

One Landscape – Differing Eyes  
The Interface of the Past for the Future  
in the Norwegian Fjord Landscape

Knut Grove



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# One Landscape – Differing Eyes

## The Interface of the Past for the Future in the Norwegian Fjord Landscape

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STEIN ROKKAN CENTRE FOR SOCIAL STUDIES

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## Preface

The first version of this paper was presented on the 22nd Session of The Permanent European Conference for the Study of the Rural Landscape (PECSRL) in Berlin, September 2006. A short version is found at the conference's homepage, <http://www.geog.fu-berlin.de/~pecsrl/PDF-BERLIN/Grove.pdf>. The working paper is written as part of the project dealing with the history of the municipality of Eidfjord in Hardanger. I would like to thank for comments at the conference, at the Bjørnson seminar in the University of Bergen and from the research group Culture, Technology and Gender at the Rokkan Centre.

## Samandrag

Heilt sidan oppkomsten av den moderne turismen midt i det 19. hundreåret har dei vestnorske fjordlandskapa vore internasjonalt kjente attraksjonar. Samtidig har dei også vore sett på som norske, «nasjonale» landskap. Fjordlandskapet i Hardanger fekk i begge tydingar tidleg og sterk merksemd. I dette paperet vert for det første måten Hardanger vart etablert som eit regionalt og nasjonalt landskap omhandla. For det andre blir det sett etter skilnader i måten landskapet blir sett og oppfatta på av turistar og dei som bur i regionen, med vekt på den indre delen av Hardanger.

Alt tidleg i det 19. hundreåret vart fjordlandskapet i Hardanger sett på som særmerkt, om enn meir som fryktinngytande enn vakkert. Måten landskapet vart framstilt i måleri og andre biletframstillingar på denne tida, vart Hardanger-landskapet løfta fram som eit symbol på det norske. Oppfatninga bygde på ei biletleg («pictorial») oppfatning eller persepsjon som hang saman med den generelt sterke vekta på nasjonale verdiar og nasjonalstaten som kjenneteikna perioden. Ved inngangen til det 20. hundreåret var Hardanger eit nasjonalt landskap, der dei som budde der vart sett på som rette innehavarar av nasjonale verdiar. Tradisjonar, folkedrakter og historie var sentrale nasjonsbyggande element, som kunne finnast i Hardanger. Måten landskapet vart framstilt på i måleria var likevel mindre nasjonalromantisk enn liknande bilete elles i Europa, og dei som budde i dette landskapet var heller ikkje romantiske skikkelsar, men var heller kjende for å vera rasjonalistiske og nøkterne. Dette kan sjåast som ei motsetning eller ei spenning mellom eit romantisk og eit rasjonalistisk blick på landskapet i Hardanger. Dei som budde i landskapet, heldt oppe si livform og haldning til landskapet som noko som i første rekke skulle brukast av dei. Oppkomsten av turisme som ein ny leveveg eller attåttnæring løfta fram dei sidene ved landskapet som vart verdsett av blikket utanfrå, med det romantiske og dramatiske i forgrunnen. Turisme som næring og turistens blick på landskapet vart integrert i kvardagsblikket. Samtidig som turistane gav ekstra inntekter, bragte dei også med seg andre vanar, byggeskikkar og oppførsel til fjordsamfunna. Menneska i Hardanger fekk eit blick på landskapet som brukarar og innbyggjar, på same tid som dei kunne sjå landskapet med blikket utanfrå, som eit bilete av eit landskap som kunne bringa med seg ekstra inntekter frå dei som ville koma og sjå det.

I dag er fjordlandskapet i Hardanger både ein turistmagnet og eit nasjonalt landskap. Det kan framleis setjast opp ei motsetning mellom turistens blick utanfrå og lokalbefolkninga sitt innsideblick. Men dei kulturelle filtera har endra seg gjennom dei 150 åra fjordlandskapet har blitt besøkt av turistar. Turistane sjølv, båtane og køyretøya deira, hotel og gjestgjevarstader bidreg til så vel kulturlandskap som økonomi. Turismens nærver skapte avgjerande endringar i landskapet, og gjorde det samtidig mogleg å etablere eit blick utanfrå på landskapet også for dei som lever i det.

## Summary

The Fjord Landscapes in Western Norway have been international attractions from the beginning of modern tourism at the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. At the same time they have been recognized as Norwegian, «national» landscapes. In both ways early and strong attention was given to Hardanger in Hordaland county. In this paper the focus will be on the Fjord Landscape of Inner Hardanger, the area close to the high mountain plateau Hardangervidda. First it will be dealt with how the perception of Hardanger as a regional and national landscape were established, secondly, it will be discussed if there have been differences in the perceptions or eyes on the landscape as seen from tourists and inhabitants in this region.

As early as in the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the Hardanger landscape was seen as remarkable, though more sublime than beautiful. The recognition was built on a «pictorial» understanding or perception, connected to the generally strong position of national values and the national state in this period. At the rise of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Hardanger was established as a National Landscape, with the people living there seen as true keepers of national values. Traditions, folk costumes and history were important elements in the building of the national state, values which were closely connected to Hardanger. Thus, the way the landscape were painted did not show the landscape in the mythical and mystic way often associated with the romantic period elsewhere in Europe, and the people living in the landscape were not recognized as romantic actors, but were known to rationalistic and down-to-earth. It can be stated that the result was a contradiction or tension between a romantic and rationalistic eye also at the landscape of Hardanger.

The answers of the question about the differences in the perceptions or eyes on the landscape as seen from tourists and inhabitants are sought in this tension. The people who lived in the landscape, held up their way of life and attitude to the landscape as something that should serve their needs. But the values attributed to Hardanger and its landscape from outside also favoured tourist business, were the romantic elements of landscape and people were lifted forward. Tourism gave extra income for many people and brought other customs, buildings and habits to the fjord communities. The people of Hardanger got both an inside perspective to their landscape as users and inhabitants, but were also trained in seeing its landscape from outside, as a scenery, a product who could bring extra income.

Still today, the Hardanger landscape is both a tourist magnet and a national landscape. The tourist could also now be seen as someone looking at the landscape from «outside», while the local people are having an «inside» look at it. But the cultural filters have changed. The tourists, their boats and vehicles, hotels and guest houses have through their presence been decisive to the changes in the landscape. Rise of tourism and the status of the landscape made it possible to look at it from «outside», while living in it.

## Introduction

The Fjord Landscapes in Western Norway have been international attractions from the beginning of modern tourism at the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The strongest and earliest traditions are tied to the Hardanger fjord, located in the Hardanger region in Hordaland County. Today this region includes seven municipalities, with a total of approximately 23 000 people.<sup>1</sup> Here the focus will be on the Fjord Landscape of the inner part of this region. Inner Hardanger is the area close to the high mountain plateau Hardangervidda (the municipalities Granvin, Ulvik, Eidfjord, Ullensvang and Odda), and constitutes the most contrasting elements of this Fjord Landscape. Most attention will be paid to Eidfjord, which has been an important tourist attraction and a destination for travellers since early in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Norway's most famous waterfall (Vøringfossen) is a special attraction and large parts of the national park of Hardangervidda lie inside the borders of this municipality.

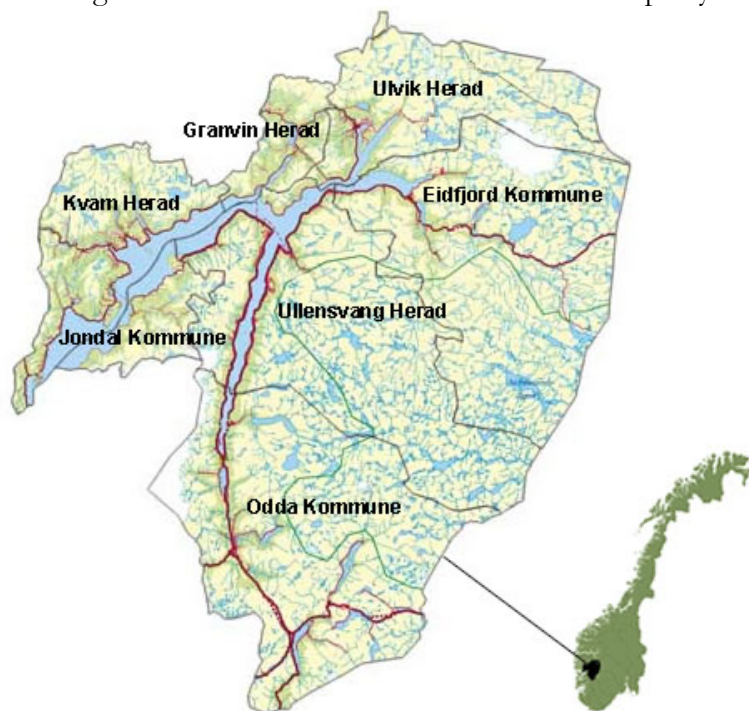


Figure 1: The Hardanger region.

The questions asked are 1) How were perception on Hardanger as a regional and national landscape established? 2) Have there been differences in the perceptions or eyes on the landscape as seen from tourists and inhabitants?

The aim is to establish a historical and cultural perspective on the processes constituting the landscape in this region. It will be showed how representations of the landscape through photos and paintings can be used as sources to the historical

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.hordaland.no/upload/hdl-i-talmai06.pdf>



understanding of the processes constituting an outside eye on the one hand, which will be contrasted with the eyes of the inhabitants on the other.

## The making of the Hardanger landscape

The perceptions and eyes at landscapes differ, depending in time and on who is the observer. What has been seen is a result of what the observer do, what he or she knows and who they interact with. Landscapes can be seen as a «cultural images», stressing the symbolic aspects of it.<sup>2</sup> This «pictorial way» recognizes a landscape primarily as something which can be understood from the outside. This point of view started a debate among geographers (mostly) about the concept of landscapes which reflected the cultural turn in the humanities and social disciplines (as expressions as «reading the landscape as a text», indicates).<sup>3</sup> The question of the outsider's eye on a landscape was in the debate confronted with the eyes of the people living in and experiencing the landscape from within. The perceptions or eyes on landscapes depend on from where it is seen and from who. Starting with the Hardanger landscape as seen from outside and in a «pictorial way»: When did this Fjord Landscape become a scenery and who were its observers?

The Hardanger landscape was «discovered» in the sense being travelled to and described from an outside view at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. As late as in 1820 the travellers looked upon the landscape as «raw and uncultivated» («raadt og udyrket»), a place with «little of natural beauty», of «only outlying fields». But at the same it now began to be worth visiting, exactly because of its «rawness». The sublime, breathtaking character of the untamed landscape was lifted up – in contrast to the controlled and rational nature from the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>4</sup> Herder's concept of culture saw it as the result of the place and surroundings where man is placed. This connection between place and identity laid the ground for romanticism, and the idea of some landscapes being more national – i.e. represents to a higher extent the national character – than others. This was reflected in the «pictorial» understanding of landscapes; in the outside eye on the landscape and in portraits of the landscape. The picture of the Hardanger landscape changed. Now it became a landscape known first and foremost for its beauty and bearer of a Norwegian national identity.<sup>5</sup> As long as the Hardanger landscape had been regarded as sublime it was painted with as seen from the high views, as in J.C. Dahl's works.<sup>6</sup> In the next generation the perspective changed – the painters came so to speak down from the mountains. Thence the fjord was something that was looked out on, not down to. The landscape became softer, with less sharp and wild mountains and with more rounded dales. This presentation of the landscape can be seen as the European romantic coming to Norway, as stated by many authors of art and literature history in

2 This short overview is based on Jones and Olwig's introduction in Jones and Olwig (etd.) (2008) The debate was initiated by the geographers Dennis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels' *The iconography of Landscape* (1988).

3 Cf Cook et. al (eds.): *Cultural Turns/ Geographical Turns* (2000), here after Berg et al (2004), p. 9.

4 With the philosopher Edmund Burke as the father of the sublime concept in his study *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful*. (1759) (after Danbolt (2004a), p. 165)

5 Danbolt, Gunnar (2004b), Danbolt (2004a), p. 153ff, Lowenthal (1986).

6 Danbolt (2004a), p. 166.

Norway.<sup>7</sup> Thus, these paintings did not show the landscape in the mythical and mystic way often associated with the romantic period. This is also the case for the most known painting of Hardanger, by Tiedemand and Gude, «The Wedding Festival in Hardanger». Here, also the interest for ordinary peoples every-day-life where reflected in the persons at the picture.<sup>8</sup> This could at the same time be seen as romanticism's search for the true, natural and untouched natives. But even if the paintings represented romanticism, it could be stated that it gave a less romantic impression than contemporary paintings elsewhere in Europe, especially in Germany.

The paintings became a brand for Hardanger and Norway, especially «The Wedding Festival in Hardanger». A double impact can be traced: first, it contributed to the making of the picture or rather the image of a landscape with specific national values, which fitted in the Norwegian nation-building process from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century; secondly it was the landscape which brought the first tourists to Norway, and in that way contributed to the rather successful image of this country as the «Land of the fjords». The local folk costume (the women's Church costume) was also lifted up as a vital national element, as 'The national costume («The National»), partly due to the use of it in this (national) landscape, but also because of the use of it as a folkloristic element.<sup>9</sup> The outside, touristic eye can be attributed to the sublime and romantic elements in the paintings and other pictorial presentations of the landscape, in the same way as the local people were seen as representing ideas of the Nordic man, untouched by civilization and modernity.<sup>10</sup>

7 Cf Danbolt (2004) and literature historians like Sigmund Skard. After Witoszek (1998), p. 39.

8 The Norwegian civil service class, the pick, now tried to find the genuine Norwegian culture through collecting and investigating different aspects of the peasants every day life, from tales to buildings and national costumes.

9 Cf Oxaal (1998), p. 169-170, questions the importance of these «invented traditions» related to the more long-time elements in the making of a national «myth» expressing a specific Norwegian connectedness to nature. She also (p. 63) states that the urban elite (the civil service class) had to capitulate to the rural culture.

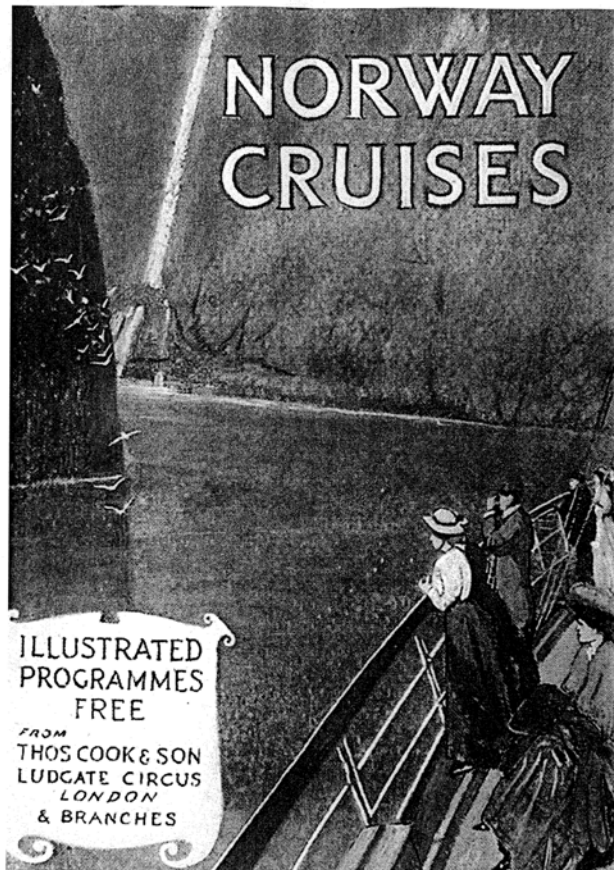
10 Cf Witoszek, p. 25–26.



*Figure 2: Tiedemann and Gude; The Wedding Festival in Hardanger.*

In Hardanger, tourism in a larger scale had its «take-off» around 1890. Until then, British tourists had dominated. From now on, an equal number from Germany found their way to the Norwegian fjords. The German emperor, *Kaiser Wilhelm*, made the first of his about 30 journeys to Norway in 1889. Although Norway and the landscape had been made well known through the painters, it was first at this point – so to speak in *Der Kaiser's* track, the Germans really began coming to Norway.<sup>11</sup> Around 1900 they probably were as many as the Brits, coming in the cruise-ships into the fjords. And the fjords were the favoured tourist goals among foreign tourists: in 1905 more than half – probably 2/3 – of the 25 000 tourists coming to Norway were visiting Hardanger. The tourist offices efforts were intensified, with new branches in Norway (as Thomas Cook 1890 in Bergen), offering different trips and tours to a district where the accommodations now were mainly good, due to new hotels and well established , communication lines combining train, boat and horses. The elements in the Fjord Landscape were brought forward in the advertisements for the journeys to Norway, as here by Thomas Cook:

<sup>11</sup> Markhus (2000), p. 102ff.



*Slik reklamerte verdensreisebyrået Thomas Cook for sine cruiseturar til dei norske fjordane.*

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*Figure 3: Norway Cruises. Advertisement from Thomas Cook from late 19<sup>th</sup> Century.*

The perspective in the advertisement is the tourists, standing on deck on a cruise boat looking at the steep mountains meeting the fjord. There was no sky to be seen, the mountains were too high. A big waterfall fell almost directly into the fjord from the top of the mountain, where snow and glaciers could be seen. The dramatic elements of the Fjord Landscape were lifted forward, almost in sublime ways. Still it was a landscape to be seen, not to live in.

But to most people in this part of Hardanger, the struggle with the nature was still more important than the way their landscape was seen.<sup>12</sup> A rationalistic attitude to the world has been a sign of the people in the area, both in religious terms, customs and in traditions for enlightenment. A rationalistic view on nature and the landscape was an integral part of this.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, looking at one contemporary description

<sup>12</sup> Cf Opedal(1951) and Haukenæs (1887/2003), quotations Haukenæs p. 35, p. 43, p. 55.

<sup>13</sup> Jf the author Hans E. Kinck's observations concerning the people of Hardanger, especially in Hans E. Kinck (1924) «Steder og folk», cf Bjørge (2006), pp. 28–31. Opedal (1951) and elsewhere in his about 20 volumes of *Makter og menneske* which represents, the districts most important collector of historic material, and, Witoszek (1998).

from a man from Hardanger, the landscape itself seems to be appreciated also because of scenic reasons.<sup>14</sup> Being both a sharp and well-informed observer, Th. S. Haukenæs described the landscape as wild, the inner part of the Hardanger fjord (the fjord arm Sør fjorden) as «proud», pointing at «the high, steep mountains with their crowns of snow and the friendly, fertile hills». The landscape is known to him, the descriptions are mirrors of the history of the landscape, combined with small anecdotes from the journey, naming and describing also the people he met. He writes in another text about «the wild nature thrown in pieces» in Inner Hardanger, and describes the great view from two of the mountains on Hardangervidda; the wide highland plateau between Hardanger and Eastern Norway. Characterizing the local people, he finds them to be like their landscape: unbound, adventures, more of a hunter and travelling salesman than farmer, but hoping that perhaps «the time of the steady, quiet farming also in Eidfjord could be brought forward and get properly respected». A romantic expression on landscape and people, integrated in one person.

### The different eyes

At the beginning of the 20th Century, Hardanger was well established as a national landscape, and the inhabitants as the true keepers of national values. The national movement got to its highest level, due to the struggle for dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian Union which took an end in 1905. In this process, costumes, traditions and history in Hardanger and other areas recognized as the most Norwegian were mobilized as important elements in the national identity. This also favoured tourism, which had now become a more or less integrated part of everyday life in the area. And as well as extra income, it also brought new customs, buildings and habits to the fjords.

The making of the Hardanger landscape as being «national and touristic» is a picture made from the eye of an outsider. The outside and inside eye are opposite as perspectives, but do not exclude each other. It is possible to switch between them. Haukenæs was on the one hand born and rose in the area and the insider's eye on the landscape. Through his work as author and collector of tales and stories and writing about the landscape to people outside the region, he had to establish the position and eye from outside from the 1880s. Haukenæs was a forerunner in doing so in writing. His contemporary country people met the tourists' eye on their landscape and were in this way trained in looking at their landscape also from outside. This point shows how the perceptions or eyes of landscapes differ, depending on from where it is seen and from whom – and even by one person.

What we see is a result from what we do, what we know and whom we interact with – i.e. which culture we are a part of. The outsider's view at the landscape reflects how the Hardanger landscape was integrated in a national culture, being so imbedded that it was recognized as *the* Norwegian landscape also seen from abroad. But culture differs over time and place and must be analysed in regard to this.

<sup>14</sup> The writer Haukenæs, came from Granvin in Inner Hardanger (Opedal from Odda, also in this region), but had as salesman, tradition collector and travel teller visited most of Norway – and written about it. His eye could be said to be one of outside, while on the other hand his readers were the people in the areas he wrote about and collected adventures, tales and stories of. When writing about his own district, his points of view had to be recognizable.

The different eyes can also be the result of different academic training. Landscape architect Simon Bell writes in regard to the patterns which can be observed in a landscape that «...a cultural geographer, a farmer, a forester, a physical planner, an ecologist, an explorer or an army general are likely to describe the pattern of a landscape, based on their own knowledge, experiences and what it provides for them».<sup>15</sup> Bell further says that a «...landscape is an amalgam of patterns, our perceptions and the processes that change both patterns and perceptions». Though stressing the process, Bell seeks to find the more universal patterns determining the outcomes of these processes. He wants to know how to recognize the patterns how to be able to grasp the wholeness of the situation of an environment, contributing to sustainable development in a specific area.

In a historical and humanistic perspective, the complexity of the human activities making landscape change must be stressed. A useful definition is proposed by ethnologist Arne Lie Christensen: «To describe the landscape in a cultural perspective do in other words imply that you have to describe the interaction between man and his environment/surroundings. Man forms his environment, and is simultaneously formed by the environment.»<sup>16</sup> The subjective interpretation of the landscape is stressed, a usage connected to the humanistic disciplines.<sup>17</sup>

In this vertical and historic perspective (contrasted by a horizontal, geographic) the landscape at cultural relics are read historically, where we try to put the different element in the landscape in relation to time, in a chronological way. The landscape is first and foremost a historical source to understand the past and what has happened, secondly something still active in our time, used and interpreted by us today. Landscape history is in this sense read both as the history *of* a landscape and the history *in* the landscape.<sup>18</sup> The first points at the reconstruction of the history, the second the contemporary experience of the past, the way history comes alive, are felt on a certain place. When analyzing the landscape in this way, we can focus different factors, being dependent of what we want to look at in the relation between man and landscape. Key factors as technology, economy and power relations are suggested as the most important.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Bell (1999), p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Christensen (2002), p. 10–11 (Org. «Å beskrive landskapet i et kulturelt perspektiv innebærer med andre ord å beskrive vekselvirkningen mellom menneskene og omgivelsene. Menneskene former sine omgivelser, og formes samtidig av dem».)

<sup>17</sup> Jones (1991). The three groups were: (1) The cultural landscape defined as the landscape modified or influenced by human activity, (2) The cultural landscape defined as valued features of the human landscape which are threatened by change or facing disappearance, (3) The cultural landscape defined as elements in the landscape which have meaning for a group of people in a given cultural or socio-economic context. In this last group the different disciplines approaches are included, stressing the point that different groups interpret the landscape in different ways.

<sup>18</sup> Christensen (2002), p. 290–91.

<sup>19</sup> Christensen (2002), p. 297.

## Continuity and change in the eye on the Landscapes

In the local communities of Hardanger, small townships grew up around the steam boat quays in the last part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. They became local centres, but were also the gates to world outside. Steam boats had their regular comings, and the cruise ships found their way to the new townships in the summer. The steam boat quays were the central meeting place, where horse carriages lined up for transporting the tourists to the waterfalls and other attractions. New hotels were often built nearby. Many of these new townships already had functions in the municipalities, and were the place where the church was located in the parish and perhaps a country hall. The steam boat quay and the regular traffic strengthened the centre function, and they became local townships with general shops, cafés and different craftsmen. On the photo below (*Figure 4*), the activities in one of these townships in Inner Hardanger (Vik in Eidfjord) are seen. At the steam boat quay, the horse carriages are waiting for the boat to land. The boat and the horse carriages were new actors or elements in the Hardanger touristic landscape, where the outsiders themselves became a part of the scenery they came to visit.



*Figure 4: Tourist ship approaching land in Vik, Eidfjord, ca 1900. Municipality of Eidfjord, local collection*



*Figure 5. Cruise ship approaching the port in Vik, Eidfjord 2006.*

The photo above (*Figure 5*) from 2006, shows the same area as the one ahead. Although looked from the opposite angle, the modern cruise ship lays almost at the same place as the one above. There are both continuities and changes in the landscape. As a hundred years ago, the hotel and quay are close to each other, but the quay is now dimensioned to the large cruise ships of the 21th Century. The country hall has been built left to the hotel. Behind it goes the main road which connects the community to east and west. The headland is connected to the other side of the river with a bridge, leading to a power plant situated in the end of another of the fjord arms. The cruise boat, although in another dimension, is still an important part of the landscape. Although the horse carriages have disappeared, the familiarity with the picture 100 years ago is remarkable. As the fjord and the mountains, the tourists and the cruise ships are still features in the landscape.



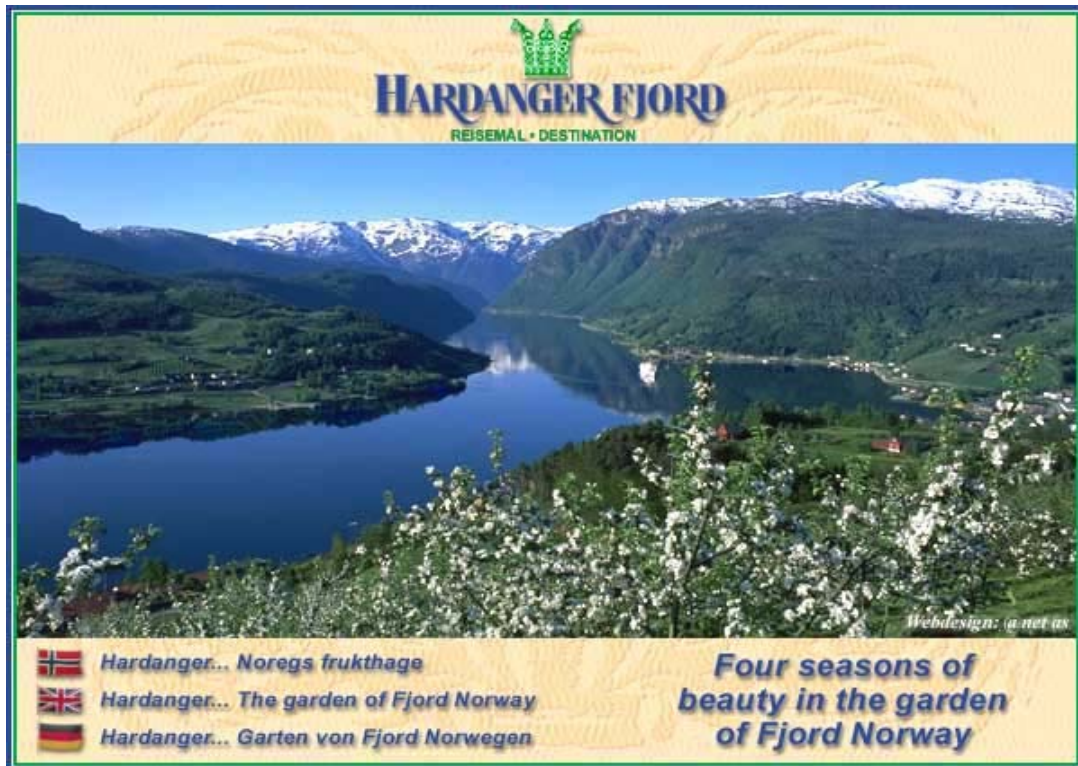


Figure 6: The presentation of Hardanger today. <http://www.hardangerfjord.com/> downloaded august 2006.

The Hardanger landscape is presented in what is recognized as its most beautiful season; late spring. Fjord and mountains with snow on the top meet, there are blossoming fruit trees, farms with grass fields along the fjord. A somewhat classical tourist picture of this area, where the perspective stresses the fjord more than the mountains, and the fruit trees showing us that this is a farming landscape. A cruise boat (white) is seen at the right to the middle, but has no dominant role in the landscape. The website's photo clearly represents the outside look, the landscape as scenery, and as a landscape to look at. Compared to the advertisement from Cook (Figure 3) hundred years earlier, it is a much less dramatic and instead idyllic landscape we are shown. The perspective has been lifted up from the fjord, not back to the sublime painters, but instead showing more of the cultural landscape and less of the tourists visiting it. Man's contributions to the landscape played a more important role than hundred years earlier.

But what about the contributors themselves – what are their eyes? Probably it depends on their role: today it is almost none full-time farmers. The last photo shows a farmer on his field:



*Figure 7: On the grass field. (Eidfjord Municipality/F. Olausson)*

This farmer works on his grass field, in a cultural landscape surrounded by the mountains, with the fjord hardly seen. By placing the insider in the photo, the farmers actual work are shown, mapped with the natural, dominant elements in the landscape. Being from the inner part of Hardanger, the mountains and the absence of the fjord can illustrate the connection and the use of the mountains (with summer farms, fishing and hunting) in favour of the other dominant aspect in the Hardanger landscape, the fjord. Thus, the photo represents the eye of the inhabitant farmer in the Inner Hardanger, not the eye of those further out in the fjord.

## The eyes on the Hardanger Fjord Landscape

The Hardanger region has been famous for its Fjord Landscape since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. In this contribution it was asked how the perception or eye on this as a regional and national landscape was established, and about the differences in the perceptions or eyes on the landscape as seen from tourists and inhabitants.

The answer of the first question leads attention back to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Already early in the century the Hardanger Fjord Landscape was seen a distinctive landscape, though more frightening than beautiful. Partly due to the national romantic and the way the landscape was represented in the paintings and performances from this time, it was lifted up as a symbol of being Norwegian. At the rise of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, Hardanger was well established as a national landscape, with the inhabitants looked upon as true keepers of national values. This pictorial perception represented this periods' general attitude of national values and the national state in Europe (costumes, traditions and

history). At the same time, the presentation of the landscape was not entirely romantic in the European sense, as well as the landscape's inhabitants were known as rationalistic and down-to-earth. A tension between a romantic and rationalistic eye on the landscape of Hardanger could be observed.

The second question asked about the differences in the perceptions or eyes on the landscape as seen from tourists and inhabitants are sought in this tension. The people who lived in the landscape, held up their way of life and attitude to the landscape as something that should serve their needs. But the values attributed to Hardanger and its landscape from outside also favoured tourist business, were the romantic elements of landscape and people were lifted forward. Tourism became a new and more or less integrated part of everyday life, giving extra income for many people, and bringing other customs, buildings and habits to the fjord communities. The people of Hardanger got both an inside perspective to their landscape as users and inhabitants, but were also trained in seeing its landscape from outside, as a scenery, a product who could bring extra income.

Today, the Hardanger landscape is still both a tourist magnet and a national landscape. In principle, the tourist still looks at the landscape from «outside», while the people in this area have an «inside» look at it. But the cultural filters have changed through the 150 years this landscape has been visited. The tourists, their boats and vehicles, hotels and guest houses contribute to the cultural landscape as well as to the local economy. Their presence has been decisive to the changes in the landscape. Rise of tourism and the status of the landscape made it possible to look at it from «outside», while living in it.

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