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## **Nation, Region and Homeland: History and Tradition in Dalarna Sweden**

### **Abstract**

This paper looks at how one regional identity has interacted with a national identity, suggesting the relationships are more complex than either simply changing scale or a hierarchical set of affiliations. The paper focuses on one institution which has been involved in promoting ideas of national belonging and local identification at the same time – the Open Air Museum. It takes the case of such institutions in Sweden, linking them to the particular circumstances of the beginning of the twentieth century. It examines how national scale and local institutions (Hembygdsgård) work to create senses of identity. It is argued they mobilise space and time through a particular configuration of history and tradition. This configuration is rooted in a particular historico-geographical moment that cannot be simply transposed from one end of a century to the other. The paper concludes by suggesting that a different relationship of tradition, museum and practice in these institutions is emerging.

### **Introduction**

Current events in Europe seem continually to challenge ways of belonging and scales of homeliness that had come to seem natural. The category of the nation remains invested with vast symbolic importance and yet in political terms its significance is continually

suggested to be under threat. As a locus of identity may studies have worked to show that they are not only imagined communities, in Anderson's famous phrase, but entities whose existence and legitimacy is supported by particular narrations of the past and myths.<sup>1</sup> Current instability is often suggested as simultaneously threatening the taken-for-grantedness of these symbolic identities and impelling greater investment in them as bulwarks against insecurity. If we accept that the challenge of modernity may be to make oneself at home in the maelstrom then one option appears to be a nostalgic flight into the protective illusions of a fantasised and purified past.<sup>2</sup> In this paper I want to unpack some of these processes, some of the possible narratives and possible links through an examination of how the landscape and traditions of one region of Sweden, that of Dalarna, have come to play a particular role in imagining Swedishness. The example raises a series of issues about the scale of belonging, the direction of change and the ways differing forms of history intersect with these. Throughout, the piece will hold in focus that historical narratives, invented traditions and national myths do not float free but are embedded, recreated and sustained through specific practices and milieu.

In this paper I therefore attend to one specific milieu through which different scales and modes of belonging are brought together; relating the milieu of the open air museum, to the regional landscape, and the national imaginary. This paper thus follows the threads and connections binding different times, places and scales through a particular milieu. A space where different stories, memories and histories are brought together, and the past is brought tangibly into contact with the present. Pierre Nora offers the phrase 'lieux de memoire' to describe places where once living traditions move into the half-life of preserved and objectified history.<sup>3</sup> The translation from living cultural practice to

historical object and back again forms a major aspect of this paper—adopting and using perspectives which challenge a transmission model where ‘tradition’ is like a treasure chest handed down over generations. History is the practice of producing these archival stores, transforming the living into the beautiful but dead past.<sup>4</sup> This paper examines the way one representational milieu has emerged, that of the recreated environment.<sup>5</sup> It argues that we need to see multiple landscapes and practices intersecting, so it moves between projects of national vision, and localised versions of idealised landscapes which then feed back into national ideas. It thus moves between local and national institutions to suggest this kind of milieu speaks paradoxically to a national and local identity. The paradoxical relationship of local cultures to national identity is worked through the example of Dalarna and the rise of open air museums and the ‘hembygdsföreningen’, or homeland movement.<sup>6</sup> This is suggested to be about localising culture as well as nationalising it. It is shown to emerge at a specific moment of translation of memory and history and the intersection of local, national and international spaces. Finally, the paper suggests the current situation in Dalarna means these now themselves traditional lieux-de-memoire are retranslating history into practices of commemoration. The account thus starts with a brief synopsis of national history projects before focusing upon the use of open air museums as a mythical national space through the example of Skansen in Stockholm. The paper then moves to address the way this imagined cultural landscape articulates a notion of regional folk cultures. Following this the paper outlines how the culture of one area, Dalarna, came to be iconic of Swedishness. The paper then looks at how that regional culture was popularised and preserved. These preservation practices are then suggested to imply particular notions of identity connected to ideas of bounded, self-contained territorial identities. The paper concludes by suggesting we might see the

process as a rather more reflexive practice in the current climate where it is the act of preservation that articulates social solidarity rather than the cultural region as object of preservation.

### **National Space, National History**

It is no longer novel to argue that nations are constructed rather than natural, nor to point out the labour involved in their creation and maintenance. It is by now common to look at the nineteenth century as involving a series of national makeovers, and fabrications, within Europe reflecting the rise of national organisation and politics and the aggrandising projects of empire. We might characterise this as comprising two main elements. Firstly, an evolving and increasingly sharp set of distinctions between Europeans and non-Europeans in terms of spatial categories—crudely the west versus the rest, while nuances formed categories for distinguishing among European peoples themselves. These processes operated through a temporal organisation whereby Europeans, to varying degrees, were ascribed a linear, open time allowing them time to colonise the future in the name of Progress, and non-western peoples were consigned to a timeless, or cyclical temporality.<sup>7</sup> The second strand was the development and elaboration of national history and/or myths. In Europe these sometimes took the form of stories of national development, for instance as materialised in the Louvre's ordering of exhibits beginning with classical Greece and located each stage of an ascending development in a different area concluding in then contemporary French art.<sup>8</sup> Alternately, mythologies and ceremonies were developed and invented to invest the polities with a sense of antiquity and depth—most obviously a range of monarchical ceremonies in

Britain, but also mock Gothic architecture, the use of Pugin designs and so forth.<sup>9</sup>

Sweden offers an interesting combination of these approaches. Less involved in the imperial project, it developed less of the imperial discipline of anthropology studying ‘timeless primitives’, instead an internal primitive was found in folk culture. The archetypal folk were pictured as belonging to a time immemorial which was being torn apart by the open future of modernity. In nineteenth century Sweden, undergoing rapid industrialisation and urbanisation, with radical rural changes and reorganisation, this was certainly appealing. However, it is by no means confined to Sweden. Indeed, the discovery and invention of folklore was widespread. Alan Dundes suggested connecting national insecurities with the invention of national folk myths—taking the discovery of the Kalevala in Finland or the Ossian cycle of epic poems in Scotland.<sup>10</sup> In the latter case in particular, a folk culture was posited in advance and poems were thus interpreted as relict fragments of a greater whole. A similar retrospective invention of a folk culture can be found in the work of musicologists researching rural life in England.<sup>11</sup> In the case of Sweden, this retrospective invention of folklife and its mobilisation was not only through verbal forms but through material culture and concept of the local cultural landscape.<sup>12</sup> If folk culture was to be mobilised as a national past, we need to look at the sites through which it was shaped, made tangible and accessible to people.

### **Mythic Places : ‘A Great Folk Poem Made Reality’<sup>13</sup>**

The rapidity of social change and the emergence of new ways of life in Sweden threw peasant life into relief – changing from the banal into the relict. We can chart, through the

nineteenth century, a change from revulsion at peasant life through to romanticisation, alongside the move from an engaged knowledge of the rural environment to a more detached view of environs as something to behold.<sup>14</sup> This shift in the way rural life was witnessed and represented was concurrent with changing ways of experiencing the world and different political and ideological relationships to the countryside. We might gloss the latter shift as from the mediaeval ‘lanskap’ (25 counties) to the sense of landscape as a mode of viewing. We can find this emerging in Selma Lagerlöf’s 1906 book ‘Nils Holgersson’s Wonderful Journey through Sweden’ which blends the old sense of province and that of panorama provided for an outsider by seating the protagonist on a magical Goose’s back to behold each region in turn. A similar effect in the regional guides of the Swedish Touring Club is created by an opening panoramic picture to go with the motto of ‘Know Your Country’.<sup>15</sup> This is echoed in the emergence of landscape postcards and so forth at this time treating places as instants and moments to be collected.<sup>16</sup> The technologies of representation and potential of touring and collecting come together. We might take an example from the Albert Kahn archive—created as part of an unfulfilled project to survey the diversity of human culture and preserve it in a photographic archive.<sup>17</sup> One part of this project was recently shown as the exhibition ‘Med Hyrbil och kamera till Dalarna 1910.’ (By automobile through Dalarna with camera). Here we find the key moments of folk culture in the region being snapped and frozen in an ethnological lens.

This shift also made space for the folk museum. In both cases the everyday is restaged, as a trace of an absent whole, and made into a spectacle.<sup>18</sup> The (world’s) first open air museum, Skansen, was founded in the national capital of Stockholm, along with the more

conventional ethnological Nordic Museum, by Artur Hazelius, bringing together surviving remnants of folk culture throughout Sweden.<sup>19</sup> This is what would now be termed salvage anthropology. It opened in 1891 and now has over 50 significant groups of buildings representing rural life (and others representing Stockholm's urban development) covering some 75 acres. (Figure 1) The complex representing a passing rural order occupies the other side of the Djurgården from that made famous as the venue for workers' political rallies in the early part of this century.

The Nordic Museum and Skansen were to a great extent created by bourgeois city dwellers for other bourgeois city dwellers. For them, peasants, especially those from Dalarna (the province also known by the Latin name *Darlecarlia*), were the most genuine representatives of all that was truly Swedish, and it was to Skansen and the Nordic Museum that parents took the whole family to find confirmation of the myth of the old peasant society.<sup>20</sup>

INSERT FIGURE 1 round here

Skansen made use of costumed workers, to staff the houses and farms, and bring life to the everyday tools, utensils and living conditions of the folk. The buildings were acquired from around the country and brought to the park, assembled into clusters not via some abstract typology but in terms of the cultures from which they came. Thus a Danish influenced farmhouse from Skåne, stands with its own barn and so forth, and a northern Same camp has its own stores, dwellings and animals—in contrast to a thematic display



in a classical museum (all farm houses, all barns and so on). ‘Against the idea of distributing the nation’s cultural heritage without attention to regional specificity—the idea of the classical museum—the ecomuseum pits its own concept of the refraction of museum culture in discrete environments’ so instead of subjecting artefacts to a single authority and presenting them as fragments it represents an organic integrity.<sup>21</sup> This form of display was taken up in a variety of rural and alpine museums in Europe, mostly conceived in the first half of this century, in Japan, in the eco-museum movement in France, and the recreated settlements of the US, (Colonial Williamsburg, Plimoth Plantation or recreated Frontier farmsteads). Looking at the major open air museums in Europe we see Skansen still with the largest number of visitors:<sup>22</sup> These institutions are not temples to high culture, not paeans to Progress, like the Louvre laying out a progressive account of cultural and national development.<sup>23</sup> Instead Skansen illustrates two aspects of an alternative framing of national heritage. The first is what idea of temporality is used. The second is to look at how a national project is articulated through folk cultures. In these ways, we can identify Skansen as a mythic space, translating material culture in a number of ways.

The form of temporality, sets up the folk as a timeless interior Other to the modern nation and is expressed and amplified in the way museums tended to treat ‘folk culture’ as enduring and unchanging before abruptly coming to an end in recent history. Thus Skansen has a Dalarna farmstead, the Moragården (bought 1885 and one of the opening exhibits), comprising several buildings dating from the sixteenth to nineteenth century (with one from 1320). The current guidebook has this to say:

Despite the living quarters and cowhouse being of relatively recent date, [late nineteenth century] the farmstead in its entirety provides a good picture of what a farm in the province of Dalarna looked like during the Vasa period [sixteenth century] and how they survived in these tracts until the 20th century (p22-3)

The representational poetics and politics of such ‘salvage’ work often leads to the presentation of an ‘ethnographic present’ where a small scale culture is portrayed as a whole, rather than comprising individuals, cut off from change – where change, seen as corruption or loss, comes from outside rather than being integral to the culture. These sorts of displays offer a static cameo of the past where time is frozen, inviting visitors to ‘go back in time’.<sup>24</sup> Not a narrative of continuity but one of discontinuity where the mythic zone of the open air museum offers to reconnect us to a past. However, the traditions are inscribed, codified and regulated so they become the property of history rather than living tradition. Pierre Nora suggests that since the rapid modernisation of the industrial era, we feel a sense of discontinuity and have a need for history and places of memory, because the pace of change has outstripped the evolution of uncoded tradition.

We should not believe, however, that this sense of discontinuity finds only unfocused and vague expression. Paradoxically, distance demands the rapprochement that negates it while giving it resonance. Never have we longed in a more physical manner to evoke the weight of the land at our feet ... Yet only in a regime of discontinuity are such hallucinations of the

past conceivable. Our relation to the past is now formed in a subtle play between its intractability and its disappearance ... How can we but see our taste for everyday life in the past a resort to the only remaining means for restoring the flavours of things, the slow rhythm of past times—and in the anonymous biographies of ordinary people? <sup>25</sup>

The logical paradoxes of this as the basis of display are regarded with concern by many commentators as at the least an oxymoron—as in the phrase living history—or, worse, as being a denial of time's passage:

One marked and almost universal preoccupation, manifesting itself in widely different circumstances, is with 'the past'. Not so much an interest in history, which one might understand as an awareness of the process of cause and effect in some sort of historical sequence, but much more an urgent wish to achieve an immediate confrontation with a moment in time, a re-entry into a vanished circumstance when, for a brief moment, the in-the-round 'real', physical, audible and (especially popular) smellable realities of a distant 'then' become a present and convincing 'now'.<sup>26</sup>

The effect of the museum is to encapsulate the past as a holistic, static and bounded cultural entity. It leaves little possible answer to the question what did folk culture evolve in to, and little possibility for 'contemporary' folk culture. The holistic recreation coupled with this salvage vision also pushes towards projecting a coherent past totality of folk culture. That is, instead of showing it as fragmentary, plural, conflictual and

sustained through dispersed and distant networks of transmission contact and change with urban and rural districts, it tends to show a coherent, self-contained and organic vision of the folk. The criticism that a lack of conflict suggests 'peaceable kingdoms' does not go far enough.<sup>27</sup> We need to be aware that the displays suggest forms of culture as static, homogeneous and coherent. Indeed it may be that the tendency is not to show temporality as process at all. It has been claimed that the ecomuseum and local homeland museum are 'musée de l'espace' rather than 'musée du temps'.<sup>28</sup> (Figure 2)

INSERT FIG 2 round here

The portrayal of cultures in Skansen is based around the idea of regional types and distinctive cultural landscapes. Going beyond ethno-linguistic studies we can find the start of a regional classification of folk cultures at least by an 1874 archaeology conference giving rise to publications by Oscar Montelius in 1877.<sup>29</sup> Hazelius thus collected examples of distinctive regional types and artefacts so that within the confines of Skansen there would be 'Sweden in miniature'. Alongside these Skansen includes a zoo, reminding us that ideas of nature, and its influence on the folk, played a significant role in shaping notions of Swedishness. The project was thus very much a part of the world as exhibition, where the Paris exposition of 1878 featured a diorama of a 'balastuga' (farmhouse) from the region of Halland which was included in Skansen's first exhibition. The presentation of dioramas of cultures for comparison by the viewers was part of enframing the world as a visual spectacle. It runs along with the staging of Gamla Stockholm at the exhibition of 1895 as an idealised counterpoint to the modern.<sup>30</sup>

Skansen, as a project, nationalised the diversity of the Swedish vernacular. The process is

expressed more strongly in the Danish Open Air Museum (founded 1901). In the words of its founder Bernard Olsen, it aimed to:

give a picturesque and understandable image of our folk and provincial peculiarities, it should preserve the memory of former days, of the ways of life and thinking of our people in those times. By means of an understandable and captivating presentation it was to show, how our national characteristics have been formed by climate and the nature of our country under the continuous influence of European culture<sup>31</sup>

The possessive tone is part of nationalising a history for Denmark; of the four farmhouses on site, two were from provinces that had become part of Sweden and one from Schleswig lost to Germany in 1864. These were linked into an evolutionary schema that bound together building types, and thus provinces, now beyond the Danish polity bringing them back into the national community. The museum actively ‘Danified’ Schleswig, looking for a border of Danish names and building types, as though there were a confrontation between two bounded, discrete and opposed cultures taking place. It is matched by an equally assertive Germanic history by Magnus Voss, the founder of the Husum Museum, disputing the linguistic derivation of place names and suggesting the Danish building type was something of a late comer that had only since the eighteenth century replaced the Saxon forms.<sup>32</sup> Open air museums through their emphasis on visual reconstruction and reassemblage of exhibitions became part of inventing ideas of what a national community might look like.

Sweden offers a more muted version symbolised by the oldest building in Skansen, a ‘loftharbre’ (storehouse) dating from the fourteenth century. It also hails from Telemark in Norway, and a time when Hazelius envisioned a pan-scandic collection. Sweden had promoted pan-Scandinavianism through the nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup> The secession of Norway in 1904 pushed the nationalisation of the folk culture. Displaying Swedish folk types became a pedagogic element of defining a national consciousness. The Nordic museum has at its entry a statue of sixteenth century Swedish king Gustav Vasa, sternly declaring ‘Warer Swenske!’ (Be Ye Swedish). This programme was not confined to or simply engineered by Hazelius but resonates with another movement that preserved the local cultural and natural landscapes—the ‘hembygdsföreningen’. These institutions blossomed in the first half of this century, at a time when folk imagery was incorporated into marketing and civil functions, and stressed local vernacular material culture.

### **Regional Diversity, Localised Cultures**

The technologies of viewing were creating a visual mosaic of local types but their effectiveness was also through invoking the sense of regional ‘lanskap’ as the association of land, people and custom.<sup>34</sup> A tradition celebrated as early as 1914 with Karl Erik Forsslund’s ‘hembygdsvård’ manual on preserving local natural and cultural environments, which ran to nine editions. In 1919 a new subject was put on the school curriculum ‘hembygds-kunskap’ or ‘local geography and history’. It was not just nostalgic but also about an ethical vision of how to modernise Sweden as where hembygdsforeningen held architectural consultancies and even exhibitions like that of

1924 entitled 'Beautiful Factories'.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps the most influential exponent of regional typologies was Sigurd Erixon (1888-1968). His empirically detailed, analysis of material culture reconstructed cultural regions.<sup>36</sup> Although his work has lost its hegemonic position in Swedish ethnology, it persists in more common understandings and popular learned works, such as Swedish Landscapes.<sup>37</sup> The folk culture of Sweden is split along a range of fault lines and suggest the province of Dalarna occupies a position among these that made it especially suitable as a national symbol. (Upper) Dalarna, and what is termed Darlecarlian culture, came to serve as the quintessential or iconic folk region. First, then I outline the national pattern, second, the specifics of Dalarna as a whole and, third, the individual village level of cultural landscapes.

Initial typologies of folk culture in Sweden, such as Sunbärg's in 1910, located an East-West split between cultural hearths in Denmark, via Skåne, and Mälardalen (the Stockholm region)—the so called Flodstrom line.<sup>38</sup> Later work added a North-South division producing along what is known as the shieling line.<sup>39</sup> This was the southern limit of 'fabodar' systems of winter and 'fabodar' or shieling, summer pastures, whereby the main farm has a subsidiary farmstead where animals are taken for the summer months, generally located higher in the mountains and up to 40km from the main village (figure 3). Upper Dalarna is defined by having this north Swedish model and type of farmstead.<sup>40</sup> In Skansen's promotional material the Moragården and its 'fabodar' make up two of six Northern landscapes, and one of the others is a Same camp.<sup>41</sup> It thus contrasts with groups of metropolitan East Swedish and Danish influenced south-west regions. However, it is not far enough north to be involved with the Same patterns of reindeer herding. It forms a space of possibilities to define an internally exotic, but definitely

Swedish folk culture.

INSERT FIG 3 ROUND HERE

The specific cultural forms of Dalarna also play a role. The area around Siljan was notable for the persistence of folk dress, at least on high and holy days, and especially for women (figure 4). Skansen employed Dalarna women from early on, dressed in their local costume to act as guides to exhibits. Folk rituals were still within living memory. The area was also rare in having an inheritance system that divided land among all the heirs including women. The result was the continual division and recombination of land holdings (and the ‘parstuga’ farmhouse that itself could be divided and recombined). Despite successive attempts at land reform from the early nineteenth century the practice was only finally abolished in 1963. This led to two significant contrasts with other regions. First, large central villages contained several hundreds or thousands of people. Second, there were no grand estates and a relatively undifferentiated peasantry. This was sustained by fairly large-scale proto-industrial activities in terms of craft products—a tradition picked up on by the handicraft and folk art movements. Interior decor also played a prominent part in the Darlecarlian image. Notably the interiors of dwellings were papered and painted with a decorative ‘kurbitts’ form of artwork; originally depicting flowers but later biblical stories (where all the events are converted into familiar local types and events). This form of decor rose in the late eighteenth century and peaked by the last decades of the subsequent century. It is in fact a very localised form, with preserved examples showing a heavy concentration (more than 60% of those at the provincial museum) from the two neighbouring villages of Leksand and Rattvik.



This leads to considering the variation within the Upper Dalarna area. The strong central villages orchestrated around parish churches and divisions sustained a diversity of folk costume based at this village level. Each village was known for a craft specialism (knives in Mora for instance) and its unique folk costume and maypole design. The costume indicated the important divisions of rural life, by gender, age, marital status, and then was varied by season and event—from Sunday wear to everyday, winter to summer and so forth. The variations are quite striking even over distances of a few kilometres. The parishes thus had something of a sense of unified identity and difference which keyed into the celebration of local identity in the hembygdsföreningen. So we have a model of regional belonging, based around the idea of localised regional cultures. These we can find expressed at a variety of scales right down to village level in Dalarna. But we need to also note how specific elements of Darlecarlian culture became symbolic of the nation as a whole.

INSERT FIGURE 4 ROUND HERE

### **Dalarna as National Symbol**

Dalarna, and in particular the area around Lake Siljan which is predominantly rural, has become iconic of Swedishness at various levels. The national tourist symbol is the cheery, carved wooden Dala Horse from the area,<sup>42</sup> and as early as 1862 P F Barford suggested that as the Capitol was to Rome, the Acropolis to Athens, so was Dalarna to Sweden, regional books called it Sweden's heartland,<sup>43</sup> and by 1937 the columnist

Gustaf Näström published ‘Dalarna som Svenskt ideal’ (Dalarna as the Swedish ideal). ‘Today to have a chalet or house painted with the red paint of Falun [the copper mining town of Dalarna] is an absolute incarnation of everything Swedish’.<sup>44</sup> In adverts throughout the century female figures in folk costume have been used to symbolise Sweden – especially unmarried girls from the Siljan village of Rattvik—to sell tobacco, agricultural machinery and coffee among many other items.<sup>45</sup> The figure can be read clearly since the folk costume is identifiable by parish, marital and functional elements. Dalarna was portrayed as one of the places where the wearing of folk costume persisted into this century, where the modern had not succeeded the folk but coexisted with it. This attracted writers, artists of the national romantic movement and tourists from the late nineteenth century, who sought ‘impressions and facts from a genuine country setting’. This description comes from a current popular academic work, which is typical in being both aware of Dalarna’s idealised status and also perpetuating it, describing the countryside’s appeal as both romanticised yet also reiterating the continuance of ‘genuine’ folk traditions: ‘The open cultural landscape with its traditional architecture, often well preserved, appeals to our romantic concept’s of country people’s way of living in olden days in Sweden. In particular Upper Dalarna has often been seen as a district where old traditions have survived.’<sup>46</sup>

As noted above, artists and intellectuals helped popularise the area. The folk costumes formed the base for the artists Gustav Ankarcrona and Carl Larsson’s design for a new national costume of blue and yellow—which was itself an entirely new creation from 1905.<sup>47</sup> These two artists moved to the area and proved enormously influential in differing ways. Ankarcrona founded an artists colony in Leksand, which had 45 artists

present at the turn of the century<sup>48</sup> and a museum in Tällberg, and echoed ideas from the arts and crafts movement in Britain to reanimate handicrafts. Notably this shifted small scale artefact production into an artistic or touristic field from the everyday. The village is still host to a large number of handicraft workshops and second homes from people moving to enjoy the rural idyll. Larsson is better known, along with his wife Carin, for revolutionary books charting his children's growth in a free and relaxed atmosphere. Illustrated from his own house these disseminated not only a style of family life but the interior design he and his wife pioneered at Sundborg. Notably they offered a modern vision of folk culture, in part anti-urban, but, echoing the arts and crafts movement, trying to articulate an alternative to rising Swedish functional modernism. Their preserved house is now one of the most visited attractions in the country and certainly Dalarna. Many others popularised other villages, like Ottilia Adelborg who visited Gagnef in 1902 and settled there in 1908 immortalising the yellow dresses of the young girls (her 'yellow ducklings'), or the painter Anders Zorn in Mora. The first buildings in Skansen were the Moragården, from the village of Mora at the North Western end of lake Siljan. The museum also brought a midsummer pole<sup>49</sup> from Dalarna and one of the major events was the raising and decorating of it to lead off rituals in Stockholm. The event moved from folk to metropolitan culture.

Key elements of Dalarna's distinctive folk culture (costume, handicraft, events and interior décor) were taken into the mainstream. Meanwhile Dalarna's position, in terms of wider cultural regions, also marked it out as distinctive. In all of these the region is atypical of Sweden yet, as an interior that was different and romanticised through the category of folklife, it could be made a national symbol. It was then an internal Other,

against whose fading a modern Sweden could be defined.<sup>50</sup> The sense of *lanskap* as unifying territorial culture, binding folk and environment together, could be mobilised as an iconic landscape of Swedishness. The National Romantic art movement abetted this process as it linked national spirit and territory through this sense of culture bound to environment – rejecting the universalism of contemporary classicism and seeking an expression suitable to the Swedish environment. The next section thus follows how these different forms of representation, in open air museums and art, made the local and particular of Darlecarlian culture generally known and accessible. This mobilisation though crucially depended upon the territorial bounded and temporally disconnected idea of localised folk cultures.

### **Representing Localised Cultures.**

Dalarna now has some 50 *hembygdsgård*. (Figure 5). To put this in perspective, the USA has around 800 living historical farms.<sup>51</sup> These sites took or moved an old or abandoned farm and preserved it along with artefacts and costume. The village *hembygdsgård* is a familiar element of the local scenery. The establishment of one of these by Anders Zorn and his efforts to preserve and popularise folk culture serve as a useful example.<sup>52</sup> Zorn's *gammelgård* is perhaps the largest but we can also observe the house of memories of Adelborg in Gagnef (1905), the preserved *Holengårdar* created by Ankarcrona at Tällberg (1910), or Leksand by Jones Matts Persson (1899) with many more following in the interwar years. Of a Swedish total of 40 local preservation societies in 1915 Dalarna boasted 13.<sup>53</sup> Zorn himself was from a poor background in Mora, but had married into a

banking family and was a successful portrait painter travelling throughout Europe and the USA. Upon his return to Dalarna in 1886, he was struck by the rapidity of change and the collapse of the folk culture he remembered from his childhood. He set about preserving and revitalising it as best he could. One of his foremost contributions was through a series of paintings of folk life. These moved from the national romantic style to offer a vision, not of scenery, but the texture of folk life. He ranged from the daily rituals of washing and cooking, through to the solitude of the shepherdess, the luminescent twilight of night at the midsummer's fair and alcoholic excess, through to the vivacity of the almost impressionistic paintings of dances. While these are not simply sentimental works, they are also far from transparent records of life. Zorn used an old farmstead he bought in the nearby shieling of Gopsmor, one and a half Swedish miles away, as a rural retreat and as a studio. He held events and painted the participants so these occurrences were to an extent staged. Equally, the slightly exoticising effect of these paintings is amplified by his focus on the feminised elements—continuing his studies of nudes, bathing and dressing. There is a slightly disconcerting sense of buying access to a normally private vision. An awkwardness worth noting since it encapsulates the way preservation was at least in part dominated by outsiders, viewing folk culture as an entity rather than those inside it for whom it was a living mutating range of practices.<sup>54</sup>

INSERT FIG 5 round here

Zorn based his modern and manorial residence, with its own central heating and the fourth telephone in Mora, on the preserved maternal grandparents dwelling brought from Yvarden in Utmeland village, and to which he added a studio in an old 'eldhus'

(cookhouse) and erected a 'harbre' (barn) next door.<sup>55</sup> He collected artefacts, while his wife Emma collected textiles, till in 1913 he recreated a farmstead on the outskirts of the village. After his death Emma continued this project and added a recreated fabodar and outlying buildings. Alongside this went a school where Zorn hoped the presence of the old buildings would be both an educational and moral resource in teaching: 'to let young Dalarna people get an idea of the industrious life led by earlier generations while they were studying the theories of their own time, in simple houses from an earlier period.'<sup>56</sup> The collection amounted to some 45 buildings, dating from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth. While Zorn's remembered childhood distends back into time immemorial, like most hembygdsgård in Dalarna, the majority of buildings came from the second half of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The ancient gammelgård thus forms a continuum stretching the lived times of recent generations into time immemorial.

The format of the hembygdsgård works to not only blur this historical and memoried time but also to create a sense of an organic culture. The sites tend to be set apart from the main village, and follow the general pattern of enclosed squares of buildings typical of north Swedish farmsteads. Once within them, one is in many ways cut off from the outside world, and as on most days they are relatively quiet the solitude and tranquility amplifies this effect.<sup>57</sup> (Figure 6) The larger sites like that at Rattvik and Mora, are basically a permanent farmstead recreated on a square, then a shieling farmstead alongside conflating the two. Clearly this allows an more integrated picture of the cultural landscape, but it also stresses the self-contained image of the rural folk. Criticisms often levelled at the synthesis of a regional type in Open Air museums, bringing buildings from all around a region hardly apply to these village based

operations.<sup>58</sup> The social composition of Dalarna means that the preserved buildings are often taken to stand for the solid middle of the peasant class—they do not reflect social stratification found in other areas of Sweden and underplay the landless or industrial activities within Dalarna.<sup>59</sup>

INSERT FIG 6 round here

The picture of the enclosed community misrepresents the considerable part of the Dalarna economy that for generations relied on the remittances of seasonal migrants working in industrial jobs in urban areas of Sweden—as Larsson’s and Zorn’s mothers did. The sense of a locale and a communal identity around the mediaeval parishes is reinforced and has played a role in localist mobilisation and identification.<sup>60</sup> They emphasise proto-industrialisation as being a folk handicraft rather than part of a capitalist accumulation. It also tends to portray a rather idealised version of rural life, almost inevitably since, by and large, rural history becomes summer history—with few museums open in the harsh and dark winter.<sup>61</sup> The conditions of people crammed together for long months and the pressures of maintaining households in these months disappear. The museums are tidied without the muck of working farms, though they are not in pristine condition and do contain latrines and animal sheds, but do not draw out the experience of life for the inhabitants. So we have a rather particular version of localised belonging being developed here through landscape preservation and artefacts. Certainly not one that is inattentive to detail as is often charged of modern recreated environs—indeed rather the opposite. A landscape preservation movement that mobilised particular ideas of folk life as exhibitable through the interventions of painters, writers and others. The involvement

of outside influences in shaping the idea of a territorially and temporally bounded regional folk culture is worth unpacking in a little more detail.

### **Recreated Traditions and Disappearing Folk**

The open air museums in Dalarna tend to presuppose and immobilise an idea of an organic, holistic folk identity prior to the period. We have also seen the influence of nationalist politics. In the light of this it is worth exploring how much might be read into the invention of these traditions and their recasting. The pattern is more complex than a dichotomy of authentic and inauthentic with varying modes of appropriation, reinvention, recasting and development. Indeed the critique of inauthenticity often presupposes that folk culture is unchanging, opposed to external influences, and unself-conscious.<sup>62</sup> We can see the latter as the assumption that folk culture is produced by anonymous agents following collective norms as oppose to individual actions. This is not the case for Dalarna, where we can see art and craft development, where travelling folk artists can be traced by name and through stylistic innovation. The question is not whether to change or modify folk culture but how that occurs. The turn of the century marks a point where active intervention has began to shape the development of folk aesthetics and culture in particular ways and the general field in which folk culture is valorised.<sup>63</sup> For instance, the Kvinnliga Allmänna Nationaldräktsföreningen (Women's General National Costume Society founded 1902), campaigned for women to be freed from domination by foreign fashion through more general use of folk costume, which fits an interpretation of women as bearers of national cultural symbols, but which also tied in with an early feminist struggle against the restricted movement allowed by long skirts and corset. We can see



the creation of folk costume in Norbotten where a committee drew up a design in 1912, or how Värmland developed a standard based around a Västerfärnebo costume.<sup>64</sup> These prescribed costumes tended to lose many of the social distinctions and seasonal and event based variations that marked the living culture. None of which is to say that the costume patterns thus codified were not being worn by members of ‘the folk’. But the record of its persistence as a garb is also revealing. Local photographers both documented people wearing costume and promoted it. For instance Gerda Söderlund would lend costumes to tourists who wished to be pictured in ‘national dress’, others hired costumes for wedding photographs and so forth.<sup>65</sup>

Clearly then the field is more complex than often portrayed. We might draw up a range of possibilities which would range from outright fictitious events, the so-called ‘fakelore’ or ‘folklorismus’,<sup>66</sup> through to events that are continued but whose performance moves from being an everyday, or embedded in normal life, to being a special or sanctified element of folk culture – a ‘public historicism’ - reflected possibly in the transfer of the ritual to a special date or place. In between are all the shades of changes to who take parts and the meanings for locals and audience—indeed the creation of that division itself may be significant. Preserving a ritual ‘intact’ may alter it by changing its context. Then come the difficulties of revitalising or promoting one which is rarely found—spreading it to new regions or ‘regaining’ support, introducing it to new areas, audiences, performers and situations. Conversely, if we admit that folk culture evolves and is dynamic, preserving a ritual by removing the ‘contemporary’ elements or codifying its rules may well lead to anachronistic performances. Many of the folk rituals and customs in Dalarna, it is fair to say, were resurrected or resuscitated. It would also be fair to say that many

were only just in abeyance. For instance, at the Midsummer pole ceremonies that form such a central image of the parishes, with each parish using a different set of decorations, and where traditionally costumed people and parades mark the raising of the pole amid seasonal festivities, we can note how the pole raisings are scheduled so as not to clash with each other, and around Siljan the poles remain raised all summer. The poles and festivities are generally located in the hembygdsgård. The festival has an almost iconic status in the tourist literature—figuring prominently in illustrated material and in popular introductions to Swedish traditions. The ritual itself was reinvigorated by Anders Zorn who also organised folk music competitions—and two of whose most famous paintings are of folk dances and returns from a midsummer dance. We can look at his influence in staging folk music festivals that bred new interest, so that now thousands attend festivals in Rattvik, Falun and Borlänge. Zorn and Knis Karl Aronsson both played a role in commissioning ‘traditionally’ carved and decorated timber dwellings, and promoting courses to perpetuate the skills needed.

Aronsson also rejuvenated the practice of rowing to church – recorded in paintings and accounts of church boats being rowed across Lake Siljan. It is often said that Hazelius was first inspired to collect folk material by watching the boats and folk costumes at Leksand. However, Aronsson’s re-creation of the practice in 1936, after a quarter of a century of abeyance, turned it into a sporting race, involving the villages competing against each other. However, one cannot lightly suggest these institutions play with an idealised image of the past – when many have a formidable commitment to preservation. Indeed, through much of the century the hembygdsföreningen have played an active role in codifying and defining what is ‘authentic’ vernacular construction within the planning

process.<sup>67</sup> It seems inadequate to use definitions of authentic and inauthentic that contain problematic assumptions and presuppositions about the folk culture itself being unchanging and localised. The implications of these institutions are paradoxically the celebration of an idea of an authentic bounded folk culture, which is different to the national norm and valorised as an alternative. Yet this image belies the manifold connections of inside and outside viewpoints, the connections between different cultures and the development and changes in folk culture. The ramifying complications of intervention and self-consciousness, the definition of insiders and outsiders, the idea of a lost world are further turned when we consider that these institutions and practices of preservation themselves have a history.

### **Beyond Purity: Traditions of Recreation**

Seeking to pin down which elements may be treated as authentic can lead to an almost infinite regress and perpetuates the impression that authenticity is defined in terms of purity –a local identity cut off from either modern or foreign contamination. This seems simply to write the story of national identity at a smaller scale. The appeal of the nation to a regional identity, in the case of Dalarna, appears to offer possibilities for the interaction of national and local identities other than duplicating the process at a different scale, or hierarchical or nested scales of belonging. Quite clearly the national articulation of Darlecarlian culture opens local forms to non-members, as well as drawing a boundary around the national. The ability to appreciate Dalarna becomes one of the attributes of Swedishness. Although often set up as archetypal, traditional, unchanging and

unreflexive, this paper suggests we need a more reflexive understanding of it. Thus although we can chart the interventions of 'outside' agents in preserving folk culture, popularising it and using to help define the Swedish nation, this does not necessarily invalidate or disqualify the rituals and places involved. The living folk traditions were transformed into history, as a preserved, actively reconstructed and codified form of knowledge. The specific milieu involved offers the appearance of a bounded space and recaptured era together forming a lost culture. This paper has suggested that these milieux emerged from a specific conjunction of spatial and temporal imaginaries around the turn of the century. Yet they persist, beyond when we can see them playing on the edge of living memory. They are now in themselves historic and traditional forms.<sup>68</sup>

This shift means that the translation of tradition into history is not a one way process. Although elements of folk culture were indeed hovering around the borders of memory and history at the beginning of the century, few would claim they still are. These are no longer salvaging a disappearing culture. In fact the historical recreations have themselves become part of traditions, they have their own culture as recreations. Thus hembygdsgård, equipped with stages for village dances and may poles are not atavistically restaging past rituals, but creating ones which have become part of the idiom of modern life. The museums attract relatively few visitors simply to view their unchanging exhibits. However, they fill for events and festivals with visitors, locals and tourists. Indeed most sites have the modern addition of a stage or platform for just these occasions. The local history association play a vital role in organising community festivals which may well be in the guise of recreated traditions, yet provide an important avenue for contemporary celebration.<sup>69</sup> If we discard the idea of an homogeneous folk

culture then this becomes part of the evolution of the local identity. Indeed outmigration is now coupled with seasonal returns, often to take advantage of inherited rights to shielings converted into summer cottages. The events at midsummer and the festivals based around the gammelgård act to bring together this dispersed community. The interests in the festivals can be thoroughly modern but their mode of expression may be historical.<sup>70</sup> The historical and preserved material is taken up and utilised in modern traditions of popular culture. Clearly this also brings sites canonised by national history into the contemporary popular realm. The stability of displays at hembygdsgård means that they form a backdrop of consistency and personal memory for a changing and evolving community.

The paradox set for these sites is to work to unite a plural and dispersed community—up to the national level—under the sign of a homogeneous and closed local identity. Setting folk culture apart as something timeless or historic, in the sense of being unchanging and cut off from contemporary life means it can be appropriated. It is not part of the contested and fluid realm of modern popular culture. It is not involved in current issues of European convergence, be that politically or through MTV, nor the multi-cultural identities of modern Swedes.<sup>71</sup> In this sense there is a dangerous essentialism that risks locating folk culture as the hidden centre or core accessible only to true Swedes. However, the way Dalarna is set up in terms of internal difference also seems to militate against this. It is not the heartland or common inheritance of the majority. So although the form of the open air museums offers a localised, self-contained and fossilised vision of past Swedish culture, it provides the stage for an ongoing set of practices that articulate a dispersed and fragmented current identity.

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## Figures captions

- Figure 1) Map of Skansen Open Air Museum Stockholm, the English language guidebooks depicts the current layout of the exhibits, which include an urban quarter and a zoo. The North Swedish landscapes are clustered at the northern end about two thirds of the way up the map. The Moragården is number 42 and its fabodar 48 nearby. A dark line indicates an itinerary that leads one on a tour of Sweden. Source: Skansen Museum Guidebook
- Figure 2) Map of origin of rural exhibits in Skansen, providing Sweden in miniature, using regional rather than chronological typologies. Source: Skanesn Museum Guidebook
- Figure 3) Picture of Mora Villagers in folk dress moving from main to summer pasture, 1910; Albert Kahn collection
- Figure 4) .Boy and women of Rattvik in folk dress, 1910. The boy seems to be dressed up especially as folk costume for men had become much rarer by this time. Source: Albert Kahn collection
- Figure 5) Map of Dalarna in Sweden and villages within from the Hembygdsgårdar handbook, Anderson R op.cit.
- Figure 6) Zorns gammelgarden, or Leksand hembygdsmuseum, summer 1997

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<sup>1</sup> Anderson, B. Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism. Verso: London 1983, Samuel, R. & Thompson, P. (eds.) The Myths We Live By. Routledge: London, Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T. (eds.) The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, Bhabha, H. (1994) Nation and Narration. Routledge, London, 1989

<sup>2</sup> Morley, D. & Robins, K. () Spaces of Identity. Routledge, London,1993; Robins, K. Tradition and Translation: National Culture in its Global Context. Pp. 21-44 in Corner, J. & Harvey, S. (eds.) Enterprise and Heritage. Crosscurrents in National Culture. Routledge: London. 1991

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<sup>3</sup>See Nora P Between Memory and History: *Les lieux-de-memoires*. Representations 1989 26: 7-25 for a theoretical summary.

<sup>4</sup> The term is taken from Michel de Certeau's analysis of the ethnology and regulation of folk dialects in France and the collecting practices of Nisard, in Heterologies, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1986. A similar focus on the practices of entextualising and performing folk life is outlined in Brenneis, D. Some Contributions to Social Theory: aesthetics and politics in a translocal world, Western Folklore 1993 52 Apr 291-303.

<sup>5</sup> Currently these museums have aroused controversy about their authenticity, the spectacularisation of the past and so forth, this paper looks at their origins in Sweden in part to see whether these issues have always been bound into the form. For examples see, Anderson, J. Time Machines: The World of Living History. American Association for State and Local History: Nashville, TN 1984, Cohen, E Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism. Annals of Tourism Research 1988 15 371-86, Crang, 'Living History: Magic Kingdoms or a Quixotic Quest for Authenticity?'. Annals of Tourism Research 1996 23 (2) 415-431 Fowler, P. The Past in Contemporary Society: Then. Now. Routledge: London 1992., Leon, W. & Piatt, M. Living History Museums. Leon, W. & Rozenzweig, R. (eds.) History Museums in the US: a critical assessment. University of Illinois Press: Urbana & Chicago 1989. Walsh, K. The Representation of the Past in the Present: Museums and Heritage in a Post-Modern World. Routledge: London 1992

<sup>6</sup> Throughout the paper the Swedish titles of the movement and its sites are left. This is principally since there is no easy translation of the 'hembygd' part of the titles. Conventionally it would be rendered as 'homeland', but in English usage this term tends to refer to national scales, but the localist version is a weaker 'home district'. The official title of the national hembygdsföreningen was changed from Society for the Preservation of Local Culture (Samfundet för hembygdvård founded 1916) to the Association for the Preservation of the Local Nature and Culture in 1975, of which individual groups are more literally the Local Heritage/History Society. The problem with these terms is the loss of the emotive force of homeland. One possibility would be to use the German heimat to convey the sense of belonging. However, heimat museums (Heimatschutz and Heimatpflege) have overtones from National Socialist projects from the thirties. While this essay suggests the local history museum does have conservative leanings, using the German appears too loaded. So the root 'hembygd' has been left, with suffixes of -föreningen meaning 'association' or 'movement', and -gårdar referring to the outdoor museum sites themselves. Where these sites themselves use the term 'gammelgård' (old enclosure/farmstead) this has been kept.

<sup>7</sup>Fabian, J Time and the Other: how anthropology makes its object, Columbia University Press, NY, 1983; Perkins M Timeless Cultures: the 'Dreamtime' as colonial discourse, Time & Society 1998 7.2 335-51

<sup>8</sup> Duncan, C. Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship, in Karp, I., & Levine, S. (eds) Exhibiting Cultures: the Poetics and Politics of Museum Display. Smithsonian Institute Press, Washington DC, 1991 . p99

<sup>9</sup> Stafford, W. 'This Once Happy Country': nostalgia for a pre-modern society. in Chase, M. & Shaw, C. (eds.) The Imagined Past: History & Nostalgia. (Manchester University Press: Manchester 1989). Clive, J. The Uses of the Past in Victorian England Salmagundi 1985/6, 68-9, 48-65.

<sup>10</sup>Dundes, A Nationalistic Inferiority Complexes and the Fabrication of Fakelore: a reconciliation of Ossian, the Kinder-und Hausmurchen, the Kalevala, and Paul Bunyan. Journal of Folklore Research 1985 22 (1): 5-18

<sup>11</sup> Judge, R Merrie England and the Morris, 1881-1910, Folklore 1993, 104, 1-2, 124-43. Boyes, G The Imagined Village.: culture, ideology and the English folk revival, , Manchester UP 1993.

<sup>12</sup> The materiality of folk ethnology stressed a regional unity or co-adaptation of human and physical landscapes. The journal of the Local Heritage Federation is thus called 'Bygd och Natur'. If we take the connections made towards nature we can find the influence of Forsslund in a strange combination of Romanticism, socialism and Nietzsche animating turn of the century opinion. For a discussion see Löfgren, O. Scenes from Troubled Marriage: Swedish ethnology and Material Culture Studies, Journal of Material Culture 1997 2 (1) 95-113

<sup>13</sup> This a quote from the author Gustav af Geijerstam in 1892 describing a visit to the newly opened Skansen, in Fryckman, J. & Löfgren, O Culture Builders: an historical anthropology of middle class life, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1987, p61, see also Facos, M. (1998) Nationalism & The Nordic Imagination: Swedish Art of the 1890s. University of California Press, Berkeley p72.

<sup>14</sup>Löfgren, O The Nationalization of Culture, Ethnologia Europaea 1989 XIX: 2-23; Fryckman, J. & Löfgren, O 1987. op.cit. esp chap 2, p128; Urry J , The Tourist Gaze and the 'Environment', Theory,



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Culture & Society 1992, 9 1-26, for a different take see Olwig, K Recovering the Substantive Nature of Landscape Annals of the Assoc. of Amer. Geogr. 1996 86 (4) 630-53

<sup>15</sup> Helmfrid, S (ed.) Landscapes and Settlements, National Atlas of Sweden. SNA Publishing, Stockholm, 1994, Hamrin Ö & Norling, O I Tursternas landskap. Svenska Turistföreningens Årsbok 1997 26-41. Stockholm..

<sup>16</sup> Löfgren, O., Wish You were here! Holiday Images and Picture Postcards. Ethnologia Scandinavica 1985, 90-107.

<sup>17</sup> The French financier Albert Kahn which between 1910 and 1931 produced more than 70,000 colour plates for Les Archives de la Planète, a project to record the cultures, peoples and places of the world. Kruse, H., Jobs-Björklöf, K. & Andersson, R. Med Hyrbil och kamera till Dalarna 1910. Leksands Kulturnämnd, Dalarna. 1994. The historic photos in this essay come from the collection.

<sup>18</sup> Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. Objects of Ethnography. Karp, I. & Lavine, S. op.cit. p387

<sup>19</sup> Fryckman & Löfgren note that: 'Scholars and folklore collectors saw themselves as a rescue team picking their way through a landscape of cultural ruins, where scraps and survivals of traditional lifestyles could still be found. Through their enthusiastic work they helped construct the myth of a traditional and national peasant culture.' Op.cit. p59. English scholars used similar assumptions of the 'remnants of the peasantry' and a mismatch between the unlettered peasant, repeating timeless folk song and the actual performers encountered. One effect was to downplay current creativity and stress repetition, see Boyes op.cit..

<sup>20</sup> Hellspong M, & Klein B, Folk Art and Folklife Studies in Sweden, in Klein, B & Widbom, M. (eds) Swedish Folk Art: all tradition is change, Harry N Abrams, Stockholm, 1994, p21

<sup>21</sup> Poulot D. (1994) Identity as Self-Discovery: the Ecomuseum in France, in Sherman, D. & Rogoff, I. (eds.) Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles. Routledge: London p73. We can chart the history of the French ecomusee movement as being in part about a resistance to highly centralised and hierarchical cultural establishment, see also Hoyau, P. Heritage and the 'conserver society'. in Lumley, R. (ed.) The Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures on Display. Comedia: London 1988

<sup>22</sup> Figures from Johnson P & Thomas B Tourism, Museums and the Local Economy: the economic impact of the North of England Open Air Museum at Beamish Edward Elgar, Aldershot, Hants. 1992 and Ehrentraut A. Globalisation and the Representation of Rurality: Alpine Open Air Museums in Advanced Industrial Societies. Sociologica Ruralis 1996 36 (1): 4-26. Skansen recorded some 1,685,474 visitors in 1988, Beamish as the next most visited recorded 496,914 in the same year.

<sup>23</sup> Duncan, C. & Wallach A. The Universal Survey Museum, Art History 1980 3 (4) 448-69

<sup>24</sup> While it has been suggested that this forms a peculiarly Anglo-American vision of a timeless past, it would also seem true of Scandinavia; Lowenthal D. The Timeless Past: some Anglo-American Historical Preconceptions Jnl of American History 1989 75 (4) 1263-80

<sup>25</sup> Nora op.cit. p17

<sup>26</sup> Sorensen, C. Theme Parks and Time Machines, in Vergo, P. (ed.) The New Museology. Reaktion: London 1989 p61

<sup>27</sup> The phrase is from Schlereth, T. It Wasn't That Simple. Museum News 1978 Jan/Feb 36-44, see also Anderson J op.cit.

<sup>28</sup> Poulot op.cit p66

<sup>29</sup> The context was of contemporaneous work on an atlas of languages in France and a survey of Germanic cultures, Erixon S Svenska kulturgränser och kulturprovinser. K. Gustav Adolfs Akademiens småskrifter 1. Lantbrukförbundets Tidskrifts AB, Stockholm 1945 p7

<sup>30</sup> The context of the technologies of display can be followed in Pred in Recognising Contemporary European Modernities, Routledge, 1994 or Pred, A. Spectacular Articulations of Modernity: the Stockholm Exhibition of 1897. Geografiska Annaler 1991 73 B (1): 45-84, also Bennett, T. The Exhibitionary Complex. New Formations 1988 4 73-102

<sup>31</sup> Cited p23, in Skougaard, M., The Ostfeld Farm at the Open-Air Museum; Aspects of the Role of Folk Museums in Conflicts of National Heritage Nordisk Museologi 1995 2 :23-32

<sup>32</sup> Skougaard op.cit.

<sup>33</sup> Löfgren 1989 op.cit. p11

<sup>34</sup> p633 Olwig op. Cit.

<sup>35</sup> See Björkroth, M., Hembygd - a concept and its ambiguities Nordisk Museologi 1995 2: 33-40..

<sup>36</sup> Erixon, S. op.cit.; Campbell, Å., Erixon, S., Linqvist, N.& Sahlgren, J. Atlas över Svensk Folkkultur. Utgiven Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien. Bokförlaget Niloé, Uddevalla, 1957. For its continuing influence see Helmfrid, S, Sporrang, U., Tolin, C. & Widgren, M., Sweden's Cultural landscape a

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Regional Description, in Helmfrid, op cit. A critical rethinking of some pitfalls can be found in Löfgren , O. Peasant Ecotypes: problems in the comparative study of ecological adaptation, Ethnologia Scandinavica 1976 100-115.

<sup>37</sup> Sporrong, U., Ekstam, U., & Samuelsson, K. Swedish Landscapes. Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, Stockholm. 1995

<sup>38</sup> Helmfrid, S, Sporrong, U., Tolin, C. & Widgren, M op.cit. p60

<sup>39</sup> Erixon op.cit. p10

<sup>40</sup> Erixon op.cit p40

<sup>41</sup> The range of landscape types and their groupings can be viewed on the Skansen website, <http://www.skansen.se/gardar.htm>. Bergslagen in Lower Dalarna is a separate part of the museum.

<sup>42</sup> The horse was popularised by being used a symbol at the New York World Exhibition in 1939. This raises two points. First, that in such exhibitions the layout of national pavilions echoes the Skansen layout of regions. Second, the horse might equally be a symbol of the acumen of the handicraft association at Nusnäs near Mora that sent 10,000 to be offered as souvenirs. Brück, U Identity, local community and local identity in Honko, L. (ed.) Tradition and Cultural Identity, Nordic Institute of Folklore, Turku, 1988, p.82. Greverus, I-M, 1976 'Nothing but a little Dala-horse, or How to de-code a 'folk' symbol, Folklore Today.

<sup>43</sup> p29-34 in Hamrin & Norling.

<sup>44</sup> Rosander The "nationalisation" of Darlecarlia, in Honko, L. (op.cit) p121

<sup>45</sup> Rosander op.cit. 107, 120, and Hamrin Ö & Norling op. cit.

<sup>46</sup> Hansen, B. The Siljan District, in Helmfrid, op.cit p122

<sup>47</sup> p.81 in Jacobsson B The Arts of the Swedish Peasant World in Klein, B & Widbom, M op.cit

<sup>48</sup> Rosander op.cit p114

<sup>49</sup> In other places this is a May pole but in Sweden the celebration is at the solstice.

<sup>50</sup> Parallels of the role of an internal folk culture valorised by its difference might be made with the Finnish nationalisation of Karelia. See also Raivo, P. The limits of tolerance: the Orthodox milieu as an element in the Finnish Landscape. Jnl of Historical Geography 1997 23 3, 327-39, Wilson W Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1976.

<sup>51</sup> The national total for Sweden is roughly a thousand hembygdsgård and many more local groups. See Anderson R ., Hembygdsgårdar Dalarna, Dalarnas Museum, Falun 1978 pp 34-41; Leone, M. Sketch of a theory for Outdoor History Museums. Proceedings of Annual Meeting of the Association for Living Historical Farms and Agricultural Museums (ed.) Cousins, P.. Smithsonian Institute: Washington, DC 1987 p36; Leon W. & Piatt M op.cit . Total visitor numbers in Sweden are unknown, but extrapolating from on site observations would suggest that a site might receive 12-20 visitors on a 'normal' day, probably nearer the upper end of that range, which over the whole summer would suggest up to 60,000 visits in Dalarna excluding special events such as dances or festivals.

<sup>52</sup> Anders Zorn (1860-1920), a brief guide to his art and work is by Sandström, B, Anders Zorn: an introduction to his life and achievements, Zornsamlingarna, Mora, 1996. A catalogue of his folk-life paintings is Sandström, B Folklivsskildraren, Anders Zorn, Zornsamlingarna, Mora. 1992

<sup>53</sup> p127 in Rosander , G. op.cit; see also Anderson, R op.cit

<sup>54</sup> One might also note the slightly earlier role played by the Swedish speaking elite of the Grand Duchy of Finland in promoting a Finnish culture in the struggle to assert a national identity. Löfgren op.cit 1989 p11, cf. Engman, M. Finns and Swedes in Finland, in Tägil, S. (ed.) Ethnicity and Nation Building in the Nordic World, Hurst & Company, London, 1995.

<sup>55</sup> Björklund Anders Zorn - hembygdsvårdaren 1972 p17

<sup>56</sup> Björklund op.cit. p18

<sup>57</sup> Ehrentraut op.cit

<sup>58</sup> For critical commentaries of regional open air museums, especially as translated to industrial pasts, see West, R. The Making of the English Working Past: a critical view of the Ironbridge Gorge museum, and Bennett, T. Museums and 'the People'. both in ed. Lumley R op.cit.; Dicks B., The Life and Times of Community – Spectacles of collective identity at the Rhondda Heritage Park. Time & Society 1997 6, 2-3: 195-212

<sup>59</sup> The 'lanskap' idea has tended to be mobilised in these terms, as focusing on common rights and has been deployed as the opposite of the aesthetic and social distance suggested in English landscape art Olwig op.cit.

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<sup>60</sup> Ekman, A-K Community Carnival and Campaign: expressions of belonging in a Swedish region. Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology 25, Department of Social Anthropology, Stockholm University 1991

<sup>61</sup> Ehrentraut op.cit.

<sup>62</sup> For a discussion of this presupposition see Handler, R. & Linnekin, J. Tradition, Genuine or Spurious. Jnl of American Folklore 1984, 97, 385, 273-90

<sup>63</sup> Studies also suggest that throughout history the upper classes have played a significant role in shaping and influencing peasant costume (Hellspong & Klein op.cit p39). The idea that prior to the end of the nineteenth century there was an autonomous sphere of peasant culture is not realistic. However, the idea of such a split - pitting the innovative temporality of fashion against a timeless tradition is a powerful myth of modernity. Historical study suggest rather that we can find peasant costume making appearance in masked balls of the eighteenth century and fashions running through rural communities.

<sup>64</sup> P81 in Jacobsson B., The Arts of the Swedish Peasant World, in Klein, B & Widbom, M op.cit

<sup>65</sup> p114 in Ågren, P-U., Country Photographers in Klein, B & Widbom, M op.cit. . Notably the county photographers seem filled with a similar archival impulse as the preservation societies but are also closely associated with providing the sorts of folk and romantic genre images tourists expected from art work.

<sup>66</sup> Anderson R op.cit. page 22, for a typology see Rosander op.cit page 99

<sup>67</sup> Björkroth op.cit.

<sup>68</sup> Handler & Linnekin note a similar situation in Quebec where so much attention has been paid to folk culture for so long that the 'work of folklore popularizers is almost as traditional as tradition itself' op.cit. p281

<sup>69</sup> Ekman's (op.cit.) study of Alfta parish recounts how the local history society runs the re-established Per's fair and Volas Day celebrations, with up to 200 involved in planning, people in folk costume and so forth. The festival opens at hembygdsgård and then processes into the village (p112-5). Indeed activities such as fixing up the old fabodar offer chances of communal bonding beyond these events.

<sup>70</sup> Ekman (op.cit. p125) notes how festivals clearly traditionalise new material as well as perpetuate old traditions in the local politics of Edsbyn.

<sup>71</sup> As I write this the current Skansen leaflets do though have a none white Swede on the cover.