

Danish tangible railway heritage in literature and practice

RENÉ SCHRØDER CHRISTENSEN

26 THE DANISH RAILWAY LANDSCAPE

Like many other countries, Denmark experienced a profound transformation of its landscape due to the advent of the railway. However, in Denmark the impact was particularly widespread due to its relatively high railway density, which peaked in the late 1920s. At that time, most people in Denmark had access to a train station within a 10 km radius.¹⁾ In the 1920s, Denmark

enjoyed one of the highest railway densities globally, with 128 meters of railway per square kilometre. Despite a reduction since those times, the railway density nonetheless remains significant at 80.9 m/km² – nearly four times that of neighbouring Sweden.²⁾

From the 1840s onwards, the new railway infrastructure altered Denmark's agricultural landscape, as well as its old trading towns and villages; the rail network spurred the development of smaller



Mølby Bro, Ansager: Derelict railway bridge and embankment on the private railway line Varde-Grindsted (1919-1972), protected ancient monument (photo: Fl. Wedell 2021, DJM)

settlements, while the open countryside was crisscrossed with new connections. Railway lines cut through fields and forests and spanned small rivers and streams, introducing new divisions in the rural landscape. In countries with mountainous terrain and larger rivers, these alterations can be drastic and often have more dramatic and lasting effects. Yet, even in Denmark's comparatively gentle landscape, the railway has left enduring marks. Traces of disused embankments and tracks are found throughout the country, and almost every region and local community has been affected by the railway. Its presence is still visible in the morphology of towns, the structures in the landscape, as well as in architecture and the natural environment.

How do we define and understand this tangible railway heritage in the landscape? Does it encompass only the specific rail structures and buildings, or does it extend to other environments influenced by the railway's development? In some places, the railway structure is clearly defined and delineated, while in others the dividing line is more diffuse. The intangible heritage also changes over time. Studies reveal an evolution in the perception of the railway across literature, painting, and cinema. Initially, the railway evoked a mixture of fear and fascination, representing both progress and destruction, a disruptive force, and a threat as well as a regular part of everyday life.³⁾ Public attitudes toward the railway have shifted over the years, as reflected in its varied uses for leisure and commuting.

The rise in the number of railway trips sold over time is countered by the fact that the average number of trips per year per capita was very low initially, with growth being slow and gradual. Historically, trains were not widely used by the general population – frequent use was limited to a relatively small number of people.⁴⁾ However, virtually every town and smaller urban settlements were affected by the railway – not least by the stations and smaller stops. Everyone had to relate to these buildings and structures.

The railway is intrinsically linked to key societal developments such as industrialisation, urbanisation, and increased mobility. Its tangible structures are intertwined with other built environments, making it impossible to fully understand one without the other. The railway's significance and impact extend far beyond its physi-

cal infrastructure and direct users, influencing the broader landscape and society. Furthermore, the perception of these tangible elements evolves over time.

This article aims to outline trends in Danish literature and practice concerning immobile tangible railway heritage; to identify and discuss potential gaps, and finally proposes possible directions for future research. The literature is categorised into several groups: enthusiast writings, standard railway history works, railway heritage within broader heritage studies, architecture and building works, and research focused on station towns. Additionally, the article explores tools for preservation, such as heritage listings and the designation of cultural environments, which include studies and descriptions of railway heritage. A central focus is on how immobile railway heritage is perceived and treated in practice. Different approaches to registering and assessing heritage values are discussed, highlighting the broader debate between essentialist and constructivist perspectives on heritage of which the latter appears to be the most dominant in current practice.

RAILWAY HISTORY

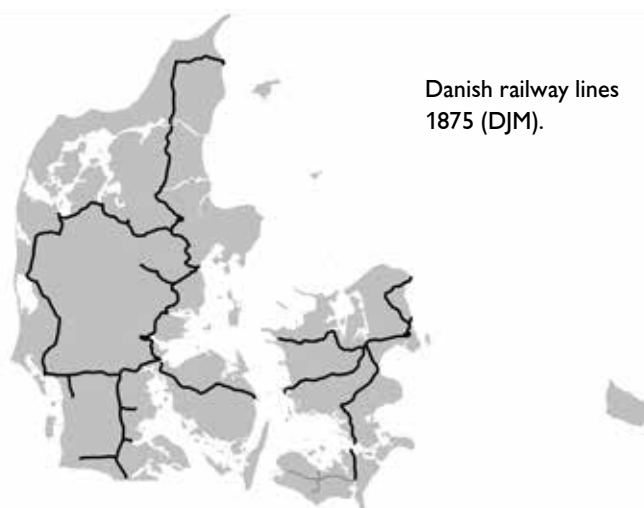
To understand the heritage of the railway today, a brief overview of its history is essential. The new technology – the railway – was introduced to the Danish monarchy in the 1840s, about 20 years after the first public railway line was established in the country of its origin, Great Britain. Initially, the development was sluggish. The first lines in Danish territory were built in the duchy of Schleswig, then part of the Danish Crown, connecting Flensburg and the port town of Tønning to Hamburg. From the mid-1840s through the next several decades, Copenhagen and many Danish market towns were gradually connected to the railway network. This expansion connected northern Jutland to Hamburg, northern Zealand to the western and southern Zealand, and crossed Funen via ferry routes to link with Jutland. By the 1880s, the major railway lines across the country of Denmark had been established.

The next 30 to 40 years saw rapid railway expansion, primarily through the development of local and branch lines, resulting in a very high railway network density. Most of these lines were

28 legally considered private, though they were largely funded by a combination of state, county, municipal, and market town investments, along with a few private shareholders. This “golden age” of railways was characterised by urbanisation, as smaller market towns and newly established station towns were connected to the main lines. The emergence of mobile energy sources, the fossil fuels, shifted industrial development away from natural energy sites, with transportation and labour-accessibility taking over as primary factors for factory placement. As a result, industrial plants were mainly situated in or near market towns, close to ports and railways, with many companies establishing their own branch lines to connect to the main railway system. Urban areas and industrial zones were thus shaped in significant ways by the railway as it spread throughout the nation.

The 1950s represented a turning point, reaching full maturity during the 1960s and 1970s, as private cars, buses, and trucks began dominating transportation. Industrial plants grew increasingly independent of rail transport. Many side and branch lines were terminated during the 1950s, peaking in the 1960s, which shrunk the overall network to about half of the size it was in 1930 – largely corresponding to the scale of the network today. While passenger numbers continued to grow, the railway’s share of overall passenger transportation plummeted.⁵⁾ Urban expansion continued around the railways, but roads increasingly became the primary supporting transport infrastructure. Much of the growth consisted of residential areas, and the villages and station towns became commuter or dormitory towns.⁶⁾

A growing focus on faster travel between larger cities led to the closure of many stations in smaller towns, leaving railway buildings redundant. Passenger rail increasingly became an urban service, connecting major towns and offering public transport within larger cities. New urban rail systems – such as light rail in Aarhus and Odense, as well as the Copenhagen Metro – introduced modern elements with distinct architectural expressions into the railway landscape. Together with Copenhagen’s S-train network, urban rail systems now account for approximately two-thirds of all train tickets sold in Denmark.⁷⁾ Since the turn of the millennium, smaller station towns have declined, while the larger cities have continued to grow.



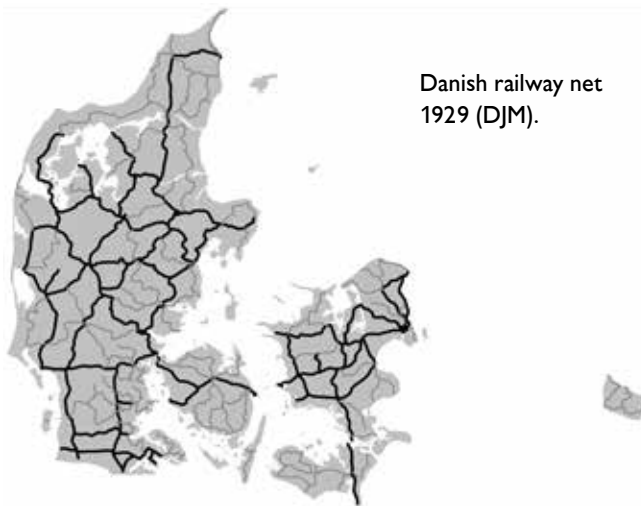
Danish railway lines
1875 (DJM).

Meanwhile, rail freight transport declined in favour of road transport, and from the mid-2000s, most rail freight has been limited to transit between Sweden and continental Europe.⁸⁾ Since the 1970s, freight hubs have been concentrated in fewer locations, leaving many former railway buildings abandoned or derelict.

The railway landscape has been continuously reshaped by shifts in political and economic conditions, as well as by technological advancements and choices. These changes have added layers of history to the immobile railway heritage, defined by changing functions. For example, steam engines required different maintenance facilities than those needed for diesel or electric trains. Similarly, changes in goods handling have rendered certain buildings and ramps obsolete, while shifts in passenger traffic have altered the size, number, and functions of station buildings. New demands for speed have also impacted railway infrastructure, leading to the replacement of old tracks – sometimes on entirely new embankments – or the abandonment of lines altogether.

THE LITERATURE

As in all other countries with rails, Denmark has a rich body of literature produced by railway enthusiasts which as such has secured the intangible cultural heritage for most local and private railway lines – which amounts to more than 50. Their meticulously detailed publications typically follow a consistent template, narrating the history of the railway’s genesis, evolution, and eventual decline. These accounts are complemented by thorough descriptions of routes, station-by-station accounts, and detailed documentation of rolling stock. Historic photographs, drawings, and depictions of the people involved in railway operations are a hallmark of this literature, offering a comprehensive record of Denmark’s tangible railway heritage in its original form. However, despite the wealth of knowledge these works provide, they rarely pose research questions or adopt theoretical frameworks. Unfortunately, annotations and references are often lacking, which makes it difficult for subsequent researchers to verify facts or build upon this body of work. Only one publication among these stands out for its academic rigor and broader perspective, though it still follows the traditional template to some degree.⁹⁾



It is nonetheless valuable literature and since the mid-1980s, publishers such as *Dansk Jernbane Klub* (the Danish Railway Club), *TpT (Tog på Tryk*, i.e. "Trains in Print"), and especially *Bane Bøger*, have been at the forefront of publishing these works, produced by an active community of enthusiasts. Despite their contribution to preserving railway history, the focus on immobile structures and the heritage perspective remains minimal.

The more comprehensive works on Danish railway history, particularly those focusing on the state railways, include two key anthologies and a more recent supplementary article – produced to mark significant anniversaries. The older anthology, *De danske statsbaner 1847-1947* (The Danish State Railways 1847-1947), was authored by experts in various fields, many of whom were employed by the state railways and had insider knowledge. Edited by industrial historian R. Willerslev and economist and railway historian J.A. Tork, with contributions from notable figures like Chief Architect K.T. Seest, this volume offers detailed descriptions of physical railway structures from Denmark's first 100 years of railway history.¹⁰ It covers materials, construction methods, and the functions of various structures, including rails, tracks, crossings, bridges, ports, welfare facilities, gatekeepers' houses, warehouses, depots, roundhouses, and station buildings. It also describes station layouts, equipment at stations and platforms, signals, signs, embankments, and the layout of the many tracks at large shunting yards. While the book does not take a heritage perspective, it provides valuable insights into the physical structures that have shaped Denmark's railway landscape.

In celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Danish railway in 1997, the Danish Railway Museum published the three-volume *På Sporet* (On the Track), authored by professional historians.¹¹ The primary focus of this lavishly illustrated work is on the political and economic history of the railway, including topics such as investments, goods and passenger transport, rolling stock, management, and personnel. While the volumes feature photographs and drawings of buildings and bridges – mostly depicting them in their original condition – detailed discussion of the tangible, built environment is not a central theme. A few sections do address shifts in station architecture over time, but the material world of railway heritage remains secondary.

As a supplement, a comprehensive article published for the 175th anniversary of Danish railways brought the history up to date through thematic chapters.¹² The last 25 years have seen significant changes impacting the tangible railway heritage, including the replacement of the last train ferries with bridges, increased electrification, centralisation of goods handling, and the digitisation of the signalling system. This latter change will soon result in the disappearance of many physical elements along the tracks.

Beyond these general railway histories, academic literature on the subject is limited. With a few exceptions, the railway is primarily examined as part of broader topics, such as economic, industrial, urban, or settlement history.¹³ One standout work is geographer Aage Aagesen's seminal thesis on the Danish railway system.¹⁴ Aagesen analyses the natural, cultural, and economic geographical preconditions and consequences of introducing and establishing the railways, focusing on their structural impact. Notably, he mapped the distance to railway access in 1949,¹⁵ illustrating the system's extensive reach and its influence on the landscape. He also studied the morphology of station towns and the relationship between railways and the location of agricultural industries, finding a weak connection with dairies but a strong one with butcheries. Aage-



Steen Ousager:
Bogenseslagteren, 2022.



De Danske Statsbaner
1847-1947, 1947.



P. Thestrup, S. Ousager &
H.C. Johansen, *På sporet 1-3*, 1997.

sen highlights the critical role of rail in transporting goods such as fuel, agricultural products, forestry materials, iron and steel, as well as how certain local rail lines specialised in products like marl, brickwork, beets, aggregates, turf, or fish.¹⁶ However, the specific physical structures associated with this specialisation receive little attention in his work.

Interestingly, in a major publication on the history of road transport, the railway as a technical infrastructure for goods handling and its related structures and buildings is given considerable focus.¹⁷ This work puts particular emphasis on narrow-gauge industrial railways, an often-overlooked aspect in the general railway literature.

Industrial archaeology tradition

The railway is a key component in a broader work on Danish industrial history, notably the standard work by historian Henrik Harnow, which follows the tradition of British industrial archaeology.¹⁸ This geographically organised guide highlights significant industrial heritage sites across Denmark. Harnow examines the evolving perception of industrial heritage, including aspects of industrial archaeology such as the use of various building materials, architecture, listing, preservation, and adaptive reuse. Numerous railway examples are featured throughout. Harnow discusses the rationales behind the listing of buildings, considering the structures either as historical sources or symbols of identity. He emphasises the difficulty posed by Danish preservation laws, which require that an entire structure be listed, not just the exterior. To reuse an industrial structure without the ability to refurbish is beyond challenging.¹⁹

The most recent work in this tradition applies an essentialist approach to the railway landscape, interpreting it through a functional lens.²⁰ This approach seeks to understand the inherent logic behind the structures and their original purposes to better comprehend the current landscape and identify railway-related heritage values. The structures are understood in terms of their function, such as accommodating a certain number of passengers or goods, meeting technical and economic requirements, contributing to architectural discourse, and even symbolising power – all of which have evolved over time. A proposed framework for analysing the railway landscape includes the following elements:

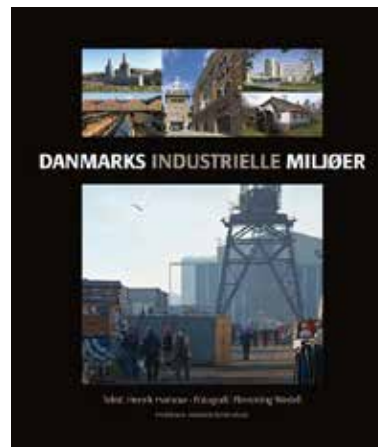
- *Technological System:* The railway as an integrated technological system, encompassing tracks, embankments, buildings, bridges, tunnels, safety measures, and communication networks.
- *Business and Organisation:* The railway as a business and organisational entity, delivering products like passenger and goods transport, serving military purposes, and structured with specific administrative and operational needs.
- *Industrial Activity:* The railway as an industrial activity that requires maintenance facilities for tracks and rolling stock. Industries linked to the railway system (such as the production of rolling stock, rails, sleepers, and other components) are also considered, as are the sidetracks connecting many industries to the rail network, particularly from the 1880s to the 1950s.
- *Cultural Environments:* The railway's influence on shaping the landscape, from altering old towns to creating new ones and reshaping agricultural areas.
- *Physical Afterlife:* The commemorative aspects and the derelict or repurposed railway structures left behind as remnants of the railway's historical presence.

Each sub-theme has a chronology interwoven with broader societal development, technological development, and choices.

In the existing literature, only a few of these themes have been extensively analysed. Most of the research has focused on the aesthetic expression of the railway system, particularly station architecture and the cultural environment of station towns. However, several important aspects remain underexplored. For example, the "invisible legacy" of soil pollution at railway facilities and the environmental impact of fossil fuel use during the steam train era have yet to be adequately addressed.²¹ Although these are not considered preservation-worthy elements, coal supply facilities and storage areas are emblematic of the steam era. Another neglected area of study is the biodiversity that has emerged in railway corridors, shunting areas, and workshop sites. The maintenance of these spaces has fostered unique flora and fauna. While biodiversity in railway areas has become a priority for Danish railway authorities (Banedanmark), comprehensive research within the Danish context is still pending.²²



Jernbanehistorie
2021-22.



H. Harnow, *Danmarks industrielle Miljøer*, 2011.

Architecture & buildings

The most visible and aesthetically ambitious elements of the railway system are the station buildings, particularly those in larger towns. A few prominent architects, particularly those working for the state railways, have left a lasting mark on Danish railway architecture. The works of these canonised architects reflect the evolution of architectural trends, from classicism to neo-Renaissance, historicism, neo-classicism, national romanticism, functionalism, and modernism. These trends are often characterised by features such as round-arch styles, Swiss-inspired designs, brick and tile construction, slate roofs, central vestibules flanked by waiting rooms, and the iconic semi-circular lunette window, an international symbol of railway stations.²³⁾ While a few celebrated railway architects are acknowledged in standard architectural histories, their contributions primarily predate the 1930s.²⁴⁾

A notable figure in Danish railway architecture is K.T. Seest, the chief architect of the state railways (1922-1949). In 1947 Seest wrote about his predecessors and their ideas, providing insight into the architectural legacy of Danish railways.²⁵⁾ During the first century of Danish railway history, approximately 8,000 railway buildings were constructed. Initially, station buildings featured symmetrical designs and floor plans, a tradition maintained by subsequent architects despite stylistic changes. Seest, however, adopted a more functional approach, reflecting the evolving needs of railway stations: growing numbers of passengers, shorter waiting times, and the shift in demand from large waiting lounges to bigger front halls with direct access to platforms.

Changes in the segregation of spaces, such as the 1925 switch from class-based to smoking/non-smoking sections, also influenced floor plans. Stations in cities and hub stations added dining rooms, expanded office spaces for goods handling and station management, and introduced welfare facilities like canteens, baths, and rest areas for employees. Many stations were renewed and modified during this period, with some incorporating bus stations. Seest also addressed the operational buildings and infrastructure: platforms, sheds, tunnels, large station halls, carriage depots, shunting yards, goods yards (established between 1890 and 1930), locomotive depots with coal and water facilities, turntables, coal cranes

and ramps, water towers. This provided a comprehensive overview of the railway's physical infrastructure up until 1947.

In addition to Seest's contributions, other scholars have emphasised the role of modernism in Danish railway architecture during the 1930s, encompassing bridges, ferry fittings, and tram stations. A new feature at that time was the use of ordinary house models for countryside stations.²⁶⁾ Different architectural influences are noted, such as the German-inspired Roskilde station (1847) and British-inspired designs in Schleswig stations (1850s). However, the international influences on Danish railway architecture could benefit from further research.

A few articles focus on the most influential railway architects, N.P.C. Holsøe and H.E.C. Wenck, who had the greatest impact on the railway landscape during the "golden age" of railways (1860s-1920s), along with a few other renowned architects.²⁷⁾ Wenck, above all, designed stations in market towns and for private railways, emphasising the railway and the buildings as a cohesive system. The architecture followed a consistent layout: station building, warehouse, outhouse, and, at terminus stations, a locomotive depot. This system approach has been highlighted in a few articles, as has Wenck's significant impact on the railway architecture of the era.²⁸⁾

Of particular relevance in a heritage context are two articles on the Coast Line between Copenhagen and Elsinore.²⁹⁾ In 2015, to mark the 150th anniversary of the main line across Funen, a thematic issue of *Jernbanehistorie* explored various aspects of the line's history, including its system buildings and the defining and altered landscape.³⁰⁾ A brief excursus in this publication touched on the preservation status of the oldest buildings along the line but did not cover later generations of railway structures.

Later architects and more anonymous railway buildings are less frequently discussed in the literature, though some articles highlight unique projects, such as the integrated functions of Høje Taastrup station in the 1980s and the growing trend in using external architects for state railway projects. A short overview of railway architecture from the 1850s to 21st-century metro stations has also been published.³¹⁾ In 2004, DSB's head of design published an architectural policy that presented visions for state railway



R. S. Christensen & L. B. Christensen,
Danmarks Jernbanemiljøer, 2022.

32 architecture with a historical perspective and a focus on heritage.³²⁾ At that time, about one-third of Denmark's 1,200 state railway buildings were listed or deemed preservation-worthy, including 26 of the 150 station buildings. Many of these were out of use. The vision for these structures was to either sell, rent, or demolish them, with a focus on modernising stations by removing secondary buildings. This marked a shift from the preservation interest of the 1970s and 1980s, championed by state railway architects O.E. Bonding (1958–1979) and Jens Nielsen (1979–1980).

Specific types and locations

A few publications focus on specific railway buildings rather than the architects, though there is no comprehensive overview of the subject in Danish railway literature. One notable example is a detailed study of *Roskilde Station*, which examines the building's history, renovations, and associated structures such as the water tower, platform roofs, command centres, warehouses, machine depot, carriage shed, water purification plant, staff residence, and track tool depots.³³⁾

Another publication offers a historical portrayal of a station, focusing on its aesthetic details and functional aspects, which are often overlooked in railway literature. For example, it highlights elements such as brake sand containers and loading gauges.³⁴⁾ One of few publications with a heritage focus explores Frederiksberg Station, which was listed in 1992. The station's architecture is examined within the context of German architectural influences, moving beyond a simple description of the individual building to explore its broader cultural significance.³⁵⁾ The Copenhagen Central Station and its two predecessors have also been covered in articles and a monograph, including a documentation of a 2011 renovation.³⁶⁾ However much of the enthusiast literature tends to treat stations as functional entities or a technical term rather than physical structures, often overlooking the architectural and heritage aspects of these buildings.³⁷⁾

There are few examples of general typological or geographical historical studies on stations. One exception is a study of the now-disappeared *countryside station* as a historical type,³⁸⁾ which is of course to be considered as intangible heritage due to its absence

in the present landscape. Other examples include a smaller heritage-focused publication on stations in Southern Jutland and a history of Copenhagen stations, though the latter focuses more on station functions than on the buildings themselves.³⁹⁾

The primary state railway workshop, the *Central Workshop* in Copenhagen, has been the subject of an anthropological study comparing it to other large industrial workplaces up to the 1970.⁴⁰⁾ The study also addresses the workshop's situation in 2007 and examines the imagined future for workers, workshops, and worker's dwellings and provides a detailed overview of its buildings, functions, and site layout.

Other significant heritage analyses have been conducted in reports prepared for designations of the structures as worthy of preservation or repurposing of railway structures with respect for the cultural heritage. For example, analyses of *Aarhus' listed central workshops* as well as the *freight yard* was conducted with a focus on future use while preserving cultural heritage.⁴¹⁾ The freight yard analysis considered the site as a physical structure, urban space, and place of production, providing a functional, technological, and architectural understanding of the buildings. However, these studies often favour the preservation of original structures over later modifications, which is a common debate in heritage work – whether to preserve the original appearance or represent the building's entire lifespan.

Some other railway structures have been studied thematically in articles. For instance, the *crossing keeper's cottage*, a building type constructed from 1847 to around 1950, was examined in detail.⁴²⁾ These cottages came in single and double-house versions and were modernised multiple times during the 1930s, 1950s, and 1970s, with rooms added and insulation improved. Another example is the railway signal houses, which have been studied with a focus on functions, offering some typological analysis providing examples from across the country.⁴³⁾ None of these incorporate a heritage perspective.

A building type that has been thoroughly analysed from a heritage standpoint is the *water tower*, a symbol of the steam locomotive era.⁴⁴⁾ Ten main architectural types was identified among the approximately 200 water towers built for the state railways, as



Fredericia Station hall. Architect K.T. Seest 1935 (photo: Fl. Wedell 2013).

well as various German models and towers on private lines. The study also explored related structures such as water cranes, pumping stations, and windmills.

The Station town

One prominent aspect of railway-related research has been the study of *station towns* (also referred to as new towns or rural towns). This urban phenomenon attracted considerable academic attention beginning in 1979,⁴⁵⁾ with a decade-long research project that published a biannual journal and numerous articles,⁴⁶⁾ culminating in several larger works.⁴⁷⁾ The project primarily explored definitions, populations, functions, and the lives of inhabitants, though some studies also focused on the architecture and morphology of these new towns. This latter approach drew on theories of urban hierarchies and was later subject to further in-depth research, contributing to a broader understanding of countryside urbanisation.⁴⁸⁾

A more recent addition to the body of work is a report that assesses the current status of station towns and highlights future challenges and opportunities.⁴⁹⁾ This report discusses the shift in how nature is viewed – from a production and agriculture focus that shaped their original form and location, to a more recreational perspective offering new potentials for the towns' future development. However, it also demonstrates that the pursuit of new potentials often leads to the restructuring of these towns, resulting

in the loss of historic structures. In these cases, modern development typically takes precedence over preservation. The report, authored by architects, geographers, and urban planning experts, largely overlooks heritage considerations, which might be symptomatic of the priorities in planning and development recommendations.

Heritage Tools – Planning and Analysis

Apart from the publications in the industrial archaeology tradition, there has been little attention paid to heritage approaches in the literature of railway history. The first steps in that direction has been the work on *cultural environments* and the *cultural history in the landscape* in general – with infrastructure and the station towns as special themes.⁵⁰⁾

The protection of buildings, embankments and cultural environments in Denmark is governed by various pieces of legislation and planning tools managed at different levels of government – national, municipal, and the museums. The development and application of the *Nature Conservation Act* (1917), the *Building Preservation Act* (1918), the *Museum Act* (1958), and the *Planning Act* (1992) have been detailed in existing literature.⁵¹⁾ These legal frameworks regulate the protection of the heritage through a range of tools and at different administrative levels.

34 Listings

The preservation of built heritage in Denmark began with legislation focused on the listing of natural and architectural sites.⁵²⁾ Over the years, the perspective has shifted from individual buildings with primarily aesthetic value to a broader approach that encompasses entire neighbourhoods and surroundings – to some extent. However, a setback occurred in a 1979 law revision that reduced the state's incentives to list larger environments, transferring the responsibility to regional and municipal planning.

The first railway-related listing took place in 1964 with the listing of Roskilde Station, the oldest station in Denmark, built in 1847.⁵³⁾ This listing, along with others for 19th-century industrial buildings, has been interpreted as part of a broader recognition of cultural-historical values rather than solely architectural values. The second railway station to be listed was Bandholm Station (1869-70) in 1973, reflecting the 1970s interest in historicist architecture.⁵⁴⁾ Remarkably, the next elements to be listed were not stations,



Detail from Elsinore Station, Architects N.P.C. Holsøe & H. Wenck 1891, listed building (photo: Fl. Wedell, 2021, DJM).



Private line station, H. Wenck's system building, Nors Station 1904 (photo: Fl. Wedell, 2021, DJM).

but the oldest surviving water tower in Skjern (1874) and three bridges – two dating back to 1853 – listed in 1981.

From the 1980s until 2005, thematic reviews of various types of tangible cultural heritage were initiated, leading to a national overview and laying the groundwork for further listings.⁵⁵⁾ Among these 39 thematic reviews were the state railway stations examined from 1988 to 1990, and iron and concrete bridges constructed between 1840 and 1900, reviewed in 1996. In total, 446 railway buildings were evaluated during the 1988-1990 review, resulting in the listing of 28 station complexes comprising 56 buildings. These listings captured the evolution of state railway architecture from the 1850s to the 1930s, covering various types of buildings, from the large main stations to the small signal houses, the market town stations, and countryside stations. This focus on buildings older than the 1930s is reflected in the architectural literature. An interesting corrective from an enthusiast has pointed out factual inaccuracies and overlooked stations, such as those on private lines and smaller or newer stations.⁵⁶⁾

The thematic listing of railway stations built on top of a survey of active state railway stations initiated in 1980,⁵⁷⁾ overseen by the chief architects O.E. Bonding and Jens Nielsen. It was a call for protection or registration of a then endangered building type – the station. The purpose was to enhance the understanding and sense of responsibility for railway heritage within DSB (Danish State Railways), serving as a resource for maintenance, information, planning, documentation for listings, education, and reuse.⁵⁸⁾ The accompanying *route register* consists of 72 volumes assessing environmental and building qualities, as well as architectural values. It covers all buildings and areas, including parking spaces, gardens, access conditions, landscaping, fences, paving, bridges, tunnels, lighting, signage, and interior details (such as ceilings, floors, and benches), accompanied by building drawings and detailed photographs. A final report outlined the listing values for DSB stations,⁵⁹⁾ but local and private railways, staff housing, and abandoned facilities were not considered. The project was supplemented two years later by a registration of fencing and fence types including live fencing as part of the preparation for a coherent design policy.⁶⁰⁾ Live fencing was used to “humanise” otherwise sterile railway areas.

Currently, 52 railway facilities have been listed, the majority of which are station buildings (38),⁶¹⁾ alongside several embankments protected as “ancient monuments” under the Museum Act, including a recent designation of a 6.5 km railway line in Southern Jutland (2024). The listings also encompass seven bridges, two round-house complexes, a workshop area, and four water towers. Fifteen warehouses are included, primarily as part of station environments, as well as seven toilet buildings and a few minor elements such as sheds, fences, connecting walls, and platform canopies. The listing of the Apenrade Line in 2024 stands out as one of the few preservation measures that adopt a holistic perspective.

The two predominant architects behind these listed buildings are Holsøe and Wenck (15 each). To an extent the architects K.O. Fisker & Aa. Rafn who designed the stations in a limited area of Bornholm, has had their more than fair share of listings (4), while Seest and Th. Arboe each contributed four. Only a few other architects are represented, and although many local architects worked on private lines, their contributions are not reflected in the listings. A notable gap exists in the border region of Jutland, which rejoined Denmark in 1920 after being annexed by Prussia in 1864. This area still features a significant building stock by the German architect F.W. Jablonowskij (1890-1919), yet it is absent from the listings. Similarly, structures and architects from the post-1930s era are also underrepresented. This bias suggests the need for a comprehensive national overview that is not limited to state railways and encompasses a broader timeline, which would enhance the overall representativity of the listings.

Preservation Worthy / Cultural Environment

In the 1980s and 1990s, new tools were developed to map and register cultural heritage in the landscape, supplementing traditional listings. Following Denmark's ratification of the Granada Convention on the preservation of architectural heritage in 1985, the SAVE (Survey of Architectural Values in the Environment) method was created between 1987 and 1991. This tool for mapping, registration, prioritisation and designation was designed to evaluate the preservation value of buildings and neighbourhoods in urban areas.⁶⁰⁾ Its application aided municipal planning, resulting



Standard type gatekeeper's cottage, Mørdrup, between Copenhagen and Elsinore (photo: Fl. Wedell, 2021, DJM).

36 in the production of 90 *municipality/cultural environment/cultural heritage atlases* from 1990 to 2007, with a few additional atlases published in the 2020s. However, a significant limitation of these atlases was their focus on buildings older than 1940, thereby excluding over half a century of architectural history, which is now approaching a century. As an architectural tool, the emphasis in these publications tended to prioritise architectural values over cultural-historical ones. Furthermore, while the atlases generally considered stations as part of their surrounding environment, they often omitted the key infrastructure – the railway line itself.⁶³⁾

In 1994, the concept of “cultural environment” was introduced, defined as a geographically delimited area that reflects significant aspects of societal development in its appearance.⁶⁴⁾ This concept encompasses the perception of fixed, tangible cultural heritage as cohesive wholes – such as station towns – that represent specific time periods. A critical aspect of understanding a cultural environment involves recognising its historical context, identifying which elements and structures were characteristic during its primary functional period, and assessing how much of that heritage has been preserved. The concept has sparked debate due to its multidisciplinary nature, inviting various approaches, including aesthetic/architectural, ethnological, and historical perspectives.

An important distinction has been made between “cultural landscape,” viewed as an analytical concept, and “cultural environment,” which serves as a political and administrative one. The former represents historical realities, while the latter pertains to what is chosen for preservation.⁶⁵⁾ This choice is influenced by the observer's perspective: essentialists view cultural environments as concrete realities, while constructivists perceive them as social constructions. From an essentialist standpoint, there is a call for classification and identification of different types of cultural environments, along with a registration of their preservation values, to facilitate the designation of preservation-worthy areas. Criteria such as rarity/representativity, authenticity, continued use/status of preservation, narrative value, and identity value must be satisfied before aesthetic evaluations are made.⁶⁶⁾

To further assist regional planning, a tool known as KIP (Cultural History in Planning) was developed in the late 1990s to map

cultural heritage in open land.⁶⁷⁾ An introductory publication highlighted key features across various themes, including infrastructure and the development of new towns/station towns.⁶⁸⁾ It presented a general perspective on infrastructure, noting that structures and buildings are often not preserved due to ongoing use; instead, they are frequently altered or relocated when necessary. The publication argues for a more comprehensive preservation perspective that recognises the structural integrity of a site, even when alterations occur, emphasising the need to consider the entire lifespan of the railway and its associated buildings. It raises the question of what constitutes originality and authenticity.

One point is that the railway leaves lasting traces in the landscape such as discontinued tracks that might be repurposed as cycling paths. Another point is that train stations are identified as one of the most comprehensively preserved cultural-historical features, showcasing geographically varying characteristics. However, many typical elements – such as canopies, wooden warehouses, side and end ramps, cattle pens, and loading cranes – are seldom preserved. Other elements, including signal boxes, footbridges, platform tunnels, gatekeeper's cottages, trackside huts, water cranes, water towers, coal bridges, coal supply facilities, engine sheds, ash pits, inspection pits, bridges, ferry docks, and telegraph poles, also face similar preservation challenges.

In practice, the designations carried out at the regional or municipal level, often in collaboration with museums, have varied significantly in scope and quality, as different regions adopt different approaches.

The ongoing efforts to engage with cultural environments have led to the development of refined tools that reflect a shifting understanding of historical landscapes. A 2018 project, supported by the Danish Heritage Agency, aimed to create a straightforward, interdisciplinary approach for designating cultural environments. This initiative, inspired by the SAVE and KIP methods, is known as the Cultural Environment Method.⁶⁹⁾ It posits that cultural and historical environments are in a constant state of flux, necessitating frequent evaluation of the designations, a view rooted in a relativistic and constructivist perspective. This approach emphasises the importance of integrating heritage into future planning.



Langå Station – Jutland/Funen type Water tower 1908, (photo: Fl. Wedell, 2009, DJM).



Øster Marie Station, Bornholm, Architects
Aa. Fisker & Rafn 1916, Listed building
(photo: Fl. Wedell, 2021, DJM).

This perspective aligns with contemporary cultural heritage research, which adopts a relativistic approach. The argument is that perceptions of cultural heritage are inherently debatable, deeply tied to identity politics, and involve democratic and ideological discussions that evolve over time.⁷⁰⁾

Efforts are also underway to replace the older KIP and SAVE methods with the SAK method (Screening of Cultural Environments), which interconnects the past, present, and future. Developed by the School of Architecture in Aarhus, SAK builds upon projects conducted between 2015 and 2023.⁷¹⁾ The understanding of cultural environments has shifted from a focus on historical layers⁷²⁾ to an emphasis on ongoing development and changing uses and perceptions of these environments.

As a result, it can be argued that historical layers and the original significance of buildings and structures are increasingly obscured by the numerous new layers generated by this dynamic approach. Assessments of cultural environments now incorporate factors such as tourism, settlement, business, and cultural potentials, which may contribute to the erosion of historical layers. A constructivist view or perhaps a relativistic view seems to be gaining prominence.

Regional Industrial Heritage Sites

In 2003, the National Heritage Agency launched a priority initiative focusing on the cultural heritage of industrial society.⁷³⁾ In 2004 and 2005, museums and cultural environment councils produced reports identifying the most significant industrial heritage sites within their respective regions, i.e. the former counties. These reports highlighted key industrial heritage sites and provided general overviews of local and regional industrial development. While railways played a minor role in these reports, the first railway line – connecting Copenhagen to Korsør – was designated as one of 25 national industrial monuments, which included several stations along the route, the central workshop, a roundhouse, and workers' dwellings.⁷⁴⁾ Although many of these elements had already been listed, the designation aimed to underscore their broader coherence within the industrial system. However, it did not include tools for preservation.

Railway components are an integrated part of various designated industrial environments, such as the Carlsberg brewery, which features loading ramps, and the F.L. Smith cement factory and iron foundry or the producer of washing powder and soap, Henkel A/S, which both has sidings connecting to the company premises. Similarly, the central meat market and slaughterhouse complex in Copenhagen, known as “Den Brune og Hvide Kødbý”, includes four freight tracks. In urban areas, particularly in the capital, railways were the localising factor and instrumental in shaping industrial districts. The tram system at the turn of the 20th century and the subsequent S-train network further influenced the development of industrial zones and contributed to the segregation of housing and workplaces.⁷⁵⁾

In the regional report on industrial environments in Copenhagen, which designated 29 preservation-worthy industrial sites, infrastructure is acknowledged as an integral part of industrialisation but is not regarded as an industrial environment in its own right. In neighbouring regions, however, an actual railway environment comprising station buildings and workers' cottages has been designated as having high preservation value.⁷⁶⁾ Conversely, some view railways merely as technical structures – which may have disappeared – with only the buildings remaining.⁷⁷⁾ Others see them as components of larger cultural environments, such as small industrial plants with their own sidings or port facilities with numerous tracks. Notably, the actual railway tracks were not designated in the regional reports.

Designation of Valuable Cultural Environments

The designation of railway lines at the municipal level varies significantly in terms of approach, quality, and delineation. Some municipalities focus solely on the tracks, which may be paved for cycling or walking paths, while others emphasise individual buildings, such as stations, as preservation-worthy. This focus on singular elements often undermines the holistic understanding of the railway as a cohesive cultural environment. Additionally, some municipalities designate several kilometres of railway,⁷⁸⁾ while others concentrate on specific aspects, such as stations that did not lead to the development of towns or the visual prominence of certain struc-

tures.⁷⁹⁾ The station town remains the most frequently designated railway-related feature.

A few surveys of railway lines stand out as exemplary foundations for further designations. One notable example is a 2009 report from the Historic Museum of Faaborg, which approached the entire railway line as a single cultural environment – a rather unusual perspective.⁸⁰⁾ The report details the history of the railway line, identifies preservation-worthy buildings, and proposes measures for their preservation and potential reuse. Another recent report focuses on a section of a derelict railway line on Amager, employing the PHASE method, developed by the University of Southern Denmark, PlanScape, and English Heritage.⁸¹⁾ This approach emphasises the interplay between cultural-historical and natural values, identifying and designating elements that best sup-

port the narratives and objectives prioritised by local stakeholders. This dynamic method allows for re-evaluation over time and distinguishes between fundamental preservation values (such as tracks, rails, and freight areas), enduring preservation values, and current preservation values (like garden allotments and reused tracks for rail bikes). The relativism is further developed here, and this raises questions about what is truly protected: the historical features or the continually evolving perceptions of the area?

The work on municipal heritage atlases continues sporadically, depending on municipal interest. Some municipalities emphasise preserved stations, railway embankments, and tracks, as well as station town environments.⁸²⁾ In Copenhagen, for example, the main stations and the railway line to Valby were designated as a cultural environment, highlighting the significance of Copenhagen



Gråsten State Railway Station, Architect F.W. Jablonowski, 1901 (photo: Fl. Wedell, 2021, DJM).

Central Station, the Central Post Office, and the Central Workshop, along with workers' dwellings.⁸³⁾ Often, these cultural-historical analyses and designations arise from ongoing development plans. In 2019, the Central Workshop in Copenhagen was designated as worthy of preservation, and many of the buildings on the site were included in a municipal master plan that was open for public consultation. This process revealed concerns about the proposed building density and the potential changes to preservation-worthy structures, suggesting that these designations may not serve as effective protective instruments.⁸⁴⁾ A similar case involved the analysis of a derelict freight station in Vejle, which led to a gentle demolition of the building with intention to reconstruct it elsewhere.⁸⁵⁾

In 2022, following an evaluation of the Act of Planning, the parliament decided to secure designated cultural environments by appointing national cultural environments. The primary tool for this effort is a national planning map that includes designated cultural environments, including railway sites.⁸⁶⁾ A large area from the central station to the Central Workshop in Copenhagen was designated as a valuable cultural environment, though it did not encompass the entire line to Korsør as initially suggested in the national industrial cultural environment designation.

In summary, the focus on railway heritage over the past 25 years has led to the designation of 205 infrastructural facilities, including 39 railway lines.⁸⁸⁾ Additionally, 15 areas categorised as railway/port/factory environments have been designated in urban contexts, some with a railway focus. However, the 161 regional industrial environments, 25 national designations, and municipal planning designations do not entirely align,⁸⁹⁾ leading to inconsistencies that hinder national oversight and preservation efforts. The shift toward a constructivist, perhaps relativistic, approach to heritage may not enhance the understanding of the railway as a historical entity.

Practice

The economic capacity to maintain railway structures varies widely. Most local railway heritage sites are privately owned, while a significant portion of state railway heritage remains under the owner-

ship of the state railway, despite the sale of many station buildings. While several larger stations have undergone renovations that acknowledge the balance between functional demands and preservation interests,⁸⁹⁾ others are left to decay or are refurbished with little regard for their original character.⁹⁰⁾ Public-benefit foundations in some cases step in to provide financial support and restoration expertise. A notable example is the thorough restoration of a smaller station in the town of Gelsted, documented in a small book that recounts the station's history and that of its inhabitants.⁹¹⁾ Although this station is not listed, it has been well-preserved and restored while also modernised to meet contemporary requirements for heating, noise insulation, and other necessities. The goal of this restoration project is to secure a tenant for the facility.

What is Missing?

As indicated by the literature review, there is a significant gap in the general analysis of the physical railway landscape, particularly regarding stations, their structures, and their development over time. This includes a broader examination of the building culture – not just the iconic architectural works but also the more anonymous structures. While state railway stations were surveyed three decades ago, the numerous private line stations were excluded from this analysis. Although a few other building types have been addressed in the literature, a comprehensive overview remains absent. The various regional surveys and local designations of cultural environments lack consistency both vertically and horizontally due to differing methods and approaches, as well as divergent interpretations of the structures. Some perspectives are dominated by aesthetic and architectural views, while others adopt functionalist, essentialist, or increasingly prevalent constructivist viewpoints.

A common argument suggests that repurposing preservation-worthy buildings that are vacant and no longer serve their original functions is the only viable method of preservation.⁹²⁾ However, this raises a fundamental contradiction: Can preservation through alteration truly be considered preservation? It is estimated that approximately 25-33% of stations in station towns have either disappeared or undergone significant reconstruction.⁹³⁾ Yet, there is no comprehensive overview of how many railway buildings

have been converted or lost, nor an assessment of how these conversions affect the preservation and public perception of the history of the buildings and their cultural environments.

The literature has predominantly focused on larger state railway stations, neglecting private lines and smaller ancillary buildings, including numerous bridges and tunnels. Moreover, several chapters of railway heritage remain unaddressed in the existing literature. For example, the many industrial railways, most of which were narrow-gauge, and the industry they served (often involved in the extraction of natural resources, such as gravel) which have left physical scars on the landscape. The associated infrastructure, such as postal and telegraphic services, is an inseparable part of the original cultural environments and should be integrated into our understanding of this heritage; the railway was deeply intertwined with society.

Heritage considerations can encompass aesthetics, reuse, or a newer more critical approach reflective of the Anthropocene. The latter views heritage as a dynamic concept that can be constantly reinterpreted, focusing more on present-day interpretations than on the original rationales behind the structures' creation. This perspective critiques designated preserved heritage as narcissistic, positing that it merely reflects a specific self-image.⁹⁴⁾ This raises an extreme question: Why preserve human history at all?

In contrast, this article advocates for a historical-functional approach to analysing the railway landscape, viewing the railway as a vast *technological system* encompassing all its buildings, structures, safety measures, and communication systems. It was a *business*, an *organisation*, and a *workplace*, that facilitated the transport of various products, functioning as an industrial activity that required maintenance and production while supporting other industries. Additionally, the railway was deeply entwined with society, and the *related cultural environments* – shaping landscapes and urban areas – are equally important to consider. Finally, the derivative effects of this infrastructure – its *physical afterlife* – need to be analysed more comprehensively than current regional surveys and atlases allow.

Literature

- "Centralværkstederne – et projekt om fredede industribygningers fremtidige anvendelse", Miljø og energiministeriet, skov og naturstyrelsen 1997.
- 38 kulturmiljøer i Odder Kommune, Revideret bilag til forslag til Kommuneplan 2021 – 2033 for Odder Kommune, /kommuneplan2021.odder.dk/media/2746/rapport_kulturmiljøer_revideret-feb-2022.pdf.
- Bech, Knud Erik (red.), *Arkitektur politik*, DSB 2004.
- Bendsen, Jannie Rosenberg & Mogens A. Morgen, *Fredet – Bygningsfredning i Danmark 1918 til i dag*, Strandberg Publishing 2018.
- Bock, Lauge; Henrik Bygholm, Vagn Clemmensen, Peter Haagen og C.A. Kierkegaard, *Frederikshavns Jernbanestation*, Nordtryk 1979.
- Boje, Per: *Vejen til velstand – marked, stat og utopi – Hvorfor blev Danmark rigt – og ikke rigere?* Tiden 1850-1930, Syddansk Universitetsforlag 2020.
- Bruhn Jensen Rix Design Arkitekter MAA, DSB, *Stakitter og hegn, En registrering af analyse af hegnsproblemer i DSB 1982*, DSB 1982.
- Bruun-Petersen, Jens, 1898-vogterhuse – især "Model 1898", *Jernbanehistorisk årbog '98*, pp. 13-30.
- Buthke, J., Larsen, N. M., Ostenfeld Pedersen, S., Bundgaard, C., & Boye, A. M. (2021). *Modulsystemer i bygningskulturarven: Transformation af funktionstomme bygninger med væsentlig kulturarvsværdi gennem modulsystemer og digital produktion*. Arkitektskolen Aarhus.
- Carlberg, Nicolai & Søren Møller Christensen (red.): *Kulturmiljø – Mellem forskning og politisk praksis*, Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2003.
- Carlsen, C.J., *Banegaardsanlæggene i København* 1911.
- Christensen, Hans Rex, "Skagen Station", *Det offentlige bygger og vedligeholder*, Kulturarvsstyrelsen 2002, pp. 62-65.
- Christensen, Lars Bjarke, *Jernbanernes udvikling i Danmark 1997-2022, Jernbanehistorie 2021-2022*, 2023, pp. 23-177.
- Christensen, Lars Bjarke: *Fredericia Banegård – et teknisk vidunder, Tog i Tiden 2003-2004*, pp. 47-51.
- Christensen, René Schrøder & Lars Bjarke Christensen, *Danmarks Jernbanemiljøer, Spor af jernbanens fysiske kulturarv*, Syddansk Universitetsforlag/ Danmarks Jernbanemuseum 2022.
- Christensen, René Schrøder mfl., *Kulturmiljøer i Skam Herred 1000-2000, En totalregistrering*, Odense 1999.
- Christensen, René Schrøder mfl., *Kulturmiljøer i Skam Herred II, Udvælgelse og afgrænsning*, Odense 1999.
- Christensen, René Schrøder, "Togrejsen og byen", in: Sissel Bjerrum Fossat (ed.): *Den sorte omstilling. Fossile brændsler og livet i byerne*, Gad, 2024, pp. 204-236.
- Christiansen, Anne, *Danske statsbanestationer – en registrering, Fabrik og Bolig* 1980, pp. 14-20.
- Christiansen, Anne: *Kysbanens bygninger og stationsmiljøer del 1, Jernbanemuseets Venner*, Årsskrift 2000, pp. 1-21.
- Christiansen, Anne: *Kystbanens bygninger og stationsmiljøer del 2, Jernbanemuseets Venner*, Årsskrift 2001, pp. 3-28.
- Christiansen, Jørgen Hegner: *DSB renoveringer og restaureringer, Arkitektur DK*, 3, 1986.
- Christiansen, Jørgen Hegner: *gudhjembanens stationsbygninger, Fisker og Rafns entré i dansk arkitektur, Architectura*, Nr. 15 – 1993.
- Christiansen, Jørgen Hegner: *Hovedbanegården i Høje Tåstrup – et fata morgana på Heden?* Arkitekter: DSB Bygningstjenesten ved Ellen Waade og Søren Birch i samarbejde med Jacob Blegvad Arkitektkontor AIS ved Claus Bonderup, *Arkitektur DK*, 14, 1986.

The disappearing traces in the landscape: the railway is converted to a path, and the gates are preserved, Lundfod, Brande in Central Jutland, 1920, (photo: Fl. Wedell, 2021, DJM).

- Christiansen, Jørgen Hegner: Høje Taastrup Station, Arkitekter DSB bygnings-tjenesten i samarbejde med Jacob Blegvad A/S arkitektkontor, *Arkitektur DK*. 7, 1988.
- Christiansen, Jørgen Hegner: Undervejs – til lands, til vands og i luften. Lande-vejskroer, stationer, bilisme, broer, skibsdisegn og lufthavne, I; Nan Dahl-kild (red.): *Huse der har formet os. Arkitekturhistorien bag danskernes institu-tioner og offentlige rum*, Museum Tusculanums Forlag/Danmarks Kunst-bibliotek 2015, pp. 13-40.
- Clausen, Kim & Peter Dragsbo, De nye byer i Vestjylland, Flemming Just (ed.): *Arbejdsrapport om Vestjyllands udviklingshistorie ca. 1750-1914*. Esbjerg 1984. pp. 143-156.
- Clausen, Kim & Peter Dragsbo, Den vestjyske stationsby, *Folk og forskning* 4, 1981.
- Clausen, Kim & Peter Dragsbo, Stationsbyen – et historisk bymiljø, *Arkitekten* 18, 1982, pp. 357-380.
- Clausen, Kim & Peter Dragsbo, Stationsbyundersøgelserne. Arbejdet i Ribe og Ringkøbing amter, *FRAM* 1982, pp. 82-102.
- Dahlkild, Nan (ed.), *Huse der har formet os, arkitekturhistorien bag danskernes institutioner og offentlige rum*, Museum Tusculanum 2015.
- Dragsbo, Peter, *Hvem tegnede husene?: arkitektur og arkitekter på Langeland 1750-2010*, 2019.
- Dragsbo, Peter, Station towns, *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 1986, pp.130-140.
- Dragsbo, Peter, Stationsbyer, i Vivian Etting & Per Grau Møller, *De kulturhisto-riske interesser i landskabet*, Skov og naturstyrelsen 1997, pp. 262-289.
- Dressler, Steffen: Centralværkstedet i København, *Jernbanemuseets Venner. Årsskrift* 1998, pp. 11-16.
- Erlandsen, Helge og Ida Haugsted, *Frederiksberg banegård og jernbanearkitek-turen 1844-1864*, Frederiksberg gennem tiderne XXV, 2002.
- Etting, Vivian & Per Grau Møller, *De kulturhistoriske interesser i landskabet*, Skov og naturstyrelsen 1997,
- Federspiel, Beate Knuth, Kulturarv – et begreb til forhandling, *Nordisk Museolo-gi* 2012, 1, pp. 4-19.
- Groth, Niles Boje & Christian Fertner (ed.): *Stationsbyer i dag*, Center for stra-tegisk byforskning, Arkitektskolen i Århus, 2013.
- Fink, Jørgen: *Butik og værksted, erhvervslevet i stationsbyerne 1840-1940*, Selska-bet for stationsbyforskning 1992.
- Floris, Lene: *Stationsbygningen i Gelsted*, Realdania By & Byg 2024.
- Frandsen, Lise Astrup, *Af banen! DSBs Centralværksted i København – fra stats-lig arbejdsplads til privat virksomhed*, Københavns Bymuseum/Dansk Jern-bane-Klub 2007.
- Furdal, Kim og Jørgen Toft Jessen: *Stationsbygninger i Sønderjylland*, Sønderjyl-lands kulturmiljøer nr. 6. Aabenraa 2004.
- Gadegaard, Per, H. Wenck 1851-1935, *Jernbanen*, Årg. 34, nr. 2, 1994.
- Gudmand-Høyer, S. Martens, *Værdibaseret udvikling af Danmarks almene boliger*, Arkitektskolen Aarhus.
- Hansen, John Juhler, Jernbanereklamen – siden 1879 kommerciel udendørs-reklame på stationsbygninger, *Tog i tiden* 2012, pp. 48-52.
- Harnow, Henrik, *Danmarks industrielle miljøer*, Syddansk Universitetsforlag 2011.
- Harrison, Rodney and Colin Sterling (ed.): *Deterritorializing the Future Heritage in, of and after the Anthropocene*, Open Humanities Press: London 2020.
- Hegardt, Johan & Marcia Sá Cavalcante Schuback, *Kulturarv En begrepps politik*, Södertörn Philosophical Studies 32, 2022.
- Helldin, Jan Olof, Tommy Lennartsson, Magnus Stenmark, Henrik Weibull, Anna Westin, Jörgen Wissman, Biodiversitet i jernbanehabitater – biologisk kul-turarv og grøn infrastruktur. *Jernbanehistorie* 2019, pp. 7-35.
- Hovard, Svend, Om stationsfredninger, *Jernbanen* 1991, pp. 128-132.
- Højring, Katrine og Ole Hjorth Caspersen: *Indikatorer for kulturmiljø og land-skab under forandring*. Park- og Landskabsserien nr. 33, Skov & Landskab (FSL), Hørsholm, 2001.
- Industri industri*, 25 stk. dansk kulturarv, Gad 2008.
- Jansen, Chr. R. (red.): *Stationsbyen – Rapport fra et seminar om stationsbyens historie 1840-1940*, Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus, 1979.
- Jensen, Bernard Eric: "At forvalte kulturarv – en identitetspolitisk arbejds- og kamplads" i: Annika Alzén, & Peter Aronsson (red.): *Demokratisk kulturarv? Nationella institutioner, Universella V-rden, Lokala Praktiker*, Linköping Universitet, 2006, pp. 37-59.
- Jensen, Ulrik Tarp, Wencks privatbanebygninger: 1900, *Jernbanehistorisk år-bog*, 2000.
- Johansen, Hans Chr., *På sporet 1847-1997: bind III, 1950-1997 – Jernbanen i bilis-mens skygge*, Odense: Jernbanemuseet 1997.
- JWH Arkitekter, Plan Gruppen, WE Architecture: *De historiske stationsbymid-ter som kulturarv - udvikling eller afvikling*, JWH Arkitekter 2001.
- Jørgensen, Caspar: The listed industrial Heritage in Denmark 1918-2023, *Fa-brik & Bolig*, 2023, pp. 26-43.
- Kappel, Thomas, "Perler på kysten", *Det offentlige bygger og vedligeholder*, Kul-turarvsstyrelsen 2002, pp. 70-74.
- Kappel, Thomas, 1979: Ny banegård med center i Herning, *Jernbanehistorisk årbog*, '04, pp. 58-64.
- Kappel, Thomas, *Roskilde Station 1847-1997, Banens byggeskik*, Roskilde Mu-seums Forlag 1997.
- Kappel, Thomas: Hans Banegaarde i moderne betydning, Heinrich Wencks købstadsstationer 1903-06, *Architectura*, bd. 16, 1994, pp. 59-88.
- Kolding, Frederik Birkholt: Som fugl Phønix af asken – bygninger og stations-miljøer på den fynske bane i årene omkring 1865, *Jernbanehistorie* 2015, pp. 56-83.
- Kristensen, Peter Thule, "M.G. Bindsbøll og den Sydslesvigske Jernbane", i: Kas-per Lægning og Badeloch Vera Noldus, *Skjulte skatte i grænselandet: dansk bygningsarv i Slesvig og Holsten*, Bianco Luno, 2010, pp. 202-13.
- Langberg, Harald, *Danmarks bygningskultur – en historisk oversigt*, bd. II, Gyl-dendal 1955.
- Larsen, Christian: Da København fik sin hovedbanegård nummer tre, *Siden Saxo*, nr.3, 2011, pp. 30-37.
- Larsen, Morten Flindt: Københavnske bystationer, *Jernbanehistorisk årbog* 1998.
- Larsen, Morten Flindt: Statsbanernes vandforsyning af damplokomotiver 1. del, *Tog i Tiden* 2008 pp. 34-49.
- Larsen, Morten Flindt: Statsbanernes vandforsyning af damplokomotiver 2. del, *Tog i Tiden* 2009 pp. 14-25.
- Larsen, Morten Flindt: Statsbanernes vandforsyning af damplokomotiver 3. del, *Tog i Tiden* 2010 pp. 16-27.
- Larsen, Niels-Holger, Bornholms industrihistorie 250 år – *Fra drømme, virkelyst og storhedstider til nedgang, afvikling og forfald – eller omlægning og udvikling*, Bornholms Museum, februar 2005a.
- Larsen, Niels-Holger, Industriminder på Bornholm - *Fra stenbrud til silderøgerier* *Bevaring og Information*, Bornholms Museum, februar 2005b.



- Lorenzen, Vilh., *Vore byer. Studier i bybygning V. Afviklingen af den senmiddelalderlige by fortsat. Byisealet under forvandlingens lov 1814-1870*, Gad 1958.
- Lundager, Gitte & Poul Thestrup: Niveauekrydsninger mellem jernbane og vej, *Tog i Tiden* 2008, pp. 22-33.
- Millech, Knud (Kay Fisker red.), *Danske arkitekturstrømninger 1850-1950*, Østfornes Kreditforening 1951.
- Moe, Steffen, Søren Birch og Cyril Olsen: *Historien om et succesfuldt renoveringsprojekt, Københavns Hovedbanegård*. Projekt Kh 08, Grøntmij A/S & Public Arkitekter A/S, 2011.
- Mogensen, Ole Edvard, *Den forsvundne landstation*, OEM Consult 2009.
- Mogensen, Ole Edvard, *Signalhuse*, OEM Consult 2011.
- Mogensen, Ole Edvard, *Struer station – fra rangerhest til udlicitering*, OEM Consult 2012.
- Myrtue, Anders, "Dronning Louises Jernbane – anlæggelsen af banen og den tidligste udvikling i de rurale områder frem til ca. 1900", *Jernbanehistorie* 2015, pp. 109-131.
- Møller, Per Grau, *Hvad er et kulturmiljø?*, Ubirex 2022.
- Møller, Per Grau, *Kulturmiljøregistrering, Fortid og Nutid*, 2001, pp. 1-88.
- Møller, Per Grau, Morten Stenak og Mette Ladegaard Thøgersen, *Kulturmiljøregistrering – i praksis, Fortid og nutid* 2005, pp. 192-220.
- Møller, Per Grau: *Fra Landsby til soveby. Landbebyggelsen og dens økonomiske og kulturlandskabelige forudsætninger på Fyn 1770-1965*, Odense Universitetsforlag, 1990.
- Nielsen, Henry & Dorte Fogh, *Frygt og fascination, Danske og udenlandske jernbanemalerier fra 1840 til i dag*, Aarhus Universitetsforlag 2011.
- Nielsen, Jonas Søgaard: *Vores kulturmiljøer og kulturarvsarealer – En gennemgang af Herning Kommunes Kulturmiljøer og Kulturarvsarealer*, Planafdelingen By, Erhverv og Kultur, Herning Kommune, u.a.
- Nielsen, Kurt: *Nye jernbanestationer på Roskildebanen*, Forlaget Underskoven 2023.
- Ousager, Steen, "Bogenseslagteren", *Historien om en lokalbane Bogense-Odense*, Syddansk Universitetsforlag/Danmarks Jernbanemuseum, 2022.
- Ousager, Steen, *På sporet 1947-1997: bind II, 1914-1950 – Krige og fornyelse*, Odense: Jernbanemuseet 1997.
- Pedersen, Margit Baad: *Stationsliv: Karise 1880-1940*, Selskabet for stationsbyforskning 1987.
- Pedersen, Simon Ostenfeld, Mogens Andreassen Morgen, Mathilde Kirkegaard, Nina Ventzel Riis og Sidse Martens Gudmand-Høyer: *Kulturmiljø. Stedets fortælling – mellem fortid og fremtid*, Strandberg Publishing 2024.
- Pedersen, Thomas Tram, *Kortlægning af kulturhistoriske og landskabelige værdier ved Amagerbanen langs Uplandsgade*, Rapport, PlanScape for Københavns Kommune 2021.
- Poulsen, John, *Københavns banegårde, bane bøger* 1986.
- Poulsen, John, *S-banen 1934-2009, bane bøger* 2009.
- Rasmussen, Vigand Dann: *Nørrejske Jernbanebyer*, Viborg 1981.
- Raabyemagle, Hanne & Poul Vitus Nielsen, *Fredningsværdier i dansk jernbanearkitektur, Fabrik og bolig*, 2, 1991, pp. 17-37.
- Raabyemagle, Hanne & Poul Vitus Nielsen: *Fredningsværdier i DSB's stationsanlæg*, Arbejdsrapport, Miljøministeriet/Planstyrelsen 1990.
- Raabyemagle, Hanne, N.P.C Holsø og den "officielle" danske jernbanestation, *Fabrik og bolig* 1982, pp. 11-22.
- Raabyemagle, Hanne: *Dansk jernbanearkitektur 1843-1920*, unpublished thesis, KU 1981.
- Schou, Anette, *Udpegningen af værdifulde kulturmiljøer i regionplanlægningen*, Miljø- og Energiministeriet, Skov- og naturstyrelsen 1999.
- Sestoft, Jørgen: *Danmarks arkitektur II, Arbejdets bygninger*, Kbh 1981.
- Slyngborg, Mette & Anette Gori, *KulturMiljø-metoden. Udpegning og afgrænsning af kulturmiljøer i planlægningen*, Slots- og Kulturstyrelsen, Esbjerg Kommune og Sydvestjyske Museer, Forlaget Liljebjerget 2018.
- Stenak, Morten & Per Grau Møller, *Danmarks kulturmiljøer i 25 år – status og ny viden*, 2021.
- Stenak, Morten: *SAVE Kortlægning og registrering af bymiljøers og bygningers bevaringsværdi*, Kulturministeriet, Kulturarvsstyrelsen 2011.
- Stilling, Niels Peter: *Nye byer, stationsbyernes befolkningsforhold og funktion 1840-1940*, Selskabet for stationsbyforskning, 1987.
- Thestrup, Poul, "Infrastruktur", i Vivian Etting & Per Grau Møller, *De kulturhistoriske interesser i landskabet*, Skov og naturstyrelsen 1997, pp. 198-215.
- Thestrup, Poul, *På sporet 1847-1997: bind I, Til 1914 – Dampen binder Danmark sammen*, Odense: Jernbanemuseet 1997.
- Thomassen, Peer, *Forsvundne stationer*, Bane bøger 1988.
- Thomsen, Kristian Buhl & Jeppe Klok Due (Søren Bitch Chrisensen red.), *Århus godsbanegård – historie og kulturarvsanbefalinger*, rapport, Dansk Center for Byhistorie 2009.
- Thomsen, Kristian Buhl: "Aarhus Godsbanegård 1923-2012. Fra godsterminal til kulturproduktionscenter", *Århus Stifts Årbøger* 2012, pp. 68-83.
- Thor, Peter, *Jernbanen Ringe-Faaborg, Kulturhistorisk kortlægning og anbefalinger*, Faaborg Kulturhistoriske Museer 2009.

- Thøgersen, Mette Ladegaard: *De rurale byer på Fyn. En definition, registrering og typologisering*, Syddansk Universitet 2002 (thesis).
- Thøgersen, Mette Ladegaard: *Landdistrikternes Urbanisering. En analyse af der rurale byers opståen, udvikling og karakteristika ca. 1840-1960*, Syddansk Universitet 2007, PhD dissertation.
- Tork, J.A. & R. Willerslev et. al.: *De danske statsbaner 1847-1947*, Generaldirektoratet for statsbanerne, Kbh. 1947.
- Tønnesen, Allan m.fl.; *Hele samfundets eje. Bygningsfredning i 100 år*, Syddansk Universitet, 2018.
- Tårnet på Østerport Station, Arkitekten, 85, 10, 24/5.
- Vejle Godsbane, *En undersøgende rapport*, Studio Perspectives on Transformation AAA.
- Vibæk, Jens, Debatten om Københavns 3. hovedbanegård, *Historiske Meddelelser om København* 1989, pp. 145.
- Vibæk, Jens, Københavns anden hovedbanegård. Striden om banegårdsflytningen 1859-1863, *Historiske Meddelelser om København* 1971, pp.50 ff.
- Værdifulde kulturmiljøer i København, København som hovedstad, 1.9, *Hovedbanegården*, Københavns kommune 2014.
- Willer, Tine, *Den gule by*, Dansk Jernbane-Klub, 2010.
- Zerlang, Martin: "Jernbanen i dansk litteratur", *Jernbanehistorie* 2023 b, pp. 7-27.
- Zerlang, Martin: *Danmark set fra en togkupé*, København, Gads Forlag 2023 a.
- Østerby, Mads, *Danske jernbaners byggeri, et rids af et forløb 1844-1984*, Odense Universitetsforlag 1984.
- Aagesen, Aage: *Geografiske studier over jernbanerne i Danmark*, København 1949.

Notes

- 1) Aage Aagesen, *Geografiske studier over jernbanerne i Danmark*, København 1949.
- 2) Rail network density in selected countries 2015 | Statista.
- 3) Martin Zerlang, *Danmark set fra en togkupé*, København, Gads Forlag 2023.
- 4) Martin Zerlang, *Jernbanen i dansk litteratur. Jernbanehistorie* 2023, pp. 7-27.
- 5) Henry Nielsen & Dorte Fogh, *Frygt og fascination. Danske og udenlandske jernbanemalerier fra 1840 til i dag*, Aarhus Universitetsforlag 2011.
- 6) René Schrøder Christensen, *Togrejsen og byen*, in: Sissel Bjerrum Fossat (ed.) *Den sorte omstilling – fossile brændsler og livet i byerne*, Nord Academic/Gads Forlag, 2024, pp. 204-236.
- 7) Christensen 2024.
- 8) Per Grau Møller, *Fra Landsby til soveby. Landbebyggelsen og dens økonomiske og kulturlandskabelige forudsætninger på Fyn 1770-1965*, Odense Universitetsforlag 1990.
- 9) Christensen 2024.
- 10) Lars Bjarke Christensen, *Jernbanernes udvikling i Danmark 1997-2022. Jernbanehistorie* 2021-2022, 2023, pp. 23-177.
- 11) Steen Ousager, *"Bogenseslagteren"*, *Historien om en lokalbane Bogen-Odense*, Syddansk Universitetsforlag/Danmarks Jernbanemuseum, 2022.
- 12) J.A. Tork & R. Willerslev et. al., *De danske statsbaner 1847-1947*, København: Generaldirektoratet for statsbanerne 1947.
- 13) Poul Thestrup, *På sporet 1847-1997: bind I, Til 1914 – Dampen binder Danmark sammen*, Steen Ousager, *På sporet 1947-1997: bind II, 1914-1950 –*

- Krige og fornyelse*, Hans Chr. Johansen, *På sporet 1847-1997: bind III, 1950-1997 – Jernbanen i bilismens skygge*, Odense: Jernbanemuseet 1997.
- 12) Christensen 2023, pp. 23-177.
 - 13) Per Boje, *Vejen til velstand – marked, stat og utopi – Hvorfor blev Danmark rigt – og ikke rigere? Tiden 1850-1930*, Syddansk Universitetsforlag 2020.
 - 14) Møller, 1990.
 - 15) Aagesen 1949.
 - 16) Ibid., p. 13.
 - 17) Ibid., p. 39.
 - 18) Jørgen Burchardt, *Gods på vej. Vejtransportens danmarkshistorie* bd. 1-3, Forlaget Kulturbøger/Danmarks Tekniske Museum, 2016, especially pp. 161-179, 189-237, 663-677.
 - 19) Henrik Harnow, *Danmarks industrielle miljøer*, Syddansk Universitetsforlag 2011.
 - 20) Jf. Bygningsfredningslov 1979, Henrik Harnow, *Danmarks industrielle miljøer*, Syddansk Universitetsforlag 2011, p. 41.
 - 21) René Schrøder Christensen & Lars Bjarke Christensen, *Danmarks Jernbanemiljøer, Spor af jernbanens fysiske kulturarv*, Syddansk Universitetsforlag/Danmarks Jernbanemuseum 2022.
 - 22) Christensen 2024.
 - 23) An example of Swedish research was presented in: Jan Olof Helldin, Tommy Lennartsson, Magnus Stenmark, Henrik Weibull, Anna Westin, Jörgen Wissman, *Biodiversitet i jernbanehabitater – biologisk kulturarv og grøn infrastruktur. Jernbanehistorie* 2019, pp. 7-35. Infranatur: <https://www.bane.dk/da/Presse/Temaer/Biodiversitet>.
 - 24) Hanne Raabyemagle, N.P.C Holsøe og den "officielle" danske jernbanestation. *Fabrik og bolig* 1982. Hanne Raabyemagle, *Dansk jernbanearkitektur 1843-1920*, unpublished thesis, KU 1981.
 - 25) M.G.B. Bindsbøll (1800-1856), J.D. Herholdt (1818-1902), N.P. Holsøe (1826-1895), H.E.C. Wenck (1851-1936), K.T. Seest (1879-1972), U.A. Plesner (1861-1933), K.O. Fisker (1893-1965) & Aa. Rafn (1890-1953). Knud Millech (Kay Fisker red.), *Danske arkitekturstrømninger 1850-1950*, Østifternes Kreditforening 1951. Harald Langberg, *Danmarks bygningsskulptur – en historisk oversigt*, bd. II, Gyldendal 1955. Vilh. Lorenzen, *Vore byer. Studier i bybygning V. Afviklingen af den senmiddelalderlige by fortsat. Byidealet under forvandlingens lov 1814-1870*, Gad 1958. Jørgen Sestoft, *Danmarks arkitektur II, Arbejdets bygninger*, København 1979/1981. Peter Thule Kristensen, "M.G. Bindsbøll og den Sydslesvigske Jernbane", in: Kasper Lægning & Badeloch Vera Noldus, *Skjulte skatte i grænselandet: dansk bygningsarv i Slesvig og Holsten*, Bianco Luno, 2010, pp. 202-213.
 - 26) K.A. Seest, in: J.A. Tork & R. Willerslev et. al., *De danske statsbaner 1847-1947*, København: Generaldirektoratet for statsbanerne 1947, pp. 315, 319.
 - 27) Sestoft 1979/1981.
 - 28) Jørgen Hegner Christiansen, *Gudhjembanens stationsbygninger*, Fisker og Rafns entré i dansk arkitektur, *Architectura*, Nr. 15, 1993.
 - 29) Thomas Kappel, *Hans Banegaarde i moderne betydning. Heinrich Wencks købstadsstationer 1903-06*, *Architectura*, bd. 16, 1994, pp. 59-88. Ulrik Jensen Tarp, *Wencks privatbanebygninger: 1900, Jernbanehistorisk årbog*, 2000. Raabyemagle, 1982, pp. 11-22. Per H. Gadegaard, *Wenck 1851-1935, Jernbanen*, Årg. 34, nr. 2, 1994, pp. 41-47.
 - 30) Anne Christiansen, *Kystbanens bygninger og stationsmiljøer del 1, Jernbanemuseets Venner*, Årsskrift 2000, pp. 1-21, *Kystbanens bygninger og stationsmiljøer del 2, Jernbanemuseets Venner*. Årsskrift 2001, pp. 3-28.

- 30) Frederik Birkholt Kolding, "Som fugl Phønix af asken" – bygninger og stationsmiljøer på den fynske bane i årene omkring 1865. *Jernbanehistorie* 2015, pp. 56-83. Anders Myrtue, Dronning Louises Jernbane – anlæggelsen af banen og den tidligste udvikling i de rurale områder frem til ca. 1900. *Jernbanehistorie* 2015, pp. 109-131.
- 31) Jørgen Hegner Christiansen, Undervejs – til lands, til vands og i luften. Landevejskroer, stationer, bilisme, broer, skibsdisejn og lufthavne, in: Nan Dahlkild (red.), *Huse der har formet os. Arkitekturhistorien bag danskernes institutioner og offentlige rum*, Museum Tusculanums Forlag/Danmarks Kunsthbibliotek 2015, s. 22. Jørgen Hegner Christiansen, Høje Taastrup Station, Arkitekter DSB bygningstjenesten i samarbejde med Jacob Blegvad A/S arkitektkontor, *Arkitektur DK*. 7, 1988, pp. 314 ff.
- 32) Knud Erik Bech (ed.), *Arkitektur politik*, DSB 2004.
- 33) Thomas Kappel, Roskilde Station 1847-1997, *Banens byggeskik*, Roskilde Museums Forlag 1997.
- 34) Lauge Bock, Henrik Bygholm, Vagn Clemmensen, Peter Haagen & C.A. Kierkegaard, *Frederikshavns Jernbanestation*, Nordtryk 1979.
- 35) Helge Erlandsen & Ida Haugsted, *Frederiksberg banegård og jernbanearkitekturen 1844-1864*, Frederiksberg gennem tiderne XXV, 2002.
- 36) John Poulsen, *Københavns banegårde*, bane bøger 1986. Steffen Moe, Søren Birch og Cyril Olsen, *Historien om et succesfuldt renoveringsprojekt, Københavns Hovedbanegård*. Projekt Kh 08, Grontmij A/S & Public Arkitekter A/S, 2011. Jens Vibæk, Debatten om Københavns 3. hovedbanegård, *Historiske Meddelelser om København* 1989, p. 145. Jens Vibæk, Københavns anden hovedbanegård. Striden om banegårdsflytningen 1859-1863, *Historiske Meddelelser om København* 1971, pp. 50 ff. C.J. Carlsen, *Banegaardsanlæggene i København* 1911. Christian Larsen, Da København fik sin hovedbanegård nummer tre, *Siden Saxo*, nr. 3, 2011, pp. 30-37. E.L. Parbøl, *Det Sjællandske Jernbaneselskab, Københavns Station 1847-1864*, unpublished manuscript, 1969, Danmarks Jernbanemuseum.
- 37) Ole Edvard Mogensen, *Struer station – fra rangerhest til udlicitering*, OEM Consult 2012.
- 38) Ole Edvard Mogensen, *Den forsvundne landstation*, OEM Consult 2009.
- 39) Kim Furdal og Jørgen Toft Jessen: *Stationsbygninger i Sønderjylland*, Sønderjyllands kulturmiljøer nr. 6. Aabenraa 2004. Morten Flindt Larsen, Københavnske bystationer. *Jernbanehistorisk årbog* 1998, pp. 3-12.
- 40) Lise Astrup Frandsen, *Af banen! DSBs Centralværksted i København – fra statslig arbejdsplads til privat virksomhed*, Københavns Bymuseum/Dansk Jernbane-Klub 2007. Supplementing literature is: Tine Willer, *Den gule by*, Dansk Jernbane-Klub, 2010. Steffen Dressler, Centralværkstedet i København, *Jernbanemuseets Venner. Årsskrift* 1998, pp. 11-16.
- 41) Kristian Buhl Thomsen & Jeppe Klok Due (Søren Bitch Chrisensen ed.), *Århus godsbanegård – historie og kulturarvsanbefalinger*, rapport, Dansk Center for Byhistorie 2009. Kristian Buhl Thomsen, "Århus Godsbanegård 1923-2012. Fra godsterminal til kulturproduktionscenter", *Århus Stifts Årbøger* 2012, pp. 68-83. "Centralværkstederne – et projekt om fredede industribygningers fremtidige anvendelse", Miljø og energiministeriet, skov og naturstyrelsen 1997.
- 42) Jens Bruun-Petersen, 1898-vogterhuse – især "Model 1898". *Jernbanehistorisk årbog* 1998, pp. 13-30.
- 43) Ole Edvard Mogensen, *Signalhuse*, OEM Consult 2011.
- 44) Morten Flindt Larsen, Statsbanernes vandforsyning af damplokomotiver 1. del, *Tog i Tiden* 2008 pp. 34-49; 2. del, *Tog i Tiden* 2009, pp. 14-25; 3. del, *Tog i Tiden* 2010, pp. 16-27.
- 45) Chr. R. Jansen (red.), *Stationsbyen – Rapport fra et seminar om stationsbyens historie 1840-1940*, Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus, 1979.
- 46) *Nyt fra Stationsbyen* 1-12, 1982-1986. Kim Clausen & Peter Dragsbo, Den vestjyske stationsby, *Folk og forskning* 4, 1981. Kim & Peter Dragsbo Clausen, Stationsbyen – et historisk bymiljø, *Arkitekten* 18, 1982, pp. 357-380. Kim Clausen & Peter Dragsbo, Stationsbyundersøgelserne. Arbejdet i Ribe og Ringkøbing amter, *FRAM* 1982, pp. 82-102. Kim Clausen & Peter Dragsbo, De nye byer i Vestjylland, Flemming Just (ed.), *Arbejdsrapport om Vestjyllands udviklingshistorie ca. 1750-1914*, Esbjerg 1984, pp. 143-156. Peter Dragsbo, Station towns, *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 1986, pp. 130-140.
- 47) Niels Peter Stilling, *Nye byer, stationsbyernes befolkningsforhold og funktion 1840-1940*, Selskabet for stationsbyforskning, 1987. Margit Baad Pedersen, Stationsliv: *Karise 1880-1940*, Selskabet for stationsbyforskning 1987. Jørgen Fink, *Butik og værksted, erhvervslivet i stationsbyerne 1840-1940*, Selskabet for stationsbyforskning 1992.
- 48) Mette Ladegaard Thøgersen, *De rurale byer på Fyn. En definition, registrering og typologisering*, Syddansk Universitet 2002. Mette Ladegaard Thøgersen, *Landdistrikternes Urbanisering. En analyse af der rurale byers opståen, udvikling og karakteristika ca. 1840-1960*, Syddansk Universitet 2007. Mette Ladegaard Thøgersen: Bysystem og urbanisme ca. 1840-2000 – historie og historiografi, in: Søren Bitsch Christensen, *Den moderne by*, Aarhus Universitetsforlag/Dansk Center for Byhistorie 2007.
- 49) Niles Boje Groth & Christian Fertner (ed.), *Stationsbyer i dag*, Center for strategisk byforskning/Arkitektskolen i Århus, 2013.
- 50) Peter Dragsbo, Stationsbyer. Poul Thestrup, Infrastruktur. in: Vivian Etting & Per Grau Møller, *De kulturhistoriske interesser i landskabet*, Skov og naturstyrelsen 1997, pp. 262-289, pp. 198-215.
- 51) Morten Stenak & Per Grau Møller, *Danmarks kulturmiljøer i 25 år – status og ny viden*, 2021, s. 5 ff. Allan Tønnesen et al., *Hele samfundets eje. Bygningsfredning i 100 år*, Syddansk Universitet, 2018. Jannie Rosenberg Bendsen & Mogens A. Morgen, *Fredet – Bygningsfredning i Danmark 1918 til i dag*, Strandberg Publishing 2018. Caspar Jørgensen, *The listed industrial Heritage in Denmark 1918-2023. Fabrik & Bolig*, 2023, s. 26-43.
- 52) Ibid.
- 53) Bendsen & Morgen, *Fredet – Bygningsfredning i Danmark 1918 til i dag*, Strandberg Publishing 2018, p. 135.
- 54) Ibid.
- 55) Stenak & Møller, 2021, p. 6.
- 56) Svend Howard, Om stationsfredninger, *Jernbanen* 1991, pp. 128-132.
- 57) Anne Christiansen, Danske statsbanestationer – en registrering, *Fabrik og Bolig* 1980, 2, pp. 14-20.
- 58) DSB Bygningstjenesten, *Bygninger og anlæg, Registrering og vurdering*, DSB 1980, Danmarks Jernbanemuseum.
- 59) Hanne Raabyemagle & Poul Vitus Nielsen, *Fredningsværdier i DSB's stationsanlæg*, Arbejdsrapport, Miljøministeriet/Planstyrelsen 1990, p. 2.
- 60) Bruhn Jensen Rix Design Arkitekter MAA, DSB, *Stakitter og hegn, En registrering og analyse af hegnproblemer i DSB* 1982, DSB 1982.
- 61) *Fredede bygninger*, Slots- og kulturstyrelsen, november 2023.
- 62) Morten Stenak, *SAVE Kortlægning og registrering af bymiljøers og bygningers bevaringsværdi*, Kulturministeriet, Kulturarvsstyrelsen 2011. Bendsen & Morgen, 2018, p. 217.
- 63) For example Herning kommune 2003, *Kulturarvsatlas Nordfyns Kommune* 2020.



The new railway and its architectural heritage: Copenhagen Metro 2019 (photo: Fl. Wedell, 2021, DJM).

- 64) Anette Schou (ed.), *Udpegningen af værdifulde kulturmiljøer i regionplanlægningen*, Miljø- og Energiministeriet, Skov- og naturstyrelsen 1999. Stenak & Møller, *Danmarks kulturmiljøer i 25 år – status og ny viden*, 2021.
- 65) Several authors in an anthology mentions this: Eske Wohlfart, Erland Porsmose, Mette Guldberg in: Nicolai Carlberg & Søren Møller Christensen (red.), *Kulturmiljø – Mellem forskning og politisk praksis*, Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2003.
- 66) Per Grau Møller, *Hvad er et kulturmiljø?*, Ubirex 2022, p. 116.
- 67) Stenak & Møller, 2021, p. 7.
- 68) Vivian Etting & Per Grau Møller, *De kulturhistoriske interesser i landskabet*, Skov og naturstyrelsen 1997.
- 69) Mette Slynghborg & Anette Gori, *KulturMiljø-metoden. Udpegning og afgrænsning af kulturmiljøer i planlægningen*, Slots- og Kulturstyrelsen, Esbjerg Kommune og Sydvestjyske Museer, Forlaget Liljeberget 2018.
- 70) For example: Beate Knuth, *Federspiel Kulturarv – et begreb til forhandling*, *Nordisk Museologi* 2012, 1, pp. 4-19. Johan Hegardt & Marcia Sá Cavalcante Schuback, *Kulturarv En begrebspolitik*, *Södertörn Philosophical Studies* 32, 2022, Bernard Eric Jensen, "At forvalte kulturarv – en identitetspolitisk arbejds- og kampplads" in: Annika Alzén, & Peter Aronsson (ed.), *Demokratisk kulturarv? Nationella institutioner, Universella Värden, Lokala Praktiker*, Linköping Universitet, 2006, pp. 37-59.
- 71) Simon Ostenfeld Pedersen, Mogens Andreassen Morgen, Mathilde Kirkegaard, Nina Ventzel Riis & Sidse Martens Gudmand-Høyer: *Kulturmiljø. Stedets fortælling – mellem fortid og fremtid*, Strandberg Publishing 2024, p. 263 ff.
- 72) Per Grau Møller, *Kulturmiljøregistrering, Fortid og Nutid*, 2001, pp. 1-88. Per Grau Møller, Morten Stenak & Mette Ladegaard Thøgersen, *Kulturmiljøregistrering – i praksis. Fortid og nutid* 2005, pp. 192-220. Per Grau Møller, *Hvad er et kulturmiljø?*, Ubirex 2022.
- 73) Caspar Jørgensen og Vibe Ødegaard, *Museernes arbejde med Industrisamfundets Kulturarv. Arbejdsrapport fra seminar den 28. august 2003 på Nationalmuseet*, Kulturarvsstyrelsen 2004.
- 74) *Industri industri, 25 stk. dansk kulturarv*, Gad 2008, pp. 106-113.
- 75) *Industrisamfundets kulturarv, Regional indberetning af industriminder i Københavnsregionen i henhold til Kulturarvsstyrelsens brev j. nr. 2003-300-0001 forbindelse med sætningsområdet "Industrisamfundets Kulturarv"*, Arbejdermuseet, Københavns Bymuseum, Nationalmuseet, Kroppedal, Det Regionale Faglige Kulturmiljøråd for Københavns og Frederiksberg Kommuner, Det Regionale Faglige Kulturmiljøråd for Københavns Amt.
- 76) *Industriminder i Frederiksberg Amt*, 2004.
- 77) Niels-Holger Larsen, *Bornholms industrihistorie 250 år – Fra drømme, virkelyst og storhedstider til nedgang, afvikling og forfald – eller omlægning og udvikling*, Bornholms Museum, februar 2005, p. 57. Niels-Holger Larsen, *Industriminder på Bornholm - Fra stenbrud til silderagerier* *Bevaring og Information*, Bornholms Museum, februar 2005.
- 78) www.herning.dk/media/vyrjnn1g/herning-kommunes-kulturarealer-og-miljoeer.pdf; Nielsen, u.a. *38 kulturmiljøer i Odder Kommune* 2022.
- 79) Katrine Højring & Ole Hjorth Caspersen. (2001), *Indikatorer for kulturmiljø og landskab under forandring*. Park- og Landskabsserien nr. 33, Skov & Landskab (FSL), Hørsholm, 2001.
- 80) Peter Thor, *Jernbanen Ringe-Faaborg, Kulturhistorisk kortlægning og anbefalinger*, Faaborg Kulturhistoriske Museer 2009.
- 81) Thomas Tram Pedersen, *Kortlægning af kulturhistoriske og landskabelige værdier ved Amagerbanen langs Uplandsgade*, Rapport, PlanScape for Københavns Kommune 2021.
- 82) *Kulturarvsatlas Nordfyns Kommune* 2020.
- 83) *Værdifulde kulturmiljøer i København, København som hovedstad, 1.9, Hovedbanegården*, Københavns kommune 2014.
- 84) Notat, bilag 7-Vurdering af bevaringsværdier og kulturhistoriske spor, Plan, Analyse, Ressourcer og CO2.reduktion, Teknik og Miljøforvaltningen, Københavns Kommune, 2021.
- 85) *Vejle Godsbane, En undersøgende rapport*, Studio Perspectives on Transformation AAA.
- 86) *Kommissorium for ekspertudvalg til udpegning af nationale kulturmiljøer*, Kulturministeriet, Indenrigs- og Boligministeriet 27/9 2022. *Oversigt over nationale interesser i kommuneplanlægningen*, Plan- og landdistriktsstyrelsen, 2023. [Kort.plandata.dk](http://kort.plandata.dk), Plan- og landskabsstyrelsen.
- 87) Stenak & Møller, 2021.
- 88) Stenak & Møller, 2021, p. 41.
- 89) Jørgen Hegner Christiansen, *DSB renoveringer og restaureringer, Arkitektur DK*, 3, 1986. <https://renover.dk/projekt/oesterport-station-modernisering/>. Tårnet på Østerport Station, Arkitekten, 85, 10, 24/5.
- 90) Christensen & Christensen, 2022, pp. 262-273.
- 91) Lene Floris: *Stationsbygningen i Gelsted*, Realania By & Byg 2024.
- 92) J. Buthke, Larsen, N. M., Ostenfeld Pedersen, S., Bundgaard, C., & Boye, A.M. *Modulsystemer i bygningskulturarven: Transformation af funktionstomme bygninger med væsentlig kulturarvs-værdi gennem modulsystemer og digital produktion*. Arkitektskolen Aarhus 2021.
- 93) *De historiske stationsbymidter som kulturarv – udvikling eller afvikling*
- 94) Rodney Harrison and Colin Sterling (ed.), *Deterritorializing the Future Heritage in, of and after the Anthropocene*, Open Humanities Press: London 2020.

