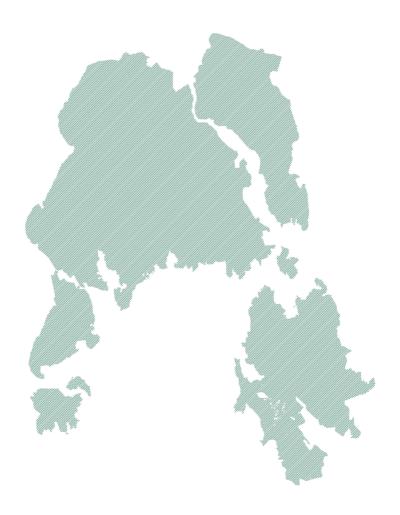
Diploma program

Architectural and infrastructural interventions in Oslos forest, Marka



Architectural and infrastructural interventions in Oslos forest, Marka

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All images, maps and drawings are by the author, unless noted otherwise.

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Summary

Marka is Oslos quintessential public space and object of cultural construct. To be in the forest on a sunday afternoon is to be in the city, but different. This peri-urban forest is an institutionally delimited territory, artificial environment and machine for the logging industry, concealed as a natural everchanging landscape that today serves as the immidiate and closest neighboor for the consumption of *friluftsliv** for roughly 1,5 million people. Seen through the trees, layers of infrastructure and buildings infiltrate it completely. Though no coherent image of an architecture is visible in what appears to be a make-shift jungle of provisional decisions.

When considering Marka a made landscape, what other programmatic and spatial potentials does the forest contain? The project seeks to embrace the artificiality of the forest. Re-imagining Marka as unique urban arena by dealing with conflicting interests of use, industrial utilization of forest and the conservation of important ecosystems, while searching for an inherent spatial identity between the spruce and pine trees. Effectively opposing the public spaces of the recent fjordcity development, both as the other border containing Oslos urbanization and as spaces with room for a collective imagination.



Fig. 1: Kvikk Lunsj

^{*} Friluftsliv translates to English as; outdoor life, but that does not do the phrase justice in terms of how it is understood in a norwegian context. Henrik Ibsen was the first to use the word literary, while Fridtjof Nansen established it as a culturally embedded phrase in the minds of norwegians. It is defined by the Norwegian Parliament as: Friluftsliv is staying or doing physical activity outdoors in one's spare time with the aim of a change of environment and experiencing nature. For many norwegians the word entails; going for a hike, for one or multiple days, on foot or skiing, sleeping outdoors and Kyikk Lunsj chocolatebars.



Introduction and context

Topic Description

Introduction, Scope of the Thesis and Norwegian Folktales

Instead of thoughtfully and systematically adressing all public needs, one attempted merely to satisfy fleeting demands without consideration for general interests. Long-term responsibility was quite easily deferred. Everything was left to private initiative, whose essential point of view was to drive up land values and rental profits as high as possible.¹

Ludwig Hilberseimer, Großstadtarchitektur, 1927

Introduction

New developments and especially waterfront developments across Europe all produce the same conditions and urban environments. The main thing they have in common is that they are not built or planned for the actual inhabitants of the city in which they are planned. They are planned and built to make money, attract tourists, look good on postcards and advertisements, reap likes on Instagram and Pinterest and build new imposed identities.

In his essay, Oslo - The Triumph of Zombie Urbanism, Jonny Aspen describes a tendency in urbanism and architecture that he coins 'zombie urbanism', using Oslo and its fjordby development as a prime example. Zombie urbanism entails planning and its discourses not as analytical or descriptive , but as prescriptive to a city. This prescriptiveness, since it has no root in the site itself, results in generic cities, as the same principles and programs are applied everywhere.

Contemporary discourses on urban redevelopment and design are, at least as seen from the perspective of Northern Europe, suprisingly alike and homogeneous. They all subscribe to the idea that the future lies in building some version of "the creative city." It is a city being rebuilt based on the happy mix of creativity and knowledge with culture and urban consumption.²



Fig. 3: Urbanistic nachspiel in Oslo, featuring a Spaniard, an Italian and a Norwegian. Remake of Madelon Vriesendorp's 'Flagrant délit'.

Image and caption courtesy of MALARCHITECTURE.

¹ Ludwig Hilberseimer, *Metropolisarchitecture* (New York, GSAPP Books, 2012), 88

Jonny Aspen, "Oslo - The Triumph of Zombie Urbanism", in Shaping the City, ed. Rodolphe El-Khoury and Edward Robbins (Oxfordshire, 2013), 182

The prestigious new cultural institutions in Bjørvika, of which only the Opera House is yet completed, have in fact just recently been presented as components in what is to be seen as a new "National Axis of Culture" along Oslo's redeveloping waterfront. The intention is, as it is said in the city of Oslo's new architectural policy, to make the cultural axis "the capital city's most important factor for identity-building and marketing"³

Jonny Aspen, 2013

The way of building an imposed identity that the city of Oslo envisions for its cultural axis, is done by moving important cultural institutions away from the city fabric they used to be part of. With a total disregard for the meaning and thought behind the placement those institutions used to have. These institutions, whom previously were built as a source to a cultural and national sense of community, are now reconcieved as iconic buildings as charms on a necklace along the waterfront promenade. Whose main function, in addition to building an imposed marketable identity, is to drive up land and appartment prices in the new neighbouring sites of development. Although this not is a new phenomenon, as Baron Haussmanns strategy for Paris is largely connected to the speculation of real-estate by strategically planning its parks and boulevards, it has taken a new form through the iconic building.

Iconic buildings are typically singular landmarks whose agency is inscribed entirely within the logic of urbanization. Indeed, the agenda of the iconic building is a postpolitical architecture stripped bare of any meaning other than the celebration of corporate economic performance. In this sense, rather than being agonistic forms, contemporary `icons` are the final and celebratory manifestations of the Grundnorm of urbanization: the victory of economic optimization over political judgement.⁴

Pier Vittorio Aureli. 2011

The public spaces in the fjordcity development are planned conceptually along the fjordcity promenade. The promenade is thought as a continuous public space between land and water. The promenade is connected to the existing city 'behind' with 'commons'. The commons in the fjordcity development are prescriptive public spaces that are programmed to facilitate for every kind of possible public activity. They are the opposite of open-ended as described by

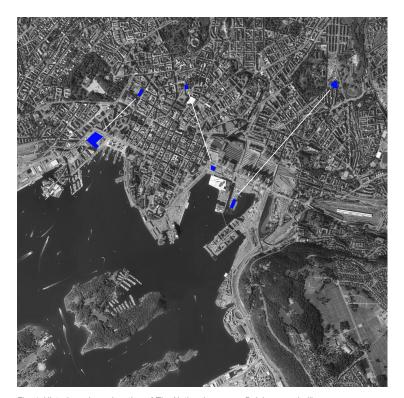


Fig. 4: Historic and new location of The National museum, Deichman main library and Munch museum

Jonny Aspen, "Oslo - The Triumph of Zombie Urbanism", in Shaping the City, ed. Rodolphe El-Khoury and Edward Robbins (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2013), 188

⁴ Pier Vittorio Aureli, The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2011), xii

Richard Sennett as the possibility of a building or a neighbourhood can evolve through time in which its use can (and will) change because the process cannot be predicted in advance.

In their public space program, Gehl Architects even presents a set of 'diagrams of life' that are to guarantee, it seems, that all important features of a rich social life will be provided for, such as activities for all kinds of users and a mixed distribution of attractions and destinations along the promenade. To make sure that no one misses the point, it is said that the overall intention is to guarantee 'great variation in activities and spatial experiences.' Still, the program statements and the diagrammatic representations stand out as fairly general and without obligation; they seem to mean everything and nothing.⁵

Jonny Aspen, 2013

The norwegian word for `common` as a public space is `almenning` and is frequently used to describe the public spaces of the fjordcity and other contemporary developments. The concept of almenning dates back to when farms where dependent on access to forest. When the density of farms in a territory became greater than the supply of materials, wood, fish, pastures or hunting grounds that the forest could provide, the concept of almenning was invented. Farms with direct proximity to the forestbelt had the right to utilize those nearby areas, while the remaining farms had to go to `almenningen`, the forests beyond.

Almenningen was no-mansland, meaning every-mansland. Here, everyone could harvest how much timber they wanted, let their animals graze, fish and hunt. Here, there were no owners, only users.

Jonny Aspen, "Oslo - The Triumph of Zombie Urbanism", in Shaping the City, ed. Rodolphe El-Khoury and Edward Robbins (Oxfordshire, 2013), 195

Scope of the Thesis

In this report and through my thesis, I want to argue for that there already lies an latent idenity within the city of Oslo. An identity or idiosyncracy that one could not make, build or manufacture, but one inheret in Oslo's morhology and landform and already culturally embedded within its citizens. Ironically, this identity is embedded across the other 'border' containing Oslo's urbanization; the forest.

Essentially it is all of Oslo's citizens almenning.

Norwegian Folktales

As a way of understanding and getting into the mythical and cultural meaning of the forest I want to read the stories and folktales that Asbjørnsen & Moe collected and published in parts from 1837 to 1869. The collection we know today as *Norske Folkeeventyr*⁶ is a collection of previously published parts and re-written tales, published as one collection. The method they used was largely based on the efforts by the Brothers Grimm in Germany. Travelling around Norway to both places well connected to the rest of Norway as well as mountains and valleys largely disconnected from the rest of the civilized world. They wrote down stories told to them, passed on verbally from generation to generation. The folktales were rarely connected to place or time and the characters were always made anonymous, so that everyone could relate to them, which is a large contributing factor to their success.

The folktales are fictional stories, based on a public imagenation as a common memory and understanding of place within its culture. I want to investigate if they can be keyholders to re-imagining the forests of Oslo as unique urban arena, opposing the constant flux of information where everything and nothing is true, which we are constantly consuming today. Slow folktales against fast information.



Fig. 5: Troll on Karl Johan Street, the main street in Oslo

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe, Samlede Eventyr (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2000)



Marka

"De store skovvidder ere ikke alene en fornyelses kilde for jordbunden, men også for folkeånden og deres åpenbarelser"

P. Chr. Asbjørnsen, 1869

Oslomarka

Introduction, a brief history and description

The city of Oslo is surrounded by forests, commonly known as Oslomarka, or short Marka. This peri-urban forest is an institutionally delimited territory, artificial environment and machine for the logging industry, concealed as a natural everchanging landscape.

Marka consists of multiple forests, when considered together forming an megalopolis of trees and infrastructures. The size and extent of Marka, covering 000 km2 and stretching 67 km from north to south, together with its proximity to the most densely populated areas of Norway, known as Stor-Oslo, makes Marka the immidiate and closest neighbour for the consumption of friluftsliv for roughly 1,5 million people.

Today, to be in the forest on a sunday afternoon is to be in the city, but different. The complexity of the city persists, with all its activities, economic interests and endless different users and stakeholders, making for potential conflicts behind every tree.

Oslo became Norways capital in 1814, when the divorce between Denmark and Norway was finalized and the need for a capital in the newly independent state became instrumental in concretizing the divorce.

Oslo experienced rapid growth throughout the 1800s, partly due to the new status as capital and the rise of industrialsm in Oslo during the 1840s. The parklike and agricultural areas surrounding Oslo, between city and forest, that previously covered the argicultural and recreational needs for its citizens, were incorporated into the city. Here they built new city quarters, housing workers to man the new factories. ¹

During this era of rapid growth, the building of a state-apparatus and the building of a city worthy of being capital went hand in hand. This led to the establishing of important national public institutions; the Castle, the University, Stortinget, the National Museum, Nationaltheateret, aligned along and around a new main axis; Karl Johans Gate. Now, the National Museum, together with Deichman main library and the Munch museum, are first in line to be moved to Fjordbyen.



Fig. 6: The forests surrounding Oslo in 1814, as seen from Ekeberg

https://digitaltmuseum.no/021045471172/oslo-chr-sett-fra-ekeberg-gouache

¹ Nils Houge, Oslomarka som naturpark (Oslo: Oslomarkas Friluftsråd, 1941),13

The expansion of the city, and with it, the expansion of its territorial borders, moved Marka closer to the city than before, providing proximity and accesability. The rise of industrialism, which was followed by the invention of weekends and vacations, gave citizens sparetime, providing opportunity for leisure activities, such as going to the forest as a recreational activity.

Around the 1880s the growing interest for cross-country skiing and friluftsliv in general peaked and had seen no equivalent before. Together with a common understanding of the importancy of the hygienic need for leisure and green lungs in, and around an otherwise industrialized and poluted city, led the City of Oslo to purchase its first part of the forest. The main reasons being; to stop uncontrolled development far beyond the hills of the city, secure recreational areas for its citizens with a direct proximity to the central parts of the city and securing water supply to the city and its surrounding areas.² The City of Oslo continued buying large areas of forest and is today the second largest owner of forest within Marka with its 160 km² of forest.³

Marka is delimited by a border known as 'Markagrensen'. This border is institutionally anchored and has its own set of Acts and rules. The phenomenon of the 'Markagrensen' as a defined border has its first planned appearance in the Generalplan for Stor-Oslo of 1934. Although the very origin and placement of this boundary has a very pragmatic reason, the complexity and different stakeholders have argumented for or against since its first proposal.

The border drawn in 1934 proposed a limit of how far into the forests one could expand the city. This border followed the contour line of 220m above sea level, as this was the limit of how far one could pump drinking water with natural pressure, from where the water basins where situated.⁴

At the same time, this logistical border was hijacked by nature-organisations and it was proposed as a finite conservation limit, protecting the forests of greater-Oslo against housing development. While at the same time protecting animals and plantlife and securing recreational areas. First in 1991 the preservational border was politically accepted and implemented legally on a municipal level in Oslo. The current regulation and Act was decided and implemented by national law in 2009.

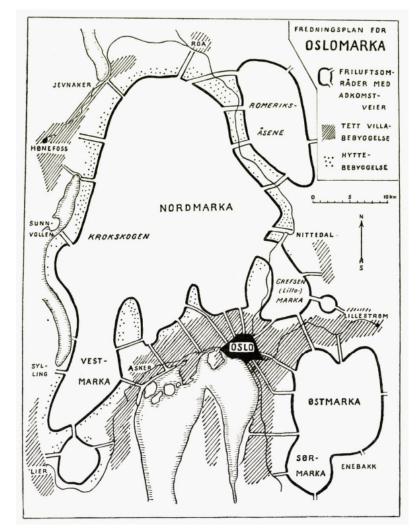


Fig. 7: Protection proposal from 1942

Nils Houge, Oslomarka som naturpark (Oslo: Oslomarkas Friluftsråd, 1941)

Thingsrud, Leif, Kommunens skogkiøp, Folkepark eller tømmerskog?

⁴ Harald Hals, *Stor-Oslo, Forslag til Generalplan* (Oslo, Aker and Bærum municipalities & Oslo: Det Mallingske Bogtrykkeri, 1934)

Another feature of the Generalplan for Stor-Oslo of 1934, are the proposed park-highways connecting Marka to the most central parts of the city. Some remnants of these parkbelts are still visible in the periphery of the city. Though the park-highways were never executed in full, their proposal alone suggest Marka not as something separate from the city, but as part of it.

Not only as direct part of the city in terms of connections, but as an important part Oslo's urban programs. It illustrates Markagrensen not as finite border, citylimit or border for development, nor is it a border between the urban and the `wild`. It rather is a distinction between different urban programs. Marka is part of Oslo`s urbanity as a whole. It is the quintessential public space in Oslo.



Fig. 8: Havnabakken, one of the remaining park-highways connecting Marka to the city

Site

Markagrensen, Laws and Regulations and Preliminary maps

Markagrensen

The Act regulating the whole territory of Oslomarka was passed in 2009 on a national level. Along with the Act came the border known as Markagrensen, that limits the scope of the regulations. Other important Acts that play a role in defining and regulating the territory is the Act regulating forestry within Markagrensen, and the Outdoor Activity Act, which applies to the whole country.

Following is a condensed and self-translated summary of the most important rules and regulations in the different Acts and preliminary maps describing the territory.

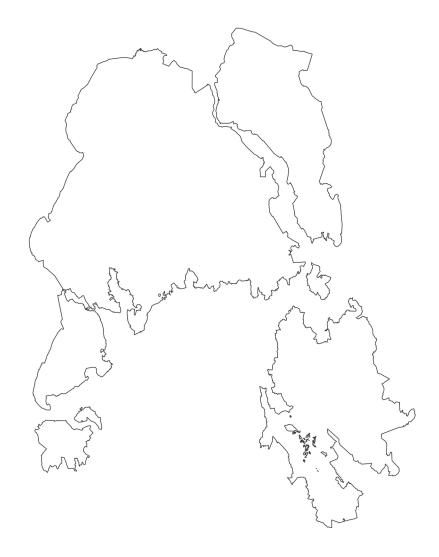


Fig. 9: Markagrensen

The Marka Act (Markaloven) 1

- § 1. Purpose is of the law is to promote and facilitate `friluftsliv`, nature experiences and sports. The law shall secure Marka's boundaries and preserve a rich and varied landscape and natural and cultural environment with cultural monuments.
- § 2. The geographical scope of the law is bound to Markagrensen. The King may issue adjustments of Markagrensen if significant societal interests make it necessary. Lack of space as a result of development pressure in the region does not constitute a significant public interest. Replacement areas should be considered when retrenching the border.
- § 4. Marka is defined as agricultural, nature and `friluftsliv`area.
- § 5. Any form of building in Marka is forbidden; new buildings, demolishing, change of use or change of facade, terrain adjustments. The state can make exemptions for interventions that serve a public good. see; § 7
- § 6. Regulating areas of Marka on a municipal level requires permission from the government.
- § 7. Municipal plans can open for:
 - 1. taking measures in agriculture, including buildings and terrain interventions.
 - 2. hiking and skiing trails
 - 3. sports facilities that can be fitted within the purpose of the law
 - 4. public infrastructure facilities such as roads, railways, dams, water supply systems, power lines

The state may deviate from the prohibition in § 5. in the state area plan.

§ 9. Establishing trails requires permission both on state and municipal level. The state can ban the establishment of trails in certain areas. Establishing, clearing and marking of permanent trails requires permission from the landowner.



¹ https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/2009-06-05-35?q=markaloven (Accessed on 29 september 2020)

- § 10. Any form of motorized traffic is forbidden, except necessary transport; police, ambulance, firedepartment, post delivery, transport to permanent residencences, forestry and agriculture, maintaining public cabins, military, building and maintainance of roads, dams and powerplants, the gentle transport of a killed moose.
- § 11. The King can protect an area as `friluftslivområde` which due to nature experience values have special qualities for `friluftsliv`. Further provisions on the area may be laid down, including provisions on management and use. The provisions in the Biodiversity Act, Chapter V, apply to the creation of friluftslivområder
 - An owner or licensee of property that is wholly or partly protected as an `friluftslivområde` area, is entitled to compensation from the state for financial loss when a protection causes a difficulty in ongoing use.
- § 12. Considerate use of Marka shall, in accordance the regulations, contribute to maintaining and developing a good relationship between users of Marka in outdoor life, sports and business, in addition to cottage owners and permanent residents. Multi-use of Marka is to take place within the framework of sustainable use.

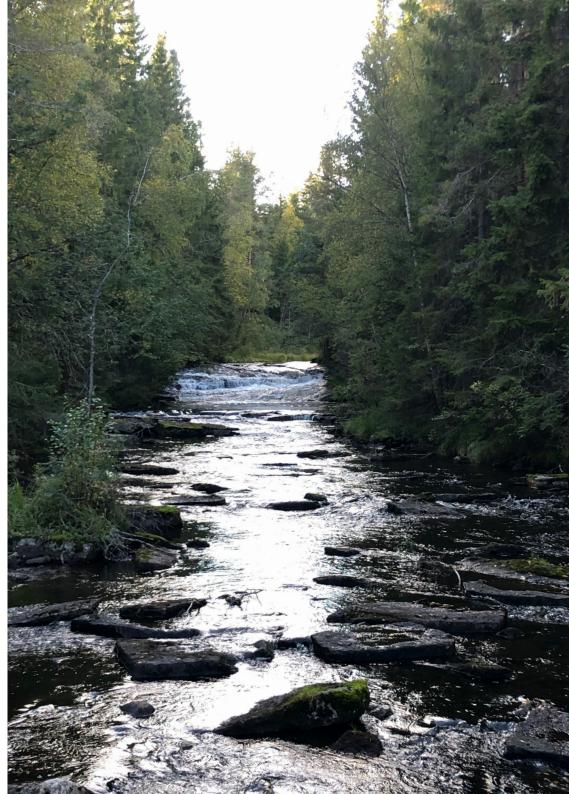


Fig. 11: Marka

The Outdoor Activity Act (Friluftsloven) 1

- § 1. The purpose of this law is to protect the natural basis of `friluftsliv` and to ensure the public's right to travel and reside in nature, so that the opportunity to exercise `friluftsliv` as a health-promoting, thriving, and environmentally friendly leisure activity is preserved and promoted.
- § 1 a. `Innmark` is defined by this law as courtyard, plot with a house, cultivated land, meadows and cultivated pastures as well as similar areas where public traffic will be to general disturbance for the owner or user.
 - `Utmark` is defined by this law as uncultivated land which according to the previous paragraph is not counted as `Innmark`. (Forests, lakes, mountains etc.)
- § 2. In `utmark` anyone can travel on foot, by horse, bicycle or sled all year round, when it is done with considerable caution.
- § 3. In `innmark`, anyone can travel on foot during the time the ground is frozen or snow-covered, but not in the period from 30 April to 14 October. Neither on house-plots or fenced gardens where public traffic will be to general disturbance for the owner or user.
- § 3 a. Traveling on `innmark` leading to `utmark` is allowed on foot, by horse, bicycle or sled on roads or hiking-trails.
- § 4. Owners of private roads can ban motorized traffic and parking on or besides the road. Next to public roads, it is permitted to park in `utmark`.
- § 5. Owners of private roads can ban motorized traffic and parking on or besides the road. Next to public roads, it is permitted to park in utmark.
- § 6. At sea, boat traffic is allowed for everyone. Traffic on frozen sea is also allowed for everyone.

For lakes and rivers, anyone can; abctract water without trenching



¹ https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1957-06-28-16?q=friluftsloven (Accessed on 29 september 2020)

- or the use of a fixed line or motor power, swimming and travel without the use of an engine.
- § 8. Everyone has the right to swim in the sea, lakes and rivers in areas defined as `utmark` both from shore and boat, when at a reasonable distance from inhabited house or cabin, and without creating inconvenience to others.
- § 9. Resting, sunbathing, tenting or the like must not be done in `innmark` without the owners permission.

Resting, sunbathing, tenting or the like is allowed everywhere in `utmark` without being to inconvenience to others, or closer than 150m to any house or cabin.

Tenting on one spot for more than 48 hours is not allowed.

- § 11. Anyone who travels or stays on another mans land shall act considerately and carefully so as not to cause harm or inconvenience to the owner, user or others, or cause harm to the environment. He is obliged to make sure that he does not leave the place in a condition that may seem disfiguring or cause harm or inconvenience to others.
- § 14. The publics rights under this act do not prevent the owner from obtaining a reasonable fee for access to a bathing beach, tent site or other developed outdoor area after permission from the municipality.
- § 15. To regulate traffic in an area with a lot of pressure in use, the municipality may, with the consent of the owner or user, establish rules of conduct that everyone who travels in the area is obliged to follow. The rules shall in particular aim at maintaining peace and order, protecting animal and plant life and promoting health measures and sanitary conditions.
- § 34. With the consent of Parliament, the King may make decisions that areas of the state's land be regulated as `friluftsmark`

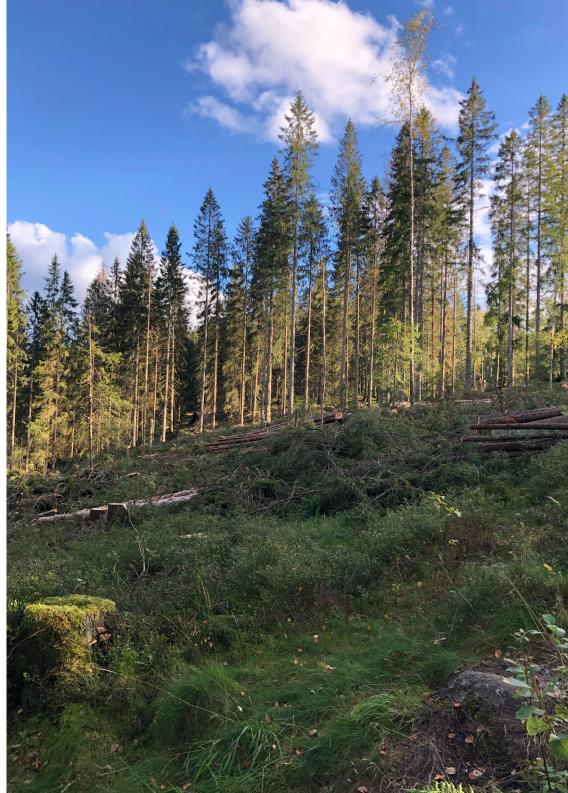


Fig. 13: Marka

Regulations on forestry within the boundaries of Markagrensen¹

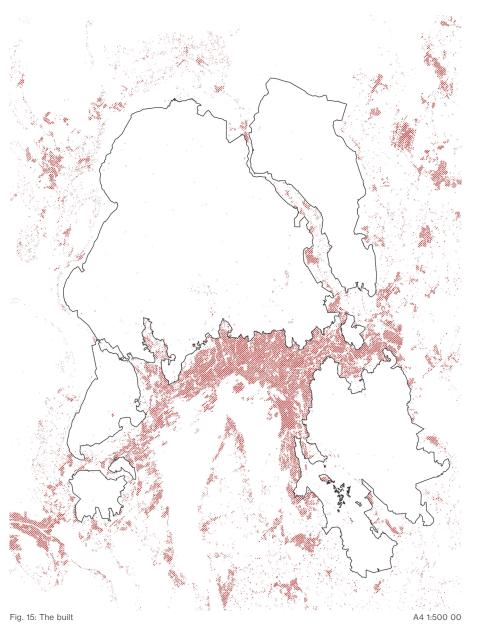
- § 1.1 Purpose is to preserve and develop the area's qualities related to 'friluftsliv', the natural environment, landscape, cultural monuments and water supply.
- § 2.1 Scope of the regulations apply to all municipalities afflicted by Markagrensen.
- § 2.1 Forestry shall be based on environmental values, independent of property boundaries.
- § 3.1 The goal is to preserve the forest's ecological diversity and functions through a variation in tree species and site-specific planning.
 - Undergrowth, dying and dead trees should be included as elements in the forest. A multi-storey forest with a significant amount decidious trees should be strived for. Particular consideration must be given to `friluftslivet` when planning and executing forest management and forestry.
- § 3.2 On peninsulas, islands, swamps, and other low-productive areas, the experience of the forest shall be maintained. Groups of deciduous, hollow and distintictive trees shall be preserved.
- § 3.3 At border-zones next to roads, paths, rivers, lakes and `innmark`, a strip of forest is to be kept and let to grow through succession.
- § 4.2 The cuts should follow topography, no orthogonal cuts. The size of felling areas are to be limited. No bigger than 30 daa in areas close to civilization, or 50 daa deeper into the forest.
- § 5-1.1 In uniform spruce-forests, groups of decidious should be kept.

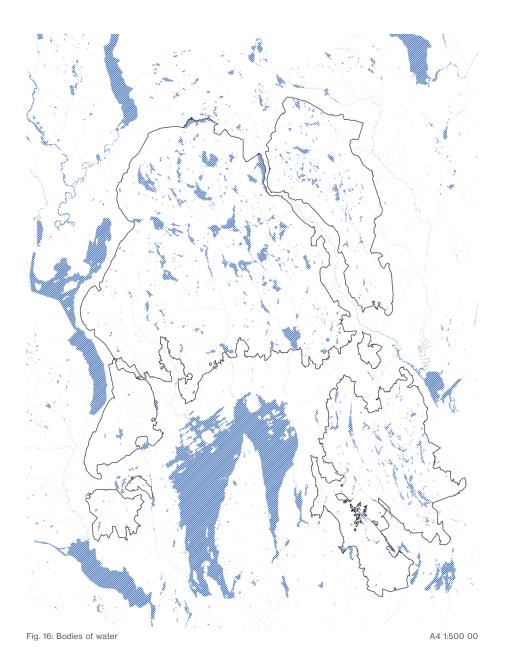
No mechanical soil prepartion or planting; no planting of trees in straight lines.

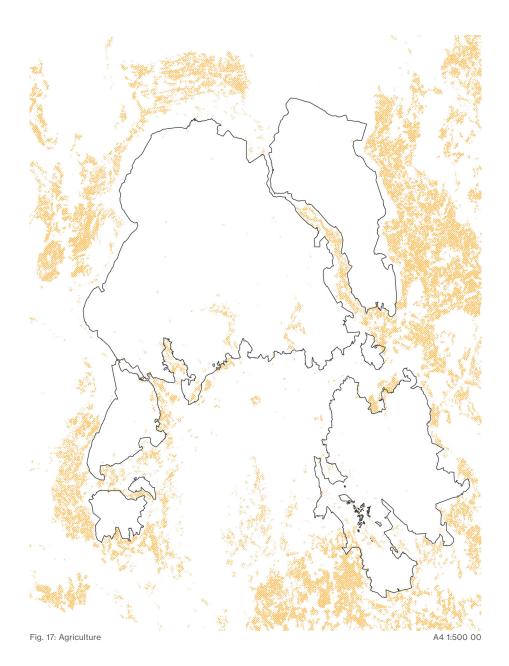


¹ https://lovdata.no/dokument/LF/forskrift/1993-04-02-268?q=forskrift%20om%20 skogdrift (Accessed on 29 september 2020)

Preliminary maps







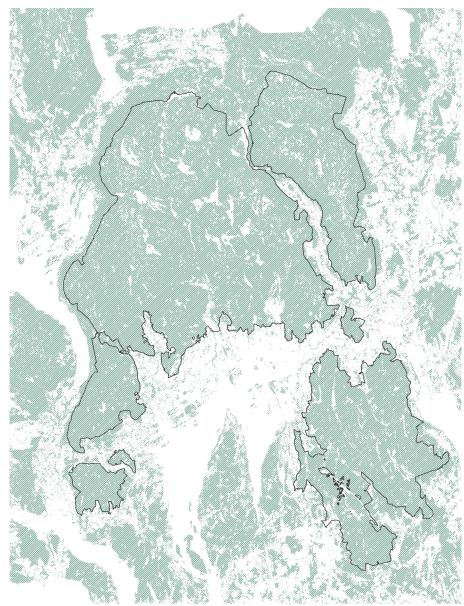


Fig. 18: Forest A4 1:500 00

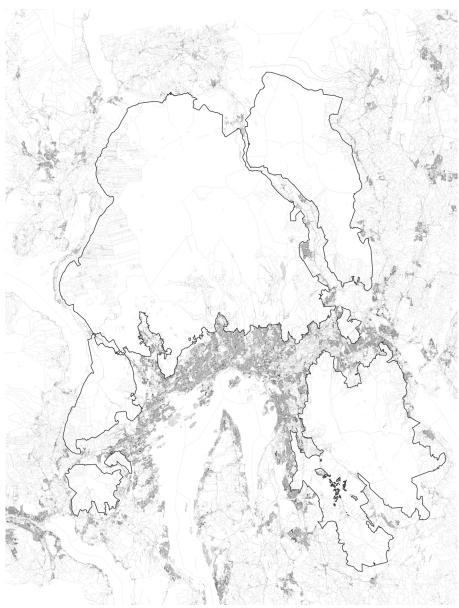
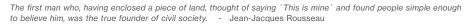


Fig. 19: Property-limits. A5 1:500 00



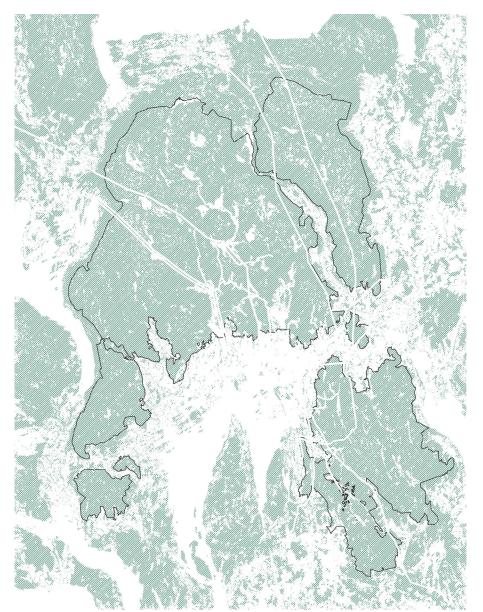
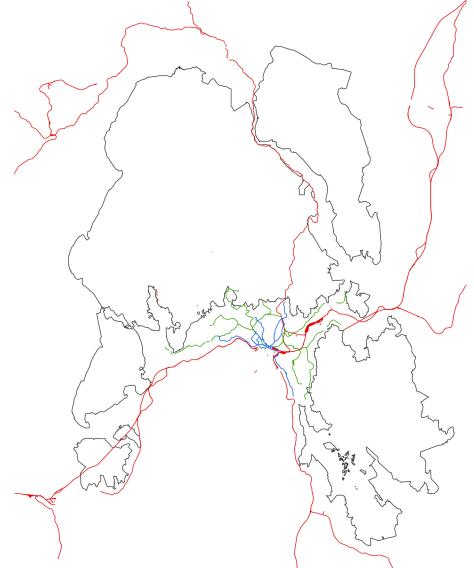


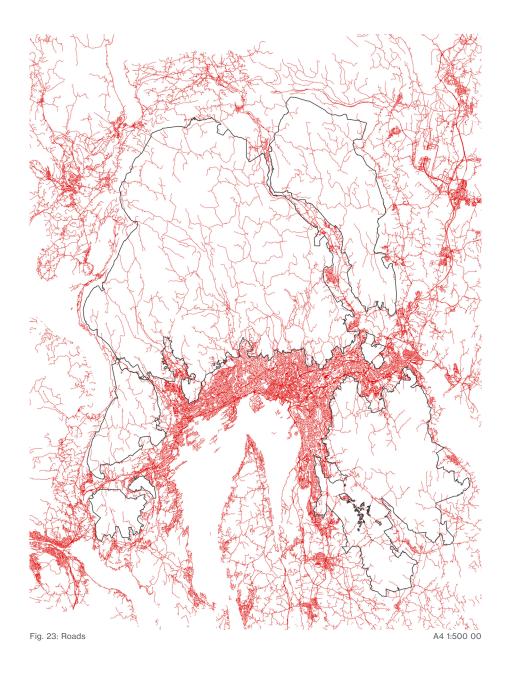
Fig. 20: High-voltage wires and the forest

A4 1:500 00





A4 1:500 00



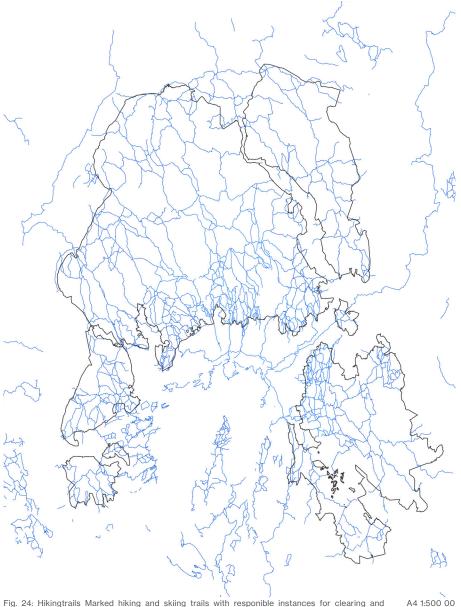
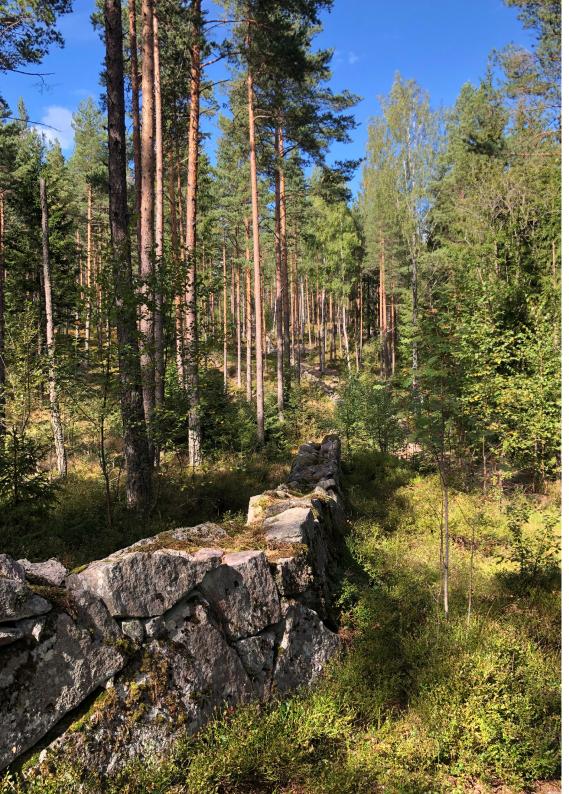


Fig. 24: Hikingtrails Marked hiking and skiing trails with responible instances for clearing and A4 1:500 marking the trails. (merkede stier)



References

MARKA AS PART OF THE CITY

AS CONSTRUCTED AND CULTIVATED

AS PUBLIC SPACE

AS BORDER CONDITION

AS URBAN TISSUE

AS ISLANDS OF PAST AND PRESENT INFRASTRUCTURES

AS PRODUCTIVE LANDSCAPE

AS PLACE FOR A COLLECTIVE IMAGINATION

MARKA AS PART OF THE CITY

'Why not set a higher value on dispersal? Instead of living in just one place, and trying in vain to gather yourself together there, why not have five or six rooms dotted about Paris? I'd go and sleep in Denfert, I'd write in the Place Voltaire, I'd listen to music in the Place Clichy, I'd make love at the Poterne des Peupliers,* I'd eat in the Rue de la Tombe-Issoire, I'd read by the Parc Monceau, etc. Is that any more foolish, when all's said and done, than putting all the furniture shops in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, all the glassware shops in the Rue de Paradis, all the tailors in the Rue du Sentier, all the Jews in the Rue des Rosiers, all the students in the Latin Quarter, all the publishers in Saint-Sulpice, all the doctors in Harley Street, all the blacks in Harlem?*

Georges Perec, 1974

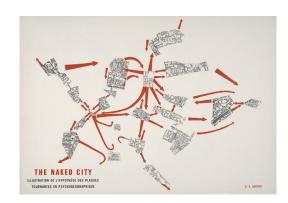


Fig. 26: The Naked City, Guy Debord



Fig. 27: Metro map of Paris covered by pieces of an atlas of the world, Ivan Chtcheglov

Georges Perec, Spieces of Spaces and Other Pieces (London: Penguin Books, 2008), 58

MARKA AS CONSTRUCTED AND CULTIVATED



Fig. 28: Stourhead garden, view towards the Pantheon

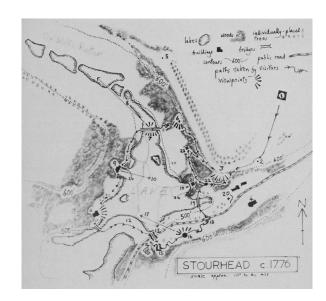


Fig. 29: Plan of the final development of the garden, original drawing by Henry Hoare II

MARKA AS A PUBLIC SPACE



Fig. 30: The middle panel, The Garden of Earthly Delights



Fig. 31: Summer at Sognsvann, 1986

https://digitaltmuseum.no/021018407715/sommer-ved-sognsvann

MARKA AS A PUBLIC SPACE



Fig. 32: S. Peters Platz in Basel, 1654



Fig. 33: Ullevålseter, one of the most trafficked inns in Marka, 1940

https://digitaltmuseum.no/011014455936/ullevalseter

MARKA AS URBAN TISSUE

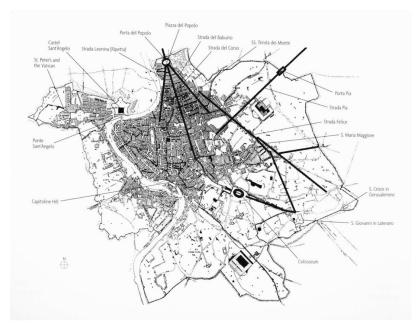


Fig. 34: Plan of the cuts made through the existing city fabric of Rome



Fig. 35: High-voltage wires cutting through the landscape

MARKA AS URBAN TISSUE

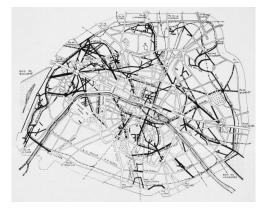


Fig. 36: Plan of the final cuts made through the existing city fabric of Paris



Fig. 37: The bourgeoisie one a stroll on one of the new boulevards, 1877



Fig. 38: High-voltage wires cutting through the landscape

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Fig. 39: Archipelago of urbanities

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Fig. 40: Ruins of Gjedsjøsaga, an old sawmill https://www.skiforeningen.no/marka/bilder/?id=35596

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Fig. 41: Greenhouse

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Fig. 42: Clearcutting forestry

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Fig. 43: Logs

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MARKA AS PLACE FOR A COLLECTIVE IMAGINATION



Fig. 44: Far, far away Soria Moria Palace shimmered like Gold



Fig. 45: Nøkken

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Fig. 46: Whitebear King Valemon



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