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Editorial Note

The *Journal of Northern Studies* is one way of consolidating the position of Umeå University in the field of Northern Studies. The refereed journal was launched with a double issue in 2007, and from 2008 there will be two journal issues per year. Electronic publication is also planned and will be in full operation from 2010. Publication languages are English, German and French, with abstracts and keywords in English accompanying each article.

The journal contains scholarly articles concerning human activities in northern spaces. There are articles concentrating on people as cultural beings discussing, for instance, linguistic, historical or anthropological questions and articles focusing on people in society, treating economical or social issues. Other articles concern people in their natural environment with an emphasis, for example, on the opportunities for human activity provided by the special features of northern eco-systems and the consequences disturbances of these systems may have. Articles within the medical field deal with the health situation of people in the North. In many cases, the articles published represent exciting interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches.

Apart from the scholarly articles, the journal contains a review section, a section with reports from conferences etc. and information about upcoming events relevant for Northern Studies.

Umeå University is responsible for the publication of the journal, together with Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundet (The Royal Skyttean Society), Sweden's northernmost Royal Academy.

Welcome with your contributions!

Lars-Erik Edlund
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Professor & President
of the Royal Skyttean Society

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TATJANA KUDRJAVTSEVA

Ledkov's Novella *White Hawk*

A Nenets Epic Reconstruction

ASTRACT This article presents a reading of the "epic novella" *White Hawk* by the Nenets writer Vasilij Ledkov, which was published in 1982, in the last decade of the Soviet Union. *White Hawk* is an epic reconstruction from a Nenets point of view of the historical events that are otherwise recorded only by the Russian colonisers. These events are known as "the century of wars" between the Nenets and the Russians prior to the subjugation of the Nenets to Russian rule. In other Soviet sources on the Nenets this century of wars has been passed over in silence. In the late Soviet period, in 1982, Ledkov attempted to loosen the constraints of what was permissible, while at the same time he sought to protect the text from condemnation by allowing for a number of divergent readings. He may have done this not least in order to avoid the accusations of nationalism to which he had previously been subjected. It is my contention that the text must have appealed to the particular type of Soviet reader who was aware of the practice of double coding as a way of loosening ideological constraints. Such a reader would be willing to disregard the elements of the text that gave it ideological legitimacy and would have a keen eye for innovative – or what were previously "nonpermissible" – elements. Not a few Soviet authors are known to have participated in the development of an increasingly more Aesopian language, and it would be a mistake to view writers from the Northern peoples as less capable in this respect.

KEYWORDS Nenets, Vasilij Ledkov, Russia, late Soviet novel, nationalism, the Century of Wars

Russia was one of the world's longest surviving empires when the fourteen satellite Soviet republics gained their independence in 1991. Modern Russia is still a country of considerable ethnic diversity, and its constitution declares it to be a multinational state. While the conflicts in its Southern belt have since been in the spotlight of the media, the situation of the peoples of its Arctic regions have attracted considerably less attention. Not long after their outbreak in the eighteenth century, wars in the Caucasus became the subject of numerous news bulletins

and were addressed by writers of fiction ranging from enthusiastic colonialists, such as Bestužev-Marlinskij, to peace-seekers, such as Lev Tolstoj (Layton 1994). The colonisation of the North, by contrast, began much earlier than this, arguably with the re-establishment of the city-state of Novgorod in 1136. It may well have been because of these early beginnings, which took place long before the spread of the printing press, that a firmly established popular narrative about colonisation and its resistance was never to appear in the North as it subsequently did in the South.

The Soviet epoch, on the other hand, bore witness to a flourishing of narratives about the North, pregnant with the ethos of its revolutionary "re-discovery" or, rather, re-claiming of its natural resources. Many of these narratives are contained in McCannon's *Red Arctic* (1998), which is preoccupied above all with the essays and books written by Russian explorers, settlers and journalists. As Slezkine (1994) highlighted in an earlier publication, the Soviet authorities also took special pride in having brought literacy to the nomadic peoples of the North. A special educational institution was established for the Northern peoples in Leningrad, the Department of the Northern Peoples. That these peoples in turn began to produce, for the first time, their very own writers of fiction was promoted as one of the civilizing benefits of Soviet rule.

This article addresses one work of literature written in that period by a writer belonging to the group of the Nenets – the population of the northernmost regions west and east of the Ural mountains. Approximately 35,000 Nenets live in this territory; 6,500 in the western territories, 20,900 in the centre and 2,500 in the east. The Nenets language belongs to the Samoyed group of languages, and their ancestors are believed to have come from east of the Ural mountains. Some sources date their arrival in their current area of settlement to prehistoric times, others to as late as the last millennium. The argument about the dates of their arrival may potentially affect their status as an indigenous population. Russia has in any case not ratified the UN convention about indigenous peoples, which could give an internationally protected legal status to many of its Northern minorities.

Ledkov and His Novella

This article presents a reading of the "epic novella" *White Hawk* by the Nenets writer Vasilij Ledkov, which was published in 1982, in the last decade of the existence of the Soviet Union. Vasilij Ledkov was born in the Nenets Autonomous District in the west, so he belongs to the European Nenets. The influence of the Russian language is at its greatest in this western territory, whereas in the central territories of the Nenets settlement 95% are native language speakers. The text discussed here has only been published

as an authorised translation into Russian (Ledkov 1982), and the translations from Russian into English in this article are my own.

Ledkov belongs to the post-World War II generation of graduates of the Department of the Northern Peoples at the Leningrad Teachers College, several of whom later became writers. While studying there he also participated in the translation of Russian literature into Nenets. One could argue that the Department's graduates were meant to be both the products and disseminators of the Soviet programme of Russification through education. Indeed, in a recent article on this generation of the Department's graduates, Toulouze (1999) upholds the view that they did little to help the Soviet authorities acknowledge the problems of the Northern minorities. Parts of Ledkov's personal history, however, provide evidence to the contrary: after a meeting with Chruščev, in which Ledkov talked about the problems in minority education, he was subjected to accusations of nationalism by the authorities at the Department. He was compelled to leave Leningrad and to work as a teacher and a radio journalist in his native region. He published his first novella in 1970 and, in spite of his earlier problems, came to enjoy the status of a professional writer and representative of the national minorities of the North-West in the Soviet Writers Union. He published poetry and several novels and novellas. His official status may well have been earned by his novels in particular, which are traditional Soviet socialist realist novels about the successful collectivisation of the Nenets reindeer pastures and the abandonment of their nomadic way of life. Their function was to cement the official Soviet version of the progress of Nenets history.

One of his last novellas, however, the epic novella *White Hawk* (1982), stands out, and deals with the Nenets resistance to Russian colonisation. Its events take place in the middle of the seventeenth century, and its protagonist is a Nenets youth turned shaman. It is the protagonist as the focal point, his thoughts and speech that dominate the novel. *White Hawk* is an outright epic reconstruction from a Nenets' point of view of the historical events known otherwise only from the notes of the Russian colonisers (Petrova & Harjuči 2000: 561–563; Ravna 2005: 79–82). These events are known as "the century of wars" between the Nenets and the Russians prior to the subjugation of the Nenets to Russian rule. In other Soviet sources on the Nenets this century of wars was passed over in silence.

It is therefore appropriate to ask: how could this instance of counter-history be published in the Soviet ideological climate? It is my contention that the text must have appealed to the particular type of Soviet reader who was aware of the practice of double coding as a way of loosening ideological constraints. Such a reader would be willing to disregard the elements of the text that gave it ideological legitimacy and would have a keen eye for

innovative – or what were previously "nonpermissible" – elements. Not a few Soviet authors are known to have participated in the development of an increasingly more Aesopian language, and it would be a mistake to view writers from the Northern peoples as less capable in this respect. The re-examination of Ledkov's *White Hawk* offered here is intended to be illustrative of the way in which the works of Northern writers more generally might benefit from a reappraisal that bears this practice of double coding in mind.

A Conformist?

The overall compositional axis of *White Hawk*, which can be called "the plotline of history," traces the following series of initiations of the protagonist: his initiation as a shaman, as a noble thief, as a warrior and as an epic leader of the Nenets troops during their raid against the Russians. In several of its plot motifs, the novella would appear to conform with the requirements of the Soviet novel. The "deological initiation" common to such texts can be discerned, for instance, in the progression the protagonist makes from an early theft of reindeer from the rich Nenets reindeer-owners to his later use of his shamanic powers to effect a conscious redistribution of wealth. This reflects the plot model of socialist realist novels identified by Clark:

> the hero is assigned a task in the public sphere;
> he meets obstacles;
> in meeting obstacles he attains the necessary self-mastery to be initiated;
> a mentor/father figure who has already attained consciousness helps him in the passage and the spontaneity/consciousness dialectic is resolved (Clark 1985: 168).

The plotline of the noble theft offers an allegorical interpretation of the Nenets epic hero in the vein of socialist realism. Becoming a shaman, the protagonist involuntarily enters the public sphere, and a noble thief becomes his mentor. Such reinterpretations of folklore and epos were not unusual in Soviet literature during the Stalinist years. Kolarz writes on a similar adaptation of the Karelian epos: "In the Soviet interpretation Kalevala appears as a country with a classless society where a kind of primitive communism existed. Kalevala is thus almost a forerunner of Soviet Russia itself" (Kolarz 1952: 103). This approach was especially common for those nationalities of the Soviet Union which had not developed written cultures, of which the Nenets culture and its oral epos is one example. Bogdanov writes of the post-Stalinist years: "A noticeable cooling off of interest in the beginning of the 1960s was substituted in the 1970s by a 'return to epos'" (Bogdanov 2006: 110).

The events of the novella are thus Ledkov's contemporary epic reconstruction, as they are not reflected in the existing Nenets epos, and the Russian chronicles do not cover "the century of wars" in detail. In order to create this modern epic tale, the author resorts to an anachronism: according to social anthropologists, the distinction between rich Nenets deer-owners and poor ones appeared only as late as the eighteenth century (Ravna 2005: 90). In the same century, this distinction caused the uprising led by Vavl'a Nen'jang, one of the few events of the pre-Soviet Nenets history that was officially approved of by Soviet scholars (Ravna 2005: 96–97). Ledkov's protagonist White Hawk seems to be modelled on Nen'jang, in so far as he redistributes the deer stolen from the rich between the poor, but Ledkov projects these events a century earlier, to the seventeenth century.

A further conformity to the prevailing Soviet ideology occurs when the protagonist and his friend, who had earlier discussed the settled (as opposed to the nomadic) way of life, decide to live side by side. 150 other families join them to live a strongly romanticised life of "noble savages":

> Сильные и бесстрашные юноши состязались в быстроте и ловкости [...]. Юные красавицы затевали свои нехитрые девичьи игры [...]. Веселые, звонкие, задушевные их песни и смех, усиливаемые простором и эхом, раздавались вокруг далеко за полночь. Собрав вокруг себя степенных мужчин и любознательных детей, седые старики рассказывали сказки о людях добрых и злых [...], пели песни о народных героях и богатырях, их удивительных приключениях и подвигах. (1982: 178–179.)
>
> ['Strong and fearless young men challenged each other in quickness and precision [...]. Young beauties began their uncomplicated girl games [...]. Their cheerful, deeply-felt songs and laughter, made louder by the vastness and echo, were heard all around far beyond midnight. Respectful men and knowledge-seeking children gathered around greyhaired elders who told stories about the good and bad people [...], sang songs about folk heroes and mighty men, their wonderful adventures and deeds.']

The transition to a settled way of life of the traditionally nomadic Nenets, like the social consciousness of the protagonist, appears to be another instance of an ideologically sanctioned allegorical anachronism. The Soviet authorities forced the Nenets to settle down in collective farms, and Ledkov's contemporary epic may in this manner provide this forced settlement with a more acceptable precedent. The quotation otherwise recalls the pictures of "primitive communism" with which the early Soviet ideologues endowed the nomadic peoples of the North in order to make them fit the Marxist historico-economic scheme (Slezkine 1994; Ravna 2005: 110).

A Counter-Historian?

It would be a mistake, however, to read *White Hawk* as a purely propagandist text. Rather, Ledkov uses such a strongly socialist realist framework as a way of covering the resistance to Russian influence contained within his narrative of seventeenth century Nenets. The choice of a shaman as the protagonist in a Soviet novella was, for instance, both an innovative and a potentially radical move. Shamans were prosecuted by the Soviet power (Slezkine 1994: 297) as members of the "exploiting class" and as religious mystics, and in all the previous texts by Ledkov they are cast as extremely negative figures. Abramovich-Gomon writes:

> Open shamanistic practices among the Arctic peoples disappeared under the Soviet regime, which attacked shamans and religion in general. The European Nenets were the first Arctic nation which stopped conducting public shamanistic ceremonies. From both the practical and ideological points of view, research on shamanism became a complicated issue for Soviet ethnographers, who had to rely upon information about shamanism contained in the writings of travellers, missionaries and scholars of the 18th and 19th century. (Abramovich-Gomon 1999: 83.)

Ravna writes of the imprisonment of the last Nenets shamans by the Soviet authorities in 1936–1937 (2005: 118). In his latest novella Ledkov thus breaks an ideological prohibition placed by the Soviet materialist ideology on the traditional Nenets belief system. Not an imitation of a contemporary practice, a plotline involving intitiation of the protagonist into shamanism in a novella of 1982 must have posed an additional challenge to Ledkov in his reconstruction, and Propp's ((1929) 1998) analysis of folktales, to which the plotline of shamanism fits extremely well, could have been one of Ledkov's sources.

Whereas the plot of the text contradicts the Soviet ideological prohibition agains shamanism, the descriptions of the setting allow the novella to introduce other aspects of the Nenets beliefs that were subjected to prohibition as "pre-modern, outdated superstitions." Here, instead, they form an integral part of the Nenets' relationship to their natural surroundings. One setting that receives extensive attention is the temporary camp the Nenets establish while they are preparing a raid against the Russians. They are hunting and fishing in order to bring along enough food, and these portions of the text contain detailed descriptions of the Nenets activities that belong to each of the different types of setting. These descriptions, in turn, are accompanied by descriptions of Nenets beliefs that go with these types of setting: "the tales about animals, birds and fishes" (1982: 154) which are believed to be family totems. The camp is set up in what is called "the Holy

Mountains," and one of the features of this setting is "the hundreds of idols" (1982: 155) erected in honour of one of the leaders of the Nenets troops.

The story of the war tells an alternative story of Nenets dissent, namely their resistance to Russian colonisation. The introduction into the text of historical references to the seventeenth century – historically, the "century of wars" between the Nenets and the Russians – makes the subplot of war significant not just as a singular event, but as an emblem of the whole historical period (Ledkov 1982: 162). In the 1920s, Soviet historiography condemned the tsarist colonisation; from the 1940s on, however, any influence of the Russians on other populations of the former Russian empire was to be considered progressive (Vakhtin 1992: 17, Slezkine 1994: 304-307). Ledkov thus breaks this later pattern of Soviet fiction. In the plotline of the Nenets raid on the Russians, modern dates begin to accompany concrete spatial references. This section is organised in such a way that the Nenets precede the reference to calendricisation in the historical documents. The Nenets temporality is introduced through a setting in which it has literally left a trace, characteristically of the nomadic Nenets, in the form of a road:

> [...] дорога на То-харад, проложенная тысячами упряжек в год небывалого зноя и бешеного овода восемь лет назад, когда возмущенные притеснениями, невесть откуда взявшимися долгами русскому царю тундровики двинулись на То-харад, срубленный осенью 1499 [...] Это было не по сердцу вольному и гогдому народу, о котором еще со времен Великого Новгорода – с ним ненцы на равных вели торговое дело – плелись всякие небылицы. (1982: 145.)
>
> ['[...] the road to To-harad which was ground down by thousands of carriages in a year of unusual heat and mad flies eight years ago, when the inhabitants of the tundra, indignant at their oppression and by the debts to the Russian tsar, which have appeared out of nowhere, began to move in the direction of To-harad, built in 1499 [...] The proud and free people, to whom already from the times of Great Novgorod – the Nenets conducted equal trade with this city – improbable stories had been attached, did not like this.']

An example of a story of frog-like people and people with dog-heads that stems from the "Notes" by Herberstein (1556), follows. A real historical character, the Austrian Herberstein was a Roman envoy to Russia in the sixteenth century and one of the most important European sources about Muscovy. The narrator concludes the paragraph ironically with the assertion that: "the educated world knew little of the far North and its inhabitants" (1982: 145). Intertextuality here suggests a generic kinship to a historical chronicle, but the text contains, importantly, a history of an "other" space, the North, written from the perspective of its inhabitants.

Through the introduction of the key figure of the Russian Old Believers, Avvakum, whom the protagonist meets in the Russian fortress and whom he offers to set free, the text also appeals to the history of the Russian North as a margin that has become the centre of religious dissent. It therefore lifts the ideological veil from Russian religious history, quite likely seeking in it a legitimisation of its own introduction of a Nenets spiritual leader. This allows an analogy to be drawn between a good shaman and a good priest. The dissent of one against the centre finds its parallel and legitimisation in the dissent of the other. While Ledkov's contemporary epic seeks to present to the reader a view from within, the connections to the genre of the chronicle and contemporary dating legitimate this view for "the educated world" as well.

Finally, the different approaches to the land by the Nenets and Russians also suggest a divergence between the two nationalities and their histories. In short, while the Russians tend towards a static relationship towards the land (indicated by their village settlement and collective farms), the mobile, nomadic Nenets have a more dynamic relationship. In fact, the major dynamic transformation in the novella's setting as the result of the movements of the characters takes place during the raid on the Russians. The flatland gives way to the mountains, then to a warrior camp near the sea, and, finally, to the fortress To-charad, or Pustozersk, which the Nenets raid. This transformation, however, reveals no gradation between native and alien settings. The movement from the flatland to the mountains is described as follows:

> Вангурей... Величественная красота подернутых дымкой сопок, [...] чистый горный воздух и высокое лазурное небо будили в людях возвышенное чувство сыновней гордости и щемяще нежной любви к родной земле, живой и мыслящей частицей которой были они сами.
>
> Делюк фанатично любил открытые небу родные равнины, но навсегда был очарован горами на Полярном Урале, на родине милой Ябтане [...]. (1982: 148.)

> ['Vangurei... The majestic beauty of the peaks, [...] the clean mountain air and the high lapis-lazuli sky evoked in them the sublime feeling of son-like pride and an innermost tender love towards their native land, they were a living and thinking particle of it.
>
> Del'uk loved the native flatlands fanatically, open to the sky, but he was also charmed forever by the mountains of the Polar Ural, the native land of his dearest Iabtane [...].']

The sublimity of the mountainous Northern, arctic landscape finds a parallel in the sublimity of the patriotic feeling of the protagonist towards this native land. The relationship of the Nenets warriors to it is metonymic: the

land and the people are inseparably joined. Even if the setting of the novella is dynamic, it is thus perceived as native, as "our land."

Alien settings, "the land of the others," do not appear in the narrative, but the Russian colonisers are clearly alien to the native land of the Nenets. This is evident from the speech the protagonist makes before the raid on To-charad:

> Пусть уходят туда, откуда пришли! Там у них есть свои земли! Кто идет с разбоем, подкупом и обманом, не место тем на нашей земле! Не нужна нам чужая земля, но и своей не позволим топтать и поганить! Покорность и унижения – не наш, ненцев, удел! Спалим осиное гнездо слуг ненасытного царя! (1982: 171.)
>
> ['Let them go back to where they have come from! They have their own lands there! Those who come with robbery, bribery and deceit have nothing to do in our land! We do not need the land of the others, but we won't allow them to soil our own, the Nenets one! Submission and humiliation is not our, Nenets, lot! Let's burn down the wasps' nest of the tenants of the insatiable tsar!']

The Nenets own their land by law, "[t]he Russian tsar has given us these lands for all times" (1982: 57). A footnote by the narrator of the text, attached to this sentence, refers to Ivan the Terrible, who had confirmed the Nenets right to the land for all time. Additionally, this part of the text contains numerous quotations of the following type: "А ненцы, как ни говори, братья между собой еще от рождения жизни на земле, в тундре" ['The Nenets are after all brothers between themselves from the beginning of life on Earth, in the tundra'] (1982: 58); "Земель без хозяев нет!" ['There are no lands without owners'] (1982: 60); "Ненцы, дети природы, на своей родной земле отлично знали норов каждого месяца" ['The Nenets, sons of nature, knew the particular character of every single month on their native land'] (1982: 164). The preoccupation in these references with questions of ethnogenesis, of the indigenous relationship to the land, patriotism and ownership is here overt and insistent. It may be argued that by moving back into more distant history, the novella is able to justify such proclamations of the Nenets ownership of the land in contrast to the more restricted discourse of the Soviet present.

Conclusion

The beginning of the text and its end contain a framing narrative, the events of which take place when the shaman White Hawk has already become a warrior and the leader of the Nenets. They contain an attempted invasion of the Nenets land by a foreign ship. An envoy arrives at a Nenets

village and spreads the news of "Nor-Ge, or Pir-rates" (1982: 57) approaching the Nenets coast. The invaders are likely to be the Norwegians, who designate their country as "Norge." In the final section of the narrative the Nenets gather and join the Komi, Sami and Pomors – the coastal Russians – in order to fight the invader. No battle follows. In the concluding paragraph the narrative assumes the perspective of the Pomors. They decide that the cupola of a coastal Russian church has indicated to the ship of Nor-Ge that the land is Russian, and has made the foreigners retreat. The conclusion to the text is self-consciously ambiguous and tautological: while the Nenets believe that this land is theirs, the Russians also believe that they own it. The text thus returns to the ambivalent relationship required by the ideologically approved Soviet internationalism: on the one hand, this territory is proclaimed to be Nenets, on the other, it is Russian, and it also belongs to the other peoples of the tundra.

White Hawk can therefore be seen to contain two different versions of Nenets history and their relationship towards their Russian neighbours. When read on an allegorical level, the text is a socialist realist parable of Nenets history. When the allegorical level is disregarded, the text is insistently preoccupied with questions about who is native to the land and who owns it; the main conflict of its plot is the conflict with the Russians. The framing plotline of the foreign invasion offers an ideologically correct opportunity to picture all the peoples of the tundra united against a common enemy, but the specificity of this particular text is such that the common ground receives far less textual space in it than the Nenets ground. The framing narrative is the shortest in this text, while the story of the raid against the Russians is more substantial.

The ambivalence of Soviet discourse on nativity and nationality is evident in this text. It was able to uphold the sense of territorial ethnogenesis and belonging – evident in the establishment of Ledkov's native Nenets National Autonomous District – while at the same it asserted the shared ownership of the land, especially with the Russians. Thus, Vakhtin writes of the establishment of the geographic national autonomies in 1920s–30s, that their aim was to secure native participation in the governance of the Northern minorities, but these intentions were overruled by the centralised power paradigms of the Russian Soviets (Vakhtin 1994: 48). In the late Soviet period, in 1982, Ledkov attempted to loosen the constraints of what was permissible, while at the same time he sought to protect this text from condemnation by allowing for a number of divergent readings. He may have done this not least in order to avoid the accusations of nationalism to which he had previously been subjected. In fact, while Toulouze (1999) suggests that Ledkov's generation of writers from the Northern peoples was quite

simply inactive when it came to the problems of their respective nationalities, Kemp discerns in the history of the Soviet discourse on nationalities a more complex pattern:

> 1. official words and actions (stemming from a desire for legitimacy) stressing support for nationalism which are subsequently or simultaneously undercut by:
> 2. actions to support statism and centralism (so as to hold onto power and ensure ideological conformity) which have the effect of:
> 3. neutralizing nationalism in the short term but, in the process increasing anti-state and pro-national sentiments which, in large part, feed off of the opportunities afforded by the seemingly token gestures mentioned in (1) and the sense of national identity which is strengthened by the reaction to (2). (Kemp 1999: 83.)

The result of this process was the rise of national sentiment in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which ultimately caused the disintegration of the Soviet empire in 1991. Although they still face many problems, the peoples of the North have also experienced a national revival. My contention is that Ledkov's text from the last decade of the Soviet Union's existence represents an intermediate stage in this process: while it remains an example of Soviet doublespeak, it nonetheless rehabilitates an important part of the history of Nenets resistance to the Russians, as well as the traditional beliefs of the Nenets that had been outlawed earlier.

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Northern Science and Research

Postsecondary Perspectives in the Northwest Territories

ABSTRACT The International Polar Year (IPY) provides an opportunity to reflect on Northern science and research. For all Canadians, science and research should contribute to living a good life. A good life includes successfully making sense of the world within local contexts, sharing this knowledge beyond the immediate community and reconciling it with knowledge held by outsiders. Northern science and research are inherent in Traditional Dene, Inuvialuit and Métis knowledge; and they continue to be reflected in Northern governance, economy, and cultures. Alongside Aboriginal sciences are Western sciences; these are primarily disciplinary in nature and formally structure postsecondary education globally. Postsecondary science and research education is still being introduced to the Northwest Territories (NWT). Over the last forty years the territorial government has developed the capacity for educational services, funding, institutions, and authority through the Department of Education, Culture and Employment. The delivery of Northern-based postsecondary education through Aurora College provides Northerners with the capacity to generate science and research in the North. What place do science and research have in the North? (North in this paper demarcates the socially constructed geopolitical territories north of the 60th parallel that we use cautiously as a structural term for the purposes of our narrative.) What kinds of investments need to be made and will Northerners be prepared to overcome barriers and take advantage of the opportunities?[1]

KEYWORDS Arctic science, International Polar Year (IPY), Arctic Council, post-secondary education, research, Northern Canada, Indigenous knowledge, history

Introduction

While much has changed in the North since the first International Polar Years (IPY) in 1882–1883, it remains a choice location for numerous researchers. If IPY (2007–2008) is an opportunity to advance sci-

ence and research, it is also a time for us to take stock, reflect and celebrate our achievements. The present moment in history is a perfect time to examine the relationship between science and education. Our discussion will look at research funding and we propose that there are great needs and little access to national funding in the north. Paradoxically, we will show that postsecondary science and research rely to a great extent on public funding. Furthermore, the North continues to be an attractive site for fieldwork for more reasons than the existing crumbling infrastructure, which has seen little investment since the 1970s. As a site for postsecondary learning and teaching our discussion explores some of the main challenges and opportunities facing research and science education, illustrated with specific examples from the Northwest Territories (NWT).[2]

The Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR) stated,

> [a]rctic societies have a well-deserved reputation for resilience in the face of change. But today they are facing an unprecedented combination of rapid and stressful changes involving environmental processes (e.g. the impacts of climate change), cultural developments (e.g. the erosion of indigenous languages), economic changes (e.g. the emergence of narrowly based mixed economies), industrial developments (e.g. the growing role of multinational corporations engaged in the extraction of natural resources), and political changes (e.g. the devolution of political authority). (Einarsson et al. (eds.) 2004: 10.)

This paper examines the role of Northern science and research, in particular how they contribute to living a good life in the NWT. We acknowledge there are major regional differences among circumpolar countries, even within regions of each country; there are also common experiences of being Northern. IPY is a massive focus on and investment in circumpolar research,[3] providing us with an opportunity to examine the role of Northern science and research, the resilience of Northern peoples and lands, as well as the nature of changes being experienced (to the extent they can be known). IPY is an opportunity not to be squandered.

Planning for IPY began at the Arctic Council and in circumpolar countries as early as 2004. In Canada, training and more broadly speaking, community outreach, were set as high priorities; however, some would argue that adequate investments were slow to materialize. The Arctic Council's legacy for IPY is to increase knowledge and understanding of Polar Regions. Ultimately long-term sustainability for Northern research requires understanding IPY's context as well as developing a long-term vision for Northern science and research. We would encourage comparative work in the future, to understand more fully the state of circumpolar science and

research, including the human and historical dimensions.[4]

On the topic of education, the Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR; Einarsson et al. (eds.) 2004) found that no comprehensive comparative assessment could be made for Northern education, "partly because there is very little circumpolar research in the field"; furthermore, "education policy is driven by values and interests. It is therefore important to know if some take precedence in curriculum development over others, and why" (Johansson et al. 2004: 169). Furthermore, there is no agreed upon Arctic Science Strategy, although there has been extensive cooperation in the Arctic Monitoring Assessment Program and in regional assessments (i.e. Arctic Climate Impact Assessment). In Northern Canada the three Northern Premiers stated (Yukon Government 2007: 9).

> Research infrastructure in the territories, as well as individual knowledge and know-how, needs to be strengthened. It is not sufficient to study the North from afar. Broadening our understanding of the North, and drawing upon traditional knowledge as well as modern science, will improve our collective ability to operate in an environment that is fragile to begin with, and undergoing serious and rapid change.

How can Northern science and research infrastructure be strengthened? In addition to support and key investments, the way in which Northern science is conducted must change. Through "A Northern Vision," the territorial Premiers discuss the importance of bringing traditional knowledge and Western science together, to improve educational opportunities for Northerners, and to work in partnership with Canada and private organizations, including industry, to achieve their vision.

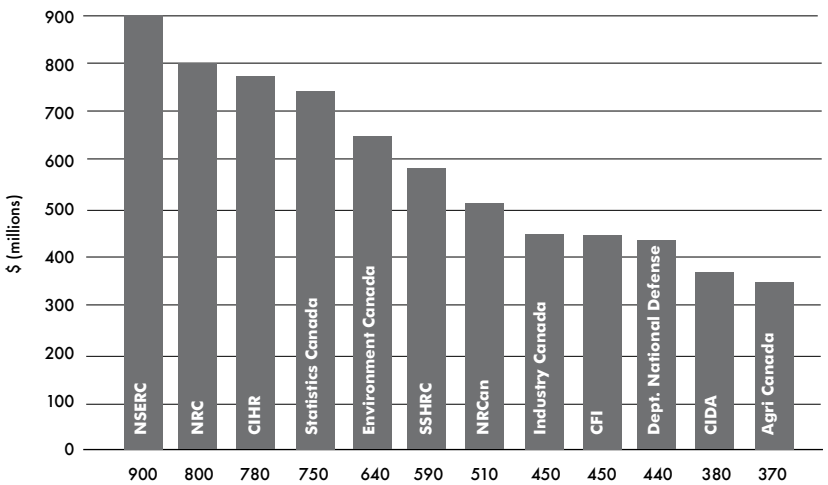
Investments in Northern Science and Research

The Conference Board of Canada (2007: 81) observed that there is a "direct relationship between investments in education, educational attainment and economic growth." Northern economic growth is dependent on educational investments from other jurisdictions.[5] Northern economic growth is fueled by labor demands for natural resource extraction and the export of raw resources. The Conference Board of Canada's logic would require additional analysis for it to make sense in the Northern regions of Canada, even though a national perspective is reasonable.

There are two ways in which science and research funding flows. It can flow directly to the North, through departmental agreements or partnerships. Or it can be applied to Northern issues led by researchers and scientists in southern Canada and elsewhere. The funding of international re-

searchers will not be discussed. Instead, we focus our attention on funding within Canada (see Fig. 1). Public health-related research gets the largest part of research funds, in excess of ~$1.2 billion, or about 17%, followed by industrial investments at ~$900 million, or about 13% (Canada 2007b). The majority of these funds are spent at universities, teaching hospitals, and industries based in Southern Canada. Statistics are not kept for the NWT or the other two territories, or combined for such measures as business enterprise expenditure on research and development (BERD). While Canada has increased its funding over the last decade of higher-education research and development (over $9.9 billion in 2005), the North sees only indirect benefits from these increases in the form of Northern Research Chairs based in southern institutions. Other initiatives, for example the floating science lab

Fig. 1. Major government Canadian funding agencies for science and research. Funding amounts are for 2005, in millions of dollars.



known as Arcticnet (IPY investments are listed as $24.2 million), attract most of the dollars with little spent on Northern postsecondary infrastructure.

The Canadian Foundation for Innovation (CFI 2007: 2) indicates that they have invested 3 billion dollars in over 4,000 projects at universities, colleges, non-profit research institutes and hospitals in municipalities across Canada. CFI expects this amount to be $11 billion dollars by 2010. CFI (2007: 4) supports research capacity through the college research development fund with contributions capped at $800,000.00. With over $15.6 million invested nationally since 1999, the fund has yet to be accessed by Aurora College and it will only be relevant after a science program has been established (besides

Nursing) to encourage opportunities for innovative research with industry.

Canada (2007b: 10) reported that the government "supports R&D [research and development] and RSA [related scientific activities] through a number of departments and agencies. Some departments and agencies perform most of their R&D internally (National Research Council, Natural Resources Canada), and others mainly provide research funds to universities (National Science and Engineering Research Council [NSERC], Canadian Institute of Health Research [CIHR], Social Science and Humanities Research Council [SSHRC], and CFI) or to the business sector (Industry Canada)." The North is excluded from this funding because there is no university located there. NSERC and SSHRC have attempted to address these issues internally through program changes and pilot projects, for example the College and Community Innovation Pilot project,[6] as well as working collaboratively with Northern jurisdictions.

Northern Science and Research: A Good Life?

For Dene, Inuvialuit, Métis, and all NWT residents, science and research should contribute to living a "good life" (Paci & Villebrun 2005). The ideal good life is more than the accumulation of externalities (Tsetta et al. 2005). To paraphrase Westlund (2006: 68), the dominant financial view of living the good life includes competing for and winning resources, making "enough" money to afford to buy our way in and out of price situations. From an economic perspective, IPY is a massive injection of resources (funding and attention) for the scientific community. In Canada alone there are 44 Canadian lead projects, in addition to international lead. Many of these projects examine the most pressing scientific questions of our day: the relationship of the Arctic to contaminants and climate change. There is also a human dimension to many of the approved projects, and hence there are great expectations for the benefits from this work collectively; that the resulting data and analysis will contribute to living a "good life."

In addition to an economic dimension, living a good life has other considerations. From an ecological perspective, it is sustainable: balanced energy cycles with species interactions that are robust. This perspective requires acknowledgment and respect for interconnectedness. Carelessness or rapid change can lead to vulnerability, ecosystem flips and extirpations. The reason we raise the ecological and the economic perspectives is to stress the importance our values have when we reflect what is after all a good life and how we seek to achieve this state of being individually and collectively. Anielski (2007: 21) asks: "Is there discord between the values espoused by our modern democratic, capitalist and free market system and the values

that reside in our hearts about what constitutes 'a good life'?" Our answers are important to the kinds of research and postsecondary education we establish. Neilsen (1998: 270) notes:

> We live and work in the texts of the world, but in educational research, just as in education itself, such living inside the texts we create allows us to ignore the ways in which these texts weave themselves into the larger ecology of interdependencies and relations among people, ideas, and the particular tasks of living on the planet. But [...] ignoring the consequences of our ecological assumptions about our work in education may, in fact, threaten the very sustainability we claim to be working towards. An ecological awareness reminds us of the tensions inherent in our unstable interdependence.

For Northerners living a good life begins by satisfying internal values, successfully making sense of (and a place in) the world within cultural (this includes economic), social, political and ecological contexts; as well as sharing this knowledge beyond the immediate community and reconciling it with knowledge held by others. To what extent has science contributed to a good life in the NWT? While it has enabled major natural resource development, transportation, communication, it has also radically changed the North. Great fortunes have been amassed and lost: for example, uranium from Port Radium fed the Manhattan project and devastated a generation of families in the Sahtu. Indigenous knowledge is mostly marginalized or worse; Aboriginal languages, governance, economies and cultures have resisted scientific disciplines in their own right. In contrast, Western scientific knowledge has dominated formal education in most countries (see Box 1).

In the past, science revolutionized, liberated, and thus also dominated the way Western societies constructed postsecondary education. Ideas such as mechanical, rational, and atomistic thinking evolved out of the Enlightenment. Said (1994) points out that imperialism and empire have also had their influences and their far-reaching impacts have swept aside, in many ways, Indigenous knowledge systems. The forces of empire and colonialism replaced limitations and old fears with the realities of modernity; however, we have a new set of fears: mass hysteria, alienation, and environmental degradation. Western sciences are no longer acultural, conveyed unexamined from the cultural contexts that bore them; they are no longer insular, albeit some institutions remain ivory towers. Most universities embrace diversity, and cultural contexts and breakthroughs from ecology, feminism, social history, as well as a host of ethno-sciences are included in this mix (Nazerea (ed.) 1999).

Is it correct to conceive of scientific research as an enterprise? Any type of knowledge, new knowledge, acknowledgement of old knowledge,

Box 1. The 4 program foundations for junior and senior secondary science curriculum. Government of the Northwest territories (GNWT).

Foundation 1: Science, Technology and Society (STS) – ***Students will*** develop an understanding of the nature of science and technology, the relationships between science and technology, and the social and environmental contexts of science and technology.

Foundation 2: Knowledge – ***Students will*** construct knowledge and understandings of concepts in life science, physical science and Earth and space science, and apply these understandings to interpret, integrate and extend their knowledge.

Foundation 3: Skills – ***Students will*** develop the skills required for scientific and technological inquiry, for solving problems, for communicating scientific ideas and results, for working collaboratively and for making informed decisions.

Foundation 4: Attitudes – ***Students will be encouraged to*** develop attitudes that support the responsible acquisition and application of scientific and technological knowledge to the mutual benefit of self, society and the environment.

repackaging knowledge, verification of knowledge, etc., has a distinct feature, but they all share the goal of learning and improving our quality of life. The *professionalization* of research, the production and communication of knowledge, the recruitment and education of research and science professionals, each involves investments and returns. The nature of science and research, both being *in situ* and also *ex situ*, in particular their production and consumption, is central to our discussion. Postsecondary science and research education is still being introduced to the NWT.[7] Over the last forty years the territorial government developed the capacity for educational services, funding, institutions, and investing the authority through the Ministry of Education, Culture and Employment (ECE).[8] The exclusive delivery of Northern-based postsecondary education takes place at Aurora College. There is a primary campus and head office located in Fort Smith (Thebacha), and there are two regional campuses in Yellowknife and Inuvik, and learning centers in 23 rural and remote communities. Not all campuses offer the same programs and there is regional division of services and support that will not be examined in detail, but has a significant influence on Northern science and research capacity, or lack thereof. Much of the circumpolar North was "explored" and "settled" as Northern science and technology evolved, in particular to allow large-scale industrial development and extraction of natural resources and therefore settlement (Bravo & Sörlin 2002, Paci & Villebrun 2005).

Throughout the circumpolar region, natural resource discoveries led to development of most of the current infrastructure. In Northern Canada, rather than the growth of cities and settlement, the pattern of natural resource extraction resulted in the development of frontier industry

towns (bush camps), the underdevelopment of science and education infrastructure. Apart from polar field stations, very little has been spent on educational institutions. While Canadians claim to be a Northern nation, Northern underdevelopment must be the most poorly appreciated aspect of our identity (Bravo in press). Rather than dwell on underdevelopment, it is enough to say that we are facing a significant challenge.

Linking Northern Science and Research with Postsecondary Education

There is a link between national level science and research funding of government and/or university scientists (and their graduate students), which funds relevant and important Northern research. This is problematic for the territorial North, which on the whole does not gain access to this money. Furthermore, without a tax base or other revenue common among the provinces, and a dominant feature in other circumpolar jurisdictions, the Canadian North is in a precarious position. National funding in the sciences builds capacity to study the North. Moreover, prestigious Northern programs, for example the Northern Contaminants Program and Arcticnet, to name two, fund Northern research conducted primarily by southern institutions. It is not that these programs, including IPY, or the national funding agencies, or southern-based scientists, are unconcerned about postsecondary education. However, most lack an appreciation of the link and lack thereof between their research and Northern postsecondary education. Individuals and their institutions do not have the authority or jurisdiction to build territorial postsecondary capacity. IPY, in particular, highlights this problem, because half of the principle investigators (n=22) are southern-based academics with graduate and doctoral cohorts working in the North. The University of British Columbia (3 projects worth $9.3M), Laval (4 projects worth $3.9M), Manitoba (2 projects worth $6.5M), and Toronto (2 projects worth $4.2M) are the four main institutes.

According to the Canadian Education Statistics Council (2003: 109), "formal education, either at the 'typical' age of study, or later, as an adult learner, is a key to providing people with the opportunities to develop the knowledge and skills needed in the knowledge economy." Southern-based academic institutions continue to build their Northern expertise and IPY is facilitating this. Meanwhile, Northern academics/researchers and scientists are managing 13% of IPY projects (accounting for $7.4M). This is a huge improvement in comparison with 1882, when there were only international scientists at two field stations (Fort Rae and Fort Conger).

The linkage of Northern postsecondary education with science and research would benefit the current postsecondary institutions, which are

currently sites for adult education, vocational training, and very specialized and limited undergraduate studies. In our opinion, traditional knowledge has a prominent role to play. The role of adult education might cause some to argue that such linkages would be a waste of time. Dennison & Gallagher (1989: 11) provide a cautionary note regarding postsecondary and adult education.

> Became increasingly popularized as a collective label that would incorporate all education after secondary school: universities, degree-granting colleges, specialized institutions which admitted students beyond school age, and the new institutions which most commonly referred to themselves as community colleges. The place of adult education in this new alignment of institutions remained ambiguous because at this state in the development of Canadian education, it really did not fit.

The problem today is in practice, Northern science and research are not conducted at/by Aurora College. College instructors have relatively small class sizes (<12), but heavy teaching loads (>5 courses/semester) and no release time to pursue research. The separation of research from teaching has the obvious impact of disengaging college faculty, in all programs including those teaching in Adult Basic Education, Carpentry, and the more academic programs. Instructors are not learning and expanding the present state of knowledge, which is a major disconnect because for the most part they are practicing state of the art teaching, in particular to bring traditional know-ledge into the classroom, or their classes out on the land. Research is effectively muzzled at the college, evident in libraries that are underdeveloped at the three campuses, nothing more than book shelves in the community learning centers (if at all). Besides the nursing labs, science labs are almost non-existent. Efforts are being made to establish complete computer labs in many locations on campus and off (for example in Behchokǫ̃), which should add to faculty and student capacity to pursue original research. However, the general attitude seems to be that it is teaching and not research that is going on in the NWT. Reasearch is conducted under a science license issued by the Aurora Research Institute (ARI); however, private industry, southern universities, professional consultants, and public government departments mostly conduct research. Most of this research is government funded, but some, in particular mineral exploration, is privately funded and there are other examples, as is evident in the recent example from W. Garfield Weston Foundation.[9]

Does it matter where research funding comes from? One result is that research generated by these different actors is at best patchy and disconnected. An example of this disjointedness is apparent in the multiple stake-

holders' attempt to develop a cumulative effects monitoring framework for the Great Slave Geological Province. While being one of the most studied areas in the NWT, due in part to the longstanding and extensive gold and now diamond mining activities, the research on the North Slave region is still so fragmented that no one can answer if there was in fact a decline in 2006 of caribou and if so what was causing it.

In addition to knowledge silos creating barriers to sharing information and the real problem of disciplinary compartmentalization of knowledge, there are public and private science and research labs and offices. Besides the fact that these are understaffed knowledge domains quickly develop in a way that retards cooperation and collaboration and fosters, privacy and competition. Without a postsecondary institution in the North, "knowledge workers" including research scientists and lab technicians must be imported. At the present time, there is no incentive for collaboration between knowledge holders/producers or a unified plan (science strategy). Until Northern postsecondary institutions produce competent Northern researchers/scientists, the region will continue to export students for training and import trained workers. If as a region and as a country, we agree that it is essential to ensure full and active engagement of the North in science and research, we need to improve current partnerships, educational opportunities and collaboration.

Before we move on, one last point is that sharing knowledge in the communities where it is originally gathered (or in directly impacted communities) has not led to increased capacity. This problem will only be addressed when the capacity is developed in the communities, so that they can collaborate, lead, and critique knowledge and inform decision makers with sound science. The North as a de facto client or object of research is problematic and when devolution of authority and responsibility from the federal to the territorial government occurs, much of the publicly funded research will need to find a new home and approach, hopefully in the North.

Northern Identity, Northern Research?

According to Coates & Morrison (2005: 25), Canada's newest Northern university, University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC),

> represented a declaration of regional self-confidence. Northerners when launching the institution, seemed determined to assure themselves of a 'complete' society, one that had the capacity to conduct research on regional themes, teach students from the North, attend the intellectual and educational needs of First Nations people, and represent Northern British Columbia to the world.

Regional self-confidence aside, there are some basic ingredients that went into creating the university in Prince George, ingredients that can be found in other Northern jurisdictions. For example, the population base for Northern British Columbia is in excess of 200,000 people. From a postsecondary perspective, the cities and towns north of Hope were served by four well-established regional community colleges before a university was established. While population size is an essential ingredient, the fact that people recognized the expanded opportunities from establishing a university was also essential. The UNBC values, also at the heart of our paper, include conducting research on regional themes, teaching Northern students, and attending to the intellectual and educational needs of Indigenous peoples. As is the case for all jurisdictions where universities have developed, a set of shared and unique characteristics influenced their establishment.

Northern engagement in the knowledge-based economy is a key concern to which we now turn our attention. According to the Government of Canada (2007a: 63), "the Council of Canadian Academies has identified Canadian S&T [Science and Technology] strengths and opportunities in areas

Box 2. Postsecondary student perspective.

Students attending secondary school in the NWT follow a departmentally approved Alberta/NWT science curriculum. Along with grade 9 and 10 core science, students in grade 11 and 12 complete courses in Chemistry, Biology and Physics. This model ensures that NWT graduates have the prerequisites to pursue postsecondary science programs anywhere in Canada. The curriculum provides students with building blocks for a future in science and research, but there are no opportunities, apart from Nursing, Teaching and a diploma in Natural Resources Technology, to pursue postsecondary science education in the NWT. To achieve an academic degree that will lead to employment in the sciences, students must attend Southern institutions. In comparison, learning basic research skills in the North is possible; however, Northern students compete with Southern trained researchers, many of whom have a graduate education. The completion rates of university degrees are relatively low for NWT students, while the total number of postsecondary graduates is misleading (11% of males and 15% of females in 2005), because many move to the NWT, and specifically Yellowknife, because of the demand for skilled/trained labor (Government of the Northwest Territories 2006c). In 2004, 22% of the 498 students enrolled in universities outside the NWT are enrolled in science programs (Government of the Northwest Territories 2006a). The only science program offered in the NWT is a Bachelor of Science in Nursing. Rather than being a research-oriented degree, the nursing program prepares Northerners to be professionally trained. For high school graduates, the option to take a general science degree, or engineering, or the natural sciences in their first years of postsecondary studies requires transition to a Southern university. Several options should be explored, such as offering a general Bachelor of Science in the NWT, the first two years of science, science access, and/or graduate studies. Would student enrollment, retention and graduation increase, would students save money and achieve a higher degree of satisfaction from their postsecondary experience? The goals of training and mentoring Northerners for Northern work includes science and research work that needs to be done in the North. It makes sense to encourage the training of Northern professionals in degree programs; however, more research is needed to answer questions about the costs and benefits of Northern or Southern-based education.

where Canada can leverage our research strengths to achieve economic and social advantage." The four areas identified are: environment and science and technology, natural resource and energy, health and related life sciences and technologies, information and communication technologies. Northern Canada offers unique opportunities in all four areas. Northern postsecondary education will contribute in two ways: by increasing the numbers of Northern graduates and by stimulating development of postsecondary infrastructure for access to the subject areas.

Canada suggested that a milestone to gauge the fulfillment of our learning potential is by ranking as "one of the top three countries in mathematics, science, and reading achievements." If Northerners are to participate in this goal, we will need to pay considerable attention to how we can increase our capabilities in these areas. Northern participation depends to a great extent on improvements in teaching and learning as well as research in the areas that will benefit the North. If these national goals are to make sense in the North, we must recognize that identity formation synergistically interacts with the development and deployment of knowledge resources and goals.

A significant annual investment of public funds is made to Aurora College – we would expect the college would be a valuable resource for knowledge production and training in the NWT.[10] Goals are set out in the two strategic plans, one established by the college (2006a) and the other by the Department (2006b). Ultimately the expression of the College's mission is the curriculum. In reviewing the calendar for 2007–2008 the challenges and opportunities Northern science students and researchers face are apparent

Fig. 2. Postsecondary full-time student enrollments NWT 1991–2005 (Government of the Northwest Territories 2006a).

	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97
Total	950	1010	1320	1460	1630	1610
Dene	200	200	340	390	460	460
Inuit	70	80	140	170	220	150
Metis	120	130	150	180	180	170
Non-Aboriginal	560	600	690	720	770	830
Southern Aboriginal	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Not Declared	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Source: Education, Culture and Employment, February 2006. 2001 Postsecondary Indicators Report.
Note: Data represents a head count. ***2001 Postsecondary Indicators Report* used uncorrected data for 1999/00.

(see Box 2). The College's mission of excellence in Northern education and research are not actively supported. While we would expect to find courses in research methods together with adult education and development studies, but they are not to be found. The kinds of opportunities (including funding) to engage both faculty and students in Northern science are not obvious. We would expect to find a specialized reflective research agenda in tandem with educational options that reflect Northern realities. This is not, however, occurring at Aurora College or ARI, although they are doing some innovative and exciting work that is not always talked about as research.

In 2004–2005, the largest cohort of Aurora College students was enrolled in career development followed by academic studies (including career access programs and adult literacy and basic education). Since 2000, enrollments in career development and diploma programs have increased. University partnership enrollments have been stagnant. Most students enrolled in courses that might lead to a science degree, or develop the skills to do research, do not attend Aurora College. Relatively few college faculty are conducting basic research and they are not given release time from teaching to conduct research or to attract research money. Unfortunately, most of the College faculty are not eligible to tap into the national funds. At the present time Aurora College lacks the capacity to develop real long lasting research.

As previously noted, there are a number of options for increasing science and research education in the North. Northern students are taking courses in Southern universities and they are enrolling in on-line postsec-

1997/98	1998/99	1999/00**	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/5
1560	1520	1459	1325	1399	1484	1459	1501
470	410	423	366	390	418	405	448
130	150	128	146	127	115	148	138
180	180	152	116	118	119	113	124
780	780	756	697	763	808	768	764
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	24	23	27
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	2	0

ondary programs. Postsecondary statistics provided by the Government of the Northwest Territories (2006a: 13) paint an encouraging picture: in 2006 there were 1,501 students (see Fig. 2). NWT postsecondary students received $15.1 million in financial assistance (on average each student receives $10,050.00) and 132 students received the Canada Millennium Bursary. Similar to enrollments at Aurora College, where women form the majority of the student body (66.5%), women are the majority of students attending Southern colleges and institutes (57.5%) and Southern and international universities (61.8%). Aboriginal students, as a percentage of all postsecondary students from the NWT, accounted for 47.3%. Over the last 14 years the annual number of Aboriginal students attending postsecondary programs more than doubled (791 students in 2004 compared to 387 in 1991). In the last seven years of data there has been an overall decline in student enrollment. According to the Government of the Northwest Territories (1999: 131), there were 769 full-time equivalent students attending Aurora College in 1999 – a number that had dropped to 610 in 2006 (Dent 2006). This drop occurred despite an increase in population in the territory (approximately 2,000 people) and an increase in high school completion rates, which doubled for Aboriginal Northerners within this time frame (Government of the Northwest Territories 2006a).

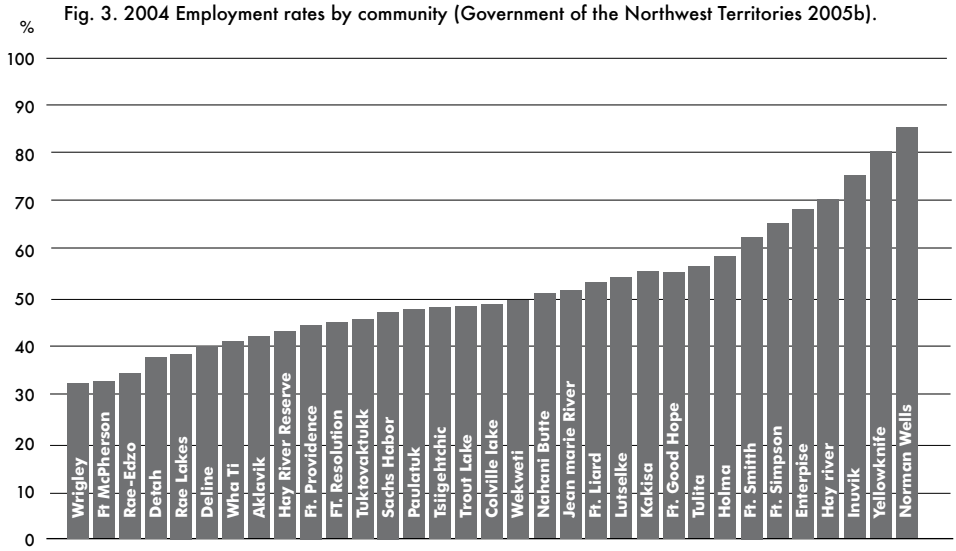
During this same period, enrolment in Southern universities increased, as did Northern employment. According to the *Annual Labor Force Report* (Government of the Northwest territories 2005b), on average 23,900 persons were in the labor force, representing an overall participation rate of 76.1%. The participation rate has remained relatively steady since 2001. In 2005, there were some 1,300 persons unemployed in the NWT, a decrease of 600 persons from 2001. The overall NWT unemployment rate stood at 5.4% for 2005, a decrease from the 8.6% unemployment rate in 2001. In 2005, the employment rate for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal persons stood at 55.1% and 83.4%, respectively. Differences in rates are significant. Aboriginal unemployment stood at 11.3%, while the non-Aboriginal rate was only 1.9%. The highest levels of unemployment are in the smaller communities and ranges considerably (see Fig. 3).

Aboriginal governments have increased control over primary education, training and employment, all of which contribute to a positive trend in Aboriginal labor force participation. Future comparative research should focus on investments by Aboriginal governments in development of postsecondary education. In the NWT there have been investments in a number of training programs, and despite being underrepresented and occupying low entry-level jobs, significant increases have been made in the mining sector for Aboriginal workers. Aboriginal miners now comprise 39% of all

employees in the NWT diamond industry (Government of the Northwest Territories 2005c).[11] These figures stand in stark contrast to Aboriginal labor force participation rates a decade earlier: 10% of all full time positions in the mining industry were Aboriginal (NWT & Nunavut Chamber of Mines n.d.: 14). Several conclusions can be drawn from these figures and we note that a strong economy and training to support Aboriginal participation has made a difference. It has also made it difficult for Aurora College to recruit students and faculty for science and research. At the same time, a direct correlation exists between increased non-renewable resource development and expansion of trades-related programming. In 1995–1996, approximately 10% of skills-based courses offered at the College related directly to the mining sector. Ten years later approximately 40% of the programs offered related directly to this sector.

When comparing labor force participation rates and College enrollment figures, it is obvious that the current structure does a good job training

Fig. 3. 2004 Employment rates by community (Government of the Northwest Territories 2005b).



Northerners for some sectors of the economy. Also, we can read the financing of Northern students in Southern institutions as indicative of both supply and demand for postsecondary programs. An important question for the future is when this investment will be seen as undermining the Northern capacity? This question will not be answered here and in order to get back to understanding the link of research and science, we turn to examine science licensing.

There is an increase in the numbers of science licenses issued by ARI.[12] According to Aurora College (2006a: 15), licenses have steadily increased

from approximately 50 issued in 1997 to approximately 170 issued in 2005. In 2005–2006, the last years for which statistics are available, the majority of licenses were issued for the Inuvialuit and North Slave regions (61% of the total licenses for the year) and were focused on the physical sciences, geology and biology (79%). This does not include licenses issued for terrestrial wildlife research and archeology.[13] What is the relationship between the number of licenses issued and engagement of Northerners in research? To what extent are Northerners managing and/or participating in research, from conception to data gathering and analysis (presentation at conferences or in publications)? These are important future research questions. We know that relatively few Northerners are directly funded for research; however, there are quite a few who, as part of their jobs, are engaged in research that is never licensed by ARI, and are funded by sources other than those traditionally funded as academic or government research.

Statistics on postsecondary graduation rates do not exist for students attending schools outside the North or those students not tracked through Student Financial Assistance.[14] This latter group could be quite large and would include numerous employees completing postsecondary degrees and graduate programs through distance delivery (mostly web-based). We know that more of the students enrolled in the NWT are completing their postsecondary education (Government of the Northwest Territories 2006a). We also know that Canadian students graduating with postsecondary diplomas have highly developed skills and more postsecondary students are graduating than in a comparison with 17 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (Conference Board of Canada 2007: 90). However, these statistics mask the regional issues faced in the North.

Shobe's (1998: 85) review of postsecondary students and programs in Northern Manitoba showed that, while the potential First Nations (Treaty) student body was increasing, the vast majority were not completing grade 9; while in contrast large amalgams of postsecondary graduates characterized Northern industrial centers. A similar situation exists in the NWT. In 1995, according to Government of the Northwest Territories (2006a: 53), 28% of all postsecondary full-time student enrolments were Dene, Métis or Inuvialuit attending Aurora College. In comparison, only 5% of all other Northern postsecondary students attended Aurora College. This statistic on its own tells us very little; however, when we look at university enrollments for that same year, 8% are Aboriginal compared to the non-Aboriginal category whose attendance was around 25%. Aurora College serves primarily Aboriginal students and Southern universities attract most of the non-Aboriginal Northern students. In 2004, there was a slight decrease in Aboriginal enrollments for all categories and a slight increase for university enrollments for

non-Aboriginal students. Most of the students taking courses in the south are taking business and commerce degrees as well as liberal arts. Approximately 100 Northern students were enrolled in science programs in 2004, and few are Aboriginal (ibid.). Enrollment provides a glimpse into the numbers of graduates who are potentially capable of conducting science and research. Such small numbers reveal the challenge to Northern science and research if we rely exclusively on Northerners trained down south.

Research Capacity and Good Governance

All governments require science and research capacity. Rarely are decisions made that require original research. Mostly, existing science and research are referred to in order for good decisions to be made. A skilled government bureaucracy must be able to analyze complex issues, provide decision-makers with sound advice, and implement legislation and policy effectively. However, sound decision-making based on science and the capacity to conduct original and secondary research is not always a priority for governments. Historically disenfranchised Aboriginal communities are learning that they can participate more fully in managing their own affairs by training (or sponsoring students through scholarships, to attend programs) their own people and hiring skilled workers (non-Aboriginal graduates): to participate more fully in a range of governance issues, in reforming modernity, and to decolonize (Erasmus et al. 2003). Everyday decisions related to natural resource management, transportation, public safety, community planning, cultural programs, human development, and the economy are made as a result of having the institutional capacity and access to science and research. Because of the rural and remote nature of the North, small Aboriginal populations, Southern institutions and professionals have largely served Northern research and science needs. Aboriginal nations are, however, increasingly assuming power through self-governance agreements, generating knowledge at the local and regional levels. The central goal of self-government is that it will increasingly lead to better decision-making and self-sufficiency. Considerable capacity building is needed to ensure this success.

Former Prime Minister Chrétien states in Canada's Innovation Strategy that we need to make investments in Canadians, and notes that the Canadian way is "building a partnership among citizens, entrepreneurs and governments that encourages new ideas and new approaches and that energetically seizes new opportunities." This strategy was followed by Prime Minister Martin's investments in a Northern Strategy (2004). Collectively these policies promised, among other things, to build "equal opportunity and economic innovation in a knowledge-based economy and society" in Northern Canada. More recently the GNWT Minister of ECE (Government of the

Northwest territories 2006: 1) reiterated education and life-long learning as a call to arms in the knowledge-based economy.

In a recent report on research investments in Canada, the Canada Foundation for Innovation stated (2007: 1):

> Canada's research and training institutions comprise the foundation stones of a knowledge economy. They conduct research and development, they produce trained graduates, and from linkages with other societal partners to encourage dynamic information flow and knowledge translation.

The knowledge-based economy is fast becoming a driver of Canadian prosperity. While the unprecedented growth in this economy is felt in the North, what is being done to contribute to it? Science and research are implicit in traditional knowledge; however, there are fundamental problems with saying this. Like Western approaches, much of the traditional science of, for example the Dene, is based on observation and trial and error, experiential learning and teaching, with developed vocabularies directly linked to both local specificity as well as generalized constructs. While it is true that traditional Dene, Inuvialuit and Métis teaching included the same testing of ideas and validation based on past experience as one would expect in science, unlike science most of it is still not written and explained in terms of spiritual and cultural relationships. Furthermore, it was largely not quantified. Traditional knowledge favors holism as opposed to the atomization typical of many of the sciences, i.e. physical and biological sciences. Our focus on traditional knowledge in this discussion is to think about its role in postsecondary education. The important role of traditional knowledge in research and science was criticized in the past (Abele 1997, Nadasdy 2005, Widdowson & Howard 2006).[15] The debate largely occurred independently of traditional knowledge holders and communities. Regardless of the politics, we are aware that being able to make sense of the world for Canadians and Aboriginal peoples requires cultural understanding, which if shared with family members and outsiders, must produce a "good life." Nowadays, as new knowledge including different sciences and traditional knowledge enters the public imagination and is applied in our day-to-day affairs, and sometimes in policy, we require a richly developed scientific and research acuity, as well as a more inclusive and culturally situated understanding.

Northern Research and Science in Transition

To this point in the paper we have described the capacity for Northern science and research, from both an institutional perspective and otherwise,

as being largely underdeveloped. We can see the transition going on in the Canadian economy, in particular a transformation from a resource base to a knowledge economy (from being hewers of wood and drawers of water to innovation). However, in Northern Canada resource extraction still drives the economy, in particular mining and oil and gas. Very few Northern workers are left out of the resource extraction industries and the demand for labor exceeds the supply, siphoning labor from all regions of Canada. Furthermore, while debates about the viability of the traditional economy (traditional food system and sharing networks with a percentage of seasonal wage employment) continue to rage, it remains an important consideration for many Dene, Métis and Inuvialuit households (Asch 1982). It is equally important today for these households to diversify, and families are making investments in vocational skills training. Few are investing in an academic education, resulting in a degree and even less resulting in graduate degrees.

The college does not provide academic routes in comparison with the exponential increase in vocational training. The discourse used on the floor of the Legislative Assembly (those who oversee public expenditures) is about building and preparing Northerners for the industrial wage economy. The North continues to import trained degree holding workers in all disciplines to participate marginally in the knowledge economy. In this regard the North is following the same national trends in health care and other sectors, in addition leading to job creation in the natural resource sectors, but not to developing a knowledge economy.

If we understand the reasons why underdevelopment has taken place, we can perhaps address what the barriers and opportunities are. Furthermore, in our research we did not find evidence of institutional racism; however, we know that institutional racism acts as a barrier to knowledge and the marginalization of Aboriginal peoples by Western institutions, historically, such as universities. Western knowledge has always absorbed other knowledge systems. Until the last decade or so, the educational structures deployed throughout the North excluded traditional knowledge. Espanioly (2005: 42) argues, "education can either help liberate people by helping them become critical, creative, and active members of society, or it can oppress them by reinforcing their subservient position in society." If the North will serve as a site for research and a fertile site for the production of knowledge, it will be because the people have chosen these dual features. The economy demands knowledge holders in a number of areas, and concerning leadership and vision to build a self-sustaining postsecondary institution capable of producing scientists and researchers, the future looks bright.

One approach would be to support Northerners, community members, who have achieved competency in traditional knowledge practices/

research. At this time there is no formal recognition or prior learning assessment (PLAR) in place; however, there is a movement across Canada, in particular in community colleges, to establish PLAR. Until such a time as a formal process is in place in Northern jurisdictions, educators will continue to support high school graduation and enrollment in postsecondary science programs in the south or by distance delivery. The limitation of distance delivery is that most science programs cannot be delivered on-line and programs that are available are not accessible to many Northern communities where dial-up and other aids necessary for advanced studies do not exist. Another approach is supporting Northern studies in Southern institutions and recruiting competent university graduates, from a range of sciences, who can appreciate and/or respectfully apply traditional knowledge, to live and work in the North. These approaches are not exclusive and should be considered within a Northern science strategy.

Northern research and science must be a priority in postsecondary education; the support, funding, and creativity of Northerners must be tapped if there is to be a shift from the North as an object of study to Northerners as full participants in science and research. IPY may be a catalyst to begin planning to address the human resource demands of both the public and private sectors (see Box 3).

It is surprising that Northern research and science does not permeate all aspects of the programs offered by Aurora College. Simply put, Northerners have always innovated, either adapting outside programs and processes, or developing technology and processes emanating from Northern material or being best suited to the Northern environment. The college has been doing well to improve primary basic adult education, but it has yet to develop a solid core institutional structure for research or the sciences outside of some very specialized areas. In a review by the Department of Education and the college, strategic plans for research and postsecondary education seem to be combined. ECE reported (Government of the Northwest Territories 2005a: 38) that it is, "increasingly important to the NWT's future economic growth and prosperity" to have both science capacity and postsecondary education; however, there are no blueprints, objectives or goals for building Northern science and research capacity. If there is a demand for Northern science and research, why are we not better at preparing Northerners to participate in this work with a solid growing infrastructure?[16] We need to find feet for the future-oriented vision of the three Premiers.

Box 3. Hybrid models for Northern research and science education.

At Aurora College (Thebacha campus), the Teacher Education Program includes students spending two days on the banks of the Salt River (personal communication Priscilla Lepine) setting up a traditional fishing camp. As students construct fish preparation areas and a smoke house, physics and ecology play a role, as does culture and traditional knowledge. A hybrid model of Western science and traditional knowledge in education requires instructors engaging students in different subject areas and traditional settings. Using a fishing camp as a subject makes the linkages between both knowledge systems obvious (as well as allowing for differences). Participating in teaching and learning on the land develops experiential learning/teaching skills. Western trained teachers need to be able to translate their knowledge beyond classrooms and laboratories. Elders engaged in learning on the land (traditional knowledge holders) need to work with instructors on course curriculum (teachable moments) and be engaged in instruction. In addition, the hybrid approach needs to be carefully thought out and supported. In order to generate Northern science and research, we must be mindful of the deep disparity between different kinds of literacy (book learning and traditional knowledge) and find ways, where it is possible, to bridge the two.

If these questions are not critically situated within the current socio-political context, solutions will be difficult to achieve. Resource development is driving both economic and political carts; to what extent these drivers are investing in Northern science and research is difficult to assess. Certainly as a function of total resource royalties taken from the territories or as a percentage of profit by Northern resource companies, we see little being invested in the growth of Northern postsecondary education. However, when we turn to actual investments in Northern science and research, a different picture emerges. The fact of the matter is that governments and companies are engaging in Northern science, but they are just not building the capacity to generate these outside their particular domains. There is no public legacy of institutional development, like we see at McGill, University of Toronto, etc. Instead we see federal investments in southern institutions researching the North. Even recent IPY human resource positions developed at ARI are short-term and meant to facilitate the North as a good place for fieldwork.

During Main Estimates at the House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development (May 29, 2007), former Indian and Northern Affairs Minister, Jim Prentice, suggested that IPY investments are being implemented for the benefits of Northerners, all Canadians, and many other nations. While bolstering Northern sovereignty and building a booming economy are on the forefront of Canada's agenda, building science and research capacity is taken for granted or at worst forgotten.

Conclusions

As we outlined at the start of our paper, there are opportunities for and barriers to linking research and postsecondary education in the North. Obviously the need to have literate Northerners is first and foremost in the minds of educators. By this term we mean literate in English and also literate in their first languages, as well as being fully numerate. As we discuss postsecondary education, we include all of the institutions listed by Dennison & Gallagher (1989).

Paulo Freire (Shor & Freire 1987: 129) notes, "the problems of schools are deeply rooted in the global conditions of society [...] education is not a lever for the transformation of society." While we have not presented this paper in order to transform society, we are interested in improving the responsiveness and innovation of Northern science and research capacity, in part by understanding the educational support required to produce scientists and researchers in the North. In other regions where postsecondary institutions are fully developed, we see a number of economic and social benefits, as well as the ability to address regional research.

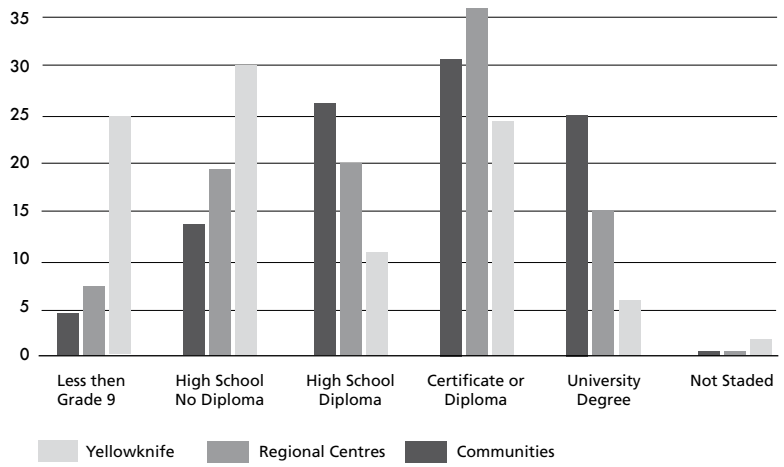
We have told our stories about Northern science and research, as those who are passionate about creating a better future for Northerners through enhanced partnerships in teaching and learning. According to Neilsen (1998: 267),

> [w]e cannot remain the scientistic ghost behind the words. The person we are writes others' worlds from particular positions at particular times. No textual staging is ever innocent [...], nor is it ghost-written. We must try to make visible what we have tried to keep invisible. We must drop the masks, own up to our responsibilities.

Our purpose in articulating the current state of Northern science and research for the Northwest Territories[17] is to share what is going on across Northern Canada, and the circumpolar world. This work would be improved through comparative research with other circumpolar jurisdictions. The opportunities and challenges to the development of postsecondary education and building Northern science and research capacity today would be greatly improved by a comparative study of the historical development elsewhere.

Good advances are being made in Northern postsecondary education. The percentage of Northerners pursuing postsecondary education is steadily rising. This is true also in communities outside of the urban Yellowknife (see Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. Percent of population aged 15 and over by highest level of schooling and community type, NWT, 2004 (Government of the Northwest Territories 2006a: 25). Source Table 6 NWT Bureau of Statistics 2004. NWT Community Survey.



The percentage of Aboriginal students in postsecondary education (47.3%) is higher than the national average for any other jurisdiction; however, the NWT has a relatively small population. Our focus on the main challenges of low postsecondary funding, low formal education levels, and postcolonial history of education as assimilation, has not served to inventory every challenge, nor do we believe our partial list diminishes the many good advances being made. Our intention is to contextualize the opportunities, including the multiple effects of industrial development, IPY, and a relatively young population.

As the level of education in the NWT increases, new challenges can be faced, for example how education is translated into employment, training and development in the North. In order to avoid a brain drain, planning needs to ensure that postsecondary graduates have relevant and meaningful work in their home communities. If the goal is to see development in the North managed by Northerners rather than by decisions made in Southern offices, then this would require a profound shift in Northern postsecondary education.

Hugo (2002: 20) notes, "among professional adult educators in learning with a social change in purpose. Work in popular education, feminist theory, and critical theory has led to increasing calls for a revitalized adult education curriculum focused on transformation and learning to take action." Transformation of the sciences and research in the North must also take action and in doing so must consider the challenges of a relatively young population, diverse Aboriginal cultures and languages, rural and re-

mote communities, and a host of economic opportunities that will be more attractive to students than spending four years or more pursuing a degree. Future research should examine the possibility that Northerners are strategically opting for immediate returns from wage labor as opposed to foregoing immediate gratification, investing time for postsecondary education and a lucrative future. Further research is needed to understand the significant erosion that elders' knowledge and small Indigenous languages are facing. The traditional economy and Indigenous ways of life are being diminished and postsecondary education has a role in both understanding and possibly shoring them up.

When will the North produce science and research graduates from Northern postsecondary institution(s)?[18] If Canadian history holds a lesson – and we believe it does – Northern Canada is undergoing the same revolution that faced the country up to World War II, "the traditional practice of importing rather than training skilled workers as a solution to new manpower needs was becoming no longer politically or economically acceptable" (Dennison & Gallagher 1986: 12). The solution then and obviously in contrast to the North now and in the near future is building political and economic capacity to develop postsecondary programming and institutional support to produce scientists and researchers in the North.

If postsecondary education is to deliver science and research graduates in the NWT, then postsecondary programming must include a limited specialized number of programs, so that Northerners can choose vocational learning and academic training. A lack of degree programs in the life and social sciences is especially evident in a region that lacks many of the basic services. The natural sciences could be greatly expanded based on experiential learning and co-teaching (Western scientists working with elders) where values are still closely connected to the land. IPY presents a unique opportunity for science outreach, but it is equally important that it leaves a legacy of, if not the infrastructure for, higher education and sustainable growth.

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NOTES

[1] Scientific Research Licence #14179N.

[2] Formal structures of education introduced over forty years ago in the NWT continue to evolve relative to a variety of needs and constituencies. Community colleges play a unique role in the postsecondary system. As Dennison (1995: 96) points out, "responding to government priorities to provide expanded services to disadvantaged groups, colleges in virtually all regions [of Canada] have concentrated on access [...]. It is apparent that, within the educational spectrum, colleges are the most appropriate (and in some cases the only) institutes to offer education and training opportunities to disadvantaged adults."

[3] Canada has invested 100 million dollars in IPY. In relation to the total national spending on Northern science and research, how much is actually spent in the North? Questions about Northern science and research are relational to the kinds of postsecondary educational system advanced in the North. If the North is a site for national and international researchers, but largely underdeveloped as a site for learning and teaching science, can we expect Northerners to use science and produce innovation, including in economic activities? If we regard the North as being more than a great place to do fieldwork in, as a site where knowledge is produced, what are the fundamental building blocks? The government of Canada proposed (in "Knowledge Matters," Canada 2002: 23), that if we are to meet "the economic and social challenges of the knowledge-based economy, it is critical that all our children and youth have the opportunity to fulfill their learning potential." IPY is a stimulant for Northern research primarily led by the federal government, in particular the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, whose staff lead 6 projects (departmental lead on 11 projects) followed by Environment Canada whose staff manage 5 projects (departmental management of 10). Indian and Northern Affairs Canada has no staff managing projects, but they have departmental management of 8 projects; Natural Resources Canada staff manages 2 projects (departmental management of 4). More research is needed to understand the ramifications of these investments. IPY offers a hint of opportunity to invest in Northern research and science in the NWT, Yukon and Nunavut, but it requires greater participation of Northerners as students and teachers, conducting/teaching and/or learning sciences (Western and traditional). Our paper demands support for the participation of all knowledge holders (elders and scientists), from primary to postsecondary schools.

[4] Up to the early 1920s, the Canadian North, while inhabited, was treated by various international governments as *terra nullius*. Unlike other circumpolar regions, in Northern Canada industrial and urban development is a recent phenomenon. Since the days when arctic explorers started to search for the Northwest Passage, nation states competed and cooperated to find the quickest route through the icy waters. Britain, Russia, the United States, and Norway all sailed, steamed, broke ice, and eventually submerged through the Canadian arctic waters. Temporary seasonal camps and observations from men passing through the landscape set the stage for Northern research and science. The utilitarian

bent of science to find resources continues to influence research investments being made. Investments are mostly made in Southern universities. The historical and legal basis for postsecondary education has a profound influence on science, research, education and training, including how public funds are spent. Capital expenditures, the physical bricks and mortar, supporting Northern science and research, is an important consideration. Within government budgets, postsecondary education is considered along with other public priorities. The Northern capacity to participate in the knowledge economy faces a number of challenges, opportunities and barriers.

[5] The North imports, on both a short and long term basis, educated people and exports mostly non-Aboriginal students in pursuit of postsecondary education. The Northern population is diverse, but relatively small, rural and remote, and Aboriginal. The capacity to participate in Northern science and research is contingent on travel: students traveling (or importing postsecondary graduates for that matter) for college and university to a major center like Inuvik, Yellowknife, or Fort Smith; which may be equal to traveling to Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver, Victoria, Saskatoon, or Winnipeg; however the NWT relies on postsecondary institutions in southern urban centers to serve the small student body; by doing this, barriers to building postsecondary institutions are being reinforced.

[6] Unfortunately, without a science degree Aurora College cannot access these funds.

[7] Following the creation of Nunavut (1999), Aurora College was legislated under the Aurora College Act. GNWT's description of Aurora College (2006a: 13–14) is "established under the Public Colleges Act, is the primary delivery agent for adult and postsecondary education in the Northwest Territories. Its programs are designed to address the needs of the Northern workforce and economy, and include basic adult education, skilled-based training, certificate, diploma and degree programming. These programs are offered at three campuses in Inuvik, Fort Smith and Yellowknife, as well as at community learning centers in most NWT communities. Through its Aurora Research Institute, the College licenses research activities as well as supporting science, technology and research projects, in cooperation with the business and scientific communities."

It is a Board governed corporate body and the only public postsecondary institution. The historical roots of Aurora College, under the Public Colleges Act, began in 1969 as the Adult Vocational Training Centre in Fort Smith. The Centre evolved into Arctic College and then Thebacha College. Community Learning Centers are located in the major, mostly rural and remote, Aboriginal communities. Following division, the NWT Science Institute was morphed into ARI, now embedded in Aurora College at both Thebacha and Inuvik.

[8] The institutional authority of the Minister of ECE relative to Aurora College is different from what one sees in other jurisdictions in Canada. The college is the sole agency for postsecondary education in the North. There are no other private institutions delivering postsecondary programs in the North. Postsecondary education in the NWT would not exist if not for public investments, and it cannot continue to function without. Most programs are offered at a loss to the college, many positions are not basically funded; the college staff are unionized Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) employees. There are no incentives to conduct primary research, no longterm programming or staffing plans and there is inadequate infrastructure (i.e. the libraries are insufficient).

[9] The Weston Foundation granted one million dollars to the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies (ACUNS), which awarded five southern university

researchers studying the North. We will not discuss in detail the reality that Aboriginal governments are by and large not applying for many NWT science licenses (see Paci et al. in press). Few Aboriginal governments capture public and private funding, and many are not represented on national associations. Indigenous governments are implementing protocols for Traditional Knowledge research and so on.

[10] Today, the territorial government has developed important access to postsecondary education services and funding for the largest percentage of adult students in the North: 30% of program funding goes towards upgrading (Government of Northwest Territories 2006), almost all of the programming in small communities is either adult basic education or vocational training geared towards development with training usually lasting a few weeks.

[11] 70% are in low-skilled occupations.

[12] The Aurora Research Institute oversees the issuance of research licenses, under the authority of the Scientists Act.

[13] The Department of Environment and Natural Resources issues wildlife research licenses and the Prince of Wales Heritage Centre issues archaeology licenses.

[14] Overall graduation rates mask statistics specific to the sciences. In the NWT no public postsecondary science degree is offered, with the exception of Nursing, nor are there any in the Arts, with the exception of Teaching (Government of the Northwest Territories 2005c: 30). The GNWT, ECE is making considerable investments to increase science literacy (both Western science and Traditional Knowledge) at the primary and secondary school grades.

[15] The authors could not reach consensus regarding the criticism aimed at traditional knowledge. The fairness of past criticism became a singular issue and our point is not to resolve the issue among the collaborators or for readers.

[16] Sadly, the campus in Yellowknife depends on rented space, as if one day it will simply shut the door and leave town.

[17] The ARI is attempting to develop more than regulatory capacity related to licensing, and by extension to coordinate Northern science and research. ARI is receiving research funding, but almost exclusively through partnerships with Southern institutions. Research funds are not earmarked in the territorial budget, or committed by the Federal government (or their funding agencies), for the specific goal of building Northern science and research capacity. In relation to all of the spending on Northern science and research nationally, relatively little is actually being spent in the North, particularly on analysis (most of the money is spent supporting Southern researchers gathering data in the North). The exact role for ARI will not be expanded on further, except to say that it has a purpose besides implementing the Scientists Act, coordinating and regulating research efforts by outside academics and consultants. ARI has an information management role (as an archive for raw data, as a repository or library for research papers/publications). It should receive research money and attract students from outside the North to pursue graduate studies in the North; building Northern faculty and their ability to research (analytical capabilities). If ARI is to serve Northern communities, and Canada, then science and research should be the most important skills being taught and this should permeate the college, and serve both governments and industry. ARI and Aurora College should attract faculty (from Canada and abroad) and they should train Northerners for faculty positions, as is the case with Northern nurses and primary school teachers.

[18] Given the needs of self-governance and diversity of skilled workers (and regional econo-

mies and community types, and the push nationally to develop a knowledge-based economy) – this question is not easily answered. As previously mentioned, decision-making requires scientific understanding – relying solely on consultants is unsustainable. Consequently, if the GNWT continues to demand that the college should act as both an upgrading centre and as a postsecondary institution, more resources will be required. Right now the resources are spread thinly. In Northern schools we recognize that most students require focused support that recognizes gender issues, cultural realities and the tensions created by not addressing these. Providing better facilities, long term plans and more programs for Northern students would go a long way toward improving both recruitment and retention of Northern students and faculty.

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ELENA BALZAMO

Le «heureux hasard»

A propos de la redécouverte de la Carta marina

ABSTRACT The article, a "case study", deals with questions concerning the fate of the two known copies of the famous *Carta Marina* (1539), the earliest map of the Nordic countries that gives details and presents geographical entities in a recognisable way. It was created by the last Swedish Catholic archbishop Olaus Magnus (1492–1557) during his long exile, first in Poland (Danzig), then in Italy (Venice, Trento, Rome). The map was printed in Venice from nine woodcut blocks; the resulting print measures 1.70 m x 1.25 m but the number of printed copies remains unknown. The map was accompanied by a separately printed commentary by Olaus Magnus, who, some years later, wrote a book on the same subject: *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, Rome 1555 ['A Description of the Northern Peoples']. The latter is generally considered a larger commentary on the map and remains, together with the map itself, the main source of information about the Nordic countries in the sixteenth century. At the end of the seventeenth century, the map disappeared from public knowledge until 1886, when a relatively badly preserved copy was found in a library in Munich, Germany. For more than a half-century, this map was considered to the only one in existence. However in 1962 another copy, in much better condition, was purchased on behalf of the Uppsala University Library and brought to Sweden. Little is known about the "biographies" of the two known copies and a number of questions arise as soon as one tries to find out where they come from, to whom they belonged and how they came into the possession of their previous owners. The first part of the present article takes up circumstances under which the so-called Munich copy was discovered by Oscar Brenner in 1886 and problems related to its restoration by German specialists in 1950. The second part is devoted to transactions which lead to the acquisition of the second copy by Uppsala University Library in 1962. Most of the documents related to the purchase were kept secret until recently and the opening of the sealed dossier in 2002 threw some new light on the recent history of the *Carta Marina*. The present investigation is focused on the enigmatic figure of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski (1897–1979), a Polish map collector, who sold an extraordinarily well-preserved copy of the *Carta Marina* to the Swedes. At what point and under what circumstances did he acquire the map? Where was the map kept at

previous stages if its existence? Different hypotheses are examined in the light of some recently published and unpublished documents in order to trace the history of this masterpiece of Renaissance cartography.

KEYWORDS Olaus Magnus, Carta marina, geographic map, cartography, sixteenth century, Sweden, Northern countries, Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, Oscar Brenner

> La chance fut avec moi, et c'est le plus important pour un collectionneur...
>
> *Emeryk Hutten-Czapski*

Il n'est pas toujours facile d'identifier une carte géographique[1]. À la différence du livre, même de celui dont la couverture a été arrachée, qui est immédiatement «accessible», identifiable, la carte, surtout si elle est grande, tourne le dos à l'observateur, se présente souvent comme un objet fermé, au contenu énigmatique: un rouleau. La découverte d'une carte est rarement le fruit d'un parcours distrait, d'une simple promenade érudite; elle relève soit d'une recherche assidue et méthodique, soit du plus pur hasard. La découverte – à presque quatre-vingts ans d'intervalle – des deux exemplaires de la C*arta marina* connus à ce jour confirme cette idée et en même temps donne à réfléchir: derrière deux anecdotes se profilent deux chapitres d'histoire de l'érudition et de la diffusion du savoir, ainsi qu'un nombre de questions sans réponse – ou pas encore répondues.

La Carta marina

La C*arta marina*, bel exemple de la cartographie renaissante qui pour la première fois présente d'une façon cohérente les régions septentrionales de l'Europe, fut dressée par un Suédois, Olaus Magnus (1492–1557), dignitaire catholique en exil, et imprimée en Italie, à Venise, en 1539. Olaus Magnus y séjournait avec son frère Johannes, l'archevêque suédois exilé, bénéficiant de l'hospitalité du patriarche de Venise, Gerolamo Querini, qui avait mis son palais à leur disposition. Ils y restèrent plus de deux ans, et ce fut là qu'Olaus acheva le travail qu'il avait entamé douze ans auparavant à Danzig, ville qui avait constitué la première étape du long exil (Balzamo 2005, Balzamo & Kaiser 2006, Ehrensvärd 2006).

La carte aux dimensions imposantes – 1,25 m x 1,70 m – est constituée de neuf panneaux, imprimés à partir de gravures sur bois (selon la technique dominante au XVI^{e} siècle), numérotés de A à I, et munie de deux fascicules de commentaires, l'un en allemand, l'autre en italien: *Ain kurze Auslegung* et O*pera breve*, ainsi que d'un commentaire latin qui fait partie de la carte el-

le-même. Ces trois textes entretiennent entre eux des rapports complexes. Contrairement à ce que l'on a longtemps cru, le texte latin n'est pas l'original, à partir duquel auraient été élaborées les traductions italienne et allemande: c'est une version plus courte que les deux autres; certains passages manquent, et les coupes sont facilement repérables. La comparaison entre les versions italienne et allemande qui, à première vue, paraissent identiques, permet de relever un certain nombre de différences dont la somme change considérablement le caractère respectif de chacun des textes (Grape 1970: 110 sq., Balzamo 2006). L'*Opera breve* met volontiers l'accent sur le côté merveilleux et insolite des endroits et des phénomènes présentés sur la carte, tandis que dans *Ain kurze Auslegung*, ce côté est sinon gommé, du moins fortement atténué. D'une façon générale, remarque un commentateur, l'*Auslegung* «contient plus de détails factuels et moins d'effets de style» que l'*Opera breve* (Grape 1961: 15).

Le dessein de l'auteur est clair: la Réforme était en train de gagner tous les pays scandinaves, et sans pression extérieure – avant tout sans un soutien actif de la papauté – la restauration de la foi catholique semblait être compromise, il fallait donc coûte que coûte attirer l'attention de l'opinion européenne sur les régions que Rome était en passe de perdre. C'est pourquoi Olaus Magnus s'efforce de montrer l'importance des pays nordiques pour l'ensemble de la chrétienté européenne, ferveur missionnaire qui le rapproche d'Adam de Brême (l'auteur des *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae Pontificum*) quelque cinq siècles auparavant. Désireux de frapper l'imagination des Italiens, auxquels son ouvrage s'adresse en premier lieu, il trace un panorama de contrées exotiques, regorgeant de phénomènes insolites liés avant tout à leurs caractéristiques géographiques et climatiques – un véritable Pays des merveilles. Plusieurs années plus tard, Olaus Magnus écrira dans son *curriculum vitae*, en parlant de lui-même à la troisième personne: «il établit une carte de tous les royaumes du Nord et des régions avoisinantes situées outre-mer, afin que le Saint-Siège apostolique et tous les gens de bien puissent avoir une idée claire de cette grande partie du monde à la population innombrable qui s'était détachée de la sainte tradition apostolique» (Olaus Magnus 1892: XII: 2,1: 6–7). Nous sommes en présence d'une œuvre militante et même, par certains côtés, politique, mais aussi d'une tentative d'accomplir ce que l'auteur considère comme son devoir patriotique, celui d'un Suédois en exil.

Première représentation de l'Europe du Nord à l'époque moderne, la *Carta marina* est non seulement un chef-d'œuvre en elle-même, elle constitue aussi le noyau qui, seize ans plus tard, devait donner l'*Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, ouvrage dans lequel un chapitre sur sept développe les commentaires de 1539, et une vignette sur cinq est empruntée à la *Carta*

marina ou est inspirée par elle (Granlund 1949: 4). Grand pas en avant de la cartographie, elle est également une contribution importante aux domaines aussi variés que la géologie, la météorologie, la flore, la faune, les ressources naturelles, l'économie, le commerce, l'histoire, la politique, l'anthropologie, la théologie (Knauer 1981: 46).

Le tirage de la carte n'est pas connu; Olaus Magnus lui-même ne le mentionne nulle part, et les spécialistes de nos jours se perdent en conjectures. Le nombre d'exemplaires ayant survécu ne peut pas servir de base pour une estimation fiable. On sait, par exemple, que la célèbre carte de Martin Waldseemüller, datant de 1507, qui pour la première fois désigne par le mot *Amérique* le continent qu'on venait alors de découvrir, avait bénéficié d'un tirage de mille exemplaires. Ce chiffre n'aurait jamais pu être envisagé, si l'on avait dû se fonder sur le nombre d'exemplaires conservés: un seul! Au sujet de la *Carta marina* il semble raisonnable de se ranger à l'avis de ceux qui, sur la base des tirages moyens pour les choses imprimées, avancent l'hypothèse de quelques dizaines d'exemplaires. On sait qu'Olaus en avait fait cadeau à certaines personnes, et compte tenu de ses multiples contacts dans les milieux intellectuels, leur nombre pouvait être considérable; d'autres exemplaires furent mis en vente, comme c'était la coutume à l'époque, chez des commerçants de Venise: ainsi, selon une mention figurant sur la carte elle-même, on pouvait se la procurer dans une *apotheca*, i.e. épicerie, de Thomaso de Rubis sur le pont Rialto.

Cependant, avec un pareil tirage, une carte de cette taille avait peu de chances de survivre. Effectivement, les originaux disparurent assez vite de la circulation, et pendant longtemps on ne connut la *Carta marina* qu'à travers une gravure sur cuivre datant de 1572, due à un éditeur italien de renom, Antonio Lafreri (Lynam 1949). La carte elle-même était considérée comme perdue, disparition qui était particulièrement regrettée en Suède, pour des raisons évidentes. On comprend aisément le ravissement de Edvard Klemming (1823–1893), légendaire conservateur de la Kungliga biblioteket à Stockholm, quand, en 1856, les fonds de sa bibliothèque s'enrichirent d'un exemplaire de *Historien der Mittnächtigen Länder*[2], version allemande (Bâle, 1567) de *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Rome, 1555) d'Olaus Magnus, contenant une carte de Scandinavie de petite taille, en dépliant. Après avoir noté, sur l'intérieur de la couverture, «complet et en parfait état», Klemming ajouta:

> Cette édition est particulièrement remarquable à cause de la carte avec son explication, qu'elle reproduit. La première est sans doute une nouvelle édition de la *Tabula septentrionalium terrarum* d'Olaus Magnus, imprimée à Venise en 1539; la seconde, une traduction du commentaire qui l'accompagnait. Comme les originaux, aussi bien de l'une que de

> l'autre, semblent avoir disparu, cette acquisition revêt une grande valeur. À l'origine, le commentaire avait vraisemblablement été publié en latin, en allemand et en italien; la trad[uction] de Fickler aura été faite à partir de ce dernier.

Klemming se trompait: la carte en question n'était qu'une version simplifiée de la *Carta marina*, qui avait peu à voir avec l'original. Il eut l'occasion de se rendre compte de son erreur quand, en 1886, une nouvelle sensationnelle se répandit dans les milieux érudits de l'Europe du Nord: un exemplaire de la *Carta marina* fut découvert à la Hof- und Staatsbibliothek de Munich!

Bien que cette découverte eût lieu à une époque relativement récente, nous ne sommes pas mieux renseignés sur ses circonstances que sur celles de la fabrication de la carte trois siècles et demi auparavant. L'homme qui fut à l'origine de la trouvaille, Oscar Brenner (1854–1920), resta extrêmement discret là-dessus. La brochure de vingt-quatre pages qu'il se dépêcha de publier (Brenner 1886) traite essentiellement de l'aspect philologique du commentaire latin faisant partie de la carte. L'auteur se contente de dire qu'il la découvrit, «par un heureux hasard», dans les fonds de l'ancienne Bibliothèque ducale, devenue entre-temps la Bayerische Hof- und Staatsbibliothek. Il s'agissait d'un «gros rouleau» qui se trouvait «parmi les cartes du nord scandinave» (Brenner 1886: 4) et portait le numéro VII: 1. Comment Brenner est-il tombé dessus? Cherchait-il quelque chose de précis? Était-il mû par la curiosité générale? Cette dernière hypothèse semble la plus probable: Oscar Brenner n'était pas un cartographe, mais un philologue, auteur d'une douzaine d'ouvrages portant sur la philologie germanique et scandinave: *Altnordisches Handbuch*, *Grundzüge der geschichtlichen Grammatik der deutschen Sprache*, *Nord- und Mitteleuropa in den Schriften der Alten bis zum Auftreten der Cimbern und Teutonen*... etc., dont la publication s'étale sur trois décennies à partir de la fin des années 1870. La brochure de 1886 est le seul de ses travaux qui touche à la cartographie; du reste, même dans ce texte, il évite toute considération géographique, se bornant à une analyse strictement philologique de la carte. Sa découverte de la *Carta marina*, même si elle relève du hasard, n'est cependant pas complètement fortuite: en tant que germaniste il devait être attiré par les «cartes du nord scandinave», il se peut également qu'il ait entendu parler de la *Carta marina*. Toutefois, le rôle prépondérant du hasard dans cette découverte ne fait aucun doute.

Une autre question surgit: comment la carte s'est-elle retrouvée à cet endroit ? Là non plus, il n'est pas facile de répondre, car on ne sait pas grand-chose sur la «biographie» de cet exemplaire. Il semble toutefois qu'il ait assez tôt échoué dans une bibliothèque ou une collection privée, car un registre de 1577 le répertorie déjà: la *Carta marina* d'Olaus Magnus est mentionnée

parmi les quarante cartes géographiques faisant partie de la bibliothèque du duc de Bavière et dotée du numéro 15. Il a dû arriver un malheur à cette collection, puisque la carte n°15 est la seule qui nous soit parvenue, toutes les autres ayant disparu (Hartig 1917: 352). Miraculeusement échappée au désastre dont on ignore la nature, la carte fut ensuite, pendant presque trois cents ans, victime (ou bénéficiaire?) d'un oubli total: elle n'était plus mentionnée dans aucun catalogue. Il y a donc de fortes raisons de croire qu'Oscar Brenner la trouva à l'endroit qu'elle n'avait jamais quitté: déposé dans son coin, le rouleau n'avait pas bougé, tournant obstinément le dos au monde environnant.

Une fois revenue à la lumière du jour, la carte devint l'objet de curiosité et de soins. Elle ne fut pas seulement photographiée, reproduite à grand tirage, étudiée et commentée, elle bénéficia également d'une restauration. Cette dernière eut lieu en 1950, et un rapport détaillé a été conservé, selon lequel, avant le début des travaux, la carte ne comportait pas moins de quatre cent cinquante trous qu'il s'agissait d'obturer; le panneau C, le plus abîmé, en avait cent vingt; le panneau B, le mieux conservé, «seulement» quinze («Bericht über die Restaurierung von Mapp. VII (Carta marina v. Olavus Magnus [)] im Jahre 1950» – rapport dactylographié, 1 f. recto-verso). Avant de se mettre au travail, il fallut enlever les baguettes, décoller la carte de son support de toile, panneau par panneau, la débarrasser des bouts de papier avec lesquels on avait colmaté les déchirures, en faisant tout particulièrement attention aux bords, parties qui ont le plus souffer. Après la restauration, les feuilles ne furent plus recollées, mais rangées dans un écrin en carton qui est depuis conservé dans le «Bunker» de la bibliothèque.

Munich 1960

Il va de soi qu'en Suède on se réjouit de l'apparition de l'œuvre que l'on croyait à jamais perdue et qu'en même temps on regretta que ce joyau de la cartographie nationale ne soit pas la propriété de l'État suédois. Dans les années qui suivirent la Seconde guerre mondiale, l'idée d'un «rapatriement» de la carte prit des contours plus précis. En 1952, il y aurait eu une possibilité d'acheter l'exemplaire munichois, mais la somme requise (250 000 DM) n'aurait pas pu être réunie (Sallander 1962: 132). En 1956, un spécialiste suédois eut l'occasion d'examiner la carte de plus près.

> La Carta marina, écrit-il dans son rapport, qui, selon des informations antérieures, avait été fixée sur un support en tissu, est actuellement montée, feuille par feuille, sur une sorte de contreplaqué [information qui contredit le rapport de restauration qui parle d'un support en tissu («Schirting»). E.B.]. Pendant la guerre 1939-1945 on l'avait cachée au fond d'une mine en Bavière. Il est impossible de savoir si le changement de support eut lieu avant, pendant ou après cette période.

Suit une liste de remarques, pour chacun des panneaux: usure du papier, tâches d'humidité, déchirures, netteté d'impression, etc. Elle n'est suivie d'aucune conclusion sur l'état général de conservation. Cet état dut paraître satisfaisant à la direction de la Kungliga biblioteket et renforcer le désir d'acquérir la carte; cette fois-ci, on proposa à la Staatsbibliothek un échange: des documents médiévaux relatifs à l'histoire bavaroise contre la *Carta marina*. Les Munichois semblaient intéressés.

Les pourparlers avec la Staatsbibliothek débouchèrent sur l'arrivée à Munich d'une délégation suédoise – composée de Sten G. Lindberg, chef du département de conservation de la Kungliga biblioteket, et de Sven Wiklander, spécialiste qui travaillait dans ce département – chargée de réexaminer la carte et de donner son avis sur l'opportunité de l'échange envisagé. Une lettre confidentielle de Lindberg nous renseigne sur le curieux épisode qui se déroula le 2 septembre 1960:

> Aujourd'hui, écrit-il, nous avons examiné la précieuse carte dans son grand écrin. Ayant sorti la première feuille, nous avons demandé au jeune Dachs [probablement, un employé de la bibliothèque – E.B.] quand elle avait été réparée: récemment ou au siècle dernier? Selon lui, il s'agissait de réparations anciennes. S[ven] W[iklander] avait cependant des doutes, ses doigts remuaient, telles des antennes d'hyménoptère, son nez humait, reniflait, en effleurant presque le papier, qui fut également examiné à contre-jour. Puis, profitant de l'instant où nous restâmes seuls dans la pièce, il étira son cou et mordit la feuille... ou du moins il en humecta un bout avec sa langue et ses lèvres, geste qui, à mon avis, constitue à lui seul un chapitre dans l'histoire de l'imprimé. [...] Ensuite, il se passa quelque chose d'extraordinaire. Mouillé d'une façon aussi impétueuse, le bout de papier frémissait presque, tellement il était fin. Lors de l'examen préalable, on avait déjà constaté que la surface était lisse et délicate, fort différente du papier à la forme du 16e siècle. 'La structure a été modifiée', constata alors S[ven] W[iklander]. Nous commencions en outre à ressentir un mal de tête: une âpre odeur émanant des feuilles agressait nos narines. Les jours précédents, nous avions visité leur atelier, et nous connaissions à présent la technique de leurs bains. Nous reconnûmes donc l'odeur du bisulfite de sodium; en outre, on ne pouvait exclure que les feuilles eussent été auparavant traitées avec du chlore. [...]
>
> Cela signifiait que le papier, qui avait énormément souffert de l'application des acides, ne pourrait supporter un nouveau bain; par ailleurs, l'odeur qui en émanait indiquait que les acides destructeurs étaient toujours à l'œuvre [...] de sorte de S[ven] W[iklander] estimait que la carte avait perdu beaucoup de sa valeur, tellement sa qualité avait été détériorée par le traitement. Nous avions à notre disposition des photos de la carte encore montée sur le support, d'avant le traitement: nous n'y distinguions aucune tâche d'humidité notable. Nous ne comprenons

> absolument pas pourquoi on avait procédé au bain des feuilles. Les marges de celles-ci [...] avaient servi à combler les trous. Il est tout aussi incompréhensible qu'elles aient été découpées; et de l'avis de S[ven] W[iklander], les garder dans une boîte en carton privées d'aération est la pire des solutions.
>
> 'L'ancre a dû pâlir effroyablement', ajouta S[ven] W[iklander], car les grands caractères A-I, qui sur la photo paraissent très noirs et très nets, sont à présent grisâtres et comme creux. Il doute également qu'après le traitement les feuilles eussent été ré-encollées: on se serait probablement contenté de les mettre sous presse. [...]
>
> Ces dernières fournirent une confirmation de ce que nous avions vu dans leur atelier [...], le chimiste responsable des bains et de la conservation ne nous inspira pas [...] confiance. 'Man kan nicht so minutiös sein', a-t-il dit à plusieurs reprises. Que cela puisse être à l'origine d'erreurs fait partie de ses calculs de technocrate – et la carte en offre un triste témoignage. [...] Voici les codes que nous eûmes enfin concernant les lésions et les réparations de la *Carta marina* [ces informations codées sont contenues dans le rapport de restauration de 1950. E.B.]: [...] 25 = dépoussiérage (à la main, avec un pinceau) ; 26 = nettoyage à sec ; 27 = nettoyage par utilisation de liquide ; 29 = consolidation ; 35 = encollage. L'absence dans cette liste du numéro 28 (= traitement physico-chimique spécial) ne peut être qu'une omission délibérée. Aucun doute là-dessus!

Ce texte, accablant pour les conservateurs munichois, les accuse purement et simplement d'avoir détruit la carte. Il est clair qu'après un pareil réquisitoire il ne pouvait être question ni d'achat, ni d'échange. En effet, sur l'avis des experts, persuadés que l'exemplaire était irrécupérable, les négociations furent définitivement rompues.

(Pour renoncer à l'acquisition d'une carte aussi convoitée, les Suédois devaient être absolument sûrs de leurs conclusions, et la lettre de Sten Lindberg montre qu'ils l'étaient et aussi qu'ils avaient de bonnes raisons de l'être. Leur compétence dans ce domaine est également hors de doute – et pourtant. Cinquante-deux ans plus tard, en avril 2004, j'eus l'occasion de consulter l'exemplaire munichois – il était toujours là! Certes, le papier paraissait mince et fragile, mais pour le reste la carte semblait correctement conservée et, bien entendu, il n'était plus question d'une odeur quelconque: un demi-siècle s'était écoulé après la fatidique restauration.)

Cette histoire demeura longtemps inconnue du fait que les documents la concernant avaient été réunis en 1962 dans un dossier devant rester fermé pendant quarante ans: «Ne pas ouvrir avant 2002», lit-on sur l'enveloppe. En 2002, celle-ci fut enfin ouverte, et son contenu, y compris l'épisode qui vient d'être relaté, fut porté à la connaissance du public grâce à Lars Munkhammar, dont l'article – «Quand la *Carta marina* arriva à Uppsala» – parut

d'abord dans un recueil publié à Uppsala (Munkhammar 2002), puis, dans une version abrégée, dans *Biblis*, revue de la Kungliga biblioteket.

Uppsala–Genève 1962

Ainsi, le jugeant définitivement abîmé, les Suédois avaient renoncé à l'idée d'acquérir l'unique exemplaire de la *Carta marina* – ou ce qu'ils croyaient tel. Ils faisaient là une double erreur: premièrement, l'état de la carte n'était pas aussi désespéré; deuxièmement, l'exemplaire n'était pas unique: à peine deux ans plus tard une seconde *Carta marina* refit surface, cette fois en Suisse! Voici le compte rendu de l'affaire, rédigé le 12 janvier 1963 par Hans Sallander, qui était alors vice-conservateur (*förste bibliotekarie*) à la Carolina Rediviva, la bibliothèque universitaire d'Uppsala, contenu dans le même dossier:

> Fin octobre 1962 je reçus la visite de M. Jósef Trypućko, maître de conférences à l'université d'Uppsala, qui venait de recevoir une lettre dans laquelle une connaissance à Rome voulait savoir s'il connaissait la carte des pays du Nord qu'on appelait *Carta marina*, imprimée à Venise en 1539. Trypućko, qui avait sur lui un exemplaire de la *Bibliographie suédoise d'avant 1600* de Collijn[3], me demanda si la *Carta marina* qui y était répertoriée n'existait vraiment qu'en un seul exemplaire, celui de la Staatsbibliothek à Munich. Ce que je confirmai, en lui demandant à mon tour des précisions sur l'auteur de la lettre, de la provenance de son exemplaire et – dans le cas où il ne s'agirait pas d'un fac-similé – s'il accepterait de le vendre à la bibliothèque. Quelque temps plus tard, Trypućko eut la réponse: le propriétaire de la carte accepterait de la céder à bibliothèque au prix de 40 000 dollars, montant qui cependant était négociable. Je transmis la nouvelle au conservateur en-chef, Kleberg, qui fut d'avis qu'il était possible de réunir la somme et qui souhaita entrer en contact direct avec le propriétaire. Trypućko dévoila alors son nom: le comte Emerik Czapski [Emeryk Hutten-Czapski. E.B.], un Polonais vivant en exil à Rome. La carte se trouverait à Genève, et c'est là que le comte proposait de rencontrer ses interlocuteurs. Pour des raisons politiques, il souhaitait que son nom ne fût pas cité. Un peu plus tard, le comte fit savoir qu'il était prêt à vendre la carte pour 32 000, éventuellement avec un payement par tranches: 1/3 au moment de la transaction et le reste dans les délais de deux à trois mois suivants. Le conservateur en chef, Kleberg, était alors malade. À la mi-novembre, un télégramme du comte exigea une rapide réponse, autrement il serait obligé de proposer la carte à quelque grande vente aux enchères sur le continent. Dans lequel cas elle serait sans doute perdue pour la Suède. (Il convient de mentionner que nous avions eu vent d'une proposition permanente de 100 000 dollars pour un exemplaire de l'original, déposée auprès des bouquinistes par un collectionneur américain.) Je ne voyais pas d'autre moyen de sauver la carte pour notre pays qu'en trouvant un bailleur de fonds qui avancerait la somme. Je me tournai vers le directeur de

> la maison d'édition Almqvist & Wiksell, M. Göran Z. Hæggström, qui me donna aussitôt son accord. M. le Professeur Torgny Segerstedt, *rector magnificus*, m'enjoignit de me rendre en Suisse et de prendre contact avec le comte Czapski, après avoir décidé de la date et du lieu. Dès mon arrivée à Genève le 20 novembre, je rencontrai le comte Czapski, qui me montra la carte, et je pus constater son authenticité et l'excellence de son état de conservation. Je télégraphiai immédiatement à M. Hæggström à Uppsala. Le lendemain, il arriva à Genève par avion. Aussitôt après, je lui fis rencontrer le comte Czapski, et à peine une heure plus tard l'affaire fut conclue. Le prix définitif équivalait à 29 000 dollars. La somme fut aussitôt déposée à la banque au nom du comte Czapski. Grâce à la médiation généreuse de M. Hæggström, la carte fut sauvée pour la Suède. Et par-là même pour la bibliothèque universitaire. Le 22 novembre, Hæggström l'emmena en Suède en avion, et le soir de la même journée elle se trouva en sécurité à Uppsala.

Sallander termine son rapport en citant les noms des personnes et des organismes (sept en tout) qui, par leurs dons, ont permis de rembourser la dette contractée. Tout à la fin, il mentionne la tentative échouée d'acquérir l'exemplaire munichois pour le compte de la Kungliga Biblioteket, disant que l'échange n'avait pas eu lieu, puisqu'on avait constaté que «l'exemplaire est irrévocablement engagé sur la voie de l'anéantissement».

Ce rapport de Sallander n'atteignit pas non plus le grand public; rédigé à l'usage interne, il fut classé dans le même dossier que les autres papiers relatifs à l'achat de la carte. À la presse l'événement fut présenté d'une façon en apparence plus détaillée (deux pages et demie), mais en réalité tout aussi lacunaire. Après avoir annoncé le sensationnel achat, l'auteur – toujours Sallander – décrit en détail la vie d'Olaus Magnus, les circonstances de la création de la *Carta marina*, parle longuement de la carte et de son sort ultérieur, avant de consacrer huit lignes à la transaction proprement dite:

> Un jour, en octobre, je reçus la visite d'un homme qui m'annonça une nouvelle époustouflante selon laquelle il existait en Suisse un exemplaire de la *Carta marina* que son propriétaire acceptait de vendre, si la bibliothèque était intéressée. Que nous étions intéressés, c'est peu dire. À condition, bien entendu, qu'il s'agît d'un original. Je me rendis en Suisse où je constatai l'authenticité de la carte et son excellent état de conservation, cet exemplaire était en effet meilleur que celui de Munich, lequel présentait quelques menus défauts (sic !). *La découverte du second exemplaire de la Carta marina constitue sans doute la plus grande sensation du siècle dans le domaine en question.*

Les deux derniers paragraphes du communiqué contenaient des remerciements au prêteur et aux donateurs.

La même année, Sallander consacra à la carte un article paru dans une

revue de bibliothécaires (Sallander 1962), qui contient beaucoup d'informations intéressantes, mais qui reste extrêmement discret au sujet de la transaction. Ainsi, pendant quarante ans, on ne sut guère davantage sur la provenance de la carte, et ce fut grâce à la publication de Lars Munkhammar révélant l'existence du dossier secret et faisant état de plusieurs documents le constituant qu'on y vit plus clair. Néanmoins, des zones d'ombre persistaient:

- le second exemplaire de la carte était-il originaire de Suisse?
- comment et à quel moment avait-il atterri chez son propriétaire?
- pourquoi celui-ci avait-il décidé de le vendre en 1962, deux ans après la rupture des pourparlers avec les Munichois?
- pourquoi s'était-il adressé à la bibliothèque d'Uppsala et non pas, par exemple, à la Kungliga biblioteket, qui semblait une interlocutrice désignée pour une pareille affaire?
- pourquoi le propriétaire souhaitait-il que la transaction restât secrète et que son nom ne fût pas cité?
- pourquoi avait-il vendu ce trésor pour une somme relativement modique, bien au-dessous de sa valeur sur le marché?
- qu'en est-il de ce «collectionneur américain» avec sa proposition de payer à tout moment 100 000 dollars pour un exemplaire de la carte?

Aussi riche et instructif que fût l'article de Lars Munkhammar, il ne permettait pas de répondre à ces questions. L'auteur lui-même écrit à la fin: «Espérons qu'un jour on pourra lire un compte rendu de nouvelles découvertes concernant l'histoire de l'exemplaire uppsalien» (Munkhammar 2002: 69). Il y avait donc de bonnes raisons pour reprendre les recherches.

Emeryk Hutten-Czapski

Emeryk Hutten-Czapski naquit en 1897 à Stanków, dans le gouvernement de Minsk. Descendant d'une ancienne lignée polonaise, il était le petit-fils d'un autre Emeryk Hutten-Czapski (1828–1896), célèbre collectionneur – cartes géographiques, monnaies, etc. – fondateur, à Cracovie, du musée qui porte aujourd'hui son nom. Emeryk Junior était un collectionneur, lui aussi; en outre, il se mêlait de politique et avait occupé divers postes de responsabilité en Pologne d'entre-deux-guerres, relatifs aux finances, à l'agriculture, etc. Farouchement anticommuniste, il avait été, à ce titre, victime d'un attentat en 1922 qui faillit lui coûter la vie. La famille possédait d'importantes propriétés en Biélorussie actuelle, et c'est de là qu'il partit en exil en 1939, au début de la guerre. Selon son propre témoignage, le départ s'était fait dans une telle précipitation qu'il n'avait rien emporté de ses collections, hormis une carte de Pologne, trésor de petite taille, qu'il aurait porté sur lui, plié:

Emeryk Hutten-Czapski

> Quand, en ce septembre tragique de 1939, je quittai ma maison bien-aimée, le manoir de Synkowicze, près de Slonim, j'enlevai quelques cartes de leurs cadres. Une d'entre elles était la carte de G. de Jode, avec le portrait du roi Stéphane Batory, qui faisait partie de la collection[4]. La maison fut endommagée, et le mur auquel elle avait été accrochée n'existe plus. Je n'ai jamais vu un autre exemplaire [de cette carte]. Il m'accompagna dans mes voyages en Europe et en Afrique, entrepris au service de la Pologne et des Polonais. (Kret (dir.) 1978: 7.)

En passant par la Lituanie et la Suède, Hutten-Czapski gagna en effet la France et rejoignit à Angers le gouvernement polonais en exil. Après l'armistice, il passa en Afrique du Nord, où il resta jusqu'à la fin 1943, chargé de diverses missions militaro-diplomatiques, notamment en assurant le sauvetage et le regroupement des militaires polonais qui se trouvaient dans la région. Il menait une vie itinérante, faite de constants déplacements, entre l'Algérie, la Tunisie et le Maroc. En 1944, il gagna l'Angleterre, puis suivit les forces alliées en Europe centrale, avec des attributions essentiellement humanitaires (on

lui doit, notamment, aussi bien les mesures de sauvetage des prêtres polonais rescapés de Dachau que la découverte du célèbre maître-autel de Veit Stoss, disparu de l'église Ste-Marie à Cracovie pendant la guerre). Une de ses missions – le sort des ressortissants polonais mariés à des Italiennes – le mena en Italie, à Rome, et ce fut là qu'il s'installa après la fin de la guerre. Il ne se maria jamais et mourut en 1979.

Exception faite de la période africaine, où, selon son propre témoignage, «il n'était pas question de rencontrer des cartes anciennes, même les récentes étaient une denrée rare», il semble avoir toujours été à la recherche de nouvelles pièces pour sa collection, même pendant la guerre:

> Lors de la dernière phase de la guerre et après sa fin, il y eut en revanche de multiples occasions de se procurer des vieilles cartes: à l'époque, il existait une grande demande pour les cartes de l'Amérique qu'on arrachait des atlas pour les vendre à un prix plus élevé – on pouvait acheter d'autant moins cher les atlas déchirés avec les cartes restantes. [...] Pendant mes séjours à Londres et à Paris, j'eus la possibilité de faire mes recherches dans les deux plus importants centres européens d'antiquités. (Kret (dir.) 1978: 8.)

Pendant la période romaine de sa vie, Hutten-Czapski eut une activité de collectionneur particulièrement intense. Nous disposons à cet égard d'un précieux témoignage provenant de Tomasz Niewodniczanski, collectionneur polonais lui aussi, résidant depuis longtemps en Allemagne, qui l'avait connu durant les cinq dernières années de sa vie. Selon ce témoignage[5], Hutten-Czapski, qui se qualifiait lui-même de «dealer», se livrait à un commerce de livres anciens et de cartes; il était bien connu dans le milieu des collectionneurs et, réciproquement, il connaissait bien ce milieu. Il menait en outre une vie sociale et mondaine fort active, était introduit dans les salons de la noblesse romaine, et selon l'anecdote rapportée par M. Niewodniczanski, une des pièces maîtresses de sa collection, l'Atlas Doria (16^{e} s.), lui aurait été simplement offerte par une comtesse lors d'un café. Malgré ses allures de dandy, Hutten-Czapski n'avait rien d'un amateur, c'était un véritable homme d'affaires; en même temps, il restait un patriote polonais, ce qui explique, par exemple, son souhait de voir la partie polonaise de sa collection cartographique revenir en Pologne, toutefois pas comme une donation, mais à condition que le gouvernement polonais l'achète, à un prix fort élevé[6].

Après sa mort, ses archives et ses collections furent divisées: les livres revinrent à son neveu qui en fit don à une bibliothèque au Canada; les papiers partirent pour Londres où sa nièce en fit don à l'Institut polonais[7]; la *Polonica*, partie polonaise de la collection cartographique, fut, conformément à ses vœux, vendue au gouvernement polonais (elle est conservée à la

Biblioteka Czartoryskich à Cracovie). Le sort des autres cartes de sa collection demeure peu clair.

En recoupant ces informations, on aboutit à des conclusions qui, même sans être étayées par des documents, semblent plausibles. Théoriquement, on ne peut pas exclure que Hutten-Czapski entra en possession de la *Carta marina* déjà en Pologne: nous savons qu'en 1589, i.e. trente-deux ans après la mort d'Olaus Magnus, ses effets personnels, parmi lesquels figuraient des archives importantes, furent emmenés à Cracovie où leur trace se perdit (Olaus Magnus 1892: 5–9), et il n'est pas improbable qu'au moins *un* exemplaire de la carte atterrit ainsi en Pologne. Or, les liens qui unissaient les Hutten-Czapski à cette ville étaient forts, comme en témoigne l'existence du musée, et si vraiment la carte se serait trouvée dans ces parages, notre collectionneur serait tombé dessus plus facilement que si elle avait échoué dans une autre ville polonaise. Cependant, à la lumière des données biographiques, il semble peu vraisemblable que Hutten-Czapski ait acquis la carte en Pologne: selon son propre témoignage, il n'en avait emporté que la précieuse carte de 1576. Or, compte tenu de sa taille, la *Carta marina* n'était pas facilement transportable (au moment de son acquisition par les Suédois, les neuf panneaux étaient toujours collés, ce qui devait augmenter les difficultés du transport). Quant à l'après-guerre, même si ses rapports avec les autorités polonaises n'étaient pas conflictuels (il avait rendu beaucoup de services à son pays: divers dons aux musées polonais, réunification des fonds et des matériaux pour la restauration du Château de Varsovie, etc.), il ne devait pas être en mesure de récupérer ses biens du fait que ceux-ci se trouvaient désormais en Biélorussie soviétique. Tout cela semble indiquer que son acquisition de la carte date de l'époque romaine de sa vie. Emeryk Hutten-Czapski vécut à Rome entre 1946 et 1962. Olaus Magnus, lui, y résida de façon permanente de 1550 à 1557. Il était alors en charge de l'hospice Sainte-Brigitte, et selon l'inventaire des lieux dressé au lendemain de sa mort, il y avait une importante bibliothèque et des quantités de papiers personnels. Il est donc très probable qu'au moins *un* exemplaire de la carte resta dans cette ville[8], après que le gros des archives eut été envoyé en Pologne. Où avait-il dormi pendant tant de siècles? Là, où personne ne se donnait la peine de le chercher: dans une bibliothèque ou une archive privée de quelque dignitaire ecclésiastique, dans un palais de quelque noble romain. Hypothèse que renfonce la bref mention au dos du panneau B: «pauci settentrionali» tracée d'une «écriture typique du 18e s. italien» (Sallander 1962: 132). Or, Hutten-Czapski fréquentait assidûment ce milieu, et aussi incroyable que cela semble à première vue, l'apparition de la *Carta marina* dans sa collection suite à un geste d'amabilité mondaine n'est nullement à exclure.

Rome–Uppsala–Stockholm 1962

Voici pour la provenance. Examinons maintenant la date de la vente et ses circonstances. Pour cela, les sept lettres de Hutten-Czapski à Józef Trypućko (1910–1983), l'homme qui servit d'intermédiaire dans la transaction et qui en 1977 fit don de ces lettres à la Carolina, constituent un témoignage capital. Originaire d'un village près de Vilnius, était un linguiste et un traducteur, professeur de polonais à l'université d'Uppsala (Nowakowski 1992: 166–168); les deux hommes se connaissaient dès avant l'affaire de la carte: dans sa première lettre, Hutten-Czapski fait allusion à un séjour de Trypućko à Rome. Le fait d'avoir un contact polonais à Uppsala dut être déterminant pour le choix d'interlocuteur du comte, il explique sa décision de s'adresser à la Carolina plutôt qu'à la Kungliga Biblioteket.

Les lettres de Hutten-Czapski couvrent la période du 6 août au 22 novembre 1962. Un échange intense que le comte essaie d'accélérer au maximum, car le moindre retard dans les réponses de Trypućko suscite chez lui une vive inquiétude – visiblement, Hutten-Czapski est très pressé. Dès le début de la première lettre, il expose son affaire:

> ma collection de cartes s'est agrandie. Je suis devenu notamment le propriétaire d'une carte très rare appelée originellement 'Marina' et ensuite 'des pays septentrionaux', une estampe réalisée à Venise en 1539 sur 9 panneaux. C'est la carte d'Olaf le Grand, un évêque suédois mort à Rome, si je ne me trompe, en 1558. Veuillez ne pas révéler que je la possède. Je préférerais qu'on ne le sache pas. Il existe ici toutes sortes de réglementations contraignantes. Je voudrais savoir combien d'exemplaires de cette carte se trouvent encore en Suède et ce qu'elle peut valoir.

C'est un passage capital: il montre qu'au moment de la rédaction Hutten-Czapski, malgré sa compétence, ne sait pas grand-chose sur la *Carta marina*: ni sur l'œuvre elle-même, ni sur sa valeur marchande; néanmoins, son expérience et son intuition lui disent qu'il a entre les mains un trésor.

Trypućko, dont les lettres ne figurent pas dans le dossier, commence à se renseigner, mais cela prend du temps, et la seconde lettre de Hutten-Czapski (du 27 octobre) témoigne de la même incertitude. Et même s'il semble davantage convaincu de la valeur de la carte, il ne sait toujours pas la chiffrer:

> J'ai été extrêmement intéressé par les informations concernant la carte d'Olaf Magnus. Elle se compose effectivement de 9 panneaux, il s'agit sans conteste d'un original. Lorsque je l'ai vue pour la première fois, je ne pouvais pas en détacher le regard, tellement elle est intéressante. De la République [Rzeczypospolita, i.e. la Pologne. E.B.], on ne distingue que la partie septentrionale avec Gdansk et Wilno. Non loin de Wilno on voit, assis sur son trône, le roi Sigismond 1er. Des bateaux chargés de

> blé flottent sur la Neris et des monceaux de bois se consument sans doute pour en faire de la suie. Cependant, s'il s'avère que l'on puisse en tirer un bon prix – et d'après ce que vous dites dans votre lettre, c'est possible –, sans doute devrais-je faire ce sacrifice et me séparer de cet exemplaire d'une rareté extrême. Je vous demande de garder tout cela sous le sceau du secret le plus absolu. Je voudrais également que vous me disiez qui, d'après vous, en serait le meilleur acquéreur? Les musées suédois disposent-ils de moyens suffisants? Les cartes rares atteignent de bons prix actuellement. [...] Je comprends que la carte d'Olafus intéresse les Suédois, s'ils ne la possèdent pas. [...] À la personne intéressée vous pourriez dire éventuellement qu'elle provient d'une collection polonaise, que son propriétaire ne souhaite pas que son identité soit révélée, que la carte se trouve en Suisse et qu'il s'agit sans aucune hésitation d'un original. Que son état est tout à fait satisfaisant puisque le seul défaut réside dans les plis où le papier est un peu usé, [car] elle est pliée. Comment comptent-ils mener les négociations pour le cas où je prendrais la décision de la vendre? Il est très important que vous sachiez jusqu'à quel prix on peut monter. Peut-être pourriez-vous préciser que le propriétaire est un collectionneur qui n'accepterait de se séparer de cette carte, qu'il apprécie beaucoup, que si l'on y mettait le prix. Je vous serais reconnaissant de procéder à un tel travail exploratoire.

La troisième lettre date du 14 octobre. Le comte commence à y voir plus clair, et il a désormais une idée du prix:

> 1) Je ne connais pas très bien le caractère des Suédois ni les mœurs qui règnent là-bas en ce qui concerne les transactions financières et commerciales. Si la négociation se déroulait autour de la Méditerranée, le vendeur commencerait par fixer un prix au moins double par rapport au prix réellement escompté. Une telle tactique est-elle envisageable avec les Suédois? Si eux proposent de payer 20 000 dollars, est-ce que moi je peux proposer, disons, 40 000? Vous connaissez, Monsieur le Professeur, ma situation d'exilé, avec, à sa charge, deux dames âgées; chaque millier de dollars compte pour moi. Je dois faire tout pour obtenir le meilleur prix. [...] Le fait qu'il existe la Bibliothèque royale qui souhaiterait aussi acquérir cette carte augmente la marge de manœuvres. 2) Je vous demande de me communiquer vos conditions liées à votre concours. Il est évident que vous, qui êtes également un exilé, avez droit à un bonus, peut-être des deux côtés...Combien[9]?

Les années passées dans le Maghreb ont laissé leur trace, Hutten-Czapski sait très bien comment on marchande dans les pays du Sud, mais il doute – avec raison – de la validité de ces règles dans les pays nordiques. Cette lettre est suivie d'un court billet du 5 novembre faisait état de son inquiétude de n'avoir pas reçu de réponse à sa missive précédente; il semble de plus en plus pressé de conclure l'affaire. C'est à ce moment que Trypućko contacte enfin

la bibliothèque universitaire d'Uppsala, «fin octobre», selon le témoignage de H. Sallander.

Le 9 novembre, quatre jours après ce billet, ayant entre-temps reçu une réponse faisant état de l'intérêt des Suédois, Hutten-Czapski adresse à Trypućko une longue épître – là, c'est l'homme d'affaire sûr de lui qui parle et qui énumère ses conditions point par point:

> Pour ce qui est du prix, je voudrais obtenir 31 000 dollars. Vos interlocuteurs sont-ils capables de débourser une telle somme? Veuillez déterminer également comment vous-même, qui êtes un exilé et pour qui l'argent joue également un rôle important, souhaitez être rémunéré. Car il s'agit d'une vente et non d'un de ces services dont vous, tout comme moi-même, êtes, je n'en doute guère, prodigue en toute circonstance. Veuillez me transmettre votre avis sur cette question. Pouvez-vous obtenir de l'argent de l'institution acquéreuse? Étant pressé par le temps, je voudrais rencontrer les intéressés et vous prie de bien vouloir éclaircir les points suivants:
>
> 1) Établir une date de rendez-vous le plus vite possible; moi-même, je suis prêt à partir en Suisse dès maintenant.
> 2) Le lieu du rendez-vous: Genève.
> 3) Là-bas nous procéderons à l'inspection de la carte. Elle se compose de 9 panneaux assemblés il y a longtemps. Je n'ai aucun doute sur son authenticité, mais je comprends que les acheteurs souhaitent le vérifier par eux-mêmes; s'ils n'ont jamais vu cette sorte de carte, peut-être devraient-ils aller examiner le seul exemplaire connu jusqu'à présent, celui de Munich.
> 4) Le marché serait conclu à Genève. Je n'insiste pas pour obtenir la totalité de la somme sur-le-champ. Sachant à qui j'ai affaire, je me contenterai d'un contrat et du versement d'une partie (un tiers) et du reste versé en tranches, réparties sur plusieurs mois, étant donné que l'année peut jouer un rôle pour ce qui est de l'obtention des crédits. [L'auteur pense sans doute à l'année budgétaire, se disant qu'en novembre il ne devait plus rester beaucoup d'argent dans la trésorerie de la Carolina. E.B.].
> 5) Je voudrais que le versement ait lieu à Genève.
> 6) Pour le cas où nous adopterions le versement mensualisé, il faudrait que l'acheteur dispose de l'accord nécessaire pour l'obtention d'un crédit. S'ils le souhaitent nous pouvons conclure l'affaire à Berne où se trouve l'ambassade suédoise. La transmission de la carte pourrait avoir lieu également là-bas.
> 7) Il va de soi que je compte toujours sur votre discrétion, je ne veux pas que mon nom soit dévoilé.

Cependant, dans la même lettre, il y a des passages où l'homme d'affaires s'efface devant l'érudit passionné par son sujet:

> La vente de cette carte est devenue pour moi une affaire urgente. Un autre acheteur me presse très fort. Mais je préférerais la vendre de telle sorte qu'elle aille aux collections suédoises, car elle concerne un grand homme de science suédois. J'imagine quel serait notre émoi si une carte de Wapowski faisait son apparition sur le marché! [...] La partie septentrionale de la République, de Gdansk jusqu'à Wilno, figure sur la carte, ainsi que l'image du roi Sigismond Auguste. Je m'en sépare avec tristesse, mais à l'heure actuelle je ne suis pas suffisamment riche pour posséder un fragment aussi précieux de la République. Je demanderais en revanche aux acheteurs de faire pour moi deux photocopies grandeur nature. Je suis fondé à penser que Olafus Magnus s'est servi des cartes de Wapowski pour réaliser la partie polonaise[10], c'est pourquoi je voudrais que des chercheurs compétents examinent la carte sous cet angle. Je comprends ce que cette carte représente pour les spécialistes suédois, et je pense que je me comporterai en homme d'honneur en refusant de la céder à aucune autre institution ni à aucun particulier.

Il se peut qu'à partir de ce moment, les choses s'étant accélérées, les conversations téléphoniques remplacent le courrier, Hutten-Czapski y fait allusion dans sa lettre suivante, datant du 16 novembre. Courte, écrite à la main (à la différence des précédentes qui sont toutes dactylographiées), elle précise les détails du rendez-vous avec H. Sallander fixé au 20 novembre: l'heure d'arrivée à Genève, le nom de l'hôtel, etc. Enfin, la dernière lettre de la série, celle du 22 novembre, écrite – à la main, elle aussi – sur le papier de l'hôtel Cornavin à Genève, renvoie un écho de l'affaire conclue à la satisfaction mutuelle des deux parties. Rassuré sur l'aspect pécuniaire, l'érudit prend à nouveau le dessus sur l'homme d'affaires:

> Je suis heureux que cet exemplaire si rare se retrouve entre les mains des personnes les plus habilitées à le recevoir et qu'il sera restauré et parfaitement conservé. L'auteur en aurait été content.

Cette suite épistolaire permet d'éclaircir plusieurs points. Tout d'abord, elle montre avec évidence que, exactement comme Brenner avant lui, Hutten-Czapski découvrit la carte par pur hasard, sans l'avoir cherchée, puisque d'une part il ne savait rien à son sujet, et d'autre part, ce qu'il cherchait c'était les cartes de la Pologne. Les raisons qui le poussèrent à la vendre ne font pas de doute, elles non plus: il avait besoin d'argent, il le dit lui-même à plusieurs reprises. Mais il apparaît tout aussi clairement que ce besoin n'était pas aigu; il ne s'agissait pas d'une soudaine détérioration de sa situation matérielle, mais simplement d'un désir d'assurer davantage sa propre sécurité financière et celle des siens. Cela privilégie l'hypothèse selon laquelle il aurait vendu la carte peu après – ou même *aussitôt* après – qu'il l'eût eue en sa possession,

au détriment de celle selon laquelle il l'eût gardée des années durant et n'eût décidé de s'en séparer qu'en cas extrême. La remarque dans sa première lettre: «ma collection de cartes s'est agrandie. Je suis devenu notamment le propriétaire d'une carte très rare», qui va dans le même sens, nous invite à écarter définitivement l'idée selon laquelle il aurait eu vent de l'échec des pourparlers de 1960, concernant l'exemplaire munichois, et qu'il aurait jugé le moment opportun pour proposer aux Suédois le sien. Son ignorance au début de l'affaire en constitue une preuve supplémentaire: si à cette date il avait connu (ou entendu parler de) l'exemplaire conservé à Munich, il aurait aisément identifié la carte. Qui plus est: si celle-ci avait été dans sa possession depuis un certain temps, il aurait eu le loisir de se renseigner sur elle et n'aurait pas besoin de demander des informations à un professeur de polonais. Le scénario le plus probable serait donc que Hutten-Czapski devient le propriétaire de la carte vers 1960 et que, du fait qu'elle n'entre pas entièrement dans la sphère de ses intérêts de collectionneur, il cherche aussitôt à s'en défaire, surtout à partir du moment où il comprend combien sa valeur marchande est grande.

Arrivé à ce point du raisonnement, on se retrouve à nouveau devant une énigme: le montant du prix. Un «dealer» du niveau de Hutten-Czapski pouvait-il ignorer l'offre américaine de 100 000 dollars ? Pourquoi, dans ce cas, se contenta-t-il de 29 000, et cela après tant d'hésitations sur le prix à demander? Pourquoi, enfin, s'adresser à une bibliothèque en Suède plutôt que mettre la carte sur le marché international et attendre le résultat des enchères ?

Pour ce qui est de l'offre américaine, la seule preuve de son existence se trouve dans le dossier de la transaction: la mention qui figure dans le compte rendu de Hans Sallander renvoie à une lettre qui lui fut adressée par Sten Lindberg, homme qui, en 1960, avait examiné l'exemplaire munichois. On y lit entre autres:

> ... Nous sommes ravis d'apprendre qu'il y a désormais un exemplaire en Suède, de meilleure qualité et acheté à un prix très inférieur. Ce montant est probablement aussi sensationnel que la soudaine apparition d'un exemplaire inconnu. J'ai entendu un bouquiniste ici parler d'une offre permanente, américaine, de 100 000 dollars pour un tel exemplaire.

La lettre de Lindberg date de l'après-achat; or, le compte rendu de Sallander, tout comme son article cité plus haut (Sallander 1962: 132), présente cette information comme préalable à la transaction, comme une des raisons de la précipitation avec laquelle elle fut conclue et du secret qui l'avait entourée. Le même rapport laisse penser que la direction de la Carolina ne connaissait pas grand-chose des raisons de l'échec de la transaction avec Munich,

puisqu'à la fin il est question de «quelques menus défauts» de l'exemplaire munichois, tandis qu'à la Kungliga Biblioteket on était persuadé que celui-ci était irrémédiablement abîmé. En effet, même le succinct rapport de 1956 ne fut envoyé à Uppsala qu'en avril 1963, soit six mois après l'achat de la carte! On a bien l'impression que la rivalité notoire entre les deux grandes bibliothèques suédoises a contribué à compliquer encore davantage une affaire déjà passablement obscure.

Que faut-il penser des indications concernant l'offre américaine? Ou bien que la direction de la Carolina avait eu connaissance de cette offre par d'autres voies; ou bien que cette dernière était un mythe, un des nombreux mythes qui circulent dans ce genre de milieux[11]. Mais à supposer que cette offre existât, un collectionneur comme Hutten-Czapski pouvait-il ne pas en être au courant? Dans ce cas, pourquoi ne l'avait-il pas saisi, lui qui, selon son propre aveu, avait besoin d'argent? Certes, il est possible qu'il ne fût pas au courant: ce serait le cas si, comme je le pense, il avait décidé de vendre la carte aussitôt après son acquisition; alors, sans se renseigner davantage, il se serait tourné vers l'acheteur le plus évident: la Suède.

Une explication pertinente fut proposée par Lars Munkhammar lors de notre entretien en juillet 2006: selon lui, Hutten-Czapski avait tout intérêt à garder l'affaire secrète et à ne pas mettre la carte sur le marché international: la vente qu'il envisageait était illégale! Il ne pouvait pas sortir la carte du pays sans l'accord des autorités italiennes et sans payer une taxe sur la transaction. C'est pourquoi il préféra se contenter d'un prix relativement modique, c'est pourquoi il insista dans ses lettres sur la confidentialité de l'affaire, c'est pourquoi la transaction eut lieu en Suisse: notre collectionneur aurait sorti la carte du pays purement et simplement en fraude. Les demandes répétées à l'adresse de Trypućko le confirment; Hutten-Czapski devait être parfaitement conscient d'enfreindre la loi, sa dernière lettre (celle du 22 novembre) s'achève sur cette remarque explicite:

> Je vous prie de ne pas publier ni le montant offert, ni mon nom; en revanche, vous pouvez signaler que la carte provient d'une collection polonaise. Je tiens également à ce qu'on ne sache pas qu'elle ait été rapportée d'Italie.

Cela expliquerait également l'extrême discrétion des Suédois, soucieux non seulement de respecter l'engagement envers Hutten-Czapski, mais aussi d'éviter des questions gênantes sur la légitimité de toute cette affaire.

Mais la crainte d'avoir des difficultés avec les autorités italiennes n'explique pas tout. Il semble qu'un autre facteur ait joué un rôle pour le moins aussi important. Dans sa lettre du 9 novembre, Hutten-Czapski fait allusion à une pression dont il serait l'objet: «La vente de cette carte est devenue pour

Carta Marina, panneau I.

moi une affaire urgente. Un autre acheteur me presse très fort.» Il se peut qu'elle soit inventée pour faire monter les prix, c'est même probable; ce qui est néanmoins évident c'est son désir de ne *pas* céder la carte à un collectionneur privé, désir exprimé à plusieurs reprises, lorsqu'il explique qu'il voudrait «la vendre de telle sorte qu'elle aille aux collections suédoises, car elle concerne un grand homme de science suédois», lorsqu'il se déclare «heureux que cet exemplaire si rare se retrouve entre les mains des personnes les plus habilitées à le recevoir et qu'il sera parfaitement conservé», etc.

Nous sommes donc en présence d'une dialectique complexe, d'un combat fascinant entre les instincts d'homme d'affaires et les principes éthiques d'un lettré, entre le désir de concilier le gain matériel et la «juste répartition» des biens culturels: les choses polonaises devaient aller à la Pologne, les choses suédoises à la Suède.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la précieuse carte fut achetée et amenée en Suède en avion par Göran Z. Hæggström. Peu après son arrivée eut lieu un amusant épisode. Des sept mécènes, personnes physiques et organismes confondus, dont les dons rendirent possible l'achat de la carte, deux avaient souhaité rester anonymes. L'ouverture du dossier secret permit de les identifier: l'un d'entre eux était le roi; Gustave VI Adolphe connaissait la carte par des reproductions, et après avoir contribué à son achat, il désira naturellement la voir:

> Cinq jours après que Sallander et Hæggström eurent ramené l'exemplaire de la grande carte dans la patrie de son auteur, Olaus Magnus, la *Carta marina* fut montrée au roi au Château de Stockholm. Le roi était très intéressé. Et comme on ne trouvait pas de table assez grande pour permettre de l'étaler, il proposa de la poser par terre sur le tapis. [...] 'Ce devait être un drôle de tableau, racontait Sallander, que de nous voir – le roi, Hæggström et moi-même – en train de ramper à quatre pattes autour de la carte pour mieux l'examiner'. (Munkhammar 2002: 69.)

Ensuite, ce fut le tour des experts d'étudier le trésor. Son état de conservation se révéla effectivement bien meilleur que celui de la carte munichoise, de sorte qu'il n'y eut pas de raisons de séparer les feuilles pour procéder aux travaux de restauration approfondie. Après quelques menues réparations, la carte fut exposée au musée situé à l'entrée de la bibliothèque, où elle se trouve depuis. Cet excellent état de conservation laisse à penser qu'elle n'a jamais servi, qu'elle n'a jamais voyagé, que c'est à peine si elle avait été regardée. Telle une Belle-au-Bois-dormant, elle aurait sommeillé pendant quatre siècles dans quelque coin obscur d'un palais romain avant que le hasard – dans la personne de quelque «contessa» italienne – ne l'eût mise entre les mains du collectionneur polonais.

Épilogue

L'histoire de la découverte des deux exemplaires connus de la *Carta marina* pourrait s'arrêter ici. Cependant, le fameux dossier de la Carolina contient encore un document: une lettre rédigée le 12 mai 1963 par Josef Haglund, bibliothécaire à la Kungliga Biblioteket, et adressée probablement à Hans Sallander. Il y est question de la controverse des spécialistes concernant la technique de production de la carte:

> Carl Magnuson, écrit Haglund, affirme que la *Carta marina* est une gravure sur cuivre. Lorsque, en décembre 1943, j'ai lu son article dans *Stockholms borgargilles årsbok*[12], je débutais dans le département des cartes et gravures et ne maîtrisais pas encore les techniques graphiques – alors qu'aujourd'hui un simple coup d'œil m'aurait suffi pour reconnaître une gravure sur bois, même à partir d'un fac-similé. Bref, muni de l'édition en fac-similé faite par Klemming en 1887, je suis allé voir le grand spécialiste Harald Sallberg, aujourd'hui professeur. Il m'a confirmé que l'original devait être une gravure sur cuivre, plus exactement neuf gravures. À ma demande, il m'a fourni une attestation écrite sur ce sujet – pour le prix de dix couronnes.
>
> Méticuleux comme je le suis, je me suis adressé à la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek à Munich. À l'époque, l'original avait été évacué. Mais plusieurs experts sur place, qui avaient attentivement examiné le fac-similé de Brenner de 1886, étaient d'avis que la *Carta marina* devait être une gravure sur cuivre.
>
> Le célèbre connaisseur des anciennes cartes, Leo Bagrow[13], fondateur et éditeur, plusieurs années durant, de l'*Imago mundi*, écrivait dans un de ses ouvrages, à propos de la *Carta marina*: 'Kupferstich'. Cela m'a donné l'idée, en 1944, de prendre contact avec lui. Il vivait alors à Berlin. Or, je n'avais jamais correspondu avec lui par le passé. Bref, le temps s'écoulait, et aussi bien l'issue de la guerre que le sort de Berlin se dessinaient de plus en plus nettement. Pour Bagrow, la situation était particulièrement alarmante: il était un émigré russe, ex-officier de la marine. Alors, j'ai décidé de le sauver – et en même temps sauver l'*Imago mundi* – en le faisant venir en Suède. Avec l'aide du professeur Arne[14] et, au dernier moment, celle de Sven Hedin, j'ai réussi à réaliser ce projet. Lundi, le 23 avril – une semaine avant la mort d'Hitler – Leo Bagrow, sa femme, ainsi que le moineau apprivoisé faisant partie de la famille, sont arrivés à l'aéroport de Bromma par le dernier avion en provenance de Berlin. [...]
>
> Petites causes, grandes conséquences. Si Leo Bargow ne s'était pas trompé sur la technique de gravure de la *Carta marina*, je n'aurais jamais songé à le contacter (je ne savais même pas dans quel pays il résidait), je n'aurais jamais eu l'idée d'organiser ce sauvetage – ni le sien, ni celui de l'*Imago mundi*.

Hasard ou providence ? Que ce soit l'un ou l'autre, malgré son sommeil séculaire, la *Carta marina* avait sauvé deux vies humaines et un oiseau – Olaus Magnus s'en serait certainement réjoui.

NOTES

[1] Cet article est fondé pour une bonne partie sur des sources non-écrites: entretiens et témoignages recueillis au fil des recherches. Je voudrais remercier tous ceux qui m'ont aidée: Reinhard Kaiser (Francfort-sur-le-Main), Lars Munkhammer (Uppsala), Tomasz Niewodniczanski (Bitburg), Sandrine de Solan (Paris), Anna Stelmach (Cracovie), Justyna Czechowska (Varsovie) et Piort Bilos (Paris), pour sa traduction des lettres de Hutten-Czapski. Mes remerciements particuliers à Mirka Bialecka (Uppsala) pour les précieuses remarques qui m'ont permis de corriger les inexactitudes qui se sont glissées dans la version suédoise publiée dans *Biblis* 37, 2007, pp. 1–29.

[2] Le titre complet : *Olai Magni Historien, der Mittnächtigen Länder, von allerley Thun, Wesens, Condition, Sitten, Gebreüschen, Aberglauben, Vnderweisung, Vebung, Regiment, Narung, Kriegßrüstung, auch allerley Zeüg, Instrumenten, Gebeüwen, Bergwerck, Metall, vnd andern wunderbarlichen Sachen, warhafftige, Beschreibung, deßgleichen auch von allerley, vierfüssigen, vnd andern Thieren, so auff, vnd im Erdrich, Wasser vnd Lufft, gedachter Orten leben vnd schweben thun, etc. …Hernach aber ins Hochteütsch gebracht … durch Johann Baptisten Ficklern…* Getruckt zu Basel in der Officin Henric-Petrina, im Jar MDLXVII. L'exemplaire en question est toujours conservé à la Kungliga biblioteket.

[3] Il s'agit de *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600* (3 vol., 1927–1938, plusieurs rééditions) d'Isak Collijn (1875–1949), un des meilleurs connaisseurs de l'œuvre d'Olaus Magnus, auteur également d'une précieuse bibliographie (Collijn 1943).

[4] Il s'agit d'une carte de la Pologne (Anvers, 1576) dont tous les exemplaires connus, hormis celui de Hutten-Czapski, présentent en médaillon un portrait du roi Sigismond II Auguste Jagellon (1520–1572) ; l'exemplaire en question a, à cet endroit, le portrait d'un autre monarque, le Hongrois Stéphane Batory (1533–1586). Conservée à la Biblioteka Czartoryskich la carte porte la trace d'un pli au milieu qui pourrait être le souvenir de cette fuite.

[5] Il s'agit d'un échange de courrier électronique et d'une interview téléphonique réalisée par Reinhard Kaiser le 25 mai 2006.

[6] Selon Anna Stelmach (Biblioteka Czartoryskich), elle comprenait 624 pièces.

[7] Selon les informations provenant de Mirka Bialecka (Bibliothèque universitaire d'Uppsala).

[8] Sans parler de tous ceux (combien?) qu'il aurait offerts à des dignitaires ecclésiastiques romains, ni de ceux qui pouvaient se trouver dans d'autres villes italiennes, par exemple, à Venise, lieu de l'impression de la carte, ou à Trente, où Olaus Magnus résida plusieurs années à l'époque du Concile.

[9] Il est peu probable que la Carolina Rediviva, établissement public, ait rémunéré le professeur Josef Trypućko pour ses services d'intermédiaire; de son côté, le comte Hutten-Czapski lui a effectivement envoyé un chèque de ...600 dollars.

[10] Bernard Wapowski (1470–1535), célèbre cartographe, faisait partie du cercle d'intellectuels qu'Olaus Magnus et son frère Johannes fréquentaient pendant leur séjour à Danzig, 1527–1537, circonstance que Hutten-Czapski ne pouvait naturellement pas connaître. Il y a toute raison de croire que sa demande d'avoir une photocopie de la carte fut satisfaite: le panneau I (celui qui représente une partie de la Pologne) de la *Carta marina*, qui figure dans l'atlas déjà mentionné (Kret (dir.) 1978), y est reproduit «d'après un fac-similé appartenant à Hutten-Czapski». Dans le commentaire qui l'accompagne, on lit simplement que l'original «a été acheté par la Bibliothèque de Stockholm», autrement dit: même le collaborateur le plus proche du comte, l'éditeur du volume, Wojciech Kret, ne savait pas comment la carte avait échoué en Suède – le secret n'aurait pas pu être mieux gardé !

Quant à l'influence de Bernard Wapowski et des cartographes polonais, Hutten-Czapski ne s'est pas trompé : elle a été démontrée par la suite (Richter 1967: 118sq.).

[11] Selon l'un d'entre eux, l'exemplaire aurait appartenu au comte de Lichtenstein qui l'aurait vendu aux Suédois par l'intermédiaire d'un homme d'affaires juif de New York! (Munkhammar 2002: 63–64; la source se trouve dans le même dossier). Quant à l'hypothèse elle-même, elle n'est peut-être pas entièrement dépourvue de fondement, du moins peut-on dire avec certitude qu'il existait alors aux Etats-Unis un homme qui à la fois pouvait souhaiter acquérir l'original et en avait les moyens financiers. Il s'agit du collectionneur américain George H. Beans, propriétaire de la gravure de Lafreri, qui finança la magnifique édition de celle-ci due à un spécialiste britannique (Lynam 1949).

[12] Il s'agit de Magnuson 1940.

[13] Leo Bagrow (1881–1957), auteur, entre autres, d'une histoire de la cartographie: *Die Geschichte der Kartographie* (Berlin, 1951, plusieurs rééditions).

[14] Vraisemblablement, l'archéologue Ture J:son Arne (1879–1965).

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Whatever Happened to the Black Swedes?

Ola Larsmo's *Maroonberget*

ABSTRACT This article examines how historical fiction can impact a nation's narrative of itself, and hence, issues of national identity. Ola Larsmo's *Maroonberget* (1996) presents a story that challenges the narrative of Swedish homogeneity by tracing a history of black Swedes back to the 1700s. The novel undermines binary oppositions such as white/black and Swede/Immigrant by positing a model of hybridity. The reception of the novel in the Swedish press is examined in order to gauge the reactions to Larsmo's novel in the contemporary cultural debate.

KEYWORDS Ola Larsmo, *Maroonberget*, Badin, historical fiction, national identity, racism, multiculturalism, hybridity, Swedish literature

Groups, including nations, constitute themselves by agreeing on a common narrative of emergence. Benedict Anderson notes in *Imagined Communities* that even though the concept of nations is just over two centuries old, modern nations still perceive of themselves as ancient (Andersson 2006: 11). National histories, or narratives of national identity, in most cases can require some deliberate amnesia (Anderson 2006: 204). For example, Britain claims William the Conqueror as a founding father, but generally the detail that he spoke French is passed over. What is left out of such histories can be as significant as what is left in, and the reasons behind such omissions are a fruitful area for analysis and speculation. Nations appeal to the past for legitimacy and to determine who they are in the present. The first lines of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address make this exact rhetorical move: "Four score and seven years ago,

our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation: conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Because Lincoln's nation was defined at the outset as dedicated to liberty and equality, the war against the South becomes necessary in order to maintain the nation's historical identity. This is a clear case of a narrative of the past being invoked in order to legitimate a current course of political action. Who nations imagine they were in the past can affect how they behave in the present, so such narratives are unavoidably political.

National narratives are under constant negotiation. In *Time, Narrative, and History* (1986), David Carr has described this process, noting that settling on a historical narrative is not merely a matter of straightforward historical truth, but also persuasiveness: "Such narratives are advanced as part of the project of community-building and their validity is ultimately a question of whether their advocates succeed in persuading others to join in the community they project" (Carr 1986: 151, n. 31). Carr leaves us to imagine that it is politicians, lawmakers, and possibly historians who do most of the negotiating about the national narrative. This article examines the historical negotiations that go on in the popular media of novels and newspapers, and argues, in part, that such sources may be even more significant than the work of professional historians, geographers, and sociologists in shaping a nation's image of itself. Novels, as well as other forms of popular entertainment such as television and film, reach a broader audience and, as Väinö Linna (1987: 387) has noted, most people get their history from such sources and few read the work of professional historians. From this perspective, the sense of history in a novel is not merely decoration, but potentially a source of cultural self-understanding that can have political consequences. Benedict Andersen (2006: 24–25) credited the novels and the newspapers of the eighteenth century with a form of imagining that made the very concept of nation possible.

In 1996, two novels appeared that featured the historical figure of Badin, a black man raised together with Gustaf III: Ola Larsmo's *Maroonberget* ['Maroon Mountain'] and Ylva Eggehorn's *En av dessa timmar* ['One of These Hours']. This synchronicity might be thought to be a response to the sensitive racial climate in Sweden during the mid-1990s. Although this can be said of Larsmo's book, it is a more difficult argument to make in terms of Eggehorn's novel. Eggehorn's book portrays Badin as a free spirit, irresistibly attractive to all the women he meets. Many reviewers treated the book kindly, but some registered reservations, calling it "chic salon pornography" ['chic salongspornografi'] and "vivid novel writing with physical love and stiffening nipples" ['mustig romankonst med fysisk kärlek och styvnade bröstvårtor'] (Mehrens 1996: 18, Karlsson 1996: 11)[1]. Stefan Eklund (1986: 5)

expressed his irritation with the book, and Gun Zanton-Ericsson advanced the specific criticism: "It seems that she is building upon well-known prejudices about the sexual attraction of black men" ['Man kan tycka att hon bygger på välkända fördomar om den svarte mannens dragningskraft'] (Zanton-Ericsson 1996: A4). This last sentiment is resoundingly seconded by Allan Pred in his book, *The Past is not Dead. Facts, Fictions, and Enduring Racial Stereotypes* (2004). Pred was prompted to write his book when he learned of the publication of both Larsmo and Eggehorn's novels during his research for his book on racism in Sweden, *Even in Sweden* (2000). He notes that Eggehorn has bought into the stereotype of the hypersexuality of black Africans. This may have been done in all "innocence," since the portrait of Badin is generally positive, but it unleashes the following diatribe from Pred:

> [Eggehorn does this] at a time when (largely unreflected) cultural racism is rampant toward blacks and non-Europeans more generally; at a time when skin pigment, hair color, and other bodily markers are commonly translated into highly charged cultural markers; at a time when entire groups are racialized as a consequence of outward biological difference being automatically (con)fused with stereotyped cultural difference. And at a time when negative stereotyping of the Other has led to widespread racist effects, to marginalization and exclusion, to underclassification and de facto social apartheid, to levels of labor-market discrimination and residential segregation that are matched by few other industrial countries; at a time when culture is repeatedly essentialized in political and mass media discourses as well as in everyday conversation; at a time when it frequently goes without saying that culture is immutable, that it is passed on from generation to generation regardless of setting (thereby idealogically meaning that a person of color or Islamic belief can never become a "real Swede," never become fully modern, even if born in Sweden) (Pred 2000: 55).

Part of Pred's point is that Eggehorn's reinforcement of racial stereotypes in her novel is at best shockingly naïve, at worst socially irresponsible, since it contributes to an already poor racial climate. Novels matter.

Ola Larsmo's novel, *Maroonberget*, in contrast, garners more approval from Pred, who characterizes it as "moving, tightly conceived, and superbly structured" (Pred 2000: 61). Pred's focus in his book is examining the fictional re-workings of Badin's story over the years with an eye to uncovering the "real" story by pointing out the distortions that inevitably insert themselves into any retelling and connecting them with prevalent racial stereotypes. This essay examines *Maroonberget* as a piece of historical fiction that, as a deliberate political gesture, puts forward a new national narrative for Sweden. After this new narrative and its implications are described and

analyzed, Larsmo's literary strategies for getting his message across will be examined. Larsmo's novel quite logically provoked a discussion in the Swedish press in 1996, and an analysis of *Maroonberget*'s reception exposes some intriguing cultural assumptions and sheds some light on how prepared some reviewers were to accept Larsmo's imagined community and the challenge he poses to perhaps unexamined notions of Swedishness.

A good example of the narrative Larsmo seeks to challenge can be found in Marquis W. Childs' *Sweden the Middle Way*, a book about the formation of Sweden's Welfare State that first came out in 1936, although the quote that follows is from the 1947 edition. In the introduction, Childs writes:

> A homogenous people, with no racial conflicts, both the Swedes and the Norwegians are deeply rooted in ancient culture. In this atmosphere social and economic forms have evolved with far less conflict than in the rest of the world. That is the essence of the Swedish story: there has been an opportunity for evolution. This evolution has occurred through the process of compromise and adjustment. Here, too, perhaps temperament, history, tradition help to explain why it has been possible (Childs 1947: xi).

According to this narrative, Swedes share the same race, temperament, traditions, and history all the way back to ancient times. The Sami are at least one obvious victim of the amnesia required to support this particular narrative. Despite its flaws, this idea of a blond-haired, blue-eyed, homogenous Sweden has been a dominant image throughout most of the twentieth century.

This idea of a unified and homogenous Sweden carried the country through some significant political changes. Sweden was able to create its successful *Folkhem* during the 1930s, in part because of the idea that everyone in the nation lived in the same home, a notion which conjures up the idea of a family. It was acceptable for resources to be used to support members of this extended family, because everyone was related. Thus, Social Democratic politicians could argue for extensive social services and that high taxes were simply the price one paid so that everyone could enjoy a certain standard of living, free from poverty. During the last half of the twentieth century, the face of Sweden began to visibly change as immigrants entered the country to find work or to escape intolerable political situations at home. Immigrants, especially those who look different from the standard image, can be easily identified as outsiders, a threat to the reputed homogeneity of Sweden and not as clearly entitled to its resources. Inevitably, this creates ground for conflict.

In recent years, it has become common in Sweden to refer to the "myth

of homogeneity," a phrase which labels the narrative of a historically homogenous Sweden as false. Maja Hagerman has traced the roots of this myth in her book *Det rena landet. Om konsten att uppfinna sina förfäder* ['The Pure Country. On the Art of Inventing One's Ancestors'] (2006), from a reference in Tacitus through nineteeth-century romanticism culminating in the Institute for Racial Biology, founded in 1922 and active into the 1960s. Hagerman ends her book with something of a plea:

> The old narrative needs to be seriously reevaluated. But this is a real challenge in an age when a blossoming interest in history goes hand in hand with so much forgetfulness and unreflectivness. And when the power of the historical narrative is constantly underestimated. It is therefore my absolutely firm belief that if we do not tell a new story, we only have the old one left.
>
> ['Den gamla berättelsen behöver omprövas på allvar. Men det är en verklig utmaning i en tid när blomstrande historieintresse går hand i hand med så mycket glömska och aningslöshet. Och när kraften i den historiska berättelsen ständigt undervärderas. Det är nämligen min alldeles bestämda tro att om man inte berättar en ny historia så har man bara den gamla.'] (Hagerman 2006: 421.)

Ten years previous to this plea, Ola Larsmo tried to imagine a new narrative in *Maroonberget*, suggesting that Sweden has been racially diverse for centuries.

Ola Larsmo's novel *Maroonberget* contains two temporal levels. One level is set in the 1700s and follows the life of Fredrik Adolf Ludvig Gustaf Albrecht Couschi, known as Badin (1747?–1822). Badin was born a slave and, when he was quite young, he was brought from the Danish West Indies as gift for Queen Lovisa Ulrika. This temporal level of the novel takes a first-person perspective and follows Badin from his arrival as a small child at the Swedish court in the late 1750s to his life as an adult in Sweden. The narrative fiction is that Badin is telling his story to a monkey in a cage, another outsider from warmer climes, who has demanded it of him. Badin has spent the night drinking and playing chess with The Poet (undoubtedly Bellman) and tells his story through the early hours of dawn.

Badin's first memory is white: Snow falling as his ship passes Gibraltar. Gibraltar lies between Europe and Africa, a signpost of the transition the young child is about to make. Queen Lovisa Ulrika initially decides to conduct an experiment and allows Badin to be raised according to Rousseau's educational precepts, so that he may become a true child of nature. Badin merely becomes a disruptive, undisciplined child and eventually comes to share an education with Crown Prince Gustaf and his brothers. Badin finds

his niche in the royal court as the eyes and ears of the dowager queen. He creates a successful life for himself, complete with friends and a wife. His appearance certainly sets him apart in a crowd, but he becomes accustomed to people's reactions to him. On the two occasions that Badin meets other people of colour, one man and one woman, there is no particular connection established, since he is so vastly different from these two individuals in terms of temperament and life experience.

The other temporal level of the novel is set in contemporary Sweden. The first-person narrator in this case is Jimmy, a man whose mother is Swedish and whose father was an American from the Vietnam era. It is one of the subtleties of Larsmo's novel that Jimmy almost never thinks of himself as black, but the reader comes to understand this from the way Jimmy is treated by those around him. On one occasion, Jimmy's car slides off the road and a motorist slows down to ask if he needs help: "He had already pressed the button to roll down the window when he looked away from the road, in my direction, *saw* me: His mouth has half-open, in the process of asking a question" ['Han hade redan tryckt på knappen för att hissa ned sidorutan när han såg bort från vägen, åt mitt håll till, *såg* mig: munnen var halvöppen, på väg att formulera en fråga' (original emphasis).] Instead of stopping, the man drives on: "That quite familiar rage burst forth..." ['Den välbekanta vreden dök fram...'] (Larsmo 1996a: 33). Evidently, this is not the first time such a thing has happened. Early in the novel, Jimmy must fend off an attack by a skinhead in the subway. The episode illustrates how Jimmy cannot feel safe in Stockholm, his hometown, because there are those who would do him harm because of how he looks. In self-defense, Jimmy uses his camera as a weapon, strikes his attacker on the temple, and steps onto the newly arrived subway car to make his escape. This act of violence haunts Jimmy for the rest of the novel: the skinhead appears as a quiet specter, not really there, at odd moments in the narrative. The trauma of committing a violent act affects Jimmy as it might any Swede unaccustomed to violence.

When we meet Jimmy, he has just experienced a series of personal crises. His mother, who was apparently a drug-addict, has just died of cancer. While Jimmy cared for her during her last months, his marriage to Liz fell apart. Jimmy shares custody of their small son, Theo, with whom he has difficulty maintaining a close relationship. In the midst of these personal crises, Jimmy spots a statue of a black man, covered with snow, in a park. Curious, he begins to investigate the background of the statue, and his research leads him to Badin. Jimmy is a Swede, born in Sweden, speaking Swedish and with no other cultural identity, yet he is treated as an outsider. Finding Badin and other black Swedes from the same era gives him a sense of history and belonging. Black Swedes have a history that goes back hundreds of years.

The narrative swings back and forth between the two temporal levels and uncanny parallels evolve between the two characters. The death of the dowager queen and her awkward meeting with Gustaf III's son and heir on her deathbed is echoed by the death of Jimmy's own mother and a hastily arranged meeting with Theo before her death. Jimmy's search for Badin provides him with a story that includes him as part of the Swedish narrative. Similarly, Badin searches for his antecedents and discovers that his name C*ouschi*, the only scrap he retains from his early childhood, stems from the Old Testament: "I know my origins: I am son of Chuso, the King of Ethiopia, the Lion of Juda. In my beginning is my end" ['Jag känner min härkomst: jag är son av Chuso, Etiopernas Konung, Lejonet av Juda. I min början är mitt slut'] (Larsmo 1996a: 280)[2]. This narrative connecting him with the past also provides Badin with a sense of identity and self-confidence.

There are a few occasions when the reader experiences a slight confusion regarding which narrator has taken over for the moment. For example, one passage begins: "The metal of the seventeenth-century canon burned my palm; I quickly drew back my fingers" ['Sextonhundratalskanonens metall brände mot handflatan; jag drog snabbt åt mig fingrarna'] (Larsmo 1996a: 227). It is not until the fourth paragraph and a reference to tourists and melting ice cream that the reader is able to locate themselves in time and place: Jimmy has driven out to Gripsholm castle in order to see the portrait of Badin there. These echoes, as well as this blurring of the first-person identity help Larsmo weave together the important connections between personal and national presents and pasts.

That famous portrait by Gustaf Lundberg shows Badin elaborately dressed, in the company of a chessboard, holding a white knight. Joachim Schiedermair has written a detailed study of the relationship between Larsmo's novel and Lundberg's portrait, pointing especially to the recurring theme of black and white (Schiedermair 2002: 105, 112–113). The chessboard is a traditional symbol of political strategy, and Badin's role at court seems to be alluded to by the piece he holds. He was a knight in the service of the queen. Of course, chessboards are also traditionally made up of two colours: black and white. These two colours run as a leitmotif throughout the novel. The statue of the black man is covered in white snow. The chessboard upon which Badin has played with The Poet is black and white. The Poet played black, while Badin played white. The colours are easily reversed; one must simply know what role, what side to play. Jimmy is a professional photographer, and his photo negatives invert that which is black and that which is white. One might add to Schiedermair's list the monkey listening to Badin, who is both black and white, and even the bark of the emblematic Swedish birch, presented as black and white.

The black and white theme is also established in Jimmy's first scene in the novel, which takes place at the zoo, where the caged animals echo the plight of Badin's monkey-confidante on the other temporal level. Jimmy enjoys an optical illusion as he gazes at a tiger: "Two tigers, both present in the same place, if I moved my head a centimetre in one direction, the bars would show me a completely white tiger: a little in the other direction and there was a black one. *A Swedish tiger*" ['Två tigrar, bägge samtidigt närvarande på samma plats; flyttade jag huvudet någon centimeter åt ena hållet skulle gallret visa mig en helvit hanne: en bit åt andra hållet en helsvart. *En svensk tiger*'] (Larsmo 1996a: 13, original emphasis). Because of its stripes, if the bars block one color or the other, the tiger seems white or black. The tiger is both simultaneously. Jimmy extrapolates that so are Swedes: both black and white, not just homogenous. Of course, black and white tigers are not all that common outside the menagerie of Sigfried and Roy, but it was apparently important to Larsmo to yet again underline the theme of black and white.

The phrase, "a Swedish tiger" ['en svensk tiger'], invokes further associations. During World War II, there was a propaganda campaign run by the Swedish government depicting a blue and yellow tiger with the rubric "en svensk tiger." The phrase is a clever pun which means both "a Swedish tiger" and "a Swede remains silent." This was meant to discourage Swedes from speaking, especially to foreigners, about anything that might harm the strained neutrality of Sweden. It is perhaps significant that Jonas Hassen Khemiri uses the same phrase in his novel *Montecore. En unik tiger* ['Montecore. A Unique Tiger'] (2006) where it is similarly an emblem of divided identity and an admonition to remain silent about any topic that might embarrass the Swedes. Jimmy is Swedish, but wearied and saddened that many Swedes cannot accept him as such. He is caught in a paradox: as a Swede he cannot criticize Swedes for perceived racist behaviour, so he remains silent. The phrase "en svensk tiger" also alludes to the silencing of the history of people of colour in Sweden, resulting in cultural amnesia.

The play of black and white further alludes to the slave trade: "It was all very simple, a matter of just two things: black was transported in one direction, white came back" ['Det hela var mycket enkelt, handlade endast om två saker: svart förs i ena riktningen, vitt kommer tillbaka'] (Larsmo 1996a: 176, see also Schiedermair 2002: 113). Black slaves are taken to the Danish Virgin Islands: St. Tomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan. White sugar is brought back to Scandinavia. The novel hints that the marriage of Gustaf III to a Danish princess was part of a strategy to keep the sugar flowing: "One alliance among others: people are moved here and there, backwards and forwards, from square to square" ['En förbindelse bland andra: människor flyttas hit

och dit, fram och tillbaka, från ruta till ruta'] (Larsmo 1996a: 176). The white queen is used in the political chess game as well as the black pawns. Economic interests and political expediency move people from place to place and that is how a black man ends up in Sweden. In the final pages of the novel, Larsmo imagines the story that sent Badin upon his journey to Sweden, something Badin does not remember himself. His father, Andriz, is a slave and becomes involved in the murder of one of the slave bosses on the plantation, and facing certain death, urges Von Prøck to take his son with him on his return voyage to Europe. The point is, perhaps, to make note of what compels people to relocate to other nations. Andriz did not ask to be brought as a slave to the Danish West Indies and sends his son somewhere, anywhere, to escape the same intolerable fate.

By invoking Sweden's involvement with the sugar and slave trades, Larsmo acknowledges his nation's participation in the colonial enterprises of the 1700s that created enormous dislocations of people and cultures that keenly affect world politics to the present day. Even if England, Spain, France, and Portugal receive the lion's share of attention in current postcolonial discussions, Sweden was also a colonial power. Many of the most recent waves of immigrants to Sweden have been displaced because of conflicts resulting from the legacy of colonialism. Vietnam was one such conflict, so Jimmy is the offspring of several levels of colonial displacement. Presumably, Jimmy's father's ancestor was an African brought to the United States as a slave. Centuries later, Jimmy's father refuses to fight in a war in a former French colony and ends up in Sweden, which offered asylum to American draft evaders. Larsmo raises the issue of Sweden's colonial past in order to suggest that the country is not somehow specially exempt from the conditions of heterogeneity, cultural interchange, and diversity which have become the signature of modern postcolonial society.

Larsmo ties up the various temporal threads of his novel by exploring the historical rumor that Gustaf III's sister, Princess Sophia Albertina, gave birth to a son fathered by Badin. The birth takes place in all secrecy and the child is fostered into a family named, rather transparently, Swart ['Black']. Badin himself only once catches a glimpse of the boy. Jimmy is put on the track of this missing heir by a note, literally scribbled in the margins of history, in a book shown to him at Gripsholm. He makes contact with an elderly lady named Swartgren ['Black branch'], who has kept the family records. It appears that most of Swart's descendents moved north to Bjuråker parish, the same area Jimmy's mother is from. Moreover, Jimmy's blond wife, Liz, had a paternal grandmother by the name of Swart. That would make Jimmy's son, Theo, a descendent of the Swedish royal house and of Badin through his mother's side. Thus, present meets past: the Swed-

ish tiger that is both black and white and a silenced link to the past.

Instead of a narrative that reinforces prevalent binary oppositions, such as White/Black, Swede/Immigrant, Insider/Outsider, Larsmo points to a hybrid solution: We *are* They and They *are* We. This is a move in line with recent directions in postcolonial theory. As Amy Elias explains:

> Rather than taking as its aim the revelation of power relations between colonizer and colonized (or patriarchy and woman, or Self and Other) and the theorization of values inherent in that political and ideological relation, much recent postcolonial culture theory and feminist theory identifies the hybrid character of the national state or the androcentric or heterosexist standard that wants to position and imagine itself as coherent, whole, or pure (Elias 2001: 200).

Binary oppositions tend to reinforce themselves. The proposition of hybridity breaks the cycle and disrupts the implied power hierarchy. Hybridity poses the charged question of why racial purity, or homogeneity, is desirable.[3]

Larsmo might not have entirely trusted the interpretive skills of his readers, and so he felt the necessity of clarifying the point of *Maroonberget* extra-textually. He was so deliberate about his project of revising Sweden's narrative to include people of colour that he wrote about his intentions in an article in *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* ['Bonnier's Literary Magazine'] where he explicitly states that he was working to debunk the, in his view, fictional narrative about Sweden that Sweden is "the long, narrow and poor, but oh-so-diligent realm of the tow-headed" ['lintottarnas långsmala och fattiga men ack så strävsamma rike'] (Larsmo 1996b: 5). Larsmo, unavoidably, turns to history itself to provide him with the tools to create a competing narrative. During his research for the book, Larsmo found that there was "a blue man" ['en blå man'] in the army of Gustav Wasa, and a black nun named *Walska* in Vadstena during the fourteenth century (Larsmo 1996b: 5). He further points out that the majority of the Swedish army during the Thirty Years War was not Swedish, yet returned to Sweden when their service was done. They have disappeared from history, except for a trace of a Scottish tartan in a folk costume from Särna. Moreover, Larsmo found records of well over a hundred blacks living in Sweden at the time of Badin. He notes that often when one mentions Badin, he is characterized as the first black in Sweden, and claims that "[t]his statement says more about Sweden's self-image and mentality than it does about historical fact" ['[u]ttalandet säger mer om svensk självsyn och mentalitet än vad den gör om historiska fakta'] (Larsmo 1996b: 5). Larsmo alludes to the entrenched notion that Swedes have been racially homogenous throughout time, which has erased these individuals from history.

Since Larsmo's novel constitutes a challenge to a widely held narrative of Swedish homogeneity, it is illuminating to follow the reception of the novel in the Swedish press at the time of its release. Although the reviewers are all astute and observant literary critics, a few remain unaware of the implications of their discourse. Larsmo's novel was generally well received, though some critics liked it better than did others. The reviewers Bibi Friedrichsen, Lennart Bromander, and Pär Hellström state that they prefer the parts of the novel that deal with Badin to the story of Jimmy (Friedrichsen 1996: 16, Bromander 1996: S2, p. 4, Hellström 1996: 18). Pär Hellström is the only one who hints why this might be so: "the contemporary portion is a little more tired and more familiar" ['nutidspartiet är lite tröttare och mer välbekant'] (Hellström 1996: 18). This is a matter of taste, but there may be more at play here than a difference of aesthetic judgments. Hellström appears fatigued by the part of the novel that brings up issues that he can read about in the newspaper every day. One might infer that Badin's story has receded far enough into the past so that one does not need to extrapolate any moral lessons into the present and can simply enjoy the illusion of being a tourist in history. The contemporary level of the story interferes with this method of reading the book. The past becomes the present.

Many more reviewers embraced the opportunity to talk about Sweden's problems with racism. Dan Jönsson writes: "The racism of today naturally has its roots in a long history of disdain" ['Rasismen av idag har naturligtvis sin botten i en lång föraktets historia'] (Jönsson 1996: 4). Jönsson suggests here that Sweden has a long history of hostility towards outsiders; however, this does not seem to be Larsmo's point in the novel. The racism in the Sweden of Badin's day is more a curiosity about difference than it is hostility. Badin is not despised, even if he seems unusual to the court. Badin is occasionally treated rudely, as when Wadström asks to check his teeth, but that occurs in a moment of thoughtless ignorance. Badin does not meekly submit, but instead, bites his hand and receives an apology. Edvard Matz claims in his article on Badin, "[p]eople of colour from other parts of the world were greeted by eighteenth-century people with astonishment and curiosity, but not with animosity and suspicion" ['[f]ärgade personer från andra världsdelar möttes av 1700-talets människor med häpnad och nyfikenhet men inte med fiendskap och misstänksamhet'] (Matz 1996: 34). Jimmy, on the contrary, is clearly a victim of hostile racism, hence, Larsmo is presenting the racism existing in Sweden today as something belonging to the current day without such a long history. This is a view at odds with not only Jönsson's claim, but also similar points made by Pred and Hagerman, who both argue for a long history of racism in Sweden. The veracity of Larsmo's stance may be disputed, but Larsmo's rhetorical point is that if hostile rac-

ism has not always existed in Sweden, then it does not have to exist now.

Gun Zanton-Ericsson notes in her review of Larsmo's novel, "[a]lienation and xenophobia is a theme in our day. Oddly enough, we need to be reminded again and again that immigration has roots extending far back in time" ['[f]rämlingskap och främlingsrädsla är ett tema i tiden. Konstigt nog behöver vi åter och åter påminnas om att invandringen har rötter långt bak i tiden'] (Zanton-Ericsson 1996: A4). As this reviewer has noted, Larsmo is deliberately reminding his audience foreigners have made their way to Sweden for centuries and been accepted and assimilated into the population. Zanton-Ericsson's "oddly enough" is an ironic pointer to the resistance many Swedes may feel to this narrative: they, oddly, need to be reminded again and again. Resistance to facts outside the accepted narrative leads to selective historical amnesia. It further indicates that Zanton-Ericsson has heard the argument before, indicating that Larsmo is not the first to stake this claim. Along the same lines, Karin Månsson observes that Larsmo "taught us that black people have a history in Sweden" ['lärde oss att svarta människor har en historia i Sverige'] (Månsson 1997: 4). Magnus Ringgren goes even further to state: "Blacks have always existed in Sweden" ['De svarta har alltid funnits i Sverige'] (Ringgren 1996: 280). Historical memory can be short, and many Swedes have perceived the phenomenon of immigration as new, originating sometime in the 1960s. Both these remarks hint that Larsmo has entered an ongoing and pertinent cultural debate in which the Swedish historical narrative, and consequently the nation's self-image, is being revised. Christina Rosenqvist states quite plainly about Larsmo's novel: "The novel is about Sweden is crisis, about our self-understanding in crisis" ['Romanen handlar om Sverige i kris, om vår självförståelse i kris'] (Rosenqvist 1996: 12). This historical novel is not only about the search of two characters, Badin and Jimmy, for a sense of identity, but about Sweden's identity as well. Larsmo's strategy is to go back into history to show that Sweden has not always been so homogenous. Sweden has absorbed foreigners before with no harm done to its national identity. If there were black Swedes in the 1700s, why shouldn't there be black Swedes now? They married into the family centuries ago.

Some reviews of the book show signs of resistance to this new idea. Stefan Eklund makes the mistake Larsmo warns against, writing: "Badin kan, in short, be seen as our first coloured immigrant" ['Badin kan, förenklat, uppfattas som vår förste färgade invandrare'] (Eklund 1996: 5). Larsmo claimed that this sort of statement says more about Swedish self-perception, than about history. It represents an inherent denial that blacks were a part of Swedish society more than 250 years ago. Acknowledging their existence would contradict the myth of homogeneity that some may still hold dear.

Repeating and thereby reinforcing this statement is even more remarkable, given that Larsmo presents other black contemporaries of Badin in the novel itself. Despite a certain cautious phrasing ("can, in short, be seen"), Eklund has read past the detail of Badin's black compatriots in order to make this claim.

Badin is referred to by Crister Enander as "our country's, in a class of his own, most famous Negro" ['vårt lands i särklass mest kände neger'] (Enander 1996: 4). Word choice can be a touchy issue when discussing issues of race, and translating these terms, because of layers of cultural issues, is difficult. Throughout the reviews in general, even if the word "Negro" ['neger'] is used in conjunction with Badin – it would have been the word used in the eighteenth century – it is not used in conjunction with Jimmy. Even though Enander's choice of words is historically correct, the phrase as a whole is unsettling, and if it is irony it is misplaced. Referring to Badin as "our country's Negro" ['vårt lands neger'], despite perhaps the best intentions of claiming him "as one of our own," brings up associations with ownership and slavery, from which Badin was freed by Lovisa Ulrika, not to mention issues of tokenism.

Lennart Bromander is another reviewer who seems to resist the idea that blacks have lived in Sweden for centuries: "There were immigrants in Sweden even in the eighteenth century, but generally they had the same skin colour as the Swedes" ['Även på 1700-talet fanns det invandrare i Sverige, men de hade i allmänhet samma hudfärg som de svenske'] (Bromander 1996: 4). Larsmo's novel seeks to dislodge just this assumption. Bromander seems reluctant to give up on the idea that Sweden has been a white country throughout its history. His comment points to a certain confusion regarding whether "Swedish" is a cultural category or a racial category. Is being Swedish synonymous with being Caucasian, or does it imply a certain set of cultural values? There is a degree of awkwardness among several reviewers regarding how to describe Jimmy. He is "a black Swede" ['en svart svensk'] or "a Swede with brown skin" ['en svensk med brun hud'] (Rosenqvist 1996: 12, Mallik 1996: 9). The title of the present essay borrows the phrase "black Swedes" from one reviewer, in part to provoke[4]. Because the widely accepted norm of Swedishness includes white skin, a black Swede constitutes an immediate challenge to that idea. Jimmy himself is such a challenge to that notion. Two reviewers refer to Jimmy as "the nigger" ['blatten'], and each time the word is presented in quotation marks to signal that the reviewers themselves are not using the term, but quoting from Larsmo's text (Peterson 1996: B2 and Zanton-Ericsson 1996: A4). To invoke the existence of such a slur is to draw attention to the racial tensions in contemporary Sweden and, no doubt, this is the reviewers' purpose. This word occurs only once in

the novel, and it is Jimmy who thinks it as a woman he is speaking to lets her sentence trail off: "Oh, then it is you who is [...] she interrupted herself. *The Negro boy? The nigger?* It would have been interesting to hear the word choice" ['Med då är det ju du som är [...] hon avbröt sig. *Negerungen? Blatten?* Det skulle vara intressant att höra ordvalet'] (Larsmo 1996a: 98, original emphasis). It is something Jimmy expects to be called, but is not. Lennart Bromander refers to Jimmy as "Swedish but half-blood" ['svensk men halvblod'] (Bromander 1996: 4). This phrase is more problematic than the other designations for Jimmy. A black Swede can be construed as a special type of Swede, but still a Swede. "Half-blood" seems a much more biological, racial term. Bromander's choice of words implies that being Swedish means being of a certain race.

The distinction between race and culture is significant. *Maroonberget* does not actually address issues of cultural diversity. Badin is so young when he comes to the Swedish court that he has no memory of the island he came from. He is raised as a Swede and a member of the Swedish royal court. Class, more than any other issue, seems to separate him from the two other blacks he encounters. He perceives Duke Karls' coachman to be a coarse drunkard, and Daphne, rechristened Fredrika, is a terrified and abused maid in a minister's house. Correspondingly, Jimmy does not represent a different culture from the dominant Swedish culture. He has been raised in Sweden by a Swede. His father has been absent and has exerted no cultural influence upon him. He has immigrated from nowhere – has, in fact, not immigrated at all. The only thing that sets him apart is the colour of this skin. As Nils Schwartz writes, "Jimmy is born and raised in Sweden, but is still made to feel that his right to be there is questioned" ['Jimmy är född och uppvuxen i Sverige, men får ändå erfara att hans närvarorätt blir ifrågasatt'] (Schwartz 1996: 4). Jimmy's problems feeling at home in Sweden are racial, not cultural.

Even so, a number of reviewers reference Sweden's new multicultural reality, indicating that the issues of race and culture are connected, if not confused, in some minds (Mallik 1996: 9, Schwartz 1996: 4, Zanton-Ericsson 1996: A4). The exact term is "many-cultured" ['mångkulturell'], although "multicultural" ['multikulturell'] did appear once (Mallik 1996: 9). The scholar Robert J. C. Young notes some of the hazards of the discourse of multiculturalism:

> [T]he doctrine of multiculturalism encourages different groups to reify their individual and different identities at their most different, thus, according to Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, encouraging extremist groups, who become "representative" because they have the most clearly discernibly different identity. (Young 1995: 5.)[5]

Discussions of multiculturalism throughout the world tend to reference the most distinct cultural groups in a population, thus overlooking those individuals who are, in a sense, cultural hybrids who have embraced aspects of the dominant culture to which they have been introduced. If such "extremist groups" are constantly in focus, they can be perceived as a threat to the dominant culture. Thus, a term like "multiculturalism" that is meant to be inclusive can, in some cases, end up reinforcing notions of cultural purity.

Another term used in the reviews, however, was "flerkulturell," meaning individuals who feel part of more than one culture: Swedish-Americans, for example (Mallik 1996: 9). Hyphenated identities are common in the United States, but it seems a new concept transplanted to Swedish soil. (Can one speak of an American-Swede?) Rather than enriching the cultural tapestry, such split identities can seem merely confusing (are you a Swede or aren't you?), or, at worst, stigmatizing. These meditations on cultural identity are part of the ongoing negotiations about Sweden's national narrative. It is moderately curious to find such frequent mention of multiculturalism in the reviews of a book that is not about multiculturalism. Although multiculturalism is clearly a pressing issue in modern Sweden, in this context, it may be employed as a substitute for the more sensitive issue of race.

For individuals as well as nations, tracing our story into the past endows us with a feeling of identity and community. The historical Badin was quite the bookworm, leaving behind him a considerable library, consisting in large part of travel literature. He too attempted to trace his ancestry, to provide himself with a narrative of his past that extended beyond his arrival in Sweden. According to Fredrik Adoph Ludvig Gustaf Albrecht Couschi's (Badin's) diary notations, Nimrod was also a Couschi (the son of Chuso, the king of the Ethiopians), the grandson of Ham, Noah's son and the first founder of cities after the flood. He succeeded in linking his own story with that of the founders of Western civilization and Judeo-Christian values (Larsmo 1996b: 8). The historical Badin may have been driven to find for himself a sense of belonging, just as Larsmo's fictional character Jimmy. The real Badin found Nimrod; Jimmy finds Badin.

This simply illustrates the power that narratives of the past have to grant both a sense of identity and belonging. But what about the issue of truth? Don't such narratives have to be true to function? Marie Peterson is rather disturbed by the lack of absolute proof for the narratives of Jimmy and Badin:

> He [Larsmo] lets Jimmy and Badin look for a starting point and they cross each other's paths. They are looking for answers in the past, but they choose the wrong information. Both have an important piece of the

> puzzle that they do not understand the significance of, they misinterpret it and choose therefore the 'wrong' story. The question is whether the sense of a 'true' identity then becomes more or less valuable
>
> ['Han [Larsmo] låter Jimmy och Badin söka en begynnelsepunkt och de korsar varandras spår. De letar efter svar i det förflutna men de väljer fel information. Båda har en viktig pusselbit som de inte förstår innebörden av, de feltolkar och väljer då också 'fel' historia. Frågan är om känslan av en 'sann' identitet då blir mindre eller mindre värd'] (Peterson 1996: A4).

Although there is no proof of Badin's connection to Nimrod, nor Jimmy's connection to Badin, it is perhaps going too far to say that their chosen narratives are "wrong." Peterson's utterance is somewhat perplexing since it implies a "correct" narrative that has been missed through faulty interpretive skills, though such a thing is not suggested in Larsmo's text. Nonetheless, the issue of truth is a central one. Badin and Jimmy are convinced of the connection because they want to be; the reverse is possibly true of the reviewer: neither story seems true or convincing to her.

To possess power such narratives of identity need not necessarily be true, but they must feel true. If an entire group is to subscribe to a narrative, this is especially the case. Contradictions to the accepted narrative disappear, are forgotten, or are consigned to the marginalia of history. Larsmo claims that this is what has happened to the blacks in Swedish history, and his article in *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* is where he marshals the facts of his historical research, the traditional tools in such historical negotiations. More importantly, perhaps, Larsmo seeks to persuade his Swedish audience of their historical heterogeneity through his novel by telling the story of Jimmy and Badin. Undermining the myth of homogeneity was a significant political gesture in the tense racial climate of Sweden in the mid-nineties. The reception of the novel demonstrates a mixed reaction to Larsmo's tale of Swedish heterogeneity, and it is clear that the myth of homogeneity still informed some of the reviews of Larsmo's novel in 1996. Just as it is important not to silence the history of people of colour in Sweden, it is similarly important not to pass over in silence the remnants of the myth of homogeneity.

NOTES

[1] The translations in this article from Swedish to English are all mine.

[2] This is one area in which Allan Pred takes Ola Larsmo to task for "distorting" Badin's tale, since this epiphany about his destiny is said by Larsmo to have been sparked by Fourmont Lécine's *Reflexions sur l'origine des peuples ancienne*, whereas Pred claims the

insight came from a story told to Badin by a black Caribbean (Pred 2004: 61–63). Pred seems to think that Larsmo should have given the black man the credit, rather than the European.

[3] I would refer the reader to Robert J. C. Young's book, *Colonial Desire. Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (1995), for an account of just how charged, and revealing, the term *hybrid* can be.

[4] I have borrowed from the title of Tommy Bengtsson's (1996) "Vem skriver historien om de svarta svenskarna?" ['Who Is Writing the History of the Black Swedes?'], *LO-Tidningen* , 75, 37, p. 14. The question, "Whatever happened to the black Swedes?," invokes the process of cultural and historical amnesia.

[5] Young refers to the discussion in Floya Anthias & Nira Yuval-Davis' book, *Racialized Boundaries* (1992), p. 175.

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Miscellanea: Notes/Notizen

Conference report
Arctic Discourses 2008

The project "Arctic Discourses," based in the Faculty of Humanities, University of Tromsø focuses on investigations of fictional texts, historical and scientific documents and travelogues from the mid nineteenth century to the present day. *Arctic Discourses* was also the name of the conference held February 21–23 at the University of Tromsø, arranged by the project coordinators Anka Ryall, Johan Schimanski and Henning Howlid Waerp, and the project's foci were clearly visible despite very varied papers. Around sixty presentations were held in parallel sessions and there were also three keynote addresses: Lisa Bloom (University of San Diego, California) presented her thoughts on her 1993 work *Gender on Ice* in connection with Isaac Julien's recent artwork *True North*, Tim Youngs (Nottingham Trent University) addressed issues relating to both stories and science in connection with a 1937 Soviet expedition to the Arctic and Wendy S. Mercer (University College London) presented her analysis of a subgenre within nineteenth-century French prose fiction in which the Arctic is a recurring element.

The international conference featured participants from Norway, Denmark, Sweden, UK, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Romania, Italy, Russia, Canada and USA. The participants represented such diverse departments as art and art history, music history, literature studies, linguistics and history. In addition to representing geographical diversity and varied theoretical perspectives, the participants' different primary sources and use of different media emphasised the interdisciplinary nature of the conference. Many papers placed strong emphasis on the gendering of the Arctic and on the masculinities displayed in many texts about the area. Other sessions focused on particular Arctic areas such as Spitsbergen and both outside and inside perspectives were presented. How Arctic exploration is used in fiction was another topic addressed by several speakers, and there was also an emphasis on how the northern experience has been dealt with on a semantic level as well as in art, music and film. In addition, topics relating to both scientific discourses and past and contemporary politics connected to the area were examined. The discourses of the Arctic were thus analysed from a variety of different perspectives illustrating the diversity both of the field of study and the scholarly approaches to it.

Apart from research-related activities and the establishment of fruitful contacts for future collaborations, the participants were invited to several events related to the Arctic. Among these were the inauguration of an exhibition of Arctic maps and other documents at the University Library, a reception at the Sami building, Árdna, with excellent jojking by Ánde Somby

from the Faculty of Law, a reception at the Polar Museum, and other very well organised get-togethers.

Maria Lindgren Leavenworth & Maria Helena Svensson
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Conference announcements and Calls for papers

SCAR/IASC Open Science Conference Polar Research – Arctic and Antarctic Perspectives in the International Polar Year St. Petersburg, Russia July 8–11, 2008

The conference is organised by the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR) and the International Arctic Science Committee (IASC). The conference includes a large number of sessions within both the natural sciences and Social Science and the Humanities. The overarching session themes are based on the research themes of the International Polar Year: Status and Change, Polar/Global Linkages, A Sense of Discovery, The Poles as a Vantage Point for Observations and People and Resources at the Poles.

The conference will be held in conjunction with SCAR meetings, including science business sessions (5–7 July) and delegates' Meetings (14–16 July in Moscow).

For further information: Alexander Klepikov, klep@aari.nw.ru, or Julia Raiskaya, scar-iasc-ipy2008@onlinereg.ru

Website: www.scar-iasc-ipy2008.org

Canada and Northern Diversities University of Tromsø, Tromsø, Norway August 6–9, 2008

This is the 9th triennial Conference of the Nordic Association for Canadian Studies (NACS/ANEC), organised in collaboration with the Centre for Sami Studies. The Conference will explore questions relating to both traditional and current aspects and themes of society and culture in Canada across a wide range of disciplines and approaches. It is open to scholars in any relevant discipline, and explicitly aims to promote interdisciplinary dialogue.

The conference themes include but are not limited to the following: Northern security, Northern arts, Aboriginal issues, citizenship and charters, environmental and Arctic issues, narratives of Norths, travel and tourism, fisheries, Canadian film, constitutional issues.

For further information: nacstromsoe@hum.au.dk.

Website: www.hum.au.dk/nacs

Polar Tourism: A Tool For Regional Development
Kangiqsujuaq, Northern Quebec, Canada August 21–25, 2008

The objective of this IPY conference is to discuss research, trends, and industry developments in the field of polar tourism. It will also provide an opportunity to strengthen ties among polar tourism research specialists, tourism operators, and other individuals with an interest in tourism in the Polar Regions.

The conference invites both paper-sessions and poster sessions, as well as informal presentations like roundtable discussions of selected themes. The themes in focus are: Development of the tourism industry, Wildlife and plants, Education and research, Touristic experience, Safety and management, Operators' and residents' views and needs.

For further information: polartourism@uqam.ca
Website: www.polartourismnetwork.uqam.ca

ICASS VI: Sixth International Congress of Arctic Social Sciences
Nuuk, Greenland August 22–26, 2008

The ICASS VI conference is organised by the International Arctic Social Sciences Association (IASSA) and will be one of the major gatherings for researchers within the Humanities and Social Sciences in the International Polar Year. The conference is divided into twelve thematic sessions: Sustainability & Climate Change, Economic Development, Politics, Justice & Governance, Living Conditions, Language, Literature & Media, Culture, Religion, History & Science, Health, Material Culture & Archaeology, Outreach & Education, Inclusive Research and the IPY day. Under each thematic session, there are a number of sub-sessions and workshops on different research problems. There will also be a number of cultural events during the conference.

Most of the sessions and workshops will take place at a new University campus called Ilimmarfik, while plenary sessions and other activities will take place elsewhere in Nuuk.

For further information: jack@adm.uni.gl
Website: www.iassa.gl

The Cold War in the Arctic
Pomor State University, Archangelsk, Russia
September 12–14, 2008

The aim of this conference is to bring together scholars from Russia and elsewhere to discuss different aspects of the Cold War in Northern areas. The conference themes are: theoretical problems in Cold War international policy, international relations during the Cold War, the arms and space races and their influence on technology and the environment, the lessons of Cold War history.

It is the intent of conference organizers to publish the final versions of the

papers. The conference will be held at the Pomor State University and on board the historic steamer Gogol (built in 1911) on the Northern Dvina river.

For further information: Mikhail Suprun: vma@pomorsu.ru

Seeking Balance in a Changing North: The Fifth NRF Open Assembly Anchorage, Alaska September 24–27, 2008

This conference is organised by the Northern Research Forum (NRF), in cooperation with the Office of the Governor of Alaska, Office of the Mayor of Anchorage, US Arctic Research Commission, Inuit Circumpolar Council, Institute of the North, University of Alaska Anchorage, Alaska Native Science Commission, The Northern Forum, Chickaloon Village Traditional Council, Anchorage Museum of History and Art, Cinza Research, and the Anchorage Convention & Visitors Bureau.

The conference focuses on four themes: The future of Northern cooperation, The new Geography of a warming North, The accessible Arctic in the global Economy and Leadership in the age of uncertainty. Under each theme, there are a number of sub-sessions dealing with various related research and policy problems.

Deadlines: Funding application for Young Researchers: May 15, 2008. Position papers: June 15. Early-bird registration: August 15, 2008

For more information: Cheryl Wright, ancjw@uaa.alaska.edu

Website: www.nrf.is/Open%20Meetings/Anchorage/Anchorage_2008.htm

Exploring Domestic Spaces in the Circumpolar North Tromsø Museum, Tromsø, Norway October 2–4, 2008

This conference will explore the way that indigenous people create homes and homelands for themselves in the circumpolar north. The conference will deal with three different themes: Enskillment, Environmental Markers of Households and Inscription of Circumpolar Populations. The conference includes a number of public lectures by specialists on the cosmology and archaeology of circumpolar dwellings, as well as the historical dynamics of households.

For further information: www.sami.uit.no/boreas/conference.html

Human Dimensions in the Circumpolar Arctic: An Interdisciplinary Conference under the Auspices of the International Polar Year Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden October 8–10, 2008

The conference Human Dimensions in the Circumpolar Arctic will pay particular attention to human life and conditions in the circumpolar Arctic in the

past, present and future. The conference has five themes: Indigenous peoples, Gender Dimensions, Culture and Science, Resources and Climate and Health and Welfare.

Deadline for abstracts was May 1 2008 and 130 abstracts have now been received. The preliminary program consists of four keynote lectures, one closing plenary session on policy issues and 50 parallel sessions (three papers in each session) with social arrangements in between.

The cultural program will include an exhibition on the history of the Swedish IPY-expeditions, a map exhibition, film showings, poetry readings, and the first performance in Sweden of the Icelandic composer Þorkell Sigurbjörnsson's "Pianó Stemmur " ['Works for piano'] by dr. Kristin Jónina Taylor.

In July a final version of the preliminary programme will be added to the Conference website.

For further information: Pär Eliasson, par.eliasson@idehist.umu.se
Website: www.umea-congress.se/polar2008.html

16th Inuit Studies Conference: Imagining Inuit Imagining
St. John's College, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada
23–25 October 2008

The conference theme refers to investigations of Inuit culture that mark the place of Inuit within the western imagination (imagining Inuit); discussion and reflection on Inuit imaginative productions (Inuit imaginings); and examination of the place of Inuit imagination in Qallunaat constructions or the way in which Inuit imagination is imagined (imagining Inuit imagining).

For further information: Chris Trott, trottcg@cc.umanitoba.ca, or Peter Kulchyski kulchysk@cc.umanitoba.ca
Website: http://calendar.arcus.org

Maps, Myths and Narratives: Cartography of the Far North
Royal Library, Historical centre, Copenhagen, Denmark
July 12–17, 2009

The International Conference on the History of Cartography (the 3rd) is a scholarly conference dedicated to advancing knowledge of the history of cartography, of maps and mapmaking. The conference promotes global cooperation among scholars (from any academic discipline), curators, collectors, dealers and institutions through illustrated talks, poster presentations, exhibitions, and a social program.

The conference will deal with the following themes: Cartography of the Arctic, North Atlantic and Scandinavian regions, Cross-cultural cartographies, Mapping mythical and imaginary places, Maps and the written word.

For further information: congress@bdp.dk
Website: www.ichc2009.dk

Reviews / Comptes rendus / Besprechungen

Kerry M. Abel, *Changing Places. History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario*, Montreal; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press 2006, ISBN 9780773530386, xxiv + 519 pp.

> Before a community can be built it has to be imagined (362).
>
> [T]here is much about this specific community that is unique. Historical accident and coincidence, the particular and complex interactions of specific individuals, and the unanticipated consequences of choices and actions are equally important factors [in understanding community] – and they are not easily accommodated by the practices of modern social science (415).

Changing Places. History, Community, and Identity in Northeastern Ontario contends that micro-examination of a northern-resource economy setting can tell us much about the broader *process* of imagining and construction of community. Sometimes contentious; full of fascinating minutia; never pretentious or pedantic, Kerry Abel provides a discussion of the "Porcupine" of Northeastern Ontario that is at once sweeping and highly focused. Her topic range verges on the extraordinary – from community theory to "blind pigs"; from insights upon community development and identity to comments on individuals involved in community-making in the Porcupine. Abel blends tiny detail with broad generalization with a confident hand, producing a book that offers academics insights into identity, community development, history as process and more. Better yet, Abel is no "ivory tower" specialist – in an admirable tactic, she offers advice for those interested only in their backyard :

> Readers interested in local history itself should find the stories they seek in chapters 1 to 12. [...] If you don't like theory, you have been warned – skip ahead to chapter 1! (xiii).

Abel need not have been so self-deprecating – even casual readers could easily absorb a clear yet wide-ranging discussion of community structure. She ranges from Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* through Durkheim, Marx, Geertz and more. The comments are clear; the range impressive, including modern notions of postmodernism. The theory prepares readers for the ideas that follow – both those seeking sophisticated argument and those who want to know "what happened" will be well served in the pages that follow. Moreover, she argues, the *local* can inform the general. She insists that the Porcupine should be better known, both because the region *deserves* it – she notes its many links to broader circumstance – but also as a laboratory to test community development and identity theory (xxii–xxiii).

In terms of theoretical approach, Abel explains that *process* is the most useful explanatory tool – she develops a case outlining the limits of structural

analysis – whereby the people of the Porcupine "come to define themselves as participants in a select group with a shared sense of identity, entitlement and legitimacy" (xxi). Getting there was a process – Abel writes that people "had begun to construct a community based on imagined ideals to provide a new human space for the people they were becoming" (396). To trace the process, she tracks many historical themes and person: business, institutions, early settlers, local heroes and villains, outside influences all come under her scrutiny. She captures the hope and despair; the dreams and failures of early settlement; within these pages one finds the idealist, pragmatist and those who are simply hanging on. General trends – demographic and economic – dance an informative dance in C*hanging Places* with their partners – the particular (disastrous fires) and the quirky (Finnish women who ran *koira torppa* ['bootlegging operations']).

Abel presents this blend in three parts – Part One provides a sense of place in a blend of physical and historical development. History begins with geography – people have to deal with, and imagine the lands around them. Her work provides an extremely readable and evocative discussion of the place where many a book would provide a rather mundane litany of plants, animals and geology. A compelling tale of place is no accident – her argument that the Porcupine has unique qualities requires this basis upon which to build.

Part Two delves into society – from ethnicity to workplace to politics and playing. There is much to take in – detail abounds as do ideas. One point to applaud is Abel's emphasis on the skill of the miners. Working in difficult, dangerous circumstances, historians too often accept the elite business view of miners as labourers – here, their multifaceted skills, and the implications of the same, draw important recognition (136). Abel does seem to envision pulp cutters as more standard labour – from personal experience, cutting trees with handsaws was more than sweat. More understandably, there are issues that elude even the most careful researcher – unrest among local workers was ill-recorded, thus historians can only provide fleeting glimpses of union activity in areas in mining prior to 1940. That said, wherever possible, C*hanging Places* travels surefootedly through the region's economic settings, even noting the surprisingly important role of wild blueberries sales for local folk. The careful coverage continues into discussion of "Play," "Society," and "Politics." One might quibble at arbitrary divisions (play and politics would seem part of society ?); still, Abel's thoroughgoing coverage of regional society's varied elements provide the fodder for a thoughtful and informed discussion.

Among the most insightful elements are an emphasis on complexity and how those multiple characteristics pulled people apart *and* together – hence chapters on centrifugal and centripetal forces. For instance, transiency is a well known theme in resource centres; Abel shows that those who stayed shared an increased sense of belonging. Similarly, a reputation for lawlessness was turned around as disparate individuals came together to proclaim the merits of the community. Such processes resulted in a blending of identities that catalyzed into community.

This third portion of C*hanging Places* blends Abel's impressive knowledge base with her subtle take on community as a concept. She does not force her findings into some convenient box. Instead, she insists that, what-

ever the explanatory power of community as structure, the idea is ultimately both ahistorical and diminishing of individual differences. She meticulously constructs a regional history in support of the concept that identity and community are processes. Moreover, these are multiple processes – she builds a convincing case for identity as imagined and real; individual and overlapping; linked to specific social groups and shared by everyone.

In building this useful argument, one might read with a bit of caution; Abel has fond personal memories of the Porcupine and she sometimes elevates its people to near-exalted status. The sheer volume of detail allows mention of many individual achievements (and comparatively fewer failings). Moreover, she sometimes celebrates circumstances that might well be perceived in other ways. For instance, while cognizant of the hard life and work facing resource workers, she still provides what some might see as a romanticized vision. Summing up fur trade life, Abel writes :

> The freedom, camaraderie, adventure, and opportunity for personal advancement clearly compensated for the hardships and occasional tragedies. It was a pattern that would be repeated in the twentieth-century resource-extraction economy (29).

Perhaps that was true for a few, but Abel's own evidence in "Work" (chapter 6) leaves little doubt that life was hard, compensations limited and advancement infrequent.

Upbeat visions of the Porcupine reflect the optimism of northern settlers. Of special interest to this journal, one theme emphasized by Abel is that the local population shared a growing belief in "being northern." As she sees it, the "idea of North provided a set of symbols that all could share" (379). That said, as in so many works, Abel hesitates to define "northern" – in *Changing Places*, northernness is a given, a shared experience of being both superior to the South and an "other" (from the perspective of the South). Essentially imagined at first, Northernness became more real by issues of power – economic, political, institutional – and through culture, demographics, and environment. Local citizens thus faced "a difficult balancing act to accept southern values but not southern judgements of the North" (96). To cite but one example, the Northerners depicted by Abel saw resources used as good resources.

Apart from information on northern life on the resource frontier, *Changing Places* also has much else to offer. Women's roles are given significant attention (a major accomplishment given the historical resources). This discussion is especially welcome because the literature on northern – resource communities often focuses on their masculine character. Abel does not ignore that side of the issue – themes of risk, virility and toil get considerable attention – but she rightly points out that for much of the regional community, women played important and at times important or controversial roles. On the economic front, business practices are given close attention; similarly, historians of immigration and ethnicity will find both abundant data and conceptual insights.

Importantly, this work is *not* just a celebration – the book reveals many societal tensions, individual tragedies, and the many ways in which com-

munity and identity building has negative building blocks. Thus massive and tragic fires, such as the one in 1911, become "symbolic centrepiece[s]" of an emerging sense of community (60). Similarly, conflict and consensus "tripped around one another in a [...] clumsy dance" (298). To cite one major theme, Abel does well in covering the varying status and fortunes of the area's First Nations. From original peoples, to partners in fur, to peoples shunted aside, to populations either ignored, abused (she reveals Treaty abuses (280)) or stereotyped – *Changing Places* does well including the history of peoples excluded by many members of Porcupine society. Communities, combining the real and the imagined, did not find room for everyone: as Abel writes : "Who was excluded is just as important as who was included" (xii). The examination of the excluded and the bad times is a strength of Abel's work – after all, the divisions, disasters, and racism dealt with in the book were the stuff of life.

Not surprisingly, having taken on so multifaceted a task, there are moments where Abel is on shaky ground. As noted, one would like a clearer statement on some concepts, like "northern-ness." And a more compelling argument might be presented for the terminal date of the study – while new processes were underway as mines closed and populations aged, surely change is at the heart of her whole study. One might speculate that the sheer volume of the effort made moving beyond the 1950s too daunting a task. Fair enough – but in the same spirit of honesty that suggested some might "skip the theory", just saying "that's as far as I'm going" would be welcome. On another tack, the need to follow process "necessitates" a degree of chronological inconsistency and repetition – one hears about fires, "blind pigs" and various other events, locations and "players" in various chapters. Understandable, but the book thereby flirts with repetitiveness.

Meanwhile, nitpickers are sure to find errors of fact or point to weaknesses in sources – Abel's broad approach invites (makes inevitable?) minor errors. To cite one issue with sourcing, Abel's analysis of the institutions and social divides of local Finns relies rather heavily upon Yrjö Raivio's *Kanadan Suomalaisen Historia*. While Pastor Raivio's work is earnest and well-intended (and certainly data-filled), I recall him as an enthusiastic amateur historian but also a quite conservative one. Raivio saw all labour organizations as leftist. Similarly, only "church" Finns and the conservative members of the *Kansalliseura* drew Raivio's praise. Little wonder, then, that Porcupine's Finns come across as radicals, agitators and more – with an equally definitive split between right and left wings. This interpretation, which reappears regularly in Canadian histories, overlooks the many pragmatic Finns who supported institutions for their practical benefits and the opportunity to socialize in a familiar language.

On more trivial grounds, the sheer breadth of the book leaves a scattering of very minor errors. To stay with the Finns, *Vapaa Sana* was not a newspaper for the "Loyal Finnish Organization" (261) – indeed in the 1930s, conservative Finns would have rejected the paper's essentially Social Democratic stance. Nor did the right wing Loyal Finns rename their group the "Finnish Organization of Canada" – the latter was the name of a bigger institution headed by left-wing Finnish Canadians. Abel earlier got that name

wrong, calling the Finnish Organization of Canada (its English name) the "Finnish Canadian Organization" (188). Dates, too, are sometimes slightly skewed – the Whitefish Lake post is reported to have started operations in 1827; it really began in 1824 (31). One could go on, but to emphasize trivial matters is unfair given the breadth of coverage.

One might be a bit more critical about some presentation issues, which may reflect publishing costs as much as the author. If the book is to have its fullest impact on readers outside northeastern Ontario, it cries out for more and better maps. For instance, early discussion of early settlements mentions many locations – only someone *very* familiar with the region can readily imagine the location of each site (55). The index, meanwhile, is incomplete – a random search for items found gaps. Both the Whitefish Lake Post and the Western Federation of Miners get several textual references; neither is in the index. Surely the latter, at least, deserves to be therein. More importantly, the many and varied citations are, to my mind, rather abbreviated – at least a few more explanatory notes would not go amiss. And, especially for early parts of the book, broad discussion such as the First Nations pre-contact and fur trade roles were supported by relatively light citations. Similarly, a sweeping discussion of immigrant arrival and evolving ethnic roles is unsupported by quotations (108–110). To be fair, Abel's arguments in this context are quite standard, and she continues with far more precise, local and heavily supported discussions, but one might wonder if the broad introductions lack the long, complex notes commonly found in order to keep the book within a certain page limit ? On the positive side, the Notes and Bibliography provide eloquent testimony for Abel's commitment to what had started as a much smaller project (xxiii).

Nevertheless, Kerry Abel has provided a thoughtful and fact filled study of interest to local historians and those with broader interests. To serve both groups is no small accomplishment – C*hanging Places* provides a splendid example of multipurpose history. This sweeping coverage, clearly written and evocatively argued, is history for the expert and the novice. Scholars interested in immigration, resource economies, community building and, not least, the North, will find the work well worth their time. Northerners, for their part, will find much to think about – while folk in the Porcupine learn about their heritage. Abel reveals "people [who] had begun to construct a community based on imagined ideals to provide a new human space for the people they were *becoming*" (my emphasis). Process – the flux of history – thus is emphasized as the key element in community building.

In her Preface, Abel reveals that the region "retains its magic for me" (xxiv). That magic surely aided her prodigious toils and careful considerations of the rise and evolution of the Porcupine. Curious "locals" and anyone interested in northern communities, community and identity building and much more can find value in *Changing Places*. In providing such service and revealing much about the region Abel shares some of the "magic."

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Johan Fornäs & Martin Fredriksson eds., *Inter. A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden 11–13 June 2007*, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press 2007, ISSN (print) 16503686, ISSN (online) 16503740, 732 pp.

Inter. A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden took place in Norrköping, Sweden, 11–13 June, 2007. The conference was organised by the Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden (ACSIS), which is the Swedish national centre for interdisciplinary and transnational networking in the research field of cultural studies. It was the second large conference for all areas and branches of cultural studies arranged in Sweden. As opposed to the first conference in 2005 which was a national one, the one in 2007 had a broader European scope, and therefore the European branch of the international Association for Cultural Studies (ACS) cooperated in the event.

The purpose of the keyword "inter" was to summarise challenges and opportunities for cultural studies with regard to spatial internationalisation, temporal interepochality and organisational interdisciplinarity. Three major areas in need of further investigation are mentioned particularly in Johan Fornäs' preface to the proceedings . These are the role of the European project for cultural identity and cultural research, the changing role and position of culture and cultural research and the question of how to deal with boundaries between academic disciplines and subfields.

Although the conference reflects the fact that cultural studies is a vital research field, Johan Fornäs also draws attention to the circumstance that it is not a securely established category. It may be the case that cultural studies are more established in the Nordic countries as there are national and regional networks, than in other European countries. Other potential problems focused by Fornäs are the lack of a specific theoretical canon and strong organisational frames which may provide the glue for uniting cultural studies as a research field and distinguishing it from other fields of research (7–9).

Some 240 scholars from various parts of the world participated with papers in almost 50 sessions. Eight papers by plenary speakers and a large number of session papers are now available on the Internet at the address: www.ep.liu.se/ecp/025/. The five plenary sessions focused on three themes subsumed under the keyword "inter." These are related to border-crossing in contemporary culture and cultural research. One theme is the geographical relations between countries, especially within Europe. Another is the historical interfaces between past and present in processes of culturalisation with a special focus on the impact and the use of the past in the present. The third is interdisciplinary links between areas of research. This review will comment on the papers by the plenary speakers printed in the proceedings.

The first of the plenary papers in the conference proceedings, Gerard Delanty's "Peripheries and Borders in a Post-Western Europe," offers a thought-provoking analysis of the change in the image of European identity and culture which is emerging as a result of the enlargement of the EU, migration and globalisation. Delanty focuses the impact of three major civi-

lizational currents which are the basis of three geopolitical units, namely a western "Carolingian" Europe, a Central Eastern Europe and an Eastern Europe (14). Delanty points out that it is the first one which historically has had a decisive role in shaping the European legacy. His thesis is that the configuration of a western Europe is being modified as other civilizational heritages are becoming part of the Europeanization project. Delanty also suggests that Europe is taking a post-western shape (12) and that this affects European identity and ideas of cultural heritage.

Delanty addresses a number of urgent issues in the contemporary debate on identity on national and supranational levels. He is careful not to present a picture of antagonism between national cultures and the project of Europeanization. This is done for example by drawing attention to the mixed or hybrid nature of national identities (12). When discussing the emergence of different civilizational heritages in contemporary Europe, Delanty proposes that an inter-civilizational perspective may be useful (13). One of the transformations analysed is a change in the geopolitical identity of Europe in the direction of a "multiple constellation of regions" (13), for example in borderlands. The borderlands are envisioned as inter-civilizational zones of overlapping identities, heritages, and experiences of modernity (13). One of Delanty's points is that the civilizational shaping of the modern nation-state is being challenged by the emergence of a number of heritages and experiences of modernity which point to alternative historical trajectories. This is a description of cultural differences which may be useful for analysing the existence of multiple traditions and alternative ways of experiencing modernity not least in contemporary debates on multiculturalism and the implications of "unity in diversity."

In the current debate on Europeanization and the enlargement of the EU the question of Turkey's membership has proved to be a controversial topic. This may be related to the fact that Turkey in south-eastern Europe historically has been seen as the Other of a western Europe with a cultural heritage based on Latin Christendom, the Enlightenment, democracy and a free market economy. Delanty is overtly critical towards Huntingdon's thesis that the eastern borders of Europe are zones of civilizational clashes and he points out the error of seeing civilizational differences only in terms of conflicts (14). He concludes that: "My argument rather is to see the civilizational background to contemporary Europe a source of its diversity and rather than clashes we can see signs of mutual cooperation" (14). Considering that the notion of "unity in diversity" is central to the European project, Delanty's focus on cooperation, the existence of multiple historical trajectories, and overlapping and hybrid cultures and identities has a strategic function in making it possible to envision differences in a constructive way.

The second of the plenary papers in the proceedings, Kirsten Drotner's "Boundaries and Bridges in Trans-European Cultural Research," argues for the need of comparative interdisciplinary cultural studies approaches in contemporary trans-European cultural research. Drotner highlights some of the tensions involved with regard to the substance, organisation and funding of research. The primary tension in terms of substance is found between research defined in terms of discipline versus research defined in

terms of problematics. Drotner points out that cultural studies by definition is problem-oriented research and therefore a strong candidate in terms of substance when conducting trans-European cultural research today. However Drotner also discerns obstacles which have to be overcome. In her view, there has been an overwhelming emphasis on issues of representation and power within cultural studies. To tackle this she suggests that other aspects of cultural studies need to be developed and that stronger ties with broad ranges of disciplines ought to be forged. The potential of untraditional cooperation between disciplines is particularly suggested as a route to renewal of cultural studies in a trans-European research context.

When it comes to the organisational level the main tension is between competition and cooperation on the local, national and international level (26) . In Drotner's mapping the small European countries are the ones benefiting most from trans-European research organisations since they lack a mass of research and researchers to guarantee quality and diversity (26).

Both the issues of substance and organisation interconnect with the question of funding. The main tensions foregrounded are national versus trans-national funding and strategic versus research-driven research (26). Traditionally the EU's framework programs and the European Science Foundation have funded trans-national research in Europe. The framework programs are policy-oriented and strategic while the ESF is open to research-driven research. But funding by the ESF is dependent upon partial funding from each member state involved, which makes the outcome somewhat difficult to predict. Now there are two new initiatives: the European Research Council which grants individual funding on the basis of scientific excellence, and the European Research Area nets (ERA-nets) which are networks of collaboration between particular research councils in Europe.

The issue of crossing institutional boundaries is also addressed by Barbara Czarniawska in the last of the plenary papers "On Creole Researchers, Hybrid Disciplines and Pidgin Writing." Czarniawska discusses interdisciplinary research by elaborating on "creolised" professional careers, hybrid disciplines and a kind of writing she suggests could be called pidgin. Czarniaewska calls her contribution an essay, a generic marker which accounts for the somewhat rambling and playful presentation of the emergence of "hybrid" disciplines and the crossing of disciplinary boundaries. Linköping university's organisation of the study of various themes in "hybrid departments" is mentioned as one example of the creation of hybrid disciplines (63). Czarniawska also draws attention to the problems of hybrid disciplines when stating that "there is no way for everybody to learn enough about other disciplines, no matter how interesting and relevant" (64), but on the whole she sees a positive potential in "meetings at the (moving) borders" between disciplines (66). I must confess that I sometimes have difficulties in understanding whether Czarniawska is ironical or not, for example when at the end of her essay she suggests plenty of "picnics, potlatches, translations, and pidgin-aided transactions" (66). Undoubtedly interesting research may be the result of unconventional combinations and meetings. Perhaps the problem is that the playfulness of the style results in ambiguities with regard to meaning. Particularly metaphors connoting racial and linguistic

hybridisation are problematic in a postcolonial context, due to the fact that they have accumulated connotations which seem awkward in descriptions of the dynamics and transformations of academic disciplinary boundaries in Europe today.

On the basis of examples from historical docu-soaps and art involving re-enactment of the past, Regina Bendix explores the role of "meta-historical productions" in a paper entitled "CP, TK, TCE & CO. The end of Freewheeling Culturalization?" The perspectives of experiental motivations and relationships with heritage programs and efforts to bestow copyright on "meta-historical productions" are foregrounded. One of the examples given is the re-enactment of episodes from the American civil war. Bendix suggests that the phenomena of meta-historical productions differ from more politically motivated "culturalization" and that they furthermore are connected with "legitimating bureaucratic regimes" seeking to "harness such phenomena for political, legal and economic purposes" (51). Bendix' paper focuses the complex relationship between strategies for dealing with the past, politics, law and economy. Not least the impact of experience industry and consumer society is shown to affect the meta-historical productions used as examples.

In "The Politics of the Popular" Mikko Lehtonen describes an ongoing project in Finland, "The Power of Culture in Producing Common Sense." Lehtonen highlights the fact that the democratization of education has eroded cultural hierarchies and that it is "increasingly difficult to maintain any fiction of 'genuine common people' or 'uneducated masses' in a context where popular education is vigorously promoted" (30). The stated objective "to find out the *mechanisms by which subjects are interpellated* in various arenas of public address" (31) resounds with Althusserian structuralism. The structuralist approach is further enhanced by references to Raymond Williams. I do not agree with Lehtonen that the notion of the popular has attracted little conceptual scrutiny in itself. Ideas of the popular have been scrutinized and so has Raymond Williams' rather idealistic understanding of it. In the contexts of mass consumption and consumer culture the notion of the popular certainly has meanings very different from the "popular," today exclusive, culture of handicraft and folk music. The idea of a chasm between "high" and "low" in contemporary culture has been criticised for decades and there are numerous descriptions of postmodernist aesthetics which refute the idea of a gap. One example is Andreas Huyssen's *After the Great Divide*. As to the question of address which Lehtonen describes in a model of five arenas of public address (30) there are other less structuralistically influenced models which foreground the notion of multiple addresses to segmented audiences, not to speak of the destabilizing capacity of contemporary prevalent double-coding strategies like irony, parody and satire. Research done in the last few decades shows that both addresses and reception are more dynamic, unstable and unpredictable than indicated by a model with fixed categories.

In "The Multiple Realities of Cultural Citizenship Versus the Logic of Culturalisation" Joke Hermes discusses notions of cultural citizenship and culturalisation with examples from her own audience research in the Netherlands. Hermes' account is inspired by Foucault's concept "governmentality": "cultural citizenship is a deeply implicated part of the 'society of spectacle

and consumable style' [...]. While it promises empowerment it is channelled through [...] 'governmentality'" (46). This is a problematic statement for at least three reasons. One is the use of personification. Strictly speaking a society cannot promise anything, but of course people may be (or feel) more or less empowered by being citizens in societies of "spectacle and consumable style." Secondly the notion of channelling through "governmentality" indicates the existence of inevitable processing through fixed structures. Of course it is a metaphor, but what does it stand for? Is it reasonable to describe a complex reality in this way? Thirdly individuals are not solely engaged in the sphere of "spectacle and consumable style" and surely there must be variations in individual responses. Hermes concludes that there is little to be optimistic about with regard to the role of media consumption for the creation of democratic cultural citizenship: "for 'ordinary people' citizenship only has meaning via repertoires that exclude them from a political outlook. A public sphere dominated by a host of professional organisations prevent them from the possibility of critically intervening in politics or challenging the state apparatus" (48). On the other hand Hermes also envisions a potential for media for accomplishing "strong bonding" and as a means for audience groups to increase their political awareness (49).

A more philosophical approach is taken by Gerhard Schultze in "Logic of Expansion, Logic of Being – Integrating the Dissociated Paths of Modenity in 21st Century." Schultze's paper discusses the effect of the dichotomies inherent in Erich Fromm's success *To Have or to Be?* and Herbert Marcuse's *The One-Dimensional Man*. His point is that both works have influenced a way of thinking which has prevented development of analytical tools for analysing the logic of "to be" and ways of thinking about the project of modernity as an integration of the logics of "to have" and "to be."

Schultze has a point when criticising tendencies to see the relationship between "the logic of to have" and "the logic of to be" as mutually exclusive. Presumably this way of thinking underlies some of the anti-modernist, nostalgic currents which have emerged in the last decades. However it seems to me that Schultze when describing dichotomous thinking misses cultural currents which complicate and destabilise ideas of an either-or-relationship. For example Schultze claims that "[i]n our days, the salient example for the clash between *to have* and *to be* is religious fundamentalism" (38). There are certainly other vigorous currents, such as popular environmentalism and anti-consumerism movements, which challenge the logic of expansion. Quite rightly Schultze is critical towards the anti-modernist tendencies and the mystification of "the logic of being" fostered by Fromms's and Marcuse's bestsellers. Instead of seeing modern life as controlled by either "a logic of having" or "a logic of being," Schultze envisions "a style of hopping between islands of calculation and islands of feeling" (39). This seems to be a more feasible way of describing the dynamic and complex lives of situated individuals.

Schultze ends his paper by paraphrasing Wittgenstein's dictum "[o]n what one cannot talk one has to be silent" to "[o]n what one *can* talk one *should* talk" (41). As a way of integrating the dissociated paths of modernity, "the logic of expansion" and "the logic of being," he proposes an examina-

tion of three topics: "What precisely is the logic of *to be*? What do we see if we use the logic of *to be* as a point of view? How should we integrate *to have* and *to be*?" (41). Schultze's analysis contributes to an analysis of conflicting tendencies with regard to the project of modernization, but he does not mention emerging events in the world today which problematise a naïve belief in expansion, such as global warming and an impeding lack of natural resources. It is also unclear on what levels the protest and evolvement of the project of modernity takes place in Schultze's analysis. His discussion is intriguing, but to some extent it lacks precision and contextualisation.

In the preface to the proceedings Johan Fornäs elaborates upon some of the obstacles the conference had to grapple with: "[t]his conference [. . .] had to [. . . find] ways to construct both at least some kind of European identity and a cultural studies identity, without having recourse to any given entity or institutional framework to fall back on" (8). Undoubtedly Fornäs does point to something important when hightlighting the theme of identity in a European context and in the context of the role of cultural studies in academic research. Naturally there is a negotiation going on in the present with regard to the definition of relevant research fields and disciplinary boundaries. In this situation the ACSIS and the ACS may have an influence. As to the construction of a European identity mentioned by Fornäs it seems overoptimistic to presume to be able to construct a common European identity within the framework of a conference. This being said Fornäs' description of the challenges facing cultural studies is accurate. And he has a point in highlighting the potential of cultural studies in projects aiming at redefining identities, for example individual and institutional ones, on national, European and global levels.

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Elizabeth Hay, *Late Nights on Air*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd. 2007, ISBN 0771038119, 376 pp.

Elizabeth Hay's recent novel *Late Nights on Air* (2007), which won the 2007 Scotiabank Giller prize, takes a critical approach to popular perceptions of the Canadian north. Set in Yellowknife from 1975 onward, the novel focuses on a diverse set of characters who work for the radio branch of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Hay uses the motif of the radio, along with allusions to literary representations of the north, to explore the way that the north is constructed as an exotic other, from a southern perspective.

The role of the radio in the north emphasizes the power of art and technology in shaping experience on an individual and collective level, a power that in the hands of white southerners both displaces and provides insight into the realities of lived experience in the north. One of the key ways that the radio provides an empathetic voice for the surrounding region

in the book is as a forum for public discussion through the "Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry," an actual project that began in 1974 to assess the ramifications of placing a pipeline in the Mackenzie River Valley. Hay observes that because of this government-commissioned inquiry, "voices that had never been on the radio had their chance to speak" (84). She further shows the potential for representing the complexity and diversity of perspectives on the north in the following passage:

> Plain-spoken, same-spoken, tentative yet clear, young and old, in translation or speaking English, usually soft, sometimes strident, native people were convincing Judge Berger that the land gave them life, it was their flesh and blood, they were born and raised on it, they lived and survived by it, they loved and respected and belonged to it, as had their ancestors for thousands of years (84).

This description of the region as a place that is experienced on an everyday basis and associated with belonging rather than loss, contrasts with pervasive myths of the north as an alien and threatening wasteland. Set against the backdrop of this wider cultural debate, the radio station and its workers are thus seen as a paradoxical voice for the area that embodies a foreign perspective on the north, and yet which has the potential to reflect a wider range of local experiences.

Some of the characters try to use the radio to tap into a more inclusive and far-reaching understanding of place. Harry, a once popular radio worker from Toronto, bitterly retreats north after an unsuccessful foray into television. He dismisses television as artificial and mass produced compared to radio, which he compares to poetry because it is more about "one person learning something interesting and telling it to somebody else" (69). As well, Gwen goes north from Toronto in search of her first radio job and, under the tutelage of Harry, learns to use the radio to try to capture the multiplicity of her surroundings. Treating the station as her "workshop" (100), she records aspects of the local environment, including bird song, the sound of walking on snow, and fragments of conversations with passers-by. Harry's and Gwen's focus on the radio as an expression of individual experience suggests an awareness, not only of the fallible nature of their own southern perspective, but also of the diversity of stories to be found in the north.

However, intertextual allusions to exploration narratives throughout the book reveal that the radio workers inevitably tap into familiar discursive perceptions of the north. Gwen, Harry and Eleanor are all described as having been partially lured to Yellowknife by tales of northern adventure that they heard in their youth. References to Arctic explorers such as Agnes Deans Cameron, Knud Rasmussen and Fridtjof Nansen illustrate the force of popular exploration literature in constructing ideas of the north as a desolate site in which southerners must undergo a redemptive test of endurance.

The adventure narrative that plays the greatest part in shaping the lives of the characters is that of British explorer John Hornby, whose ill-fated Arctic journey deeply influences their visions of the north. Hay demon-

strates the longevity of such narratives by showing how Hornby's story is continually reinterpreted through the diary entries of his companion, a later biography and a C.B.C. radio play that is aired at the Yellowknife station. The mythical view of the north as an exotic testing ground is continually retold through the different versions of Hornby's adventure story throughout the text, and it is so pervasive that it leads several of the characters to retrace the path of his original journey.

The fatal results of this reenactment, mirrored by the loss of Gwen's recordings of their trip, convey a traumatic confrontation between myth and the realities of the north. Hay forces her characters to realize the limits of their own attempts to somehow capture the northern landscape and culture. She similarly challenges the reader to question popular literary conceptions of the north as a metaphorical landscape.

Hay also explores the personal loss and desire at the heart of the myth-making process through a sympathetic portrayal of the personal backgrounds and relationships of her main characters. All of the characters come to Yellowknife as a kind of escape from loss and alienation in their own lives, which suggests that myths of place are ironically rooted in a lack of belonging. The repeated patterns of thwarted and ill-fated desire that connect the main characters portray myth-making as akin to falling in love, in that it involves the need for an objectified other on which to project one's own desires in a way that often obscures the very object of one's attention.

The figure who most epitomizes this object of intangible desire is the aptly named Dido Paris, a Dutch immigrant, who flees to Yellowknife in order to escape a doomed love affair. Hay draws on Virgil's connection between the conquest of women and land in the Aeneid in her observation that "[p]eople were drawn to the North and in the North they were drawn to Dido" (34). The book begins with Dido's voice captivating Harry over the radio, evoking the lure of the north toward outsiders, while showing this fixation to be actively constructed and somehow detached from reality. Echoing popular ideas about the north, Dido is characterized by a mixture of vulnerable abjection and threatening, mysterious power in relation to the other characters. Hay's decision to make Dido an outsider herself further complicates the hold that both she and the north have over the others, reminding us that the lure of the wilderness is a fictional concept that is projected onto the landscape as a kind of narcissistic love affair directed northward.

Despite Hay's critique of the way that the north has been objectified and displaced by myth, she makes little attempt to examine the region outside of the biased lens of her protagonists. Ending in an unnamed southern Canadian city, the novel reunites Gwen and Harry in a way that is reminiscent of the familiar return to the order of civilization that concludes most exploration narratives. Gwen continues to go "north in her mind" (365), suggesting a knowing awareness of the metaphorical nature of her relationship with the place. Her self-reflexive acceptance of the myth-making process is troubled by the final absence of both Dido and the northern setting, which reminds us of the people and places left in a vulnerable position in the wake of myth. While this tension could be seen as a deliberate gesture on the part of the novelist, it also marks a kind of disengagement from the actual northern

setting in the book, which threatens to reify the very dominant northern discourses that Hay critiques.

As well, while the limited interiority of the characters throughout the book highlights their role as participants in formulaic discourse perceptions of the north, it also fails to adequately explore the human dimension beneath the myth-making process. The focus on plot progression, surface observations and dialogue tends to detract from the psychological weight of the novel.

Nevertheless, Hay's exploration of the "traffic in voices" (7) that intersect in the north skillfully navigates the way that myth reflects and distorts the realities of experience, especially when imposed on a culture or landscape from a foreign perspective. The characters' troubled longing for their northern surroundings emphasizes the need to accept and to explore myths of the north as part of the national consciousness. Hay reminds us that while they may not reflect the reality of place, myths continue to play an active role in how we relate to our surroundings and to each other.

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Maria Lähteenmäki, *The Peoples of Lapland. Boundary Demarcations and Interaction in the North Calotte from 1808 to 1889*, Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters 2006, ISBN 951410983X, 335 pp.

In her book *The Peoples of Lapland*, historian Maria Lähteenmäki wants to avoid the path taken by most earlier research concerning this region. Her aim is to view the North Calotte – i. e. northern Fennoscandia and the Kola Peninsula – as one geographical area, disregarding the state borders dividing it into four different national territories. This is a positive approach, although difficult, and probably much more in tune with how the people of the region regarded it. The title indicates that the study will include all groups in this geographical area, but Lähteenmäki slims down her scope and states that the main focus is the population of Finnish Lapland, and Finnish settlers in other parts of the North Calotte. She also aims to change the image of Lapland as the country of Sami and reindeer, demonstrating that it was also a land of settlers, a perspective which is noticeable in the text. The time period, 1808–1889, has been chosen because it is an important and formative time for both Finland and Finnish Lapland, book-ended by significant events. In the Finnish War of 1808–1809 between Sweden and Russia, Sweden lost Finland which had been a part of the kingdom since the twelfth century. Although this was a shocking and painful development for Sweden and for many Finns, it was also the beginning of a future independent Finland. It was also important for the northern parts of Finland since the war split the historical Swedish province of Lapland in two, creating a Finnish Lapland which slowly began to develop. Lähteenmäki ends her study in 1889,

with the Russian decision to close the Swedish-Finnish border to reindeer herding.

The text is structured like older travel literature, inviting the reader to accompany the author on a geographical "journey of exploration" through the area, while going back and forth in time. The prologue is the war and its aftermath and Lähteenmäki describes the severe effects this had on the population in Finnish Lapland. The journey then begins in south-western Finnish Lapland where communities had been partitioned by the new border, describing the adjustments that had to be made due to the new situation. From there Lähteenmäki moves across the border into Swedish Norrbotten, touching on the strong population growth, the rise of the religious movement of Laestadianism and the trafficking of children from Swedish and Finnish Lapland to Norwegian or Sami foster parents in Norwegian Finnmark. This is also where Lähteenmäki goes next, to the Lyngen market and the copper works in Kåfjord, where the reader is introduced to the Finnish-speaking population in the area, the so called *Kvens*, and the Norwegianization policy. From here she moves back across the border to north-western Finnish Lapland, with poor relief, education and a visit to a prison on the programme. Then the journey goes east, to Sodankylä, where crop failures and starvation are the topics, and how these contributed to integrating Lapland into the national awareness through the aid projects that were initiated in southern Finland. Lähteenmäki continues north to Inari and Utsjoki, discussing Sami-Finnish relations and Sami assimilation. After this the text momentarily leaves the geographic explorations and focuses on the process of demarcation of the borders partitioning the North Calotte, and especially the closing of two of the borders to reindeer herding: the Finnish-Norwegian in 1852 and the Finnish-Swedish in 1889. Thereafter the geographic journey continues, going north to north-eastern Norway and the Finnish immigration to the Varanger Peninsula, touching on Finnish political ambitions to receive a land corridor to the Arctic Ocean, before finally concluding with a visit to Russian Lapland and the Finnish settlers there.

It is an ambitious goal Lähteenmäki has set for herself in her study, covering such a large geographical area, partitioned between four nation states and with five peoples living there, and even with the limitations of the scope presented initially, she has some difficulties realizing her aim. The book is rich in detail, and the structure of the text is a nice touch which makes the transitions between different parts of the region flow smoothly. Her intention to write a history from below, to show the lives of the Finnish population of the area and their trans-border movement in search of a better life works relatively well, but in some of the geographical areas the local population tend to disappear under cold statistics, official reports and traveller accounts, without really coming alive. However, as long as focus is on the main topic, the Finns, the account is detailed and nuanced, but when Lähteenmäki turns to the Sami the situation, unfortunately, changes for the worse. I shall give a few examples of the problems here.

Lähteenmäki's attempts to illustrate that Lapland was not only a region of Sami and reindeer becomes clear for the first time when she arrives in Swedish Norrbotten. She describes the Torne River Valley as a Finnish

"ethnically, culturally and linguistically homogenous region" (61), and this is supported with a map a few pages further on in the text. The statement is surprising, considering that a considerable part of the population was Sami. She also questions the content of the term *Lapp* – which in Sweden and Finland historically has been the enthnonym used for the Sami – arguing that it was not based on ethnicity, but rather on lifestyle and profession, fishing, hunting and reindeer herding, and thus including more people than the Sami. She does not, however, question the content of the terms *Swede* or *Finn*. Instead Lähteenmäki uses *Finns* and *Finnish-speakers* as synonyms, suggesting that she considers the dominant ethnic identities of the nation states, *Swede* and *Finn*, as given, superior categories, while *Lapp* (*Sami*) is questionable when it comes to ethnic content. This indicates that she has an obstructed view when looking at issues concerning the Sami, which stands in clear contrast to when she discusses the Finnish-speaking population.

Based on examples from the 1830s and 1840s, Lähteenmäki then concludes that Swedish authorities were not discriminating the Sami based on their ethnicity, especially if compared to the conditions under which the Finnish-speaking population lived. Here Lähteenmäki would clearly have benefitted from reading more of the research literature on the issue. The more structured discrimination towards the Sami in the form of special legislation, schools and such, were indeed a few decades away, but much of the ingredients of this policy was already in place. Around 1800, the Sami had definitely lost control over the land they used, the so called *taxed Sami lands*, and one of the reasons for this was that ideas of cultural hierarchies were beginning to influence political thought, making it clear that a subordinate nomadic group such as the Sami could not own land. The Sami were forced to change their livelihood and way of life, from hunting, fishing and/or reindeer herding to agriculture and farming, to be able to maintain control and ownership over the land they used. For some who took this step, this was most certainly a choice made by free will, but for others it was a strategy to maintain control over the land. And for those who did not give up their traditional lifestyle, land rights were lost. Apart from losing control over the land, they also lost access to more and more of the grazing lands, due to the expansion of agriculture.

Lähteenmäki then continues the discussion concerning the Sami when the text returns to Finland, and it is here that her motive becomes clearer. With statements such as "the extremist interpretation of the militant Saami Studies of the 1990s" (203), it would seem as if she has an axe to grind with an undefined group of researchers covered by the term *Sami Studies*, which seems to consist of researchers in Finland. Lähteenmäki claims that a prevailing colonialist perspective on majority-Sami relations has dominated Sami research, with a strong emphasis on conflicts, virtually excluding many relevant perspectives such as internal structures of Sami society and cooperation between them and the surrounding peoples. But to illustrate this, she goes on a personal crusade to try to prove the *Sami Studies*-group wrong, making this goal seem more important than the foundation for the arguments.

She argues that the population of Finnish Lapland as a whole was subject to assimilation and incorporation into Finland during the nineteenth

century, but surely there would be a point in discussing the differences in this process for different groups, clarifying whether this process meant ethnic assimilation as it could for the Sami, or merely incorporation into the national consciousness as for the Finnish population. She strongly opposes any notion that the Sami were oppressed and that the settlers had a more beneficial situation. She also compares the Sami with the Jews and the Roms – the latter especially since they are also a 'vagrant' group – and states that these groups were treated more harshly than the Sami during the Swedish rule and that this was continued in Finland after 1809, but fails to take notice of the different positions of the groups: the Sami were viewed as a "natural" component of the population, an indigenous people, while the other two groups were regarded as foreign, making comparisons more difficult to do, without nuancing the discussion more than Lähteenmäki does. She should have related her arguments here more strongly to her own critique of other researchers who in her view have used terms such as *settler* and *Lapp* carelessly in their analyses.

Most of Lähteenmäki's examples concern Finnish Lapland, and she clearly aims her arguments at Sami research done in Finland, but that does not stop her from generalizing her conclusions to include Sweden and Norway, without even taking research from these areas into account. When she states that ethnicity was not a basis for discrimination in the entire area of study, for instance, she should perhaps have included the great number of studies from Norway and Sweden in this field in her discussion. It is possible that she has substantiated concerns with the results presented and the methods used to reach those results by the *Sami Studies*-group. I cannot comment on her actual grievances here since Finnish is outside my language competence, but her methods are clearly biased in her endeavour to prove them wrong. You cannot prove that other researchers have used faulty reasoning and methods by employing the same in your own work. This casts a shadow over the entire book as well as the motivation of the writer.

It is an interesting perspective Lähteenmäki presents, full of possibilities, focusing on the North Calotte as a region, without stopping at the state borders through the area. It is a fruitful way of analyzing a geographical region, disregarding administrative boundaries drawn through the landscape which today has taken the shape of barriers, separating 'us' from 'them', but which did not have the same meaning for the people in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately for the book, her polemic concerning the Sami has a negative impact. Lähteenmäki would have been better served if she would have focused solely on the Finnish population, which is where her main interest lies anyway, or at the very least lived up to the standard she demands from other researchers. She set a lofty goal for her study, which proved to be a bit too much to actually carry out, and because of her 'second agenda' concerning the Sami she makes some quite serious mistakes.

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Lennart Lundmark, *Samernas skatteland i Norr- och Västerbotten under 300 år*, Stockholm: Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning 2006, ISBN 9185190780, 207 pp.

For readers in the Nordic countries interested in Sami history, the historian Lennart Lundmark hardly needs an introduction. Through several books and articles he has established himself as one of the leading researchers in the field of Sami history, especially Swedish Sami policy. His latest book, *Samernas skatteland* ['The taxed Sami lands'], is yet another contribution to his already extensive production.

The focus of the book is how the Swedish state gained control and declared ownership of the lands used by the Sami or more specifically the individually or family controlled/owned lands, the so called *taxed Sami lands*, for which the Sami paid taxes. These lands are today mostly connected to reindeer herding, even though they historically also formed a base for hunting, fishing, etc. The issue of the taxed Sami lands has been controversial since the 1960s when Sami villages in the county of Jämtland sued the Swedish state, claiming stronger rights to the reindeer herding lands in the county and disputing the official view that the state owned these lands. This court case, the Taxed Mountains Case, moved through the Swedish court system between 1966 and 1981, before the Supreme Court finally ruled in favour of the Swedish state, even though the Sami right to herd reindeer was somewhat strengthened. However, the two northernmost counties in Sweden, Norrbotten and Västerbotten, where you find the larger part of the traditional Sami land area, were not included in the court proceedings, and the situation in these counties has thus not been tried. Studies published in the last two decades have questioned the established view of these areas as historically being state-owned land. It is the historical development surrounding this issue in these two counties from the early 1600s to the early 1900s, that Lundmark focuses in his book.

A basic premise for the discussion is that there were three main types of land in Sweden for much of the period Lundmark has studied: land owned by the Crown (Crown land), land for which the user paid taxes to the Crown (taxed land), and finally land owned by, or where the user paid taxes to, the nobility. In the case of the taxed Sami lands, the discussion focused on whether these belonged to the first or second category.

Lundmark follows the development in great detail, beginning with the older Sami system of land use and social organization, before turning to the introduction of the two state actors who came to hold centre stage: the District Court and the County Administrative Board (CAB). When the District Court was introduced in the Sami area, this did not mean an immediate break with Sami traditions: it respected established customs and ruled according to them. The District Court also held the responsibility for administering matters concerning the taxed Sami lands, clearly proving that these were indeed regarded as taxed land and not Crown land, since the latter category was handled by the CAB. For most of the seventeenth century, the CAB did not oppose this view, but recognized Sami lands as taxed land. The Sami were often described as owners of their lands, but the term ownership

had a different meaning in seventeenth-century Sweden than today, and was used interchangeably with other terms such as possession and holding. This makes it more complicated to translate it into modern day use. However, it is possible to compare the taxed Sami lands with the taxed lands used by settlers. Such a comparison shows that in the seventeenth century, settlers held these lands on similar terms as the Sami. It was a strong possession but with several limitations in the handling of the land that for the settlers would later develop into full ownership rights.

The situation changed towards the end of the century, when the CAB began to question the notion that the Sami lands were taxed land, and instead argued that they were Crown land for which the Sami had no actual title. One reason for this development was that the term 'use since time immemorial', which was the basis for the Sami claims, was being challenged at the time, and the questioning of the status of the taxed Sami lands was part of this process. Another important aspect was that the taxed Sami lands were never formally staked out and registered in the same way as the lands of the settlers. There were several initiatives to do this, but they were never carried out; the income the state received from the Sami taxes was too small to justify the high costs for a complicated process which was to be carried out in large geographical areas with very limited communications. It is quite possible that the matter would have developed differently if this had been done, but this is something Lundmark does not speculate on. Such a procedure would also have made it possible to base the Sami taxes on land, which was not the case. Lundmark shows that they were instead based on the individual. From 1695 the tax became collective for the Sami village, which was to pay a certain defined sum but could decide the individual contributions internally. In the eighteenth century, the CAB began to challenge the right of the District Court to administer issues concerning the taxed Sami lands, which was a natural conclusion and development from the view that this was Crown land. The District Court nonetheless continued to treat the Sami lands as taxed land.

Around the year 1800 the District Court finally ceded the administrative power to the CAB, which ensured that the view of the Sami taxed lands as Crown land became dominant. This administrative change thus meant that it was no longer possible to claim that the Sami lands were taxed land. Lundmark discusses possible reasons for the change, and argues that ideas of cultural hierarchies had begun to influence thought at the time, relegating the Sami to a subordinate position in this imagined structure. Since they were considered weaker than the settlers, it was more or less accepted that they should have to vacate land needed for agriculture: nomads could not have the same right to land as settlers. At the same time the land rights of settlers on taxed land were strengthened during the period 1789–1810, due to improved influence of the Estate of Peasants in the Swedish parliament. In this period, the settlers' possession of the land developed into true ownership as we understand the term today. This further weakened the position of the Sami, since it became even more important for the state to maintain control of their land. The Sami now had a more vulnerable legal position, and it became easier for individuals to lose their lands.

In the later parts of the nineteenth century the reindeer herding Sami lost more and more grazing land and were pushed further towards the mountain region, and a view of them as unfortunate victims of the advance of civilization gained influence. A policy aimed at protecting and preserving the Sami developed, and efforts were made to define areas where the Sami could herd their reindeer unimpeded. The first Reindeer Grazing Acts of 1886 and 1898 were a part of this process, while at the same time regulating reindeer herding. These Acts meant that the Sami right to use land for reindeer herding in reality became a collective right for the Sami village. Even though taxed Sami lands were still used administratively in Västerbotten up until the 1920s, and there were different initiatives to reintroduce this form of organization in an effort to regulate reindeer herding, the Acts of 1886 and 1898 meant that the first steps had been taken to once and for all abolish the individual taxed Sami lands.

Lundmark draws no conclusion regarding how the historical status of the taxed Sami lands might affect Sami rights today, leaving this to the ongoing political process, and perhaps to future research. Instead he concludes his study by discussing some internal factors within Sami society which might have contributed to the lessened importance and final disappearance of the taxed Sami lands. One development mentioned is the changing herding methods with larger more free-ranging herds which began to develop in the nineteenth century, and became dominant in the entire Sami area in the first decades of the twentieth century, making small individual lands impractical and a hindrance to increasing herd sizes.

It is a difficult field of research that Lundmark tries to penetrate: important source material is missing due to several fires in archives, and misconceptions and contemporary ideas have influenced much of the views about this area. Despite this, he has made an important effort in a field where more research was needed, and his work can hopefully inspire further studies. He also creates a comprehensive image of the process through which the status of the taxed Sami lands changed, a process of which only some parts have previously been given attention. Lundmark places his research in the context of previous research in the field, correcting and criticizing what he sees as earlier misconceptions, both in older studies which uncritically accepted the view of the taxed Sami lands as Crown land, and in more recent ones challenging this view, highlighting examples of careless or faulty use of the sources. How internal developments in Sami society might have influenced the situation is, however, an aspect that perhaps receives too little attention in Lundmark's study. This is of course not his main focus, and would probably have demanded an extensive search for complementing source material, but his findings would have been even more persuasive if Lundmark had at least developed his concluding discussion concerning internal developments within Sami society, and analyzed these more closely in connection with the actions of the representatives of the state. But this is a small point in relation to the impressive work carried out. Once again Lundmark demonstrates skilful writing, a careful and thorough analysis of the sources he uses, and an in-depth knowledge of his object of study. It is an important work in the field, and it is possible that the stated overarching purpose of the book – to

serve as a background material for future decisions concerning Sami land rights – will be fulfilled.

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Wendy S. Mercer, *The Life and Travels of Xavier Marmier (1808–1892). Bringing World Literature to France* (British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship Monographs), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007, ISBN 0197263887, 320 p.

En publiant la première biographie critique d'un des fondateurs de la littérature comparée, Wendy S. Mercer, professeur à University College de Londres, comble une lacune dans la connaissance de l'Europe littéraire du XIX^e^ siècle. Globe-trotter professionnel sur quatre continents, traducteur de plusieurs langues, journaliste, critique et romancier, professeur de littératures étrangères, académicien, administrateur de la bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève et de son célèbre Fond nordique, Marmier apparaît comme une des personnalités les plus marquantes dans le paysage culturel français de son époque. Fidèle à la vision organiciste de l'évolution des cultures, il traque à travers le monde les traditions populaires, les formes d'imagination et d'expression dans leur diversité et leur unicité. Avançant dans le sillon creusé par Madame de Staël, son but est de «remonter de l'effet aux causes, étudier la nature du peuple dont elle [la littérature] doit refléter la physionomie» (1841: x–xi, cité par Mercer, p. 4). Comme le titre de l'ouvrage suggère, c'est précisément cette étroite relation entre le voyage et la littérature (celle qu'il rapporte de l'étranger et celle qu'il produit lui-même) qui organise le récit biographique de Wendy S. Mercer. À partir d'une abondante documentation, comprenant beaucoup de sources non publiées (journal intime, notes personnelles et correspondance de l'auteur) et avec une richesse de détails impressionnante, elle retrace le déroulement exact des voyages de Marmier pour les mettre en rapport avec les textes qui en résultèrent. Un panorama de l'évolution de la société française au cours de tout un siècle forme un arrière-fond tout aussi intéressant que le destin individuel du protagoniste principal.

L'objectif de cette biographie, sans être explicitement formulé, ressort clairement de l'introduction: il s'agit bel et bien de ressusciter une célébrité oubliée, en révélant une personnalité fascinante par ses contradictions, et une œuvre imposante par son envergure et ses qualités. À travers treize chapitres ordonnés chronologiquement, munis chacun d'une fourchette de dates et d'une rubrique éclairante, le lecteur suit l'extraordinaire parcours de l'écrivain franc-comtois depuis sa jeunesse à Pontarlier, marquée par les rêves de gloire et d'ambition dignes d'un héros balzacien, son entrée dans les cercles littéraires parisiens et, à partir de 1832, ses innombrables déplacements. Après avoir exploré le Nord de l'Europe (Allemagne, Islande, Danemark, Suède, Norvège, Hollande et Russie), Marmier voyage *du Rhin au Nil* (titre

de son recueil de 1846), dans les Amériques, sur les Balkans et finalement sur les bords de la Baltique. Les deux dernières décennies de sa vie – parisiennes, littéraires et mondaines – ne furent ponctuées que par de courtes excursions en France et en Europe. Les titres des écrits liés à des régions où Marmier revenait plusieurs fois au cours de sa vie – c'est le cas de l'Allemagne, par exemple – sont judicieusement regroupés dans le chapitre correspondant à la première découverte d'une aire géographique et culturelle donnée.

Le séjour en Allemagne, où Marmier se rend sans connaître l'allemand au début des années trente, est décisif pour l'éclosion de sa passion comparatiste et pour sa carrière de critique littéraire et de traducteur. La centaine d'articles qui en résultent, paraissent dans la *Nouvelle Revue germanique* et dans un grand nombre d'autres revues s'adressant à des lectorats très divers. Le chapitre 3 de la biographie, consacré à «la rêveuse, la poétique, la mélancolique» Allemagne, offre un aperçu synthétique des travaux antérieurs sur la réception en France des auteurs d'outre-Rhin et permet de mesurer l'apport original de Marmier. Ses travaux sur Goethe, par exemple, auraient été décisifs pour l'établissement de la réputation de cet auteur en France. Il a aussi écrit sur des auteurs encore peu connus des Français (Theodor Körner, Heinrich von Kleist), ou déjà tombés en oubli même dans leur patrie (Jacques Michel Lenz). Wendy S. Mercer remarque aussi la place importante que Marmier en tant que critique littéraire réservait aux femmes écrivains.

Les cinq chapitres suivants (4–8) mettent en valeur la place privilégiée que les territoires du Nord, et la Scandinavie tout particulièrement, occupent dans les pérégrinations et les multiples activités de Marmier. Dès 1836 il participe dans les expéditions organisées par la Commission scientifique du Nord, qui, sous la direction de Paul Gaimard, explorait les régions circumpolaires à bord de la corvette *La Recherche*. Membre de l'expédition islandaise, Marmier sera chroniqueur officiel d'autres prestigieuses missions qui le conduiront jusqu'aux Féroé et au Spitzberg et lui vaudront, au retour, le statut de «star» intellectuelle, pour reprendre le titre du chapitre 8. Cette notoriété sera couronnée par sa nomination à la chaire des Littératures étrangères à la faculté de Rennes. Wendy S. Mercer insiste sur le très grand intérêt avec lequel le public français suivait ces expéditions qui coïncidaient avec la naissance de l'industrie du tourisme et la fascination romantique pour un Nord encore peu connu et perçu surtout à travers les textes littéraires. Ce contexte culturel explique le succès des *Lettres sur l'Islande* (1837) et des *Lettres sur le Nord*, *Danemark*, *Suède*, *Norvège*, *Laponie et Spitzberg* (1840) de Marmier, qui paraissaient dans la *Revue des Deux Mondes* et la *Revue de Paris*, avant d'être éditées en volume et traduites en plusieurs langues. Les *Lettres sur l'Islande* sont depuis longtemps reconnues comme un texte absolument inaugural, qui a introduit l'Islande dans l'imaginaire français et qui a fixé les itinéraires touristiques de l'île. Le livre de Mercer apporte plusieurs éléments nouveaux qui permettent de mesurer l'impact culturel, et même politique, des travaux de Marmier, et ceci non seulement en France mais aussi dans les pays concernés eux-mêmes. Ce serait le cas de la réception de H.C. Andersen, non seulement au niveau européen, mais aussi dans son pays natal. La même observation vaut pour les traces que la visite de l'explorateur français a laissées dans la conscience culturelle islandaise, ou encore de son interven-

tion dans un conflit diplomatique entre la Suède et la France. Marmier apparaît comme l'intermédiaire culturel peut-être le plus influent de son temps entre la France et les pays tels que l'Allemagne, la Suède, le Danemark et l'Islande dont il connaissait bien les langues, les littératures et les institutions et où il a établi un réseau de contacts important.

Les relations du savant français avec la Suède ont été présentées en 1949 par Uno Willers dans un compte rendu bien documenté mettant en relief le rôle décisif qu'il a joué pour la réception de la littérature française en Suède après 1830. L'ouvrage de Mercer complète utilement cette enquête, mais expose surtout ses activités d'intermédiaire dans le sens inverse. Trois de ses quatre séjours en Suède, entre 1837 et 1842, avaient le caractère de missions officielles, mandatées par les ministères français, celui de l'instruction publique d'abord, celui de la marine ensuite. La première, qui avait pour but d'étudier le système de l'enseignement dans les pays scandinaves et ses rapports avec les institutions religieuses, lui a permis d'entrer en contact avec les intellectuels contemporains danois et suédois les plus en vue. Les chercheurs intéressés par la réception des lettres scandinaves en France sauront gré à Wendy S. Mercer de noter les différences entre les versions successives de son *Histoire de la littérature en Danemark et en Suède* (1839). Le chapitre consacré au premier séjour suédois de Marmier, citant beaucoup de documents inédits, donne un tableau bien vivant de la haute société de Stockholm où le charmant globe-trotter a eu beaucoup de succès.

Comme l'anthologie *Le voyage en Scandinavie* de Vincent Fournier (2001) permet déjà de le constater, Xavier Marmier perpétue le plus souvent le discours traditionnel sur le Nord dans sa version romantique marquée, dans la perception de la nature, par le sublime négatif et la projection d'une subjectivité mélancolique. Dans le livre de Mercer, il apparaît néanmoins comme un voyageur original et attachant. Ses motivations profondes elles-mêmes, qui reçoivent parfois un éclairage discret du biographe, restent enfouies dans les profondeurs de la conscience individuelle, mais il est évident que ce voyageur passionné et savant ne cherchait pas en premier lieu des émotions inédites et des sources d'inspiration nouvelles. Le choix des destinations souvent peu «touristiques» à l'époque, ainsi qu'une pratique viatique qui impliquait le partage des conditions matérielles et de la vie quotidienne des habitants des régions visitées, le distinguent du voyageur moyen. Les récits des voyages qu'il a plus tard entrepris «en touriste», au Moyen-Orient et en Égypte notamment, sont beaucoup moins originaux. Les analyses discursives de Wendy Mercer prouvent surtout que – à l'encontre de la démarche courante – il ne se représente pas lui-même en tant que «voyageur-héros» dompteur d'une nature menaçante, ni en tant que «voyageur-colonisateur», observateur extérieur privilégié et projetant sur l'étranger ses propres valeurs. Loin d'appliquer mécaniquement à l'Autre ses normes culturelles comme allant de soi, il valorise et se laisse fasciner par la différence sous toutes les formes. La maîtrise des langues est l'outil essentiel dans sa recherche de l'échange, voire de l'identification. Le trait original de l'écriture viatique de Marmier qui en résulte – et que Mercer illustre par des exemples convaincants – sont les nombreux portraits d'individus, venant des milieux sociaux les plus variés (des éleveurs de rennes aux têtes couronnées) qui apparaissent aussi bien

dans le rapport officiel de l'expédition de la *Recherche* que dans des souvenirs plus littéraires. Cette attitude est surtout frappante dans ses récits de voyage à travers la Laponie, dans lesquels les stéréotypes courants, déshumanisant les Sâmes, font souvent place à des portraits chaleureux des personnes rencontrées ou seulement aperçues. Wendy S. Mercer note cependant une différence paradoxale entre ses écrits relatifs au Nord et ceux, postérieurs, concernant les contrées du Sud, où la France avait des intérêts politiques ou économiques. Dans le second cas, le regard du voyageur redevient «colonial» et «orientalisant» et des clichés négatifs (au sujet de l'*Arabe* en Algérie, par exemple) réémergent dans le discours d'un écrivain qui, par ailleurs, condamnait vigoureusement la politique de domination qu'elle soit anglaise, russe ou danoise.

L'ouvrage dégage d'autres contradictions marquantes qui caractérisent l'attitude de Marmier envers l'industrialisation et la pauvreté, et surtout ses rapports avec les contemporains. La sympathie humaine et l'authentique intérêt pour autrui dont témoignent ses récits de voyage, disparaissent dans ses papiers personnels (dont une partie porte l'éloquent titre de *Night Side of the Society)* où s'expriment une méchanceté mesquine et une critique acerbe envers ses amis et relations. L'explication suggérée, à savoir que Marmier commença à rédiger ce journal en 1848, permettrait d'éclaircir bien d'autres prises de position politiques et littéraires de l'auteur. Orléaniste viscéralement anti-républicain, il fut profondément déçu par la proclamation de la république et dégoûté par la curée qui suivit, à tel point que son départ pour l'Amérique en automne 1849 apparaît comme un exil volontaire et sa perception de la civilisation américaine, outrageusement dénigrée, comme la projection d'un amalgame idéologique confondant la démocratie et le matérialisme barbare. On pourrait regretter que cette biographie dont un des mérites est d'aborder l'écriture viatique comme un processus dynamique dans lequel le voyageur *regardant* et l'espace *regardé* se construisent textuellement dans un rapport de réciprocité, ne tient pas suffisamment compte du rapport analogue entre le moi et le temps. L'interférence des voyages et de la politique – non seulement française, mais européenne et mondiale – est pourtant évidente dans les chapitres 9 à 12 portant sur les nouvelles destinations de l'auteur dans les années quarante et cinquante: la Pologne, la Russie, la Hongrie, la Méditerranée.

Les deux derniers chapitres attirent l'attention sur un pan quasi ignoré de la production de Marmier, notamment son œuvre littéraire. Bien que ses romans, autrefois réédités et couronnés par des prix académiques, soient justement relégués dans les oubliettes de l'histoire littéraire, ils gardent une valeur certaine en tant que documents imagologiques. La plupart sont inspirés par les expériences de voyage dans les pays scandinaves (*Deux émigrés en Suède*, *Les fiancés du Spitzberg*, *Les voyages de Nils à la recherche de l'idéal*) et reprennent aussi bien les épisodes relatés antérieurement dans le rapport officiel de l'expédition de *La Recherche* que les observations consignées dans les ouvrages érudits ou de vulgarisation. Ils offrent à ce titre un terrain d'investigation prometteur en ce qui concerne les procédés de fictionnalisation et le rôle des modèles génériques dans la représentation de l'espace.

Avec ses aperçus interprétatifs et ses analyses textuelles le livre de

Wendy S. Mercer, on l'aura compris, excède le cadre biographique étroit. La même rigueur qui est apportée à l'établissement des faits biographiques, préside aussi à l'élaboration de la chronologie des publications de Marmier qui fut un écrivain prolifique et recyclait souvent ses écrits (une centaine de volumes et d'innombrables articles). L'ouvrage fournit ainsi, avec un compte rendu critique de l'ensemble de sa production, une bibliographie qui se veut sélective mais est la plus fiable et complète à ce jour. À la fin de cet excellent travail le lecteur aurait apprécié un bilan mettant en valeur les nombreuses perspectives de recherche qu'il ouvre.

Le livre de Wendy Mercer, dont la parution coïncide avec le bicentenaire de la naissance de Xavier Marmier, est une lecture passionnante et une contribution importante à la recherche dix-neuviémiste. Sans être inutilement alourdi par un jargon terminologique, c'est un travail solidement ancré dans la recherche récente dans les domaines de la littérature de voyage et des études postcoloniales. Il sera en particulier une source d'information indispensable pour qui s'intéresse au regard exogène sur le Nord et à sa construction discursive.

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Sveinn Pálsson, *Draft of a Physical, Geographical, and Historical Description of Icelandic Ice Mountains, on the Basis of a Journey to the Most Prominent of Them in 1792–1794. An Annotated and Illustrated English Translation*, eds. Richard S. Williams & Oddur Sigurðsson, Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag 2004, ISBN 9979661461, 183 pp.

When this book was published in 2004, it did not immediately generate much interest. It is the sort of book that can get lost in the flood of annual publications in Iceland: an English translation of a manuscript written by Sveinn Pálsson in 1794 describing his three-year investigation of Icelandic glaciers. Even the Danish Natural History Association (Naturhistorie Selskabet) in Copenhagen – the foundation which had financed his research – had declined to publish the original manuscript. About a century later, a part of the manuscript came out in Danish, and in 1945 and 1983, Pálsson's entire travelogue appeared in Icelandic, an important corrective.

With this English translation, Pálsson's writings on Icelandic glaciers will finally be available to the general scholarly community. The publishers were encouraged by Jón Eyþórsson, long-term president of the Icelandic Travel Association and leader of the Glaciology Society of Iceland, who believes that had Pálsson's work been printed prior to 1800, he would have been placed among the foremost natural scientists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, probably earning the honorific "father of glaciology." Clearly outpacing his contemporaries, Pálsson was fortunate in that he began his studies in Copenhagen just after the Danish Natural History Association was established, generating a great deal of interest in the subject. He was encouraged to pursue natural history studies, and to this end received a grant to conduct research in Iceland. His survey began in 1791, and upon completion of the manuscript three years later, he was appointed district doctor for the southern quadrant of Iceland. Here he started a family and practiced medicine alongside farming and fishing. The various interests he pursued throughout his life included developing new meteorological techniques.

It is clear from his works that Sveinn Pálsson was not only a clever thinker but also a man well-versed in both Icelandic and foreign writings. He was thoroughly informed about Icelandic sagas, historical annals, and contemporary writings about the countryside, and kept up with foreign scientific publications. A sharp critic, he was not shy about voicing his disagreement or pointing out mistakes in what he read, often including corrections to the arguments of other authors in his own writing. He therefore had those qualities which behove a good scientist: a clever mind, keen observational skills, and scepticism towards received knowledge.

His background and experience differed from that of most other scientists in his day and age, since his life was marked by a struggle against the very forces of nature he wrote about, even as a doctor and farmer. His intimate familiarity with his subject matter – the self-same environment he grew up in – is demonstrated in his bold explorations into the countryside, often into very dangerous situations (see, for example, 27). He also ventured into places

where no others had gone, for instance up onto Öræfajökull (Öræfa Glacier). His ascent up this glacier and comments on the affect of the thinning air on his efforts is one of the more engaging accounts in the work (67).

The book is not simply a scientific text, however; Pálsson takes pains to weave into his work observations on the situation in Iceland which demonstrate that all is not as miserable as had been indicated in some other accounts. For instance, his discussion of the glaciers argues that, counter to common wisdom, they were actually beneficial for the land. In fact, he notes they contribute to making the land inhabitable, since they block the cold and dampness which emanates continually from Greenland. Glaciers also positively impact fish runs, he mentions. It is important to remember that Pálsson began his research shortly after the famines of the mid-eighteenth century, when Iceland's future looked anything but rosy. His contemporary, Hannes Finnsson, wrote *Mannfækkun af hallærum á Íslandi* ['Concerning the Loss of Population in Iceland'] around this time just to confirm for himself and others that the land was still suitable for habitation.

In sum, there is much to recommend this English translation of Pálsson's work. The publication is well done, and I noticed no printing errors worth mentioning. The end matter index and detailed lists are also clean. Sveinn Pálsson's skill as a draftsman and cartographer are well served in this publication, which includes reproductions of his maps and drawings of Icelandic glaciers. In addition, numerous photographs of glaciers and their surroundings are included, taken by the co-editor of the publication, Oddur Sigurðsson. The photos are perfectly chosen, though at times one wishes they were larger, given the large format of the book and the fine quality of the pictures.

The grave oversight that this manuscript was not published at the close of the eighteenth century can never be rectified. But with this publication, perhaps Sveinn Pálsson can have his proper valuation within the history of natural science, gilding the edges of his manuscript at last.

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3. References

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