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The Gender of Ice and Snow

ABSTRACT In this article, the author studies the North and the Arctic as an imagined space, made up of a coherent group of interrelated elements coloured by aesthetic, political and ethical values that transcend it. He pursues his analysis through (a) accounts of missionaries, exploration and sea-faring navigation, (b) novels, narratives and collections of poetry from the literatures of France, French Canada (1840–1947) and Québec (1948 to the present day), and (c) a few works from world literature as well as Nordic and Inuit mythology, in order to understand the gendered nature of four personified elements which are part of the imagined space of the North and the Arctic, i.e. “icebergs,” “frost,” “ice” and “snow.” He concludes, from a gendered perspective, that this material is obviously produced mainly by men and transmits male values, even if some women have also contributed to this cultural construction, and that the personifications function as a focal point, allowing the reader to enter a complete world of images, colours, and values.¹

KEYWORDS imagined space, North and the Arctic, gender, France, French Canada, Québec, literature, iceberg, frost, ice, snow

Imagined spaces, including the North and the Arctic, are constructed by cultural material—language, figures, metaphors, figures, etc.—taken from different sources. They form a rich, complex network of discourses that transmit strong cultural, political, and ideological values. The processing, forming and shaping of these imagined spaces are collective and occur over a long term. These processes might not be intentional, but they are oriented and determined by moral and ethical vectors, which we can identify and study as a whole or as a combination of their different parts.

This study is based on the premise that the North and the Arctic, as imagined space, is made up of a coherent group of interrelated elements coloured by aesthetic, political and ethical values that transcend it. This imagined space and some of its characteristics are gendered and

reflect (a) a binary opposition between stereotyped male and female paradigms, as well as (b) basic stereotyped polarizations regarding women (such as maternal versus hysterical), as we will see in detail. Some studies that have been published to date suggest that the entire discursive system of the North and the Arctic can be gendered;² however, after looking at the characteristics and elements that comprise and shape this system rather than at the system as a whole, we, like Heidi Hansson, conclude that this general view is overly simplistic: while the system of signs making up the imagined North is indeed heavily gendered, the combinations of its various elements leave broad zones of gender ambiguity (Hansson 2006). This complexity is no doubt due to the considerable personification of these elements, which are not always anthropomorphized: in many cases, they do not take on an entirely human form, but are animate things with a will of their own, such as animals, the wind, ice, frost, snow and icebergs. As Paul Le Jeune reported in his writings, the Amerindians personified spring and winter without necessarily giving them a human form:

I asked them whether this Nipinoukhe & Pipounoukhe were human or some species of animal & where they normally lived; they replied that they did not really know what they were, but were sure they were living. (Le Jeune 1635: 46.)³

This personification involves a will, personality, qualities and faults, alliances and affinities with other personalized elements and, consequently, a gender. The gender of personified elements becomes more marked when these elements are in contact with man, since their gender reflects human gender identity in the Arctic. The predominance of male heroes set in this space has been the subject of repeated analysis. To be sure, a very large number of the works in the corpus forming the imagined North were written by men on male characters. Of the 1,945 literary narratives in our corpus, compiled from numerous national corpuses on the imagined North as part of the work carried out by the International Laboratory for the Comparative Multidisciplinary Study of Representations of the North at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), only 401 works (about 20 per cent) were written by women. The same proportion of characters portrayed in the works, at least those set in the Arctic, are women. More in-depth research in this respect would make it possible to define the gender specificities of this corpus, as well as the specific attributes of the discourse produced by women on the imagined North.

The corpus analyzed for this article was generally defined according to the concept of “nordicity” developed by the geographer and linguist Louis-

Edmond Hamelin, who isolated the dimensions of Arctic, Antarctic and winter to comprehend “North” (see, for example, *Écho des pays froids*, 1996). All works of fiction on the imagined North that encompass one of these dimensions were selected. About 800 works have been read as part of this vast group project conducted at UQAM since 2003; these works have been analyzed according to a number of characteristics (elements, figures, narrative schemata) that define the imagined North. Excerpts have been selected on the basis of these characteristics, including “icebergs,” “frost,” “ice” and “snow” which comprise the material for this study. Although the corpus covers all types of literature, this study relies primarily on (a) accounts of missionaries, exploration and sea-faring navigation, (b) novels, narratives and collections of poetry from the literatures of France, French-Canada (1840-1947) and Québec (1948 to present day), and (c) a few works from world literature as well as Nordic and Inuit mythology. Four authors who emigrated to Canada from France in the twentieth century stand apart in particular for the relevance of gender in their work: Maurice Constantin-Weyer, Marie Le Franc, Louis-Frédéric Rouquette and Bernard Clavel. Their importance in this respect is no doubt related to their foreign view of winter and the North (see Chartier 2006).

The imagined North thus involves complex issues of gender—the gender of the space as a whole, its sometimes personified components and parts, their descriptions, qualities and characteristics, as well as the forms of representation of that space. Careful consideration must also be given to the conveyance of gendered stereotypes through (a) representations of the imagined North (and research on it), (b) the reception of such representations, and (c) the literary and cultural genres that characterize this imagined space.

Iceberg: Nordic Masculinity

So high, so pure are your sides begot by the cold.⁴
Henri Michaux, *La nuit remue*, 1935

A messenger from the Arctic to southern seas, an enormous fragment of an even more gigantic whole, the iceberg embodies an originating past impossible for man to comprehend.⁵ Gigantic in size but a fragment, colossal but fragile, impenetrable but living, the iceberg bears within it traces of a bygone age, which give it grace and create a sometimes uneasy fascination. Sufficiently powerful to conquer the vanity of men in a single night, an iceberg can make the Titanic sink to the floor of the sea, or protect sailors in danger by silently offering them a temporary harbour. In Inuit tradition, the iceberg is a living thing: “it is dangerous to approach. It takes you with its icy

hands and devours you" (Ferrand 2003: 45 min., 22 sec. and thereafter).⁶ For sailors, it is a formidable "monster" whose inevitable course is always silent: doomed by its nature and path to dissolution, it is depicted in texts according to two attributes: sonority and movement. Its sound is that of the slow, heavy silence of the Arctic; its movement is reminiscent of a tragic circle, a cold dance evoking strength and combat. In all cases, icebergs are masculine. The French word *iceberg*—derived from the Norwegian *isberg*, from *is* 'ice' and *berg* 'mountain'—is masculine: *le iceberg*. In the works in our corpus, icebergs are characterized by strength, silence, weight, scale and an economy of movement that place them in a paradigm of Nordic virility. Their only enemies are the sun and heat. When they fall and crumble like a Viking in battle, they join their own without emotion in a fraternity found, as Maurice Constantin-Weyer indicates in *La nuit de Magdalena*:

Only the icicles were blue, like the fronts of glaciers. Under the heat of the sun, they slowly melted. Then a heavy block broke away from the front wall. It wavered for a second, like a giant about to plunge. Then it fell into the waves with an explosion of sound and bursts of foam, only to resurface a second later among the other *isfloes*, its brothers. (Constantin-Weyer 1938: 33.)⁷

The symbolism of icebergs, as portrayed by Henri Michaux, is that of death, beauty, eternal silence and grandiose solitude, all qualities that place these mountains of ice in a register of transcendence and the sacred: "religionless cathedrals of eternal winter," "solitary, devoid of need" icebergs form "majestic frozen Buddhas on un contemplated seas." Their word is made of silence, since "a boundless cry of silence [that] lasts for centuries," arises from their presence (Michaux 1935: n. p.).⁸ Icebergs appear in other texts as an "animal with silent yelping" (Morisset 2002: 46)⁹ who, as an impassive and rare witness, hears the calls of the Arctic: "The siren moaned, as if this ocean had not been deserted, as if the *isberg*—the only possible encounter—had had ears!" (Constantin-Weyer 1938: 9).¹⁰

Slow, steady, silent and measured, icebergs are not however passive: their movement is like that of one who says little, but acts at the right moment with formidable force. Icebergs generally move at an unhurried pace from the coastlines of the Canadian Arctic and Greenland south to the eastern shores of Labrador, Newfoundland and New England. They sometimes move simultaneously, endangering ships which they can draw into a horrifying dance: Émile Lavoie wrote that "something out of the ordinary, inexplicable, horrendous happened with a muffled sound that froze him with dread. All those blocks of ice piled one on top of the other split apart and started to move, to sink, to topple" (Lavoie 1925: 68).¹¹ For such a thing

to occur, Otto Nordenskjöld talks about a dance that “stirs a sort of sinister life.” In *Polarvärlden*, he recounts that the icebergs

made a tragic circle around us; they were of all different shapes and sizes, from small pointed blocks to enormous cathedrals of ice with jagged edges and shafts; others looked like fortresses surrounded by walls and flanked by towers. These icebergs were so numerous and close together that there was no visible way out between their white masses. It was a horrifying spectacle! (Nordenskjöld 1913: 13-14.)¹²

Silent, commanding fear and respect, icebergs, despite their tragic fate which inexorably leads them to dissolution and gives them a certain nobility, remain objects made of ice. The warlike and combatant vocabulary used to describe them immediately calls to mind a formidable enemy: “Woe to the vessel that ventures too close to one of those giants: it will soon be swallowed up!” (Nordenskjöld 1913: 13-14).¹³

Frost: A “Hunter God”

It was terribly cold.¹⁴

Damase Potvin, *Peter McLeod*, 1937

Frost, like many other elements in works on the imagined North, is often personified.¹⁵ A ruthless warrior, it demonstrates its strength at all times over everything within its dominion: it attacks, grips, seizes, bites, takes hold, splinters, possesses and kills. It acts quickly and primarily by night: it modulates time through the speed and impact of its action, which compel man to move by precluding inactivity (when frost hits, man must move, otherwise he will die).¹⁶ After frost has struck, things become hard, lose all colour and freeze in timelessness. Frost, which enables heroes to confront themselves, is defined in terms of temporality, action and scope. You cannot fight the frost and cold: you can only protect yourself with insulation.

The missionaries who came to New France in the seventeenth century tried to express in their accounts a phenomenon which, although not unknown in Europe, had never been experienced with such intensity in inhabited places. Prior to their arrival, mariners such as Martin Frobisher had been astounded by the bitter cold of the seas and regions they travelled, and had tried to explain it through different theories: they suggested, for example, that it was a particle which acted on things (since it had the power to transform them physically by spoiling them and hardening them,) or that it was a thermal fluctuation which ultimately accounted for the Earth’s heat (see Ruiu 2007).¹⁷ Paul Le Jeune, in his *Relation de ce qui s’est passé en*

la Nouvelle-France, en l'année 1633, while remarking on the beauty of the cold, tried to find words to express the extent of what he and his companions suffered during their missions. Some of the striking expressions he coined were often repeated later on. Of his writing conditions, Le Jeune reported the following: "It has happened that while I've been writing very near a strong fire, my ink has frozen."¹⁸ He also mentioned an extraordinary phenomenon, which would appear in writings from that time through to contemporary narratives on winter: the frost and cold being so strong as to split trees.¹⁹ Le Jeune wrote: "The frost has sometimes been so fierce that we have heard trees crack in the woods, & when cracking made a sound like a fire arm" (1635: 44).²⁰

Armed, frost acts as quickly and powerfully as a gunshot. In the twentieth century, the missionary Joseph-Étienne Guinard reported that lumberjacks personified frost when "the trees cracked and the branches snapped" in the bitter cold:

Under these circumstances, the lumberjacks say that "Jack Frost chopped all night." These extreme cold conditions prevent travellers from continuing their journey. They have to take shelter, stay in the warmth and wait for the weather to become a little milder. (Bouchard (ed.) 1980: 81).²¹

Frost is personified as male. When people are faced with the frost and cold, there is no point in their struggling. They must give in and wait, protect themselves. A lumberjack, or rather a hunter, frost hits its target.

The scope of its action is not, however, limited to specific marks: it has a formidable impact on lakes, the earth and even the sky. Under its effect, "lakes, yielding to fantastic pressures, crack, splinter, split and break open. Streams of water gush out, immediately freeze, gigantic stalagmites, horrendous spikes" (Thérol 1945: 107).²²

Damase Potvin indicates that the sky is not spared from the impact of frost, as it becomes "deep, clear and hard"; even the moon seems "gripped and paralyzed" (Potvin 1937: 86).²³ Frost also has a relationship with snow, albeit ambiguous: both are elements of winter, but their modes of action and representation differ greatly. This is particularly evident when "the earth," nature's primary nourishing, maternal figure, comes between the frost and snow. In the following excerpt, from *Les filles de Caleb* by Arlette Cousture, the cruelty of frost (masculine) is akin to the harassment, rape and murder of the earth (mother), in the absence of the protection of snow (feminine):

I don't like it when the earth freezes too long before the snow falls. It's like the cold makes the earth suffer. It becomes wrinkled like an old

woman. I'm always afraid that the earth will die before spring, and that they'll tell us it died in its sleep. (Cousture 1985: 47.)²⁴

Frost also attacks man, body, spirit and soul. Cousture writes that it "had taken possession of the land, trees, bodies and minds" (Cousture 1985: 54),²⁵ spiritual possession not unlike that portrayed in Hans Christian Andersen's tale in which the snow queen "freezes" little Kay's heart, thus taking "possession" of his feelings (Andersen 2004: 18).²⁶

Frost takes its target by surprise, since it acts quickly and by night: "in one night [...] all the rivers, all the lakes and no doubt a good part of the oceans were found to be frozen over" (Thérol 1945: 42).²⁷ Tactical, frost seems to wait for the best moment to strike; strategic, it occupies all space it brings under its control and all things it immobilizes (see De Certeau 1980). Movement is the only way to escape it, and movement precludes all rest. The river appears to be one of the rare figures to elude frost; its continuous flight is described by Marie Le Franc as follows:

They [the rivers] seemed to want to escape the grip of the North through this endless agitation, agonizing to watch, holding back who knows what panic. This was the cost of their freedom, and it seemed that there was no rest for them, day or night. (Le Franc 1957: 21, my emphasis.)²⁸

Man, also plagued by frost and cold, knows that without insulation, the only way to survive is to move, which saps his energy and patience: "the victim of Extreme Cold," writes Jean Désy, "seconds seemed like light years to me" (Désy 1993: 177).²⁹

Finally, in terms of temporality, the relationship between frost and death cannot be overlooked: frost or cold freezes men without altering them; permanently "sculpts figures, faces of tortured men";³⁰ and prevents bodies from finding a resting place in mother earth, when "the overly frozen earth refuses to let its bowels be opened to receive [them]" (Soucy 1976: 36; Cousture 1985: 442).³¹

The action terms used by authors to describe frost allude to a cruel, violent sexuality that goes as far as death. In the first stage, the action of frost is like a passionate, forced embrace; it hugs tightly, compels, bites: "the frost had taken a very strong hold during the night and its embrace was even tighter at first light" (Clavel 2001 *Le royaume du Nord*, vol. 3 *Miserere*: 78).³² When it becomes more intense, frost acts by violating the privacy of the house—representing the body—and sometimes even by *seizing* the body itself. In *Les filles de Caleb*, the frost and cold attack the woman alone and punish her "through every possible opening": they kill the mother, prevent her from being buried with dignity, then enter through every door and win-

dow of her house, to the point where the pipes freeze and burst" (Cousture 1985: 479–480).³³ In *L'Eldorado dans les glaces*, a group of women talk about an apocalyptic flood, which is highly reminiscent of a mass rape by frost:

The air, earth and waters were tense with a cold of incredible brutality and excessiveness. [...] The fugitives [...] found themselves gripped [...]. They felt the cold stiffen their neck. [...] One by one, overcome by cold they fell dead [...]. Everything cracked in their hands just before they felt a similar long crack in themselves [...]. Hair dishevelled, women seemed to appear suddenly from the low neckline of their torn dress. (Chabot 1989: 165–169).³⁴

The cruelty of frost, which still and silent “nip[s] the nails,” is such that the death it inflicts is itself described as perverse in comparison with the noble death of combat (Clavel 2001, *Le royaume du Nord*, vol. 3 *Miserere*: 136).³⁵ Frost kills coldly: “you will not have death wrecked by the brutality of blood here,” writes Rina Lasnier, “but this ferment of cold *binding you to your mortality*” (Lasnier 1966: 82, my emphasis).³⁶ Covering any area that is unprotected and forcing time to impose movement which tires and exhausts, frost is “master of the North” (Châtillon 1977: 144).³⁷ This sadistic, nocturnal spirit and relentless hunter wickedly attacks the earth, sky, men and women, who it can kill without emotion, plunging them into a temporality of its own: in ice, still and hard.

Ice: A Warlike Traitor

The bubbles trapped in the ice were like eyes looking for prey.³⁸
Bernard Clavel, *Le royaume du Nord*, vol. 2, *L'or de la terre*, 2001

Ice is portrayed with even more ambiguity than icebergs and frost: it is associated with temporal conditions (eternal, it halts time and imprisons the past) and cruel intentions (treacherous, sly, it kills), and is described in warlike terms (stab, axe, prisoner, artillery, battle). It is personified as the opponent of any man who ventures into the North and can be defeated. Ice (a feminine noun in French) rarely appears in feminine form: rather, it bears characteristics of the warrior, powerful but not infallible. Like the iceberg, its enemy is the sun: “a burning and continual sun battling with the ice of an endless winter” (Joanne 1850: 55).³⁹ So too are heat and man, who sometimes manages to thwart it.

Isaac De La Peyrère indicated in his report of 1663 that Icelanders believed the sounds made by the ice were the cries of souls imprisoned in it. In so doing, he attested as early as the seventeenth century to the temporality of ice, its cruelty and its warlike nature. He wrote:

Icelanders also believe that the sound ice sheets make, when they hit their coast and grip their shores, are the moans and cries of the damned because of the extreme cold they endure. They believe there are souls doomed to freeze for eternity. (De La Peyrère 1725: 8.)⁴⁰

Ice, which traps and freezes people and things, is closely associated with eternity.⁴¹ Through its mineral nature, impact on the landscapes shaped by its passage, and ability to preserve without damaging, it possesses the memory of origins. Through examination of it, man can observe the past; scientists bore holes in it to research conditions of bygone ages. Ice, once it has produced its effect, freezes time.

If these were its only characteristics, ice would be more divine in nature. However, the qualifiers used to define it and the vocabulary used to describe its action place it halfway between human and beast. As such, ice whispers, howls, cries, sings. Sly and treacherous, it bites, crushes and swallows up: "Woe, then, to those who find themselves gripped in the jaws of the blind beast!" (Fréchette 1974: 112–113).⁴²

"The ruthless cruelty" of ice is portrayed through its cries and howls (Charland 1975: 68).⁴³ In *Le royaume du Nord*, Bernard Clavel writes that you can hear "the lake ice howl" (Clavel 2001, vol. 4 *Amarok*: 260).⁴⁴ Barry Lopez describes the whispers and cries that envelop a ship and wear it down to the point of exhaustion: "Sometimes there were nights when the ice barely whispered against the hull, or screeched like a dying siren, or heaved to crash in the dark" (Lopez 1987: 323).⁴⁵

In all cases, ice is sly and cannot be trusted. The smooth surface of a lake can crack and swallow the traveller in freezing waters; the icy edge of a cliff can break off and kill passersby: ice is a traitor. Associated with pain, it seems imbued with a will to imprison and inflict suffering:

We could not even reproach 'Spitzberg' for being silent. Slowly, tirelessly, the first blocks in the ice jam worked to thicken the walls of our prison. But they sang a cruel and resonant hymn as they worked. (Constantin-Weyer 1938: 96–97, my emphasis.)⁴⁶

Since man is battling the ice in these narratives, he has an interest in showing how strong and powerful it is, so that his status as hero is reinforced through his struggle with it. The account of Martin Frobisher's voyage refers to ice that "cut planks more than three inches thick & better than an axe could have done" (Best 1725: 248).⁴⁷ In his report of his shipwreck, Emmanuel Crespel wrote about ice in 1742 that was "fiercely agitated" whose "various movements" were "beyond all expression" (Crespel 1884: 62–63).⁴⁸ It is not surprising that several authors use warlike vocabulary to describe

ice, comparing it with a dagger, artillery or a titan. Blocks of ice often battle one another in a fight in which man is crushed between them. Maurice Constantin-Weyer talks about “[t]itans [who] shook all of ‘Spitzberg’ ” (Constantin-Weyer 1938: 106–107)⁴⁹ and Joseph Théroï about a “fierce procession of white monsters who toppled over, were slowly swallowed up, suddenly emerged further on, collided, overturned, pounded one other” (Théroï 1945: 106–107, 57).⁵⁰ These “hills in motion” can crush men and ships: “I wondered,” says Constantin-Weyer’s narrator, “whether I was going to be [...] crushed between two giant blocks of ice” (Constantin-Weyer 1938: 230–231).⁵¹

To fight the arduous battle with ice, man arms himself with a ship and sets off to war. “Then the all-out battle between the ship and the ice begins during which the ship charges repeatedly at its enemy. It stops, retreats, takes a run at it and charges” (commentary by the narrator of the documentary *Aspects du Grand Nord* 1956: 10 min., 28 sec. and thereafter).⁵² What is at stake in this war is man’s ability to maintain his status in relation to nature without losing face. When the ice wins, man is humiliated. Louis-Frédéric Rouquette, for example, describes the effect of ice on a vessel as a test of humility, through which man’s pretension to dominate is defeated:

Performing the silent work of fate, your⁵³ ice, which held their ship prisoner, tightened its grip; it twisted and broke everything—the wood, iron, steel; it *obliterated the evidence of men’s daring*. Nothing remained but a few souls who wandered for only days, then misery and discouragement cut them down more surely than cold and hunger. (Rouquette 1944: 176, my emphasis.)⁵⁴

This ice, which can “obliterate the evidence of men’s daring” in a fierce test of strength, proves to be aggressive and combative: few characteristics allow it to be conceived of as feminine.⁵⁵ Maurice Constantin-Weyer’s work even includes a rare instance of homoerotization of the North, in which ice (masculine) overcomes and bewitches the narrator during a struggle that connotes a seductive dance between two male forces⁵⁶:

The *colossal beauty* of this architecture of ice and rock *overcame me*, crushed me. Never, even on the west coast of Iceland and sheer shores of Jan Mayen had nature imposed itself on me *with such force*. I did not yet know that an unforeseen event would throw me *into the powerful arms* of Svalbard and have it *stroke and knead me until I hurt*. Would I have known it? It was then impossible for me to escape. *I gave in to the bewitchment* of the polar lands, from which no man would be free. (Constantin-Weyer 1938: 24, my emphasis.)⁵⁷

Snow: Soft and Hysterical

In the north my love, when I met you, space opened,
the cosmos trembled. Two galaxies a thousand light
years apart moved by a few meters. It snowed.⁵⁸

Jean Désy, *Ô Nord, mon amour*, 1998

Complex, ambiguous and ambivalent, snow (a feminine noun in French) is a central element in works dealing with the imagined North, Arctic and winter. It is completely feminized in texts, fitting a stereotyped paradigm of passivity in which the woman protects, covers, soothes, conceals and caresses. Both heavy and light, on the ground and in the air, hot and cold, snow is also part of a bipolar register associated with a persistent and sexist stereotype concerning women: it is both maternal (calm, silent, protective, pure and dream-provoking) and hysterical (when possessed by the wind and storm, snow becomes mad, monstrous, cruel and contorted, lashing, nipping and blinding). This possession by others in no way changes the basic purity of snow, which remains a strong symbol of whiteness, rebirth, beauty and joy, or the benign effect it has on time, which it slows. But this passing madness reinforces its stereotyped feminine character: by nature pure and passive, it is only when possessed that snow becomes active, violent, incoherent and hysterical.

Light “nomadic down” or heavy “leaden snow,” snow broadly and temporarily occupies space, be it the sky or ground, which it covers with a uniform colour and a heavy silence that purifies, dazzles, slows and feminizes (Lasnier 1966: 12).⁵⁹ For Jørn Riel, mountains covered with snow become feminine in form: when “covered with enormous heaps of snow, [they are] round, seductive, almost soft like women” (Riel 1997: 28–29).⁶⁰ Through a process of purification, snow falling at night transforms the morning landscape, urban or rural, “under an invasion of light waves” (Mélançon 1974: 17–18).⁶¹ Dazzled by the snow, the narrator in *L’homme de la Manic* discovers a purified land: “The Land of Cain had changed complexion. It had become the Land of Abel in the space of a night, absolved of its unknown crimes” (Mélançon 1974: 17–18).⁶² This renewal is accompanied by a soothing silence: in “this cocoon-like atmosphere,” observes André Langevin, “snow swallow[s] sounds” (Langevin 1958: 61).⁶³ Other authors refer to the “haunting silence”⁶⁴ of snow and its “silent reign,”⁶⁵ but in all cases, the miracle of purification by snow, uniform and white, is accompanied by the absence of sound (Perrault 1990: 226, Potvin 1937: 68–69). Moreover, there is a slowing of time (slower movement, inner retreat, attenuated urgency). In her poem “Office du plus noble,” Rina Lasnier employs the term *alentissement* in French (*slowing* in English) to express the combination of these three

effects of snow—a mystical ennoblement harking back to an early, innocent and silent time:

Snow, slow servant of the noblest time [...]
To enter into the primacy of time to listen [...]
Snow, slowing words in languages of dream. (Lasnier 1966: 9.)⁶⁶

Snow covers the landscape, causing its signs, colours and forms to disappear. It lowers the height of mountains, fills valleys, and erases woods;⁶⁷ it makes fences disappear, erases boundaries, roads and all familiar scenery.⁶⁸ Through another bipolar effect, it both preserves memory and removes traces of things past: passive, it is imprinted with human footsteps and animal tracks; protective, it covers all tracks and makes them vanish. The radical uniformity of landscape it produces can give rise to visual conditions: an overabundance of blinding light, whiteout, ophthalmia, snow blindness:

The reflection of the sun on the white desert is so dazzling that it shines in the eye like thousands of suns on a clear day, and even more when clouds diffuse the light. (Thérol 1945: 127.)⁶⁹

The brilliance of snow reinforces the paradigm of metaphysical purification and enriches the pool of characteristics that define snow in terms of purity, whiteness, goodness, silence and spiritual regeneration.

Unlike ice and frost, which attack and strive to kill man, snow shows itself to be maternal, protective, caressing. It soothes the ill effects of ice and comforts the body numbed by cold: “Removing his socks and taking handfuls of snow, he rubbed his feet. His pain transformed. It became a burn. A good burn” (Clavel 2001, *Le royaume du Nord*, vol. 2 *L’or de la terre*: 333–334).⁷⁰ Concealing the unsightliness of the world, snow⁷¹ especially the first snow, fills man with wonder; it takes him back to his childhood (making him feel nostalgic about his origins), when he was close to the mother who enabled him to dream: “He found himself before a world of enchantment which always filled him with a child’s wonder” (Le Franc 1952: 18).⁷² In *Le fils de la forêt*, the effect produced by snow is like that of a mother who comforts her child and rocks him to sleep in her arms where he can dream:

As if it sought a way of responding to them, the snow started to fall, caressing their eyelids. They did not try to protect themselves from it. It enveloped them, them and the black earth, with its wonder. It created boundless avenues before men where their minds escaped. (Le Franc 1952: 153.)⁷³

Other works depict the snow as a perfect, nourishing and comforting, protective envelope, clearly reminiscent of the womb: “Nothing but white, in front, behind, to the left, to the right, on the ground and in the air. Nothing but white. You eat it and breathe it” (Soucy 1976: 112).⁷⁴ The silence of this enclosed space is even referred to as the *breathing* of snow felt from within the body: “enveloped in the great stillness of nights when you can hear the snow breathe” (Le Franc 1957: 52–53).⁷⁵ When this maternal protection becomes too intense, it can be suffocating, as indicated by the image of the house buried in snow, in which it is impossible to breathe since “if there is any room left inside, it is barely enough to let the smoke out” (Lamontagne-Beauregard 1931: 21).⁷⁶ It can even be deadly, by creating the sensation that the subject is disappearing: “the snow wanted to swallow him” completely (Carrier 1988: 96).⁷⁷ These situations reflect archetypes of the mother, good, bad, and sometimes deadly.

This primordial, maternal side of snow is, however, only one facet of its representation: under the effect of the wind, snow ceases to be itself.⁷⁸ When snow is possessed by the wind, it becomes mad, wild, furious, threatening and crazy:

The snow *was overwhelmed* by the expanse, *was frightened* of space, *no longer found the limits* of the sky and *cried in terror*. Sometimes it looked like the snow *collided* with it and fell straight down, *contorted* and *exhausted*. [...] It *bore its essence* and mixed it with its anaemic flakes. (Le Franc 1957: 77, my emphasis.)⁷⁹

The wind is man’s enemy, “a wind that appeared to have no other intention but to bring down everything in its path” (Côté 2000: 143–145).⁸⁰ The snow, once possessed, becomes the inevitable embodiment of the wind, a tool the wind controls to achieve its dark ends. Examples illustrating this hysteria of the snow abound. In every case, the snow is dispossessed of its own will and controlled by the wind and storm, of which it seems to be the victim: “Instead of dying down at dawn, it raged on more furiously. Wild, mad, *it no longer knew any limits, no longer contained itself*” (Lavoie 1925: 58–59, my emphasis);⁸¹ “[...] when the storm broke out, *furiously blowing the snow* which smacked them like hands of ice” (Lamontagne-Beauregard 1931: 153, my emphasis);⁸² “Hard snow, *blown by the northeast wind*, lashed the trees (Rousseau & De La Fontaine 1982: 59, my emphasis);⁸³ “[...] the wind howled in incredible gusts, *whipping up packets of snow* which whirled several meters in the air before hitting the rock” (Josselin 1965: 153, my emphasis).⁸⁴

These examples indicate (a) the passing madness of snow; (b) its possession by the wind; and consequently, (c) its passivity, malleability and incon-

sistency. They include characteristics of hysteria: emotional imbalance, dichotomous reactions, lack of self-observation. In cultural and stereotypical terms, hysteria has long been associated with women: in Ancient Greece, it was diagnosed as the “uterus wandering throughout the woman’s body”; in the Middle Ages, it was associated with demonic possession. In all cases, representations of snow are gendered and reflect a persistent and sexist paradigm polarized between maternal goodness and volatile wandering.

The binary nature of snow is depicted through complex images in literary narratives which rely on polarized representations to portray ambivalence: Maurice Constantin-Weyer talks about wolves that “searched the snow for a hiding place [...] from the wildly cruel scrawls” (1928: 98–99).⁸⁵ Anthropologist Bernard Saladin d’Anglure writes that the shape and form of the igloo used by the Inuit—made of snow to protect from snow storms and the cold—becomes, through a “change in scale,” a symbol of the womb: “the igloo is on a human scale what the uterus is on the infra-human scale of the foetus” (Saladin d’Anglure 2002: 106).⁸⁶ Protection and threat, a “challenge of the snow to the snow,” insane and purifying, dominated and powerful, snow constitutes one of the most complex gendered figures of the imagined North and Arctic (Vacher 1999: 89).⁸⁷

A Masculine, Stereotyped Imaginary Space

In the introduction to this study, we put forward the assumption that the imagined North is made up of a coherent group of interrelated elements coloured by values, some of which reflect a gendered conception. Through this brief analysis of some of these elements (iceberg, frost, ice and snow), we can certainly maintain this assumption, and suggest that the gendering of the imagined North is expressed not only through the description of these elements, but also through their personification which endows them with a personality and thus qualities, faults and behavioural schemata, which involve relations of alliance, mistrust, domination and submission. These characteristics seem to be superimposed on stereotyped gendered schemata, some of which are not so far removed from the imagined North itself. In any case, we suggest that this imagined world is highly organized; the elements of it fit together according to modes of representation, description, operation and relation of which we can elucidate only a minute part. Nevertheless, the construction of the imagined world involves both ethical and political choices.

This analysis also raises some theoretical questions about the imagined spaces, the North and the Arctic as cultural entities. From a gendered perspective, this material is obviously produced mainly by men and transmits male values—but some women have also contributed to this cultural con-

struction, adding to the complexity of the metaphors and figures that underlie it. From an imaginary point of view, we can suggest that these metaphors and figures function as a focal point, allowing the reader, in a very simple way, to enter a complete world of images, colours, and values. The coherence of a system of representations enables this economical way of transmitting information and values: with a single world, image, figure or metaphor, a complete set of interconnected representations is implied. Imagined spaces are interlaced in such a dense manner that any single element a space comprises can be used as a point of entry for its analysis.

NOTES

- ¹ Translated from the French by Elaine Kennedy. Most excerpts quoted in this article have been freely translated from the French, which is provided in these notes.
- ² Studies on the gender of the imagined North or parts thereof include the following, in addition to the article by Hansson cited below: Hulan (1996); Atwood (1995); Grace (1997); Marcel (2000); Bloom (1993); Hill (2000). For a more complete bibliography, see Chartier (2007).
- ³ "Je leur demandois si ce Nipinoukhe & Pipounoukhe estoient hommes ou animaux de quelque autre espece, & en quel endroit ils deumeuroient ordinairement; ils me responderent qu'ils ne sçavoient pas bien comme ils estoient faicts, encore qu'ils fussent bien assurez qu'ils estoient vivants."
- ⁴ "Combien hauts, combien purs sont tes bords enfantés par le froid."
- ⁵ I have borrowed this phrasing from Karine Crépeau, who suggested a cultural definition of *iceberg* in a research seminar on the imagined North which I led at the Université du Québec à Montréal in winter 2005.
- ⁶ "Il est dangereux de l'approcher. Il te prend avec ses mains glacées et te dévore."
- ⁷ "Seuls, les glaçons étaient bleus, comme les fronts des glaciers. Sous l'ardeur du soleil, ceux-ci fondaient lentement. On voyait alors se détacher de la muraille frontale un lourd bloc. Il oscillait un instant, comme un géant qui va plonger. Puis il s'abîmait dans les flots avec une explosion sonore et des jaillissements d'écume, pour reparaitre la seconde d'après parmi les autres *isfloes*, ses frères."
- ⁸ "cathédrales sans religion de l'hiver éternel," "solitaires sans besoin," icebergs form "augustes Bouddhas gelés sur des mers incontemplées." Their word is made of silence, since "le cri éperdu du silence [qui] dure des siècles" arises from their presence.
- ⁹ "animal au jappement silencieux."
- ¹⁰ "La sirène gémissait, comme si cet océan n'eût pas été désert, comme si l'isberg—seule rencontre possible—eût eu des oreilles!"
- ¹¹ "quelque chose d'insolite, d'inexplicable, de monstrueux se produisait avec un bruit sourd qui le glaça d'épouvante. Toutes ces glaces empilées les unes sur les autres se désagrégèrent et se mettaient en mouvement, s'enfonçaient, se culbutaient."
- ¹² "exécutaient autour de nous une ronde tragique; il y en avait de toutes les dimensions, depuis les petits blocs pointus jusqu'aux énormes cathédrales de glace avec leurs dentelures et leurs flèches; d'autres avaient l'aspect de forteresses entourées de leurs murailles et flanquées de leurs tours. Ces icebergs étaient si nombreux et si serrés qu'on ne voyait aucune issue entre leurs masses blanches. Spectacle effroyable!"

- ¹³ “Malheur au navire qui s’aventure trop près d’un de ces colosses : il est bientôt englouti!”
- ¹⁴ In this quote in the original French, “il gelait terriblement,” *geler* means ‘to be cold’.
- ¹⁵ The noun *gel*, which appears in the original French, is difficult to translate because it refers to an action (frost, freeze), a process (frost) and a state (frost, freeze, extreme cold); the English translation uses these various terms to render the meaning of the noun *gel* (which is masculine in French) and the verb *geler*.
- ¹⁶ Only resignation will enable man to resist. As Jacques Brault writes: “nous gèlerons sur place comme pères et mères / nous craquerons de froid de folie / nous ne partirons pas” [‘we will freeze on the spot like fathers and mothers / we will snap with insane cold / we will not leave’] (1973). “Patience,” in Brault (1973), p. 29.
- ¹⁷ “Je crois encore que ce froid extraordinaire augmente considérablement la chaleur dans les entrailles de la terre” [‘I still believe that this extraordinary cold increases the heat of the earth’s depths considerably’] Best (1725), p. 229.
- ¹⁸ “Il m’est arrivé qu’en écrivant fort près d’un grand feu, mon encre se geloit.” This report by Le Jeune is comparable to that by Benjamin Simard, who testified to the extreme cold when he wrote: “le gel n’écrit plus de poèmes” [‘the cold no longer writes poems’] Simard (1998), p. 170.
- ¹⁹ For example, Bernard Clavel writes: “À soixante degrés sous zéro, on entendait les arbres éclater dans les nuits comme des coups de fusil.” [‘At sixty degrees below zero, you can hear the trees crack at night like gun shots.’] Clavel (2001), *Le royaume du Nord*, vol. 1, *Harricana*, pp. 169–170.
- ²⁰ “Le froid estoit parfois si violent, que nous entendions les arbres se fendre dans le bois, & en se fendans faire un bruit comme des armes à feu.”
- ²¹ “Les bûcherons, dans ces circonstances, disent que ‘Jack Frost a bûché toute la nuit’. Ces froids extrêmes interdisent aux voyageurs de poursuivre leur course. Il faut se mettre à l’abri, rester au chaud et attendre que le temps se radoucisse un peu.”
- ²² “les lacs, cédant à des pressions fantastiques, se fendillent, se crevassent, éclatent, explosent. Des jets d’eaux fusent qui se congèlent aussitôt, stalagmites gigantesques, hérissements monstrueux.”
- ²³ “le ciel n’est pas en reste et qu’il devient ‘profond, net et dur’ sous le gel, qui rend jusqu’à la lune ‘saisie, paralysée.’”
- ²⁴ “J’aime pas ça quand la terre gèle trop avant que la neige tombe. On dirait que le froid la fait souffrir. Elle vient ridée comme une vieille. J’ai toujours peur qu’elle meure avant le printemps, pis qu’on nous dise que la terre est morte pendant son sommeil.”
- ²⁵ “avait pris possession des terres, des arbres, des corps et des esprits.”
- ²⁶ Andersen writes that Kay’s heart, after being pierced with a glass splinter—sharp, supernatural frost—“would soon be like a lump of ice. He didn’t feel it hurting now...” Andersen (2004), p. 160.
- ²⁷ “en une nuit [...], toutes les rivières, tous les fleuves, tous les lacs et sans doute une bonne partie des Océans se trouvèrent pris par les glaces.”
- ²⁸ “Elles [les rivières] semblaient vouloir échapper à l’emprise du Nord par cette agitation sans fin, angoissante à regarder, contenant on ne savait quelle panique. Leur liberté était à ce prix, et on sentait qu’il n’y avait pour elles aucun repos, ni le jour ni la nuit.”
- ²⁹ “victime du Grand Gel, les secondes prennent pour moi des allures d’années-lumière.”
- ³⁰ “sculpte des figures, des visages d’hommes torturés.”
- ³¹ “la terre trop gelée refus[e] de laisser ouvrir ses entrailles pour l[es] accueillir.”
- ³² “le gel avait serré très fort durant la nuit et son étreinte s’accroît encore avec les

premières lueurs.”

³³ “par toutes les portes et les fenêtres de son logement, au point que la plomberie gela et éclata.”

³⁴ “L’air, la terre et les eaux s’étaient trouvés contractés par un froid d’une sauvagerie et d’une démesure inouïes. [...] Les fugitifs [...] s’étaient trouvés saisis [...]. Ils avaient senti le froid leur raidir la nuque. [...] Un à un saisis de gel ils tombaient morts [...]. Tout leur craquait entre les mains peu avant qu’ils ne sentent semblable longue craquelure en eux-mêmes [...]. Échevelées, des femmes semblaient surgir du décolleté de leur robe déchirée.”

³⁵ “pinc[e] les ongles.”

³⁶ “tu n’auras pas ici la mort forcée par sauvagerie de sang, mais ce ferment de froidure *te ligotant à ta mortalité.*”

³⁷ “Le maître du Nord lui apparaissait sous la forme d’une sorte de génie maléfique prenant plaisir chaque automne à tuer de son souffle glacial toutes les fleurs, les papillons et à tuer des hommes aussi” [“The master of the North appeared in the form of an evil spirit who took pleasure every autumn in killing all the flowers and butterflies with its icy breath and in killing men as well.”]

³⁸ “Dans la glace, les bulles prisonnières semblaient des yeux guettant une proie.”

³⁹ “un soleil brûlant et continuel luttant avec les glaces d’un hiver sans fin” De Beaumont, A., cited by Joanne (1850), p. 55.

⁴⁰ “Les Islandois croient aussi que le bruit que font les glaces, quand elles heurtent leur côte & s’attachent à leurs rivages, sont les cris & les gémissemens des dannez, pour le grand froid qu’ils endurent. Car ils croient qu’il y a des ames condamnées à geler éternellement.”

⁴¹ Damase Potvin wrote: “le lac apparaissait dans son infinie blancheur, figé, morne, silencieux, *enchaîné dans ses glaces comme pour l’éternité*” [“the lake appeared in its infinite whiteness, fixed, mournful, silent, *bound in its ice as if for eternity*”; my emphasis], Potvin (1937), pp. 140–141.

⁴² “Malheur, alors, à ceux qui se trouvent pris dans les mâchoires de la bête aveugle!”

⁴³ “L’impitoyable cruauté.”

⁴⁴ “hurler la glace du lac.”

⁴⁵ “Parfois aussi les nuits se suivaient où la glace murmurait à peine contre la coque, ou criait comme une sirène qui meurt, ou se soulevait pour se fracasser dans le noir.”

⁴⁶ “On ne pouvait même pas reprocher au Spitzberg d’être silencieux. Lentement, inlassablement, les premiers glaçons de l’embâcle travaillaient à épaissir les murs de notre prison. Mais ils *chantaient* en travaillant un hymne *sonore et cruel.*”

⁴⁷ “coupèrent des planches de plus de trois pouces d’épaisseur, & mieux qu’on auroit pu le faire avec la hache.”

⁴⁸ ice that was “furieusement agitées” whose “divers mouvements” were “au-dessus de toute expression”.

⁴⁹ “Titans [qui] ébranlaient le Spitzberg tout entier.”

⁵⁰ “furieuse chevauchée de monstres blancs qui basculaient sur eux-mêmes, s’engloutissaient lentement, émergeaient brusquement plus loin, s’entrechoquaient, se culbutaient, s’écrasaient.”

⁵¹ “Je me demandais si j’allais être [...] écrasé entre deux glaçons géants.”

⁵² “Alors commence une bataille en règle entre le navire et la glace durant laquelle le navire fait des charges répétées contre son ennemi. Il s’arrête, recule, prend son élan et fonce.”

⁵³ The narrator here is addressing “Toi [la Terre]” [“You [the Earth]”].

- ⁵⁴ “Accomplissant le sourd travail de la destinée, tes glaces, qui tenaient leur navire prisonnier, ont resserré leur emprise; le bois, le fer, l’acier, elles ont tout tordu, tout brisé; *elles ont effacé la preuve de la hardiesse des hommes*. Rien n’a subsisté que quelques êtres qui ont erré des jours encore, puis la misère et le découragement, plus sûrement que le froid et la faim, les ont couchés.”
- ⁵⁵ The only possible ambiguity in the gender of ice is found in the following poem by Jean Morisset: “glaces, glaces,/glaces mâles, glaces femelles,/glaces gauchères, glaces correctes,/glaces-archanges, glaces sans sexe,/ [...] /qui êtes-vous, où allez vous.” [‘ice, ice,/ male ice, female ice,/left-handed ice, appropriate ice,/archangel-ice, genderless ice,/ [...] /who are you, where go you’] Morisset (2002), p. 24.
- ⁵⁶ The work being carried out by Dominique Perron at the University of Calgary is related to the homoerotization of Nordic heroes, and is part of an energy research movement.
- ⁵⁷ “La *colossale beauté* de ces architectures de glaces et de roches *me dominait*, m’écrasait. Jamais, même sur la côte ouest de l’Islande ou aux accores de Jan-Mayen, la nature ne s’était imposée à moi *avec tant de force*. J’ignorais encore qu’un événement imprévu allait me jeter *entre les bras puissants* du Svalbard et *me faire caresser et pétrir par lui jusqu’à la douleur*. L’aurais-je su? Il m’eût été impossible, désormais, de m’évader. *Je subissais l’envoûtement* des terres polaires, duquel nul homme ne saurait s’affranchir.”
- ⁵⁸ “Au nord mon amour, quand je t’ai rencontré, l’espace s’est ouvert, le cosmos a tremblé. Deux galaxies distantes de mille années-lumière se sont déportées de quelques mètres. Il a neigé.”
- ⁵⁹ light “duvet nomade” or heavy “neige plombée”.
- ⁶⁰ “couvertes d’énormes amas de neiges, ronds, séduisants, presque doux comme des femmes.”
- ⁶¹ “sous une invasion de vagues lumineuses.”
- ⁶² “La Terre de Caïn avait changé de peau. Elle s’était métamorphosée en Terre d’Abel en l’espace d’une nuit, absoute de ses crimes inconnus.”
- ⁶³ in “cette atmosphère ouatée, la neige avalait les sons.”
- ⁶⁴ “silence obsédant.”
- ⁶⁵ “règne silencieux.”
- ⁶⁶ “Neige, office lent du temps le plus noble [...] Pour entrer dans la primauté du temps d’écouter [...] Neiges, alentissement de paroles dans des langues de songe.”
- ⁶⁷ “La neige régnait. Elle abaissait le niveau de la montagne qu’au printemps suivant on retrouverait haussée tout à coup de mille pieds, affaissait les pics, comblait les vallées, de sorte que la chaîne sans fin se déroulait comme un feston aux ondulations à peine marquées. Les bois mêmes s’effaçaient.” [‘The snow reigned. It lowered the height of the mountain so that the next spring it would suddenly be a thousand feet higher, reduced the peaks and filled the valleys, so that the endless chain proceeded like a festoon with barely marked undulations. Even the woods were obliterated.’] Le Franc (1957), p. 22.
- ⁶⁸ “Émilie avait regardé tomber la neige, soudainement consciente de son isolement. Quoique l’école fût située à proximité de maisons, la blancheur et l’uniformité de la neige, entraînant la disparition soudaine des clôtures et des chemins, avait effacé le décor familier auquel Émilie s’était attachée.” [‘Émilie had watched the snow fall, suddenly aware of her own isolation. Although the school was close to houses, the whiteness and uniformity of the snow, resulting in the sudden disappearance of fences and roads, had obliterated the familiar scenery to which Émilie had become attached.’] Cousture (1985), p. 54.
- ⁶⁹ “La réverbération du soleil sur le désert blanc est en effet si éblouissante que son miroitement par ciel clair, et plus encore lorsque des nuages diffusent la lumière, éclate au

regard comme des milliers de soleils.”

⁷⁰ “Enlevant ses chaussettes et prenant la neige à pleines mains il se frotta les pieds. Se douleur métamorphosa. Elle devint brûlure. Bonne brûlure.”

⁷¹ “La neige coiffa les piquets des clôtures, s'accrocha aux rameaux des épinettes. Elle cacha les pierres de la cour, les copeaux, les morceaux de cuir et la ferraille qui traînaient.” [“The snow covered the fence pickets, clung to the spruce branches. It hid the stones in the yard, the wood chips, pieces of leather and scrap that were lying about.”] Bernard (1951), p. 100.

⁷² “Il se trouva devant un monde de féerie qui provoquait toujours en lui un émerveillement d'enfant.”

⁷³ “Comme si elle eût cherché un moyen de leur répondre, la neige s'était mise à tomber, effleurant leurs paupières d'une caresse. Ils n'essayaient pas de se défendre contre elle. Elle les enveloppait, eux et la terre noire, de son prodige. Elle créait devant les hommes des avenues illimitées où leur esprit s'évadait.”

⁷⁴ “Rien que du blanc, devant, derrière, à gauche, à droite, par terre et en l'air. Rien que du blanc. On en mange, on en respire.”

⁷⁵ “enveloppé du grand calme des nuits où on entend la neige respirer.”

⁷⁶ “c'est tout juste s'il reste une petite place, à l'extérieur, pour que la fumée s'échappe.”

⁷⁷ “la neige voulait l'avalier.”

⁷⁸ Take, for example, the Snow Queen in Hans Christian Andersen's tale—beautiful, but mad.

⁷⁹ “La neige se noyait dans l'étendue, s'effrayait des espaces, ne trouvait plus de limites du ciel et criait de terreur. Parfois elle avait l'air de s'y être heurtée et en retombait tout droit, désarticulée et rompue. [...] Elle emportait le cœur et le mêlait à ses flocons exsangues.”

⁸⁰ “un vent qui paraissait n'avoir d'autre intention que de tout terrasser sur son passage.”

⁸¹ “Au lieu de s'apaiser au lever du jour, elle se déchaîna plus furieuse. Échevelée, démente, elle ne connaissait plus de bornes, ne se contenait plus.”

⁸² “[...] quand la tempête éclata, soulevant furieusement la neige qui les giflait comme avec des doigts de glace.”

⁸³ “Une neige dure, poussée par le nordet, flagellait les arbres.”

⁸⁴ “[...] le vent hurlait en rafales fantastiques, soulevant des paquets de neige qui tourbillonnaient à plusieurs mètres de hauteur avant de s'écraser contre le roc.”

⁸⁵ Wolves that “fouilleraient la neige pour s'y terrer” from the “volutés follement cruelles.”

⁸⁶ “L'igloo est à l'échelle humaine ce que l'utérus est à l'échelle infra-humaine du fœtus.”

⁸⁷ “défi de la neige à la neige.”

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