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Panoramas of Style

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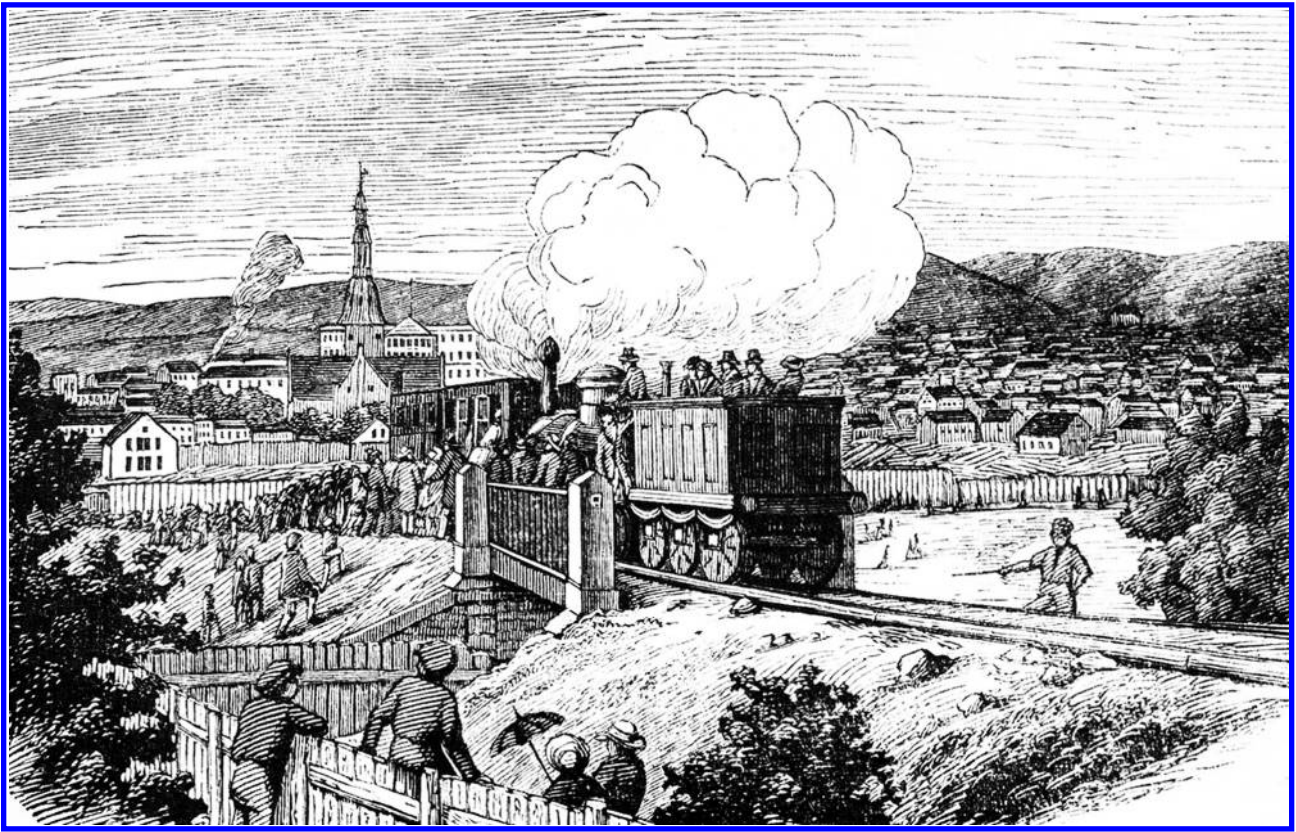


Figure 1 First test-run on the Main Line, with Christiania in the background, xylograph (from *Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, 1853)

Panoramas of Style

Railway Architecture in Nineteenth-century Norway

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The railway came late to Norway. The first rail line opened in 1854, almost thirty years after the Stockton–Darlington railroad had opened in northern England (Figure 1). Yet after a slow start, due to Norway’s challenging topography and general poverty, some twelve railway lines were built between 1862 and 1882, when a recession put a momentary halt to development. In this twenty-year period, more than 160 stations were constructed, each with a comprehensive building program consisting of passenger facilities, station parks, storage buildings, and dwellings—sometimes even hotels.¹

As everywhere else in Europe, this was an astonishing development, not only introducing a new economy of trade and transport, but bringing in its wake a radical transformation of the built environment. A new architectural expression emerged that in time would come to dominate not only railway architecture for generations to come, but also Norwegian nineteenth-century architecture in general. Contemporary critics spoke about the “railway style” as something contagious; it spread like a “disease” and was adopted, imitated, and modified in practically every Norwegian hamlet and farmstead.² Although based on international precedents, the railway style became—paradoxically—a new national

architecture, providing fuel to the never-ending debates about nationhood and national expression that characterized the nineteenth century. The unassuming architecture of nineteenth-century railway stations is thus a useful lens through which to observe the ways in which nature, nation, modernity, and history, were represented, negotiated, and constructed in nineteenth-century Norway, and how architectural style took part in their construction. For while “style” to twentieth- (and twenty-first-) century ears still rings with unmelodic discord against the establishment of modernist criticism, the nineteenth century used style to articulate the intricate web of memories, traditions, allegiances, and aspirations of a complex cultural world. Nineteenth-century railway architecture provides a particularly good example of this.

There are some missing links in the study of early Norwegian railway architecture because the sources are few; most of the contracts, briefs, and other documents that could tell about the commissioning of the stations are lost. In contemporary railway literature the station buildings are little discussed, least of all their architectural appearance.³ The railway architects seldom wrote, and there is little direct testimony about architectural expression. Even the buildings themselves are missing: very few of the early stations still exist, and most survivors are radically altered. However, there is a fairly comprehensive collection of architectural drawings in the Norwegian State Railway’s archives, and an abundance of lively material chronicles the reception of the

new railway as a cultural and architectural phenomenon.⁴ Newspapers, journals, and guidebooks eagerly followed the development of the railway, and the opening of new stations often made the headlines. Poets, politicians, and scientists wrote about the railway development, and although architecture was not their primary concern, their texts say much about the cultural ambitions that were associated with the railway in this period. Together with the heated architectural debates played out in public and professional publications of the time, the material provides an eloquent testimony to the architectural ideals of mid-nineteenth-century Norway.

“The Entry of Civilization into Our Country”

From the very beginning, the railway in Norway was surrounded by contradictory aspirations. On the one hand, it was to open a backward and provincial country to the modern world and connect it to modern European civilization. On the other, it was seen as a way to build national identity. As a modern technological system tying rural Norway to an international network, the railway represented a global modernity. As a national institution, however—built and run by a (near) sovereign Norwegian state—it was steeped in nationalist ambition.⁵ Both sides were manifest in the railway building program and its architecture (Figure 2).

A little poem, published in the newspaper *Morgenbladet* immediately after the opening of the first Norwegian rail line in 1854, expresses the triumphant internationalism of mid-nineteenth-century railway enthusiasts: “Now Hills and Valleys flatten/Now Time and Space dissolve/Your Speech can, with the Speed of Thought/Fly all around the Globe.”⁶

Musing on the shattering of time and space, the anonymous author—“a member of parliament,” no less—echoed a figure of thought typical of the time.⁷ Annihilating distance, conquering and coordinating time, the railway stood as a symbol of modern man’s mastery of nature—the victory of enlightenment and reason—international and boundary-breaking. As the poet Aasmund Olavsson Vinje put it: “It is man’s thought that here, creator-like, has blown life into dead lumps of earth, making coal and water, fire and iron his servants.”⁸ A distinct aesthetic sensibility accompanied this victorious sentiment and celebrated the aesthetic quality of the great railway machinery—the crowding, the noise, the speed. J. M. W. Turner’s famous *Rain, Steam, and Speed: The Great Western Express* (1845) provides a dazzling reminder of this fascination—a sweeping illustration, as Michael Freeman observes, “of the march of technology, of renewal, of reform.”⁹ Turner may have been an early observer of this drama, but he was not alone. Two years before Turner’s iconic painting, the Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen confessed to “railway fever” and described with awestruck fascination the sensuous spectacle of the railway station:

I stared at these carriages, the locomotives, the loose cars, the wandering chimneys and God knows what: they ran as in a magical world in among each other; everything seemed to have legs! And now this steam and buzzing, combined with the congestion and struggle for space, this stench of paraffin, the rhythmical beating of the machines, the squeaking and snorting of the exhaling steam, all exaggerating the impression . . . one imagines falling over, breaking arms and legs, exploding into the air, or being crushed by a colliding row of carriages.¹⁰



Figure 2 Georg Andreas Bull, Ask Station, Randsfjord line, 1868 (photo: C. A. Pihl. JMF-11011, Norwegian Railway Museum, Hamar)

Half exhilarated, half terrified, Andersen—much like Charles Dickens and Emile Zola—depicted the railway as a boundary-breaking machinery that did away with local differences.¹¹ In the Norwegian debate, however, the new uniformity seemed a cause for celebration. Norway’s first railway director, Carl Abraham Pihl, for instance, envisioned the railway bringing about an “unprecedented expansion of human communication” and having “quite an exceptional impact on cultural development and enlightenment.”¹² It was an “unbroken chain, linking the whole world together,” and represented no less than “the entry of civilization into our country.”¹³

Parallel to the celebration of the railway as something modern, rational, and boundaryless, however, ran the opposite idea, namely, that the railway was a symbol of, and vehicle for, the nation.¹⁴ Of course, the railway’s role in national economic development was extremely important. Yet its significance went far beyond such instrumental objectives. In the popular press as well as in contemporary literature, the railway was considered an instrument for the nation’s cultural formation, a force that was to “awaken dormant forces and create new ones; to fortify both the regions and their population.”¹⁵ Norway, having become independent in 1814 after 400 years of Danish rule, only to be immediately maneuvered into a union with Sweden, harbored strong nationalist sentiments. The discovery of the Norwegian landscape and heritage was high on the agenda of both scientists and artists, and numerous geographical, geological, and heritage-related surveys were undertaken in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ The conceptualization of the railway followed seamlessly from these explorations. Not only did the choice

of routes depend on geological surveys, the railway opened the country to view in a radical sense, making the Norwegian landscape available for both practical and aesthetic exploitation. Moreover, because of its large building program, the railway seemed to offer an unprecedented opportunity to craft a new and distinct architectural expression: a national architecture sprung, it was envisioned, from particular Norwegian topography and traditions.¹⁷ Invested with such wide-ranging aspirations, the new railway architecture was charged with the contradiction-ridden task of fusing the international and the national, modernity and origins, into a whole.

The Main Line: Christiania–Eidsvold

The stations along the first Norwegian railway line between Christiania (now Oslo) and Eidsvold were designed by Heinrich Ernst Schirmer (1814–1887) and Wilhelm von Hanno (1826–1882) in the early 1850s, and opened on 1 September 1854.¹⁸ These two German architects, working for an English developer and building in a highly eclectic variety of European styles, may seem unpromising first authors of a national Norwegian architecture.¹⁹ And yet, a national-historiographical panorama was laid out along the so-called Main Line. Not only did it lead to Eidsvold—where the Norwegian constitution had been signed some forty years before and whose name had become shorthand for the new nation—the stations of the Main Line eloquently evoked cultural associations through architectural style.

The point of departure was Christiania Central Station, an elegantly gabled two-story structure in un-rendered red brick (Figure 3). Like Crown Street Station in Liverpool



Figure 3 Heinrich Ernst Schirmer and Wilhelm von Hanno, Christiania Central Station, 1854 (from Christian Tønsberg: *Christiania med dens nærmeste Omgivelser*, Christiania, 1854)

(1831), it was composed of two buildings: the train hall with its huge exposed glass wall facing the city square, through which the locomotives could be admired by the public, and the long and narrow administration building with waiting rooms and offices.²⁰ Adopting César Daly's station typology from 1846, Christiania Central Station can be described as a "one sided combination type," with arrivals and departures situated on the same side of the track.²¹ The overall layout of the station was probably determined by its developer, Robert Stephenson, who had built many one-sided stations in Britain and abroad, most recently those along the Alexandria–Cairo line, completed at the same time as the Norwegian Main Line.²² And while Stephenson's chief engineer in Christiania, George Bidder, expressed a pious wish for "a station . . . built in a Style that may win approval here," its typology and proportion were determined on functional rather than aesthetic or contextual grounds.²³ In the short competition brief published in the Christiania papers in August 1852, therefore, stylistic expression was about the only thing left for the architects to decide. "Dhrr Arkitekter" were invited to submit designs for a two-story building, no more than 30 feet wide and not exceeding a cost of £5,000.²⁴ Apart from prescribing "an arcade or portico in the middle of the building" the competition brief made no mention of the building's appearance. Instead, it meticulously prescribed the various rooms and functions, including such modern facilities as water closets "at either end of the building."²⁵ Most of the pieces of Schirmer and Hanno's competition entry are lost, but judging from the few surviving drawings, the project coincided closely with the built result. They proposed an expressive brick building with an arcaded entrance façade toward the city square, elaborately stepped gables and a characteristic turret over the main entrance. The passengers would enter centrally into a large foyer and from there be distributed to the symmetrically arranged waiting rooms for ladies and gentlemen, and for first and second class travelers. It was a singular building, with no immediate precedents among contemporary railway architecture. Although they employed red brick like their colleague and mentor Alexis de Chateauneuf (1799–1853) in his Hamburg railway projects from the late 1840s, they did not emulate Chateauneuf's use of a city gate motif or his medievalizing vocabulary.²⁶ Instead, they developed an expression that came to be something of a trademark for their practice. In art historical surveys this has often been labeled "Dutch Renaissance," and the station's steep gables and turrets do indeed evoke associations to northern European town houses and mansions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁷ There are Scandinavian precedents of a similar kind, such as Hesselagergård in Fyn, Denmark (1540s), where an exquisite Renaissance gable of

three arches was grafted onto a medieval tower house.²⁸ Among contemporary examples that may have inspired the two architects are the many Jacobean revival stations in England from the 1840s, such as Tamworth (1847) and Maldon East (1848), whose influence was perhaps transmitted by the English contractors.²⁹ The contractors may have told the architects of another English example as well, for the giant window of the Christiania train shed shows a certain typological kinship with Lewis Cubitt's Kings Cross Station in London (1851–52). Although Schirmer and Hanno's historicist station building had none of the protomodernist boldness of Cubitt's design, its will to expose the railway to the city marks it as thoroughly modern.

The distinctive design of the Christiania Central Station evokes multiple associations. Yet more important than stylistic labels and precedents is the question of how this architectural expression was understood in mid nineteenth-century Norway. "The red color of the bricks accords perfectly with the character of the building" exclaimed one contemporary witness, hinting at a double association arising from the station's architecture.³⁰ First, it was seen to evoke the flourishing red-brick urban culture of the sixteenth-century Dutch city states. This was a key reference in nineteenth-century Christiania because Holland was a specifically northern European culture—an alternative to Italian classicism. In an article titled "Holländska renaissance-stilen," the Swedish architect Adolf Edelsvärd (1824–1919), editor of the influential journal *Tidskrift för Byggnadskonst och Ingeniörvetenskap*, enthusiastically promoted Dutch Renaissance architecture in the Nordic countries: "One of the styles particularly appropriate for larger buildings . . . is the Dutch Renaissance style. The Renaissance in general offers rich possibilities to reconcile the many demands of the new time. . . . Dutch Renaissance, with its steep roofs and pronounced eaves, is undoubtedly suited to a Nordic climate."³¹ While Edelsvärd's article was written a decade after the completion of Schirmer and Hanno's station building, his text did capture a widely held attitude in mid-nineteenth-century Scandinavia. Northern Renaissance forms evoked cultural renewal, rationality, and modernity, while at the same time confirming the cultural autonomy of the North.³² These associations were corroborated by the exposed brickwork, with its apparent aesthetic as well as moral truthfulness. Freed from the "deceitful masking" of stucco, the building evinced honesty, rationality, enlightenment, and naturalness—fitting traits for a hyper-modern institution such as a railway station.³³ "The building must decidedly be counted among those improvements, of which our town has received so many during the last few years"³⁴ wrote a contemporary guidebook, adding that Christiania in a short time had become "a handsome

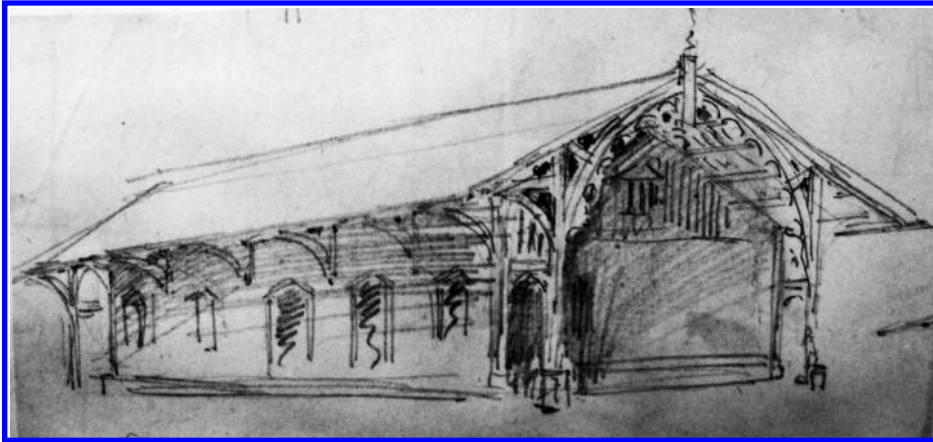


Figure 4 Schirmer and Hanno, pencil sketch for a country station on the Main Line, n.d. (Schirmer and Hanno's sketchbook, Plv. 2590: 1 Special Collection, National Library of Norway, Oslo)

town, equipped in a European manner.³⁵ By means of architectural style, the provincial town was inscribed into a vast European cultural context and its citizens included in a long-standing urban civilization. Style here, as so often in this period, was used to articulate cultural belonging as well as cultural aspirations—in this case, the dream of making Christiania a proper northern capital, a real European city like Copenhagen, Berlin, or Amsterdam.³⁶

If Christiania's Central Station evoked associations of northern European urbanity, the country stations along the Main Line suggested something else all together. Here, Schirmer and Hanno used wood, developing the distinctive wooden style that Schirmer had been experimenting with since the mid-1840s.³⁷ The country stations displayed light and elegant timber structures, their rafters, beams, and bargeboards richly decorated and their constructive joints carefully articulated in what was recognized as the "Swiss" style

(Figure 4). Kløften Station, for instance, with its latticework gable over a robust timber body, combines the decorative elegance of this new style with a vernacular timber tradition (Figure 5).³⁸ Kløften was one of the largest country stations on the Main Line, housing the station master's flat in the attic, offices and waiting rooms (first class, second class, and ladies') downstairs. The construction is what in Norwegian is called *plankelaft*, in which horizontal timbers are locked into each other by means of notched corners, just as in a Norwegian log house. Rather than the rough hewn trunks of traditional log architecture, however, this modern version was made from milled timber, resulting in a less muscular structure than its vernacular predecessors but one which was easy to prefabricate and quick to build. The station has an L-shaped plan with a veranda along the platform side. Diagonal brackets on either side of the veranda posts form arches, just like the ones Georg Gottlob Ungewitter (1820–1864) had shown in his

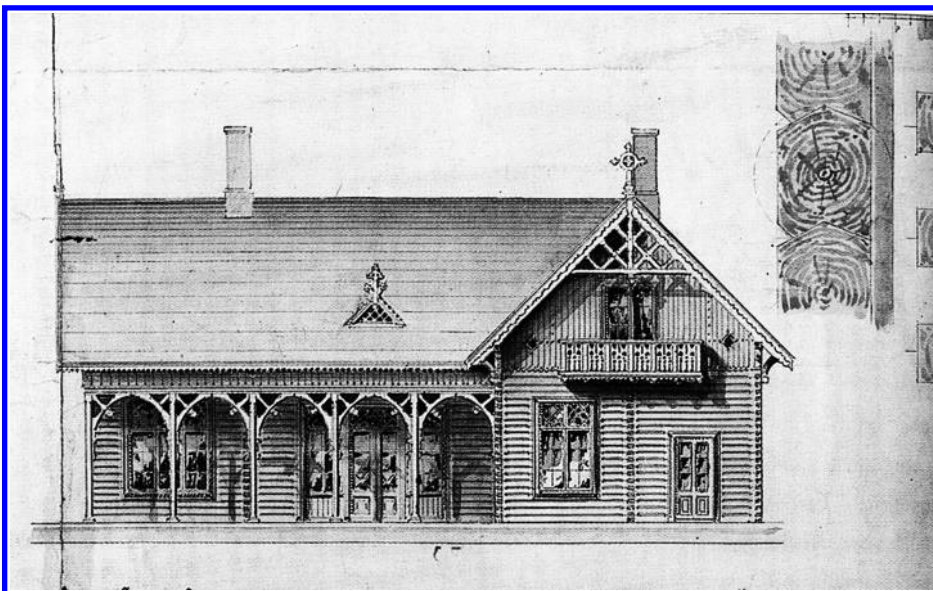


Figure 5 Schirmer and Hanno, Kløften Station, Main Line, 1854, drawing of front façade, n.d. (JMF-001745, Norwegian Railway Museum, Hamar)

Vorlegeblätter für Holzarbeiten of 1849–51, one of the many German pattern books circulating among Norwegian architects in this period.³⁹ A finely carved finial in the shape of an encircled cross crowned the gable. Much later Schirmer described this as his “artistic stamp,” but it was hardly original: the finial was a standard part of the domestic wooden architecture of nineteenth-century Europe; Karl Friedrich Schinkel’s (1781–1841) inn at Rügen (1835) and Friedrich Eisenlohr’s (1805–1855) houses for railway guards in Baden (1840) are only two of innumerable examples.⁴⁰ Yet Kløften is not only a product of German influence. The architectural historian Jens Christian Eldal points out English precedents for these rural stations, situating them in an English *Cottage ornée* tradition that Schirmer knew from John Claudius Loudon’s—*Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (1834), and that he must have seen firsthand during his travels in England in the early 1840s.⁴¹ The fusion of British and Continental precedents does not belie the national aspirations of this architecture, however. In mid-nineteenth-century Norway, building in wood was understood as a powerful evocation of a genuine Northern tradition, even when the decorative language was largely imported. Hans Ditlev Fransiscus Linstow (1787–1851)—architect of the royal palace in Christiania and a prolific writer—had asked already in 1820: “Does not Scandinavia possess its own, particular way of building, appropriate to the climate, and characteristic?”⁴² Two decades later—fortified by his encounter with Schinkel’s wooden architecture in Prussia—Linstow answered his own question: “There exists in Norway—if one chooses to call it so—a national art of building, sprung from climatic and local conditions, yet found in the whole Northern region all the way to Siberia, namely the wooden style. This style contains elements of high civilization and deserves attention.”⁴³ The generation after Linstow elaborated this idea through buildings as well as texts. Norwegian architecture, the later writers argued, had to return to a climatically and culturally indigenous manner of building—a wooden architecture.⁴⁴ Schirmer worked tirelessly for this end, dreaming of “applying the type . . . of our ancient buildings and transposing it onto our time,” thus giving a “modest contribution to maintaining our ancient wooden architecture, modified, naturally, according to our own needs and conditions.”⁴⁵ Far from simply copying German or English examples, Schirmer wanted to graft international architectural motifs onto Norwegian building traditions, thus fusing universality and specificity. The little wooden stations along the Main Line were part of this ambitious project. By virtue of their materiality as well as their tectonics, they could be construed true products of the native soil and heirs to a long, national and regional tradition. The fact that their proportions and ornamental apparatus were

inspired by Continental precedents did not invalidate the point. It was still, as the architect and critic Fredrik von der Lippe (1833–1901) put it in 1858 “a building style conceived in wood and executed in wood, slender and light as the wooden material itself, and suited to our climatic and natural conditions.”⁴⁶ Even if the decorative motifs were imported, it was the wood itself, sprung from “the soil of the nation,” that mattered.⁴⁷

Continuing these ideas, the stations of the Main Line could in a sense be considered portraits of their surroundings—its topography, people, and history. Because the stations on a line were experienced sequentially in time and space, they could serve as territorial emblems, indexing the differences between regions. This indexical understanding of architecture had long been explored by Swiss and German railway architects. Johann Georg Müller’s (1822–1859) project for the Zurich-Bodensee line (1846) is a good example, with the stations displaying industrial or pastoral characteristics according to their location. “Each railway line should in its architecture strive to give a purified expression of the regional building style” proclaimed Müller, who envisioned railway architecture as a means to elevate and refine local building traditions.⁴⁸ Without such a regional connection, the architecture “could not speak to the traveler” he wrote.⁴⁹ Eisenlohr’s stations and guards’ houses along the Baden line constituted a similarly eloquent essay on regional identity, and its example was well known to Norwegian architects through publications such as *Die badische Eisenbahnen* (1844) and *Ausgeführte oder zur Ausführung bestimmte Entwürfe zu Gebäuden verschiedener Gattung* (1852–59).⁵⁰

On the Christiania-Eidsvold line, this regional portraiture took place in a less explicit but still significant manner. The wooden buildings with their distinctive ornaments echoed both the natural character of this region of timber production and the fact that the railway was initiated and partially financed by wealthy timber merchants. If the railway opened the country’s remote regions to commerce and leisure, then, the railway stations became recognized emblems for each region, gathering real or fictitious regional characteristics into one, compressed image. “There can hardly be a more palpable proof of Norway’s improved state,” wrote Tønsberg, “than our railway stations, from the vaults of which we in a few hours are transported to the shores of the Mjøsen, the central sea of Norway, and from whose gates the rich crops of the fertile ‘Opland’ are brought forth.”⁵¹ In a radical sense, the railway brought the regions into existence both economically and emblematically, as reflected in the curious mixture of cosmopolitan historicism and pseudo-traditional regionalism in the architecture of the stations.

The extent to which such regional representation was operative in nineteenth-century railway architecture is poignantly described in an anecdote told by the Hanover-trained architect Paul Due (1835–1919).⁵² Looking back at his long career as a railway architect, Due recounted:

During the planning of the stations along the Sætedal line—a valley whose population has retained its distinct folk costumes—the chief engineer . . . Lysgaard wrote to me: “When you plan the station buildings along the Sætedalen valley, you must preserve in them that national character which is still so present in Sætedalen.” But when I asked him which buildings I should take as my models, he replied by sending me a photograph of a traditional *stabbur* [log storehouse on pillars] and some rural people in their traditional costumes and said: “take as your model both the *stabbur* and the people; for they are a sturdy breed.”⁵³

Railway architecture was seen as a regional portrait, a codified emblem for both “folk” and “land.”

The Christiania–Drammen Line

Another eloquent example of the cultural significance of the “railway style” is the Drammen line, running from Christiania to the harbor town Drammen—an important center for trade, particularly timber. The building of this line was steeped in conflict from the very beginning. It was opposed by Drammen’s bourgeoisie, who thought the link to the

capital would diminish Drammen’s position as a regional center, and detested by Christiania’s elite, whose beautiful properties along the Frogner bay were severely affected by the line—“slashed, as by a knife across a beautiful painting” as the author Camilla Collett lamented in 1870.⁵⁴ The line was built nonetheless, opening in 1872 with stations designed by Georg Andreas Bull (1829–1917). Bull had studied machine engineering in Hanover and completed his architectural training in Berlin under Wilhelm Stier in 1856. By the early 1870s he was the city architect of Christiania and the chief architect of the Norwegian State Railway, having already built a number of railway stations in southeastern and northern regions of Norway.⁵⁵ Bull’s stylistic preferences were different from those of Schirmer and Hanno. Not sharing his colleagues’ fondness for exposed brick, he chose rendered masonry for the sober *Rundbogenstil* of his Christiania Vestbane Station, a symmetrical building of discrete but urbane formality (Figure 6). Two identical towers flanked the central entrance, through which the traveler moved into the large vestibule and further into the train shed with its impressive Polonçeau trusses.⁵⁶ Bull’s German training is evident. The Vestbane Station is not unlike the pared-down *Rundbogenstil* of the first Hanover Hauptbahnhof (1847), which Bull knew from his student days, or Friedrich Neuhaus’s twin-towered Hamburger Bahnhof (1846–47), which he had seen in Berlin.⁵⁷ The city gate motif with two symmetrical towers was common in mid-nineteenth-century railway stations, including Chateauneuf’s Berliner Bahnhof in Hamburg (1846–50).⁵⁸ In Christiania, however, the



Figure 6 Bull, Christiania Vestbane Station, 1872 (photo 1887, unknown photographer, JMF–800229, Norwegian Railway Museum, Hamar)



Figure 7 Bull, Drammen Station, 1863, xylograph, 1872 (origin unknown, JMF-40923, Norwegian Railway Museum, Hamar)

solution was a novelty. The contemporary press praised Vestbanen as “one of our most beautiful public buildings,” particularly appreciating the fact that “[d]espite its modest dimensions, the architect has succeeded, through an effective distribution of mass, to achieve a monumental character, while at the same time the detailing gives it a natural lightness and elegance. We take it as a proof that monumental buildings, even when erected within our limited conditions, do not have to resort to extraordinary or vulgar forms or eccentric decoration in order to maintain a dignified and characteristic expression.”⁵⁹ The reviewer’s slap at “extraordinary forms” and “eccentric decoration” was surely directed at the exuberant Swiss style, rapidly spreading throughout Norway. The anonymous journalist preferred Bull’s pared-down Rundbogenstil, seeing it as a dignified manifestation of European urbanity. He must also have appreciated Bull’s Drammen Station from 1863, whose discrete Renaissance allusions gave to the small town a measure of urban gravitas (Figure 7).

While Bull was praised for the classical restraint of his town stations, his country stations were every bit as exuberantly vernacular as those of Schirmer and Hanno. Also building in wood, Bull invented a trademark gable motif with intricate, lacelike carpentry work—an eloquent essay on the decorative possibilities opened up by the new jigsaws. Sandvigen Station is a good example (Figure 8).⁶⁰ The little one-and-a-half-story timber building had a steeply pitched roof and a central gable dormer marking the entrance. Its overhanging eaves were supported by ornate brackets, which

were decorated by finely carved infill. The station displayed the “flying gable” (*Schwebegiebel* in German) so popular at the time, in which ornamental woodwork was suspended from the outermost part of the gable, outside the face of the wall. This is a feature with precedents in medieval France and Flanders, but it did not exist in Norway until the nineteenth century, when it was copied straight out of German pattern books.⁶¹ This cosmopolitan attitude was typical for this generation of architects who, unlike the generation coming after them, did not pursue “pure” national expression. Bull had spent many summers measuring and drawing medieval stave churches for the recently established Society for the Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments and knew Norwegian building traditions better than most. Yet he made no attempt at creating an archaeologically correct national style.⁶² Instead, he combined various northern European elements with traditional Norwegian forms in what may seem a perfect demonstration of H. D. F. Linstow’s “Pan-Northern” wooden style. The time was ripe for such a fusion. With the rise of “Scandinavism” in the early 1870s—a political movement promoting a new Scandinavian union—Linstow’s regionalist ambitions had come to fruition. As the conservationist Nicolay Nicolaysen stated: “just like the fact that the style governing a particular time does not belong to a particular country but is common to the whole era, one could talk about an architecture of zones. If the material, the climatic conditions, the ways of life, and certain traditions are the same in several countries . . . then the buildings will also bear strong internal resemblance.”⁶³ It would be stretching

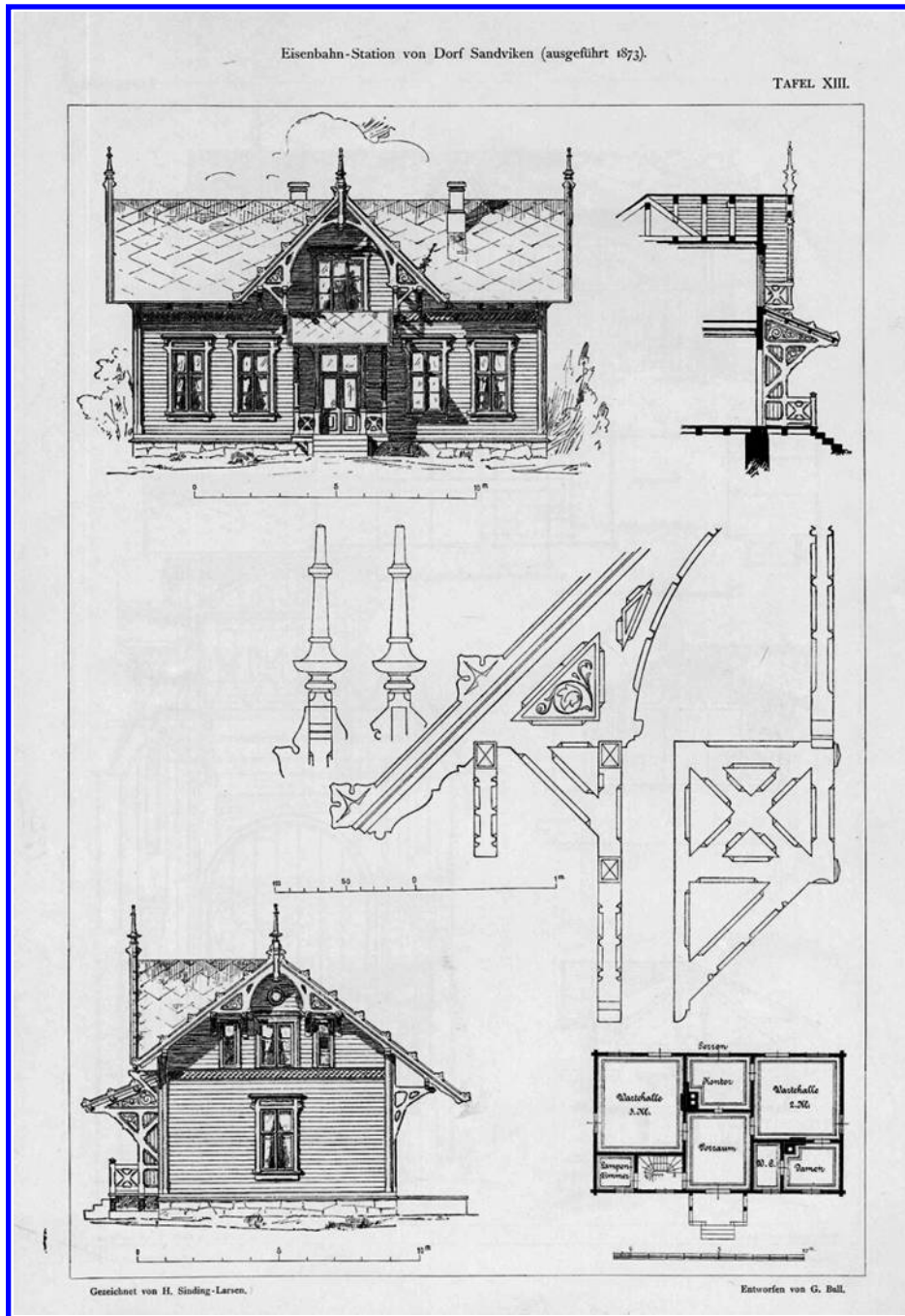


Figure 8 Bull, Sandviken Station, 1872 (from Lorentz Dietrichson, *Die Holzbaukunst Norwegens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* [Berlin: Schuster & Bofleb 1893], plate XIII)

the evidence too far to see Bull's intricate wooden buildings as a direct expression of Scandinavian sentiments. What is certain, however, is that they appealed to a notion of regional identity that transcended nationalism. The new wooden architecture drew on climatic, topographical, and cultural conditions, implicitly promoting a native and natural Northern architecture. Carefully contrasting the soberly Continental Vestbane Station and the exuberantly vernacular country stations, Bull set up a finely tuned dialogue between the global and the local.

The Jarlsberg Line

Nowhere did this dialectic get a more eloquent articulation than in the stations of the so-called Jarlsberg line, running along the southeastern coast of Norway from Drammen to Skien; the structures were built in the early 1880s by Balthazar Lange (1854–1937) and Peter Andreas Blix (1831–1901).⁶⁴ The larger town stations were built in masonry in a fairly conventional neoclassicism, while the rural stations were built in wood in a far more eclectic variety of styles—in

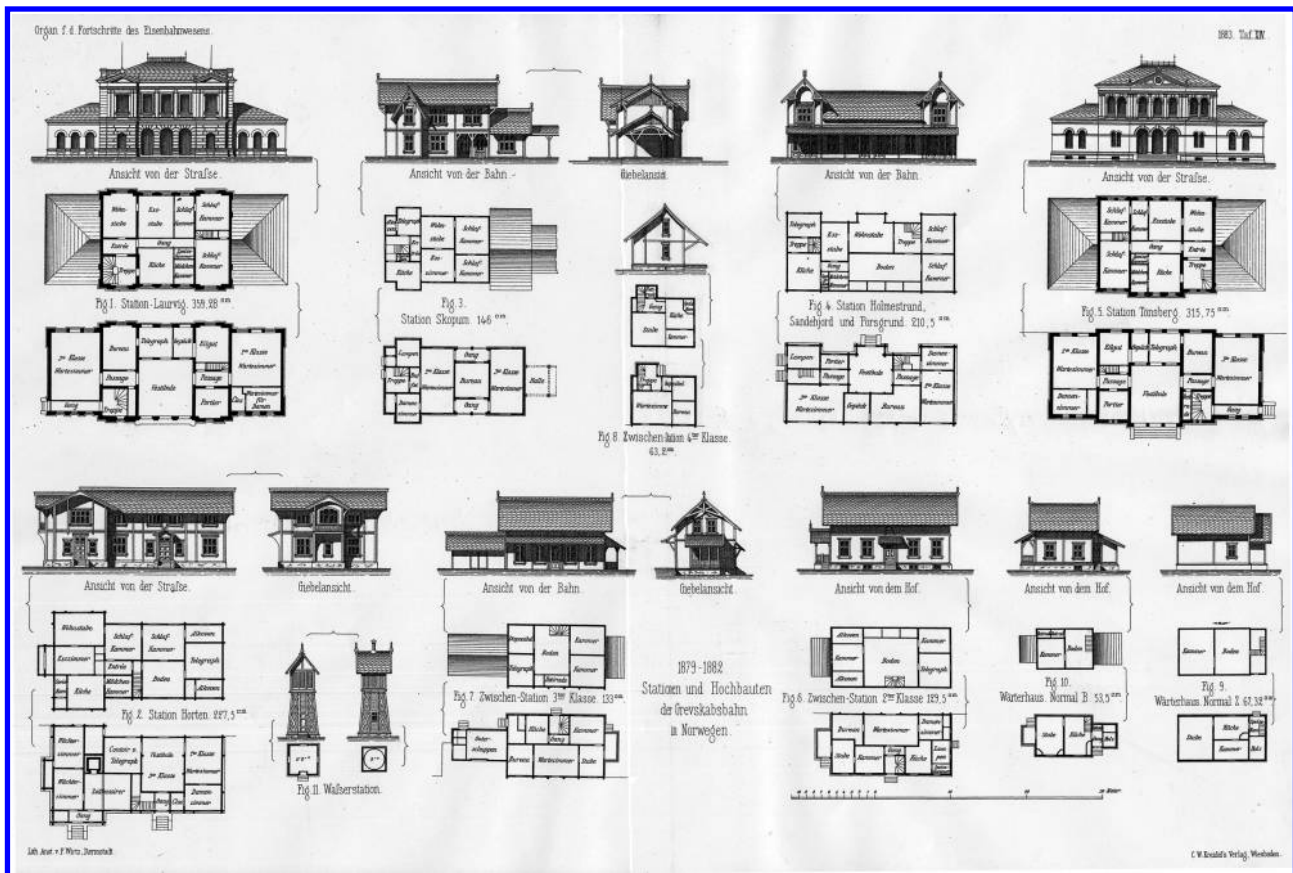


Figure 9 Stations along the Jarlsberg line, 1881 (presented in *Organ für die Fortschritte des Eisenbahnwesens* 1883, plate XIV)

part evoking vernacular Norwegian timber traditions, in part echoing Continental pattern books. The extent to which the station architecture was conceived as an essay on stylistic-cultural allegiances comes across clearly in the two-page drawing published in the German journal *Organ für die Fortschritte des Eisenbahnwesens* in 1883 (Figure 9).⁶⁵

Here, all the stations on the Jarlsberg line were presented at the same scale and with carefully aligned plans and façades. The rural stations are shown between the monumental classicism of town stations like Larvik and Tønsberg, and the contrast is striking. While the public ground-floor waiting rooms and offices of the urban stations were organized with strict symmetry, the country stations reveal a great variety of more or less asymmetrical solutions, with facilities picturesquely grouped around the main waiting room. And while the town stations display a decorous regularity in their façades, the architectural expression of the country stations is rich and diverse. Skoppum Station has a steeply pitched roof with steps and turns, complete with elaborate flying gables and finials. The brackets stabilizing the veranda posts are carefully carved, a feature cultivated to great effect in many of the rural stations on the Jarlsberg line. For “middle

type” stations, for instance, Lange designed a beautiful porch divided into three bays with pitched roof, finial, and an ornamental scissor truss inlaid into the central bay paneling (Figures 10, 11). This refined panel architecture was not the only style on offer, however. Stations such as Horten display a more muscular timber architecture with shallow pitched roof and carved log ends, more closely allied to the traditional timber architecture of the region (Figure 12). The water towers on the Jarlsberg line similarly echo the bell towers of medieval stave churches; a self-conscious reference to Norway’s building traditions (Figure 13).

As on the other rail lines, the architecture of the Jarlsberg line was conceived as a kind of regional portraiture. While the rural stations affiliated themselves (however loosely) to local traditions, the town stations spoke of European influences—well expressed in Lange’s skillful working drawings for Larvik Station (Figure 14). In this region such influences were close at hand, mediated through the many aristocratic estates for which the county was famous. The Jarlsberg Estate just outside Tønsberg, for instance, was the seat of one of the country’s two Earldoms until 1821, when aristocratic titles were abolished in Norway. It was this estate

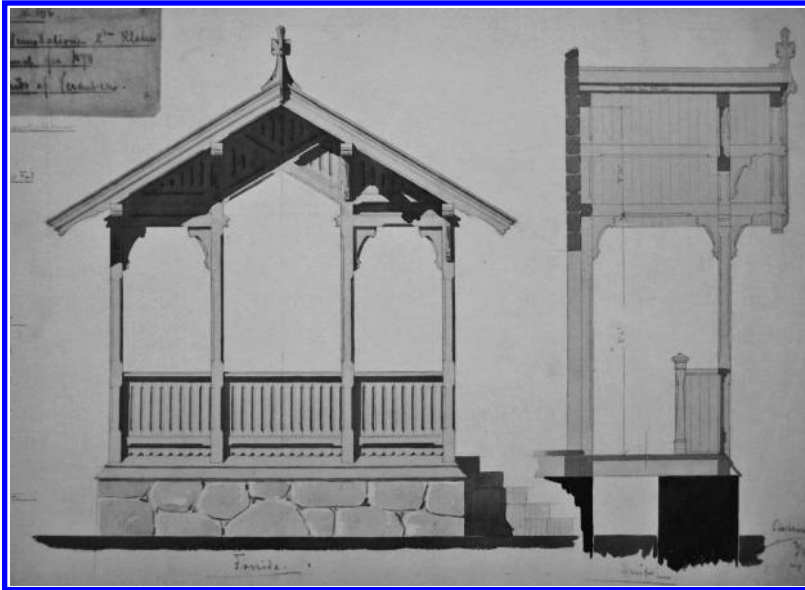


Figure 10 Balthazar Lange, typical veranda for country "middle type" stations on the Jarlsberg line, 1881, drawing, 1879 (A 9.56, catalogue 1831/90, *Norges Statsbaner. Arkitektkontoret, ca 1850–1913* [Riksarkivet, 1996], National Archives of Norway, Oslo)

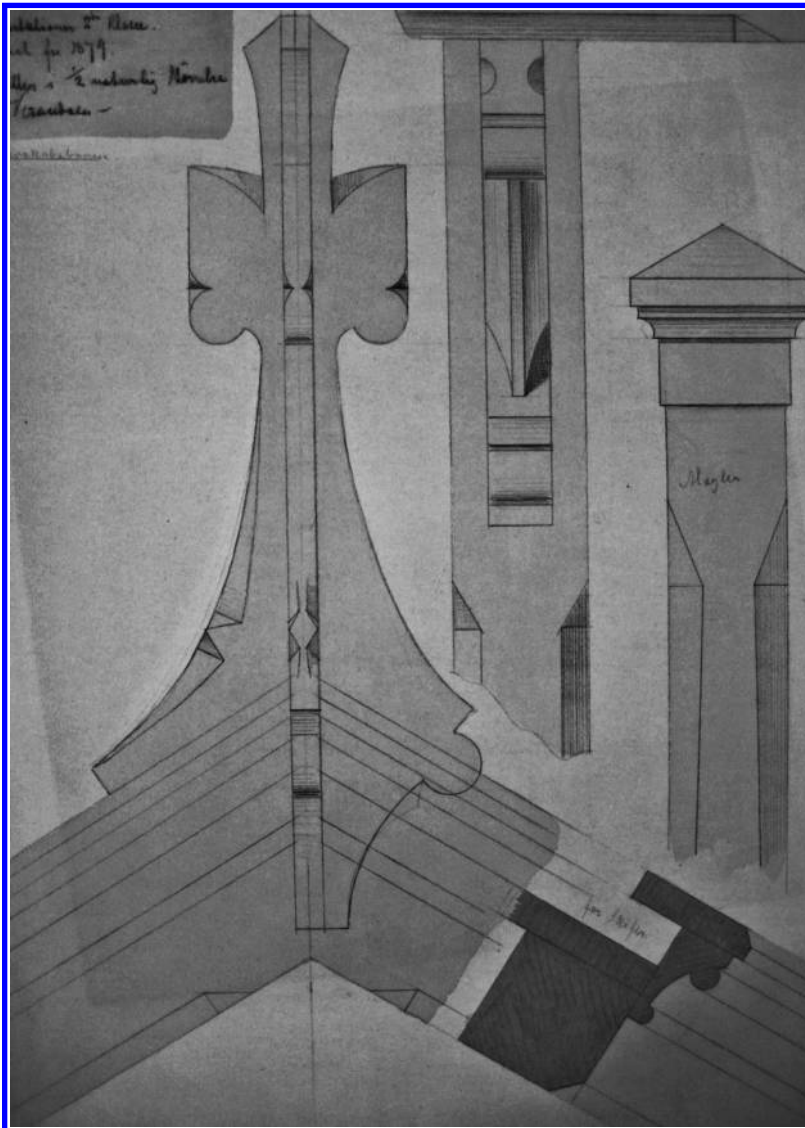


Figure 11 Lange, typical finial for country stations on the Jarlsberg line, 1881, drawing, 1879 (A 9.58, catalogue 1831/90, *Norges Statsbaner. Arkitektkontoret, ca 1850–1913* [Riksarkivet, 1996], National Archives of Norway, Oslo)

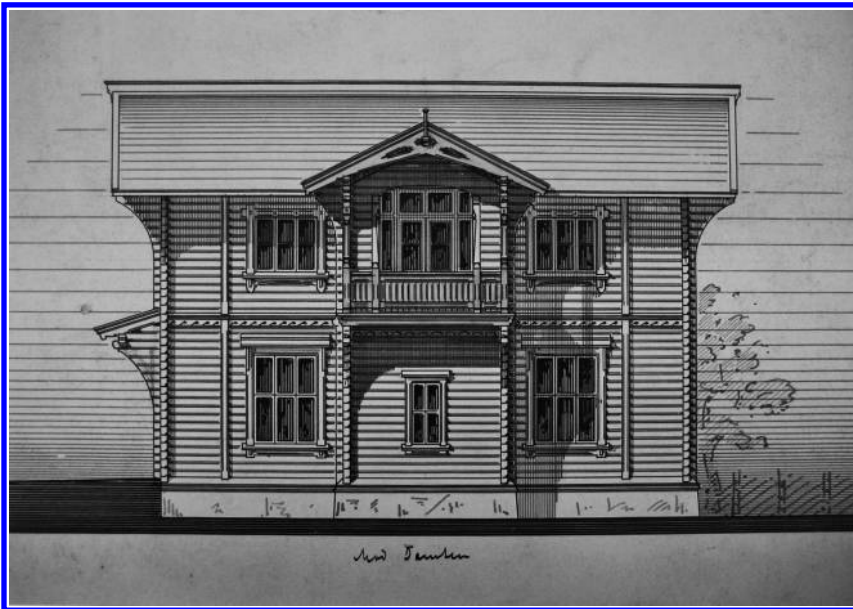


Figure 12 Lange, Horten Station, 1881, drawing, 1880 (A 9.9, catalogue 1831/90, *Norges Statsbaner. Arkitektkontoret, ca 1850–1913* [Riksarkivet, 1996], National Archives of Norway, Oslo)

that had given the Drammen-Skien line both its nicknames: the Jarlsberg line and the Earldom line (*Grevskapsbanen*). The manor house at Jarlsberg, built in 1699 and given its neoclassical appearance in 1812, may have served as a model for the town stations. Architectural historian Terje Hauken points out that Tønsberg Station mimics Jarlsberg’s dignified neoclassicism with its central pediment, symmetrically placed pilasters, and arched windows (Figure 15).⁶⁶ As the former home of Norway’s finance minister, governor, and vice-king, Earl Herman Wedel-Jarlsberg, the estate represented the European culture and enlightenment to which a provincial town like Tønsberg aspired.⁶⁷ No wonder it was considered an appropriate model for the town’s most important link to the outside world: the railway station.

The grandeur of the opening ceremony bespeaks the level of expectation associated with the new railway. It took place 14 October 1881 in the presence of the

Swedish-Norwegian king, Oscar II, who according to the local newspaper brought gifts of “peace, work, and progress.”⁶⁸ The day was declared a local holiday, and the entire population lined the decorated streets to witness the royal train roll into the station. As a local dignitary enthused: “Today, a train rushes into our town whose like has never been seen in old Tønsberg. . . . The railway brings us into contact with a new time, whose appearance is already showing itself in the much enhanced beauty of the railway’s surroundings. Old things will disappear;—the new time demands its form.”⁶⁹ The new station was a key contribution to this “enhanced beauty,” at the same time representing international modernity and the classical tradition.

Like the Main Line and the Drammen line stations, those on the Jarlsberg line displayed a clear stylistic division between urban and rural architecture. While the town stations complied with recognizable stylistic precedents, the

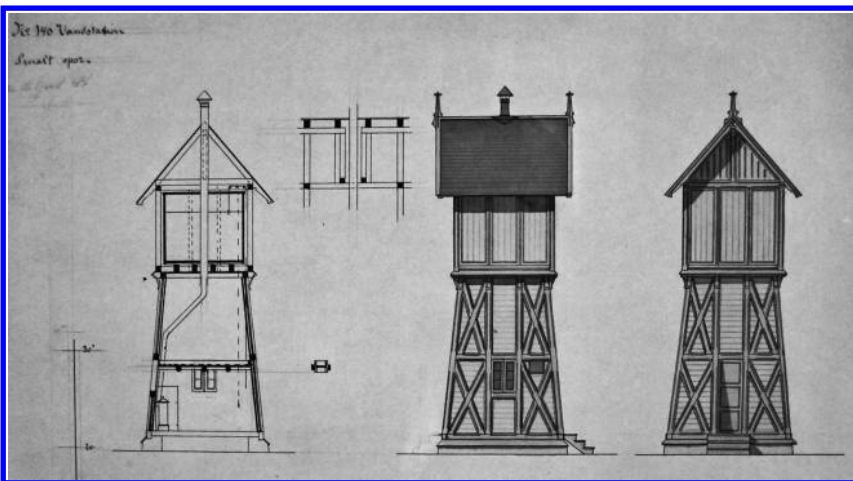


Figure 13 August Nicolaysen, water tower on the Jarlsberg line, 1881, drawing, 1881 (A 9.20, catalogue 1831/90, *Norges Statsbaner. Arkitektkontoret, ca 1850–1913* [Riksarkivet 1996], National Archives of Norway, Oslo)

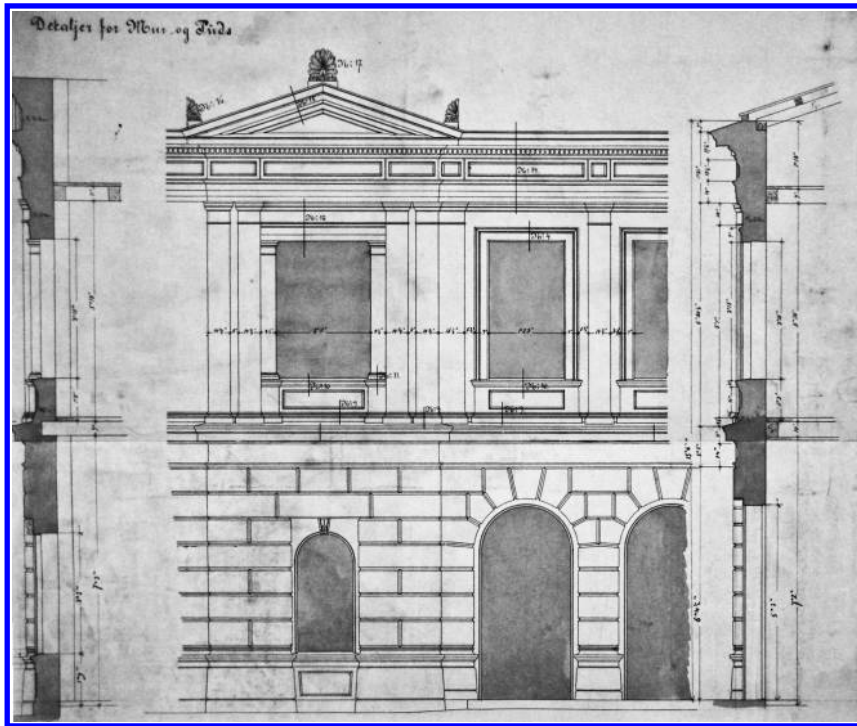


Figure 14 Lange, working drawing for Larvik Station on the Jarlsberg line, 1881, drawing, 1880 (A 9.24, catalogue 1831/90, *Norges Statsbaner. Arkitektkontoret, ca 1850–1913* [Riksarkivet 1996], National Archives of Norway, Oslo)

rural stations invoked regional wood-building traditions—constituting an “architecture of zones,” just as Nicolaysen had promoted. The extent to which this division was codified in Scandinavian railway building becomes clear in the work of Adolf Edelsvärd, the editor of *Tidskrift för Byggnadskonst och Ingeniörvetenskap*. Edelsvärd was also the chief architect of the Swedish railway from 1855 until 1895 and a long-standing colleague of Bull, Blix, and Lange during their work as railway architects.⁷⁰ Edelsvärd’s buildings and writings were widely admired in Norway; the sociologist and historian Eilert Sundt even judged that the *Tidskrift för Byggnadskonst* played a major

role in the “development of an architecture suitable to the natural and national conditions of both countries.”⁷¹ Edelsvärd divided architecture in general, and his own railway stations in particular, into two groups. On the one hand there were the “simple and rural buildings for the populace”; on the other, “more significant buildings.” For the first type, Edelsvärd promoted the use of local building traditions, although “improved and elevated to an independent style.” This, he argued, would “fulfill the requirements of necessity and beauty, while at the same time appear to grow out of the people’s own deeds and desires. In this way it [architecture]



Figure 15 Lange, Tønsberg Station, 1881 (A 9.58, catalogue 1831/90, *Norges Statsbaner. Arkitektkontoret, ca 1850–1913* [Riksarkivet 1996], National Archives of Norway, Oslo)

becomes national, as one of the most powerful ties that attaches the individual to his homeland.”⁷² Paradoxically, Edelsvärd particularly recommended the Swiss style for this type of building, seeing it as a “natural style which bespeaks its purpose and allows the material to show itself with the always attractive character of truth.”⁷³ This search for a natural and national style did not apply to the second category of “more significant buildings” according to Edelsvärd. For these, it was appropriate to choose “one of the previously developed architectural styles . . . and modify it with insight.”⁷⁴ Edelsvärd himself was a stylistic omnivore, building in a wide variety of expressions and having a particular fondness for Dutch Renaissance, which he championed in the *Tidskrift*.

Wittingly or unwittingly, the Norwegian railway architects adhered to Edelsvärd’s distinction. Through a systematic use of style, they articulated the difference between urban (European/classical) and rural (Nordic/medieval) culture. Key themes from nineteenth-century cultural debates loom in the background of this divide. The distinction between a classical South and a romantic North was a recurrent theme in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century thinking. For German romantics from Herder onward, the North was associated with the anti-classical, which also meant the anti-artificial—the natural.⁷⁵ This polarity received a particular articulation in architectural discourse, played out in the long drawn battle between neoclassicism and neo-gothic, where gothic was taken as representing the spontaneous and the organic, apparent for instance in the young Schinkel’s celebration of the gothic as a living totality.⁷⁶

Indeed, the two architects of the Jarlsberg line had been trained by one of Europe’s most significant promoters of neo-gothic, Conrad Wilhelm Hase (1818–1902), at the *Polytechnikum* in Hanover.⁷⁷ Hase wielded a vast influence on Norwegian architecture from the late 1850s onward. He taught the majority of Norwegian architects working in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and had a dedicated group of followers in Christiania.⁷⁸ As one of them solemnly but clumsily put it in Hase’s obituary from 1902:

It was a great idea that seized the men together with whom Hase fought in those debauched years around the middle of the century. . . . The idea can be summarized thus: The organic connection between the material, the construction, and the exterior art-forms, and the elevation of their true, inner significance, as opposed to mere outer appearance. [Hase’s] was a happy and assured move toward healthy, natural principles, leading architecture away from depraved detours and back onto a healthy course.⁷⁹

Hase promoted the medieval style as a natural, modern, and true architectural expression, encouraging his students to

display construction and never conceal or mask building materials.⁸⁰ Moreover, the Germanic Middle Ages created what Hase believed was a true Northern style—a regionally authentic alternative to the rigid and artificial classicism of the South.

The architecture of the Jarlsberg line provided a precise articulation of this polarity. Through style, the architects expressed both an aspiration for the European Enlightenment—represented in academic neoclassicism—and the desire to express nationalism with wooden architecture—an architecture that vaguely echoed medieval timber traditions and that, with a stretch of the imagination, could be construed as Norwegian. To be sure, Horten Station and the Jarlsberg line water towers point toward the more self-consciously national architecture that would fully evolve only in the 1880s. For the most part, however, the Jarlsberg line country stations were as eclectic and cosmopolitan as Bull’s Sandvigen or Schirmer’s Kløften: still expressing national aspirations through Continental historicist forms. The national was not understood as a question of historical motifs but of tectonics and materiality—a question to which Hase had provided a plausible answer with his insistence on material truth and natural construction. As Hase’s anonymous Norwegian obituarist exclaimed: “everything in our development that is healthy and profound has first been conceived through Hase.”⁸¹

If Blix and Lange’s stations bear the fingerprint of Hase, they also bespeak another influential teacher under whom Blix had studied in Karlsruhe, Friedrich Eisenlohr.⁸² Eisenlohr was widely admired in Norway in the 1860s and 1870s. Fredrik von der Lippe expressed it well in his comprehensive presentation of German contemporary architecture, published in four long installments in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* in 1860:

In [Eisenlohr] is united an exceptional architectural talent with the most noble drive to purge architecture of anything alien and un-national, forced upon it by modern so-called Classicism. His railway buildings in the most noble romantic style belong thus to the most beautiful and original brought forth by the architecture of recent times. Running through all of them, from the grandest terminal to the adorable little station master’s cottage, is a harmonious idea which attracts the attention of every traveler. The structural necessity, the natural appearance of the materials—everywhere presented in their true color—and the picturesque grouping. Just as perfect as his overall composition are his details and ornaments, in which the specific character of each material remains at the focus of his attention.⁸³

As Lippe’s enthusiastic testimony makes clear, it was the material honesty, regional associations, and emotional directness of Eisenlohr’s architecture that impressed his Norwegian

students so profoundly and which they sought to emulate in their own buildings. While Blix and Lange continued to use the neoclassical style in urban situations, they tried in their rural stations to follow Eisenlohr's example, creating a locally rooted yet modern architectural expression: a Northern architecture for the nineteenth century.

Cosmopolitan Nationalism

For all their nationalist aspirations, the rural stations along the Main Line, the Drammen line, and the Jarlsberg line look anything but "Norwegian." In fact, most of them bear nothing but the most tenuous relation to the traditional wooden architecture of their regions. The wooden station buildings echo instead the new wooden architecture of northern Europe, and derive at least partly from German and English pattern books.⁸⁴ Three factors contributed to making this obviously imported architectural idiom serve as a national architecture: materiality, historicity, and tectonics. Wood was considered a geographically specific material—sprung from the soil as a natural product.⁸⁵ Climatically adapted and part of a living vernacular tradition, wooden architecture seemed to provide a national as well as natural alternative in the nineteenth century "battle of styles." This argument also involved a historical dimension. Building in wood meant returning to an ancient tradition, forging historical links between the present and Norway's medieval past. It meant, in other words, skipping over the four hundred years of Danish civilization embodied in classical masonry architecture. It was not so much the vaguely medievalizing motifs that made this architecture "national" for its proponents. This was accomplished by the material itself, which was Norwegian wood rather than foreign stone and brick. To this generation of architects, the reliance on northern European pattern books in no way invalidated their claim to have created a national architecture. On the contrary, it confirmed the historicist idea of architecture as regionally and historically specific—particular to time and place—only now the region was expanded to encompass all areas with similar climates, topographies, and cultures.

A few years later, this cosmopolitan nationalism would be a thing of the past. In fact, most of Lange and Blix's Jarlsberg line stations must have already seemed out of date when they were inaugurated, for Norwegian architecture in the 1880s was turning toward a more orthodox nationalism, based on historical and archaeological precedents.⁸⁶ In his memoirs, Balthazar Lange regretted the frivolous, unarchaeological historicism of his early career, putting it down to youthful ignorance: "we were heavily influenced by the German attitude,—not yet aware of what we had ourselves, in

our ancient building traditions. Several years had to pass before our eyes were opened."⁸⁷ Hermann Major Schirmer (1845–1913)—son of Heinrich Ernst—came to a similar conclusion when he summed up the state of Norwegian wooden architecture in 1880:

In our wooden architecture . . . there have been but few attempts at using compatible motifs from our old architecture. . . . Instead, one has clung onto a Germanic Schweitzer-architecture, developed in those schools from which our professional architects and builders have their education and in which they, as a rule, have been given their theoretical outlook. It cannot be denied that this is a sore fact, insofar as our old, homegrown wooden architecture can fully compete against that found in Switzerland.⁸⁸

For the younger Schirmer, the grafting of national motifs onto an international, historicist architecture (and vice versa) was no longer desirable, or even comprehensible. Unlike the architects of the previous generation, who considered style a means to make a national architecture universally meaningful, the old Balthazar Lange and the young Hermann Major Schirmer sought a purified national style, cleansed of its continental heritage. In the architecture of the 1880s and 90s, this desire would translate itself, first into the fanciful forms of the so-called "Dragon style" architecture and later into the pared-down timber buildings of architects such as Magnus Poulsson (1881–1951), who like so many of his contemporary colleagues, spent his student summers measuring and drawing vernacular Norwegian buildings under the watchful eye of Hermann Major Schirmer.⁸⁹

If the new wooden railway architecture epitomized both nature and nation, it also represented two aspects of modernity. It was the physical manifestation of perhaps the most radical technological transformation of all times. Not surprisingly, it was seen as the harbinger of a new era—the first whiff of a big new world, discernable even in the remotest parts of Europe. H. C. Andersen's dizzying account of the human drama at a railway station may seem irrelevant for the small rural stations of Norway. Yet as numerous newspaper articles, poems, and novels testify, even the simplest station was seen as a site of progress, "a passage to the future," as a local poet described it at the opening of the Jarlsberg line.⁹⁰ It was a place where the local opened onto the global and the present opened into the future. The station also represented modernity in a more direct sense. The railway's large production of wooden buildings became a testing arena for modular prefabrication, from Schirmer and Hanno's standardized timber constructions of the 1850s, to the more systematic prefabrication that started in the 1870s and reached its international breakthrough in the Paris exhibition of 1878, where four

Norwegian wooden manufacturers presented prefabricated wooden houses for international export.⁹¹ The timber merchants played a key role in initiating and financing the early railway in Norway, and were the main providers of materials and prefabricated elements for the station buildings. For all their quaint, historical references, the rural stations introduced a cutting-edge construction technology that would dominate Norwegian house building for generations.

The “natural” and vernacular-looking wooden stations along the Main Line, the Drammen line, and the Jarlsberg line—in fact Continentally inspired and prefabricated—constituted an architecture that fused many contradictory demands and expectations. It was natural and yet modern; it was historically rooted yet at the same time technologically advanced; it was national and yet belonging to a larger cultural context. It accomplished this remarkable fusion through the manipulation of materials, tectonic traditions, and historical references—in short, through style.

Panoramas of Style

The railway journey took the Norwegian traveler from a classical, European urban civilization through a condensed history of local vernacular traditions (or a carefully crafted hint of such a history) while expressing the absolute modernity of the railway system through modern, constructively “honest” and rationally planned wooden architecture. In this sense, railway travel was a journey through cultural time as much as through geographical space. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, in his classic *The Railway Journey*, argues that train travel opened up a new way of seeing and perceiving the world—what he labels panoramic perception.⁹² Panoramic perception is characterized by an understanding of the landscape as pictures to be observed, rather than places in which to interact. This takes place in a very concrete sense—because the foreground literally disappears when one travels at a certain speed—and in an epistemological and metaphoric sense, as the nineteenth-century traveler began to understand the landscape as a succession of views, pictures, or panoramas—one after the other like “pearls on a string,” as H. C. Andersen put it in his marvelous account of the train journey along Denmark’s first railway line from Korsør to Copenhagen.⁹³ Picking up on Schivelbusch’s metaphoric notion, one could argue that the panoramic perception of the nineteenth-century railway traveler encompassed not only space, but time as well. Like the bird’s-eye view of history presented in nineteenth-century comparative tableaux of styles and epochs, the railway journey presented the traveler with a succession of historically charged pictures, each imbued with cultural and regional associations. By taking the traveler on a journey through time—through the multiple strata of cultural loyalties that the new nation state had

to navigate—this architecture established a historical panorama, enacted by means of style. If rail travel created a new perception of the landscape as a spatial, synchronic panorama, then the journey through national history and its international entanglement established also a diachronic panorama—a panorama of time and civilization. The British magazine *Punch* perceived this “panorama of style” already in the 1840s, sarcastically remarking that “on the great lines of the Railway one may fancy one’s self traversing all the countries in the world within half-an-hour, for he is very likely to encounter an old English ticket office, a Turkish water-tank, a Swiss engine-house, a Grecian goods dépôt, and an Italian terminus, all within the limits of fifteen miles of railway.”⁹⁴ *Punch*’s critical irony anticipated the harsh critique that was later to be directed at historicism’s “dishonesty.” For mid-nineteenth-century architects such as Schirmer and Hanno, Bull, Blix, and Lange, however, this stylistic pluralism had less to do with lies than with trying to articulate certain aspirations and allegiances. The early railway architecture gave a tangible expression to the most central obsession of nineteenth-century cultural imagination: how to conceive and craft an authentic expression of the here and now—the national and the modern. It was an architecture that aligned and fused a modern technological system with a radical and paradoxical cosmopolitan nationalism. The “panorama of style” was a means to achieve this valiant and precarious fusion.

Notes

1. See Einar Østvedt, *Norske Jernbaners historie* (Oslo: Norges Statsbaner, 1954), vols. 1–4. For an overview of the architectural history of Norwegian railway stations see Eivind Hartmann, Øistein Mangset, and Øyvind Reissegg, *Neste stasjon: en guide til jernbanens arkitekturhistorie* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1997), Terje Hauken, “Norske jernbanestasjoner i mur 1854–1913: en studie i en av 1800-tallets nye bygningstyper,” master’s thesis, University of Bergen, 1986, and Eivind Hartmann and Øistein Mangset, *Norske jernbanestasjoner i sveitserstil* (Trondheim: Norges Tekniske Høgskole, 1974). All translations are by the author.
2. Nicolay Nicolaysen, “Hvorledes det norske beboelseshus av træ får et nationalt præg,” *Norsk Teknisk Tidsskrift* (1884) 114–22. See also an anonymous article in the journal *Arkitektur og Dekorativ Kunst* (1909) 69, for a similar verdict.
3. For instance Carl Abraham Pihl, *The Railways of Norway (More Especially the Narrow-gauged Lines)* (Christiania: Carl Werner & Co, 1876). Pihl presents drawings of selected station types, but does not discuss their architectural merits.
4. The archive of the Norwegian State Railway’s architectural office is held in the National Archives of Norway, Oslo. For a complete overview over the drawing collection, see The National Archives of Norway, catalogue *Norges Statsbaner, Arkitektkontoret ca 1850–1913, 1831/90* (Oslo: Riksarkivet, 1996).
5. From 1814 to 1905, Norway was in a union with Sweden, governed by the Swedish king, yet with an independent Norwegian parliament adhering to the Norwegian constitution of 1814.
6. “Nu jevnes Fjeld og Dale, / Nu svinder Tid og Rum; / Med Tankens Flugt din Tale / Kan Flyve Verden om.” Anonymous member of parliament, “Ved den norske Jernbanes Aabning den 1st september 1854,” *Morgenbladet*, 3 Sept. 1854.

7. Wolfgang Schivelbush pinpoints the annihilation of time and space as a leitmotif in early railway commentary, and traces its genealogy through a rich historical material. *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), chap. 3: "Railway Space and Railway Time."
8. Aasmund Olavsson Vinje, *Ferdamninne frå Sommaren 1860* (Oslo: Det norske samlaget, 1959), 2.
9. Michael Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 226.
10. Hans Christian Andersen, "En Digters Bazar, 1842: Tyskland" part 4, "Jernbanen." *Samlede Verker, Rejsekildringer vol. 1, 1826–1842* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2006), 233.
11. Charles Dickens, *Dombey and Son* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1848), Emile Zola, *La Bête Humaine* (Paris: Charpentier, 1890). The railway station's reception in nineteenth-century literature is well described in for instance *All Stations: A Journey through 150 Years*. exh. cat. (London: The Science Museum, 1981), and in Jeffrey Richards and John MacKenzie, *The Railway Station: A Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
12. Carl Abraham Pihl, "Et Brev," *Morgenbladet*, 31 Oct. 1857.
13. Anonymous, *Norsk Handelstidende*, 18 Feb. 1867.
14. For a study of the railway's international nationalism, see Micheline Nilsen, *Railways and the Western European Capitals: Studies of Implantation in London, Paris, Berlin, and Brussels* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), chap. 1.
15. Anonymous, "Om en Jernbaneforbindelse mellem det Vestenfjeldske og det Oestenfjeldske," *Morgenbladet*, 10 Feb. 1867. Yngve Skjæveland discusses nationalism and railway development in his PhD dissertation "Teknologisk nyskaping og kulturell brytning: norsk jernbane 1840–1880" (Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 2008).
16. The relationship between scientific expeditions and the artistic discovery of the national landscape is analyzed in Nils Messel and Marianne Yvenes, *The Discovery of the Mountains* (Oslo: National Museum for Art, Architecture and Design, 2008).
17. Barry Bergdoll discussed the impact of geology on nineteenth-century architecture in "Of Crystals, Cells and Strata: Natural History and Debates on the Form of a New Architecture," *Architectural History* 50 (2007), 1–29.
18. The Main Line was a private development, financed through private subscription. The first Norwegian state railway line opened in 1862 from Lillestrøm to Kongsvinger. For a comprehensive presentation of the political process around the early railway in Norway, see Trond Bergh, *Jernbanen i Norge 1854–2004* (Bergen: Vigmostad & Bjørke, 2004), vol. 1.
19. Heinrich Ernst Schirmer was trained in Dresden and Munich, arriving in Christiania in 1838 to assist Hans Ditlev Fransiscus Linstow with the interiors of the royal palace. Schirmer became a seminal architect in nineteenth-century Norway, building numerous churches, schools, railway stations, prisons and hospitals, e.g., Gaustad asylum, Norway's first mental hospital (1848–51). See Ruth Hamran, "Heinrich Ernst Schirmer og hans plass i norsk arkitekturhistorie" *Foreningen for fortidsminnesmerkers bevarings årbok 1962* (Oslo: Foreningen for fortidsminnesmerkers bevaring, 1963) and Ole Petter Bjerkek, "Schirmer, Heinrich Ernst," in *Norsk Kunstnerleksikon*, ed. Leif Østbye (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1982–86). Wilhelm von Hanno was trained as a mason and worked as an apprentice at the Cologne cathedral reconstructions before coming to Norway as the assistant of Alexis de Chateaufeuf. On Hanno, see Bjerkek, "Hanno, Wilhelm von," in Østbye, *Norsk Kunstnerleksikon*. Schirmer and von Hanno were partners from 1852 to 1864.
20. An early watercolor perspective of Christiania central station shows that Schirmer and Hanno originally intended to have towers on either side of a two-aisled train shed, a solution later abandoned. See Schirmer and Hanno's sketchbook, Plv. 2590: 1, Special Collection, National Library of Norway, Oslo.
21. César Daly, "Des Gares de Chemin de Fer," in *Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics* (1845–46), 509–18, 529–40, quoted in Carroll Meeks, *The Railroad Station, an Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1956), 30.
22. On Robert Stephenson's remarkable railway building career, see Lionel Rolt, *George and Robert Stephenson: The Railway Revolution* (London: Penguin, 1960).
23. Georg P. Bidder, minutes from a jury meeting 23 June 1852. *Den Norske Hoved-Jernbane. Direksjonen: Forhandlingsprotokoll, 25.7.1845–11.8.1854*, 3C 02911, National Archives of Norway, Oslo. As Stephenson's chief engineer, Bidder chaired the jury for the architectural competition and would later oversee the construction of both lines and stations.
24. *Morgenbladet*, 13 and 16 Aug. 1852. The contract between Stephenson and the Norwegian government, signed 17 Dec. 1850, specified that the Main Line stations were to be built "either in wood or stone, except Christiania station, where all buildings are to be made in masonry or some other fireproof material". The original contract has been lost but passages are quoted in Eivind Hartmann, "De første jernbanestasjonene," *Jernbanemuseet 1983* (Hamar: Norske Statsbaner, 1983), 38, and Hauken, "Norske jernbanestasjoner i mur," 49–50.
25. Competition brief, *Morgenbladet*, 13 and 16 Aug. 1852.
26. Alexis de Chateaufeuf was Hanno's mentor from the mid-1840s until the early 1850s. Schirmer oversaw the building of Chateaufeuf's addition to Vor Frelser's Kirke (Christiania, 1850), and executed together with Hanno Chateaufeuf's project for the Christiania Trefoldighetskirke (1858). Chateaufeuf built several railway buildings, for instance the Berliner Bahnhof in Hamburg (1846–50). For a thorough presentation of Chateaufeuf and his work, see Hartmut Frank and Ulrich Schwarz, eds., *Alexis de Chateaufeuf 1799–1853. Architekt in Hamburg, London und Oslo* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 2000). Although it has not been proven that Hanno took part in these projects, he was working for Chateaufeuf at the time and probably knew them. See Arne Brenna, "Den glemte hovedstasjonen fra 1854 for Norges første jernbane," *St. Halkvard* 1 (1997), 4–40.
27. The guidebook author Christian Tønsberg, for instance, asserted that the station was "erected in a style which greatly resembles that of Dutch houses from the 16th century." "Jernbanegaarden," in Tønsberg, *Christiania med dens nærmeste Omgivelser, fremstillet i Tegninger og ledsaget med kort oplysende Text* (Christiania, 1854), unpaginated.
28. Brenna, "Den glemte hovedstasjon," 34.
29. See, e.g., Gordon Biddle, *Victorian Stations: Railway Stations in England and Wales 1830–1923* (Devon: David & Charles, 1973) and Gordon Buck, *A Pictorial Survey of Railway Stations* (Oxford: Oxford Publishing, 1992), 13–14.
30. Tønsberg, "Jernbanegaarden."
31. Adolf W. Edelsvärd, *Tidskrift för Byggnadskonst och Ingeniörvetenskap* (1864), 3.
32. The associative significance of style in nineteenth-century Norway got its most articulate expression a few years later in the debate surrounding the 1857 competition for a new Norwegian parliament. Schirmer and Hanno won with a medievalizing brick "Rathaus"-type—by the jury seen as being "in splendid coherence with a Northern region's nature and conditions." After a long debate, however, it was the more conventional *Rundbogen* project of the Swedish architect Victor Emil Langlet that was built. The case entailed a furious and fascinating debate over style and significance, played out in the Norwegian parliament as well as in the national newspapers. See, for instance, Johannes Rye et al., "Betænkning, afgiven af den ved kongelig Resulution af 13de Juli 1855 nedsatte Commission til Bedømmelse af Tegningerne m.m. til en Storthingsbygning," Christiania, 26 Jan. 1857, in *Kgl. Prp. om Brev til Opførelse af en Storthingsbygning m.v.*, S. no 54 (1857), 17–19, Archives of the Norwegian Parliament, Oslo. See also *Morgenbladet* 22 May, and 8, 9, and 11

Aug. 1857. The debate is chronicled by, among others, Birgitte Astrup, "Stortingsbyggnaden i Oslo," *Foreningen for fortidsminnesmerkers bevarings årbok 1973* (Oslo: Foreningen for fortidsminnesmerkers bevaring, 1974), 31–97.

33. The characterization "deceitful masking" stems from the unsigned article "Om vore Bygværker," *Den norske ingeniør og arkitekt-förenings organ* 14 (1879), 77–79. Criticism of the use of render was a central motif in the Norwegian architectural debate of the mid- to late nineteenth century, see for instance the heated debate in *Polyteknisk Forening*, 6 and 20 March 1866, published in *Polyteknisk Tidsskrift* (1866), 56–65.

34. Tønsberg, "Jernbanegaarden."

35. Henrik Jæger, *Kristiania i femti-aarene* (Bergen: Beyer, n.d.), unpaginated. This is an expanded reprint of the 1854 and the 1857 editions of Tønsberg, *Christiania med dens nærmeste Omgivelser* (Christiania, 1854/Christiania, 1857) with an added preface by Jæger.

36. An interesting analysis of the railway style and its cultural associations in nineteenth-century Norway is done by Hauken, "Norske jernbanestasjoner i mur."

37. For instance the villa at Malmøya, Christiania, for the lawyer Bernhard Dunker (1846), later one of the few nineteenth-century buildings to be presented in Lorentz Dietrichson's influential presentation of Norwegian wooden architecture, *Die Holzbaukunst Norwegens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Berlin: Schuster & Buchle, 1893), plate XII.

38. As in other European countries, in nineteenth-century Norway the term *Swiss style* was used less as an exact geographical determination than as a common term for the new wooden architecture appearing on the Continent from around 1840 onward. An early Norwegian reference for the term is Fredrik von der Lippe, "Nogle ord om Trebygningskunsten i vore mindre Byer," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* 24, 1858, 99.

39. Georg Gottlob Ungewitter, *Vorlegeblätter für Holzarbeiten* (Leipzig, 1849–51), plate 37. Schirmer and Hanno undoubtedly knew of Ungewitter's work, which together with publications from the *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* and the *Königliche Technischen Bau-Deputation & Architekten-Verein zu Berlin* was widely read in Norway and played an important role in disseminating the new wooden architecture from Germany in the early 1850s. For a comprehensive presentation of the continental influence on nineteenth-century wooden architecture in Norway, see Jens Christian Eldal, *Historisme i tre: "sveitserstil," romantikk, byggeskikkens-renaissance og nasjonal egenart i europeisk og norsk trearkitektur på 1800 tallet* (Oslo: University of Oslo, 1998), 138–44.

40. Heinrich Ernst Schirmer, letter to his son Herman Major Schirmer, 27 June 1864, Brevs. 201, National Library of Norway, Oslo. Schirmer's letters provide an interesting key to his architectural ideals, as discussed in Mari Hvattum, "'En Medkjæmper for den gode Sag': H. E. Schirmer og Intelligensens arkitektur," *Kunst og Kultur* 1 (2010), 2–13.

41. Loudon was widely read in Scandinavia from very early on, and was made a member of the Swedish Academy of Sciences already in 1815. Schirmer was sent by the Norwegian parliament on a study trip to Holland and England in 1843, to study, e.g., the restoration of medieval cathedrals. See Eldal, *Historisme i tre*, 139.

42. Linstow, "Tale" (1820), in Anders Krogvig, *Fra den gamle tegneskole* (Christiania: Steenske forlag, 1918), 78.

43. Linstow: "Om Kongeboligen ved Christiania," *Christianiaposten*, 23 and 24 April 1849.

44. An eloquent example is Fredrik von der Lippe, "Nogle Ord om Trebygningskunsten i vore mindre Byer," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* 24, 1858, 99.

45. Heinrich Ernst Schirmer, letter to Jørgen Moe, 3 Nov. 1854, Brevs. 282, National Library of Norway, Oslo.

46. Lippe, "Nogle Ord om Trebygningskunsten i vore mindre Byer."

47. For a particularly poignant example of this "aesthetics of the soil," see Hans Jacob Sparre, "Norsk arkitektur, dens nuværende standpunkt og dens fremtidsudsigter," *Teknisk Ugeblad* 45 (1901). The national soil as a source

of indigenous authenticity is a key theme in the Norwegian architectural debate in the late nineteenth century, as discussed by Mari Lending in *Omkring 1900: kontinuiteter i norsk arkitekturtenkning* (Oslo: Pax, 2007) and Mari Hvattum in "Stedets tyranni," *Arkitektur* N 4 (2009).

48. Johann Georg Müller, 1853, quoted in Werner Stutz, *Bahnbofe der Schweiz* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1983), 62.

49. Müller 1853, quoted in Eldal, *Historisme i tre*, 116. See also Adolf Reinle, *Kunstgeschichte der Schweiz* (Frauenfeld: von Huber, 1962), 4: 119–20; and Andreas Hauser, *Ferdinand Stadler, 1813–1870. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Historismus in der Schweiz* (Zürich: Krauthammer, 1976), 255.

50. *Ornamentik in ihrer Anwendung auf verschiedene Gegenstände der Baugewerbe* (1849–) was also read, as was Eisenlohr's pioneering study of vernacular wooden architecture, *Holzbauten des Schwarzwaldes* (1853). Eisenlohr's work was presented in the 1851 publication from *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, and *Königliche Technischen Bau-Deputation & Architekten-Verein zu Berlin*, as well as in the publication series *Architektonische Skizzenbuch* (Berlin 1852–) published in six annual installments from 1852 onward—all publications held by *Polyteknisk Forening* in Christiania.

51. Tønsberg, "Jernbanegaarden."

52. Paul Due was chief architect of the Norwegian State Railways (1891–1910), designing stations along the Sætesdal Line (1896) the Gjøvik Line (1900–1902), the Ofoten Line (1902), and the Bergen Line (1909), to mention but a few.

53. "Om de norske Jernbanestationsbygninger og deres Plananordning," in *Jernbanebladet, Tidning for Sveriges, Norges och Danmarks Jernbanor* 20 (1902), 122.

54. Camilla Collett, "Christiania–Frognerkilen," *Morgenbladet*, 29 April 1870. On the furious debates over the Christiania Drammen Line, see Østvedt, *Norske jernbaners historie* 1 (1954), 208–36.

55. On Bull, see Odd Brochmann, *Stadskonduktøren. Om Georg Bull og Christiania i historismens år* (Oslo: Norsk Arkitekturforlag, 1989).

56. The truss roof was designed by the railway engineer A. J. Petersson and was much admired at the time. As a contemporary commentator wrote: "One of the most beautiful aspects of the platform shed is the perspectival view along the light, slender iron construction holding the roof." Unsigned review in *Ny Illustreret Tidende*, 4 Jan. 1874, 6.

57. The architect of the first Hanover Hauptbahnhof of 1847 remains uncertain, but German railway historians such as Manfred Berger attributes it to a joint authorship between the Oberhofbaurat for Hanover, Georg Ludwig Laves, the architect August Stüler, and the local master builder Ferdinand Schwarz. See Berger, *Historische Bahnhofsbauten II: Braunschweig, Hannover, Preussen, Bremen, Hamburg, Oldenburg und Schleswig-Holstein* (Berlin: Transpress Verlag für Verkehrswesen, 1987), 21–22. The present Hanover Hauptbahnhof was built in 1879 designed by Hubert Stier, the son of Bull's former professor in Berlin, Wilhelm Stier. Friedrich Neuhaus was a significant railway architect in charge of the Berlin–Hamburg Line in the 1850s. See, e.g., Dietmar Ramuschkat, "Die Eisenbahnlinie Wittenberge-Buchholz. Eine Fallstudie über Entscheidungs- und Handlungsabläufe bei der Planung einer Privatbahn in Preußen und dem zum Bau erforderlichen Grunderwerb," PhD diss., Universität Hamburg, 2002.

58. For a description of Chateauf's railway projects, see David Klemm, "Chronologisches Werkverzeichnis," in Klemm and Frank, *Alexis de Chateauf*, 149–314.

59. Unsigned review in *Ny Illustreret Tidende*, 4 Jan. 1874, 6.

60. Together with Schirmer's villa at Malmøya (see note 37), Sandvigen Station was selected to represent the new wooden architecture in Dietrichson's *Die Holzbaukunst Norwegens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, plate XIII.

61. The development of the "flying gable" in Northern European architecture is documented by Eldal in "European Forms in the New Wooden Architecture Imported to Norway ca. 1830–1860," in *The Research Council of Norway, Deutsch-Norwegisches Stipendprogramm für Geschichtswissenschaften*.

Bericht über das 7. Deutsch-Norwegisches Historikertreffen in Tromsø, Juni 1994. *Europa und der Norden* (Oslo: Norwegian Research Council, 1995), 102–122.

62. The Society for the Preservation of Norwegian Ancient Monuments (Foreningen til Norske Fortidsminde-merkers Bevaring) was established in 1844 on the initiative of the landscape painter and heritage enthusiast Johan Christian Dahl, author of *Denkmale einer sehr ausgebildeten Holzbaukunst aus frühesten Jahrhunderten in den innern Landschaften Norwegens* (Dresden, 1837). In the early 1850s the society initiated a survey of the medieval stave churches, a work with which Bull was involved from 1853 to 1855. Despite Dahl's efforts, however, the stave church had surprisingly little impact on the new wooden architecture of the 1850s. Only with the so-called dragon-style architecture in the 1880s and 1890s did the stave church get its modern architectural interpretation in the works of Holm Munthe (1848–1898) and others. On Bull's historical surveys, see Brochmann, *Stadskonduktøren*, 41–42.

63. Nicolaysen, "Hvorledes det norske beboelseshus av træ får et nationalt præg," 116.

64. It was Lange who had the main responsibility for the Jarlsberg Line stations, but he based his design on types developed by Blix in his earlier station designs for Rørosbanen (1877), Jærbanen (1878), and Smaalandsbanen (1879). See Hartmann, Mangset, and Reiseegg, *Neste stasjon*, 146–149.

65. Otto Schönheyder, "Stationen und Hochbauten auf der Grevskabsbahn in Norwegen" *Organ für die Fortschritte des Eisenbahnwesens*, 1883, 100–102, plate XIV.

66. Hauken, "Norske jernbanestasjoner i mur," 292–95. Hauken points out that this regional imitation was common in European railway architecture, for instance in southern Sweden, where Helsingør railway station mimics Kronborg castle.

67. Wedel-Jarlsberg was one of Norway's richest and most powerful families, making their fortune mainly from timber trade. Earl Herman Wedel-Jarlsberg (1779–1840) was finance minister from 1822 and governor [stattholder] of Norway, in effect a kind of vice-king, from 1836 until his death.

68. *Tønsberg Blad*, 14 Oct. 1881.

69. Speech at the opening banquet, printed in *Tønsberg Blad*, 14 Oct. 1881.

70. For a presentation of Edelsvärd's railway architecture, see Gunilla Linde, *Stationsbus 1855–1895, A. W. Edelsvärd som järnvägsarkitekt* (Malung: Svenska Järnvägsklubben, 1989).

71. Eilert Sundt, review in *Folkevennen* (1863), 140. Sundt (1817–1875) is considered the founder of sociology in Norway but was also an architectural historian, publishing the first systematic study of vernacular architecture in Norway, *Om Bygnings-skikken paa Landet i Norge* (Christiania: Mallings, 1862). *Polyteknisk Forening* in Christiania, which until the founding of The Architects' and Engineers' Society in 1874 was the main forum for Norwegian architects, subscribed to Edelsvärd's *Tidskrift för Byggnadskonst* from 1862 onward.

72. Edelsvärd, "Holländska renaissance-stilen," *Tidskrift för Byggnadskonst och Ingeniörvetenskap*, 1864, 2.

73. Edelsvärd, "Om Schweizerstilens företrädaren vid utförandet af byggnader i allmänhet på landet," *Tidskrift för Byggnadskonst och Ingeniörvetenskap*, 1864, 39.

74. Edelsvärd, "Holländska renaissance-stilen," *Tidskrift för Byggnadskonst och Ingeniörvetenskap*, 1864, 2.

75. Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Riga and Leipzig: Hartknoch, 1784).

76. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's 1772 essay "Deutsche Baukunst" is another relevant example, as discussed by Caroline van Eck in her *Organicism in 19th-Century Architecture* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 1994).

77. Blix studied under Hase in Hanover in 1850–54. For extracts of his unpublished letters and memoirs from this period, see Gaute Losnegaard, *Peter Andreas Blix: i strid for vern og vekst* (Førde: Selja, 2001). Lange was a student of Hase in 1875–77 and retained, as all of Hase's Norwegian

students, a life-long admiration for his old teacher. See, for instance, the obituary of Hase in *Teknisk Ugeblad* 15 (10 April 1902), 158.

78. See Ole Petter Bjerkek, "Fra Tyskland: Schirmer og von Hanno" in Ulf Grønvold, ed., *Arkitektur i Norge, Årbok 2002* (Oslo: Arkitekturmuseet, 2003), 70–83.

79. Anonymous, "Nekrolog," *Teknisk Ugeblad* 15 (10 April 1902).

80. For a thorough presentation of Hase and the Hanover School, see Günther Kokkelink and Monika Lemke-Kokkelink, *Baukunst in Norddeutschland: Architektur und Kunsthandwerk der Hannoverschen Schule 1850–1900* (Hanover: Schlütersche Verlag, 1998). Hase's famous statement "Putz ist Lüge" [render is lie] was a motto his Norwegian students took to heart, judging from their repeated rampages against neoclassical render-works throughout the 1870s and 1880s. See above, note 33.

81. "Nekrolog," *Teknisk Ugeblad* 15 (10 April 1902).

82. After his studies in Hanover, Blix studied for one year (1854–55) at the Bauschule des Polytechnikums in Karlsruhe, where Eisenlohr was professor until his sudden death in 1855.

83. Lippe, "Den tydske arkitektoniske Kunst i vort Aarhundrede," *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* 5 (1860), 22. Lippe's incisive review was published in *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* issues 2, 3, 5 and 8 (1860), 11–12, 15–16, 22–23, 38.

84. Eldal, *Historisme i tre*, chap. 4: "Internasjonal historisme i norsk trearkitektur."

85. Later in the nineteenth century, natural stone would take on much of the same nationalist significance as did wood in the 1850s, a tendency meticulously documented and discussed in Sixten Ringbom, *Stone, Style, Truth: The Vogue for Natural Stone in Nordic Architecture, 1880–1910* (Helsinki: Finska Fornminnesföreningen, 1991).

86. This turn is discussed in Hvattum, "Medkjæmper for den gode Sag": H. E. Schirmer og Intelligencens arkitektur."

87. Balthazar Lange, "Beretning om 1870 årenes arkitektspirers utdannelse og deres senere arbeidsvilkår og foreningsliv m.v.," unpublished ms of Dec. 1934, manuscript collection in the Library of the Norwegian Association of Architects, Oslo.

88. Herman Major Schirmer, "Hvad er national Stil i vor Bygningskunst og hvorledes fremkommer den," *Den Norske Ingeniør- og Arkitektforenings Organ* 19 (1880), 109.

89. "Dragon style" (*dragestil*) emerged in Sweden and Norway from the 1870s onward. It represented a continuation of the Swiss style, but was distinguished by its use of Nordic medieval motifs, inspired particularly by the late-nineteenth-century excavations of the Viking ships. For a presentation of the Dragon style in English, see, e.g., Barbara Miller Lane, *National Romanticism and Modern Architecture in Germany and the Scandinavian Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

90. Engebret Hougen, "Ved Jarlsbergsbanens Aabning," *Tønsberg Blad*, 13 Oct. 1881.

91. Industrial prefabrication of wooden buildings started in the 1870s with manufacturers such as Jacob Digre, Thams & Co, and Strømmen Trevarefabrik. These manufacturers specialized on prefabricated timber houses for international export, marketed through lavish catalogues such as Thams & Co, *Maison en Bois pour exportation* (1889), which presented villas, railway stations, churches, and schools. The world expositions served as a marketing venue for this industry. See A. Ottesen, "Bygningsfabrikker," *Teknisk Ugeblad* (1883), 129–30; and Hild Sørby, *Klar—Ferdig—Hus: Norske ferdighus gjennom tidene* (Oslo: Ad Notam/Gyldendal, 1992).

92. Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*, chap. 4, "Panoramic travel."

93. H. C. Andersen, "Et stykke perlesnor," in *Samlede Værker*, vol. 2, 1852–62, "Nye Eventyr og Historier, 1859" (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2003).

94. *Punch* 14 (1848), 219, quoted in Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination*, 73.