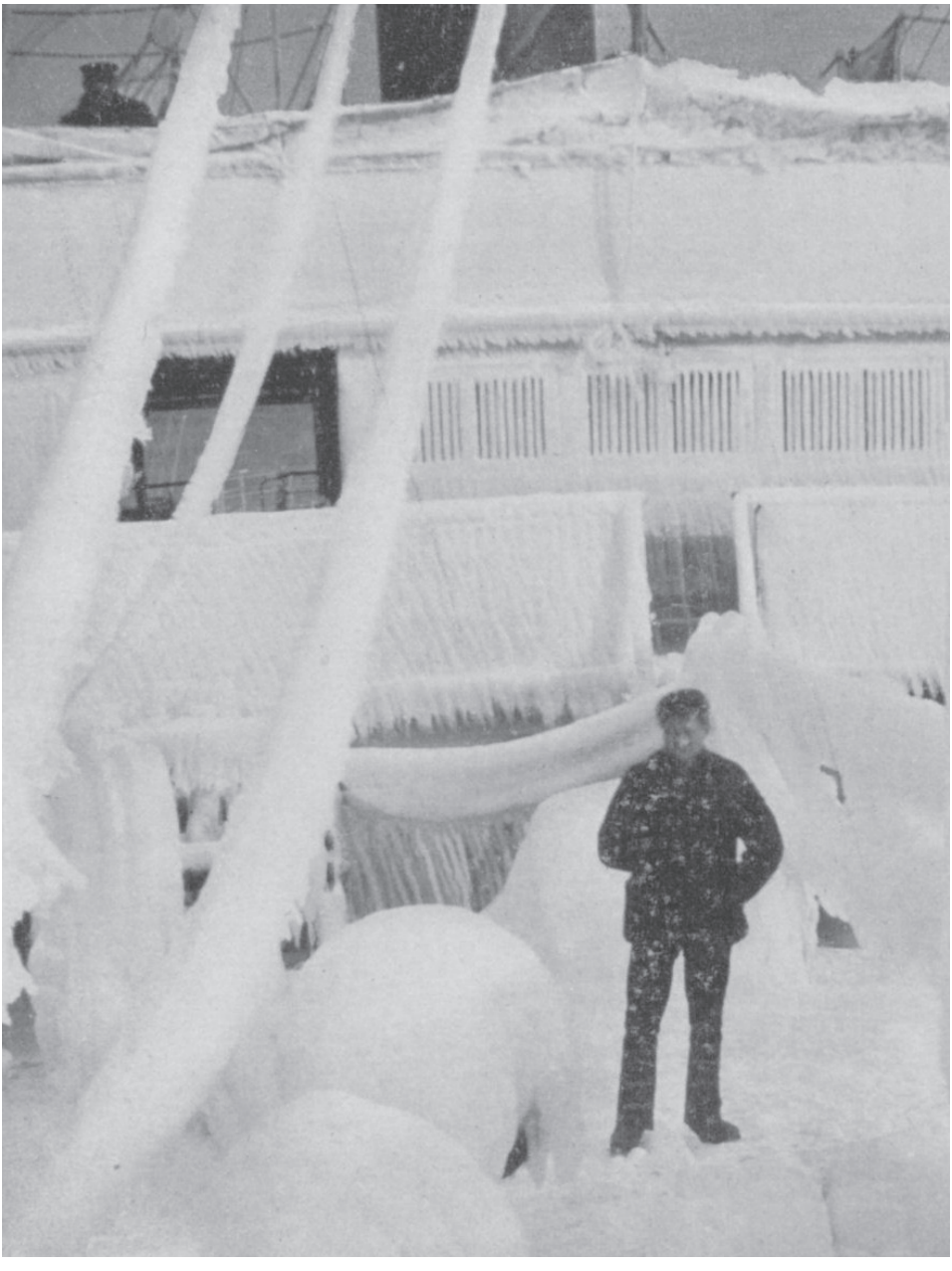
Journal of Northern Studies

Vol. 8 • No. 2 • 2014



Journal of Northern Studies

Vol. 8 • No. 2 • 2014

Published by Umeå University & The Royal Skyttean Society

Umeå 2014

The *Journal of Northern Studies* is published with support from The Royal Skyttean Society and Umeå University

ISSN 1654-5915

Cover picture
"Our Ship in Winter."
Illustration in Ethel Tweedie, *Through Finland in Carts* (1897).

Design and layout
Lotta Hortéll och Leena Hortéll, Ord & Co i Umeå AB
Fonts: Berling Nova and Futura
Paper: Invercote Creato 260 gr and Artic volume high white 115 gr

Printed by
TMG Tabergs

Contents / Sommaire / Inhalt

FOREWORD

Understanding North

This volume is the outcome of the Understanding North international symposium held at Umeå University, Sweden, on 25–26 April 2013. The aim was to illuminate knowledge of the North.

For most of us, the North is connected with the notions of cold and snow and, etymologically, the word *north* is related to the Old High German *nord*, both descending from the Proto-Indo-European unit *ner-*, meaning 'down' or 'under.' A natural primitive description of its concept is presumably 'to the left of the rising sun.'

The Latin word *borealis* comes from the Greek *boreas*, 'north wind, north,' in mythology (according to Ovid) personified as the son of the river-god Strymon, and the father of Calais and Zetes; *septentrionalis* is from *septentriones*, "the seven plough oxen," a name for *Ursa Major*. The Greek *arktikos*, 'northern,' is used for the same constellation (cf. *Arctic*).

Umeå University is strongly connected to the conception of the North. It was inaugurated in 1965. Three years later, in 1968, another northerly university, the University of Tromsø in Norway—the northernmost university in the world—was inaugurated.

When these two universities were established in the 1960s, the Northern Dimension was not a matter of great interest for scientists. But, along with political actions, the establishment of these two universities helped draw attention to the Northern Dimension, not least scientifically.

Everything is incorporated in a context, which also applies to this symposium. In 1978 a forerunner was held at Umeå University. It had at least two purposes; first and foremost to collect the knowledge gained during the decade in which research had been conducted at Umeå University as well as in other places, especially in the Nordic countries. The result was a conference volume that future research could lean upon and a solid foun-

dation for further discoveries as well as new issues and methods within the research field. The title of the volume was *Nord-Skandinaviens historia i tvärvetenskaplig belysning/The History of Northern Scandinavia. An Interdisciplinary Symposium* (Umeå 1980). The second purpose was to form the basis for further scientific exploration of the North.

Internally, and in the light of what we know now, research within the field of the Northern Dimension was developed in different ways at Umeå University, both scientifically and structurally. One of the more high-profile projects is the Lule River project, while between 1996–2005 another such project was Cultural Boundaries in the North. Altogether, the result of these two big projects was about 10 theses, 60 monographs and some 100 published articles in different national and international journals.

As an outcome of these scientific achievements, the structures of these research activities also evolved to form a centre, namely the Centre for Sami Research (CeSam), which was established on 1 April 2000 and is administratively a part of the Faculty of Arts at Umeå University. CeSam is an important cornerstone of the "The Northern Dimension" profile programme and a resource for research and education, thereby serving as a forum and meeting place for the departments and units at Umeå University together with other universities and university colleges in Sweden engaged in research activities relating to the Sami language and other relevant aspects of Sami culture.

In this context, I also want to mention our journal, *The Journal of Northern Studies*, which is a peer-reviewed academic publication issued twice a year. It has a specific focus on human activities in northern spaces, with articles concentrating on people as cultural beings, people in society and the interaction between people and the northern environment. Apart from scholarly articles, the journal contains a review section, and a section with reports and information on issues relevant to Northern Studies. The journal is published by Umeå University and Sweden's northernmost Royal Academy, the Royal Skyttean Society.

At the end of 2012, an Artic Research Centre (Arcum) was established at Umeå University. Its establishment means that research assumes greater responsibility for meeting the challenges of a vision of sustainable development in the Arctic. The Understanding North symposium is included in this context and we regard it as a continuation of all the work conducted in the past few decades. However, at this time and with this symposium the perspective has been widened, which our invited speakers are an outward sign of. This symposium represents a shift from a more national and Nordic perspective to a more international perspective.

Accordingly, we can note that since 1965 and the establishment of Umeå University the North and the Artic have become an area of great interest,

not least due to climate change, the environment, oil and gas exploitation, security policies, ecological systems, and the changing social conditions of people, in particular the indigenous population of this part of the planet. In this new world we have the ambition to establish a whole knowledge cycle by bringing knowledge back from this symposium to the community and its representatives. It will be a stepping-stone into the future. In doing so, we continue to explore the North and the related concepts. For a brave new world.

Per-Olof Erixon
Dean, Faculty of Arts
Umeå University
Sweden
per-olof.erixon@estet.umu.se

JOURNAL OF NORTHERN STUDIES Vol. 8 • No. 2 • 2014, pp. 11–27

DAVID G. ANDERSON

Cultures of Reciprocity and Cultures of Control in the Circumpolar North

ABSTRACT This article surveys different cultures of engagement between people, animals, and the landscape across the circumpolar Arctic. Through ethnographic examples the article describes offering rituals and placings in several Arctic contexts in the light of the emphasis they place on affirming personhood. Similarly, rituals of management and regulation are described in the terms of how they strive to create predictability and control. The article tries to mediate this contrast by examining "architectural" examples of co-operation and co-domestication between humans, animals and landscapes. The article concludes with a reflection on how the themes of "origins" and "animal rights" further reconstruct these dichotomies.

KEYWORDS Human-animal relationships, circumpolar, reciprocity, management, animal rights, domestication

The Arctic is seldom viewed as a realm of culture. Clothed in stereotypes of its pristineness, harshness, and peripheralness, it is in general seen as a resource from which industrialised and managed forms of economy can grow. This stereotype of primeval emptiness and potentiality stands in stark contrast to the metaphors and images of people who live in Arctic landscapes. In kind acknowledgement of the invitation of the Faculty of Arts to prepare an essay on "Understanding North" to honour Umeå's status as a City of Culture, this chapter reviews the anthropology of the engagements that Northerners have with their landscapes, and the animals around them, as a form of culture. Through this optic I hope to dispel these common stereotypes and contribute to a new way of understanding relationships in this rich region.

Idioms of Culture

As is well known in anthropology and literature studies, the concept of culture holds a variety of often contradictory definitions (Williams 1983). Within anthropology it is often associated with an ontological divide within which certain objects and entities are defined as unchangingly "natural," and others as artificially "cultural." These dualisms of "nature vs. culture" often permeate the way that urban dwellers view the world around them, and subtly shape the way that they approach landscapes. The Arctic, thus, is often constructed as a natural domain. The settlers and indigenous peoples living there are either passive hostages of the elements or brave conquerors who eke out a livelihood in difficult circumstances. Rarely is the region portrayed as a hot-spot of political and industrial intrigue: an arena where superpowers compete for military superiority or large corporations map new forms of property relationships on its mountains or seabeds. These implied dualisms de-politicize relationships and create a type of an anti-politics machine (Ferguson 1990).

The stark dualisms applied to the Arctic are ironic in the sense that many of the local idioms used by people—settlers and indigenous peoples alike—are extremely relational and indeed serve as models within anthropology and philosophy of a new type of ontology where human action blends into the action of other sentient beings (Venkatesan 2010). At the very birth of the discipline of anthropology, the way that Arctic indigenous peoples attributed wilfulness and morality to spirits, rocks, and animals was classified (and partly denigrated) as "animism" (Tylor 1871; Bird-David *et al*. 1999). This term has come a full circle now standing as a sign post for categories which mediate relationships and deconstruct dualities (Harvey 2005; Ingold 2000). The very personalized rituals of respect for the environment which one can observe among Arctic hunters and reindeer herders stand for

much more than the ethical actions of perceptive individuals. Running parallel to the discourse of Arctic development, and anti-political rhetoric of progress, is a growing concern that places and animals be treated properly. The sentience felt to be in spaces, creatures, and people feeds into a broader ecological imperative which inspires citizens far from Arctic shores to engage in advocacy to conserve and protect.

Within this set of approaches to Arctic places, there is also an important subset of relationships on which I would like to place my emphasis. This is the issue of human-animal relationships. As with the Nature-Culture duality, the opposition between the "wild" and the "domestic" is again one of the primary markers of what is often held to be human and what is held to be barbaric. Full human beings are often thought to have control over the beasts around them in line with an ancient idea of hierarchy in biological forms (Lovejoy [1936] 1960). It is curious that in Arctic places the animals which give life and sustenance are thought to be "not quite domestic" (Vigne 2011). The reindeer are seen to be at an incipient form of domestication where they are not quite penned or regulated. Similarly Arctic dogs are seen to occupy a grey area between wild and domestic forms. Here I am interested in exploring this quality of incipient "not-quite-ness" that is read into what are rather complex relationships. By exploring this complexity, I wish to map out a way to understand the North in a more active and nuanced fashion and, in turn, put some distance from these old stereotypes that are hallmarks of the way the region is viewed.

Cultures of Control

Although one might easily be critical of stark stereotypes in the perception of Arctic landscapes, the fact remains that they enlist large groups of people in ways that structure the world around us. The "culture of control" that is most commonly invoked in human-animal relationships is the relationship of domestication where the taming of the animal is associated with "breaking" its will, or controlling its reproductive cycle, and thereby the very physical form of its body. The link of this form of domination was clearly described by Gordon Childe as the "Neolithic revolution" (Childe 1928) whereby human beings escaped the tyranny of nature by inscribing predictability and efficiency in his relationships with animals. Among Arctic herders, this idea has been most aptly captured by Tim Ingold in one of his earlier books where he observed that "what is lacking in mutual sympathy is made up through [...] physical force in the form of the lasso, whip, tether or hobble" (Ingold 1980: 96) (Fig. 1). This powerful and crisp idea had a great effect on the study of Northern cultures framing several generations of archaeological research into the beginning of Northern culture framed

Fig. 1. Early summer antler trimming, Bazarnaia River, Zabaikalskii Krai. Photo: David G. Anderson.

as the first appearance of harnesses and hobbles. It also distracted attention from the more subtle ways that herd animals and people work together or show concern for each other.

Similar cultures of control are evident in the management of relationships with animals that evoke fear or horror. Circumpolar debates on predator control are a perfect example of how issues of management and control

grow out of stark opposition of wild and tame types. A strong example of this is wolf predation. Wolves are an archetypical species to which great resourcefulness and intelligence are attributed but which often stand as a polar opposite to a cultured environment (Anderson 1986). People in different parts of the Arctic approach wolves in different ways. The Scandinavian debates are extremely polarized with both state and conservationist lobbies arguing for the protection of the "last remaining" wolves which often cause hardship for indigenous Sami reindeer herders (Torp & Sikku 2004; Beach 2003). Here an ethnopolitical divide structures the debate wherein different segments of national societies argue for the right to set quotas and control the populations of these animals. The heart of this argument is which segment is "closer" to the landscapes which need regulating. In other regions, such as in the Northern Yukon, indigenous people struggle over the moral implications of industrial-technical methods for controlling wolf populations (Nadasdy 2011; Van Lanen *et al*. 2012). Here wildlife managers, in a bid to avoid angering conservationists, have opted for an expensive veterinary technique of sterilizing female wolves (instead of killing them). This intervention is seen by Gwich'in and other elders not only as disrespectful to the animal, but also as a dangerous contradiction to local traditions of building relationships with wolves. Knowledgeable elders draw attention to the important role that dominant female wolves play in creating wolf societies by maintaining hierarchies and controlling reproduction within the pack. Medico-veterinary interventions disrupt this social role and lead ironically to a chaotic reaction within wolf society where individual animals can assert their own interests in the forced abdication of the dominant animal. By contrast, these local hunters argue that wolf societies need to be cared for and cultivated, not exterminated.

Cultures of Reciprocity

The documented excesses of cultures of control traditionally lead to their dualistic opposite—the alternate strategy of cultures of reciprocity. Although as I will address below this dualism is also suspect, the contrast is useful to understand the range of models nested within the circumpolar North.

In Northern ethnography *reciprocity* is a key term occupying a place within the anthropological canon similar to that of the word *culture*. Reciprocity signals the reciprocal exchange of gifts or tokens of respect. It is closely linked to kinship relationships, and all forms of human attention that express symbolic closeness, fragility, or respect. Traditionally, Northern models of reciprocity are signalled through "offerings" or "placings"—the deliberate gifting of food or valuable trade items (shotgun shells, items of

clothing) to visible or non-visible entities on the land. Some of the traditional Siberian rituals are the most colourful where, for example, a foetus from a pregnant reindeer perhaps accidently slaughtered will be hung in a tree as a "gift to the taiga" (Fig. 2). Similarly upon travelling into a new watershed a thread with coloured fabric will be hung on a tree as a token of respect to the spirit-masters which control relationships in the new region (Fig. 3). A common circumpolar ritual is the gifting of food or alcohol to the fire "feeding the fire." These small acts of respect may seem far removed from sober collection of statistical data in the debate on climate change, but in their own highly personalized way they point to a culture of attention to the opportunities that the land has to offer. Common to many Northern

Fig. 2. The gift of a reindeer foetus to the tundra, Khantaiskoe Ozero, Taimyr. Photo: David G. Anderson.

places is a sort of reduction or super-imposition of small local acts onto global problems. Thus ritual gifting signifies a global relationship of balance and respect.

These cultures of respect can also be read back into the examples of dominating human-animal relationships in the previous section. As suggested, in many regions of the North the best practice in predator management is not the extermination and control over the bodily form of the predator, but a deep understanding of how to allow the predators the space to develop their own social norms and limitations of their activity. Similarly, the so-called "breaking" of an animal to allow it to be harnessed or

Fig. 3. A threaded set of fabrics gifted to the tundra, Khantaiskoe Ozero, Taimyr. Photo: David G. Anderson.

directed is usually balanced with a fine understanding of the needs of that animal. Herders know that a starved and insecure animal can never be relied upon to perform work within a human-animal social community. Therefore the herders offer security (part of which is protection from predators), access to food, and protection from other threats such as blood-sucking insects. Through a mutual respect of animal and human (and often other co-resident animals like dogs) a type of transspecies social understanding is created whereby the actions of each are balanced within a greater collectivity. Here the trading of protection for service is the type of reciprocity which guarantees this balance.

Between Trust and Domination

The division of evocative action in human-animal relationships into two types has been widely expressed as a contrast between "trust" and "domination" again in one of the most widely cited works by Tim Ingold (Ingold 1994). His evocative contrast between hunting societies, who cultivate relationships of respect with prey animals and thus encounter the animals they rely upon, and herding societies, which use the threat of pain and constraints to enforce action, has both set the research agenda for Northern societies as well as a recent backlash against it (Oma 2010; Donahoe 2012; Knight 2012). Most commentators now shy away from this crisp clean contrast and look upon mediating examples of human and animal action that are neither/nor or both trusting and dominating.

Fig. 4. Training a reindeer for saddle, Amudisy, Zabaikalskii Krai. Photo: David G. Anderson.

Within the arena of reindeer domestication this allows us to expand our focus from the primal images of how herders encounter their stocks. As described above, there is an almost archetypical image of human intention dominating the domestic animal as one skilful herder uses force to break an animal into submission (Fig. 4). Force is always a part of these relationships, but these episodes of direct confrontation between the canny herder and the docile herd animal are short and far less characteristic of the everyday relationship between these beings. What is far more common is a quality I would describe as an architecture of relationships. This can be the use of physical structures to collect or even confine animals. Or it can also be the identification of special places in the landscape that both animals and people crave. In this case the physical setting drives people and animals into a co-existence creating a mutual interest in creating a common life together.

To understand how these architectures work we have to redirect our gaze from the primal confrontation between a lasso-bearing man and an animal to the environment surrounding them. The most visible structure in reindeer husbandry is the enclosure often called a corral. From a distance these structures look prison-like—they are made up of parallel rows of logs and have gates which are often tied shut. The animals look confined within them. However, these enclosures often are built in various different styles which correspond to various types of encumbered action.

Within archaeology, one of the classic structures is the milking corral—a

Fig. 5. Milking Corral, Nechera River, Irkutsk Oblast'. Photo: David G. Anderson.

relatively small enclosure which is used to separate calves from their mothers for a short period of time to allow the mothers to build up a reserve of milk which can then be harvested (Fig. 5) (Aronsson 1991). This intimacy between herder and animal is often cited as one of the first stages in domestication and one that leaves a significant material signature on the land which can be dated and organized into an evolutionary scheme. The milking corral itself is confining, and the animals are often tethered. However the structure is also made enticing often with a soothing smudge fire or even fodder brought down from the forest for the animals. The animals spend a short time within the structure before being released, only to be enticed and summoned again.

Another type of structure among taiga Evenki reindeer herders is a marshalling corral (Fig. 6). This is a much larger often imposing structure built over a significant period of time through the labour of up to a dozen men. Its size is calculated to allow enough room for a small herd to circulate, since the intention is not to confine or imprison but to structure the motions of the animals so that they can be inspected, and if necessary caught. The reindeer are also enticed into these structures with the promise of salt and smoke. Often a herder will sing to attract the herd. Once within the marshalling corral the animals might be left to their own devices so that they become accustomed to the sounds of the camp and the smells of the people. Or, if necessary, two or three men will select reindeer and, taking advantage of the enclosure, relatively effortlessly catch them. To create a space where people and reindeer can interact requires foresight into the range of space that makes a herd feel comfortable. The alternate version—a structure too large or too small—could in fact be dangerous in that it would encourage a herd to bolt or would require a far too costly regime of monitoring and repair.

The last type of architecture is a type of built structure which does not at first glance seem built at all. Most herders take advantage of ethnoecological sites—special types of plant communities or windswept places which attract animals (Johnson & Hunn 2009). These can be grass meadows which may be coveted, or even be especially maintained, through a regime of spring-time burning. They could be ice-patches which protect the herd from insects, or a windy escarpment. These sites, which at first glance look "natural" are often subject to generations of care making them ecological artefacts—an important mediating type of site that is neither natural nor cultural (Anderson *et al*. 2014). These landscape oriented ecofacts can be described as special places where people and animals encounter each other and learn to co-exist. Often, they are given special names in local languages which confound traditional botanical or geological categories in that they present a mix of different qualities (Fig. 7).

Fig. 6. Marshalling corral, Amudisy, Zabaikalskii Krai. Photo: David G. Anderson.

Fig. 7. A reindeer meadow at Lake Tolondo, Irkust Oblast'. Photo: David G. Anderson.

The example of architectures of domestication makes it easier to speak of relations between trust and domination, and indeed to leave behind these two stark opposites. Enclosures, or windblown ice-patches, both attract and confine, protect and release. They provide potentials or certain affordances which allow relationships to be built. They of course also have their own intrinsic qualities. Some places can be "good" (Johnson 2000) while others

might be subject to denigration over time. Most importantly they distract attention from the relations that tie together two sentient individual creatures—herder and animal—and instead look at groups of practices and qualities that combine together to create an ecology of domestication.

Origins and Entangled Futures

Once one replaces stark dichotomies with relational categories like that of animal architecture, it becomes an interesting experiment to re-examine some of the other fundamental categories in the same set. The idea of there being cultures of reciprocity, or cultures of control, is often linked very directly to strong narratives of progress and evolution. In the study of domestication there is a great emphasis on the search for the "first" domestic dog or the "first" domestic reindeer—an idea which then anchors a behaviour in time and space and then allows one to classify other parts of the world as being "ahead of" or "behind." This arrangement of skill and region is generally only successful if there is a single parameter that can be used to classify. Thus, often harnesses or other tools of domination become markers of economic control rather than, say, the skilful use of biotic communities or the timing of ones movements in order to encounter animals on habitual paths. With this classificatory intuition, it often becomes difficult to identify relationships which may not use tools of domination—such as in the observation and respect of the internal structure of wolf society. The search for origin points collapses skill and intuition into a narrow path which extends equally into the past as into the future. The future indeed becomes shaped by the potentials or lost potentials of the past. Thus, although reindeer husbandry has a long history in Eurasia, one can often read or hear commentary about the "collapse" or the "end" of reindeer husbandry as tundra herdsmen re-adjust their stocks to new economic conditions (Anderson 2006).

The anticipated structure of time itself can also be a common stereotype which deafens one to the way that Arctic communities may structure their lives. In many cases, northerners can use different senses of time, such as among Northern Dene where Euro-American assumptions are reversed in that the future anticipated by the community predetermines how the past is invited to speak (Legat 2012). One of my favourite old time stories which was shared with me years ago by Mr William Nerysoo in the Gwich'in community of Ft. McPherson demonstrates this relational quality of time and how future and past become intertwined (Gwich'in & Ritter 1976). It is known as the Story of Shiltee Rock and it addresses the topic of how young people come of age, how the landscape shapes human and animal relationships, and how politics and history are intertwined.

In a setting such as this there is no place to share the full story, and indeed these stories are often retold to contribute to a specific context—and this will be my telling. The story tells of a time long ago when a family was searching for caribou as they moved upstream along the Peel River. The grandmother sent two boys and their dogs up into the mountains to search for caribou. Meanwhile she stayed with her granddaughter who was coming of age as her body changed into that of a woman's body. For most northern Dene, a woman's first menstruation was an honoured and fearful time and required that the woman seclude herself in a narrow high tent-like garment. The girl was instructed by her grandmother not to look out. However, when she heard her brothers returning with the dogs she could not resist peeking out from under the hood. The brothers and the dogs were immediately frozen into rock, and the Shiltee Rock stands today as a memorial to her curiosity and the timelessness of these family relationships (Fig. 8).

However the story continues. When William Nerysoo told the story he drew my attention to the fragments of rock that surround the monument. In the Old Time story these are said to be fragments of bannock (unleavened bread) which fell out of the dog packs. With his characteristic curiosity and a smile in his eye he asked how could it be that they were making bannock many hundreds of years before the first European explorers reached the banks of the Peel River. And indeed I return to think about this paradox on and off over the now 25 years since I first heard the story. There are many ways to explain this paradox, but in this case I like to think of this detail as a type of "prophecy narrative" (Fienup-Riordan 1990) where the

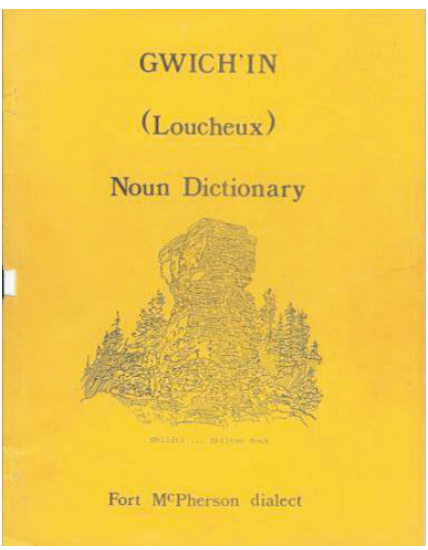


Fig. 8. Shiltee Rock, Peel River, Gwich'in Settlement Area.

difficult times brought by colonialism are already always incorporated into the past of the people struggling with them. The adaptation of flour-based products as a facilitator to overland travel is one of the more positive aspects of fur-trade society. It demonstrates a culture of reciprocity where a product grown and worked in one part of the globe is incorporated to increase the well-being of people in another (and similarly the furs exchanged provide warmth and comfort to those far away). The petrified bannock bread in the legend stands for a sense of wealth and resilience which looks both ways from the past into the future. Resilient trade relationships feed directly into a resilient way of understanding relationships within the family, and with the animals (the dogs and caribou) that support that family. The fact that in a strict time line the story must have preceded the bannock distracts from the eternal image of landscape well-ordered. The question of origins—of which relationship came first—distracts from the question of what a proper relationship should look like.

With this example of a future entangled with the past it is tempting to look back on stories of evolutionary time lines and the compact predictable futures that they promise. When speaking to hunters or herders about their dogs, or their reindeer, they generally see their bodies and forms as part of a work-in-progress. One animal might have more wolf or wild reindeer in it. Another might be passive, or lazy. However most taiga people have imagination to see how these qualities can grow into new qualities which are not necessarily predicted by what has come before. The key intuition in this form of husbandry is an imagination for potentiality and desirable futures. In that light the material that comes forward from the past is manipulated and selected so that it grows in the right direction to prepare the desired result.

Conclusion. Ethnographies of Tameness

Upon surveying the rich relations that Northerners have with their environment and the animals that support them it seems odd that at any time we assumed that domestication was dominating (Tsing 2013). This begs the question perhaps of ethnographies of tameness—of what exact relationships are seen as properly cultured or properly within the realm of human society. The classic examples are household pets—so-called "companion species" (Haraway 2008). Here the themes of co-perception and mutual understanding are closely linked with anthropomorphism—of attributing human features to the animals which depend on us. It is striking when we survey the circumpolar North that there are different types of "tameness" accepted just as with the idea that free ranging wild animals might express social relationships. For many Northern hunters, the idea that a dog would

need to be coddled and fed would be a strange and unseemly behaviour to encourage. For many, dogs are seen to be fiercely independent, proud and intelligent beings with the right to their own autonomy. To capture this contrast, and in place of a conclusion, it would be an interesting project to investigate exactly what our expectations are in companion species and to question how these models from within urban societies speak perhaps more clearly than the stereotypes that we map onto Northern societies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Olle Sundström for his patience in waiting for this chapter during a very difficult time in the life of our family. The work on this article was made possible by ERC AdG 295458 Arctic Domus.

REFERENCES

Anderson, D.G. (2006). "Is Siberian reindeer herding in crisis? Living with reindeer fifteen years after the end of state socialism," *Nomadic Peoples*, 10:2, pp. 87–104.

Anderson, D.G., *et al*. (2014). "Landscape agency and Evenki-Iakut reindeer husbandry along the Zhuia River, Eastern Siberia," *Human Ecology*, 42:2, pp. 249–266.

Anderson, M. (1986). "From predator to pet. Social relationships of the Saami reindeer herding dog," *Central Issues in Anthropology*, 6:2, pp. 3–11.

Aronsson, K.-Å. (1991). *Forest Reindeer Herding A.D. 1–1800. An Archaeological and Palaeoecological Study in Northern Sweden* (Archaeology and environment 10), Umeå: Umeå University, Department of Archaeology.

Beach, H. (2003). "Poltical ecology in Swedish Saamiland," in *Cultivating Arctic Landscapes. Knowing and Managing Animals in the Circumpolar World*, eds. D.G. Anderson & M. Nuttall, Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 110–123.

Bird-David, N., Viveiros de Castro, E., Hornborg, A., Ingold, T., Morris, B., Pálsson, G., Rival, L.M. & Sandstrom, A.R. (1999). "'Animism' revisited. Personhood, environment, and relational epistemology [and comments and reply]," *Current Anthropology*, 40, pp. 67–91.

Childe, V.G. (1928). *The Most Ancient East. The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory*, London: Kegan Paul & Co.

Donahoe, B. (2012). "'Trust' or 'Domination'? Divergent perceptions of property in animals among the Tozhu and the Tofa of South Siberia," in *Who Owns the Stock? Collective and Multiple Property Rights in Animals*, eds. A.M. Khazanov & G. Schlee, Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 99–120.

Ferguson, J. (1990). *The Anti-Politics Machine. Development, Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fienup-Riordan, A. (1990). *Eskimo Essays*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Gwich'in & Ritter, J. (1976). *Gwich'in (Loucheux) Noun Dictionary. Fort McPherson Dialect*, Northwest Territories: Programs and Evaluations Branch, Department of Education.

Haraway, D.J. (2008). *When Species Meet* (Posthumanities 3), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Harvey, G. (2005). *Animism. Respecting the Living World*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

Ingold, T. (1980). *Hunters, Pastoralists and Ranchers. Reindeer Economies and their Transformations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

— (1994). "From trust to domination. An alternative history of human-animal relations," in *Animals and Society. Changing Perspectives*, eds. A. Manning & J. Serpell, London: Routledge, pp. 1–22.

— (2000). *The Perception of the Environment. Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*, London: Routledge.

Johnson, L.M. (2000). "A place that's good. Gitskan landscape perception and ethnoecology," *Human Ecology*, 28:2, pp. 301–325.

Johnson, L.M. & Hunn, E.S. (2009). *Landscape Ethnoecology Concepts of Biotic and Physical Space*, New York: Berghahn Books.

Knight, J. (2012). "The anonymity of the hunt. A critique of hunting as sharing," *Current anthropology*, 3, pp. 334–355.

Legat, A. (2012). *Walking the Land, Feeding the Fire. Knowledge and Stewardship among the Tlicho Dene*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Lovejoy, A. ([1936] 1960). *The Great Chain of Being. A Study of the History of an Idea*, New York: Harper & Row.

Nadasdy, P. (2011). "'We don't harvest animals. We kill them.' Agricultural metahpors and the politics of wildlife management in the Yukon," in *Knowing Nature. Conversations at the Intersection of Political Ecology and Science Studies*, eds. M.J. Goldman, P. Nadasdy & M.D. Turner, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 135–151.

Oma, K.A. (2010). "Between trust and domination. Social contracts between humans and animals," *World Archaeology*, 42:2, pp. 175–187.

Torp, E. & Sikku, O. (2004). *Vargen är värst. Traditionell samisk kunskap om stora rovdjur* ['The wolf is the worst. Traditional Sami knowledge about large predators'], Östersund: Jamtli.

Tsing, A. (2013). "More-than-human sociality. A call for critical description," in *Anthropology and Nature*, ed. K. Hastrup, New York: Routledge, pp. 27–42.

Tylor, E.B. (1871). *Primitive Culture*, London: John Murray.

Van Lanen, J.M., Stevens, C., Brown, C.L. & Koster, D.S. (2012). *Subsistence Land Mammal Harvests and Uses, Yukon Flats, Alaska. 2008–2010 Harvest Report and Ethnographic Update*, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence.

Venkatesan, S. (2010). "Ontology is just another word for culture. Motion tabled at the 2008 meeting of the Group for Debates in Anthropological Theory, University of Manchester," *Critique of Anthropology*, 30:2, pp. 152–200.

Vigne, J.-D. (2011). "The origins of animal domestication and husbandry. A major change in the history of humanity and the biosphere," *Comptes Rendus Biologies*, 334:3, pp. 171–181.

Williams, R. (1983). *Keywords. A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, London: Fontana.

David G. Anderson holds the Chair in the Anthropology of the North at the University of Aberdeen and holds an honorary doctorate from Umeå University. He writes on circumpolar ethnography with a special emphasis on Siberia, the history of science, ethnohistory

and political ecology. Presently he is directing a 5-year project on Arctic Domestication funded by an Advanced Grant from the European Research Council. He is the author of *Identity and Ecology in Arctic Siberia* (Oxford 2000) and the editor of several publications from Berghahn Press, the most recent of which is *About the Hearth. Perspectives on the Home, Hearth, and Household in the Circumpolar North.*

david.anderson@abdn.ac.uk

JOURNAL OF NORTHERN STUDIES Vol. 8 • No. 2 • 2014, pp. 29-43

ELENA BALZAMO

The Geopolitical Laplander

From Olaus Magnus to Johannes Schefferus

ABSTRACT After being either completely ignored or mixed up with monsters and devils, which in the medieval imagination dwelled in the Extreme North, the Sami were suddenly brought into the limelight by Olaus Magnus (1492–1557), Swedish catholic bishop in exile. His *Carta marina* (1539) and *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555) contain most valuable information, depicting the Sami's natural virtues, practical skills and mysterious magic powers. The image provided by these works became widely spread in Europe thanks both to the reprints of the Latin originals and to the numerous translations. In the seventeenth century the theme was re-actualized by a new publication, entirely devoted to Lapland and its inhabitants: *Lapponia* (1673) by Johannes Schefferus (1621–1679). Translated into a number of languages it replaced the image created by Olaus Magnus with a new one, at the same time similar and different. The present paper examines some crucial points of this evolution in order to show that both "portraits" reflect motivations that go beyond purely scholarly interest: each of them is part of the ideological struggle of its time—the Reformation in one case, the conflicts brought to life by the Thirty Years' War in the other.

KEYWORDS Olaus Magnus, Johannes Schefferus, Scandinavia, North, Sweden, Lapland, Sami, history, sixteenth century, seventeenth century

Our knowledge of a phenomenon is never a mere sum of facts accumulated in the course of time. Even though empirical accumulation is very important, the relevance and value of a given piece of information depend on a number of factors of ideological, political and cultural nature; they determine the pattern of perception, the way different elements are selected, interpreted—and understood.

I have chosen two examples in the history of early perception of the Scandinavian North and its inhabitants to show how the linear development of empirical knowledge can interfere with ideology, how it can be modified—and even interrupted—influenced by cultural and political needs. The phenomenon in question is the Sami people: image, knowledge and perception.

Olaus Magnus (1490–1557)

After being either completely ignored or mixed up with monsters and devils, which in medieval imagination dwelled in the Extreme North, the Sami were suddenly brought into the limelight by the last Swedish catholic archbishop in exile, Olaus Magnus, who was born in Linköping in 1490 and died in Rome in 1557. In 1518–1519 he made a long journey to the northern parts of the Scandinavian peninsula, starting in Uppsala and visiting Hälsingland–Jämtland–Trøndelag–Nordland–the Gulf of Bothnia coast–Västerbotten–Norrbotten, up to Tornio, then going back to Stockholm. The trip had nothing to do with tourist curiosity, but had an obvious pragmatic character, being made on behalf of the Vatican authorities. Still its principal result—produced many years later—was primarily scholarly: a map, *Carta marina* (Venice, 1539), and a book, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Rome 1555).

Both works are a major contribution to several fields: geography, zoology, history, economy—and anthropology. In both the author's goals were not only scientific, but also—if not primarily—political and ideological. His aim was to influence the public opinion of his time by showing the importance of northern Europe at the very moment when Reformation was spreading there, threatening to tear it from the rest of the Catholic world.

Both the map and the book present, according to a specialist, "an astonishing mixture of accurate observation on the one hand and folk belief or received lore on the other" (Fisher 1994: 411), a mixture quite characteristic of the transitional period the author lived in, that between the Middle Ages and the earlier Modern Times. On the one hand, one finds there a vast amount of facts concerning, for instance, "small boats" covered with animal skin, reindeer used for transportation of people and goods, idolatry, marriage rituals, seal hunting, fishing techniques; on the other hand, one gets acquainted with "horrible sea monsters," "huge sea serpents," "a grass-eating

HISTORIA

DE GENTIBVS SEPTENTRIONALIBVS, EARVMQVE DIVERSIS STATIBVS, CONDITIONIBVS, MORIBVS, RITIBVS, SVPERSTITIONIBVS, DISCIPLINIS, EXERCITIIS, REGIMINE, VICTV, BELLIS, STRVCTVRIS, INSTRVMENTIS, AC MINERIS METALLICIS, & REBVS MIRABILIBVS, NECNON VNIVERSIS PENÈ ANIMALIBVS IN SEPTENTRIONE DEGENTIBVS, EORVMQ; NATVRA.

OPVS VT VARIVM, PLVRIMARVMQVE RERVM COGNITIONE REFERTVM, ATQVE CVM exemplis externis, tum expreſsis rerum internarum picturis illuſtratum, ita delectatione iucunditatéque plenum, maxima lectoris animum voluptate facilè perfundens.

AVTORE OLAO MAGNO GOTHO ARCHIEPISCOPO VPSALENSI Suetiæ & Gothiæ Primate.

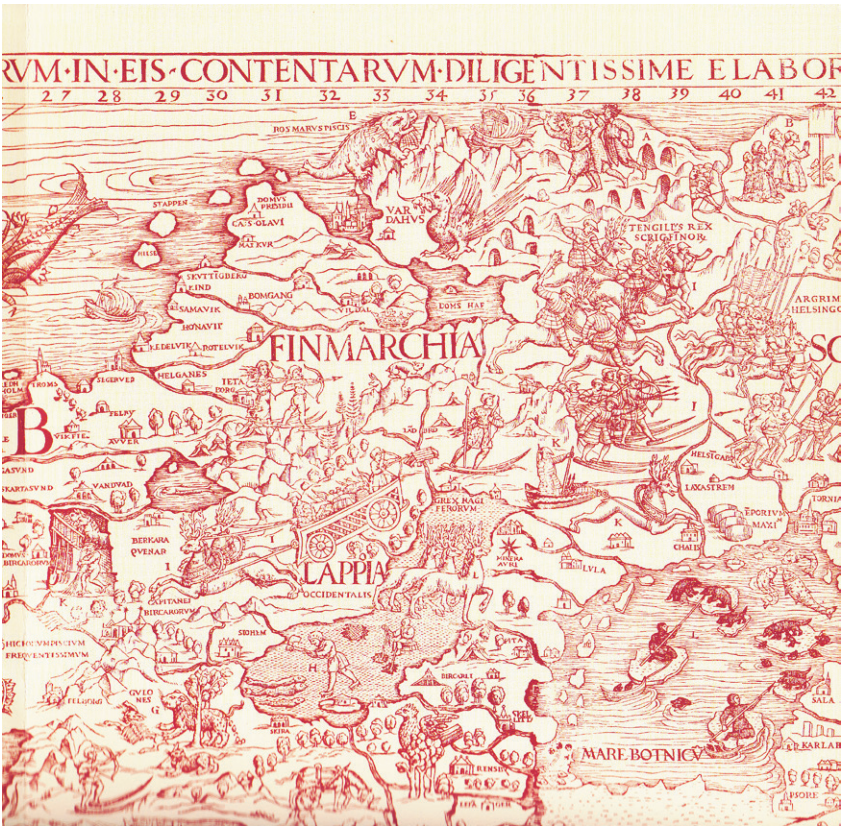
CVM INDICE LOCVPLETISSIMO.

CAVTVM EST PRIVILEGIO IVLII III. Pont. Max. ne quis ad Decennium imprimat.

ROMAE M. D. LV.

fish, big as an elephant, that can climb on rock," evil spirits employed in mines, giants of the times past (Granlund 1946; Balzamo 2005; Balzamo & Kaiser 2006).

The distribution of fantastic elements on the surface of the map shows a specific way to apprehend the reality represented: the number of monsters, trolls, wizards, etcetera is considerably higher in its northern parts. A closer analysis of *Carta marina* (blocks B and C including *Finmarchia*,



Lappia occidentalis, *Scricfini*, *Lappia orientalis*, *Biarmia*) brings into evidence the differences between the traditional view—Antiquity and the Middle Ages—and the new way to apprehend the Far North.

Another specific feature is the map's historical dimension. History, including pagan beliefs and practices, is part of it, and thus part of the present. In the first half of the sixteenth century these regions had not as yet been completely christianized, and going north was for Olaus and his contemporaries going back into the past, a feature that fascinated a number of scholars: "His essential experience was that while going north at the same time he travelled back in history" (Granlund 1946: 128).

This cohabitation of the past and the present creates an extremely dense and meaningful "chronotope," and the image of these regions emerging from Olaus Magnus' description has little to do with those one finds in earlier sources. Almost all his forerunners: Plinius, Pomponius Mela, or even, later on, Adam of Bremen and Saxo Grammaticus, presented the Far North as a realm of cold, savagery, a waste land almost uninhabited, a desert,

a frozen hell. This was primarily due to the lack of factual information: few people could reach these remote parts of Europe; but it was also determined by the need to conform the existing evidence to the prevailing pattern: the further one moved away from the centre of the *eucumene* to its periphery, the harsher the climate, the scarcer the population, the more abundant and fierce the beasts, the more frightening the monsters. While Antiquity had expressed the dichotomy in terms of civilisation versus barbarism, for medieval authors it became that between Christianity and paganism. Olaus Magnus inherited both.

Surprisingly, even though he borrows eagerly from all kinds of earlier authors (Granlund 1951; Grape 1970), the conclusions he draws are entirely different. There is no longer any talk of a frozen desert; according to Olaus Magnus, these regions are, on the contrary, characterised by constant and varied activities: peoples are hunting, trading, building boats, fishing, fighting, getting married and so forth.

Another important difference is the total absence of human monsters. Fabulous animals are present everywhere in his world, but one would look in vain for monstrous *people* which both Antiquity and the Middle Ages were so fond of. This change is even more significant since earlier all local populations had been automatically put into this category: in Procopius', Jordanes' and others' writings both the Finns and the Lapps, called *Scridfinni* (*Skridfinnar*, *Skridfinner*, *Skridfinns*, *Scrithifini*, *Screrefennes*, *Skrickfinnar*) were neighbouring the mythical Amazons, together with numerous other weird creatures:

> There are the Screrefennae, who do not seek grain for food but live on the flesh of wild beasts and birds' eggs [...]. Then comes a throng of various nations, Theustes, Vagoth, Bergio, Hallin, Liothida. [...] All these live like wild animals in rocks hewn out like castles. (Jordanes 1908: 21–22.)

A similar mixture can be found in the works of Adam of Bremen, who evokes Cyclopes, Himantopodes, peoples with dog's heads, etcetera:

> On the east, Sweden touches the Riphaean Mountains, where there is an immense wasteland, the deepest snows, and where hordes of human monsters prevent access to what lies beyond. There are Amazons, and Cynocephali, and Cyclops who have one eye on their foreheads; there are those Solinus calls Himantopodes, who hop on one foot, and those who delight in human flesh as food. (Adam of Bremen 1959: 206.)

In Adam's writings, but even earlier, one comes across the witchcraft motif, clearly associated with the inhabitants of the extreme North:

> These people, it is said, are to this day so superior in the magic arts or incantations that they profess to know what every one is doing the world over. Then they also draw great sea monsters of which one reads in the Scriptures about magicians. (Adam of Bremen 1959: 212.)

This image of wizards and witches is not much different from the one depicted by Saxo Grammaticus, who was Olaus Magnus' main source for ancient history. However, concerning the Sami, Olaus does not follow the authorities: the experience acquired during the journey often prevails on his reading, and it is highly significant that the unique monstrous people—the Pygmies—is located in Greenland (Block A) where they fight the cranes (the anecdote comes from Plinius, the image from *Liber chronicarum* by Hartmann Schedel). Refusing to regard the inhabitants of these regions as monsters, he chooses to present both the Sami and the Finns as part of *mankind*. But apart from his personal experience, humanisation of the Sami is determined by the work's internal logic: they are subtracted from the fantastic universe in order to be integrated into another paradigm, that of a perfectly normal—and human—*nordicity* (Balzamo 2013).

The convergence of empirical knowledge, new theoretical views and political goals culminates in *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*. The book offers a similar mixture of facts and fantasy: one can see the clash between the author's desire to follow the authorities and the factual knowledge that runs contrary to some of their statements. The information on the Sami is mainly found in the chapters "*De Biarmia ...*," "*De Finmarchia ...*," "*De Scritfinnia ...*," "*Ad huc de situ, & qualitatibus eius*," as well as in different parts of Book IV.

Here again the difference between Olaus Magnus' picture and the one that had prevailed before concerns first of all the way the geographical reality of the Far North is described: climate, landscape, natural resources. The unexplored inhospitable and terrifying areas become a kind of a New World, full of marvels, overflowing with all sorts of natural treasures: fish, game, domestic reindeer.

Another important difference consists in depicting the local populations, Sami and Finns (the author makes no clear distinction between them). These "portraits" are more comprehensive in comparison to the scarce information provided by the map and its bilingual commentaries (O*pera breve* and *Ein kurze auslegung*). The inhabitants of these regions are endowed with natural virtues that make one think about the "noble savage," one of the conceptual consequences of the geographical discoveries of the Columbus era. Olaus must have read *De Orbe Novo* (1511) by his contemporary Pietro Martiere de Anghiera, who introduced the notion of "the noble savage" living in symbiosis with nature. To quote a Swedish scholar, "[i]t is as if the

land of Laps and Skridfinns was emblematic for the authentic nordicity" (Lindroth 1975*a*: 305).

Thus, especially in Books I and IV, Olaus stresses that the inhabitants are numerous (I:3), great patriots (IV:2), strong, courageous and honest (I:2). The women are good-looking and fecund (IV:11), excelling in hunting and skiing (IV:11–12). The natives live long, enjoy their simple life and are happier than many of those who are more fortunate or more powerful (IV:V).

As to pagan beliefs, superstitions and sorcery, Olaus Magnus has to admit the existence of many features traditionally ascribed to them ("When the Biarmians plan to fight, they frequently exchange weapons for wizardry, for it is their custom to dissolve the sky into rain-storms with their spells to upset the air's joyful aspect with miserable downpour;" I:1)—but he never fails to counterbalance such statements by adding an excuse or a mitigating explanation minimizing the negative features by stressing the positive ones. As in the case of the map, the author discusses pagan rituals ("[...] they venerate with earnest prayers and elaborate ceremonies a red rag suspended on a pole or spear, thinking that it contains some divine power because of its colour, which resembles the blood of animals;" III:2) and magic practices, including that of selling winds (III:16). Still he persists in calling the Sami "ingenuous people" (IV:5), "barbarous, but perfectible" (I:3), living by "the laws of Nature" which compensates lack of education (IV:18). But the real rehabilitation lies less in arguments than in the author's genuine concern with these people, in the accuracy of his description, the details, the facts: skiing (I:4, IV:1), clothing (IV:4), hunting (IV:12), shooting (IV:11), getting married (IV:7)—due to which the image gains in consistency and leaves the realm of the myth. Thus the Sami appears in his work as: 1. An archaic figure from the fabulous past; 2. An idol worshipper; 3. A natural human being; 4. "a noble savage."

The image provided by *Historia* became widely spread in Europe due to both the reprints of the Latin original and numerous translations. More than a century later the theme was re-actualized by the publication of a new work, entirely devoted to Lapland and its inhabitants (still called "Laplanders"): *Lapponia* (1673) by Johannes Schefferus (1621–1679). His book replaced the image created by Olaus Magnus by a new one, similar and different at the same time.

Johannes Schefferus (1621–1679)

In the meantime, during the century that separates these two events, things did not stay still, bringing forward several important changes. A number of travellers who managed to reach the Far North and to come back with new

facts and observations increased, leading to further accumulation of empirical knowledge; the growth of academic studies, both on the continent and in Scandinavia, began to bring fruit, namely in humanities: the seventeenth century was the golden age of classical philology in Sweden too; besides, great achievements had taken place in various fields, such as historiography, archaeology, ethnography.

Meanwhile, the changes in the geopolitical situation were even more spectacular: Sweden became a major actor in European politics, a "superpower" that played a decisive role during the Thirty Years' war (1618–1648). No wonder that the country aroused increasing interest abroad, both among friends and enemies. This interest concerned in particular the topics regarded as specific, exceptional, having no equivalents elsewhere, namely the "half-savage" populations of the northern regions: the Sami.

Within Sweden the interest in Sami culture was stimulated both by the needs for internal colonisation (administration and control of these areas) and for propaganda purposes. Both pressures were strong. At that time the Sami were already christianized, but there was still much to do; the government's concern with printing in native languages, education and preaching required solid knowledge of different matters.

On the other hand, the authorities had to deal with extremely active anti-Swedish propaganda, both during the Thirty Years' war and after. Among other things, it accused Gustavus Adolphus of using Sami soldiers, idol worshippers and magicians, in his army. The charge, widely spread, gave bad publicity to the protestant hero monarch, and the fact that during this war military propaganda was used for the first time on a large scale made it even worse (Beller 1940; Rydving 2006). The main accusations against Sami soldiers were, predictably, weather magic and their ability to change guise.

Yet another circumstance has to be mentioned at this point: the extravagant stories made up by some European travellers like la Martinière, and especially Loménie de Brienne (Lindroth 1975*b*: 319), who eagerly stressed the fabulous and demonic character of local populations. Demonology was then a fashionable "science," no wonder that the Swedish authorities wished to improve this negative image. *Lapponia* was therefore a propaganda task, commanded by Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, Sweden's Chancellor, to Johannes Schefferus, an Uppsala scholar of German origin (born in Strasbourg, then part of the Holy Roman Empire), known for his philological and archaeological studies.

Schefferus had never set foot in Lapland, and in fact had no need to, no more than he needed to encounter the ancient Romans he wrote about; for him the Sami were an object of purely academic studies, which meant an important change of status. From now on the Sami culture was considered


JOANNIS SCHEFFERI
ARGENTORATENSIS
LAPPONIA
Id eſt,
REGIONIS LAPPONUM
ET GENTIS NOVA ET
VERISSIMA DESCRIPTIO.
In qua multa
De origine, ſuperſtitione, ſacris magicis,
victu, cultu, negotiis Lapponum, item Animalium, metallorumque indole, quæ in terris eorum proveniunt,
hactenus incognita
Proferuntur, & eiconibus adjectis cum cura illuſtrantur.
FRANCOFURTI
Ex Officina CHRISTIANI WOLFFII
Typis JOANNIS ANDREÆ.
ANNO M. DC. LXXIII.

worthy of interest, if not as prestigious as Roman and Greek culture, then at least comparable with his investigations concerning Swedish antiquities, which resulted in a learned dissertation called *Upsalia* (1666).

The enquiry was initiated by the governor of the Umeå region, Johan Graan, himself of Sami origin (Rydving 2006: 22), who composed a questionnaire he sent to a number of literati living in Northern Sweden. The information came mainly from local clergy, some of whom were of Sami

origin as well and who lived in close contact with Sami. The collected material was sent to Schefferus and after a while resulted in an imposing encyclopaedia of Sami culture: "No other Swedish learned publication from the seventeenth century got a greater esteem in the rest of Europe" (Lindroth 1975*b*: 317), to quote a Swedish historian. According to the same scholar, "Schefferus approached the Swedish history as a classical philologist, well trained in modern textual analysis, working only with sources he considered reliable" (Lindroth 1975*b*: 311). In fact, being an expert on Roman philology, he introduced its methods in ethnographical studies, after having used them in his research on Swedish antiquities. Thus the recently established model of high standard text criticism became applied to a mosaic of sources of various kinds, both oral and written evidence, objects, folklore, comparative material, etcetera. The result was highly impressive.

Compared to Olaus Magnus, Schefferus' task was more limited in scope and therefore somewhat easier: in the centuries that separate the two authors the increase in primary material had inevitably led to specialisation. Olaus Magnus' work was in many ways—namely, structurally—still close to medieval *summae* that embraced the totality of the sensible world, the whole universe. The pattern he follows is the one we find in most medieval *historiae naturalis*, all of them dwelling on strictly theological grounds. Therefore the Sami culture was merely one of many elements of the panoramic picture of the North provided by *Historia*. And even if the latter was the cradle of all subsequent northern studies, none of Olaus Magnus' successors (perhaps with the exception of Olof Rudbeck) was able to remain on the same level of generality: the investigation soon branched off into a number of disciplines; and within each of them the respective scholars carried on and developed the embryos of knowledge contained in *Historia*: Erik Dahlberg in his *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* dealt with topographical aspects, Andreas Bureus took care of the mapping of the territory, whereas Johannes Bureus pursued philological studies, etcetera, Johannes Schefferus focused on Lapland. (In the eighteenth century and afterwards such comprehensive studies would no longer be possible: During his journey Linnæus limited his research almost exclusively to natural sciences).

The architecture of the book containing 35 chapters and numerous illustrations is characterised by both great coherence and great simplicity. The general survey (geography, climate) is followed by detailed descriptions of various features of the population (appearance, character, government, customs, language, food habits), the relationship between sexes, marriage, child-bearing, education, diseases, burial rituals; followed by a survey of their occupations (hunting, handicraft, trade, cattle breading), and finally that of the land's natural resources (animals, birds, plants, metals, etc.).

In comparison with the often erratic composition of Olaus Magnus' book, Schefferus' *Lapponia* is strikingly well structured; his style is simple and clear, and his attitude quite balanced. He aims at discrediting both the anti-Swedish political propaganda and the French travellers' exaggerations by opposing them with facts, empirical knowledge and truthful evidence. Still, his own work is not free from fantasizing, and his attitude towards his famous predecessor is often contradictory: even though Schefferus is sometimes critical about his statements, he borrows willingly from him; so that much of *Historia*'s fanciful information occurs also in his own work. At the same time, his attitude towards witchcraft—whose existence he takes for granted—is even more severe than that of Olaus Magnus: he firmly condemns all forms of magical practices; closeness to nature is no longer an excuse.

However, the Uppsala scholar faces the same dilemma as his forerunner: how to counter his opponents without running the risk of losing his readers' interest by trivialising the subject? Surely, his aim is to prove that the Sami have been christianized, that they have never used their magical talents in Gustavus Adolphus' service, that they are His Majesty's loyal subjects, like Swedes and Finns—but is not their main claim to interest still in being exotic, in possessing mysterious qualities, in practising mysterious rituals?

That is why Schefferus' book contains a cluster of chapters (VII–XI)—such as "Of the Religion of the Laplanders," "Of the second, or Christian Religion of the Laplanders," "Of some remains of Paganism in Lapland at

this time," "Of the heathenish Gods of the Laplanders, and their manner of worship at this day," "Of the magical Ceremonies of the Laplanders"—where we encounter again the mixture of facts and fables familiar since Olaus Magnus' times, namely those concerning weather magic by tying wind knots (Blix Hagen 2009: 152 ff.). No wonder that it was this part of the book—much less than its rich ethnographical and ethnological material—that particularly appealed to the foreign audience: it was reproduced and commented on far more than the rest. In this sense one can claim that the book missed its goal: to dissolve the fantasizing and myth-making around the Sami people—and the idea that the inhabitants of the North are "almost all of them wizards and witches" (Blix Hagen 2009: 162) continued to prevail throughout the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Conclusion

I have tried to outline some crucial points of the development of the Sami image, arguing that both "portraits" made at the interval of more than a century reflect motivations that go far beyond purely scholarly interest: each of them is part of the politico-ideological struggle of its time—the Reformation in one case, the conflicts brought to life by the Thirty Years' War, in the other.

As we have seen, both images grow at the intersection of two points of view: the external and the internal ones. The first one triggers off interest, draws attention, puts into circulation various interpretations, offers comparisons; it is expressed in travelogues, in propaganda writings, in popular scholarly works. Even if this information is often inaccurate, hostile and distorting, it remains crucial for the dynamics of national studies, when it is lacking the latter slow down or even cease.

All relevant knowledge being necessarily empirical, one has to be in touch with a culture in order to comprehend it. No wonder that two major works devoted to Lapland are due to the domestic tradition, even though one was written in exile and the other by a scholar of foreign origin. While treating the material both authors bore in mind some goals beyond the purely scholarly ones; both had to take into account a number of external requirements, which were not only stimulating but also restricting. Olaus Magnus' challenge was to make the North appealing to the South-European reader without trivializing it; he solved the problem by emphasizing the regions' extreme climate while at the same glorifying the peoples able to live under such conditions: Swedes, Finns and Lapps. Johannes Schefferus adopted a similar approach, though in a somewhat more neutral, "scientific" tone. The former did his best to integrate the Sami into humanity; while the latter clearly stated that even regarded as part of the human race, the

"Lapps" are still the "savages;" in other words they are treated as an object of *both* academic studies and civilizing efforts.

Let me make one more point. Both Olaus Magnus' *Historia* and Schefferus' *Lapponia* contain a huge amount of precious information about the Sami people, their way of life, practical skills and mysterious magic powers. No wonder that both immediately became bestsellers, promptly translated as they were into the main European languages: German, French, English, Dutch, Italian. Yet, one had to wait for almost 300 years for the Swedish versions: 1925–1951 for *Historia*; 1956 for *Lapponia*. Why?

On the one hand, one can argue that for the Swedish public the subject was less exotic and therefore less fascinating. Part of the population lived in direct contact with the Sami, and the rest came sporadically in touch with their representatives whose low social status and the prejudices they were surrounded with could not possibly arouse positive curiosity. But on the other hand, at that time there was simply no need for a Swedish translation: in learned circles everyone could read Latin, so that both books, easily accessible to the cultivated readers, never ceased to be part of the learned tradition.

LITERATURE

Adam of Bremen (1959). *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Ahlenius, K. (1895). *Olaus Magnus och hans framställning af Nordens geografi. Studier i geografins historia* ['Olaus Magnus and his depiction of Nordic geography. Studies in the history of geography'], Uppsala: Uppsala University.

Balzamo, E. (2005). *Olaus Magnus. Carta marina*, Paris: José Corti.

— (2006). "La fortune littéraire des frères Johannes et Olaus Magnus ou les enjeux de la traduction," *Proxima Thulé*, 5, pp. 135–157.

— (2007). "Olaus Magnus. Traduire la culture au XVI[e] siècle," in *Traduction et culture*, ed. O. Eriksson, Växjö : Växjö University Press, pp. 41–56.

— (2010). "Olaus Magnus savait-il dessiner?," *Proxima Thulé*, 6, pp. 121–141.

— (2013) "L'enfer rehabilitee. La Laponie et ses habitants dans l'œuvre d'Olaus Magnus," in *L'image du Sámpi 2. Études comparées*, ed. K. Anderson, Örebro: Örebro University Press.

Balzamo, E. & Kaiser, R. (2006). *Olaus Magnus. Die Wunder des Nordens* (Die Andere Bibliothek 261), Frankfurt/M: Eichborn.

Beller, E.A. (1940). *Propaganda in Germany during the Thirty Years War*, Princeton.

Blix Hagen, R. (2009). "Seventeenth-century images of the True North, Lapland and the Sami," *L'image du Sámpi* [1]. *Études comparées*, ed. K. Anderson, Örebro: Örebro University Press, pp. 139–168.

Collijn, I. (1943). *Bibliografi över Olaus Magnus' Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* ['A bibliography of Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*'], Stockholm : Michaelisgillet.

Fisher, P. (1994). "Olaus Magnus and the limits of credence," in *Acta conventus neo-latini hafniensis*, eds. R. Schnur, & A. Moss, Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, pp. 409–417.

Friedman, J.B. (1981). *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Gillgren, P. (1999). "The artist Olaus Magnus. Vision and illustration," in *I fratelli Giovanni e Olao Magno. Opera e cultura tra due mondi. Atti del Convegno internazionale*, ed. C. Santini, Rome: Il Calamo, pp. 147–157.

Granlund, J. (1946). "Syn och sanning hos Olaus Magnus" ['The vision and truth of Olaus Magnus'], *Fataburen*, pp. 119–132.

— (1947). "Pecunia coriaria. Några anteckningar till Olaus Magnus' kapitel om 'läderpengar.' En studie av en sägen och dess verklighetsunderlag" ['Pecunia coraria. Some notes on Olaus Magnus' chapter on "leathermoney." A study on a legend and the facts behind it'], *Nordisk numismatisk årsskrift* 1947.

— (1949). "Olaus Magnus som folklivsskildrare" ['Olaus Magnus as ethnologist'], *Saga och sed* 1949, pp. 81–94.

— (1951). "Kommentar" ['Commentary], in Olaus Magnus, *Historia om de nordiska folken* V, Stockholm: Michaelisgillet.

Grape, H. (1961). *Olaus Magnus. Svensk landsflykting och nordisk kulturapostel i Italien* ['Olaus Magnus. A Swedish refugee and Nordic cultural apostle in Italy'], Stockholm: Norstedt.

— (1970). *Olaus Magnus. Forskare, moralist, konstnär* ['Olaus Magnus. Scientist, moralist, artist'], Stockholm: Proprius.

Hildebrand, H.O. (1898). "Minne av Olaus Magnus och hans historia" ['Memory of Olaus Magnus and his history'], *Svenska Akademiens handlingar*, 12, Stockholm.

Johannesson, K. (1982). *Gotisk renässans. Johannes och Olaus Magnus som politiker och historiker* ['Gothic renaissance. Johannes and Olaus Magnus as politicians and historians'], Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell international.

Jordanes (1908). *The Origin and Deeds of the Goths*, Princeton, N.J.

Knauer, E.R. (1981). *Die Carta Marina des Olaus Magnus von 1539. Ein kartographisches Meisterwerk und seine Wirkung*, Göttingen: Gratia.

Lindkjølen, H. (1994). "Johannes Schefferus og bokverket 'Lapponia' utgitt 1673" ['Johannes Schefferus and the volume "Lapponia" published in 1673'], in *Festskrift til Ørnulv Vorren*, Tromsø: Tromsø Museum, pp. 23–35.

Lindroth, S. (1975*a*). *Svensk lärdomshistoria* 1. *Medeltiden. Reformationstiden* ['A Swedish history of learning 1. The middle ages. The Reformation'], Stockholm: Norstedts.

— (1975*b*). *Svensk lärdomshistoria* 2. *Stormaktstiden* ['A Swedish history of learning 2. The period as a Great Power'], Stockholm: Norstedts.

Moyne, E.J. (1981). *Raising the Wind. The Legend of Lapland and Finland Wizards in Literature*, Newark: University of Delaware Press.

Olaus Magnus (1539). *Carta marina et descriptio septentrionalium terrarum diligentissimo elaborata anno Domini 1539*, Venice.

— (1555). *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus earumque diversis statibus, conditionibus, moribus, ritibus, superstitionibus, disciplinis, exercitiis, regimine, victu, bellis, structuris, instrumentis, ac mineris metallicis, et rebus mirabilibus, nec non universis pene animalibus in Septentrione de gentibus, eorumque natura*, Rome.

— (1909–1951). *Historia om de nordiska folken* ['History of the Northern Peoples'] I–V, Stockholm: Michaelisgillet.

— (1996). *A Description of the Northern People* I–II, London: The Hakluyt Society.
Rydving, H. (2006). "Gustav II Adolf och samerna" ['Gustavus Adolphus and the Sami'], *Saga och sed* 2006, pp. 15–27.
Saxo Grammaticus (1995). *La Geste des Danois*, Paris: Gallimard.
Scheffer, H. (1918). *Johannes Schefferus. En stor man i 1600-talets Uppsala* ['Johannes Schefferus. A great man in seventeenth century Uppsala'], Uppsala: Lindblad.
Schefferus, J. (1673), *Lapponia*, Frankfurt/M.
— (1674) *The History of Lapland*, Oxford.
Schnakenbourg, E. (ed.) (2012), *Scandinavie, Groenland et Sibérie. Perceptions et représentations des espaces septentrionaux du Moyen Âge au XVIII^e siècle*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes
Svennung, J. (1967). *Zur Geschichte des Goticismus*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Elena Balzamo has a PhD in Scandinavian Studies and is literary scholar and translator, author of books and articles on different aspects of Scandinavian and Russian literature. Among her publications are *August Strindberg. Visages et destin* (1999), *Den engagerade skeptikern. Hjalmar Söderberg och politiken* (2001), *Soljenitsyne. Aux origines de la Russie contemporaine* (2002), *Olaus Magnus. Carta marina* (2005), *Olaus Magnus. Die Wunder des Nordens* (in collaboration with R. Kaiser) (2006), *"Skrifdon och papper, brefkort, frimärken." Fyra essäer om Strindberg* (2012). In 2001 Balzamo was awarded the Swedish Academy Translation Prize. She is also honorary doctor at Umeå University, Sweden, and Member of the Royal Swedish Academy of History & Belles-Letters. She is currently working on a collection of essays, *Den osynlige ärkebiskopen. Essäer om Olaus Magnus* (in print).

JOURNAL OF NORTHERN STUDIES Vol. 8 • No. 2 • 2014, pp. 45–70

THOMAS A. DUBOIS

Borg Mesch

The Role of a Culture Broker in Picturing the North

ABSTRACT This paper examines the role of Borg Mesch (1869–1956) in the development of a nascent tourist industry in the North of Sweden. The concept of culture broker is used to clarify Mesch's varying activities as a photographer, outfitter, and guide in relation to two different clienteles: Swedes from the south of the country and international tourists from England and elsewhere. The history of Svenska Turistföreningen (the Swedish Tourist Association) in facilitating tourist activities in northern regions is described.

KEYWORDS Borg Mesch, Svenska Turistföreningen, history of tourism, history of photography

> A fiddle was hanging up, and Mr. Mesch and myself took it in turn to play. It had been made by the man of the house, and had quite a good tone. Mr. Mesch also sang Swedish and Finnish songs, and can play the piano very well. His grandmother was Scotch, and he was born in Dalecarlia. He is an officer in the Swedish Army, and well knows the manners and customs of the Lapps. His business is that of a photographer in Kiruna, and he is known all over Sweden. He lived some time in America, and speaks English fluently.
>
> Frank Butler (1917: 113)

> Vuosttas go Borg Mesch fotograf válddii mu, go son oačču meari daihe gohčču muša ožžon, ahte vuolgit eŋgelas hearrá mielde de son siđai mu vuolgit sutnje eŋgelas hearráin reaisoguoibmin.

['From the beginning it was the photographer Borg Mesch who selected me to accompany him and an English gentleman on a journey to which Mesch had been invited.']

Johan Turi (1988: 153)

Det är snart 20 år sedan Mesch kom hit upp till Kiruna, eller som det på den tiden kallades Loussavaara. Han har sett "berget" tagas i bruk, sett de första rallarna komma, sett banan längre och längre sträcka sina stålarmar upp mot Riksgränsen.

Rallarbarackerna och livet à la Wild West med kortspel och litrar och mångfaldiga slagsmål ha passerat revy för hans ögon, han har upplevat hur Kiruna blev samhället med gator och vattenledning, elektriskt ljus och biograf och hur lapparnas rike blev trängre. Mitt upp i detta har Mesch levt och iakttagit.

['It has been almost twenty years since Mesch came up here to Kiruna, or Loussavaara, as it was then called. He has seen the "mountain" exploited, seen the arrival of the first railroad workers, seen the railway stretch its iron arms farther and farther up toward Riksgränsen [on the Swedish-Norwegian border].

The navvies' barracks and their Wild West life of card-playing, drinking and frequent brawling paraded before his eyes. He has experienced the transformation of Kiruna into a community with streets and water lines, electric lights and a movie theater, and has seen the realm of the Sami narrowed. Mesch has lived and observed amidst this all.']

Ossian Elgström (1929: 6)

Few names are as closely associated with the mythic image of the Swedish far north as that of Borg Mesch (1869–1956), professional photographer, tireless mountaineer, and pioneer tourism provider of the city of Kiruna. Mesch's photographs gave Swedish readers of the early twentieth century vivid portraits of the striking landscape and cultural diversity of the region, and his work found its way into publications in England, the United States and elsewhere. For those individuals who travelled to Kiruna to see the wonders of the North firsthand, it was often Borg Mesch who acted as guide or advisor, providing both the experiences and the pictures (prototype postcards) that the travellers had come to collect. In the following pages, I present Borg Mesch as a culture broker within the early tourist industry of Northern Sweden. Drawing on the biographical works of Elgström (1929), Anderson (1986), and Hedin (2001), and examining Mesch's relations as related in the works of Frank Butler (1917) and Johan Turi (1988), I hope to sketch the role of one man in establishing the touristic image of the North of his day and of generations after.

My aim in examining the career of Borg Mesch is not primarily to cele-

brate an individual of importance in North Swedish history but rather to offer insight into the important but often overlooked history of tourism in the north, a topic at the heart of any modern appraisal of the north as a space and place. Before proceeding to a discussion of Mesch's life, then, I wish to survey the question of North Nordic tourism today and the theoretical questions that scholars have raised in examining modern tourism in general. I begin by quoting a recently published photo essay of travel in Northern Norway, focusing on the tourist's experiences on a dog sled safari:

> When I was younger, I saw a video of thick-coated huskies pulling sledges across snowy mountains. These elegant canines commanded respect and admiration, but growing up in Malaysia, the Arctic was an unreachable and exotic place for me, and an encounter with these furry creatures was nearly impossible. So when I went to Tromsø, in Northern Norway, it felt like a dream come true. Seeing the stunning landscape of fjords, mountains, alpine trees and the Norwegian sea was an extraordinary visual feast, but my real Arctic adventure began when I met my canine heroes. (Hiew 2013.)

Dog or snowmobile "safaris," cross-country and "extreme" skiing, ice hotels, gourmet dinners of reindeer and arctic char, and viewings of the Northern Lights—the list of prime activities for the winter tourist to the Nordic far north became well established in the closing decades of the twentieth century and opening decade of the twenty-first. Yet as the musings of the Malaysian travel writer quoted above reveal, or the very term *safari* makes clear, the tourist image and experience of the northern districts of Norway, Sweden and Finland is not today altogether historically informed or specific to the locale. Neither dog sledding nor the building of houses out of ice—to take two prime examples—can be characterized as ancient or traditional parts of Nordic life. So in a sense, the tourist experience of the North (as, perhaps, virtually *any* tourist experience anywhere) is in part fictive: a creative construction aimed at bringing to life experiences that already reside in the imaginations of tourist clients but which require logistic skill, a particular locale, and appropriate personnel to make a reality. In the ideal case, if the tourist experience is successful, and the clients are pleased, they will be more likely to share news of their experience with co-workers, family, and friends, propagating the expectations that brought them north in new minds and generating new clientele in the future. Conversely, if the dreams that are dreamed of really *don't* come true, tourist clients are likely to spread word of their dissatisfaction far and wide. Travel writer Michael Lewis spares little in denigrating a Norway that proved too rainy and too boring for his tastes, labeling his experience "a Norwegian comedy or errors"

and disparaging reindeer meat as "greasy and tough and disgustingly gamy" (Lewis 1997). In the competitive world of mass tourism, where impression is everything, the work of the tourist industry aims at instilling, confirming, and producing positive images of the locale, so that customers will continue to willingly exchange money and time for the chance to experience a given place and culture firsthand.

Ever since Jafar Jafari founded the journal *Annals of Tourism Research* in 1973, researchers across a broad range of disciplines have examined the phenomena of tourism from the varying perspectives of touristed communities, tourists, and tourist providers. Dean MacCannell's seminal study of 1976, *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, made the fledgling discipline better known to the wider academy, and focused attention particularly on tourism as an element of modernity through a process by which the "traditional" and "authentic" become commodified as items to be enjoyed and consumed by a newly mobile, urbanized middle class—the chief object of his study (MacCannell 1989). Scholarly attention toward all aspects of the tourist/tourist provider/tourist locale relation has accelerated in the past two decades, with numerous edited volumes and studies appearing (Smith (ed.) 1989; Abram *et al*. (eds.) 1997; Baranowski & Furlough (eds.) 2001; Smith & Brent (eds.) 2001; Cartier & Lew (eds.) 2005; Gmelch (ed.) 2010). Tourism in the Nordic region has been examined as well, for example by Roel Puijk in an insightful examination of the development of tourism in Ullvik, Norway (Puijk 2001), and by Orvar Löfgren, in a history of tourism as an element of Swedish nation building (Löfgren 2001).

Scholars after MacCannell embraced attention to tourism as emblematic of the "postmodern" condition, particularly through its ever mounting level of contentment with surfaces and images (Baudrillard's "simulacrum") and economic consumption as chief devices of—or substitutes for—the direct experience of other peoples, places, and cultures, that is, the prime motivation of the touristic desire in the first place (Baudrillard 1994; Baranowski & Furlough (eds.) 2001; Cartier & Lew (eds.) 2005). The reenactments, reconstructions, simulations, and souvenir generation of the open air museum, theme park, or computer game, scholars argue, have enticed the tourist into an increasingly fictive realm of imaginary relations in imaginary places, with ever dwindling concern for the past ideal of authenticity or the direct interaction with other people (Stewart 1984; Davis 1997; Gottdiener 2001; Tangherlini 2008; Tangherlini 2010). The modern tourist to Spanish Toledo, for instance, can purchase swords made in imitation of the now thoroughly mythic Knights Templar (a monastic military order whose actual existence ended in the early fourteenth century) or the even more fictive characters of J.R.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*, particularly as drama-

tized in Peter Jackson's films. In this way, the concrete historical cityscape of Toledo, preserving many elements of its medieval existence, as well as the long history of the city as a center for artisanal metal smithing, become not objects of touristic attention in themselves but rather the context for imagining largely imaginary characters and narratives suggested by the locale. Such a development has much in common with the depiction of northern Scandinavia as a land of dogsleds and ice hotels but it differs markedly from the North that Borg Mesch sought to supply to early twentieth-century clients, as we shall see.

While researchers in anthropology and cultural studies have traced the (d)evolution of tourism into the present day, historians have pushed the focus backward in time toward the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when elite Grand Tour tourism became broadened to the middle class through advances in transport technology and a resultant reduction in travel costs. In this process, historians have shown, travel writing became a key genre for popularizing and also emblematizing touristic travel. In her seminal work *Imperial Eyes*, Mary Louise Pratt examines the role of travel writing in encoding colonial perspectives on subjugated peoples and places (Pratt 1992). Tourists from colonial powers, such as Great Britain, sought to enact their country's supremacy through the places they visited, the attitudes they displayed, and the attention they received. The postcolonial legacies of such writings have been explored by numerous subsequent writers (Clark (ed.) 1999; Walton (ed.) 2005). As we shall see, this historical perspective, evident also in Löfgren's overview of Swedish tourism (Löfgren 2001) as well as Maja Hagerman's examination of discourse concerning the Swedish landscape (Hagerman 2006), provides a valuable perspective for understanding the work of Mesch and the writings of the English and Swedish tourists discussed below. For many in Mesch's day, tourism to the North was an act of intense cultural and political meaning.

The construction of the Arctic as an imagined space within textual and visual representations, as well as within tourism, has received important attention as well. Influential in tracing visual images is King and Lidchi's edited volume *Imaging the Arctic* (1998). As the authors of the volume demonstrate cogently, visual images—both photographs and film—served as powerful emblematic tools in early twentieth-century Canada, defining the North and its denizens as exotic and simultaneously underscoring Canadian hegemony and control over the region. In his studies of contemporary tourism in Alaska, Mark Nuttall has examined the ways in which both state organizations and indigenous communities have approached the questions of representation and entertainment in designing and providing tourist activities for travellers to the state (Nuttall 1997). Daniel Chartier

has explored the gendering of the arctic found in literary representations of the region, demonstrating the penchant of writers to portray the region as a privileged site of masculinity, where women are decidedly out of place (Chartier 2008). Seija Keskitalo-Foley has examined the ways in which creative writers, social scientists, and ordinary residents have conceptualized Finnish Lapland, and the contending, often mutually exclusive perspectives of locals and non-locals regarding the region and its cultures (Keskitalo-Foley 2006). She, too, points to questions of wildness and masculinity as privileged viewpoints on the region and the ways these are challenged, particularly in the autobiographical writings of women. Tim Frandy has explored similar rifts in Sami and non-Sami perspectives on the North of Finland, its natural resources, and its culture (Frandy 2013).

Finally, the concept of the culture broker informs the following discussion of Kurin (1997) and Smith (2001). As Smith details, the culture broker operates in the social space between "host supply" and "guest demand," negotiating relations that will prove profitable for all involved. Their task is to "study, understand and represent someone's culture (even sometimes their own) to non-specialized others through various means and media" (Kurin 1997). From a specifically Sami perspective, Cathrine Baglo has examined the roles of Sami entrepreneurs in representing Sami culture to the outside world through participation in "living exhibits" in European museums, fairs, and zoos (Baglo 2011). It is this combination of canny judgment and careful weighing of choices that I hope to explore here: Mesch's work in formulating usable approaches to two different tourist clienteles, one domestic, the other foreign.

Historical Background

While the above works help contextualize my approach to Mesch and his career, it is also clear that Mesch's work was shaped by the history of prior representations of the North and the rise of the beginnings of a tourist industry through the activities of English fishermen. I summarize this history below before turning at last to Mesch himself.

For most people at the outset of the twentieth century, as for today, the Nordic far north was a land known of largely through images and texts. Olaus Magnus's 1555 *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Olaus Magnus 1555), Johan Scheffer's 1673 *Lapponia* (Schefferus 1673) and Carl von Linné's 1732 *Iter Lapponicum* (Linné 2005) had established the region as a place of marvelous landscape, unusual flora and fauna, and exotic Sami in the minds of educated Europeans. The Grand Tour of eighteenth-century English aristocrats made few stops north of Paris, and the far north of Scandinavia remained a remote and seldom visited region for most other than mer-

chants and scientists. At the very outset of the nineteenth century, however, the Italian nobleman Joseph (Giuseppe) Acerbi traveled to the region and penned his own exuberant account of the natural and cultural wonders he found there. Aware of the unorthodoxy of his choice of destinations, Acerbi writes in his introduction:

> It may possibly excite curiosity to know why a native of Italy, a country abounding in all the beauties of nature, and the finest productions of art, should voluntarily undergo the danger and fatigue of visiting the regions of the Arctic Circle. He promised himself, and he was not disappointed, much gratification from contrasting the wild grandeur and simplicity of the North, with the luxuriance, the smiling aspect, and the refinements of his own country. He was willing to exchange, for a time, the beauties of both nature and art, for the novelty, the sublimity, and the rude magnificence of the northern climates. (Acerbi 1802: vii.)

Acerbi's work, and other travelogues that followed, established the far north as a land of masculine pleasures: of "danger and fatigue," "wild grandeur and simplicity." As Chartier (2008) has indicated, for Acerbi, as for many who came after him, the North is a place to go in order to be a *man*.

With such a characterization in print, and the trout and salmon streams of England and Ireland becoming crowded with gentleman anglers following in the footsteps of Izaac Walton, it was only a matter of time before the magnificent salmon rivers of Scandinavia were "discovered." Beginning with Sir Hyde Parker in 1836 (Lloyd 1854: 244), a long litany of British gentlemen came to the "pristine" rivers and mountains of Northern Norway and Sweden to practice salmon fishing, bear hunting, and other aristocratic pastimes. Their enraptured praise for the region and its offerings, building on Acerbi's account, attracted more and more British visitors, many of whom wrote books of their own (Lloyd 1830; Bilton 1840; Lloyd 1854; Newland 1855; Kennedy 1903; Pottinger 1905). In 1848, Frederic Tolfrey published *Jones's Guide to Norway*, a practical guide for the now numerous fishermen headed to the country (Tolfrey 1848), and in 1850, the Englishman Thomas Bennett opened a travel agency in Christiania—the first travel agency of any kind in the Nordic region—to help facilitate the tours of his countrymen (Harangen 2013). By the turn of the century, with increased regulation and a now voluminous Nordic competition for prime fishing spots, this English craze had largely subsided. Nonetheless, it had changed forever the practice of sports fishing in the region and Nordic views of how to experience the region's natural areas.

With the spread of fly fishing to the Nordic region and the example of wealthy Englishmen as models, Scandinavians of aristocratic and middle

class status began to take interest in the natural areas of their countries. The year 1866 saw the founding of Den Norske Turistforening ['The Norwegian Tourist Association'], and a Swedish counterpart—Svenska Turistföreningen (STF) —was established in 1885. The goal of both organizations was the same: to facilitate enjoyment of the countries' mountainous and wild areas through the establishment of trails, cabins, and other facilities. As Löfgren notes:

> The tourism pioneers of the early mountaineering clubs [...] saw their task as a patriotic one. Bringing wilderness tourism to their fellow citizens was a way of producing a deep and more emotional attachment to the nation. (Löfgren 2001: 143.)

Cabins, overseen and supplied with wood and water by selected local caretakers, ensured that hikers could find a safe place to sleep even in the dead of winter. Boats stationed at key places along trails helped hikers navigate the mountain region's many lakes and rivers without the toil of portaging their own crafts. Such infrastructure, along with optional guides for hire and detailed maps and trail markers, sought to ensure a safe and affordable mountain holiday for any physically fit member of the public. In Sweden, an annual publication *Svenska Turistföreningens årsskrift* ['The year-book of the Swedish Tourist Association'] communicated news of the organization's ever-expanding amenities to members at large, and aimed at encouraging Swedes from the more densely populated south to venture forth and discover their country, whether by coming to the far north, or increasingly by experiencing other parts of the country as well, where similar STF projects were underway. With evident pride, a note in the 1912 issue of the journal, signed F. W. (for Folke Wancke, the organization's treasurer) states that the STF membership had now reached 54,000, comprising persons of all social classes, and representing fully one in every hundred Swedes (F.W. 1912: 340). Everything was now set for North Swedish tourism to take off, provided persons of sufficient entrepreneurial and/or patriotic spirit stepped forward to begin to truly make use of the fledgling infrastructure.

With these theoretical and historical groundings in place, we may at last turn our attention to the figure of Borg Mesch. It was within the early twentieth-century world of nascent tourism and the simultaneous rapid industrial development of the region through mining and railroads that Borg Mesch came to work, establishing a photography studio at Kiruna in 1901, only one year after the city's founding as the site of the newly established Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara Aktiebolag mine. Mesch was well suited to his eventual role as culture broker, having both developed important relations with several prime movers in Swedish art circles and having spent time as

a tourist himself in the distant United States. Born in 1869, in Sundsvall, a town in Medelpad (*not* Dalecarlia, as he perhaps told Butler) Mesch grew up the son of that city's chief architect and planner in a family with close ties to Gunnar Hyltén-Cavallius (1818–1889), a major figure in the development of Swedish interest in its folk traditions and peasant culture (Hedin 2001: 11). Mesch became an apprentice photographer in the city of Gävle in 1890, making friends there with another young photographer (later renowned painter) Carl Larsson (1853–1919), with whom he remained friends throughout his career (Hedin 2001: 21). Between 1891 and 1897, Mesch emigrated to the United States, staying with various of his siblings who had relocated to Denver (Colorado), Portland (Oregon) and Austin (Texas). He took photographs of frontier life and Indians and even traveled to Hawai'i for a time (Hedin 2001: 33). It was in the United States that Mesch came into contact with the photographs of Edward S. Curtis (1868–1952), whose depictions of Native Americans proved of profound influence in Mesch's later work among Sami, Finns, and Swedes in Northern Sweden. This influence becomes obvious when one compares Mesch's image of a Sami mother and child published in a 1917 issue of the American *National Geographic* magazine with Curtis's portrait of a Hupi mother and child from 1907 (Figs. 1 & 2).

Mesch's photo appears in an anonymous photo essay of European mothers entitled "Madonnas of Many Lands," highlighting the crisis of the ongoing European war (Anonymous 1917). The captions for the photos provide no names for any of the women or children depicted (see further discussion below); presumably, the women were to be seen as emblems of their cultures, not as individuals. In this sense, Mesch's style, borrowing from Curtis, displayed the combination of predictable exoticism and seeming objectivity, which the emerging genre of ethnographic photography valued.

Between his first visit to Kiruna in 1899 and the year 1939, Mesch produced some five thousand glass plates, all of which were eventually donated to the city by Mesch's son Hjalmar Mesch (Hedin 2001: 149). An additional seven thousand portraits are recorded in his account books from the years 1924 to 1940 but have not survived.

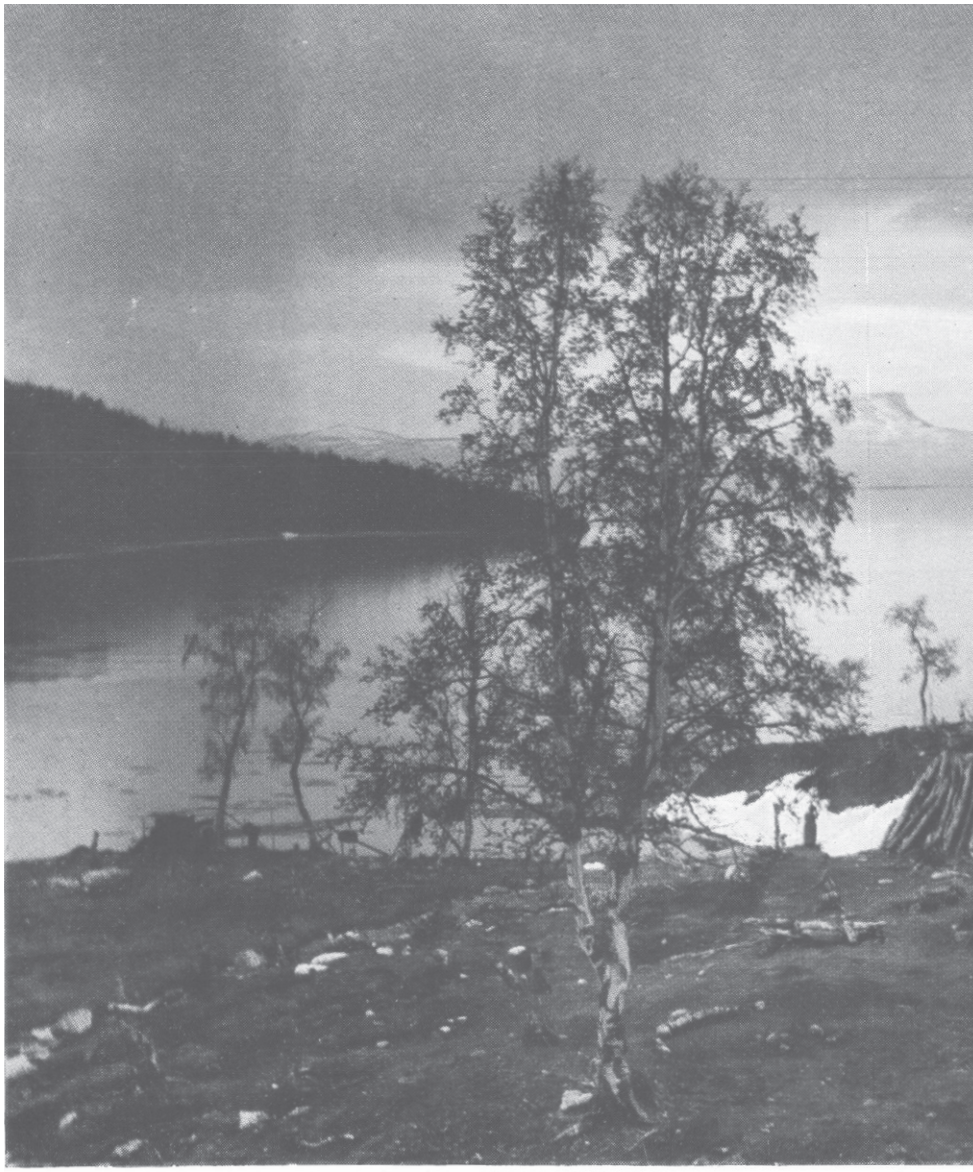
From the time of his arrival in Kiruna, Mesch became an active member of the STF, contributing to its work in several ways: promoting the north of Sweden as a site of winter sports, especially mountaineering, producing inspiring photographs of the region's magnificent mountains and panoramic views (photographs which Mesch termed *motiv* ['subjects']), and depicting the region's various inhabitants through warm and engaging ethnographic portraits that Mesch termed *folktyper* ['national types'] (Hedin 2001: 183). Mesch traveled the countryside to capture images of Swedish, Finnish, and especially Sami people alongside their homes and workplaces. He also invit-

Fig. 1. Lapland mother. Photo: Borg Mesch.

ed Sami to his Kiruna studio to be photographed in front of painted backdrops of winter scenes or forests. Numerous of Mesch's photos found inclusion in the pages of STF's annual journal: Ruben Mattson's 1902 article "Till kyrkhelgen i Jukkasjärvi" ['To the church festival in Jukkasjärvi'] (Mattson 1902: 319–331), for instance, includes photographs by Mesch depicting the Jukkasjärvi church from the outside and inside (the latter during a service),

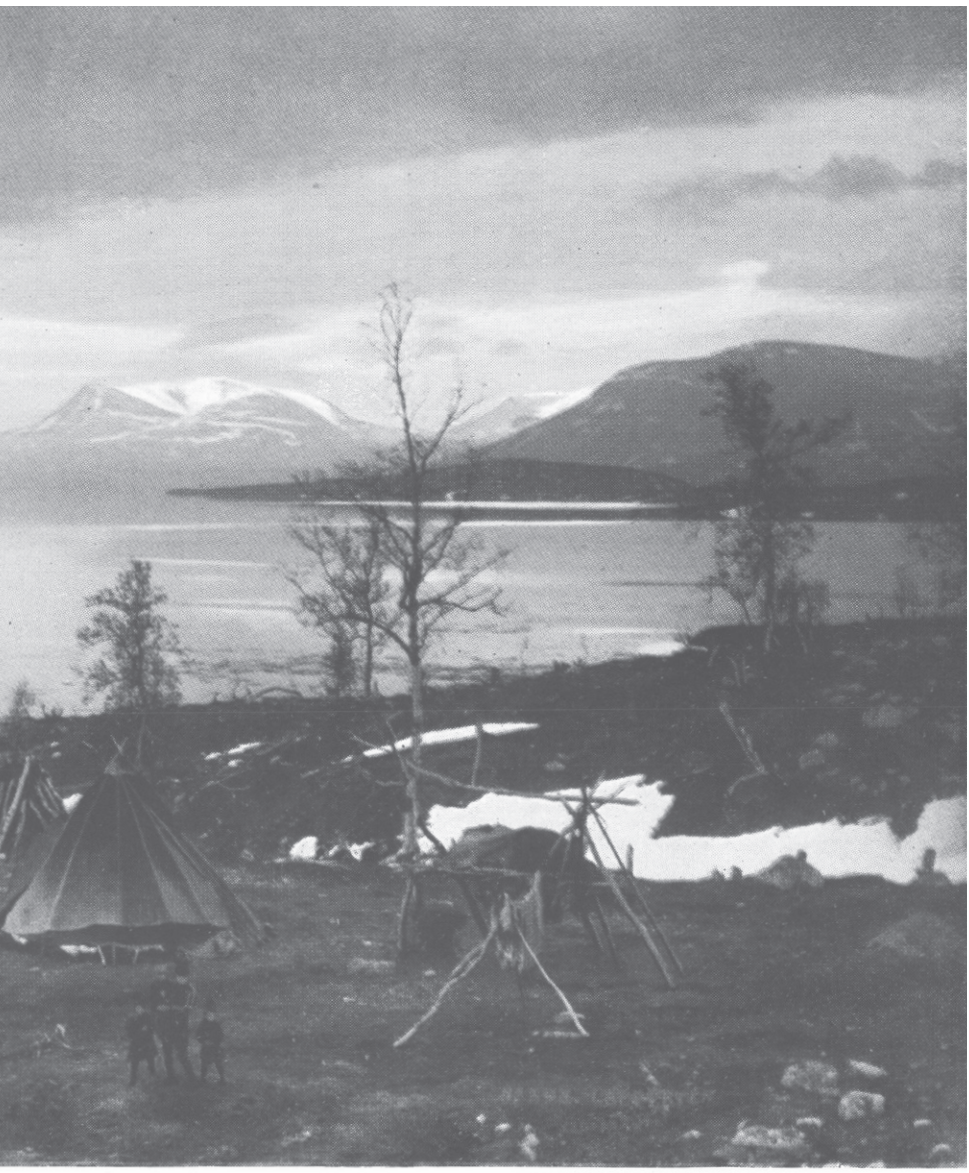
Fig. 2. Hupi mother. Photo: Edward S. Curtis

the tourist hotel in Kiruna, and the Kiruna hospital, the latter set against the stunning vista of a snow-covered Mount Luossavaara (Mattson 1902). A 1912 issue of the journal opens with a Mesch-produced panoramic view of Lake Torneträsk, with the emblematic Čuonjávággi/Lapporten mountain formation in the background and a Sami camp in the foreground (Fig. 3) (Mesch 1912: Pl. 1).



UTSIKT FRÅN PÅLNOVIKEN VID TORNE TRÄSK. LAPPLA

Fig. 3. Torne Träsk, Lapland. Photo: Borg Mesch.



ND. BORG MESCH fot.

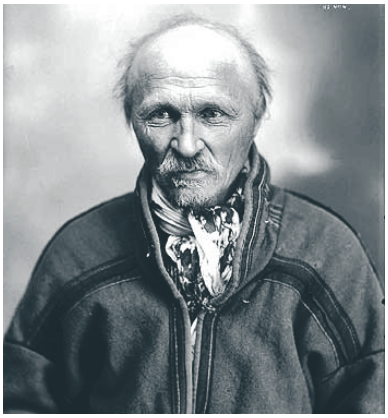


Fig. 4. Portrait of Johan Turi.
Photo: Borg Mesch.

The same issue includes under the title "Svenska folktyper IV" ['Swedish national types IV'] (Boheman (ed.) 1912: 331–337), five of Mesch's Sami photographs, including the portrait of his friend Johan Turi (1854–1936), whose book *Muitalus sámiid birra* ['An account of the Sami'] (1910) had appeared only two years before, the first book ever written in Sami language (Turi 1910).

Especially important for Mesch's reputation was an exhibit organized by the STF in Stockholm in 1903, presenting photographs from all over Sweden. Of the 651 photos included in the exhibition, 58 were by Mesch (Hedin 2001: 184). He became known nationally as "fjällens fotograf" ['the photographer of the mountains']. In 1919, Mesch would take part in another exhibition entitled "Svenska Folktyputställningen," ['The exhibition of Swedish national types'] which was installed in Stockholm, Uppsala, Gävle, Visby, and Gothenburg (Hedin 2001: 246). This exhibition, dedicated to exploring the "racial" characteristics of Sweden's regional populations, enjoyed the warm support of Prince Eugen, himself an avid landscape painter. Mesch received first prize in the exhibition, receiving a commemorative certificate designed by Ossian Elgström and signed by the prince as well as the artists Anders Zorn and Carl Larsson.

Mesch as a Career Man

Although it is tempting to view Mesch as a patriotic visionary in step with the wealthy founders of the STF in Uppsala and Stockholm, he was also quintessentially a businessman, seeking to make a living for himself and his family in the context of the fledgling community of Kiruna. During the

period from 1911 to 1918, Mesch earned an annual income of between three and four thousand kronor (Hedin 2001: 156). A good part of that income was made through the production and sale of photographs, including those that appeared in *Svenska Turistföreningens årsskrift*. The organization sometimes commissioned Mesch to take specific photos needed for its pages: in 1903, for instance, the organization requested views from the top of Mount Kebnekaise, which Mesch undertook to obtain on a trek with the sportsman Baron Frits af Sandeberg (Elgström 1929: 12). In correspondence with K.B. Wiklund in 1926, Mesch notes "Jag har aldrig 'frigivit' någon av mina lappmarksmotiv" (Hedin 2001: 161) ['I have never given one of my Lappmark *motiv* photos away for free']: insisting that Wiklund pay for the use of one of Mesch's photos in Wiklund's new schoolbook for Sami children. Photographs of northern nature and culture were Mesch's bread and butter, and he stopped at little to obtain them. The stories he told to Elgström include a harrowing account of his attempts to photograph a bear close up (Elgström 1929: 63–64), and reveal his constant attentiveness to the people he meets and whether their behaviors warrant a photograph. Upon meeting with a farm family returning from the wedding of their youngest daughter in Jokkmokk, Mesch states (in Elgström's retelling): "en pittoresk samling voro de, hade det inte varit så illa skumt, hade jag begärt att få ta en plåt av sällskapet" (Elgström 1929: 69) ['a picturesque company they were, and had it not been so dim out by then I would have wanted to take a picture of them']. In coming to the village of Aktsek, Mesch follows some of the local Sami to an ancient offering place beneath the peak Skerfetoppen. He notes: "Jag tog en bra plåt av det heliga stället' (Elgström 1929: 84) ['I got a good photo of that holy place'].

In the quest of this income, Mesch could at times become quite insensitive: Elgström relates a story of Mesch attempting to photograph a Sami reindeer roundup at Rávttas, outside of Kiruna, sometime in the 1920s. When the Sami asked, on religious grounds, that they not be photographed, Mesch refused to put his camera away, stating: "Jag svarade, att enligt lag äger ingen rätt att hindra en annan i hans lovliga näringsfång och att jag hade lika stor rätt att fotografera, som de att skilja renar" (Elgström 1929: 130) ['I answered that by law no one has the right to hinder another in his lawful pursuit of a living, and I had as much a right to photograph as they had to sort reindeer']. The Sami responded to Mesch's recalcitrance by trying to ruin his photos by building smoky fires and eventually by physically attacking him and his assistant. Mesch obtained a few photos but then had to retreat to the home of a local Sami, who seems to have smoothed over the conflict between Mesch and the offended Sami. No doubt in part because of such difficulties, and in part owing to the cumbersome nature

of the glass plate photography that Mesch practiced throughout his career, Mesch opted at times to simulate natural scenes in his studio. Johan Turi figures in a number of such staged photos, stabbing a wolf skin, dressed in winter gear, and performing other traditional activities. Whether or not Mesch paid Turi for such modeling is not clear, but Mesch notes that he had paid other Sami for sitting for photographs over time (Elgström 1929: 132). A good photo—suitable as a souvenir for tourists, and nearly infinitely reproducible—could prove a valuable commodity for an enterprising photographer like Mesch. In his examination of Mesch's many preserved photographs, Hans Anderson notes also the frequent appearance of Marja Sunna of Bolnuluokta, along with her children. Sunna, who appears in the "Madonnas of Many Lands" photo reproduced above (Fig. 1), seems to have been a favorite subject for Mesch (Anderson 1986: 34–35). Presumably her personal appearance, stoic expression, and willingness to allow herself to be photographed made her an apt choice for the photographic images Mesch wanted to amass.

As Elgström's collection of anecdotes shows (Elgström 1929), Mesch supplemented his work as a photographer by organizing and leading treks into the wilderness or up mountains for wealthy outdoorsmen from the south of Sweden. Sometimes he was in charge of hiring the expedition's carriers, acquiring its provisions, and planning its routes. In other cases, he accompanied climbers as their photographer, documenting their triumphs, on occasion for the pages of *Svenska Turistföreningens årsskrift*. In 1920, Mesch climbed the Akka massif with H.N. Pallin (1880–1953), who named one of the peaks—Borgtoppen—after Mesch (Elgström 1929: 78).

In his anecdotes, Mesch details his work as a tourist outfitter. He tells of haggling with Sami guides for reasonable carrier rates for his clients (Elgström 1929: 24, 50). He recounts hiring a hound for a bear-hunting client—the famous hunter, writer, and photographer in his own right Bengt Berg (Elgström 1929: 59). Such dealings are profitable to the service providers, but Mesch sees it as part of his duty to prevent gouging and keep prices reasonable. Once, when he requests a ride to Paittasluspa from a farmer's son passing with a horse and sleigh, the young man asks him what he is willing to pay for the ride. Mesch recounts "Jag blev arg och frågade om han någonsin förlorat en krona på mig" (Elgström 1929: 50) ['I grew angry and asked if he had ever lost a krona on my account']. Later, after making a difficult crossing of a river on thin ice in the dark of night, Mesch reaches the boy's farm, where the farmer has set out lights so as to guide Mesch in his direction:

> Glad blev jag, men så kom jag att tänka på pojken och hans beteende och detta förtröt mig till den grad, att jag beslöt gå förbi, och så smög

> jag mig utom gården och stack ut i natten i riktning mot Laukoluspa-gården, där en finne, som hette Eriksson hade sitt tillhåll. (Elgström 1929: 51.)
>
> ['I was glad, but then I started to think about that boy and his behavior and it annoyed me so much that I decided to pass by, and so I snuck past the farm and headed out in the night toward the Laukoluspa farm, where a Finn named Eriksson had a place.']

In a world in which farmers could hope to supplement their income by offering occasional hospitality to tourists passing by, punishment for the boy's greed is visited upon his family: Mesch chooses to lodge elsewhere that night, and may well advise clients in the future to do the same.

On those infrequent occasions in which Mesch's clientele includes women, Mesch depicts himself fearing for their welfare (Elgström 1929: 51), and even when his clients are male, he shows great concerns regarding their safety and peace of mind (Elgström 1929: 26, 32). On at least one occasion, Mesch recounts carrying a melon and sugar in his pack as a treat for his clients once they reach the top of Kebnekaise: "Jag hade som överraskning tagit med mig en melon, denna och en påse strösocker satte sprätt på sällskapet, för man törstar på fjällfärder. Du må tro att glada blevo de" (Elgström 1929: 54) ['As a surprise, I had brought along a melon: that, along with a bag of granulated sugar, put life into the company, because one gets thirsty on a mountain climb. Believe you me, they were glad to get it']. Like a thoughtful modern outfitter with a stock of power bars, Mesch thinks of his clients' likely needs and seeks to ensure that they enjoy their adventure.

In all these activities, Mesch played the role of an attentive wilderness guide, making arrangements that would largely isolate his Swedish clientele from the region's Sami and Finnish inhabitants and ensure that paying customers experienced the salubrious and inspiring nature that STF literature had prepared them to expect. It is striking how little commerce there appears to be between Swedish tourists and Sami inhabitants, apart from that carefully managed by Mesch. This same tendency is evident in the pages of *Svenska Turistföreningens årsskrift:* authors sometimes seem to go out of their way to emphasize the fact that Sami are extraneous to their adventures, or decidedly less accurate than a good compass and map. In the 1909 issue of the journal, for instance, authors Valdemar Langlet and Otto Sjögren praise the helpfulness of Sami on their trek from Kvikkjokk to Abisko, including youths willing to row for long distances for modest pay, or Täbblä, a genial caretaker of one of the organization's cabins, who speaks a humorous form of Sami Swedish, keeps the cabin tidy, provides wood, and

offers guests such items as raw goat milk (Langlet & Sjögren 1909: 275). But the authors note on the other hand, that "Lappen, som flyttar i öster och väster, känner nästan aldrig nejder norr och söder om sin flyttväg" ['the Sami who migrates east and west knows next to nothing about tracts to the north or south of his route'] (Langlet & Sjögren 1909: 277). The traveller is better off trusting his own instincts and STF materials than relying on a Sami for advice, since the Sami are largely mired in a narrow set of traditional activities. The same issue of the journal includes an article on humorous errors in speech, custom or manners among Jämtland Sami, errors that the author states are probably characteristic of Sami in general (Jämte 1909: 250). Sami mistakes in pronunciation, grammar, and behavior are held up for ridicule as signs of a humorous and simple folk. For Swedes, it seems, the Sami are a source of amusement at best, and irritation at worst, and part of Mesch's work seems to have been to help his clients have their mountain experiences with a minimum of displeasure at the region's indigenous population.

In stark contrast, Mesch catered to other clients who not only tolerated sight of the Sami but actively hoped for contact with them. Already in his 1854 *Scandinavian Adventures*, English lord Llewellyn Lloyd notes his admiration of the sight of Sami and reindeer:

> A large herd of rein-deer traversing the open country, or the surface of a frozen lake, as the case may be, where the Lapp is changing his encampment, is a very magnificent sight [...] It is not surprising that the Lapp is proud of his riches. Even the sight of one of these great herds of rein-deer causes the bosom of the mere spectator to swell with emotion, and what must therefore be the effect on the owner himself? (Lloyd 1854: 229.)

Lloyd recounts the (regrettably unsuccessful) attempts of noble English lords to introduce reindeer to their estates (Lloyd 1854: 234), and opines that the practice of reindeer husbandry should be introduced to Canada, where the species already exists in wild form (Lloyd 1854: 235). These attitudes contrasted markedly with those of Swedes of the time, who tended to see Sami herders as backward and as a source of problems for local farmers, as Johan Turi notes with passion in his *Muitalus sámiid birra*. When dealing with English clients, then, Mesch had to come up with different services.

With his good command of English from his American sojourn, his affable disposition and musical talents, Mesch could present himself well as a tourist guide for international clientele (Hedin 2001: 243). One of his most prominent customers was Frank Hedges Butler (1855–1928), a wealthy Englishman who hired Mesch to help him realize a reindeer and skiing trek across northern Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in the

years 1913 and 1914. Butler wanted to experience the North in a uniquely Sami way, and viewed a winter trek on skis and reindeer sled as the optimal experience. Through the literary products of Butler's two expeditions—his own travel account from 1917 and Johan Turi's Sami-language account published in 1931 (Butler 1917; Turi 1931)—we obtain valuable portrayals of Mesch from men who knew him. Here, Mesch was tasked not with minimizing but with optimizing his customer's contacts with Sami. Mesch's hiring of Turi helped accomplish this goal, while also introducing Turi to the role of tourism provider, a trade he subsequently embraced as a supplement to his own income later in life (DuBois 2012). Mesch instructed Turi to spend all his spare time with Butler and acted as the unobtrusive but essential interpreter between them. Turi writes:

> Gal mon gullen álo ságaid visot dohko gos hupme sámi ja suoma, mon gii ledjen dulkan go bođiimet suopmelaččaide, de mon ferten dulkot ruoŧagillii ja de fas leai ieža B. Mesch gii dulkui ruoŧas eŋgelasgillii ja son leai hui buorre ipmirdit mu heajos ruoŧa ja norgga dáru maid dárbbašii. (Turi 1988: 156.)
>
> ['I heard lots of news from everyone who spoke Sami and Finnish, since I was the interpreter when we came upon Finns. I had to translate into Swedish and then it was B. Mesch who translated from Swedish into English. And he was very good at understanding my poor Swedish and Norwegian as was needed.']

So unobtrusive was Mesch's offices in this regard that Butler eventually became convinced that he could understand Turi without the Swede's help, a misconception that led to difficulties later in the expedition, as we shall note below.

Turi was not the only Sami person Butler met: the expedition had a series of local Sami herders who came along on legs of the journey, renting their reindeer and sleds for the Englishman's use and comprising an essential part of the expedition. Yet it was Turi who communicated directly with these other Sami on behalf of Mesch and Butler, interpreting their different dialects of Northern Sami and eventually also their Skolt Sami with apparent ease. And it was largely through Turi's network of friends and relatives that the expedition was able to locate and photograph Sami who still wore traditional dress (Turi 1988: 155–156). At Mesch's behest, Turi acted as cook and cultural informant for Butler at every turn (Turi 1988: 156–157), and Butler writes of Turi with great affection in his account:

> My faithful Lapp, Johann Thürri, came with me to interpret the Lappish language, and to help in many other ways—valeting, driving the

> pulka with the baggage and provisions. He was also a splendid chef, and knew the best part of the reindeer meat to buy for the stew-pot. Thürri also knew a good fox or wolf skin, and bought me several very fine blue fox-skins caught in traps by the Lapps. (Butler 1917: 139.)

From Turi, we know that Mesch received ten kronor per day for his work, plus honoraria for any photographs that Butler chose to include in his book (Turi 1988: 157). Butler describes both Mesch and Turi warmly in his account, recommending them to readers as useful guides: "Travellers visiting these parts cannot possibly do better than try and obtain the same linguists, especially for Norwegian and Swedish Lapland" (Butler 1917: 99–100). He also notes, "Herr Borg Mesch has a photographic studio, where some good photographs of Lapp life can be bought" (Butler 1917: 194). An expedition such as Butler's of twenty to thirty days would net Mesch at minimum between two and three hundred Swedish kronor, roughly five to ten percent of his annual income at the time. The unique and engaging photos that Butler gained from his travels into Norway and Finland proved valuable commodities for future publications, bringing Mesch to sites he would not otherwise have access to in the company of his friend Johan Turi, who could act as an interpreter with local Sami.

Mesch's success in providing Butler with a presentable and entertaining Sami interlocutor eventually backfired, however. As the company neared Russia, Butler grew convinced that he could manage with Turi alone, provided he found an interpreter of Russian as well. So, after locating a Russian interpreter for the purpose at Vadsø, he abruptly dismissed Mesch from his service. Mesch, outraged at his summary dismissal, and clearly hoping to continue the journey into Russia—thereby obtaining yet more valuable photographs—attempted to thwart his customer's decision by removing Turi from his employ. Writes Turi:

> Ja go B. Mesch dan gulai, de son siđai ahte mon galggan maid báhcit, muhto ii dat luoitán mu báhcit. Son dajai ahte jos mon bázán, de in oaččo bálkká oppa reaissus ge ja de mon ferten lohpidit, ahte mon čuovun mielde. (Turi 1988: 177.)
>
> ['And when B. Mesch heard that, he wanted me to stay behind as well, but he [Butler] wouldn't allow me to stay. He said that if I stayed behind, I would not get any pay for any of the journey, and so I had to promise to accompany him.']

Butler's highhanded decision proved foolish, however, since the Russian interpreter hired in Mesch's place seems to have disappeared early on after

the company's entry into Russia. Turi found that he had no trouble communicating with the Skolt Sami of the region, who provided the company's reindeer and sleds and who were able to translate the Russian they heard to Sami. Turi writes:

> Muhto gal leai oppa bahá gielain birget, go eŋgelas humai su giela ja Ruoššariikkas hupme ruoššagiela. Muhto ruošša sámit máhtte ruoššagiela ja sii dulkoje munnje go mii bođiimet sámegielain oktii ja mon fas dulkojin eŋgelasii. Muhto dan in dieđe got dat lea ipmirdan, go son leai eŋgelas ja mon sápmi. (Turi 1988: 179.)
>
> ['But the language situation was difficult, since the Englishman spoke his language and the Russians spoke Russian. But the Russian Sami knew Russian and they interpreted for me into Sami when we met and then I translated into English. But I don't know how much he understood, since he was English and I Sami.']

An examination of Butler's text shows that he understood little if anything that Turi tried to tell him. Although Turi learned a great deal about Nenets culture from his Sami guides (Turi 1988: 178) and observed in detail aspects of Nenets harnessing and dress when the company encountered a Nenets man during their journey, Butler seems to have been left in the dark concerning this important group of migrants to the region, describing the man as a "Russian Lapp with a curious head-dress" (Butler 1917: 58) while including a photograph that reveals the man's Nenets identity. Butler further reports that the village of Skolt Sami that the company visited was named "Skolteby"—that is, clearly Turi's attempt to explain in Swedish that it was a "Skolt village" (Butler 1917: 56).

If Butler understood how irritated he had made his guide Mesch, he does not seem to have acknowledged it in public. Turi writes of their departure:

> No de dal moai vulggiime Čáhcesullos Girkonjárgga guvlui ja Borg Meschii dajaime "báze dearvan." Ja son bázii Čáhcesullui veaháš ahkitlaš mielain, go sutnje attii gissii. Ja de Butlar čuorvvui "mana dearvan!" Muhto dan in dieđe maid son jurddašii. (Turi 1988: 177.)
>
> ['So we then left Vadsø in the direction of Kirkenes and we said good bye to Borg Mesch. And he remained behind at Vadsø a little miffed at being so abandoned. And Butler called out "Goodbye!" But I don't know what he [Mesch] thought of that.']

In his book, Butler makes no mention of the disagreement, and has only words of praise for Mesch. Of the departure he notes simply: "Here our

Swedish interpreter, Borg Mesch, left us, as he could not speak Russian" (Butler 1917: 139). Mesch's reputation is thus spared in print, and he could hope that other wealthy readers of Butler's privately published account would follow suit in time and hire him again for such a journey.

The English fascination with Sami and reindeer continued. A generation later, Olive Murray Chapman sought to repeat Butler's *Through Lapland with Skis & Reindeer*, writing her own account entitled (somewhat derivatively) *Across Lapland with Sledge and Reindeer* (Chapman 1932). Now, however, she found the well-developed northern tourist industry in Stockholm and Oslo uniformly disapproving of her proposal. She recounts the outraged pronouncements of one of the travel agents she approached about her plans. Sputtering in vexation he cries: "No, no! What you propose to do is an adventure, not an ordinary tourist's journey. We cannot help you here at all nor be responsible" (Chapman 1932: 3). As Chapman notes, however: "It was just the 'adventure' aspect that so strongly appealed to me, and I felt that somehow or other a way would be found if I still persevered" (Chapman 1932: 4). Chapman did indeed succeed in her desires, finding Sami guides of her day willing to follow in the trail blazed by Mesch and Turi. Chapman's difficulties in dealing with the later tourist industry illustrates a key strength of Mesch: he met his clients where they were and delivered them the experiences they hoped to find.

"Muhto Mesch ge, son birgii seamma go sámit ja son leai hávski álo" (Turi 1988: 168) ['But Mesch, he managed as well as the Sami did and was always pleasant']. So writes Turi about the man who introduced him to the tourist industry. In some ways the discussion of imaginary spaces that occupies modern research on tourism would have seemed strange to Borg Mesch. After all, the elements he struggled with in his long career of mountaineering and photography were anything but simulacra: his anecdotes to Elgström tell of harsh winters, dangerous falls, near brushes with death, and utterly exhausting work. The North of his treks is wild and dangerous, fierce and beautiful. Yet at the same time, Mesch understood the process of image making and he knew the tasks he was involved in as a photographer and booster of the Swedish north. His pictures of landscape and of people helped create in his countrymen a feeling of a timeless, mystical north, one that had already existed and would always exist as the birthright of every Swede. Of course, neither the people nor the landscape that he photographed proved quite so enduring: the Sami way of life would endure many changes and limitations in the decades that followed, as would that of the Swedes and Finns of the region. Buildings moldered away or were burned. Even the great mainstays of the landscape, like the magnificent falls at Stora Sjöfallet, were to face destruction in the name of hydroelectric power, in-

dustrial development, and now climate change. The very city of Kiruna that Mesch saw grow faces imminent relocation, the victim of the success of the mine that led to the city's original founding. In a world of such massive and manifest physical and social change, it is the images of the North that remain constant, those that Mesch and his contemporaries selected and celebrated. In a sense, the trend toward fictive imagery of the North and its provision to willing tourists was already developing in the glass plate photography of Borg Mesch, *fjällens fotograf*.

REFERENCES

Abram, S., Waldren, J. & MacLeod, D.V.L. (eds.) (1997). *Tourists and Tourism. Identifying with People and Places*, Oxford: Berg.

Acerbi, J. (1802). *Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape in the Years 1798 and 1799*, London: Printed for Joseph Mawman, in the Poultry.

Anderson, H. (1986). *Drömmen om fjällen. Berättelsen om en tid då allt blev annorlunda* ['Dreaming of the mountains. Stories about a time when everything turned different'], Alingsås, Fyra Förläggare AB.

Anonymous (1917). "Madonnas of many lands," *National Geographic*, 31:6, pp. 549–563.

Baglo, C. (2011). *På ville veger? Levende utstillinger av samer i Europa og Amerika* ['Going astray? Live exhibitions of Sami people in Europe and America'], Tromsø: University of Tromsø.

Baranowski, S. & Furlough, E. (eds.) (2001). *Being Elsewhere. Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Baudrillard, J. (1994). *Simulacra and Simulation*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bilton, W. (1840). *Two Summers in Norway*, London: Saunders & Otley.

Boheman, E. (ed.) (1912). "Svenska folktyper IV" ['Swedish national types IV'], *Svenska turistföreningens årsskrift*, 1912: 331–337.

Butler, F.H. (1917). *Through Lapland with Skis & Reindeer with Some Account of Ancient Lapland and the Murman Coast*, London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd.

Cartier, C.L. & Lew, A.A. (eds.) (2005). *Seductions of Place. Geographic Perspectives on Globalization and Touristed Landscapes*, London: Routledge.

Chapman, O.M. (1932). *Across Lapland with Sledge and Reindeer*, New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

Chartier, D. (2008). "The gender of ice and snow," *Journal of Northern Studies*, 2:2, pp. 29–49.

Clark, S. (ed.) (1999). *Travel Writing and Empire. Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, London: Zed Books.

Davis, S. (1997). *Spectacular Nature. Corporate Culture and the Sea World Experience*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

DuBois, T.A. (2012). "Johan Turin Duoddaris" ['Johan Turi's From the Mountains'], *Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja*, 91, pp. 93–109.

Elgström, O. (1929). *Fjällfotografen Borg-Meschs äventyr bland Lapplands fjäll* ['The mountain photographer Borg Mesch's adventures in the mountains of Lapland'], Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag.

F.W. [Folke Wanke] (1912). "Vi svenskar hafva verkligen under senaste tid begynt i någon mån älska vårt land. Därtill har turistföreningen i ej ringa mån bidragit" ['In recent times we Swedes have truly begun to some extent to love our country. The Swedish Tourist Association has contributed to this development in no small manner'], *Svenska turistföreningens årsskrift*, 1912, p. 340.

Frandy, T. (2013). *Harvesting Tradition. Subsistence and Meaning in the Northern Periphery*, Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Gmelch, S. (ed.) (2010). *Tourists and Tourism. A Reader*, Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.

Gottdiener, M. (2001). *The Theming of America. American Dreams, Media Fantasies, and Themed Environments*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Hagerman, M. (2006). *Det rena landet. Om konsten att uppfinna sina förfäder* ['The pure land. On the art of inventing ones forebears'], Stockholm: Prisma.

Harangen, M. (2013). "Victorian Salmon Fishing;" http://mortenharangen.no/?page_id=265; access date 8 August 2013.

Hedin, S. (2001). *Fjällvråken Borg Mesch. Fotografpionjär bland samer, rallare och mäktiga landskap* ['The rough-legged hawk Borg Mesch. Pioneer photographer among Sami, navvies and imposing landscapes'], Stockholm: Nya Vyer.

Hiew, S. (2013). "The cutest reason to visit Norway (photos)," *Huffington Post Travel*.

Jämte, A. (1909). "Några exempel på omedveten lapsk humor" ['Some examples on unaware Lapp humour'], *Svenska Turistföreningens årsskrift*, 1909, pp. 250–260.

Kennedy, E.B. (1903). *Thirty Seasons in Scandinavia*, London: Edward Arnold.

Keskitalo-Foley, S. (2006). "Kolme näkökulmaa Lapin paikkana kokemiseen ['Three perspectives on the experience of Lapland as a place'], *Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja*, 85, pp. 129–146.

King, J.C.H. & Lidchi, H. (eds.) (1998). *Imaging the Arctic*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Kurin, R. (1997). *Reflections of a Culture Broker. A View from the Smithsonian*, Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Langlet, V. & Sjögren, O. (1909). "Den blifvande turistleden Kvikkjokk–Abisko" ['The future tourist foot-path Kvikkjokk–Abisko'], *Svenska Turistföreningens årsskrift*, 1909, pp. 267–301.

Lewis, M. (1997). "Tour through Norway. A Norwegian comedy of errors," *Travel+Leisure*, June; www.travelandleisure.com/articles/where-the-midnight-sun-didnt-shine; access date 28 April 2014.

Linné, C. von (2005). *Iter Lapponicum*, Umeå: The Royal Skyttean Society.

Lloyd, L. (1830). *Field Sports of the North of Europe. Comprised in a Personal Narrative of a Residence in Sweden and Norway, in the Years 1827–28*, London: H. Colburn & R. Bentley.

— (1854). *Scandinavian Adventures during a Residence of Upwards of Twenty Years, Representing Sporting Incidents, and Subjects of Natural History, and Devices for Entrapping Wild Animals, with Some Account of Wild Fauna*, London: Richard Bentley.

Löfgren, O. (2001). "Know your country. A comparative perspective on tourism and nation building in Sweden," in *Being Elsewhere. Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, eds. S. Baranowski & E. Furlough, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 137–154.

MacCannell, D. (1989). *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York: Schocken Books.

Mattson, R. (1902). "Till kyrkhelgen i Jukkasjärvi" ['To the church festival in Jukkasjärvi'], *Svenska Turistföreningens årsskrift*, 1902, pp. 319–331.

Mesch, B. (1912). "Utsikt från Pålnoviken vid Torne Träsk, Lappland" ['A view from Pålnoviken at Torne Träsk, Lapland'], *Svenska Turistföreningens årsskrift*, 1912, Pl. 1.

Newland, H. (1855). *Forest Scenes in Norway and Sweden. Being Extracts from the Journal of a Fisherman*, London: G. Routledge & Co.

Nuttall, M. (1997). "Packaging the wild. Tourism development in Alaska," in *Tourists and Tourism. Identifying with People and Places*, eds. S. Abram, J. Waldren & D.V.L. MacLeod, Oxford: Berg, pp. 223–238.

Olaus Magnus [1555] (1996). *A Description of the Northern Peoples* I–II, London: The Hakluyt Society.

Pottinger, H. (1905). *Flood, Fell, and Forest*, London: Edward Arnold.

Pratt, M.L. (1992). *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*, New York: Routledge.

Puijk, R. (2001). "Tourism in the fjords and mountains of Western Norway," in *Hosts and Guests Revisited. Tourism Issues of the 21st Century*, eds. V. Smith & M. Brent, New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation, pp. 175–186.

Schefferus, J. (1673). *Lapponia, id est regionis Lapponum et gentis nova et verissima descriptio, in qua multa de origine, superstitione, sacris magicis, victu, cultu, negotiis Lapponum, item animalium, metallorumque indole, quae in terris eorum proveniunt, hactenus incognita produntur, & eiconibus adjectis cum cura illustrantur*, Frankfurt.

Smith, V. (ed.) (1989). *Hosts and Guests. The Anthropology of Tourism*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

— (2001). "The Culture Brokers," in *Hosts and Guests Revisited. Tourism Issues of the 21st Century*, eds. V. Smith & M. Brent, New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation, pp. 275–282.

Smith, V. & M. Brent (eds.) (2001). *Hosts and Guests Revisited. Tourism Issues of the 21st Century*. New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

Stewart, S. (1984). *On Longing. Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Tangherlini, T.R. (2008). "Choson memories. Spectatorship, ideology and the Korean folk village," in *Sitings. Critical Approaches to Korean Geography*, eds. T.R. Tangherlini & S.Y., Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 61–82.

— (2010). "Shrinking culture. Lotte World and the logic of miniaturization," in *Consuming Korean Traditions in Early and Late Modernity. Commodification, Tourism, and Performance*, ed. L. Kendall, Honolulu: University of Honolulu Press, pp. 39–63.

Tolfrey, F.E. (1848). *Jones's Guide to Norway, and Salmon-Fisher's Pocket Companion*, London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longman.

Turi, J. (1910). *Muitalus Sámiid birra* ['An account of the Sami'], ed. E. Demant-Hatt, Jokkmokk: Sami Girjjit.

— (1931). *Från fjället* ['From the mountains'], Lund: C.W.K. Gleerups Förlag.

— (1988). *Sámi deavsttat. Duoddaris* ['Sami texts. From the mountains'], ed. N. E. Hansegård, Jokkmokk: Sami Girjjit.

Walton, J. (ed.) (2005). *Histories of Tourism. Representation, Identity and Conflict*, New York: Multilingual Books.

Thomas A. DuBois is Professor of Scandinavian Studies and of Comparative Literature and Folklore Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA. He is honorary doctor at Umeå University, Sweden. DuBois researches and teaches broadly on Finnish, Sami and Scandinavian folklore and has authored or edited a number of books, including *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age* (1999), *Finnish Folklore* (with Leea Virtanen; 2000), *Sanctity in the North. Saints, Lives, and Cults in Medieval Scandinavia* (2008) and *An Introduction to Shamanism* (2009). He has translated Johan Turi's masterpiece *Muitalus sámiid birra* as *An Account of the Sámi* (2011).

tadubois@wisc.edu

JOURNAL OF NORTHERN STUDIES Vol. 8 • No. 2 • 2014, pp. 71–87

ANNEGRET HEITMANN

Zwischen zwei Welten

Aspekte der Mobilität in J.A. Friis´ and G. Schnéevoigts *Lajla*

ABSTRACT Einer der bekanntesten Texte über das Leben der Samen ist Jens Andreas Friis' norwegischer Roman *Lajla* aus dem Jahr 1881. Sein Status als Klassiker wurde durch zwei Verfilmungen von Georg Schnéevoigt (Stummfilm von 1929 und Tonfilm von 1937) untermauert. Während es die Intention des Autors war, in unterhaltsamer Form ethnographische Informationen über das Leben der Samen zu vermitteln, wurde der Roman vor allem als eine romantische Liebesgeschichte über das einfache Leben in der Finnmark rezipiert. Der folgende Aufsatz beleuchtet den Handlungsgang um das „vertauschte Kind" neu, indem er verschiedene Aspekte der Mobilität ins Zentrum stellt: des Textes selbst, des Mediums Film und vor allem der Konzeption der Ethnizität, die durch Betonung von Mobilität ihre dichotomische Starrheit verliert.

KEYWORDS J.A. Friis, G. Schnéevoigt, Mobilität, Ethnizität, unfester Text, Ökonomie der Gabe, Transposition Roman–Film

Einer der bekanntesten Texte des 19. Jahrhunderts über das Leben der Samen ist Jens Andreas Friis´ Roman *Lajla* aus dem Jahr 1881. Der norwegische Autor (1821–1896) hat sich in einer ganzen Reihe wissenschaftlicher Veröffentlichungen mit Sprache und Kultur der Samen beschäftigt und Wörterbücher, Grammatiken und Sammlungen samischer Mythologie veröffentlicht.[1] Durch seine vielen Aufenthalte und

Wanderungen im skandinavischen Norden war er außerdem ein Kenner der Natur der Finnmark, die er in Sammlungen wie *Til Fjells i Feriene eller Jeger- og Fiskerliv i Høifjellene* [‚Urlaub im Gebirge oder Jäger- und Fischerleben im Hochgebirge'] (1876) beschrieben hat. Dadurch kann er auch als ein Pionier des Wander- und Fjelltourismus, gelten, zu dem er mit diesen Schriften anregen wollte. Die genaue Kenntnis der nordnorwegischen Landschaft, ihrer Bewohner und deren Kultur hat ihn darüber hinaus dazu veranlasst, in den aktuellen Debatten der damaligen Zeit Stellung zu beziehen: In vielen Zeitungsbeiträgen hat er sich kritisch zur Norwegisierungspolitik geäußert und umstrittene Fragen wie die Sprachpolitik, die damals so genannte „Rassenmischung" oder auch rechtliche Fragen des Grundbesitzes der Rentierweideflächen behandelt.[2] Eine Reihe von belletristischen Publikationen ergänzt Friis´ Bemühungen um die Darstellung und Bekanntmachung der samischen Bevölkerung in der nordnorwegischen Region sowie ihrer Probleme.[3]

Der Roman *Lajla* ragt durch seine anhaltende Popularität aus der Reihe dieser Schriften heraus. Ein belletristischer Klassiker wie diese Erzählung ist vor allem deswegen von besonderem Interesse, weil er nicht nur eine Repräsentation, eine Abbildung des samischen Lebens darstellt, sondern seinerseits das Wissen und das Bild des Samischen rückwirkend beeinflusst und prägt. Schon aus diesem Grund ist eine literaturwissenschaftliche Betrachtung sinnvoll – sie kann die Mechanismen der Mimesis, die unser Verständnis prägen, als Konstruktionen zutage fördern. Außerdem sind in der Narration und den literarischen Verfahren oft genau die Ambivalenzen niedergelegt, die ungelöste Probleme der Realität ausmachen. Ein literarischer Text ist also weniger interessant wegen seiner mimetischen Qualitäten, sondern wegen der Wirkung, die von der einprägsamen, aber vieldeutigen fiktionalen Gestaltung herrührt.

Über Geschichten versichern sich soziale Gemeinschaften ihrer Identität, Ursprungsmythen stellen die Gründungstexte ganzer Kulturen und Gesellschaften dar,[4] wobei sich Zwistigkeiten, Machtkonstellationen oder gesellschaftliche Normen nicht zuletzt an fiktive Figuren knüpfen: Esau, Odysseus, Hamlet, Effi Briest. Die Nennung der bekannten Namen lässt unmittelbar eine komplexe Geschichte erinnern, die dann ihrerseits abstrakte, allgemein relevante Problemstellungen bündelt. Demgegenüber ist Lajla natürlich nur eine regional bekannte Figur, doch der im skandinavischen Raum seltene Name wird mit ihrer Geschichte assoziiert, er weist ein hohes Wiedererkennungspotential und eine daran geknüpfte Wirkung auf. Hans Lindkjølen bezeichnet sie als „kanskje den viktigste ambassadør for samene i den store verden" [‚vielleicht den wichtigsten Botschafter für die Samen in der großen Welt'] und vergleicht sie mit der Wirkung, die Harri-

et Beecher Stowes *Uncle Tom's Cabin* für die schwarze Bevölkerung Nordamerikas hatte (Lindkjølen 1983: 68).[5] In diesem Sinne soll im Folgenden weder die Autorintention noch der kulturhistorische Gehalt des Romans im Mittelpunkt stehen,[6] sondern es sollen ein paar Fäden entrollt werden, die in der Geschichte um Lajla gebündelt sind und ein kulturhistorisch relevantes Spannungsfeld abstecken. Aus den vielen vorliegenden Versionen sollen dazu die bekanntesten Umsetzungen der Lajla-Geschichte, Friis´ Roman von 1881 und die Stummfilmversion von George Schnéevoigt aus dem Jahre 1929, herangezogen werden. Ergänzend wird auch die spätere Filmversion desselben Regisseurs berücksichtigt, in der er eine stark veränderte Umsetzung vorlegte.

Der Plot und seine Lesarten

Erstaunlich ist angesichts der Popularität des Gegenstandes, wie wenig Sekundärliteratur es zu diesem Thema gibt. Die gründliche Monographie von Hans Lindkjølen gleicht diesen Mangel allerdings durch eine sehr umfassende und kenntnisreiche Behandlung aus. Es geht ihm um die Ermittlung der Autorintention, um J.A. Friis' Beitrag zu zeitgenössischen Debatten, in deren Rahmen er auch den Roman stellt. Dabei betont er besonders die ethnographischen Aspekte, denen im Roman umfassende Kapitelteile gewidmet sind,[7] zeichnet aber auch die lebhafte zeitgenössische Rezeption nach, die eher die idyllisierenden Momente der Erzählung in den Mittelpunkt gestellt hat. Auch Lindkjølen selbst spricht von einer romantischen Intrige (Lindkjølen 1983: 31), in deren Zentrum die Geschichte des Mädchens Lajla steht, das als Baby auf der Schlittenfahrt zur Taufe verloren geht, von ihren Eltern für tot gehalten, aber vom Knecht einer samischen Familie gefunden wird, die es als ihr eigenes Kind aufzieht. Als der samische Ziehvater von der Identität der biologischen Eltern und ihrer Trauer über den Verlust erfährt, gibt er das Kind am Weihnachtsabend an die Kaufmannsfamilie zurück. Dann aber tötet eine Pestepidemie den norwegischen Kaufmann und seine Frau, und ein zweites Mal kann der reiche Same Aslak Laagje das Mädchen, das die Krankheit überlebt hat, aber nun zu verhungern droht, vor dem Tod retten. In den folgenden Jahren verlebt Lajla eine unbeschwerte Jugend als Angehörige der samischen Familie, bis sie sich bei einem Marktbesuch in einen norwegischen Kaufmann verliebt und so zwischen zwei Welten gerät. Die Eltern erwarten die Hochzeit mit ihrem Pflege-Cousin Mellet, während sie sich zu dem Norweger Anders Lind, der ebenfalls ihr Cousin ist, hingezogen fühlt. In letzter Minute vor der Eheschließung wird schließlich ihre Herkunft offenbart und sie kann Anders heiraten. Finanzielle Nöte zwingen das junge Ehepaar jedoch bald darauf, den Norden zu verlassen und unter ärmlichen Verhältnissen in Bergen zu leben: Erst der Besuch des

treuen Dieners Jaampa offenbart, dass die samische Familie Lajla ein Erbe zugesprochen hat, das es ihr erlaubt, den Kaufmannshof zurückzukaufen und mit Mann und Kind wieder in ihrer Heimat zu leben.

Lindkjølen unterstreicht die gefühlsbetonte Darstellung, die pittoresken Züge, den Exotismus und die idealisierende Darstellung der Samen. Die zeitgenössische Rezeption ist noch stärker von diesen Aspekten geprägt: In *Morgenbladet* ist von einem Idyll die Rede, in *Aftenbladet* schreibt der Rezensent von „den hele Romantik fra Finmarksvidderne" [‚all die Romantik der Finnmarkshöhen'] und nennt Lajla „en nydelig poetisk Skikkelse, hendes Liv er eventyrlig fra Vuggen til Graven" [‚eine reizende poetische Gestalt, ihr Leben ist abenteuerlich von der Wiege bis zum Grab'] (zitiert nach Lindkjølen 1983: 32). In den 1880ern, so fasst Lindkjølen zusammen, hat man *Lajla* als spannende und farbenfrohe Erzählung über ein romantisch dargestelltes Nomadenvolk gelesen.

Die wenigen aktuelleren Lektüren hingegen betonen einen Aspekt, der in einer Rezension von Carl Nærup anlässlich einer Neuauflage 1921 erstmals herausgestellt wurde, als er die Samen als ‚fremden Stamm' bezeichnete und von seinen „Raceeiendommeligheter" [‚Rassenbesonderheiten'] schrieb (zitiert nach Lindkjølen 1983: 35). Auch der Kenner und Liebhaber der samischen Kultur Friis war nicht frei von zeittypischen Wertungen, die den Samen kindliche oder auch wilde Eigenschaften zuschrieben und selbst vor Tiervergleichen nicht zurückschreckten (vgl. Friis 1952: 18, 19, 96). Anne-Kari Skarðhamar entlarvt daher einen „colonialist discourse", die stereotype Darstellung der Sami als „happy savages" als „a discriminating attitude" (Skarðhamar 2008: 294). Anne Marit Myrstad geht sogar noch weiter, wenn sie – mit Bezug auf den Heiratsplot des Films – von einem Rassendiskurs und einem „eugenic ingredient" spricht (Myrstad 1992: 191).

Es ist nicht verwunderlich, dass ein Text zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten verschiedene Konkretisierungen erfährt, die grundlegende Ambiguität literarischer Texte ermöglicht immer wieder neue, durch jeweils neue Aufmerksamkeitsfilter hervorgebrachte Aktualisierungen, die jedoch nicht selten zu Vereindeutigungen neigen. Es ist die narrative Gestaltung, der die Imagination anregende Plot vom Findelkind zwischen zwei Welten, der eine ganze Reihe von Sinnstiftungsangeboten bündelt und daher zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten und mit verschiedenen Absichten gelesen werden kann. Das Faszinosum von Geschichten generell ist, dass sie kulturelle Phänomene anschaulich machen können, ohne ihre Komplexität zu reduzieren. Im vorliegenden Fall geht es dabei um das Aufeinandertreffen zweier ethnischer Gruppierungen,[8] biologische gegenüber sozialer Elternschaft, eine Frau zwischen zwei Männern, einen Wettbewerb um Zuneigung sowie ökonomische und soziale Macht. Die unterschiedlichen Konkurrenz-

verhältnisse, an denen der Roman seine Narration entwickelt, rufen auch eine bislang kaum beleuchtete Dimension von Schnelligkeit und Mobilität auf den Plan, die im Folgenden als Schlüssel einer neuen Betrachtung des Romans benutzt werden soll.

Ethnizität und/als Mobilität

Auch eine aktualisierte Konzeption von Ethnizität muss den Faktor der Mobilität berücksichtigen, um das starre dichotomische Denken des statischen Rassenbegriffs hinter sich zu lassen. Im wissenschaftlichen Denken ist das Konzept der Rasse heute selbstverständlich obsolet geworden, niemand würde noch behaupten „that hereditary characteristics explain cultural variation" (Hylland Eriksen 2002: 5). Ethnizität hingegen bezeichnet „a classification of people and group relationships [...] which consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as culturally distinctive" (Hylland Eriksen 2002: 4). Thomas Hylland Eriksen betont diesen relationalen and situativen Aspekt von Ethnizität, die er keineswegs als naturgegeben verstehen will, sondern als Identifikation mit einer Mitgliedschaft in einer Gruppe in Abgrenzung zu einem Anderen, einem Nicht-Mitglied. Wenn diese Identifikation als sozial relevant empfunden wird, können wir von Ethnizität sprechen. Zu dieser sehr allgemeinen soziologischen Definition muss jedoch noch ein Aspekt hinzutreten: Im Gegensatz zu anderen sozialen Gruppierungen identifizieren sich ethnische Gruppen über Mythen gemeinsamer Abstammung und die Präferenz endogamischer Eheschließung. Auch bei der Bestimmung von ethnischer Zugehörigkeit wird also die Macht der Narration (und der Fiktion) relevant: Erst derartige Herkunftserzählungen können die Zugehörigkeit zu sozialen Gruppierungen begründen und deren Einheit verstärken. Die Kategorie der Ethnizität oszilliert also zwischen Festschreibung und Fluidität, zwischen Beharren auf Ursprüngen und permanenter Neu-Verhandlung und Umdeutung.

Damit positioniert sich Ethnizität auch zwischen Statik und Mobilität, und das nicht nur in Kontexten der Migration, des Exils und der Flucht, die die aktuelle Diskussion über Ethnizität dominieren, in der städtische Minoritäten und ethnische Gruppen in pluralen Gesellschaften im Mittelpunkt stehen. Sobald wir den statischen, auf starren Dichotomien beruhenden Begriff der Rasse aufgeben, gehört Mobilität zur sozialen Gruppenformierung dazu. Wenn Ethnizität nicht als ein festliegendes Charakteristikum verstanden werden kann, sondern als eine Relation zwischen Gruppen, kann man sie ohne Mobilität und Grenzüberschreitung gar nicht denken. Im Gegenteil: Ethnizität wird als Alteritätspotential definiert, das nur aktiviert wird, wenn es mit anderen Gruppierungen konfrontiert wird, wenn zum Beispiel ein Türke nach Deutschland zieht, ein Inder in

Dar-es-Salam lebt oder wenn ein Norweger sich in einer samischen Gemeinschaft ansiedelt. Wer in einer solchen Situation als dominant und wer als abweichend betrachtet wird, ist das Ergebnis komplexer sozialer Verhandlungen.

Eine solche Verhandlungs-Situation stellt auch der Handlungsgang von *Lajla* dar. Während die dominanten Rezeptionsstränge den Roman im Kontext von romantisierendem Fjell-Idyll oder von stereotyper Dichotomisierung verorten wollen, kann eine Betonung der Mobilität eben jenen Verhandlungs-Spielraum ausloten, der wohl auch die anhaltende Wirkung des Romans bedingt. Mobilität gilt, vor allem als Beschleunigungserfahrung, als ein ganz entscheidendes Charakteristikum von Modernität. Hartmut Rosa hat aufgezeigt, dass es dabei um sozialen Wandel einerseits und ein verändertes individuelles Lebenstempo andererseits geht. Als Moderne wird dabei die von Reinhart Koselleck so genannte Sattelzeit ab 1750 bezeichnet, in der eine lineare Zeitauffassung sich durchsetzt, während in der Vormoderne eine zyklische Zeiterfahrung dominant war (Rosa 2005: 39–42). Das allumfassende Erleben der Beschleunigung, der ‚Krieg um die Zeit', hat in der Moderne allerdings auch die Kehrseite der Medaille, den vom Traum des Ausstiegs aus der Zeit und die Sehnsucht nach Verlangsamung, hervorgebracht (Rosa 2005: 81–86).

In *Lajla*, einem Text, der 1881 auf der Höhe der einschneidendsten Beschleunigungsepoche geschrieben wurde und dessen dargestellte Zeit den Beginn der Sattelzeit um 1750 markiert, kommen sowohl die Mobilität als auch die Sehnsucht nach Stillstand und Ausstieg aus der Zeit zum Ausdruck. Die zeitgenössische Rezeption mit ihrer Betonung des Romantischen und Idyllischen hebt ausschließlich diese zur Moderne gehörige Kehrseite der Mobilitätserfahrung hervor. Doch erstaunlicherweise sind dem Roman selbst nicht nur die Statik von Fjellromantik und dichotomischer Rassenkonzeption, sondern auch starke Züge von Mobilität eingeschrieben. Diese Beweglichkeit prägt zunächst einmal den Text selbst.

Der mobile Text

Mit ‚Lajla' wird eine fiktive Figur, eine Geschichte und ein Buch bezeichnet. Doch die 1881 in Kristiania erschienene Erstausgabe der Erzählung wurde unter dem Titel *Fra Finmarken. Skildringer* [‚Aus Finnmark. Schilderungen'] veröffentlicht. Den heute bekannten Titel *Lajla*, der die Lebensgeschichte der Hauptfigur in den Mittelpunkt stellt und damit die vom Titel ausgehende Signalwirkung erhöht, trägt das Buch erst seit seiner zweiten Auflage im Jahre 1890. Seitdem sind in Norwegen nicht weniger als fünfzehn Auflagen erschienen, was auf eine hohe Popularität schließen lässt. Der neue Titel tritt allerdings zum ersten Mal in der schwedischen Übersetzung auf,

die bereits ein Jahr nach der Erstausgabe bei Bonniers erschien und *Lajla, eller skildringar från Finmarken* [‚Lajla, oder Schilderungen aus Finnmark'] hieß. Auch in Schweden folgt eine verlegerische Erfolgsgeschichte: der ersten folgten acht weitere schwedische Auflagen, zum Teil in unterschiedlichen Verlagen.[9] Das Interesse blieb nicht auf Skandinavien beschränkt: 1883 folgten eine englische und eine finnische Übersetzung, 1885 eine holländische und ein Jahr später gleich zwei deutsche Übertragungen. Auch ins Russische und Französische wurde der Roman übersetzt, 1888 erschien dann eine zweite englische Version. Etliche der Ausgaben wurden bearbeitet, viele sind illustriert, zum Teil auch mit *stills* aus den Verfilmungen. Es gibt Versionen, die als Jugendbuch vermarktet werden, und ein schwedisches Hörbuch aus dem Jahr 2007. In Norwegen wurden darüber hinaus einzelne Kapitel, wie zum Beispiel die beliebte Wolfsjagd Jaampas oder das Weihnachtskapitel, sogar in Schullesebüchern abgedruckt (vgl. Lindkjølen 1983: 70), was den Bekanntheitsgrad weiter erhöht haben dürfte.

Im Laufe der Editionsgeschichte ist der Text offenbar vielfältig verwendet, aber auch verändert worden. Die mir vorliegende Auswahl an dänischen, deutschen, englischen und norwegischen Versionen unterscheidet sich zum Teil recht erheblich, etliche Versionen weisen gegenüber der Originalausgabe substantielle Kürzungen und Simplifizierungen auf. Der Roman entspricht damit den Kriterien des unfesten Textes,[10] er ist selbst in hohem Maße mobil, was David Damrosch als ein Kriterium für Weltliteratur ansieht: „I take world literature to encompass all literary works that circulate beyond their culture of origin, either in translation or in their original language" (Damrosch 2003: 4). Diese aktuelle und viel zitierte Bestimmung von Weltliteratur „as a mode of circulation" (Damrosch 2003: 5) und als Transzendierung des nationalen Paradigmas, trifft auf Friis´ Erzählung in vollem Umfang zu. Bekanntheit sowie Mobilität erhöhen sich durch die Tatsache, dass der Stoff dreimal verfilmt wurde. 1929 entstand eine vielgerühmte, bildästhetisch eindrucksvolle Stummfilmversion des deutsch-dänisch-finnischen Regisseurs George Schnéevoigt (1893–1961), acht Jahre später drehte derselbe Regisseur eine Tonfilmversion, mit anderen Schauspielern und entscheidenden Kürzungen des Plots. 1958 entstand dann eine weitere schwedische Filmversion in Farbe unter der Regie von Rolf Husberg, die auch international gezeigt wurde, unter anderem noch vor wenigen Jahren im deutschen Fernsehen.[11] Weiterhin gibt es eine Vertonung zur Oper mit der Musik von Ole Olsen, die 1908 in Oslo uraufgeführt wurde. Ein detaillierter Vergleich der literarischen und medialen Bearbeitungen ist hier nicht intendiert, doch die Unfestigkeit des Textes, die nur den Kern des Plots und den Titel unangetastet lässt, deutet auf ‚Lajlas' sinnstiftende Bedeutung als ‚Botschafterin des Samischen' hin.

Die Mobilität des Textes ist nicht auf die Rezeption beschränkt, schon die Produktion erweist sich als von zirkulierenden Stoffen und Motiven geprägt. Die intertextuelle Fundierung der Erzählung betrifft die Parallele zu einem Theaterstück mit dem Titel *Atten Aar efter* [‚Achtzehn Jahre danach'], das im Mai 1861 unter der Regie von Henrik Ibsen am Kristiania Norske Teater in Oslo aufgeführt wurde. Hinter dem pseudonymen Autornamen Thorbjørn Bjelle verbirgt sich eine Lehrerin aus Hammerfest, Emilie Zogbaum (vgl. Lindkjølen 1983: 39). Das Stück weist einen ähnlichen Handlungskern der Liebe zwischen einem Norweger und einem Samenmädchen auf, das sich schließlich als Halbnorwegerin erweist. Hans Lindkjølen hält es für möglich, dass beiden Texten eine authentische Geschichte zugrunde liegt (Lindkjølen 1983: 40). Außerdem weist diese Erzählung, ob sie in ihrem Kern nun authentisch war oder nicht, eine Jahrhunderte alte Motivtradition auf, die Elisabeth Frenzel in ihrem Standardwerk als Motiv der ‚unbekannten Herkunft' aufführt (Frenzel 1976: 342–360). Es zieht sich durch die Weltliteratur von orientalischen Mythen über biblische Erzählungen und antike Sagen bis in die Moderne hinein und enthält weitreichende Implikationen wie Fragen der Legitimität von Herrschaft, Identitätsprobleme, Erbschafts- oder Schuldfragen, einschließlich eines möglichen Inzestmotivs. Die Geschichte von Lajla enthält in ihrem motivischen Kern somit ein weltliterarisch wohlbekanntes Element, das mit Bezug auf eine Liebesgeschichte und das Verhältnis von norwegischer zu samischer Bevölkerung aktualisiert wird. Bei dieser Aktualisierung geht es nun aber nicht um einfache Abgrenzungsrelationen zwischen dem Eigenen und dem Anderen und auch nicht um die Darstellung einer zeitlosen, idyllischen Gesellschaftsform.

Mobile Identitäten

Im Gegenteil: Mobilität ist nicht nur für den Roman als solchen, sondern auch ein für den Plot-Verlauf entscheidendes Moment. Sie wird dadurch auch innertextuell relevant. Der Text ist angelegt als eine Serie von Verhandlungen um ein Konzept von Ethnizität, in dessen Zentrum die unklare Position Lajlas steht, die sich zwischen zwei Kulturen bewegt. Als Tochter norwegischer Eltern identifiziert sie sich nach der Erziehung in ihrer samischen Ziehfamilie zunächst vollständig mit deren kultureller und ethnischer Identität: Sie liebt das Leben in der freien Natur, lernt zu fischen, zu jagen und den Rentierschlitten zu lenken. Schon dass dieser Identitätswechsel möglich ist, lässt die absolute Grenze zwischen den beiden Gruppierungen durchlässig erscheinen. Sie wird zwar als außergewöhnlich hübsch und begabt beschrieben, doch niemand zweifelt an ihrer samischen Identität. Wenn Erziehung in der Lage ist, die Herkunft zu überdecken, ist damit ein biologistisches Rassenkonzept hinterfragt.

Das bedeutet natürlich nicht, dass der Autor oder gar die Romanfiguren für heute vorherrschende reflektierte anthropologische Konzepte eingetreten wären. Indem aber die komplexe Konstellation, die den motivischen Kern dieses Textes ausmacht, zu einem Handlungsgang gefügt und am Beispiel fiktiver Figuren in Szene gesetzt wird, ergibt sich eine Art Palimpsest, das stereotype Wertungen ebenso wie ihre Infragestellung birgt. Zu diesem Konglomerat gehört die Darstellung des zeitgenössischen Bewusstseins, das auf einer absoluten Trennung zwischen den ethnischen Gruppierungen besteht. Doch ironischerweise ist es die Grenzgängerin Lajla selbst, die die programmatischen Kernsätze der ‚Rassentrennung' ausspricht. Die Ideologie der endogamischen Heirat kommt durch ihren sprichwort-ähnlichen Satz „ingen daro (nordman) fri til samepike, og ingen samepike gifte seg med daro" [‚kein Norweger freit um ein Samenmädchen, und kein Samenmädchen heiratet einen Norweger'] (Friis 1952: 101).[12] zum Ausdruck. Ironisch mutet schon die Tatsache an, dass dieser Grundsatz von Lajla aus samischer Sicht zu einem Zeitpunkt vorgetragen wird, als sie sich über ihre Herkunft noch nicht im Klaren ist. Die Aussage oszilliert demnach zwischen ihrer apodiktischen Apartheid-Ideologie und der Hinterfragung durch die ambivalent gebrochene Sprecherposition.

Die Ambivalenz erhöht sich, wenn Lajla die Begründung der Rassentrennung nachliefert:

> Vi hate daroene. De ta alt landet fra oss og forfølge oss og jage oss fra fjell til fjell, og de skyte våre store rein, og deres hunder jage våre små rein, og de gjør oss meget vondt og meget urett. (Friis 1952: 101.)
>
> [‚Wir hassen die Norweger. Sie nehmen all unser Land weg und verfolgen uns und jagen uns von Fjell zu Fjell, und sie erschießen unsere großen Rentiere, und ihre Hunde jagen unsere kleinen Rentiere, und sie tun uns sehr weh und unrecht.']

Während sie die Grenzziehung aus samischer Sicht durch die Rechtsverletzungen der Norweger nachvollziehbar begründet, ist sich der Leser stets über die Herkunft der Sprecherin im Klaren: Das ‚Wir' ist mit einer weiteren Brechung belegt. Lajlas Status zwischen den Kulturen lässt eine starre Dichotomisierung von Identität und Alterität als fragwürdig erscheinen.

In einem Roman werden derartige Ungereimtheiten durch den Zielpunkt der Handlung harmonisiert, wenn auch nicht komplett außer Kraft gesetzt. Die Konfliktlösung am Ende des Plots bestätigt bestimmte Positionen und Werte. In diesem Fall ist es die Eheschließung zwischen Lajla und Anders (und auch Mellet heiratet schließlich eine Samin), die dann doch die Grenze zwischen Norwegern und Samen bestätigt. Abso-

lute Gültigkeit wird dieser Ordnung jedoch verwehrt, da im Verlauf des Romans durchaus grenzüberschreitende Optionen eröffnet worden waren. So träumt Lajlas Ziehvater Aslak von einer Verbindung zwischen Mellet und Lajla, obwohl er ja weiß, dass sie keine Samin ist. Und Anders Lind sagt, er hätte Lajla auch geheiratet, wenn sie Samin gewesen wäre. Aslaks Begründung für seinen Wunsch ist vor allem ökonomisch motiviert, Anders handelt aus Liebe. Eine ethnische Mobilität stellt sich also durchaus als möglich und sogar als erstrebenswert dar, wenngleich der Handlungsverlauf ihr schließlich widerspricht. Die verschiedenen Optionen werden aber als eine Vielstimmigkeit vorgetragen, die die Eindeutigkeit eines „colonial discourse" oder einer Rassenideologie sprengt. Die fiktionale Handlung des Romans trägt also keine Leitlinie vor, sondern verschränkt unterschiedliche Szenarien, die mit mobilen Identitäten rechnen.

Ökonomie der Mobilität

Der für den Plot konstitutive Wettstreit hat neben der emotionalen auch eine soziale und ökonomische Dimension, die zudem die Dominanz der Norweger hinterfragt. Denn durch die Ehe mit Anders erlebt Lajla einen sozialen Abstieg, als Konsequenz des Monopolhandels und der Privilegien der Bergenser Kaufleute verarmt der Kaufmann, und Lajla muss mit ihrem Ehemann die geliebte nordnorwegische Heimat verlassen.[13] Erst durch die großzügige finanzielle Unterstützung Laagjes und Jaampas gelangt sie am Schluss wieder zu Kapital und kann in ihre Heimat zurückkehren. Die soziale und ökonomische Macht liegt demnach im Endeffekt auf Seiten der wohlhabenden Fjell-Samen, im Handlungsort der Nordkalotte sind die von Süden zugewanderten Norweger die Anderen und ihr Aufenthalt dort keineswegs selbstverständlich. Diese Verkomplizierung im Verhältnis der beiden Bevölkerungsgruppen, die der sozial unterprivilegierten Gruppe den ökonomisch höheren Status zuweist, wird im Übrigen sowohl in beiden Filmversionen als auch in der deutschen Übersetzung verschwiegen. Sie simplifizieren die im Plot angelegte ökonomische Komplikation zugunsten einer romantischen Liebesgeschichte.

Der Roman lässt demgegenüber keinen Zweifel daran, dass eine rein idealistische Sicht auf die Ehe zu kurz greift. Die Stellung Lajlas zwischen den beiden Männern erinnert an die schon klassisch gewordenen Ausführungen Gayle Rubins (1975), die in „The traffic in women" den Austausch von Frauen in Stammesgesellschaften auf die moderne kapitalistische Gesellschaft übertragen hat. Die Mobilität der Frau ist dabei eine passive, sie wird als ‚Handelsware' behandelt und trägt zur Steigerung von männlicher Macht und ihrem (symbolischen) Kapital bei. Vor der Folie dieses feministischen Grundlagentextes gelesen, proklamiert der Roman nicht in erster Linie

das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Frau, das in der Liebesheirat seine Erfüllung findet, sondern exemplifiziert einen männlichen Wettstreit um die Frau. Die Praxis der Sami, auf dem Wintermarkt mit Geschenken um die Gunst einer Frau zu werben, unterstreicht den ökonomischen Aspekt der Eheschließung. Die Stellung Lajlas zwischen den Kulturen, zwischen Herkunft und Milieu, setzt sich im Wettstreit der beiden Männer Anders und Mellet fort. Ganz deutlich ist die Willenlosigkeit Lajlas in der vom Vater gewollten Beziehung zu Mellet, hier geht es explizit um Wertsteigerung und eine vor allem ökonomisch günstige Verbindung. Während die Beziehung zu Anders der textinternen Logik zufolge auf Liebe beruht, ist weder der Wettstreit der beiden Männer noch der Objektstatus der Frau zu übersehen.

Demgegenüber gibt es eine zweite ökonomische Logik im Text, die das glückliche Ende maßgeblich motiviert. Entscheidend für die permanente Verhandlungssituation und mögliche Transgression der Gruppengrenzen wird die Überwindung des profitorientierten Denkens durch die Ethik der Gabe, die der Roman gleich mehrfach aktualisiert. Zu einer Gabe, die im Sinne von Marcel Mauss (1923–1924) Freiwilligkeit impliziert, aber doch Teil eines umfassenden sozialen Austauschsystems ist, wird Lajla zum einen für das kinderlose Ehepaar Laagje, als sie das verlassene Baby im Schnee finden, zum anderen aber auch bei der Rückgabe an die biologischen Eltern. Der Zeitpunkt des Geschehens am Weihnachtsabend unterstreicht den religiösen und heilsgeschichtlichen Aspekt dieser Rückgabe des Kindes.[14] Ein zweiter Gabentausch findet zwischen Anders und Lajla statt, als er ihr seine Bilderbibel und sie ihm zwei Rentieren schenkt. In diesem Fall, der eine religiöse mit einer kulturellen Komponente überblendet, wird ein Kauf, also eine ökonomische Transaktion, explizit abgelehnt und die Freiwilligkeit betont. Dasselbe ist der Fall, als Lajla die ökonomisch motivierte Eheschließung mit Mellet zugunsten einer Heirat mit dem mittellosen Anders verweigert. Die Gegengabe dazu, der Ausgleich des ökonomischen Verlustes, wird am Ende durch Jaampa gewährt, als er Lajla und Anders aus dem Ruin rettet. Diese letzte Gabe kommt nun interessanterweise von einem Nicht-Christen, der ausdrücklich als Heide geschilderte Same erweist sich als der wahre Heilsbringer. Die Struktur des Gabentausches durchbricht also die ethnischen und sozialen Grenzen und kulminiert in der heidnischen Gabe, die alle stereotypen Grenzen zwischen Eigenem und Fremdem auflöst. Die Romanhandlung steht damit im Zeichen komplexer Interaktionen, die Mobilität der Zentralfigur Lajla fordert kulturelle, religiöse, ethnische und ökonomische Stereotypen heraus.

Film als Medium der Mobilität. Schnéevoigts *Laila* (1929)

Dass die Mobilitäts-Thematik ein wichtiges Anliegen von *Lajla* ist, macht der im Jahre 1929 produzierte Stummfilm noch sehr viel deutlicher. Schon das Medium selbst baut auf die Mobilität der Bilder, seine Wirkung kommt zustande, wenn sich Bildfolgen mit einer Geschwindigkeit von mindestens 16 Bildern pro Sekunde bewegen, so dass das getäuschte menschliche Auge meint, Bewegung wahrzunehmen. Wenngleich der Stummfilm noch eine gegenüber heutigen Sehgewohnheiten wesentlich weniger bewegliche Kamera hatte, beginnt gleich die erste Einstellung mit einem *panning*,[15] das heißt einem Kameraschwenk über die nordnorwegische Landschaft, die somit aus der Bewegung wahrgenommen wird. Ein sehr großes Gewicht nehmen im Verlauf des über zwei Stunden langen Films höchst bewegte Szenen ein, die vor allem aus Verfolgungsjagden und Wettfahrten bestehen. Insgesamt handelt es sich um sieben, oft mehrere Minuten lange Sequenzen. Gleich zu Anfang wird die norwegische Familie auf der Fahrt zur Taufe von einem Wolfsrudel angegriffen, was in einer fast vier Minuten langen Sequenz dargestellt wird. Die filmischen Mittel unterstreichen Mobilität und Hetzjagd durch ständiges *cross-cutting* zwischen Verfolgern und Verfolgten. Großaufnahmen der Wölfe, die direkt auf die Kamera zulaufen, erwecken den bedrohlichen Eindruck, sie kämen immer näher. Die unterlegte Klaviermusik – eine Adaptierung von Werken Griegs – unterstreicht durch ihr Tempo und ihre Intensität die Dramatik der Szene.

Der gesamte Film wird von derartigen temporeichen Wettlauf-Szenen interpunktiert. Im Anschluss an die genannte Sequenz folgt die Wolfsjagd Jaampas auf Skiern, in deren Verlauf er das verlorene Kind findet. Später gibt es eine Ski-Wettfahrt zwischen Lajla und Mellet, die Lajla gewinnt, auf dem Wintermarkt in Karasjok dann eine Wettfahrt mit Rentierschlitten, die im Film ebenfalls von Lajla gewonnen wird. Während im Roman Lajla an dieser Wettfahrt unter Männern gar nicht teilnimmt, setzt der Film in dieser hinzugefügten Szene ein weiteres Mal ihre Schnelligkeit und Überlegenheit in Szene. Der Name ihres Rentieres *Stormvind* [‚Sturmwind'] unterstreicht die Bedeutung von Tempo und Beweglichkeit, die Lajla zugeordnet werden. Bei den Filmaufnahmen wurde auf diese Mobilitäts-Szenen großer Wert gelegt: „We have thought a lot about how we can increase the speed", notiert der Schauspieler Tryggve Larssen in seinem Tagebuch am 6.2.1929 am Aufnahmeort Geilo (zitiert nach Tybjerg 2011: 14).[16] Eine weitere Wettlaufszene gibt es in Verbindung mit Lajlas Bootsunfall und ihrer Rettung durch Anders. Und schließlich muss die Eheschließung von Lajla und Mellet durch einen regelrechten Wettlauf gegen die Zeit verhindert werden, der den spannungsreichen Höhepunkt des Films darstellt. Jaampa „kjører

[eigtl.: hadde kjørt] som en besatt" [‚fährt wie ein Besessener'], wie es im Zwischentitel heißt, zwischen den beiden Welten hin und her, um Anders rechtzeitig zu holen, und als die beiden zusammen auf Skiern zur Kirche zurückeilen, erhöht ein nochmaliger Wolfsangriff die Spannung.

Diese große Anzahl von Wettlaufsszenen steigert nicht nur die Spannung, sie weist auch Mobilität als zentrales Thema wie auch als wichtiges Moment der dargestellten Gesellschaft aus. Die filmische Variante widerspricht in diesem Aspekt dem von der Sekundärliteratur diagnostizierten Idyll. Die genannten Szenen sind alle in Friis´ Vorlage enthalten, werden jedoch vom Film, dem Medium der voll entwickelten Moderne, durch seine medialen Möglichkeiten in besonderer Weise ausgestaltet und hervorgehoben, durch *panning*, ungewöhnliche Kameraperspektiven und durch schnelle Montagesequenzen (*cross cutting*). Das Leben der Samen spielt in diesem Film sich nicht in statischer Zeitenthobenheit ab, sondern wird den Mobilitätsgesetzen der Moderne entsprechend repräsentiert. Angesichts des dauernden Krieges um die Zeit erweisen sich dann diejenigen als überlegen, die mit den Zwängen der örtlichen Gegebenheiten am besten zurechtkommen. Dabei sind die kulturellen Errungenschaften der Sami wie Skifahren und Rentierschlittenfahren, aber auch die Fähigkeit des Spurenlesens entscheidend. Der Norweger Anders kann Lajla zwar heiraten, aber nur aufgrund der Intervention und der Schnelligkeit Jaampas, der sich ein weiteres Mal als Heilsbringer erweist. Die von der Forschung konstatierte Perspektive des „colonial discourse" wird immer wieder mit Gegenstimmen konfrontiert, die die Überlegenheit der Sami behaupten.

Diese kulturelle Überlegenheit tritt besonders deutlich hervor, als die Bevölkerung in der Nordkalotte von einer pestartigen Epidemie bedroht wird.[17] Auch hier ergibt sich wieder ein Wettlauf mit der Zeit und mit der Krankheit. Die mobile Bevölkerung flieht vor der Infektion, wer mobil ist, hat die größten Überlebenschancen. „Laagje og de andre Fjellsamene", heißt es bei Friis, „[...] skyndte sig derfor å forlate de bebodde trakter for å ty tilbake til de indre, øde og ville høyfjellsvidder, hvor ingen menneskebolig fantes" [‚Laagje und die anderen Fjellsamen [...] beeilten sich daher die bewohnten Trakte zu verlassen und sich auf die inneren, einsamen und wilden Höhen im Gebirge zurückzuziehen, wo es keine menschliche Ansiedlung gab'] (Friis 1952: 65). Die nomadische Lebensform der Fjellsamen erweist sich in diesem Fall als Rettung vor der Infektion, die Familie Aslaks übersteht die Situation ohne Gefährdung und kann auch Lajla retten.

Das Nomadentum verbindet als entscheidendes Charakteristikum der samischen Lebensweise Mobilität und Ethnizität miteinander. Doch auch in manch anderem Detail wird die Kultur der Sami als durch Mobilität geprägt gezeigt, nicht aber als durch einen statischen Rassendiskurs be-

schrieben oder als zeitloses Idyll entworfen. Zu diesen Details gehört die Weiblichkeitskonzeption, die Erziehung Lajlas zu einer Lasso werfenden, Rentier zähmenden, Ski und Schlitten fahrenden, körperlich starken und aktiven Heldin, die ein für damalige Zeiten höchst unkonventionelles Frauenbild vermittelt, das dem oben konstatierten Objektstatus widerspricht. Der Roman macht deutlich, dass sich das norwegische Mädchen mit großem Gewinn an die freiheitliche Lebensweise der samischen Familie anpasst, während sie in der Zeit in der Stadt nach ihrer Heirat und dem Bankrott ihres Mannes, „blek og sykelig" [‚blass und kränklich'] (Friis 1952: 154) aussieht. Der lachenden, wilden Lajla sind im Film etliche ausführliche Szenen gewidmet, er macht auch diesen Aspekt sehr viel anschaulicher als die Textvorlage. Da es sich bei der Heldin um die Tochter norwegischer Eltern handelt, favorisiert *Lajla* eine Mobilität des Subjekts, das durch Erziehung und Umwelt geformt, nicht aber durch Erbanlagen oder das sogenannte Blut determiniert ist.

Genau diese Aussage ändert sich in der zweiten Verfilmung durch Schnéevoigt aus dem Jahr 1937. Der Regisseur hat eine Tonfilmversion desselben Stoffes vorgelegt, die weder filmästhetisch noch von der Aussage her an den Stummfilm heranreicht. Obwohl manche Szenen identisch sind, werden sowohl die Mobilitätsszenen als auch die Komplexität der Handlung erheblich reduziert. So fehlt die Rückgabe Lajlas an die biologischen Eltern und damit das Element der Gabe durch den Samen Aslak Laagje. Auch die Wasserfall-Episode, eine weitere Mobilitäts-Szene, ist in diesem kürzeren Film ausgelassen. Demgegenüber sind lange, langsame Sequenzen des Fjell-Idylls eingefügt worden, die die Naturnähe der Samen und das Nomadentum betonen. Ihre Lebensart erhält eine negative Wertung durch eine hinzugefügte Szene, in der die nomadisierende Familie die sterbende Mutter zurücklassen muss. Die samische Kultur wird durchgehend als fremd gekennzeichnet; in der Marktszene wird eine explizite Kontrastierung von wilden, betrunkenen Samen und dem vernünftigen Anders Lind vorgenommen. Und die Schlussszene begründet die Heirat von Anders und Lajla explizit durch ihr „gleiches Blut".

Ein derartiger Blut-Diskurs ist in dem Film von 1929 und in Friis´ Roman abwesend, hier kann ein Kleiderwechsel aus Linds Schwester Inger eine Samin machen, während Lajla zwar nach ihrem Unfall am Wasserfall in Ingers Kleidung wie eine Norwegerin aussieht, aber durch ihr waghalsiges Verhalten und ihre starke Konstitution nicht dem in Norwegen vorherrschenden Frauenbild ihrer Zeit entspricht, dem sie durch ihre Beweglichkeit überlegen ist. Hier geht es um Mobilität, Anpassung und kulturelle Prägung, erst in späteren Versionen wird daraus eine Blut- und Boden-Ideologie. Möglich wird der ganze Verwechselungs-Plot schließlich erst durch

die elementare Tatsache, dass es eben keine absoluten ‚rassischen' Merkmale gibt, die Lajlas Zugehörigkeit zu der einen oder der anderen Gruppe durch ihr Äußeres definitiv festlegen würden. Durch die Mobilität Lajlas, ihre Anpassungsfähigkeit und ihren Kulturwechsel, wird in Schnéevoigts Stummfilm dann allerdings eine für die Zeit so ungewöhnliche Weiblichkeitskonzeption entworfen, für die die Heirat mit Anders Lind und ein Dasein als norwegische Kaufmannsfrau als ein kaum zufriedenstellendes Happy End erscheint. Ihr kultureller Identitätswechsel fordert nicht nur die ethnischen Grenzziehungen heraus, sondern auch die Genderkonvention der passiven Frau. Wenn wir den Fokus auf die Aspekte der Mobilität richten, gerät stereotypes Denken in Bewegung, der Text produziert Unruhe und stellt Fragen. Darin besteht ein Mobilitätspotential des Textes selbst, der eine Herausforderung für immer neue Adaptionen, Editionen und Lektüren war und ist.

NOTES

[1] Z.B. *Lappisk Mythologie, Eventyr og Folkesagn* aus dem Jahr 1871. Zu seinen sprachwissenschaftlichen Arbeiten gehört u.a. *Lappisk Grammatik* sowie *Lappiske Sprogprøver*, die beide 1856 veröffentlicht wurden. 1887 publizierte Friis dann auch noch ein Wörterbuch: *Ordbog over det lappiske Sprog med latinsk og norsk Forklaring samt en Oversigt over Sprogets Grammatik.* Darüber hinaus erstreckt sich sein wissenschaftlicher Einsatz für die nordnorwegischen Samen auch auf kartographische Arbeiten. Vgl. Lindkjølen 1983: 10.

[2] Letztgenannte Landnahme-Problematik entsteht, wenn norwegische (oder schwedische) Siedlungspolitik die für die umherziehenden Rentierherden notwendigen Landflächen aneignet.

[3] *Skildringer fra Finmarken* (1891) stellt eine Fortsetzung von *Lajla* dar. *Klosteret i Petschenga. Skildringer fra Russisk Lapland* (1884) verlegt den Handlungsort nach Russisch-Lappland, ähnelt aber von der Anlage den anderen belletristischen Texten durch die Kombination von Narration und kulturhistorischer Information. Vgl. Lindkjølen 1983 passim.

[4] Albrecht Koschorke hat den elementaren Funktionen des Erzählens kürzlich eine grundlegende Monographie gewidmet, in der nicht zuletzt Gründungserzählungen eine wichtige Rolle spielen. Vgl. Koschorke 2013.

[5] Mit diesem Ausdruck zitiert Lindkjølen allerdings schon einen Text von Thor Frette: „Lajla. Samefolkets ambassadør" [‚Lajla. Botschafterin des samischen Volkes'], in *I lys av Østensternen* (Oslo 1948).

[6] Beides hat Hans Lindkjølen in seiner zwar schmalen, aber sehr gut informierten Monographie herausgearbeitet. Er zeigt auf, dass es dem Autor darum ging, eine Vielzahl von kulturhistorischen Informationen über das Leben der Samen in den Handlungsgang seines Romans zu integrieren. Neben dieser dokumentarischen Intention fügt sich der Roman auch in sein Engagement für die samische Kultur ein. Vgl. Lindkjølen 1983.

[7] Dabei geht es vor allem um detaillierte Beschreibungen der Rentierzucht, die jährlichen

Wanderungen der Fjell-Samen, den Wintermarkt in Karasjok, die materielle Kultur, aber auch religiöse Riten oder das Alkoholproblem der Samen. Eingefügt in den Handlungsgang sind also deskriptive, informative Kapitel, die allerdings oft Kürzungen zum Opfer gefallen sind.

[8] Eine untergeordnete, für den Plot nicht relevante Rolle im Roman spielt die Gruppierung der aus Nordfinnland eingewanderten sog. „kvener".

[9] Ein schwedischer C-*uppsats* (längere Seminararbeit), der, betreut von Vivi Edström, an der Universität Stockholm verfasst wurde, hat die schwedische Publikationsgeschichte zwischen 1881 und 1987 nachgezeichnet, wobei besonderes Augenmerk auf die Umschlaggestaltung und die Illustrationen gelegt wurde. Vgl. Johansson 1987.

[10] Vgl. zu diesem vor allem in der Mediävistik diskutierten Begriff z.B. Sabel & Bucher (2001).

[11] Trotz intensiver Bemühungen ist es mir leider nicht gelungen, eine Aufzeichnung des Fernsehfilms, den ich aus einer früheren Anschauung nur oberflächlich kenne, zu erhalten. Weder Produktionsgesellschaft noch TV-Sender waren zu einer Herausgabe der Aufzeichnung zu bewegen.

[12] In der Originalausgabe von 1881 wird nicht von „samepike", sondern von „Finnepige" gesprochen. Vgl. Friis 1881: 131. Da in späteren Zeiten die Bezeichnung ‚Samen' die geläufigere wurde, zitiere ich hier die ohnehin leichter zugängliche Version von 1952. Das Konzept des ‚unfesten Textes' erlaubt die Abweichung von dem philologisch erstrebenswerten Bezug auf das Original, das ich allerdings konsultiert habe.

[13] Anne-Kari Skarðhamar irrt, wenn sie die Heirat zwischen Lajla und Anders für „economically as well as ethnically motivated" hält (Skarðhamar 2008: 295). Sie irrt übrigens auch, wenn sie meint, der Satz, dass ein Norweger nie eine Samin heirate, werde von Lajlas Vater geäußert.

[14] Hans Lindkjølen eruiert einen möglichen Bedeutungsinhalt des Namens *Lajla* als „lahja", ‚Gabe, der aber nicht als wahrscheinlich gilt'. Während *Leila* ursprünglich ein persischer Name ist, könnte *Lajla* (mit ‚j' geschrieben) auch von *Aila* = *Helga* abgeleitet sein, was wiederum die Möglichkeit einer „hellig gave" [‚heiligen Gabe'] unterstützen würde (Lindkjølen 1983: 53).

[15] Zur filmanalytischen Terminologie vgl. Pramaggiore & Wallis (2011).

[16] Larssen berichtet, dass die wolfsähnlichen Hunde, die im Film die Wölfe vertraten, die Jagdszenen sehr bereitwillig mitmachten, es jedoch nicht einfach war, die Rentiere zu Tempoläufen zu inspirieren.

[17] In der Zeit, in der die fiktive Handlung des Romans angesiedelt ist, haben mehrfach pestartige Epidemien die nordskandinavische Bevölkerung ernsthaft bedroht, z.B. gab es 1766 eine Krankheitswelle in Karasjok. Vgl. Lindkjølen 1983: 37–38.

LITERATUR

Damrosch, D. (2003). *What is World Literature?*, Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Frenzel, E. (1976). *Motive der Weltliteratur*, Stuttgart: Kröner.

Friis, J.A. (1881). *Fra Finmarken. Skildringer* [‚Aus Finnmark. Schilderungen'], Kristiania: Alb. Cammermeyer.

— (1888). *Lajla. A Tale of Finmark*, New York: Putnam´s.

— (1942). *Lajla. En Fortælling fra Finmarken* [‚Lajla. Ein Erzählung aus Finnmark'], København: O. Lohses Forlag.

— (1952). *Lajla. Fortelling* [‚Lajla. Ein Erzählung'], Oslo: Gyldendal.
— (1960). *Laila. Roman aus Lappland*, Aarau und Frankfurt a.M.
Hylland Eriksen, T. (2002). *Ethnicity and Nationalism. Anthropological Perspectives*, 2. ed., London: Pluto Press.
Johansson, J. (1987). „En glömd klassiker? En studie om och omkring Lajla i Sverige 1881–1987" [‚Ein vergessener Klassiker? Eine Studie über Lajla in Schweden 1881–1987'], C-uppsats i litteraturvetenskap: Stockholms universitet.
Koschorke, A. (2013). *Wahrheit und Erfindung. Grundzüge einer Allgemeinen Erzähltheorie*, Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer.
Lindkjølen, H. (1983). *J.A Friis og samene* [‚J.A. Friis und die Samen'], Trondheim: Forlaget Sámi Varas.
Mauss, M. (1923–1924). „Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques", *L´Année Sociologique*.
Myrstad, A. M. (1992). „National romanticism and Norwegian silent cinema", in *Popular European Cinema*, eds. R. Dyer & G. Vincendeau, London/New York: Routledge, pp. 181–193.
Pramaggiore, M. & Wallis, T. (2011). *Film. A Critical Introduction*, 3. ed., Boston: Pearson Allyn & Bacon.
Rosa, H. (2005). *Beschleunigung. Die Veränderung der Zeitstrukturen in der Moderne*, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.
Rubin, G.S. (1975). „The traffic in women. Notes on the ‚political economy' of sex", in *Towards an Anthropology of Women*, ed. R.A. Reiter, New York: Monthly Review Press, pp. 157–210.
Sabel, B. & Bucher, A. (2001). *Der unfeste Text. Perspektiven auf einen literatur- und kulturwissenschaftlichen Leitbegriff*, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.
Skarðhamar, A.-K. (2008). „Changes in film representations of Sami culture and identity", *Nordlit*, 23, pp. 293–303.
Tybjerg, C. (2011). „Laila", in *Laila* (DVD), The Flicker Alley Collection, Royal Library of Norway, Oslo.

FILME

Laila. Etter en fortelling av professor J.A. Friis [‚Nach einer Erzählung von Prof. J.A. Friis'] (1937). Regie: G. Schnéevoigt, Produktion Helge Lunde, Kamera: Valdemar Christensen, Nordisk Films Kompagni, 82 Min.
Laila. Etter en roman av J.A Friis [‚Nach einem Roman von J.A. Friis'] (1929). Regie: G. Schnéevoigt, Produktion: Helge Lunde, Kamera Valdemar Christensen, Lunde Film. Digital Edition, restored by The Flicker Alley LLC, Royal Library of Norway, Oslo, 145 Min.

Annegret Heitmann, Professorin für Nordische Philologie an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Ihre hauptsächlichen Forschungsinteressen liegen im Bereich von skandinavischer Literatur der Jahrhundertwende um 1900, Intermedialität, Gender Studien, Anfangskonzeptionen und Gattungsfragen (Autobiographie, Aphorismen, Dramen). Jüngere Buchpublikationen: *Landnahme. Anfangserzählungen in der skandinavischen Literatur um 1900* (mit H. Eglinger, 2010); *Am Rand. Zur Poetik des skandinavischen Aphorismus* (2012; mit K. Yngborn und A.E. Doll); *Tourismus als literarische und kulturelle Praxis* (2013; Hg. mit St. M. Schröder).

JOURNAL OF NORTHERN STUDIES Vol. 8 • No. 2 • 2014, pp. 89–102

SHEILA HICKS

Who Is Responsible for Today's Northern Landscapes, Climate or Human Beings?

ABSTRACT The present-day landscapes of northern Fennoscandia are the end result of a process of evolution. Mountains and valleys have scarcely altered during the last 10,000 years, whereas coastal areas have slowly but constantly changed. The nature of the vegetation that covers the landscape and is driven primarily by climate, has changed at a faster rate, but fastest of all have been the changes resulting from human activities. Steps towards the present-day situation are briefly reviewed on different temporal and spatial scales and on each the impacts of climate and people are weighed one against the other. Environmental reconstructions are made on the basis of pollen analysis and historical/archaeological records, while a quantified basis for their interpretation is provided by present day reference situations. Examples from palaeoecological research projects provide illustrations. On the coarsest spatial and temporal scales the bigger driving force is climate, but if the focus is on a small area and the time considered the last 100 years, then it is people who have played the bigger role in producing what we see. Two important questions for the north are: which impact will have the

bigger effect in the future, the climate or human beings, and will future changes be reversible or not?

KEYWORDS temporal scale, spatial scale, summer temperature, human impact, landscape development, pollen accumulations rates

Introduction

When we think of landscapes we need to consider the elements that determine what we see, namely the bedrock, the overlaying glacial deposits, the positions of rivers and lakes, the type of soil that has developed and the vegetation cover. The latter is very much determined by climate, is the result of a relatively slow evolution and is more or less consistent over a wide region. We also see, however, the effect of human interference in terms of settlement, agriculture and industry (Fig. 1). People can cause big landscape changes and cause them rapidly but usually only over a small area. These changes are often, but not always, reversible. In fact, how we understand what we see is all a question of scale, both in space and in time. Within a circle with a radius of 1 kilometre around the present village of Svensbyn in Northern Sweden, the landscape is almost entirely man-made but within a circle of 1,000 kilometres the landscape is primarily forested and developed in response to climate (Fig. 2a). Already on a scale of 10 kilometres the man-made proportion of the landscape has shrunk to some 60 per cent and at 100 kilometres the situation approaches that of 1,000 kilometres. On the temporal scale we can easily remember changes over the past 10 years and, within the family, over the past 100 years. We can also follow changes through documentary records over the past 600–700 years but when we consider the time over which our present landscape has evolved—some 10,000 years—then we can only piece together snapshots on the basis of scattered archaeological finds (Fig. 2b). This means that the landscape will look different at different points in time and will change through time at different speeds.

Reconstructing the Last 10,000 Years by Means of Pollen Analysis

Pollen is incorporated and preserved in accumulating peat deposits and lake sediments (Fig. 3). The source of this pollen varies from being very local to up to hundreds of kilometres distant, so the pollen assemblage that is preserved reflects a mixture of both local and regional vegetation. By coring peat and lake sediments, dating selected horizons in their development and identifying the pollen content along a time series it is possible to reconstruct the vegetation that has produced the pollen and see how that vege-

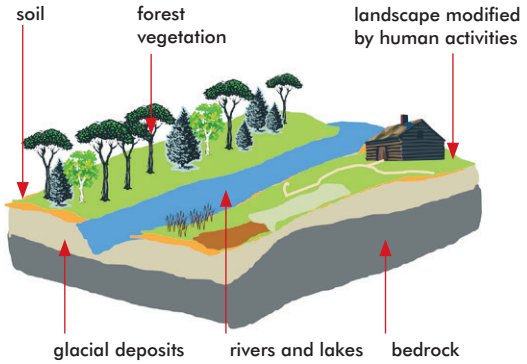


Fig. 1. Elements of the landscape. The man-made changes to the forest aspect of the landscape can happen quickly but are usually also reversible.

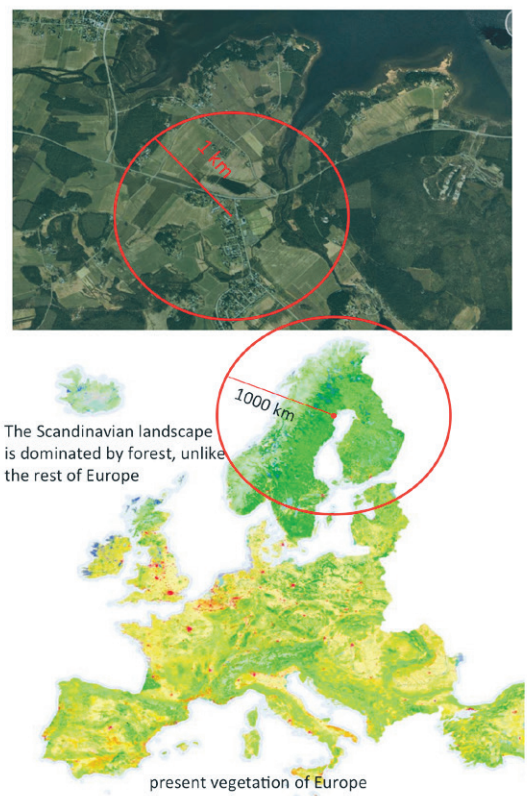


Fig. 2a. Satellite view of the landscape around the village of Svensbyn (Google Earth). Within a circle of radius 1 km the landscape is predominately man-made while with a 1,000 km view (Corine vegetation map of Europe) scarcely any man-made environment is visible.

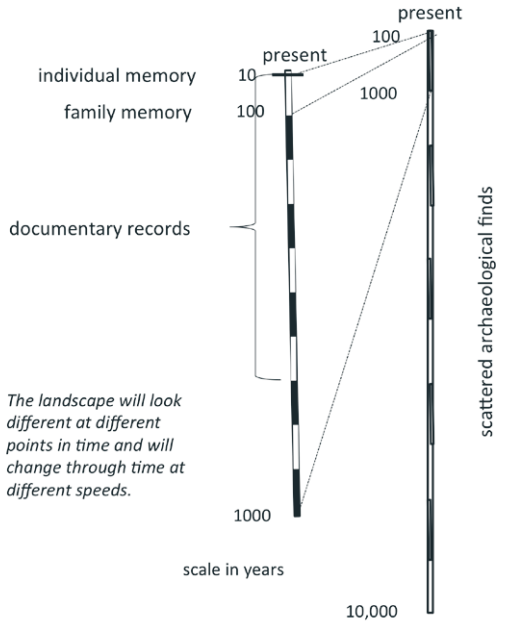


Fig. 2b. Clarity of the record of past landscapes at different temporal scales: 10, 100, 1,000 and 10,000 years.

tation has changed through time. We can then deduce the climate and the degree and nature of any human interference.

In order to make a quantified reconstruction and distinguish between the local and regional elements, it is useful to have a modern reference to compare with. Such a reference has been produced by using a network of "pollen traps" that collect the pollen falling on the land surface year by year (Fig. 4; Hicks 2001). This annual reference data from 1982–2009 illustrates two features. We take here the situation of the tree, pine (*Pinus sylvestris*), which is the most common tree in the north of Fennoscandia. We see that the amount of pine pollen varies dramatically from year to year but that the coincidence of high and low years is virtually the same over the whole of Northern Finland, and that there is a gradual trend towards greater quantities of pollen (Fig. 5a). We interpret this as being a response to July temperature and an earlier start to the growing season respectively. If, however, we take the average value for pine pollen deposition over the 28-year monitoring period, then we see that the quantity reflects quite clearly the abundance and closeness of pine trees relative to the monitoring point (Fig. 5b). Depending upon the temporal scale of the record the absolute amount of pine pollen tells us of summer temperature (plus partly length of growing season) or tree density, or a combination of the two.

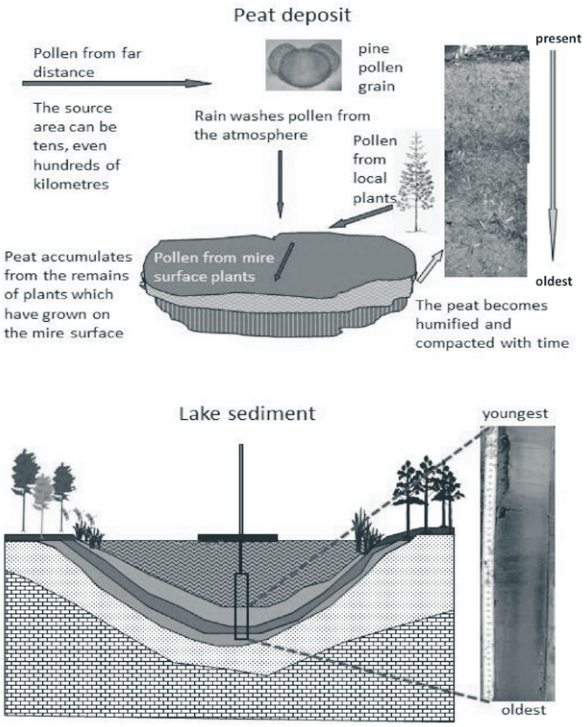


Fig. 3. The way in which pollen is incorporated in peat deposits and lake sediments.

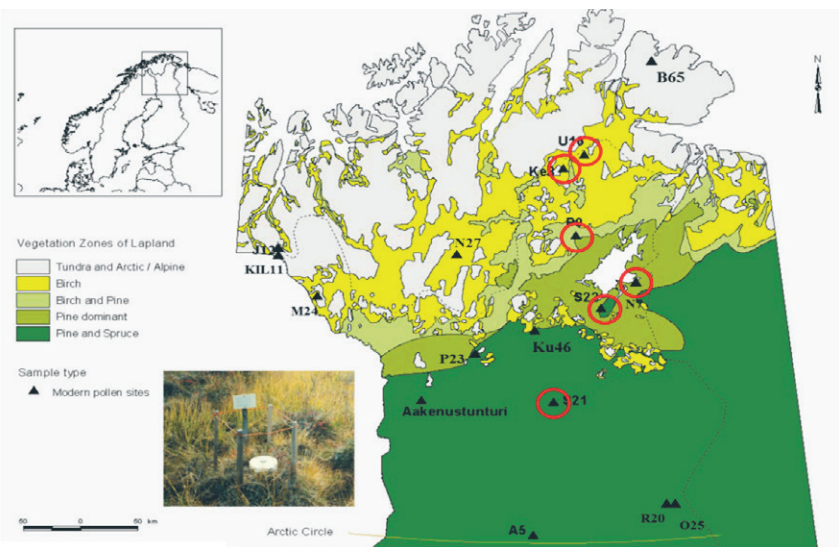


Fig. 4. Network of "pollen traps" used for collecting modern reference data. The insert shows a "pollen trap" in the field.

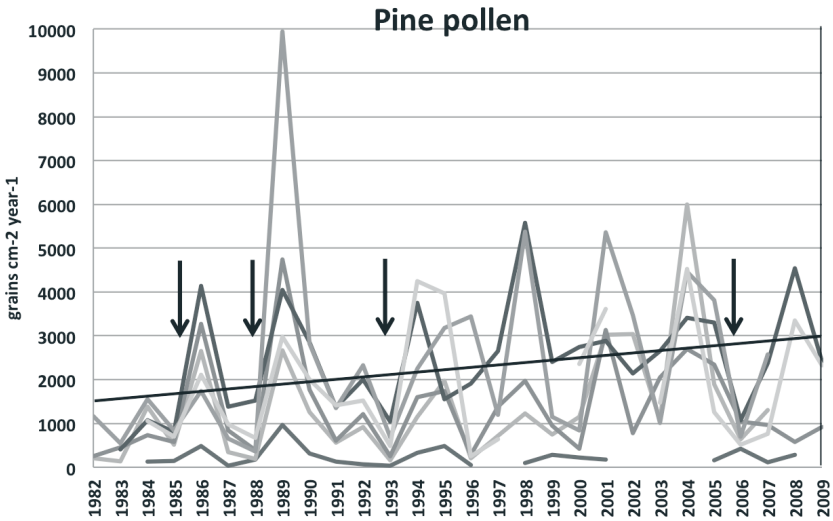


Fig. 5a. Pine pollen deposition at 6 points on a north-south transect in northernmost Finland over the period 1982–2009. The solid black line shows the trend in pollen quantity. The arrows indicate years where pine produced virtually no pollen at all sites—mostly those years when July temperature of the year before pollen emission (T July-1) did not rise above 12°C.

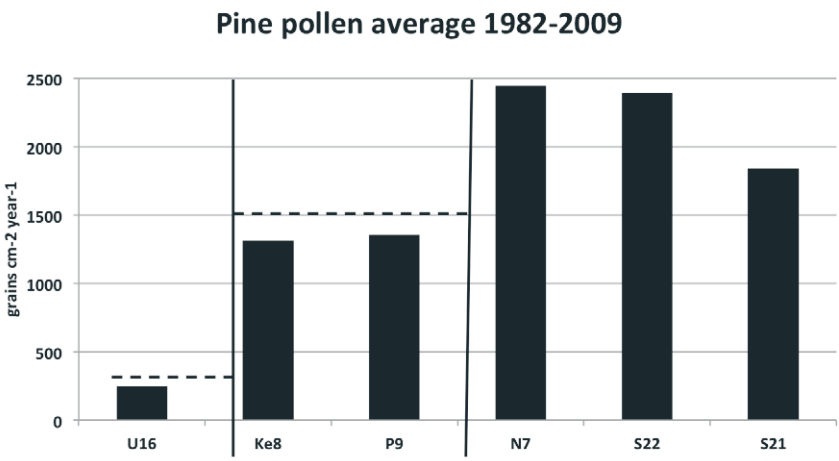


Fig. 5b. Average *Pinus* pollen deposition for the same period with respect to the presence and abundance of pine forest. The most northern site, where pines are absent, is at the left hand side and the southernmost sites, where pine is abundant, at the right hand side. The dotted horizontal bars indicate the threshold values of the number of pine pollen grains being deposited on a square metre of land surface in 1 year that indicate pine being present (250) and pine being dominant (1,500), respectively.

In addition to the record of forests the pollen can reveal changes in other types of vegetation, particularly in association with human presence. The people who were first present in the north were nomads who existed by hunting and gathering; activities which cause almost no change to the natural vegetation and are, therefore, usually invisible in the pollen record. Other ways of life, however, do leave a record; slash and burn cultivation is seen by the presence of charcoal and a decrease in trees, keeping livestock with the use of meadows and pastures is seen through an increase in grasses and the presence of dung fungi, cultivation in fields leads to the presence of crop weeds and, of course, the crops themselves, while permanent settlement encourages plants that can survive in trampled yards and areas where the nitrogen content of the soil is increased. Mostly the vegetation changes caused by people are seen through the increase or decrease of plants that are, in any case, part of the natural flora, so the interpretation requires auxiliary evidence but when the record contains non-naturally occurring plants (e.g. cereals), the evidence is much clearer.

The Situation in the Northernmost Areas of Fennoscandia

On a temporal scale of thousands of years and a spatial scale of hundreds of kilometres

At the last glacial maximum, some 20,000 years ago, the area we are considering was under the Weichselian ice sheet (Svendsen *et al*. 2004). By 11,600 years ago this ice sheet had shrunk but still covered most of Fenno- scandia with, in the north, only a narrow strip of the Norwegian coast and the Kola Peninsula being ice-free, but by 10,000 years ago there was only a small fragment of the ice sheet left in Northern Sweden. The land area, however, was less extensive than today because the sea level was much higher as a result of the depression of the land due to the weight of the ice sheet (slow to rebound) combined with the presence of a huge amount of water from the melted ice (Björck 1995). It was a rapid rise in temperature that caused the melting of the ice sheet, culminating in a temperature maximum around 6,000 years ago, since when, in the long term, the temperature has been decreasing but, on shorter temporal scales, fluctuations have been considerable. Pollen diagrams from lake deposits that reveal how the vegetation of the north has changed over the last 10,000 years show a succession in response to this increasing temperature. At Svartkälstjärn in Northern Sweden, for example (Barnekow *et al*. 2008), the open treeless tundra-like vegetation that first invaded the mineral land surface that emerged from beneath the melting ice was gradually invaded by birch and pine, with alder

establishing in the wetter areas. With the establishment of forest, soil developed and deepened. The pine-birch forest persisted at Svartkälstjärn until around 3,000 years ago, when it was invaded by spruce, which was spreading westwards through Fennoscandia (Giesecke & Bennett 2004).

People have been present in the region from the earliest time as indicated by a Mesolithic site from Aareavaara dated to 9,600 years ago and located at the very edge of the land emerging from the ice sheet (Möller *et al*. 2012). The site is interpreted as a short-stay hunter-gatherer camp on an island in the Ancylus lake, an earlier stage of the Baltic (Björck 1995). The pollen evidence shows that the landscape at this time was in the treeless open tundra-like/coastal meadow stage.

On a temporal scale of hundreds of years and a spatial scale of tens of kilometres

It is only during the last 1,000 years or so that more permanent settlement centres have developed in connection with the evolution of a pastoral and agricultural economy. Naturally the landscape changed dramatically in the immediate vicinity of the settlements, but many of the early sites were later abandoned and returned to forest. Långrumskogen is just such an example (Segerström *et al*.1994; Renberg *et al*. 2009). The pollen record clearly shows forest clearance followed by rye cultivation, haymaking and cattle grazing, the actual cultivation phase lasting for some 200 years between AD 1500 and 1700. The present forest, which recovered after the cattle-grazing phase, has only existed for 300 years and yet it is considered to be "one of the most valuable swamp forest refugia in the country"! (Renberg *et al*. 2009: 2797). The long term driving force of climate was able to reverse the landscape changes induced by people.

On an annual temporal resolution and a spatial scale of a few kilometres

When considering the landscape over small areas and for short periods of time, the balance between the impact of climate and of humans can be quite different. We can consider two examples from the Millennium project (EU-FP6 Project "MILLENNIUM—European climate of the last millennium," contract no. 017008 [GOCE]). These are both mire sites (peat profiles); one, Palomaa, in Finland, is located at the northernmost limit of continuous pine forest and the other, Kiruna, in Sweden, located at the northernmost limit of continuous spruce forest. Both sites have been subjected to pollen analysis at a nearly annual resolution to produce a continuous record for the last 1,000 years. In both cases the pollen record is available as pollen accumulation rates (PARs), which show how the actual quantity of pollen of all the plants in the vegetation have changed through time, as opposed to

the more classical approach of expressing each pollen type as a percentage of the total assemblage, which shows not "absolute" but relative changes. From the modern reference material it is known that PARs best reflect both the presence and abundance of trees and summer temperature, which is why this means of illustration is used. The Finnish site is in a nearly natural landscape (only one road crosses the area), while the Swedish site, being close to the open-cast mining area, is in a completely man-made landscape.

Palomaa

The Palomaa pollen record shows that pine forest has dominated the landscape for the past 1,000 years (Fig. 6), so we deduce that climate is the driving force throughout. The only clear evidence of people is the building of the road, which took place in AD 1959. The temporal resolution of the record is such that for the period AD 1960 to 2005 it is easy to see the similarity between the *Pinus* PAR curve and the July temperature record from Sodankylä, 250 kilometres to the south of the site. There is some evidence that between AD 1500 and 1600 the surface of the mire was much drier than at present and that animals, presumably reindeer (the spores of dung fungi become abundant), frequently crossed the mire (Finsinger *et al*. 2013). Although some plant species that are known to expand when people are present are recorded throughout, there is no clear peak in these that could be interpreted as indicating more intensive human presence. The *Pinus* PAR curve, which dominates the record, has been interpreted as reflecting changes in pine tree volume over the last 1,000 years (Mazier *et al*. 2012), changes which are initiated by changes in summer temperature but which, because of the time that it takes for seedlings to germinate and trees to obtain maturity (and begin producing pollen), are seen in the diagram with a time-lag when compared with the summer temperature curve reconstructed from dendroecological evidence (McCarroll *et al*. 2013).

It is possible to distinguish 5 climate-driven landscape phases:

AD 1080–1170, June-July-August (JJA) temperature was as high as today and the pine forest flourished;

AD 1170–1340, JJA temperature was lower than in the previous period but the tree volume was at its maximum, better tree growth and movement of the forest northwards being the result of the earlier very favourable temperature conditions;

AD 1340–1630, JJA temperatures increase but the tree volume is clearly lower suggesting that following the previous colder period the pine forest had begun to retreat southwards;

AD 1630–1810, both JJA temperature and tree volume are at the lowest for the whole 1,000-year record. This is the time of the "Little Ice Age."

The pine trees had not necessarily disappeared (we have evidence that many existed), but July temperature was so low that they were unable to produce pollen (see the 12°C July temperature situation referred to above);

AD 1810–1950, both JJA temperature and pine tree volume are increasing in response to the temperature rise following the "Little Ice Age."

Kiruna

The section of the Kiruna pollen diagram from AD 1880 to 2005 reflects the development of the mine and of the city. This is seen not only from the pollen record of plant species which increase in abundance in connection with settlement and disturbed ground, but also from the record of other microparticles, namely charcoal fragments greater than 40µ and spheroidal

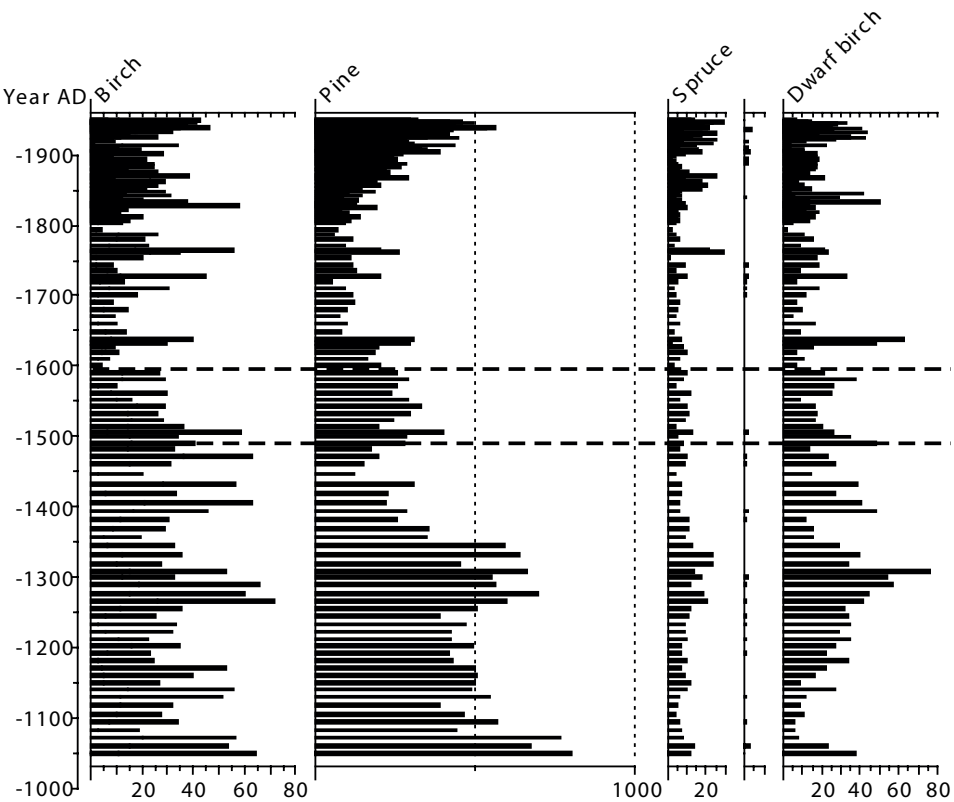
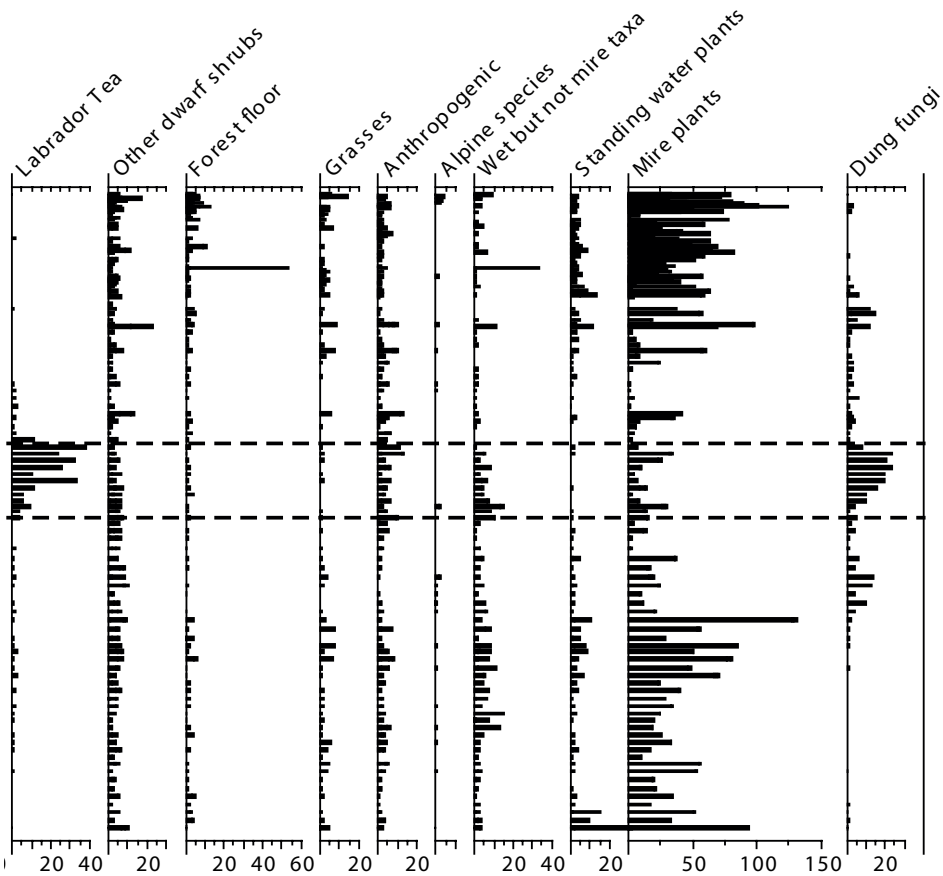


Fig. 6. A pollen accumulation diagram from Palomaa covering the last 1,000 years and showing the changes in the quantity of pine pollen which has been interpreted as being caused by both changes in tree volume and in July temperature.

carbonaceous particles (SCPs). These latter are particles that are emitted when fossil fuels are burnt at high temperatures. The PARs of the tree taxa are low in the early part of the twentieth century when there is a great need for timber in the region and the city is being founded, but increase from AD 1960 onwards in exactly the same way as they do at Palomaa. Pollen from the "human impact" taxa increases from AD 1950 onwards and large charcoal particles begin to increase from AD 1965 around the time of maximum population for the city. The curve for SCPs begins in the early 1960s, reaches a maximum in AD 1975 and declines to zero values by 1985 when the city incinerator is built in conjunction with the need to control emissions and the clean air movement (WHO 1987). Overlying the record of the development of the human landscape the tree taxa still reflect changes in summer tem-



perature such that the *Picea*, *Pinus* and *Betula* pollen records of the past 135 years can be calibrated with the instrumental summer temperature record (Barnekow *et al*. 2007), again showing a similar situation to that at Palomaa.

Conclusions

In the far north of Fennoscandia the strongest driving force in moulding the landscape is climate, which determines the vegetation cover. We see this in terms of different vegetation zones either along a south-north gradient or an altitudinal gradient (coast to mountain top), which causes decreasing summer temperature. On top of this, people have dramatically changed the natural forest landscape but mostly over relatively small spatial areas and for relatively short periods of time. Even extensive and very visible changes, such as those caused by fire or clear felling, are relatively short lived when the whole 10,000-year history of the area is considered. To give an answer to the question posed in the title it is, therefore, necessary to define the temporal and spatial scale.

Considerations for the Future

Both climate and people will continue to shape the landscape of the north and the effects on the forest vegetation and the present man-made landscape patches will vary as they have done in the past. Those interactions that can be expected are summarized in schematic form in Fig. 7. Predicted changes in the climate of northern Fennoscandia towards warmer winters and longer growing seasons could potentially affect the position of the tree line and the composition and density of the forests and might also influence the quantity of snow at ski resorts and the risk of landslides. At the same time economic changes caused by people, changes in social trends or population density, might lead to a change in the land area used for cattle farming and hay production, an increase in settlement and increased pollution from industrial activity and mining etcetera. There is, however, an element which is very difficult to predict, and that is whether future changes may be such that they cause the crossing of a non-reversible threshold?

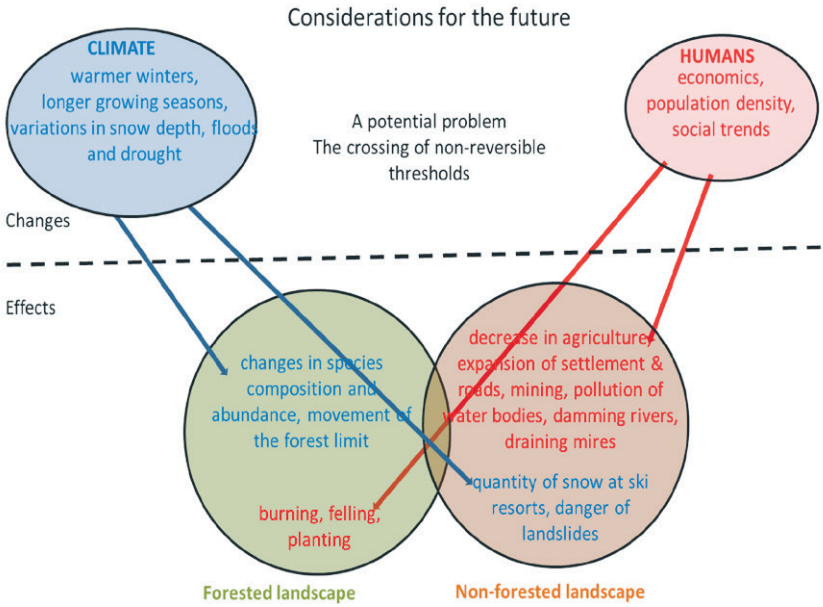


Fig. 7. Schematic diagram of aspects in the forest and man-induced landscapes that could change in the future due to changes in climate and/or the effect of people.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my friends and colleagues Lena Barnekow, Ulf Segerström and Phil Buckland for the help and support they provided during the preparation of the presentation on which this article is based.

REFERENCES

Barnekow, L., Bragée, P., Hammarlund, D. & St. Amour, N. (2008). "Boreal forest dynamics in north-east Sweden during the last 10,000 years based on pollen analysis," *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 17, pp. 687–700.

Barnekow, L., Loader, N.J., Hicks, S., Froyd, C.A. & Goslar, T. (2007). "Strong correlation between summer temperature and pollen accumulation rates for *Pinus sylvestris*, *Picea abies* and *Betula* spp. in a high-resolution record from northern Sweden," *Journal of Quaternary Science*, 22, pp. 653–658.

Björck, S. (1995). "A review of the history of the Baltic Sea 13.0–8.0 ka B.P.," *Quaternary International*, 27, pp. 19–40.

Finsinger, W., Schoning, K., Hicks, S., Lücke, A., Goslar, T., Wagner-Cremer, F. & Hyyppä, H. (2013). "Climate change during the past 1,000 years. A high-temporal-resolution multiproxy record from a mire in northern Finland," *Journal of Quaternary Science*, 28, pp. 152–164.

Giesecke, T. & Bennett, K. D. (2004). "The Holocene spread of *Picea abies* (L.) Karst. in Fennoscandia and adjacent areas," *Journal of Biogeography*, 31, pp. 1523–1548.

Hicks, S. (2001). "The use of annual arboreal pollen deposition values for delimiting tree-lines in the landscape and exploring models of pollen dispersal," *Review of Palaeobotany and Palynology*, 117, pp. 1–29.

Mazier, F., Nielsen, A.B., Broström, A., Sugita, S. & Hicks, S. (2012). "Signals of tree volume and temperature in a high-resolution record of pollen accumulation rates in northern Finland," *Journal of Quaternary Science*, 27, pp. 564–572.

McCarroll, D., Loader, N.J., Jalkanen, R., Gagen, M.H., Grudd, H., Gunnarson, B.E., Kirchhefer, A.J., Friedrich, M., Linderholm, H.W., Lindholm, M., Boettger, T., Los, S.O., Remmele, S., Kononov, Y.M., Yamazaki, Y.H., Young, G.H.F., & Zorita, E. (2013). "A 1,200-year multiproxy record of tree growth and summer temperature at the northern pine forest limit of Europe," *The Holocene*, 23, pp. 474–484.

Möller, P., Östlund, O., Barnekow, L., Sandgren, P., Palmbo, F. & Willerslev, E. (2012). "Living at the margin of the retreating Fennoscandian Ice Sheet. The early Mesolithic sites at Aareavaara, northernmost Sweden," *The Holocene*, 23, pp. 104–116.

Renberg, I., Bigler, C., Bindler, R., Norberg, M., Rydberg, J. & Segerström, U. (2009). "Environmental history. A piece in the puzzle for establishing plans for environmental management," *Journal of Environmental Management*, 90, pp. 2794–2800.

Segerström, U., Bradshaw, R., Hörnberg, G. & Bohlin, E. (1994). "Disturbance history of a swamp forest refuge in northern Sweden," *Biological Conservation*, 68, pp. 189–196.

Svendsen, J.L., Alexanderson, H., Astakhov, V.I., Demidov, I., Dowdeswell, J.A., Funder, S., Gataulling, V., Henriksen, M., Hjort, C., Houmark-Nielsen, M., Hubberten, H.W., Ingólfsson, Ó., Jakobsson, M., Kjær, K.H., Larsen, E., Lokrantz, H., Lunkka, J.-P., Lyså, A., Mangerud, J., Matiouchkov, A., Murray, A., Möller, P., Niessen, F., Nikolskaya, O., Polyak, L., Saarnisto, M., Siegert, C., Siegert, M.J., Spielhagen, R. & Stein, R. (2004). "Late Quaternary ice sheet history of northern Eurasia," *Quaternary Science Reviews*, 23, pp. 1229–1271.

WHO = World Health Organization (1987). "Air quality guidelines for Europe," *WHO Regional Publications, European Series*, 23, Copenhagen, Regional Office.

Sheila Hicks is Research Professor (emerita) at the University of Oulu. She uses the technique of pollen analysis to reconstruct landscapes of the past. Her 25-year long data set of modern pollen deposition enables the interpretation of quantitative changes in pollen at a near annual resolution.

hicks.sheilap@gmail.com

JOURNAL OF NORTHERN STUDIES Vol. 8 • No. 2 • 2014, pp. 103–119

KENNETH J. KNOESPEL

Sweden and the Transformation of Northern Historiography

ABSTRACT Viewed from the Mediterranean South, the North was associated from the earliest ages with a darkness linked with strange languages, distance, alien cultural behavior, and just plain bad weather. This darkness—or the fog and mist if we use the early description of Marco Polo—was not ignored but itself became a screen upon which the South could project an ever-growing list of fantasies. While Swedish figures such as Olof Rudbeck made elaborate national projections about the role of the North in civilization, Carl von Linné and others succeeded in translating fantasies of political empire into kingdoms of knowledge. Drawing on Swedish historiography and the history of technology, this essay poses questions about the ways Sweden's often invisible presence continues to shape the formulation of knowledge.

KEYWORDS Sweden, Olof Rudbeck, Linnæus, northern historiography, Karlskrona, networks, digital technology

Viewed from the Mediterranean South, the North, from the earliest ages was a place of darkness associated with strange languages, distance, alien cultural behavior, and just plain bad weather.

> Still further north, and a long way beyond that kingdom of which I have spoken, there is a region which bears the name of DARKNESS, because neither sun nor moon nor stars appear, but it is always as dark as with us in the twilight. The people have no king of their own, nor are they subject to any foreigner, and live like beasts. (Polo 1993: 484.)

The fog and mist—or the darkness if we use the early description of Marco Polo—were not ignored but became themselves a screen upon which the South could project an ever-growing list of fantasies.[1] The *Carta marina*, printed in Venice in 1539 by Olaus Magnus, quite literally put Sweden on the map and contrary to contemporary fascination with strange creatures that animate the map, it provided the first visual survey of Sweden's natural wealth that Magnus sought to use to urge the Pope to launch a counter-reformation crusade with the objective of forcing Sweden to once again become a Catholic kingdom. The 1626 map of Sweden published by Anders Bure (1571–1646), secretary to Gustavus Adolphus and chief cartographer of Sweden during the Thirty Years War, situates Sweden more exactly.

By the early eighteenth century, Swedish historiography became in-

Fig. 1. Anders Bure, *Orbis Arctoi Nova et Accurata Delineatio* (1626).[2]

creasingly chauvinistic and sought to develop histories that were more independent (Lindroth 1967: 158–192; Bodin 2000; Jangfeldt 1998; Klinge 1994; Kan 1996; Klindt-Jensen 1975). For Sweden, the writing of a northern history also became a self-conscious effort to graft Sweden into the histories of Europe. Sweden and the North came to identify their own unique position. After making several brief observations regarding major figures within Swedish intellectual history, I turn my attention to observations about networks, both past and present, that continue to shape Sweden's place in the North.

Olof Rudbeck and the North

The Swedish seventeenth century Swedish polymath, Olof Rudbeck (1630–1702), has drawn my attention for a long time because *Atlantica* (1679–1718), as it is known in Latin or *Atland eller Manheim* in Swedish, provides access to an intriguing Swedish schizophrenia about the North. While Rudbeck remains the subject of ridicule for his efforts to argue that all humankind evolved from the North, he appears also as a passionate chauvinist: on one level a warning to more modern historians of the danger of northern hubris but on another celebrating with extraordinary pride what the North is able to accomplish. Rather than only viewing *Atlantica* as a work focused on an antiquarian past, I want to emphasize what we might gain from viewing it as a work directed to the present and future. A useful comparison in rethinking the direction of *Atlantica* comes from Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627), which invents an alternative history relocating Atlantis within the seventeenth century. For Bacon, Plato's Atlantis (*Timaeus* 24e–25a) provides a philosophical fable amplified into an English manifesto encouraging the techno-scientific accomplishments represented in the House of Salomon. The comparison of Bacon's work and Rudbeck's, particularly from the vantage point of the mechanical arts, invites us to glimpse the potential significance of Rudbeck's physical description of Sweden (Frängsmyr 1981).

The landscape described is hardly a romantic land of trolls, but a place rich in resources that could be used to support technological development. Given Rudbeck's hints regarding language, weather, building technology, *Atlantica* generates an agenda of research projects that may at least in spirit be compared to the *New Atlantis*. Rudbeck's work demonstrates the impetus toward engaging a living world; it is not a work embedded in the past but dramatizes the active study of history and nature.[3] Olof Rudbeck's redesign of Uppsala is one among many. Uppsala's *Gustavanium* still stands as an architectural symbol of Rudbeck's own plan for intellectual reform and invites comparison with the House of Salomon (Hahr 1930: 121–175). Gunnar Eriksson has argued forcefully for Rudbeck's foundational vision:[4]

> From such a perspective one could view *Atlantica* as a kind of demonstration of an intellectual institution such as a Rudbeckian University especially if one considers the entire arsenal of knowledge contained in the work and could view it as an inspiration to spread glory and distinction in the fatherland and provide its leaders and builders with the right inspiration for Sweden's political and cultural mission in the world. (Eriksson 1988: 28 [my translation].)

While Eriksson does not compare *Atlantica* to Bacon's work, he does compare it to Virgil's *Aeneid*:

> *Atlantica* is a work that would instill foundations and provide propaganda for a great power that required its own identity more than others [...] *Atlantica* played the same role for the Swedish empire that the *Aeneid* once played for the Roman empire. (Eriksson 1988: 27 [my translation].)

A celebrated example appears in the engravings in Erik Dahlberg's *Svecia antiqua & hodierna* ([1716] 1983), which present an array of perspectives of the "new" Sweden after 1709. We tend to forget how such perspectives worked as visual propaganda when travel was arduous. Comparable visions of the new Russia appear in the collection of plates prepared by the Russian Academy of Sciences to present the newly established *Kunstkammer* in St. Petersburg. Each collection shows how engravings, or visual technologies such as cartography, demonstrated the advancement of the North to the rest of Europe. Such collections reinforced Voltaire's conviction, so evident in his biographies of Charles XII (1731) and Peter the Great (1759; 1763) of the growing importance of the North.

Olof Rudbeck's *Atlantica* is a continually evolving book that sought to establish support for the thesis that the postdiluvian source for humankind could be traced to Sweden and particularly to the famous burial mounds in Old Uppsala. While Rudbeck's hermeneutical method appears disorganized, the disorientation that one experiences comes from our distance from seventeenth century scholarship which constructed arguments by stringing together copious citations from textual sources. While Bacon's work offers a useful background for Rudbeck's work, another work helps to situate Rudbeck's efforts as well. Beginning in the 1680s Isaac Newton turned his attention to an interpretation of universal history that would occupy his attention until his death in 1728. The project entitled, *Theologiæ gentilis origines philosophiæ* (1680?) ['The philosophical origins of gentile philosophy'] sought to demonstrate the natural philosophical principles inherent in the transmission of history (Knoespel 1999). The unfinished work comprises a thoroughgoing effort on Newton's part to demonstrate that the study of

physics was inherent in the practice of ancient religion. A letter from Newton indicates that he requested a copy of *Atlantica* in 1720 (Eriksson 1994: 183, note 28).

Research to discern patterns in universal history comprised a major agenda of research in natural philosophy and human anthropology at the time. Rudbeck's arguments are shaped by linguistic assumptions about the relation between natural languages and by ideas that urged historians to be on the lookout for common patterns or parallels between the history of one people and another. The seventeenth-century methodology that explored how language could be studied as an abstract system that carried through its words and structure the history of people underlies Rudbeck's research (Slaughter 1982).

Prompted by linguistic theory and the practice of seeking synchronisms in history associated with the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans and the history of the North, it is hardly farfetched to think of Rudbeck arguing that universal history in the seventeenth century had become too ethnocentric or dominated by Mediterranean assumptions. The cornucopia of observations that one encounters in the text challenge the reader to expand the ways that he or she has thought about history. In contrast to universal histories that only seek to integrate multiple written records, Rudbeck's work vastly expands and validates the sources that may be used for information. In addition to written records, the reader is shown how jewelry, coins, building techniques, clothing, dialectical variations in language, geographical detail, evidence of climactic change—all provide information useful in building up an interpretive stance. The degree to which Rudbeck's text combines bibliographic study and field research that includes not only archaeological work but interviews with common people shows that beyond its *idée fixe* of Swedish origins, *Atlantica* admonishes readers to understand the land on which they see, hear, feel, and taste. While Rudbeck can be accused of a presumptuous ethnocentrism, his research provides a complex model for the study of history. Three related theses may be drawn from the work:

1. that there is a Mediterranean thesis that may be challenged and augmented;
2. that natural history (geography and especially a description of natural resources) provides an alternative schema for reading political and cultural history; and
3. that natural history provides a foundation for the growth of a nation.

Linnæus and the Empire of Knowledge

Carl Linneaus (1707–1778) follows Olof Rudbeck in multiple ways but especially in his emphasis on Swedish natural resources. The transformation of Sweden from a great military power to a nation seeking to redefine her ambitions after the Battle of Poltava (1709) has become a historical trope within Linnæan studies. Instead of the heroic image of Carl XII's military conquest, we are given the peaceful image of Carl Linnæus, the Swedish saint of the plant kingdom! Russia, so it would seem, sinks below the horizon and becomes a thorn in the side of Sweden or a rude nation that Sweden might interpret to the rest of the world. Although attractive, this simple narrative, ideological in its own right, unravels when we consider the continuous interaction between Sweden and Russia at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Sweden's role in natural philosophy during the time of Linnæus involves a continuous interaction with Russia. Of course, in part this interaction is defensive and involves military technology. But on other levels it involves the mutual development of Russian and Swedish scientific academies devoted to economic development. For both Sweden and Russia alike development involves learning how to use natural resources (Broberg 2006; Koerner 1994; Koerner 1999). Linnæus's multifaceted response to information supplied by the Siberian expeditions that begin in 1724 offers an opportunity to follow his interaction with the newly founded Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg (1725) through his botanical research at the University of Uppsala. Even more substantively, Linnæus's interaction with Russian correspondents in Latin and German as well as through drawings, diagrams and physical specimens shows a growing awareness of the ways a universally shared language of natural history may replace a political empire with an empire of knowledge. Linnæus's work participates both in the stabilization of codes and the development of strategies that could be used to share information widely or gather reconnaissance selectively for the use of a particular nation.

The northern landscape is an essential part of Linnæus's work both in regard to his own expeditions in Sweden and also within the setting of Swedish efforts to understand the unique features of the North. As readers of his expeditions know, he knew very well that gathering botanical specimens also provided countless opportunities to catalog mineral resources and register technological development. In many ways Linnæus understands that rather than demonstrating strength through military conquest, Sweden has an opportunity to strengthen her place in a European network where she may both represent and present the North. Linnæus becomes part of this network through his early travels in Holland and Germany and then through his capacity to describe his own country. While Olaus Magnus

had come to represent the North for Catholic Europe through the early sixteenth-century *Carta marina* (1539) and his account of Sweden's natural wealth, the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555), Linnæus came to be recognized beyond Sweden as an exemplary natural philosopher from the North and also by his own countrymen as a figure who described the land in which they lived in Swedish (Frängsmyr 2000; Lindroth 1967; Olaus Magnus 1555; Olaus Magnus 1658; Olaus Magnus 1976). No matter how much Gustavus Vasa could be celebrated for creating a national kingdom, how Gustavus Adolphus or Charles XII could create a Swedish military mythos for Europe, through his travels in Sweden, Linnæus creates an account of the land in which people live (Knoespel 2011).

Baltic Networks and the North

While both Rudbeck and Linnæus put the North on the map, they are also strong reminders of the ways the North becomes part of a complex system of networks. The Baltic Sea, of such strategic importance, remains fundamental in approaching networks. While the Baltic has been a barrier, it has also served as a common milieu, a common resource, and above all a means of transport, exchange, and communication among the actors. One might argue that the Baltic Sea is a porous line of demarcation that provides polarization on the one hand and common narratives on the other. In this sense it is a "Berlin Wall" that has existed for thousands of years. It is above all the shared narratives and representations created by the Baltic Sea that constitute the North as an object of critical scholarly interest. Instead of concentrating on "bodies of permanence"—the individual states, societies, languages, and cultures that geographically surround the Baltic Sea—it makes sense to concentrate on the Baltic Sea as a shared body of *natural* permanence, a liquid borderline that divides but also connects, protects as well as challenges the solidity of political institutions. Instead of summing up narratives produced by individual states, nations, and other institutions, we might do well to concentrate on how the sea creates a supra-institutional togetherness in change and exchange. But just how the Baltic functions as a membrane between multiple cultures offers an important challenge for multiple disciplines. The simultaneous emergence of Karlskrona and Kronstadt invites comparison. Although there is a significant prehistory of each, we must immediately notice their invention for modern strategic purposes. For example, in comparison to Novgorod or Uppsala, whose space is shaped by human habitation over an extended period, Kronstadt and Karlskrona stand out as invented or planned cities. They existed first on drafting paper. We might think of them as rendered or made possible through the science of cartography.

Karlskrona carries importance that often seems lost or hidden even in

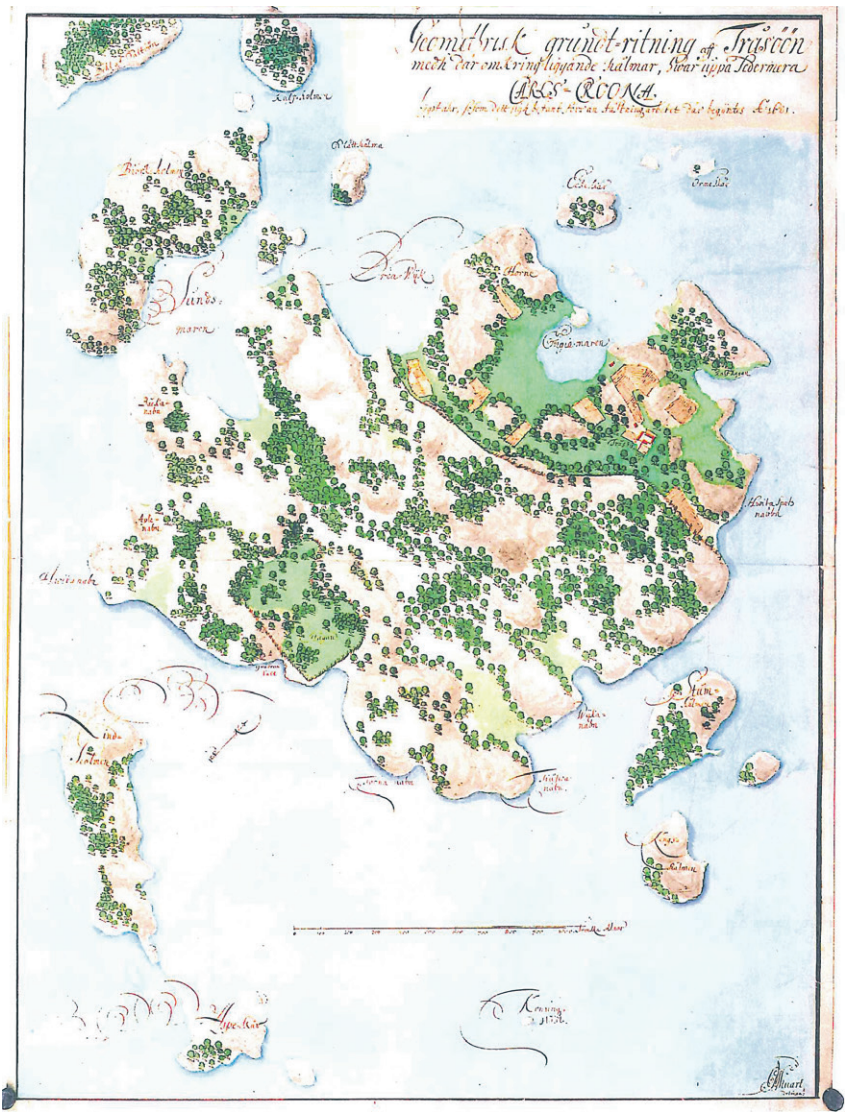


Fig. 2. *Geometrisk Grundtrijtning aff Tråsöön medh deromkring Liggande hålmar, hwar uppå Sedermera Carls Crona bÿgdt är* ['Preliminary geometric map of Trossön with adjacent islets, whereupon Karlskrona later on is built'] (1681).[5]

Sweden. The frequent reference to Karlskrona being a suburb of Stockholm recognizes the number of *stockholmare* ['Stockholmers'] who have worked in Karlskrona for the Swedish navy or the defense industry. Generations of young men who served in the Swedish navy were trained in Karlskrona. The celebrations of former submarine crews of their *camaraderie* in service hints of the town's significance just as the recent publication of *Fort*

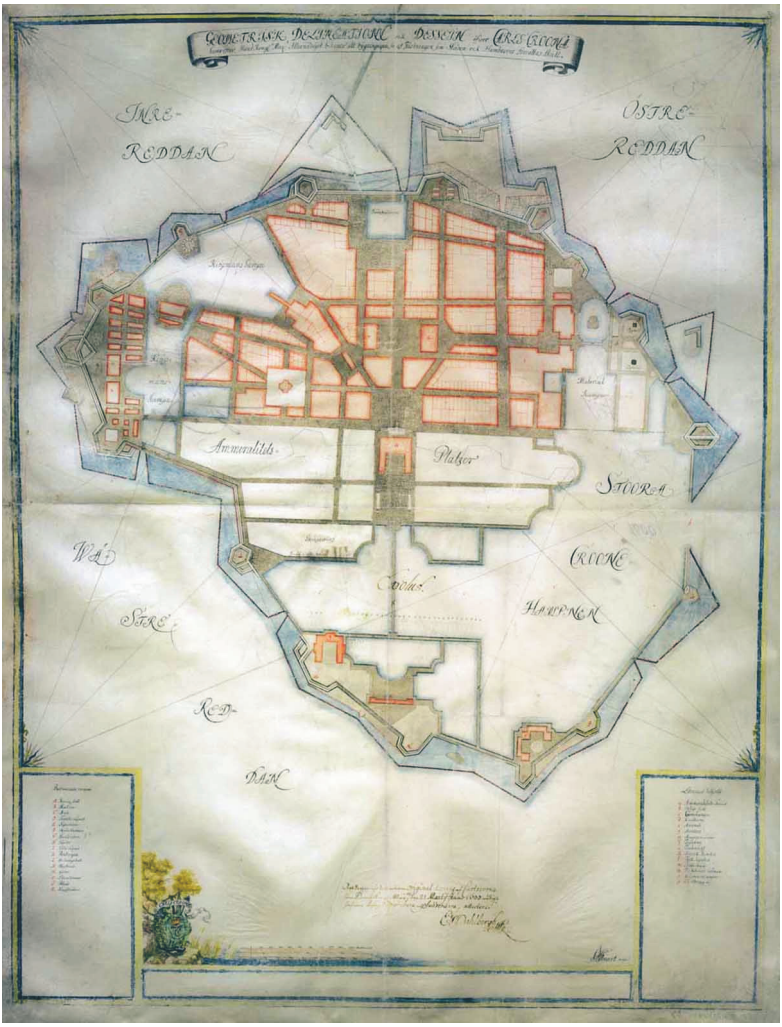


Fig. 3. Geometric city plan of Karlskrona, E.J. Dahlberg and C.M. Stuart (1683).[6]

och Bunker ['Fortress and bunker'], a magazine devoted to publishing photos of previously hidden military sites in the Blekinge Archipelago. The connections to Stockholm and to the rest of Sweden are substantial. Charles IX founded the city in 1680 to establish Swedish sovereignty over newly acquired Skåne and to provide an early warning system for possible Danish movement along the Swedish coast. After Poltava Karlskrona became strategic not only for defense against the Danes but now against the Russians. In effect, the rapid construction of Kronstadt and St. Petersburg provokes the rapid development of Karlskrona not simply as an outpost but as

the most significant new industrial site in Sweden. Immanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), the royal authority on all Swedish mining operations including Stora Kopparberg, supervises the blasting and construction of the dry docks. Christopher Polhem (1661–1751) and Olof Rudbeck are also engaged in the project. It is hardly an exaggeration to view Karlskrona as one of the largest industrial sites in Europe in the 1720s. Some 20,000 workers are reported to have worked either in the shipyards or in the detailed infrastructure required for the mass production of ships (Kartaschew 1999; Melin 1999).

The early maps of Karlskrona from the Swedish Military Archives (Krigsarkivet) remind us that Erik Dahlberg (1625–1703) and his colleagues were not only following aesthetic models of Baroque city planning.[7] The maps were also calculated to represent firing positions, and trajectory angles. In many ways, the French military engineer Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban (1633–1707) epitomizes the connection between theoretical and practical geometry during the reign of Louis XIV. Vauban's extensive work on the development of a network of sea fortresses on the coast of France demonstrates that local defense was part of a larger strategic plan. Both the strategic plan and specific fortifications reinforce the importance of maps as means of virtual development and control. Dahlberg learned much from Vauban. Together they remind us that as we look at the early maps of Karlskrona we must give consideration to the unseen as well as the seen. The early maps show that maps are part of a network of spatial representations. But there are also "invisible" factors that were put in play. Documents show that in the spring of 1679, test firings were conducted from various points to assure that defenses would be erected in places that were virtually invulnerable to attack. Although the cost of building fortifications as extensive as those suggested in the earliest projects certainly contribute to the decision to limit the building project, it is also probable that the decision not to build a thick wall around the entire city represents a newer strategy of military fortification that reveals an increasing trust in cannon technology and the calculation of geometric trajectories. In addition to geographical survey information, we must understand that the maps were accompanied by calculations of cannon trajectories.

It is possible, of course, to consider an even larger sequence of maps that move to satellite imagery found on Google Maps. But as we reference satellite imagery, we shift scale considerably. But well beyond the shift from geometric maps to satellite technologies, we have generations of technology that not only visualize space but indicate what is concealed. Each generation of technology suggests a desire to mark space that may be defended. The early maps of Karlskrona are closely related to ballistic tests of seventeenth century cannons. Satellite technology suggests technological de-

velopment required to detect possible missile launches. Each generation of technology results in the reconfiguration of space. Northern historiography was hardly a matter of antiquarian interest but a means to express political authority and recognize the ways horizons were being changed by technology. Swedish publications in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries abound with examples of the ways the landscape was being changed in quite literal ways. We have already activated networks that pertain to comparative anthropology of the North and the South. Given the works of Clifford Geertz, Bruno Latour, Pierre Bourdieu, to name only a few, we know that it is necessary to talk about layers of networks that may or may not communicate with each other directly or indirectly (see Geertz 1983; Bourdieu 1991; Bourdieu 1993; Bourdieu 1998; Latour 1993; Latour 1987; see also Alexandrov 1995: 62–91).

The very concept of a Baltic landscape depends on one's point of view. The layered multiplicity of landscapes is also changing. Some are in the process of emerging while others are dying out or are already skeletons and fossils. Bruno Latour's *Janus-Face of Science* applies to the Baltic, for it is possible to speak of a "Ready-Made Baltic" as well as "A Baltic in the Making" (Latour 1987; Latour 1993). The distinction is heuristic for it makes us recognize the ways in which the personal landscapes of the Baltic may collide with the emerging ideas. For example, what is our objective? Do we want to integrate the Baltic into the history of Sweden or Russia or Finland? What about the Baltic States, Poland, East Germany, Denmark? What kind of history do we have in mind? How are geological networks different from tourists' networks? Is an overall "history" even possible? Latour is helpful: "We are never confronted with science, technology and society, but with a gamut of weaker and stronger associations;" or, "History of technoscience is in large part the history of the resources scattered along networks to accelerate the mobility, faithfulness, combination and cohesion of traces that make action at a distance possible" (Latour 1987: 259). But even though there are many networks that may seem to proliferate under our noses, we must remind ourselves that it is our task to put together and explore the networks that appear to us. There are, of course, many in addition to those already mentioned: geology, flora and fauna, trade and economics, technology, knowledge structures (education, research structures, military science). Discerning networks is similar to being given a box of track for a model railroad. We count the track and begin to imagine the shapes we can make long before we have placed an engine on the track.

Universities are critical nodes in what I have called an empire of knowledge. They have also undergone a substantial realignment in the past thirty years. Programs in digital media throughout Sweden have provoked a re-

cognition that the economic consequence of university research is an increasingly vital component. It is useful to remind ourselves that universities since the fifteenth century have been not simply an idealized part of the North but a presence that in many ways has affirmed a network of research intended to reinforce ongoing economic development. The importance of Königsberg, not as Kant's home institute, but as a vehicle for techno-scientific transformation of the Baltic region deserves to be recognized far more fully. At a time when university reform with its inevitable emphasis on economic development becomes criticized for giving up the ideal of the human sciences, it is useful to remind ourselves how centers of learning have always been at the service of the kingdom or the state. The renewed interest in entrepreneurial alliances also deserves to be recognized ideologically. The strategic importance of Karlskrona has changed since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The significant reduction of Swedish military involvement led to a strategy for the development of regional education that could also contribute to the development of the local economy. In effect, the military networks associated with Karlskrona became a potential link in the strategic development of Baltic networks. These developments have considerable importance for Sweden's rethinking of the Baltic itself.

It would be possible to review this transformation even more but I would like to emphasize a particular advantage of Sweden. The creation of networks through rail, electricity, telephone, and language has allowed the development of the mobile telephone network. The network is not only developed but has in effect transformed Sweden into a network laboratory in education, entertainment, and social experimentation. It is precisely "laboratory Sweden" that has reinforced the development of media programs that meld the relationship among business, industry, and university research. We are in a setting where it is quite appropriate to think of a new Bauhaus—a digital Bauhaus. The digital transformation of society has shaped a new class of digital worker for whom the economic market appears to have an almost insatiable appetite. The demand for these new digital workers has encouraged the development of a range of new programs in digital media that are educating a new class of technicians capable of building new applications. Digital media have also shaped entirely new environments for creativity and discovery where we may shape and build objects that have never before existed.

We speak of spheres of influence but they are not simply cultural phenomena associated with language but matters of technological expansion. I have used the term *canopy* in my own research to describe the complex layering of information used to define, defend, and shape space. Initially, the term was useful in describing the use of "covering fire," in my work

on Karlskrona. Covering fire describes the range of artillery that might be used to protect and defend a fortification. While it might be used literally to describe the effect of firepower during an engagement, it is frequently geometric calculation that indicates whether a target may be in range. The strategic coastal fortifications that ring the Baltic Sea demonstrate the rapidly changing capacity of weapons systems. The term *canopy* invites us to consider the extensive spectrum of ways that cultures identify, protect, and preserve space through the use of technologies that range from cartography to language. The expansion of the canopy becomes associated with the development of multiple technologies that permit one to see the invisible. Radio transmission, radar, sonar, and satellite imaging are all means of expanding a protective canopy. Several years ago, I attended a conference that reviewed satellite-imaging technology directed at the Baltic. It was noted that every 90 minutes the eye of the satellite wakes to register the presence of sunken reactor piles from Soviet submarines. I recently had the opportunity to sail across the Baltic in small boat. When we reached Utö in the Åbo/Turku Archipelago, my fellow sailors and I were confronted by an older woman speaking Swedish as we came out of the small grocery store near the harbor. After describing her education in Sweden she demanded to know why Sweden had abandoned her! Such examples serve as cultural markers. We may well be justified in asking how such techno-cultural markers are also linked to the very function of language as a canopy itself. It may not at all be farfetched to think of radar as being grounded in cultural linguistics. Quite literally, the development of the North may be viewed as a direct consequence of building and extending cultural and technological canopies that overlay each other.

The Sweden of Rudbeck and Linnæus has expanded well beyond Sweden's territorial boundaries. The influence of Swedish companies is well known. The global society in which we live is actually a set of complex canopies superimposed over each other. Space has become more and more precisely defined and varied. The "North" itself is a space within space. The 2008 Swedish film by Daniel Alfredson, *Varg* ['Wolf'], represents this well as it tells the story of an application of Swedish national laws protecting the wolf that turns the film into an Icelandic saga. Among an older generation, writers such Sara Lidman and Per Olov Sundman also explore this clash and, in the case of Lidman, discover a solidarity between Sweden's far North and the European hunger for natural resources in Africa. The North—whether considered through Icelandic sagas, Rudbeck, or Linnæus has importance for the rest of the world not simply as abstract "knowledge" but through the individual communities identified with the rest of the world. These local northern canopies resonate with others (Knoespel 2004). Umeå's sister city is Petrozavodsk in Karelian Russia and in my visits there I have become

aware not only of a geographical identity but also of a will to political independence.

Conclusion

While I began by reference to the Northern darkness described by Marco Polo, I would conclude with reference to a fish, more precisely the fairytale flounder in Günter Grass's novel of that name (Knoespel 2013). The Baltic Sea found in Grass may well be associated with fantasy and abstraction, a blending of Mediterranean and Northern material that shapes a common mythological identity. But such mythological integration through a common heritage of storytelling has been far less possible than the powerful integration found in the development of science and technology. Should we wish to explore narratives of technological integration in the North, it is necessary to look at places such as the Uraniborg of Tycho Brahe, the Danzig of Helvelius, and the Königsberg of Kant. As we track and register the networks of the North, we really discover what I refer to as a Northern epic of technology. Indeed, for the nineteenth and twentieth century Kant's work itself provides a powerful narrative of integration. It may be possible to think of such a philosophical epic as a canopy in its own right. Kant's work shaped the transformation of education in ways that again and again affirmed that the future of European civilization existed in the ongoing realization of reason through the practice of science. From the vantage point of Königsberg, Kronstadt and Karlskrona were hardly just new locations on maps but places associated with technological achievement. Of course, Kronstadt was linked with Petersburg and Karlskrona with Stockholm. However, in each case, such apparent associations also concealed connections that were even more significant in the ongoing science and technology of the Baltic region. In the rise of Peter's city from marshland and the blasting of granite to shape Karlskrona, we witness the importance of what lies under the earth. Trolls, niebelungen, dwarfs, each have their story to tell but the story of what lies beneath must wait for another day.

NOTES

[1] Another version reads: "Because for the most part of the winter months the sun appears not, and the air is dusky, as it is just before the dawn when you see and yet do not see" (Polo 1993: 485 note). See also John Larner 1999. An effort to counter misconceptions of Sweden appears in Olaus Magnus (1555) *A Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes, & Vandals and Other Northern Nations.* It first appeared in English in 1658 and should be read with the *Carta marina*, his famous map of Scandinavia prepared in Danzig and published in Venice in 1539.

[2] Krigsarkivet ['the (Swedish) Military Archives'] (SE/KrA: 0400/01A/016).

[3] Rudbeck's annotations on Olof Verelius' translation of *The Hervarar Saga* from Icelandic (Verelius 1672) offers a good example of the fusion of northern myth with the representation of Swedish history. Verelius' dedication to Magnus de la Gardie ("Vi i wårt Fosterland hafwa Malmgrufwor ...") ['We have iron mines in our native land ...'] celebrates the power of Sweden based on iron ore and how men like De la Gardie were using Sweden's resources as means for shaping Swedish influence in Europe (Verelius 1672: N.P).

[4] "Man skulle i det här perspektivet kunna se Atlantican som ett slags demonstration av vad en kunskapsinstitution som Universitas rudbeckiana, om hela dess arsenal av vetande togs i anspråk, kunde åstadkomma för att sprida ära och glans över fäderneslandet och ge dess styresmän och inbyggare en rätt inspiration inför Sveriges politiska och kulturella mission i världen" (Eriksson 1988: 28). "*Atlantican* är ett verk för uppbyggelse och propaganda i en stormakt som mer än de flesta kunde behöva en egen identitet. [...] *Atlantican* skulle få samma uppgift i det svenska imperiet som *Eneiden* en gång gjort i det romerska" (Eriksson 1988: 27).

[5] Krigsarkivet ['the (Swedish) Military Archives'] (SE/KrA: 0414/0013/0027); see also Svanberg 2003: 53.

[6] Krigsarkivet ['the (Swedish) Military Archives'] (SE/KrA: 0424:063:023); see also Lepasson 2004: 24.

[7] For detailed maps and drawings pertaining to Karlskrona, see Krigsarkivet ['the (Swedish) Military Archives'], Band 13: *Delineationer och grundritningar fästningar och fort* (Dahlberg) (0029–0043); *Ritning öfver Fästnings Arbetet wid Siö Castellet Drottningskiär för Åhr 1747* (SE/KrA: 0424/063/004); *Fortifikationens ritningar. Relationer. Relations Ritning öfver werkställdt Arbete uppå Sjö Castellet Drottningskiärs Donjons Tak År 1804* (SE/KrA: 0424/063/016a); *Karta över Karlskrona. Strålgator och nord-sydgående axel markerade*, Nils Gustaf Werming 1813 (SE/KrA: 0431/014).

REFERENCES

Archives

Krigsarkivet ['The (Swedish) Military Archives'].

Literature

Alexandrov, D.Z. (1995). "The historical anthropology of science in Russia," *Russian Studies in History*, 34:2, pp. 62–91.

Bodin, P.-A. (2000). *Ryssland. Idéer och identiteter* ['Russia. Ideas and Identities'], Skellefteå: Norma.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language & Symbolic Power*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

— (1993). *The Field of Cultural Production*, New York: Columbia University Press.

— (1998). *Practical Reason*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Broberg, G. (2006). *Carl von Linné*, Stockholm: Swedish Institute.

Dahlberg, E.J. [1716] (1983). *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* 1–3, Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand.

Eriksson, G. (1988). "Rudbeck och Linné. Enmansinstitutioner" ['Rudbeck and Linnæus. One-man institutions'], in *Kunskapens trädgårdar. Om institutioner och institutionaliseringar i vetenskapen och livet*, Uddevalla: Atlantis, pp. 17–39.

— (1994). *The Atlantic Vision. Olaus Rudbeck and Baroque Science*, London: Watson Publishing International (Science History Publications).

Frängsmyr, T. (1981). *Framsteg eller förfall. Framtidsbilder och utopier i västerländsk tankетradition* ['Progress or collapse. Projections of the future and utopias in western intellectual thought'], Stockholm: Liber Förlag.

— (2000). *Svensk idéhistoria. Bildning och vetenskap under tusen år*. 1. *1000–1809* ['An intellectual history of Sweden. A thousand years of science and education. Part 1 1000–1809'], Stockholm: Natur och Kultur.

Geertz, C. (1983). *Local Knowledge*, New York: Basic Books.

Hahr, A. (1930). "Olof Rudbeck d.ä. som arkitekt" ['Olof Rudbeck the elder as architect'], in *Rudbecksstudier. Festskrift vid Uppsala universitets minnesfest till högtidlighållande av 300 årsminnet av Olof Rudbeck d.ä.:s födelse*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, pp. 121–175.

Jangfeldt, B. (1998). *Svenska vägar till S:t Petersburg* ['Swedish routes to St. Petersburg'], Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand.

Kan, A. (1996). *Sverige och Ryssland. Ett 1200-årigt förhållande* ['Sweden and Russia. A relationship of 1,200 years'], Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Kartaschew, K. von (1999). *Karlsborgs fästning och Vabergets. Historik och beskrivning* ['The fortress of Karlsborg and that of Vaberg. History and description'], Stockholm: Militärhistoriska förlaget.

Klindt-Jensen, O. (1975). *A History of Scandinavian Archaeology*, London: Thames and Hudson.

Klinge, M. (1994). *Östersjövärlden* ['The world of the Baltic'], Stockholm: Atlantis.

Knoespel, K.J. (1999). "Interpretive strategies in Newton's *Theologiæ gentilis origines philosophiæ*," in *Newton and Religion*, eds. R. Popkin & J.E. Force, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 181–204.

— (2004). "The edge of empire. Olof Rudbeck and Mikael Lomonosov and the historiography of Northern Europe," in *Search of an Order. Mutual Representations of Scandinavia and Russia during the Early Age of Reason* (Södertörn Academic Studies 19), eds. U. Birgegård & I. Sandomirskaja, Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, pp. 129–154.

— (2011). "Linnæus and the Siberian expeditions. Translating political empire into a kingdom of knowledge," in *Languages of Science in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. B.-L. Gunnarsson, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 207–226.

— (2013). "Günter Grass and the pirates. The stuff of myth and the Baltic Sea," *Baltic Worlds*, 1, pp. 26–27.

Koerner, L. (1994). "Linnaeus' floral transplants," *Representations*, 47, 144–169.

— (1999). *Linnaeus. Nature and Nation*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Larner, J. (1999). *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World*, New Haven: Yale Nota Bene.

Latour, B. (1987). *Science in Action*, Cambridge: Harvard Univiversity Press.

— (1993). *Petites leçons de sociologie des sciences*, Paris: Éditions La Découverte.

Lepasson, U. (2005). *Örlogsvarvet. Ett världsarv i Karlskrona* ['The naval dockyard. A Universal Heritage in Karlskrona'], Hedemora: Gidlunds.

Lindroth, S. (1967). "Svensk-ryska vetenskapliga förbindelser under 1700-talet" ['Swedish-Russian scientific contacts during the seventeenth century'], in *Löjtnant Åhls äventyr*, Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, pp. 158–192.

Melin, O. (1999). "Kungsholms fort" ['The Kungsholm fortress'], in *Karlskrona – ett världsarv*, pp. 66–106.

Olaus Magnus. (1555). *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, Antverpiæ.
— (1658). *A Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes, and Vandals, and other Northern Nations*, London.
— (1976). *Historia om de nordiska folken* ['History of the Northern Peoples'], 1–2, Stockholm: Gidlund i samarbete med Institutet för folklivsforskning vid Nordiska museet och Stockholms universitet.
Polo, M. [1871, 1875, 1903] (1993). The *Travels of Marco Polo. The Complete Yule-Cordier Edition*, 2 vols., New York: Dover.
Rudbeck, O. [1679, 1689, 1718] (1937–1950). *Olaus Rudbecks Atlantica. Svenska originaltexten* 4 ['Olaus Rudbeck's Atlantica. The Swedish original text'], ed. A. Nelson, Uppsala & Stockholm.
Slaughter, M.M. (1982). *Universal Languages and Scientific Taxonomy in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Svanberg, T. (2003) *Fortifikationsbefälhavarna i Karlskrona* ['The fortification commanders in Karlskrona'], Malmö: Anläggnings- och Fastighetskontor Region Syd, Försvarsmakten.
Verelius, O. (1672). *Hervarar Saga på Gammal Götska* ['The Hervarar Saga in old Geatish'], Uppsala: Henricus Curio S. R. M.

Kenneth J. Knoespel is McEver Professor of Engineering and the Liberal Arts at Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta. He holds an honorary doctorate from Umeå University, Sweden. During fall 2010, he was a visiting senior professor at the Center of Baltic and Eastern European Studies at Södertörn University College, Sweden, where his research focused on Kronstadt and Karlskrona as case histories in Baltic networks.

kenneth.knoespel@iac.gatech.edu

JOURNAL OF NORTHERN STUDIES Vol. 8 • No. 2 • 2014, pp. 121–137

ANKA RYALL

In Love with a Cold Climate

Representations of the North in Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing from Scandinavia

ABSTRACT This essay discusses representations of the North in late eighteenth and nineteenth century travel narratives from Scandinavia. It takes as its starting point the traditional conflation of the North with cold that has permeated travellers' views of Scandinavia, and shows how this stereotype persists even when it is contradicted by the actual experience or observations related in northern travelogues. From some examples of the tension between a real and imaginary North in a selection of travelogues, the essay moves on to look at the aesthetics of the northern landscape in terms of the concepts of the sublime and picturesque. It then shows how an idealising aesthetic emphasis is modified in many northern travel narratives by a foregrounding of realistic details that function as markers of an "anti-aesthetics" of the everyday or commonplace, and give readers a sense of the locally specific and specifically northern in descriptions of places, landscapes and human encounters. It concludes with an example that indicates how an acknowledgment of the aesthetic qualities of everyday human activities such as the dried fish trade helps to undermine the stereotype of the cold, barren, desolate and distant north.

KEYWORDS northern travelogues, aesthetics of cold and ice, landscape aesthetics, sublime and picturesque North, imaginary North, realist perspectives on the North

Representations of the North and northern landscapes in travel literature have traditionally been overdetermined by images of cold, barrenness, desolation and remoteness. These qualities though discouraging to some travellers, seem to have been an inducement to others, especially to adventurers wanting liberation from the social pressures connected with the warmth and comforts of the temperate urbanised South. With reference to Scandinavian polar explorers, Annegret Heitmann summarises this sentiment as "Sehnsucht nach der Kälte" (Heitmann 2001: 116–118). Likewise, from an armchair perspective, the romantic poet Robert Southey claimed that reading Mary Wollstonecraft's Scandinavian travelogue had made him "in love with a cold climate & frost & snow" (quoted in Durant (ed.) 1927: 306–307). In short, the North is synonymous with cold.

Through the centuries a yearning for cold has motivated northern travellers and tourists as well as polar explorers, and cold pervades northern travelogues. As Heidi Hansson and Cathrine Norberg point out in the introduction to their appropriately named collection of essays about the cultural meanings of snow and ice, *Cold Matters*: "Winter is overrepresented in the narratives [of the far North] and the summer season seems almost not to exist" (Hansson & Norberg 2009: 8). Wendy Mercer makes a similar point in an essay about the nineteenth-century French travel writer Xavier Marmier, who made two journeys to northern Scandinavia and Svalbard in the late 1830s. She convincingly relates the image of the North as "an area of snow-capped mountains swathed in mist"—that Marmier's travel narrative *Lettres sur le Nord* from 1840 both echo and reinforce—to early Romanticism (Mercer 2006: 7). In late eighteenth and nineteenth century travel writing from Scandinavia, as I will try to show, the conflation of the North with ice and snow, winter and cold was ubiquitous in narratives of northern journeys, even when contradicted in the texts themselves by the actual experience or observations that the author relates. Despite a common emphasis on a cold climate, however, the North that emerges in these narratives is both complex and many-faceted.

But what, exactly, is "the North" in travel literature from Scandinavia? From the perspective of Umeå or Tromsø, some of the (primarily British) travel writers I will discuss hardly went north at all. From the perspective of London, in contrast, *all* of Scandinavia obviously belongs to the North. In other words, what is considered as North is always relative. The North is "a direction" as well as a place, the novelist Margaret Atwood reminded her audience in the opening of her Clarendon Lectures on Canadian literature in 1991, adding that it is also "a place with shifting boundaries" (Atwood 2004: 10). North is often conflated with Arctic, but even that designation is shifting and unstable. Although the Arctic Circle—at approximately 66°

33' N—is still often used to demarcate the Arctic, from a humanist or social science perspective a more generous definition is obviously necessary. In a book titled *The New North* (2012), for example, the American geographer Laurence Smith consequently refers to the 2004 *Arctic Human Development Report* that proposes a redefinition of the Arctic that includes a larger area than the Arctic proper and encompasses the northern territories of the eight Arctic states, including in Fenno-Scandinavia Lapland/Sápmi, although by natural science definitions much of this territory is considered subarctic (Smith 2012: 307). But he himself prefers an even broader definition of the North and includes in what he calls the Northern Rim "all land and oceans lying 45° N latitude or higher held by the United States, Canada, Iceland, Greenland (Denmark), Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia" (Smith 2012: 6–7). Hence he performs an unacknowledged reversal to the classical view—still current around 1800, as Hendriette Kliemann-Geisinger has shown—that the Alps are the borderline between North and South (Kliemann-Geisinger 2007: 79).

With the unstable and presently expanding circumference of the North in mind, it is not surprising that late eighteenth and nineteenth-century travel narratives commonly also incorporate southern parts of the Scandinavian countries (that is, primarily Sweden, Finland and Norway) into an imaginary Arctic. Nor is it surprising that they tend to use as a frame of reference a rather vague concept of a generic and undifferentiated Global North. Clearly, the exact boundaries of the North (or indeed the Arctic) are much less important in northern travel writing than how the North has been culturally defined. Or, as Kliemann-Geisinger puts it: "The North is a spatially flexible construction, the definition of which is dependent on the location, the objective and the interest of the beholder" (Kliemann-Geisinger 2007: 84). My discussion of representations of the Scandinavian North in terms of an aesthetics of cold and ice will take all these factors into account. Of course, the exact location itself matters, as do the travellers' overall aims and specific personal concerns. Moreover, although travel narratives are by definition factual in the sense of not invented (Youngs 2013: 5), they are also works of literature that tend to rely on imagination as well as facts and observations, and to interpret landscapes in terms of preconceived notions or established aesthetic categories.

Real and Imaginary North

One of the most evocative descriptions in nineteenth-century British travel writing of the "real" Scandinavian North as observed first-hand is found in Lord Dufferin's best-selling *Letters from High Latitudes* from 1857. The passage, which became a reference point for later Arctic travellers

(Lamont 1876: 287; Conway 1897: 341), describes his arrival in English Bay, in the archipelago of Svalbard, on 6 August the previous year, after an eleven-day crossing from Hammerfest in Northern Norway:

> And now, how shall I give you an idea of the wonderful panorama in the midst of which we found ourselves? I think, perhaps, its most striking feature was the stillness—and deadness—and impassibility of this new world: ice, and rock, and water surrounded us; not a sound of any kind interrupted the silence; the sea did not break upon the shore; no bird or any living thing was visible; the midnight sun—by this time muffled in a transparent mist—shed an awful, mysterious lustre on glacier and mountain; no atom of vegetation gave token of the earth's vitality; a universal numbness and dumbness seemed to pervade the solitude. I suppose in scarcely any other part of the world is this appearance of deadness so strikingly exhibited. On the stillest summer day in England there is always perceptible an under-tone of life thrilling through the atmosphere; and though no breeze should stir a single leaf, yet—in default of motion—there is always a sense of growth; but here not so much as a blade of grass was to be seen on the sides of the bald excoriated hills. Primeval rocks—and eternal ice—constitute the landscape. (Dufferin 1867: 192.)

The alien Arctic panorama, for Dufferin, is clearly wonderful in the sense of astonishing rather than aesthetically pleasing. Yet every sentence of his landscape description brings out the aesthetic qualities of a location entirely devoid of anything conventionally associated with scenic beauty. Because his North is defined by cold and stillness, it connotes death. In itself this association is far from unusual in Arctic narratives. William Edward Parry, in one of the earliest accounts of the search for the Northwest Passage, also characterises "the silence which reigned around us" as "the death-like stillness of the most dreary desolation, and the total absence of animated existence" (Parry 1821: 125). Nonetheless, the vivid particulars of Dufferin's austere panorama make it wholly convincing.

However, the kind of Arctic landscape Dufferin saw and described so well also exists as an imaginary context in many travel narratives dealing with other parts of Scandinavia. This North is a discursive formation made up not only of observations like Dufferin's, but also of a tradition of myths and preconceptions. One of the most famous travellers to Scandinavia in the late eighteenth century, the British feminist and philosopher Mary Wollstonecraft, is representative of this tension between an image of the North and the actual experience of the North. Typically, she chooses to stress "the coldness of the climate" even when recording her arrival (in pleasant weather, as she also notes) in Bohuslän on the Swedish west coast around midsummer 1795 (Wollstonecraft 1989: 246). Throughout the epis-

tolary travelogue she published the following year under the title *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway*, she refers to winter and cold as the *norm* that informs both her expectations and her actual experiences of Scandinavia: "The current of life seemed congealed at the source," she writes when approaching the Norwegian border in July; "all were not frozen; for it was summer [...]; but every thing appeared so dull, that I waited to see ice, in order to reconcile me to the absence of gaiety" (Wollstonecraft 1989: 262–263). At the same time, Wollstonecraft's *Letters*—like all the best northern travel narratives—goes beyond such totalising stereotypes. Although she has expected to see snow and ice, she never does. She looks in vain for the mountains "capped with eternal snow" described in the travel account of her most important recent predecessor in Scandinavia, William Coxe (Coxe 1802: 25): "they had flown," she notes ironically (Wollstonecraft 1989: 304). Instead her observations of Nordic landscapes inspire her to a different kind of aesthetic discourse, one in which attention to details coexists with a personally motivated political critique that turns everything that grows in often seemingly barren soil—from tiny wild pansies to pine trees "loaded with ripening seeds" (Wollstonecraft 1989: 310)—into images of her own struggles, "occasioned," as she puts it, "by the oppressed state of my sex" (Wollstonecraft 1989: 325). In Wollstonecraft's case, then, particular observations and their personal significance undermine her images of a generic North defined by a cold climate.

The imaginary North evoked in travel writing from the late eighteenth century onwards depends so much on notions of a cold climate and its determining effects on landscapes and culture that some travellers seem reluctant to accept the fact of northern summer even when that is what they have experienced. One amusing example is the opening chapter of another British travel narrative published a century after Wollstonecraft's *Letters*, Ethel Tweedie's *Through Finland in Carts* from 1897, where the account of the author's arrival in the Helsinki harbour on a brilliantly sunny June day is illustrated with a photo of her ship in winter, entirely covered in ice and snow (Fig. 1). Helsinki, according to Tweedie, is "essentially a winter town" (Tweedie 1897: 23), and it is clearly this *essence* rather than the city's accidental appearance on one particular summer day that her choice of illustration reflects. In her previous travel narrative, *A Winter Jaunt to Norway* (1894), Tweedie—who launched a prolific travel writing career with books about Scandinavia—had argued that the successful adaptation of the Norwegians to long cold winters had produced a specific kind of national culture best exemplified by skiing, which she describes as a necessity in terms of mobility, a sport and an art form. When well done, she explains, "skilöbning is the very poetry of motion" (Tweedie 1894: 41). Convinced that Finland, too, is a

Fig. 1. "Our Ship in Winter." Illustration in Ethel Tweedie, *Through Finland in Carts* (1897).

country by nature "ice-bound" and culturally defined by winter, she clearly finds it difficult to assimilate the "almost tropical vegetation" that she actually observes in Helsinki: "the summer bursts forth in such luxuriance," she writes, "that the flowers verily seem to have been only waiting under the snow to raise their heads" (Tweedie 1897: 22–23).

In the Svalbard archipelago, located between the 74° and 81° N latitudes, summers are also temperate due to the influence of the North Atlantic Current. The British art historian and mountaineer Sir Martin Conway remarks upon this in his account of a month-long climbing expedition in the interior of the main island, *The First Crossing of Spitsbergen* (1897). Here he repeatedly compares the Svalbard climate to that of England, describing the light on one day as "pale and feeble, like that of a cloudy English afternoon in December" (Conway 1897: 72), on another as "brilliantly clear [like] an English May day" (Conway 1897: 122). In general he finds that "Spitsbergen weather in these summer months is very English—the same soft, damp air, the same fickleness and unreliability, the same occasional perfection" (Conway 1897: 213–214). He goes so far as to speculate that England "in a climatic sense" may be said to belong to the polar region: "The Arctic Circle ought to be drawn through the Straits of Dover" (Conway 1897: 214). Although Conway is aware that Svalbard as a *Terra nullius* has been explored and exploited by people from many different nations since its discovery by the Dutch in 1596, his conflation of the English and Arctic climates serves to

Fig. 2. "Winterers' Sloop Frozen up in Advent Bay." Frontispiece in Sir William Martin Conway, *First Crossing of Spitsbergen* (1897).

naturalise British imperial presence in the archipelago. But, like Wollstonecraft and Tweedie, Conway implies that his own experiences are somewhat anomalous by situating them in a context of ice and snow. Represented in his narrative primarily by the illustrations, many of which depict icefields, glaciers and snowcapped mountains, this context provides a background of peril against which the events he records can be measured.[1]

The frontispiece of Conway's *First Crossing of Spitsbergen* bears an intriguing resemblance to Tweedie's photo of an ice-covered ship. It is a watercolour showing a small boat without sails in a bay full of ice floes (Fig. 2). Neither the picture itself nor the caption "Winterers' Sloop Frozen up in Advent Bay" seems to have any connection with the narrative of an overland expedition, and only makes sense in terms of an episode some fifty pages into the text. It describes a delay caused by ice, which prevents the ship carrying Conway and his companions from proceeding through the Ice Fjord (*Isfjorden*) to Advent Bay, where they plan to start their journey. Even as late as the middle of June ships may be trapped and destroyed. A physical reminder of potential risk then appears in the form of two men taken on board from a small boat. They are the survivors of a party of four Norwegian reindeer hunters who had been forced by ice to spend the winter in Svalbard, first in their boat, which was later crushed by the ice, then in a makeshift hut. Two of the men have succumbed to scurvy and one is still recovering. "They had a horrible tale to tell of privation, sickness, and death," Conway comments

before recapitulating it in the form of a long inserted narrative based (as his notebook shows) on detailed notes taken at the time (Conway 1897: 55–58). After landing near Advent Point, the survivors show Conway "their poor little vessel [...], firmly fixed in the ice and full of water," their hut and, nearby, two barrels covered with a sail that contain the body of their dead skipper, the frozen ground having made it impossible to bury him (Conway 1897: 59). On the last evening in Svalbard Conway revisits this site to look at "the winterer's grave and the ruins of his hut" and is struck by the "settled melancholy [that] pervaded the silent scene" (Conway 1897: 316). Hence, although Conway's expedition takes place during the temperate summer season, the story of the winterers' disaster resonates throughout his narrative. It creates a sense of impending doom that is reinforced by two photos—one of the miserable survivors beside their hut, the other of the skipper's "tomb" (Figs. 3 and 4)—and also by an incident preceding the encounter with the survivors, when Conway is by himself, confused, hungry and lost and beginning to think about the delusions of "marooned mariners" and "the strain of Arctic solitude" (Conway 1897: 51).

In 1857 Lord Dufferin had warned prospective tourists that winters in Svalbard are "unendurable" (Dufferin 1867: 201). This is confirmed in Conway's narrative by the tale of the survivors, and their account of cold and deprivation was certainly "real." So, of course, was the chance that a ship

Fig. 3. "The Survivors and Their Hut." Illustration in Sir William Martin Conway, *First Crossing of Spitsbergen* (1897).

might freeze over in the Helsinki harbour during the winter. In other words, the frozen North highlighted by Tweedie and Conway in their strategically placed illustrations cannot itself be called imaginary, except in the sense that it had not been part of their own experiences of summers in Svalbard or Finland. The wintery conditions depicted therefore reveal more about the expectations they must have shared with their readers than the reality they purport to convey.

Sublime and Picturesque North

Conway's picture of the deserted sloop and Tweedie's of the ice-encrusted ship are both reminders of what Chauncey Loomis has called the *Arctic Sublime*. Although not in themselves particularly grand or awe-inspiring, the images do suggest the insignificance of human presence in "the cold vastness and indifferent powers of the inorganic cosmos" characteristic of sublimity in its Arctic form (Loomis 1977: 104). As the most influential theorist of the sublime, Edmund Burke, makes clear, the sublime is an *affective* category that causes a sense of terror and awe in the beholder, and intimations of such emotions are ever-present in northern travelogues. A representative example is the account in Conway's second Svalbard narrative, *With Ski and Sledge over Arctic Glaciers*, of skiing with a companion on a Spitsbergen glacier under the midnight sun and experiencing "a sense of

Fig. 4. "The Tomb of the Skipper." Illustration in Sir William Martin Conway, *First Crossing of Spitsbergen* (1897).

boundless space, a feeling of freedom, a joy as in the ownership of the whole universe" (Conway 1898: 47). Another is Wollstonecraft's first encounter with a coastal landscape of "huge, dark rocks, that looked like the rude material of creation forming the barrier of unwrought space" on her arrival in Sweden (Wollstonecraft 1989: 245). However, the iconic spot for experiences of the sublime in narratives of Scandinavia is the North Cape plateau, "a scene of desolation" according to the Italian travel writer Giuseppe Acerbi, who arrived at that "extremest point of Europe" at midnight on a journey through Lapland in the summer of 1799:

> The northern sun, creeping at midnight at the distance of five diameters along the horizon, and the immeasurable ocean in apparent contact with the skies, form the grand outlines in the sublime picture presented to the astonished spectator. The incessant cares and pursuits of anxious mortals are recollected as in a dream; the various forms and energies of animated nature are forgotten; the earth contemplated only in its elements, and as constituting a part of the solar system. (Acerbi 1802: 110–111.)

Many eighteenth and nineteenth century accounts of Scandinavian journeys culminate on this cliff, with descriptions of vistas similarly representing infinity—the "truest test of the sublime" according to Burke, because it "has a tendency to fill the mind with that sort of delightful horror, which is [its] most genuine effect" (Burke 1968: 73).

In their encounters with the sublime vastness of the Arctic Ocean, northern travellers are elevated by being able to encompass in one view the whole universe. Acerbi is a case in point. But above all they are humbled by a power much greater than themselves. As Xavier Marmier eloquently puts it in *Lettres sur le Nord* (in Wendy Mercer's translation):

> Before us, the Polar Sea, the sea without bounds and without end [...] and the idea of the distant solitude where we found ourselves, the appearance of this island in a far-flung corner of the world, the wild cry of the seagull mixing with the sighs of the breeze, the roar of the waves, all the angles from which this strange country could be viewed, and all these plaintive voices of the desert caused us to be struck by a kind of stupour which we were unable to overcome. [...] Elsewhere, nature can delight the soul through the contemplation of its magnificent beauties; here, nature seizes and subjugates the onlooker. Before such a scene, one feels small, one bows the head in one's weakness, and if a few words then escape the lips, these can only be an expression of humility and prayer. (Quoted in Mercer 2006: 6.)

Conway's exuberant "sense of boundless space" on the Svalbard glacier is a positive version of this sentiment. But usually, as in Marimer's case, the

sublime North "seizes and subjugates," filling the traveller with awe.

At the same time, northern travel narratives throughout the nineteenth century adhere to aesthetic ideals and habits of viewing rooted in the compositional principles of landscape paintings and—particularly in the case of British travel writers—in the ideals of beauty inherited from William Gilpin's notions of "the Picturesque." In a series of so-called "picturesque tours," the first of which—*Observations on the River Wye*—was published in 1782, Gilpin established the practice of examining natural scenes from specified viewpoints—prospects—as "a new object of pursuit" for the leisured traveller (Gilpin 1782: 1). The "picturesque eye," according to Gilpin, is continually "in quest of beauty" (Gilpin 1782: 15), and the aesthetic discernment that this quest involves was also a sign of taste. Mary Wollstonecraft's observations of the delicate beauty of vegetation growing in rocky northern soil (which I have already mentioned) are allied to picturesque aesthetics, which tended to emphasise the value of unregulated nature in contrast to the cultivated, regular and humanised landscapes preferred by classical landscape painters. During the nineteenth century, however, there are signs in many Scandinavian travel narratives of a distinctively northern or Arctic version of the picturesque. Hence, when Sir James Lamont describes entering English Bay in Svalbard in 1876, he notes that Lord Dufferin (presumably in "the wonderful panorama" quoted above) has perfectly represented its "picturesque character" (Lamont 1876: 287). Unlike Gilpin, who consistently prefers rocks "richly adorned with wood" (Gilpin 1782: 113), Lamont finds even the most austere mountain landscapes beautiful.

Conway, too, highlights the beauty of English Bay "so well described by Lord Dufferin" (Conway 1897: 341). As an art historian he is particularly attentive to the northern picturesque. In his role of expedition surveyor on both his Svalbard ventures, he puts up his plane table whenever physical conditions and weather permit, but accounts of views that serve topographical purposes often merge into word-paintings clearly aimed at suggesting a more subjective, poetic or pictorial, vision of the Arctic landscape. Their explicit purpose is to give readers unfamiliar with the Arctic a sense of "its splendour" (Conway 1898: 9). The shape of the mountain formations fascinates him, as does the effect of varying light and weather conditions. But the main aim of his word-paintings is to register the many colours of a landscape many would dismiss as bleak and inhospitable. Rocks are "gaudy with flaming colour" (Conway 1898: 65), valleys are "deep blue cloud-enveloped" (Conway 1897: 109), remote hills are "indigo, patched with orange, gold and pink" (Conway 1898: 48), a prospect is memorable because of "the gravity of the colouring, the dark-green sea, the purple rocks, the blue glacier cliff, the near grey, the remote yellowish snow" (Conway 1897: 285)—to cite only

a few examples. Even the snowfields are colourful. "What struck us most was the colours," he comments about the view from the middle of the three mountains known as the Crowns. "The desert of snow was bluish or purplish-grey; only the sea mist [...] was pure white" (Conway 1898: 120–121).

Particularly in *With Ski and Sledge over Arctic Glaciers*, Conway's narrative of his second expedition, during which he had better weather than on the first, he consistently counters "the rather colourless stereotype of the Arctic" that, as Robert G. David has argued, persisted throughout the nineteenth century (David 2000: 39). Conway's representation of a colourful Arctic endows it with a picturesque quality that must have challenged popular perceptions of cold desolation. Not surprisingly, one purpose of this most enthusiastic of his two Svalbard travelogues is to convince his readers that the most accessible parts of the Arctic, though in many ways forbidding, in others surpasses even the Alps in natural beauty and therefore "seems to be intended by Nature for the arctic 'Playground of Europe'" (Conway 1898: 73).

Everyday North

The emphasis on the aesthetics of landscape in northern travel narratives is frequently modified by the foregrounding of details that function as markers of the everyday, the mimetic and the incidental. Such details challenge the notion of a generic or undifferentiated North, defined by a cold climate, because they are used to capture both the locally specific and the specifically northern in descriptions of places, landscapes and human encounters. The North evoked by striking details is many-faceted, particularised and therefore memorable. As even the arbiter of eighteenth-century idealist aesthetics, Sir Joshua Reynolds, acknowledges in his *Discourses on Art*, "some circumstances of minuteness and particularity frequently tend to give an air of truth to a piece, and to interest the spectator in an extraordinary manner" (quoted in Schor 1987: 22). This is close to what Peter Brooks calls the "thing-ism" of a realist perspective (Brooks 2005: 16). While Brooks is certainly correct in arguing that "realism is almost by definition visual," as is the aesthetics of the sublime and the picturesque, an attention to material facts or everyday details in northern travel writing often involves one or more of the other four senses too, smell and taste in particular.

Such everyday details are sometimes commonplace. Yet the representation of Swedish Lapland as experienced during the summer of 1799 by the British naturalist Edward Daniel Clarke—to give one example—would have been much tamer and less interesting without his vivid descriptions of assaults by thick clouds of mosquitoes "clamorous for their pray" (Clarke 1824, 9: 414). Even more memorable are his evocations, in nauseous detail, of the

unpalatable local diet consisting "only of biscuit made of the inner bark of the birch-tree, chopped straw, and a little rye," washed down with sour fermented milk, a drink he names "*Lapland* nectar; a revolting slime, '*corrupted*,' as *Tacitus* said of *beer*, 'into a semblance of *wine*'" (Clarke 1824, 9: 400–401). Ill through most of his journey and only able to continue because the lack of roads make travel by boat along the rivers necessary, Clarke describes himself as getting close to death when both his health and appetite are miraculously restored after he has eaten delicious local cloudberries. Although the same fruit is found in the north of England, he does not believe that it there

> ever attains the same degree of maturity and perfection [...] as in *Lapland*, where the sun acts with such power during the summer. Its medicinal properties have certainly been overlooked, owing, perhaps, either to this circumstance, or to its rarity in *Great Britain*. (Clarke 1824, 9: 371–372.)

While aesthetic pleasure is conventionally set apart from other, more immediate or sensual, kinds of pleasure, Clarke's cure makes him connect the delight of observing picturesque "morasses [...] covered by [...] plump and fair berries" with his own body and its requirements (Clarke 1824, 9: 524). Attention to details, in this case, imbeds aesthetics in the experience of everyday life.

In her important study of eighteenth-century women travel writers and the language of aesthetics, Elizabeth Bohls makes a similar point in her discussion of what she calls Wollstonecraft's "anti-aesthetics." She shows how Wollstonecraft in her Scandinavian travel narrative, like Clarke in his, uses details to "attack the autonomy of the aesthetic domain, or the segregation of aesthetic from practical" by challenging the anti-utilitarian bias of the picturesque prospect. Gilpin, that is to say, argues that signs of human industry spoil the pleasure of picturesque scenes, and Wollstonecraft does not agree. One of Bohls' examples of Wollstonecraft's subversion of Gilpin's picturesque opens according to convention but ends, as Bohls puts it, "in playful unorthodoxy" (Bohls 1995: 151). The scene described is near Kvistrum in Bohuslän:

> Advancing towards Quistram, as the sun was beginning to decline, I was particularly impressed by the beauty of the situation. The road was on the declivity of a rocky mountain, slightly covered with a mossy herbage and vagrant firs. At the bottom, a river, straggling amongst the recesses of stone, was hastening forward to the ocean and its grey rocks, of which we had a prospect on the left, whilst on the right it stole peacefully forward into the meadows, losing itself in a thickly wooded rising

> ground. As we drew near, the lovliest banks of wild flowers variegated the prospect, and promised to exhale odours to add to the sweetness of the air, the purity of which you could almost see, alas! not smell, for the putrifying herrings, which they use as manure, after the oil has been extracted, spread over the patches of earth, claimed by cultivation, destroyed every other. (Wollstonecraft 1989: 261.)

As Bohls points out, Wollstonecraft in this passage establishes a standard picturesque prospect "to build the aesthetisized impression that she then wickedly undercuts with the incongruous stench of rotten fish, signifiers of practical agricultural activity." At the same time, her emphasis on the *smell* "undercuts the primacy of the visual. The homely realism of the putrid herrings points out the artifice of an aesthetics that guards against life's bad smells" (Bohls 1995: 151). From the perspective on northern travel, one may add that this reference to herrings used as manure is one of the realistic details in Wollstonecraft's *Letters* that makes this specific area of the North come alive for her readers.

It is probably no coincidence that the realism of northern travel writing is expressed through homely, sometimes even offensive, details. Realist fiction works in the same way and privileges what Brooks calls the "non-beautiful" or, as he immediately rephrases it, "the interest, possibly the beauty, of the non-beautiful" (Brooks 2005: 8). Martin Conway's description of his visit to the winterers' hut in *The First Crossing of Spitsbergen* finds dignity, if not beauty, in what he observes there:

> The hut was neatly built, dug out of the ground about a yard deep, and with trim steps leading down to it. The end was formed of wood admirably joined, and with a door that shut closely and locked. There were some small glass windows, and a fireplace with an iron-pipe chimney. These things were brought from the ship. Within all was perfectly tidy—a bed along one side, various utensils, all clean and proper. The seamen's chests were ranged on one side, and on each was a label praying the finder, "for pity's sake," to send it to the owner's wife at such a place. (Conway 1897: 60.)

The ordinariness of this primitive but snug little hut makes it more poignant. Among its meagre contents only the labels on the seamen's chests recall the survivors' harrowing story of the skipper dying there some two months previously. In Conway's text the hut and the precarious domesticity it represents, stand out as an incongruous element in the Arctic wilderness. Like Wollstonecraft's "putrifying herrings" and Clarke's "plump and fair berries," Conway's "perfectly tidy" hut interior is evidence of an everyday life that is both distinctive to a particular area and, in some ways, universal. Hence, it creates an emphatic connection between traveller and locals (if such a term

can be applied to winterers in Svalbard) that brings readers, too, closer to the actual North.

Commercial North

The winterers in Conway's narrative are in it for the money. As the survivors more or less admit, their disaster was caused by greed. Had they sailed from Advent Bay earlier instead of hunting until the middle of October to fill up their boat with more reindeer, they might have avoided being caught by the pack ice. Conway does not comment on the activities of the winterers, but in the introduction to *The First Crossing of Spitsbergen* he laments the ruthless and unbridled exploitation of the Svalbard archipelago's natural resources by whalers, trappers, hunters and fishermen of many different nations. "Unfortunately it continues to be a no-man's land, annexed by no state and governed by no laws," he writes. "Fisheries are unregulated; there is no close time for bird or beast, and so the animal depopulation threatens to become complete" (Conway 1897: 5). However, other nineteenth century travelogues deal more explicitly with the commercial North. The following passage, from Cutcliffe Hyne's *Through Arctic Lapland* (1898), a narrative of a romp from the Varanger Fjord to the Gulf of Bothnia, is a good example. Its telling details situate the Norwegian town of Vardø firmly on the map of international trade:

> The sea is the only field which yields the Vardö man a harvest, and from the sea he reaps it with unremitting industry. Finns, Russians, Norwegians, Samoyedes, Lapps, all join in the work and bring their catch, in clumsy yots, and square-sailed viking boats, and the other weird unhandy craft of the North, in past the concrete wall of Vardö harbour, and run alongside the smelling warehouses which are built on piles at the water-side, and send it ashore all slimy and glistening, and then go off to dangle bait in the chill inhospitable seas for more.
>
> The men of the town, and the women, gut the fish, and leave the entrails to rot in the streets, or under the wharfs, or in the harbour water; and then the carcasses are carried to the outskirts of the town, and hung on endless racks of wood to shrivel, and dry, and scent the air as thoroughly as the rains of the climate will permit. At the corner posts hang posies of cods' heads to serve as fodder for the cows and goats during the winter, and these too help to amplify the stink. And from the mainland, beyond the fort, when the breezes blow Vardö-wards, there drift across more forceful stinks from the factory where they flense the Finner whales, and try down the blubber into oil, and cut up the pink beef for canned meats and fodder for the Arctic cow.
>
> In the harbour, steamers from France, and Hamburg, and lower Norway load bales of dried cod, which will carry the aroma of Vardö as far as Bremen, Brest, and St Petersburg. (Hyne 1898: 8–9.)

Again, as in Wollstonecraft's *Letters*, we are dealing with an "anti-aesthetics" that uses the immersion of the narrator in the scene to foreground bad smells. But, in northern travel, Hyne suggests, details such as "posies of cods' heads" may be more notable aesthetic features of the local scene than idealising sublime vistas or conventional picturesque prospects. More importantly, the passage shows that it is only by its full acknowledgment of the aesthetic qualities of everyday human activity that northern travel writing can hope to challenge the—still persistent—stereotypes of the cold, barren, desolate and alien North.

NOTES

[1] Heidi Hansson makes a similar point in a discussion of "the interaction between text and illustrations" in Lord Dufferin's *Letters from High Latitudes* (Hansson 2009: 68).

REFERENCES

Acerbi, J. (1802). *Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape, in the Years 1798 and 1799*, 2, London: Printed for Joseph Mawman, in the Poultry.

Atwood, M. (2004). *Strange Things. The Malevolent North in Canadian Literature*, London: Virago.

Bohls, E.A. (1995). *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716–1818*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brooks, P. (2005). *Realist Vision*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Burke, E. (1968). *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

Clarke, E.D. (1824). *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa.* Part 3. *Scandinavia*, vols. 9–11, London: T. Cadell.

Conway, Sir W.M. (1896). "Diary and notebook from journey to Spitsbergen," Add. 7676/Y28, Cambridge University Library.

— (1897). *First Crossing of Spitsbergen*, London: J.M. Dent & Co.

— (1898). *With Ski and Sledge over Arctic Glaciers*, London: J.M. Dent & Co.

Coxe, W. (1802). *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark*, 5, London: T. Cadell.

David, R.G. (2000). *The Arctic in the British Imagination, 1818–1914*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Dufferin, Lord (1867). *Letters from High Latitudes. Being Some Account of a Voyage, in 1856, in the Schooner Yacht "Foam," to Iceland, Jan Mayen, and Spitzbergen*, London: John Murray.

Durant, W.C. (ed.) (1927). *Memoirs of Mary Wollstonecraft by William Godwin. Edited with a Preface and a Supplement Chronologically Arranged and Containing hitherto Unpublished and Uncollected Material and a Bibliographical Note*, London: Constable.

Gilpin, W. (1782). *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales, &c. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty. Made in the Summer of the Year 1770*, London: R. Blamire.

Hansson, H. (2009.) "The gentleman's North. Lord Dufferin and the beginnings of Arctic tourism," *Studies in Travel Writing*, 13:1, pp. 61–73.

Hansson, H. & Norberg, C. (2009). "Revisioning the value of cold," in *Cold Matters. Cultural Perceptions of Snow, Ice and Cold* (Northern Studies Monographs 1), eds. H. Hansson & C. Norberg, Umeå: Umeå University & The Royal Skyttean Society, pp. 7–22.

Heitmann, A. (2001). "Sehnsucht nach der Kälte. Skandinavische Entdeckungsreisende um die Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert," *Skandinavistik*, 31:2, pp. 101–119.

Hyne, C. (1898). *Through Arctic Lapland*, London: Adam and Charles Black.

Kliemann-Giesinger, H. (2007). "Mapping the North. Spatial dimensions and the geographical concept of Northern Europe," in *Northbound. Travels, Encounters, and Constructions 1700–1830*, ed. K. Klitgaard Povlsen, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, pp. 69–88.

Lamont, Sir J. (1876). *Yachting in the Arctic Seas; or, Notes of Five Voyages of Sport and Discovery in the Neighbourhood of Spitzbergen and Novaya Zemlya*, London: Chatto and Windus.

Loomis, C.C. (1977). "The Arctic sublime," in *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, eds. U.C. Knoepflmacher & G.B. Tennyson, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mercer, W. (2006). "Arctic discourses. People(s) and landscapes in the travel writing of Xavier Marmier," *Edda*, 106:1, pp. 3–17.

Parry, W.E. (1821). *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific*, London: John Murray.

Schor, N. (1987). *Reading in Detail. Aesthetics and the Feminine*, New York and London: Methuen.

Smith, L. (2012). *The New North. The World in 2050*, London: Profile Books.

Tweedie, Mrs A. (1894). *A Winter Jaunt to Norway*, London: Bliss, Sands & Foster.

— (1897). *Through Finland in Carts*, London: Adam & Charles Black.

Wollstonecraft, M. (1989). *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, 6, eds. J. Todd & M. Butler, with E. Rees-Mogg, London: Pickering.

Youngs, T. (2013). *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anka Ryall is Professor at the Centre for Women's and Gender Research at UiT The Arctic University of Norway, where she is the leader of an international research project titled "Arctic Modernities." Her most recent book is *Virginia Woolf. Litterære grenseoverganger* ['Virginia Woolf. Literary border crossings'] (2011).

anka.ryall@uit.no

Instructions to Authors

1. General Instructions

The languages of publication are English, French or German.

Articles should normally not exceed 60,000 characters in size, including spaces (c. 10,000 words). This should not, however, include references. But shorter or longer texts may be accepted if the length is motivated by the content.

Manuscripts should be double-spaced with wide margins, all pages numbered consecutively. The manuscript should be submitted electronically to the editor-in-chief in the format of a major word processing program for Windows or Macintosh, RTF or plain text format, via e-mail to the address lars-erik.edlund@nord.umu.se. Illustrations should be submitted as separate files, either via e-mail or on CD (see further below under *4.1 Illustrations and Maps*).

The manuscript should be accompanied by a separate sheet with a brief note on the contributor (50 words), institutional address, e-mail address, telephone and fax numbers and an abstract of no more than 200 words plus 10 or fewer keywords.

2. The Manuscript

Articles may be divided into sections if necessary. Each section should be numbered, using Arabic numerals with up to three decimals: 3.2.1. , 3.2.2 etc. or provided with section headings.

Short quotations should be incorporated in the text and surrounded with double quotation marks, and quotations within quotations should be surrounded with single quotation marks. Quotations of more than 30 words and quotations from plays or poetry should be indented on the left-hand margin and set off from the main text. Omitted text in quotations should be marked [...] and the author's interpolations should be enclosed by square brackets [xxx]. Emphasis should be marked by italics except in linguistic articles where bold type may be used instead. Words and names used meta-linguistically should be given in italics. Commas, full stops etcetera should be placed inside the closing quotation mark.

Quotations in other languages than English, French and German are permitted but must always be translated. Translations should be given within square brackets and should be surrounded by single quotation marks. Titles in other languages than English, French or German should likewise be translated in the reference list (see examples below, under 3. References).

References should be given immediately after the quotation, stating author, date and page as follows (Paasi 1996: 23). In reviews of a single work, only the page number needs to be given as follows (p. 14). Place the reference before the end of the sentence when integrated in the text but after the end of a block quotation. Separate the references with a semicolon when two or more works are referred to in the same parenthesis: (Paasi 1996: 23; Roesdahl 1998: 15). Avoid abbreviations such as *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, *i. e.* and *e. g.* Instead of *vide*, write *see*, instead of *viz.*, write *namely*.

Use indentation instead of a skipped line to mark the beginning of a new paragraph.

Notes should be numbered consecutively through the text and collected at the end of the article as endnotes.

3. References

Book

Paasi, A. (1996). *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness. The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Edited book

Bäckman, L. & Hultkrantz, Å. (eds.) (1985). *Saami Pre-Christian Religion. Studies on the Oldest Traces of Religion among the Saamis* (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 25), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Journal

Roesdahl, E. (1998). "L'ivoire de morse et les colonies norroises du Groenland," *Proxima Thulé. Revue d'études nordiques*, 3, pp. 9–48.

Chapter in edited book

Ränk, G. (1985). "The North-Eurasian background of the Ruto-cult," in *Saami Pre-Christian Religion. Studies on the Oldest Traces of Religion among the Saamis* (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 25), eds. L. Bäckman & Å. Hultkrantz, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, pp. 169–178.

Conference proceedings

Fatychova, F. (2006). "Namenstraditionen unter den Baschkiren," *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Onomastic Sciences. Uppsala 19–24 August 2002*, vol. 2, Uppsala: Språk- och folkminnesinstitutet, pp. 89–95.

Newspaper

Palm, G. (1969). "De söp, dansade och älskade i vår märkligaste religiösa väckelse" ['They got drunk, danced, and made love in our most astonishing religious revival'], *Göteborgsposten* 12 October.

"Lärarinna säger upp sig för att flyga med kristallarken" ['Woman teacher resigns in order to fly with the crystal ark'], unsigned article in *Aftonbladet* 10 March 1935.

Electronic media

Grace, S. (2003). "Performing the Auto/Biographical Pact. Towards a Theory of Identity in Performance [paper delivered to ACTR conference, May 2003];" www.english.ubc.ca/faculty/grace/THTR_AB.HTM#paper; access date.

Unpublished dissertation

Smith, J. (1998). "Social Work Education in Scotland," diss., University of Glasgow.

References to several works by the same author, published the same year, should be numbered 2007*a*, 2007*b*, 2007*c* etc.:
Simmons, I. G. & Innes, J. B. (1996*a*). "An Episode of Prehistoric Canopy Manipulation at North Gill, North Yorkshire, England," *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 23, pp. 337–341.

4. Illustrations, Maps and Tables

Illustrations, maps and tables accompanying the article should be listed separately.

4.1. Illustrations and Maps

Illustrations and maps should be numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals and presented with brief captions. The approximate placement of the illustration or map in the text should be stated in the article manuscript, and there should be a clear reference to the illustration or map in the text itself.

Illustrations and maps must be submitted electronically, as separate files either in jpg or TIF format, with resolution 300 dpi for color pictures and 175 dpi for black and white in the proposed size for publication. Note that illustrations and maps should *not* be inserted into the text manuscript.

Whether illustrations and maps are printed in color or in black and white is decided by the editors from case to case.

Unless the author has produced the illustration or map, the original source must be given. The article contributor is responsible for obtaining the right to reproduce the material. Permission should accompany the submitted article.

4.2. Tables

Tables should be numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals and provided with explanatory captions.

5. Proofs

Proofs will be sent electronically to the contributor and must be returned within ten days. Only minimal changes should be made and contributors will be required to pay for major alterations from the original manuscript.

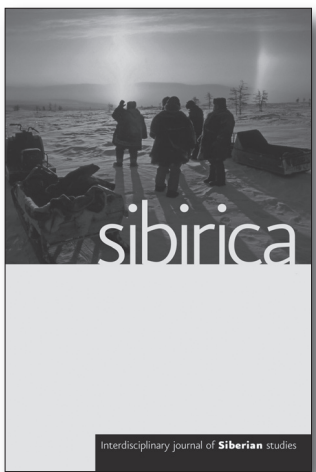
6. Off-prints

The author or authors will receive altogether two copies of the journal containing the article and off-prints in the form of a PDF-document. Contributors to the sections *Notes* and *Reviews* will receive one copy of the journal. Authors may order further copies of the journal at a reduced price.

SIBIRICA

Interdisciplinary Journal of Siberian Studies

Editor: **John P. Ziker**, *Boise State University*



Sibirica is a peer-reviewed interdisciplinary journal covering all aspects of the region and relations to neighboring areas, such as Central Asia, China, Japan, Korea, and North America.

The journal publishes articles, research reports, conference and book reviews on history, politics, economics, geography, cultural studies, anthropology, and environmental studies. It provides a forum for scholars representing a wide variety of disciplines from around the world to present findings and discuss topics of relevance to human activities in the region or directly relevant to Siberian studies.

The editors aim to foster a scholarly discussion among people with the most varied backgrounds and points of view. Thus, submissions are welcomed from scholars ranging from the humanities to the natural sciences, as well as from politicians and activists. Articles focused on places such as Alaska, Mongolia, Karelia, or anywhere else where direct contacts or even direct comparisons with Siberians is obvious and useful in the advancement of Siberian studies will be considered.

RECENT ARTICLES

Great Expectations: Revisiting Canadian Economic Footprints in Siberia, 1890s–1921
J.L. BLACK

Tunka National Park: Problems and Prospects
IRINA N. BILICHENKO

The Role of Women in the Sakha Epic olongkho *"N'urgun Bootur the Swift" by Platon Oiunsky*
ZOYA TARASOVA

The Construction of Homeland among Buriats in Irkutsk
VERA KUKLINA

Local Language Education in Southern Siberia: The Republics of Tyva and Altai
JOAN F. CHEVALIER

Couchsurfing Along the Trans-Siberian Railway and Beyond: Cosmopolitan Learning through Hospitality in Siberia
DENNIS ZUEV

Ecotourism Development in the Nature Reserves of Lake Baikal
NATALIA LUZHKOVA

journals.berghahnbooks.com/sib

berghahn journals
NEW YORK · OXFORD

ISSN 1361-7362 (Print) • ISSN 1476-6787 (Online)
Volume 13/2014, 3 issues p.a.