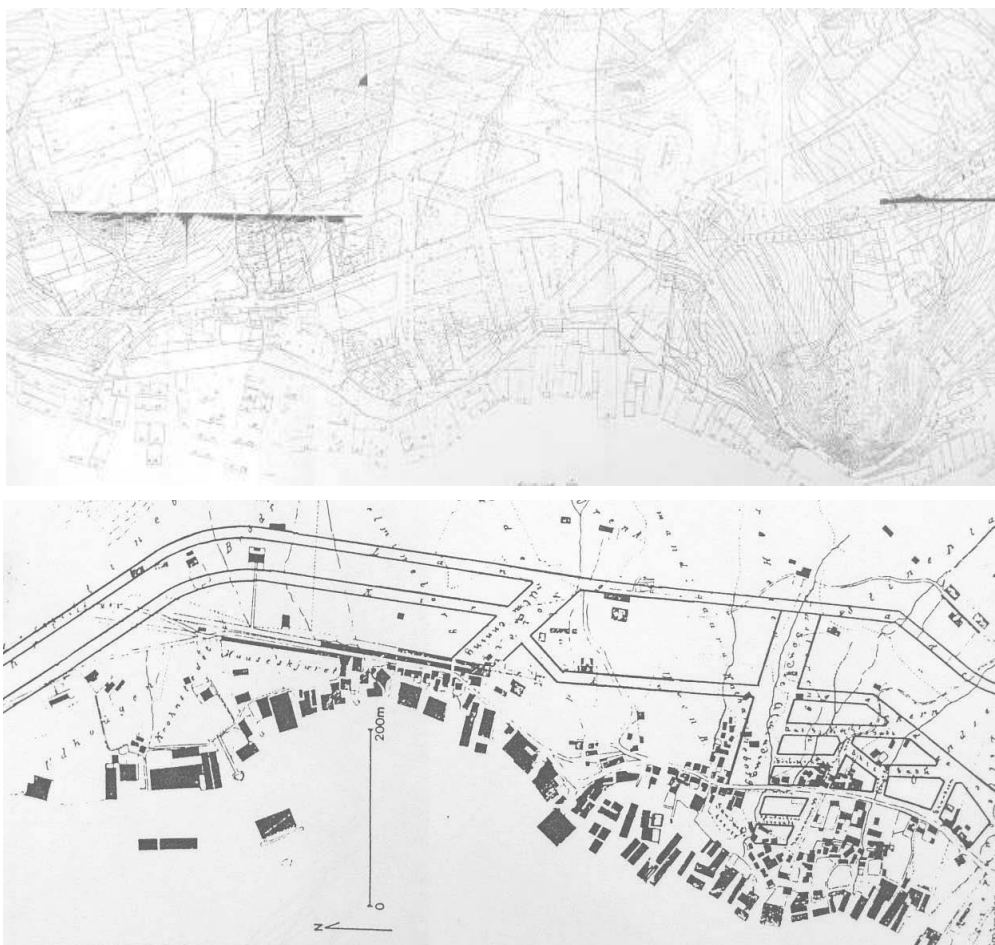
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<sup>14</sup> Lov om Bygningsvæsenet i Bergen av 19. april 1899, nr. 1; Lov om Bygningsvæsenet i Kristiania av 26. mai 1899, nr.3 Byggforsk (1989); Wesenberg (1984) pp 92-93, 97

<sup>15</sup> *Schumann Olsens Bergens-billeder med karter over Bergen og specielle karter over Nordnes, centrale bydele, Stadsporten-Torvet, Tyskebryggen -Bergarhus samt Sandviken*. Schumann-Olsen (1924)

<sup>16</sup> Trends in Norwegian urban planning after 1900 were inspired by the ideas introduced by Camillo Sitte in his 1889 *Städtebau nach seine Künstlerische Grundsätzen* and advocated by, among others, Berlin city planner Hermann Jansen. The Garden City Movement was also influential, demonstrated in attempts at model garden

During the 1910 and -20s road plans to connect the suburb of Sandviken with the commercial centre of Bergen were under development.<sup>17</sup> In the 1950s the planners' priorities were to establish arterial roads to serve new suburbs in Ytre Sandviken (Outer Sandviken). Sandviken was by now technically no longer a suburb, and industrial compounds and high-rises for offices and housing required a scale which far exceeded the relative modesty of the old shoreline storage houses. Rosesmuggrenden, wedged between two traffic thoroughfares (Sjøgata and Sandviksveien), and in close proximity to the shoreline industrial area, was threatened.



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cities like Ullevål Hageby in Oslo, or indirectly through the implementation of human scale of housing and greener residential areas with variation in the structure of building blocks or rows, curving street structure, fond-motifs and semi-closed courtyards. These concepts in the physical plan were also Sittes, a reaction to the 18<sup>th</sup> century grid which permeated city development plans in Norway as well as abroad throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Jensen (1980)

<sup>17</sup> Hartvedt, Skreien et al. (2009)



Figure 3-5: Planning proposals for Sandviken, including Rosesmuggrenden: 1887 Sandviken grid (previous page, top); 1888 plan for Store Sandviken (previous page, bottom); 1911 plan for Sandviken by Schumann Olsen. (All plans Bergen Byarkiv, Stadskonduktørens arkiv)

### 6.1.2 Documentation and conservation of urban built environments

During the extensive building activity which affected Bergen, Christiania and also Trondheim the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, conservation had not been an issue; only monuments on the scale of churches and fortifications were spared, primarily medieval structures. As mentioned in Chapter 2, *Fortidsminneforeningen's* Nicolay Nicolaysen only found two post-reformation structures worth mentioning in his antiquarian's report from Bergen in the 1840s (see Chapter section 2.2.1), and this selective view of monuments was reflected in 19<sup>th</sup> century urban planning. Generic architecture and built environments were not an issue for Norwegian antiquarians during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. On the continent, modern urban planning schemes practised conservation through the *Freilegung* of monuments, clearing the space around monuments of architecture (and through this also removing and altering their historical context). This solution was prescribed by German planners whose ideas were picked up by Norwegian architects and planners who received their education in Germany in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>18</sup>

For Norwegian towns and cities, planning to meet urban growth and housing standards was important; improving built structure buildings for fire safety crucial. Many plans which addressed these issues, however, like the master plans for Sandvikens from 1887 and 1888, remained on the drawing board. The late 19<sup>th</sup> century area plans for inner Sandviken required

<sup>18</sup> Bye (1998)

the removal of older wooden housing, while Schumann-Olsen's 1911 plan managed to envelop historic built enclaves.

#### *Growing interest in the historic urban vernacular*

The 1920s demonstrated an increased awareness of built vernacular including urban imagery of "townscapes" (*bybilleder*). Urban planner Schumann-Olsen's 1924 publication *Bergens Billeder* ("Bergen images") both demonstrated and strengthened the public interest in preserving the wooden neighbourhoods of Bergen. From the 1920s, Bergen wooden built environments received attention as historically significant objects for documentation and, in part, conservation, to counter the force of physical urban developments. Local historical and conservation societies flourished.<sup>19</sup> In Bergen a "council for urban aesthetics" (*Tilsynsrådet for byens utseende*) took an active part in aesthetic matters, and increasingly in cases which involved conservation work. The interest in the traditional urban built environments was a reaction to late 19<sup>th</sup> century urban development, which was now considered to be estranged and superficial, plagiarising foreign styles. In the perspective of 19<sup>th</sup> century historicism, the urban environment of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century became interesting, both as inspiration for a new architecture, and as objects of conservation:

"It is not so long ago, that we here in this city made attempts to work ourselves away from all which tasted of tradition. Since then we have however come to admit, that we cannot entirely disregard our past. And now there is again a strong movement to salvage, what can be salvaged, of the "honourable old" (...) Where we turn to the old architecture and older city formations we will find a matter-of-factness free off any affectations, truth in design which shows contempt for the masked. In this respect this architecture stands as a shining example for the future design of this city."<sup>20</sup>

This interest in the historic urban environment was not an unambiguously growing trend; 1930s modernism in architecture and the disruptions of World War 2 slowed its propagation. Up until the 1950s the Bergen branch of *Fortidsminneforeningen, Den Bergenske Avdeling*,

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<sup>19</sup> Schumann-Olsen mentioned three societies for conservation and local history: Den Bergenske avdeling av Forteningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers bevaring, Bergens historiske forening, Holbergklubben. Bergen's public library published a list of books on the subject of local history in 1914: *Bøker og skrifter til Bergens historie*. Schumann-Olsen (1924) pp 8-9

<sup>20</sup> "Det er jo ikke ret længe siden, vi her i staden gjorde de løierligste forsøk paa at arbeide os bort fra alt det, som smakte av tradition. Senere har vi imidlertid maattet erkjende, at vi ikke kan se helt bort fra vor fortid. Og nu er der en sterk bevægelse igjen for at redde, hva reddes kan av det `ærværdige gamle' (...) Hvor vi derimot vender os mot den gamle arkitektur og ældre bydannelser vil vi finde en selvfølgelig tilforlaterlighet fri for enhver affektation, sandhet i formerne med foragt for det maskerte. I saa henseende staar denne arkitektur som et lysende eksempel for byens videre utforming." Schumann-Olsen (1924) pp 7-8



was engaged primarily in conservation and restoration of singular monumental buildings. In addition to preserving the monuments themselves, there were sporadic examples of protest when the surroundings or environmental qualities of monuments were threatened. In 1918 *Den Bergenske Avdeling* protested against a large tower building near the medieval Mariakirken and Rosenkrantzårnet, fearing this would dwarf the medieval buildings (“weaken the impact of the old buildings nearby”); a similar initiative was the protest against a development plan for the quay area Bontelabo in the 1940s, which would affect the visual image of the medieval Bergen fortress Bergenhus.<sup>21</sup> In 1955 however *Den Bergenske Avdeling* reported on an initiative to preserve Lærdalsøyri, a seashore settlement of historic wooden buildings in Sogn og Fjordane county<sup>22</sup>, a sign that there was now interest and capacity in the conservation community to review townscapes and built contexts. In 1955 Robert Kloster, board member of *Den Bergenske Avdeling* and also member of the national board of *Fortidsminneforeningen*, argued strongly for the conservation of Rosesmuggrenden in a local newspaper.<sup>23</sup> Work was initiated to map historic Bergen, and in the 1960s the registration and presentation of Bergen’s profane architecture was compiled and published in the series *Det antikvariske register for Bergen* (“The antiquarian catalogue for Bergen”), a list which focused not only on singular buildings but also on built environments. In 1961 *Den Bergenske Avdeling* founded a committee which was to look into the possibilities of legislation for listing built environments (*miljøfredning*).<sup>24</sup>

In Bergen, a significant contribution to the documentation of the city’s architectural history was made by the Bergen association of architects (*Bergen Arkitektforening*, founded in 1908), which from 1933 published their collected material in the series *Eldre Bergensarkitektur* (“Older Architecture of Bergen”).<sup>25</sup> In the wide range of city views documented and collected by professional and amateur photographers from the early 1900s and onwards, the wooden architecture of Bergen became a favoured subject. Olai Schumann-Olsen widely documented daily scenes set amidst the vernacular, urban wooden townscape of Bergen and his motifs included Sandviken and Rosesmuggrenden.<sup>26</sup> In the 1950s Gustav Brosing made a significant contribution to documenting the architecture of Sandviken. A leading force in *Kulturhistorisk Selskap* (“The Cultural Historical Society”), Brosing was

<sup>21</sup> (“... svække virkningen av de gamle bygninger i nærheten.”) Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1919) p 246; Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1946) p 159

<sup>22</sup> Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1956) p 187

<sup>23</sup> *Bergens\*Arbeiderblad* (1955 - 5 - 26)

<sup>24</sup> The committee members were Kristian Bjercknes, Johan Lindstrøm and Helland-Hansen. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1962) p 226

<sup>25</sup> Torvanger, Berrefjord et al. (2001) p 75

<sup>26</sup> Schumann-Olsen (1924)

actively involved in preserving *Rosesmuggrenden*. Documentation and presentation through photography promoted historic profane and vernacular architecture. Publishing depictions of historic urban scenery had become an important tool in documenting historic fabric which was disappearing rapidly with modern urban post-war development, but also a means to propagate the cause of architectural conservation.

#### *Setting an agenda for urban conservation*

Conservationists' ideas had been triggered by the experiences of urban planning practice, which, since its beginnings in Norway in the 1850s had consisted of replacing old town quarters with a new and different urban fabric. The development had been slow; urban planning schemes had been put on hold in many towns and cities with the building market collapse in 1899, the recession of the 1920s and two world wars. Harry Fett expressed awareness of historic urban environments from the time the *Riksantikvar* institution was established in 1912, and advocated the need for formal urban conservation measures in both 1910 and in 1913. The Røros townscape was an early object of conservation efforts in terms of agitation, legislation and implementation (see Chapter 5.1.2). While Røros was a relatively small entity, its historic fabric challenged by modernizations of individual buildings, historic areas in larger cities like Oslo and Bergen were under pressure from more massive forces. Urban development, which had been stopped during the German occupation (1939-1945) continued with full force in the post-war era, addressing industrial and economic growth, technical infrastructure and traffic issues, housing deficiency and living standard improvements with the tools of modernist planning and architecture and a fierce sense of future-and-forward oriented optimism. Arne Nygård-Nilssen, who replaced Harry Fett as *Riksantikvar* in 1946, published several pieces in *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annals between 1939 and 1956 which covered the impact of modern development on historic urban environments. These pieces place protection of historic urban environments on the post-war conservation agenda, and convey some interesting visions of urban growth.

*Fortidsminneforeningen's* issue for 1950 begins with the piece "heritage and urban planning" (*Fortidsminner og byregulering*). Rhetorically asking whether a city itself was not just as interesting an attraction as its museums and those monuments "... which have a Baedeker star"<sup>27</sup>, Nygård-Nilssen argued that the city's readable history, character and rhythm were

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<sup>27</sup> ("... som har stjerne i Baedeker") Nygård-Nilssen (1951) pp 1-2

assets for its inhabitants as well as its visitors, and promoted conservation of non-monumental streetscapes for the benefit of future generations:

“The soul of the city is as alive in the common streets and simple houses as it is in monumental squares and monuments (...) It can be just as important to preserve old buildings of a steady character, especially when they constitute a group and characterize a block or an entire quarter. (...) And it is of course not out of concern for the tourists that we do this. It is for ourselves and for those who follow us.”<sup>28</sup>

There was obviously a feeling that Norway was lagging behind in the trend to preserve townscapes. To demonstrate this, Nygård-Nilssen quoted Oslo’s head of urban planning Erik Rolfsen:

“At the same time it is accepted as an axiom in most places, except maybe in Norway, that old monuments are to be preserved at any price. There is no question of a main street or new building displacing a historical complex or a building which is part of a historic section of town. (...) An old known quarter is one of the greatest assets of a town through being a tourist attraction, a landmark and an object of affection for the inhabitants.”<sup>29</sup>

With this piece, Nygård-Nilssen set an agenda, however modest, for urban conservation, summing up prioritized areas and displaying a careful optimism for a marriage between urban development and conservation in the post-war era, and carefully indicating an alliance between conservation and urban planning authorities. The case of Røros indicates that there was initiative and interest to take on the conservation of built environments and landscapes in the late 1930s. After over a decade of relapse during World War 2, activity and publications in the 1950s demonstrate that the urban built environment was again a focus area for the conservation community; however obstacles of modern urban development and the lack of proper legislative tools were challenges it took another two decades to overcome.

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<sup>28</sup> “Byens sjel lever like sterkt i de almindelige gatene og de enkle husene som i monumentale plasser og enkeltbygg (...) Det kan være like viktig å ta vare på gamle bygninger av jevnere karakter, særlig når de ligger samlet så de setter sitt preg på et kvartal eller et helt byparti” (...) Og det er selvfølgelig ikke først og fremst av hensyn til turistene vi gjør det. Det er av hensyn til oss selv og våre etterkommere.” Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> “Samtidig er det vel akseptert som et aksiom de fleste steder, unntatt kanskje enda i Norge, at gamle kulturminner skal bevares for enhver pris. Ikke tale om at en hovedgate eller et nybygg kan fortrenge et historisk anlegg eller en bygning som tilhører et gammelt bybillede. (...) Et gammelt kjent bygningsparti tilhører en bys største aktiva i egenskap av turistattraksjon, kulturminne og affeksjonsgjenstand for stedets befolkning” Rolfsen had written this after travelling in western European cities in 1950, published in *Byggekunst* the same year. Ibid.

### *Early Norwegian urban conservation efforts in practice*

In 1950 the status was that many major planning schemes, (among the most prominent those of Harald Hals and Sverre Pedersen, and in Nordnes in Bergen), were in the course of being implemented.<sup>30</sup> The desire to preserve historic town quarters expressed by *Riksantikvar* Arne Nygård-Nilssen and Oslo Planning Director Erik Rolfsen may have yet seemed feasible in 1950. In Europe tendencies towards conservation and historic reconstruction seemed to be on the rise, most significantly demonstrated in those cases where the state of loss following war-time destructions was remedied by the reconstruction of entire quarters, and where the International Style of functionalism was replaced by a more regionally oriented design. In the late 1940s the Oslo urban planning department supported a *Fortidsminneforeningen* campaign to preserve the wooden enclave of Enerhaugen, which according to a plan from before World War 2 was to be demolished. Conservation interests argued that the plan was no longer necessary as the city limits had been extended; the inhabitants of the buildings signed up to save their homes, and a plan for the rehabilitation (“..the intention was to modernize and restore the old buildings in the best way possible”<sup>31</sup>) of the old buildings had been prepared. However, the city’s Housing director (*boligrådmannen*) won and conservation interests suffered defeat through a city council vote in 1947.<sup>32</sup> The plan was implemented more than a decade later, the small-scale environment giving way to high-rise housing. Instead of conservation *in situ*, a selection of the tiny working class housing from Enerhaugen was moved and re-erected at *Norsk Folkemuseum* at Bygdøy to form the first part of the urban section there.

The prospect of urban renewal and expansion and, interestingly enough, high-rises, were concerns repeatedly mentioned by conservation authorities in connection with urban conservation schemes in the 1950s. Arne Nygård-Nilssen’s 1950 piece, which advocated the conservation of historic urban environments, was followed by a report which used the example of New York City to provide a perspective on the prospects of urban development for Norwegian cities. The question of scale (“*omlegging av målestokken*” and the dangers of this: “*det som er lite, er lett å overse*”) was set up as a major challenge of urban conservation :

”One has discovered that the taller and more uniform the new buildings become, the greater the need for variation. And here the old and characteristic provide a good basis to create an oasis in the modern stone

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<sup>30</sup> See: Jensen (1980); Lexau (1993); Den\*Bergenske\*Avdeling (1986) pp 8-9

<sup>31</sup> “...det var meningen at de gamle husene skulde saneres og settes i best mulig stand.” Nygård-Nilssen (1951) p 4

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

desert (...) We are forced to let go of the old monumental impact and must therefore rather highlight the declining values as intimate idylls.”<sup>33</sup>

The Enerhaugen development was symptomatic of urban planning over the following two decades. In 1950 the effect of the private automobile on the city had become noticeable and the antiquarians issued the warning:

“The town is not only there to be driven through by car.”<sup>34</sup>

When the rationing of private automobiles was lifted in 1960 traffic soared, the number of cars tripling in a decade.<sup>35</sup> Through traffic and the need for parking posed a significant challenge for historic urban areas.<sup>36</sup> The scale and speed of post-war urban development was massive, and over the next 20 years while the cities grew the conservation community stayed small and focused on a limited set of tasks (until the arguments for urban conservation re-emerged in the 1970s, fronted by a new generation of antiquarians in alliance with political activists). Urban architectural environments which had the attention of the conservation community in the 1950s included Bryggen in Bergen, planned to be demolished to make way for traffic and lamella low-rises, 17<sup>th</sup> century quarters in Oslo (Rådhusgaten), where broader streets to accommodate traffic were discussed, Skudneshavn, Gamle Stavanger, the Trondheim wharfs and the remains of the old town in Tromsø which had partially burned down in 1948. Among these few urban focal points of the professional conservation community in the 1950s and 60s were Rosesmuggrenden and Røros.<sup>37</sup>

#### *Conservation value of historic urban townscapes*

Preserving an image of the city as homogeneous in scale, context and detail were factors stressed in the first attempts at urban conservation in the years immediately before and after

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<sup>33</sup> ”Man har oppdaget at jo høyere og mer enspreget den nye bebyggelsen blir, desto større er behovet for avveksling. Og her gir de gamle og særpregede gode utgangspunkt for å skape oaser i den moderne steinørken (...) Vi er tvunget til å gi slipp på den gamle monumentalvirkningen og må derfor heller framheve de synkende verdier som intime idyller.” This statement, made by Bergen historian Robert Kloster in 1950, precedes arguments which led to a turn in urban planning in the 1960s, advocated by Jane Jacobs and later Kevin Lynch and Spiro Kostoff who all argued for a human scale and diversity in the shaping of cities, emphasizing the psychological aspects of physical surroundings as relevant to well-being and social development. Robert Kloster *Synkende verdier* in: Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1951) pp 23-28

<sup>34</sup> “Byen er ikke til bare for å kjøres igjennom med bil.” Nygård-Nilssen (1951) p 2

<sup>35</sup> SNL (2010)

<sup>36</sup> The conflict over the traffic arteries surrounding Akershus Festning in Oslo, in which Riksantikvaren was heavily involved in the 1960s, is an early example. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1962) pp 217-

<sup>37</sup> Nygård-Nilssen (1951) pp 6-14

World War 2. In 1950, *Riksantikvar* Nygård-Nilssen argued for preserving historic urban environments.

“Not only the fine singular houses have a right to be preserved, those that are of that special value that they may be listed. It can be of equal importance to save sections of towns and streets with houses of a steady character, town sections which in total carry the character of good old building structure.”<sup>38</sup>

It was implied that the historic areas considered valuable were those in which the architecture was homogeneous, and where the place would elicit a sense of identity and possessed picturesque qualities; “...a surprising street perspective, a picturesque cluster of houses, a cheerful façade, a beautiful portal”; Nygård-Nilssen also used the expressions “feeling of home”, “contentment”, “sense of urbanity” and “a beautiful townscape” to describe the kind of impression and experience such areas would evoke.<sup>39</sup> The building’s heritage value was in this sense both as part of a cluster or “scene”, and in the architectural detailing. Nygård-Nilssen also mentioned association with famous individuals as a reason for conservation.<sup>40</sup> Significantly he also emphasised the general value of function:

“We keep to such (houses) which are capable of survival or which by some change may become so”.<sup>41</sup>

The object was the pre-industrial city, and architectural detail was important - if only of the accepted architectural style. While cities up until a certain point in time had developed slowly and harmoniously, he reasoned, old townscapes were now disappearing or changing fast and legislation (and implementation) was required to protect them from the breach of tradition, argued Nygård-Nilssen in 1950:

“...in old times (...) they almost *could* not build in an ugly or disharmonious fashion. Later people have industriously learned to do so. Therefore we must now intervene with laws and provisions on quite a

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<sup>38</sup> “Det er ikke bare de fine enkelthusene som har krav på å bevares, de som er av den særlige verdi at de kan fredes. Det kan være like viktig å redde bypartier og gater med hus av jevnere karakter, bystrøk som samlet bærer preg av god gammel bygningsstruktur.” Nygård-Nilssen (1956) p 134

<sup>39</sup> “...et overraskende gateperspektiv, en malerisk husklynge, en munter fasade, en vakker portal”; ”hjemfølelse”, ”trivsel”, ”byfølelse” and “et vakkert byparti”. Nygård-Nilssen (1951) pp 2, 14

<sup>40</sup> Old Skien town centre, birth town of author and playwright Henrik Ibsen. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1951) s 14

<sup>41</sup> “Vi holder oss til slike (hus – min anmerkn) some er i levedyktig stand eller ved forandring kan bli det”. Nygård-Nilssen (1951) p 2

different scale than before (...) Now laws in themselves do not alone provide security. It all depends on how they are enforced.”<sup>42</sup>

Preserving the scale was a concern with conservation of buildings in their context. Even if an area was successfully protected from demolition, the visual impact of adjacent modern architecture was a potential threat:

“... Good old architecture can assert itself with a tall building in its background. But it also happens that a noble building is battered to death – or at least rendered unconscious – by its new neighbours.”<sup>43</sup>

*Riksantikvar* Arne Nygård-Nilssen’s recommendations for new buildings in historic surroundings was to not imitate the old style, but to display “tactfulness” in the architectural environment.<sup>44</sup> Urban conservation was from its very beginnings not just about preserving an environment, as opposed to the singular building, but to control its surroundings as well.

### 6.1.3 Legislation and management

Paragraphs especially intended for the conservation of townscapes were not included in the 1920 Built Heritage Act as had been done in Germany, as Harry Fett pointed out in 1913; in Fett’s opinion the Scandinavian countries were lagging behind (see Chapter 2.3.2). When *Riksantikvar* Arne Nygård-Nilssen published the urban conservation “agenda” in 1950, he also discussed legislative possibilities and referred to potential role models. The 1965 Building Act introduced a paragraph which specifically enabled conservation of built environments. Before this, various alternative measures were tried out, and the Municipal guidelines for Fjæregrenden/ Rosesmuggrenden were one example.

#### *Legislative options for urban conservation*

Before 1965, the only option specifically designed for statutory protection of buildings was the 1920 Built Heritage Act. To protect a built environment, serial listings were a possibility (like in the case of Solbergrekka, Røros). The 1899 and 1924 Building Acts did not contain paragraphs for the protection of built-up areas; nonetheless, the first formal conservation plans

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<sup>42</sup> “...i gamle dager (...) kunde de nesten ikke bygge stygt og uharmonisk. Senere har menneskene med flid og møyie lært det. Derfor må vi nu gripe inn med lover og vedtekter i en ganske annen grad enn før.” (...) “Nu gir ikke lover og vedtekter i og for sig noen sikkerhet. Alt avhenger av hvordan de blir håndhevet.” Ibid. p 12, 21

<sup>43</sup> “... God gammel arkitektur kan hevde sig med moderne høibygge som bakgrunn. Men det hender også at et edelt byggverk blir slått ihjel – eller ihvertfall i svime – av det nye naboskapet.” Ibid. p 12

<sup>44</sup> “takt”. Ibid.

were rooted in these acts. This was done by defining areas as a “park”, like in Gamle Stavanger, or “villa”, to prevent new constructions, or limit the possible heights of new buildings to render the area undesirable for investors.<sup>45</sup> In this way conservation was achieved in effect although this was not the stated intention of the plan.<sup>46</sup> In 1954 *Fortidsminneforeningen* took the initiative to prepare guidelines for the conservation of the old city of Fredrikstad. The guidelines did not include the words “conservation” but specified building heights and building materials, requesting that repairs should not alter the character of older buildings.<sup>47</sup>

In 1965, when the Building Act’s conservation paragraph had been ratified, architect Hans Jacob Hansteen commented on this past practice:

“Of the plans made for conservation of built environments, most are based on technical dodges. Conservation is achieved as an *indirect* effect of the actual plan.”<sup>48</sup>

One very early example of this strategy was the 1937 plan for Telthusbakken in Oslo. Building heights were frozen to one storey plus a loft, which was the size of the older historic buildings. This made development unprofitable, and the old buildings were kept in use, serving the objective of preserving the “character” of “one of the most typical suburban idylls”.<sup>49</sup> Another example was Tollbodgaten in Drammen, a street where some buildings were listed, but where *Riksantikvaren* wanted to preserve the whole street as a homogeneous historic environment. The means to this end was a municipal plan which limited the number of storeys to two, and in this way ensured the character of the area. This cooperative venture between the 1920 Built Heritage Act (listing) and the municipal plan was considered a novelty and *Riksantikvar* Nygård-Nilssen stated that this was an example to follow.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> The conservation initiative for Gamle Stavanger came in 1951 from architect Einar Hedén, and the plan was adopted in 1957. SNL (2010)

<sup>46</sup> For Old Stavanger, an area comprising 35 historic buildings, a plan was adopted giving the area the status of park (*grøntareal*) or square (*åpen plass*). Nygård-Nilssen (1956) pp 125-; Hansteen (1968) p 137

<sup>47</sup> Halvor Vreim attended the committee which prepared the guidelines. The other members were architect and building director (bygningssjef) Gudulf Blakstad, arkitekt T. Narve Ludvigsen, snekker Kristofer M. Larsen, Disponent Lars Egeberg Vreim (1957). Several individual buildings in Fredrikstad were listed according to the 1920 Built heritage act. Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1957) p 137

<sup>48</sup> “Av de reguleringsplaner som er laget for miljøbevaring, er de fleste bygget på reguleringsstekniske krumspring. De har sin bevarende virkning som en indirekte funksjon av den egentlige plan.” Hansteen (1968) p 136

<sup>49</sup> “...en av de mest typiske forstadsidyller skal få beholde sin gamle karakter.” Like Solbergrekka, this street section had made immortal by art. It was painted by Edvard Munch in 1882. Adding to Telthusbakken’s significance was its near proximity to the medieval Gamle Akers church (see chapter 2.2.1), looming in Munch’s painting over the small-scale wooden buildings. Nygård-Nilssen (1951) p 3

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* p 13



As Harry Fett had done in 1913, *Riksantikvar* Arne Nygård-Nilssen in 1950 explored the legislation in other countries in search of model solutions. He referred to German legislation, from the Prussian 1907 and 1918 acts for the conservation of historic cityscapes, and to the work done in “many German cities” to bring in new elements in harmony with the old:

“... decided that new buildings should be adapted to dominating building types (...Rothenburg); that repairs and alterations of for example doors and windows must not disturb the street image, that unrendered stone and garish façade paint must be avoided etc (...) protruding extensions are cut down, gaudy façade elements shaved off. Meanwhile the old quarters are restored and redeveloped.”<sup>51</sup>

Nygård-Nilssen specifically referred to the municipal guidelines for the town of Borgå (Gamla Stan) in Finland. These regulated significant change of function, façade alteration, removal of valuable architectural details, fencing, repair after fire or damage, demolition, landscaping or removal of “beautiful trees”, alteration of façade or roof materials, advertising boards and signs and street lighting; to protect “the cultural character and old-fashioned pleasantness of the town against the gradual vulgarization which otherwise would threaten it...”<sup>52</sup> Nygård-Nilssen opted for a legislation following Danish and Swedish examples, where planning laws, on the authority of the municipalities (“*magistraten*”), allowed control of the exterior of buildings and character of neighbourhoods, but also argued to revise the Built Heritage Act to include the surroundings of listed buildings and neighbourhoods:

“One cannot be sure the municipality views a building in the same manner as the conservation authorities.”<sup>53</sup>

The general content of the Borgå (Gamla Stan) guidelines presented by Arne Nygård-Nilssen to the Norwegian conservation community in 1950, and Rosesmuggrenden’s guidelines from

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<sup>51</sup> “... bestemt at nybygg burde tilpasses hevdvunne bygningstyper (...Rothenburg) at reparasjoner og forandringer f. eks. Af dører og vinduer ikke måtte forstyrre gatebilledet, at upusset sten og grell fasademaling måtte undgås osv. (...) opstikkende etasjer er skåret ned, prangende fasadeutstyr vekkbarbert..Samtidig er gamle kvartaler restaurert og sanert.” Nygård-Nilssen mentioned conservation laws for Prussia (1907, 1918), Vienna (1930), France (1837, 1913, 1943 – the latter securing the surroundings of listed buildings), Rothenburg, Denmark (1918) and Sweden (1924); and planning laws with clauses to preserve, Denmark (Byplanlov 1938) and Copenhagen (Byggelov 1939), Sweden (forordning om bygningsvesen 1931), Finland (byplanlov 1931 – “skjønnhetsverdier, kulturminnesmerker, tiltalende landskapsverdier bør vernes; and bygningsvedtekter 1932 – sikre alderdommelig preg for gammel stadsdel). Ibid. p 14

<sup>52</sup> “byens kulturpreg og gammeldagse hygge mot den gradvise forsimpling som ellers vilde true...” Ibid. p 19

<sup>53</sup> “Det er jo ikke sikkert at magistraten ser likedan på en bygning eller et bypartis verdi som fredningsmyndighetene.” Ibid. pp 18, 22

1958, was similar. “Conservation” however was not authorized by Norwegian legislation at the time, and the means to this end was achieved indirectly. In 1965 a revised Norwegian Building Act was passed, introducing a conservation paragraph. Despite the obvious formal difference between conservation planning before and after 1965, the content and wording of later plans bear many similarities to those of the 1950s. This indicates that, although not yet widely practised, urban conservation at this time was in a significant and formative phase.

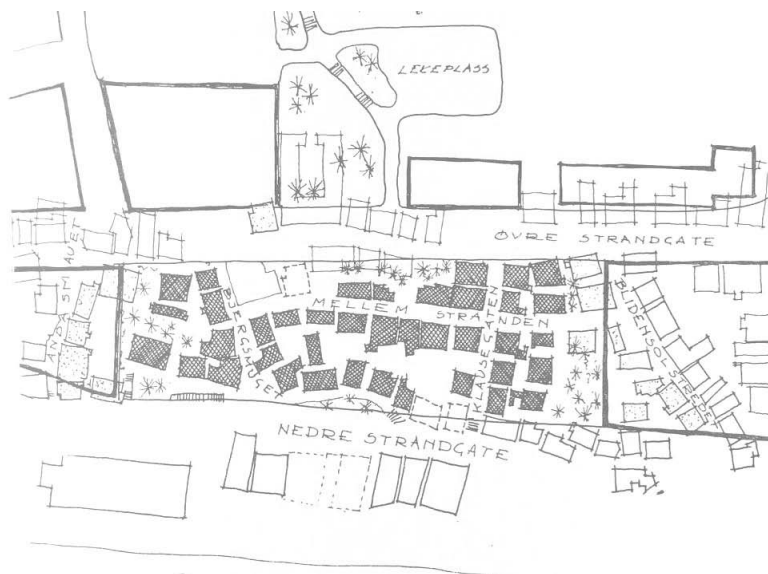


Figure 6: Plan for Gamle Stavanger, giving the area the status of “park” to prevent speculation in housing and thereby preserving the existing historic buildings. Drawing published in *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annual for 1955 (likely by Einar Hedén). The fringes of the area were severed to allow for linear streets; the demarcation line for the Rosesmuget area was affected in the same way by traffic planning. When presenting the plan *Riksantikvar* Arne Nygård-Nilssen commented: “What will cost the most is to give the houses their old exteriors back.”<sup>54</sup> Restoring buildings according to an ideal of homogeneity and stylistic uniformity was the unquestioned objective of the conservation community in the 1950s. (E. Hedén, *Fortidsminneforeningen* 1955)

#### *Open air museums as an urban conservation strategy*

Open air museums were the safe haven for historic buildings before the 1920 Built Heritage Act (See Chapter 2). Both *Norsk Folkemuseum* at Bygdøy and *Trøndelag Folkemuseum* in Trondheim established “town sections”. In Bergen plans for a city museum were discussed, in 1908 and after the city fire in 1916. These plans were carried out after *Foreningen Gamle Bergen* was founded in 1934, resulting in *Gamle Bergen Museum* which opened in 1941. It

<sup>54</sup> “Det som vil koste mest, er å gi husene deres gamle eksterior tilbake.” Nygård-Nilssen (1956) p 128

consisted mainly of buildings which were planned to be demolished; buildings damaged by the explosion in the Bergen wharf in 1944 constitute the core of *Gamle Bergen Museum*. A number of buildings followed when work to carry out development plans started again after the war. *Gamle Bergen Museum* was routinely notified by Bergen municipality when old buildings were expropriated. In the 1950s city quarters were being re-erected at the open-air museums at Bygdøy in Oslo (Enerhaugen) and Gamle Bergen (Nordnes).<sup>55</sup> This was a conservation strategy which the conservation authorities only reluctantly accepted. *Riksantikvaren* was well aware that open-air museums could easily be considered an “easy way out” from preserving them *in situ*:

“Because there is no disagreement that the best way to save a building, is to preserve it in its old environment (...) once there is a building museum, this implies a chronic temptation for the authorities who would rather be rid of the old houses while at the same time preserving their cultural conscience.”<sup>56</sup>

There were several incidents in which listed buildings also were moved to museums, despite their being under statutory protection:

“The purpose of the listing is precisely to preserve the buildings comprised intact in their old environment. To move a building to a new place is a breach of the idea of listing and should only be considered as a last resort in an emergency.”<sup>57</sup>

Wooden buildings were movable in a way which brick buildings were not, which was both a problem and a consolation for the conservation community:

“When it concerns wooden structures, as in this case, at least it is the old buildings themselves which are resurrected on the museum site, - with brick buildings it would be copies.”<sup>58</sup>

This statement reveals (although this term was not used in Norwegian building conservation in the 1950s) a concern for the buildings’ material authenticity. At the same time, preserving

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<sup>55</sup> Torvanger, Berrefjord et al. (2001) p 74; Hegard (1984) p 302; Bjerknes (1962) pp 5-6

<sup>56</sup> “For det er ingen uenighet om at den beste måte å redde en bygning på, er å bevare den i det gamle miljøet. (...) ...når det først fins et bygningsmuseum, betyr det en kronisk fristelse for myndigheter som gjerne vil bli kvitt gamle hus og samtidig ha sin kulturelle samvittighet i orden.” Nygård-Nilssen (1951) pp 8-9

<sup>57</sup> “Hensikten med fredningen er nettopp at de bygninger den omfatter, skal bevares intact i sitt gamle miljø. Å flytte en bygning til et nytt sted er et brudd på fredningstankens idé og bør bare komme på tale som en siste nødutvei.” Nygård-Nilssen (1951) p 9

<sup>58</sup> “Når det som her gjelder trehus, blir det i hvert fall de gamle husene som gjenoppstår på museet, - med murhus vilde det nærmest blitt kopier.”Ibid. p 8

the original context was a concern. The altered physical context was considered problematic by the conservation authorities,

“... the terrain is different, the house must perhaps be facing a different cardinal point, the neighbouring context is new.”<sup>59</sup>

Recreating historic environments in museums was not the professional conservation community’s desired alternative for urban conservation, as it compromised the conservation of context, detail and fabric.



Figure 7-8. Facsimiles from local newspapers from May 1955 with the caption “Can Rosesmuget be saved” and January 13<sup>th</sup> 1960 “An old urban environment in Bergen is preserved” by Kristian Bjerknes.<sup>60</sup> (Clippings from Gamle Bergen Museum’s archive)

### Initiating a conservation plan for Rosessmuggrenden

In the early 1950s plans, Sandviken was on the brink of redevelopment, and modern high-rise housing was planned for the Rosessmuggrenden neighbourhood. Plans to build a new quay from Bergestøen to Kristianholm were being discussed.<sup>61</sup> The 1911 plan for Sandviken did not provide incontestable protection for Rosessmuggrenden from potential demolition in

<sup>59</sup> “...terrenget er forskjellig, huset må kanskje legges i en annen himmelretning enn det er bygget for, naboskapet blir nytt.” Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Bjerknes (1962)

<sup>61</sup> Bergen\*formannskap (1958 - 2 - 19) p 114

favour of industrial developments or new housing. Surrounding high-rises threatened to block out the sun from the older, small-scale housing enclaves.<sup>62</sup> Fjæregrenden and Rosesmuggrenden were however recognized by connoisseurs as historically and architecturally significant areas; Schumann-Olsen's photographs from the 1920s demonstrate this. From 1943 onwards surveys were made of historic buildings in the area under the supervision of Kristian Bjercknes at *Gamle Bergen Museum*.<sup>63</sup>

In May 1955 the local organizations *Kulturhistorisk Selskap* and *Sandviksguttenes Forening* invited Rosesmuggrenden's homeowners to an open meeting with the stated intent to sound out the owners on the subject of conservation, introducing the theme with a slide lecture on the hamlet's history by Kristian Bjercknes.<sup>64</sup> The meeting was covered by the press with the headlines "*Kan Rosesmuget Bevares*" ("Can Rosesmuget be saved"), "*Beboerne taler for å bevare Fjæregrenden*" ("Residents speak to preserve Fjæregrenden") and "*Rosegrenden i Sandviken ligger i faresonen*" ("Rosegrenden in Sandviken is threatened").<sup>65</sup> The turnout was high, and audience speakers reflected a general opinion in favour of conservation. Bergen's Planning Director was present, stating that "the idea to secure this area was so right that he hoped this could be carried out."<sup>66</sup> A development plan for Rosesmuget designating it as a purely residential area was proposed as a solution to the legal question of conservation. The Planning Director stated:

"...listing according to the Built Heritage Act was out of the question for such a large area. But guidelines which protect residential areas against industry must be relevant for Rosegrenden."<sup>67</sup>

The meeting concluded that a committee should be founded which would work with the conservation issue and chose six members with Kristian Bjercknes as chair.<sup>68</sup> By mid June the working committee (*Arbeidsutvalget for beskyttende bestemmelser for Rosesmuggrenden*,

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".. etter reguleringsplanene ville bebyggelsen fullstendig komme til å ligge i skyggen." *Bergens\*Arbeiderblad* (1955 - 5 - 26)

<sup>63</sup> The earliest drawings of buildings is the survey for Fjæregrenden 16. The originals are in the archive of Gamle Bergen Museum

<sup>64</sup> "Formålet med møte er å se hvordan stemningen er for å få bevart strøket omkring Rosesmuget og Fjæregrenden uforandret". *Kulturhistorisk\*Selskap* (1955 - 5)

<sup>65</sup> Newspaper clippings in Rosesmuggrendens Vels archive. "*Kan Rosesmuget Bevares*", *Ukjent* (1955 - 5 - 25); "*Beboerne taler for å bevare Fjæregrenden*", *Ukjent* (1955?); "*Rosegrenden i Sandviken ligger i faresonen*", *Bergens\*Arbeiderblad* (1955? - 5 - 26)

<sup>66</sup> "tanken om sikre dette strøket var så riktig og god at han håpet det måtte la seg gjennomføre." *Bergens\*Arbeiderblad* (1955 - 5 - 26)

<sup>67</sup> "... det kunne ikke bli tale om fredning etter fredningsloven av et så stort område. Men bestemmelsen som sikrer boligstrøk mot industri må kunne bli aktuell også for Rosegrenden." *Bergens\*Arbeiderblad* (1955 - 5 - 26)

<sup>68</sup> Chair Kristian Bjercknes, members G. Brosing (both from *Kulturhistorisk Selskap*), Knut Gjesdal and Johan Aarberg (*Sandviksguttenes Forening*), E. Paulsen and Rikard Eliassen (for the homeowners).

“the working committee for protective guidelines for Rosesmuggrenden”) had a proposal ready.<sup>69</sup> The main points were that additions, alterations and new buildings be given a design “...in accordance with the area’s character..” and that a permanent committee was established to further this purpose in giving advice in all building cases and mediating between the owners and the building authorities.<sup>70</sup> The proposal included a clause stating that:

“...the committee should be positive towards initiatives which aim at increasing the area’s housing standard.”<sup>71</sup>

The proposal was left to be discussed among the house-owners, and the committee decided that it would be put to the planning authorities only if it gathered the support of a majority of the house-owners.<sup>72</sup> Of 62 voting homeowners in the area seven voted “no” to the conservation proposal.<sup>73</sup> The town planning director was highly supportive of the proposal and promoted the conservation work inside the municipal bureaucracy. Some politicians argued for reducing the size of the conservation area, but the majority voted in favour of ratifying guidelines for conservation.<sup>74</sup>

The newspapers covering the initial open meeting in May 1955 generate a positive attitude towards the Rosesmuggrenden neighbourhood, the coverage presenting samples of the public opinion. “Fine old buildings”, “the rare buildings”<sup>75</sup> and “the fine, special idyll which the hamlet’s buildings constitute”<sup>76</sup> are descriptions which are repeated, the emphasis on age and the picturesque character of the area. One meeting participant was quoted as proposing to move the oldest houses in Rosegrenden to *Gamle Bergen Museum*, while another suggested the museum was extended to comprise Sandviken “right up to Bryggesporen!”, pointing out the close geographical connections between Sandviken, the old wooden enclave of Skuteviken, Bergenhus fortification and Hanseatic “Bryggen”.<sup>77</sup> The impeccably kept houses and apparent contentment of the dwellers of Rosesmuggrenden was noted:

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<sup>69</sup> Bjerknæs (1955 - 6 - 11)

<sup>70</sup> “...i overenstemmelse med områdets karakter..” Bjerknæs (1955 - 6 - 9); Arbeidskomiteen (1955 - 6 - 16)

<sup>71</sup> “...komiteen bør stille seg positivt til tiltak som tar sikte på å heve boligstandarden i området.”

Arbeidskomiteen (1955 - 6 - 16)

<sup>72</sup> “Komiteen vil kun fremme saken for myndighetene hvis et flertall av huseierne gir sin tilslutning”. Bjerknæs (1955 - 6 - 9)

<sup>73</sup> Bjerknæs (1955 - 6); Bergen\*formannskap (1958 - 2 - 19) p 111

<sup>74</sup> Bergen\*formannskap (1958 - 2 - 19) p 111

<sup>75</sup> “Fin og gammel bebyggelse”, “den sjeldne bebyggelsen”. Bergens\*Arbeiderblad (1955 - 5 - 26)

<sup>76</sup> “den fine, særpregede idyll som grendens gamle bebyggelse danner”. Ukjent (1955 - 5)

<sup>77</sup> “... en gammel Sandviksgutt, Oluf Aagard Johnsen, ville ha Gamle Bergen like til Bryggesporen!”.

Bergens\*Arbeiderblad (1955 - 5 - 26)



Figure 9-10: Rosesmuggrenden. "At the centre of this square is an old larch tree, and with the houses this constitutes one of the most interesting urban images which is still preserved." Kristian Bjerknes wrote in 1956. Photographs from Gamle Bergen Museum, Fotogr. Brudtland Bergen; Old postcard with the caption "The Bergen which is fading away", *Det Bergen som svinder* (Gamle Bergen Museum Archive)

“It is a delight to observe how the owners care for these old buildings”.<sup>78</sup>

That the process was initiated by a private group was also commented on by the papers, and obviously viewed as a criterion for success: “The Cultural Historic Society here demonstrates a new approach in managing such matters (...) which no doubt will be of great use.”<sup>79</sup>

The municipal authorities were generally in favour of protecting the Rosesemuggrenden enclave. Bergen planning director Bjarne Lous Mohr described the built environment as valuable and characteristic of older Bergen, creating a singular and closed environment, and emphasised that through conservation it could maintain its residential value even if plans for a new quay in Sjøgaten were realized; (this in an apparent attempt to persuade local politicians that conservation of this enclave would not hinder industrial development in the area). The planning director argued that Rosesemuggrenden was “... so valuable and so characteristic of the old Bergen, constituting a unique and wholesome environment, and the area could retain most of its residential value also after the planned quay and industrial buildings had been raised on the outer side of Sjøgaten”.<sup>80</sup> The intention of the Rosemuget plan was to “... seek to preserve the blocks around Rosemauet in their present form”, and in the municipal case it was argued that this would be “... of value for the town as a whole to preserve this characteristic area for posterity”.<sup>81</sup> The head of the fire brigade asked that the conservation area be reduced in size, a proposition which gained minor support.<sup>82</sup> A majority of the municipal planning committee agreed that the larger version (which included the area demarked by Garmannsgata, Sandvikens Torggate, Sandvikstorget and Sandviksveien) should be included “for the sake of the completeness of the image.”<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> “Det er en fryd å se hvordan huseierne steller med disse gamle bygningene”. Spoken by ”Direktør Bernt Lorenten”, quoted in: Bergens\*Arbeiderblad (1955 - 5 - 26)

<sup>79</sup> “Kulturhistorisk Selskap demonstrerer her en ny fremgangsmåte i behandlingen av slike saker, (...) som utvilsomt vil bli til stor nytte.” Ukjent (1955 - 5)

<sup>80</sup> “... så verdifull og så karakteristisk for det eldre Bergen, danner et eget og avsluttet miljø, og at strøket vil kunne beholde det vesentlige av sin boligmessige verdi også etter at den planlagte nye kai og –erversbebyggelse er reist på utsiden av Sjøgaten.” Bergen\*formannskap (1958 - 2 - 19) p 111

<sup>81</sup> “... søke bevart kartalene omkring Rosemauet i det væsentlige i sin nåværende form” .. ”Undertegnede rådmann anser det for å være av stor verdi for byen om man kan få bevart dette karakteristiske strøk også for fremtiden.” Ibid. p 113

<sup>82</sup> The fire chief proposed that the block defined by Garmannsgate – Sandvikens Torggate – Sandvikstorget and Sandviksveien be exempt from the conservation plan. Byplanrådet (1956 - 4 - 27)

<sup>83</sup> “..for helhetsbildets skyld”. Bergen\*formannskap (1958 - 2 - 19) p 113





Figure 11-12. Newer buildings on the outskirts of the old Rosesmuggrenden: the houses between Sandviksveien and Sandvikens Torggate (left) were not included in the conservation plan area. Bjerknes called these “unassuming”. The block is however marked as a conservation area in the 2001 area plan. The buildings along Garmannsgate (right) were on the fringe of the historic area but included in the plan in 1958. Bjerknes did not approve of this architecture and attributed the buildings to the “period of deterioration” of the 1870s, but stated they were “at least plain and simple in design”, and that they displayed a continuance of good tradition. This implies that Bjerknes considered the architecture of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century aesthetically superior to late 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings. (Photograph MB 2007; Kristian Bjerknes 1956)

The fringes of the area were lined by streets and buildings from the 1870s-1890s. These were not considered a significant part of the historic area. Late 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings, like the housing block on Sandvikens Torggate or Rosesmuget 7, were according to Bjerknes “unassuming two-storey wooden buildings from the end of the previous century”.<sup>84</sup> These later contributions to the architecture of the area did however not, he claimed, disrupt the general impression of Rosesmuggrenden. Buildings in Garmannsgate from the 1870s, which were newer than Rosesmuggrenden and Fjæregrenden proper but still included in the conservation area, he described like this:

“They (the houses in Garmannsgate seen from Sandviksveien) were built during the period of deterioration in the 1870s, but are much to be preferred compared to the more distinguished houses from the same era. There is maybe something stiff and schematic in their design, but they are at least simple and based on good traditions from the first half of the century.”<sup>85</sup>

A letter from a group of owners reveals that there were varying intentions behind the idea of a conservation plan. Bjerknes, *Kulturhistorisk Selskap* (and the planning authorities) argued for

<sup>84</sup> Bjerknes (1956) p 14

<sup>85</sup> “... fordringsløse toetasjes bygninger fra slutten av forrige århundre (...)Garmannsgaten og Sandvikens Torvgate er helt rette og må være trukket med linjal på statskonduktørens kontor. (...) De (husene i Garmannsgaten sett fra Sandviksveien) er bygget under forfallsperioden i 1870-årene, men er langt å foretrekke for mer fornemme hus fra samme tid. Det er kanskje noe stift og skjematisk i utformingen, men de er iallfall enkle og bygger videre på gode tradisjoner fra århundrets første del.” Ibid. pp 13-14

its historical significance and the aesthetic of the historic urban image, as well as the living culture of the area. The owners were interested in preserving their homes and the social community. This had become acute as plans to develop Sandviken's infrastructure and industry threatened the older housing enclaves. The owners clarified their views in a statement in March 1957:

“Most have lived in the area all their lives. They have such close ties with the hamlet, that it would feel highly depressing if they should watch the little buildings gradually make way, while the rest fell into disrepair waiting for their turn... Protective guidelines will give them the security to continue full force to preserve and improve the residential standard of the area.”<sup>86</sup>

The homeowners in Rosesmuggrenden supported the conservation guidelines because this would ensure that the area kept its residential status, and provided the necessary predictability the owners needed to invest and keep their buildings, and the area, up to standard. For them, the conservation of the residential qualities of the area was more important than preserving the historic qualities. The letter from the owners concluded with the request that, if the municipalities decided against adopting conservation guidelines to keep the area as a land reserve, to quickly demolish the buildings to avoid a prolonged process where the area would decay:

“... we will then avoid the depressing period when an old quarter dissolves and decays in the transitional phase towards industry.”<sup>87</sup>

#### *The Municipal Guidelines for Rosesmuggrenden*

Rosesmuggrenden received statutory protection through a set of guidelines, passed as municipal by-laws, (*reguleringsvedtekter*), for the treatment of the buildings in the area, authorised by the 1924 Building Act (*Bygningsloven av 1924*).<sup>88</sup> These were ratified in 1958

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<sup>86</sup> “De aller fleste som bor i strøket, har bodd der så godt som hele sitt liv. De er så sterkt knyttet til grenden at det ville føles i høy grad deprimerende, hvis de skulle se på at småhusene gradvis måtte vike, mens resten forfalt påvente av at det skulle bli deres tur. ... Beskyttende bestemmelse for området vil gi dem den trygghet at de fortsatt med full kraft vil kunne gå inn for å bevare og høyne strøkets boligstandard.” Arbeidsutvalget (1957 - 3 - 19; Bergen\*formannskap (1958 - 2 - 19)

<sup>87</sup> “.. vi vil da kunne unngå den forstemmende perioden når et gammelt boligstrøk går i oppløsning og forfaller i overgangen til ervervsbebyggelsen.” Statement adopted by the homeowners in a meeting arranged by Arbeidsutvalget 22. March 1957. The letter was sent Bergen Bystyre (the Bergen Town Council) and referred in the municipal casework for the conservation plan. Bjerknes attended the meeting, where the agenda was to elect two house-owner representatives for the Grenderåd, and a board for Rosesmuggrenden Velforening. Arbeidsutvalget (1957 - 3 - 19; Bergen\*formannskap (1958 - 2 - 19) p 114

<sup>88</sup> Bygningsloven's §§ 3 and 27. Schulze (1956 - 2 - 21)

after extensive communication between Kristian Bjercknes and the ministry (*Kommunal- og arbeidsdepartementet*, headed by E. Schulze).<sup>89</sup> In Fredrikstad, similar guidelines (*byggningsvedtekter*) had been ratified by the ministry in 1954; however there was no reference to Fredrikstad in the correspondence between the ministry, the working committee for Rosesmuggrenden guidelines (headed by Kristian Bjercknes) and the Bergen planning authorities with regards to Rosesmuggrenden. The guidelines for Rosesmuggrenden were treated as a pilot or an experiment, and alterations had to be made before a proposition for guidelines finally be authorized.

In the end, the guidelines which were ratified were not much different from the working group's 1955 proposal. One paragraph was omitted (§ 5) regarding a consulting committee which was to review all building activity. The Building Act would not authorize a paragraph for a committee mandate; this according to the Department, who also stated that there was however no hindrance for such a committee if the municipality wished to organize one.<sup>90</sup> One paragraph proposed that shop owners must obtain a special permission from the municipal authorities when wanting to enlarge their business premises. This paragraph was reworded to specifically prevent the establishment of new businesses in the area. The effect of conservation relied on the premise that Rosesmuggrenden remained a residential area. Industry and businesses were considered a threat to the residential community and therefore also to the buildings, which were primarily residential both in character and in actual function.<sup>91</sup> When the Rosesmuggrenden guidelines had been revised according to the comments from the Ministry, they were put to a public hearing in April 1956.<sup>92</sup>

Rosesmuggrenden's Municipal Guidelines were specifically designed to protect the buildings within its geographical boundaries<sup>93</sup> from major exterior modifications through controlling their function, aesthetics and technical factors including fire prevention and modifications. The function of the buildings was restricted to living quarters, which could occupy a maximum of three storeys in a building (§4). § 5 forbade the establishment of

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<sup>89</sup> The first round in March 1957 was aborted at the request of Rosesmuggrendens working committee Arbeidsutvalget. Bergen kommune (1957 - 10 - 3)

<sup>90</sup> "... det neppe har hjemmel i bygningsloven til å stadfeste en slik vedtekt." Bergen\*formannskap (1958 - 2 - 19) p 111

<sup>91</sup> One example which highlights this paragraph is a complaint from a Blacksmith and Autosshop in Sandviksveien 18. The 1939 one-storey building which housed the business was originally dimensioned as a five-storey building, plans which were put off due to material shortage during the World War 2, and would now never be realized with the new Rosesmuggrenden conservation plan. Ibid. p 112

<sup>92</sup> Vedtak (resolution) in Byplanrådet 27. april 1956; Ibid. p 111

<sup>93</sup> "Området begrenses av Sandvikstorget – Sandviksveien – Bedehusmauet – Johan Mohrs gate – og Sjøgaten til Sandvikstorget". Bergen\*formannskap (1958 - 2 - 19)"strøket mellom gatene Sandvikstorget – Sandvikens Torggate – Garmannsgate – Sandviksveien – Bedehusmauet – Johan Mohrs gate – Sjøgaten til Sandvikstorget". Schulze (1958 - 5 - 28)



Figure 13: Area plan for Sandviken. Blue dotted line marks boundaries of the Fjæregrenden/Rosesmuggrenden conservation area, where the guidelines from 1958 are still valid. Horizontal stripes indicate a larger conservation area under § 25.6, 1978 Planning and Building Act, also incorporated in the area plan. (Bergen municipality)

new businesses, industry or workshops in the area. All houses were required to have façade fittings (*fasadeutstyr*) and saddle- or hipped-end roofs (§6). Fences (§7), the colours of houses and fences (§8), and all building permits (§9.1) had to be approved by the municipal director of building and the committee for aesthetics (*Tilsynsrådet for Byens Utseende*), with the aim to achieve “...good form and material-treatment; harmonious design.”<sup>94</sup> If necessary,

<sup>94</sup> “... ved sin behandling av byggeanmeldelsene ha for øye at bebyggelsen får en god form og materialbehandling og at bygninger i samme byggeflukt får en harmonisk utforming.” §9.2. Ibid.

drawn plans which demonstrated the building silhouette of the entire quarter could be demanded (§9.2)

The technical aspects of the buildings were regulated in (§1) which exempted the area from the general fire-prevention demand for building in fire-proof materials (brick) with regards to smaller works on the building. In cases of “major repair” (*hovedreparasjon*) the municipal building council would decide in each individual case (§2). The height of the buildings was restricted to two storeys and loft at a maximum of 9 metres to the upper edge of the roof cornice (§3). Otherwise, the general provisions of the Building Act and the general by-laws (*vedtekter*) for Bergen were to apply (§10).<sup>95</sup>

The 1958 guidelines were never revoked and are still valid, today incorporated in the present area plan (from 2001). An additional phrase was added stating that all roads, alleys and steps shall be preserved in their present state or restored to their previous form and appearance.<sup>96</sup>

## 6.2 TREATMENT OF ROSESMUGGREN DEN BUILDINGS AND COMMON AREAS

This chapter presents the treatment of buildings in the Rosesmuggrenden area over three decades, from the 1950s to the 1980s. There was little documentation in the building archive on individual buildings, which means that a detailed presentation of selected buildings was not an informative angle. The archive from the resident’s association, *Velforeningen*, however, provided detailed descriptions on recommendations and treatment for many buildings, as well as common area themes like function, street use and traffic. Because of this documentation, Rosesmuggrenden is presented on three scaled levels. After a brief introduction to sum up some main characteristics of the building stock in the area, the treatment histories of four individual buildings will be described. The next section deals with treatment of buildings in the area as it was recorded by *Velforeningen*. The last section presents issues of street use and traffic, which were a growing concern for the area’s residents in the 1970s.

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> ”Fjæregrenden bylanvedtekter skal gjelde foran kommunedelplanen. I tillegg til disse vedtektene skal alle vegfar, trapper og smau bevares i sin nåværende form eller tilbakeføres til tidligere formuttrykk. (...)”  
”Bergen\*kommune (2002 - 2 - 2)

### 6.2.1 Maintenance and modernization of 4 individual buildings circa 1950-1980

In the following chapter section the treatment history of four individual buildings will be presented, Rosesmuget 9, Fjæregrenden 16, Fjæregrenden 18 and Rosesmuget 7. Three belong to “old” Rosesmuget and Fjæregrenden and are part of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century fabric, while one is a larger building erected in the 1870s and represents the “modern” time phase of which Kristian Bjerknæs did not greatly approve. All four are well within the boundaries of the conservation area and the guidelines from 1958.



Figure 14-17: Fjæregrenden and Rosegrenden, historic area development: the 1760s (top left), 1819 (top right, detail of Aad Gjelles' map of Sandviken) and 1879 (bottom left) "Detail of the city map of 1879". The street which by 1879 had been planned and named Garmannsgate had been established as a thoroughfare in 1760. Elvegaten was established when the stream (*elv*) which previously ran here was piped. Rosesmuggrenden in 1956 (bottom right). Historically, buildings in Sandviken ranged from shoreline storage buildings, workers' housing and rope factories to fine country houses; a combination which according to Bjerknæs made Sandviken unique. "All in all one can say that in the whole country there is no match for Sandviken" Kristian Bjerknæs declared in 1955.<sup>97</sup> All maps published in Gamle Bergen Årbok, 1956. (©Gamle Bergen Museum)

<sup>97</sup> Bergens\*Arbeiderblad (1955 - 5 - 26)

Buildings in the Rosesmuggrenden area displayed a variety in age, size and design, but nevertheless constituted a homogeneous whole as most of them had been little altered in their main form in the 1830s. The area was densely built; a square, alleys and small irregular gardens constituted the open space. The largest conglomeration of 18<sup>th</sup> century buildings was in Fjæregrenden (partly demolished with Sjøgata's expansion), and the lower part of Elvegata. Rosesmuget 12 and 15 and Fjæregrenden 16 and 18 were built in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century and among the oldest buildings in the area, and are therefore shown in the 1760 map [Figure 14].

By 1819 buildings were established on each side of the narrow alleyway Rosesmuget, including Rosesmuget 9 and probably also 8 and 2, although these may have been rebuilt later. Rosesmuget 7 was recorded as being built before 1879. Rosesmuget 7 was an apartment building and in this sense exceptional as most buildings in Rosesmuggrenden were single family homes. All buildings were one to two storeys in height, with lofts. The construction of the buildings was notched logs, exterior walls were clad with horizontal wood cladding while the tiled roofs were saddle shaped, some with hipped ends or tilted eaves. By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century most buildings were painted white and had red tiled roofs, which contributed to the homogeneity of the area.<sup>98</sup>

There were some additions and modifications made during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Kristian Bjerknes did not consider the alterations significantly disturbing:

“There came not few rows of new wooden houses, and a number of old buildings underwent unfortunate modernizations. All the same, the new was relatively modest.”<sup>99</sup>

### *Rosesmuget 9*

Rosesmuget 9 is one of the smaller buildings in the Rosesmuggrenden area, 1 ½ storeys high. The house was photographed by Gustav Brosing in the 1950s and is part of a frequently published street scene from “old Bergen” [Figure 22]. It was built before 1819, as is evident from the historic mapping of the area prepared by Kristian Bjerknes on the basis of property appraisals [Figure 14-15]. There is very little archival documentation on modifications to the building.

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<sup>98</sup> Bjerknes wrote that white façades in Rosesmuggrenden go back to at least 1805 for the finer buildings; this year “white oil paint” was registered in an appraisal for Fjæregrenden 1 (now demolished). Bjerknes (1956) pp 11, 17

<sup>99</sup> “Det kom ikke så få rekkehus i tre og, endel gamle hus gjennomgikk en uheldig modernisering. Allikevel var det nye forholdsvis beskjedent.” Ibid. p 12

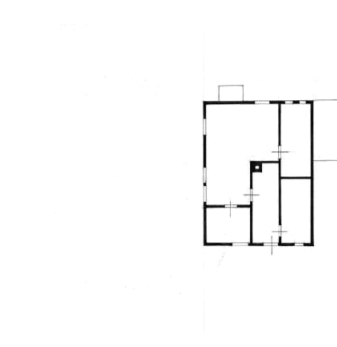
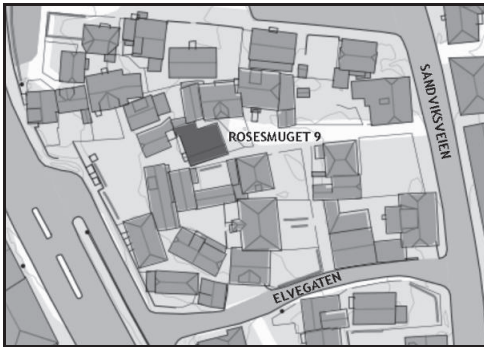


Figure 18-19: Rosesmuget 9 site plan (left) and floor plan (right), (August Schmidt 2010)



Figure 20-21: Rosesmuget 9 east façade (left) west façade (right). (Photograph MB 2007)

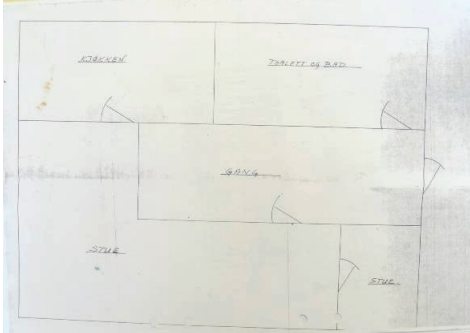


Figure 22-23. Left: Rosesmuget 9 Photograph Gustav Brosing 1959. Right: ground floor plan. (Photograph G. Brosing, UBB Billedsamling; unknown, Bergen municipal building archive)

The roof is asymmetrical, an indication that the house was rebuilt and extended; judging by the two juxtaposed cross-bar windows in the gable in Brosing's photograph from the 1950s this may have been done sometime during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. These windows were later replaced with a single window without mullions. The ground floor today consists of two



rooms, corridor, bathroom and kitchen. Upstairs there are two rooms and a small hallway. In the 1970s a massive hearth on the ground floor was removed along with an interior timber dividing wall in the sitting room.<sup>100</sup> According to the building's case file at the Bergen municipal building archive a gas stove was installed in 1953; some time later the bathroom with a W.C.<sup>101</sup>

The modifications to Rosemuget 9 since the area was placed under protection in 1958 have been minor, displaying conservatism towards change on the owner's part which in turn has contributed to the conservation of the building.

### *Fjæregrenden 16*

Fjæregrenden 16 is one of the older buildings. It was recorded built in or before the 1760s, as visualised by Kristian Bjerknes in the historic maps made on the basis of property appraisals [Figure 14-15]. The main entrance is from Fjæregrenden, where the building is one storey plus a loft with an arched dormer. The back façade and garden faces the square and Rosesmuggrenden; here the building is two full storeys. A full survey of the building was made under the direction of *Gamle Bergen Museum* in 1943-49, demonstrating the museum and Bjerknes' interest in the historic area. [Figure 29-36]. After the area plan had been passed, the museum, through Bjerknes, became involved also in the restoration and modernization of the buildings. A small addition to Fjæregrenden 16 in the form of a garden shed was designed by *Gamle Bergen Museum's* architect Olav Hjellevik in 1959. There is little information on Fjæregrenden 16 in the municipal building archive, and few modifications were made to the building during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A building permit was issued in April 1971 to install a bathroom with shower and water closet in the shed<sup>102</sup>; this was also built. The building has been re-roofed, re-clad and fitted with new windows and a new door sometime during the past one or two decades.

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<sup>100</sup> Both measures recounted by the present owner in November 2007 and traceable in the interior of the building.

<sup>101</sup> Letter to the building authorities from the Gas Works (Bergen Gassverk, Installasjonskontoret) 6/11-1953; drafted plan of first floor showing all rooms including bathroom with W.C., not signed, dated 6/3-1981. Rosemuget 7 File, Bergen municipal building archive

<sup>102</sup> Blueprint with approved stamp by the building authorities 21/4-1971. Fjæregrenden 16 File, Bergen municipal building archive



Figure 24-25: Fjæregrenden 16 site plan (left) and floor plan (right), (August Schmidt 2010)



Figure 26-28: Fjæregrenden 16 façade from Fjæregrenden (left); and garden (centre); shed (right) designed by architect Olav Hjellevik, May 1959 original scale 1:20. (Photograph MB 2007; Gamle Bergen Museum archive)



Figure 29-30: Fjæregrenden 16, north façade facing Fjæregrenden (left); south “garden façade” (right). Original scale 1:50, Gamle Bergen November 1943. (Gamle Bergen Museum archives)

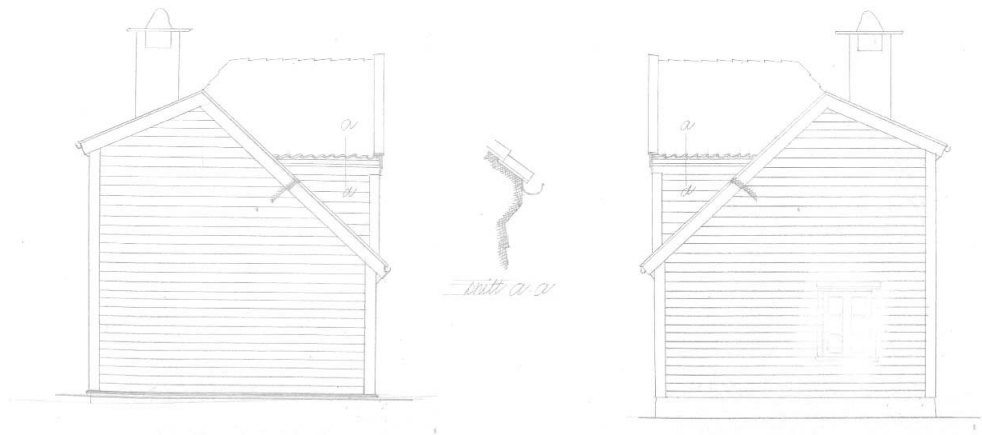


Figure 31-32: Fjæregrenden 16, eastern gable. Original scale 1:50, section 1:20 (left) and western gable. "Gamle Bergen" 1943-48. (Gamle Bergen Museum archives)

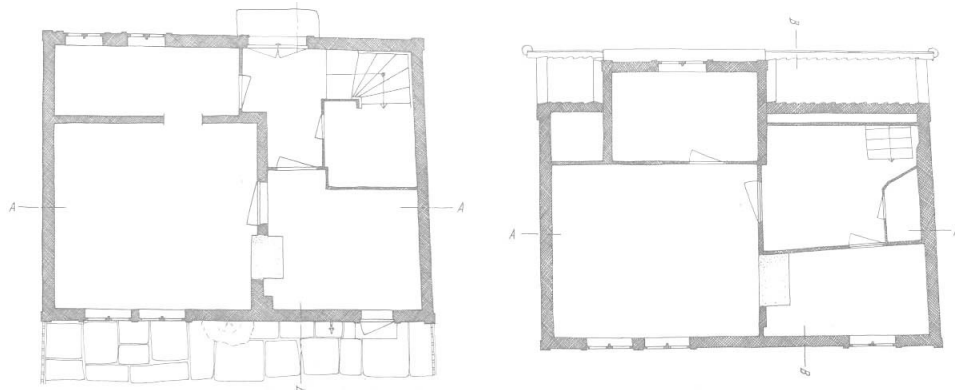


Figure 33-34: Fjæregrenden 16, floor plan for the ground floor (left) and upstairs (right). Original scale 1:50 November 1943. (Gamle Bergen Museum archives)



Figure 35-36: Fjæregrenden 16, section B-B (left) and A-A (right), Original scale 1:50. November 1943. (Gamle Bergen Museum archives)

### *Fjæregrenden 18*

Fjæregrenden 18 is next door neighbour to Fjæregrenden 16 and was also built around 1760 or before. Originally wedged between two neighbours, Fjæregrenden 18 became the last building in the row when number 20 was demolished with Sjøgata's expansion. Sjøgata cut into the terrain, and Fjæregrenden 18 was placed on a new full-storey concrete foundation to negotiate the difference in height. The wooden main part of the building is one and a half storeys with a floor plan of 6 by 7 metres. On the ground floor there is a kitchen, a sitting room and a small chamber. The building has a saddle roof with red tiles; the western roof plane has a dormer. The windows have two frames and no mullions, the façade walls are clad with horizontally placed wooden cladding and presently painted white.

Also for Fjæregrenden 18 there is limited documentation in the municipal building archive. A permit to improve the kitchen, relocate the entrance and install a water closet was issued in 1928.<sup>103</sup> According to the approved plans, the indoor stairs were moved from the east to the west part of the house. A secondary entrance door was removed and replaced with a small window, and in the kitchen an old hearth was removed. In 1953 "repair works and façade changes" on Fjæregrenden 18 were discovered and reported to the building authorities. Such works required a permit (according to the Building Act's § 131) and an application was submitted in February 1953. The changes that were described included the exchanging of two windows on the west façade with one larger window, the exchanging of one window in one of the gables and fitting a new terrace door onto the garden [Figure 39-40]. The other alternations concerned the interior; a section of a partition wall had been removed to enlarge the sitting room area and a new built-in fire place had been fitted, and clad with Eternit. An indoor wall had been straightened (*avrettet*) and clad (*plater*); visible ceiling beams had also been strengthened and clad, and ceilings had also been clad (with wood veneer).<sup>104</sup>

This was before the ratification of the municipal guidelines and Rosesmuggrenden/ Fjæregrenden had no formal conservation status. The case was presented to the town's "aesthetic council" (*Tilsynsrådet for byens utseende*), they however had nothing to remark.<sup>105</sup> The changes done in 1953 were minor. The façade drawings from 1953 show that major façade changes had already been accomplished, years previously. Three windows were

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<sup>103</sup> Fjæregrenden 18 File, Bergen municipal building archive

<sup>104</sup> Bygningssjefen (1953 - 2 - 19)

<sup>105</sup> The council members were: architect Landmark, the building chief, Amundsen, Grøhn and architect Brøndmo. Ibid.

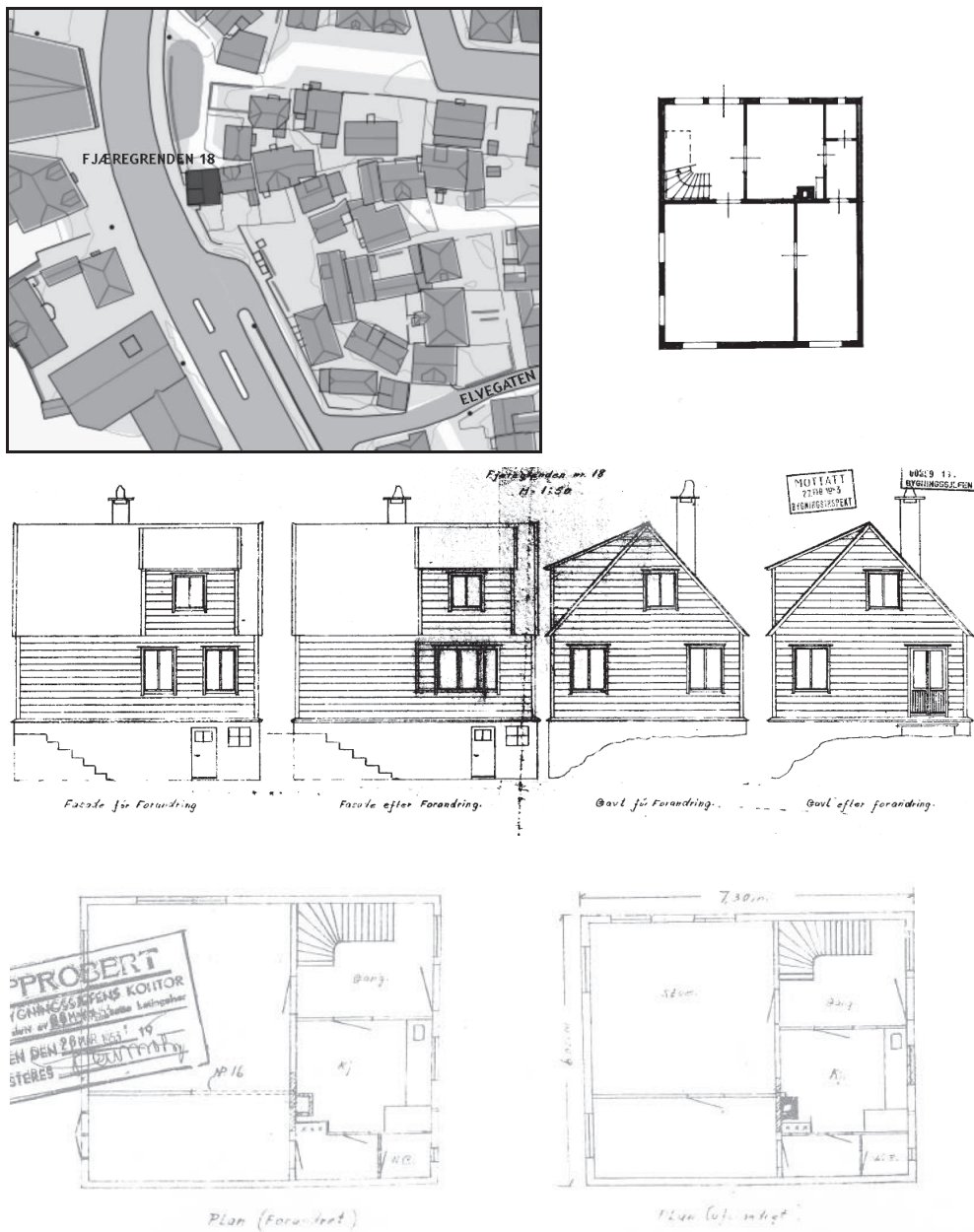


Figure 37-40: Fjæregrenden 18, site plan (top left) and floor plan (top right); plan from the master carpenter showing façade and floor plan after (centre and bottom, left) and before (centre and bottom, right) alterations in 1953. The changes in 1953 included removing a section of the dividing wall between the sitting room and chamber, inserting a triple pane window in the place of two older windows on the west end façade, and replacing two windows in the gable, one with a garden door. Bergen 18 – 2 – 1953 (August Schmidt 2010; Bergen municipal building archive)



Figure 41. Rosesmuggrenden before Sjøgaten's expansion. From the left Fjæregrenden 20 (only partly in view; demolished), Fjæregrenden 18, Fjæregrenden 16 and Rosesmuget 15.(UBB Billedsamling)



Figure 42. Rosesmuggrenden. Fjæregrenden 18 to the left. Its neighbour Fjæregrenden 20 was demolished with the extension of Sjøgate, leaving the west façade exposed to the street. New tall concrete foundations and steps were constructed to negotiate the difference in height. The arched dormer was reconstructed, the Empire Style windows replaced with a type associated with functionalism. All these alterations were performed before 1953, and before the municipal guidelines of the “conservation plan” were adopted. (Photograph MB 2005).

changed in 1953, two in the west façade and one in the gable. The windows which were replaced were, judging from the type, only 20 years of age. The owner described them as “completely rotted”.<sup>106</sup> The tall concrete foundation wall was constructed when Sjøgata was widened. With the exception of a plan for installing a shower which was approved in 1966<sup>107</sup>, no modifications to Fjæregrenden 18 are recorded to have been done *after* the municipal guidelines were ratified in 1958. The modifications of Fjæregrenden 18 were done at a time when the conservation area was in an early planning phase, exemplifying the type of modernizations the guidelines were intended to prevent.

### *Rosesmuget 7*

The city maps show that the area around Rosesmuggrenden underwent a transformation between 1819 and 1879. The old common gardens and meadows (*hage/eng*) were developed, and a new generation of housing filled the plots. The row of buildings on the south side of Garmannsgate, Rosesmuget 9 and its neighbour Garmannsgate 8 belong to this generation. These buildings differed from their older neighbours in Rosesmuggrenden and Fjæregrenden both in size, architecture and function; they were generally taller, larger and more regular, with different detailing. Kristian Bjerknes described buildings from this time (the “period of degeneration” in the 1870s) “schematic” and “stiff”, but simple enough and a continuance of “good traditions from the first half of the century.”<sup>108</sup> [Figure 11-12]

Rosesmuget 7 was designed as an apartment building, not a single family home. It could accommodate two or more family units, with a one-room apartment and kitchen plus two rooms on each floor. The layout was common to the bulk of working class buildings erected in the mid 1800s; it provided a flexible system to cater for variety in family sizes and affordability. Several rooms could be joined, but also separated and sub-let for extra income. The house had 26 registered inhabitants in 1912.<sup>109</sup>

There are no modifications registered with the municipal building authorities before 1960, when W.C.s were installed on the ground and first floors.<sup>110</sup> In 1963 the maintenance

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<sup>106</sup> “...helt råtne...” Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Olsen (1971 - 3 - 11)

<sup>108</sup> ”fordringsløse toetasjes bygninger fra slutten av forrige århundre (...)Garmannsgaten og sandvikens Torvgate er helt rette og må være trukket med linjal på statskonduktørens kontor. (...) De (husemen i Garmannsgaten sett fra Sandviksveien) er bygget under forfallsperioden i 1870-årene, men er langt å foretrekke for mer fornemme hus fra samme tid. Det er kanskje noe stivt og skjematisk i utformingen, men de er iallfall enkle og bygger videre på gode tradisjoner fra århundrets første del.” Bjerknes (1956) pp 13-14

<sup>109</sup> Folketellingen i Bergen 1912, Arkivverket (2010)

<sup>110</sup> Bygningssjefen (1960 - 3 - 14)

committee for the implementation of Rosesmuggrenden's conservation guidelines *Grenderådet* approached the owner of Rosesmuget 7 to suggest an entrance door which would "...fit more appropriately into the built environment".<sup>111</sup> The next initiative to alter the building was 1987, when Rosesmuget 7 was rebuilt and modernized in the interior and the exterior. All materials of the exterior façades were renewed, the previous façade details roughly copied. The archive material indicates that the building had not been much altered since it was first built, before rehabilitation work began in 1987.

The regeneration of Rosesmuget 7 in 1987 began as a minor interior decoration project, but "because of the building's condition it developed into a complete reconstruction of the interior".<sup>112</sup> A building permit was issued on 30<sup>th</sup> October 1987 for execution of the rehabilitation according to plans by architect Øyvind Holst, after work had commenced. The building authorities required that some alterations were made to the plans: the main entrance door was planned to be moved westwards in the façade and a window inserted in its place. *Kulturavdelingen* (the municipal culture department/Bergen kommune), who had delivered a statement regarding the antiquarian aspects of the case, considered this unacceptable as it would unsettle the symmetry of the façade, and the modification was accordingly not executed. *Kulturavdelingen* stated that both the area and the building in question were of high value (*verneverdi*).



Figure 43-44: Rosesmuget 7 site plan (left) and floor plan (right), (August Schmidt 2010)

<sup>111</sup> Rosesmuget 7 in 1963; "passet bedre inn i miljøet". The case was not reported further on. *Grenderådet* (1963 - 12 - 14)

<sup>112</sup> "På grunn av husets beskaffenhet utviklet det seg til en total innvendig ombygging". This was the explanation offered by the architect to the building authorities when work was arrested for lack of a building permit. The architect was hired *after* this controversy with the building authorities, to deal with the formalities and was not responsible for any irregularity. Letter from the architect to Bergen municipality 28/9-1987. Rosesmuget 7 File, Bergen municipal building archive







Figure 51: Rosesmuggrenden 7 (left) and Garmannsgate 8 (right) “Rosesmuggrenden sept. 1960”. (Photograph: Sollied, Rosesmuggrenden Velforening, Gamle Bergen Museum archive)



Figure 52: Rosesmuggrenden 9 (left), 7 (centre right) and Garmannsgate 8 (right). Rosesmuggrenden 7 underwent a comprehensive rehabilitation in 1987 which involved a complete renewal of the interior and transformed the building from a 19<sup>th</sup> century apartment building to a two-apartment building conforming to 1987 building standards. The red tile roof was replaced with a black concrete tiles of the brand “H-panne”. The main timber construction was preserved. Façade cladding and mouldings were renewed. The original windows had already been replaced with modified copies in 1978. (Photograph MB 2005)

The planned interior changes were not commented on by *Kulturavdelingen* except with regards to the conversion of the loft area, which was considered acceptable as long as no alterations to the roof or arch were made.<sup>113</sup> [Figure 46, 48, 50-52]. Building materials and rehabilitation methods are described in some detail in the specification from the contractor.<sup>114</sup> A range of modern materials were introduced with the rehabilitation of Rosesmuget 7.

*The floor plan* of the building was extensively altered. There were three apartments, several single rooms and bathroom facilities in the hallway. The new plan was to establish one apartment on the ground floor, and one upstairs apartment which included a large sitting room in the attic. The old stairwell was removed along with the small toilet which had been installed under the stairs, and a new bathroom installed in its place. The new stairwell which was less steep was placed closer to the main entrance. With this the communal corridor which had divided the ground floor apartment into separate quarters was no longer necessary, and the entire ground floor could now be converted into a coherent apartment. Several walls were removed; on the ground floor two bigger rooms were joined to achieve a large living space, with ambient light from windows at each side of the lengthy room, while on the upstairs level several subdividing walls were removed to allow a more spacious kitchen and bathroom. The old kitchen upstairs was at the back of the house, a narrow room which allowed for work space only; the adjacent bathroom and toilet had entrances from the common corridor. This bathroom (installed sometime after 1960, taking space from the kitchen which was originally larger<sup>115</sup>) was the only one in the house, intended for the use of several tenants. In the 1987 rehabilitation a new bathroom was installed at the back of the house, and a large kitchen built at the southern side of the house which faced Rosesmuggrenden alley.

*The roof* was straightened, adjusted and planed, and built up with the following layers (from the inside and out): spruce planks, plasterboards (13mm), plastic sheet, 15 cm insulation, under-roof and under-roof boards, battens and counter-battens and imitation concrete roofing tiles (*H-panne*). The horizontal gutter was in zinc, the vertical one plastic (*Plastmo*). An on-site survey of the building indicates that the whole attic section of the building was reconstructed. It is uncertain whether the roof truss (*takstol*) was replaced, since the collar beam (*hanebjelke*) is covered with new pine boarding. The specification from the contractor did not describe rebuilding of the load-bearing structure, but otherwise confirmed that the roof was built according to 1987 building codes, with no ambition to preserve existing

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<sup>113</sup> Ormhaug (1987 - 9 - 24)

<sup>114</sup> Job specification by the contracted firm, not dated, provided by the owner of Rosesmuget 7 (November 2007). Almeland\*Stavenes ((no date))

<sup>115</sup> Bygningssjefen (1960 - 3 - 14)

building parts. The roof exterior was remodelled in its previous exterior shape, laid with black concrete tiles of the brand “H-panne”, a product similar but not identical to the previous and older roof tiles.

All *floors* were renewed. At the base of the building the old floor beams were replaced and a new insulated floor constructed, built up (from the inside and out) of: new pine floors on building paper (*ullpapp*), plastic sheeting (*fuktsperre*), 15 cm insulation, 12 mm bitumen boards (*astfaltplate*), a new beam system and 40 cm of aired space above ground level. Upstairs, the floors were built up with an additional 20 cm of insulation covered with new pine flooring on building paper, which required a secondary joist system (*bjelkelag*) to be constructed over the existing ones. On the loft floors a layer of 15 cm insulation was added. New tiled bathrooms were installed with electrically heated concrete floors.

All *interior ceilings* were lowered and lined with 13 mm plasterboards. The 1987 renovations included *electric rewiring* of the whole building. The *chimney* was sealed but not removed, and new electric heating was installed. The *pipework* was also renewed for the whole building.

*Exterior walls* bordering on neighbouring houses were given 7.5 cm insulation and plasterboards. The contractor did not state whether the insulation was on the exterior or interior, but as the exterior wall is built back-to-back with the neighbouring building and therefore inaccessible, the additional insulation must have been done on the interior. The exterior walls received new side boarding and mouldings, the wall aired and clad with exterior plasterboards (9mm) for windproofing, and building paper applied before the wooden boarding was mounted, the interior of the walls clad with 13 mm plasterboard.

*The windows* had already been replaced and were from 1978, double paned with double glazing (*koblet type*). They had a design similar to the older windows they replaced at that time but were made with thicker frames, no mouldings and modified fittings. A decade later these windows were still considered viable, and no work was done on the windows in the 1987 renovation.

Enclosed in the case file for the 1987 rehabilitation of Rosesmuget 7 was a copy of the municipal bylaws for fire-prevention in urban regeneration areas, dated 1981.<sup>116</sup> According to the contractor’s specifications<sup>117</sup> and to the building as it presents itself today, all required measures of the 1981 fire-prevention bylaws were followed through for Rosesmuget 7. The bylaws came into effect for buildings which were undergoing major improvements and

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<sup>116</sup> Brannvesenet (1981 - 10 - 28)

<sup>117</sup> Almeland\*Stavenes ((no date))

alterations; generally works which required a building permit. To meet these standards both the exterior and interior sides of the walls between closely built wooden buildings had to be covered or re-surfaced with fire-proof cladding (§2).<sup>118</sup> §5 required the encasing of all stairwell surfaces in fire-resistant plasterboards (B30 wall), fire-proof doors to the entrance of cellar and loft (B30) and the separate apartments (B15).<sup>119</sup> This implied that old wooden surfaces were removed or concealed both on the exterior and in the interior, and that interior historic building segments like doors, surfaces and mouldings were removed or concealed.

### *Summary*

A closer study of buildings in the Rosesmuggrenden conservation area revealed relatively little information in three of the four cases. For two of the buildings, Rosemuget 9 and Fjæregrenden 16, modifications done after 1958 were modest, involving the installation of new systems for heating, and bathroom facilities. Replacement of exterior cladding and windows with modified replicas has obviously also occurred in these two cases; this however has not been recorded with the building authorities. Two buildings went through more comprehensive modifications, Fjæregrenden 18 in the 1950s with the extension of Sjøgata, and, and Rosemuget 7 for a complete building rehabilitation in 1987. Alterations to Fjæregrenden 18 involved new and taller concrete foundations, new and modern type windows and a new design dormer; however little has been done to the building after 1953 and during the time when Rosesmuggrenden has been a conservation area. The building rather represents a type of modernization that the conservation guidelines, at the time, sought to avoid. Rosemuget 7, a generation younger than its three 18<sup>th</sup> century counterparts, was little altered up until 1987. During this year it was it was modernized under the supervision of an architect. The façade retained its appearance; on the advice of the municipal culture department the entrance door was not moved as planned. The windows had been replaced in 1978, now all façade cladding and mouldings were replaced with modified replicas, the roofing changed from red tiles to black concrete tiles. Behind the façade, cladding plasterboards were fitted to accommodate fire-prevention requirements for urban regeneration areas adopted by Bergen municipality in 1981, and the new interior also met these requirements. The interior was rebuilt in its entirety; few surfaces or elements older than 1987 were preserved, none left exposed.

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<sup>118</sup> §2 required a resistance to fire graded B30 for all exterior walls, implying that surfaces both on the inside and outside must be covered with fire-resistant materials. Gypsum was widely used.

<sup>119</sup> The coding system B30 certifies that the product or structure could resist fire for 30 minutes.

In summary, little was done with the four case study buildings in the time frame 1958-1988. A study of the activity of *Rosesmuget Velforening* does shed some light on maintenance and monitoring of Rosesmuggrenden's buildings in general during its first three decades as a conservation area.

### 6.2.2 Activity and influence of Rosesmuget Velforening 1958-1988

The residents association for the Rosesmuggrenden area, *Rosesmuget Velforening* (*Velforeningen*), was founded at the time the conservation plan was ratified to aid its implementation. Associated with *Velforeningen* was the committee on the maintenance of buildings, an expert group led by Kristian Bjerknes, where the homeowners also were represented. The common archive of *Velforeningen* and *Grenderådet* provides an overview of building and maintenance activity in the Rosesmuggrenden area after 1958. The comments, advice and aid of *Grenderådet* constitute the way conservation was implemented here for several decades.

#### *Organization*

The monitoring of conservation work in Rosesmuggrenden was organized on the basis of idealism and committee work by *Velforeningen* and *Grenderådet*.

“... will work for cooperation and communal spirit for the inhabitants, and to maintain a pleasant and well maintained hamlet, preserving its characteristic features.”<sup>120</sup>

Guidelines for *Velforeningen*

Monitoring the treatment of buildings was mostly performed by a special working committee, *Grenderådet*, which was founded specifically for this task. *Grenderådet* had two homeowner representatives, one member from *Sandviksguttene Forening* (the association for the local marching band), one from *Kulturhistorisk Selskap* (the Cultural-Historical Society) and, on request from “*Den Forberedende Komité*” (the committee who had prepared the guidelines for Rosesmuggrenden), one representative from the board of *Gamle Bergen Museum*, Kristian Bjerknes.<sup>121</sup> *Grenderådet*'s task was to aid the owners with maintenance, but also with housing improvements, so that these were in accordance with the guidelines; for example

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<sup>120</sup> “.. skal virke for samhold og samarbeide mellom folk som bor i det beskyttede område i arbeide for å opprettholde en trivelig og velholdt grend med bibehold av de karakteristiske trekk.” *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1958 - 5 - 30)

<sup>121</sup> *Den\*forberedende\*komité* (1958 - 1 - 29)

additions and modifications must be in keeping with the homogeneous character of the area.<sup>122</sup>

“(The council, *Grenderådet*)... is to form a link between the homeowners and the authorities, and review building applications before these are passed on to local authorities (; encourage) the best form of additions, reconstructions, improvements of sanitary installations etc. The council should be positive towards initiatives to improve the housing standards of the area.”<sup>123</sup>

*Velforeningen* and *Grenderådet* worked closely and arranged several meetings together in addition to their respective committee meetings, open to all residents. These common meetings were also a social event; refreshments were served, and they were frequently combined with excursions to places of historic interest.<sup>124</sup> The excursions and outings were well attended, always educational with conservation as a common theme.<sup>125</sup> In 1970 building conservation and use was discussed when 34 residents visited Bryggen and were shown around by restoration architect Hansteen:

“He drew a parallel between the Bergen Wharf and the Rosesmug Hamlet. In both cases the goal was to preserve a characteristic urban quarter from historic Bergen. The difference is that Bryggen is not a residential area. It is therefore a task to find appropriate use for the repaired buildings.”<sup>126</sup>

An annual all residents’ meeting summed up *Velforeningen* and *Grenderådet*’s activity, and was a place for discussion, lectures and information. The annual meetings invited homeowners, tenants and adult children, and included outings to attractions like the Bergen Aquarium, *Gamle Bergen Museum*, Fantoft church (1967) or *Mariakirken* (1966); emphasising their educational, social and recreational aspects: “During the discussions. coffee

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<sup>122</sup> Grenderådet (1957 - 3 - 19)

<sup>123</sup> “...formidle kontakten mellom huseierne og myndighetene, og behandle byggesaker i området før disse går til de kommunale myndigheter (...) .. den beste form for tilbygninger, ombygninger, forbedringer av sanitære anlegg med mer. Rådet bør stille seg positivt til tiltak som tar sikte å å heve boligstandarden i området.” Instruction (Instruks for Grenderådet). Grenderådet (1957 - 3 - 19)

<sup>124</sup> Velforeningen and Grenderådet arranged 7 common meetings in 1959-60, 3 in 1960-61. Grenderådet (1960 - 6 - 23); Grenderådet (1961 - 8 - 30)

<sup>125</sup> In 1965, 65 people attended an outing by bus to Trolldhaugen, composer Edvard Griegs home: “It became an unforgettable evening. The participants expressed this as they departed from bus and cars around 10 o’clock at Sandvikstorget.” (“Det ble en uforglemmelig aften. Dette ga deltagerne uttrykk for da de ved 10-tiden steg ut av buss og biler på Sandvikstorget”); in June 1979, 35 dwellers participated on a bus-trip to Lysøen; the annual meeting in 1969 gathered 34 participants at Gamle Bergen Museum. Grenderådet (1965 - 10 - 13); Grenderådet (1969 - 8 - 22); Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel (1979 - 6 - 10)

<sup>126</sup> “Han trakk parallell mellom Bryggen og Rosesmuggrenden. I begge tilfeller gjelder det å bevare et karakteristisk byparti fra Bergen i gamle dage. Forskjellen er at Bryggen ikke er et boligmiljø. Oppgaven blir derfor å finne frem til passende bruk av de istandsatte hus.” The group visited Hjortegården. Grenderådet (1970 - 9 - 8)

and danish pastries were served, and between the individual items on the programme there was a chance to socialize.” For the annual meeting in 1968, which included an excursion to the archaeological excavation site at Bryggen, there were 47 participants.<sup>127</sup> The meetings were chaired by *Grenderådet*’s leader Kristian Bjerknes, who spoke of *Grenderådet*’s advisory work and also reported on inspection trips in the area.

“Architect Bjerknes read the annual report (...) He then referred in detail the observations made by the Committee (*Grenderådet*) during a recent inspection in the hamlet.”<sup>128</sup>

“... two works had been performed without the Committee (*Grenderådet*) being notified. These works had the weakness that they did not follow the fine old building tradition of the hamlet.”<sup>129</sup>

Residents were reminded what routines to follow when performing repairs or modifications.

“Docent Paulsen (...) lectured on what everyone should know concerning reconstructions and modifications of the houses in the hamlet.”<sup>130</sup>

Annual meeting in *Grenderådet* and *Velforeningen*, May 1959

“Docent Paulsen (...) spoke and delivered a clear overview of those requirements which must be met when performing repairs or reconstructions on the buildings.”<sup>131</sup>

Annual meeting in *Grenderådet* and *Velforeningen*, September 1964

Apart from Kristian Bjerknes and the above quoted teacher Paulsen, a key figure in *Grenderådet* was Gustav Brosing, the representative from *Kulturhistorisk Selskap* (an organization he personified to the extent that after his death one of the other members questioned whether it would continue to exist.<sup>132</sup>) When Brosing died *Grenderådet* agreed to approach *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s Bergen branch to appoint a replacement<sup>133</sup>, and from

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<sup>127</sup> “Under forhandlingene ble der servert kaffe og wienerbrød og mellom de enkelte programposter var det selskabelig samvær.” Meeting minutes, *Grenderådet* (1964 - 9 - 18); *Grenderådet* (1968 - 6 - 12)

<sup>128</sup> “Arkitekt Bjerknes leste opp årsberetningen (...) Han refererte dernest i detalj de iakttagelser som *Grenderådet* gjorde under en befaring i grenden like i forveien.” *Grenderådet* (1970 - 9 - 8)

<sup>129</sup> “... to arbeider som var skjedd uten at *Grenderådet* var blitt varslet. Disse arbeidene hadde den svakhet at de ikke førte videre grendens gamle fine byggetradisjon.” *Grenderådet* (1964 - 9 - 18)

<sup>130</sup> “... hva alle bør vite når det gjelder ombygninger og forandringer av husene i Grenden.” *Grenderådet* (1959 - 5 - 13)

<sup>131</sup> (lektor Paulsen) “.. tok ordet og ga en klar utredning av de krav som måtte stilles når man skulle foreta reparasjoner eller ombygninger.” *Grenderådet* (1964 - 9 - 18) The meeting minutes do not refer the contents of Paulsen’s speeches.

<sup>132</sup> *Grenderådet* (1966 - 10 - 14)

<sup>133</sup> *Grenderådet* (1967 - 5)



1968 *Fortidsminneforeningen* was represented in *Grenderådet* through architect Kjell Irgens.<sup>134</sup> In 1971 Irgens took over as chairman of *Grenderådet* after Bjerknes decided to retire from this role after fifteen years of service and continue as a council member.<sup>135</sup> By this time *Grenderådet* and *Velforeningen* seem to have merged into one association.

In 1979 two homeowners proposed that *Velforeningen* should work to have *Rosesmuggrenden* protected through listing.<sup>136</sup> Kjell Irgens was selected to contact *Riksantikvaren's* district representative Per Jahn Lavik to hear his views, but the matter seemed to have gained little general support and had no consequences.<sup>137</sup> At the same time Irgens suggested that the conservation area was enlarged.<sup>138</sup> This was not followed up at the time, but in the current plan (2001) the conservation area is extended. *Riksantikvaren* was not actively involved either in the conservation plan process or active management, but did provide grants for conservation work through the channel of *Grenderådet*, and also frequently referred to *Rosesmuggrenden* as a role model, recognizing its significance.

“Rosesmuggrenden has for years been something of a feather in the cap for the aesthetic politics of Bergen. We hope there is agreement to keep it fresh and well.”<sup>139</sup>

*Riksantikvaren's* county representative Jan Lavik in 1986

Bergen municipality were initially positively engaged in promoting conservation guidelines for *Rosesmuggrenden*, and continued to provide moral support but took no active role in monitoring, seemingly until the 1980s. The municipal involvement during the first decades was limited to dealing with regular building permits, often with *Grenderådet* as mediator. In 1984 *Kulturavdelingen* in Bergen municipality wrote a letter to their colleagues in the building- and planning department to demand a more restrictive approach to façade and roof alterations and additions in *Rosesmuggrenden*. The area should be handled according to what was common practice for conservation areas under § 25,6 of the Planning and Building Act, *Kulturavdelingen* wrote, and stressed that previous approvals should not be used to permit fresh plans for change. They did not know whether the committee for “reverential

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<sup>134</sup> *Grenderådet* (1968 - 5 - 30)

<sup>135</sup> *Grenderådet* (1971 - 6 - 1)

<sup>136</sup> *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1979 - 9 - 5)

<sup>137</sup> *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1979 - 11 - 7)

<sup>138</sup> To include *Festergrenden*, *Grunden* and *Pyttergrenden*. *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1979 - 11 - 7)

<sup>139</sup> “Rosesmuggrenden har i en årrekke med rette vært noe av en knapphullsblomst for Bergen kommunes bypleie-politikk. Vi håper det er enighet om fortsatt å holde den frisk.” *Riksantikvaren* (1986 - 11 - 18)

maintenance” (*pietetsfullt vedlikehold*) was still functioning<sup>140</sup>; obviously they were referring to *Grenderådet*. By 1987 *Kulturavdelingen* were assessing applications for building permits, and Bergen municipality now had a role in monitoring the *Rosesmuggrenden* conservation area.

### *Funding*

*Grenderådet* took on the role of mediating funding, and handed out grants for maintenance, repairs and improvements, on certain conditions. Money was raised from different sources: donations, grants, gifts, sponsored goods and lottery sales at the meetings. In 1959 *Fortidsminneforeningen's* Bergen branch (*Den Bergenske Avdeling*) donated 3000 Norwegian kroner. The terms were attention to architectural detail:

“... as a contribution to repairs of the buildings to cover the extra costs of restoring mouldings, windows, doors etc. to their original (or older) design.”<sup>141</sup>

Along with the profit from the sale of *Vinkelsmuget* (see below) this provided a start for funding *Grenderådet's* work.<sup>142</sup> Sponsored goods could include paint and building materials; for several years, *Grenderådet* negotiated with local paint factories to donate house paint. In 1971 a request for 20.000 kroner was sent *Norsk Kulturråd* (Arts Council Norway). *Grenderådet* argued that financial support was crucial to ensure proper materials and craftsmanship. Owners bought standard building components and façade detailing to replace old ones and this was a recurring problem:

“... when doors and windows are crafted according to old examples (...) it is less expensive for the owner of the house to purchase standard products from the factory when doors and windows are to be replaced.”<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Letter from the Municipality's culture department to the building and planning department 13/11-1984. *Rosesmuget 7* file, Bergen municipal building archive

<sup>141</sup> “... som bidrag ved istandsettelse av husene for å dekke meromkostninger ved å føre listverk, vinduer og dører m.m. tilbake til opprinnelige (eller gammel) skikkelse” Letter from *Fortidsminneforeningen*, quoted in: *Grenderådet* (1959 - 5 - 13)

<sup>142</sup> *Grenderådet* (1959 - 6 - 26)

<sup>143</sup> “... når dører og vinduer arbeides i overensstemmelse med gamle forbilder (...) ... det er billigst for huseieren å kjøpe standardvare fra fabrikk når dører eller vinduer skal utskiftes.” The application was initially turned down; *Riksantikvaren* had given it no priority when advising *Kulturrådet* on grants. *Grenderådet* (1971 - 6 - 1); *Norsk\*Kulturråd* (1973 - 4 - 10)

Grants were to cover the homeowners' extra costs and prevent the choice of the cheapest standard solutions. *Grenderådet's* funding practice was parallel to *Riksantikvaren's*; small donations were made to steer the homeowners to desired treatment on the principle that the homeowners should not have to bear the burden of extra costs which repairs of a historic building would entail. In 1978 *Riksantikvaren* (through the regional representative Per Jahn Lavik) granted 10 000 kroner "...as an additional grant for the extra costs of renewing doors, windows etc. in the Rosesmuggrenden conservation area."<sup>144</sup>

*Grenderådet* also referred owners to *Husbanken* which granted loans for the improvement of older housing, on the terms that this was done in "... in a correct antiquarian fashion."<sup>145</sup> In 1979 *Velforeningen* applied to the charity fund (*allmennyttige formål*) of the local bank and were granted 10 000 kroner "... for the maintenance of the hamlet's character."<sup>146</sup> *Velforeningen's* application summed up decades of work:

".. for your information the hamlet's residential association works to preserve the original appearance of the buildings as well as the common areas, gardens, alleys, streets and open squares. We have given grants for new street doors in the old style and rewarded owners who have mounted correct mullioned windows. The residential association has in collaboration with *Gamel Bergen* (museum) and *Fortidsminneforeningen* helped the homeowners with plans, building applications and orders and have also provided carpenters for the tasks."<sup>147</sup>

With the tools of the 1958 management guidelines, procured grants, social agenda and advisory role, the resident's association (*Velforeningen*) and maintenance committee (*Grenderådet*) took upon themselves the role of "maintenance police", even encouraging the municipality to take proper care of their buildings.<sup>148</sup> The investments in the upgrading or maintenance of buildings depended however first and foremost on the individual owner's initiatives and means.

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<sup>144</sup> "... som tilskudd til antikvariske merkostnader ved fornying av dører, vinduer etc. i bevaringsområdet Rosesmuggrenden." *Riksantikvaren* (1978 - 5 - 8)

<sup>145</sup> "... som yter lån til utbedring av eldre boliger."; "Husbanken vil kunne ta det forbehold at reparasjonsarbeidene blir utført på antikvarisk riktig måte"; it was also mentioned that *Husbanken* granted house loans to elderly or disabled, and homeowners were advised to contact *Grenderådet* for further information. *Grenderådet* (1971 - 6 - 1)

<sup>146</sup> "... til vedlikehold av grendens særpreg." *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1979 - 11 - 22; *Sparebank* (1980 - 3 - 6)

<sup>147</sup> "...til orientering arbeider grendens velforening med å bevare husenes opprinnelige utseende så vel sm friarealer, hager, smug, gater og åpne plasser. Vi har gitt tilskudd til nye gatedører i gammel stil og premiært huseiere som har satt inn riktige sprossevinduer. Velforeningen har i samarbeid med Gamle Bergen og Fortidsforeningen hjulpet huseieren med tegninger, byggeanmeldelse, bestillinger og har også skaffet snekker." *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1979 - 11 - 22)

<sup>148</sup> Bergen municipality owned buildings in *Rosesmuggrenden* which were poorly maintained, and Bjerknes was assigned to contact the municipality and encourage improvements. *Rosesmuggrenden. Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1958 - 6 - 14)

### *Housing standard improvements*

Rosesmuggrenden was densely built and there was little room on the plots for enlarging buildings. Modernizations, like fitting a bathroom and W.C., were mostly done within the boundaries of the existing buildings. Solutions like converting a shed to a washroom were not unusual. *Grenderådet's* meeting minutes demonstrate that they were involved in most cases of housing improvements in the conservation area in the decade following the ratification of the guidelines. The installation of bathrooms and W.C.s dominate the initiatives for housing standard improvements in the late 1950s and 60s. The requirements of the municipal guidelines concerned exteriors only, but *Grenderådet's* mandate was also to encourage housing improvements. Advice and help was given for work involving façade alterations, and also for work which only affected the interior of the building. A number of smaller additions and conversions were designed by *Gamle Bergen Museum's* architect [Figure 53-54]. Work which was done without *Grenderådet's* involvement was noted, assessed and sometimes commented on at the joint meetings of *Velforeningen* and *Grenderådet*.



Figure 53: Rosesmuget 2. *Grenderådet* gave advice and helped design conversions and additions in Rosesmuggrenden conservation area. Rosesmuget 2, survey (left) and plan for addition/conversion of shed (right). Olav Hjellevik, Gamle Bergen Museum, august 1963. Original scale 1:50. (Gamle Bergen Museum archives)

OPPMÅLINGSTEGNING FOR ROSESMUGET 13 M. 1:50



OMBYGGINGSTEGNING FOR ROSESMUGET 13 M. 1:50

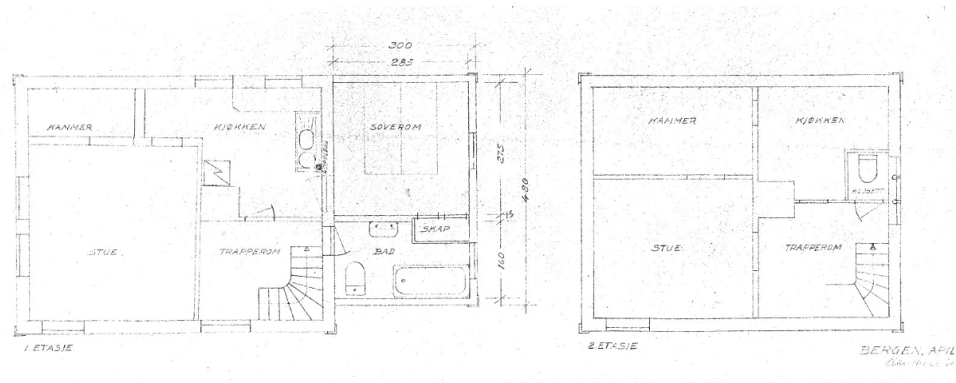


Figure 54: Rosesmuget 13. Survey (top) and façade design (centre) and plan (bottom) for conversion/addition for bathroom/W.C. and an extra bedroom. Olav Hjellevik, Gamle Bergen Museum, april 1960. Original scale 1:50. (Gamle Bergen Museum archives)

In the 1970s there are markedly fewer reports from *Grenderådet* on works in the Rosesmuggrenden conservation area, but the committee kept their role as monitor and reviewed building permits and plans. An interesting incident in 1977 reveals the attitude of the members towards the question of change. The majority of *Grenderådet* advised against an extension to Elvegaten 15, despite the fact that the only architect on the committee, who was also *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s representative, stated the view that the plan was acceptable "from an antiquarian point of view".<sup>149</sup> This may have different explanations; that restrictions in building were not solely in the interest of conservation, but that the residents themselves benefitted from being restrictive in building matters for other reasons, or that the professional conservationist (architect and *Fortidsminneforeningen* member) was generally more open to change than the rest of the group. Whatever the reason, the decision reflects conservatism among the local "keepers" of Rosesmuggrenden which no doubt has been beneficial to its conservation.

*Grenderådet*'s work advising on housing modifications and architectural detailing continued into the 1980s. In 1980 *Velforeningen* took the initiative to make an illustrated booklet "... to inform on repairs and renewal of the houses" and demonstrate the architectural ideals of Rosesmuggrenden, to hand out to all residents.<sup>150</sup>

#### *Architectural detailing*

An important working goal for *Grenderådet* was to prevent undesired façade modifications, and special attention was given to architectural detail. The grants which *Grenderådet* handed out were aimed at providing architectural detailing which was "stylistically correct". *Grenderådet* meticulously recorded alterations to façade details in all buildings, and frequently contacted owners when there were rumours that modifications were planned, or when work had been started without *Grenderådet* having been consulted.

*Windows* were a concern for *Grenderådet* from the beginning. New windows with large panes without mullions were considered a breach with the historic character of the buildings. There were various solutions to this problem. In one case, in 1964, an owner agreed to let *Grenderådet* fit the windows with glazing bars, whereupon it was reported that the house presented itself "in its old character."<sup>151</sup> In a similar case *Grenderådet* suggested that

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<sup>149</sup> "fra et antikvarisk synspunkt". Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel (1977 - 5 - 4)

<sup>150</sup> "... hvor man kunne informere om reparasjoner og fornyelse av husene". Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel (1980 - 2 - 6); Bjerknes (1980 - 2 - 4)

<sup>151</sup> Rosesmuget 11 in 1964. "...brøt dermed med husets karakter fra gammel tid" ... "... satte inn sprosser i vinduene. I dag fremtrer huset med sitt gamle preg." *Grenderådet* (1960 - 6 - 23)

mullions were fashioned for the outer panes. The owner had no objections to this suggestion, and took the matter into his own hands. The subsequent comments from *Grenderådet* reveal that these were loosely fitted superimposed glazing bars:

“This summer we had the pleasure of seeing the glazing bars in place. They were however not very well fastened and have now partly fallen off.”<sup>152</sup>

Later the solution with superimposed mullions on newer windows was frowned upon:

“There have also been new windows where it must be noted that the false mullions have been mounted at such a distance from the glass that they throw an unnatural shadow.”<sup>153</sup>

This was in 1976. Previously, in 1968, *Grenderådet* advised homeowners to repair the old windows and fit a separate inner frame for improved heat insulation:

“Mr NN has the correct attitude, and has reached the conclusion that the windows can be repaired when he in addition to this mounts inner glazed frames.”<sup>154</sup>

When extensions were planned or new window openings made, *Grenderådet* would help with the design of new windows with a traditional appearance.<sup>155</sup>

At the annual meeting in 1979 the retired Kristian Bjerknæs reprimanded homeowners who replaced old windows with modern single-pane windows (*husmorvinduer*). He advocated that they make copies of old windows. Kjell Irgens explained how these could be sound-proofed to the same level as mass-produced modern windows, and need not be more costly.<sup>156</sup>

In 1980 *Velforeningen*'s board (*Grenderådet* and *Velforeningen* now seemed to have merged their roles) discussed the grounds on which grants for windows and doors should be given. It was agreed that *Velforeningen* as a rule would grant a sum to cover 10% of the costs for new windows, 11% if there were intricate mouldings.<sup>157</sup> Apparently there was at this time

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<sup>152</sup> Rosesmuget 13 in 1964-65. ” Grenderådet (1965 - 10 - 13) “I sommer hadde vi gleden av å se at srossene var kommet på plass. De var likevel ikke særlig godt festet og er nå delvis falt av”. Grenderådet (1966 - 10 - 8)

<sup>153</sup> Elvegaten 4 in 1976. “Det er også kommet nye vinduer der det er bemerket at de falske srossene er kommet så langt fra selve vindusglasset at de kaster skygge mot glassruten på en noe unaturlig måte.”

Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel (1976)

<sup>154</sup> Elvegaten 9a in 1968. “Herr NN har den rette instilling, og er kommet frem til at vinduene må kunne repareres når han i tillegg innsetter innvendige tettrammer.” Grenderådet (1968 - 5 - 30)

<sup>155</sup> Grenderådet (1969 - 6 - 25)

<sup>156</sup> Kristian Bjerknæs and Kjell Irgens spoke on windows at this meeting. Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel (1979 - 5 - 22)

<sup>157</sup> Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel (1980 - 5 - 21)

no particular effort made to preserve older windows in Rosesmuggrenden, but rather an emphasis on ensuring a historic appearance of new windows.

*Entrance doors and portals* were another priority for *Grenderådet*'s work in Rosesmuggrenden conservation area. There were three types of initiative, to replace old damaged historic doors with replicas, to repair old historic doors, and to replace newer and modern style doors, "an unfortunate entrance door"<sup>158</sup>, with traditionally fashioned ones, which would "...fit more appropriately into the built environment"<sup>159</sup>, or "which has a better character"<sup>160</sup>. Financial aid was used to bargain; *Grenderådet* could for example promise to procure free paint on the condition that an existing front door was replaced by a more stylistically appropriate one designed by *Grenderådet*.<sup>161</sup> Old doors and portals were recognized as valuable; this is evident from characterizations like "...one of the best preserved portals from old times"<sup>162</sup>, "... a valuable old entrance door";<sup>163</sup> "the door is valuable and must be repaired."<sup>164</sup> *Grenderådet* provided grants to cover part or the whole cost of a repair or restoration, and would also help find good carpenters for the job, something which could be difficult.<sup>165</sup> In 1970 the annual meeting in Rosesmuggrenden voted to do a comprehensive job with entrance doors which needed replacement:

"These are partly old doors, which have become damaged over time, partly new doors with modern fluted cladding which is a breach of the hamlet's character. It has become a task for the coming year to seek to replace these doors with new ones which have the correct stylistic appearance."<sup>166</sup>

The idea was to prepare standard designs for all building parts, windows, doors, roof details etc., to counter the growing number of owner initiatives to replace building components. *Grenderådet* used their own architect to make an appropriate design for new doors.<sup>167</sup> The work with doors continued into the 1970s, when several homeowners had expressed wishes to

<sup>158</sup> Fjæregrenden 8; "lite heldige inngangsdør"; *Grenderådet* (1968 - 5 - 30)

<sup>159</sup> Rosesmuget 7 in 1963; "passet bedre inn i miljøet" *Grenderådet* (1963 - 12 - 14)

<sup>160</sup> Elvegata 9a; "som har bedre karakter"; *Grenderådet* (1968 - 5 - 30)

<sup>161</sup> Fjæregrenden 8 in 1972; "... med en dør etter tegning fra *Grenderådet*". This particular case was initially no success for *Grenderådet*; it was recorded that the premises to change the door had been abandoned for the time being, the house was however painted. *Grenderådet* (1959 - 6 - 4); *Grenderådet* (1959 - 6 - 26)

<sup>162</sup> Vinkelsmuget 5 in 1960; "... en ev de best bevarte portaler fra gammel tid". A new rosette was carved as a copy of the existing other rosette on the portal by Bernt Pedersen. *Grenderådet* (1960 - 6 - 23)

<sup>163</sup> Fjæregrenden 10 in 1960; "... en verdiful gammel inngangsdør" ... "håndverksmessige mangler". Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Elvegata 2 in 1968; "døren er verdifull og må repareres"; *Grenderådet* (1968 - 5 - 30)

<sup>165</sup> Bakersmuget 8 in 1966; *Grenderådet* (1966 - 10 - 8) *Grenderådet* (1967 - 5)

<sup>166</sup> "Dette er dels gamle dører, som i årenes løp er blitt ødelagt, dels nye dører med moderne riflet panel som bryter med grendens karakter. Det ble en oppgave for det kommende år å søke å få gjennomført en utskiftning av disse dører med nye som har det rette stilpreg." *Grenderådet* (1970 - 9 - 8)

<sup>167</sup> "Arkitekt Irgens har laget tegninger til dører som vil passe til grendens behov". *Grenderådet* (1971 - 6 - 1)



repair or exchange their entrance doors.<sup>168</sup> In 1975 *Grenderådet* discussed whether to prepare blueprints and price lists for appropriate doors and windows.<sup>169</sup> At this time there was an emphasis on procuring decent designs for new building elements, although there were also examples that old and authentic building parts were repaired and not replaced. The architect members of *Grenderådet* continued to design new building elements like doors and windows in the desired traditional style throughout the 1970s.<sup>170</sup>

*Façade cladding* was rarely commented on by *Grenderådet*. One registered incident is *Grenderådet* deciding to cover the additional expenditures for new broader and thicker boards for the façade cladding.<sup>171</sup>

*Paint* was monitored through granting free paint to homeowners. This was a means to influence architectural detailing through bargains (see above), to inspire maintenance<sup>172</sup>, and was granted on application from the owners. Rosesmuget's owners were generally keen on maintaining a well kept neighbourhood. During the first years of *Grenderådet's* activity around 10 buildings were painted under the auspices of *Grenderådet*. Advice was given on façade colours, and if the owner was indisposed *Grenderådet* would arrange help to do the work.<sup>173</sup> Paint jobs could be sponsored for the entire façade, or for building details: "...treatment of the old entrance door to the house".<sup>174</sup> In 1961 *Grenderådet* sent a note to all owners reminding them that house colours could not be altered without *Grenderådet's* consent, with reference to the Guidelines §8.<sup>175</sup> Paint was sponsored by different manufacturers.<sup>176</sup> There seems to have been a decline in activity in the late 1960s and 1970s, but in 1978-79 the idea of sponsored paint was reintroduced in *Grenderådet*.<sup>177</sup> In 1979 the council discussed whether entrance doors could be treated with tint or with lacquer, as it was

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<sup>168</sup> Bakersmuget 11; "fant vi døren i så dårlig forfatning at den må skiftes ut (...) Rosesmuget 5 har også en dør som er i dårlig stand. Hele dørkarmen var skjev." *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1976)

<sup>169</sup> "Det kom fram forslag om at styret burde ha tegninger på dører og vinduer etc. med ca. priser til hjelp som huseierne som har i tanke å skifte ut vinduer, legge nytt tak og annet reparasjonsarbeide." *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> Svein Johannessen, board member and architect surveyed and designed four new doors in 1978-1979 for houses in *Rosesmuggrenden*. These were apparently individually designed for each house, probably as copies of the existing old ones. The architect and carpenter inspected doors in the area, discussing details in design and craftsmanship. *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1979)

<sup>171</sup> *Rosesmuget 15 "Eidehuset"* in 1963. *Grenderådet* (1963 - 12 - 14)

<sup>172</sup> *Elvegata 2* needed painting, and here *Grenderådet* supplied paint for the owner as an incentive to do the job. *Grenderådet* (1967 - 6 - 6)

<sup>173</sup> Paint had been procured for *Fjæregrenden 10* and *Grenderådet* promised to find someone to do the job. *Grenderådet* took upon themselves to procure paint and painter for *Elvegata 2* to help the owner who was of high age, *Grenderådet* (1963 - 1 - 7); *Grenderådet* (1968 - 5 - 30)

<sup>174</sup> *Fjæregrenden 10* in 1959 "...behandlingen av den gamle inngangsdøren til huset"; *Grenderådet* (1959 - 9 - 26)

<sup>175</sup> *Grenderådet* (1961 - 10 - 18)

<sup>176</sup> *International Fargefabrikk*. *Grenderådet* (1962)

<sup>177</sup> *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1979)

the wish of many homeowners to use these products (exposed wood grain was in fashion). Different views were voiced at the meeting. The conclusion was to advise owners to use paint only.<sup>178</sup> *Fortidsminneforeningen's* representative and *Grenderådet's* leader architect Irgens insisted that doors must be painted and that this must be set as a condition when grants to restore or renew doors were given. The discussion at the 1979 annual meeting was followed up by a trip to *Gamle Bergen Museum* to sample appropriate colours.<sup>179</sup> Six suggestions of green, blue and brown were chosen as appropriate door colours.<sup>180</sup> The discussions on surface treatment on doors continued in board meetings the following year; the *Gamle Bergen Museum* excursion and Irgens' firm statement (that doors must be painted, not lacquered or tinted (*beiset*)) had apparently not convinced all members of *Grenderådet* that paint was the correct approach: "The discussions were concerned with painting/tinting of new doors. K. Irgens will inquire into what is correct regarding this question."<sup>181</sup> The paint/laquer dispute centred on doors; the tradition to paint the façade cladding white seems to have been followed for most buildings throughout with two obvious exceptions; *Rosesmuget 13a*, which has green façade cladding, and *Rosesmuget 2*, which was painted in a light ochre colour for some time during the 1960s or 1970s. [Figure 10, 53-54]

*Foundations and steps* were seldom discussed in *Grenderådet*; in 1963 an exterior staircase which had been freshly designed was assessed<sup>182</sup>, and at one point repairs done to a foundation wall were registered.<sup>183</sup> This indicates that major work on these parts of the buildings was rare.

*Roof work and roof details* were occasionally initiated by *Grenderådet*. On their inspection trips in *Rosesmuggrenden* they paid attention to the correct design of dormers and roofing material. Roofing should be homogeneous, and red tiles were preferred.<sup>184</sup> Initiatives were taken to procure stylistically correct parts for gable boards (*vindski*) and cornices.<sup>185</sup> In the 1970s *Grenderådet* remarked on several cases of re-roofing in *Rosesmuggrenden* where

<sup>178</sup> *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1979 - 9 - 5)

<sup>179</sup> This expedition was made by architects Irgens and Johannessen and one resident representative.

*Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1979 - 11 - 7)

<sup>180</sup> The paint brands Oxan and Jøkul Drygolin were the basis of the recommendation. "As the colours at Gamle Bergen have been mixed on site it is not easy to find them on colour charts, but here are some suggestions ... 234 Jøkul, 37 Mosegrønn, 48 Lav/48 Furugrønn, 59 Fjordblå, 80 Bever, 245 Mokka." *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1979 - 11 - 11)

<sup>181</sup> "Diskusjonen gikk omkring maling/beising av nye dører. K. Irgens skulle undersøke hva som er riktig når det gjelder dette spørsmålet." *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1980 - 3 - 26)

<sup>182</sup> *Bakersmuget 12* in 1963; *Grenderådet* (1962)

<sup>183</sup> *Bakersmuget 8* in 1964; *Grenderådet* (1965 - 10 - 13)

<sup>184</sup> *Rosesmuget 8* was inspected and the colour of the roof panes, on the dormer side red and otherwise black, commented. *Grenderådet* (1968 - 5 - 30)

<sup>185</sup> "vindski med det utstyret vindskien hadde før." *Grenderådet* (1961 - 10 - 18); *Grenderådet* (1966 - 10 - 8); *Grenderådet* (1967 - 5); *Grenderådet* (1970 - 9 - 8)

the gable boards had been removed and replaced with special-purpose gable roof tiles. This was a breach of the building tradition of the area and considered unfortunate from a conservation perspective.<sup>186</sup> In 1975 *Grenderådet* proposed that one regular skilled roofer should do all the roof work in “Grenden”. By hiring a craftsman who was acquainted with the traditional building customs in the area these kinds of mistakes would be avoided.<sup>187</sup>

*Fences, sheds and gardens* were regulated in the municipal guidelines, and also within *Grenderådet*'s sphere of interest. Comments like “... one admired NNs new garden in Garmannsgate 13”<sup>188</sup> and “(...) fence repaired (...)”<sup>189</sup> were frequently included in *Grenderådet*'s meeting minutes when reporting on inspection tours in the conservation area. In one case where the owner wished to replace his wooden fence with a metal fence on the grounds that this was cheaper, Bjerknes approached a building material dealer to sponsor new materials, and the owner subsequently agreed to put up a wooden fence.<sup>190</sup> In 1960 *Grenderådet* discussed costs for repairs of the shed in Fjæregrenden 16 but landed on the solution of having it redesigned (see Chapter 6.2.1). The old shed was considered an eyesore, “no doubt it was necessary for the residents, but did not stand well with its surroundings”, and it was proposed to “... alter the shed in harmony with its surrounding buildings which constitute a valuable environment of the past”, a proposition the owner agreed to<sup>191</sup> [Figure 27-28]. While the old shed was placed in the corner of the garden with the appearance of an outhouse, the new shed was built as an addition to the building. It was not based on historic evidence but given a historically appropriate adaptive design by *Gamle Bergen Museum*'s architect, an example of the aesthetics of the area being valued over the narrative value of more recent structures.

### 6.2.3 Area conservation challenges and strategies 1959-1988

The general upkeep of the houses was the individual owners' responsibility. There were however issues which required cooperation and a common strategy. Buildings with negligent owners were perceived as a threat to the area, and *Grenderådet* went far to ensure their

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<sup>186</sup> ”Det har ofte hendt at de originale vannbord blir erstattet med nye kantpanner, noe som sterkt forringer husenes karakteristiske trekk.” *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (Udatert (1975?))

<sup>187</sup> “Det kom fram forslag om at styret burde ha tegninger på dører og vinduer etc. med ca. priser til hjelp som huseierne som har i tanke å skifte ut vinduer, legge nytt tak og annet reparasjonsarbeide.” There is no evidence that this was effectuated. *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1976)

<sup>188</sup> “... man beundret NNs nye hage i Garmannsgaten 13” *Grenderådet* (1965 - 10 - 13)

<sup>189</sup> On Elvegata 2. *Grenderådet* (1970 - 9 - 8)

<sup>190</sup> Trelasthandler Jansen, Elvegaten 9a in 1967; *Grenderådet* (1967 - 5)

<sup>191</sup> “utvilsomt var nødvendig for husets beboere, men det tok seg dårlig ut i omgivelsene” ...“.. forandre skuret slik at det kom i harmoni med husene som danner et verdifullt miljø fra gammel tid”; *Grenderådet* (1960 - 6 - 23)

conservation, and appropriate use. Dwellings for permanent residents was the function which was considered necessary to best preserve the area, and also the only use authorised through the Guidelines. This was a cause for *Grenderådet* when a building in the area was proposed to be converted to offices. *Grenderådet* was from the beginning involved also for the improvement of the common areas, and they dealt with buildings which were not taken care of properly. In the 1970s the issue of traffic received increasing attention, tourism was discussed, and in the 1980s billboards, satellite dishes and parking were added to the list of threats to *Rosesmuggrenden*'s image of a living, well-kept historic built environment.

### *Preservation through purchase*

In 1959 *Grenderådet* procured a building in *Rosesmuggrenden* conservation area, *Vinkelsmuget* 8, with the intention to sell it to "a buyer which would commit to repair the building for residential purposes."<sup>192</sup> With this initiative *Grenderådet* took an active approach to ensure the general upkeep of the area, and residential status. The house was one of four buildings in the *Rosesmuggrenden* area owned by Bergen municipality. These buildings were all in a state which indicated years of maintenance neglect. *Grenderådet* deemed the building "in its present state, a disgrace", but worth saving; it had "both in dimension and design, a character which was harmonious with the area as a whole", and that it would be a loss if it were to be demolished.<sup>193</sup> A sum was set aside to cover the cost of immediate repairs, and a sales contract prepared which committed the next owner to "repair the house immediately" according to blueprints prepared by Kristian Bjercknes.<sup>194</sup> The strategy of acting as intermediate owner was successful; in 1960 both re-sale and repairs was completed, and *Grenderådet* could report the house to be "in excellent condition" in the hands of its new owner.<sup>195</sup>

In 1961 the municipality decided to sell their remaining three properties in the *Rosesmuggrenden* area, *Bakersmuget* 8 and 16, and *Rosesmuget* 15. This time *Grenderådet*

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<sup>192</sup> "en kjøper som påtar seg å sette bygningen istand som bolig" *Grenderådet* (1959 - 4 - 24)

<sup>193</sup> "... i sin nåværende tilstand virker i høy grad skjæmmende" ... "både ved sine dimensjoner og sin utforming et preg som gjør at det passer inn i områdets karakter." The house was procured by *Grenderådet* and Kristian Bjercknes authorized to close the deal and a new owner found who bought the house in 1959. *Grenderådet* (1959 - 4 - 24); *Grenderådet* (1959 - 6 - 4)

<sup>194</sup> "reparere huset snarest." *Grenderådet* (1959 - 5 - 15)

<sup>195</sup> "...i utmerket stand." The property was sold again in September the same year, while the previous owners secured lifetime rights as tenants. The new owner accepted the legally recorded premise that *Grenderådet* had pre-emptive rights to the property in case of a new sale with the exception of lineal descendants. *Grenderådet* considered buying the property back in the case of the new owner refusing to agree to this clause, however this was not the case and with *Grenderådet* as mediator the new owner accepted the provisions of the sale. *Stiegler* (1960 - 9 - 26); *Grenderådet* (1960 - 6 - 23); *Grenderådet* (1960 - 9 - 1)

chose a different approach to influence the outcome and asked to review the list of potential buyers.

“The conservation committee has contacted the 4th deputy mayor to inquire whether it would be possible to review the applications to purchase the property, and to give their recommendation. One hopes in this way to contribute so that the buyers will fit into Rosesmuggrenden’s environment.”<sup>196</sup>

A member of *Grenderådet* proposed to inform “good Sandviken people” of the sale in the hope of recruiting local buyers.<sup>197</sup> *Grenderådet* hoped to help find a buyer who would “fit into the area and had an understanding for the obligations that came with being a homeowner in Grenden” (Rosesmuggrenden).<sup>198</sup> *Grenderådet* requested a passage that exterior alterations had to be approved by them to be included in the sales deed.<sup>199</sup> The buildings were eventually sold to their respective tenants who had been given pre-emptive rights to purchase their homes. In the first of these four municipal house sales *Grenderådet* focused primarily on the physical and formal aspects of saving the building. The latter three demonstrate an additional aspect. Finding owners with the correct attitude towards the buildings was presented as a conservation strategy. This “correct attitude” was associated with local identity, and was expected found among members of the local community.

#### *Conservation of buildings through conservation of function*

*Grenderådet* engaged in discussions about building maintenance, ownership, and also the question of the function and use of Rosesmuggrenden’s buildings. When a firm contacted *Grenderådet* in January 1964 on the matter of potentially acquiring Elvegata 9b for office use, *Grenderådet* spoke out against the plans.<sup>200</sup> The firm was a local business who wished to have their office closer to their storage facilities in one of the shoreline package houses. Despite both the owner and the buying firm’s assurances that no exterior changes would be made to the buildings, *Grenderådet* refused to endorse changing the building’s function from

<sup>196</sup> “Grenderådet har satt seg i forbindelse med 4. rådmann for om mulig å utvirke at en av Grenderådet nedsatt komite får anledning til å gå gjennom de inkomne søknader og gi sin innstilling. Man håper på denne måten å medvirke til at kjøperne vil komme til å passe inn i Grendens miljø.” *Grenderådet* (1961 - 8 - 30)

<sup>197</sup> “... allerede nå å gjøre bra Sandviksfolk oppmerksom på husene som muligens blir tilsalgs i Grenden”. *Grenderådet* (1961 - 5 - 30)

<sup>198</sup> “...kjøperne var folk som passet inn i Grenden og at de hadde forståelsen for de forpliktelser det forte med seg å være huseier i denne Grenden.” *Grenderådet* (1962)

<sup>199</sup> *Grenderådet* (1961 - 10 - 18); *ibid.*

<sup>200</sup> *Grenderådet* had no direct influence in the function or use of the buildings, but stated an intention in to discuss the matter with “Boligformidlingsnemda”, and later claimed to have learned that Formannskapet (the municipal council) were brought in to authorise all cases where office functions were to replace existing residential functions. *Grenderådet* (1964 - 1 - 23)

residential to commercial. All functions other than residential deviated from the Guidelines; (§5) stated that no new premises for shops, workshops or industry could be established in the area. Kristian Bjerknes worded *Grenderådet's* reply, stressing the importance of preserving its traditional residential status:

“The purpose of the guidelines is to protect this old environment which has so many beautiful and characteristic details which tell us of Sandviken as it was before the technological developments of our own time. From the beginning it was dwellings which were built in these hamlets and for generations people have lived their lives here. When it now still constitutes a good and pleasant residential area, it is because the old traditions have been maintained – traditions which it is of the utmost importance to preserve also in the future. From the above it will be evident how much we emphasize that it is in the form of a residential area that the hamlet must be preserved for the generations to come.”<sup>201</sup>

*Grenderådet* argued that the building was “one of the best dwellings in the hamlet”, with relatively large, well-proportioned rooms and a large garden that required tending. They feared the garden would be neglected, or converted to parking space.<sup>202</sup>

*Grenderådet* took a principled stand in the matter; they pointed out that the need for office space would increase, and feared a future development where the whole neighbourhood became commercial. After the ratification of the 1958 Guidelines, the homeowners had acquired new faith in the future, which was demonstrated in improved maintenance and initiatives to improve living standards, *Grenderådet* concluded.<sup>203</sup> This positive trend for the residents could not be jeopardized by introducing commercial activity into the area.

#### *Rosesmuggrenden as an attraction*

Rosesmuggrenden was situated outside the city centre at a distance from the larger attractions, yet many people came to see Rosesmuggrenden. In the 1950s, when promoting the conservation Guidelines for Rosesmuggrenden, Bergen's Planning Director had referred to numerous visits by planner and architect colleagues who showed their interest:

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<sup>201</sup> “Hensikten med vedtektene er å beskytte dette gamle miljø som har så mange vakre og karakteristiske detaljer forteller om Sandviken før vår egen tids tekniske utvikling satte inn. Fra første stund var det boliger som ble bygd i denne grenden og gjennom generasjoner har mennesker levet sitt liv her. Når den fremdeles utgjør et godt og trivelig boligstrøk, skyldtes det at den gammel tradisjon er holdt vedlike – en tradisjon som det er overordentlig betydningsfullt å opprettholde også i fremtiden. Av overenstående vil det fremgå hvor stor vekt vi legger på at det er i form av boligstrøk grenden skal bevares for kommende slekter.” *Grenderådet* (1964 - 2 - 4); Bjerknes (1964 - 2 - 5)

<sup>202</sup> “et av de beste bolighus i grenden”. *Ibid.*; *Grenderådet* (1964 - 2 - 11)

<sup>203</sup> *Grenderådet* (1964 - 2 - 11)

”All architects and planners who come to Bergen from Norway or from abroad, want to see the old characteristic built-up area, where people still live and flourish.”<sup>204</sup>

Rosesmuggrenden’s status as a site and an attraction preceded the Guidelines for its protection. It had become an object of interest for professionals in planning; an exemplary historic site where people still lived and led normal lives. Interest was both professional and private; Rosesmuggrenden was visited by numerous tourists every year.<sup>205</sup> These various impacts of “tourism” were felt in different ways by the community. In 1973 *Grenderådet* voted to contact TTK (Bergen’s Tourist Traffic Committee, *Turisttrafikkomiteen*) “to ask tourist guides not to introduce Rosesmuggrenden as a museum”, and request that the guides be informed of “what Rosesmuggrenden actually is.”<sup>206</sup> The emphasis on Rosesmuggrenden’s status as an area which was both historic *and* residential was crucial to convey, both for the residents and the professional conservation community, in this case represented by Kristian Bjerknes and *Grenderådet*.

In 1980 *Velforeningen* noted that there were few young active members and voted to try to change this<sup>207</sup>, and in 1988, for the first time, a point was made of recruiting new members among the residents. This is an indication that the combination of individual responsibility and communal spirit which characterized Rosesmuggrenden in its two first decades as a conservation area had changed.<sup>208</sup>

#### *Organized maintenance of common areas*

In the 1950s and -60s *Grenderådet* repeatedly referred to the Rosesmuggrenden area as well kept. Sweeping and cleaning of streets and alleys was taken care of by the individual homeowners on a regular basis. In 1959 *Grenderådet* initiated the repair of the stairs to Sjøgata<sup>209</sup>, in 1960 street repairs were discussed<sup>210</sup>, and in 1963 *Grenderådet* approached the Gas Works (*Gassverket*) requesting that the old lampposts be preserved, electrified without

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<sup>204</sup> ”Alle arkitekter og reguleringsmyndigheter som kommer til Bergen fra inn- eller utland, vil gjerne se den gamle karakteristiske bebyggelsen hvor folk fremdeles bor og trives godt.” Bergens\*Arbeiderblad (1955 - 5 - 26)

<sup>205</sup> Kristian Bjerknes (when speaking of the poor condition of the asphalt surfaces in Rosesmuggrenden alleys and squares) reminded the audience of the 1967 annual resident’s meeting “... that Rosesmuggrenden annually was visited by a large number of tourists.” *Grenderådet* (1967 - 6 - 6)

<sup>206</sup> “... for å unngå at turist-guider introduserer Rosegrend som et museum” ... ”hva Rosegrenden egentlig er.”. *Grenderådet* (1974 - 10 - 30)

<sup>207</sup> Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel (1980 - 5 - 21)

<sup>208</sup> Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel (1988 - 11 - 30)

<sup>209</sup> Fleischers fabrikker, International and Monopol all delivered paint (free). *Grenderådet* (1959 - 5 - 13).

<sup>210</sup> *Grenderådet* (1960 - 6 - 23)

being replaced.<sup>211</sup> Otherwise the general up-keep of the common areas was not mentioned in the committee's meeting minutes, with the exception of *Grenderådet's* occasional praise of individual gardens. In the late 1970s and 1980s these activities took on a more organized form. *Dugnad* or "clean-up teams" (*ryddedag*) where all residents were invited to work together were organized by *Velforeningen*.<sup>212</sup> During the second half of the 1970s a landscape plan for trees and gardens was made in collaboration with Bergen municipality.<sup>213</sup> From 1979, street clean-up was regularly organized as part of *Naturvettaksjonen* ("The Campaign for Nature and Common Sense"), a national campaign with the slogan "Preserve Nature Values".<sup>214</sup> In the 1980s a lack of neatness was more frequently commented. *Velforeningen* communicated through pamphlets, encouraging residents to keep the common areas orderly:

"At the annual meeting of the residents' association on June 16th this year several of those present commented on the in part poor cleaning of the hamlets alleys (...) The board therefore encourages all residents to see to the maintenance of the outdoor area which rests with each house."<sup>215</sup>

In the late 1980s *Velforeningen* engaged themselves in a number of cases concerning the visual environment. They wrote letters protesting against commercial billboards on street walls in the vicinity of the *Rosesmuggrenden* area (along *Sandviksveien*, which defined the northern limit of the conservation area<sup>216</sup>), an oversized building extension (on the same street<sup>217</sup>); and the introduction of satellite dishes in the area by individual homeowners. The latter issue caused much involvement and residents and politicians spoke out to local newspapers calling the imposing new elements "troll"-dishes, "eyesores" and "public debasement".<sup>218</sup> *Velforeningen* was quoted as making an appeal to municipal authorities to engage in dealing with the phenomenon:

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<sup>211</sup> *Grenderådet* (1963 - 12 - 14)

<sup>212</sup> *Dugnad*, a common spring activity in many Norwegian neighbourhoods. *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* ((no date))

<sup>213</sup> The landscape plan was controversial among the residents: "The Board has not taken a final stand regarding these plans, as there is significant disagreement and objection concerning them."; *Velforeningen* board rejected the plan with intent to re-design it according to the preferences of the board and the local residents and delivered their plan to the municipality's *Fritidsseksjon* in August 1977. *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (*Udatert* (1975?)); *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1977 - 6 - 21)

<sup>214</sup> "Ta vare på naturverdiene" *Naturvettaksjonen* (1987 - 4)

<sup>215</sup> "På velforeningens årsmøte 16. juni d.å. ble det fra flere av deltakerne bemerket det til dels dårlige renhold i grendens "smitt og smau". (...) Styret oppfordrer derfor samtlige beboere i Grenden til selv å sørge for det nødvendige utendørs renhold som påligger det enkelte hus." *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1982 - 6 - 17)

<sup>216</sup> Four large billboards had been mounted *Sandviksveien 8* in *Rosesmuggrenden*. *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1987 - 10 - 25)

<sup>217</sup> *Sandviksveien 18* was criticized for planning an addition which was large and built in lightweight concrete (leca). *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1987 - 10 - 25)

<sup>218</sup> "trolltallerkner", "torn i øyet", "offentlig forsimpling". *Bergens\*Tidende* (1988 - 9 - 16); *Bergens\*Tidende* (1989 - 4 - 14); *Faye* (1989 - 4 - 12)



“The tourists are shocked, the antennae are grotesque in this vulnerable environment (...) The building authorities required that the antennae be removed in August of last year and the atrocity has been reported to the police. Nothing happens. The control systems have failed completely, the building authorities have no system for reporting on interventions in historic areas. The residents’ association must walk the area like a guard dog to attend to common interests but there are limits to how often we can cross the threshold of the City Hall....”<sup>219</sup>

The satellite dish case is the first case where *Velforeningen* openly appealed to the municipality for increased intervention and control of misdoings in the conservation area. The other issue where *Velforeningen* sought the aid of the authorities was traffic, which did not pose a threat to buildings in the Rosesmuggrenden area, but to the quality of living; here, however, *Velforeningen*’s request for aid went beyond the municipal level.

#### *The impact of the automobile*

From the mid 1970s traffic issues began to dominate the meeting minutes of Rosesmuggrenden *Velforeningen*. In Sandviken, where the geography had forced many functions together on a relatively long and narrow strip of land, road infrastructure and buildings were a challenge with increasing automobile traffic. *Velforeningen*’s archives tell of an increasing level of contact with municipal departments and collaboration with other organizations during the 1970s in response to traffic issues.<sup>220</sup> 1975 was an active year. In response to a road plan for the outer part of Sandviken, *Velforeningen* pleaded with the planning authorities to spare Rosesmuggrenden from being framed by traffic thoroughfares on both sides (Sandviksveien and Sjøgaten).<sup>221</sup> Another infrastructure strategy involved broadening Sjøgaten from two to four lanes; implying both the demolition of old buildings and a massive increase in traffic.<sup>222</sup> *Velforeningen* joined forces with other residents’ associations in Sandviken, *Fortidsminneforeningen* and *Vestlandske Naturvernforening* to form a traffic committee. This committee argued for a road tunnel alternative for Sandviken,

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<sup>219</sup> “Turistene får sjokk, antennen er grotesk i dette sårbare miljøet (...) Bygningsmyndighetene forlangte antennen fjernet i august i fjor og saken er anmeldt til politiet. Ingenting skjer. Kontrollapparatet svikter fullstendig, bygningsmyndighetene har ikke noe varselssystem for inngrep i verneverdige bydeler. Velforeningen må gå som en vaktbikkje for å hegne om fellesskapets verdier, men det er grenser for hvor ofte vi kan renne døren ned på Rådhuset....”. *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1988 - 8 - 22)

<sup>220</sup> Notably special interest organizations like *Vestlandske Naturvernforening*, *Fortidsforeningens Bergensavdeling*, *Håndverker – og Industriforeningen*, and local groups and associations like *Sandvikens Husmorlag*, *Sandviksguttene forening*, *Foreldrerådet ved Sandviken skole*, *Beboere i Skuteviken*. *Grenderådet* (1975 - 9 - 23); *Aksjonskomiteen* (1975 - 9 - 8);

<sup>221</sup> *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1976 - 8 - 31)

<sup>222</sup> *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1975 - 8 - 12)

and lobbied to improve public transportation.<sup>223</sup> 800 signatures were collected to protest against traffic plans in 1975.<sup>224</sup> The primary focus of the protests was to preserve residential quality, but the historic status of the area was also used to support the argument, as was as the issue of tourism:

“Rosesgrenden has become one of Bergen’s tourist attractions, an area which we believe the town has reason to be proud of.”<sup>225</sup>

In the 1970s there were also more local traffic issues; a proposition was made to close off Johan Mohrs Street from traffic, and in 1974 the homeowners in Elvegaten lobbied to make their street a one-way street. The same year *Velforeningen* filed a petition to lower the speed limits in Sandviksveien with massive support from the homeowners in Rosesmuggrenden.<sup>226</sup>

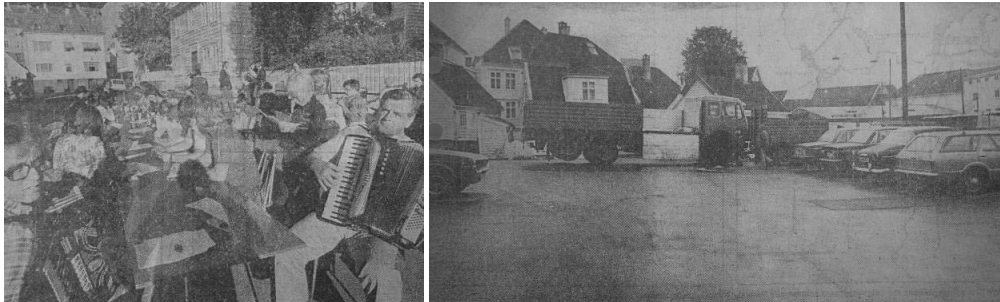


Figure 55-56: The campaign group against traffic growth in Sandviken – *Folkeaksjonen mot trafikkøkning i Sandviken* – marking their presence by arranging a midsummer street celebration (newspaper clipping, 23.7.1977); illustrated piece about Bakersmuget with the caption “Park or parking?” from the newspaper *Bergens tidende*, 4.8.1977. (Clippings, Gamle Bergen Museum Archives)

In 1978 the traffic issue assumed more obvious political overtones when *Velforeningen for Rosesmuggrenden* joined alliances with nature conservation organizations as well as left-wing political groups in a campaign to for the reduction of private motoring in the city; the agenda was to avoid traffic-induced slums:

<sup>223</sup> Aksjonskomiteen (1975 - 9 - 8)

<sup>224</sup> 800 signatures were collected under the motto “No to a highway through Sandviken” and delivered to Bystyret (the city council). *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1976)

<sup>225</sup> “Rosesgrenden er blitt en av Bergens turist-severdigheter, et område som vi synes byen burde ha grunn til å være stolt av.” *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1975 - 8 - 12)

<sup>226</sup> Grenderådet (1974 - 9 - 17)

“Residential areas within the borders of old Bergen are turning into slums due to through traffic and non-resident parking.”<sup>227</sup>

The alliance worked to increase public transportation, reduce and organize city parking (one suggestion was to move parking spaces out of the city centre to public transportation connections in the suburbs) and build tunnels to guide through traffic around the Bergen city centre. These viewpoints were rooted in national recommendations:

“We should lastly like to refer to a unanimous resolution by the Ministry of the Environment on the problems of noise, in support of removing private automobiles from the large cities and densely built areas (...) The committee also acknowledges that environmental measures must not have a lesser priority in budget planning, which it seems to have been the case lately.”<sup>228</sup>

Traffic issues continued into the 1980s. *Velforeningen* visited the regional road planning office, attended open meetings, and honed their arguments:

“There was agreement that if the crossroads was placed at Slaktehustomten, it would be necessary to demand that the entire hamlet be vacated.”<sup>229</sup>

By this time, issues which *Velforeningen* in Rosesmuggrenden and their collaborators had argued for over the past five years had become a national agenda. Environmental considerations, in their broadest sense, had become an issue for all sectors including traffic planning, and local involvement in decision-making was stressed.

“What importance is given to the environment in the assessment of Norwegian transport projects? In connection with the Government report based on calculations from the Communications and Roads Committees, four issues are addressed: traffic safety, pollution, access and decision-making processes. These will be decisive, in this order. Previously access was the only issue, now it is third. The last issue, the decision-making process, is significant because it implies that the man on the street shall influence the decisions, the Minister for Communications states. End of quote.”<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> “Boligmiljøer innenfor gamle Bergens grenser forslummes av gjennomgangstrafikk og fremmedparkering” Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers, Vestlandske Naturvernforening et al. (1978 - 4 - 24)

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

<sup>229</sup> “Det var enighet om at hvis krysset ble lagt til Slaktehustomten, så måtte man forlange hele grenden fraflyttet”. Velforeningen board visited Hordaland Vegkontor to view the models of the alternatives for Vegplan 2, and attended meetings held by Hordaland County Road office. *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1980 - 2 - 6)

<sup>230</sup> Former minister of transport Asbjørn Jordahl in Bergens Tidende 12/4-1978, quoted in: *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1980 - 3 - -3)

Parking problems were another sign of increased automobile use influencing the area. Vacant lots in the vicinity of the conservation area and the streets inside the area were attracting ‘external’ parking.<sup>231</sup> [Figure 56] In 1977 *Velforeningen* delivered a self-made solution for organized residents’ parking in the area, a matter the municipal planning office up until then had not attended to.<sup>232</sup> The plan was broadly presented and discussed in open meetings before it was submitted.<sup>233</sup> The municipal response to *Rosesmuggrenden*’s parking plan came three years later in form of an inconclusive letter: one-way streets, children’s play-zones and residential parking in public streets could not be negotiated for *Rosesmuggrenden* alone, but would have to be treated as part of a greater plan for “urban renewal and traffic calming” (“byfornyelse og trafikksanering”) for the residential zone of Sandviken. This was a plan under preliminary discussion in the municipality.<sup>234</sup>

Other traffic-related issues were noise, pollution and safety, due to “explosive increase in traffic” in Sandviksveien and Sjøgata.<sup>235</sup> Local groups in Sandviken including *Rosesmuggrenden*’s *Velforeningen* argued that increased traffic would affect the quality of housing and future investments in the area.

#### *Rosesmuggrenden as a pilot in urban conservation*

In Bergen a municipal office for rehabilitation of urban residential areas *Institutt for Byfornyning* was established following the ratification of *Byfornynelsesloven* with a mandate to inform the public about rules, regulations and rehabilitation strategies, and initiate larger area

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<sup>231</sup> The square Sandvikstorget, which constituted the western demarcation line for the *Rosesmuggrenden* conservation area, was by 1970 established as a parking lot. When Bergen Municipality in the mid 70s proposed to introduce pay parking in Reguleringsplan for Sandvikstorget *Velforeningen* protested, arguing that this would force cars into nearby streets and increase “foreign parking” (*fremmedparkering*) in the conservation area. The request from *Rosesmuggrendens Vel* to keep parking unregulated was not sustained by *Bydelsutvalget* (Bergen municipal township council). “Wild” parking of trucks due to the lack of a parking plan received local newspaper coverage in 1977 under the title (translated): “Green space of parking space? The small houses in Sandviken disappear behind large trucks”. *Grenderådet* (1970 - 9 - 8) ; *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1976 - 3 - 29); *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1976); *Bergens\*Tidende* (1977 - 8 - 4)

<sup>232</sup> This plan was for a total of 68 parking spaces distributed throughout the area between Sandvikstorget and Johan Mohrsgate. *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1977 - 2 - 24)

<sup>233</sup> The parking plan was presented to the municipality as a “reguleringsforslag”. *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1977 - 10 - 31)

<sup>234</sup> The planning director indicated that this work would commence in two years time. This reply forestalled the activities of *Byfornyelsen i Bergen*, a municipal enterprise and urban renewal program which staged comprehensive rehabilitation work on historic buildings and areas from the late 1980s and onwards. “Byfornyelsen” in Bergen was comprehensive and invested in historic buildings, residential qualities and traffic solutions. Their ventures however deserve to be the subject of a separate examination. *Nesse* (1980 - 2 - 6)

<sup>235</sup> “Etter at trafikken i Sjøgaten har fått en slik eksplosjonsartet økning...”; *Rosesmuggrendens Vel* had sound measurements had sound measurements taken (by the sandbox in *Fjæregrenden*) which demonstrated levels higher than what was tolerated for residential areas. The 80 dBA limit was surpassed by heavy vehicles. The report on traffic noise concluded that. No practical solutions were proposed. *Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel* (1975 - 5 - 12); *Bergen kommune* (1975 - 9 - 15)

improvement programmes. The public initiative for urban renewal in the 1970s was ambiguous. On the one hand, urban area historic conservation received a broader mandate; Bergen for instance adopted general guidelines for historic built environments in 1976.<sup>236</sup> On the other, however, historic buildings and areas continued to be set up as candidates for demolition in planning development schemes inherited from the modernist practices of the 1950s and -60s: “In Bergen there were also plans to demolish the remains of the old wooden town centre in its entirety, but the extent of the plans and legal disputes over damages, meant that little was carried out.”<sup>237</sup>

Numerous wooden historic areas in Bergen were subject to such schemes, and Rosesmuggrenden provided an example for possible solutions. In 1960 Kristian Bjercknes wrote a series of articles proposing “protective measures” for a series of wooden historic built environments in Bergen, to follow the example of Rosesmuggrendens Guidelines. Bjercknes noted that the threat of area redevelopment discouraged house maintenance: “The objection can be made that the areas suggested for conservation are not as well-kept now as they once were. And one must also not wonder that maintenance has been neglected. The owners count on their house being demolished sooner or later and it is then natural to save these expenses. If an environment receives its “protective guidelines” the future is no longer so insecure, and the homeowners can attend to the task of raising the area’s housing standards. We remind you of the fact that the owners of the Rosesmug hamlet warmly supported the plan to preserve the areas and there is reason to believe that the great majority in other areas will be equally positive.”<sup>238</sup> One of the areas Bjercknes had proposed was the street Markeveien at Nordnes. The Bergen branch of *Fortidsminneforeningen* reported on the progress of registration and legislation work there, and in 1967 a conservation plan was presented and subsequently approved.<sup>239</sup> In 1978 Rosesmuggrenden was again put forward as an exemplary urban conservation area. The residents in the wooden hamlet of Kroken near Mariakirken in Bergen

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<sup>236</sup> In 1976 the municipal building committee in Bergen (Bergen Bygningsråd) ratified guidelines for historic built environments, stressing that these should be maintained or restored in their original character, that architectural detail should be reproduced when building elements were replaced, and that new buildings should adapt to the size and design of the existing buildings. *Regler* ratified by Bergen Bygningsråd 5th November 1976. Institutt\*for\*byfornyning? (1978)

<sup>237</sup> Kittang (2006) p 152

<sup>238</sup> “Det kan innvendes at strøkene som her er foreslått bevart ikke lenger er så velholdte som de var før i tiden. Og man skal heller ikke undre seg over at vedlikeholdet har vært mangelfullt. Eierne regner med at husene før eller siden skal rives og da er det naturlig å spare på disse utgifter. Får et miljø med gamle hus sine ”beskyttende bestemmelser” føles fremtiden ikke lenger så usikker, og huseierne kan gå inn for å bevare og høyne strøkets boligstandard. Vi minner om at eierne i Rosesmuggrenden gikk varmt inn for at grenden skulle bevares og det skulle være grunn til å tro at det store flertall også i andre sikrete områder, vil stille seg like positivt.” The areas suggested preserved by Bjercknes were parts of Nordnes (Ytre Markevei, Muralmenningen, Cort Pihls Smug) and Lille Øvregate. Bjercknes (1960 - 1 - 23)

<sup>239</sup> Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1964) p 186

city centre gathered to protest against the municipality's development plans, proposing rehabilitation of existing buildings as an alternative to demolition and invited Rosesmuggrenden's *Velforening* to share their experiences as an urban residential conservation area.<sup>240</sup>

Hans-Emil Lidén has indicated that Bergen's position on built environmental conservation was unique, pointing out the ground-breaking example of Rosesmuggrenden and *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s registration of historic buildings and areas in the 1960s.<sup>241</sup> These, significantly, began with Sandviken. At this time the loss of historic built environments was being formally addressed. At *Fortidsminneforeningen*'s board of representatives meeting in Røros in September 1963 a more organized form of contact and dialogue with the planning authorities was called for. There were suggestions to collaborate with different organizations for nature protection, tourism and history ("*Naturvernforbundet, Turistforeningen, historielagene and friluftsansjonene*") while *Riksantikvaren* stated that a revised *Bygningsfredningslov* must allow for the designation of built environments (this was followed through in 1975-1978).<sup>242</sup>

On the individual buildings level, the care of historic buildings was gradually implemented as part of a broader public policy in Bergen. In 1975 *Bergen Arkitektforening*, in collaboration with *Fortidsminneforeningen* and District Antiquarian for Western Norway Per Jahn Lavik, delivered a statement on the conservation and modernization of the older residential urban areas. Critical of the way historic buildings were treated, the group came up with a set of recommendations to improve management: "In our country, with relatively weak traditions on displaying a conscious attitude on matters of aesthetics, there is a shortage of the sense for the details which together constitute the whole."<sup>243</sup> This was a reference to typical modernizations of the 1960s and 70s where revolving or panorama windows were fitted in 18th and 19th century buildings, doors and mouldings replaced by "modern factory produce" (*moderne fabrikkvare*); it was strongly implied that these replacements were of low technical and aesthetic quality. The group stressed that Bergen's historic wooden architecture "had always demonstrated undisputed quality craftsmanship" and argued that modern house improvements lacked aesthetic sensitivity, breaching a tradition where the quality of craftsmanship and building materials "bridged variations in style", this being the difference

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<sup>240</sup> Johannessen and Irgens attended the Kroken meeting 14. February 1978. Ukjent (1978 - 2)

<sup>241</sup> Lidén (1991) pp 91-92

<sup>242</sup> Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1964) pp 198-199

<sup>243</sup> "I vårt land, med forholdsvis svake tradisjoner for en bevisst estetisk holdning, skorter det allikevel enn mye på sansen for de detaljer som tilsammen utgjør helheten" Distriktsantikvaren\*for\*Vestlandet (1975 - 7 - 7)

between 19<sup>th</sup> century house improvements and contemporary modernizations.<sup>244</sup> The group explored the driving forces of housing trends, proposing that “fashion and the judgement of the neighbour is probably a steadily stronger force than we are willing to admit.”<sup>245</sup> Costs were also mentioned, and while the group admitted that specially crafted building parts were more expensive than standard produce, so were the adjustments that had to be made to make these fit in an old building. The group suggested that *renewal without change* should be exempt from building permit requirements: “In this way Bergen municipality could make efficient and model architectural conservation its special task for the Year of Architectural Conservation in 1975.”<sup>246</sup>

Information, collaboration and public funding were central issues, and the group delivered two recommendations for Bergen municipality. The first was a to establish a fund which would be used to compensate owners for the extra cost of antiquarian care of historic buildings, so that old façade elements could be replaced with new ones which resembled the old.<sup>247</sup> The second recommendation of the group was that the municipality hired an architect consultant who could provide advice on repairs, simple improvements on housing standards and craftsmen, administer funds, and monitor work. Architect Kjell Irgens, who represented *Fortidsminneforeningen* in the group, no doubt drew from his experience as member of *Rosesmuggrenden Grenderådet* when co-authoring this statement. The intentions, priorities and solutions regarding objects, treatment, funding and monitoring recommended by the group for the rehabilitation of Bergen’s built heritage in 1975 were strikingly similar to that which had been developed for *Rosesmuggrenden* and practised there since 1958. In this sense, *Rosesmuggrenden* was a pilot for urban conservation and renewal programmes after 1975.

In 1978 *Byfornyelsen* in Bergen delivered a programme for upgrading urban, historic environments in Bergen. The main goals were to improve roofs, walls, exterior cladding; fire-proofing; to introduce sanitary- and improve electrical installations; to improve insulation; to modernize kitchens; and to alter the plan and size of apartments to accommodate all resident groups.<sup>248</sup> Insulation against noise between apartments was also on the agenda, as well as outdoor recreational areas, playgrounds, and also “ventilation to improve fire brigade

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<sup>244</sup> “bygget broer over de stilhistoriske skiller”. Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> “mote og naboens dom er nok stadig en sterkere drivkraft enn vi er villige til å innrømme”. Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> “Slik kunne Bergen kommune forholdsvis rimelig gjøre et effektivt og forbilledlig arkitekturvern til sin særlige oppgave i arkitekturvernåret 1975.” Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> For “alle eldre trehus i byområder begrenset av Elsero, Puddefjordsbroen, Nygårdsbroen og Stadsporten”, “den gamle sentrumsbebyggelsen på Laksevåg, i alvøen, Salhus og Fløen, samt verneverdige enkeltanlegg”, “murhus eldre enn 1880”, “monumentalbygg etter 1880”. Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> “Hvilken standard? Institutt\*for\*byfornyning? (1978)

accessibility”.<sup>249</sup> For savings on heating, wall insulation and window improvements (repair or replacement) were recommended. In the detailed recommendations under each point of the list, a more sensitive approach to the historic fabric is evident: “exterior cladding of wooden buildings must be carefully examined, derelict components replaced (...) old windows can be replaced with double glazed new ones, but in many cases a better solution is to mount an extra inner glazed frame.”<sup>250</sup> Bergen municipality put their name on an information pamphlet on how to proceed to acquire a building permit (“*Jeg skal bygge i Bergen*”, “I shall build in Bergen”) which included advice and encouragement on “sensitive modernization” of historic buildings; this was also in 1978. This brochure’s advice echoed much of what the 1975-group in Bergen had advocated, and signalled that historic buildings had a rightful existence in urban planning. With the mottoes “TA VARE PÅ BERGEN!” (“TAKE CARE OF BERGEN!”), and “*Arkitekturvern er miljøvern!*” (“Architectural conservation is protection of the environment!”), preserving the image of the city was advocated in alliance with a goal to increase housing standards and improving living conditions, which shows that the urban renewal plans for historic areas were first and foremost motivated by housing deficiency; The town council aimed at delivering 500 apartments a year through “modernization and rehabilitation”<sup>251</sup> In the rehabilitation strategies which followed for historic areas, aesthetics, safety and living comforts preceded the historic legacy of the building. The use value of the buildings was stressed; the terms used to describe historic built environments were vague and positively charged, like “character” and “atmosphere”.<sup>252</sup> This emphasis was reflected in the way the buildings were subsequently treated, where authentic fabric and architectural detail to a large extent was sacrificed.

The idea and intentions for the urban renewal programmes referred to Rossmuggrenden’s practice, and were formulated by architects and antiquarians for a sensitive but pragmatic approach to the historic fabric. When the programmes were implemented over following years (the 1980s and 1990s), most buildings were subject to massive retrofits, with little attention paid to preserving original architectural features. Further exploration of this discrepancy between idea and practice is however outside of the scope of the present research.

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<sup>249</sup> ”Utlufting for bedre adkomst for brannvesenet må også vurderes.” Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> “ytterkledning på trehus må undersøkes nøye, ødelagte bord skiftes ut...”, “Ved eventuell utskifting kan de (vinduene) erstattes med vinduer med dobbelt glass, men i mange tilfelle kan det være bedre å montere varevindu.” Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> ”I de kommunale boligforsyningsplaner er det tatt sikte på en meget omfattende modernisering og utbedring i Bergen. Bystyret satte i 1974 som mål å nå opp i ca 500 leiligheter årlig så snart som mulig.” Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> særpreget”, “atmosfære”. Ibid.



### *Summary*

In the first decade of Rosessmuggrenden's status as a conservation area, professional individuals and especially Kristian Bjerknes dominated the discussions on buildings and the treatment of common areas. At this time *Grenderådet* and *Velforeningen* were concerned with architectural detailing but also with housing standards, and issues relating to common areas such as gardens, lampposts, streets and paving. The area seems to have been generally well maintained by the inhabitants. In the 1970s and -80s litter and visual pollution became recurring issues, in addition the planning-related problems of air pollution, parking and traffic. The impact of the private automobile was a major concern from the mid 1970s.

Bjerknes retired from *Grenderådet* in 1970, replaced by architect Kjell Irgens. As an architect and also *Fortidsminneforeningen's* representative in *Grenderådet*, Irgens was a "conservation professional" and maintained the focus of controlling building modifications. This was done primarily through facilitating appropriate replicas of old building parts as an alternative to standard modern windows and doors, which many owners pressed to fit. During the course of the 1970s the collective responsibility to deal with issues relating to common areas was taken on by established residents of Rosessmuggrenden. The activity of the 1970s was marked by a strong community spirit, especially in fighting traffic plans and arranging communal clear-ups in the area. In 1988 *Velforeningen* actively went out to recruit new members, a sign that the combination of individual responsibility and communal spirit which characterized Rosessmuggrenden in its formative years as a conservation area had now changed.<sup>253</sup> By this time Bergen municipality had taken over conservation monitoring in Rosessmuggrenden, with *Kulturavdelingen* assessing all applications for building permits. Bjerknes' authority and the local monitoring by *Grenderådet* were replaced with the administrative and political control vested in Bergen municipality.

### 6.3 DISCUSSION

Rosessmuggrenden was an enclave of small-scale wooden buildings raised in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries as homes and small businesses for a population of craftsmen and sailors' families. Despite grand plans for the larger area of Sandviken from the 1880s onwards, Rosessmuggrenden avoided development. It was promoted as a historic area of interest from the 1920s. By the 1950s Rosessmuggrenden had become a purely residential area. The

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<sup>253</sup> Rosessmuggrendens\*Vel (1988 - 11 - 30)

buildings generally stood with façades acquired around 1850 in a homogeneous vernacular neo-classical or Empire Style. Photographs from the 1950s indicate that the façades at this time were materially intact and had changed little since the 1850s; this based on an interpretation of the design of visible building components which belong to the era before the introduction of historicism in architecture (no photographs or detailed pictorial depictions from the 19<sup>th</sup> century from this area exist). A conservation plan was ratified in 1958, an early and experimental plan which preceded the area conservation clause introduced with the Building Act of 1965.

### *Legislation*

The agenda for the conservation plan was to preserve Rosesmuggrenden as a historic urban environment and a living neighbourhood, and this was achieved through an open process of preparation of the conservation plan, owner participation through the establishment of committees and a referendum. For the dwellers, the conservation plan was a means to preserve their homes, and an alliance was established between conservationists and residents against a common “external enemy” which was the potential area redevelopment and demolishing of the old buildings. The Bergen planning department was positive to the conservation plan, and the town council approved the plan with some delay but little controversy in the process. The process went smoothly, at a time when modernist planning schemes dominated the town planning agenda and there was generally little interest or understanding for conservation. Bjerknes prepared the plans and conducted the correspondence on the matter of legislation, with the Ministry of Internal Affairs (*Kommunal- og arbeidsdepartementet*) as the legal authority who in the final instance approved the wording of the plan. He kept the public informed, repeating his request for conservation in a number of speeches in various forums; alerted the press and bonded with the residents to run an open process.

The 1924 Building Act did not support historic conservation as a specific objective for area planning, and Rosesmuggrenden was an experiment which preceded the Building Act of 1965 where a paragraph to designate conservation areas was first introduced. The legislative tool to designate Rosesmuggrenden as a historic area was the municipal guidelines (*byplanvedtakter*), which the municipal town councils (*bystyrene*) could pass under the 1924 Building Act (*Bygningsloven* 1924, §3, with the approval of the Ministry). The underlying reasoning for such guidelines was to give local authorities the opportunity to specify and adapt the requirements of national building legislation to the “...building customs as they

have developed over time.”<sup>254</sup> Although the purpose in passing guidelines for Rosesmuggrenden in 1958 was to preserve the buildings, the word “conservation” was not mentioned in the planning documents. The guidelines were designed to achieve this objective through specifying building heights (§3) and forbidding commercial and industrial use of the buildings, thus making the area unsuitable for further development. A general requirement for “façade elements” (*fasadeutstyr* §6), ensured that the buildings had architectural detailing (which in post-war modernist architecture was no longer a matter of course). The interpretation of these general requirements was to be carried out by the municipal building committee (*bygningsrådet*) and aesthetics advisory committee (*Tilsynsrådet for byens utseende*)(§9). In practice however the role of monitoring the area was filled by the local conservation committee, *Grenderådet*, a body the department (*Kommunal- og Arbeidsdepartementet*) could not formally approve but encouraged: “The Ministry however pointed out that there is no hindrance for the municipality, without there being a ratified provision, establishing a consultative committee to aid the planning director or building director in handling building applications for the area.”<sup>255</sup>

Rosesmuggrenden was thus secured as an urban conservation area through a “planning-technical dodge”<sup>256</sup>, with paragraphs disguising the actual purpose of the plan, conservation, as the necessary means to an end. The solution used to legally preserve Rosesmuggrenden had its limitations. As the main strategy of the conservation plan was excluding all non-residential functions, this would not have worked in a mixed-use historical area.<sup>257</sup> What the Rosesmuggrenden exploited was the opportunity given through the 1924 *Bygningslov* to impose certain restrictions regarding land use; this legislation however did not constitute a comprehensive planning tool. This was one of the novelties of the 1965 Building Act where area use could be specified through detailed plans (*reguleringsplan*), and conservation (*bevaring*) was formally included as an area-use objective. The 1965 Act also introduced a general paragraph authorizing conservation of building’s exteriors on historic,

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<sup>254</sup> “...den i tidens løp utviklede stedlige bygningsskik.” Spoken under the parliament negotiations which preceded the ratification of the 1924 Building Act. This act was valid for all towns and built-up areas in the country, replacing a system where the three largest cities were subject to individual building acts. The opportunity to pass municipal guidelines, before 1924 called *bygningsforskrifter*, had been possible also in previous building legislation, since 1860. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century such local guidelines had been much used for the purpose of fire prevention, for example requirements to build in stone instead of wood. Byggforsk (1989) p 4

<sup>255</sup> “Departementet pekte imidlertid på at det ikke er noe til hinder for at kommunen, uten at det foreligger stadfestet vedtekt herom, oppretter et konsultativt utvalg til bruk for reguleringsjefen eller bygningssjefen ved behandlingen av byggesaker i dette strøk.” Nesse (1956 - 9 - 21)

<sup>256</sup> “reguleringsteknisk krumspring”. Hansteen (1968) p 136

<sup>257</sup> Ibid. p 129

architectural and cultural grounds: “The building council shall see to it that historical, architectural or other cultural value associated with a building’s exterior, is able to be preserved.”<sup>258</sup>

### *Use value*

The conservation plan for Rosesmuggrenden meant predictability, as it protected not only the old buildings but also the residential status of the area, which bordered on major areas of traffic, industry and trade, all in recurrent need of expansion. Knowing their homes were safe from interventions of urban expansion, the owners and residents could, after 1958, safely invest in maintaining their buildings. This was highly in the interest of the conservation forces, first and foremost represented by Kristian Bjercknes, who recognized that the management and up-keep of the area was largely dependent on conscientious inhabitants.

### *Stakeholders*

In Rosesmuggrenden local participation in decision-making processes had been practised since the 1950s, initiated with the referendum vote for the conservation plan and continued with the residents association (*Velforeningen*) and conservation committee (*Grenderådet*). The latter was chaired by architect Kristian Bjercknes of *Gamle Bergen Museum* from 1958 to 1971, and homeowners were represented. *Velforeningen* had the general support of the homeowners, who generally felt included in decision-making and activities: “We are all taking part, NN responds to BT’s question on whether there is much participation amongst the neighbours in the residents’ association.” This was in 1979.<sup>259</sup>

Rosesmuggrenden had municipal guidelines to ensure its conservation from 1958. Initially there was no municipal or governmental institute to follow up conservation-related issues. This was handled by the local conservation committee, *Grenderådet*, with the support of the resident’s association. *Grenderådet* had a semi-formal authority which was not required by legislation, but had been encouraged by the Ministry and municipality during the ratification process for the conservation plan. The mandate of *Grenderådet* was to aid homeowners in applying for building permits, and to ensure that modifications to the

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<sup>258</sup> “Bygningsrådet skal se til at historisk, arkitektonisk eller annen kulturell verdi som knytter seg til en bygnings ytre, såvidt mulig blir bevart.” 1965 building Act § 92, last section

<sup>259</sup> “Vi er med hele gjengen, svarer NN på BTs spørsmål om det er stor oppslutning blant naboene om velforeningen for Rosesmuggrenden.” Statement from homeowner in Rosesmuggrenden in an interview for the *Bergens Tidende* series “At home in our alley” (“Heme i smauet hos oss”). Conversations with an elderly resident today revealed that not all residents felt represented by the house-owner council members or were involved in the residents committees activities. Conversation with long-term Rosemuget homeowner November 2007; *Bergens\*Tidende* (1979 - 7 - 9)

buildings were done according to the guidelines. As such, *Grenderådet* was the main interpreter of the guidelines and through advice, assessment and design influenced the work done on the buildings in the conservation area. *Grenderådet* acted as a mediator between the owner and the municipal building authorities, counselling and sometimes designing building improvements. They gave advice on façade maintenance and modernizations, or their opinions, which were noted in the meeting minutes after the committee's regular inspection tours of the area. Conservation ideals were primarily voiced by *Grenderådet* and especially by Kristian Bjerknes. The connection to the *Gamle Bergen Museum* was strong, with Kristian Bjerknes as *Grenderådet's* chair. The museum's involvement was formalized in the statutes of *Grenderådet*, where it was to have one representative, but was in fact based on the personal commitment of Kristian Bjerknes. When Bjerknes retired as chair he was replaced by another architect when it was voted that *Fortidsminneforeningen* would now have one seat in *Grenderådet*, ensuring continued authority in building conservation matters in the committee.

In the 1950s the residents of Rosesmuggrenden had given their support to the conservation plan to secure the future existence and quality of their homes and surroundings. The local identity for the neighbourhood inhabitants was an important contributing factor in the outlining of the conservation area. In the hamlets, blocks and districts of Bergen each little community had its own identity, strongly enhanced and nurtured by the tradition, unique to Bergen, of boys' marching bands to which members were recruited within the local geographical constituencies and to which bonds and loyalties were life-long. In Rosesmuggrenden's *Velforening* two seats were reserved for the local marching band, the Sandviken boy's union (*Sandviksguttenes forening*).

In the 1960s *Grenderådet* had closely monitored all work done on buildings in the conservation area, both housing standard improvements and façade restoration. Historic significance and building conservation had been advocated by the few, first and foremost by Kristian Bjerknes, while residential qualities were promoted and protected by the many, through the residents' association. These forces had entered into an alliance which worked for both interests. After Kristian Bjerknes retired from his post as leader in 1970 the activities of committee work in Rosesmuggrenden changed. Façade monitoring continued, while common area activities broadened to face traffic-related challenges; this is evident in the files from *Velforeningen* and *Grenderådet*. The traffic issue induced residents' associations from the larger area to work together, and promoted alliances between conservationist interests and environmentalists, to ensure the area's qualities.

Prior to 1980 *Grenderådet* had monitored building matters in Rosesmuggrenden in the fashion established by Kristian Bjerknæs in the late 1950s, in practice functioning as a form of 'façade police'. During the 1980s this function seems to have ceased, and the locally rooted control system which *Grenderådet* represented was replaced by the official authority of the municipality's culture department, which had established itself as the body which assessed building permits for conservation areas. The municipality's function did not however fill the role of *Grenderådet's* as advisor on building treatment and mediator between owner and authorities; they lacked the presence as well as the extensive local knowledge, and also the tools to function as advisor on antiquarian as well as matters of housing standard, where *Grenderådet* had taken an active approach, procuring paint and occasionally craftsmen, and *Gamle Bergen Museum's* architect (through the role of Kristian Bjerknæs as both *Grenderådet's* foreman and museum director) had drawn up proposals for housing additions.

When the conservation plan was ratified in 1958 the area was still little altered over the past century. In their activity, *Grenderådet* focused especially on issues which can be grouped under the following titles: historically correct architectural detail design, adaptive design additions and quality in craftsmanship. In addition to this, *Grenderådet* encouraged orderly outdoor surroundings, and that the sanitary standards of the houses should be improved.

#### *Maintenance*

*Grenderådet* emphasised the conservation of architectural detailing in the building's façades; this was also an objective authorized by the guidelines which contained a clause which required buildings to have 'façade elements'. The inclination of homeowners was to replace façade elements with modern standard types (doors, windows, mouldings, portals, barge boards, steps, roof material), and to remove architectural detail in the process, the result being a building with a plainer appearance. This was the case from the 1950s through to the 1970s. *Grenderådet* actively worked to counter this trend in order to conserve the original façade elements or to replace old building elements with new replicas.

Whether the architectural detailing was the original or a copy was seldom discussed, but occasionally *Grenderådet* commented that, for instance, an old door must be preserved, demonstrating a reverence for age value. In these cases the technical condition of the building component was always commented; not age value but function was used as an argument to preserve instead of replacing it with copies. The grants *Grenderådet* handed out were most often for copies of building parts, with the goal either to improve technical characteristics like

heat insulation in a window or door with a traditional (and more expensive) design; or for restoration. More recent building parts like 1950s windows without glazing bars or plain entrance doors were replaced by doors with an Empire Style design; in effect these were acts of restoration, where the aim was to restore the historic visual image of the building.

*Grenderådet* procured free paint for homeowners, both to encourage maintenance but also to negotiate influence in the building treatment, for example promoting stylistically correct doors and windows. In cases where new and modern doors or windows already were in place, *Grenderådet* would encourage and support replacing these with replicas of the historic types. This took on different forms, from the fitting of superimposed glazing bars to fabricating exact copies. In their tiny way, these measures were restorations; re-creation of a previous appearance, either with exactness of detail or as a vague image, depending on the situation in question.

The practice of coaxing homeowners into preserving the image of *Rosesmuggrenden* through façade maintenance and restoration, where the use of copies was accepted and encouraged, was maintained from 1958 and throughout the 1970s. In the 1960s treatment was assessed on an individual basis, each house receiving assessment and aid from *Grenderådet*. During the 1970s it was more frequently discussed whether *Grenderådet* should provide a general guide to building parts of historic design which were suitable for the area; i.e. develop a set of standards from which the owners could choose. This indicates that, over time, a practice was established where one preserved the image of a historic area rather than the individual 19<sup>th</sup> century façades. The two first sets of ideal practices are equivalent to “façadism”; the upkeep and improvement of the visual image of the historic neighbourhood.

At the time the conservation plan was made, no new structures had encroached on the built environment of the *Rosesmuggrenden* area in the recent decades. Bjercknes considered the changes which had occurred during second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as modest, not significantly disturbing the overall appearance. When Bjercknes argued for the *Rosesmuggrenden* conservation plan in the 1950s, he described it as a “painterly” and “idyllic” historic urban “picture” (*bybilde*) and praised the variety in street layout and detail, combined with the overall homogeneity and stylistic unity (Empire Style) of the buildings. This image was important to maintain. Making sure the area was maintained with architectural detailing intact on the freshly painted house façades, traditional street paving and neat gardens characteristic of *Rosesmuggrenden*'s image were the main issues which *Grenderådet* was concerned with. *Grenderådet* functioned as the local maintenance police and so some extent also as a financial backer, and monitored the area closely and with great

attention to detail. This, plus a general conservatism among the residents seems to have contributed to the fact that maintenance dominated over major rehabilitation projects in the 1960s and 1970s.

### *Modernization*

The monitoring committee *Grenderådet* saw it as its task to encourage a custom of maintenance, while at the same time providing aid for homeowners for interior housing standard improvements. These involved fitting bathrooms and occasionally new kitchens. When extensions were in question, design aid would be provided. The architect at *Gamle Bergen Museum* designed several extensions for buildings in Rosesmuggrenden in the 1960s.

Upgrade of building standards was encouraged to keep the area inhabited. *Grenderådet* wanted to ensure that this happened without the loss of architectural detail characteristic to the area. *Grenderådet's* chair Bjercknes and his follower Irgens were both architects, and could therefore advise not only on repairs and restorations but also on housing improvements. The role of architect did not seem to have been synonymous with a greater will to transform (than, for example, art historians, like Harry Fett); both strived to keep the visual impact of new elements to a minimum. This practice was established at a time when the alternative was modernization without attention to historic detail. During the 1960s and 70s Rosesmuggrenden's buildings were gradually renewed, but with modifications on a small scale, primarily instalment of bathrooms and renewal of kitchens through small carefully adapted additions, or minor interior interventions. In the façades, old building parts and façade materials were repaired or exchanged with slightly modified copies under *Grenderådet's* supervision. The 1980s saw a new approach to building treatment, exemplified in the rehabilitation of Rosesmuget 7.

### *Craftsmanship*

A recurring theme in *Grenderådet's* discussions was quality of craftsmanship and of materials for repairs and building parts. It was difficult to find a "good carpenter", i.e. a carpenter who could and would do repair work on old buildings with a high level of architectural detail. In the 1960s doors and windows were repaired or replaced with copies on an individual basis; in the 1970s *Grenderådet* discussed whether to hire one carpenter who could do repair work in Rosesmuggrenden and have this as a specialty (this was to my knowledge not carried through).



In the late 1980s, Rosesmuget 7 was subject to comprehensive interior modification and complete façade renewal. Many buildings in Rosesmuggrenden bear witness to having been altered in the same manner, in the 1980s or later, visible in a more interventionist approach. The treatment of Rosesmuget 7 was a comprehensive rehabilitation which involved full renewal of the façade where all original building components were replaced with new ones resembling but not copying the ones they replaced (planed cladding was replaced with unplanned; new windows had significantly sturdier frames than the ones they replaced, to support triple glazing). Rosesmuget 7 can be viewed as marking the beginning of this new approach to treatment which became more usual in the 1980s which followed the repair, maintenance- and minor modification approach of the preceding decades. The local committees (*Velforeningen* and *Grenderådet*) merged and gradually shifted their focus from details to issues affecting common areas like traffic, parking and satellite dishes. With the dissolution of the local monitoring by *Grenderådet* and an increased availability of mass produced building parts with modified historic design, rehabilitations became more comprehensive in the 1980s. New building codes with regards to fire prevention and heat insulation plus a general improvement in household finances contributed to this trend, leaving historic buildings to be materially renewed more comprehensively and at a faster pace than previously.

#### *Conservation in situ versus the museum or monument*

Kristian Bjercknes was highly instrumental in both preparing and implementing a conservation plan for Rosesmuggrenden. His views on conservation are therefore relevant when discussing conservation ideals in relation to the treatment of Rosesmuggrenden's buildings for the formative years from the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s.

After graduating from N.T.H. in 1923 Bjercknes opened a practice in Bergen, but mid-career increasingly devoted his time to conservation. He was a member of *Fortidsminneforeningen* from 1935, began to work for *Gamle Bergen Museum* in 1941, and completed a PhD on the architectural history of Bergen in 1961. He expressed his views on architecture and conservation through a number of articles and newspaper contributions throughout his career. Bjercknes' biographer Åse Moe Torvanger writes that Bjercknes' greatest works as a *practicing architect* were the single family homes he built from the 1930s to the 1950s. His designs merged functionalist ideals (hygiene, function, daylight, views) with traditional west-Norwegian design and materials, wood, natural stone and tiles, respect for local topography and high quality handicraft. Bjercknes expressed concern for the way

buildings aged, with regards to both his own modern designs and in the conservation of historic buildings.<sup>260</sup>

Bjerknes' time as director of *Gamle Bergen Museum* constitutes the bulk of his career, from the early 1940s to his retirement in 1971, and ran parallel to many of his other endeavours, including his involvement with the Rosesmug hamlet. The open air *Gamle Bergen Museum* officially opened in 1949 with three buildings raised according to a plan designed by Bjerknes, all of them moved there from the area damaged in the explosion near the Bergen wharf in 1944. The buildings which were moved to *Gamle Bergen Museum* were buildings which would otherwise have been subject to demolition.<sup>261</sup> The museum buildings were to be erected in a city setting, grouped and arranged in a similar fashion to their original setting and completed with cobbled streets and railings to create a complete image of the city; and it was a goal to represent the whole social class spectrum of Bergen. When rebuilt on the museum grounds a point was made that the buildings should stand as they originally did, with crookedness and later additions and alterations intact. Interestingly, Bjerknes was open to the idea of including newer buildings that "broke the traditional architectural development, like a building of the so-called Swiss-Style and one apartment building from the late 1800s" but due to lack of space – the planned area was created to encompass 60 buildings but no more – houses older than 1850 were given priority.<sup>262</sup> With regard to repairs and restoration of the museum buildings, Bjerknes' focus of interest was on showing the building as it would have been around 1850 or before, which implied some level of restoration. At the same time, he stressed the importance that all signs of age and wear should be preserved.<sup>263</sup>

As a researcher Bjerknes studied the layout of the building. This was the topic of his doctoral thesis, selected on the premise that the façade of a building was more likely to change according to style and fashion, whereas it took "considerable social development to change the layout of a building."<sup>264</sup> The floor plans of historic wooden buildings in Bergen were, he concluded, more likely to reveal the building's age, origin and function.

In Rosesmuggrenden Bjerknes oversaw the conservation of buildings in their original environment and function, in use as homes. According to Bjerknes, open air museums and buildings preserved on site supplemented one another, each serving a purpose:

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<sup>260</sup> Torvanger, Berrefjord et al. (2001) pp 22-

<sup>261</sup> Reprint of Kristian Bjerknes piece in *Gamle Bergen Årbok 1962 Gamle Bergen idag – og i fremtiden*; Morgenavisen (1963 - 1 - 12)

<sup>262</sup> Torvanger, Berrefjord et al. (2001) p 80

<sup>263</sup> Bjerknes in an article for *Byggekunst* in 1959, reference in: *Ibid* p 81

<sup>264</sup> "... it takes considerable social development to change the layout of a building." Bjerknes biographer Åse Moe Torvanger writes that Bjerknes' method of survey, his "axis-measurements" later became the standard method in Norway to document historically valuable buildings. Torvanger, Berrefjord et al. (2001) pp 80 - 81

“At the museum a building can keep its old floor plan and its furnishings, it shows the home as it was, and tells the story of how life was in the past. For me, it is the case that the protected environment and the museum are two methods which supplement each other, and where one has its strength, the other has its weakness.”<sup>265</sup>

In both the museum context and on-site conservation in Rosesmuggrenden the aesthetic and stylistic aspect of the architecture was of importance. For the museum Bjerknes had expressed an academic interest in the Swiss Style and apartment buildings, both from the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. When speaking of Rosesmuggrenden, he referred to the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as “the period of deterioration” in architecture.<sup>266</sup> Later in his career, in 1969, Bjerknes called for a national registration of historic buildings to correct and expand the listings, arguing to include representative examples of buildings from the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century including industrial, historicist and Swiss Style architecture.<sup>267</sup>

Bjerknes’ largest single work as a restoration architect was the assignment for the medieval Kaupanger stave church in Sogn which began in 1959 and lasted thirteen years. Torvanger’s summary of this work claims Bjerknes was a careful, studious and respectful restorer, without romantic inclinations to reconstruct what could not be documented, always basing decisions on available sources, including building archaeology, and much less inclined to remove later additions than his colleagues.<sup>268</sup> Ethnologist Sjur Mehlum has analysed the Kaupanger restoration in relation to various aspects of authenticity<sup>269</sup> demonstrating that Bjerknes did not stand aside from completely altering the object of treatment through restoration. As was the common practice in church restorations in the 1950s and -60s, Bjerknes removed elements from the past 100 years to reveal older parts of the church. Building components as young as 1862 were preserved, but in the interior the 17<sup>th</sup> century galleries were removed. Bjerknes the restoration architect required high quality craftsmanship and surface treatment, and that new elements were distinguishable from old.<sup>270</sup> For the interior Bjerknes sought to restore the medieval church room, while the exterior was designed

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<sup>265</sup> ”På museet kan en bygning beholde sin gamle plan, sitt gamle utstyr, den viser boligen slik den var, og forteller om hvordan livet artet seg der i gamle tid. For meg står det slik at det beskyttede miljø og bygningsmuseet er to former som supplerer hverandre, og der den ene har sin styrke, har den annen sin svakhet.” Morgenavisen (1963 - 1 - 12)

<sup>266</sup> Bjerknes here commented on the small stylistic variations on houses in Rosesmuggrenden; the houses lining Garmannsgate, and the newer chapel village hall in Bedehussmuget, respectively. Bjerknes (1956) pp 28, 30

<sup>267</sup> Kristian Bjerknes *Et Jubileumssønske*, Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1970) pp 11-13

<sup>268</sup> Torvanger, Berrefjord et al. (2001) p 8

<sup>269</sup> Authenticity as defined by the 1977 Operational Guidelines for The World Heritage List: authenticity in design, materials or substance, workmanship and “site”, “use” and “process”. Mehlum (2004) p 21

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.* p 75

based on knowledge of what the church looked like in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Recreating a medieval exterior based on another stave church's design, which was what was done with several stave churches in 19<sup>th</sup> century restorations, was unthinkable for Bjerknes; in addition to the lack of knowledge about what the church had originally looked like, there was no stylistic link between the medieval decorative tradition and post-war architectural modernism. Today, the Kaupanger stave church is perceived as having an unmistakable flavour of the 1960s.

In terms of conservation theory, *Gamle Bergen Museum*, Kaupanger church and Rosesmuggrenden represented three different approaches to conservation: educational, principled and pragmatic, related to the difference of the main defining functions of museum, monument and conservation area. The respect for the aesthetics of historic (pre 1870) architectural design and quality of craftsmanship, with regards to preserving original building parts which were in good condition and their careful reconstruction, was a common denominator.

#### *Closing comments*

As a conservation area, Rosesmuggrenden anticipated the urban renewal programmes of historic areas in the 1980s and -90s with their emphasis on housing standard improvement and area quality. Rosesmuggrenden was a pilot project in urban conservation. Locally initiated and planned, it was recognized by *Riksantikvaren* as a significant historic area. The stress on not being a museum but part of a living city has been repeated by residents and owners in many conservation areas who, as much as they take pride in their buildings, do not want to be put on display as "extras" and "objectified", but to retain both privacy and control of their property. *Grenderådet* were set as monitors, equivalent in many ways to later conservation officers (*byantikvar*) but independent of the building and conservation authorities. With regards to the quality of monitoring, this was a solution that worked, superior compared to today's practice. Bjerknes, as representative of the conservation community, argued not only for conservation but for quality of housing, beauty, diversity in experience, identity and grounding in history; for accommodating the old within the new.

The urban renewal programmes which stemmed from the 1976 legislation (The Urban Renewal Act) triggered a gentrification processes in the 1980s and -90s Bergen (and in other cities like Trondheim and Stavanger). Historic buildings in urban settings became increasingly popular, and were subject to increased investment which contributed to their continued material renewal. The achievements of the post-war conservation community were adopted and coupled with housing needs in the 1970s, and multiplied and standardised

through the investments made by the urban renewal programmes of the 1980s and by 1990s in gentrification. The practical implications of preserving an “streetscape” (*bybilde*) changed from repair, maintenance, detail replacement and modest change, community spirit and local conservation policing, to massive renewal of buildings with generalized “historic” façade treatment and interior alterations as individualized projects controlled by a formalized and more distant conservation body. The result was an increasing loss of authenticity in the historic fabric of the buildings

## SJØGATA – PRESERVING AN URBAN BUILT ENVIRONMENT

### *Campaigning, rescue and conservation in Mosjøen 1971-1981*

“The basic challenge appears to be to contribute to the restoration of the lost harmony between beauty, truth and goodness.”

Hans Pedersen, 1995<sup>1</sup>

“When the regeneration work on Sjøgata gathered pace, one of the chief goals became to keep people living in the houses and create jobs suitable for this environment. Sjøgata was not to become a ghetto for resourceful friends of conservation, but a versatile, living community.”

Hans Pedersen, 1997<sup>2</sup>

Sjøgata, the oldest part of the small town Mosjøen in Norland county, is a narrow strip by the shoreline of the river Vefsna consisting of storage buildings, boat houses, dwellings, shops and workshops. All buildings are wooden, examples of around 200 years of sea-related building tradition. As a town street grown from a shoreline settlement of boat- and storage buildings, Sjøgata in a broader perspective represents the development from the coastal fisher-farmer culture into the era of trade and urban formation in the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Sjøgata area was formally designated on February 1<sup>st</sup> 1980 by use of the 1965 Building Act's conservation paragraph (§25), the result of a decade of struggle by both local and external groups to counteract a traffic development plan which had been adopted by the municipality in 1965.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter the history and treatment of two buildings inside the Sjøgata conservation area, and the process which led to its protection, is discussed in light of conservation ideals and conservation activist practice of the 1970s.

Sjøgata was selected by Nordic ICOMOS in the early 1970s as one of the 54 sites to represent wooden urban heritage in the joint Nordic initiative *Den Nordiska Trästad* (the Nordic wooden city) to raise the status of wooden urban heritage. Mosjøen became a high-profile conservation effort; the highly vocal and well documented struggle to preserve the historic buildings of Sjøgata continued throughout the 1970s.

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<sup>1</sup> Pedersen (1995) p 132

<sup>2</sup> “Da rehabiliteringen av Sjøgata skjøt fart ble det en hovedoppgave å få folk til å bo i husene og skape arbeidsplasser tilpasset miljøet. Sjøgata skulle ikke bli en ghetto for ressurssterke bevaringsvenner, men et allsidig, levende miljø.” Pedersen, Evjen et al. (1997)

<sup>3</sup> Krag (1964 - 2 - 12)

The conservation plan for Sjøgata was based on a proposition by architecture students and professionals from Trondheim University (N.T.H.), which was presented in 1977, and the municipality vote in principle to preserve Sjøgata the same year. It was among the first area conservation plans authorized by the conservation paragraph (§25.6) which had been introduced in the 1965 Building Act (*Bygningsloven*) and which was maintained in the new Planning and Building Act (*Plan og bygningsloven*) of 1985. Numerous similar plans for urban areas with wooden historic building were ratified in the 1980s and 90s. In Sjøgata, Mosjøen, conservation projects were part of the activist agenda for conservation, and preceded the actual conservation plan. The regional Vefsn museum, N.T.H. architects and students of architecture, and *Riksantikvaren* representatives were involved in various documentation and conservation projects in historic Sjøgata. When the conservation plan was implemented from 1977-78 and onwards, the museum and N.T.H. architects, especially Dag Nilsen, continued to be involved in conservation work and challenging the municipal building authorities on building treatment, frequently acting as mediators between owners, residents and the building authorities. The general backdrop of the conservation plan and the case studies provide detailed insights into the ideals and practices in Sjøgata as a pilot conservation area.



Figure 1: Section of photograph from 1902 of Mosjøen and the Sjøgata area. (Reproduction Dag Nilsen 1988)

### *A note on the sources*

The investigation is based on written source material from the museum archive, the municipal building archive and private documents provided by the owners. Architect Arne Berg's study of the older boat and storage buildings provides significant insight into the craftsmanship and modes of construction old building types in the wider area of Vefsn. The historical backdrop for Mosjøen is based on the writings of Arne Berg, historian Kjell Jacobsen and architect Dag Nilsen. Dag Nilsen acted as Vefsn Museum's conservation architect throughout the period which is covered by this study. He has researched the history of storage buildings and street houses and documented and surveyed a large number of individual buildings in Sjøgata, in addition to providing restoration project designs, and designs for new structures among the old buildings. For the overview of the conservation process in the 1970s the publications of Erlien, Nilsen et al. and a series of pamphlets and shorter articles form the basis. The archival documentation for the case studies is from Vefsn municipal building and planning archive and the archive of Helgeland Museum and consists of documents, blueprints and plans. Conversations with Vefsn Museum's director Hans Pedersen (today director of Helgeland Museum, which Vefsn Museum is a department of) have provided important insights into the conservation process and management of Sjøgata.

The three buildings presented as case studies have been visually surveyed and documented photographically from the exterior. For two of these the interior was also inspected and documented while for the third access to the building was not possible. Owners and dwellers have been consulted, but not systematically interviewed. The material obtained through conversations and interviews does not form part of the source material. It has been used as a reference in the study of the buildings and written documents.

## 7.1 PRESERVING SJØGATA: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

### **7.1.1 Mosjøen and the Sjøgata vernacular in a historic context**

The town of Mosjøen by the river Vefsn, today an industrial community and administrative centre of the Vefsn municipality, developed from a collection of shoreline utilities buildings built and used by farmers in the area, situated in the area which today is known as Sjøgata.



### *Geographical context and historical significance*

The town of Mosjøen developed and spread out on flat moraine agricultural land owned by the farm Mo, the original major land user. Utilities buildings existed before 1650 by the Vefsn shoreline, namely boathouses (*naust*) for storing fishing equipment and vessels belonging to the Mo farm. Later, in keeping with a growing trade, seaside storage houses (*buer, brygger*) were built for the storage and transport of goods and commodities. The shoreline buildings often accommodated beds and sometimes small apartments for the owners, fishermen and tradesmen with long journeys who occasionally needed to stay overnight. The 1701 census reveals that by this time tradesmen (*småhandelsfolk*) and tenant farmers (*husmenn*) had settled permanently on the shoreline of Vefsn.<sup>4</sup> Non-land owning farmers (*strandsittere*) and day- or seasonal workers from nearby places, who built small houses in the vicinity of the utilities buildings, were probably the first permanent residents on the shoreline. Mosjøen became a local centre for trade and industry; the first major employer was *Det Engelske Kompaniet* (“the English Company”) which established a sawmill in Mosjøen in 1865. In 1875 Mosjøen was assigned the status of trading post (*ladested*). The sawmill changed owners but continued its activity, and in the 1950s aluminium and textile industries were established to employ a growing population, affirming Mosjøen’s status as an industrially based community.<sup>5</sup>

### *Historical development of the area*

The oldest standing buildings in Mosjøen today are those which belonged to local farmers who stored fish, goods and equipment here and date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The buildings which line the street of Sjøgata were on the whole built between 1860 and 1900. Mosjøen expanded from the Sjøgata area onto previous farmland of the Mo farms. An 1862 map for Mosjøen shows the plan for re-allotment of the sparsely built land of the Mo farms. In 1876 a grid plan to extend the town onto this farmland was made to meet the needs of the growing community.<sup>6</sup> By 1888 new housing had begun to develop according to this plan. [Figure 2]

The pattern of building reflects a functional logic and the chronology of how the settlement organically evolved into an urban structure. Buildings in the Sjøgata area were roughly aligned along three rows. Storage houses were situated on the river shoreline while the boat houses were slightly more set back from the river. Between the storage houses and

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<sup>4</sup> Jacobsen and Grønlie (1975)

<sup>5</sup> Berg, Kaul et al. (1972)

<sup>6</sup> Schematic presentation of the Mo farms restructured, by Jacobsen based on map by re-allotment foreman Ottar Hombo from 1862; Map of Mosjøen by Olav Moe 1888 based on the 1876 grid plan. The 1865 census for Mosjøen counted 379 inhabitants, the census for the year 1900 recorded 1463. Jacobsen and Grønlie (1975); Digitalarkivet (2009)

boat houses there was a walkway, *Nergado* (Lower Street), which exists today. Behind these utilities buildings, dwellings and workshops for craftsmen were built and a larger road was formed, Storgata or Sjøgata (“Sea street”), which was upgraded to the status of a town street in 1865.<sup>7</sup> In 1825 there were 8 dwellings in the Sjøgata area.<sup>8</sup> The houses along Sjøgata were built with the longer façade onto the street and parallel gables. Density increased with new buildings and extensions, forming a continuous wall of façades on both sides of the street. In the Sjøgata area buildings were in continuous use, and as geography allowed the town to spread on sparsely built land, buildings did not need to be demolished to make room for the new. Thus, practically all of Sjøgata’s buildings are the first generation on their property. They may have been extended and modernised, but seldom so as to compromise the older structure. Dag Nilsen identifies three generations of Sjøgata storage buildings, which all coexist today.<sup>9</sup>

### 7.1.2 New approaches in conservation

The 1970s were characterized by new approaches to conservation: the area of impact broadened both in theme and quantity, the field became politicized and new alliances were formed. Building conservation now also became subject to new scientific scrutiny, this regarding both the treatment of buildings, and the appropriated values which were questioned and defined.

As demonstrated in the chapter on Rosesmuggrenden, no legal tool to preserve historic built *environments* was established with the institutionalization of historic preservation. The 1920 Built Heritage Act, designed to protect individual buildings, was chiefly applied for this purpose although serial listings to preserve street scenes (Sohlbergrekka, Røros) and listings of numerous buildings to preserve complete built complexes (selected farms in for example Gudbrandsdalen) did occur. Also, the early use of the Built Heritage Act showed a heavy bias towards rural buildings (see Chapter 2). The initiatives in the 1950s and 60s to preserve historic *urban* areas (Empirekvartalet and Enerhaugen in Oslo, Gamle Stavanger, Rosesmuggrenden) were characterized by being isolated efforts which employed different strategies for designation and protective legislation, and not all succeeded. The efforts could inspire support from the general public but not necessarily; there are also examples of

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<sup>7</sup> Sjøgata runs south-north parallel to the Vefsn River shoreline continuing around the river bend and eastwards as Skjervgata which runs parallel to Skjerva. The long stretch which comprises these two streets was previously referred to as Storgata (“High street”). Nilsen (1988) p 95

<sup>8</sup> Berg, Kaul et al. (1972)

<sup>9</sup> Berg and Nilsen (1988)

initiatives to demolish historic structures also gaining the support of the general public.<sup>10</sup> The individual efforts in conservation planning in the late 1940s to the 1960s did not trigger larger strategic conservation efforts for this group of built heritage.

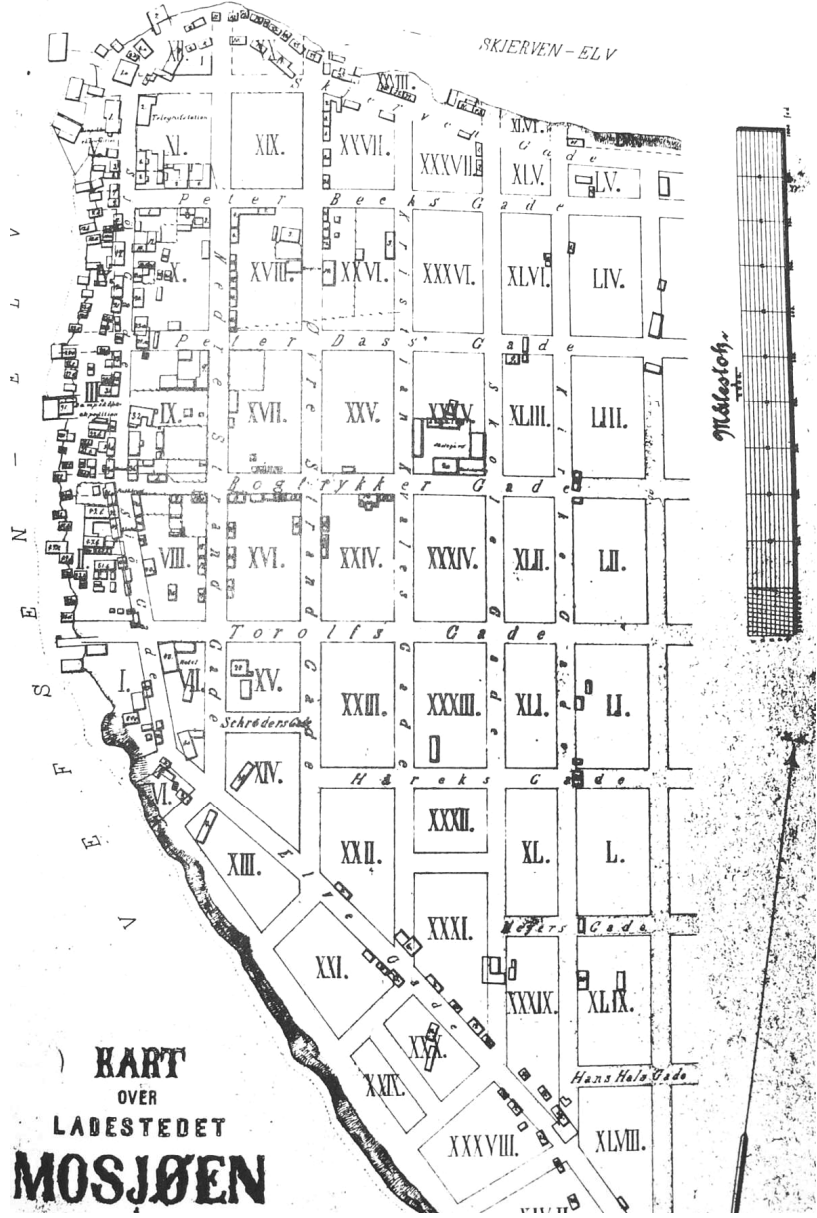


Figure 2: Section of map for Mosjøen with Sjøgata and grid plan. Sjøgata runs south-north parallel to the Vefsna river. “Kart over Ladestedet Mosjøen i Vefsn, Olav Mo 1888.”

<sup>10</sup> The illustrative example is the issue of preserving the Bergen Hanseatic Wharf “Bryggen”, today a UNESCO World Heritage Site, which in 1955 brought people together on the streets to march for its demolition.

### *The 1965 Building Act conservation paragraph*

In 1965 a new Building act was passed, introducing the possibility to protect buildings, structures and environments by a specific conservation paragraph (§25.6). The first initiative to use the paragraph was Øvrebyen in Kongsvinger, an area dominated by wooden dwellings and utilities buildings from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries; here a planning proposal was prepared in 1966-67, and the conservation plan finally ratified in 1975.<sup>11</sup> The conservation paragraph was maintained in the revised Planning and Building Act of 1985. The brief wording of the legal text was little altered, but a circular specifying the paragraph's intentions was prepared: the conservation paragraph was considered suitable for heritage of local value, and the responsibility for ensuring such heritage was at the municipal level; the heritage value of an area and its character could be deemed to be high "even if the individual buildings which constitute this area were not"; it was also stated that, contrary to listing, the 25.6 paragraph aimed at preserving the exteriors of buildings, "opening up for the opportunity to modernize and alter both the exterior and interior of the buildings", and allowing "sensible development" of the areas "in keeping with contemporary demands."<sup>12</sup> Presented as novelties of the conservation paragraph, these implications were in fact not very different to the established conservation practice for the bulk of generic listed buildings, especially dwellings.

### *Initiatives to preserve wooden historic urban environments*

In the early 1970s the Nordic ICOMOS committees, architecture schools and cultural heritage administrations initiated the Nordic project *Trästader i Norden* to promote wooden historic urban built environments, and Mosjøen was represented among the 54 Norwegian towns registered.<sup>13</sup> Some of these were protected through conservation plans; most of them were not, and several were under acute threat of being fragmented and demolished. The Norwegian committee for "*Trästader i Norden*" ("Nordic Wooden Towns") employed both the pragmatism of economics and psychology to argue for conservation of historic urban areas:

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<sup>11</sup> The Øvrebyen plan and its implications have been subject to an in-depth study by Oddbjørn Sørmoen in his art history dissertation (magisteravhandling) *Bevaring av historiske bymiljø, med vekt på spesialområde bevaring av Øvrebyen Kongsvinger*. Sørmoen (1994)

<sup>12</sup> "...uten at enkeltbygningene i seg selv er spesielt verdifulle"; "...Det er derfor åpent for moderniseringer og forandringer både innvendig og utvendig."; "...fornuftig videreutvikling i pakt med dagens behov." The main implications of the conservation paragraph 25.6 as summed up by Oddbjørn Sørmoen, predominantly based on the circular Rundskriv T-21/83 "Bevaringsplan", Miljøverndepartementet. Sørmoen (1994) p 9

<sup>13</sup> The Norwegian ICOMOS working committee for Nordiska Trästader started their work in 1970. Berg, Kaul et al. (1972)

“Considered individually the towns may seem small and insignificant; seen as a totality they comprise a large housing stock of 15-20 000 dwellings and an equal stock of business premises. It must be economically viable to preserve and use this valuable volume of buildings. Demolition and new building does not achieve the same closely woven diversity which we find in our wooden towns, a diversity which the urban dwellers seem to need in their daily existence.”<sup>14</sup>

The need for diversity and human scale in the experience of daily surroundings was echoed in the critiques of rationalistic city planning, as voiced by Kevin Lynch and Jane Jacobs in the early 1960s; a Norwegian counterpart of these ideas was presented by Anne Sætherdal and Torbjørn Hansen who criticised the architecture and residential qualities of high-rise housing in Ammerud, Oslo (*Ammerudrapporten*, “the Ammerud report”, 1970).<sup>15</sup> In the arguments for the conservation of historic urban environments, a desire for human scale and historic anchorage in the experience of the urban physical environment, in contrast to the experience of post-war industrialization, urbanization and architectural modernism, was detectable. In Scandinavia, as in the western world at large, urban centres and especially urban residential areas had been drained of investment and care as suburban developments soared. Beginning in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century with the introduction of new modes of transportation like trains and trams, suburban residency soared after World War 2 with the proliferation of the automobile, leaving the city cores to deteriorate. Period housing was left to decay and small scale businesses and workshops which did not move or modernize their premises dwindled, as did the buildings where they were located. For the successful conservation plans in Norway of the 1950s and 60s (Rosesmuggrenden, Gamle Stavanger, Bryggen), ensuring use or function (residential, commercial) had been applied as a strategy for conservation. In the 1970s a new agenda for conservation of historic urban areas was fuelled by a combination of basic housing needs and environmental consciousness, and a quest for identity which found sympathy beyond the narrow group of conservation professionals:

“This is now becoming obvious everywhere, in Norway and in other countries. People in general look around and discover that the built environment (*bygningstiljøet*) which surrounds them and which they have take for granted and unconsciously felt was part of themselves, is being broken and demolished, and that that which comes in its place is not pleasant (*ikke trivelig*).”<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Berg, Kaul et al. (1972)

<sup>15</sup> Kittang (2006) pp 87-89

<sup>16</sup> Fortidsminneforeningen’s foreman Bjørn Bjørnseth in Fortidsminneforeningen’s annual for 1972, published as a special issue in 1974: Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers, Berg et al. (1974) p 2

Conflict levels could run high when conservation campaigns were triggered by plans for redevelopment or infrastructure improvement schemes. A number of disputes arose over traffic plans which involved the demolition of historic buildings which were considered old and outmoded. These schemes afflicted the cities as well as villages and smaller towns, with Mosjøen as an example in the latter category. *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annual publication for 1972 made Nordic wooden towns its main theme, and reported on the situation for conservation of wooden urban built environments in a number of Norwegian cities and towns, including Mosjøen:

“A fortunate outcome has so far not been seen for *Mosjøen* where the battle is about Sjøgaten. There a uniquely beautiful (*sjeldent vakkert*) and interesting old wharf with houses is being threatened. This concerns one of the largest and most well-preserved town sections from older times (*største og best bevarte byparti fra eldre tid*) in Northern Norway, whose old building culture was severely marked by the ravages of war. The municipality proposes a road along the river, which will cut the storage buildings off from their built environment. 13 packing houses and 14 dwellings are to be demolished. The few packing houses which remain, are to be reflected in an artificial basin by the new road. 220 parking spaces will be established. The Norwegian Council of Arts granted kr. 25.000,- for the repair of one of these packing houses, the Helland building, but the mayor intervened and stopped the grant, as the municipality wishes to demolish the building. The local art society represents the conservation forces among the local population. Unfortunately a complete conservation plan may be hindered by the municipality demolishing many of the old buildings. They are not listed through the still valid, but quite inadequate Built Heritage Act.”<sup>17</sup>

The focus on historic wooden urban environments through *Trästäder i Norden* set the theme for the European Architectural Year (*Arkitekturvernåret*) in 1975:

“It seems as though the Nordic Wooden Towns project can make a natural transition to the new campaign which in English has received the name “European Architectural Heritage Year” and which is not to be limited to one year only.”<sup>18</sup>

The “movement” for conservation of these environments was locally rooted and fronted by a variety of expert groups or individuals including the architecture department at N.T.H. in Trondheim, ICOMOS, Arne Berg, and Ola Hektoen Øverås and Stephan Tschudi-Madsen at *Riksantikvaren's* office. Dag Kittang refers to these as “counter-expertise”, who delivered

<sup>17</sup> “Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers, Berg et al. (1974) Pp 2-3

<sup>18</sup> Ola Hektoen Øverås *Den Nordiska Trästaden* Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers, Berg et al. (1974) p 136

alternative solutions and arguments which challenged the established modernistic and technocratic modes of planning and management.<sup>19</sup> Stephan Tschudi-Madsen worked actively to promote the theme of historic wooden urban environments after he replaced Roar Hauglid as *Riksantikvar* in 1978, stressing both the generic and the environmental aspect:

“The emphasis is no longer only placed with the individual building, but with groups of buildings. The interest not lies with the large monuments of high status – they have already been protected – but also with the how they are experienced in the landscape and context. The issue is not only to preserve the primary buildings on a farm - dwelling, storage building and loft; now also the utilities buildings, the summer farm, the forest hut and the boathouse needs to be preserved. It is not only the finer and wealthier dwellings which are the focus of interest in the towns, but now also the common man’s home and the more modest small wooden houses.”<sup>20</sup>

#### *Conservation of the younger Norwegian vernacular*

The buildings in the street of Sjøgata represent a mode of vernacular building which came after the land reforms. This was a younger and different type of wooden vernacular than that which was given statutory protection through listing in the 1920s and 1940s. Architect and researcher Arne Berg characterized the consequence of the land reforms in the following manner when writing about Mosjøen:

“...on the whole, the re-allotment of land contributed to dissolve the vernacular in many places.”<sup>21</sup>

The phrasing implies an understanding of “vernacular” which excluded vernacular architecture built after the land reforms.<sup>22</sup> The first rounds of listings, in the 1920s and 1940s, sought to preserve remains of the building traditions which the agricultural reforms from around the 1850s and onwards to a great extent had dissolved. These were mostly 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings, represented for example by wealthy farms in Gudbrandsdalen and Telemark. “Common” wooden buildings from the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, were at the time not viewed with much interest, neither the rural nor the urban vernacular; it lacked the aesthetics, craftsmanship and ‘antique’ qualities which antiquarians like H.M. Schirmer ascribed to the vernacular of pre-industrial times. While Nicolaysen’s

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<sup>19</sup> Kittang (2006) p 322-323

<sup>20</sup> Stephan Tschudi-Madsen at the closing of the European year of Architecture in 1975, quoted in: Lidén (1991) p 95

<sup>21</sup> “.. utskiftingen virket i det hele tatt oppløsende på byggeskikken mange steder”. Berg and Nilsen (1988)

<sup>22</sup> Arne Berg, who had worked extensively with rural architectural vernacular, expanded his expertise to historic urban environments and sat on the working committee for Nordiske Trästader in the early 1970s.

generation had been predominantly interested in medieval heritage, Harry Fett had, in the discussions preceding the 1920 Built Heritage Act, argued to extend the “age limit” of conservation-worthy buildings to 1870 (see Chapter 2). More recent architecture was generally dismissed. There was a consensus among antiquarians and architects on what was considered significant and worthy of conservation, and much “common” architecture and especially the popular Swiss Style was not viewed with appreciation (see Chapter 2). In 1960 *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s new chief secretary Egil Sinding-Larsen (1931-2000) addressed this issue in a speech for *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s new branch in the region of Vest-Agder:

“It is therefore self-evident that our view of what constitutes the built heritage of our past today is quite different than what it was 100 or 50 years ago. We must realize the consequences of this development and admit that our cultural history did not end with the Empire Style (...) the Swiss Style and the urban tenement building; they are unlikely to become fashionable soon, and there is no romance here on which to build. But this is still a part of our built history – and actually a rather interesting period, even if it will take some time before *this* is commonly acknowledged.”<sup>23</sup>

In general, more recent buildings continued to be ignored by the antiquarians well into the 1960s, when pieces acknowledging historicist architecture and the finer representatives of the Swiss Style began to appear in *Fortidsminneforeningen*’s annual publications. Only with the renewed and broadened efforts to save wooden historic urban environments in the 1970s, were buildings from after 1900 included in the sphere of architectural conservation.

#### *New educational and scientific approach*

In 1974 the Architecture Department’s Institute for Architectural History at N.T.H. proposed to establish a specialized training programme in “*Bygningsvern*”, architectural conservation with the emphasis on the regeneration (*rehabilitating*) of historic buildings. The theme was discussed at a conference in November 1973 attended by museum and *Riksantikvaren* representatives as well as educational institutions. Based on the conference discussions a statement was prepared which summed up the background, intentions and content of the training programme. In this statement it was acknowledged that, of late, “traditional antiquarian conservation work” was placed in the context of “rehabilitation and environmental

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<sup>23</sup> “Det sier seg derfor selv at vårt syn på hva som er fortidsminner er et helt annet enn for 100, for 50 år siden. Vi må ta konsekvensen av denne utviklingen og innrømme at vår kulturhistorie ikke endte med empiren (...) sveitserstilen og bygården; de blir vel neppe moderne i første omgang, og noen romantikk kan vi ikke bygge på her. Men dette er allikevel en del av vår bygningshistorie – og faktisk en meget interessant periode, selv om det foreløpig vil ta noen tid før *det* blir almindelig anerkjent.” Egil Sinding-Larsen *Foreningens oppgaver innen fortidsvernet* Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers (1961) p 68



conservation”.<sup>24</sup> The terms *byggningsvern* and *rehabilitering* were coined in the context of this new educational approach, aiming specifically at the practical conservation of buildings in combination with adaptation to current use. The N.T.H. *Byggningsvern* training programme was primarily intended for architects, but also as supplementary training for, for example, art historians. The training aimed to cover conservation in relation to surveys and documentation, conservation area planning, restoration and reconstruction techniques, area planning and economics. Architectural history, building history and knowledge of traditional materials and building techniques and relevant legislation was also included. The goal of the new training programme was to fill a competence void in building conservation, as none of the educational offerings (architect, archaeologist or art historian), for this field at the time filled this much needed requirement.<sup>25</sup> The first field course was carried out in 1974 at Nedre Baklandet in Trondheim, the second course in Sjøgata, Mosjøen (see below).<sup>26</sup> In continuance of the *Byggningsvern* training programme at N.T.H. was a research programme in building conservation sponsored by N.A.V.F. where candidate architect Dag Nilsen chose to use Sjøgata in Mosjøen as a case study for practical work in building conservation and regeneration: *Byggningsvern* and *byggningsrehabilitering*.

#### *The European Charter of the Architectural Heritage*

On an international level a new development in architectural conservation, where whole environments and generic architecture gained increased attention, was asserted with The European Charter of the Architectural Heritage, adopted by the Council of Europe in 1975 on the initiative of the European Architectural Year. Frequently referred to as the Amsterdam Charter, this document stressed the significance of built environments and “lesser buildings”, and the necessity of “integrated conservation” where function, legislation, social issues and education were acknowledged as issues crucial to successful conservation work. The charter was presented as a necessary response and supplement to previous conservation practice where the emphasis had been placed on major monuments, which “were protected and restored and then stood without reference to their surroundings”. The Amsterdam Charter stated that “entire groups of buildings, even if they do not include any example of outstanding merit, may have an atmosphere that gives them the quality of works of art, welding different periods and styles into a harmonious whole”, and that such groups should also be preserved.

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<sup>24</sup> “I den senere tid er det tradisjonelle antikvariske vernearbeide blitt satt inn en større sammenheng som kan betegnes som ”rehabiliterings- og miljøbevaringsproblematikk” Larsen, Marstein et al. (1974 - 6)

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Unpublished lists of courses from the architecture department, N.T.H. (1974-)

As referred to above, the Norwegian conservation paragraph was ascribed similar implications: heritage value was found in area character rather than in the individual building. The Amsterdam Charter also stressed that this heritage should be passed on “in its authentic state”, an aspect which was not commented upon or stressed in the Norwegian conservation planning legislation. A strong factor of the Amsterdam Charter which was highly present in the Sjøgata conservation plan process was the social aspect of historic preservation. The charter’s fourth section claimed that Europe’s old cities favoured social integration, and that conservation of these areas should endeavour to sustain a social mix and forward social justice: “The structure of historic centres and sites is conducive to a harmonious social balance”. According to Vefsn Museum director Hans Pedersen the philosophy of social balance was and is crucial in Sjøgata conservation work.<sup>27</sup>

### **7.1.3 Conservation legislation and management for Sjøgata**

Mosjøen adopted a development plan which implied demolition of Sjøgata’s historic buildings in 1964; this was the year before the conservation paragraph was introduced in the new Norwegian Building act, but the area survived until Sjøgata’s conservation plan was presented in 1977. By this time, however, management of Sjøgata as a conservation area was, in practice, already established, with Vefsn Museum as mediator and advisor on restoration matters. With the ratification of the conservation plan *Riksantikvaren*’s involvement, which had begun with their unofficial participation in restoring Lydiabrygga in 1972 (see below), was formalized. Applications for building permits inside the conservation area were sent to *Riksantikvaren* for assessment. *Kulturrådet* (Arts Council Norway) had first contributed financially to restore a building in Sjøgata in the early 1970s, and continued to do so with the so-called “*Sjøgatamidlene*” (“the Sjøgata Grants”) which were administered through a local group. The day to day management of practical building conservation was overseen by the museum and associated architects.

#### *Threats and solutions for Sjøgata*

After World War 2, Mosjøen was a growing commercial and industrial community, and its position as regional centre was strengthened when several smaller communities merged in Vefsn municipality in 1962. This was a progressive role which nurtured ideas of modern

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<sup>27</sup> Council\*of\*Europe (1975); Pedersen, Evjen et al. (1997)

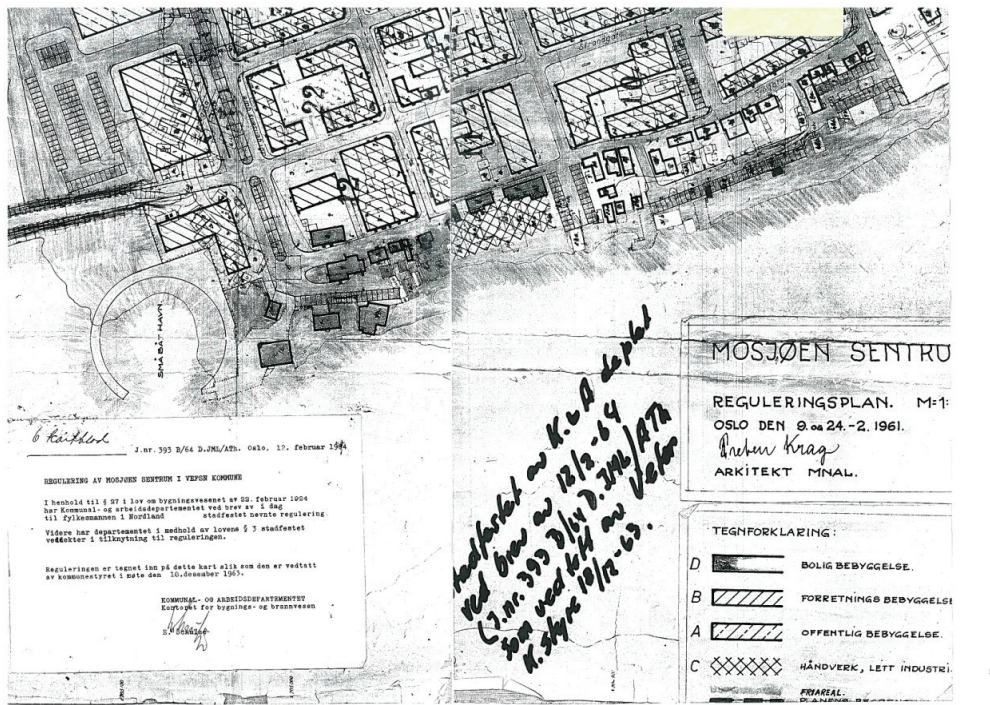


Figure 3: 1961 development plan for Mosjøen's Sjøgata area by Preben Krag, ratified in 1966. (Vefsn municipal building archive)

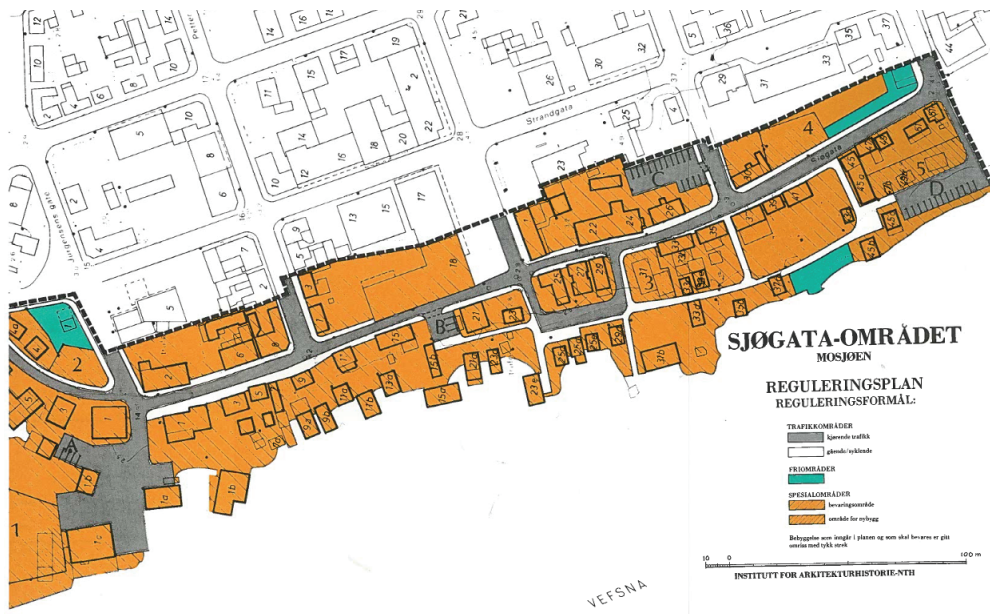


Figure 4: Plan for conservation plan for Sjøgata by Institutt for Arkitekturhistorie, N.T.H.. The plan was proposed 22.8.1977, adjusted in 1978 and ratified 1.2.1980. The accompanying guidelines were revised in 1984. (Copy of plan printed in *Sjøgata – det gamle Mosjøen*, Erlie, Jacobsen, Nilsen and Norsted 1979)

town planning. A new development plan for Mosjøen town was presented in 1961 to accommodate new businesses and the increased standard of living, which included a significant growth in the number of cars. In this plan the Sjøgata area was sectioned into functional units of business, smaller industry and residential areas.<sup>28</sup> The eastern row of Sjøgata buildings was proposed to be demolished to make way for new building blocks, while a large proportion of the shoreline buildings were to be demolished in favour of a tree-lined traffic artery and parking. Existing buildings marked in areas for industry and traffic “could be maintained but not be subject to larger reconstruction”, while buildings in the residential areas could be placed “... more withdrawn on the plot” if desired, which means that the continued existence of the historic buildings was a temporary matter; the initial intention of the plan was to replace them with new buildings over time.<sup>29</sup> The plan caused a debate, mediated by the local newspaper, and the idea of area conservation was established as a possibility. In 1972 *Den Nordiska Trästadens* publication summed up the status for historic Mosjøen in the following way:

“The built environment lining Sjøgata is still relatively intact, and there is general agreement that this must be preserved, but there is disagreement on how, and how much.”<sup>30</sup>

Over the next decade planners and protesters were locked in opposition. A number of historic buildings in Sjøgata were demolished in the early 1970s, under protest from *Riksantikvaren* and the resident’s association *Sjøgata Vel*.<sup>31</sup> In 1974-75 students and professionals from the architecture department at N.T.H. were engaged to survey Sjøgata’s buildings, bringing increased attention to the area. Sjøgata was promoted as an example of urban wooden vernacular heritage in the European Architectural Year in 1975. Local activists continued to campaign against the plans to demolish buildings, and eventually succeeded in procuring grants for restoration work from *Norsk Kulturråd* in 1976 when three million kroner was given for “the regeneration of buildings and social status of the area”.<sup>32</sup> To administer the distribution of the grants for the individual rehabilitation projects (which were now filed under the heading “*Sjøgataprojekter*”, “the Sjøgata project”), a committee was formed with

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<sup>28</sup> The categories were public buildings (A), business and offices (B), residential (C), Industry, car service etc (D), Traffic (E) and Leisure (F). Krag (1964 - 2 - 12)

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> “Bygningsmiljøet langs Sjøgata er ennå relativt intakt, og det er enighet om at bevaring må til, men måten og omfanget er gjenstand for strid.” Berg, Kaul et al. (1972)

<sup>31</sup> Erlien and Nilsen (1979) pp 86-87

<sup>32</sup> “...den bygningsmessige og sosiale rehabiliteringen av området.” Nilsen and Pedersen (1982) p 2

representatives from the municipality, *Sjøgata Vel* and *Riksantikvaren*. The Sjøgata committee had three associated members from the municipality (the building and planning director, the officer of the culture board, and the kindergarten secretary). A working committee was also formed, with representatives from Vefsn Museum (social anthropologist Hans Pedersen), N.T.H. (architect Dag Nilsen) and the Ministry of Culture. The stated intention with the structure of the committees was to establish a broad cooperative and representative base, i.e. to ground the conservation and regeneration work in the community proper, for owners and users as well as politicians and administrators to have a sense of ownership and participation.<sup>33</sup> In addition to administering grants for the regeneration of buildings, an important working area for the committees was to re-establish active town centre functions. One effort in this respect was the founding of *Kulturverkstedet* (“the Cultural Workshop”), a cooperative (*andelslag*) society which hosted various activities and clubs and a café.<sup>34</sup> *Kulturverkstedet* was established in a large historic building and became a social gathering point, demonstrating the regeneration and appropriation of historic Sjøgata as useful cultural heritage.



Figure 5-6: Boarded up windows and peeling paint: Sjøgata in 1978. (Photograph Håvard Dahl Bratrein 1978 ©2009 Tromsø Museum, UiT)

In 1977 a resolution to preserve Sjøgata was passed in the municipality, and restoration and regeneration projects could now be taken on in the knowledge that the area was to continue to exist in its present form. In 1979 a regeneration programme (*utbedringsprogram*) for Sjøgata’s buildings was initiated which involved *Husbanken* (The Norwegian State Housing Bank) for financial aid to owners.<sup>35</sup> The restoration and regeneration of the Sjøgata area fell in with a national effort to preserve urban built heritage, and Mosjøen was promoted as part of

<sup>33</sup> Pedersen (1981) p 2

<sup>34</sup> In 19<sup>th</sup> century there were a number of cafes and eating houses in Sjøgata, this being the stop-over for travellers and tradesmen. Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Nilsen and Pedersen (1982) p 18

a national campaign for the urban environment, “*Bymiljøkampanjen*” (“the Campaign for the Urban Environment”), which involved projects in the cities Trondheim, Sandefjord and Oslo (for Oslo the typical working class districts of Bjølsen, Grünerløkka and Kampen were targeted). The campaign involved work manuals and seminars produced in collaboration with the engineering organizations NIF and NITO, on topics ranging from the technical aspects of restoration to democratic involvement on an urban-district level.<sup>36</sup> The overall focus of *Bymiljøkampanjen* was the improvement of the quality of living in towns and town centres, which was also a stated goal for Sjøgata. For Mosjøen, preserving the buildings of Sjøgata was a means to this end.

#### *The Sjøgata conservation plan*

The plan and statutes to preserve Sjøgata were authorized by the conservation paragraph (§ 25.6) of the 1965 Building Act. The initial proposal for the conservation plan was delivered in 1977 by Knut E. Larsen, Nils Marstein, Dag Nilsen and Paul A. Paulsen from the Department of architectural history at N.T.H.<sup>37</sup> The plan was adjusted in 1978, ratified by the municipality in 1979 and formally affirmed in February 1980. By this time a number of restorations and projects to recondition buildings in the Sjøgata area had been initiated. A few pilot projects had been completed as idealistic activist campaigns in the early 1970s but most were set in motion after the municipality’s decision in favour of conservation in 1977.

The conservation plan guidelines stated the overall intention of “preserving and developing” the area according to existing historic, antiquarian and environmental values (§1). The guidelines provided specifications for new buildings, which were to be adapted to the existing historic structure, for common areas, fences, street lighting, shop signs and advertisements. Existing use and traditional infrastructure was to be maintained (§2.A and §8). The interiors could be “rebuilt and modernized to the necessary extent to create appropriate premises”; “exterior designs” were to be “maintained when this was considered justifiable from an architectural or antiquarian standpoint”, while bigger reconstructions and façade alterations must be “adapted to the character of the area”.<sup>38</sup> All buildings in the area, both historic and new, must adhere to traditional design, materials and craftsmanship:

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<sup>36</sup> Nilsen and Pedersen (1982) p 18

<sup>37</sup> Nilsen (1980 - 2 - 1)

<sup>38</sup> “Innvendig kan slik bebyggelse ombygges og moderniseres i den grad dette er nødvendig for å skape gode og hensiktsmessige lokaler”; “Eksteriørutforming .... Opprettholdes dersom dette finnes antikvarisk og arkitektonisk forsvarlig”; “...tilpasses strøkets karakter.” §2A Nilsen (1980 - 2 - 1)

“All work in the area shall to the greatest extent possible be traditionally crafted and executed with traditional materials and – techniques. (...)” (§2.A, seventh section)<sup>39</sup>

The specifications for the treatment of existing historic buildings were few, and general in their wording. For all building treatment which required a permit (Building Act’s § 93) an antiquarian assessment had to be obtained before approval by the municipal building authorities was granted (§11). As a conservation plan authorized by the Building Act, the guidelines were put on an equal footing with the other requirements of the Building Act and its regulations; this as opposed to the Cultural Heritage Act, which takes precedence over other legislation. The power of decision-making for building in the conservation area was formally in the hands of the local authorities; however, as the heritage management was required to interpret the guidelines, decisions were deliberately influenced by antiquarians. Although the conservation issue was resolved with a proper conservation plan, the treatment of the buildings was still subject to negotiation.

The Sjøgata conservation plan was placed under revision shortly after it was ratified in 1980. The revised version was presented in 1984 and ratified in 1985.<sup>40</sup> The changes made concerned the wording and minor stipulations in the guidelines, for example the function of new buildings inside the conservation area (as a response to plans which had been put on the table, no doubt). An addition was made regarding to the issue of fire-prevention where the requirements of fire-resistance were strengthened for new buildings (§3 and §4). A specification was included requiring that façade renewals should be based on the respective building’s previous design, and that in cases of restoration a point should be made of stressing documenting and displaying the history of the area.<sup>41</sup>

## 7.2 TREATMENT OF SJØGATA BUILDINGS

One of the first buildings in the Sjøgata area which was repaired and restored was the small shoreline storage building Lydiabrygga. Executed largely on a volunteer basis in 1971-72, the

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<sup>39</sup> “Alle arbeider skal i størst mulig grad være i tradisjonell utforming og utført med tradisjonelle materialer og håndverksteknikk. Utvendig skal bygninger males og fargevalg godkjennes av bygningsrådet.” §2A Nilsen (1980 - 2 - 1)

<sup>40</sup> The plan was ratified June 4th 1985. It was most recently revised in September 1999. Vefsn\*Kommune (1984 - 6 - 4)

<sup>41</sup> ”§2 A, fourth section. ”Ved fasadefornyning skal utforming skje med utgangspunkt i tidligere utseende. En bør velge løsninger som bidrar til å dokumentere områdets historie”. Vefsn\*Kommune (1984 - 6 - 4)

treatment focused on rescuing the building from a state of advancing decay to mark a protest against the development plan, ratified in 1970, which threatened its existence. The primary objective was to demonstrate that one of the most derelict buildings in the area could be restored.<sup>42</sup> The restoration activists included employees from *Riksantikvaren*'s office, who had become involved through their professional role but assumed a private role as they participated in the restoration. The treatment of Lydiabrygga involved giving the building an entirely new exterior wooden cladding, new roofing and stabilized foundations, while most of the interior surfaces were renewed when it was fashioned as a café. The restoration was a political statement as well as an act of conservation. Demonstratively located in the planned development area, Lydiabrygga was restored for the benefit of the local community and functioned as a social meeting place.

The regeneration of activity in "Kulturverkstedet", which involved restoration and conversion of the old business premises into a local café and activities centre, had a similar purpose; to restore meaning, identity and activity to the historic area. By the time work began on Kulturverkstedet the conservation plan was in place, and work on the building was planned and overseen by a restoration architect. The restoration plan involved restoring the façades to the appearance they had around 1900 with original building parts from this time or older preserved. The rehabilitation involved creating one apartment, and upgrading the rest of the building, keeping the floor plan and interior surfaces of the building intact.<sup>43</sup>

Both Lydiabrygga and Kulturverkstedet's restorations were pilots in the restoration of historic Sjøgata buildings; in both cases steered by persons affiliated with the professional conservation community allied with volunteer efforts. These were buildings with multiple owners, restored and rehabilitated for public access and idealistic use. The bulk of Sjøgata's buildings were, however, residential; dwellings or dwellings combined with small shops or businesses.

This section will look more closely at treatment of four buildings, Sjøgata 26, 41, 37 and 47. The first two had shops premises on the ground floor and apartments upstairs, the latter was a purely residential building. All buildings were predominantly log constructions of two storeys with exterior cladding, saddle roofs and late empire-style windows. Sjøgata 26 and 41 were at the time privately owned, while Sjøgata 37 was a municipally owned building restored and rebuilt for residential use, with apartments to let, and Sjøgata 47 had been purchased by the Sjøgata group for the purpose of regeneration. In Sjøgata 37 the restoration

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<sup>42</sup> Nilsen and Pedersen (1982) pp 20, 37

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. pp 39-44



process was steered by the municipality in collaboration with the restoration architect and craftsmen undertaking training in conservation skills. The approach towards the treatment of these four buildings in the late 1970s was initially the same, and although the enforcement of principles varied slightly in relation to the owner's wishes, the results were, in comparison, of a similar high conservation standard in the sense that the ideal goals of the conservation community were, to a large extent, met.

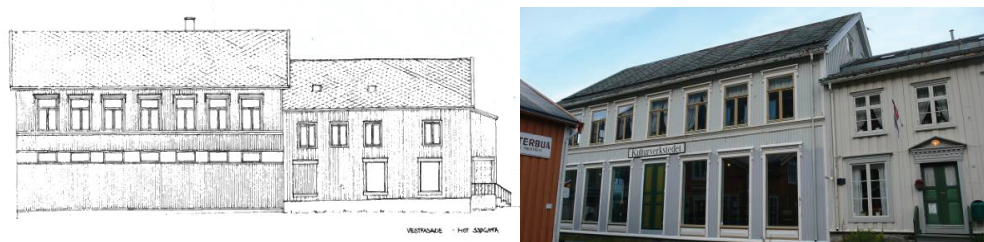


Figure 7-8: Kulturverkstedet in Sjøgata 22/24, a previous store and business consisting of two joined buildings, the smaller and older one from 1862, restored in 1981-82. Sjøgata 22/24 before the restoration. Survey by Gisle Erlie, Paal Bommen, Aage Jørgensrud and Anne Kindt from a Master's in architectural history at N.T.H. 1976, presented with the caption: "a good example of how one ruins the character of a house" (left); Kulturverkstedet, after the restoration (right). (Photograph MB 2007)

### 7.2.1 Regeneration and restoration of Sjøgata 41

Only the main street building from 1868 remains of Sjøgata 41, originally a building complex with combined residential and commercial functions. It was included in the Sjøgata conservation plan as part of the historic built environment. Prior to this, in the 1960s, Sjøgata 41 underwent a modernization which altered the original façade. In 1978 plans to regenerate the main building were presented, this time with the prospect of becoming part of a historic conservation area.

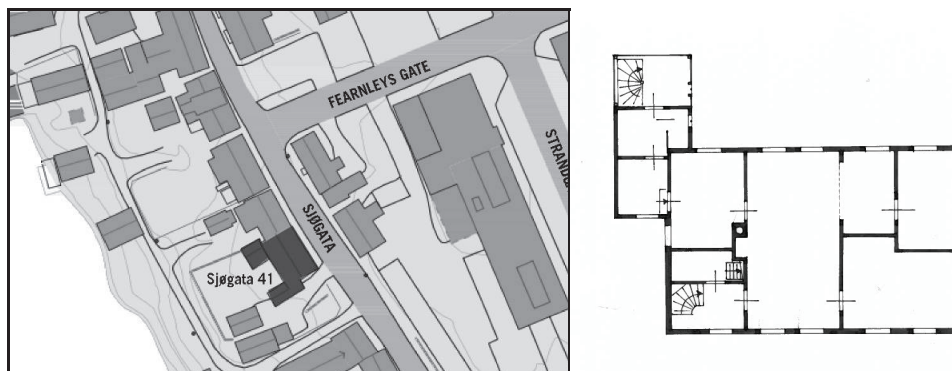


Figure 9-10: Sjøgata 41 site plan (left) and upstairs floor plan (right), (August Schmidt 2010)



Figure 11-12: Sjøgata 41 street façade (left) and backyard façade (right). (Photograph MB 2007)

### *The old Sjøgata 41*

The main building in Sjøgata 41, which is the section facing the street, is documented to have been under construction in 1867 and is generally referred to as having been built in 1868.<sup>44</sup> It was a two-storey notched log construction with a saddle roof, with vertically oriented cladding and late Empire Style casement windows (hinged on the vertical mullion) and slate roofing. Modestly moulded portals framed the two street entrance doors, of which one led to the ground floor shop area, initially marked as having on the premises two windows which were slightly larger than the rest; the other entrance leading onto a small hall and staircase for access to the upstairs apartment. A combined commercial and residential property, Sjøgata 41 originally had several utilities buildings including a cooking house (*eldhus*), cow-shed and storage house (*pakkhus*) as well as living apartments. In 1872 all buildings on the property were joined in a closed building complex surrounding an open courtyard, an organization frequently found in larger towns and cities at the time, confirming the urban status of Mosjøen.<sup>45</sup> A blueprint, undated but probably from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, shows a plan of the property fully developed for its pharmacist owner [Figure 17].<sup>46</sup> The first correspondence with the municipal building authorities for this property, in 1950, is an application to repair an addition to the main street building.<sup>47</sup> Side wings of the main building were maintained, whereas the other utilities buildings in the courtyard were eventually demolished.

<sup>44</sup> These dates refer to fire insurance assessments. Berg and Nilsen (1988)

<sup>45</sup> Berg and Nilsen (1988) p 96

<sup>46</sup> It is not known whether the building was ever developed fully according to this plan.

<sup>47</sup> Agentur (1950 - 8 - 26)



Figure 13-14. Historic photographs of Sjøgata with Sjøgata 41. The photographs are not dated. The photograph above shows Sjøgata 41 with enlarged shop windows and is probably the younger. (Vefsn museum archive)

#### *Modernization 1962*

A series of housing improvement ventures were undertaken for Sjøgata 41 during the early 1960s. The owner presented an announcement regarding repairs to the building to the municipal building committee in 1962 (as a building application this was initially rejected for being incomplete). The owner stated that the house not had been maintained for the past

fifteen years, and listed several deficiencies that had recently been dealt with. Entrance doors and windows had been replaced and the roof repaired. On the ground floor a beam (*drager*) had been mounted for support due to the long span. A wall had been forced into place after having sunk. To reduce draughts the owner had mounted wood fibre boards (*porøsplater*) on interior walls, and for the exterior there were plans to mount new exterior wood plank cladding, or, preferably, siding made of tiled concrete-asbestos boards (Eternit).

“...the walls are to be lined with 20mm wood fibre boards; this has already been undertaken as the house’s complete lack of interior insulation made it near uninhabitable. Something must also be done with the exterior of the building, either new wooden cladding or Eternit siding, the latter is preferred as this will save maintenance later and better preserve the building.”<sup>48</sup>

The new windows, which were the street façade windows and two upstairs windows in the façade which faced the back courtyard, were of a horizontal design with large panes undivided by mullions. A third shop front window was introduced, and the new entrance doors which were fitted were of a typical 1960s design, teak veneered with three narrow vertical window slits in the upper section. The cladding of the main building’s exterior was renewed, while a smaller addition at the back (*Verkstedet*) was clad with Eternit siding. A 1978 photograph shows the building with metal sheeting on the courtyard side of the roof; however there are indications that the street side was roofed with slate.<sup>49</sup> The modernization in the early 1960s was carried out with contemporary building materials, methods and design; building conservation or heritage value was at this time not yet an issue.



Figure 15-16: Sjøgata 41 in 1977, street and courtyard façades as they were in the 1960s and 1970s. The building still had some of its older windows intact; in the right hand photo an upstairs window is slightly open, showing that it was hinged on the mullion. In the photo: architect Dag Nilsen. (Vefsn municipal building archive)

<sup>48</sup> “Veggene skal kles med 20 mm porøsplater, noe som delvis er gjort da huset totalt manglet innvendig isolasjon og således var så godt som ubeboelig. Det må også gjøres noe med huset utvendig enten ny bordkledning eller kles med eternit, som er ønskelig da det vil spare for vedlikeholdsarbeide senere og bevare bygningen bedre.” Letter from the owner dated 6th November 1962. Vefsn Kommune (1962 - 11 - 12)

<sup>49</sup> In 1977 Dag Nilsen wrote “Taktekking bør være kvadratiske skiferheller, som nå.” Nilsen (1977 - 9 - 19)

### *Restoration and regeneration 1978-80*

Plans for Sjøgata 41's street building were presented again in 1978, now defined as a "restoration" with a new extension.<sup>50</sup> The use of the building was to be commercial and residential as previously, with business facilities including an office, a workshop, storage rooms and a sales area on the ground floor level, and for the upstairs level a one-family apartment.<sup>51</sup> The plans, drawn up by architect Bjørn Grimsby, involved a comprehensive interior restructuring and a restoration of the façade to its pre-1960s design. The major alterations involved plans to lower the ground floors and raising the beam section between the upstairs apartment and the loft to increase indoor heights (to 240 cm on the ground floor and from 205 – 220 to 220 cm on the first floor<sup>52</sup>). The building was to be thermally insulated, fire-proofed and entirely rebuilt and remodelled in the interior. The façade was to be restored to its historic pre-1960 design, while an old addition was to be renewed "in its entirety".<sup>53</sup>

Architect Dag Nilsen, specializing in architectural conservation at the architecture department of N.T.H., provided an antiquarian advisor's report for the building on request from Grimsby.<sup>54</sup> According to Nilsen the building gave a general impression of being worn down, showing signs that regular maintenance had been limited to bare necessities.<sup>55</sup> Nilsen suggested that old photographs in combination with existing windows and mouldings on the courtyard façade were sufficient evidence on which to base a restoration. Later in the process he stressed the importance of accurate detailing of building parts for the façade, which was being restored.<sup>56</sup> Windows with detached glazing bars were not considered acceptable. New windows must be joined framed or single glazed with an additional separate inner frame for thermal insulation. The roof should be laid with square roof tiles and the chimneys should be preserved; these had however been demolished some time previously.<sup>57</sup> Nilsen referred to the conservation guidelines, "currently being reviewed by *Riksantikvaren*" and whose wording he himself had contributed to, regarding documentation for the exterior restoration, for façade colour which must be approved for each individual building, and for interiors for which consideration was to be shown.<sup>58</sup> In general, Nilsen's recommendations dealt with

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<sup>50</sup> Grimsby (1977 - 8 - 30; 1978 - 3 - 29; 1980 - 6 - 30)

<sup>51</sup> Vefsn Kommune (1981 - 2 - 13)

<sup>52</sup> Grimsby (1978 - 3 - 31)

<sup>53</sup> "Gammelt tilbygg mot syd fornyes i sin helhet." Vefsn\*Bygningsråd (1978 - 5 - 25)

<sup>54</sup> Nilsen (1977 - 9 - 19)

<sup>55</sup> "Ellers har huset vært noenlunde kontinuerlig vedlikeholdt, om enn noe nødtørfdig. Det bærer i utgangspunktet generelt preg av slitasje." Nilsen (1981 - 4 - 10)

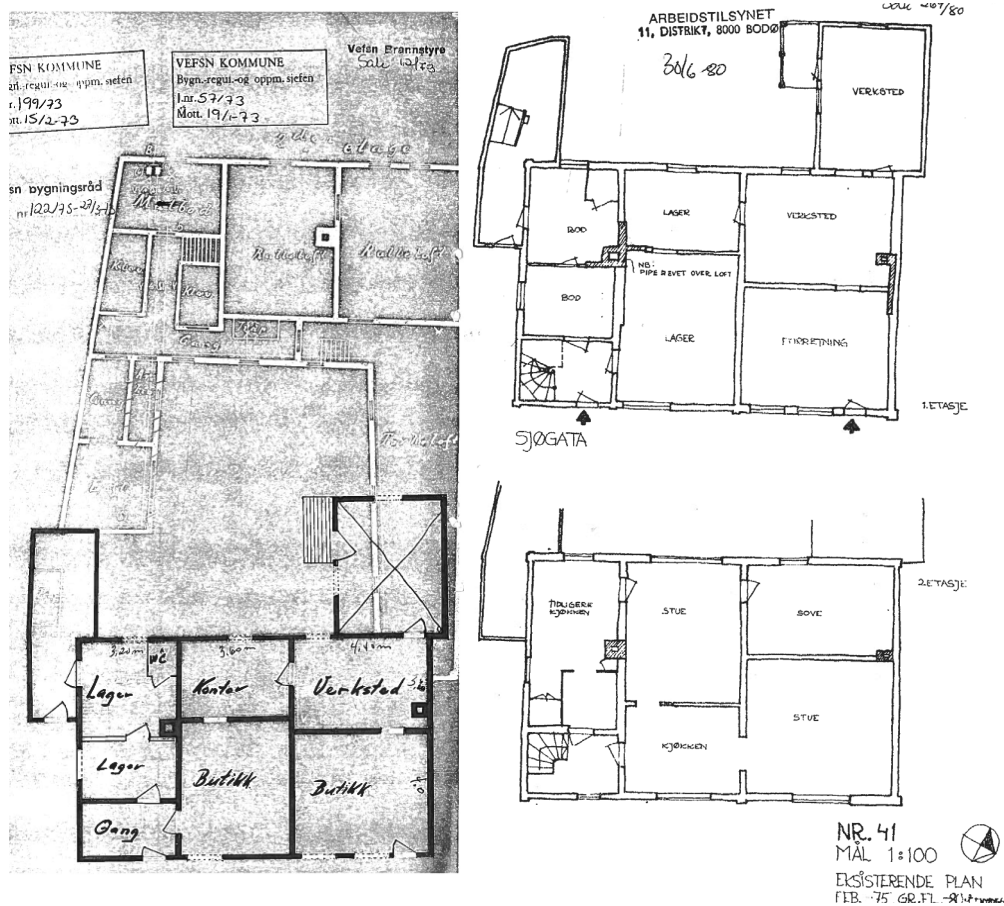
<sup>56</sup> Nilsen (1977 - 9 - 19)

<sup>57</sup> "... er revet for flere år siden! Hand written note in the margins of the typed letter." Nilsen (1977 - 9 - 19)

<sup>58</sup> "...forslag til reguleringsvedtekter for Sjøgata, som for tiden er til gjennomsyn hos Riksantikvaren". Ibid.

documentation requirements for the restoration, attention to detail and the craftsmanship of copied building parts, as well as the consideration of historic interiors.

Both the alteration of the interior structure and the fire-proofing measures were subject to dispute between those representing conservation interests, and the owner and municipality's building authorities. According to the conservation plan interiors could be rebuilt and modernized to the extent necessary to create premises appropriate to the function (1980 §2 A), while exterior form must be maintained in the case of renewal or repair (1980 § 2 A.) These directives were given without further specifications. By 1980 *Riksantikvaren* was involved in the conservation of the Sjøgata area, providing advice and specifications on individual restoration and modernization plans. For Sjøgata 41 *Riksantikvaren* opposed the proposal to structurally alter the roof construction for increased indoor heights, advising the municipality that modern standards of indoor heights in buildings should not be applied on historic buildings, which must be granted exemption.<sup>59</sup>



<sup>59</sup> Riksantikvaren (1980 - 4 - 29)

Figure 17-18 (previous page): Undated floor plan for the upstairs section of Sjøgata 41 (left) showing a full built complex circling a closed courtyard as it might have been around the turn of the century. The backyard buildings include a loft, clothes rooms (*klær*), food storage rooms (*matbod*) and rooms for drying (*tørkeloft*) and handling clothes and linens (*rulleloft*). This plan was used to mark the disposition of rooms for the front building for the building application in 1973; survey (top right) February 1975 N.T.H. Plan by Architect Bjørn Grimsby (right). (Vefsn municipal building archive)

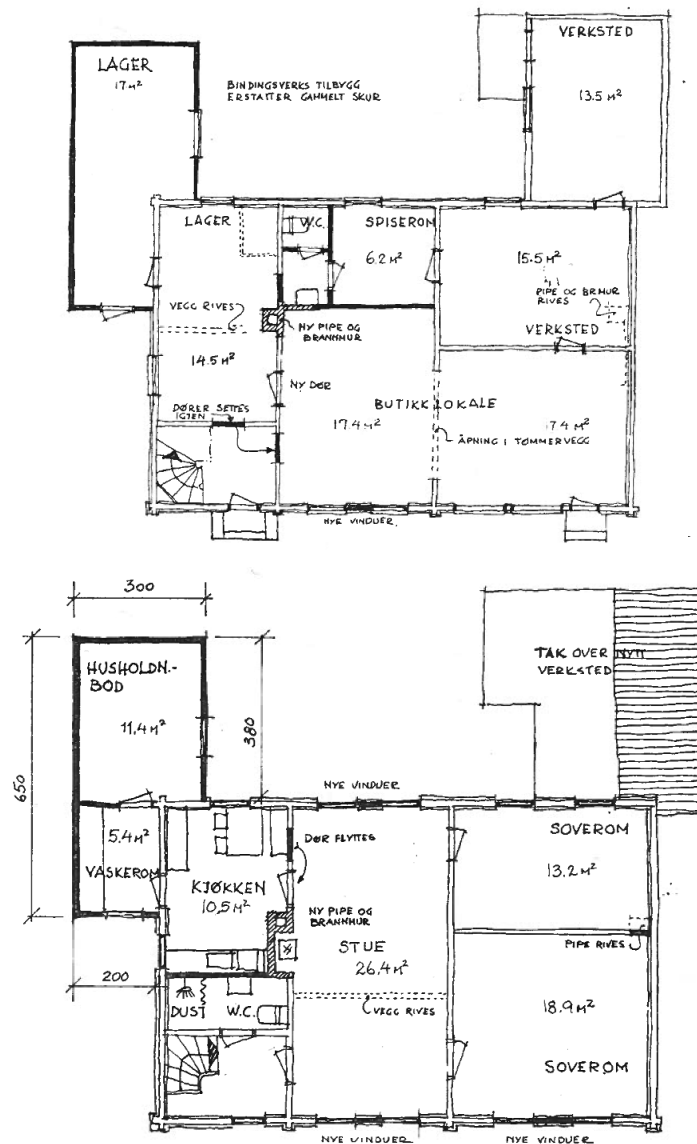


Figure 19-20: Ground floor shop area survey (top) and upstairs apartment (bottom) plan drawings by architect Bjørn Grimsby 20.2.1978. Timber walls were suggested to be removed on both floors to restructure the space and create large rooms. (Bjørn Grimsby, Vefsn municipal building archive and Dag Nilsen private archive)

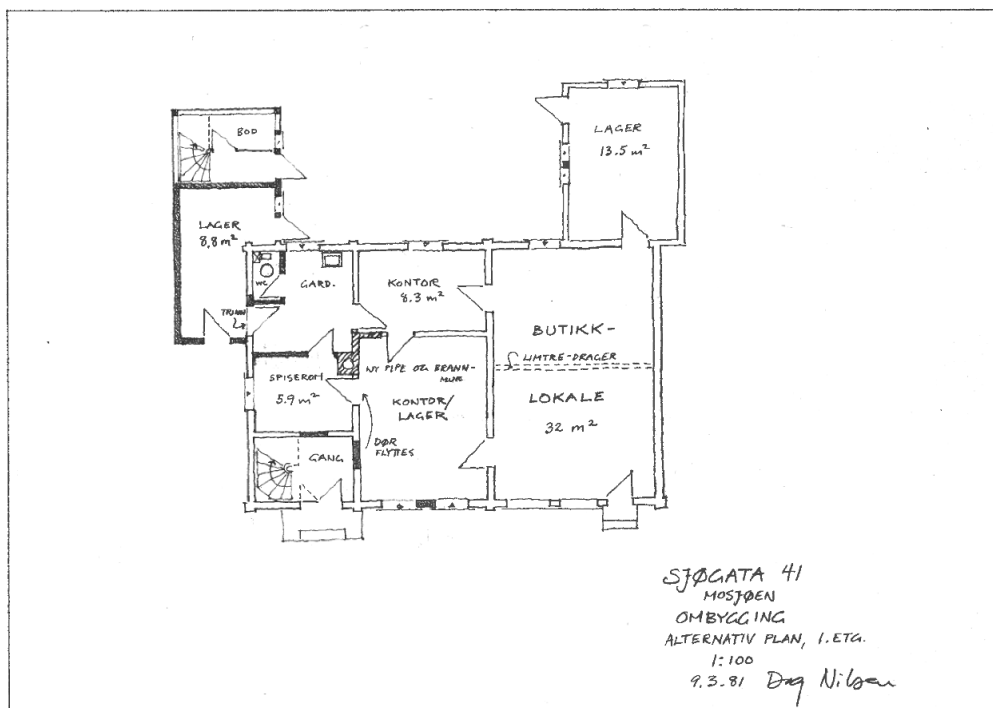
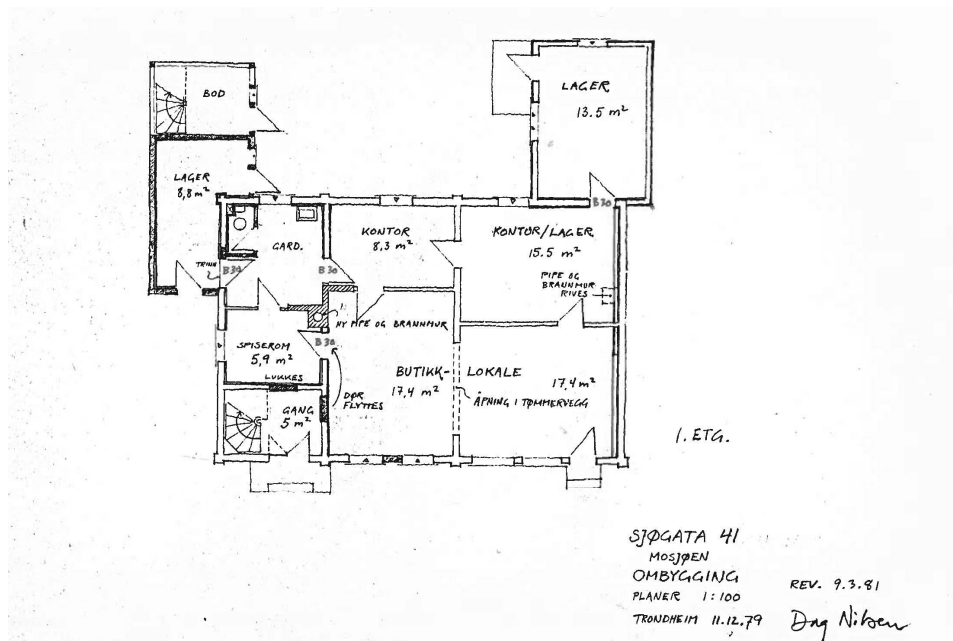


Figure 21-22: Sjøgata 41, ground floor plan (top), fire-proof walls marked with red, original scale 1:100; and alternative floor plan design, (bottom) proposing to preserve the transverse carrying timber wall and remove a secondary wall between the two largest rooms instead. This latter alternative was carried out. Both plans by Dag Nilsen 9.3.1981 (Dag Nilsen Private archive)





Figure 23-25: Sjøgata 41, survey of street façade 30.8.1977 (top); restoration plan for the backyard façade 29.3.78 (left) and street façade (right) by Bjørn Grimsby Arkitekt M.N.A.L in 1978. The restoration was based on a 1905 photograph and building parts in the façade which had not been altered during the 1960s modernization; (Vefsn municipal building archive)

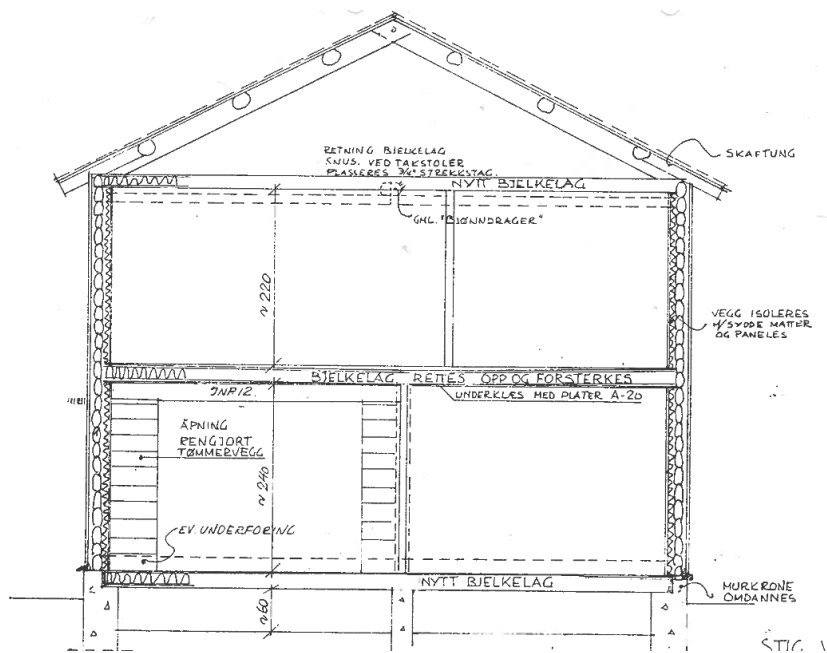


Figure 26: Sjøgata 41, elevation showing the proposed reconstruction of the floors to increase indoor heights, and thermal insulation. The removal of the old tier of joists between the upstairs and loft level was advised against by *Riksantikvaren* and not carried out. (Bjørn Grimsby Arkitekt M.N.A.L 29.3.78, Vefsn municipal building archive)

*Riksantikvaren* made a general request that historic building parts were reused in the restoration process:

“Generally in such cases we recommend that all older building components such as doors, windows, mouldings etc. which can possibly be repaired should be reused. The Council of Arts has, as the granting party, expressed their distinct interest in this matter and will to some extent put this down as a condition for financial contribution (...) We are aware that the legal grounds for such requirements are not unanimous, especially when it comes to interiors of buildings, but we assume that in this case there should be such a level of good-will that all parties to a reasonable extent will collaborate.”<sup>60</sup>

*Riksantikvaren* clearly encouraged the conservation not only of exterior form but also substance, and the conservation of interiors. State funding, which was granted from *Kulturrådet* and managed by *Arbeidsgruppen for Sjøgata*, was negotiated to achieve these goals.

The municipal building committee opted not to regard the restoration plans as a “major reconstruction” (*hovedombygging*). A reconstruction which fell into this category automatically made building subject to modern building codes. The plans involved renewal of part of the building, but the committee voted for exemption (PBL§88 *Dispensasjon*) as it was considered that the building as a whole would be improved after restoration, despite the fact that not all modern building standard requirements were followed.<sup>61</sup> A major issue was indoor heights, but with the dispensation, plans to increase the ceiling height in the upstairs apartment could be abandoned.

Work performed on the building’s *interior structure, floor plan and surfaces* was comprehensive nonetheless. On the *street level* the floor was lowered and a new cement floor was cast. An opening was made between the shop and storage room, the structural support of the massive log wall replaced by a beam of laminated wood. The joisting between the downstairs and upstairs level which separated the shop from the apartment was sound proofed. *Upstairs* partition walls, wall and ceiling cladding and details were to a large extent renewed on the owner’s wishes:

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<sup>60</sup> “Generelt sett i slike byggesaker, ser vi gjerne at alle eldre bygningsdeler som dører, vinduer og listverk etc. som det er mulig å reparere bør benyttes om igjen. Kulturrådet har som bevilgende myndighet uttalt absolutt interesse for dette og vil i noen grad sette dette opp som betingelse for økonomisk medvirkning. (...) Vi er klar over at lovgrunnlaget ikke er entydig for slike påbud, særlig innvendig, men vi antar at saken bør ha så meget good-will at alle instanser i rimelig grad medvirker til dette.” *Riksantikvaren* (1980 - 4 - 29)

<sup>61</sup> “.. idet bygningen etter Bygningsrådets skjønn vil få en bedre standard etter restaureringen sett ut fra både helsemessige og bygningsmessige hensyn.” *Vefsn\*Bygningsråd* (1978 - 5 - 25)

“...whether this was necessary is questionable; however the owner required the walls be plumb.”<sup>62</sup>

The kitchen on the upstairs level was moved “back to its original place” and a section of the interior timber wall which ran lengthwise was removed to extend the sitting room area. An old partition wall in the back (western) section of the apartment was removed to restructure the layout of the rooms. The number of rooms was the same; the general achievement after the restructure was a larger connected living room area and smaller bedrooms. The new bathroom area was reached through the kitchen, situated in a new extension on the back of the house which replaced an older derelict outbuilding (*skøt*) on the southern side of the building.<sup>63</sup>

*Thermal insulation* of the building was executed with consideration for the original façade design. Inside, thermal insulation mats (*sydde matter*) were placed between the ceiling beams of the upstairs apartment against the cold loft area.<sup>64</sup> On the exterior, cladding was stripped off and thermal insulation mats were mounted on the walls, and new wooden weatherboarding which was a copy of the older design was supplemented with “acceptable boards from the old cladding”.<sup>65</sup>

The upstairs *windows* and one of the shop windows from the 1960s modernization were replaced with windows designed on the basis of a 1905 photograph.<sup>66</sup>

For the *roof*, the plan was to renew it with slate tiles (whether these were new or reused is not clear) on millboard (*papp*) or impregnated fibreboards (*impregnerte plater*) superimposed on the existing, original wooden under-roof. A new modular chimney was fitted (the old brick chimney had been taken down over the roof level) and two new in-house fireplaces constructed.<sup>67</sup>

The most discussed issue in the restoration of Sjøgata 41 was the level and method of *fire-proofing* both with regard to neighbouring houses and between the ground floor shop and upstairs apartment. The buildings in Sjøgata stood close, the distance between Sjøgata 41 and the neighbouring house Sjøgata 39 was estimated to be 0.7 metres.<sup>68</sup> Dag Nilsen proposed fire-proofing this wall from the inside by mounting a 3” mineral wool and light timber

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<sup>62</sup> “.. hvorvidt dette var nødvendig kan diskuteres, men byggherren ønsket loddrette veggflater.” Nilsen (1981 - 4 - 10)

<sup>63</sup> “Skøtet må betegnes som falleferdig.” Nilsen (1981 - 4 - 10)

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> “... ny bordkledning supplert med brukbare bord fra gammel kledning.” This had been carried out by April 1981. Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Vefsn Kommune (1981 - 2 - 13)

framework sandwiched with gypsum board sheeting on the walls in rooms facing the next-door neighbour.<sup>69</sup> This was accepted by the municipality, but further measures were required including the mounting of fire-proofing boards on the walls and stairs in the entrance stairwell.<sup>70</sup> The architect disputed this on the grounds that it would spoil the architecture of the entrance stairwell,

“In Sjøgata 41, as mentioned earlier, the stairwell is the only room of antiquarian interest.”<sup>71</sup>

The architect’s prescribed alternatives were ultimately accepted by the local building authority after lengthy correspondence involving the municipal building committee, *Riksantikvaren*, N.T.H., *Branntilsynet* (the Fire Inspection) and *Fylkesmannen* (the County Governor).<sup>72</sup> The same dispute was running for Sjøgata 26, and it will therefore be further recounted below.

#### *The built context*

In the 1964 development plan for Mosjøen the main street building of Sjøgata 41 was the only building on the property marked as a standing building.<sup>73</sup> The utilities buildings in the backyard complex had gradually been demolished and there were restrictions on erecting new ones, something the owner experienced in 1965 when presenting plans to build a car service garage and customer parking in the backyard. The venture involved a large new back building which the municipality rejected on the grounds that the development plan did not authorize further development on the plot.<sup>74</sup> In 1973 the building committee accepted an application to build an outbuilding on the premises after the old outbuilding had “blown down”. Construction was already completed, but a building permit was granted all the same on the condition the new building was lined with fire-proof boards.<sup>75</sup> The next proposition to build on the plot was in 1984, by which time conservation had entered as a grounds for building activity. A building permit was granted by the local building authorities on the grounds that

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<sup>69</sup> Nilsen (1981 - 4 - 10)

<sup>70</sup> “...vegger og underside trapp i trapperom 1. etg kles med tennvernende kledning klasse A10.”

Vefsn\*Bygningsråd (1981 - 10 - 6)

<sup>71</sup> “I Sjøgata 41 er det som nevnt tidligere bare trapperommet som har antikvarisk interesse.” Nilsen (1981 - 3 - 10)

<sup>72</sup> Vefsn\*Bygningsråd (1981 - 10 - 6)

<sup>73</sup> Krag (1964 - 2 - 12)

<sup>74</sup> Krag (1964 - 2 - 12; Nervik (1965 - 11 - 19) ; Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Owner (1973 - 1 - 15)

the site was considered “unproblematic”.<sup>76</sup> *Riksantikvaren*, who was now a formal party in all building activity in the conservation area<sup>77</sup>, endorsed the garage design by architect Dag Nilsen which had a traditional design reminiscent of boat houses. The correspondence indicates that there had been several discussions to reach a compromise design acceptable to both the conservation community and the owner.<sup>78</sup>

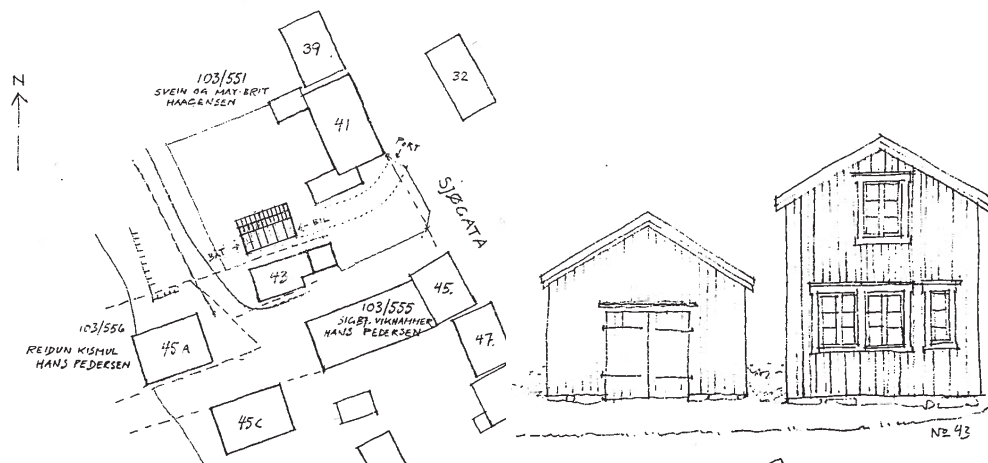


Figure 27-28: Sjøgata 41, new garage designed to fit in with the historic environment. Site plan (left) and west façade 1:100 (right) showed in relation to the neighbouring building Sjøgata 43. (Architect Dag Nilsen 26.6.83, rev. 17.2.1984, Vefsn municipal building archive)

### Summary

The street building in Sjøgata 41 from 1868 was restored and regenerated in 1980 after three years of planning involving two architects and a heated debate with the local building authorities over fire prevention measures. The façade was restored to the design it according to available documentation had before its 1962 modernization. Original building elements (windows and cladding) which had survived the modernization were used as models for the restoration but generally not preserved. New windows were crafted for the entire building; while some of the original older cladding was re-used. The initial plan of the first architect, Grimsby, had been to remodel the interior in its entirety, including replacement of floor beams to accommodate contemporary standards of room height. These alterations to the original construction, consisting of notched log walls and massive wood floor beams and wooden floors, were discouraged by the conservation community, *Riksantikvaren* and

<sup>76</sup> Vefsn Kommune (1984 - 5 - 22)

<sup>77</sup> Riksantikvaren (1984 - 6 - 11)

<sup>78</sup> Nilsen (1983 - 6 - 26; 1984 - 2 - 17)

restoration architect Dag Nilsen from N.T.H., who acted as conservation consultant with Vefsn museum. The old room heights were in the end kept as they were, but interior log walls were removed to accommodate a new floor in accordance with the owner's wishes. Nilsen entered into a dispute with Vefsn municipality over the fire-proofing of the stairwell, the only part of the interior where the intention was to preserve original surfaces. He presented an alternative and less interventionist plan for fire-prevention which was accepted, and the stairwell was preserved. The exterior was restored with acute attention to detail, and according to Nilsen's specifications with reuse of older, original components.

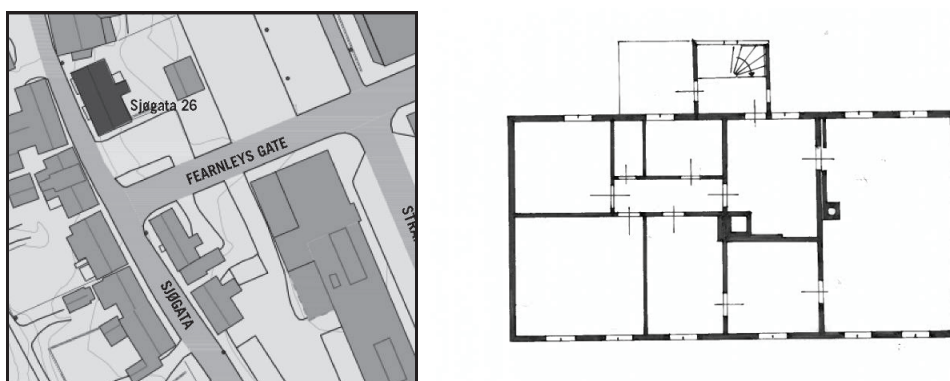


Figure 29-30: Sjøgata 26 site plan (left) and upstairs floor plan (right), (August Schmidt 2010)



Figure 31-32: Sjøgata 26 street façade looking in the southern (left) and northern direction (right). (Photograph MB 2007)

### 7.2.2 Restoration and regeneration of Sjøgata 26

Sjøgata 26 was built in 1877, rebuilt in 1883 and refurbished circa 1900. It is a street house which held business premises on the ground floor and apartments upstairs. After 1900 the building endured a number of smaller alterations including indoor refurbishments and a backyard extension. The building was planned to be demolished in Preben Krag's 1964 development plan, where it was to be replaced by a larger business structure which would have occupied the plots 22-26. The development of the block was not carried through, and

Sjøgata 26 was subsequently included in the Sjøgata conservation plan in the late 1970s. The street façade of the building had, before modernizations in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, been adorned with neo-gothic detailed entrance doors and shop windows. These were restored to the building in 1981 in a regeneration process which included redecorating and partly rebuilding the upstairs apartment section which at the time had stood uninhabited for several years.<sup>79</sup>

The 1980-81 restoration of Sjøgata 26 brought about heated debates over fire prevention measures where the conservation community and the local building authorities took opposing stands. The cases of Sjøgata 26 and Sjøgata 41 were at the forefront of a discussion on the principles of fire prevention measures in old Sjøgata buildings, raising the issue of how to reconcile the demands of contemporary building codes with conservation interests.

#### *The old Sjøgata 26*

Sjøgata 26 is documented to have been under construction in a fire insurance assessment from October 1877, which mentioned the owner as a carpenter (*tømrer*).<sup>80</sup> The building was extended in 1883 in width and height to the size and design it has today, which totals 124 m<sup>2</sup> floor space distributed on two floors and a loft.<sup>81</sup> Originally a dwelling with a general store (*krambu*) in the northern section of the ground floor, the building underwent a refurbishment circa 1900, when the business area on the ground floor was extended to include the entire ground floor premises. The building now accommodated two shops, and an additional separate entrance (the northern one) was built. The street façade was altered at about the same time, the original vertically clad façade faced with horizontal cladding, and new windows and doors fitted with neo-gothic style detailing.<sup>82</sup>

The building construction was notched timber, in 5-6" side-cut logs.<sup>83</sup> The building's foundation walls were built in natural stone, about one metre thick.<sup>84</sup> A section of the street façade still displays the mock stone block pattern on the rendering. The building has a basement which extends underneath about half of the building. A 1980 antiquarian assessment of the building, done before the 1981 regeneration, documented that the interior still displayed elements from the neo-gothic refurbishment; on the south end shop premises the interior and

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<sup>79</sup> G.G. (1979 - 4 - 4)

<sup>80</sup> Fire Insurance Assessment October 25<sup>th</sup> 1877, Berg and Nilsen (1988)

<sup>81</sup> In a 1981 building permit application the house was described as having a total of 124 m<sup>2</sup> gross (brutto) flooring with 51m<sup>2</sup> net on the street level localities. Vefsn Kommune (1981 - 2 - 13)

<sup>82</sup> Norsted (1980 - 5 - 23)

<sup>83</sup> Vefsn Kommune (1981 - 2 - 13)

<sup>84</sup> Grønbech (1979 - 4 - 4)



Figure 33-34: Sjøgata 26 circa 1910 (top) and 1968 (bottom). In the time interval between these photographs the shop front windows and staircases of number 26 were altered, and the neighbouring building (number 28, to the right of 26 on top photo) was demolished (before 1961<sup>85</sup>), the plot seized as parking space and never rebuilt. (Photographs Vefsn museum archive)

<sup>85</sup> Krag (1964 - 2 - 12)



fixed furnishings from around 1900 were still intact, as was the street front stairwell, and the upstairs apartment had mouldings, exposed roof beams, doors and windows with “neo-gothic” character in several rooms. The main entrance stairwell had painted, exposed log walls, whereas the rest of the interior walls were clad with boards, wood wall panels or paper and wallpaper; the floors with linoleum covering. Many of the exposed surfaces described in the antiquarian assessment 1980 were estimated to date back to the 1920s and 30s.<sup>86</sup> Both street façade entrances were reached from the street level by individual short flights of steps.

#### *Modernizations circa 1940 - 1970*

The ground floor shop area housed various businesses over time; from 1946 the northern shop premises were in use by the local bank, partition walls were removed and a fire-proof safe built at the back.<sup>87</sup> Later business tenants included a plumbing shop (*rørhandel*), pet shop, music store, and art gallery.<sup>88</sup> The main alterations to the exterior of the building were done in the middle decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and concerned the shop front section of the main façade. Originally in stone, the outer main street steps were replaced with lighter wood- and metal constructions, an alteration which according to photographs was done between 1946 and 1968. Otherwise it was the shop windows which were most significantly altered, the neo-gothic style windows replaced with whole glass panes. Aside from the bank’s reconstruction of the ground floor interior in the mid 1940s, there are no archival records of building activity on the property until 1972, when the owner notified the authorities that he intended to demolish the outbuilding (*uthus*) on the grounds of its sad state. At this time the upstairs windows were still intact, whereas the shop windows had been enlarged and altered.

#### *Prerequisites for restoration and modernization*

Sjøgata 26 was well documented in the mid 1970s in preparation for new owners and an eventual rehabilitation and restoration. In 1974 *Riksantikvaren’s* Terje Nordsted had made a survey and a report on the building with special emphasis on the historic interiors, and he had a colour scheme made for the façades [Figure 41]. A survey and plan for the restoration of the street house in Sjøgata 26 was made in 1975, prepared by ‘The Mosjøen group’ at the Department for Architectural History N.T.H. Five years later, after a change of ownership, an application for a building permit was submitted. Architect Dag Nilsen, originally a member of

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<sup>86</sup> Norsted (1980 - 5 - 23)

<sup>87</sup> Berge (1945?)

<sup>88</sup> Sjøgata 26 was number 35 in the old land register (matrikkel). {G.G., 1979 - 4 - 4 #49 ; Berge (1945?); Fylkesveterinæren\*i\*Nordland (1991 - 12 - 2; Sefrak ((after 1979))

this group, was engaged as architect, and a façade restoration was executed more or less according to the 1975 plan. The condition of the building before the work started was described as both worse- and best-case scenarios, depending on the assessing party. The building was appraised in 1979 and deemed beyond repair:

“The house has been uninhabited in recent years. Because of roof leaks the building has endured in parts large damages. Otherwise there is a leak in the basement and water is flowing in. Exterior rendering is falling off. The windows are broken are damaged by fungi. The timber of the bottom log and by the window is damaged by fungi. The cladding is damaged by fungi, as is the roof. In general the house is in such a derelict state that restoration is questionable.”<sup>89</sup>

A year later architect Dag Nilsen deemed that Sjøgata 26 was in technically sound condition. He delivered the following assessment at the start of the rehabilitation:

“...a building somewhat marked by delayed maintenance, with worn off paint, dilapidated gutters and fittings, but otherwise in constructive sound condition.”<sup>90</sup>

A report delivered by *Riksantikvaren*'s Terje Norsted in 1980, primarily with recommendations for colours and treatment of the interiors, concluded that the building was relatively well preserved from a conservation point of view:

“Sjøgata 26 has in the upstairs storey kept much of its old rooms intact, and therefore presents itself as a natural object for a restoration on antiquarian grounds. The owners also seem to be inclined to meet as many antiquarian solutions as are reasonable, and should be given all possible support and encouragement.”<sup>91</sup>

“Antiquarian solutions” was more closely defined in the recommendations:

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<sup>89</sup> “Huset har stått ubebodd de siste år. Pga lekkasjer fra tak har bygningen blitt påført til dels store skader. For øvrig er det lekkasje på kjeller så vann (overvann) strømmer inn. Utv. puss faller av. Vinduer er sundslått og har råteskader. Tømring ved svill og ved vinduer har råteskader. Bordkledning råteskadd, tak råteskadd. Generelt huset er i sin helhet så sterkt forringet at det er meget betenkelig med en restaurering.” G.G. (1979 - 4 - 4)

<sup>90</sup> “...en bygning preget av noe ettersatt vedlikehold, malingslitt, dårlige renner og beslag, men ellers i konstruktivt god stand.” Nilsen (1981 - 4 - 10)

<sup>91</sup> “Sjøgata 26 har i andre etasje beholdt store deler av sin eldre innredning intakt, og byr seg derfor fram som et naturlig objekt for en restaurering på antikvarisk grunnlag. Eierne synes også å være innstilt på å imøtekomme så mange antikvariske løsninger som rimelig er, og bør gis all mulig støtte og oppmuntring.” Norsted (1980 - 5 - 23)

“It must be stressed that it is of principal importance that as much as possible of the older building components are kept and used for the restoration and that repair and reuse takes priority over replacement.”<sup>92</sup>

The goal for the treatment of Sjøgata 26 in 1980-81 was to upgrade the standard of living and function and to restore the building’s architectural features based on the situation circa 1900:

“Based on the present circumstances – firstly considering the existing cladding and windows on the ground storey – it would be of interest to have the entire façade reconstructed as it stood circa 1900.”<sup>93</sup>

Sjøgata 26 received some funding from “the Sjøgata Grants”, partly as a grant and partly as an interest-free loan, which together constituted around 15% of the total building costs.<sup>94</sup> The case work for Sjøgata 26 demonstrates that projects which received funding had to be executed according to certain building conservation standards, and approved by the board.<sup>95</sup> In the case of Sjøgata 26 this was arranged in the manner that work had to be approved by Dag Nilsen before payment could be made.<sup>96</sup> With this, restoration architect Dag Nilsen assumed the role of both architect and controller. For Sjøgata 26 it was concluded that all recommendations and requirements in the interest of conservation had been met:

“The work has been followed up closely by Dag Nilsen and Terje Nordsted from *Riksantikvaren*’s office. All requirements and hints have been followed up and executed in detail. The result is of high quality.”<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> “Det må understrekes at det er prinsipielt viktig at flest mulig gamle komponenter beholdes under restaureringen, slik at reparasjon og gjenbruk bør vurderes framfor hel utskifting.” Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> “Med utgangspunkt i eksisterende forhold – i første rekke nåværende panel og vinduene i andre etasje- vil det være av interesse å få hele fasaden rekonstruert slik at den framstår som i tida omkring århundreskiftet.” Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Styringsgruppa\*for\*Sjøgatamidlene (1983 - 5 - 13)

<sup>95</sup> “I prinsippet skal arbeidet være avsluttet og tilfredsstillende de krav som legges til grunn for arbeidet i Sjøgata.” Styringsgruppa\*for\*Sjøgatamidlene (1982 - 1 - 20)

<sup>96</sup> “Arbeidet er blitt nøye fulgt av Dag Nilsen og Terje Nordsted fra Riksantikvaren. Alle krav og vink er utført til punkt og prikke. Kvalitetsmessig er det meget bra.” Styringsgruppa\*for\*Sjøgatamidlene (1983 - 5 - 13)

<sup>97</sup> “Arbeidet er blitt nøye fulgt av Dag Nilsen og Terje Nordsted fra Riksantikvaren. Alle krav og vink er utført til punkt og prikke. Kvalitetsmessig er det meget bra.” Styringsgruppa\*for\*Sjøgatamidlene (1982 - 1 - 20)

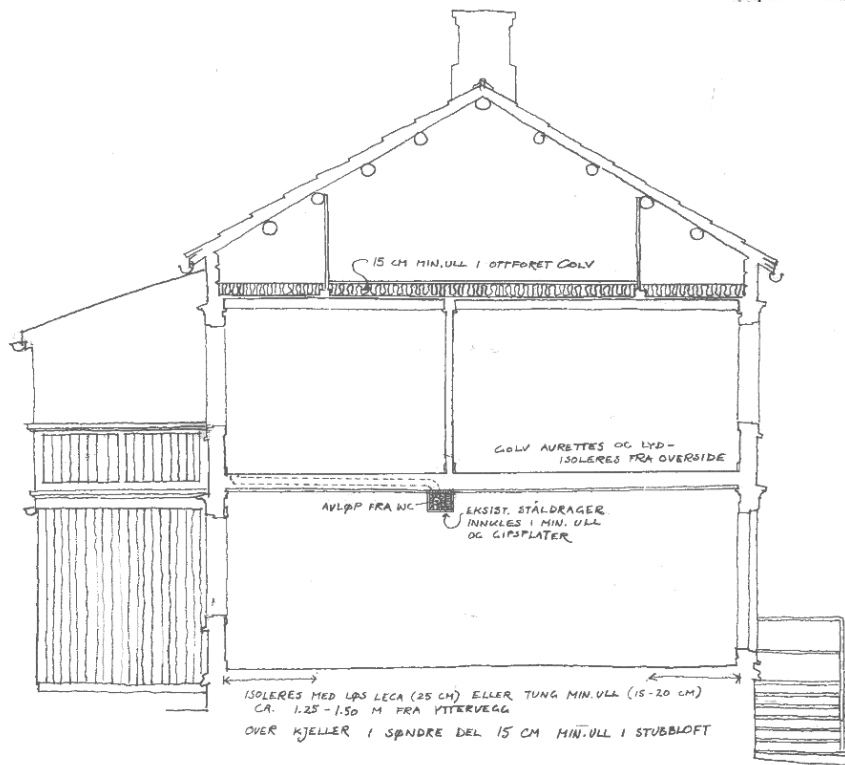
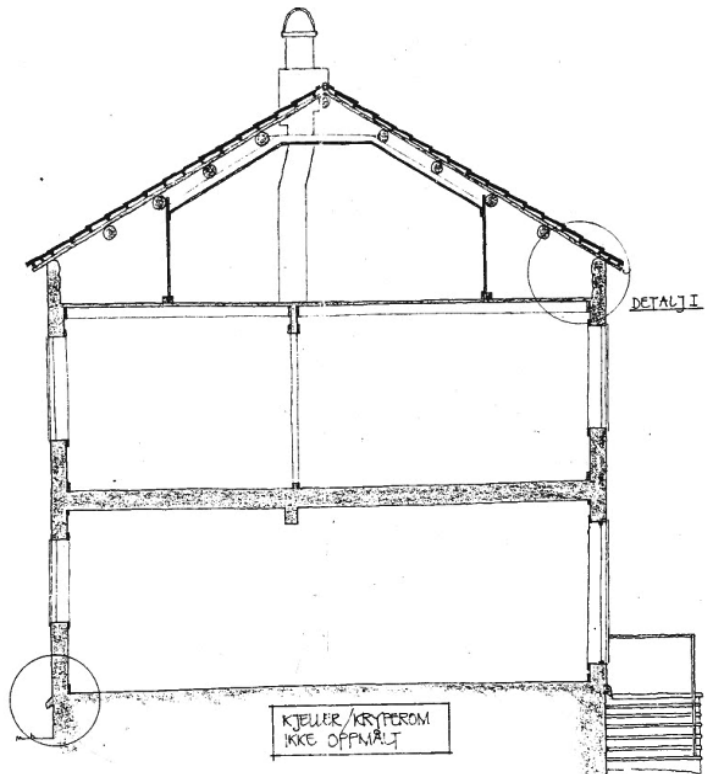


Figure 35-36 (previous page): Sjøgata 26, section. Survey (top) by "Mosjøengruppa", original scale 1:50, by the student group for the conservation (*byggningsvern*) architects' training course at N.T.H. Inst. for Ark. Hist, Spring 1975; plan for regeneration (bottom) by Dag Nilsen 30.10.1980, proposing 15 cm. mineral fibre insulation on the floor of the loft, sound-proofing mounted above the upstairs floor, and lightweight concrete pellets or mineral fibre thermal insulation 15-20 cm under the floor to line the foundation walls. (Vefsn municipal building archive; Dag Nilsen private archive)

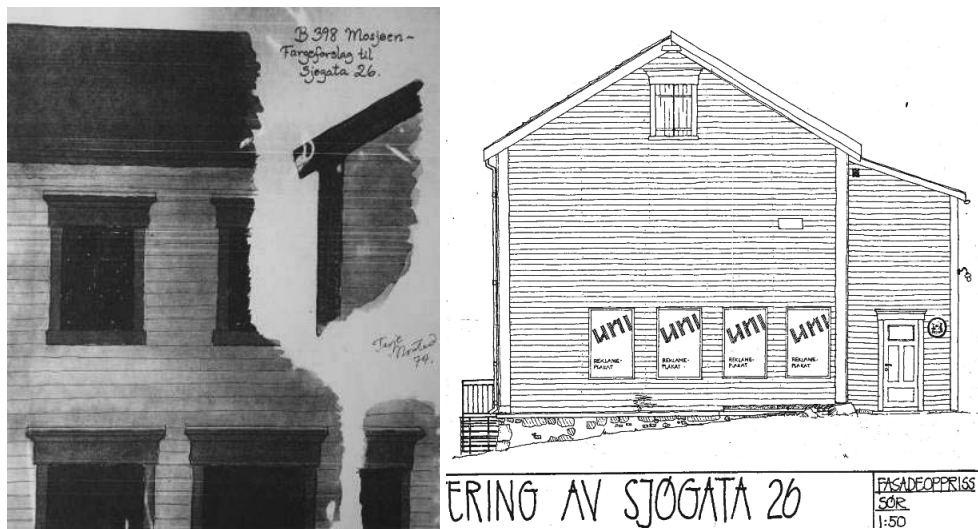


Figure 37-38: Sjøgata 26, 1974 colour plan for the façade by Terje Norsted, 1974 (left); plan for restoration of the south façade by "Mosjøengruppa" Inst. For Ark. Hist N.T.H. (right). (Vefsn museum archive; Vefsn municipal building archive)

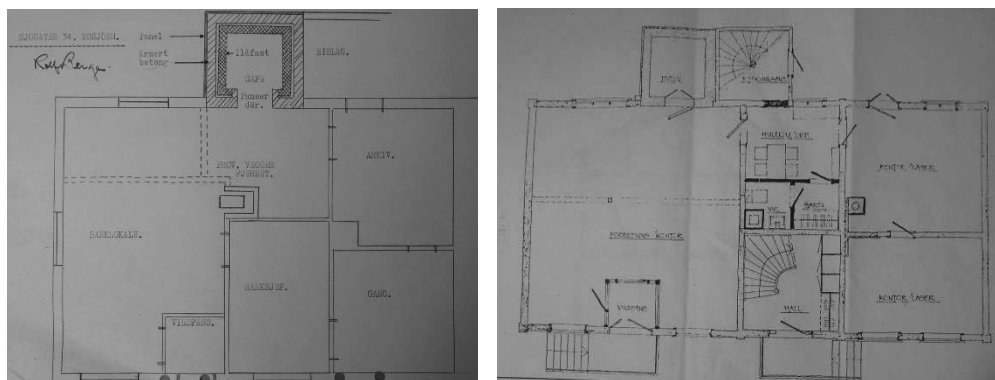


Figure 39-40: Sjøgata 26. Plan to rebuild the interior ground floor (left) including fire-proofing the ground floor, which was used as premises for a local bank, "Mosjøen bygningskontor 15/45"; regeneration plan (right) by the conservation training course from N.T.H. 1975 (Vefsn municipal building archive; Inst.for ark.hist. N.T.H.)

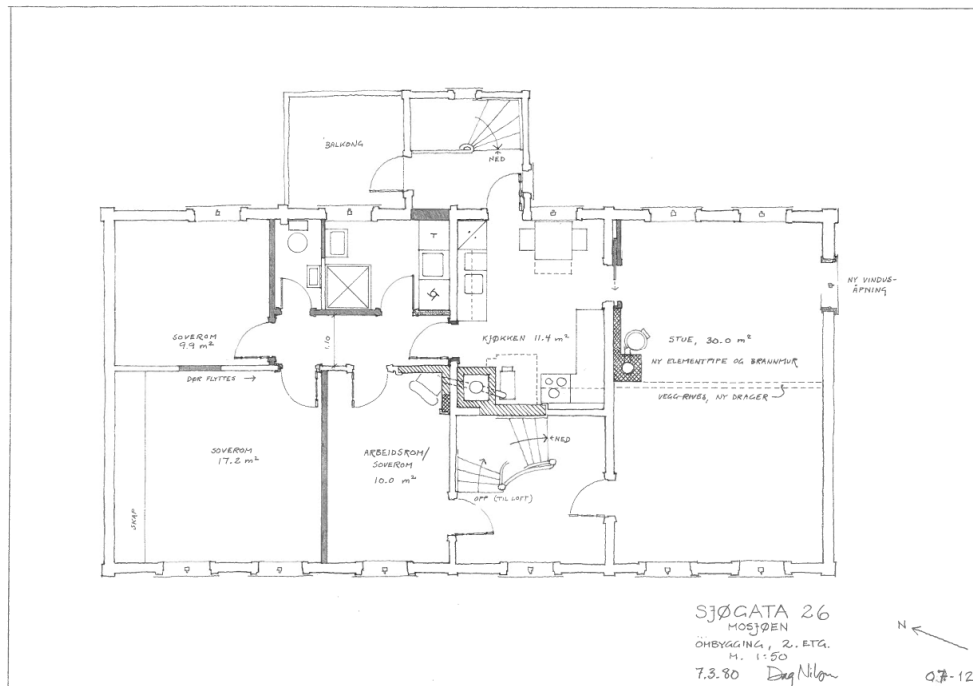
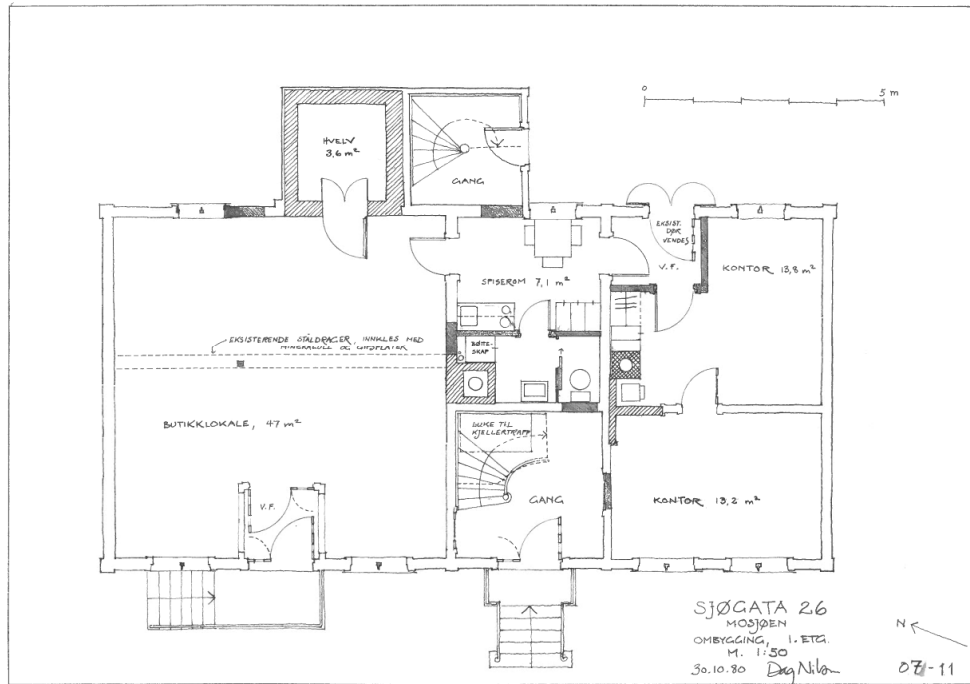


Figure 41-42: Sjøgata 26, plan to rebuild the interior ground floor dated 30.10.80 (left); and upper storey dated 7.3.1980 (right) by Dag Nilsen. (Vefsn municipal archive; Dag Nilsen private archive).

### *Restoration and regeneration 1980-1981*

Alterations regarding the building's *interior structure, floor plan and surfaces* included joining the two upstairs apartments into one apartment. On the *ground floor*, where there would be rooms for business and offices, lunch rooms, cloakroom, W.C., a new partition wall would divide the sales area from other facilities.<sup>98</sup> The main entrance hall and stairwell was to be preserved with exposed timber walls and the original elaborately moulded staircase banister. The *upstairs apartment* was to be equipped with "modern standard bathroom, W.C. and kitchen fittings"; the building supplied with "required additional thermal insulation".<sup>99</sup> The loft rooms were (according to the architect) not to be used as rooms for permanent residency. After the regeneration the house was to have acquired two toilets, three sinks and one shower.<sup>100</sup> All in all the building was to house the same functions it had held since it was first built, the major alteration being that the two upstairs apartments were now to be joined as one.<sup>101</sup>

Minor alterations were made to interior walls, both the structural log walls and secondary partition walls. Indoor secondary walls were either 2 x 4" notched timber which was original to the building, or panelled stud partition walls, presumably of a later date.<sup>102</sup> On the ground floor of the main stairwell there were two doors, leading into the two shop units, one each side of the entrance. One of these doors was closed off. As the shop here had an entrance directly onto the street, the door between the shop and the stairwell was no longer in use. The door opening was closed off by fitting log sections into the opening to create a complete timber wall. A secondary partition wall in the hallway was removed to restore the room to its original size. To join the upstairs apartments, a new door opening was cut in the timber wall at the back of the house, between the kitchens. The floors in the upstairs apartment were levelled in some rooms by mounting new flooring on top of the older wooden floorboards.<sup>103</sup>

The façades were restored following the design made by the group of architects from N.T.H. in 1975. The restoration was based on existing documentation of the building prior to the 1945 alterations to the backyard façade and subsequent enlargement of shop windows. Photographs and building elements preserved in the façade, windows and plank cladding,

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<sup>98</sup> Nilsen (1981 - 4 - 10)

<sup>99</sup> "...blir slått sammen til en, som får bad, wc og kjøkkeninnredning etter moderne standard og nødvendig tilleggsisolasjon mot kulde." Nilsen (1981 - 4 - 10)

<sup>100</sup> Owner (1980 - 5 - 8)

<sup>101</sup> Nilsen (1981 - 4 - 10)

<sup>102</sup> Owner (1980 - 5 - 8)

<sup>103</sup> Nilsen (1981 - 4 - 10)

formed the basis for the restoration. The 1975 blueprints did not specify which parts of the façade were to be preserved or re-used, if any. When the restoration was executed in 1978 most building parts in the façade were renewed with replicas which had been especially crafted according to the architect's specifications.

The plan for *thermal insulation* was to add 20 cm of insulation material at ground floor level over the basement area, and 15 cm in the joisting between the two storeys; this included soundproofing. In the loft area 15cm of mineral wool was laid over the floor to insulate the apartment below. The exterior walls were thermally insulated with 5cm mineral wool.<sup>104</sup>

The *exterior cladding*, which the architect described as “weathered”, was “renewed as far as this was necessary”, which indicated an intention to reuse old cladding materials<sup>105</sup>; this was also done.

The *windows* in the upstairs apartment were casement windows and the original ones from 1877 or 1883, single paned and hinged on the central mullion. For the rehabilitation, new windows for the apartment were constructed as copies of the existing old windows,

“...wooden windows with double glazing but otherwise of the same design and appearance as the old ones...”<sup>106</sup>

The exterior frame of the new windows had puttied glass panes, and the moulded window woodwork was specially ordered and crafted locally. On the ground floor the older shop windows, which had been in storage, were re-mounted in their original place.<sup>107</sup> Doors for the building were also specially crafted as copies or derivatives of old designs.<sup>108</sup>

The *roof* was re-laid using the existing slate tiles on new bitumen-impregnated boards mounted on the old wooden plank under-roof.<sup>109</sup>

The initial *fire-proofing measures* described by the architect were to insulate the steel beam (with mineral wool and fire-proof boards) in the ground floor business area. This beam had been put in during the bank's days to allow knocking down a wall to enlarge their premises. To fire-proof the wall which faced the neighbouring house the restoration architect

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<sup>104</sup> Nilsen (1981 - 4 - 10)

<sup>105</sup> “.. utvendig panel er delvis værslitt og fornyes i den utstrekning det er nødvendig.” Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> “...trevinduer med koblede rammer men ellers med samme utforming som de gamle” Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

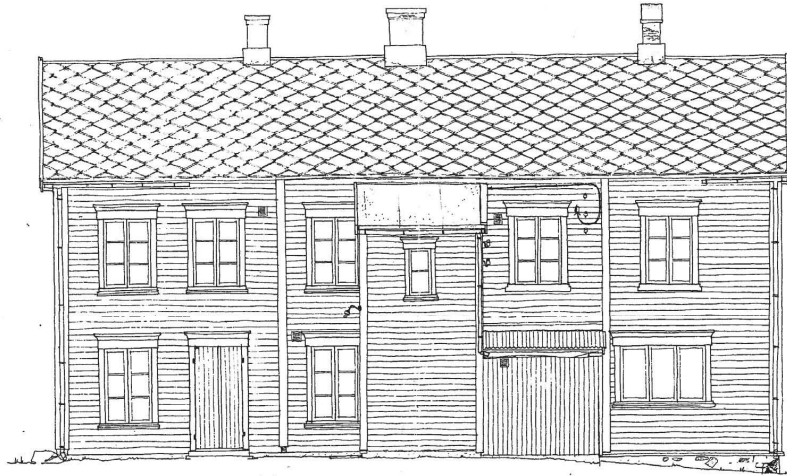
<sup>108</sup> “spes. utførelse”. {Owner, 1980 - 5 - 8 #113}

<sup>109</sup> Nilsen (1981 - 4 - 10)





1:50  
Sola 1976



## REHABILITERING AV SJØGATA 26

VÅREN 1975 "MOSJØENGRUPPA", INST. FOR ARK.-HIST., N.T.H.

FASADEOPPRISS ØST

(KONSTRUERT ETTER OPP-  
MÅLINGER OG FOTOGRAFIER.)

1:50

Figure 43-44: Sjøgata 26, view from the back yard, re-laying the roof (top); plan for backyard façade of Sjøgata 26 with the caption “Rehabilitering av Sjøgata 26” by “Mosjøengruppa” (bottom). Inst. for Ark. Hist. N.T.H. (right). (Photograph Vefsn museum archive; Vefsn municipal archive)

suggested mounting fire-proof boards on the next door neighbouring house's wall and in addition gypsum boards on the interior walls of Sjøgata 26 which faced the neighbour.<sup>110</sup> The restoration architect argued that this was sufficient but the municipal building authorities disagreed. A wooden building was, according to building codes, by definition not fireproof.<sup>111</sup> The municipality demanded that the stairwell be fully clad in fire-proofing boards, fire-proof doors on the ground floor and in outer walls in ground floor office area.<sup>112</sup> The main intention was to prevent fire spreading to the neighbouring house. After a long dispute, alternative fire-proofing measures described by the architect to better preserve the architecture of the stairwell and the ground floor interiors (which were rooms accessible to the public) were accepted on the grounds that the building council lacked legal grounds to require the more comprehensive measures.<sup>113</sup>

#### *The debate over fire proofing measures in Sjøgata buildings*

On the debate over fire-proofing measures for number 26 and 41, the municipal building authorities and conservation interests, in this case represented by the restoration architect, took different stands. The local authorities were concerned:

“...the town council is concerned about the effort which the conservation interests put into preserving the internal environment of the buildings.”<sup>114</sup>

Statutory protection given through the Building Act was limited to protect the exterior of the building; however, conservation interests in Mosjøen argued for conservation of interiors as well. The discussions on fire prevention measures in the case of the two buildings became a discussion of principles, and became a significant contribution to testing how the various intentions and demands rooted in the Building Act and building codes worked in practice.

After an application for a building permit was filed with the municipal building authorities, a general dispute developed over the issue of fireproofing the building(s).<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> The standard building application form provided three alternatives to categorize buildings under the section fire prevention (“brannvern”): fire-safe, fire-resistant, wooden building (“branntrygg, brannherdig, trebygning”). Building application for Sjøgata 26. Owner (1980 - 5 - 8)

<sup>112</sup> Vefsn\*Bygningsråd (1981 - 10 - 6)

<sup>113</sup> “It is now suggested to relinquish the requirement to clad the stairwell as there is little danger of fire spreading to the neighbours, and on the condition that the windows upstairs can be opened. The requirement to clad the shop on the ground floor is also relinquished on the condition that the gable that was facing north is secured as described in letter from Dag Nilsen 10. Mars 1981.” Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> “...bygningrådet er betenkt over den aktivitet som verneinteressene legger i bevaring av det interne miljø i bygningene.” Vefsn Kommune (1981 - 2 - 13)

According to contemporary building codes, fire-proofing was a general requirement in major reconstructions (*hovedombygning*) when the building contained more than one apartment or section, and when the distance between neighbouring buildings was less than 8 metres. As the ground floor premises of the buildings were for business, both buildings were considered to have two sections each, combining the functions of home and commercial building (*bolig / forretningsbygg*).<sup>116</sup> Upon being consulted by the municipal building officer, a senior engineer at the State Fire Inspection Office generally agreed with the municipal building committee's decision on required fire-proofing:

“...it must be taken into consideration that the buildings are very densely built in a manner which does not meet the requirements of the law.”<sup>117</sup>

The distance from the northern wall of number 26 to the neighbouring house was about 4 metres. *Statens Branninspeksjon* (“the State Fire Inspection Office”) stated that dispensations from the legal requirements could be requested only if a plan of compensatory measures for fireproofing was put forward. According building regulations fire-proof paints were not acceptable as an alternative to fire-proof interior wall panels, *Statens Branninspeksjon* maintained, as this would only limit a fire in its initial stages.<sup>118</sup>

*Riksantikvaren* reported the case in 1980, stating that it was essential to preserve original parts in the preserved buildings.<sup>119</sup> The restoration architect Dag Nilsen argued that log walls in themselves are fire-resistant, the weak point being the joints (*medfarene*), which he proposed to pack with mineral wool to increase fire resistance.<sup>120</sup> The municipality in turn referred to § 2 of the Sjøgata conservation plan, which stated

“In the interior such buildings can be remodelled and modernized to the degree necessary to create good and convenient premises.”<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Owner (1980 - 5 - 8)

<sup>117</sup> “...det må tas hensyn til at det ikke er lovlig avstand mellom bygningene” Statement from Overingeniør Årnes, Statens Branninspeksjon; Vefsn Kommune (1981 - 2 - 13)

<sup>118</sup> Statement from Overingeniør Årnes, Statens Branninspeksjon; Vefsn Kommune (1981 - 2 - 13)

<sup>119</sup> Riksantikvaren (1980 - 4 - 29)

<sup>120</sup> Nilsen (1981 - 3 - 10)

<sup>121</sup> “Innvendig kan slik bebyggelse ombygges og moderniseres i den grad dette er nødvendig for å skape gode og hensiktsmessige lokaler.” Conservation plan (reguleringsplan) for Sjøgata. Nilsen (1980 - 2 - 1)

The county governor (*Fylkesmann*) nullified the municipality's resolution concerning fire proofing of Sjøgata 26 and 41 and a series of bureaucratic procedures followed. The case ended with a municipal building council resolution that the fire proofing measures insisted upon could not be demanded within the current legal framework.<sup>122</sup> The municipal building authority acknowledged that, according to the building codes (chapter 55.34) there was no basis for demanding fire proofing measures in the case of a building project as the buildings in question both had less than 200m<sup>2</sup> of floor space. In concluding on the case, the municipal building officer commented principally on the challenges of granting building permits in the Sjøgata area, complaining of tedious casework and disputes over conservation issues:

“There have been conflicts and tedious casework in a number of the cases which have been dealt with in Sjøgata after the conservation plan was ratified (...) In the Sjøgata area the owner meets requirements from the building- and conservation authorities, or rather from the local committee for *Kulturrådet* funds, who hand out grants for which the owner in return needs to take antiquarian matters into consideration. (...) as in the present case, the owner has been pressured from two sides.”<sup>123</sup>

In his presentation to the building council (this is a formal document, personalized by the writer's use of the word “I” and clear conveyance of personal opinions), the municipal building officer stressed that the conservation plan was intended for the exterior of the buildings only, but that despite this, conservation authorities had made demands regarding building interiors and “used money to lure or pressure the owner”, something he found unjust.<sup>124</sup> The building officer cautioned against taking the issue lightly:

“... (it is) irresponsible to give building permits in the Sjøgata area without demanding fire-proofing. I am therefore of the opinion that the building council must be able to make demands, whatever the legal

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<sup>122</sup> Formal correspondence and resolutions on the case: Letter from Fylkesmannen dated 24. July 1980; building permit application dated 17. April 1980; Permit granted for Sjøgata 41 on certain conditions 24 June 1980; Permit granted for Sjøgata 26 on certain conditions; letter from Dag Nilsen (architect) NTH 16. July 1980; Municipal building committee resolution (Vefsn Bygningsråd) 21. October 1980; Appeal against municipal resolution by Dag Nilsen 30. October 1980; Municipal building committee treatment of Dag Nilsen's appeal 13. February 1980; letter of information from Dag Nilsen 10. March 1981; County Government request to be informed about the case 24. March 1981; Municipal building committee resolution concluding the work on 26 and 41 do not fall in the category “major rebuilding” 2. June 1981; Letter from Dag Nilsen proposing to alter the statutes of the conservation plan 2. March 1981. Vefsn\*Bygningsråd (1981 - 10 - 6)

<sup>123</sup> “... det har fremkommet uoverenstemmelser og langtekkelig saksbehandling i en rekke av de saker som har vært behandlet i Sjøgata etter at reguleringsplanen ble stadfestet. (...) I Sjøgataområdet blir byggherren stilt overfor krav både fra bygningsmyndigheten og fra Riksantikvaren, eller retttere sagt styringsgruppa for Kulturrådsmidler som kan stille pengemidler til disposisjon mot krav vurdert i antikvarisk sammenheng. (...) Som i foreliggende sak, har byggherren blitt presset fra to kanter.” Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> “.. når de (ref. de antikvariske myndigheter) bruker pengemidler for å lokke eller presse byggherren synes jeg dette er uriktig.” Ibid.

grounds. What one now has the impression is happening, is that the building council is losing control of the building activity which is going on in the Sjøgata area.”<sup>125</sup>

The building officer referred to fires in numerous other cities (Tromsø, Bergen etc.); he had consulted the local building authorities (*bygningssjefen*) in Røros, where distinctions were made between buildings preserved under the Building Act and listed buildings. Only for the latter category were “other solutions” sought; otherwise regular fire proofing measures were required. Mosjøen’s building officer suggested a similar distinction for Sjøgata’s buildings. The casework concluded with suggestions that the building council recommend a revision of the conservation plan and pass a resolution to (temporarily) prohibit further building in the Sjøgata area (*bygge- og deleforbud*) until fire prevention measures were worked into the conservation plan; and to recognize that the conservation plan was limited to building exteriors.<sup>126</sup>

On the question of whether the regeneration works were to be considered “major reconstruction” according to the Building Act’s § 87 2a, the building officer and caseworker were not in agreement. Although the architect assessed the work on number 41 as being more comprehensive than that in Sjøgata 26, whose restoration he was planning simultaneously, he concluded that it could not be categorized as a “major reconstruction” (*hovedombygging*). This with reference to the texts of legal authorities Schultze and Ditlefsen:

“If a building, in addition to being restored to its original condition, is reconstructed to the extent that what results is practically another building than the original one and as such in a significant manner alters its character, one may assume that the works must be characterised as a major reconstruction.”<sup>127</sup>

### *The built context*

Sjøgata 26 was originally wedged between two buildings, but Sjøgata 28 was demolished and the plot used as parking space. A utilities building had also been demolished; these were common for all historic properties in Sjøgata, and Sjøgata 26 had also had a utilities building

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<sup>125</sup> ”.. (it is) uansvarlig å gi byggetillatelse i Sjøgata uten samtidig å vurdere brannsikringstiltak. Jeg er derfor av den oppfatning av at bygningsrådet må kunne stille krav om brannsikring uansett h jemmell. (...) Det som en nå har inntrykk av holder på å skje, er at bygningsrådet mister kontrollen med den byggevirksomhet som foregår i Sjøgata.” Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> “Vedtak: 4) reguleringsplanen må omarbeides, reguleringsplanen gjelder bygningens ytre, Bygningsrådet nedlegger bygge og deleforbud.” Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> “...hvis en bygning foruten å bringes tilbake til sin opprinnelige stand ombygges i så stor utstrekning at det fremkommer noe bortimot en annen bygning enn den opprinnelige og således i vesentlig grad skifter karakter, kan man gå ut fra som givet at arbeidet må karakteriseres som en hovedombygning.” Schultze & Ditlefsen (1975?) part 3, pp 297, 299. Reference in: Nilsen (1981 - 4 - 10)

which was neglected after falling out of use and eventually demolished. In 1972 the owner had notified the municipality that the utilities building had to be demolished due to its derelict state:

“I intend to demolish the shed. The sill (ground beam) and roof is rotten and cannot easily be repaired”.<sup>128</sup>

The municipality took this information “under consideration” at the time.<sup>129</sup> In 1974 an on-site inspection was undertaken by a municipal employee on the owner’s request who stated that if the building was to have any value in the future a larger operation of maintenance was needed:

“.. it seems as if the roof many places has disconnected tiles, these should be secured so that no damage occurs to Sjøgata traffic, also windows and gutters have damage which must be repaired.”<sup>130</sup>

A strategy of repair by simple means was recommended, but the building was eventually pulled down. Ten years later new owners filed an application to build a garage in its place. This was designed by architect Dag Nilsen and sought to blend in with the historic surroundings, adapting to the local building tradition. It featured a saddle roof with eaves that have very little overhang, wooden cladding, traditional proportions and a side-hinged plank-and batten, crossbar gate. *Riksantikvaren*, who by now was involved in all building plans within the conservation area, provided a statement declaring that they had no objections to the plans:

“... the plans show a building which in design and scale is follows and is adapted to the building traditions in Mosjøen.”<sup>131</sup>

Adaptive design of new buildings to historic structures was in line with the conservation plan and followed a principle for which there was a consensus among antiquarians and conservation professionals at the time.

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<sup>128</sup> Letter from the owner. “... jeg akter å rive uthuset. Årsaken er at svill og taket er råten, og vanskelig kan repareres”. Owner (1972 - 10 - 6)

<sup>129</sup> “til etterretning”. Printout from meeting in Vefsn Building Council; Vefsn Kommune (1972 - 11 - 7)

<sup>130</sup> “.. det virker som at taket på flere steder har løse stener, dette bør sikres slik at det ikke oppstår skade på den ferdsel som er i Sjøgata, dessuten må vinduer, takrenner som har skade repareres”. Wogn-Eriksen (1972 - 8 - 24)

<sup>131</sup> “... tegningene viser et bygg som i utforming og størrelse føyer seg inn i bygningstradisjonen i Mosjøen” Riksantikvaren (1984 - 7 - 3)

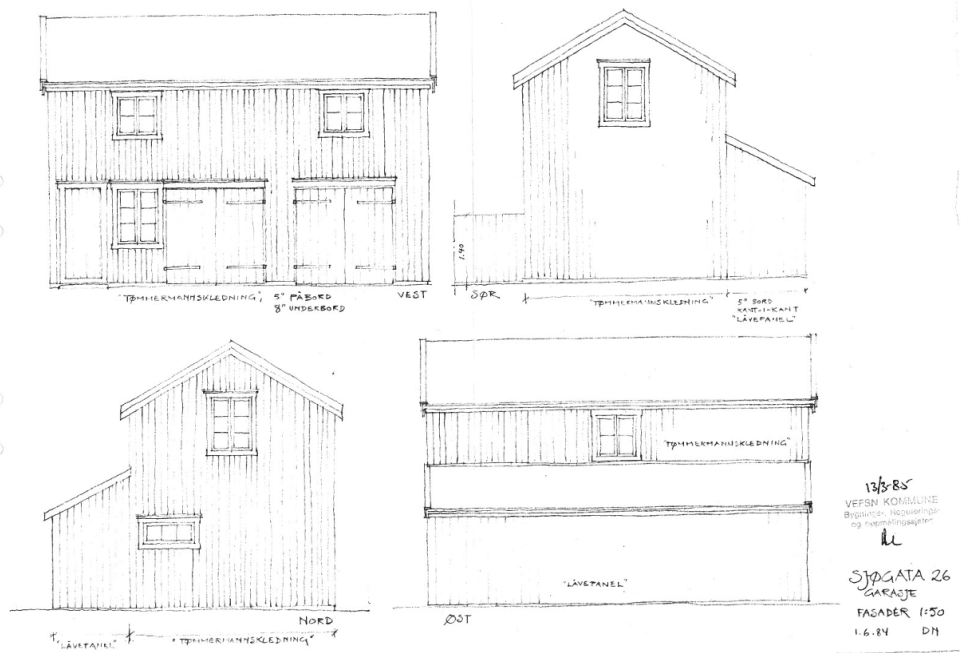
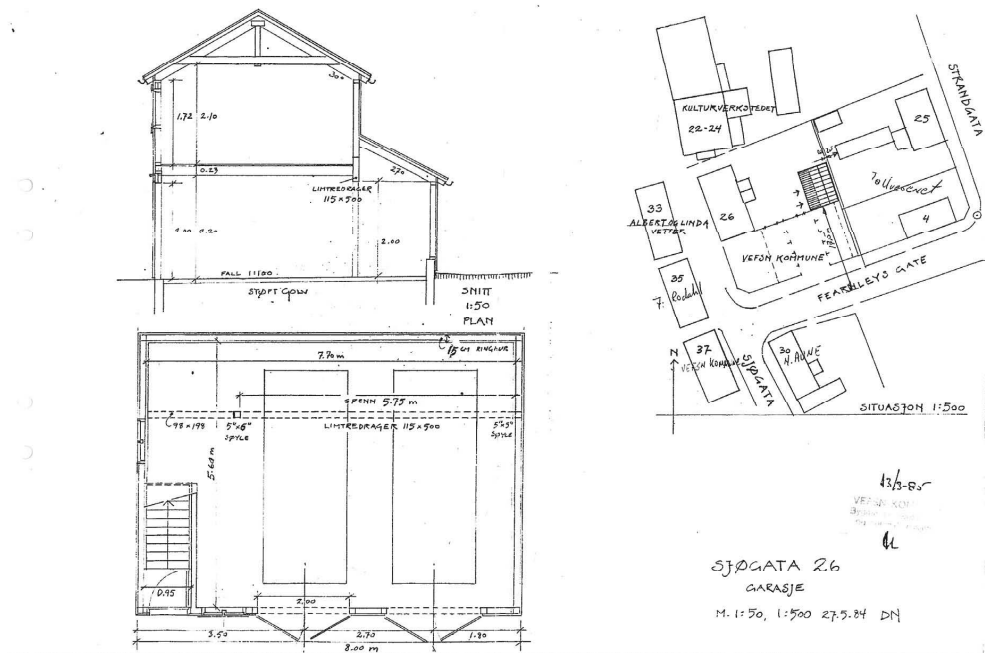


Figure 45-46: Sjøgata 26, new garage, section and plan (original scale 1:50) and site plan (1:500) D.N. 27.5.84 (top); and façade (1:50) DN 1.6.84 (bottom). (Vefsn municipal building archive; Dag Nilsen private archive)

### *Summary*

Sjøgata 26 was documented and surveyed in 1974-75 by *Riksantikvaren* and architects. The building changed owners in the late 1970s, and in 1980-81 a façade restoration was executed according to the plans from 1975, and the interior restored and modernized following a design by restoration architect Dag Nilsen. The building had not been significantly altered since it was built in 1877-1883; the ground floor business area had been remodelled in the 1940s and the shop windows enlarged around the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The 1980 restoration included re-instating two original neo-gothic shop windows which had been in storage, otherwise the cladding and windows were replaced with modern replicas, while older interior structures and fabric were to a large extent preserved, the surfaces treated according to recommendations from *Riksantikvaren*'s conservator Terje Norsted. The building was thermally insulated in the outer walls, loft and basement; the new windows double glazed. Original building parts which were replaced were copied with a significant level of detail, designed by architect Dag Nilsen. The Sjøgata 26 restoration was, like that of number 41, subject to dispute over fire-proofing measures. The close proximity to neighbouring buildings and fire-proofing of the stairwell were issues in both cases. The local authorities called for fire-proofing measures according to contemporary standards, while Nilsen argued to employ alternative fire-proofing measures which showed more consideration towards the historic fabric of the building.

### **7.2.3 Conservation and regeneration of Sjøgata 37 and Sjøgata 47**

Sjøgata 37 was defined as a pilot<sup>132</sup> project for restorations in the Sjøgata area following the decision to adopt the area conservation plan. It was part of a municipal housing improvement programme (*kommunalt utbedringsprogram*) for the Sjøgata area and also involved training carpenters for restoration work.<sup>133</sup> Sjøgata 47 was acquired by *Sjøgatastiftelsen* and plans to restore the building began in 1977. For both buildings, restoration architect Dag Nilsen made the plans for the job and was consultant throughout the work phase. Nilsen, at the time employed at N.T.H. on a N.A.V.F. scholarship, used Mosjøen as part of his research into architectural conservation. For Sjøgata 37 a thorough survey and documentation of the

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<sup>132</sup> "Som et pilotprosjekt for restaureringsarbeidene har Vefsn kommune fattet vedtak om opprusting/restaurering av eiendommen Sjøgt. 37.." Styringsgruppa\*for\*Sjøgatamidlene (1978 - 5 - 27)

<sup>133</sup> The municipal restoration program was adopted by Vefsn municipality in a resolution November 1978. The local partner for the training of carpenters was Vefsn Secondary School (Vefsn videregående skole) and the training was completed during the course of 1977. Vefsn Kommune (1978 - 11 - 8)



building's history was part of the project. Both projects were to be model examples for the restoration and regeneration of buildings inside the Sjøgata conservation area.

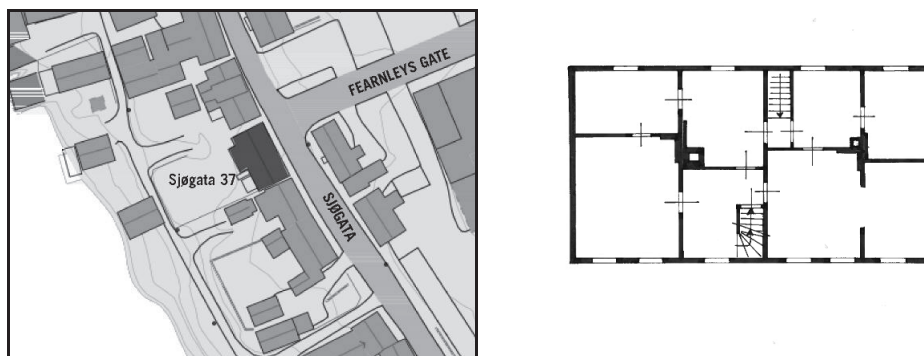


Figure 47-48: Sjøgata 37 site plan (left) and floor plan (right) (GIS; August Schmidt 2010)

### *The Old Sjøgata 37*

The first fixed dating of the current house at Sjøgata 37 was a fire insurance valuation from October 1865. The building was at this point newly erected and had replaced a previous building which had been taken down and moved to a nearby plot.<sup>134</sup> The valuation documents included a description of building materials and layout:

“...raised in timber and roofed with birch bark and sod and consists in addition to the Cellar of three Storeys, that from the southern end are arranged as follows: 2 sitting rooms in width, divided by Timber wall, hallway and Kitchen, divided by a Panel wall and finally a sitting room across the entire Width. From the hallway a Staircase leads to the second Storey which is arranged in the same manner...”<sup>135</sup>

One chimney, one baking oven and one tiled heating stove (*kakkelovn*), 14 windows and 7 doors were taxed. The plan of the Sjøgata 37 street house is a paired-room type (*parstue*); a floor plan with two rooms, achieved through the division of the large sitting room on the ground floor lengthwise by a load-bearing timber wall.<sup>136</sup> A new fire valuation was performed in 1872 after the building had been “remodelled and improved in many directions and significantly.”<sup>137</sup> The owner, a tradesman (*handelsmann*), had enlarged his shop area by adding a section onto the north end gable wall. An illustration by architect Dag Nilsen

<sup>134</sup> Taxationsforretning (1865 - 10 - 17)

<sup>135</sup> “...opført af Tømmer og tækket med Næver og Torv og bestaar foruden Kjælderen af 3 Stokværk, der fra Søndre Ende er saaledes indrættet: 2 stuer i Bredden, adskilt ved Tømmervæg, gang og Kiøkken, adskilte ved Paneling og endelig en stue over hele Brædden. Fra gangen fører Trapp til andet Stokværk, der er indr. paa samme Maade...” Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Berg and Nilsen (1988) p 103

<sup>137</sup> “ombygget og forbedret i mange Retninger, og i betydelig Grad.” Norsted (1980 - 1 - 14)

demonstrates how the ground storey section of the old western gable was taken down and shifted westwards to be rebuilt as the ground floor section of the new exterior gable wall, while the first storey section of the new outer gable wall was built with fresh timber. In this way a large shop room was created on the ground floor. It was through lengthwise extensions that the buildings of Sjøgata “grew together” to create a more or less continuous wall of façades.<sup>138</sup> The exterior of number 37 was always clad with vertical wooden boards, while the window type and façade mouldings were typical of the Norwegian Late Empire Style. The façade has been restored to its original colours.<sup>139</sup>

Apart from a larger concrete addition at the back, the building underwent only minor alterations between 1872 and its restoration in 1977-79.

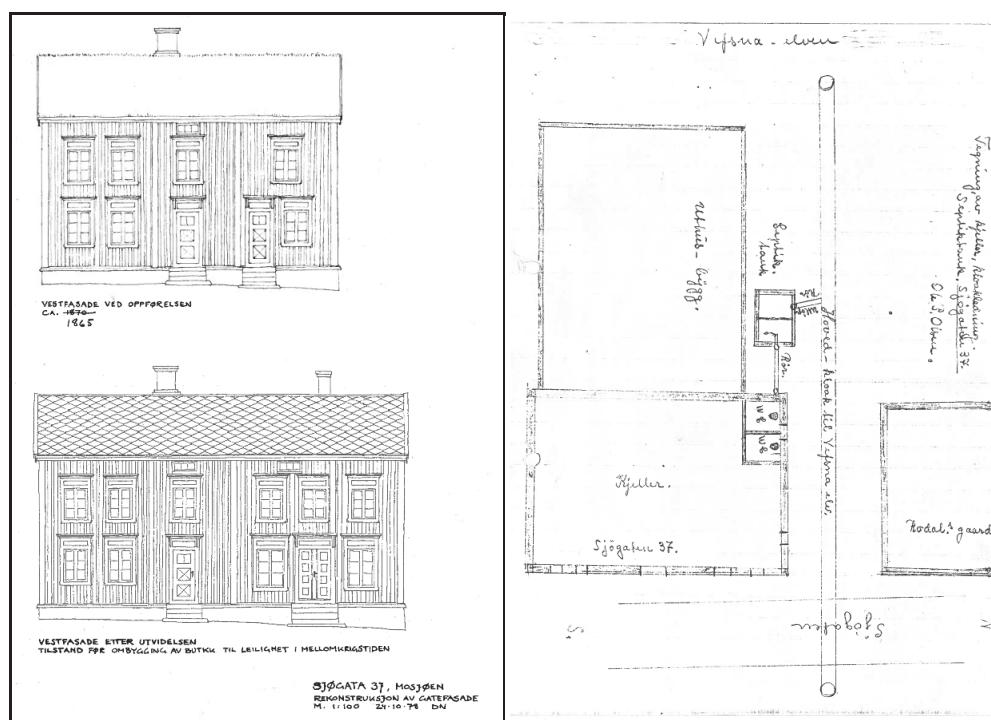


Figure 49-50: Sjøgata 37, west façade at the time of its construction in 1865 (top left), and after the extension in 1872 (bottom left) but before the shop area was rebuilt as an apartment which was between World War 1 and World War 2, Dag Nilsen 24.10.1978. Ground floor sewage plan showing secondary addition (right). (Dag Nilsen private archive)

<sup>138</sup> Berg and Nilsen (1988) p 98, 99; Nilsen (1978 - 9 - 20)

<sup>139</sup> Drange, Aanensen et al. (1996) p 32

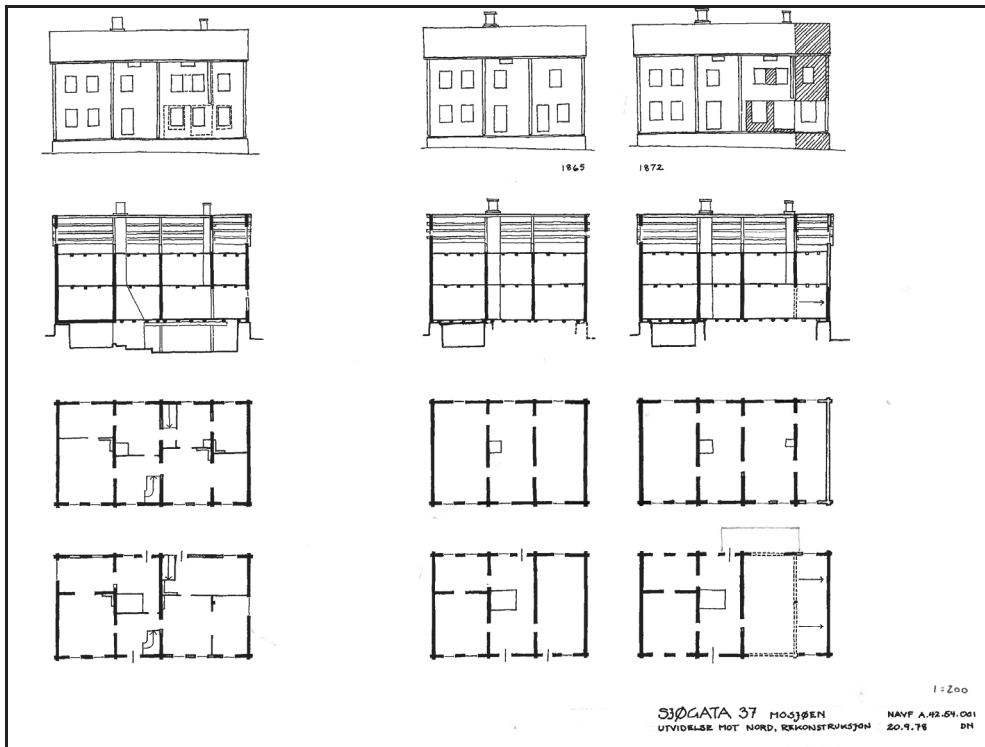


Figure 51: Sjøgata 37, reconstruction of the northward extension in 1972. Ground floor plan below. NAVF 20.9.1978 D.N. (Dag Nilsen private archive)

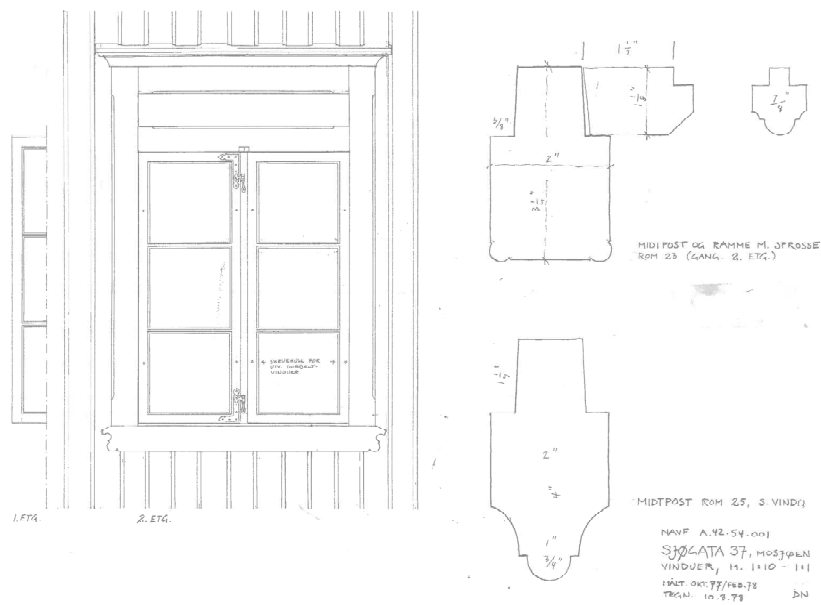
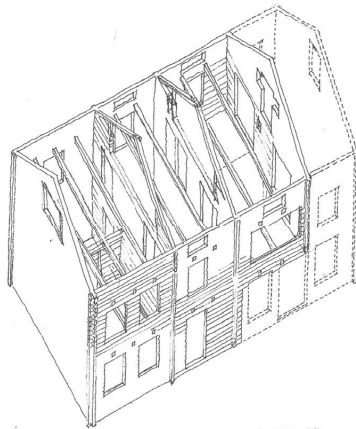


Figure 52: Sjøgata 37, window façade and plan of mullion (bottom) survey by Dag Nilsen "Okt. '77/Feb.78 Tegn 10.8.78". (Dag Nilsen private archive)



SJØGATA 37

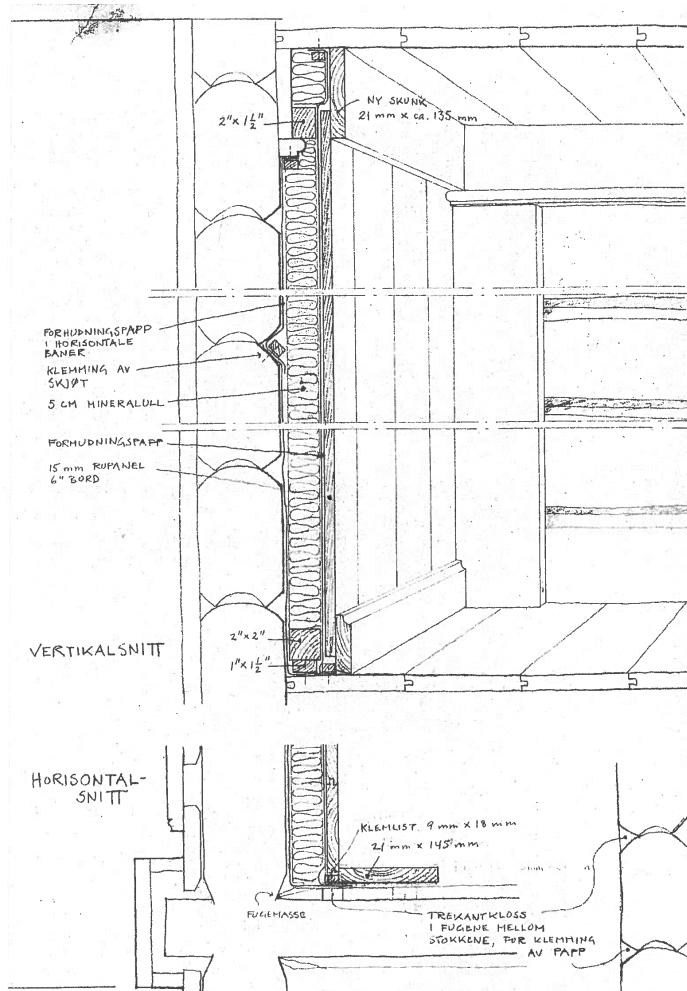


Figure 53-54: Sjøgata 37, isometric projection of construction (top), illustration of plan for thermal insulation (bottom) Dag Nilsen. (Vefsn municipal building archive; Dag Nilsen private archive)



Figure 55-57: Sjøgata 37, backyard façade before regeneration (top); backyard façade after the secondary addition was removed (middle); new backyard addition in place (bottom). (Photographs: Dag Nilsen, Dag Nilsen private archive)

### *Conservation and regeneration of Sjøgata 37, 1977-79*

The work done on Sjøgata 37 in the late 1970s involved regeneration, restoration and conservation work. In the 1978 application for State Housing Bank funding, the work was described as “very comprehensive.”<sup>140</sup> Restoration plans were founded on a thorough documentation of the building including the study of historic documents by local historian Kjell Jakobsen and Dag Nilsen, who also prepared a building survey (Dag Nilsen 1977-1978). *Riksantikvaren's* Terje Norsted examined the colour history of the building and delivered a restoration plan for exterior and interior surfaces in 1980.<sup>141</sup> The project adopted a dynamic approach where documentation was done throughout the building process, and ideas launched and rejected on the basis of documentation and findings *in situ*. It was for instance initially believed that the double entrance door to the addition had at one point been moved here from the street façade [Figure 50]; this theory was repudiated when it was found that the door blades of the back door were taller than the opening for the door in the street façade.<sup>142</sup>

A newer backyard addition, rendered with concrete cement and roofed with metal sheeting, had covered most of the ground floor west façade onto the backyard. This was removed in 1977/78, exposing the timber wall and two closed up window openings. Windows were restored to the openings, in the same design as the building as a whole, while a smaller wooden addition which was to serve as entrance hallway for the northern apartment was built at the back of the house. The design of this new and smaller addition was based on the observation that part of the cement addition was notably older than the rest and must have been integrated in the larger addition, a theory confirmed by the fact that a small addition could be found when studying the 1876 map of Mosjøen.<sup>143</sup>

After work was completed, Sjøgata 37 was to house two apartments, a northern and a southern, with separate entrances, one from the street and one through the new backyard addition. The basement area was reserved for a common laundry room and was to have a new cement floor. Ceilings between the ground and upstairs storeys were left as they were with visible beams, no sound insulation was added (this could, according to the architect, be left for future tenants to decide). The restoration architect emphasised that existing older interior

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<sup>140</sup> “...meget omfattende.” Styringsgruppa\*for\*Sjøgatamidlene (1978 - 5 - 27)

<sup>141</sup> Norsted (1980 - 1 - 14)

<sup>142</sup> Nilsen (1978 - 3 - 14)

<sup>143</sup> “Den delen av tilbygget som danner bakgang for leiligheten er dessuten eldre enn resten av tilbygget, og er tegnet inn på kartet fra 1876. Jeg har derfor tegnet et tilbygg av omtrent samme form og størrelse.” Ibid.

doors, mouldings and surfaces be preserved and reused, while new doors to new rooms could be “smooth standard type doors”.<sup>144</sup>

“In principle the interior paint work and wall papering should be left to the tenants, except if older wall panels and coverings of antiquarian value emerge during the work process, in which case these should to the greatest extent possible be restored. Interior cladding of exotic wood grains or plastic imitations must be avoided.”<sup>145</sup>

In the instructions to repair the stone *foundations* of the building the restoration architect specified to avoid the use of cement, and on the assumption that lime was the material previously used for rendering, traditional lime should be used.<sup>146</sup>

The old *chimney* could, if conservation proved to be “unduly complicated and costly”, be replaced with a light-weight concrete element chimney (*Leca*). Room types which were new to the building were the bathrooms/W.C.s and the closets.<sup>147</sup>

The *wall construction* of the building endured minor repairs. The bottom (*sylstokk*) was dilapidated and to be replaced with artificially impregnated wood (*trykkimpregnert*), further specifications for materials were glass or mineral fibre chinking (*laftevatt*) and foundation cardboard sheeting (*grunnmurspapp*) as a moisture repellent between the wood and the stone foundation wall.<sup>148</sup>

*Thermal insulation* was added in strategic places, with mineral wool as the chosen material. The street level floors were insulated from the basement side, where the old sound boarding (*stubbloft*) was removed and replaced with a 15 cm layer of mineral wool and building paper; along the foundation walls insulation was to be done from above by removing the floorboards along the outer walls. The loft floor was likewise insulated, lined with 15 cm mineral wool on top of which a new floor was laid. The new backyard addition was built in 2”x 4” half-timbered framework, insulated with 10cm pressed mineral wool boards (*mineralullplater*), the roof insulated with 15 cm mineral wool (in compliance with to present day thermal insulation standards).<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> “. glatte standarddører”. Nilsen (1978 - 4 - 16)

<sup>145</sup> “Prinsipielt bør innvendig maling og tapetsering overlates leieboerne, dersom det ikke under ombyggingen kommer fram eldre veggkledninger av antikvarisk verdi, disse bør da i størst mulig utstrekning restaureres. Panelplater i eksotiske tresorter eller plastimitasjoner må unngås” Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> “.uforholdsmessig store vanskeligheter eller omkostninger..” Nilsen (1978 - 4 - 16)

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

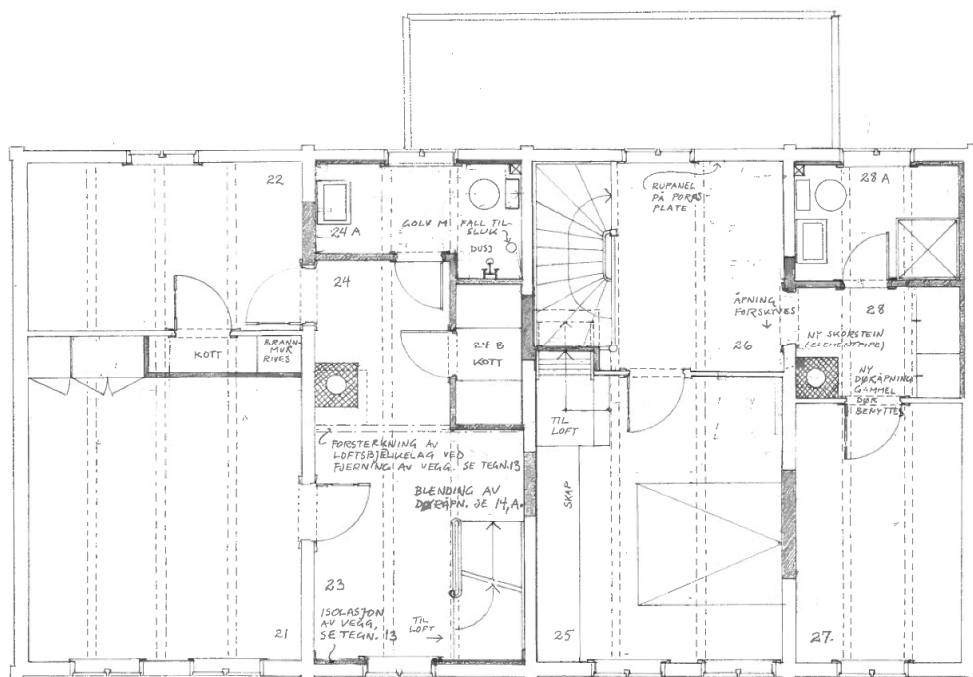
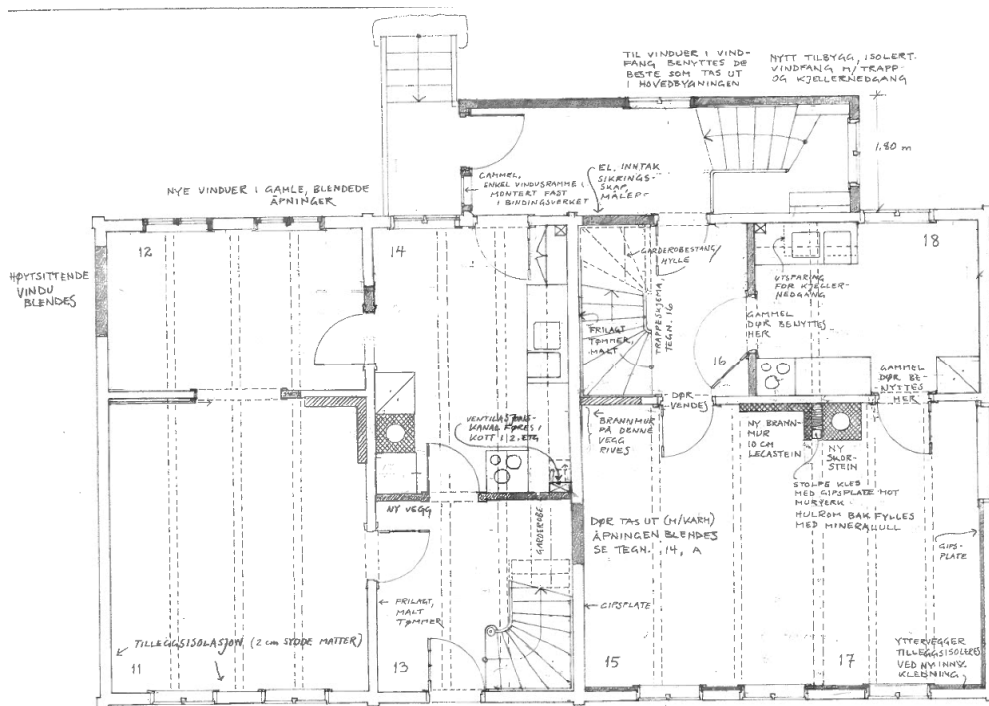


Figure 58-59: Sjøgata 37, design for regeneration by Dag Nilsen: ground floor plan (top) 10.3.1978 and upstairs floor plan (bottom) 13.3.78, both later revised. Original scale 1:50, NAVF project. (Dag Nilsen private archive)



The *cladding* of the exterior of the building was to be repaired but not replaced, a goal which was also followed through. The emphasis was on preserving the existing older components:

“In general the present cladding must be preserved as intact as possible. Damaged cladding is replaced board by board (...) New cladding is to have the same mouldings as the old ones.”<sup>150</sup>

Where new exterior cladding was to be mounted in place of the removed concrete extension, building paper (*papp*) was added as a sub-layer, while for the remaining building the cladding was not removed, and no building paper was added. The capping board (*vannbord*) topping the foundation wall was to be replaced in its entirety, the new capping board to be pressure-impregnated (*trykkimpregnerte*), copying the moulding from the old capping board. Details for the capping board were drawn in a scale of 1:2 in three alternatives, with roofing paper, with and without building paper.<sup>151</sup> The colour history of the building was documented by *Riksantikvaren*, and the exterior was painted according to the colour scheme from circa 1872.<sup>152</sup>

*Windows* were initially to be preserved in whole or part on the recommendation from the restoration architect: after careful examination the old windows were to be repaired and supplemented with additional inner frames to improve their capacity for thermal insulation, with replacement of the entire window only in exceptional circumstances, and the importance of insulating and air-tight window linings was stressed. During the planning process it was eventually decided that all old windows be replaced with new ones which in their basic design were copies of the old ones, but with double glazing (*koblet*).<sup>153</sup>

*Exterior doors* were to be repaired and reused; the old double entrance in the torn-down addition was to be re-used in the new addition.<sup>154</sup>

*The roof* was considered to be in good shape, and the restoration architect recommended minor repairs only in the form of supplementing missing or cracked slate tiles and renewing armaments (*beslag*) where necessary. If gable boards needed replacing the specifications were to craft new ones from pressure-impregnated wood. A complete re-

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<sup>150</sup> “Generelt skal nåværende kledning beholdes mest mulig urørt. Dårlige panelbord skiftes (...) Nye overliggere skal ha samme profil som de gamle.” Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> This had been done in 1979 according to plan except the exterior doors which had been painted in a different colour from that recommended by Terje Norsted at Riksantikvaren. After a visit to Mosjøen in 1980 he implored that this be corrected. Norsted (1980 - 1 - 14)

<sup>153</sup> Nilsen (1978 - 4 - 16)

<sup>154</sup> Ibid

roofing was only recommended in the case that the nails holding the slate were damaged due to rust.<sup>155</sup>

*Interiors* were generally characterized by wear and tear. In upstairs apartment the walls were extensively clad with soft wood fibre boards except in two rooms where older narrow wall cladding was exposed (*staffpanel*), while in the ground floor apartment surfaces were “newer”.<sup>156</sup> During the rehabilitation work samples of old wallpaper were taken and sent *Riksantikvaren* for analysis, and Terje Norsted later used these in his colour restoration plan which recommended recreating the colour scheme from the oldest documented phase 1872-1890.<sup>157</sup> The existing wall coverings were to be removed to expose underlying older surfaces, or lined with gypsum, wood fibre boards or wood panels.<sup>158</sup> A comprehensive plan for surfaces specifying colours and patterns for paint and wallpapers was prepared by *Riksantikvaren*'s Terje Norsted in 1980. The plan was partly based on findings on site, partly on historically typical colours and patterns.<sup>159</sup> Old panelled doors were generally intact and were to be preserved with old fittings intact. In the stairwell the wall timber was exposed; this was also planned to be preserved in this manner.<sup>160</sup> Floors on the upper storey were slanting while the ground floor was not, and it was assumed that this was due to the way the chimney was connected to the beam system and wall.<sup>161</sup>



Figure 60: Sjøgata 37, street façade during regeneration. (Photograph Dag Nilsen, Dag Nilsen private archive)

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Erlien (1977 - 10 - 19)

<sup>157</sup> Norsted (1980 - 1 - 14)

<sup>158</sup> Nilsen (1978 - 4 - 16)

<sup>159</sup> Norsted (1980 - 1 - 14)

<sup>160</sup> Nilsen (1978 - 4 - 16)

<sup>161</sup> Erlien (1977 - 10 - 19)



Figure 61: Sjøgata 37 street façade. (Photograph MB 2007)

### *Sjøgata 47*

Sjøgata 47 was restored and regenerated along the same lines as Sjøgata 37. Ownership was organized as a foundation (Sjøgatastiftelsen, Stiftelsen Sjøgata 47), the house purchased for the purpose of restoring and reconditioning it according to high conservation standards and make it fit for habitation by local residents. Architect Dag Nilsen prepared the plans and acted as consultant throughout the process. The building was assessed for fire insurance valuation in 1870, at which point it had been little altered since it was first built, and showed obvious signs of having been uninhabited for some time. Nilsen prepared several proposals for the work. The original intention was to preserve most of the fabric of the building through repair and strategic improvements. Floor plan and surfaces were to be repaired and damaged building parts replaced with copies; even the old fireplace in the kitchen was to be “preserved if possible”.<sup>162</sup> A new extension was to be built at the back of the house.<sup>163</sup> The house, a notched timber and framework construction, had sunk and had to be jacked up (by an estimated 35-40 cm). The foundations were concluded to be sound; the house had settled due to a decayed bottom log.<sup>164</sup> The natural stone foundations were not to be altered; the old foundations were thought to be built on the principle that only the notched corners rested on large stones and the remaining natural stone foundation wall was “filled in” between, and this was only to be

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<sup>162</sup> Nilsen (1979 - 2 - 9) Nilsen (1979 - 4 - 17); ”grua beholdes og sikres, hvis mulig”Nilsen (1979 - 4 - 18)

<sup>163</sup> Nilsen (1978 - 3 - 29)

<sup>164</sup> Nilsen (1979 - 4 - 26)

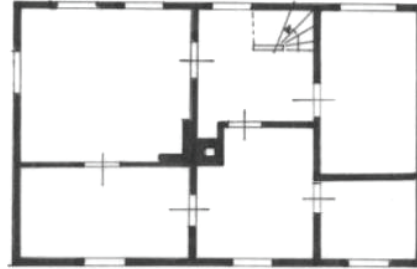


Figure 62-63: Sjøgata 47 site plan (left) and floor plan (right) (GIS; August Schmidt 2010)

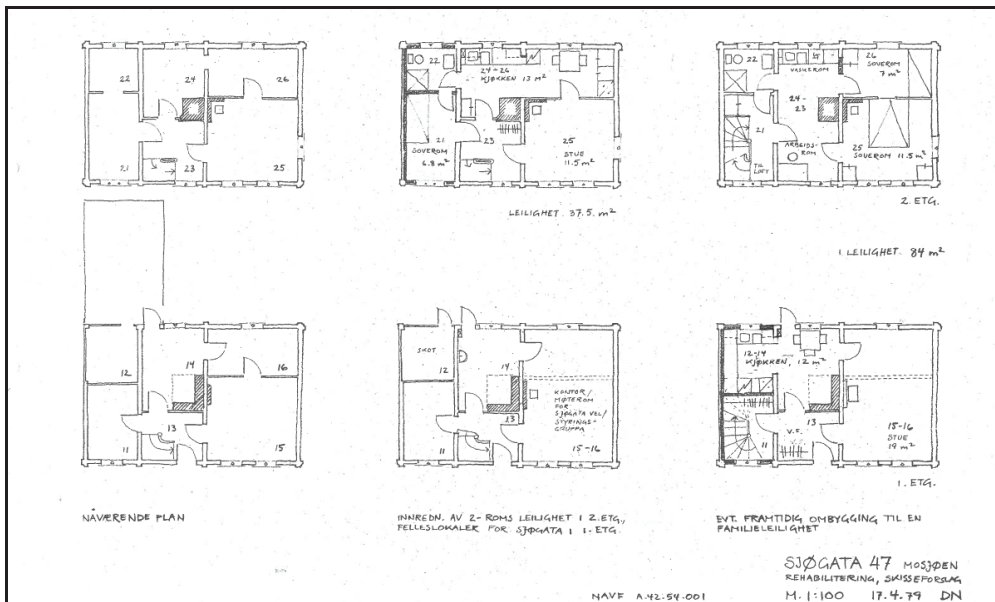


Figure 64: Sjøgata 47, existing situation (left), plan for upstairs apartment and downstairs common room (centre), and alternative plan allowing for future conversion to family apartment. Dag Nilsen 17.4.1979, NAVF project, original scale 1:100. (Dag Nilsen private archive)



Figure 65-66: Sjøgata 47 street façade and backyard façade before regeneration. (Dag Nilsen private archive)

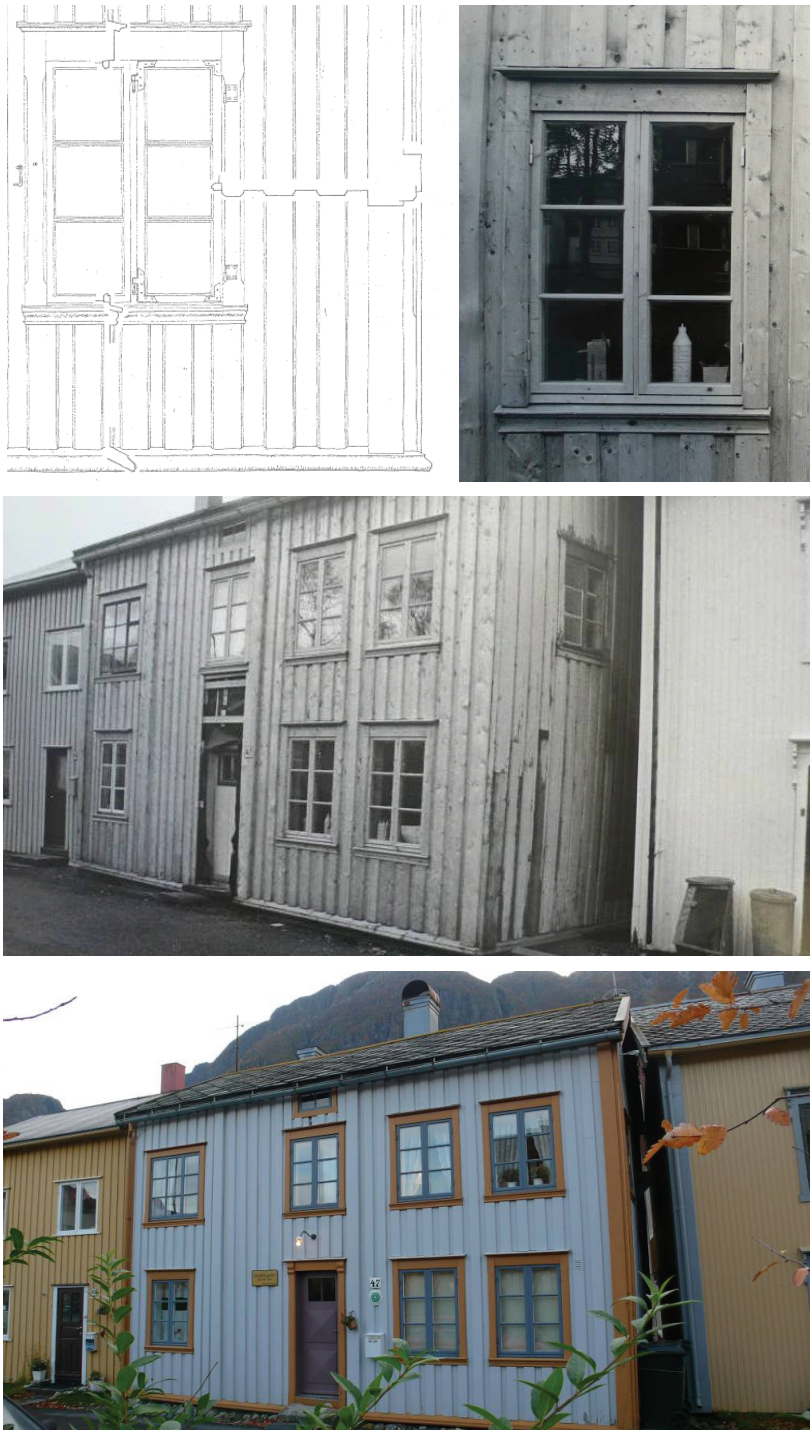


Figure 67-70: Sjøgata 47, section of façade (top left) survey 26.6.1978 Dag Nilsen, NAVF; façade during the completion of the work in the late 1970s (top right); new windows fitted (centre) street façade in 2007. (Dag Nilsen private archive; MB 2007)

repaired.<sup>165</sup> The new bottom log was to be made of pressure-impregnated wood, and the entire ground floor renewed with new floor beams and mineral wool thermal insulation, the bathroom section with concrete flooring.<sup>166</sup> The roof was considered to be in “surprisingly good condition”, and required new barge boards, gutters and fittings. In principle, the weather boarding was to be preserved, and renewed only where necessary; new weatherboards were to be sized, planed and profiled like the existing old ones. Where larger sections had to be renewed, building paper was to be installed for wind-proofing. Only rooms in the framework construction part of the building were to be fitted with extra thermal insulation (mineral wool).<sup>167</sup> Indoor ceilings were to be sound-proofed with gypsum boards. The old walls of the stairwell were to be left as they were with exposed timber. Indoor doors and mouldings were to be preserved or copied if required.<sup>168</sup> Windows were to be replicated as double glazed windows or restored; some old windows moved in the façade to fit existing openings:

“Several of them (the windows) are in a condition fit for being discarded, but 5 of them are so decent that I expect they for the present can be reused in rooms where heat insulation is not an issue. We can also not afford to renew more windows than necessary.”<sup>169</sup>

### *Funding*

The council for funding of Sjøgata restorations (Sjøgatamidlene) granted 35 000 kroner for Sjøgata 37 in 1979 (of a total of 50 000), and additionally applied to the State Housing Bank (Husbanken) for funding (*arealtilskott*) and loans.<sup>170</sup> A significant part of the initial restoration work was performed by carpenters (there were 9 participants, 6 of these from the county of Nordland) undertaking a five month training course in building restoration work in 1977, which was run as a collaboration between the State Technological Institute (STI), Vefsn secondary school and the Trondheim technical university (NTH) who planned the restoration work.<sup>171</sup> The training was a combination of on-site practice and lectures, and the restoration

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<sup>165</sup> Nilsen (1979 (no date))

<sup>166</sup> Nilsen (1978 - 3 - 29)

<sup>167</sup> Nilsen (1979 - 4 - 26)

<sup>168</sup> Nilsen (1978 - 3 - 29)

<sup>169</sup> “Flere av dem (vinduene) er i den slik tilstand at de kan kastes, men 5 av dem er såpass brukbare at jeg regner med at de kan brukes om igjen i rom der varmeisolasjonen ikke betyr noe i denne omgangen. Vi har heller ikke råd til å fornye flere vinduer enn nødvendig.” Nilsen (1979 - 4 - 26)

<sup>170</sup> Styringsgruppa\*for\*Sjøgatamidlene (1978 - 5 - 27)

<sup>171</sup> The working group in charge of the course consisted of Arne Berg (Norsk Folkemuseum), Builder Paul Rønningen (Statens Teknologiske Institutt STI), Ola H. Øverås (Riksantikvaren), Konservator Arne Madsen and G. Grønningseter (Norsk Kulturråd); lecturers were Berg, Rønningen, Ola Bihaug, Per Knutsen and Gunnar Bjarnason. Vefsn\*videregående\*skole (1978 - 11 - 10)

work on the building was expected to be completed during the course.<sup>172</sup> The restoration was not completed during the course and concluding report suggested 28 weeks as a minimum for similar courses in the future.<sup>173</sup>

The funding for Sjøgata 47 was made up of 50% from *Kulturrådsmidler for Sjøgata*, about 40% from *Husbanken* and the rest via a bank loan.<sup>174</sup>

### *Summary*

Sjøgata 37 and 47 were both pilot projects to restore and recondition historic buildings in the Sjøgata area, with restoration architect and N.A.V.F scholar Dag Nilsen of N.T.H. as architect and consultant. Both buildings had been little altered since they were first built, and had been poorly maintained. Repairs were made without significantly altering the construction; the floor plan, appearance and substance of the buildings were generally kept and repaired. In Sjøgata 37 the old cladding was mainly reused according to an ideal to preserve old components, while the old windows, initially intended for repair, were replaced with double glazed copies as a compromise reached during the process. In number 47, the exterior was renewed to a larger extent. Interior renewals focused on upgrading bathrooms and kitchens, and thermal insulation was added but kept to a minimum. Extensions were designed in a style adapted to the buildings. In the case of Sjøgata 37 a thorough documentation and survey was prepared to explore the history of the building, understand its development, and assess its condition.

As a totality, the restoration of Sjøgata 37 was a success, completed according to the high standards on documentation and conservation of appearance, materials and craftsmanship initially set by the restoration architect, and achieving the status of a model example of the regeneration of a wooden dwelling for which it was intended.

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<sup>172</sup> The training covered building construction, notched theory, documentation, building legislation, agents of deterioration in wood, and rehabilitation practice. Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> The report also suggested that theory and practice be linked more closely, and that local lecturers should be favoured before lecturers from, for instance, Riksantikvaren. Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> *Finansieringsplan for Sjøgata 47 Sjøgatastiftelsen* ((no date))



Figure 71: Sjøgata 47, old window (Photo Dag Nilsen, Dag Nilsen private archive)



### 7.3 DISCUSSION

The process of adopting a conservation plan for Mosjøen was controversial, impeding plans to improve the conditions for automobile traffic which required a large segment of the historic area to be demolished. Conservation was advocated by local groups as well as by representatives of the professional conservation community on a national level. Both statutory protection and conservation practice were initiated by the conservation community as a counter-expertise strategy which implied that active proposals be produced and presented by professionals to meet non-conservation planning schemes and practices. Conservation professionals, along with the architecture department at N.T.H., who drafted the conservation plan, were also heavily involved in conservation and rehabilitation work on the historic buildings.

#### *Stakeholders*

The case studies for Mosjøen demonstrate the interaction between owners, municipal authorities and conservation interests and the testing and practical application of a conservation plan. Conservation interests were represented by the residents' association (*Sjøgatas Vel*, established in 1970), the cultural heritage authorities (*Riksantikvaren*), a higher education establishment (N.T.H.), and the local Vefsn museum. Architect Dag Nilsen from the architecture department at N.T.H. collaborated closely with the museum on issues of restoration and funding. The architecture department was involved in similar actions in Trondheim, for Sandenområdet in 1971 and Baklandet in 1976.<sup>175</sup> Nilsen was involved in preparing the conservation plan for Sjøgata, surveyed a large number of buildings, and designed and oversaw works on several buildings here in the late 1970s and 1980s. Restoration grants from the state body *Kulturrådet* were managed by a local committee with members from the municipality, while Vefsn museum held the secretariat. *Riksantikvaren* became a formal party in the management of the historic area when the conservation plan was adopted in principle by the municipality in 1977.

The conservation movement for the Sjøgata area was both locally rooted, and promoted and endorsed at a national level. The local community was not unanimously for or against conservation, and owners of buildings in Sjøgata had diverging views on the buildings' value. There are owner accounts of Sjøgata which relay views of the area as historically significant as well purely pragmatic ones where the buildings were valued in

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<sup>175</sup> Kittang (2006) p 322

terms of their use potential only. None of the four examples of conservation practice which are a part of this study have revealed owner involvement in disputes over building treatment. Disagreements over conservation practice were voiced at the next level, between the conservation community and the municipal authorities.

According to Vefsn Museum's director, anthropologist Hans Pedersen, the attitude (*holdninger*) of individuals is not an issue to address when conservation interests come into conflict with local politicians, with the local building authorities, or with the public. Pedersen stresses the importance of making conservation work *with*, and not against, the opponents' strategic positioning for power, and takes an approach not to treat building conservation as a matter of ethics, attitude or aesthetics. Rather it must be met with pragmatics, treated as something useful in the day-to-day management of the community, and for its inhabitants:

“We can adhere to the main rule that strategic observations are more important than attitude (...) There is no use in showering politicians with information on the importance of cultural heritage, if we do not at the same time do something about the demands and the support they face from their constituents in local and regional politics. It is not as such lacking the ability to understand our reasoning which makes many local politicians work against cultural heritage. That they stick to their opinions is frequently not due to the opinion itself, but their strategic positioning as politicians.”<sup>176</sup>

When the administrative part of local building authorities counteracted conservation this was for different reasons. Pedersen implies that “conservation” was viewed as a luxury for the few by important groupings in management, especially engineers. According to Pedersen, building conservation as an integrated part of municipality management challenged the hegemony of the engineers in building matters, and was therefore obstructed as a rule. As long as state level management was divided into different sectors, it was easy for the municipal level to manipulate sector interests and set them off against each other. Pedersen made these reflections the year the discussions about fire prevention in Sjøgata buildings were going on, a process where several sectors were involved in the process through the invitation of the municipal engineers. In this process the municipal engineers worked against conservation-

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<sup>176</sup> Vi kan ha den hovedregel at strategiske betraktninger er viktigere enn holdning (...) Det nytter ikke om vi overøser politikere aldri så mye med informasjon om viktigheten av kulturvern, hvis vi ikke samtidig gjør noe med de krav og den støtte de står overfor fra velgerne i det lokal- og fylkespolitiske spillet. Det er således ikke manglende evne til å forstå våre argumenter som får mange lokalpolitikere til å motarbeide kulturvernet. At de holder fast ved sine meninger skyldes ofte ikke mening i seg selv, men den strategiske posisjon de står i som politikere.” Pedersen in paper *Bygningsvern og forvaltningsproblemer – forskningsmessige utfordringer* (Conservation and problems in management – research challenges) delivered at the Conservation Conference at Voksenåsen in 1981. Pedersen (1981) p 6

based solutions for regenerating historic buildings and advocated modern day practices with pragmatic arguments, gaining support from the local political authorities.

The museum played a crucial part in local conservation management in Mosjøen. In retrospect Pedersen questions whether the museum's role is to be an impartial accumulator of knowledge for our common good, or whether museums can and should play a more active role in society, show social involvement and promote politically charged issues.<sup>177</sup> In urban regeneration and tourism it is expected that the museums contribute without taking sides, but Pedersen questions this. The basic challenge, he writes, "appears to be to contribute to the restoration of the lost harmony between beauty, truth and goodness."<sup>178</sup> This statement reflects the goal of the Sjøgata conservation plan and subsequent conservation work on the buildings: the regeneration of buildings, people and culture in a derelict area.

In addition to the museum, the active involvement of *Riksantikvaren* representatives and the conservation professionals at N.T.H. were resources for the conservation work in Sjøgata. In fact, the work done by Norsted from *Riksantikvaren* and Nilsen through the N.A.V.F. research programme constituted heavily subsidised aid for local conservation activity. Nilsen, acting as a consultant in an intermediate position between university, museum and owner, demonstrated professional loyalty first and foremost to the *buildings*, and the common interests to preserve the built environment. This may contribute to explaining the success of work on Sjøgata buildings in relation to the expressed conservation ideals.

### *Legislation*

Legislation for protecting Sjøgata as a historic area was in progress from 1977, when a proposal was drawn up by the architecture department at N.T.H. which the municipality passed a vote to adopt in principle. The plan, designating Sjøgata as a conservation area (*bevaringsområde*) according to §25.6 of the 1965 Building Act, was formally ratified in 1980. Experiences with restoration projects during its first years (1977-1980) led to a revision shortly afterwards (1980-1985). The essence of the plan was maintained in the revised plan; "to seek to preserve and further develop the area and greater parts of the buildings on the grounds of the existing historic, antiquarian and (cultural-) environmental values", i.e. a flexible intent to preserve and to use. Façade design was to be "sustained when this was considered justifiable from an architectural or antiquarian standpoint"; traditional solutions must be maintained in design and in techniques of craftsmanship. Two notable alterations

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<sup>177</sup> Pedersen (1995) pp 131-146

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.* p 132

were made, regarding exterior work on the buildings, and fire prevention. §2A stated that in the case of reconstruction or façade renewal “the character of the area” must be considered. Here an addition was made specifying that façade renewal must be founded in the previous appearance of the building, and that one should select solutions which “contribute to document the history of the area”. For new buildings planned within the conservation area (§3) a clause was added that these must be fire resistant, an issue which was generally stressed by the local building authorities and which had caused dispute in the restorations of Sjøgata 26 and 41 in 1980.

The question of contemporary building codes was a recurring issue in relation to works performed on historic buildings. In the cases of Sjøgata 26 and 41 the local building authorities argued that the works must be regarded as “complete reconstructions” (*hovedombygging*), which implied that all relevant building codes must be applied to bring the building up to contemporary standards. Such requirements implied a higher level of modification and intervention with the historic fabric than the conservation community found acceptable, and disputes arose. The ensuing discussions demonstrate the problems of reconciling the diverging logics of, on the one hand, building codes designed for new buildings and modern materials, and on the other historic buildings, designed for similar functions but crafted according to traditional building methods and materials. These cases were test cases for the conservation plan. The Mosjøen case study demonstrates how “conservation” was understood differently by the conservation community and the local building authorities.

The bulk of existing conservation plans for wooden built-up areas in Norway’s towns and communities date from the early 1980s, embracing and formalizing the preservation efforts of more marginal groups that happened during the 1970s. The plans were prepared on the grounds of the Building Act of 1965 and the Planning and Building Act of 1987. After 2000 the conservation (§ 25.6) was gradually abandoned in favour of the municipal area plan (*kommunedelplan*) as a tool for area conservation. In the most recent (in 2009) revision of the Planning and Building Act the § 25.6 conservation paragraph was replaced. The overall picture regarding the development of conservation plans under the Building Act in terms of the forced dichotomy “conservation” versus “change”, is movement from urban redevelopment and conservation of façade-image, to emphasis on authenticity and craftsmanship in conservation in the 1990s. After 2000, however, new urban development, urban consolidation and housing improvement activity following the economic upswing drove conservation in the opposite direction; the consequences of which the most recent Planning

and Building Act has addressed by introducing municipal area plans as the common tool for conservation. These plans do not aim to control alteration and intervention in historic housing on a detailed level. Listing of complete cultural environments, as made possible by the revised Cultural Heritage Act § 20, has been tested since the late 1990s. This provides the opportunity for close monitoring and strict control of changes to the historic substance of buildings.

### *Modernization*

All case study buildings were in a derelict condition, more or less, when work started. They were repaired, and all modified to some extent with regards to heat insulation, fire prevention and sanitary installations (bathroom and kitchen). Façades were carefully restored with attention to architectural detail, in Sjøgata 37 with reuse of the original exterior cladding. Generally older windows were replaced with copies which were double glazed (*koblede*), but in Sjøgata 26 older shop windows were re-fitted as part of the restoration. In Sjøgata 37 the original windows were originally intended to be restored but the plans were altered during the process and double glazed new windows specially made instead, while in Sjøgata 47 five of the old windows were proposed to be reused for budgetary reasons. Interior surfaces were renewed in Sjøgata 41 and, to some extent, in Sjøgata 26, while in Sjøgata 37 and 47 original interior surfaces were to a large extent maintained and restored. In the works on Sjøgata 26 and 41 the dispute over fire prevention measures brought out the conflicting interests of the conservation community and the building authorities. Both sides took their authority from the same law, the Building Act; the conservation plan on one side and the specifications of the building codes on the other. On the whole, this was a dispute over what degree of intervention was necessary for historic building in the face of contemporary building codes. The issues were fire-proofing, sound-proofing and required levels of comfort with regards to thermal insulation and heating, bathroom and kitchen facilities, room size and also aesthetics. However, only the first, fire-proofing, was subject to conflict; the remaining were solved with the consent of all parties.

Sjøgata 41 was the building which was most extensively modified, with regards both to the exterior, where the 1960s façade was restored to a former appearance, and to the interior modernization. The interior modification was the owner's wish, authorized by the conservation plan which stated that buildings could be renewed in the interior to the extent necessary to create 'feasible premises' (§2A). In this case the restoration architect inherited the project from a previous architect, and reworked the plans so they were less interventionist than originally planned, and succeeded in keeping original joisting and the stairwell. This

happened despite objections from the owner and municipal building authorities, the first arguing to increase the indoor ceiling height, the latter claiming that fire-proofing the stairwell was required for the two-storey building.

All four case study buildings received extensions on the backyard façade or a new structure on the property, designed by the restoration architect. The designs of these additions are examples of adaptive architecture. The conservation plan specified the roof form and angle, maximum height, façade material (wood) of new buildings, and that they must be adapted (*tillempet*) to existing buildings (§3). All additions and new structures in the case studies are of a traditional design with slanted roof planes, weather boarding and windows resembling the other windows of the building. Sjøgata 26 and 41 had garages built on their plots, to replace previous utilities buildings which had been demolished. The new buildings did not copy the design of these previous buildings, but were traditional in form with a design adapted to and partly replicating older buildings in the area.

The pilot projects Sjøgata 37 and 47 were to be regenerated as modern dwellings in a model fashion and as a reference for future work on historic Sjøgata buildings, with a high level of documentation, repair (as opposed to replacement), and attention to the authentic fabric, age value and architectural detail. Technical upgrading was performed but subordinated and adapted to the building. In Sjøgata 41, the historic building had to be adapted to modern day requirements, and the interior was remodelled according to contemporary standards. In the end, active involvement from the conservation community and especially the restoration architect steered the working process towards a result which was close to their expressed conservation ideals: the stairwell was preserved, the exterior restored with attention to architectural detail and a high level of craftsmanship, modifications to the original interior structure were minimized, and older, original components in the exterior were to some extent repaired and reused. In all Sjøgata cases the use value of the building was a basis for the restoration, but through strong professional involvement this was balanced with a strict conservation practice.

### *Craftsmanship*

According to the conservation plan, copies of built elements should be traditional in material and craftsmanship. New windows were made of wood and copied with attention to detail and with putty glass, and where new cladding was made to replace old cladding or as part of a restoration, this was moulded and planed to match the originals.

Sjøgata 37 and 47 were both, in a sense, municipal housing projects. Although allowing for the opinions of the dwellers, the restoration architect did not refrain from clearly stating views on what was *not* appropriate in combination with the original architecture of the building. The use of exotic wood imitation and plastic wall coverings was discouraged. Rather than an expression of pure personal taste, this can be interpreted as a viewpoint based on a professional consensus of aesthetics and quality, derived from the knowledge of architectural styles and an acquired professional taste which is closely related to judgement on quality. The need to so clearly specify what should not be done tells us that the undesired elements (exotic materials, plastic) were popular and common at the time, and also that this aesthetic was particularly undesirable to the architect. There are parallels here to Vreim and his generation's antipathy towards the Swiss Style, which like plastic imitation panels was also widespread, mass produced, modern and considered of low quality, both with regards to durability and taste. For the antiquarians modern elements in an old building were acceptable, but these should be in harmony with the old, display a certain level of craftsmanship and generally be in accordance with the architect's aesthetic.

#### *Use value*

An important objective for treatment for the four case study buildings in Mosjøen was to bring the buildings closer to contemporary housing standards, to preserve them through use. In the 1970s the conservation community worked strategically to preserve the urban historic built environment with the project "*Den Nordiska Trästad*" in 1971-71 and the Nordic contribution to the European Architectural Year in 1975. Stephan Tschudi-Madsen became *Riksantikvar* in 1978 and incorporated this as an important task. At this time the term rehabilitation (here used as synonymously with regeneration), meaning bringing back dignity and improving the use qualities of a historic building, had come into use in the conservation community. This terminology comprised both conservation and use value. The target for 1970s activism to preserve historic built environments in Norwegian town and cities was frequently motivated by a need for cheap housing.<sup>179</sup> While both the sporadic conservation efforts for urban built environments in the 1950s - 60s and those of the 1970s employed use value as part of their arguments, the 1970s activism was, in all manners, performed on a larger scale and to a broader effect. Now historic urban environments became a focus of political action, and conservation was part of the strategy. Conservation interests forged alliances with

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<sup>179</sup> This point is made in the doctoral thesis of Dag Kittang. Kittang (2006) pp 314-315

groups of residents, often in open conflict with the authorities, and began to restore buildings in active protest against demolition plans. In Mosjøen, regenerating the area socially was an important part of the strategy for conservation, as the activities of the Sjøgata group and Vefsn museum and associates demonstrate.

Studies on urban conservation claim that there is a “natural” discrepancy between the conservation of individual architectural monuments and the “mass” conservation of historic urban environments. The distinction between architectural conservation principles and “the conservation of place” is discussed by John Pendlebury, who concludes that its critics write off *architectural conservation* as “conservation orthodoxy”, a standpoint with “emphasis placed upon material authenticity or archaeological evidence, the anti-restoration position that tends to follow and preoccupation with academic values and ‘experts’...”.<sup>180</sup> The implication is that orthodox, fabric-based building conservation is difficult to achieve where numerous buildings are involved, i.e. in conservation areas. While “ideal” building conservation can be applied for individual listed buildings, one must in areas necessarily compromise on ambitions of architectural detail and authenticity in the face usability requirements. In Mosjøen, however, a strict, fabric-based conservation practice was executed as part of a physical and social regeneration of the whole area. For Sjøgata an emphasis on preserving authenticity of fabric and age value was relayed in a 1979 publication:

“When repairing and regenerating older buildings it is important to keep as much as possible of old building components and detailing, to preserve the appearance of a “real” old house. The wear and tear, the “wrinkles”, are important for the character of the building.”<sup>181</sup>

Pendlebury’s observation has relevance for the *practice* in many Norwegian conservation areas; however, the *idea* to systematically relinquish ideals of preserving authentic fabric in conservation areas has not been generally adopted by the (Norwegian) conservation community.<sup>182</sup> The case studies of the ‘lesser’ or ‘anonymous’ vernacular of Sjøgata in Mosjøen demonstrate an ambition not only for conservation of urban structure and image, but also for architectural detail and authenticity of building parts, and the case studies show that this ambition to a large extent was achieved.

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<sup>180</sup> Pendlebury (2009) p 28

<sup>181</sup> “Ved utbedring og rehabilitering av eldre bygninger er det viktig å ta vare på mest mulig av de gamle bygningsdelene og detaljene, for å beholde preget av “ekte” gammelt hus. Slitasjon, “rynkene i ansiktet” betyr meget for husets karakter.” Caption for photo depicting the repair of old doors. Terje Norsted, Dag Nilsen: *Hvordan Sjøgata ble reddet*, in: Erlie and Nilsen (1979) p 95

<sup>182</sup> Bull (1987); Riksantikvaren (2001)



### *Repair and restoration*

Two principles of architectural conservation can be inferred from the alterations made to the conservation plan's §2A on façade treatment in the 1980-85 revision (see below): a more literal and scientific approach to restoration, based on documentation and repair and re-use of original building parts, and an incentive for legibility (*lesbarhet*). Placing importance on documenting (and displaying) the "history of the area" reflects a philological view of restoration, as the stated aim of the conservation plan: "one should chose solutions which contribute to the documentation of the history of the area." In the pilot restoration projects Sjøgata 37 and 47 in 1977-79 these principles had been followed.

Sjøgata 26 and 41 both went through a restoration, where the façades were rebuilt to give the appearance of an earlier stage in their history. For Sjøgata 26 this was done partly by reinstating original building parts which had been in storage (shop windows), partly by re-designing new building parts as copies of previous building parts based on existing models and old photographs, and on copies of existing old building parts which were discarded (upstairs windows). For Sjøgata 41 there was no discussion about preserving the façade as it was. The façade from the 1960s rehabilitation was an example of what was not considered "justifiable from an architectural or antiquarian standpoint" (§2A in the conservation plan); i.e. this was a question of aesthetics as well as history. Sjøgata 37 was also restored, but with less intervention than Sjøgata 41. A colour restoration plan based on archaeological evidence was prepared for both the exterior and interior, and on the exterior the colour scheme was restored to the first documented phase in the history of the house (1872). In Sjøgata 26 a previous internal door was blocked off by use of log sections to complete the exposed timber wall of the stairwell. This was not a "restoration" as such, as the door had been there from the beginning, but rather a "historic repair"; an alteration based on a principle of traditional craftsmanship and repair methods; here practised when an opening in a log wall was closed with logs of a similar size and type, to create a complete exposed timber wall.

The architect's plans for minimum intervention and maximum repair were not severely compromised during the process, but there are some examples. In Sjøgata 37 the existing old windows were to be repaired, but in the final instance a decision was made to replace them with similar new windows which can be characterized as modern modified copies (no explanation was offered). In Sjøgata 37, 47 and 26 the cladding was from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the ambition was to preserve it and only repair the damaged parts. In Sjøgata 26 this ambition was compromised for the gable wall for the purposes of fire prevention. In Sjøgata 41 interior walls, partly load-bearing, were removed to create a new

layout plan and all surfaces were modernized. The main stairwells however were kept exposed, in disagreement with the municipal building authority who had demanded fire-proof cladding and doors.

The municipal building authorities interpreted the conservation plan differently than the conservation community. The former focused on technical issues, like fire prevention. The latter paid heed to documentation, accuracy in architectural detail and conservation of material substance, but also dealt with the use aspect and technical qualities of the building (fire prevention, heat insulation, sanitary installations). They argued to preserve parts of the interior and also succeeded with this, despite the fact that conservation of interiors was not specifically authorized through the legislation.

### *Authenticity*

The term “authenticity” has not been found to be used, either in planning documents, case work or correspondence within the studied time frame for the Mosjøen case (circa 1970-1985), but the restoration architect’s goal to preserve aged material fabric, was clearly stated. The fabric preserved was of a certain age; building components from the post-war era were not included (Sjøgata 41).

In 1991 Dag Nilsen reflected on authenticity in building conservation and stated that in practice, for most people, “... the form, the image will in most cases be considered more important than the object itself and its authenticity. As all fabric is marked by wear and tear there will also be a difference between the authentic and the original appearance.”<sup>183</sup> Nilsen distinguishes between authenticity in substance and the way the house originally looked, as the time factor alters the (original) substance. Nilsen’s work in Mosjøen in the 1970s and early 80s characterized both by an emphasis on correct architectural detail (for copies and restoration), and on preserving original building parts.

### *Closing comments*

In the 1970s cultural heritage management went through reorientation on many levels. A debate on values of cultural heritage was started, which introduced an element of relativism into heritage. The question was asked: for whom does cultural heritage have significance? (The anthropocentric view of historic preservation). In 1979 *Riksantikvar* Stephan Tschudi-

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<sup>183</sup> ”... vil formen, bildet, i de aller fleste tilfeller være viktigere enn selve objektet og dets autenticitet. Ettersom all materie preges av tidens tann vil det dessuten være forskjell på autenticitet og opprinnelig utseende.” (Dag Nilsen in *Kan vi bevare det bevaringsverdige*, Bygningshistorie og bygningsvern, Oslo (1991), quoted in: Mehlum (2004) p 10

Madsen presented “new goals for the cultural heritage community”: seeing the conservation of the context of a monument as essential; seeking to preserve heritage for all and not only the upper social strata; seeing built environments as more interesting than the individual building; viewing the common as more important than the unique; age is not necessarily significant for heritage value; the character of place, time and function are important criteria for heritage value (*‘det stedstypiske, tidstypiske og funksjonstypiske’*); technical heritage and cultural landscapes must be included in the areas of responsibility for cultural heritage management.<sup>184</sup>

Museum director and anthropologist Hans Pedersen saw this reorientation as an acknowledgement that the social, residential and quality-of-life-aspect was becoming a significant part of building conservation, mentioning safety (*trygghet*), belonging or identity (*stedstilhørighet*) as essential motivations for preserving cultural heritage; the objective to preserve cultural heritage was not the effect of nostalgia, although this was a common notion. Building conservation had been adopted as a strategy for sustainable resource management, Pedersen noted, and this emphasis on historic buildings as a resource was in his opinion a new dimension in conservation.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> “nye målsettinger for kulturvernet.” Presented by Stephan Tschudi-Madsen at a cultural heritage conference in Lom (Gudbrandsdalen) in 1979, cited in: Pedersen (1981) pp 3-4

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

## 8 CONCLUSIONS

### *Discussion and findings*

The aim of this research has been to explore why and how cultural built heritage is altered and modified when the implied overall motive is to conserve. Considering the contribution of this research, three themes may be put forward: the objects of the study which is *vernacular buildings* as opposed to architectural monuments, the focus on *the specific treatment of a specific building* as opposed to a more general and theoretical approach, and *giving voice to the antiquarian* in conservation practice as a means of explaining the alleged under-communicated intentions of the professional conservation community.

In the introduction to “From Antiquity to Cultural Heritage – Features of the History of Cultural Heritage in Norway” (*Fra Antikviteten til kulturminne - trekk fra kulturminnevernets historie i Norge*) (1991) author Hans Emil Lidén noted that “exploring the rich documentation of the casework of ‘common’ cultural heritage buildings was beyond the scope of his book.” My research has been an attempt to do exactly this. During the time frame of this research NIKU has published two studies on area conservation: *Kulturminneverdier i by mellom bevaring og byutvikling* (“Cultural Heritage values in Towns at the point of Intersection between Conservation and Development”) (2007)<sup>1</sup>; and *Godt fungerende bevaringsområder* (“Well functioning Conservation Areas”) (2009)<sup>2</sup>, both overall studies demonstrating that the theme of historic preservation in the everyday context is of current interest. Lidén’s studies (1991, 2005) are studies on the history of historic preservation in Norway, one at an overall level, the other biographical. The NIKU studies are general studies which evaluate area conservation in the present context. There are few studies in conservation which focus on individual vernacular buildings. Two significant contributions are the theses by Sætren (1999) and Eide (1990), studies which concentrate on one homogeneous building type and context, or one area, respectively. While the 19 single buildings comprised by the case studies in this research share certain common characteristics, this research examines heritage buildings in different geographical, legislative and managerial contexts. The treatment of these buildings, and the questions this poses in terms of what exactly it is we are conserving, can therefore not easily be written off as results of unique site- and time-specific conditions, but must be considered critically as a phenomenon.

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<sup>1</sup> Omland (2007)

<sup>2</sup> Nyseth and Sognnæs (2009)

Vernacular buildings constitute the bulk of designated buildings in Norway. A large segment of these, namely the building groups targeted with the first listings in the 1920s and early 1940s, became a prototype of Norwegian built cultural heritage: elaborately crafted farm buildings, backdrops for artistic representation of Norwegian folklore since the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, were national symbols; while the dwellings of public servants (*embedsmenn*), merchants and industrial leaders were reminders that Norway was also part of the larger context of European culture. Built environment conservation from the 1970s onwards comprised vernacular buildings on a broad scale. Amongst all mentioned groups of vernacular cultural built heritage, dwellings dominate as a type. As such, this research deals with the most common building in Norwegian built heritage, the vernacular dwelling.

When studied in the context of conservation management or practice, vernacular buildings usually figure as part of a broader context: as representing a certain type of building or part of a landscape or built environment (for example the NIKU studies, 2007, 2009). Through the case studies in this research, vernacular buildings and the processes relating to the way they are treated have been explored at a level of detail which is more common for monuments. With the thematic angle of architectural conservation in Norway circa 1920 - 1980, the process and nature of treatment for individual designated buildings is explored, presented and discussed in five in-depth case studies. The five case studies are “histories” of architectural conservation which can be read independently or in a series to explore the history of architectural conservation over the time frame in question. Lastly, the emphasis on the process prior to and during treatment of the case study buildings, through the study of case work files, has given voice to the various stakeholders, especially the antiquarians, representing the core of the professional conservation community.

These three themes, of vernacular architecture, treatment and the antiquarian, have to my knowledge not previously been studied in relation to one another through in-depth multiple historic case studies.

#### *Brief historic summary*

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century there was a shift in the Norwegian conservation community’s area of interest; from almost exclusively dealing with medieval buildings, documentation and conservation activity broadened to include to post-reformation architecture and the vernacular. Parallel to this there was a new tendency in conservation practice towards to a more artistic restoration approach which challenged the previous dominance of archaeological and scientific restoration. This turn of events was affirmed when The Society for the

Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments (*Fortidsminneforeningen*), which since its formation in 1844 had represented the core of the Norwegian conservation community, replaced their leader the archaeologist Nicolay Nicolaysen with the younger architect Hermann Major Schirmer. Elected as Norway's first National Antiquarian (*Riksantikvar*) in 1912, Schirmer promoted the vernacular buildings of rural culture (*bondekultur*) both in conservation and as model for a new "national" style in architecture. Among his achievements were the re-issuing of Eilert Sundt's mid 19<sup>th</sup> century works on Norwegian vernacular building customs, and the documentation of historic wooden farms in the valleys of central Norway which was the main basis for the first listings in the 1920s. In the 1910s, the conservation community appropriated "clad architecture" (*panelarkitektur*) and "public servants' architecture" (*embedsmannsarkitektur*) as part of the national heritage. This category comprised buildings from the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and was promoted largely through the works of art historians Carl Wille Schnitler and *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett. The activities and preferences of the conservation community in this formative stage cemented the image and substance of Norwegian built heritage for decades to come.

The first Norwegian legislation for protecting built heritage dating from after the Norwegian Reformation, The Built Heritage Act, was ratified in 1920. In the first listings from 1923 and the early 1940s, buildings of rural culture (**Gudbrandsdalen, chapter 4**) and public servants' architecture (**Melhus, chapter 3**) were well represented. The bulk of these buildings were dwellings. Parallel to the agitation for proper legislation to list private property, the conservation community argued for living heritage and conservation through use; this is evident in Harry Fett's publications (Fett 1910, 1914, 1917 and 1928) and pieces on vernacular architecture in *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annual publications (Fett & Vreim 1941; Nygård-Nilssen 1958). In the 1920s and early 1930s *Riksantikvaren* oversaw relatively little conservation work on privately owned listed buildings; this was largely due to the economic recession which limited both private investment and state grants. From 1934, however, *Riksantikvaren* managed a small annual budget for supporting repairs and restorations of privately owned listed buildings, and antiquarian-steered conservation activity for vernacular listed buildings soared. The person to oversee conservation work at this time was the architect and antiquarian Halvor Vreim who was *Riksantikvaren's* advisor on vernacular buildings from 1937 to 1964.

The Norwegian conservation community demonstrated an interest in townscapes and cultural built environments from an early stage, but there were few which were successfully designated before the 1970s. Fett had from an early stage stressed the significance of

conserving urban built environments (1910) and picturesque landscapes (1913). The task was addressed in various ways, both with serial listing (**Røros, chapter 5**), agitation, and experimental use of current planning legislation on a local level (**Rosesmuggrenden, chapter 6**). In 1965 a conservation paragraph was introduced with the new Building Act, which facilitated proper legislative protection of built environments. (**Mosjøen, chapter 7**).

Few new listings were made in the decades after the early 1940s, and the bias of the listings towards rural areas and dwellings and farms of the well-to-do, was increasingly felt. While the activity of the conservation community, as well as the conservation community itself, was significantly broadened during the 1970s, a new official listings policy was implemented in the late 1980s in the aftermath of the new Cultural Heritage Act of 1978. This new focus of conservation aimed at being more inclusive with regards to social diversity and geography, emphasising environments, diversity and representativeness over “historic and artistic value” of selected individual buildings. The conservation community coined a new terminology, and during the 1970s “*byggningsvern*” (conservation) and “*rehabilitering*” (regeneration) largely displaced “*fortidsvern*” (protection of the past), “*antikvarisk vern*” (antiquarian protection) and “*istandsetting*” (repair) (see **chapter 2**) as common references to architectural conservation practice. This implied conservation “before” had been focused on conserving historic values, while conservation “now” to a much larger extent emphasised current use value, a shift of interest which must necessarily be reflected in conservation practices. How the individual vernacular heritage building was actually treated was, however, not, in its essence, necessarily very different from previously, as this research demonstrates.

### **Ideal conservation practice**

The thematic framework of this research has been the question of how vernacular built heritage in Norway has been treated over time, and how treatment relates to prevailing conservation ideology. The following discussion is structured by the list of propositions which was formulated to concretise the overall research questions, and which have guided the approach to the case study material (Chapter 1.1.3)

The underlying premise for this research was that buildings change over time, and that preserved buildings are no exception. All the buildings examined in the case studies were shown to have been altered since their designation as cultural heritage, some significantly. The case studies show treatment ranging from the extremes of demolition and replacement with new structures (Kjerkgata 56 and 60 in Røros) to well organized, regular and exemplary maintenance (Bergen, Rosesmuggrenden), with intermediate types of treatment including

relocation (Krogstad and Stensgård in Gudbrandsdalen), adaptive architecture (Kjerkgata 56 and 60, Krogstad), modernization and restoration (Prestegårdslåna in Melhus, Røros, Sjøgata 26 and 41 in Mosjøen) and regeneration and repair (Sjøgata 37 and 47). *None* of the buildings in the case studies exemplify treatment which was *entirely* according to the ideal conservation practice in the strictest sense (although for the Sjøgata case study buildings, compromises were insignificant and the treatment of these buildings was, and still is<sup>3</sup>, considered by the conservation community to be highly successful and exemplary, as was conservation practice in the Rosesmuggrenden conservation area). The findings demonstrate that for the majority of the cases, the ideal solutions proposed by the professional conservation community, however pragmatic, were undermined by the need to compromise; in some cases to a large extent and with severe consequences, if not for the area character, then for the original design and fabric of the individual buildings. Antiquarians and restoration architects were recurrently placed in positions of needing to compromise, and were by no means all-powerful when it came to deciding how a designated heritage building was to be treated.

A first point of departure for this research was the proposition that *(1) the professional conservation community's view of what is the ideal treatment (conservation practice) of a heritage building changes over time*. Following this, it was proposed that *(2) in the absence of an explicitly defined ideal conservation practice for vernacular architecture, ideal treatment of a heritage building according to the professional conservation community can be discerned by studying the treatment process applied to individual heritage buildings*. This latter proposition has been of defining importance to this research: ideal conservation practice for vernacular architecture was not defined and seldom subject to principled discussion in the case study period, before the 1970s. The casework and writings concerning individual heritage buildings and their treatment have therefore been a primary source in the attempt to distil a conservation philosophy for this group of buildings, for this period, relating both to conservation strategy and treatment of the buildings' fabric.

#### *Conservation through use*

The use or continued use of designated buildings in general and dwellings in particular was encouraged by the conservation community. *Riksantikvaren* accepted and frequently encouraged housing standard improvements, under certain conditions. The distinction between "living" and "dead" monuments was made by *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett as early as

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<sup>3</sup> Nyseth and Sognnæs (2009) pp 33-, 50-



1912-13. Vernacular architectural heritage was part of the former category, to be preserved as part of “life”, and be in active use. The strategy of “conservation through use”, the wording a widespread slogan in the 1970s, was in fact the only viable strategy to conserve the amount of vernacular buildings that had been listed and an increasing number of conservation areas.

It may be proposed that a reason for this willingness to accept modification was that many, in fact most, antiquarians were trained as architects. Although architects were the ones to design housing improvements and restoration designs for heritage buildings, there is no indication that the conservation approach for vernacular architecture varied according to the education of the conservation professional, and that for example art historians displayed a more restrictive attitude towards modification. *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett, an early and primary exponent for the strategy of conservation through use, was an art historian. For vernacular architecture, conservation through use was encouraged by the conservation community at large, and is exemplified throughout the time frame of the case studies.

#### *Maintenance*

*Riksantikvaren* reported on the treatment of listed buildings in *Fortidsminneforeningen's* annals, and the emphasis here was “repair” (*istandsetting*), a term used in its general meaning to include repairs of damaged building components as well as façade restoration. For buildings which were well preserved, i.e. little altered, at the time of listing; the advised treatment was limited to smaller repairs and maintenance. It seems evident that the emphasis on continued use and function for vernacular architectural heritage was a way to defend investment in regular maintenance, a responsibility which for this category of buildings was placed with the owner. In areas with regular and close conservation monitoring (Rosesmuggrenden 1958-1970s; Mosjøen 1970s-), maintenance was practised regularly and according to a strict definition, which did not involve alteration of appearance and only to a limited extent replacement of original fabric. In Rosesmuggrenden maintenance was encouraged by the maintenance committee with incentives like free house paint, free advice from a conservation professional, the procuring of craftsmen, and, occasionally, organizing the execution of the maintenance work for residents who for various reasons were unable to see to such matters themselves. While the casework for listed buildings tells the stories of modification and restoration, the ideal situation and treatment of heritage buildings was to ensure regular maintenance; the written documentation of “regular maintenance” is however not generally included in the written documentation of specific buildings because it did not involve modification, did not require building permits or permission from the cultural heritage

authority, and was not controversial. The documentation on Rosesmuggrenden's activities is an unusual record of maintenance as an ideal treatment practice.

### *Restoration*

In the case where housing improvements did intervene with the design and fabric of the exterior or interior of the building, it was allowed only in connection with a desired façade restoration where visible segments were designed according to a previous appearance. Using this opportunity for repair-induced restoration was in many cases endorsed by *Riksantikvaren* from the 1920s and onwards. The restoration of Prestegårdslåna is one example, and the approach was advocated by for example by *Riksantikvar* Arne Nygård-Nilssen in 1957. "Restoring when repairing" seems to have been practised throughout the time frame of the case studies. On the basis of the case study material it seems evident that the professional conservation community encouraged façade restoration in connection with repairs and modernizations, throughout the time frame of the case studies.

Four of the five case studies clearly involved restoration or elements of restoration. The case studies demonstrate a restoration practice which was in accordance with the conservation principles as worded in the Venice charter: Article 9, to "preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value" of the monument or building. Dealing with dwellings was however different from dealing with temple ruins. Private ownership and preference, and steady changes of ideal housing standards were the driving forces behind restoration of vernacular architecture. Although proposed and generally desired by the conservation community, *restoration* of vernacular architecture (where this was considered appropriate and necessary) came about in connection with housing improvement schemes initiated by the owners, and was not as means to its own end. This implied that, although the restoration process was influenced by the conservation community (heritage management), the owner set the conditions and made the final decision. How successful a restoration was, according to the conservation community's ideal standards, was therefore dependent on the cooperation and attitude of the owner. For vernacular architecture, the owner of the building was also the owner of the restoration process.

Comprehensive façade restorations where Swiss Style building components were replaced with neo-classical detailing were performed on both Prestegårdslåna in the 1920s, and in Røros in the 1950s (although the actual treatment performed on the buildings in Sohlbergrekka, Røros, was not carried out according to the antiquarian's vision). Vreim and his colleagues worked hard to "reveal the aesthetic and historic value" of buildings by

removing newer layers and reversing modifications which had been done since the 1870s. This is evident both in the case study material, and also in the large number of church restorations carried out in the period 1940-1960; and was explicitly stated in contemporary writings by architects and antiquarians such as Vreim, Fett, Eliassen, Arne Nygård-Nilssen and Johan Lindstrøm. The expressed views on restoration of monuments in Norway at this time coincide with the principles formulated in the Venice Charter (1964), which was not referred to in Norway at the time but which distilled a consensus ideology of the conservation community, at least in Europe. One cannot judge the restorations of vernacular architecture in this period, which included removal of modifications done over the past 10-70 years, as a violation of the principle of respecting the “valid contributions of all periods to the building”, which article 11 of the Venice Charter was based on. In the 1920s, -30s, -50s and even 1960s, the contributions of historicism and builders’ Swiss Style housing improvements were not considered valid.<sup>4</sup>

Neither the Prestegårdslåna nor Røros restorations were scientific restorations based on evidence of a former design and appearance. They were based on available model historic building components (for example a window) and the general knowledge of the architect about the relevant historic style (Tønseth). The aim was a harmonious building, correct in stylistic detail but not an accurate reconstruction of a former appearance (Prestegårdslåna). For Røros, the professional conservation community referred to the treatment of historic Røros as “care of a town” or “image” (*bypleie*). Georg Eliassen’s restoration proposal for Kjerkgata 60 indicates that the aim for Røros buildings was comparable to that of Prestegårdslåna, a stylistic restoration of the façade. While the result for Sohlbergrekka was less architectural detail and a distinctly more modern 1950s “character”, this was due to owner-initiated treatment, not plans recommended by the antiquarians.

The initiatives from owners to alter buildings were markedly fewer and less interventionist in Rosesmuggrenden than in Røros; here modernizations were executed without (significant) modification, under the auspices of the local maintenance committee *Grenderådet*. The treatment of façades in Rosesmuggrenden from the late 1950s throughout the 1970s was characterized by regular maintenance and repairs including occasional

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<sup>4</sup> Venice Charter Article 11: ” When a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest and the material which is brought to light is of great historical, archaeological or aesthetic value, and its state of preservation good enough to justify the action. Evaluation of the importance of the elements involved and the decision as to what may be destroyed cannot rest solely on the individual in charge of the work. ICOMOS (2003)

replacement of building components with copies. The maintenance committee emphasized conserving architectural detail in the façades or, in the few cases where modern doors or windows had been fitted, to have these replaced with historic copies. In this sense, restoration was also performed in Rossmuggrenden in these decades, but on the level of the building component, not the complete façade or structure.

Two of the case study buildings in Sjøgata underwent what must be characterized as façade restorations in the late 1970s; one (number 26) with reuse of original building components (windows) which had been in storage, the other (number 41) on the basis of photographs and documentation of the former appearance. While the restorations in 1920-60s involved removing Swiss Style façade elements from modernizations performed between the 1870s and the 1910s, the restorations in the 1970s and 1980s involved removing modernist façade elements from up until the late 1960s to restore the façades to their previous appearance. The other two Sjøgata case study buildings (numbers 37 and 47) were not as much restored as repaired, as these had intact older façades which were partly preserved, partly replicated with an acute attention to detail and craftsmanship.

The Sjøgata restorations were planned and to a large extent initiated through the research program funded by the national research foundation NAVF at the architecture department at N.T.H., working in collaboration with a local activist group, the local museum and the municipality. While the joint ambition of these stakeholders facilitated the regeneration of a run-down historic area as a local centre of activity and an asset for the existing residents, the involvement of the research program made documentation and comprehensive planning for the individual buildings possible. The goal for the Sjøgata buildings was *modernization without modification*; regeneration by its strictest definition. Where façade restoration was performed, this were based on all available evidence; surveys, photographs and drawings and historic written sources. In Sjøgata in the 1970s and 1980s the level of documentation and historical research in connection with the treatment of buildings was significantly higher than for Prestegårdslåna or the Røros restorations of the 1950s. Based on their level of ambition, the Sjøgata restorations can be defined as scientific restorations, for vernacular architecture.

Demand for *traditional* craftsmanship and methods, which from the late 1980s and onwards came to play an important role in Norwegian conservation philosophy and practice<sup>5</sup>,

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<sup>5</sup> As exemplified in the restoration projects Middelalderprosjektet and Uthusprosjektet (Røros) and the proceedings for the Nara Document. Mehlum (2009); Prøsch (1999); Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage (1994)

is, in this research, noted for the first time in the Sjøgata case; this as a distinct from high quality craftsmanship which was a general requirement from the professional conservation community, noted for all the case studies, regarding both repairs and restoration, and work which may be characterized as modernization or housing standard improvements. Another notable characteristic of the Sjøgata restorations was the ambition to preserve and re-use authentic building components; i.e. an emphasis on *authenticity of fabric* which was not a theme of the “older” case studies from the 1920s through to the 1960s. Here the requirements of the Venice Charter regarding respect for fabric, although not specifically referred to in the casework or published writings about Mosjøen from this time, are implied to be of consequence; the term “authenticity” has not been found used in relation to any of the five case studies. Throughout the time frame of the case studies, the overall intention of façade treatment has been the same, to remove fabric and appearance relating to recent modernizations and restore to a previous appearance, of around 70 years earlier.

Building façades were restored to the appearance they had circa 70 years previously, traces of modernizations made during the intermediate time removed. This occurred throughout the time frame of the case studies.

### **Changing ideals in conservation**

#### *Unity of style and age value*

When considering the case studies over the time frame of the study (1920s-1980s), there seems at first sight to be a slight shift from an emphasis on *façade restoration* towards a less interventive ideal of *conservation*. Both Tønseth’s façade treatment of Prestegårdslåna in the 1920s, and Vreim’s intentions for Sohlbergrekka in the 1940s and 1950s openly embraced restoration; Bjerknæs’ ideal approach for Rosesmuggrenden in the 1950s and 1960s was repair and maintenance with an emphasis on appearance and decorative detail; while in Mosjøen in the late 1970s buildings were repaired and conserved with a high level of documentation and consciousness regarding craftsmanship and attention to conserving authentic building parts. The Mosjøen buildings however also represent restoration: removing building components stemming from recent modernizations, from 20 to 50 years old, to restore a previous appearance (Sjøgata 25, 41) as was the case in Røros. In Mosjøen however there was professional aid to plan, monitor or even initiate and execute restorations and regeneration; monitoring was steadily present and conservation interests were locally rooted. The results of the Sjøgata restorations were, from a conservation viewpoint, successful in terms of documentation, accuracy of detail and reuse of older building parts. Here the ideals of the

conservation community, the restoration architect and antiquarian, were not compromised as they were in Sohlbergrekka in Røros in the 1950s. Despite the differences in outcome, both cases exemplify *restoration* as an ideal in conservation; in Sjøgata *scientific*; in Røros *artistic*, if not in practice than definitely in intent, with the correct area character and harmonious whole as an objective. Restoration seems to have been consistently practised throughout the case study period.

#### *Use as a conservation strategy*

The case studies demonstrate that *use as a conservation strategy*, especially for dwellings, was a constant. Continued use and a “living heritage” were encouraged from the time *Riksantikvaren*’s office was set up, and established as a practice with the implementation of The Built Heritage Act in the 1920s. In the 1970s and early 1980s “use” was given significantly broader exposure due to the popularization of cultural heritage. At this time residents, activists, conservation and academic groups mobilized in a joint venture for the conservation of historic environments as a reaction to post-war modernist town-planning. The relative success of this “conservation movement” led to a significant increase in the number of candidates for conservation areas, and the legislative protection of historic environments which was made possible with the 1965 Building Act. With this development “use” was a necessary strategy for conservation, as well as being an aim in itself as the need for inexpensive housing had been a significant driving force in the conservation activism of the 1970s. The use aspect was a continued grounds for negotiation throughout the time frame of the case studies, as demonstrated in the examples.

Considering the individual heritage building, involvement of users and owners continued to cause compromises in treatment. Where involvement from the professional conservation community in the regeneration of buildings was locally rooted and monitoring was regular and interfered actively to steer processes of treatment, the interests of the conservation community frequently succeeded (Rosesmuget 1958-1970s, Mosjøen 1970s-). Where involvement and monitoring from conservationists was less regular and less actively interfering, the advice and prescriptions of the conservation community were undermined by the need to compromise (Sohlbergrekka, Krogstad, 1950s). In both these “groups” the goal of use and function was reached; in the former the treatment may be characterized as modernization without (significant) modification, in the latter group as modernization through modification. From the perspective of today both Rosesmuget and Mosjøen may be considered as pilots for the trend of conservation as a catalyst for urban regeneration of the

following decades. The active interference of the conservation community and regular monitoring practices have however not been followed up on the level at which they were initiated. The tendency today is that housing improvements are more interventionist, implying increasing loss of “age value” and detail in the individual building, in favour of “area character” recreated in modern building materials.

### *Object and context*

Comparing the listings practice of the Built Heritage Act in 1920 with conservation area planning according to the Building Act of 1965, there is a tendency towards a shift of focus *from single object to context*. In the 1970s there was increased emphasis on preserving urban areas and cultural landscapes, a possibility through the 1965 conservation area paragraph. The new 1978 Cultural Heritage Act also followed this trend, allowing for listing of surroundings as well as built objects. On the basis of the case studies and published writings, it can be argued that this tendency can be viewed, not necessarily as a shift in ideals, but rather a shift in practice due to opportunity and resources.

The legislation for protecting heritage buildings, the Built Heritage Act of 1920, was aimed at protecting single buildings with “historic” and “artistic” value. In the listings of the 1920s and 1940s, finer dwellings and elaborately decorated storage buildings were the building types which were most highly represented, clearly given priority over utilities buildings. There are however also examples from the 1920s where the listings comprised entire farms, including all utilities buildings, for example in Gudbrandsdalen. The legislation was as such no hindrance to preserving built environments; in these cases it was implied that the entire farm complex was ascribed “historic value”. The Sohlbergrekka buildings in Røros are an example where individual buildings were clearly listed as a streetscape. The Built Heritage Act did not authorize the designation of larger areas or built contexts which included more than the actual buildings, and Sohlbergrekka in this sense constituted a “serial listing”. Although the first listings mainly comprised individual buildings, which were segments of a built environment or landscape context, the published texts by antiquarians at this time continuously emphasized the importance of the original setting. This discrepancy between what was valued and what was actually listed indicates a pragmatism which overruled an ideal of preserving context. At this time the limited capacity of heritage management meant it could not possibly have risen to the challenge of listing farm complexes in their entirety.

The question of context relates to the question of conservation *in situ*. The unanimous voice of the professional conservation community was, from the time *Riksantikvaren*'s office

was established, that buildings should ideally be preserved in their original setting, and the Built Heritage Act, which authorized protection of privately owned historic buildings *in situ*, was the logical consequence of such an ideal. The idea that buildings should be preserved *in situ* is a clear indicator that context, or at least the geographical setting, was valued.

Built environments were acknowledged and valued throughout the case study period. *Riksantikvar* Harry Fett referred to German legislation on the conservation of landscapes and townscapes as a desired model for Norwegian heritage legislation as early as the 1910s. The Built Heritage Act did not aspire to this and was instead modelled on Danish legislation, primarily, which emphasized objects. Vreim wrote about Røros as a complete cultural built environment as early as 1927, and when the “experiments” with urban conservation areas began in the 1950s (Rosesmuggrenden was one of these), the conservation community referred to these as “examples of many to come”. This demonstrates that the ideal of conservation of contexts, built environments and conservation *in situ* was present in the professional conservation community from the 1910s, throughout the entire case study period. It was not widely practised before the 1970s due to lack of tools and opportunity, but the intention to do so was there all along.

#### *Conservation of structure and interiors*

When considering the efforts to conserve *interiors and structure* over the case study period it is difficult to discern consistent tendencies. Formally only the interiors of listed buildings were protected (Prestegårdslåna, Gudbrandsdalen and Røros buildings were listed), but in the case study material the type of legislation does not have significant bearing on how interiors were treated. This seems to have depended on the nature of the object as well as the motives and opportunities of the antiquarians. In the early listings among the case studies (1920s and 1940s) exteriors and indoor representative rooms were emphasised in assessments and restorations (Prestegårdslåna, Krogstad, Stensgård). In Røros, façade appearance and character was emphasized, however the professional conservation community expressed a fundamental wish to preserve the original structures of the buildings. This must be taken into account when summing up ideals in building conservation, even though it was not reflected in practice: conservation of structure was severely undermined in two of the five case study buildings for Røros. In Rosesmuggrenden structure and interiors were not objects for discussions on treatment of the buildings in the 1950s through to the 1970s. This is interesting, as the leading figure in the conservation work here, Kristian Bjerknes, demonstrated a keen interest in historic floor plans and used buildings from Rosesmuget as



examples for his PhD research. After the Rosesmuget conservation plan was put in place in 1958, there were no initiatives from Rosesmuget's residents to significantly alter their property before around 1980 (Rosesmuget 7). An explanation of why the interiors of the buildings in Rosesmuggrenden were not discussed or mentioned in the debates on building treatment during this time may be that the structural elements of the buildings during this time were not under threat of being modified; this is however speculation. Rosesmuget 7 is an indication of a new practice of treatment; when this building was regenerated circa 1980 the floor plan and interior structure was severely modified, and all historic interiors were obliterated. In Mosjøen interiors were included in restoration plans to the extent that the restoration architect had access and opportunity, which was in three out of four cases; in the fourth case (Sjøgata 41) the process was steered by the designs of a previous architect and the owner, and the interior was modernized and modified. All four Mosjøen buildings had restoration and conservation work done to the interiors, and the semi-public stairwells of the two combined-purpose buildings (shop premises and upstairs apartment) were preserved and restored according to the will of the restoration architect, against the advice of the local building authorities. All case studies demonstrate that interiors have been assessed and included when considering the overall conservation value of the buildings. The level of involvement and interference in treatment of the interiors varied greatly according to capacity and opportunity of the conservation community, while type of legislative protection was arguably less decisive.

#### *Legibility*

The idea that one should be able to "read" the references to different phases of history in historic structures was voiced for Sjøgata; the conservation plan prescribed this for the area as a whole rather than for the individual buildings. This stress on variety as opposed to homogeneity of a built environment was new, and to some extent conveyed aspects of the principles of philological conservation. Not all of the buildings and area history were significant however; in practice the contributions of the most recent decades were discarded in restorations (Sjøgata 41 and 26). Preserving the fabric of modernist modification was within the scope of the conservation plan's intentions.

#### *Negotiation*

A third point of departure for this research was the proposition that *(3) ideal conservation practice is subject to negotiation in the treatment of heritage buildings.*

Endorsement of active use placed the professional conservation community in a position of negotiation on treatment of heritage buildings. The result was in many cases a compromise between regeneration and restoration, which was not according to their recommendations and ideal standards. For dwellings, the function of home and changing housing standards required compromises. From the “beginnings” of heritage management practice for vernacular architecture, installing bathrooms and modern kitchens was within the acceptable framework of how a heritage dwelling could be altered. Such improvements were endorsed by *Riksantikvaren* as a principally acceptable, and executed for the case study buildings under the auspices of *Riksantikvaren* or other professionals representing the conservation community. In the negotiations to improve, however, the result was, in the majority of the case study buildings, a larger extent of modification than the initial proposal set out by the conservation community as the ideal treatment. These modifications ranged from demolition and relocation, to replacement of old, authentic building components with new copies.

### **Building conservation in a real-life context**

#### *Stakeholders*

A fourth point of departure for this research was the proposition that (4) *the view of what is the correct treatment of a heritage building varies with different stakeholders.*

In all cases the professional conservation community endorsed use and modifications to adapt and improve usability. The question how this was to be done was disputed by various stakeholders outside the conservation community, for different reasons. External stakeholders in the case studies primarily included owners and other public officials. In 17 out of the 19 buildings studied in the five case studies, treatment of the building was owner-initiated (Sjøgata 37 and 47 in Mosjøen are the two exceptions). The grounds for treatments were housing improvements, not restoration or conservative repair. Both these factors seem to have been decisive for the results; the antiquarian would steer the treatment in the direction of minimum intervention and restoration, but the result would be a compromise as owners related to modern housing standards when planning their improvements.

As most of the examples of treatment put forward were based on the incentive to modernize or regenerate (*rehabiliter*) i.e. improve housing standard, building authorities were involved. The processes from plan to building permit (Røros, Mosjøen) reveal the challenges of legislation and lack of coordination between different public officials. As the case studies demonstrate, contemporary building codes in relation to historic buildings were a

challenge in the 1950s as well as the 1970s. In the aforementioned examples the building authorities did not demonstrate flexibility, compromise or creativity to achieve conservation but forced solutions aimed at new buildings onto historic ones, compromising their design, age value and, in some cases, existence.

There is an interesting difference in the treatment of Røros and Rosesmuggrenden, both studied with regards to possible treatment of buildings in the 1950s and 1960s. In Rosesmuggrenden there were few and moderate modernizations during these decades, while all buildings in Sohlbergrekka were modified, some significantly. There were marked differences concerning both the process of designation as well as the monitoring of these two cases. Formally, the legislative protection of Sohlbergrekka's buildings was stronger than Rosesmuggrenden. This did not however reflect in practice in the treatment of buildings. The owners of Sohlbergrekka had been informed that their house had been listed in 1923. The selection of buildings for listing countrywide had to a large extent been a local process, but with no direct involvement from the owners. When the conservation authorities became formally involved with building activity in Sohlbergrekka in Røros in the late 1940s, almost two decades without contact with the owners had passed since the listing. From the early 1950s, Vreim, as *Riksantikvaren's* representative, visited Røros 3-4 times a year, initiated contact with the owners of listed buildings and corresponded frequently with the local coordination group for conservation matters, which consisted of "influential local people" but had no resident representation.

The process of designating Rosesmuggrenden had been inclusive, finalized with a referendum vote among the inhabitants in 1958. The objectives of the owners and the conservationists were not the same; the owners wanted to save their homes from being demolished through a development plan, while Kristian Bjerknes and his companions sought to preserve the area for its architectural and historic significance. A common goal was however achieved with the conservation plan, and Bjerknes was loyal to the residents, ensuring that the plan included a clause which excluded non-residential use of the buildings, and arguing (successfully) against plans to commercialize buildings which occurred despite the plan's intentions. In Rosesmuggrenden monitoring was organized with owner representation in a group which met and toured the area 2-3 times a year; there were in addition community meetings and educational trips which were organized regularly, with conservation as a recurring theme. Buildings were little altered, and in terms of conservation the area was successfully managed: throughout the 1960s and 1970s repair and maintenance was performed regularly, monitored by a local group with resident representation and

patrician<sup>6</sup> conservationist leadership. An alliance between conservationist(s) and the residents against an external force, close monitoring, patrician conservationist leadership and resident participation seem to have been the crucial factors for this success, probably combined with modest resident incomes and general conservatism among the area's residents.

There are many possible explanations for the differences in the treatment of buildings in these two places; the decisive factor however seems to have been the rooting of the plan in the community and the common goal to preserve the area (although for different reasons), followed up with regular monitoring and conservationist presence. In Sohlbergrekka the owners were never consulted in the process of listing, and were not represented in the coordinating local group for monitoring and conservation work. Despite *Riksantikvaren's* regular visits and the local coordination group, the listings in Røros were continually challenged in the form of treatment practice.

#### *Legislation, aesthetics, standard of housing and financial considerations*

Points of departure for exploring conservation in a real-life context were the propositions that (5) *treatment of heritage buildings in daily use has been steered by conservation legislation and conservation policy; (6) by legislation and political framework in sectors other than conservation; is (7) influenced by contemporary aesthetic preference, taste and trend, and also by (8) contemporary usability standards; dwellings by contemporary standards of housing.* Conflicting legislation and adaptation to contemporary standards of housing seem to be the factors external to conservation which to the greatest extent determined the way the buildings were treated. This was not surprising given that all the buildings were dwellings which aimed at being in continued use.

In the five case studies four different types of legislation was employed for the protection of the buildings or built environments: the 1920 Built Heritage Act for listing of privately owned buildings (here with different intentions; in Gudbrandsdalen for individual buildings, and in Røros for preserving a streetscape), "administrative listing" (i.e. listing of state-owned buildings), municipal guidelines authorized by 1924 Building Act and a conservation area authorized by the 1965 Building Act. The legislation did not have a significant bearing on how the buildings were actually treated. The method and process of designation however seems to have been relevant for the initial phase of conservation practice. In Rossmuggrenden there was a consensus to pass the guidelines among the

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<sup>6</sup> The term "patrician" is borrowed from John Pendlebury. Pendlebury (2009) p 220

inhabitants, although the motive of the residents differed from the antiquarians'. For the residents, preserving Rosesmuggrenden as a *residential area* took precedence over the historic value of the buildings. Nonetheless conservation practice, at least during the first two decades after the conservation plan was in place, was successful with regards to conserving both area character and the historic fabric of buildings, and residential qualities.

Considering the five case studies, it seems evident that the type of designation, i.e. the specific legislative measure of protection of the building, was of little consequence as to how a building was actually treated, and whether this treatment was in accordance with the ideals of the conservation community. Close monitoring and the combination of patrician authority and resident participation were in the case of Rosesmuggrenden the crucial factors for successful conservation; in Mosjøen close monitoring, active planning assistance and a locally rooted conservation movement who argued to regenerate buildings, area and community, were crucial factors.

Conflicting legislation represented other community interests and included *agricultural re-allocation* (Krogstad) and *building codes*, especially specifications of *heat insulation* and *fire-prevention* (Mosjøen). The fire-prevention issues in the buildings in Sjøgata, Mosjøen revealed strong interests and a certain amount of sentiment in both parties, both the local building authorities and the conservation community; both disputing the legal grounds of the matter and both with righteous feelings about their cause. The conservation community proposed alternative compromises which were rejected. The lack of willingness to compromise on part of the municipal building authority demonstrates that, if conservation was locally rooted, the roots had not found rich soil in the Town Hall in Mosjøen. The building authorities here found compatriots in Røros, where conservation officials for decades had allied themselves with the local museum, while tied in a conflict with the municipal building authority. One obvious explanation for such a conflict was legislation on building; no attempts were made to reconcile building codes designed for new buildings with the reconditioning of historic ones. The case study examples indicate that in the time frame of the case studies, interests outside of conservation (building and planning, agriculture) were enforced with more authority than conservation.

Prestegårdslåna came under *Riksantikvaren's* supervision circa 1916, and at about the same time the residing vicar proposed to replace the historic building with a new villa; however in 1922 a restoration was agreed on instead. The proposed new villa and the old vicarage were widely different in layout; the villa had a square floor plan, which the vicar preferred to the 37 metre long and relatively narrow Prestegårdslåna. The vicar who

commissioned the design for a new villa considered the old vicarage “ugly” as well as impractical and lacking in comforts, an indication that aesthetics as well as function was decisive for owners’ or users’ desired treatment of historic buildings.

The requirements of “contemporary housing standards” in the case studies were most concretely exemplified for the five buildings where the residents had new dwellings designed, to replace the historic dwelling. *Floor plans* of the historic buildings were not necessarily in accordance with contemporary housing ideals, *indoor room heights* not always in accordance with new building codes. The restoration of Prestegårdslåna in 1929 included modernizations which brought the old building closer to the standards of the villa; a bathroom was installed, the kitchen modernized and the building wind-proofed. Krogstad and Sohlbergrekka 56 and 60 were examples of adaptive architecture typical for the 1950s where part of or the entire historic structure was replaced. For Krogstad this was done in connection with relocation. While the Røros buildings were too small both in floor plan and indoor height to meet contemporary housing standards, Prestegårdslåna at Melhus was too large and the restoration architect and *Riksantikvaren* were forced to argue against plans to remove a section of the 37 metre long building, a part which was now rendered “superfluous”. An attempt at increasing indoor room heights was also made in Sjøgata 41 in the late 1970s. At Stensgård in Skjåk, the owners chose to build a new dwelling in a “traditional design”, a form of adaptive architecture, next to the old listed dwelling, despite massive encouragement from *Riksantikvaren* to repair the listed building in preparation for modern-day use. The difference between the Stensgård and Røros cases was that Stensgård’s example of a new building in adaptation to the old was built in addition to the listed building, while in Røros the new buildings replaced the historic listed ones.

Røros restorations and modernizations were, for different reasons, comprehensive, to a large extent modifying the building and façade design. Rosesmuggrenden’s strategy for repairs was less interventionist, aimed at improving housing standards but also part of the general tending of the area, but where aged building components were frequently replaced with copies. This practice may be said to challenge ideals on the conservation of aged fabric voiced by Ruskin and Riegl, and later formulated as principles on authenticity in the Venice Charter and also the Amsterdam Charter. In residential areas, preserving façades as form rather than fabric allowed for renewal which reflected a certain standard of living, a desired goal for owners and users incompatible with the antiquarian emphasis on authenticity and age value.

*Heat insulation and upgraded sanitary rooms* were an issue with all the buildings in the case studies and throughout the case study time frame (circa 1920-circa 1980), although with different solutions and grades of intervention. The conservation community endorsed the installation of bathrooms and kitchen improvements in all cases, extensions to increase living space where necessary, and even displacing joisting to increase indoor room heights where this was considered essential (Kjerkgata 60). Interventions to upgrade comforts which were *not* approved or endorsed by the conservation community were part or complete demolition of the historic structure to replace it with a new structure of the same or similar appearance; even for Krogstad the initial plan had been to relocate the entire building and not only the oldest part. This was however done in three out of the seventeen buildings investigated in the case studies, as the owner saw no other way to meet contemporary standards of housing.

It was also initially proposed that (9) *treatment of heritage buildings in daily use is determined by financial considerations*. Propositions from outside the conservation community were related to demands of use and function, supported by arguments related to practical as well as aesthetic considerations but, somewhat surprisingly, seldom financial matters. In the case studies, the cost of maintenance, repair and restoration was seldom discussed; rather there were in principle implications of whether to invest in the existing building or a new one in its place. In the cases where *Riksantikvaren* provided grants, these were used for repairs (foundations and roofs, Søre Harildstad 1930s) but also to steer troubled projects in a desired direction, for urgent repairs (Stensgård 1970s, a process which also included relocation of the building onto a full, modern cellar), partial conservation through relocation and restoration (Krogstad 1950s) or to acquire a historically adapted design of a new building (Krogstad, Røros 1950s). Although the examples of *Riksantikvaren's* grants for listed buildings exemplified through the case studies are too few to be deemed representative in any way, it is interesting to note that the grants were primarily used to coax disinterested owners into a conservation compromise, rather than for successful treatment. The regular funding provided in Rosesmuggrenden, although of insignificant size, seemed to have functioned as an encouragement and a reward for desired maintenance; while the funding in Mosjøen, both in the form of grants for rehabilitation and the indirect funding represented by the restoration architect, were crucial for the success of the conservation work here.

*Available building technology and method of craftsmanship*

A tenth point of departure for this research was the proposition that (10) *treatment of heritage buildings in daily use is affected by available building technology and method of craftsmanship.*

The architectural vernacular heritage exemplified in the case studies was originally built with a limited number of materials and, to a large extent, traditional craft methods. When restored or regenerated as heritage, modern building materials were introduced; this is consistent throughout the time frame of the study: cast cement, glass or rock fibre heat insulation (or, in Prestegårdslåna, sea-weed mats) asbestos roof tiles, plastic sheeting etc. were inventions of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, applied on 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings. Modern materials were used for new and modern elements, and to some extent for restoration and repair. While old wooden building components, if replaced, were replaced by new wooden buildings components, hand built natural stone foundations were replaced with cement walls with slate facing. Where new materials were introduced, the aim was to give them a traditional appearance. The historic timber section of the relocated Krogstad in the 1950s was for example re-erected using glass fibre insulation strips in the place of moss between the logs; this was however not visible on visual inspection. In Rosesmuggrenden in the late 1950s through to the 1970s, old doors and windows were allowed to be replaced to reduce draughts, provided that the new building components were copies of the old door or window. The practice of employing and also advancing modern materials and techniques where this was considered appropriate or necessary reflects the standpoint formulated in Article 10 of the Venice Charter in 1964: “Where traditional techniques prove inadequate, the consolidation of a monument can be achieved by the use of any modern technique for conservation and construction, the efficacy of which has been shown by scientific data and proved by experience.” Such optimism on behalf of technological innovation was more subdued in the case of Sjøgata, Mosjøen, in the 1970s, where the conservation plan specifically encouraged the use of traditional craftsmanship. Also here glass or mineral fibre heat insulation was used (in ceilings and floors; for floors, light concrete pellets were an alternative material). In the 1950s Halvor Vreim criticised new use of cement in Røros, but recommended cement himself for foundations and repairs of listed buildings; however, with different techniques and workmanship. The general impression these examples convey is that for the conservation community, it was not whether but *how* modern materials were used on built heritage which determined whether this was considered acceptable: when used for restoration or



regeneration, modern materials should not be visible or demonstrate poor workmanship and poor design.

On the basis of the case study material it seems evident that the professional conservation community accepted the use of modern building materials where these were not visible. This is, not surprisingly, evident throughout the time frame of the case studies, although in the 1970s awareness of traditional craftsmanship and materials is evident in the Mosjøen case study.

### *Cultures of treatment*

Initially I proposed to define and explore “cultures of treatment” as a strategy for analysis of the case studies. In the end, the case studies turned out to be more diverse than expected, and the complexity of each case and its individual contexts challenged using the concept of “cultures”, at least as a means for generalization. Also, documentation on the intentions and actions of the craftsman or workman, a crucial party when it comes to the actual treatment of a building, was partly or completely lacking in the case study material. This was another drawback, as, by experience, crucial factors relating to how a building is treated are determined by the opportunities and methods of the craftsman or workman implementing the project. When viewing the plans for and process of treatment some distinct patterns did however present themselves as grounds for a rudimentary categorization:

*Maintenance:* in Rosesmuggrenden there was a culture of maintenance and repair with an emphasis on conserving façades as well as area “character”, with great attention to decorative detail. The general maintenance of the buildings here included maintaining character at the overall as well as the detailed level. This practice was implemented by the residents, guided by regular conservation monitoring. The culture was characterized by being a continuum of previous resident and maintenance culture; the conservation monitoring introduced to fend off the stylistic influence of modernism, and influence the introduction of modern comforts with minimum intervention and without compromising façade or character. Harildstad Søre also belongs to this category. These examples to a large extent exemplify performance of regular maintenance on a heritage building with minimum intervention to structure, appearance and fabric, which was the treatment which was most highly valued by the conservation community. The strategy of continued use was a means to this end; only use could defend regular maintenance of such a large group of heritage buildings as that which vernacular architecture represented.

The Prestegårdslåna case is the one where the history of maintenance and repair is most thoroughly documented; this history of maintenance and repair was however interrupted in 1878 when it was modernized, the precursor for the second intervention which was its restoration in 1929. In Prestegårdslåna housing improvements introduced the opportunity to restore the façade to a previous style, a strategy which was endorsed by the residents, as well as by the conservation community as a matter of principle. Another example of this tendency, *restoration and regeneration*, is Sohlbergrekka; here however the restorations were undermined by other factors: contemporary housing ideals took precedence over conservation and the result was, in two cases, a new house.

*Regeneration*: Sohlbergrekka was regenerated as an environment; the individual buildings subject to a range of modifying treatments, while the housing standards in general were improved according to contemporary ideals of comfort. The Røros as well as Mosjøen buildings were all subject to regeneration, involving varying levels of restoration and modernization. On the level of the individual building the regeneration of Sohlbergrekka was subject to influences external to conservation. Both buildings in Sohlbergrekka, and the Krogstad dwelling, were subject to *compromise regeneration*, while Stensgård and the Sjøgata buildings were examples of *regeneration* which corresponds with the intentions implied in the precise definition delivered by *Fortidsminneforeningen's* terminology group in 1980: "Repair and reconditioning of a building for a present use and/or to correct neglected maintenance, where the aim also must be to preserve as much as possible of its antiquarian value and architectural qualities; and restoring lost dignity." In Sjøgata many buildings had been subject to neglected maintenance, some fallen into disuse. Here the treatment performed addressed function and use as well as high conservation standards, to achieve a "dignity" in appearance, fabric and use which was considered successful by the conservation community as well as by the residents.

#### *Closing comments*

The most clearly expressed strategies for treatment of built cultural heritage voiced and practised by the conservation community in the case studies is the ideal of *façade restoration* and the promotion of *use*. The first was practised according to a concept of stylistic preference, the second related to the goal of conservation *in situ* and the concept of "living heritage". There the ideal for "restoration" for this group of buildings shifted from a general emphasis on stylistic unity, homogeneity and character (Prestegårdslåna 1920s, Røros 1950-1970s, Rosesmuggrenden 1950s-1970s) to restoration which rested on documentation. The

latter was accompanied by a new acceptance to simultaneously show more than one phase of the building's (or area's) material or stylistic history, as well as a striving towards preserving older, authentic fabric (Mosjøen 1970s). These practices correspond with the ideals of scientific and philological restoration (legibility), and a regard for the age value of buildings.

When viewing the ideological basis for conserving heritage, a general distinction has been made between motives which emphasize “uses explicitly concerned with current use values” and “uses which conceptualize heritage in terms of an inheritance over which we have a short-term custodianship”.<sup>7</sup> The distinction between historic (“memorial”) and current use (“present-day”) values was developed as a theory by Alois Riegl drawing on the experience of 19<sup>th</sup> century conservation practices. “Restoration”, as practised by Viollet-le-Duc or tried out in the Norwegian context with for example Heddal stave church or Nidaros Cathedral, had ultimately been aimed at bringing historic monuments to a state of contemporary use, on a symbolic as well as functional level. In the process the fabric, as well as the meanings of the monument, was transformed. The opposing “conservation” approach argued that, as both past and future generations had claim to the monument, it should not, in the words of John Ruskin, be “tampered with” but stewarded and passed on in a state unaltered, with regular maintenance as the only accepted form of treatment. The latter approach constitutes the founding framework of contemporary fabric-based principles of conservation, where the authenticity of the material substance of built heritage is an important premise for conservation practice.

The consistency of the ideals and strategies of the professional conservation community over time has been an interesting and not wholly expected finding; I had initially presumed that the changes in conservation strategies and conservation practice would have been greater, especially over the decade 1965-1975. During this time a terminology for built cultural heritage was assessed, and new terms like regeneration (*rehabilitating*) introduced for building, reflecting an attitude towards treatment. Also, heritage management was reorganized, new legislation came into place<sup>8</sup>, conservation activity was broadened to engage larger and different groups, and extended to apply for example to “lesser” buildings and urban environments; and, closely related to this was an ideologically based discussion of values, identity and environmental issues, in which the scope of what could be defined as cultural heritage was extended. The implications of these changes may be considered paradigmatic, even so *the strategy and ideals for treatment* generally represent continuity, the major

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<sup>7</sup> John Pendlebury, with reference to Feilden and Jokilehto (1998) and Jokilehto (1999). Pendlebury (2009) p 215

<sup>8</sup> Bygningsloven (The Building Act), 1965; Kulturminneloven (The Cultural Heritage Act), 1978.

difference being that they were now practised on a significantly broader basis as the number of listings and conservation areas increased.<sup>9</sup> This consistency of the conservation community concerns the strategy of promoting *conservation through use* which was voiced throughout the case study period. This was not, as is frequently inferred, an “invention” of the 1970s, but only seemed to be so because it was now promoted on a completely different scale. The consistency also concerns the rejection of recent and therefore “less valid” contributions to a building, as an incentive to restore. *Restoration* on these grounds was practised throughout the case study period including the 1970s. “Invalid contributions” to a building were those building components and modifications stemming from the past 0-70 years of the building’s history, a timescale which seems to have been reasonably stable. While the context of heritage management changed with regards to resources and policy, the emphasis on function and appearance as the guiding principles in conservation practice for vernacular dwellings remained.

The modifying treatment which heritage buildings in this case study have been shown to be subject to, is cause for reflection.<sup>10</sup> Although it was not surprising that designated buildings have suffered alterations in appearance and fabric, the extent of these alterations was a disturbing finding. In two cases, “restoration” of listed buildings was in fact the replacement of the old structure with entirely new ones (for one of these cases this fact was previously known), in two others, listed buildings were moved from their original plots. This reveals the fallibility of the 1920 Built Heritage Act, which was the strongest legislation to protect cultural heritage property between 1920 and 1978, when legislation was revised and strengthened. The case studies demonstrate the readiness of cultural heritage management to compromise in order to achieve a feasible, if not from a conservation standpoint ideal, result. In the three examples of the most extreme treatment, the conservation community went to the lengths of conceding to preserve “character” in the form of new building, to accommodate continued use.

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<sup>9</sup> In 1923 the number of listings was circa 300 and it was assumed that the total number would stop at circa 1300. In 1969 the number of listings was 1750. Today (2010) there are circa 5700 listed buildings in Norway. The number of conservation areas has increased steadily from the 1970s; here no accurate national numbers exist. Klima\*og\*forurensningsdirektoratet (2010)

<sup>10</sup> The documentation project *Fredningsgjennomgangen* (“The listed buildings’ review”) commissioned by Riksantikvaren, supports the indication of this case study that the loss of buildings listed according to Bygningsfredningsloven (1920-1978), through demolition, fire or severe modification, is high. Out of the 19 Norwegian counties, the figures for Sør-Trøndelag County are estimated at a 21% loss, for Nord-Trøndelag they may be as high as 40%. A figure for loss of listed buildings nationwide has not yet been published, as the project is in the process of being finalized in 2010. There is indication that the loss figures to a large extent refer to utilities buildings and buildings where the listed status has been unclear and which subsequently have not been subject to monitoring, but dwellings are also represented. Riksantikvaren and Sør-Trøndelag\*Fylkeskommune (2009)

Although restoration, regeneration and maintenance of heritage buildings were generally encouraged by the conservation community, the initiative to perform treatment (for 17 of the 19 individual examples) was taken by the owners. The buildings in Sohlbergrekka in Røros, commonly considered to have been restored in the 1950s according to the express intentions of the antiquarians, were in fact owner-initiated modernizations where the result strayed from the recommendations and plans prepared by them. These owners experienced the listing of their buildings as an undesirable enforcement; heritage management met this unwillingness with a readiness to compromise on ideals of conservation *in situ*, of scale and restoration design. If the antiquarians were willing to meet owners and negotiate solutions for treatment, the listing process itself had been a top-down process where the owners were informed that their property had been listed, period. Although the conservation plan for Rosesmuggrenden was endorsed locally and even founded on a residents' referendum, the implementation of the plan demonstrated similar patrician elitism, with the expert architect guiding and chiding in all matters of building treatment. The Mosjøen case is the first example of collaborative planning for social and physical regeneration, recalling the Amsterdam Charter's call for "integrated conservation". Interestingly, the Mosjøen case is also the foremost example out of the five case studies of orthodox<sup>11</sup> conservation practice with high standards for documentation, scientific restorations and the application of fabric-based principles to (successfully) balance historic character and craftsmanship with modern functionalism and community contentment.

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Continued active use of vernacular architectural heritage was endorsed by the conservation community from the beginning, and solutions for housing standard improvements were frequently part of the antiquarians' prescribed treatment. Despite this, the end products of treatment reflect conservation ideals to a very variable extent. Conservation ideals were, and are, continuously challenged by external factors and propositions. The implications for the buildings differ on a broad scale. As a general rule, built heritage is handed down to us as physical remnants of compromise.

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<sup>11</sup> The term "orthodox" is borrowed from John Pendlebury. Pendlebury (2009) p 28

## SOURCES

### **Archives and databases:**

ANTON database, NTNU

Askeladden, Riksantikvaren

Bergen byarkiv

Bergen municipal building archive (desk)

Dag Nilsen private archive

Digitalarkivet, Arkivverket

Gamle Bergen museum archive

Nasjonalbiblioteket

Nasjonalgalleriet

Norsk Folkemuseum

NTNU UBiT Billedsamlingen

Prestegårdslånas arkiv

Registreringsentral for historiske data, UiT

Riksantikvarens archive

Rosesmuggrenden Velforeningen private archive

Rørosmuseet, Røros museum archive

Røros municipal building archive

Statsarkivet i Bergen

Tromsø Museum

Trøndelag Folkemuseum

UBB, Universitetet i Bergen

Vefsn municipal building archive, Mosjøen

Vefsn Museum archive

### **Informants:**

Present-day house owners or users of case study buildings except Kjerkgata 52 and Sjøgata 37

Berg, Arne in Melhus, 2005

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Stenseth, John (1929 - 10). Melhus Prestegård - regninger for restaureringsarbeider Mlehus prestegård, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Stiftsdireksjonen, Nidaros Bispedømme (1923 - 7 - 18). Melhus Prestegård - merknad vedrørende sogneprest Hollums anmodning om kompensasjon for husleie, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Stiftsdireksjonen, Nidaros Bispedømme (1923 - 11 - 17). Melhus Prestegård - anbefaling om restaurering av hovedbygningen. d. k. K. o. U. KUD, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959

Stortinget (1931/1932). Melhus Prestegård - redegjørelse til Stortinget, Prestegårder (utdrag), Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Søberg, Cementstøperi (1923 - 10 - 11). Melhus Prestegård - "For at fjerne den gamle grundmur..", Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959; 11. okt 1923.

Tønseth, Roar (1922 - 7 - 21). Melhus Prestegård - brev fra Roar Tønseth arkitekt til Hr. landbruksingeniør Arentz. Arentz, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959

Tønseth, Roar (1922 - 7 - 23). Melhus Prestegård - brev fra Roar Tønseth arkitekt til Hr. landbruksingeniør Arentz. Arentz. Trondheim, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Tønseth, Roar (1923). Melhus Prestegård - "Forslag til forandringer oversendes". S. Hollum. Trondheim, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959: 1.

Tønseth, Roar (1923). Melhus Prestegård - beskrivelse av arbeider over kjælderens. s. KD), Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959; 3.

Tønseth, Roar (1923 - 9 - 13). Melhus prestegård - beskrivelse for arbeidet i kjelleren. Trondheim, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Tønseth, Roar (1923 - 10 - 9). Melhus Prestegård - forslag til forandringer oversendes.. M. Hollum, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Tønseth, Roar (1923 - 10 - 28). Melhus Prestegård - oversendelse av dokumenter samt overslag. M. Hollum. Trondheim, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Tønseth, Roar (1924 - 9). Melhus Prestegård - omkostningsplan i henhold til reducert restaureringsplan. Trondheim, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Tønseth, Roar (1924 - 10 - 2). Melhus Prestegård - "Reducert Restaureringsplan". M. Hollum, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Tønseth, Roar (1925 - 9 - 22). Melhus Prestegård - brev vedlagt kostnadsoverslag. M. Hollum, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Tønseth, Roar (1925 - 11 - 4). Melhus Prestegård - kommentarer til synsforretningen. Trondheim, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Tønseth, Roar (1929 - 3 - 27). Ang. Melhus prestegard. Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvarens arkiv 234/1929-.

Tønseth, Roar (1929 - 5 - 22). Melhus Prestegård - almindelige forutsetninger for anbud. Trondheim, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Tønseth, Roar (1929 - 5 - 22). Melhus Prestegård - beskrivelser fra arkitekten. Trondheim, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Tønseth, Roar (1929 - 5 - 27). Ang. Melhus Prestegård. Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvarens arkiv.

Tønseth, Roar (1929 - 5 - 27). Melhus Prestegård - "Anbudsdokumentene er nu utsendt..". M. Hollum. Trondheim, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Tønseth, Roar (1929 - 6 - 6). Melhus Prestegård - oversendelse av anbud fra Stenseth og Moum. M. Hollum. Trondheim, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Tønseth, Roar (1930 - 1 - 8). Melhus Prestegård - Tønseths utlegg og honorar. D. k. K.-o. u. KU, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Usignert (1922 - 7 - 23). Melhus Prestegård - "Overslag over maler og rørlæggerarbeider". KD, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Usignert (1922 - 7 - 23). Melhus Prestegård - anbud trearbeider i kjelleren. KD, Prestegårdslånas arkiv; perm 3 1921-1959.

Åbotts-og-synsforretning (1956 - 9 - 25). Melhus Prestegård - Åbotts og synsforretning.

#### Chapter 4

Owner (1953 - 1 - 22). ad flytning av hus i forbindelse med off jordskifte. Brev til Riksantikvaren fra L.S. Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvarens arkiv.

Owner (1953 - 1 - 22). I tillegg til vedlagte skrivelse ... (om Krokstad søre). Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvarens arkiv.

Owner (1953 - 3 - 18). Vedk. Krogstad søndre gnr. 57 bnr. 1 i Skjåk. D. A. Bygningsnmd, Riksantikvarens arkiv.

- Owner (1953 - 5 - 8). I anledning Halvor Vreims besøk på Krogstad 16. april... Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvarens arkiv
- Owner (1954 - 8 - 26). Vedkø Krogstad Søndre, gnr. 51 bnr. 1 Skjåk. I. fl. Dykkars skriv av 5/6 f.å. er eg løyvt eit tilskot Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Owner (1954 - 11 - 24). Vedlagt sender jeg forslag til våningshus på Krogstad. Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Owner (1954 - 12 - 16). Krogstad, Skjåk. Vedlagt kopi av forslag til våningshus... Brev fra herredsaagronom Trygve Bakken for Hans Krogstad Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Owner (1955 - 6 - 1). angående freedet stuebygning på Krogstad ... henvisning til konferanse med H. Vreim den 3. mars 1955. Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvarens bibliotek.
- Owner (1956 - 2 - 8). Fredet stue - utbetaling. Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Ramstad, Rolv O. (1953 - 5 - 8). Kostnadsoverslag til nedrivning og oppattseting på ny tomt av den freds stue på Krogstad, Riksantikvarens bibliotek.
- Riksantikvaren (1956 - 10 - 18). Krogstad, gnr. 51, bnr. 1, Skjåk. Etter siste besøk på kontoret sendes to reviderte eksemplarer av Fredings-avtale (Vedlegg). Fra Halvor Vreim. H. Krogstad, Riksantikvarens bibliotek.
- Riksantikvaren\*Archive (1941-2001). Stensgård, Skjåk: Case file, Riksantikvarens Arkiv Bf123.
- Riksantikvaren\*Archive (1956-1976). Harildstad Søre: Case file, Riksantikvarens Arkiv B125.
- Svenneby, T. (1951 - 9 - 28). Offentlig utskiftning av innmarka til gårdene Krokstad s. osv. Brev til Riksantikvaren fra Oppland utskiftingsrett, Lillehammer Riksantikvaren, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Svenneby, T. (1951 - 11 - 15). Ad utskiftning Korkstad s. mfl. i Skjåk herred. Brev til Riksantikvaren fra T. Svenneby, jordskiftedommer, Gudbrandsdal Jordskiftekontor på Lillehammer Riksantikvaren. Lillehammer, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1943 - 6). Systuen, Krokstad, Skjåk, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1951 - 10 - 22). Krokstad, søndre, gnr. 51, bnr. 1, Sjøk. Brev av 28/9. Brev til Utskifningsformann T. Svenneby fra Riksantikvaren ved Halvor Vreim. U. T. Svenneby, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1953 - 3 - 4). Krogstad, søndre, gnr. 51, bnr. 1, Skjåk. Brev til A. Skjelkvale fra Riksantikvaren ved Arne Nygård-Nilssen og Halvor Vreim. A. Skjelkvale, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1953 - 4). Krogstad, Skjåk. Kostnadsoverslag og bidrag (notat), Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1953 - 4 - 13). Varsling om befarig av Krokstad søre. Brev fra Riksantikvaren ved Halvor Vreim. A. Skjelkvale, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1954 - 8 - 28). Krogstad, søndre, gnr. 51, bnr. 1, Skjåk. I anledning brevet av 24. august med spørsmål om glass i "vasskleven"... . A. Skjelkvale, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1954 - 11 - 29). Krogstad, gnr. 51, bnr. 1, Skjåk. H. Krogstad, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1955 - 2 - 11). Krogstad, gnr. 51, bnr. 1, Skjåk. Brev stemplet Halvor Vreim og Arne Nygård-Nilssen. H. Krogstad, Riksantikvaren.
- Vreim, Halvor (1955 - 2 - 11). Ny hovedbygning med tre gamle rom, Krogstad i Skjåk, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1955 - 6 - 4). Krogstad, gnr. 51, bnr. 1, Skjåk. Om takteking. H. Krogstad, Riksantikvarens bibliotek.
- Vreim, Halvor (1956 - 5). Krogstad, Sjøk. Tømringen rundt de tre gamle rom er satt opp.... , Riksantikvarens bibliotek.
- Vreim, Halvor (1956 - 11). Krogstad, Skjåk (beskrivelse av bygning og tiltak) Vedlegg: to kopier av bladet med planer og snitt. , Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1956 - 11 - 14). Krogstad, gnr. 51, bnr. 1, Skjåk. Tilskudd. H. Krogstad, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1956 - 11 - 14). Krogstad, gnr. 51, bnr. 1, Skjåk. Tinglysning av fredningsavtale. N.-G. sorenskriverembete, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1956 - 12 - 12). Farger i den gamle stue og utvendig den nye hovedbygning, Krokstad, Skjåk. H. Krogstad, Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1957 - 2 - 4). Krokstad, Skjåk. Brev av 5. februar. Bevilgning. H. Krogstad, Riksantikvarens bibliotek.

- Vreim, Halvor (1959 - 4). Krogstad, Skjåk. Om de tre gamle og fredede rom, stugu, "finkleve" og "vasskleve" Riksantikvarens arkiv.
- Vreim, Halvor (1959 - 4 - 15). Krogstad, gnr. 51, bnr. 1, Skjåk. Varsel om befarings med restaureringsassistent Ove Qvale. H. Krogstad, Riksantikvaren.
- Vreim, Halvor (1959 - 5 - 19). Montering av tre fredede rom i ny hovedbygning. H. Krogstad, Riksantikvarens arkiv

## Chapter 6

- (195?3). Fjæregrenden 18 situasjonsplan 1:1000. Bergen, Bergen Byarkiv (kundesenter byggesak): Situasjonsplan 1:1000 stemplet mottatt Bygningsinspektøren; stemplet bygningssjefen.
- Aksjonskomiteen (1975 - 9 - 8). Innbydelse til åpent møte om Norsk Veiplan Del 2, Bergen fra Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel, Fortidsminneforeningens\*Bergensavdeling, Vestlandske\*Naturvernforening. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Almeland\*Stavenes ((no date)). Rosesmuget 7, rehabilitering. Arbeidsbeskrivelse. Bergen, Skriv fra Almeland Stavenes bygg og rehabilitering. Dokumenter fra huseier.
- Arbeidskomiteen (1955 - 6 - 16). Beskyttende Bestemmelser for området Rosesmuget - Garmannsgaten.
- Arbeidsutvalget (1957 - 3 - 19). Møteinnkalling - Rosesmuggrenden - huseierne i grenden innkalles til møte i Sandviksskolens gymnastikksal fredag 22 ds kl 20. Huseierne. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv): 1.
- Bergen kommune, Helseseksjonen (1975 - 9 - 15). Helsekontrollør Einar Holes rapport av 16.6.75. J. Sjursæther. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Bergen kommune, Rådmannen (1957 - 10 - 3). Beskyttende bestemmelser for Rosesmuggrenden. K. Bjerknæs. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv): 1.
- Bergen\*formannskap (1958 - 2 - 19). Instilling om spørsmål byplanvedtekt for strøket "Fjæregrenden" Nr.29/1958. Bergen\*formannskap. Bergen, Bergen Byarkiv, reguleringsvesenets arkiv BBA-0967: 110-114.
- Bergen\*kommune (2002 - 2 - 2). Kommunedelplan Sandviken og Fjellsiden Nord i Bergen vedtatt i Bergen bystyre 19.02.2001. m. o. b. Byrådsavdeling for klima. Bergen, Byrådsavdeling for klima, miljø og byutvikling.
- Bergens\*Arbeiderblad (1955 - 5 - 26). Rosegrenden i Sandviken ligger i faresonen. *Bergens Arbeiderblad*. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Bergens\*Tidende (1977 - 8 - 4). Grøntareal eller parkeringsplass? Småhusene i Sandviken forsvinner bak store trailere. *Bergens Tidende*. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv) (klipp).
- Bergens\*Tidende (1979 - 7 - 9). Trafikkøyt med smau-idyll. *Bergens Tidende*. Bergen, Bergens Tidende.
- Bergens\*Tidende (1988 - 9 - 16). Trolltallerkner. *Bergens Tidende*. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Bergens\*Tidende (1989 - 4 - 14). Torn i øyet. *Bergens Tidende*. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Bjerknæs, Kristian (1955 - 6 - 9). Komiteens orientering vedr beskyttende bestemmelser for Rosesmuget. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Bjerknæs, Kristian (1955 - 6 - 11). Innbydelse til møte torsdag 16. juni vedr beskyttende bestemmelser for Rosesmuget - Fjæregrenden. H. i. o. R.-. Fjæregrenden. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv): 1.
- Bjerknæs, Kristian (1960 - 1 - 23). Omkring Bergens fremtidige bybilde - arkitekt Kristian Bjerknæs legger frem noen forslag til overveielse. *Bergens Tidende*. Bergen.
- Bjerknæs, Kristian (1964 - 2 - 5). Ang. kjøp av Elvegaten 9b. Brev fra Grenderådet til Harald Mowinckel A/S. Harald\*Mowinckel\*AS. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Bjerknæs, Kristian (1980 - 2 - 4). Vedr. trykksak som deles ut til husstandene i rosesmuggrenden. R. Nilsen. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Bjerknæs, Kristian ((no date)). "Vi som er kommet sammen her har et (problem) spørsmål som vi er opptatt av.." (usignert), Bergen Byarkiv. Bjerknæs arkiv BBA-0750: 4.

- Bjerknes, Kristian; Brosing, G. (1955 - 6). Undertegnede gir herved sitt standpunkt tilkjenne til vedlagte beskyttende bestemmelser for strøket, datert 16. juni 1955. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Brannvesenet (1981 - 10 - 28). Bergen Brannvesen - retningslinjer for brannsikring av trehus i tett bebyggelse ved utbedring; vedtatt av Bergen Formannskap 28.10.1981.
- Bygningssjefen (1953 - 2 - 19). Fjæregrenden 18, Bergen. Byggeanmeldelse og saksbehandling. Bergen, Bergen Byarkiv (kundesenter byggesak).
- Bygningssjefen (1960 - 3 - 14). Rosesmuget 7 - del av annen etasje 1:50, approbert ved bygningssjefens kontor. Bergen, Bergen Byarkiv (kundesenter): Plantegning håndtegnet Bergen 14/3-1960, mål 1:50 "Plassering av W.C. i 1. og 2. etasje for Rosesmuget 7, eier Frk Mikkelsen" stemplet bygningssjefen i Bergen og Bergens vann og kloakkvesen.
- Byplanrådet (1956 - 4 - 27). Utskrift av byplanrådets forhandlingsprotokoll fra møtet 27. april 1956. B. kommune. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Den\*forberedende\*komité (1958 - 1 - 29). Angår: beskyttende bestemmelser for Rosesmuggrenden - sammensetning av grenderåd. R. Bergen kommune. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv): 1.
- Distriktsantikvaren\*for\*Vestlandet, Bergen\*Arkitektforening; Fortidsminneforeningens\*Bergensavdeling; (1975 - 7 - 7). Byverntiltak i forbindelse med den eldre bygningsmasse. b. Bergen kommune. Bergen, Statsarkivet i Bergen: 4.
- Faye, Ingrid (1989 - 4 - 12). Privat rett til offentlig forsimpling. *Bergens Tidende*. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv) (klipp).
- Foreningen til norske fortidsminnesmerkers, bevaring, Bergen Natur og Ungdom Vestlandske Naturvernforening, et al. (1978 - 4 - 24). Åpent brev til Bergen Bystyre. B. Bystyre. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1957 - 3 - 19). Rosesmuggrenden - Grenderådet. Representanter og instruks. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1959 - 4 - 24). Angår Vinkelsmuget 8. Brev til Bergen kommune. R. Bergen kommune. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1959 - 5 - 13). Møte - innkalling Årsmøte Grenderådet. Huseierne. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1959 - 5 - 15). Kjøpekontrakt. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1959 - 6 - 4). Møte - referat Grenderådets og Velforeningens møte i Gamle Bergen 4/6-1959. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1959 - 6 - 26). Møte - referat fra møte på Gamle bergem 26. juni 1959. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1959 - 9 - 26). Møte referat fra møte 26/9-1959 etter befaring i Grenden. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1960 - 6 - 23). Årsberetning for forsommeren 1959-forsommeren 1960. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1960 - 9 - 1). Møte 1/9-1960 referat. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1961 - 5 - 30). Møte - referat fra møte på Gamle Bergen den 30/5-1961. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1961 - 8 - 30). Årsberetning for Grenderådet sommeren 1960 - sommeren 1961. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1961 - 10 - 18). Møte - møte på Gamle Bergen 18/10-1961. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1962). Årsberetning fro Grenderådet sommeren 1961 - sommeren 1962. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1962 - 5 - 8). Møte - referat fra møte 8/5-1962. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1963 - 1 - 7). Møte - referat fra møte avholdt på Gamle Bergens kontor 1/7-1963. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).
- Grenderådet (1963 - 12 - 14). Møte - referat fra møte og befaring i grenden 14/12-1963. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).



Grenderådet (1964 - 1 - 23). Møte - referat fra møte i grenden lørdag 23/1-1964 Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1964 - 2 - 4). Møte - referat fra møte i Gamle Bergen 4/2-1964. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1964 - 2 - 11). Ang. Elvegata 9b (bilag 3, avskrift). R. Bergen kommune. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1964 - 9 - 18). Møte - referat fra årsmøte i Rosesmuggrenden, fredag 18/9-1964. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1965 - 10 - 13). Årsberetning 1964 - 1965. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1966 - 10 - 8). Årsberetning. Grenderåd og Velforening lørdag 8.10.66 i grenden. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1966 - 10 - 14). Møte - årsmøte i Rosesmuggrenden 14. oktober 1966. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1967 - 5). Årsberetning 1966 - 1967. Referat fra møte i Grenden mai 1967. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1967 - 6 - 6). Møte - referat fra årsmøte i Rosesmuggrenden tirsdag 6. juni 1967. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1968 - 5 - 30). Møte i grenden 30/5-1968. Bergen, Rosesmuggrenden Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1968 - 6 - 12). Møte - referat fra årsmøte i Rosesmuggrenden onsdag den 12. juni 1968. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1969 - 6 - 25). Møte i Grenden 25/6-69. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1969 - 8 - 22). Møte - årsmøte i Rosesmuggrenden fredag 22. august 1969. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1970 - 9 - 8). Møte - referat fra årsmøte i Rosessmuggrenden tirsdag 8. sept 1970. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1971 - 6 - 1). Årsberetning 8. sept 1970 - 1. juni 1971 Rosesmuggrenden. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1974 - 9 - 17). Møte - referat fra årsmøte i Rosesmuggrenden 17/9-1974. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1974 - 10 - 30). Årsberetning Rosesmuggrenden 3/10-72 - 30/10 - 74. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Grenderådet (1975 - 9 - 23). Årsberetning 17. september 74 til 23. september 75 med vedlegg. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv): 3.

Institutt\*for\*byfornyng? (1978). *"Jeg skal bygge i Bergen" en brosjyre for dem som skal bygge nytt, bygge om, bygge på eller utbedre og fornye.* Bergen, Bergen kommune.

Kulturhistorisk\*Selskap, Sandviksguttene\*Forening; (1955 - 5). Innbydelse til allmanamøte i gymnastikksalen på Sandvikens skole onsdag 25. mai kl 20. Huseierne. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens vel (privat arkiv).

Morgenavisen (1963 - 1 - 12). Alternativet til Gamle Bergen er tilintetgjørelse - av Kristian Bjerknes. *Morgenavisen.* Bergen.

Naturvettaksjonen (1987 - 4). Det er vår - og tid for årets naturvernaksjon. V. i. Bergen. Bergen, Rosesmuggrenden Vel (privat arkiv).

Nesse, Olav (1956 - 9 - 21). Ad Strøket Rosesmauet - Garmannsgate. Oppnevning av et konsultativt utvalg for byggesaker i dette strøk. h. Herr rådmannen for 2. avdeling. Bergen, Bergen Byarkiv.

Nesse, Olav (1980 - 2 - 6). Søknad om trafikkсанering i Rosesmuggrenden. Rosesmuggrendens\*Vel. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Norsk\*Kulturråd (1973 - 4 - 10). Søknad om tilskott fra Norsk Kulturfond til Restaureringsarbeid i Rosesmuggrenden. Grenderådet. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv).

Olsen, Olaf (1971 - 3 - 11). Fjæregrenden nr 16, Installasjonar for Olaf Olsen approbert ved Bygningssjefens kontor. Bergen, Bergen byarkiv (kundesenter byggesak). **1:1000; 1:50:** Tegning over installasjoner i Fjæregrenden 16, situasjon 1:500, plan og snitt 1:50.

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- Ukjent (1955 - 5 - 25) Kan Rosesmuget bevares? Kulturhistorisk Selskap i Bergen tar opp sin første sak. Grendens beboere invitert til møte i kveld. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv) - klipp
- Ukjent (1955?). Beboerne taler for å bevare Fjæregrenden - Som boligstrøk, og for å sikre den elste bebyggelsen for etterslekten. *Ukjent*. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv) - klipp.
- Ukjent (1978 - 2). Mange vil bevare Kroken (møte tirsdag 14 - 2 - 78). *Ukjent*. Bergen, Rosesmuggrendens Vel (privat arkiv) (klipp).

## Chapter 7

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- 2: Sjøgata 41, Fasade 1:100 Sjøgate restaurering sign Bjørn Grimsby 29. 3. 1978
- 3: Sjøgata 41, Fasade mot vest 1:100 Restaurering sign Bjørn Grimsby 29. 3. 1978
- 4: Sjøgata 41, Fasade mot syd 1:100 Restaurering sign Bjørn Grimsby 29. 3. 1978
- 5: Sjøgata 41, Snitt 1:100 Restaurering sign Bjørn Grimsby 29. 3. 1978
- 6: Sjøgata 41, situasjon 1:500 Restaurering sign Bjørn Grimsby 30. 3. 1978
- Alle tegninger stemplet Vefsn Bygningsråd sak 198/78; Arbeidstilsynet 30/6-80.
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- 12/2-1964  
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- Nilsen, Dag (1977 - 9 - 19). Mosjøen - Restaurering av Sjøgata 41. B. a. M. Grimsby, Vefsn kommunearkiv: 3.
- Nilsen, Dag (1978 - 3 - 14). "Ved befaring av Sjøgata 37...". T. e. Vefsn kommune, Dag Nilsen privat arkiv.
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- Nilsen, Dag (1978 - 4 - 16). Sjøgata 37 - arbeidsbeskrivelse for kostnadsberegning. Dag Nilsen privat arkiv
- Nilsen, Dag (1978 - 4 - 16). Sjøgata 37. Arbeidsbeskrivelse for kostnadsberegning, Vedlegg 2. Vefsn bygningsråd sak 306/78 Mosjøen, Vefsn municipal archive - vefsn bygningsråd.
- Nilsen, Dag (1978 - 9 - 20). Sjøgata 37 - utvidelse mot nord, rekonstruksjon, Dag Nilsen privat arkiv.
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- Nilsen, Dag (1979 - 2 - 9). Sevaldsens hus, Sjøgata 47, Mosjøen. Sanering, 2. etg. 1:100, Dag Nilsen privat arkiv.
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- Nilsen, Dag (1981 - 3 - 10). Sjøgata 26 og 41, Mosjøen. Tilleggsopplysninger til klage på vedtak i Vefsn Bygningsråd 385/80 - 21.10.80. Fylkesmannen\*i\*Nordland and B. Vefsn\*kommune, Helgeland Museum arkiv, Vefsn: 2.
- Nilsen, Dag (1981 - 4 - 10). Ombyggings-/utbedrings-/vedlikeholdsarbeider på Sjøgata 26 og 41, Dag Nilsen privat arkiv
- Nilsen, Dag (1983 - 6 - 26; 1984 - 2 - 17). Garasje/bod for no 41, uthus for no 43 alt N: 1: Situasjonstegning 1:500; fasade 1:100 av garasje/bod og uthus med kommentar Skisse plan og snitt garasje uthus Sjøgata 41 Alt. N 1:50 stemplet Vefsn kommune Bygnings-, Regulerings- og oppmålingssjefen, påskrevet initialene AL. sign. DN 26.6.83; 2: Revidert utgave av 1 stemplet Vefsn kommune Bygninge-, Regulerings- og oppmålingssjefen, påskrevet "Revidert situasjonsplan må innsendes - se byggetillatelse" og AL; påskrevet: rev. 17.2.1984; stemplet vefsn bygningsråd sak nr 86/84. Helgeland Museum arkiv, Vefsn
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- Norsted, Terje (1980 - 1 - 14). Sjøgata 37, søndre del. Fargeregistrering, forslag til fargerestaurering. Riksantikvaren, Dag Nilsen privat arkiv
- Norsted, Terje (1980 - 5 - 23). Sjøgata 26, Restaurering (Mosjøen). Brev med vedlagt fargeundersøkelse og forslag til fargerestaurering. H. Hårvik, Riksantikvarens arkiv 1960 B-398/80 TN/uw: 16.
- Owner (1972 - 10 - 6). Letter from owner to municipality. T. e. Vefsn kommune. Mosjøen, Vefsn kommunearkiv.
- Owner (1973 - 1 - 15). Mosjøen, Sjøgata 41, 3 skisser. Mosjøen, Vefsn Kommunearkiv: 1: Skisse fasade bakside Sjøgata 41 merket Stig Vollan 15/1-1973 stemplet Vefsn kommune, Bygn. - regul.- og oppm. sjefen; Vefsn Bygningsråd sak 122/73 - 27/3 jnr 57/73 mottatt 19/1-73; Vefsn Brannstyre sak 12/73

- 2: Skisse fasade tilbygg til bakside Sjøgata 41 merket Stig Vollan 15/1-1973 stemplet Vefsn kommune, Bygn. -regul.- og oppm. sjefen og Vefsn Bygningsråd sak 122/73 - 27/3 jnr 57/73 mottatt 19/1-73; Vefsn Brannstyre sak 12/73
- 3: Skisse plan tilbygg Sjøgata 41 Sjøgata 41 merket Stig Vollan 15/1-1973 stemplet Vefsn kommune, Bygn. -regul.- og oppm. sjefen og Vefsn Bygningsråd sak 122/73 - 27/3 jnr 57/73 mottatt 19/1-73; stemplet Vefsn Brannstyre sak 12/73. Vefsn kommunearkiv
- Owner (1980 - 5 - 8). Document provided by present owner.
- Riksantikvaren (1984 - 6 - 11) Sjøgata 41, Mosjøen nytt garasjebygg og gjerde uttalelse. Mosjøen, Vefsn kommunearkiv.
- Riksantikvaren (1984 - 7 - 3) Sjøgata 26 i Mosjøen, nytt garasjebygg, uttalelse. V. Kommune, Vefsn kommunearkiv
- Sjøgatastiftelsen ((no date)). Finansieringsplan for Sjøgata 47, Dag Nilsen privat arkiv
- Styringsgruppa\*for\*Sjøgatamidlene (1978 - 5 - 27). Søknad om lån til restaurering av eiendommen Sjøgt. 37, Mosjøen. D. N. S. Husbank, Dag Nilsen privat arkiv
- Styringsgruppa\*for\*Sjøgatamidlene (1982 - 1 - 20). Referat fra møte for Styringsgruppa for Sjøgatamidlene sak 1, Vefsn museum arkiv.
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- Taxationsforretning (1865 - 10 - 17). "Taxationsforretning efter forlangende fra Johan Hanssen Grevnes..." avskrift., Dag Nilsen privat arkiv.
- Vefsn Kommune, Vefsn\*Bygningsråd (1962 - 11 - 12). Sjøgata 41, Mosjøen, reparasjon av tilbygg og våningshus, søknad. V.B. Vefsn kommune, Mosjøen, Vefsn kommunearkiv
- Vefsn Kommune, Vefsn\*Bygningsråd (1972 - 11 - 7). Sjøgata i Mosjøen, vedr. riving av uthus. M. kommune. Mosjøen, Vefsn kommunearkiv.
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- Vefsn Kommune, Vefsn\*Kommunestyre (1978 - 11 - 8). Kommunalt utbedringsprogram for Sjøgataområde, vedtak i Vefsn kommunestyre. V.K. Vefsn Kommune. Mosjøen. Vefsn kommunearkiv.
- Vefsn Kommune, Vefsn\*Bygningsråd (1981 - 2 - 13) Sjøgata 26 og 41, Mosjøen. Behandling av klage på vedtak fra Dag Nilsen 30. oktober 1980 vedrørende krav til brannsikring av Sjøgata 26 og 41. Byggesak 37/81-13/2-81; ref. byggesøknad 8. mai 1980 (Sjøgata 26). Saksmappe: flere dokumenter inkl. håndskrevne notater. V.B. Vefsn Kommune. Mosjøen, Vefsn kommunearkiv
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- Vefsn Kommune, Vefsn\*Bygningsråd (1981 - 10 - 6). Forhandlingsprotokoll: Sjøgata 26 og 41. Klage på bygningsrådets vedtak i sak 365/80. V. B. Vefsn Kommune. Mosjøen, Vefsn kommunearkiv.
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- Vefsn\*Kommune, reguleringsvesenet (1984 - 6 - 4). Reguleringsplan for Sjøgata-området Mosjøen, stadfestet - reguleringsendring med reguleringsbestemmelser: Plankart 1:1000, revisjoner 12/11 (-1982?), 18/2; saksbehandling bygningsrådet 13/6, offentlig ettersyn 28/6-23/7; 2. gangs behandling i bygningsrådet 4/12, nytt offentlig ettersyn 17/12(-1983?)-15/2; 3. gangs behandling i bygningsrådet 25/2; kommunestyrets vedtak 29/5; stadfestet 17/7-(1984?). Vefsn kommunearkiv
- Vefsn\*videregående\*skole (1978 - 11 - 10). Kurs i rehabilitering av trehus - rapport.
- Wogn-Eriksen (1972 - 8 - 24) Sjøgata 26 i Mosjøen, besiktigelse av uthus. Mosjøen, Vefsn kommunearkiv

## Case study areas

Sjøgata, Mosjøen in Vefsn, Nordland

Melhus vicarage, Melhus, Sør-Trøndelag

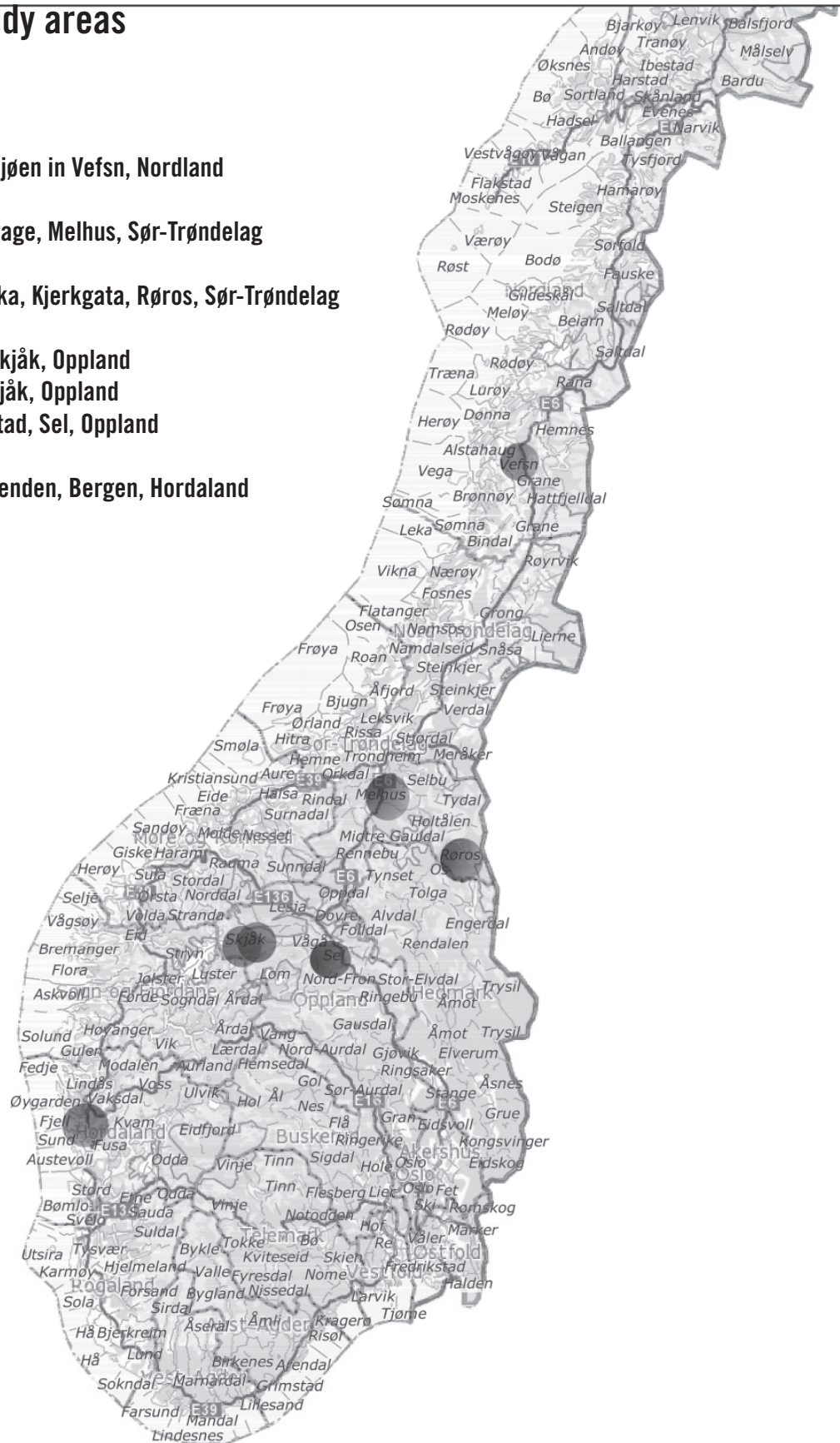
Sohlbergrekka, Kjerkgata, Røros, Sør-Trøndelag

Stensgård, Skjåk, Oppland

Krogstad, Skjåk, Oppland

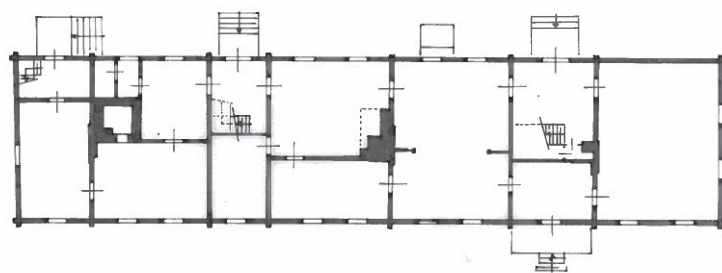
Søre Harildstad, Sel, Oppland

Rosesmuggrenden, Bergen, Hordaland



**Melhus vicarage, Rye**  
**Melhus, Sør-Trøndelag county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:400**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

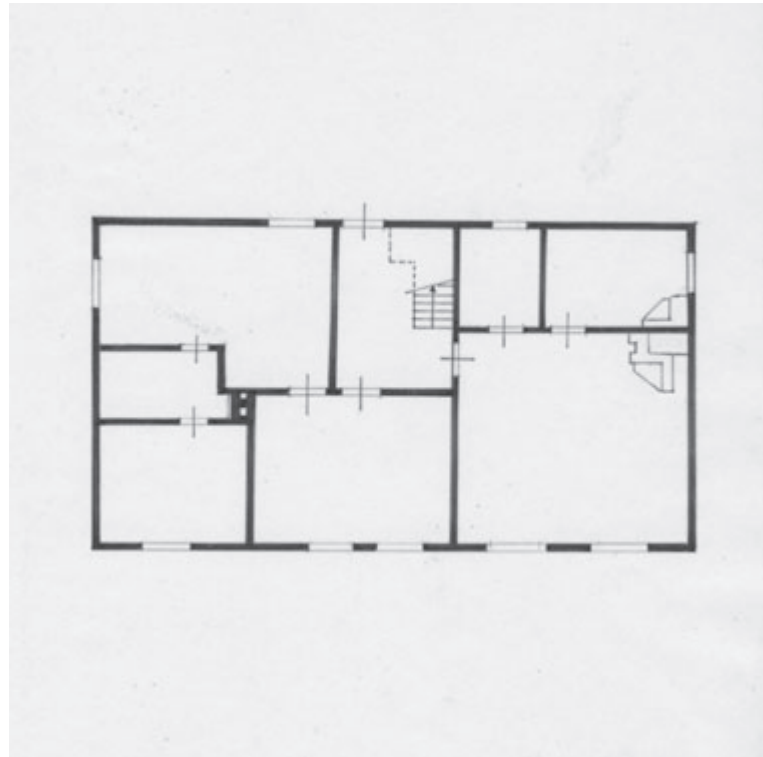


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Krogstad  
Skjåk, Oppland county**

**Dwelling  
Floor plan 1:200  
August Schmidt 2010**



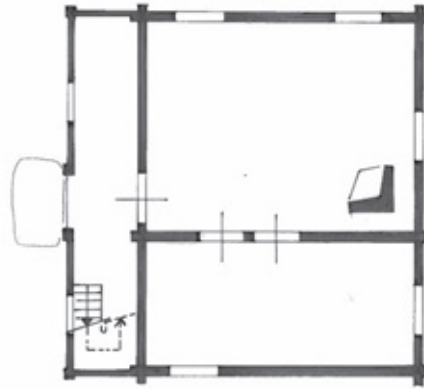
**Area plan 1:1000**



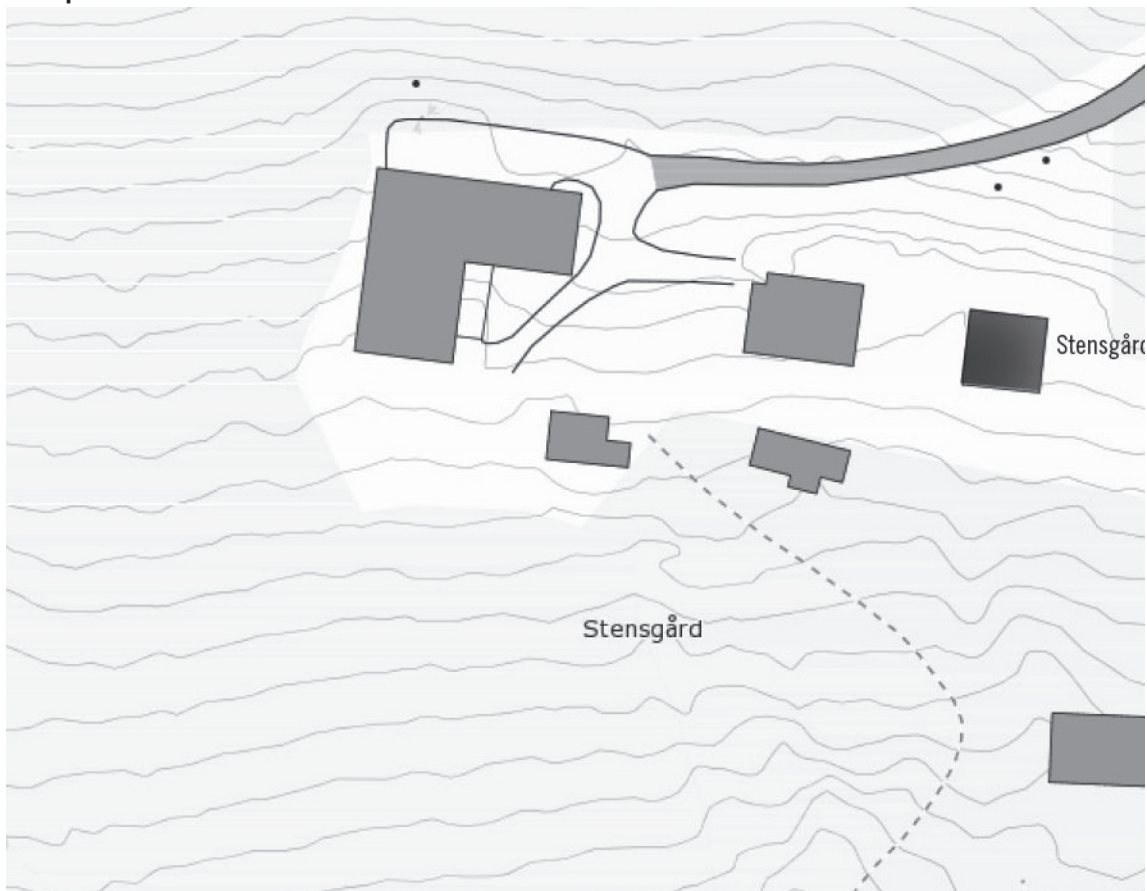


**Stensgård**  
**Skjåk, Oppland county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

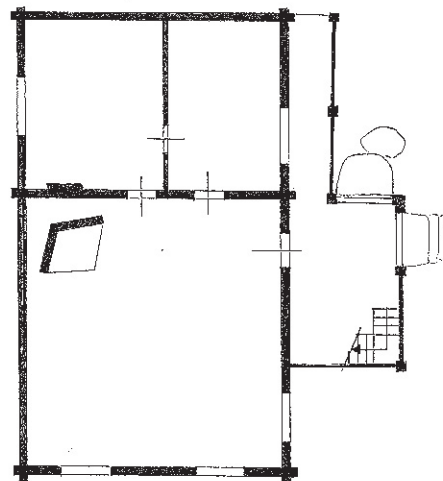


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Søre Harildstad, Nordre stugu**  
**Sel, Oppland county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

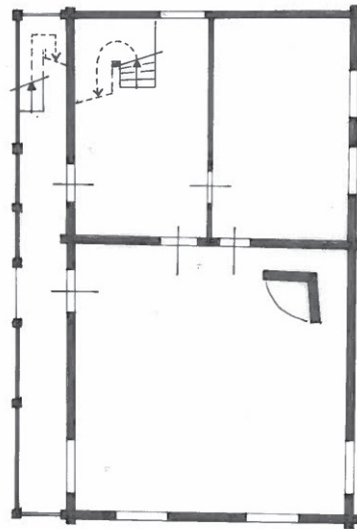


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Søre Harildstad, Søre stugu**  
**Sel, Oppland county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

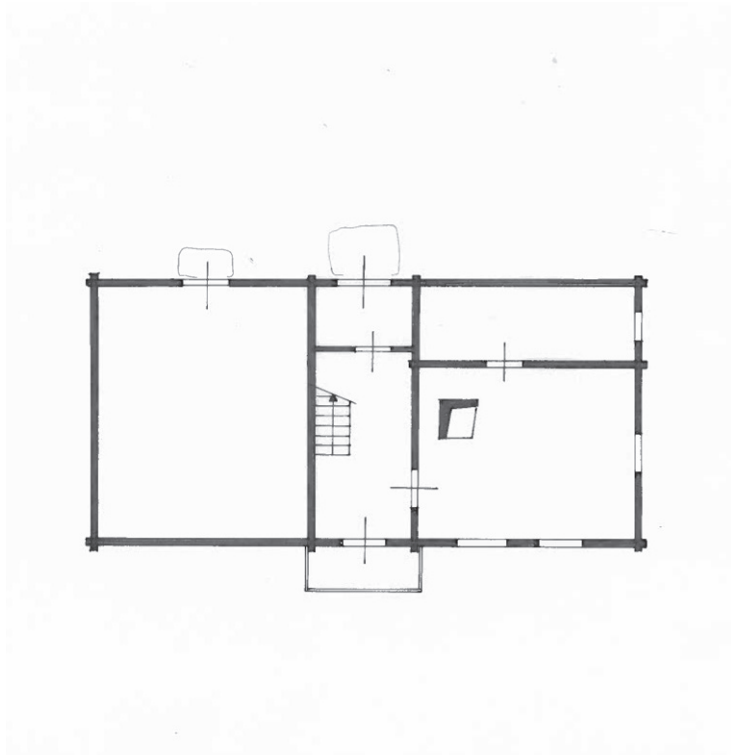


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Søre Harildstad, Nedre stugu  
Sel, Oppland county**

**Dwelling  
Floor plan 1:200  
August Schmidt 2010**

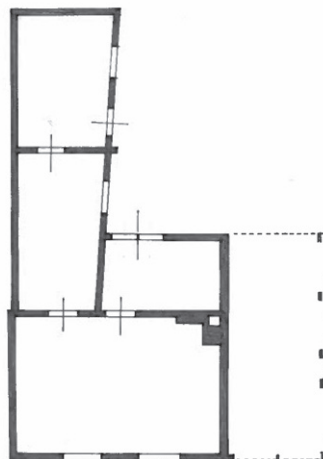


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Kjerkgata 52**  
**Røros, Sør-Trøndelag county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

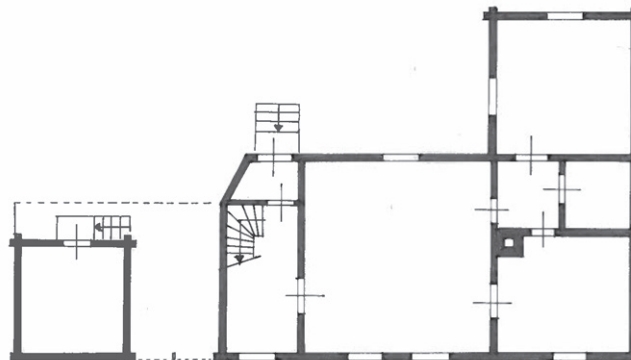


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Kjerkgata 54**  
**Røros, Sør-Trøndelag county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

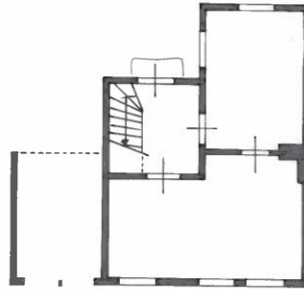


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Kjerkgata 56**  
**Røros, Sør-Trøndelag county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

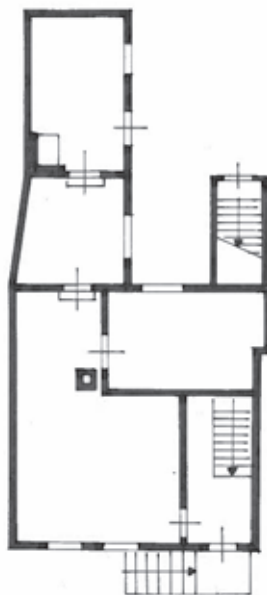


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Kjerkgata 58**  
**Røros, Sør-Trøndelag county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**



**Area plan 1:1000**





**Kjerkgata 60**  
**Røros, Sør-Trøndelag county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

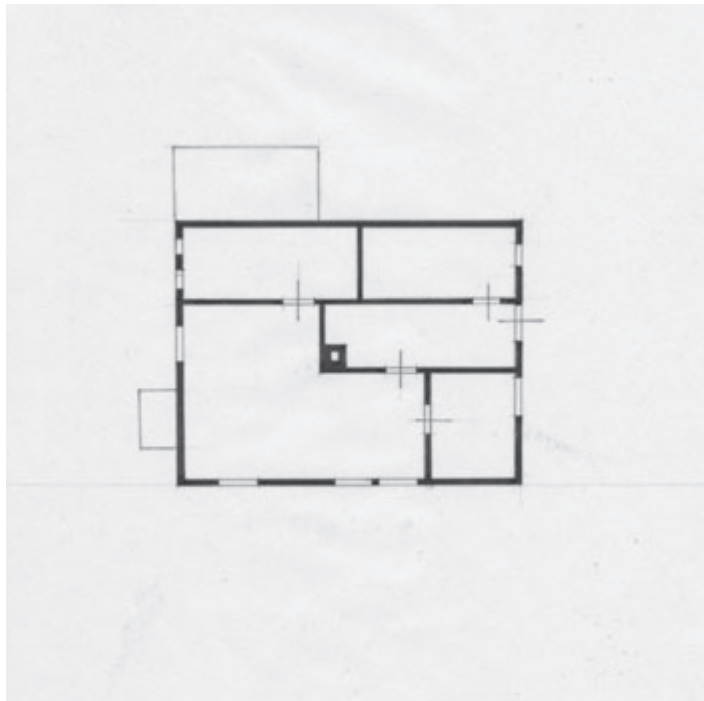


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Rosesmuget 9**  
**Bergen, Hordaland county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

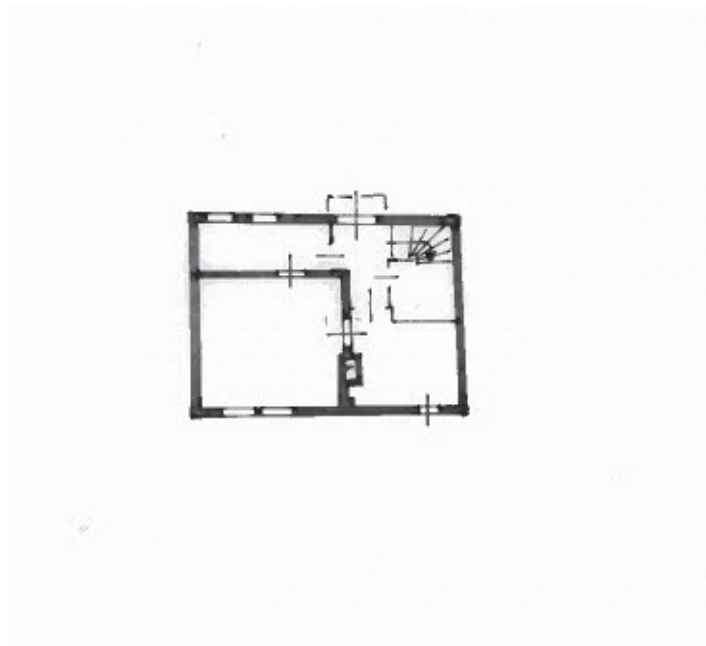


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Fjæregrenden 16**  
**Bergen, Hordaland county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

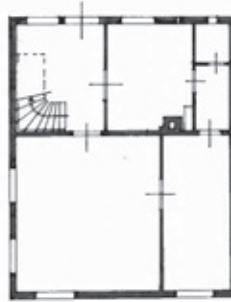


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Fjæregrenden 18**  
**Bergen, Hordaland county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

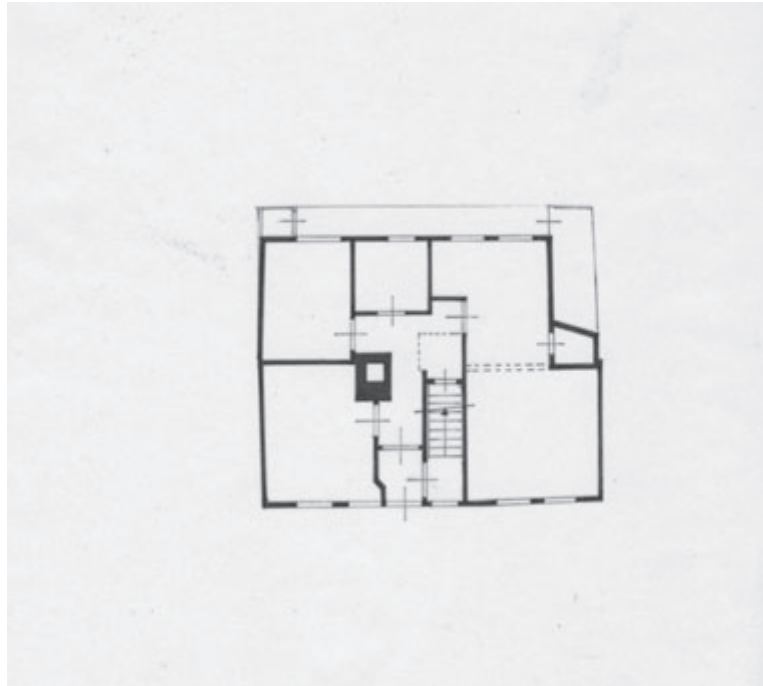


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Rosesmuget 7**  
**Bergen, Hordaland county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

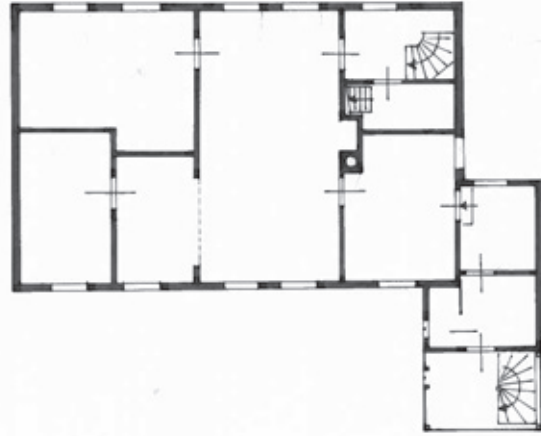


**Area plan 1:1000**

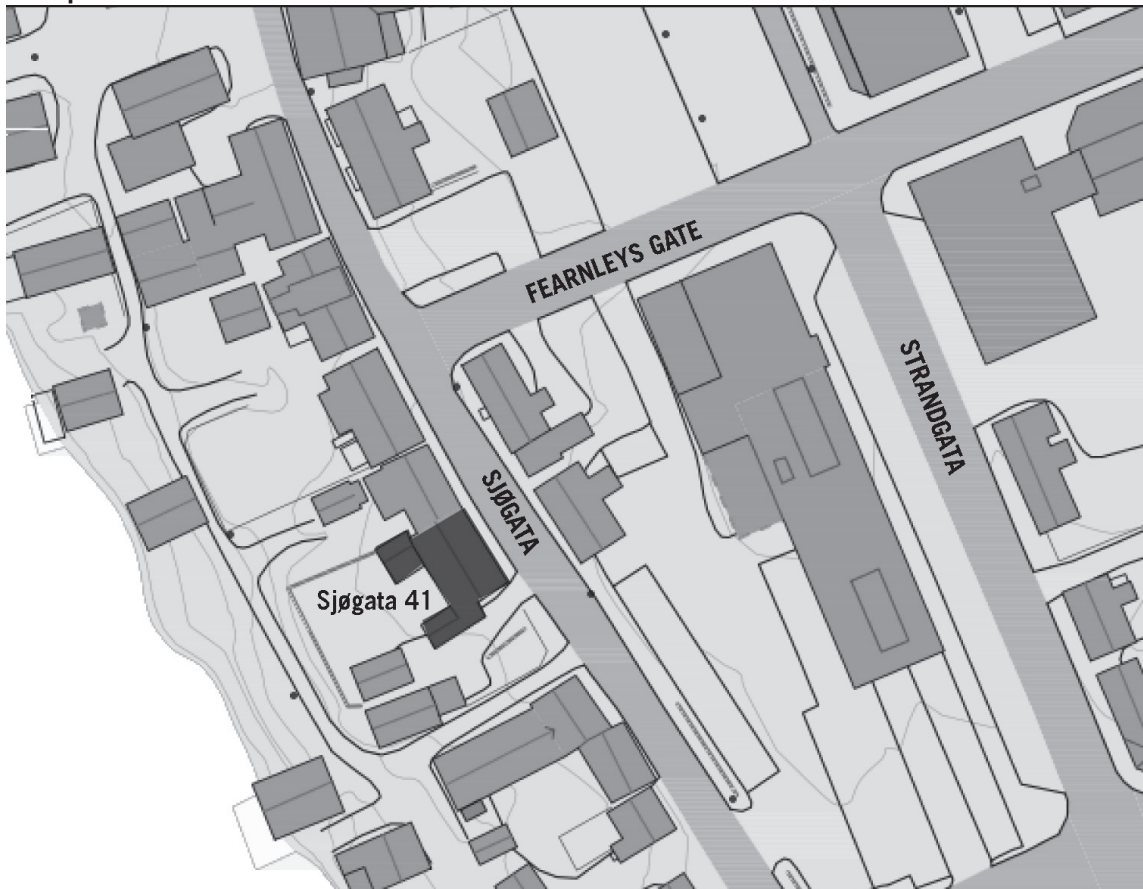


**Sjøgata 41**  
**Mosjøen in Vefsn, Nordland county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

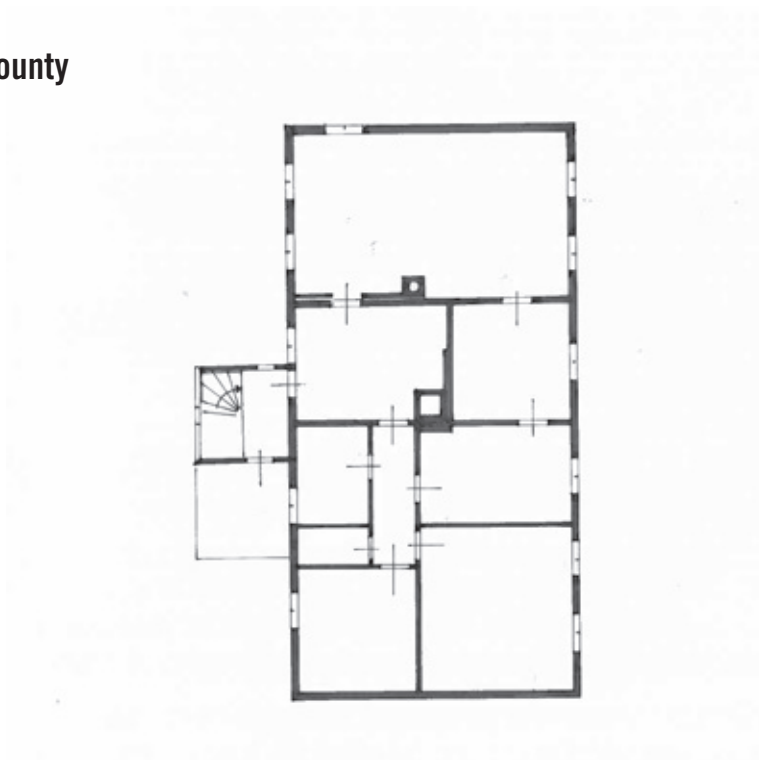


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Sjøgata 26**  
**Mosjøen in Vefsn, Nordland county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**

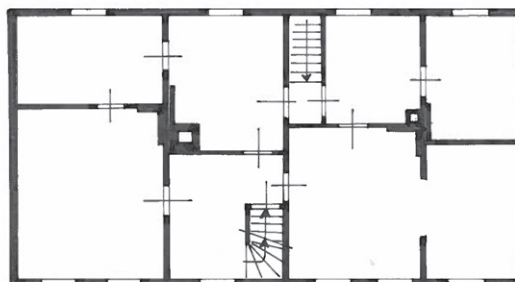


**Area plan 1:1000**



**Sjøgata 37**  
**Mosjøen in Vefsn, Nordland county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**



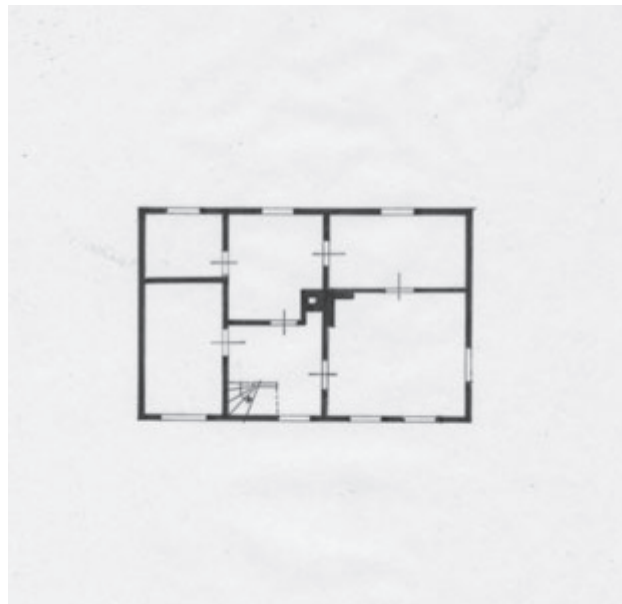
**Area plan 1:1000**





**Sjøgata 47**  
**Mosjøen in Vefsn, Nordland county**

**Dwelling**  
**Floor plan 1:200**  
**August Schmidt 2010**



**Area plan 1:1000**

